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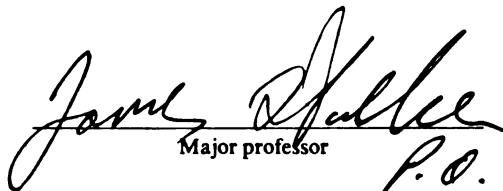
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ANALYSIS OF THE NATURE OF INTERLANGUAGE PRAGMATICS IN

CHOICE MAKING FOR REQUESTING STRATEGIES BY THAI EFL

LEARNERS

By

Chaweewon Wongwarangkul

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ABSTRACT

ANALYSIS OF THE NATURE OF INTERLANGUAGE PRAGMATICS IN CHOICE MAKING FOR REQUESTING STRATEGIES BY THAI EFL LEARNERS

By

Chaweewon Wongwarangkul

This study is an investigation of the nature of the interlanguage pragmatics of L2 learners in a particular learning context: learners from a collectivistic culture learning an individualistic language in a foreign language learning context. The different conceptual views of the two different cultures are predicted to play an important role in affecting the learners' L2 pragmatic performance. With limited knowledge of L2 pragmatics, the learners are predicted to debate all the existing knowledge available to them and come up with what they believe is appropriate for such L2 situations. Then they produce their ILP accordingly. L1 social/cultural factors seem to have a prominent role in the learner's judgment of the level of appropriateness for their ILP. In a group-oriented culture like Thailand where seniority of age is one of the most prominent value systems, the age difference of interlocutors determines their L1 speech, and is predicted to do so in their L2 as well (pragmatic transfer). The study focused on 50 male Thai speakers who lived and worked in Thailand. They were college graduates and had an extensive use of English through their overseas graduate studies and/or their routine work in and outside the country. The study looked at their ILP through their choice making for politeness

strategies in request making. The respondents responded to oral-production questionnaires in their L1 (Thai) and L2 (English). The questionnaires consisted of 16 scenarios within eight requesting contexts where the age of the addressees was on both extreme ends toward the addressers; namely, much younger or much older than the addressers. In this particular study, the design was intended to control other possible social factors to allow the age factor to stand out. In so doing, the weight of imposition was low; social/work status was equal and the social distance was high (except for the stranger contexts which were added to show the variety of the age effects). Each respondent was given an unstructured interview after the questionnaires to look for the justifications of their production and to see if their perception matched their production. The questionnaires (production elicitation) and the interviews (perception elicitation) were tape-recorded. The findings suggest that the age factor, particularly, the age of the addressees does determine the Thai speakers' choice of politeness strategies through the frequency of use rather than types of strategies in both languages. Elements used for measuring the age effects were the uses of strategies in the requestive patterns, the internal modifications (e.g., politeness markers), the personal pronouns, and length of utterance. The frequencies of use of strategies and the mean length of utterance do show the effects of the age difference of the addressees. The age of the addressees is then a proposed social variable to add in the Brown and Levinson's framework to make it more applicable universally. The findings also suggest evidence for the respondents' creativity in the production of their ILP through their choice making for appropriate politeness strategies for different age group of addressees. Such creativity is proposed as a feature of the ILP of L2 learners.

To
My mom, Cha-on Wongwarangkul

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It is like a long journey which is now coming to the end. I remembered when it started. It was back to 1994 when I received a scholarship from the Royal Thai Air Force. If it had not been for them, I would have never been this far academically. They offered me an opportunity for overseas studies twice (for the master's and doctoral degrees). Studying abroad gave me an opportunity to encounter cultural differences and learn to understand and accept them. Living abroad gave me an opportunity to learn my second language (English) in natural settings. It helped me understand one of my fields of study better (the study of second language acquisition) as being a second language learner myself.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Reasons which underlie the purposes of this dissertation

In the study of interlanguage pragmatics, many attempts have been made to provide explanations as to what pragmatic mechanisms of L2 learners are and what might constitute them. Politeness is commonly believed in most cultures to be a required value that should be attached to linguistic forms to maintain or sometimes strengthen smooth human relationships in society. Such politeness attachment is required for some particular forms that are used to realize certain speech acts that might interfere with interlocutors' positive (i.e., desire for approval or appreciation) or negative (i.e., freedom of action and from imposition) face.

Since the earlier studies in interlanguage pragmatics provided a range of findings, the present study is an attempt to focus on particular language users of particular backgrounds (e.g., Thai speakers learning English as a second language). Thus, the present study is intended to examine interlanguage pragmatics through politeness mechanisms of learners from a collectivistic culture (i.e., which is group/relationship-oriented) learning an L2 spoken in an individualistic culture (i.e., which is autonomy/task-oriented) and learning it in a foreign language learning context. The distinctions of both conceptual views are predicted to have an important influence over the learners' interlanguage pragmatics. The distinctive concepts might well result in the nonnativeness of the learners' language (i.e., interlanguage). That is, they might perceive some potential social factors (e.g., power, social distance, and ranking of imposition)

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widely involve in manifesting politeness differently from the native speakers of the target

language of a different conceptual culture. For instance, what is viewed as an imposed act

might not be so in a different culture (e.g., asking someone's age). Likewise, what is

viewed as politeness in one culture might not be equally perceived as such in another

culture (e.g., the concept of indirectness). Moreover, different cultures might value

politeness to a different degree (i.e., the Japanese culture in which the concept of

politeness is more sensitive than in the American culture as seen by the extensive use of

honorifics in Japanese). Thus, such distinctions inevitably affect their L2 pragmatic

behaviors to a certain extent, especially in terms of their choice of politeness strategies.

To date, there is very little research on pragmatic behaviors of Thai speakers either

through their performance in their native Thai or in their English as an L2. In general,

Thai speakers represent speakers of a collectivistic and hierarchical culture where the age

of the interlocutors is a dominant determinant for the speaker's pragmatic choice.

Moreover, there are very few pragmatic studies involving the age of the addressee

as the points of concern. To my knowledge, there is only one recent research (Harada,

1996) which investigates the perception and production of nonnative (Japanese) speakers

of English through their politeness strategies. She found that the Japanese speakers in her

study changed their level of politeness according to how they perceived their addressees

in terms of the age and status of the addressees and their familiarity with the addressees.

In the first perception test, native speakers of English, Japanese ESL students from

intermediate and advanced levels, and native speakers of Japanese were asked to rank

how politely they think they should speak to certain addressees. The goal was to examine

how the Japanese ESL learners realized L2 politeness and how much the L1 politeness

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rules were involved in their L2 perception. There is evidence of transfer in that the age of

the addressees seems to be one of the determinants of the level of politeness. Differently,

the native speakers of English seemed to value familiarity more than the Japanese

speakers. In the second perception test, the goal was to examine how Japanese ESL

learners perceived the politeness levels through the use of modals in the English

requesting forms with certain addressees. The learners, given a list of L2 requesting

expressions, were asked to rank their politeness on a 10-point scale and make possible

choices for situations with various addressees. In the production test, the choice of the L2

requesting forms for different addressees was examined through the tape-recorded

telephone messages. The findings showed that her subjects depended on formulaic

expressions rather than being creative like their L1 natural requests.

In proposing age as another potential social factor, the present study uses the face-

saving view of Brown and Levinson's politeness framework, which is most accepted, as a

baseline for investigation of the politeness mechanisms by Thai EFL learners. Though

their framework has been long criticized in some regards, it provides guidelines for later

pragmatic research as a starting point. Their theory was argued to be basically applicable

to Western languages because it is based on the individualistic view of politeness. In the

collectivistic cultures where people regard themselves as members of the society rather

than independent individuals as in the individualistic ones, politeness is viewed as

normative rather than strategic (Yeung, 1997). Thus, social variables must play a more

important role in the choice of polite linguistic forms in the collectivistic cultures than the

individualistic ones. Social status, for instance, is viewed as a more influential factor in

the collectivistic cultures (Hill et al., 1986). In Yeung (1997), the findings showed that

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weight of imposition was the only factor among the three independent variables in Brown and Levinson's theory that has a statistically significant impact on the choice of politeness expressions in the English data, but no influence at all in the Chinese data. She explained that her Hong Kong Chinese subjects followed the principle of reciprocity which made them view the imposition of a request with a more positive perception than the Westerners. This supports the claim that different cultures may value the same speech acts in terms of imposition differently. The other two factors, power and social distance, showed no statistically significant influences independently on linguistic choice both in the Chinese and the English data. She claimed that the combination of the three factors did not show greater impact than the imposition alone. The nature of her data collecting might affect the findings. The polite request expressions in two languages were listed from the written data and were ranked by native speakers of each language. The fact that the data were in the written mode and lacked the immediately interactive exchanges might not fit well in Brown and Levinson's oral-based framework.

Moreover, there might be factors other than those three involved. In this study, I propose that the age of the addressees is a potential social factor that plays an important role in determining pragmatic behaviors of speakers from a collectivistic and hierarchical society. I further hypothesize that the L1 pragmatics might influence the L2 pragmatic behaviors of such learners learning an individualistic L2 in the foreign language learning context where the value of the society is group-oriented. The findings might, in contrast to Yeung (1996), confirm or enhance Brown and Levinson's framework.

The request speech act was chosen because of the claims for its threats over face. Politeness is generally viewed as a tool for redressing the Face-Threatening Acts (FTA).

The degree of politeness is varied dependent on several factors such as the weight of imposition or the degree of familiarity. This study is another look at the request speech act when its face-threatening value is low. The weight of imposition of the pragmatic force was kept low; the intended act caused only a little burden on the requestee or the act was the requestee's own job responsibility from which the requester is entitled to make such requests. The degree of familiarity was kept high since there is a claim that the closer the relationship, the less polite. With the low face-threatening value and low distance, such request speech act is expected to still require an attachment of the politeness value as well.

To make an appropriate choice of politeness strategies requires both linguistic and pragmatic skills and tactics. L2 learners at different levels of both skills must differ in their performance. In Harada's study (1996), proficiency did not clearly determine L2 learners' pragmatic competence. In her study, the intermediate learners were closer pragmatically to the native speakers of English than the advanced learners in many cases. The variations might be viewed as a result of the learners' own judgment; the more advanced the more creative. Harada explained that the advanced learners in her study seemed to explore their L2 pragmatic competence and to be more creative in their L2 pragmatic force. Besides creativity, advanced learners, in order to retain their L1 identity, are adequately proficient and know how to negotiate their way in the L2 to secure such identity if this would be the case.

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1.2 Research questions and hypotheses

<u>Research questions:</u>

This dissertation is an attempt to examine the components of the interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) of Thai learners of English as a second language in a foreign language learning context. The learners' learning language (same as ILP) was investigated through their choice of politeness strategies in request making. The fact that the learners' L1 and their L2 are originated from different roots in conjunction with the fact that the L1 and L2 cultures are formed under two distinctively basic structures makes the nature of the ILP interesting as to how their ILP is processed and how such learners negotiate in order to overcome the distinctions of the two linguistic/cultural systems. Thus, the research questions are as follows:

1. What are the components of the interlanguage pragmatics of the Thai learners of English as a second language in a foreign language learning context?

2. What constitutes such components?

<u>Hypotheses:</u>

Based on the three questions above, I have come up with 2 hypotheses and their sub-hypotheses.

1. I hypothesize that the components of their ILP are likely to consist of 3 forms: the L2-like forms (evidence of learning); the L1-like forms (evidence of transfer); and the creativity forms (reflecting the internalized negotiation process)

1.1. The L2-like forms are likely to be a result of instruction and experiences.

1.2. The L1-like forms are likely to be a result of the learners' familiarity with the L1 forms and insufficient knowledge of L2 pragmatics.

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1.3. The creativity forms are likely to be a result of the learners' own judgments on how appropriate they want their ILP to be.

2. I hypothesize that age factors, particularly the age of the addressees, are likely to determine the choice of the pragmatic behaviors by Thai speakers.

2.1 The choice of their Thai politeness strategies is likely to be age sensitive.

2.2 The choice of their English politeness strategies is likely to be age sensitive as well.

Since the learners' L1 language and culture are collectivistic based, where hierarchy of age is strongly pronounced in particular, the age value might show some effects on their ILP. Thus, I hypothesize that the age of the addressees in particular plays an important role in their ILP as it does in their L1 performance. The age of the addressees must determine their choice of L2 politeness strategies in their speech act realization, which in this case is request making.

The acquisition of pragmatics, unlike other language systems, seems to be harder to achieve or never at all in some cases because pragmatics deals with social behaviors which are fundamentally structured by cultural domains. Such domains characterize people distinctively from culture to culture. Members of the same identity group (culture) share patterns of perceptions (e.g., attitudes, values, and belief/disbelief systems), behavioral norms, and its own language/code (Singer, 1998). One may know the grammar of a language, without being able to use the language. According to Gee (1990), to communicate effectively, one must say the right thing at the right time and in the right place. He proposes that besides using the right grammar, one must use the language appropriately, and be able to express the right values, beliefs, and attitudes for particular

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social situations. Thus, it is hard for individuals of different cultures to communicate as well as those who are from the same identity groups.

Learning a second language is learning a two-in-one package, which includes a new linguistic system (form) and a new pragmatic one (function). At the pragmatic level, cultural identification is evident. Pragmalinguistically, L2 pragmatic forms can be easily picked up through instruction or actual interactions. Sociopragmatically, the social behaviors appearing in their ILP are a result of their assessment of many options available to them, which may reflect their L1 or L2, or a combination of both. (See the distinction between pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics in Chapter 2). Obviously, at the sociopragmatic level, L2 performance is mainly processed by the learners' own creativity. By looking at pragmatics at the two levels, acquisition might be seen possible at the pragmalinguistic level where L2 learners can use formulaic expressions naturally. A question arises whether or not their use of such routines is evidence that they are acquired forms or learned skills. At the sociopragmatic level, it is more obvious that L2 learners are more cautious with their L2 pragmatic performance because it might interfere with their self-identity. According to the findings in Bosher's Hmong study (1997), the maintenance of their native language and culture by the Hmong immigrant students facilitating their academic success and adaptation to their life in the US resulted from no fear of the loss of their sense of 'self' toward moving across cultures. Her qualitative findings showed that the Hmong students made conscious choices on what elements of both cultures to keep or to abandon. Thus, is it the case that the acquisition of pragmatics is a matter of conscious/unconscious use of the L2 pragmatically? (the issue is not the focus of this study). The involvement of their consciousness for the security of their self-

identity may slow down/hinder/or even impede their attainment to the point of L2 acquisition at the pragmatic level.

1.3 Organization of the dissertation

This dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter two is a review of literature which covers the areas of interlanguage pragmatics in SLA, pragmatic transfer, speech act of request, and Thai politeness. Chapter three is a detailed account of methodology used for data collection and analysis. Chapter four is an extensive discussion of the findings and results from the analysis of data through qualitative and quantitative methods. This chapter consists of a display of 76 examples, 40 tables, and 1 figure. Chapter five is the conclusions which cover implications for foreign language pedagogy and limitations of the study including suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

There are two types of second language research in pragmatic areas: one is the research on second language (L2) learners' perception and production of the interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) and the other is the research on L2 learners' learning development. Until the late 80s, the focus of the ILP studies had been on use (sociolinguistic perspectives) rather than process (psycholinguistic perspectives). Most research studies were attempts to investigate L2 learners' perception, comprehension, and production of illocutionary force and politeness value across languages and cultures; namely, the well-known Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) conducted by Shoshana Blum-Kulka, Juliane House, and Gabriele Kasper in 1989. Since then, the trend of ILP studies has changed toward the second language acquisition (SLA) disciplines; which is, the developmental and processing issues as seen in the studies of S. Takahashi & DuFon (1989), Ellis (1992), M.A. Robinson (1992), Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993), Siegal (1994), S.Takahashi (1996), and Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper, and Ross (1996). There have been attempts to understand the L2 learners' learning process toward their acquisition of L2 pragmatics (Kasper and Schmidt, 1996).

2.2 "Interlanguage (IL)"

There have been many beliefs that L2 learners' learning language (interlanguage) is a result of the learners' own creativity. Their interlanguage reflects their mental learning process of a language other than the existing one(s). In SLA research, there is an

assumption that language learners in learning a second language create a language system called "interlanguage" by formulating an internalized system based on available linguistic elements in their native language and the target language (TL). Yet, there are some elements in their interlanguage which do not represent their origin in either linguistic source (Gass and Selinker, 1994).

2.3 Definitions of interlanguage pragmatics (ILP)

According to Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993), interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) is the study of non-native speakers' use and acquisition of linguistic behavior patterns in a second language. Kasper and Dahl (1991) define ILP as nonnative speakers' comprehension and production of speech acts, and how their L2 related speech act knowledge is acquired. Kasper (1996) refers to ILP as the study of development and use of strategies for linguistic performance by nonnative speakers.

2.4 Development of research in interlanguage pragmatics

2.4.1 Early ILP as sociolinguistic rather than as psycholinguistic

In the seventies, the interlanguage studies were primarily focused on learners' linguistic knowledge of the TL. However, due to research in the area of communicative competence (Habermas, 1970 and Hymes, 1972) a secondary focus emerged which centered on the second language learners' acquisition of pragmatic and discourse knowledge of the TL (Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper, 1989).

Yet, in the 1980s, most ILP studies were basically attempts to demonstrate learners' perception and comprehension of illocutionary force and politeness value across languages and cultures. Within the scope of these studies, learners' pragmatic success and failure are influenced by contextual variables of choices within given linguistic

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conventions and the universality of politeness in speech act realization across languages and cultures (Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper, 1989; Kasper, 1996).

Until claims to pragmatic universality became a major focus of interest, the ILP investigations had focused on contrasting a specific language function or a specific speech act between two or three cultures and languages. Thus, to find out the possibility of pragmatic universality, there was a call for research comparing various speech act realizations across large numbers of cultures and languages (e.g., CCSARP). Recently, the trend of ILP studies has been related to SLA disciplines in which their main interests have dominantly been in the area of second language competence rather than production.

To conclude, the early ILP studies were sociolinguistic-oriented; they focused on the investigation of cross-cultural pragmatic behavior of L2 learners, their knowledge of L2 linguistic and pragmatic devices, and use of speech act strategies (e.g., requesting, apologizing, complimenting, expressing gratitude, etc.) as compared to those of native speakers. The recent ILP studies, on the other hand, are psycholinguistic-oriented; they attempt to understand the learners' learning process toward their acquisition of L2 pragmatics (Kasper and Schmidt, 1996).

2.4.2 Interlanguage pragmatics in SLA

Thus, recent ILP studies have followed the methodology of SLA interlanguage studies by employing empirical research methods. Within the scope of IL studies in SLA, learners' interlanguage production and comprehension are compared with their L1 (native language) and L2 (native speakers') data in order to specify their IL competence which is influenced by their L1 competence (Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993). Therefore,

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'pragmatic transfer' becomes a major interlanguage research issue in investigating influences and roles of learners' native language and culture on their developmental learning process toward the acquisition of the TL (Kasper and Schmidt, 1996). In addition, some issues of universality of pragmatics have arisen as part of the topic of discussion in some studies, but not as their major goal. To understand the notion of 'pragmatic transfer' or the notion of 'pragmatic universality', we need to know the components of L2 learners' pragmatic competence.

2.4.2.1 Pragmatic competence of L2 learners

Along the continuum of ILP processes, L2 learners are already equipped with general pragmatic knowledge (the communicative use of language in general as defined by Blum-Kulka, 1991), L1 pragmalinguistic knowledge (knowledge of particular linguistic forms conveying particular illocutions as defined by Leech, 1983), and L1 sociopragmatic knowledge (knowledge of social and discourse principles which vary in different social contexts, cultures, and language communities as also defined by Leech, 1983). The ability to use such utterances in an effective and efficient manner is described as communicative or pragmatic competence (Francis, 1997). According to Bialystok (1993), pragmatic competence refers to abilities required for discourse participants (both speakers and hearers) in successful conversations. That is, the speaker must possess an ability to perform different speech acts of a given language; in the meanwhile, the hearer must possess an ability to interpret and understand the speaker's intention both directly and indirectly. In addition to discourse rules (e.g., turn-taking, interruption, cohesion, and so forth), Gass and Selinker (1994) suggest another component, 'whom language is being used with'; namely, learners must have enough knowledge of social and pragmatic rules

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to choose appropriate forms to use with each type of interlocutors (e.g., of different genders, ages, social distance, social status). It is evidenced even in child language learning that L1 learners must understand and be able to perform the pragmatic force of utterances beyond the literal meanings to some extent although their pragmatic skills are less proficient than those of adults due to their limited social interactions.

2.4.2.2 Pragmatic universality

The issue of pragmatic universality across speech communities became the basis for the CCSARP analytical framework (Blum-Kulka, 1989) to investigate patterns of L2 learners' request and apology realizations under different social constraints across cultures and linguistic variations.

In the scope of the universality of pragmatics, the issue of 'indirectness' as to whether it is universal seems to be the focus in pragmatic research. Learners must rely on conventions and principles (Blum-Kulka, 1989) to be able to interpret indirectness; namely, conventions of language, conversational principles (Grice's general Cooperation Principle), pragmalinguistic conventions, and contextualized (Gumperz, 1982) or sociopragmatic (Leech, 1983) conventions. Among the three levels of 'indirectness', Blum-Kulka (1989) suggested that there are limits to the universality of conventional indirectness; its patterns differ cross-linguistically. A particular utterance in one culture or language group may not have the same meaning convention cross-culturally. For example, the convention for greeting in the United States is 'How are you?'; whereas, in Thailand a native speaker would say, 'Where have you been?'. Therefore, nonnative speakers' intended meaning may not find equivalences in the TL (Kasper and Dahl,

1991). As proposed by Blum-Kulka (1989), although the findings of CCSARP indicate the universality of conventional indirectness, it should be regarded as a matter of "shared basic pragmatic properties" rather than as a matter of cross-linguistic equivalence in form and usage. Kasper and Schmidt (1996) agree on universality of basic pragmatic principles which facilitate the development of ILP; however, the problem arises and gives rise to transferability when learners assume universality where it is not present.

2.4.2.3 Pragmatic transfer

Evidence in the studies of 'language transfer' shows that learners' IL consists of both 'positive' transfer and 'negative' transfer from their L1. Positive transfer is facilitation to learning another language where learners' L1 and the TL have similar forms. Conversely, negative transfer is referred to transfer which learners mistakenly map their native-language patterns or rules onto the TL due to their misconception of the notion of 'universality' or their limited knowledge of the TL forms. This phenomenon leads to inappropriate forms in the TL and is seen as interference in language learning (Gass and Selinker, 1994; Richards, Platt, and Platt, 1992).

Similarly, 'pragmatic transfer' shows how learners negotiate their way to a resolution of speech act realizations in the TL. Though it is presumed that speech acts are universal, their forms and use vary from culture to culture (Gass and Selinker, 1994). For instance, complimenting is used in all cultures, but its linguistic form and usage might be different. Especially, in responding to a compliment, it is very crucial to know and understand pragmatic conventions of the TL to avoid inappropriateness. Very often, inappropriate use of pragmatic behavior leads to misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the non-native speaker's intentions. Moreover, the nonnative speaker might be

perceived as rude or inept in some regards. The inappropriate mapping of L1 pragmatic knowledge onto the TL pragmatics is evidence in the learners' developmental learning process toward the acquisition of L2 pragmatics.

2.4.2.4 Types of pragmatic transfer: Pragmalinguistic/Sociopragmatic transfer

Likewise, pragmatic transfer shows how learners negotiate their way to a resolution of speech act realizations in the TL both as elicitors and as respondents. According to Kasper (1992), the ILP studies which involve the influences of L1 pragmatics are differentiated by their aims at two different types of pragmatic domains: one which deals with pragmalinguistic transfer in which learners' linguistic knowledge about the illocutionary force and politeness value assignment of languages other than the TL influences in their perception and production of form-function mappings in the TL (e.g., Blum-Kulka, 1983; House and Kasper, 1987; Beebe et al., 1990; Maeshiba et al., 1996), and the other deals with sociopragmatic transfer in which learners' social perceptions underlying their performance and interpretation of linguistic actions are influenced by their assessment of equivalent L1 social contexts as to whether a particular speech act or overall communicative style is appropriate (e.g., Olshtain, 1983; Robinson, 1992; T.Takahashi and Beebe, 1993). Thomas (1983) argued that these two dimensions of pragmatic transfer are inter-related. For instance, before making decisions about which politeness strategy and linguistic actions (pragmalinguistic domain) are appropriate in a particular social context, interlocutors base their judgment upon their assessments of the relevant contextual factors such as degree of imposition, social distance, social status, etc. (sociopragmatic domain).

2.4.2.5 Pragmatic transfer in interlanguage pragmatic process

Though some studies found nontransfer (e.g., House and Kasper, 1987; Maeshiba, et al., 1996), Kasper (1992) points out that in some cases it might be difficult to distinguish such ILP performance as to whether it is a result of transfer or overgeneralization of L2 pragmatic rules and features. Yet, some fascinating evidence for pragmatic transfer is noticeably and consistently found in many other studies (e.g., a preference for Japanese learners of English for formulaic indirectness found in Robinson, 1992; a preference for self-oriented apologizing strategies in the English context by German learners of British English found in House, 1988; a preference of Anglo-Canadian learners of Hebrew for more indirect request strategies found in Blum-Kulka, 1982). An instance of evidence for pragmalinguistic transfer is seen by the use of 'statements of philosophy' (e.g., 'to err is human' in English excusing or 'I never yield to temptations' in English refusing by Japanese learners of English as found in Beebe et al., 1990). Evidence for sociopragmatic transfer in which L2 learners prefer to retain their L1 communicative styles is found in Robinson (1992). The female Japanese learners of English in her study reported that they felt uncomfortable to refuse in English because refusing is not commonly expected in Japanese society. Their L1 social perceptions play a role in avoiding some L2 performances in spite of possessing the knowledge of the native-like forms. It is interesting that familiarity with their native norms, regardless of L2 proficiency, plays some crucial roles and becomes a causal factor of pragmatic transfer which eventually leads to pragmatic failure (in some cases, miscommunication). Further, it might be the case that learners somehow try not to lose their native cultural identity for L2 pragmatic norms in the L2 contexts (especially when performing

politeness strategies) as suggested in some theoretical frameworks of the accommodation theory (e.g., divergence from the target norm helps maintain the NNS cultural identity – Giles and Johnson, 1987).

The data from interlanguage pragmatic research show that learners of the same target language from different L1 backgrounds perform different patterns of pragmatic transfer (Olshtain, 1983; House and Kasper, 1987). In some cases, the same learners do not follow the same transfer patterns to different target languages. In Faerch and Kasper (1989), the Danish learners transferred negative interrogatives from Danish to their German as L2, but not to their English as L2. That is because German is perceived as less language distant from Danish than English is. This brings about an issue of pragmatic transferability as to what constraints which L1 elements should or should not be transferable.

2.4.2.6 Pragmatic transferability

In S. Takahashi's (1996) study of transferability, her findings show that regardless of L2 proficiency, learners' pragmatic competence was not native-like. The study supports a pluricausal view that learners rely on various sources of knowledge (e.g., L1 transfer, IL overgeneralization, and instruction) simultaneously in assessing what strategy to perform in a particular context. This also supports Thomas's view of pragmatic transfer being inter-related by two domains of pragmatic knowledge.

Evidence from interview data in some studies reveals that learners with sufficient competence in L2 adjust their IL pragmatic performance in terms of what they think is appropriate in such L2 contexts. In Robinson's (1992) interview data, her Japanese informants reported that they consulted their L1 and IL pragmalinguistic and

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sociopragmatic knowledge in making decisions about how to refuse requests and offers in English as their L2. They chose to add a stronger and more direct refusal strategy to their directly translated preceding utterances from Japanese because they wanted their intended illocutionary meaning to be clear for Americans as being foreigners (e.g., evidence of creative forms). In Kasper (1981), her interview data revealed that the German learners of English avoided using the routine 'I mean' whose equivalent is commonly used in German. They reported that they perceived this routine as language-specific and were also instructed not to use them in L2 contexts. In Olshtain's (1983) data, it is speculated that Russian learners of Hebrew performed high frequencies of negative politeness refusal strategies in their IL than in their native language due to their sensitivity of their immigrant status in the target community. It is interesting to point out here that at the pragmatic level, the attainment of the native-like performances might not be the ultimate goal for all L2 learners as it is at the linguistic level.

Evidence in previous ILP studies consistently reveals that L2 learners rely upon a variety of knowledge sources (from L1, IL, general knowledge about the world) and conditions (situational factors such as settings – classroom/natural; contextual factors such as the degree of imposition and relationships of interlocutors) in their decision-making as to which strategy they think is appropriate in a particular circumstance. It seems that their pragmatic errors which are normally seen as pragmatic failures are not always clearly a result of learning toward acquisition of L2 pragmatics (i.e., to acquire native-like proficiency) or are a result of their adaptation to L2 strategies (i.e., to serve their communicative needs and simultaneously secure their identity). The latter leads to a question whether L2 learners will ever achieve native-like pragmatic performances or

whether they want to. For instance, if learners decide to insist on 'disidentification' with the target norms to maintain their cultural identity, native-like proficiency in the target language will not be achieved and it is not their goal of L2 learning, since pragmatic learning, unlike linguistic learning, involves no restricted and specific written rules. Learners have multiple strategic options to express their illocutionary forces and have more freedom to consult with any knowledge available to them at the point of production. This brings the notion of 'pragmatic transfer' into question. If 'transfer' is defined as borrowing one feature of a language from another, the language phenomena found in the ILP where learners' ILP is similar to L1 should not be seen as a result of transfer by itself whether or not it is a conscious or unconscious one. I argue that it should be seen as an IL component, an outcome of learners' internalized language processing. To explain such variations of IL behaviors mentioned earlier, learners' ILP must consist of three components: the features that are like L1 (or any existing knowledge), the features that are like L2, and the creative features (unlike either L1 or L2). I hereby claim that variations of ILP behaviors of L2 learners are a result of an individual learner's creativity.

2.5 L2 learners' Interlanguage pragmatics

Schmidt's concepts of implicit and explicit learning (1993) suggest that learners use 'explicit learning' (i.e., conscious problem solving as attempts to form mental representations by searching memory for existing related knowledge, forming, and then testing their hypotheses) when rules are involved. Differently, they use 'implicit learning' (i.e., unconscious generalization from examples) when the learning patterns are based upon perceptual similarities. Namely, at the pragmatic level, adult L2 learners, following

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the same path as child L1 learners, 'notice' the occurrence of linguistic forms used by native speakers as intake for learning and store them in memory (Atkinson and Shiffrin, 1986; Kihlstrom,1984). At the time of learning, they 'understand' the significance and appropriate use of such forms. Even adult native speakers who are fully competent in pragmatic skills sometimes rely on their insights and understanding about the language when knowledge of a particular context is inaccessible.

Likewise, Bialystok (1993) points out that at the pragmatic level, children with no prior linguistic experience rely on explicit learning (conscious problem solving or hypothesis testing) of pragmalinguistic norms provided by their parents or caretakers rather than control of contextualized pragmatic norms due to their limited social interactions. She also claims that children do not have pragmatic competence until they understand various aspects of pragmatic functions of language such as implied politeness or deference. Children solve their mapping problems between forms and functions (e.g., 'Water' meaning 'Give me some water') ; whereas, adults solve theirs between forms and social conditions (contexts). With their full competence of L1, L2 learners must learn to understand L2 pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic norms to be able to process their IL pragmatic knowledge smoothly in L2 contexts.

2.6 The speech act of request

Requesting is a speech act which is conceived of as a face-threatening act according to Brown and Levinson (1987) because it may provoke intrusion of the hearer's freedom of action, and in the meantime, the speaker herself feels hesitant that she might offend the hearer's face.

By nature, requesting is an act in which a speaker's desire is intended for the hearer to bring about the desired action. It requires communicative skills in order to get such desire accomplished (Becker, 1982). Among the several requestive strategies, the speaker must make a choice based upon her judgment in terms of the characteristics and relationship of the interlocutor, the setting (formal or casual), the degree of imposition, the degree of obligation of the speaker to have the act carried out by the hearer, and so on. In many empirical studies, the study of the realization of the request speech act is mainly based on two trends: the strategies for realizing the request speech act and the types of variables affecting the choice of these strategies. The other dimension which is less studied is the sequence of the strategies in the request speech act.

2.6.1 Strategies for realizing the request speech act

Strategies for realizing the request speech act are studied based on two major characteristics: the degree of directness/indirectness of requestive strategies and the use of internal/external modifications.

I. Degree of directness/indirectness of requestive strategies:

Directness perceived as a measure of illocutionary transparency in which the inferential/interpretive attempt on the part of the hearer is not required.

The following is the well-known classification of directness and indirectness in request speech act realization based on the CCSARP Scheme (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989).

1. *the most direct/explicit level*

 1.1 *Mood derivable*: grammatical mood of the verb signals its illocutionary

  force

  (e.g., <u>Clean</u> up that mess!)

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1.2 *Performatives*: the illocutionary force is explicitly named

(e.g., I am <u>asking</u> you to clean up the mess.)

1.3 *Hedged performatives*: the performative is modified by hedging expressions

(e.g., I <u>would like</u> to ask you to...)

1.4 *Obligation statements*: the obligation of the H is stated

(e.g., You'll <u>have to</u> take out the garbage.)

1.5 *Want statement*

(e.g., I wish you'd stop calling me.)

2. *the conventionally indirect level*

2.1 *Suggestory Formula*: the intent is phrased as a suggestion by means of

formulaic expressions

(e.g., How about washing the dishes?)

2.2 *Query preparatory*: reference is made to preparatory conditions as

conventionalized

(e.g., Could you please..?; Would you mind...?)

3. *Non-conventionally indirect level*

3.1 *Strong hints*: partial reference is provided

(e.g., Your car is blocking mine.)

3.2 *Mild hints*: no reference is made, but the hints are interpretable as a request

by context

(e.g., "My wife is going to have a baby!" in asking the taxi driver to speed

up)

Hints, claimed by Weizman (1989) as the most non-conventional and indirect

strategies, are characterized by their opacity as follows:

a. *Illocutionary opacity*: not sufficient indication of the intended illocutionary

force (e.g., I lost my wallet.)

b. *Propositional opacity*: not sufficient indications as to the content of the act

(e.g., Would you do me a favor?)

and the combination of type a and type b (e.g., It's hot in here.).

Transparent as the directness strategies and opaque as the non-conventional

indirectness strategies (e.g., Hints) are as intended, it appears that the conventional

indirectness strategies might be the only requestive strategies that co-exist with the pre-

request moves. Indirectness is often observed in form of questions, particularly, through

formulaic expressions. However, there are some requestive formulaic forms which are

not questions, such as the expression "I beg your pardon." which is conventionally

interpreted as a request for a repetition of the previous speech by the hearer. Li (1998)

argues that the conventionalization of the formulaic expressions makes them transparent

in their illocutionary forces and their conventional nature leaves the hearer no choice to

respond to the request unconventionally.

II. The use of modifications:

1. *Internal modifications*: modify the request internally (within the Request Head

Act)

1.1 *Downgraders*

1.1.1 Syntactic downgraders

1.1.1.1 Interrogative (e.g., Could you...?)

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1.1.1.2 Negation

1.1.1.3 Past Tense

1.1.1.4 Embedded 'if' clause

1.1.2 Lexical and phrasal downgraders

1.1.2.1 Politeness markers (e.g., *Please*...)

1.1.2.2 Consultative devices (e.g., Do you *think* you could...)

1.1.2.3 Understaters: minimizes parts of the proposition

(e.g., Could you clean this up *a little bit...* ?)

1.1.2.4 Hedges: avoid specification

(e.g., It would be great if *someone* helped me.)

1.1.2.5 Downtoners: elements modulating the impact on the H

(e.g., Will you be able *perhaps* to drive me home?)

1.2 *Upgraders* (usually lexicons and phrases)

1.2.1 Intensifiers (e.g., Get rid of that *awful* smell.)

1.2.2 Expletives (e.g., Turn off that *crummy* TV show, will you?)

2. *External modifications*: mitigating the Request Head Act by means of

supportive moves (See also 2.6.2)

The following is the most comprehensive categorization of external modifications

proposed by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984):

2.1 *Checking availability* (e.g., Do you have a minute?)

2.2 *Getting precommitment* or Sasaki's preparators: prior announcements of

making a request (e.g., Would you do me a favor?)

2.3 *Grounder*: giving reasons, justifications, and explanations

2.4 *Sweetener*: exaggerating appreciation of the H

2.5 *Disarmer*: indicating awareness of offense and anticipating refusal; or

attempts to remove the interlocutor's potential objections (Sasaki, 1998)

(e.g., I hate to say this. But I'm afraid I might have to ask you...)

2.6 *Cost minimizer* or Sasaki's imposition minimizers: attempts to minimize

the imposition placed on the H (e.g., if it is okay with you...)

Of all the external modifications listed, grounders are the most frequently used as an

efficient mitigating strategy (House and Kasper, 1987).

2.6.2 Types of variables affecting the choice of requestive strategies (as categorized in

Li, 1998)

1. Social variables:

Power embedded social status and social distance (degree of familiarity with the

interlocutor) are two main social factors which determine the hearer's choice of

requestive strategies.

2. Situational/contextual variables:

As suggested by Blum-Kulka and House (1989), Kasper (1989), etc., situational

factors which influence the speaker's requestive behaviors include the degree of

imposition, the degree of the hearer's obligation to carry out the request, the speaker's

right, types of the requestive goal (actions, goods, information, permission), setting

(formal/casual), medium of production (oral/written) and so forth.

3. Cultural variables:

Many pragmatic studies revealed the cultural differences in the perception of

'directness/indirectness' in requestive behavior. What is perceived as impolite or less

proper in one culture may be valued as proper in another culture. Cultural factors are also

associated with social and situational/contextual factors. One social factor may be valued

as strongly determining the choices of requestive strategies in one culture, but shows little

influence in another culture. The age factor, for instance, is a very crucial determinant for

pragmatic behaviors in the Thai culture where its social structure is based on the age

hierarchy. But the factor shows less impact in most Western cultures.

2.6.3 Sequence of the strategies in the requestive act

The act of request making usually consists of a sequence of utterances (Blum-

Kulka et al, 1989). Effective request making is often preceded by pre-requests which

check feasibility of compliance, therefore overcoming possible grounds for refusal

(Merrit, 1976; Schegloff, 1988). The refusal at the preliminary stage before the actual

request is admitted is considered as a face-saving strategy.

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) categorized the sequence of the strategies in the

requestive act as follows:

1. Alerters

2. Head Act

3. Supportive moves

The categorization of the Head Act and the Supportive moves is based on sequential, as

well as contextual and functional criteria. The same utterance can serve as a supportive

move or a Head Act according to context.

I'm looking for the restroom. Could you tell me where it is? (Supportive move)

I'm looking for the restroom.   (Head Act - Hint)

To get a clear understanding how the request speech act is realized by Thai speakers learning English as their second language in a foreign language context, this study covers all three dimensions mentioned above. It investigates the requesting strategies (in the Request Head Act) for realizing the request speech act (as discussed in 2.6.1), the age difference of the interlocutors as a dominant cultural variable uniquely affecting the choice of these strategies by this respondent group (as discussed in 2.6.2), and the sequence of the strategies which constitute the whole requestive act (as discussed in 2.6.3).

For a better understanding how this particular group of the collectivistic respondents perform their request speech act both in their L1 and their L2, a cultural background on the values which establish how Thai speakers deal with politeness in the society is provided in the following section.

2.7 Thai values as foundations for politeness in the Thai society

In any interactions, a language is a medium that carries messages between interlocutors. Socially, to have an oral interaction in particular, the appropriate use of the language should be taken into consideration. That is, the sender of an oral message should be aware of what is proper for the receiver of such message in terms of their relationship in the society, the language context, time and circumstances, etc. Ignoring those concerns, the speaker might be regarded as socially uncultured.

One society is different from another by its core social norms which give basic rules of acceptable behaviors for its members. There are also rules of appropriate use for language users in a society. Some core values which at the same time characterize 'the so-called national character' of the culture underline such rules. Some key values

suggested by some Thai scholars are pointed out here as background information about Thai pragmatic behaviors. Wichatrong (1997) suggested in her article, "How to express politeness in Thai", that there are four basic values of Thai people that affect their language use. Only two of them that are related to this study are discussed here as follows:

(1) Thais regard people by their seniority. Thai has a common word to call people with seniority as 'p^{h}u yai'. According to Wichatrong (1997), the term 'p^{h}u yai' may refer to people of old age, people with high social status, or people with long terms of experiences in their career life. The elders are considered people with long experience about the world. Thus, the younger who have less experience give their high regard to the elder in the family and to other elder people in the community as well. The use of kinship-indicated pronouns such as 'lung' for uncle, 'p^{h}ee' for an elder sister or a brother reveals their high regard of people with seniority.

(2) Thais like to use kinship-indicated terms with even unrelated people in the community. This value can be traced back to the thirteenth century when Thailand was an ancient agricultural society where people in the community were group-oriented and had a close relationship like one big family. The tradition of 'long k^{h}aeng' is an activity in which members of the community helped their neighbors work on the fields until all the fieldwork in the community was done. They worked shoulder to shoulder like brothers and sisters. Thus, with a long history of being an agricultural society, the use of kinship-indicated pronouns or the use of nicknames among unrelated people still exists to stress the closeness of the relationship of members in the community.

(3) Komin (1990) suggests 9 value clusters which postulate the Thai national character. His Thai value survey reveals that ego orientation was ranked top priority of importance by most Thai groups except for the farmer group who ranked it very low. The findings reveal that ego orientation is the root value of other main values of Thai people. He found that Thais value independence, pride, and dignity. Though Thais are perceived by foreigners as calm, friendly, and gentle, violation to the 'ego' self or anybody close to the 'self' such as parents cannot be tolerated by them. Ranked number three of importance in this Thai value survey, smooth interpersonal relationship orientation works in conjunction with ego orientation. This orientation is characterized by "the preference for a non-assertive, polite and humble type of personality (expressed through appearance, manners, and interpersonal approach), as well as the preference for a relaxed, and pleasant interaction which accounts for the 'smiling' and 'friendly' aspects of the Thai people" (Komin, 1990, p174). A Thai concept 'kreng-jai' which means "to be considerate, to feel reluctant to impose upon another person, to take another person's feelings (and 'ego') into account, or to take every measure not to cause discomfort or inconvenience for another person" (Komin, 1990, p164) is a good example of Thai social smoothing values which emphasize avoidance of hurting other's feelings (ego) at all times even though it is contrary to one's own feelings.

The concept 'kreng-jai' is not restricted only to persons of low position toward higher positions. To preserve other's 'ego' or 'face' is the basic rule in any interactions regardless of the relationships of the interlocutors involved. Thais will feel 'kreng-jai' toward equal, inferior, or subordinates, if situations require them to bother someone for some help, some convenience, or sheer verbal interaction that would seem to intrude on

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the other person's ego. The notion of 'kreng-jai' can be observed in every relationship (e.g., husband-wife, superior-inferior) but its degree varies according to different persons, different levels of familiarity, and different situations.

2.7.1 Politeness in the Thai language

(1) Choice of appropriate personal pronouns

Thai pronouns can be characterized by their level of politeness and the social distance between interlocutors. Here is a list of some common Thai pronouns:

First-person singular pronouns	Second-person singular pronouns
a. ku, k^haa (in the falling tone)	eng, kae, meung
b. p^hom	k^hun, t^heu, pee
c. kra-p^hom	t^haan
d. chan (in the high tone)	t^heu
e. di-chan	k^hun, t^haan
f. nuu	t^haan, k^hun, p^hee
g. p^hee	nong
h. k^hao (in the high tone)	tau

Pronouns in group A are used among male close friends; sometimes those pronouns are avoided in the presence of women.

First-person singular pronouns in group B and C are used by males only. Though polite, those in group B are less formal than those in group C. First-person singular pronouns in group D, E, and F are used by females only. Pronouns in group D are used among friends whereas those in group E are used in formal occasions. The first-person singular pronoun in group F is used by a person of lower age or social status when

conversing with a person of higher age or social status. In any interactions, pronouns used by an individual vary according to his/her roles in a particular situation and the relationship with his/her interlocutor. That is, if an individual is a man, among his close friend (s) he may refer to himself as 'kuu' or 'k^{h}a', but he will refer to himself as 'kra-p^{h}om' when talking to a judge in a public testimony, for example. Moreover, it is customary that a first-person singular pronoun is used with its matching second-person singular pronoun. For example, 'kuu' or 'k^{h}a' will go with 'eng', 'kae' or 'meung'. In other words, in utterances, the perceptions of the speaker toward his/her role and that of his/her interlocutor and toward the level of social distance with his/her interlocutors can be identified by his/her choice of pronouns. Different from many languages, the gender of the speaker can be identified through the use of the first-person singular pronouns.

Some pronouns like 'k^{h}un', 'p^{h}ee', 'nong', 'lung' and the like can be used as a title term by placing one of them in front of a person's name. The term 'k^{h}un', for example, can be used like Mr., Mrs. or Miss in English.

(2) Use of polite ending terms

Likewise, these ending terms can identify the gender of the speaker of an utterance. The female polite ending terms are 'k^{h}a' and 'ja' (in the high tone), 'k^{h}a', 'ja', and 'ha' (in the falling tone); and the male polite ending terms are 'k^{h}rub' and 'k^{h}or-rub' (used in a very formal situation, almost obsolete). The term used by both males and females is 'ha' (in the high tone). The terms 'k^{h}a' and 'ja' (in the high tone) are used to end polite questions; 'k^{h}rub' (a male term) can be used both in affirmatives and interrogatives. The mitigating terms 'na', 'noi', 'noi na ' can be ended by these polite ending terms to redress face-threatening acts.

As a matter of fact, utterances can sound polite without these polite terms. The tone of voice and lengthening the vowel of the final word in an utterance can soften the degree of threats of face.

2.8 Conclusions

Apart from linguistic norms, L2 learners who are fully competent in the conventions of language use in their L1 must learn and experience new and different sociocultural norms. According to studies in the communication field, all interlocutors rely on their 'implicit theories' or the so-called 'commonsense theories of social cognition' about the fundamental functions of talk. The implicit theories are culture-based; they are used by individuals in a cultural group as a basis for their underlying assessments of choice for conversational strategies to achieve their interactional goals. In making a request in one culture, speakers of such cultures learn shared implicit knowledge of what strategy is permissible and culturally preferred in a particular situation in which they are involved. Kim and Wilson (1994) suggest five interactive constraints which constitute standards for 'social appropriateness' or appropriate communication performance; namely, (1) concern for clarity, (2) concern for minimizing imposition, (3) concern for avoiding hurting the hearer's feelings, (4) concern for avoiding negative evaluation by the hearer, and (5) concern for effectiveness. These constraints may vary across cultures. Individualistic cultures where autonomy is a major concern may value directness whereas collectivistic cultures where group harmony is a major concern may value tact. Thus, learners of a second language must inevitably face the situations where they are struggling for what choice of conversational strategy is appropriate in such L2 contexts: debating between L1 strategy and L2 strategy, or

perhaps developing an ILP strategy that they think serves their pragmatic needs. What is seen as pragmatic transfer might be a result of the learners' conscious learning process to negotiate what they already know (full competency of L1 pragmatics and limited knowledge of L2 pragmatics), what they do not know (some L2 pragmatic features), and what is missing (the distinction between L1 and L2 pragmatics) so that they can get their message across pragmatically. Perhaps, at the pragmatic level, since the learners have to go through this very complicated negotiation process, communication seems to be their focal goal of interaction whereas native-like proficiency is not always the case. The L2 learners' interlanguage pragmatics is, therefore, seen as a process of learner's own creativity.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

To my observations as a teacher of English to Thai speakers and experiences as a learner of English as an L2, I have noticed some uncomfortable feelings and hesitance by Thai learners as nonnative speakers of English in L2 contexts with regard to the appropriate use of address terms. I also have noticed the same phenomenon occurring in my Thai students learning English as a foreign language at the Royal Thai Air Force Academy in Thailand. Though military people are regarded by others as people of discipline and etiquette, their politeness does not make it easy for them to perform politeness in English since there are some pragmatic and cultural differences between the two cultures. Linguistic knowledge is not the case here since polite request making in English is usually taught from the beginning of their English learning and a variety of formulaic speech patterns are listed in many English textbooks. However, most textbooks are concerned with neither linguistic nor cultural differences of the learners from different native languages. They usually list the formulaic expressions and group them in terms of degrees of their politeness and casualness. They present how those forms are used by native speakers of English who come from the Western cultures in which age or gender of the addressees do not signify the distinctions in the speech of the addressers. When it comes to the learners whose culture signifies the age or gender difference of the addressees in the choice of their speech, problems arise. The burden is then left to the responsibility of language teachers who should have adequate knowledge about their

students' cultures and linguistic structures of their native languages for effective L2 instruction.

In this research, gender is not the focus of study. The main focus is to investigate how Thai learners of English as an L2 differentiate their polite speech according to the age of the addressees like they do in their native language. The nature of the military speech and the nature of requests represent, without a doubt, speech of politeness. However, my concern is with the nature of their politeness and how age of the addressees plays a role in determining the choice of their politeness strategies.

My choice of using the military subjects in my study is based on my teaching experiences with them in the past 19 years of my career at the Royal Thai Air Force Academy. Almost all of them were senior students in my English classes. I have long observed the use of their English since they were in my classes at the academy and most fortunately, I was able to observe some of them who are now fighter pilots in the RTAF interacting with American pilots at work during the recent air exercise in Thailand. In terms of familiarity, some of them have had personal contacts with me before the academy, during the study, and after graduation. Therefore, in the interviews, they tended not to perceive me as a researcher, but rather, as their former teacher whom they could trust and be honest with. Thus, I have strong confidence in my knowledge about the use of English by these subjects. Unfortunately, the Thai academy has no female cadets yet. My subjects, therefore, consisted of only male representatives of Thai military speakers. The data were collected from the working air force officers rather than from the current air cadets because I focus on the high intermediate group with adequate knowledge of English and experiences of the use of English in actual interactions with native speakers

of English. The knowledge about English and the interactional experiences of English of this subject group were gained both in the foreign and second language learning contexts.

With regard to the method used for data collection in this study, the oral production questionnaire type, one of the most popular cross-cultural pragmatic competence measures was chosen because it is easy to control variables related to a given context (e.g., age and closeness of the respondent and the interlocutor). Though it is not interactive in nature (Eisentein and Bodman, 1993) and is based on hypothetical contexts, it is found to be as highly reliable and reasonably valid as role plays, according to Yamashita (1996) in her study, designed to find effective measures for pragmatic proficiency. In Sasaki's study (1998) and most other studies, one of the reasons that production questionnaires did not elicit as natural data as role plays resulted from the use of the written mode rather than the oral one. Sasaki claimed that in her study, alerters such as 'Excuse me', or 'Hello', which one uses to get the interlocutor's attention, are used much more often in oral (role plays) than in written (production questionnaires) responses. Thus, my study was designed to use production questionnaires which elicit oral responses. Other advantages of production questionnaires are their practicality and convenience. The transcription for data analysis is not time-consuming to do, and it can be administered to a large number of respondents (Sasaki, 1998). In regard to the problem of retaining the respondents' identity, the subjects in this study took on the role of themselves in assumed situations that possibly occurred in real life. Roleplays may not be a good choice for the method of data elicitation in this study because most L2 learners in an EFL context like Thailand have very little experiences in long interchanges with native speakers of English. To have them elicit their pragmatic data through unfamiliar

behaviors may not reveal the natural data. Rather, they will feel they are forced to do so. During the English interviews as part of the achievement tests at the RTAF Academy starting this year, after a few interchanges in English, some of the fifth-year air cadets said to me in English that they could not speak English. In response to that, I asked them what language they were speaking at the moment. At their work sites after graduation, some admitted that they were reluctant to make conversations with native speakers of English because they were afraid of communication breakdowns. Their nervous pain was due to their lack of regular interactions with native speakers, which is a common ground for problems of learning a second language in a foreign language context. Likewise, the ethnographic method might prove to actually elicit rich natural pragmatic data (Li, 1998). This method might do well in the contexts where L2 is used elsewhere, not in limitation as in a FL learning context like in Thailand. This study is designed to focus on one particular variable, age (difference) of the hearer, which is hypothesized to induce pragmatic transfer, and to compare the pragmatic data of the same subject group in their L1 and their L2. The oral production questionnaire method, unlike the ethnographic method, is able to control the studied variable. In addition, to avoid instrument effect, the tool used for data elicitation should be the same type; this OPQ method is feasible for collecting both L1 and L2 data in this particular case.

The request speech act was chosen because it is one of the best studied speech acts in the field of interlanguage pragmatics (Blum-Kulka et al, 1989; Rintell and Mitchell, 1989; Takahashi and Beebe, 1987) and because it is one of the speech acts most frequently performed in everyday life.

3.2 Population and samples

The data used in this dissertation were collected from February - May 2000 in Bangkok and in Nakornrajsrima Province during the combined air exercise Cobra Gold 2000. The collection methods included recorded oral production questionnaires and recorded pragmatic and sociolinguistic interviews.

The target group is a number of Thai air force male officers who graduated from the Royal Thai Air Force Academy and who have experiences with the actual use of the English language with native speakers of English through their work and/or their overseas studies. At the academy, they spent a total of 450 class hours of English, three hours a week throughout their five years of their engineering/science studies.

The sample group consists of 50 subjects who were recruited by a multi-stage sampling technique which includes the purposive sampling (e.g., those who have experiences in social interaction with native speakers of English) and the accidental sampling (e.g., those with the required qualifications who were available at the time of the data collection).

These 50 subjects consist of some male pilot officers participating yearly in considerable air exercises with foreign countries (e.g., Cobra Gold with the US, Cope Tiger with Singapore, Thai Kiwi with New Zealand, Thai Boomerang with Australia, Air ThaMal with Malaysia, Elang ThaiNesia with Indonesia, and Pirab Jabiru - the UN Peace Operations with Australia). The others are male officers who work at the Directorates of Intelligence, Air Operations Control, Aeronautical Engineering, Logistics (Foreign Military Procuring Division), and Operations (Joint & Combined Section). The nature of their routine work requires them to have interactions with foreigners, both military and

civilians. Some have been sent for on-the-job training abroad and some have made their graduate studies in the English-speaking countries.

Their ages range from 25 to 50 years of age and their ranks range from lieutenants to colonels.

3.3 Instruments

The study was primarily based on the oral production questionnaire data which included 16 scenarios within 8 requesting contexts. Each context consisted of two separate age groups which were designed to focus on the age difference of the addressees. In most scenarios, in terms of relationships, addressees were assumed to be people who worked in the same office, but whose seniority or status was different. The gender of most of the addressees was limited to male interlocutors because of the nature of most subjects' work. Nevertheless, there were two contexts in which the addressees were strangers and one of the contexts included female strangers as addressees. The female context was included to serve as a guideline for further study on gender difference, perhaps. The eight contexts are shown as follows:

Context 1   Asking male colleagues to repeat the time

Context 2   Asking male colleagues for direction

Context 3   Asking male colleagues to tell the time

Context 4   Asking male clerks to print a file

Context 5   Asking male clerks for some change

Context 6   Asking male janitors to clean the wet spot

Context 7   Asking male strangers to locate a friend

Context 8   Asking female strangers to pass the sauce

The eight contexts were subdivided into 16 scenarios which were separated by two age groups of the addressees: the younger and the older groups. The respondents were asked to respond to the similar requesting scenarios in which the addressees were either much younger or older than themselves (i.e., about 10 years different). For example, in Context One, each respondent was requested to ask two of his male colleagues to repeat the time in the scenario where his addressee was much younger and in the other scenario where his addressee was much older than he (see also Appendix one). All of the contexts were designed to match their routine life. A checklist of their routine activities based on the information gathered from interviews was then developed into eight contexts which occurred most frequently in their daily lives. The routine activities then were categorized into three colleague contexts, three subordinate contexts, and two stranger contexts. Three of them were activities that normally occurred to them in the interaction with colleagues who had equal social status. Another three were activities that normally occurred to them in the interaction with subordinates whose social status was much lower. Within these six contexts, the addressees were designed to have high social distance with the respondents and they were all male gender. I was looking at the requestive scenarios where the low ranking of imposition, the high social distance, and the routine nature of each activity situation required no vigorous attempts on the part of the requesters to form extreme politeness. I hypothesized that, under normal and expected circumstances, politeness could be witnessed and such politeness was characterized by the solid effects of the age of the addressees. That is, the age effects could be witnessed in their choice of politeness strategies in varied circumstances where the respondents had close relationships with the addressees, but different in their social status and age, or even

gender. Moreover, each context included two addressees whose age was much different from the respondents and from each other. Namely, the respondents stood the middle group according to age and they were subject to react to two age groups of addressees: the older and the younger, who were either their equals or their subordinates. The superiors were eliminated because the possibility for politeness was too high, without need for further proof. The other two (stranger) contexts were included because, as hypothesized about the effects of age in close relationships, I wondered if there was a possibility that age might perhaps show the same effects in the relationships with strangers, especially strangers of different genders. These stranger/gender contexts were added for personal curiosity and for the guidelines for further research. Though there was only one context for each gender, if the age effect was consistent as hypothesized, at least the findings were proved to be true for the same group of respondents at the same time of data collecting.

The original questionnaires were tested with the same population in three small pilot studies until they looked like what they appear on the list above and Appendix one. It was my concern to avoid proficiency effect; therefore, each scenario was designed to emphasize the simplicity and possibility of actions. Any scenario that seemed to cause difficulty or reluctance on the part of the respondents was then adjusted or eliminated.

The questionnaires were conducted through semi-structured interviews on the tape recorder. The oral data were required because they represented the actual pragmatic/linguistic performances of the speakers as to how they responded to each requesting context. Although they were assumed situations and the subjects did not really interact with real persons, the data were believed to portray more authentic verbal

responses than those collected in the popular written discourse-completion questionnaire method.

3.4 Data collection

The data included two sets of the oral production questionnaire data elicited by the Thai subjects: one in Thai and the other in English. The situational contexts in the Thai and English questionnaires were the same except that in the English questionnaires the subjects were assumed to make requests to native speakers of English in L2 contexts. (Scenarios in both versions were orally given to the respondents in mixed order.)

To avoid confusion or misunderstanding, I, as the researcher who solely conducted the study, gave the questionnaires orally in Thai, the subjects' native language (L1), even though they were directed to give responses in English as their second language (L2) in the English questionnaires, as well. In the English questionnaires, all information was provided to the subjects in the Thai language (their L1) in an oral manner in order to ensure that their responses were their own and natural.

The English questionnaires were conducted after the Thai questionnaires to make sure that the subjects understood the situations clearly. Each semi-structured interview for both questionnaires lasted about 20 minutes. In addition to this, an unstructured interview was conducted afterwards to look for their pragmatic and sociolinguistic knowledge of both languages.

To collect data, I called and made appointments with the most familiar former cadets of my classes first. Then I went to their work sites. I explained to them the procedures and the purposes of the questionnaires. They were happy to participate in the study because they believed that the findings of my study might provide a solution to the

current problems of English language learning of the cadets. They hoped that their junior cadets would gain more benefits from this study. Most of the respondents have had good relationships with me more than as being teacher/students. Some were the students I tutored in private English classes before they even attended the academy. Some were younger brothers of my friends or sons of family friends. Some lived in my neighborhood. They conceived of me as a combination of teacher - elder sister. There was no doubt why they trusted me and provided exclusive information in the interview data. I was a little surprised that they showed no resistance to tape recording. A few made a slight comment on that, but seemed less concerned when the questionnaires actually began. Besides appointments, I also conducted the oral questionnaires with those whom I met at the sites and who were available and willing to participate in the study. Only 20 per cent of the respondents were not my former students. Five of them graduated before I started my career at the academy and the other five attended the fourth year class while I was studying abroad. I have been in charge of the English classes for the fourth year cadets since I started my teaching career at the academy. Thus, I dare say that almost all of the cadets from 1981 (the year I started my career in the air force) until present were in my English classes when they were the fourth-year cadets, except for those who attended the fourth- year classes during the periods of time that I was studying abroad. Since I went to collect data by myself and all the data were recorded on tapes at that point, the response rate was 100 per cent. The data collection occurred March until May 2000. I gave questionnaires to the respondents one by one in a private room which was arranged by compliment of former students who were in charge of each work site where the data were gathered.

3.5 Analyses

The data in this study were basically analyzed by the method of 'content analysis' in conjunction with some quantitative methods. I looked at patterns, frequency, types/functions of external modifications (strategies in the other parts outside the Request Head Acts), internal modifications (some politeness & mitigating devices), and strategies in the Request Head Acts themselves. The data included two sets of responses to the similar situations in two languages by the same respondents: the Thai data and the English data. The Thai respondents responded to the assumed requesting scenarios given to them orally in Thai to avoid comprehension effect. The Thai responses were translated into English literally (word by word) and the translated version maintained the syntactic structures as they would appear in Thai (e.g., ellipsis of some subjects and objects, no verb conjugation, etc.). Some necessary words were added in parentheses and square brackets to avoid confusion on the part of the non-Thai readers.

The investigation focused on how the age of the addressees affects four main pragmatic behaviors: choice of strategies, number of strategies used in one turn (length of utterance), lexical items served as redressive devices, and types of transfer found in the study. Mode was used to measure the frequency of the use of strategies in each scenario with younger and older interlocutors. It was to investigate if specific strategies were strictly used with interlocutors of different ages. The length of utterance in this study was measured by number of strategies used in each part of the utterance in one turn. The number of strategies indicated the attempt of the addresser to redress his request act for a successful result. It was to investigate if the length of utterance can represent the degree of deference toward the interlocutors of different ages. Mean and standard deviation were

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used to find the average number of strategies performed in one requestive utterance turn. Longer utterances were expected to show higher degree of deference toward older age groups. Lexical devices used as the internal modifications such as politeness markers (e.g., khrub, please), mitigating terms such as lexical downgraders (e.g., noi na, na, si), and pronominal devices as age indicators (e.g., the use of kin terms in the first-person singular and second-person singular pronouns) were measured on the percentage scale. The last element for investigation was types of pragmatic transfer from L1 (Thai) to L2 (English). Their L2 pragmatic behaviors were expected to show some evidence of age-based asymmetry as appeared in their L1 pragmatic behaviors due to the influence of hierarchically cultural backgrounds. Discourse analysis methods were used to describe the transfer behaviors in order to show effects of the age of addressees in determining the pragmatic choices.

3.6 Conclusions

In the study of ILP, types of research methodology employed are distinguished in terms of two aspects of ILP features: comprehension and production. To investigate learners' perception of alternative speech act realizations (e.g., perception of politeness value), rating tasks (paired comparison, card sorting, rating scales), multiple choice questionnaires and interviews are used; whereas, the ILP production is usually tested by instruments like discourse completion tests, role-plays in controlled or authentic settings, observation of authentic interactions, and self-assessment (Kasper and Dahl, 1991; Hudson, Detmer, and J.Brown, 1995; and Kasper and Schmidt, 1996) and few are done by ethnographic methods. Although learners' authentic performance data are required in ILP research, it is agreed that it is hard to collect such data in the full context of the

speech event for comparative studies. Some problematic features relative to data collection techniques such as number of subjects, number of questions asked, types of data elicitation techniques, etc. may affect their validity and then, lead to failure of such data to represent real learners' interlanguage pragmatics (Kasper and Dahl, 1991). The design of this study was adjusted based upon advantages of earlier ILP studies. This study is a combination of the quantitative and qualitative analyses since practicality as well as validity of data collection is of a major concern.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter contains two sources of findings: one gathered from the oral-production questionnaires and the other from the recorded casual interviews. The data from both sources were elicited by the same respondents at the time of data gathering in the same sequence: questionnaires prior to interviews.

To find out what the interlanguage pragmatics of the Thai respondents is like and what constitutes such components, the patterns of their speech act realization in their L1, which in this case was the speech act of request, were analyzed to find the common ground of their requestive patterns. Their English requestive patterns were then analyzed for comparison to find similarities or distinctions in their pragmatic performances between the two languages. In so doing, Hypothesis 1 and its sub-hypotheses shall be supported. That is, the interlanguage pragmatics of these particular L2 learners of English is likely to comprise three components: the L1-like forms (evidence for transfer), the L2-like forms (evidence for learning/acquisition), and the creative forms (a result of learners' own judgments by adjusting their interlanguage based on their own sense of appropriateness). The evidence for transfer will be demonstrated through the use of directly loaned L1 forms in their L2 performances whereas the evidence for learning/acquisition will be demonstrated through the use of learned L2 forms. The evidence for the learners' creativity will be demonstrated through their speech adjustment when their knowledge of such L2 is unavailable. These three sources of their

interlanguage pragmatics are inter-related. To accommodate their speech, they need to

create a sort of 'compromising'form to compensate for the L2 rules/forms which are not

known to them or which do not match their L1 ones. Thus, in the first stage, they need to

rely on their existing L2 and their L1 rules. Then they balance their communicative needs

with the preservation of their self-identity and other social/situational factors. Finally,

they come up with the speech they perceive as adequately appropriate in particular

circumstances and able to serve their communicative needs, which does not always

reflect native-like proficiency. The whole process shows two points: how they negotiate

their way in the production of their interlanguage pragmatics and how the nature of

creativity may hinder the acquisition of L2 pragmatics. This shall support Hypothesis 3-

The choice for politeness strategies by the Thai speakers is likely to be a result of their

judgments for appropriateness, which indicates the creativity in their ILP. Such creativity

and the learners' persistence of their L1 identity in their ILP may imply that the

acquisition of L2 pragmatics may not be their ultimate goal at all. The question 'Can L2

learners acquire native-like pragmatics?' might appear to be an illegitimate question to

ask if it is the case that they do not have desire to do so.

To find support for Hypothesis 2 and its sub-hypotheses that Thai and English

politeness strategies performed by the Thai speakers are likely to be age sensitive -- the

effects of the age difference of the interlocutors in both languages were investigated. The

effects of the age difference, particularly, the age of the addressees, were examined

within two main topics: politeness strategies (i.e., strategies mutually incorporating the

implementation of the illocutionary force) with the help of their internal modifications

(e.g., downgraders), and L1 pragmatic transfer. The former is to support the claim that

the age of the addressees plays an important role in determining pragmatic behaviors of the Thai speakers and the latter is to provide evidence for pragmatic transfer in the nonnative speech of the Thai EFL learners. At large, the effects of the age of the addressees in their L2 pragmatics are expected to support Hypothesis 3 that the choice for politeness strategies in their ILP is likely to be a result of their own creativity. That is, to either consciously or unconsciously preserve their self identity in their ILP, they might have to create their ILP forms to more or less reflect their L1 social rules, which in this case is the high value of seniority in age (of addressees versus addressers). In this study, the age of the addressees rather than the addressers is emphasized because Thais come from the group-oriented culture in which its members care for others prior to their individual selves. As a consequence, their speech is shaped and adjusted in accordance with their estimate of the age of the person they are interacting with, as compared to degree of seniority.

To analyze the data, the present study borrowed the analytical framework used in the well-known Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP), the investigation of the interlanguage pragmatics of L2 learners with different native language backgrounds using different target languages, and comparing the speech act realizations of native and nonnative speakers. The study (since 1989) established patterns of request and apology realizations under different social constraints across languages and cultures.

To begin with, the structures of the requestive patterns found in my study are described. Similar to the pattern proposed in the CCSARP, the basic pattern in this study includes the sequence of strategies as follows: the Attention Getting part (alerters), the

Introductory moves (preposed supportive moves), the Requesting Head Acts, and the Closing moves (postposed supportive moves). A modification to the CCSARP pattern is that the supportive moves might occur after the Request Head Act as well. Since the scenarios were designed to assume the commonly found situations in the work place and the imposition was kept low, one request was expected to be completed within one turn of utterances with no need for negotiation. Some moves were in question forms and were uttered in continuity with no requirement/expectation for actual responses. The data in this study show some distinctions from the ethnographic data in Li (1998); namely, her data consisted of negotiations in more than one turn; some occurred on different days. This might result from the asymmetrical relationships between the interlocutors where the native speakers in her study had more power and authority as social workers/teachers in their host country whereas the nonnative speakers were Chinese immigrants.

The following section is a description of the components which incorporate the act of request making in both languages by the Thai respondents in this study.

4.1.1 The analysis of the requestive pattern

The basic requestive pattern proposed in the CCSARP is once again proving to be an internationally based framework. It needs to be tested by more studies on languages other than Western languages to prove its universality, however. In this study, Thai as representing one of the Asian languages conforms very well to this framework. The following is a description of the requestive pattern and its detailed components that are shared by the Thai and the English languages that are particular to this study. Some terms are adjusted to fit more with the present data. The requestive pattern consists of the Attention Getting part, the Introductory part, the Request Head Act, and the Closing part.

I. The Attention Getting part (alerters) consists of any utterance which is used for calling the addressee's attention. In performing an act of request, if available, the attention getting act comes initially. In this study, the act of getting attention from the addressee includes four main strategies: (The examples of the Thai and English strategies by the respondents in this study are also provided in italics)

1. *Addressing*

    1.1 by address terms:

Thai: *Num* (a casual address term for a 'young man' of lower social/work status) and *Tʰaan* (a formal address term for a male addressee of very high social/work status)

English: *Man* (a casual address term for a 'young man' of lower social/work status) and *Sir* (a formal address term for a man of higher social/work status)

    1.2 by proper/nick names:

Thai: *Pornchai*

English: *Jack*

    1.3 by kin terms:

Thai: *Pʰee* (a term for an older brother/sister) and *Nong* (a term for a younger brother/sister)

English: *Uncle* (only one occurrence by Respondent # 30, used with an older addressee of lower social/work status in the Janitor context)

    1.4 by title nouns:

Thai: *Kʰun* (a formal address term for persons of both genders and of higher social status or social distance- as equivalent to 'mister')

English: *Colonel*

2. *Excusing:*

Thai: *Excuse me*

English: *Excuse me*

3. *Greeting:*

Thai: *Sawaddee* (a formal greeting shared by both genders, usually ending with

a gender-based politeness marker: '*k^{h}rub*' for male speakers or '*k^{h}a*' for

female speakers)

English: *Hello*

4. *Asking for permission:*

Thai: *Give me permission,* k^{h}rub, p^{h}ee

English: None

II. The Introductory part (pre-posed supportive moves) comes right after the Attention Getting part and prior to the Request Head Act. This part consists of a variety of strategies which pave the way for the upcoming illocutionary force. Basically, they are statements of reasons, justifications, or explanations. The strategies found in the Introductory part includes 8 categories shared by the Thai and the English languages shown as follows: (The examples of the Thai and English strategies by the respondents in this study are also provided in italics. The Thai version was translated into English by reflecting some major linguistic characteristics of Thai such as no verb conjugation and ellipsis of personal pronouns in some cases.)

1. *Stating the necessity/problem*

Thai: *P^{h}om [I] lose this file.*   *(Respondent # 5)*

English: *I'm lost my document.*   *(Respondent # 5)*

2. Stating the want

Thai: *P^hom [I] would like a copy of one document.*   *(Respondent # 9)*

English: *I want to find my friend.*   *(Respondent # 3)*

3. Checking availability (i.e., CCSARP used 'checking on feasibility')

Thai: *(You) have change, reu plao.*   *(Respondent # 7)*

English: *Do you have a coin?*   *(Respondent # 7)*

4. Asking of knowledge

Thai: *Warun [Hearer's name] can remember the time for the meeting today, reu*

                plao [can't you]   *(Respondent # 41)*

English: *My meeting report is lost. You know that file.*   *(Respondent # 10)*

5. Giving additional information

Thai: *...a friend of mine who wear a red shirt, kind of fat. (Respondent # 8)*

English: *He is fat and wear a red shirt.*   *(Respondent # 8)*

6. Referring to the previous/future event/act

Thai: *P^hee [you] go [past] to the restroom, chai mai [didn't you], k^hrub*

                                                                                       (Respondent # 20)

English: *I (will) have a meeting with you today.*   *(Respondent # 22)*

7. Signaling an upcoming request

Thai: *Look at this. (It's) water, na.*   *(Respondent # 26)*

English: *Can you help me.*   *(Respondent # 31)*

8. Stating the statement of 'kreng-jai' (i.e., "to be considerate, to feel reluctant to

impose upon another person, to take another person's feelings and 'ego' into account, or

to take every measure not to cause discomfort or inconvenience for another person",

Komin, 1990, p164)

Thai: *P^hom would like to rop-kuan [bother] you noi, k^hrub.*

<div align="right">*(Respondent # 30)*</div>

English: *I have to disturb you about the printing report. I lost it yesterday.*

<div align="right">*(Respondent # 17)*</div>

III. The Request Head Act refers to any utterance in a particular speech event that provokes the illocutionary force on the part of the addressee. One utterance may be perceived as functioning differently due to the presence/absence of its contingent part. Notably, in the instance, 'Do you know Winai? Can you tell me where he is?', the utterance 'Do you know Winai?' is considered as an introductory move because the addresser checks the addressee's knowledge prior to his actual request 'Can you tell me where he is?'. In this case, the two utterances are uttered without pause. There is no pause for a response to the first utterance because its primary function is intended to be a preliminary to the upcoming Request Head Act 'Can you tell me where he is?' rather than a question provoking an answer. Conversely, if the utterance 'Do you know Winai?' exists with no forthcoming requesting act like in the instance above, it is then perceived as a requestive hint in the Request Head Act which requires the illocutionary force on the part of the addressee; namely, to provide the requester with the necessary information regarding the person's location.

Moreover, one utterance may function differently if occurring in different orders in the similar speech event. For instance, if the utterance 'Do you have some coins?' occurs prior to the Request Head Act, it is perceived as an Introductory move. But if it

occurs afterwards, it is perceived as a Closing move. However, its strategic function remains the same; namely, checking availability of the addressee.

Since there are vast varieties of the requesting forms in both languages, there is a need to describe them separately in terms of languages. In addition, the results will not be skewed because the productions of both languages were done by the same L1 speakers. The examples of the Thai and English strategies by the respondents in this study are also provided in italics with their patterned forms in boldface. The Thai version was translated into English by retaining some major linguistic characteristics of Thai such as no verb conjugation and ellipsis of personal pronouns in some cases. The glossary of frequently found terms in the Thai language is provided below.

*(mai/reu plao = question markers; **dai mai** = tag question marker; **noi, noi na, na, si** = mitigating terms; **rop-kuan** = bother [formally showing concerns of the imposition on the addressee's part]; **waan** = less formal than 'rop-kuan'; **k^{h}rub** = a politeness ending marker for male speakers, parenthesis for ellipsis; square brackets for meaning or explanations)*

THAI REQUESTING FORMS:

The Thai requesting forms found in this study are displayed in the following categories along with examples:

(Patterns of forms are in boldface and italics are examples)

1. **Direct requests**

    1.1 *Want statements* (want/would like)

        Subj + would like+ N

        Ex. P^{h}om [I] *would like a copy of one document.*

1.2 *Imperatives*

Ex. Help wipe this out, noi.

1.3 *Obligation statement*

Pʰom [I] think (you) should 'help' + V

Ex. In a second or two, pʰom [I] think (you) should help mop the floor

here, noi na, kʰrub.

1.4 *Request statements*

(Subj) ask for + N

Ex. Pʰee [I] ask for an exchange for coins, noi.

(Subj) rop-kuan (you) + (help) +V

Ex. Pʰom [I] rop-kuan (you) help print this file, noi.

(Subj) (waan) help (please) + V

Pʰee [I] waan [infomal 'rop-kuan'] (you) work on the computer for pʰee

[me], *noi.*

(Subj) ask for permission to + V

Ex. (I) ask for permission to rop-kuan (you) pass the fish sauce to pʰom

[me], *noi, kʰrub.*

Give (me) permission to + V

Ex. Give (me) permission to have a change for the telephone, noi, kʰrub.

(Subj) ask (you) to + V

Ex. (I) ask (you) to print the file no.5, noi, ha [informal kʰrub] .

2. **Indirect requests**

2.1 *Hint statements/phrases*

Ex. Again.

2.2 *Questions*

2.2.1 Incomplete form of questions

Ex. *'What time.'* [What time is it] *or 'What?'* [What did you just

Say?]

2.2.2 Wh-questions

Subj + V + Q-word

Ex. *The restroom is which way.*

2.2.3 Statement + question markers

Equivalence of tag questions:

(Subj) ask for + N + dai mai

Ex. *P^h om* [I] *ask for some change for ten baht, noi, dai mai.*

(Subj) rop-kuan (you) + (help) +V + dai mai

Ex. *P^h ee* [I] *rop-kuan nong* [you] *help print another copy for p^h ee*

[me], *dai mai.*

(Subj) (waan) help (please) + V + dai mai

Ex. *Help please print this file in the computer, noi, dai mai.*

Imperative + dai mai

Ex. *Print another copy of the meeting report file for p^h om* [me], *dai*

mai, k^h rub.

Equivalence of yes-no questions:

Statement + mai/reu plao

Ex. You know Col.Chalit, mai.

2.2.4 Query preparatory

(You) know [formal] + mai/reu plao + subj + V + Q-word

(English equivalent: Do you know + Q-word + subj + V)

Ex. (You) know [formal] mai (that) pʰee Karn work at which

section.

(I) don't know [formal] + subj + V + Q-word (English

equivalent: I don't know + Q-word + subj + V)

Ex. (I) don't know [formal] Maj Karn work at which section, kʰrub.

(I) don't know [formal] + statement + mai/reu plao (English

equivalent: I don't know if...)

Ex. (I) don't know [formal] (if you) have coins mai.

2.2.5 Interrogative Hints

(You) know [formal] + N + mai/reu plao

Ex. Nong know Sittikorn, mai, kʰrub.

I would like to know + subj + V + mai/reu plao

Ex. Pʰee would like to know (that) nong [you] know..., mai.

(Note: Unlike English, Thai question markers such as Q-words, mai, reu plao, or dai mai

are always located at the end of the sentences.)

The English requesting forms found in this study are listed with examples as

follows:

(Note: ? = a rising intonation; and periods = a falling intonation)

ENGLISH REQUESTING FORMS:

1. Direct requests

    1.1 *Imperatives*

        Ex. Please clean the floor.

    1.2 *Want statement*

        Ex. I want you to print this file in the computer for me.

    1.3 *Obligation statement*

        Ex. You should be clean this floor right now.

2. Indirect requests

    2.1 *Statements*

        2.1.1 Conventional hint statements/phrases

            Ex. I beg your pardon.

        2.1.2 Hints

            Ex. Sauce, please.

        2.1.3 Query preparatory

            Ex. If you don't mind, please copy this printing report for me?

    2.2 *Questions*

        2.2.1 Conventional request questions or query preparatory

            Would/Could/Will/Can/May you/I…?

            Ex. Could you clean it up for me?

            Would/Could/Will you please…?

            Ex. Would you please change my dollar for the telephone.

Would/Do you mind + V?

Ex. Would you mind to tell me where the toilet is.

Would/Do you mind if ...?

Ex. Would you mind if I ask you for the printer for me?

Would you be kind to + V?

Ex. Would you be kind to tell me where he is right now?

I'm wondering...

Ex. I wondering that you could print...give me a new copy of

meeting report, please.

2.2.2 Statements with the rising intonation

Ex. You can do the dry floor?

2.2.3 Interrogatives (Yes-no questions and Wh-questions)

Ex. How can I go there.

2.2.4 Interrogative hints

Do you have time to + V?

Ex. Do you have..uh do you do have time to come and clean this

mess real quick.

I don't know/Do you know + Q-word + subj.+V/V+subj.

Ex. Do you know where the restroom is?

I would like to know Q-word + subj + V

Ex. I would like to know what time the conference begin.

IV. The Closing part (post-posed supportive moves) is the part that occurs last in the requestive pattern. Not all requesting acts include this part. It is dependent on cultural backgrounds and individual characteristics of the addressers. The Closing moves found in the Closing part of this study include 8 strategies as follows: (The examples of the Thai and English strategies by the respondents in this study are also provided in italics. The Thai version was translated into English by retaining some major linguistic characteristics of Thai such as no verb conjugation and ellipsis of personal pronouns in some cases.)

1. *Stating the necessity/problem*

Thai:	*P*ʰ*ee* [I] *lose* (it), *na, khrub.*	*(Respondent # 50)*
English:	*I have to use the public telephone.*	*(Respondent # 38)*

2. *Confirming the want*

Thai:	(I) *need* (it) *for the meeting. Print... print* (it) *out.*	*(Respondent # 37)*
English:	*I would like to use it as uh...for the meeting.*	*(Respondent # 34)*

3. *Restating the request*

Thai:	What time (is it), khrub, now. *Help speak again.*	*(Respondent # 31)*
English:	Pardon. *Say please say the time again, please.*	*(Respondent # 31)*

4. *Asking of knowledge*

Thai:	(You) *know* (the meeting time), *mai, khrub.*	*(Respondent # 37)*
English:	Could you tell me where he is. *Do you know him?*	*(Respondent # 19)*

5. *Checking availability*

Thai:	*P*ʰ*ee* [You] *happen to have some* (coins), *mai.*	*(Respondent # 15)*
English:	*Do you have a change for a quarter?*	*(Respondent # 18)*

6. *Giving additional information*

Thai: (I) don't know if kʰun lung [uncle - you] possibly know (my friend), mai,

khrub. *Kʰun Narong, khrub.* (He) *is about my age, khrub.*

(Respondent # 19)

English: *He's my friend. He's staying here.*   *(Respondent # 4)*

7. *Thanking*

Thai: *Thank you, kʰrub.*   *(Respondent # 28)*

English: *Thank you.*   *(Respondent # 28)*

8. *Showing concern* (for others)

Thai: (You) *can do this yourself, mai. Get someone to help* (you).

(Respondent # 12)

English: None

The following sections discuss the results of the quantitative data. The strategies

found in each part of the requestive pattern in both languages are discussed in

comparison. Each part of the pattern is discussed separately.

**4.2 Analysis of strategies in the requestive pattern elicited by the Thai respondents
in all of the eight requesting contexts studied**

Each requesting context consists of two scenarios in which the age of the

addressees is signified: the younger or the older (see the description of each requesting

context in 3.3 in Chapter 3 and Appendix One).

4.2.1 Strategies in the Attention Getting part

According to Tables 1.1 and 1.2, the most frequently used strategy in this part in

the Thai data was 'addressing by kin terms' in all of the 16 scenarios in the 8 requesting

Table 1.1 Use of strategies in the Attention Getting part in the THAI responses in each scenario studied

S	Colleague-1 (male) n=106		Colleague-2 (male) n=117		Colleague-3 (male) n=123		Clerk-1 (male) n=128		Clerk-2 (male) n=122		Janitor (male) n=117		Stranger (male) n=125		Stranger (female) n=137		Total n=975	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
AT	0 *0.00*	1 *0.94*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	1 *0.81*	3 *2.34*	0 *0.00*	2 *1.64*	1 *0.82*	7 *5.98*	1 *0.85*	0 *0.00*	2 *1.60*	2 *1.46*	0 *0.00*	14 *1.44*	6 *0.62*
KI	**15** *14.15*	**34** *32.08*	**33** *28.21*	**45** *38.46*	**31** *25.20*	**45** *36.59*	15 *11.72*	**41** *32.03*	**19** *15.57*	**42** *34.43*	**34** *29.06*	**46** *39.32*	14 *11.20*	14 *11.20*	**28** *20.44*	26 *18.98*	**189** *19.38*	**293** *30.05*
NA	6 *5.66*	10 *9.43*	7 *5.98*	10 *8.55*	9 *7.32*	10 *8.13*	**22** *17.19*	16 *12.50*	16 *13.11*	15 *12.30*	5 *4.27*	5 *4.27*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	66 *6.77*	65 *6.67*
TN	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	1 *0.78*	5 *3.91*	0 *0.00*	4 *3.28*	1 *0.85*	6 *5.13*	0 *0.00*	5 *4.00*	0 *0.00*	18 *13.14*	2 *0.21*	38 *3.90*
EX	11 *10.38*	24 *22.64*	5 *4.27*	13 *11.11*	3 *2.44*	17 *13.82*	7 *5.47*	16 *12.50*	8 *6.56*	13 *10.66*	0 *0.00*	3 *2.56*	**40** *32.00*	**39** *31.20*	27 *19.71*	**32** *23.36*	101 *10.36*	157 *16.10*
GR	1 *0.94*	0 *0.00*	1 *0.85*	0 *0.00*	3 *2.44*	0 *0.00*	2 *1.56*	0 *0.00*	2 *1.64*	0 *0.00*	9 *7.69*	1 *0.85*	4 *3.20*	4 *3.20*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	23 *2.36*	5 *0.51*
PE	0 *0.00*	4 *3.77*	0 *0.00*	2 *1.71*	0 *0.00*	4 *3.25*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	0 *0.00*	3 *2.40*	3 *2.19*	3 *2.19*	3 *0.31*	16 *1.64*

S = Strategies, AT = Addressing by address terms, KI = Addressing by kin terms, NA = Addressing by names, TN = Addressing by title nouns, EX=Excusing, GR=Greeting, PE=Asking for permission; Y=younger addressees; O=older addressees; boldface=the highest frequency; italics=percentage

Table 1.2 Highest frequency of the use of strategies in the Attention Getting part in the THAI responses in each scenario studied [%]

	Colleague 1 (male) n=106		Colleague 2 (male) n=117		Colleague 3 (male) n=123		Clerk 1 (male) n=128		Clerk 2 (male) n=122		Janitor (male) n=117		Stranger (male) n=125		Stranger (female) n=137	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
	15 [14.15] KI	34 [32.08] KI	33 [28.21] KI	45 [38.46] KI	31 [25.20] KI	45 [36.59] KI	22 [17.19] NA	41 [32.03] KI	19 [15.57] KI	42 [34.43] KI	34 [29.06] KI	46 [39.32] KI	40 [32.00] EX	39 [31.20] EX	28 [20.44] KI	32 [23.36] EX

contexts studied, except for both age groups in the Male Stranger context, the older

Female Stranger scenario, and the younger Clerk-1 scenario. Rather, 'excusing' was the

strategy most frequently used in all of the Stranger contexts except for the younger

Female Stranger scenario; and 'addressing by names' was most frequently used in the

younger Clerk-1 scenario. However, in all of the scenarios where 'addressing by kin

terms' did not have the highest frequency of use, it was the choice next to the most

frequent one. To point out, there is a relationship between 'addressing by kin terms' and

by names. In many cases, the kin terms were used in conjunction with the names (i.e.,

mostly nicknames due to the design of most contexts in which social distance was kept

low) especially in the case of the older group; the older interlocutors' names will never be

addressed without a kin term or a title (e.g., 'khun' as equivalent to Mr., Mrs., or Ms. in

English). The casual property of 'addressing by (nick) names' makes it less proper for

showing respect to those who are more senior in age in the Thai hierarchical society.

Thus, it is not unusual that the respondents most frequently used names or nicknames to

address the younger subordinates in the Clerk-1 context because there is less pressure to

show respect toward the younger. In this instance, the frequency of the choice for

'addressing by (nick) names' in the younger group was 17.19% whereas 'addressing by

kin terms', the next top strategy was used 11.72%, which is quite high (the highest

frequency shows only 7 points different from the first top strategy). Thus, overall

'addressing by kin terms' proved popular in the Clerk-1 context as well. In the case of

strangers, it is no surprise that the respondents addressed their interlocutors less with kin

terms than in the other contexts. Nevertheless, the use of kin terms in the Stranger

contexts was witnessed. Particularly, the frequency of its use in the Female Stranger

context was quite high. The frequency of its use in the younger Female Stranger scenario was 20.44%, which was the top strategy; and was 18.98%, which was the second top strategy in the older scenario (the first top strategy), 'excusing', was used 23.36% within this particular context. Still, the percentage shows its high frequency of the choice for 'addressing by kin terms' in both age groups in the Female Stranger context. All in all, 'addressing by kin terms' seems to be the most popular among all, regardless of social status, familiarity, or the age of the addressees. However, in Table 1.1, the totals show that the frequency of its use is much more consistent with the older group (30.05%) than the younger group (19.38%). Likewise, 'excusing', the next top strategy, was used with the older group 5.74% more than the younger group. Moreover, Thai kin terms by nature consist of specific terms for particular age groups (see discussion of Thai pronouns in 2.7.1). Its usage in addressing certainly works toward the same direction. To conclude, the choice of the two top strategies and their frequency of use in the Thai requestive pattern do support the claim that the choice of politeness strategies in the Thai language is age sensitive (see also the percentage of the totals in Table 1.1).

The English data reveal a totally opposite result. Kin terms were almost never used to address the interlocutors except for only one special case in the Janitor context where Respondent # 30 addressed to an older janitor by a kin term 'uncle' (see Table 1.3). This might be a result of a slip of the tongue. Table 1.4 shows that in all 16 scenarios, 'excusing' was the most popular and most common of all. In addition, the totals in Table 1.3 show the tendency of its use toward the older group (34.78%) over the younger group (22.53%) even though in the Male Stranger context, the frequency of use moved toward the younger group, but only 1.43% different. Again, the frequency

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Table 1.3 Use of strategies in the Attention Getting Part in the ENGLISH responses in each scenario studied

S	Colleague-1 (male) n=84 Y	O	Colleague-2 (male) n=95 Y	O	Colleague-3 (male) n=109 Y	O	Clerk-1 (male) n=88 Y	O	Clerk-2 (male) n=78 Y	O	Janitor (male) n=59 Y	O	Stranger (male) n=140 Y	O	Stranger (female) n=106 Y	O	Total n=759 Y	O
A/T	4 (4.76)	20 (23.81)	8 (8.42)	29 (30.53)	7 (6.42)	37 (33.94)	5 (5.68)	12 (13.64)	2 (2.56)	13 (16.67)	8 (13.56)	7 (11.86)	12 (8.57)	31 (22.14)	7 (6.60)	29 (27.36)	53 (6.98)	178 (23.45)
K/I	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.69)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.13)
N/A	4 (4.76)	2 (2.38)	7 (7.37)	2 (2.11)	7 (6.42)	1 (0.92)	10 (11.36)	10 (11.36)	9 (11.54)	7 (8.97)	3 (5.08)	5 (8.47)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	40 (5.27)	27 (3.56)
T/N	0 (0.00)	1 (1.19)	1 (1.05)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.92)	3 (3.41)	3 (3.41)	0 (0.00)	1 (1.28)	1 (1.69)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (0.66)	6 (0.79)
E/X	21 (25.00)	31 (36.90)	16 (16.84)	30 (31.58)	16 (14.68)	39 (35.78)	17 (19.32)	26 (29.55)	17 (21.79)	29 (37.18)	10 (16.95)	21 (35.59)	47 (33.57)	45 (32.14)	27 (25.47)	43 (40.57)	171 (22.53)	264 (34.78)
G/R	1 (1.19)	0 (0.00)	2 (2.11)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.92)	0 (0.00)	2 (2.27)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (3.39)	0 (0.00)	3 (2.14)	2 (1.43)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	11 (1.45)	3 (0.40)
P/E	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)

S = Strategies; AT = Addressing by address terms; KI = Addressing by kin terms; NA = Addressing by names; TN = Addressing by title nouns; EX = Excusing; GR = Greeting; PE = Asking for permission; bolded numbers = the highest frequency; italics = percentage of frequency;

Table 1.4 Highest frequency of the use of strategies in the Attention Getting part in the English responses in each scenario [%]

	Colleague 1 (male) n=84 Y	O	Colleague 2 (male) n=95 Y	O	Colleague 3 (male) n=109 Y	O	Clerk 1 (male) n=88 Y	O	Clerk 2 (male) n=78 Y	O	Janitor (male) n=59 Y	O	Stranger (male) n=140 Y	O	Stranger (female) n=106 Y	O
	21 [25.00] EX	31 [36.90] EX	16 [16.84] EX	30 [31.58] EX	16 [14.68] EX	39 [35.78] EX	17 [19.32] EX	26 [29.55] EX	17 [21.79] EX	29 [37.18] EX	10 [16.95] EX	21 [35.59] EX	47 [33.57] EX	45 [32.14] EX	27 [25.47] EX	43 [40.57] EX

of use shows that the choice of 'excusing', the top strategy used in the English Attention Getting part was age sensitive as well.

Unlike the Thai data, 'addressing by address terms' was most frequently used next to 'excusing' in most of the scenarios except in both age groups in the Clerk-1 context and the younger Clerk-2 scenario. The frequency of use of address terms in the English data was higher than in the Thai data. The total of use in both age groups in the Thai data is 20 whereas the total in the English data is 231. The most common English address term used in this study is 'sir'. The address terms in the Thai data were not used at all in most of the Colleague contexts except for one occurrence in the older Colleague-1 scenario and another one in the older Colleague-3 scenario. Likewise, they were not used at all in the older Clerk-1 scenario, in the younger Male Stranger scenario, and in the older Female Stranger scenario (see Table 1.1). The totals in Table 1.1 show that the frequency of the use of address terms in the Thai data was higher toward the younger group. Though the total frequency shows that using address terms is not very common in the Thai data, its use is found more frequently with the younger group. One legitimate explanation for this phenomenon is that the Thai address terms used with the younger group are those whose usage is specified for casual use with people of much younger age and of lower social/work status than the speakers. Such address terms are 'num' (i.e., 'kid' or 'son') for males and 'nuu' (i.e., young girl) for females. The address terms used in the Thai data are more casual than those in the English data. The extensive use of kin terms in Thai and the extensive use of formal address terms in English reflect that these L2 learners are more cautious and formal when interacting in a foreign language than in their native tongue with which they feel more familiar.

In the English data, the use of the address terms in addressing shows an orientation toward the older group over the younger group in almost all of the contexts except in the Janitor context where the frequency in the older group was only one different from the younger group (see Table 1.3).

In addition, the much lower popularity of the use of address terms in the Thai data than in the English data and the high popularity of the use of kin terms in Thai reflects Wichatrong(1997)'s suggestions in his work, "How to express politeness in Thai" about one of the four basic values which affect the language use in the Thai language (see the discussion in 2.7, item # 2). According to Wichatrong, the use of kin terms with even unrelated people is a foundation rule. Therefore, the preferred choice for the kin terms with unrelated persons to express their politeness over the address terms in the Thai data is not unexpected. Because of their awareness through formal instructions and personal observations, there is no excessive use of kin terms as personal pronouns among related or unrelated people in English (though such usage can be observed in the caretaker speech; namely, a father talking to a baby, "Give it to daddy."). To compensate for the absence of kin terms, their next choice would be 'excusing', which is also the second popular strategy to the use of kin terms in the Thai data. In the interview data, Respondent # 42 says in his own words, "I am afraid to use kin terms with 'farangs' (a term for Westerners originated from the word 'France', one of the very first Western empires that entered Thailand) because that might offend them since they are not actually related to me." He adds, 'With farangs, there is always a distance." Respondent # 29 also suggested, "We can never be like farangs. We look different. They do not expect us (nonnative speakers) to talk like them (native speakers). It is hard to reach the level of

closeness in the relationship due to language barriers." He also added, "I never dare to use impoliteness because we are nonnative speakers. Native speakers use impoliteness to convey the meaning of closeness. But if we nonnative speakers use it, it might mean 'true' impoliteness." The above excerpts also reveal what lies behind their careful speech in a foreign language.

To conclude, the frequency of the top strategy used in the Thai data (e.g., 'addressing by kin terms') and the frequency of both top strategies (e.g., 'excusing' and 'addressing by address terms') used in the English data both show evidence of an age effect (especially on the addressee part) in the choice of strategies by the Thai respondents to get attention in request making. This supports the claim that while using the L2 forms, the Thai learners of English as an L2 differentiate their speech by the age difference of the addressees through the frequency of their use of those strategies in the Attention Getting part as they do in their L1. This also suggests that there is a pragmatic transfer in terms of the maintenance of the L1 disciplines in their interlanguage pragmatics. Obviously, there is evidence for learning/acquisition through the use of strategies in addressing; for instance, their choice for the top strategy, 'excusing' for attention getting. Moreover, 'excusing' is often accompanied by the address terms 'sir' for older male addressees by most respondents or 'ma'am'/'madam' for older female addressees by some respondents. As a matter of fact, the age effects through the preferred use of the address terms 'sir' or 'ma'am'/'madam' for older people are discussed in detail in 4.3.2.4. So is the creative use of the address term 'sir' to convey solely the politeness meaning regardless of its gender-based property or its use with those of higher work status such as officers rather than non-commissioned officers in the military.

4.2.2 Strategies in the Introductory part

According to the total percentage in Tables 2.1 and 2.3 and the highest frequency in Tables 2.2 and 2.4, the strategy 'stating the necessity/problem' was the most frequently used in most scenarios studied in both languages. Namely, in the Thai data, the strategy was most frequently used in 4 contexts with both age groups: in the Colleague-1, the Colleague-3, the Clerk-1, and the Janitor contexts. In the English data, the strategy was most frequently used in 9 scenarios within 5 contexts. It was used with both age groups in the Colleague-1, the Colleague-3, the Clerk-1, and the Janitor contexts, and in the younger Colleague-2 scenario. The total percentage in Tables 2.1 and 2.3 shows that the frequency of use of this strategy in both languages is greater toward the older groups. In the Thai data, it was used 19.5% with the older group and 18.7% with the younger group; and in the English data, 22.03% with the older group and 18.06% with the younger group. The next frequently used strategies in the Thai data are 'stating the want' and 'giving additional information' respectively. Again, the frequency of use of these two strategies has an orientation toward the older group. The strategy 'stating the want' was used 8.2% with the older group and 7.4% with the younger group. Likewise, the strategy 'giving additional information' was used 5.8% with the older group and 5.5% with the younger group. Like the Thai data, the next frequently used strategies in the English data are 'stating the want' and 'giving additional information' respectively. Likewise, the frequency of use for the strategy 'stating the want' has a tendency toward the older group. It was used 18.94% with the older group and 12.78% with the younger group whereas the

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Table 2.1 Frequency of use of strategies in the Introductory part in the THAI responses in each scenario studied

S	Colleague 1 (male) n=33		Colleague 2 (male) n=17		Colleague 3 (male) n=33		Clerk 1 (male) n=91		Clerk 2 (male) n=47		Janitor (male) n=71		Stranger (male) n=69		Stranger (female) n=3		Total n=364	
	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %
NE	**8** / 24.2	**15** / 45.5	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	**7** / 21.2	**7** / 21.2	**19** / 20.9	**18** / 19.8	3 / 6.4	5 / 10.6	**29** / 40.8	**21** / 29.6	2 / 2.9	4 / 5.8	0 / 0.0	1 / 33.3	68 / 18.7	71 / 19.5
WA	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	8 / 8.8	8 / 8.8	1 / 2.1	2 / 4.3	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	**18** / 26.1	**19** / 27.5	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	27 / 7.4	30 / 8.2
CA	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	3 / 3.3	3 / 3.3	**13** / 27.7	**12** / 25.5	1 / 1.4	4 / 5.6	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	17 / 4.7	19 / 5.2
KN	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	2 / 11.8	**3** / 17.6	4 / 12.1	2 / 6.1	2 / 2.2	2 / 2.2	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	4 / 5.8	4 / 5.8	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	12 / 3.3	11 / 3.0
AI	0 / 0.0	2 / 6.1	3 / 17.6	0 / 0.0	3 / 9.1	3 / 9.1	8 / 8.8	8 / 8.8	3 / 6.4	4 / 8.5	3 / 4.2	3 / 4.3	0 / 0.0	1 / 1.4	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	20 / 5.5	21 / 5.8
PF	4 / 12.1	3 / 9.1	**5** / 29.4	0 / 0.0	1 / 3.0	0 / 0.0	4 / 4.4	2 / 2.2	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	2 / 2.8	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	14 / 3.8	7 / 1.9
UP	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	2 / 6.1	2 / 6.1	2 / 2.2	1 / 1.1	2 / 4.3	1 / 2.1	5 / 7.2	2 / 2.8	2 / 2.9	4 / 5.8	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	13 / 3.6	10 / 2.7
KR	0 / 0.0	1 / 3.0	1 / 5.9	1 / 5.9	0 / 0.0	2 / 6.1	3 / 3.3	5 / 5.5	0 / 0.0	2 / 4.3	1 / 1.4	4 / 5.8	2 / 2.9	0 / 0.0	0 / 0.0	**2** / 66.7	7 / 1.9	17 / 4.7

S = Strategies; NE = Stating the necessity/problem; WA = Stating the want; CA = Checking availability; KN = Asking of knowledge; AI = Giving additional information; PF = Referring to the previous/future event/act; UP = Signaling an upcoming request; KR = Stating the statement of 'kreng-jai'; *italics = percentage of frequency*; **bolded numbers = the highest frequency**

Table 2.2 Highest frequency of the use of strategies in the Introductory part in the THAI responses in each scenario studied [%]

	Colleague 1 (male) n=33		Colleague 2 (male) n=17		Colleague 3 (male) n=33		Clerk 1 (male) n=91		Clerk 2 (male) n=47		Janitor (male) n=71		Stranger (male) n=69		Stranger (female) n=3	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
	8	15	5	3	7	7	19	18	13	12	29	21	18	19	0	2
	[24.24]	[45.45]	[29.41]	[17.65]	[21.21]	[21.21]	[20.88]	[19.78]	[27.66]	[25.53]	[40.85]	[29.58]	[26.09]	[27.54]	[0.00]	[66.67]
	NE	NE	PF	KN	NE	NE	NE	NE	CA	CA	NE	NE	WA	WA		KR

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Table 2.3 Frequency of the use of strategies in the Introductory part in the ENGLISH responses in each scenario studied

S	Colleague 1 (male) n=8		Colleague 2 (male) n=11		Colleague 3 (male) n=24		Clerk 1 (male) n=52		Clerk 2 (male) n=44		Janitor (male) n=31		Stranger (male) n=53		Stranger (female) n=4		Total n=227	
	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %	Y / %	O / %
NE	1 / 12.50	5 / 62.50	1 / 9.09	3 / 27.27	6 / 25.00	9 / 37.50	14 / 26.92	12 / 23.08	3 / 6.82	5 / 11.36	14 / 45.16	14 / 45.16	2 / 3.77	2 / 3.77	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	41 / 18.06	50 / 22.03
WA	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 9.09	4 / 36.36	1 / 4.17	0 / 0.00	6 / 11.54	7 / 13.46	4 / 9.09	6 / 13.64	0 / 0.00	1 / 3.23	18 / 33.96	21 / 39.62	0 / 0.00	3 / 75.00	29 / 12.78	43 / 18.94
CA	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 4.17	0 / 0.00	1 / 1.92	8 / 18.18	5 / 11.36	0 / 0.00	2 / 6.45	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	8 / 3.52	9 / 3.96
KN	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 1.92	1 / 1.92	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 1.89	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 0.44	2 / 0.88
AI	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	2 / 8.33	1 / 4.17	1 / 1.92	4 / 7.69	6 / 13.64	4 / 9.09	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	3 / 5.66	3 / 5.66	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	12 / 5.29	12 / 5.29
PF	1 / 12.50	1 / 12.50	1 / 9.09	0 / 0.00	1 / 4.17	2 / 8.33	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	3 / 6.82	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 1.89	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	3 / 1.32	7 / 3.08
UP	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 4.17	2 / 8.33	1 / 1.92	2 / 3.85	0 / 0.00	3 / 6.82	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 25.00	3 / 1.32	8 / 3.52
KR	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	2 / 3.85	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	2 / 3.77	2 / 3.77	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	2 / 0.88	4 / 1.76

S = Strategies, NE = Stating the necessity/problem, WA = Stating the want, CA = Checking availability, AI = Giving additional information, PF = Referring to the previous/future event/act, UP = Signaling an upcoming request, KR = Stating the statement of 'kreng-jai', KN = Asking of knowledge. bolded numbers = the highest frequency, italics = percentage of frequency

Table 2.4 Highest frequency of use of strategies in the Introductory part in the ENGLISH responses in each scenario studied [%]

	Colleague-1 (male) n=8		Colleague-2 (male) n=11		Colleague-3 (male) n=24		Clerk-1 (male) n=52		Clerk-2 (male) n=44		Janitor (male) n=31		Stranger (male) n=53		Stranger (female) n=4	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
	1 [12.50] NE, PF	5 [62.50] NE	1 [9.09] NE, WA, PF	4 [36.36] WA	6 [25.00] NE	9 [37.50] NE	14 [26.92] NE	12 [23.08] NE	8 [18.18] CA	6 [13.64] WA	14 [45.16] NE	14 [45.16] NE	18 [33.96] WA	21 [39.62] WA	0 [0.00]	3 [75.00] WA

frequency of use for the strategy 'giving additional information' are tied between both age groups, namely, 5.29%. In considering all of the Introductory strategies used in this study, five out of eight strategies in the Thai data and six out of eight strategies in the English data are used more with the older group (see the total frequency in Tables 2.1 and 2.3).

On average, the frequency of use of the top strategies in the Introductory part in both languages does support the effects of the age difference over the choice of those strategies. The choice of the top strategies shared in both languages does reflect the influence of their L1 pragmatic behaviors. What they do in their native language, they do in the target language as well. Though different linguistically, their patterns of performance in both languages is similar pragmatically. In this case, pragmatic transfer seemingly outdoes linguistic transfer. The total counts of all the Introductory strategies used by all the respondents (in Tables 2.1 and 2.3) suggest that these Thai respondents made use of the Introductory strategies prior to the Request Head Act a lot more in their native language performance (364) than in their performance of the target language (227). It is legitimate to say that the L2 learners feel more confident and are more efficient in the use of their native language than that of the TL. At the pragmatic level, the evidence of learning/acquisition in their ILP is not obvious since they relied heavily on their L1 pragmatics for this particular move in the requestive pattern and so is the evidence for creativity.

4.2.3 Strategies in the Request Head Act part

4.2.3.1 The Thai requesting forms

The data from the Thai responses reveal 24 different requesting forms used in the

Table 3.1 The Thai requesting forms by numerical numbers

DIRECT REQUESTS

Want statements (want/would like)
1. Subj + would like (you) to 'help' + V

Imperatives
2. Imperative + noi/si

Obligation statements
3. Phom [I] think (you) should 'help' + V

Request statements
4. (Subj) ask for + N
5. (Subj) rop-kuan (you) + (help) +V
6. (You) help + V
7. (You) help please + V
8. (Subj) waan (you) + help + V
9. (Subj) ask for permission to + V
10. (Subj) ask (you) to + V
11. Give (me) permission to + V

INDIRECT REQUESTS

12. Hint statements/phrases (e.g., Again.)

Wh-questions
13. Incomplete form of questions (e.g., 'What time.' and 'What?')
14. Subj + V + Q-word

Statement + question markers
(tag questions)
15. (Subj) ask for + N + dai mai
16. (Subj) rop0kuan (you) + (help) +V + dai mai
17. (Subj) (waan) (you) help (please) + V + dai mai
18. Imperative + dai mai
(Yes-no questions)
19. Statement + Q-markers (e.g., mai/reu plao)

Query preparatory
20. (You) know [formal] + Q-markers (e.g., mai/reu plao) + subj + V + Q-word
21. (I) don't know [formal] + subj + V + Q-word
22. (I) don't know [formal] + statement + Q-markers (e.g., mai/reu plao)

Interrogative Hints
23. (You) know [formal] + N + Q-markers (e.g., mai/reu plao)
24. I would like to know + subj + V + Q-markers (e.g., mai/reu plao)

Table 3.2 The Thai requesting forms most frequently used in each scenario and their frequency in the other scenarios

T R F #	Colleague 1 (male) n=62		Colleague 2 (male) n=87		Colleague 3 (male) n=84		Clerk 1 (male) n=75		Clerk 2 (male) n=83		Janitor (male) n=71		Stranger (male) n=76		Stranger (female) n=76		Total n=614	
	Y %	O %	Y %	O %	Y %	O %	Y %	O %	Y %	O %	Y %	O %	Y %	O %	Y %	O %	Y %	O %
4	1 / 1.61	1 / 1.61	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 1.33	1 / 1.33	**21** / 25.30	**24** / 28.92	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	5 / 6.58	3 / 3.95	28 / 4.56	29 / 4.72
5	3 / 4.84		0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	8 / 10.67	16 / 21.33	2 / 2.41	4 / 4.82	6 / 8.45	9 / 12.68	0 / 0.00	2 / 2.63	12 / 15.79	**17** / 22.37	29 / 4.72	51 / 8.31
6	4 / 6.45	5 / 8.06	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 1.19	0 / 0.00	**24** / 32.00	**24** / 32.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 1.20	**25** / 35.21	**30** / 42.25	1 / 1.32	0 / 0.00	**25** / 32.89	13 / 17.11	80 / 13.03	73 / 11.89
3	**20** / 32.26	7 / 11.29	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	4 / 4.76	1 / 1.19	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	24 / 3.91	8 / 1.30
1	5 / 8.06	**8** / 12.90	**39** / 44.83	**26** / 29.89	**27** / 32.14	16 / 19.05	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	2 / 2.63	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	71 / 11.56	52 / 8.47
4	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	2 / 2.38	2 / 2.38	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	16 / 19.28	6 / 7.23	1 / 1.41	0 / 0.00	**17** / 22.37	17 / 22.37	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	35 / 5.70	18 / 2.93
9	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	2 / 2.38	2 / 2.38	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00		
2	0 / 0.00	7 / 11.29	7 / 8.05	14 / 16.09	9 / 10.71	22 / 26.19	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	5 / 6.02	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	7 / 9.21	14 / 18.42	0 / 0.00	**19** / 25.00	23 / 3.75	48 / 7.82
1			22 /															
2			14 / 16.09										14 / 18.42	**19** / 25.00				
2	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 1.15	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 1.33	0 / 0.00	4 / 4.82	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	0 / 0.00	1 / 1.32	0 / 0.00	20 / 3.26	25 / 4.07

TRF # = Numerical numbers of the Thai requesting forms (see Table 3.1); bolded numbers = the highest frequency of the Thai requesting forms used in each scenario, the italics = percentage of frequency)

Table 3.3 Highest frequency of use of the Thai requesting forms [%]

	Colleague 1 (male) n=62		Colleague 2 (male) n=87		Colleague 3 (male) n=84		Clerk 1 (male) n=75		Clerk 2 (male) n=83		Janitor (male) n=71		Stranger (male) n=76		Stranger (female) n=76	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
%	20 [32.26]	8 [12.90]	39 [44.83]	26 [29.89]	27 [32.14]	22 [26.19]	24 [32.00]	24 [32.00]	21 [25.30]	24 [28.92]	25 [35.21]	30 [42.25]	17 [22.37]	19 [25.00]	25 [32.89]	17 [22.37]
	(# 13)	(# 14)	(# 14)	(# 14)	(# 14)	(# 21)	(# 6)	(# 6)	(# 4)	(# 4)	(# 6)	(# 6)	(# 19)	(# 22)	(# 6)	(# 5)

(# = Numerical number of Thai requesting forms as listed in Table 3.1)

sixteen scenarios within the eight requesting contexts (see Table 3.1). They are categorized into two major groups according to their (in)directness. The group of direct requests consists of 11 requesting forms which are in statement form whereas the group of indirect requests consists of 13 requesting forms all of which are in question form with one exception for hints (see also Table 3.1).

According to Tables 3.2 and 3.3, of all the eight most frequently used requesting forms in all of the eight requesting contexts, the requesting form # 6 {(You) help + V)} was most frequently used within the two Subordinate contexts (i.e., the Clerk-1 and the Janitor ones) regardless of the age difference of the addressees, and within the younger Female Stranger scenario. The second frequently used form was the # 14 requesting form (i.e., Subj + V + Q-word) which was commonly used within all of the three Colleague contexts. Though the # 14 requesting form is not the most frequent one in two Colleague scenarios (the Colleague-1 and the Colleague-3), it is the next most frequent one in both scenarios. A simple explanation for this is that the # 13 requesting form, the most frequently used in the younger Colleague-1 scenario (i.e., asking a younger colleague to repeat the time) is the incomplete/casual version of the # 14 requesting form, and the # 21 requesting form, the most frequently used in the older Colleague-3 scenario (i.e., asking an older colleague to tell the meeting time), is the formal version of the # 14 requesting form. The alternative forms they chose are both relevant to the top requesting form used elsewhere in all the Colleague contexts.

(Note: Numbers in parentheses below are ordinal numbers of examples displayed throughout the discussion. Within each example of the requestive patterns typed in

boldface & italics, words in parentheses are ellipsis and words in square brackets are

explanations. The underlined are requesting forms)

Respondent # 32:

(in the Colleague-1 scenario- asking a <u>younger</u> colleague to repeat the time)

(1) - the # 13 requesting form

<u>***What time***</u> (is it), ***na***

(I) ***don't hear*** (you) ***at all***

Respondent # 38:

(in the Colleague-3 scenario - asking a <u>younger</u> colleague to tell the meeting time)

(2) - the # 14 requesting form

Er...nong [addressing to a pseudo-younger brother].

Today, <u>***the meeting*** (starts*)* ***at what time***</u>*.*

(You) ***know, mai*** [a Q-marker], ***kʰrub*** [a politeness marker for male speakers].

Respondent # 39:

(in the Colleague-3 scenario - asking an <u>older</u> colleague to tell the meeting time)

(3) - the # 21 requesting form

Pʰee [addressing to a pseudo-older brother], *kʰrub.*

<u>(I) ***don't know*** [formal] ***the meeting*** (starts) ***at what time,*** *ha*</u> [a less formal

politeness marker for male speakers].

Pʰom ['I' for a male speaker] *forget* (it), *ha.*

To note, in both Colleague scenarios mentioned earlier, where the # 14 requesting form is

not the most popular, the form is the second most frequently used, however. The

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percentage of its use in the older Colleague-3 scenario is only 7.14% away from the most popular one (the # 21 requesting form) in the same scenario (see Table 3.2).

To conclude here, the # 14 requesting form is commonly used with interlocutors of equal social/work status (colleagues) to the respondents regardless of the age difference whereas the # 6 requesting form is commonly used with those of lower social/work status (subordinates) than the respondents, except for the Clerk-2 context (i.e., asking a clerk for some change for the telephone). In the Clerk-2 context, the # 4 requesting form (i.e., Subj + ask for + N) was then most frequently used by both age groups because the intended illocutionary act did not require an effort on the part of the addressee to perform any action. Rather, it is a request for an object of minimal cost, rather than an action.

Respondent # 25:

(in the Clerk-2 scenario - asking a <u>younger</u> clerk for some change)

(4) - the # 4 requesting form

Nong.

(You) *have coins, mai.*

Pʰee [I] *ask for an exchange for the telephone, noi* [a mitigating term = a little bit].

The next frequency to the # 4 requesting form in the Clerk-2 context was the # 19 requesting form {i.e., statement + Q-markers (e.g., mai/reu plao) as equivalent to yes-no questions in English} which is one of the indirect strategies used in this study (see also Table 3.1). 'Checking availability' was commonly used to perform this request as seen in the following instance.

Respondent # 27:

(in the Clerk-2 scenario - asking an <u>older</u> clerk for some change)

(5) - the # 19 requesting form

Excuse me, kʰrub.

<u>(You) *have small coins for an exchange, mai,* kʰrub.</u>

Within the Female Stranger contexts, the # 6 requesting form {(Subj) Help + V} was most frequently used in the younger Female Stranger scenario whereas the # 5 requesting form, the formal version of the # 6 requesting form, {i.e., (Subj) rop-kuan (you) + (help) + V} was most frequently used in the older Female Stranger scenario. However, the percentage shows that the # 6 requesting form (17.11%) was frequently used in the older Female Stranger next to the # 5 requesting form (22.37%). Its frequency is only 5.26% different from the most popular form in the same scenario. Thus, it is justified to say that the # 6 requesting form was commonly used within the Female Stranger context, regardless of age difference.

To conclude, of all the most popular requesting forms in all eight contexts (16 scenarios) as listed in Table 3.2, the # 6 requesting form was the most frequently used in 5 scenarios within 3 requesting contexts and ranks in the second place in the older Female Stranger scenario. Further, the total percentage also shows that the # 6 requesting form was most frequently used with each age group (13.03% with the younger group and 11.89% with the older group). The total percentage shows that the frequency of use of this form in the younger group outdoes that in the older group. All in all, the # 14 requesting form (Subj + V + Q-word) is the second most frequently used form. Its popularity ranks in the first place in 4 scenarios within all three Colleague contexts and in

the second place in two scenarios in different Colleague contexts and in different age groups. The total frequency shows that the frequency of use of this form with the younger group (11.56%) also outdoes that of the older group (8.47%).

It is interesting that though these two requesting forms were most frequently used in several contexts studied, they were not used at all in some scenarios. That is, the # 6 requesting form was not used at all in the Colleague-2 context, the older Colleague-3 scenario, the younger Clerk-2 scenario, and the older Male Stranger scenario whereas the # 14 requesting form was not used at all in all three Subordinate contexts and the Female Stranger context. There is not enough information available for an explanation of this phenomenon. However, there is another interesting phenomenon regarding the absolute non-using of some requesting forms. According to Table 3.2, the absolute non-using of the # 13, # 14, and # 21 requesting forms was observed in the Subordinate contexts and the Female Stranger context. Strikingly, there might be a correlation in how they similarly treated those who are lower in work status and females, the gender group that is socially discriminated against in many cultures. This piece of evidence might be valuable for a further study in gender, which, however, is not the focus of this study.

At this point, it is not obvious that the age of the addressees determines the choice for the Thai requesting forms in this study until we take a closer look at the rankings in Tables 3.4 and 3.5. Both tables show that the # 6 and the # 14 requesting forms are at the top ranking in both age groups. In Table 3.2, the total frequency of use shows that some Thai requesting forms other than the two top forms reflect the frequency of use based on the age difference of the addressees. That is, the formal versions of the

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requesting forms used with the younger group were used more with the older group; for instance, the # 5 requesting form - the formal version of the # 6; the # 21 - the formal version of the # 14, and the # 22 - the formal version of the # 19.

Table 3.4 Rank of the Thai requesting forms most frequently used with the younger interlocutors in all scenarios studied.

Thai requesting forms	Total Frequency	Form #
1. (You) **help** + **V**	79	6
2. **Subj** + **V** + **QW**	71	14
3. **Statement** + **Q markers** [e.g., mai/reu plao]	35	19
4. (Subj) **rop-kuan** (you) + (help) + **V**	29	5
5. **Subj** + **ask for** + **N**	28	4
6. **Imperative** + **mitigating terms** [e.g., noi/si]	25	2

Table 3.5 Rank of the Thai requesting forms most frequently used with the older interlocutors in all scenarios studied.

Thai requesting forms	Total Frequency	Form #
1. (You) **help** + **V**	73	6
2. **Subj** + **V** + **QW**	52	14
3. (Subj) **rop-kuan** (you) + (help) + **V** *[the formal version of # 6]*	51	5
4. (I) **don't know** [formal] + **subj** + **V** + **QW** *[the formal version of #14]*	48	21
5. **Subj** + **ask for** + **N**	29	4
6. (I) **don't know** [formal] + **statement** + **Q-markers** [e.g,. mai/reu plao] *[the formal version of # 19]*	25	22

Moreover, the rankings in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 show that the formal forms, # 21 and # 22, are not very common to use with the younger interlocutors. The total percentage in Table 3.2 shows that the frequency of use of both forms is greater with the older group than that with the younger group. The rankings of most frequently used forms in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 shows that the # 5 requesting form, the formal version of the # 6 form, was used across age groups and the total frequency of its use in Table 3.2 shows a tendency of its

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use toward the older group (8.31%) over the younger group (4.72%). Comparing contexts, it is clear that the frequency of the # 5 requesting form with the older group is greater than with the younger group in every context where it was available. These three formal forms along with their examples are displayed below:

1. the # 5 requesting form {(Subj) **rop-kuan** (you) + (help) + **V**}, which is the formal version of the # 6 form {(Subj) help + V}- 'rop-kuan' is a formal word for 'bother'; the less formal is the condensed form 'kuan'.

Respondent # 11:

(in the Clerk-1 scenario - asking an <u>older</u> clerk to print a file)

(6) - the # 15 requesting form

P^{h}ee Kowit [a kin term for an older brother and a Thai name], *k^{h}rub*

<u>*(I) rop-kuan (you) help look for the file about the meeting on the 29th*</u>, *noi,*

k^{h}rub.

(in the Clerk-1 scenario - asking a <u>younger</u> clerk to print a file)

(7) - the # 6 requesting form

Somboon [Thai name].

<u>*Help look for the file about the meeting on Feb 8*</u>, *noi, k^{h}rub.*

2. the # 21 requesting form {(I) **don't know** [formal] + **subj** + **V** + **Q-word**}, which is the formal version of the # 14 requesting form (Subj + V + Q-word) - the formal 'know' in Thai is very polite and formal; the preceding clause makes the #14 form longer and less direct. The formality of the # 21 form might be equated with the English conventionally indirect expression 'I wonder + Q-word + subj + V'.

Respondent # 21:

(in the Colleague-3 scenario - asking an older colleague to tell the meeting time)

(8) - the # 21 requesting form

Pʰee Pong, kʰrub.

(I) don't know [formal] *(we'll) have a briefing at what time, kʰrub.*

(in the Colleague-3 scenario - asking a younger colleague to tell the meeting time)

(9) - the # 14 requesting form

Today, (we'll) have a briefing at what time.

3. the # 22 requesting form {(I) **don't know** [formal] + **statement** + **Q-markers**

[e.g., mai/reu plao]}, the formal version of the # 19 requesting form (statement + Q-

markers [e.g., mai/reu plao]

Like the # 21 requesting form, the use of the formal 'know' and the attachment of

the preceding clause make the # 19 form longer and less direct. The English equivalent of

this form is 'I wonder if ...'.

Respondent # 17:

(in the Male Stranger scenario - asking an older male stranger to locate a friend)

(10) - the # 22 requesting form

Pʰee, kʰrub. Excuse me, na, kʰrub, pʰee.

Pʰom [I] *is looking for a friend called Sitthikorn.*

(I) don't know [formal] *pʰee* [you] *know* (him), *mai, kʰrub.*

(in the Male Stranger scenario - asking a younger male stranger to locate a friend)

(11) - the # 19 requesting form

Excuse me, kʰrub.

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Nong [you] *know Sitthikorn, mai, k^hrub.*

All in all, the choice for formality obviously has a tendency toward the older group. Thus, the age of the addressees more or less plays a role in determining the choice for the Thai requesting forms in terms of their formality as well as their indirectness and length of utterance.

In addition, a legitimate explanation to the choice for the # 21 requesting form {(I) don't know [formal] + subj + V + Q-word} in the older Colleague-3 scenario (i.e., asking an older colleague to tell the meeting time) is the formality of the setting (i.e., at the workplace) where the request was made, together with the crucial need for the information. Therefore, it is not surprising that most of the respondents chose the more formal form (the # 21) for the older addressee and the less formal one (the # 14) for the younger addressee in the Colleague-3 context. Moreover, the nature of the context itself (i.e., asking about the upcoming meeting time at the office) is more formal than the other contexts studied. The respondents were assumed to ask their older colleagues at work about the meeting time. In the Thai military system, the older person is normally of a higher rank. There is another factor, which must be considered, however, and that is job responsibilities. There are occasions where people of differing ranks and ages may have equal job responsibilities. In these circumstances they are considered colleagues of equal work status regardless of rank or age. Examples of this are those assigned as teachers, pilots, or nurses. In the context of Thai culture, since they have the same job responsibilities, rank is not a dominant factor that would influence their responses. In a minority of cases, some officers may be older even though they graduated from the academy later than others did. This would occur when these officers had to repeat a year

Nong [you] *know Sitthikorn, mai, k^hrub.*

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In addition, a legitimate explanation to the choice for the # 21 requesting form {(I) don't know [formal] + subj + V + Q-word} in the older Colleague-3 scenario (i.e., asking an older colleague to tell the meeting time) is the formality of the setting (i.e., at the workplace) where the request was made, together with the crucial need for the information. Therefore, it is not surprising that most of the respondents chose the more formal form (the # 21) for the older addressee and the less formal one (the # 14) for the younger addressee in the Colleague-3 context. Moreover, the nature of the context itself (i.e., asking about the upcoming meeting time at the office) is more formal than the other contexts studied. The respondents were assumed to ask their older colleagues at work about the meeting time. In the Thai military system, the older person is normally of a higher rank. There is another factor, which must be considered, however, and that is job responsibilities. There are occasions where people of differing ranks and ages may have equal job responsibilities. In these circumstances they are considered colleagues of equal work status regardless of rank or age. Examples of this are those assigned as teachers, pilots, or nurses. In the context of Thai culture, since they have the same job responsibilities, rank is not a dominant factor that would influence their responses. In a minority of cases, some officers may be older even though they graduated from the academy later than others did. This would occur when these officers had to repeat a year

of instruction because of academic difficulties. Even in these circumstances, however, the younger officers would still refer to their elders (who are even junior in rank) as 'p^hee' (the kin term for an older brother/sister). Also, some officers from the same class may be older than others because of the system for inducting new cadets since there is a range of age between 14 and 18 years of age for new cadets to start at the academy. In these cases, after graduation, even though their ranks are equal, the younger officers will refer to their elders using the term, 'p^hee'(see also the discussion in 4.3.1). The conclusion here is that age rather than rank is the governing factor that determines their speech. This fact also applies to relationships between persons of varying social status, for instance, a boss and a clerk. The age as opposed to the social position is the overriding factor.

With regard to the use of the # 22 requesting form {(I) don't know [formal] + statement + Q-markers [e.g., mai/reu plao]}, Tables 3.2 and 3.3 show that it is not commonly used in all the studied scenarios except for its highest frequency in the Male Stranger context with both age groups. Its frequency in the five scenarios, where it was used as well, is too low to be taken into consideration.

With reference to the use of the # 5 requesting form {(Subj) rop-kuan (you) + (help) + V} with an older interlocutor rather than the # 6 requesting form {(Subj) help + V}, the more common form, the basic structures of both forms are similar except for the word choice. The only difference is the word 'rop-kuan' which is used in addition to the structure as appeared in the # 6 requesting form to strengthen the degree of 'kreng-jai' (i.e., no intention to place the imposition on the other) and inevitably, the formality of the # 5 requesting form is preferred to use with an older interlocutor in this particular context to differentiate the distinction of the age groups.

In consideration of the choice for formality of the formal requesting forms with the older group, Table 3.2 shows that the respondents made use of the formality to differentiate the age groups. Apparently, in the three Subordinate contexts, the # 5 form did serve this particular need. Normally, to give orders to someone whose work status is lower and whose duty is to complete the task, the requester who has the authority need not rely on formality. But in this case, most respondents were aware of the age difference of the addressees in the given contexts. Some of them consulted themselves and thought out loud during the recordings that they had to be polite because they wanted to get things done, but the politeness had to be distinctive since the requestees were different in age. Moreover, Respondent # 32 said in the interview that if he had a choice, he would rather give orders to younger janitors because he felt more 'kreng-jai' to do so with the older. This reflects that with his concern over the age of the addressees, he would differentiate his speech accordingly; that is, he might either drop the orders or switch to more polite requests with the older group. Similarly, Respondent # 14 said he would 'tell' the younger (subordinates) but 'ask' the older, to do things. The switching in speech style also occurred in the formulation of the Attention Getting part. Many respondents creatively used 'sir' to serve their need for age discrimination even in the Subordinate contexts where the addressees were either non-commissioned officers or non-ranking personnel (see also the discussion in 4.3.2.4).

In conclusion, it cannot be denied that the age of the addressees does, to a certain extent, determine the choice for the Thai requesting forms in terms of politeness in the Request Head Act in this study.

4.2.3.2 The English requesting forms

The English data in this study reveal 19 requesting forms used by the Thai respondents in their responses in the 8 requesting contexts (16 scenarios). Table 3.6 shows a list of the English requesting forms categorized into two major groups in terms of their (in)directness. The direct requests consist of 3 affirmative forms whereas the indirect requests consist of 3 affirmative forms and 13 interrogative forms.

According to Tables 3.7 and 3.8, the # 16 requesting form (i.e., yes-no questions or wh-questions) was most frequently used in all eight scenarios within the four contexts (e.g., the Colleague-2 and-3, the Clerk-2, and the Male Stranger contexts) regardless of the age difference of the addressees. Conversely, it was not used at all in the other three contexts (e.g., the Clerk-1, the Janitor, and the Female Stranger contexts). Within the three contexts where the # 16 requesting form was not used at all, the # 1 requesting form (the imperative with 'please') was the most frequently used in the Janitor (i.e., asking a janitor to clean the wet floor) and the Female Stranger (i.e., asking a female stranger to pass the sauce) contexts, regardless of the age difference of the addressee. In addition , the total frequency in Table 3.7 shows that the # 16 and the # 1 requesting forms tend to be used with the younger group. The total percentage of frequency of use of the # 16 form is 15.65% with the younger group and 11.22% with the older group. That of the # 1 forms is 9.69% with the younger group and 9.01% with the older group. To a certain extent, the age difference does show some effects on the choice for these two requesting forms. The other context where the # 16 requesting form was not used at all is the Clerk-1 context (i.e., asking a clerk to print a file). In this context, the # 7 requesting form (Can you/I...?) was the most frequently used with the younger group and the # 9 requesting

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Table 3.6 The English requesting forms by numerical numbers

Direct requests

1. (Please) Imperatives
2. Want statement (e.g., want/would like)
3. Obligation statement (e.g.,You should...)

Indirect requests

Statements:

4. Conventional hint statements/phrases (e.g., I beg your pardon; one more time)
5. Hint statements (e.g., sauce please)
6. Query preparatory (e.g., If you don't mind, please...)

Questions:

Conventional request questions or query preparatory

7. Can you/I...?
8. Would/Could/Will you/I...?
9. Would/Could you please...?
10. May I...?
11. Would/Do you mind + V?
12. Would/Do you mind if ...?
13. Would you be kind to + V?
14. I'm wondering...
15. **Statements with the rising tone**
16. **Interrogatives** (Yes-No questions and Wh-questions)

Interrogative hints (e.g., Do you know where the restroom is?)

17. Do you have time to + V?
18. I don't know/Do you know + Q-word + subj.+V/V+subj
19. I would like to know Q-word + subj + V/V+subj

Table 3.7 The ENGLISH requesting forms most frequently used in each scenario and their frequency in the other scenarios

E R F #	Colleague 1 (male) n = 60		Colleague 2 (male) n = 83		Colleague 3 (male) n = 74		Clerk 1 (male) n = 82		Clerk 2 (male) n = 56		Janitor (male) n = 73		Stranger (male) n = 77		Stranger (female) n = 83		Total n = 588	
#	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1	**12**	9	4	3	2	7	6	5	1	2	16	14	0	0	**16**	**13**	57	53
	20.00	*15.00*	*4.82*	*3.61*	*2.70*	*9.46*	*7.32*	*6.10*	*1.79*	*3.57*	*21.92*	*19.18*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*19.28*	*15.66*	*9.69*	*9.01*
7	6	4	11	10	4	3	**15**	12	7	7	7	2	6	8	10	4	66	50
	10.00	*6.67*	*13.25*	*12.05*	*5.41*	*4.05*	*18.29*	*14.63*	*12.50*	*12.50*	*9.59*	*2.74*	*7.79*	*10.39*	*12.05*	*4.82*	*11.22*	*8.50*
8	4	8	2	7	4	5	9	10	4	6	12	9	3	2	8	11	43	61
	6.67	*13.33*	*2.41*	*8.43*	*5.41*	*6.76*	*10.98*	*12.20*	*7.14*	*10.71*	*16.44*	*12.33*	*3.90*	*2.60*	*9.64*	*13.25*	*7.31*	*10.37*
9	2	7	1	7	3	4	12	**13**	3	5	6	7	5	4	**8**	**13**	40	60
	3.33	*11.67*	*1.20*	*8.43*	*4.05*	*5.41*	*14.63*	*15.85*	*5.36*	*8.93*	*8.22*	*9.59*	*6.49*	*5.19*	*9.64*	*15.66*	*6.80*	*10.20*
6	5	3	**26**	12	**26**	16	0	0	11	**10**	0	0	**24**	**25**	0	0	92	66
	8.33	*5.00*	*31.33*	*14.46*	*35.14*	*21.62*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*19.64*	*17.86*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*31.17*	*32.47*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*15.65*	*11.22*

ERF # = Numerical numbers of the English requesting forms (see Table 3.6); bolded numbers = the highest frequency of the English requesting forms used in each scenario; the italics = percentage of frequency)

Table 3.8 Highest frequency of the use of the ENGLISH requesting forms [%]

Colleague 1 (male) n = 60		Colleague 2 (male) n = 83		Colleague 3 (male) n = 74		Clerk 1 (male) n = 82		Clerk 2 (male) n = 56		Janitor (male) n = 73		Stranger (male) n = 77		Stranger (female) n = 83	
Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
12	9	26	12	26	16	15	13	11	10	16	14	24	25	16	13
[20.00]	[15.00]	[31.33]	[14.46]	[35.33]	[21.62]	[18.29]	[15.85]	[19.64]	[17.86]	[21.92]	[19.18]	[31.17]	[32.47]	[19.28]	[15.66]
(# 1)	(# 1)	(# 16)	(# 16)	(# 16)	(# 16)	(# 7)	(# 9)	(#16)	(# 16)	(# 1)	(# 1)	(# 16)	(# 16)	(# 1)	(# 1, #9)

(number for English requesting forms as listed in Table 3.6)

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form (Would/Could you please...?) with the older group. At this point, the formality does show its role. The fact that the # 9 form, like the # 8 form (Would/Could/Will you/I...?) is one of the formal versions of the # 7 requesting form, its frequency of use corresponds with the age of the addressees. That is, the total frequency of use in Table 3.7 shows a higher frequency of use toward the older group (10.20%) over the younger group (6.80%). The ranking in Table 3.9 also shows the popularity of the # 7 requesting form in the younger group and its least popularity among the most frequently used forms with the older group. That is, it ranks the second in the younger group, but last in the older group. This also supports its popularity of use with the younger group.

As a matter of fact, the # 7 requesting form (Can you/I...?) was the second most frequently used in the 10 scenarios in all contexts except the Janitor one. That is, it was the second most frequently used with the younger group (in 6 scenarios) in all Colleague contexts, both Stranger contexts, and the Clerk-2 context. It was the second in use with the older group (in 4 scenarios) in the Colleague-2, the Clerk-1, the Clerk-2, and the Male Stranger context. Again, as being the second most frequently used form, the # 7 requesting form also is used more frequently toward the younger group. Thus, generally in this study, the age of the addressees does have an effect on their choice for this requesting form.

Table 3.9 Rank of the English requesting forms most frequently used with each age group and the distinction of their frequency (Freq.) and percentage, and their ranking

Form#	English requesting forms	Ranking		Freq.		% (n=588)	
		Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
#16	Yes-no questions/wh-questions*	1	1	92	66	15.65	11.22
#7	Can you/I...?	2	5	66	50	11.22	8.50

(12 out of 66 in the younger group and 9 out of 50 in the older group ending with 'please')

#1	Imperative with 'please'	3	4	57	53	9.69	9.01
#8	Would/Could/Will/+you/I+V?	4	2	43	61	7.31	10.37

(15 out of 43 in the younger group and 34 out of 61 in the older group ending with 'please')

#9	Would/Could/Will+you please+V?	5	3	40	60	6.80	10.20

(* no use at all in three contexts: the Clerk-1, the Janitor, the Female Stranger; O = older addressees; Y = younger adressees; N= number of occurrences of the most frequently used requesting forms)

In consideration of the ranking in Table 3.9 above, all of the five most popular requesting forms are the same groups except for the difference in their orders within the age groups. Besides the # 16 requesting form which ranks at the top in both age groups, the rest are in mixed order. Namely, the number two in the younger group ranks number five in the older group. The number three in the younger group ranks number four in the older group. Further, the number four in the younger group ranks number two in the older group. Lastly, the number five in the younger group ranks number three in the older group. In terms of the in/directness, the # 1 requesting form is the only form listed in the

direct request group and the rest of the requesting forms used with both age groups are under the category of indirect requests. Thus, indirectness, which is perceived as an indication of politeness in many cultures, does not show an inclination toward the older group in particular. Nevertheless, the total percentage in Table 3.7 shows the preference of the English requesting forms in one group over the other. Namely, the # 1 (the imperative with 'please'), the # 7 (Can you/I...?), and the # 16 (Yes-no questions or wh-questions) requesting forms were the choice for the younger group whereas the # 8 (Would/Could/Will you/I...?) and the # 9 (Would/Could you please...?) requesting forms were the choice for the older group. In CCSARP, the use of 'Can I/you...?' and 'Could I/you...?' were put under the same category according to its conventional indirectness. That is, they can serve two pragmatic interpretations: a standard requestive form or an ability question. The only difference suggested between the use of 'can' and 'could' is that the 'could' form may convey only the requestive interpretation whereas the 'can' form is more likely to convey both (see Blum-Kulka, 1989, p52 for detailed discussion). On the other hand, the finding in this study suggests that these Thai learners of English viewed these two forms as different in terms of the level of formality. The more polite elements added, the more formality/politeness. Thus, 'Would/Could you please...?' is viewed as conveying a higher level of politeness than the other two forms.

One interesting phenomenon regarding request making in the English language by the Thai respondents in this study is the use of a variety of patterns of the same category. That is, all of the English requesting forms in the list except for the imperative form and yes-no or wh-questions are under the category of the conventional request questions or the so-called 'query preparatory' (the term used in CCSARP). With a fair amount of their

experiences in the use of English either through studying abroad or working with native speakers of English in the FL/SL contexts, it explains why the Thai respondents are familiar with these conventional request forms. Even so, the imperative form and 'yes-no or wh-questions' are taught as a form of directives and basic interrogative forms respectively at the beginner level. Likewise, most of the conventional forms are taught and known to the Thai learners of English as an indication of formality and politeness. Because of the limited speaking skills in the L2 (i.e., although studying abroad, speaking is the least practiced of all the four skills), in the present study the respondents primarily took the priority of the formality/politeness of the formulaic expressions rather than the age of the addressees. There is a fair amount of use of the formal requesting forms with the younger group as well. The data show that their choices for L2 strategies were limited to what they had been taught in school rather than the variety of natural forms as available to them in their L1 (see the discussion in 4.2.3.1). This is evidenced by the variety of the structures of Thai requesting forms which outnumbered the English requesting forms. In the Thai data, the top five requesting forms consisted of different degrees of imperatives ranging from imperatives with the directive mood (e.g., ordering) to those with the modest requestive mood (e.g., asking by the use of the formal verb 'rop-kuan'), yes-no or wh-questions, and query preparatory which contains the formal modifications of interrogative forms. In the English data, the top five requesting forms mostly consisted of interrogative types (e.g., yes-no or wh-questions, conventional request questions) and one type of imperatives with the help of a politeness marker 'please'. To note, the Thai forms consisted of a more variety of complex structures than the English ones. It is probable that the language used in communication and the in-

group/out-group relationships affect their L2 pragmatic behaviors. Namely, when speaking in their native language to the in-groups (Thai speakers), the Thai respondents tended to be more natural. However, when speaking in the L2 as a foreign language with the out-groups (native speakers of the TL), the respondents tended to be primarily concerned with getting the messages across rather than being appropriate pragmatically (see also the discussion on pragmatic transfer in 4.5). Thus, they relied heavily on taught formulaic expressions which made their speech sound less natural and productive. In the interviews, many respondents admit that they do not know exactly what English politeness is like, such as its varieties of use and form. Thus, as Respondent #19 said, "I prefer to use routines. They are never wrong because they are taught in school.". This also explains the popularity of use of the formulaic expressions in their English performance. As a matter of fact, the property of their being ready-made forms outranks their politeness property (i.e., being conventionally indirect) (see also the discussion about the careful speech of their L2 in 4.2.1 on pp 19-21).

However, there is an interesting fact in the data in Table 3.9. That is, 34 out of the total of 61, the # 8 requesting form (Would/Could/Will you/I...?) was used with the 'please' ending. In Table 3.9.1, if we categorize the # 8 requesting form with a 'please' ending under the same category of the # 9 requesting form (Would/Could/Will + you please + V...?), that will add the total frequency of the # 9 requesting form up to 94 (15.98%) ranking the highest frequent in the older scenarios. Likewise, if we add the 15 times of the # 8 requesting form ending with 'please' to the original total of the # 9 requesting form (40), the total frequency of the # 9 requesting form in the younger scenarios will add up to 55 (9.35%) which changes its ranking to number four. Therefore,

the total frequency of the use of the # 9 requesting form in the older scenarios will be 39

(6.63%) more than in the younger scenarios. The difference is high enough to conclude

that in terms of the highest frequency of use, the # 9 requesting form, which is a

combination of the # 8 requesting form and the politeness marker 'please', is the

preferred use with the older interlocutors in contrast to the younger ones.

Table 3.9.1 Addition of the # 8 requesting form with 'please' to the # 9 requesting

form

Form #	Frequency		% (n=588)	
	Y	O	Y	O
# 8 with 'please'	15	34	2.55	5.78
# 9	40	60	6.80	10.20
# 9 and # 8 with 'please'	55	94	9.35	15.98

Similarly, in Table 3.7, the frequency of use of the # 9 requesting form, with no inclusion

of the # 8 requesting form ending with 'please', still appears higher in almost all of the

older scenarios except in only one context (the Male Stranger context), but the difference

is too little to take into consideration (only 1.3%). Similarly, the # 8 requesting form

(Would/Could/Will you/I...?), which is also a formal version of the # 7 requesting form

(Can you/I...?), was used more with the older interlocutors.

In conclusion, though the English requesting forms used by the Thai respondents

in this study are mostly routine formulas which were used across age groups, the

preference of some forms by one age group over the other was witnessed. Like the Thai

requesting forms, there is no clear-cut discrimination as to which form is used with which

age group. However, to a certain degree, the age of the addressees does determine the choice for the requesting forms in the Request Head Act in both languages. In terms of pragmatic transfer, the involvement of the age effects on the choice for the English requesting forms implies a pragmatic transfer. The frequent use of the formulaic expressions in the English data reflects their learning/acquisition of the L2 forms to a certain degree. Pragmalinguistically, the reliance on such routines does not manifest their creativity in their ILP, but sociopragmatically, they were creative in a sense that they made use of formality of the L2 forms to reflect their L1 seniority value.

The age effects seem to have a strong manifestation in both languages. Thus, it calls for a further explanation as to how the age of the addressees affects the requestive behaviors of the Thai respondents at least in the Thai language. As a result, it requires a further investigation of the influence of the age of the addressees over their requestive behaviors. The internal modifications were then investigated on this account (see the discussion in 4.3).

4.2.4 Strategies in the Closing part

Like the Introductory part, 'stating the necessity/problem' was the strategy most frequently used by the respondents in the Closing part in both languages whereas the frequency of the other strategies was quite low. According to Tables 4.1 and 4.2, the Thai data show that this strategy was the most frequently used in almost all of the requesting contexts studied (13 scenarios) except for the Stranger contexts where 'giving additional information' was the most frequently used in the older Male stranger scenario and 'thanking' was the most frequently used with both age groups in the Female Stranger context.

Table 4.1 Frequency of the use of strategies in the Closing part in the THAI responses in each scenario studied

S	Colleague 1 (male) n = 40				Colleague 2 (male) n = 20				Colleague 3 (male) n = 21				Clerk 1 (male) n = 38				Clerk 2 (male) n = 52				Janitor (male) n = 58				Stranger (male) n = 23				Stranger (female) n = 7				Total n = 259			
	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%
NE	14	35.00	11	27.50	5	25.00	3	15.00	8	38.10	7	33.33	9	23.68	9	23.68	15	28.85	12	23.08	27	46.55	22	37.93	5	21.74	2	8.70	1	14.29	1	14.29	84	32.43	67	25.87
RE	8	20.00	3	7.50	4	20.00	2	10.00	2	9.52	0	0.00	2	5.26	1	2.63	5	9.62	1	1.92	1	1.72	1	1.72	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	14.29	19	7.34	12	4.63
CW	2	5.00	1	2.50	0	0.00	2	10.00	1	4.76	0	0.00	7	18.42	3	7.89	7	13.46	2	3.85	2	3.45	0	0.00	1	4.35	1	4.35	0	0.00	0	0.00	20	7.72	9	3.47
CA	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.63	0	0.00	2	3.85	5	9.62	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	8.70	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	1.16	5	1.93
KN	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	5.00	0	0.00	2	9.52	1	4.76	3	7.89	0	0.00	1	1.92	0	0.00	1	1.72	1	1.72	3	13.04	5	21.74	0	0.00	0	0.00	7	2.70	10	3.86
AI	1	2.50	0	0.00	1	5.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.63	1	2.63	0	0.00	1	1.92	1	1.72	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	1.16	4	1.54
TH	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	28.57	2	28.57			3	1.16
CO	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	5.17	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	1.16		

S = Strategies; NE = Stating the necessity/problem; RE = Restating the request; CW = Confirming the want; CA = Checking availability; KN = Asking of knowledge; AI = Giving additional information; TH= Thanking; CO = Showing concern.

Table 4.2 Highest Frequency of use of strategies in the Closing part in the THAI responses in each scenario studied [%]

	Colleague 1 (male) n = 40		Colleague 2 (male) n = 20		Colleague 3 (male) n = 21		Clerk 1 (male) n = 38		Clerk 2 (male) n = 52		Janitor (male) n = 58		Stranger (male) n = 23		Stranger (female) n = 7	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
	14 [35.00]	11 [27.50]	5 [25.00]	3 [15.00]	8 [38.10]	7 [33.33]	9 [23.68]	9 [23.68]	15 [28.85]	12 [23.08]	27 [46.55]	22 [37.93]	5 [21.74]	5 [21.74]	2 [28.57]	2 [28.57]
	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	AI	TH	TH

Table 4.3 Frequency of use of strategies in the Closing part in the ENGLISH responses in each scenario studied

S	Colleague 1 (male) n=19				Colleague 2 (male) n=0				Colleague 3 (male) n=3				Clerk 1 (male) n=12				Clerk 2 (male) n=27				Janitor (male) n=18				Stranger (male) n=17				Stranger (female) n=2				Total n=98			
	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%	Y	%	O	%
NE	6	31.58	3	15.79	0	N/A	0	N/A	3	100.0	0	0.00	4	33.33	3	25.00	7	25.93	9	33.33	7	38.89	8	44.44	0	0.00	2	11.76	0	0.00	0	0.00	27	27.55	25	25.51
RE	8	42.11	2	10.53	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	7.41	3	11.11	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	5.88	0	0.00	0	0.00	10	10.20	6	6.12
CW	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	16.67	0	0.00	2	7.41	1	3.70	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	17.65	2	11.76	1	50.00	0	0.00	8	8.16	3	3.06
CA	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	8.33	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	1.02	0	0.00
KN	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	7.41	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	2.04	0	0.00
AI	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	5.56	2	11.11	3	17.65	5	29.41	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	4.08	7	7.14
TH	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	16.67	1	3.70	1	3.70	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.00	1	1.02	4	4.08
CO	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00

S = Strategies; NE = Stating the necessity/problem; RE = Restating the request; CW = Confirming the want; CA = Checking availability; KN= Asking of knowledge; AI = Giving additional information; TH= Thanking; CO = Showing concern; italics=percentage; boldface=highest frequency

Table 4.4 Highest frequency of use of strategies in the Closing part in the ENGLISH responses in each scenario studied [%]

	Colleague 1 (male) n=19		Colleague 2 (male) n=0		Colleague 3 (male) n=3		Clerk 1 (male) n=12		Clerk 2 (male) n=27		Janitor (male) n=18		Stranger (male) n=17		Stranger (female) n=2	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
	8 [42.11] RE	3 [15.79] NE	N/A	N/A	3 [100.00] NE	[0.00]	4 [33.33] NE	3 [25.00] NE	7 [25.93] NE	9 [33.33] NE	7 [38.89] NE	8 [44.44] NE	3 [17.65] CW,AI	5 [29.41] AI	1 [50.00] CW	1 [50.00] TH

According to Tables 4.3 and 4.4, the English data show that 'stating the necessity/problem' was the most frequently used in 8 scenarios: in all three subordinate contexts, in the older Colleague-1 scenario, and in the younger Colleague-3 scenario. Likewise, this strategy does not seem to be the popular choice for strangers; it was employed by only two respondents in the older Male Stranger scenario and not used at all in the rest of the Stranger scenarios. The variation of the strategies used in the Closing part across age groups makes it difficult to find evidence for effects of the age of the addressees over the choice of the English Closing strategies. However, the total percentage of all the Closing strategies used in this study shows the tendency of use toward the younger group (54.07% of the total). That is, when making English requests to the older interlocutors, the respondents tended to leave their Request Head Acts open. This practice is also shared in the Thai data in which the tendency to use the Closing strategies is greater toward the younger group (55.98% of the total). There is inadequate information to explain such age-based behavior in this study, though.

There is no clear evidence that such similar behaviors in both languages is a result of a pragmatic transfer. Nor is there clear evidence of their creativity in their Closing behaviors. Nevertheless, the age difference of the addressees does manifest its effects on the Closing behaviors of these respondents in request making. The following section is a further investigation for more evidence for the influences of the age of the addressees on the requestive behaviors of these respondents. It is a manifestation of the effects of the age of the addressees in a different aspect of their requestive behaviors. In the earlier sections, the external modifications (i.e., the help of strategies in the Attention Getting, the Introductory, and the Closing parts) for the Request Head Acts were investigated as

well as the Request Head Acts themselves. Next, the internal modifications (embedded within the Head Acts in particular and in the other parts) were then investigated.

4.3 The internal modifications

The internal modifications in the responses include the use of pronouns as age-based pronominal references, and lexical downgraders (e.g., politeness markers, understaters, and downtoners). Some of these elements were absent from the English data such as the use of age-based pronouns.

4.3.1 Age-based pronominal references

Though most of the contexts studied were situated in the workplace, Table 5.1 shows that the Thai respondents in this study did use kin terms which are age-based to refer to themselves and to address the addressees in the Thai data. According to the interview data, many respondents admitted that the use of kin terms with people whom they worked with, especially the subordinates, helped bridge the gap between them. Being friendly and not pretentious makes subordinates willing to work for them. Even though Respondent # 19, for instance, admitted in the interview that he was concerned that using kin terms with subordinates might be viewed as fraternization, he, in the recorded questionnaires, did use kin terms to address the interlocutors in the Thai subordinate contexts. Moreover, there is evidence that one respondent (Respondent # 30) simply used the kin term 'uncle' with an older janitor in the English data. Respondent # 36 said that during his technical training in the US, he felt uncomfortable calling his trainer who was much older than he by his first name though he knew it was their culture to do so. He then called that trainer 'uncle'. He added, "With farangs (a Thai term for Westerners) who work with us in Thailand, we usually call them with the Thai title

Table 5.1 The THAI first-person singular pronouns most frequently used with addressees of different age groups and frequency of the other pronoun used in the study

TSP		Colleague 1 (male) n = 41		Colleague 2 (male) n = 17		Colleague 3 (male) n = 29		Clerk 1 (male) n = 128		Clerk 2 (male) n = 78		Janitor (male) n = 15		Stranger (male) n = 55		Stranger (female) n = 55		Total n = 418	
		Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
P O		**3**	**20**	0	**9**	1	**13**	22	**68**	10	**40**	1	**8**	**20**	**32**	5	**30**	62	**220**
	%	*7.32*	*48.78*	*0.00*	*52.94*	*3.45*	*44.83*	*17.19*	*53.13*	*12.82*	*51.28*	*6.67*	*53.33*	*36.36*	*58.18*	*9.09*	*54.55*	*14.83*	*52.63*
P E		**18**	0	**8**	0	**15**	0	**36**	0	**27**	0	**6**	0	3	0	**20**	0	**133**	0
	%	*43.90*	*0.00*	*47.06*	*0.00*	*51.72*	*0.00*	*28.13*	*0.00*	*34.62*	*0.00*	*40.00*	*0.00*	*5.45*	*0.00*	*36.36*	*0.00*	*31.82*	*0.00*
T N		0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
	%	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*1.56*	*0.00*	*1.28*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.00*	*0.72*	*0.00*

TSP = Thai first-person singular pronouns; PO = phom; PE = phee; TN = (work) Title nouns; bolded numbers = the highest frequency of use; italics = percentage of frequency;

noun 'kʰun' together with their names." Explicitly, the formality of 'kʰun' is to show respects to foreigners. Implicitly, it shows their attempt to enhance their relationships with foreigners by assigning a Thai title noun to their foreign names even when performing an L2. This supports two common claims about Thais: their reputation of friendliness and their concern for close relationships.

4.3.1.1 The use of first-person singular pronouns

Unlike the English personal pronouns, the first-person singular pronouns in the Thai language are definitely associated with the age difference between the two interlocutors together with the gender difference. As observed in Table 5.1, the Thai personal pronouns used in this study to refer to the addresser itself was a selection of 'pʰom', 'pʰee', or 'a (work) title noun. Since all the respondents were male, the gender-based pronoun 'pʰom' is used and the kin term 'pʰee' is used to refer to an older speaker regardless of gender. The (work) title noun here is unique for this study because it appeared in three cases that some military ranks were used to refer to the speakers themselves.

The data in Table 5.1 show that the pronoun 'pʰee' was absolutely a term used to refer to the speakers themselves when speaking to the younger interlocutors, never to the older ones. The pronoun 'pʰee' was used to signify that in a particular speech event the addresser is older than the addressee. However, the gender-based pronoun 'pʰom' was used to refer to the speakers themselves when speaking with interlocutors of both age groups. Thus, in this particular event, the age difference of the interlocutors cannot be predicted.

Respondent # 17:

(in the younger Female Stranger scenario)

(12)

Nong, kʰa.

Pʰee [I] *rop-kuan* (you) *help pass the sauce to pʰee* [me], *noi, kʰrub.*

Respondent # 47:

(in the older Clerk-1 scenario)

(13)

Pʰee [You], *kʰrub.*

Help print this out for pʰom [me], *noi, kʰrub.*

Pʰom [I] *need* (it) *very urgently.*

According to the highest frequency (in boldface) shown in Table 5.1, the pronoun 'pʰee' was most preferred to be used with the younger interlocutors in all scenarios except for the Male Stranger context where most of the respondents preferred to use the pronoun 'pʰom' with the younger interlocutors, instead. Interestingly, in the Stranger context as well, most of the respondents preferred to refer to themselves with the kin term 'pʰee' to the younger female interlocutors (see the example by Respondent # 17 above). Their preference of using kin terms with younger females over males implies that they like to show their tenderness and intimacy toward the young and vulnerable, especially the female group. With the older interlocutors in all of the requesting contexts studied, all of the respondents used the pronoun 'pʰom' to refer to themselves with no other competitive choice.

In conclusion, the findings reveal that in this study the pronoun 'pʰom' was always the choice for the first-person singular pronoun used by the respondents when their interlocutors were older, and the kin term 'pʰee', the most frequent choice for the younger. Therefore, the age of the addressees does play a role in determining such choices.

4.3.1.2 The use of second-person singular pronouns

Unlike English, Thai has a variety of the second-person singular pronouns; and kin terms which are age and gender based, are among the top pronouns (see also the discussion in 2.7.1). According to Table 5.2, kin terms proved to be the most preferred by the respondents in almost all of the total of 143 cases except for the use of proper names in 6 cases, the use of the (work) title nouns (e.g., military ranks) in 3 cases and the use of the very formal 'you' (e.g., tʰaan) in 2 cases.

According to Table 5.2, the kin term 'pʰee', which is used to refer to an older addressee, was used to address the older interlocutors in this study as well and was the most frequently of all the pronouns (49.65%) in all three older Colleague scenarios and the two older Clerk scenarios. The most preferred choices for the second-personal pronoun addressing the older interlocutors in the other three contexts are as follows: the kin term 'lung' as equivalent to the English 'uncle' most preferred in the older Janitor scenario, the title 'kʰun'+ a kin term most preferred in the older Male Stranger scenario, and the kin term 'paa' as equivalent to the English 'aunt' most preferred in the older Female Stranger scenario. Again, it is interesting that kin terms were used even with older strangers in both gender groups.

Table 5.2 The THAI second-person pronouns most frequently used with addressees of different age groups and frequency of the other pronouns used in the study

TSP	Colleague 1 (male) n=21				Colleague 2 (male) n=20				Colleague 3 (male) n=15				Clerk 1 (male) n=29				Clerk 2 (male) n=11				Janitor (male) n=20				Stranger (male) n=16				Stranger (female) n=11				Total n=143			
	Y	*%*	O	*%*	Y	*%*	O	*%*	Y	*%*	O	*%*	Y	*%*	O	*%*	Y	*%*	O	*%*	Y	*%*	O	*%*	Y	*%*	O	*%*	Y	*%*	O	*%*	Y	*%*	O	*%*
NO	2	*9.52*	0	*0.00*	2	*10.00*	0	*0.00*	4	*26.67*	0	*0.00*	4	*13.79*	0	*0.00*	2	*18.18*	0	*0.00*	6	*30.00*	0	*0.00*	2	*12.50*	0	*0.00*	1	*9.09*	0	*0.00*	23	*16.08*	0	*0.00*
PE	0	*0.00*	**18**	*85.71*	0	*0.00*	**18**	*90.00*	0	*0.00*	**11**	*73.33*	0	*0.00*	**12**	*41.38*	0	*0.00*	**4**	*36.36*	0	*0.00*	2	*10.00*	0	*0.00*	3	*18.75*	0	*0.00*	3	*27.27*	0	*0.00*	**71**	*49.65*
LU	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	1	*3.45*	0	*0.00*	1	*9.09*	0	*0.00*	7	*35.00*	0	*0.00*	3	*18.75*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	12	*8.39*
AA	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	4	*13.79*	0	*0.00*	1	*9.09*	0	*0.00*	2	*10.00*	0	*0.00*	1	*6.25*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	8	*5.59*
NA	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	1	*9.09*	0	*0.00*	1	*0.70*
PA	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	**4**	*36.36*	0	*0.00*	4	*2.80*
TH	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	1	*9.09*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	2	*12.50*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	3	*2.10*
KH	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	2	*6.90*	0	*0.00*	1	*9.09*	0	*0.00*	3	*15.00*	0	*0.00*	**5**	*31.25*	0	*0.00*	2	*18.18*	0	*0.00*	13	*9.09*	0	*0.00*
NN	1	*4.76*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	5	*17.24*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	6	*4.20*	0	*0.00*
TN	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	1	*3.45*	0	*0.00*	1	*9.09*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	0	*0.00*	2	*1.40*

TSP = Thai second-person pronouns; NO = nong, PE = phee; LU = lung; AA= aa, NA = naa; PA = paa; TH = thaan; KH = khun + kin terms;
NN = (nick) names; TN = (work)Title nouns;
The bolded numbers = the highest frequency; italics = percentage of frequency
Y = younger addressees; O = older addressees

Respondent # 42:

(in the younger Male Stranger scenario)

(14)

Nong [younger brother], *kʰrub. Excuse me, kʰrub.*

Pʰee [I] *would like to rop-kuan* (you), *noi, kʰrub.*

Pʰee [I] *would like to know* [formal] *that nong* [you] *know ..., mai.*

In the total of 143 cases where pronouns were not omitted, the kin term 'nong'

was the top choice for the younger interlocutors (16.08%), except for one use of a (nick)

name in the younger Colleague-1 scenario, one use of a (military) title noun in the

younger Clerk-2 scenario, and 5 uses of (nick) names in the younger Clerk-1 scenario. It

is interesting to note here that an ellipsis of both the first-person and second-person

singular pronouns is very common in Thai speech. The following are two instances found

in the study.

Respondent # 1:

(15)

(You) *have coins for an exchange, mai, kʰrub.*

Respondent # 3:

(16)

Pʰom rop-kuan... pʰom is looking for a friend named Montri.

(I) *don't know* [formal] (you) *know* (him), *mai, kʰrub.*

The pronouns in parentheses in both instances were omitted. An ellipsis of

pronouns is understood within the context where there are only two interlocutors

involved. In the first instance, Respondent # 1 intended to ask his interlocutor "Do you

have any change?", and in the second instance, Respondent #3 intended to ask his interlocutor "I was wondering if you knew him.".

To conclude, wherever pronouns are in use, the use of kin terms, which is age and gender based, is most common in Thai speech. The findings reveal that the kin terms were used to refer to the speakers themselves and to their interlocutors in the contexts where their interlocutors were those who worked with them and worked for them in the work place or even strangers regardless of gender difference. Besides gender, the use of pronouns in Thai speech is signified by the age difference of both interlocutors regardless of social status. In other words, the age difference of both interlocutors can be easily identified by the choice for pronouns in each utterance, but not as obviously in the case of the social status of the interlocutors. There is no evidence for age effects, pragmatic transfer, or creativity through the use of first- and second- personal pronouns in their ILP. But the evidence for learning/acquisition is obvious through their awareness of the pronominal use limited to 'I' for the first-person singular pronoun and 'you' for the second-person singular pronoun.

4.3.2 Lexical downgraders

The distribution of the data in this section was too skewed due to no use of the lexical downgraders by the preponderance of the respondents within one age group over the other in several requesting contexts. Apparently, the mean value might not be a good choice for measurement. As a consequence, the percentage was chosen to be the choice for measurement, instead.

In this study, there were three types of lexical downgraders used by the Thai respondents:

1. politeness markers (e.g., the use of the male polite ending particle, 'k^{h}rub' in

their Thai speech; and the politeness marker, 'please' and the address terms, 'sir',

'ma'am, and 'madam' in their English speech)

2. understaters (e.g., noi, noi na, noi si in Thai speech), and

3. downtoners (e.g., na, si in Thai speech)

4.3.2.1 The use of 'k^{h}rub' as a Thai politeness marker for male speakers

According to Table 6.1, the total percentage of the use of the politeness marker

for Thai male speakers shows a very high tendency toward the older group (72.01%) over

the younger group (27.99%) and so does the frequency in each of the contexts studied.

Table 6.1 Total frequency and percentage of the use of 'k^{h}rub'

	'k^{h}rub) (n= 1004)	
Age group	Y	O
Total frequency	281	723
Total percentage	27.99	72.01

(Y = younger addressees; O = older addressees)

Within all the requesting contexts where the use of 'k^{h}rub' was significantly more

frequent with the older interlocutors, the percentage difference in Table 6.2 ranges from

16% (with strangers) to 82% (with colleagues). The more extensive use of this politeness

marker with the older group emphatically indicates their concern with age difference.

This trend can be observed even with people of lower status.

Respondent # 46:

(in the younger Janitor scenario)

(17)

Er...nong [younger brother].

In a second or two, help look at this area, noi si.

(It's) *still wet.*

(in the older Janitor scenario)

(18)

P^h*ee* [pseudo-older brother], *k*^h*rub.*

This area is still dirty, k^h*rub.*

P^h*ee* [you] *is busy, mai, k*^h*rub.*

In a second or two, if not, help wipe out this area for p^h*om* [me], *noi.*

In considering both of the Stranger contexts, the respondents tended to be as

polite to strangers with less concern of the age difference because the frequency

difference between both age groups is only -16%, which is much less than that in the

other contexts (see Table 6.2). Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the frequency of use

is greater toward the older group as well. Therefore, in varied contexts, it is legitimate to

say that the respondents almost always made use of the politeness marker 'k^hrub' as a

device to emphasize the degree of politeness toward the older group. This finding

supports that seniority is a basic value in the Thai society and determines their choice for

politeness strategies.

4.3.2.2 The use of the politeness marker 'please' and the address terms 'sir', 'ma'am' and 'madam' to strengthen politeness in the English requests

In this study, there exist only one type of lexical downgraders used in the English

responses; namely, politeness markers (see 1.1.2, p. 25). There were two types of

elements used by the Thai respondents to express politeness: (1) the (conventional)

politeness marker 'please' and (2) the address terms 'sir', 'ma'am', and 'madam'.

Table 6.2 Frequency and percentage of the use of 'kʰrub' as a Thai politeness marker for male speakers by all the respondents in each scenario

Context	Colleague-1 (male)		Colleague-2 (male)		Colleague-3 (male)		Clerk-1 (male)		Clerk-2 (male)		Janitor (male)		Stranger (male)		Stranger (female)	
Age group	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
Frequency	25	106	21	104	12	116	28	79	24	40	21	71	79	109	71	98
%	19	81	17	83	9	91	26	74	37	63	23	77	42	58	42	58
Difference (%) (Y-O)	-62		-66		-82		-48		-26		-54		-16		-16	

(Y = younger addressees; O = older addressees)

Table 6.3 Frequency and percentage of use of the ENGLISH politeness markers in each scenario

E P M	Freq %		Colleague 1 (male)		Colleague 2 (male)		Colleague 3 (male)		Clerk 1 (male)		Clerk 2 (male)		Janitor (male)		Stranger (male)		Stranger (female)	
			Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
PLEASE			26	29	11	23	9	17	32	39	9	18	37	39	8	9	35	44
			47%	53%	32%	68%	35%	65%	45%	55%	33%	67%	49%	51%	47%	53%	44%	56%
Difference % (Y-O)			-6		-36		-30		-10		-34		-2		-6		-12	
SIR			7	23	3	25	1	37	0	10	0	10	0	3	8	28	0	2
			23%	77%	11%	89%	3%	97%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	22%	78%	0%	100%
Difference % (Y-O)			-54		-78		-94		-100		-100		-100		-56		-100	
MA'AM/ MADAM			0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	0	3	27
			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10%	90%
Difference % (Y-O)			N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A		-80	

EPM= English politeness markers; Y = younger addressees; O = older addressees

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Similar to the Thai data as discussed in 4.3.2.1, the frequency of use of the

English politeness particles shows a very high frequency of use toward the older groups

in all of the eight contexts studied, although the percentage in Table 6.3 shows that the

frequency difference of use of the politeness marker 'please' in both age groups is not

very high in most contexts. There were only three contexts (e.g., the Colleague-2, the

Colleague-3, and the Clerk-2 contexts) where the difference of frequency between the

age groups is quite high (i.e., between the range of 30 to 36). Yet, the total percentage in

Table 6.4 does show the tendency of its use toward the older group (56.62%)

nevertheless.

Table 6.4 Total frequency and percentage of the use of the English politeness

markers

	'please' (n= 385)		'sir' (n=157)		'ma'am'/madam (n=31)	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
Age group						
Total frequency	167	218	19	138	3	27
Total percentage %	43.38	56.62	12.10	87.90	10	90

(Y = younger addressees; O = older addressees)

However, the use of the address term 'sir' as a politeness marker in this study was

more apparently preferred for use with the older group rather than with the younger group

in all the eight contexts. The total frequency in Table 6.4 shows that the term was used

87.90% with the older and 12.10% with the younger. The frequency difference (as shown

in Table 6.3) between the age groups in all the three Colleague contexts and the Male

Stranger context was quite high (i.e., between the range of 54 to 94). In the same table,

within the three Subordinate contexts, this address term was always used with the older

group. In other words, there is no use at all with the younger interlocutors in these

contexts. Interestingly, the respondents in this study used the address term 'sir' even with their subordinates when the age of the addressees was involved.

Respondent # 36:

(in the older Clerk-1 scenario)

(19)

Excuse me, <u>sir</u>.

Uh…I just lost my meeting report.

And…can I bother you uh…for the copy of the report, please?

In this case, proficiency does not seem to play its role. Respondent # 36 is one of the most proficient learners of English in this group, especially, his speaking skill. He got straight As in English throughout five years of study. He was an exchange student in New Zealand for one year before he entered the academy and got a master's degree in Computer Science in the U.S. after the academy. He also took some training courses in a company in Maryland and took additional English courses at the British Council in Bangkok. He has a gift for learning a foreign language. During a casual talk at the academy, he told me that he was studying Japanese on his own and took a Japanese proficiency test at a licensed language center and his Japanese back then was at level eight. Part of his routine work deals with writing English correspondence for the Royal Thai Air Force to the English speaking companies from which the Air Force purchases the equipment for air operations control. Likewise, Respondent # 19, who took a one-year pilot instructor course in an American air base in the US, admitted in the interview that he kept using 'sir' with non-commissioned officers despite being told by his American friends that it was not right to do so. He added that by not using 'uncle' with older

farangs, he used 'sir', instead. To him, age is a very sensitive matter. He has been brought up in a very good and upper-class family. His father was a former Air Commander-in-Chief. His sister, who is a good friend of mine, is also very polite and modest. Both of them treat people by their seniority in age, not by their social status.

In addition, there were two respondents who used the term 'sir' with older female interlocutors as well. Below is one example:

Respondent # 45:

(in the older <u>Female</u> Stranger scenario)

(20)

Excuse me, <u>sir</u>.

Can you give some sauce for me.

As a result, it can be concluded that the address terms 'sir' and 'ma'am' or 'madam' were used by the Thai respondents to strengthen the degree of politeness in their requestive behaviors rather than to address a person in some cases. The need to express politeness outdoes the gender property of such terms or even their actual functions as being address terms. Their formality was used as a device for politeness manifestation. To point out here, the term 'sir' in particular was perceived as a politeness indicator rather than an address term by these respondents and was employed by these particular respondents to function like the Thai politeness marker 'k^{h}rub'. To support this assumption, there is evidence that most textbooks used in the EFL classes in many elementary schools in Thailand usually provide examples of English sentences within the male-to-male contexts. This makes Thai learners more familiar with this term than the terms for female addressees like 'ma'am' or 'madam'. The slip of the tongue is always witnessed despite

the fact that the different usage of the male and female address terms is taught later in school. Another explanation of the mismatch of the term 'sir' might result from the different emphasis of the Thai politeness marker 'k^{h}rub' and the English address term 'sir' within the two languages. Though they are both gender-oriented, the Thai marker is based on the gender of the speaker (i.e., the marker for male speakers) whereas the English marker is based on that of the addressee. Thus, the Thai respondents who used the term 'sir' to address a female interlocutor in a given context were likely to apply the use of the Thai 'k^{h}rub' to their English pragmatic performance. In addition to the earlier discussion about the instances in the textbooks, the terms 'sir' and 'k^{h}rub' are lined up in parallel in the Thai translation version of those instances. This increases the confusion and perhaps results in the overgeneralization or misuse of the address term 'sir' because most Thai learners of English as an L2 probably assume that the address term 'sir' means and functions the same as the politeness marker 'k^{h}rub'. I must admit that I myself as a learner of English in the FL context used to think so for quite some time. Again, this explains why the Thai respondents in this study used the term 'sir', despite the maximum frequency of use toward the older interlocutors, with the younger ones as well because many of them perceive the term 'sir' as a politeness marker regardless of the age difference in many cases and gender difference in some cases. One might argue that the excessive use of the term 'sir by these respondents was due to their military character. With reference to the informal interviews with some Thai civilians, they used the term 'sir' to express their politeness as well, but not as often as the military do.

Despite knowing the form and the usage of the English formulaic expressions, many respondents admitted that they do not know distinctions of levels of English politeness. In other words, they do not know exactly how to be properly polite in English. They have learned that those expressions are polite forms, but do not know exactly when to use each of them, or to be more specific, which form to use with a particular type of person in a particular circumstance. Their confusion suggests that they are concerned about a major characteristic of Thai pragmatic behaviors, which is the concern over the age difference of the interlocutors. They need a clue or some indexes of the age difference in the linguistic domains, which, to their knowledge, are absent in English. To compensate for what is missing, they rely on their own creativity. The use of the address term 'sir' is a good example. Once the respondents estimate the age of the addressees in terms of the range of difference between theirs and the addressees', they vary the level of their politeness accordingly. For instance, to use 'excusing' to call for attention from individuals, they tend to keep their politeness manifestation asymmetrical on an age basis by attaching 'sir' to 'excusing' when communicating with an older individual and none to a younger one. This suggests that the need to keep the level of their politeness asymmetrical outdoes the importance of the gender property and the general usage of the term (i.e., to address a male person of higher status formally). This explains why sometimes some respondents used the term 'sir' with people of lower work status (e.g., janitors) or even female addressees despite knowing the rules.

Age of the addresser

(older)   (younger)
Age of the addressee I ⟷ Age of the addressee II
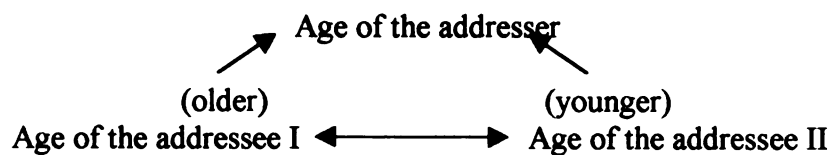
Figure 1 Age difference

The redundant use of the politeness marker 'please' within the same sentence also shows the creativity of the respondents to negotiate their way to fulfil their need for politeness. For instance, Respondent # 25, in his Request Head Act in the older Clerk-1 scenario (i.e., asking an older clerk to print a file), he said, "Would you please print the report again, please?". To his awareness, the form 'Would you please...?' is more polite than 'Can you...?'. Therefore, with the younger clerk in the same context, he chose to say "Can you print this report?" and switched to the more formal form with the older (i.e., Would you please ...?). This instance confirms that at least this particular Thai speaker is concerned with the age difference of the person he is talking to. As being a non-native speaker of English, he is concerned that his politeness might not be enough so he adds another 'please' in the final position to confirm his politeness. Another legitimate reason is that Thais are accustomed to ending a polite sentence with an ending politeness marker (e.g., k^{h}rub). Since such marker is missing in English, Thai Learners of English find a way to substitute another English politeness marker known to them, which in this case is 'please', for its absence. This is to serve their own need; that is, to guarantee that the hearer is aware of his intended politeness. Most of the respondents agreed that as nonnative speakers with limited knowledge of English politeness, they are very concerned about their L2 politeness. Redundancy serves to strengthen the degree of their politeness. In this regard, the pragmatic transfer is also witnessed through its involvement in their creativity. Their creativity also reflects the internalized learning process of these L2 learners, in which native-like L2 pragmatics is not yet acquired.

4.3.2.3 The use of 'noi' as an understater in 'noi', 'noi si', 'noi na' to minimize parts of the proposition

The term 'noi' has a literal meaning equivalent to 'a little bit' in English. The term was used by these respondents to soothe their requestive propositions. It might stand by itself or co-exist with other mitigating terms such as 'na' and 'si'. With the older interlocutors, the respondents tended to accompany the term with the politeness marker 'k^{h}rub'.

Respondent # 49:

(in the younger Janitor scenario)

(21)

Nong Win [a kin term + Thai name].

Find something to wipe out this water, <u>noi</u> si.

According to the frequency in Table 6.5, the understater 'noi' was obviously most frequently used in all of the three Subordinate contexts and in the Female Stranger context. The percentage shows higher frequency of use toward the younger group in five contexts. However, the frequency difference in most contexts except for the two contexts (e.g., the Clerk-1 and the Male Stranger contexts) is too small in quantity to take into account. Likewise, though the total percentage in Table 6.6, which also shows the tendency of use toward the younger, the percentage difference between the two age groups is not high enough to claim a preference of use. Thus, the age of the addressees does not seem to have a major impact on the use of the understater 'noi' in varied situational contexts. To note, the understater 'noi' was never used with the older without the politeness marker 'khrub' in this study.

Table 6.5 Frequency and percentage of the use of 'noi', 'na', 'si' as Thai downgraders (mitigating terms) in each scenario

Thai downgraders		Colleague 1 (male)		Colleague 2 (male)		Colleague 3 (male)		Clerk 1 (male)		Clerk 2 (male)		Janitor (male)		Stranger (male)		Stranger (female)	
		Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
NOI	Freq	3	2	4	6	2	3	42	16	34	33	47	40	7	3	41	44
	%	60	40	40	60	40	60	72.4	27.6	50.7	49.3	54	46	70	30	48.2	51.8
Difference % (Y-O)		20		-20		-20		44.8		1.4		-8		40		-3.6	
NA	Freq	25	13	8	5	4	2	16	11	2	3	7	6	10	6	9	7
	%	66	34	61.5	38.5	66.7	33.3	59.3	40.7	40	60	53.8	46.2	62.5	37.5	56.2	43.8
Difference % (Y-O)		32		23		33.4		18.6		-20		7.6		25		12.4	
SI	Freq	7	0	1	0	1	0	4	1	3	3	6	3	0	0	1	1
	%	100	0	100	0	100	0	80	20	50	50	66.7	33.3	N/A	N/A	50	50
Difference % (Y-O)		100		100		100		60		0		33.4		N/A		0	

Y = younger addressees; O = older addressees; Freq = frequency of use

Table 6.6 Total frequency and percentage of the Thai downgraders/mitigating terms

Age group	'noi' (n=327)		'na' (n=134)		'si' (n=31)	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
Total frequency	180	147	81	53	23	8
Total percentage %	55.05	44.95	60.45	39.55	74.19	25.80

(Y = younger addressees; O = older addressees)

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4.3.2.4 The use of 'na' and 'si' as downtoners in an urging manner

The terms 'na' and 'si' in Thai are used to strengthen their precedents. In a request, the term 'na' is used to add a sense of a humble urge and the term 'si', a sense of a little more forceful urge to it. When both terms are accompanied with the politeness marker 'k^{h}rub' like in 'na k^{h}rub' and 'si k^{h}rub', the lengthening makes the components sound soothing to the addressee's ears.

The data suggest that the urging sense of these two terms causes less frequent use of them with the older group (see also Table 6.5). Namely, in this study the term 'na' was used more frequently with the younger group in all the contexts except for the Clerk-2 context in which the frequency in both age groups is only one different or 20% more with the older group. Table 6.6 shows the total percentage of use with the younger group (60.45%) over the older group (39.55%). Likewise, the term 'si', which has a little more forceful sense, was evidently found no use at all with the older group in all the three Colleague contexts and the Male Stranger context. Where it was used with the older, the frequency of use was at a very low level. The maximum frequency was oriented toward the younger group in the rest of the contexts except for the Clerk-2 and the Female Stranger contexts where the frequency of use between both age groups was equal but very low (namely, 3 and 1 respectively). All in all, the total percentage in Table 6.6 shows the high frequency of its use toward the younger group (74.19%) over the older group (25.80%). Below are examples of the use of 'si' and 'na' found in the study.

Respondent # 41:

(in the younger Janitor scenario)

(22)

Num, num [young man].

Go and look at the water in the meeting room, noi si.

It's dirty.

Wipe (it) *out, noi na.*

Respondent # 47:

(in the younger Colleague-1 scenario)

(23)

Nong.

Once again, si.

P^{h}ee [I] *can't hear* (you) *very well.*

To conclude, among the Thai lexical downgraders used in this study, the understater 'noi' and the downtoners 'na' and 'si' were found used across age groups, but more frequently with the younger group. When used with the older group, they usually appeared in association with the politeness marker 'k^{h}rub'. For instance, when the term 'na' was used with the older group, it was used in association with 'k^{h}rub' 40 out of 53 times (about 75%) in all the contexts studied. Note as well that the politeness marker 'k^{h}rub' a downgrader, was used significantly more with the older group more than the younger group (as discussed in 4.3.2.1).

4.4 Conclusions to the effects of the age of the addressees on the choice for politeness strategies and their internal modifications

The age of the addressees does affect the choice for Thai and English politeness strategies to some extent. The effects of the age difference were apparent in the choice of

strategies in the Attention Getting part and the Request Head Act part in which the formal forms were chosen to use mostly with the older interlocutors. Its effects on the choice of strategies in the Introductory and the Closing parts are not as evident. The strategies were used across age groups and the frequency difference was only minimal. However, the effects of the age of the addressees were most obvious where the internal modifications exist, primarily in the respondents' L1 requestive behaviors rather than in their L2. This distinction might result from their limited oral skill of the L2; thus, their L2 did not appear as natural as their L1, as evidenced in the frequent use of the routine formulas in their L2. Because of the heavy reliance on learned formulaic expressions, the creative use or transfer via the use of the internal modifications in their L2 was minimally detected in these types of requesting contexts which call for only an initiation of request making, not a whole negotiating interchange in a larger discourse. The next topic for discussion is an investigation of the age effects on length of utterance.

4.5 Length of utterance as a measure for politeness

Indirectness in the illocution in many cultures is used as a strategy to portray politeness in many verbal interchanges. Indirectness can be observed in two aspects: the indirect nature of the utterance itself (e.g., hints) and length of utterance to accomplish a pragmatic goal. The indirectness embedded within the content of the messages such as the use of hints is not the major characteristic of Thai speech. Therefore, in this section, the length of utterance elicited by the Thai respondents in both languages studied is solely discussed. As discussed earlier, the nature of the request making found in this study is a one-turn utterance. In one utterance turns, the respondents may produce more than one strategy in support of the Request Head Act in order to fulfil their intended goals. In a

culture where directness in request making might not be considered quite proper, an attempt by the addresser to show his/her concerns over the imposition on the addressee is more common and their effort is perceived as a politeness strategy. This concept can be witnessed in a lengthy utterance which consists of a number of strategies in one request making. In this section, to measure the length of utterance, the number of all the strategies performed by the respondents in one-turn utterances was counted (see also Tables 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, and 7.5). The strategies which are taken into consideration are the strategies listed in the four parts in the requestive pattern as discussed earlier in 4.1.1 and strategies under the category of the internal modifications (e.g., the use of politeness markers, understaters, and downtoners). The counting is shown in an example below:

Respondent # 14:

(in the Thai data in the older Clerk-1 scenario- asking an older clerk to print a file)

(24)

Ah, excuse me, na k^{h}rub.

Well, (it) *happen that p^{h}ee* [I] *lose ah the meeting report.*

P^{h}ee [I] *can't find* (it).

(I) *rop-kuan* [bother] *nong* [you] *to help print out for p^{h}ee* [me], *noi* [a little bit].

The data that (I) *mention* [past].

(Note: parentheses are for ellipsis; square brackets are for English meaning; p^{h}ee = an older brother/sister; nong = a younger brother/sister; no verb conjugation in Thai)

Table 7.1 Counting guidelines for measuring the length of utterance

Pragmalinguistic Components	Strategies	Unit of Counts
excuse me...............................	'excusing'	1
na...	'downtoner'	1
k^hrub...................................	'politeness marker for male speakers'	1
Well, (it) happen that p^hee lose ah ...the meeting report....................	'stating the problem'	1
P^hee can't find (it)......................	'giving additional information'	1
(I) rop-kuan nong to help print out ...for p^hee,...............................	'Request Head Act'	1
noi..	'understater'	1
The data that (I) mention...............	'confirming the want'	1

This response hereby consists of 8 strategies; thus, its length of utterance is 8.

According to Table 7.3, the mean values suggest that the length of Thai utterances increases in accordance with the increase of age of the addressees in all of the requesting contexts studied. Likewise, the mean values in Table 7.5 suggest the use of longer utterances in the English requests toward the older group over the younger groups in all of the requesting contexts studied. Table 7.2 shows the overall mean length of utterance in both age groups and in both languages. The overall mean length of utterance also suggests that longer utterances were used toward the older group in both languages. Moreover, the table demonstrates that the Thai requests were longer than the English ones for each age and in the total of both age groups.

These findings reveal that, in consideration of the length of utterance, the Thai respondents in this study were all aware of the age difference of their interlocutors when making a request in both their L1 and L2. This suggests that there exists a pragmatic transfer in terms of the age effects over the length of their utterances as well.

Table 7.2 Overall mean of the average length of utterance by age groups

Age groups	Thai	English
Younger	4.195	2.565
Older	5.723	3.575
Total (Younger and Older)	4.959	3.070

The next section is a discussion about transfer which is a prominent feature of the respondents' ILP.

4.6 L1 transfer

This section displays three types of L1 transfer found in this study. They are lexical transfer, structural transfer, and pragmatic/cultural transfer. The first two types of transfer were discussed briefly since they are not the focus of this study.

4.6.1 Lexical transfer

4.6.1.1 The use of the verb 'to help'

As discussed in 4.2.3.1, the most frequently used requesting form in the Request Head Act part in the Thai responses was "Help + V". Thus, it is not surprising to find the use of this form in the respondents' English requestive performances. The transfer of the use of this form to the L2 performance is exemplified below:

Respondent # 5:

(Asking an older clerk to print a file)

(25)

Excuse me, Mr,John.

I'm lost my document.

Would you help me to print out another one copy, please.

Table 7.3 Length of utterance and frequency of use by number of respondents in the THAI responses

NS \ NR	Colleague-1 (male)		Colleague-2 (male)		Colleague-3 (male)		Clerk-1 (male)		Clerk-2 (male)		Janitor (male)		Stranger (male)		Stranger (female)	
	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
1	4		5						1							
2	9	3	13	1	**17**	5	4		6		2		3	1	2	1
3	**13**	5	**21**	2	13	6	8	2	**11**	7	10	4	6	4	9	1
4	8	7	10	**15**	10	10	**15**	9	**11**	5	9	10	**13**	**15**	**15**	7
5	9	**14**	2	14	3	**13**	8	8	**11**	9	**11**	**15**	**13**	8	**15**	**16**
6	4	11	0	10	2	9	4	8	6	**10**	9	5	6	9	2	13
7	3	5	0	7		6	6	7	2	7	4	7	5	4	3	6
8		4	1	0	2	2	2	7	1	**10**	2	4	1	3	1	5
9		2		1		2	0	4	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	0
10		2			2	2	0	2			1	2	1	1	1	1
11							0	2			0	0		2		
12							3	0			1	0		0		
13								1				0		1		
14												0				
15												1				

NS = number of strategies employed; NR = Frequency by number of respondents;
the bolded numbers = the highest frequency of each use of length of utterance;
length of utterance measured by number of all strategies employed; numbers in the far left column = NS; numbers in the rest of the columns = NR

Table 7.4 Mean length of utterance in the Thai responses elicited to both age groups

Context	Colleague-1 (male)		Colleague-2 (male)		Colleague-3 (male)		Clerk-1 (male)		Clerk-2 (male)		Janitor (male)		Stranger (male)		Stranger (female)	
Age group	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
Mean	3.660	5.680	3.020	5.120	2.900	5.460	5.000	6.520	4.240	5.860	5.080	5.820	4.960	5.660	4.700	5.660
Std Dev	1.636	1.766	1.270	1.319	1.249	1.787	2.373	2.261	1.661	1.784	2.019	2.229	1.784	2.318	1.717	1.465
Mode(s)	3	5	3	4	2	5	4	4	3,4,5	6,8	5	5	4,5	4	4,5	5

(Mean = average length of utterance elicited to each age group of addressees)

Table 7.5 Length of utterance and frequency of use by number of respondents in the ENGLISH responses

N S	N R	Colleague-1 (male)		Colleague-2 (male)		Colleague-3 (male)		Clerk-1 (male)		Clerk-2 (male)		Janitor (male)		Stranger (male)		Stranger (female)	
		Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
1		11	4	16	6	19	2	5	3	12	5	5	2	0	8	4	2
2		**17**	**15**	**20**	10	17	9	14	11	**20**	**15**	**21**	**23**	**20**	8	**29**	8
3		10	9	9	6	7	6	**17**	12	8	10	13	6	15	10	12	8
4		9	8	5	**18**	5	**21**	7	8	5	6	7	13	6	**15**	3	**14**
5		3	10		8	2	5	5	9	2	9	4	3	6	9	0	**14**
6			4		2		5	2	5	2	1		2	1	6	1	3
7							1		1	1	2		1	1	1	1	1
8							0		0		2			0	1		
9							0		1					0			
10							1							1			

NS = number of strategies employed; NR = Frequency by number of respondents;
the bolded numbers = the highest frequency of each use of length of utterance;
length of utterance measured by number of all strategies employed;
numbers in the far left column = NS; numbers in the rest of the columns = NR

Table 7.6 Mean length of utterance in the English responses elicited to both age groups

Context	Colleague-1 (male)		Colleague-2 (male)		Colleague-3 (male)		Clerk-1 (male)		Clerk-2 (male)		Janitor (male)		Stranger (male)		Stranger (female)	
Age group	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O	Y	O
Mean	2.520	3.340	2.060	3.360	2.080	3.880	2.980	3.680	2.500	3.400	2.680	3.040	3.240	4.040	2.460	3.860
Std Dev	1.199	1.498	.956	1.396	1.140	1.624	1.270	1.696	1.446	1.807	1.096	1.355	1.572	1.428	1.092	1.370
Mode(s)	2	2	2	4	1	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	4

(Mean = average length of utterances elicited to each age group of addressees)

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(Asking a younger janitor to clean the wet spot)

(26)

M [name]

I found the water spilled on the floor.

Could you <u>help</u> me to clean up the floor, please.

Respondent # 6:

(Asking an older clerk to print a file)

(27)

Could you do me a favor, please?

Could you <u>help</u> me with this copy?

(Asking a (younger/older) janitor to clean the wet spot)

(28)

Could you <u>help</u> me clean this floor, please?

Respondent # 31:

(Asking an older female stranger to pass the sauce)

(29)

Excuse me, please.

I would like to you to <u>help</u> me pass the ketchup.

The respondents used this form without being aware of the embedded meaning that can be applied. That is, to ask someone in English to 'help' oneself to do something implies that the speaker is expected to do that job, too. So it sounds awkward or even ambiguous to ask a janitor to clean the floor by using the English expression 'help me'. It is noticeable that in request making or giving an order by a superior to a subordinate

responsible for the job in this study, the respondents tended to involve themselves in the job responsibility as if it were their own. In most Janitor instances, many respondents asked the janitor to do the job by stressing '…for me.' In the designed contexts, the respondents were not responsible for the cleanliness of the meeting room. No one would blame them for the mess. It is not unusual that they had a strong group-oriented mind. Rather, it is interesting that they involved the self-responsibility into their speech even though the request was not meant to serve their own personal needs. This pragmatic trait might cause confusion to learners of Thai as an L2.

4.6.1.2 The use of the verb 'bother' and 'disturb' as equivalent to the Thai verb 'rop-kuan'

Respondent # 17:

(Asking a younger clerk to print a file)

(30)

Excuse me.

I have to <u>disturb</u> you about the printing report.

I lost it yesterday.

I want you to copy a new one for me.

(as compared to his Thai response to the same scenario below)

(31)

Nong. Excuse me, na.

It happens that p^{h}ee [I] *lose the meeting report.*

P^{h}ee [I] <u>*rop-kuan*</u> *nong* [you] *to help print another copy for p^{h}ee* [me], *dai mai.*

(Asking an older male stranger to locate a friend)

(32)

Would you mind I want to <u>disturb</u> you…

Uh I want to ..uh..looking for my friend Sitthikorn.

Have you seen him around here.

Respondent # 36:

(Asking an older clerk to print a file)

(33)

Excuse me, sir.

Uh…I just lost my meeting report

And..can I <u>bother</u> you uh…for the copy of the report, please?

(Asking an older clerk for some change)

(34)

Excuse me, sir.

Can I <u>bother</u> you for a change for a dollar bill, please?

4.6.1.3 The use of the word "bank" referring to a bank note in the Clerk-2 context

Respondent # 28:

(35)

I would like to exchange my <u>bank</u>.

Do you have any coin?

Thank you.

The respondent used the word 'bank' in his responses to both age groups in the Clerk-2 context. The word 'bank' in Thai is a loan word from English. It is used to refer to either a bank or a bank note.

4.6.1.4 The use of the verb 'to send' meaning 'to pass' in the Female Stranger context (i.e., asking an older female stranger to pass the sauce at the dinner table)

Respondent # 42:

(36)

Excuse me, madam.

Could you please send sauce for me?

Respondent # 44:

(37)

Sorry.

Would you mind to send me that sauce.

4.6.1.5 The use of the verb 'to meet' meaning 'to find something' in the Janitor context (i.e., asking a younger janitor to clean the wet spot)

Respondent # 2:

(38)

Hey, man?

I met the water on the floor?

I think it may be slip.

You can do for the dry floor?

4.6.2 Structural transfer

Respondent # 32:

(39) - the <u>English</u> response in the younger Colleague-1 scenario

Again?

What time.

In his <u>Thai</u> response to the same scenario, he said,

(40)

What time (is it), *na.*

(I) *don't hear* (you) *at all.*

Thai speakers tend to omit subjects or objects in sentences especially when they are impersonal pronouns. It makes this question look like an interrogative phrase. The phrase 'What time.' is very common in this particular context (i.e., asking a colleague to repeat the time). This may result in the use of the incomplete question form in his English response to this context.

4.6.3 Pragmatic/cultural transfer

To begin with, the term 'transfer' needs to be clarified. In this paper, 'transfer' has two uses: the direct transfer (borrowing) as evident in the linguistic transfer displayed above and the 'processed' transfer which is a result of the learners' creativity. The language phenomena, the outcome of the latter type, reflect a complex internalized process within the learners' mind to cope with their inadequate pragmatic knowledge of the L2 pragmatics. Such creative processes may include troubleshooting, borrowing, debating, adjusting, justifying, deciding, and testing. Namely, they locate the problems and negotiate their way to finding a resolution of what they think is most appropriate in

particular circumstances, what will serve their communicative needs, and most important, what they feel comfortable with. Partly, they may borrow some L1 forms or rules and debate them with their existing L2 knowledge. Then they might adjust them and convince themselves that the form they have created is appropriately right before making a decision to test it in their L2 performance. It is not only the (pragmalinguistic) forms that are not available to their conscious awareness but also the sociopragmatic rules or use of the L2. Thus, the reliance on their L1 sociopragmatic knowledge inevitably reflects some cultural borrowings, such as the value system, cultural identity, and so on.

The evidence of the learner's creativity via pragmatic transfer has been discussed throughout this chapter. This section is then a specific discussion of two prominent features (i.e., the use of 'please' and 'sir') in which their use in the learners' ILP is creatively developed within the boundary of the seniority value system of their L1.

In their English requests, there were two English elements that were found in the same position of the Thai politeness marker 'k^{h}rub' regardless of their requirement or appropriate use in particular contexts. The two elements are the politeness marker 'please' and the address term 'sir'. The use of 'k^{h}rub' and the use of 'please' and 'sir' are discussed in 4.3.2.1 and 4.3.2.2 respectively (see also 4.4 - the conclusive section of the age effects in the choice for strategies and internal modifications). The pragmatic transfer in relation to the age of the addressees was discussed throughout this study including 4.5 - the discussion of the length of utterance in different age groups. The following discussion will shed light on the pragmatic transfer and the learners' creativity through the use of those polite terms in particular along with the switching of requesting forms for different age groups.

4.6.3.1 The use of the politeness marker 'please' in the same position as the politeness ending marker 'k^{h}rub' in the English requesting forms

In many cases, the term 'please' was used by the Thai respondents to emphasize politeness in their English requests and was found in the final position of a phrase or a sentence. The following are examples where the term 'please' was redundantly used to emphasize politeness.

Respondent # 27:

(Asking a younger janitor to clean the wet spot)

(41)

Please clean up this floor, please?

Respondent # 38:

(Asking an older clerk for some change)

(42)

Would you do me a favor?

I have to use the public telephone.

But I don't have a change.

Could you please give me a change, please.

Respondent # 18:

(Asking a younger janitor to clean the wet spot)

(43)

Excuse me.

Would you mind wiping the floor, please?

Respondent # 37:

(Asking an older female stranger to pass the sauce)

(44)

Would you mind pass me the ketchup, please?

(Asking an older colleague to tell the meeting time)

(45)

Sir.

Would you mind telling the time, please?

The requesting forms from the examples above are listed as follows:

    Please + V

    Would/Could you please + V?

    Would you mind + Ving?

They are conventionally polite forms and are taught in most English textbooks. Without doubt, the respondents must have realized the politeness of these forms. Thus, the redundant use of the term 'please' in these polite forms by the Thai respondents can be explained simply by their being accustomed to the use of the politeness ending marker 'k^{h}rub' in the final position in their L1. The habit of ending a phrase or a sentence with a politeness marker in Thai might make the speakers concerned that their requests might end too bluntly without an additional 'please'. To add another 'please' at the end is to confirm that their politeness is certainly recognized by the hearer.

4.6.3.2 The use of the English address term 'sir' as equivalent to the Thai politeness marker 'kʰrub'

The English address term 'sir' was found in the English data produced by the Thai respondents in this study to function like a politeness marker rather than an address term in many cases. The following is an example of the use of 'sir' and 'kʰrub' in the Attention Getting part by the same respondent.

Respondent # 34:

(Asking an older colleague to tell the meeting time)

(46)

Excuse me, sir, colonel.

Do you know what time the meeting starts.

(as compared to his Thai response to an older clerk in the Clerk-1 context)

(47)

Excuse me, kʰrub, aa [Uncle] *Pradit, kʰrub.*

It happens that pʰom lose the data (you) *print for pʰom yesterday.*

Help print another copy for pʰom, dai mai, kʰrub.

In a second or two, pʰom will take (it) *to the meeting.*

According to the examples above, Respondent # 34 used the term 'sir' in his English response in the same position as the term 'kʰrub' in his Thai response. The pattern in the Attention getting part is shown in Table 8.1 below:

Table 8.1 Position of 'kʰrub' and 'sir' in the Thai/English Attention Getting part

	Excusing	*Politeness marker*	*Address term*
Thai:	Excuse me,	kʰrub,	aa Pradit (*kin term + proper name*)
English:	Excuse me,	sir,	colonel (*title noun*)

In the following examples, Respondents # 42 and # 45 used the term 'sir' to address even a younger colleague.

Respondent # 42:

(Asking a <u>younger</u> colleague to repeat the time)

(48)

Pardon, <u>sir</u>.

Respondent # 45:

(Asking a <u>younger</u> colleague to repeat the time)

(49)

Pardon, <u>sir</u>.

Can you tell me the time again?

The term 'sir' was also used with the older subordinates as seen in the following example. But it is obvious that there was no use at all with the younger subordinates.

Respondent # 20:

(Asking an <u>older</u> clerk to print a file)

(50)

Excuse me, <u>sir</u>.

I need some copy from this document?

Will you copy for me?

Likewise, there is evidence that the term 'sir' was used with an older female interlocutor as well, though it was witnessed in only two cases. The following is one example.

Respondent # 21:

(Asking an older female stranger to pass the sauce)

(51)

Excuse me, sir.

Would you mind pass me the sauce, please.

4.6.3.3 The use of 'sir' in the Attention Getting part to differentiate the age groups of the addressees

Respondent # 4:

(Asking a male stranger to locate a friend)

The Thai responses to a younger male stranger:

(52)

Nong.

You know Col. Chalit, mai.

Chalit work in this building, kʰrub.

The Thai response to an older male stranger:

(53)

[Bow] *Excuse me, kʰrub.*

You know Group Capt. Chalit, mai, kʰrub.

He is in this unit, kʰrub.

The English response to a younger stranger:

(54)

Excuse me.

Do you know Group Capt. Chalit.

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I think he's staying here.

The English response to an older stranger:

(55)

Excuse me, sir?

Do you know Group Capt. Chalit.

He's my friend. He's staying here.

(? = rising intonation; periods = falling intonation)

Table 8.2 A summary of the components in the Thai/English Attention Getting part

for both age groups in the Stranger context as elicited by Respondent # 4

The Attention Getting part to the younger interlocutor consists of:

	Thai	*English*
Strategies:	Addressing by a kin term	Excusing
Politeness markers:	none	none

The Attention Getting part to the older interlocutor consists of:

	Thai	*English*
Strategies:	Excusing	Excusing
Politeness markers:	k^{h}rub	sir*

(*The address term 'sir' was used by Respondent # 4 as a politeness marker in this context.)

Respondent # 24

(Asking a clerk to print a file)

The Thai response to the younger clerk:

(56)

Somsak [Thai name]

P^{h}om lose the meeting report.

Help please print this file in the computer, noi.

The Thai response to the <u>older</u> clerk:

(57)

Excuse me, k^{h}rub, naa [uncle] *Somsak, k^{h}rub.*

P^{h}om rop-kuan (you) *help print this file, noi.*

The English response to the <u>younger</u> clerk:

(58)

Excuse me.

I want you to print this file in the computer for me...

because I lost it.

The English response to the <u>older</u> clerk:

(59)

Excuse me, <u>sir</u>.

I would like you to print the file in the computer for me...

because I lost it.

Table 8.3 A summary of the components in the Thai/English Attention Getting part for both age groups in the <u>Subordinate</u> context as elicited by Respondent # 24

The Attention Getting part to the <u>younger</u> interlocutor consists of:

	Thai	*English*
Strategies:	Addressing by a name	Excusing
Politeness markers:	none	none

Table 8.3 (cont'd)

The Attention Getting part to the <u>older</u> interlocutor consists of:

	Thai	*English*
Strategies:	Addressing by a kin term (an uncle) plus a name	Excusing
Politeness markers:	kʰrub	sir*

(*The address term 'sir' was used by Respondent # 24 as a politeness marker in this context.)

Respondent # 46:

(Asking a colleague to repeat the time)

The Thai response to the <u>younger</u> colleague:

(60)

Eh...nong.['you' meaning a younger brother]

What time (is it), *na.*

Just a second ago that you tell [past] *me.*

The Thai response to the <u>older</u> colleague:

(61)

Pʰee ['you' meaning an older brother], *kʰrub.*

(I) *don't know that now what time* (is it), *kʰrub.*

Just a second ago, (I) (could) *not catch* (it).

The English response to the <u>younger</u> colleague:

(62)

Excuse me.

Say again, please?

What time (is it).

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The English response to the older colleague:

(63)

Excuse me, sir?

Will you please tell me what time is?

Table 8.4 A summary of the components in the Thai/English Attention Getting part

for both age groups in the Colleague context as elicited by Respondent # 46

The Attention Getting part to the younger interlocutor consists of:

	Thai	*English*
Strategies:	Addressing by a kin term meaning a younger brother	Excusing
Politeness:	none	none

The Attention Getting part to the older interlocutor consists of:

	Thai	*English*
Strategies:	Addressing by a kin term meaning an older brother	Excusing
Politeness markers:	kʰrub	sir*

(*The address term 'sir' was used by this respondent as a politeness marker in this context.)

The above examples from three different relationships (the Male Stranger, the Clerk, and the Colleague contexts) and Tables 8.2, 8.3, and 8.4 show evidence of the use of the address term 'sir' to differentiate the age groups. In both the Thai and the English responses, the politeness markers were used to emphasize politeness toward the older group over the younger group within the same contexts by the same respondents. Though the terms 'sir' and 'kʰrub' were used across age groups in some contexts, it is apparent that when the respondents were aware of the age difference of the addressees, they tended to use some strategy; namely, the use of 'sir' and 'kʰrub' to pronounce such difference in

their speech. In the interview data, some respondents admitted that they would differ their utterances to the older interlocutors by softening their tone of voice or lengthening the vowels. Obviously, among them, the age of the addressees does matter and affect their L2 pragmatic behavior.

4.6.3.4 The use of different requesting forms to differentiate the age groups of the addressees

Within the same contexts, the same respondents tended to use different requesting forms in the Thai responses to distinguish their speech toward different age groups of the addressees. The examples below show evidence of this type of pragmatic transfer onto their requesting behaviors in the L2.

Respondent # 50

(Asking a female stranger to pass the sauce)

The Thai response to the <u>younger</u> female stranger:

(64)

Nong, kʰrub

Help pass the fish sauce to pʰee ['me' meaning an older brother], *noi, kʰrub.*

The Thai response to the <u>older</u> female stranger:

(65)

Excuse me, kʰrub, kʰun pʰee, kʰrub.

Pʰom ['I' for a male speaker] *rop-kuan kʰun* [formal title] *pʰee* ['you' meaning an older sister] *pass the fish sauce to pʰom* [me], *kʰrub.*

The English response to the <u>younger</u> female stranger:

(66)

Girl.

Please pass me the sauce.

The English response to the <u>older</u> female stranger:

(67)

Excuse me, ma'am.

Would you please pass me the sauce, please.

Respondent # 50 used the most frequently used requesting form 'help + V' with the younger interlocutor, but switched to a more formal form 'rop-kuan [bother] + V' when conversing with the older one in the similar requesting context. Likewise, in his English requests, he used the direct form, the imperative with the politeness marker 'please' with the younger interlocutor, but used the conventional indirect form, 'Would you please + V?' with the older interlocutor in the similar context. The trend that the respondent would switch to a more formal form when conversing with an older interlocutor shows evidence of L1 pragmatic transfer in that the respondents were aware of the age difference of their interlocutors and pronounced such differences in their speech.

Similarly, this trend also occurs within the Colleague contexts as shown below. Respondent # 46 used the formal requesting form with the older group and the more casual ones with the younger group in both languages. According to the excerpts below, the formal forms which were used with the older group were longer and more complex. The Thai formal request consisted of two clauses. Though both of the English forms were in question form, the formal one 'May I know the time for the meeting this morning?' as used with the older group was more indirect (i.e., asking for permission prior to stating

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what the expected information is). In contrast, the form used with the younger group was more direct; it provoked a direct response to the inquiry and was in a simple question form (e.g., What time is it...?).

Respondent # 46:

(Asking a colleague to tell the time)

The Thai response to the younger colleague:

(68)

Hey, nong.

Today the meeting (starts) at what time.

The Thai response to the older colleague:

(69)

Pʰee, kʰrub.

(I) don't know that today the meeting (starts) at what time, kʰrub.

The English response to the younger colleague:

(70)

Sorry.

What time is it for the meeting this morning..

The English response to the older colleague:

(71)

Excuse me, sir.

May I know the time for the meeting this morning?

Respondent # 16:

(Asking a janitor to clean the wet spot)

The Thai response to the younger janitor:

(72)

Num, num [Thai name].

There is water on the floor inside.

<u>*Go and take care of* (it)</u>, *noi.*

The Thai response to the older clerk:

(73)

Lung, lung [Uncle].

The water is spilled inside, kʰrub.

<u>*Help take care of* (it)</u>, *noi, kʰrub.*

The English response to the <u>younger</u> clerk:

(74)

Jack. C'mon.

<u>*Get this wet place ready.*</u>

The English response to the <u>older</u> clerk:

(75)

Jack.

<u>*Do you mind to do this place better?*</u>

It is also true in the Subordinate contexts where the respondents made requests to

people of lower status. In the military, most clerks are non-commissioned officers whose

rank is lower than the respondents who are officers. Janitors are even lower in work

status because they have no ranks. In the Thai examples above, Respondent # 16 used the

imperative as a directive to the younger janitor whereas he switched to use a more

mitigating form with the older janitor; the force was lessened by adding the mitigating

verb 'help' and the request sounded more soothing with the help of the politeness marker

'kʰrub'. The respondent also used the imperative as a directive with the younger janitor

in his English request. However, he used a conventionally indirect form with the older

janitor (e.g., Do you mind...) which was perceived as more formal/polite than an

imperative.

In conclusion, the switching of requesting forms regarding the age difference of

the addressees by the Thai respondents was observed in both languages where the

addressees were in various work statuses.

**4.6.3.5 Conclusions to the evidence of pragmatic transfer onto the respondents'
requestive behaviors**

The filling of the term 'please' and 'sir' where it belongs to the Thai ending

politeness marker 'kʰrub' indicates the pragmatic transfer from L1 onto their L2

politeness performance. With regard to the effects of the age of the addressees, the

frequency of the use of 'sir', the choice for the English requesting forms, and the length

of utterance in different age groups all show evidence for the fact that the age of the

addressees did influence their L2 pragmatic behaviors in terms of their choice for

politeness and formality strategies.

4.7 Findings in the Interview data

4.7.1 Introduction

In the movie, Anna and the king (1999), when Anna Leonowens first arrived to

Bangkok and had her initial encounter with the Thai highest-ranking officer (equivalent

to the Prime Minister), she asked the interpreter why he kept calling her 'sir' even though

she was a woman. The question was not really answered. And later, she refused to answer all personal questions and showed her resentment. The Prime Minister looked annoyed at her naiveté and then explained that his asking about personal natures of a newcomer was meant to show his politeness; that is, the concerns about the person. Regardless of other critics' concern about the lack of authenticity of the story, the two examples above do show Thai ways of expressing politeness. The first one displays the speaker's interlanguage pragmatics through his politeness in English as his second language; and the second one displays a Thai custom of how to demonstrate politeness as a host toward a visitor. The conversation in this scene struck me and I felt it fits perfectly well in this study. In addition to why Anna's story was widely criticized by Thai people, Thais feel that it could never happen that a person, especially a newcomer, can be that persistent and challenge the authority/hosts/persons of higher seniority like that in the Thai society where the seniority of age and social status was much highly valued back then. Thus, Thai people find it hard to believe that the king was that desperate not to send her back immediately and hire a new English teacher, instead.

4.7.2 The interviews

After I had finished with the questionnaire data with each respondent, I started the interview in a casual manner. The start-up questions were as follows. "Do you think that Thai is more polite than English? Why?" (i.e., This is not a leading question since it is widely thought among many Thai speakers that Thai is more polite than English), "Does age matter when interacting in Thai with Thai folks and in English with English-speaking people?", "How do you say things politely in Thai?", "If you want to be polite in English, what would you say?", "Do you use the same principles as you do in Thai when speaking

English?", "Do you use kin terms with Thai people whom you work with? How do you use them?", "Do you use kin terms with American friends?", "Do you treat foreigners the same way you treat Thai people?", and "Do you regard them by their ages, too?". Some other questions were built up from the on-going topics of the conversation. The interview time for each respondent was varied, dependent on how much time they were available and how much information they were willing to share. On average, each interview took about 20-30 minutes. I first called for the appointments with the respondents with whom I was most familiar and for whom I had access to their numbers. Once I stepped inside their work sites, I met more officers who were my former students at the academy. I then asked them if they could be on my study and I also told them that I needed the data for my doctoral research. When they agreed to that, we arranged the schedules to meet for the questionnaires and the interviews. Sometimes, it was scheduled later the same day or on the following days. Each of them knew the details of what the questionnaires would be like at the time of recording. Prior to the recording, I told each of them that it was not a test to rank their proficiency. There were no scores, no evaluation. There were no right or wrong answers, either. Rather, it was aimed to gather the actual oral production. I asked them to be natural and elicit what they would normally do in real life. After the recordings, I asked some of the respondents if they would actually talk like that in the natural settings. They all agreed that it was the way they did naturally. They confirmed that they did not try to be formal due to the use of the tape recording; neither was it due to the fact that the data would be used for my dissertation. During the recordings, sometimes we were sitting in one corner of a very large room where we could see people working from a distance, where I made sure there was no nuisance. I took this opportunity to point

at some people who had the same descriptions as the persons in the scenarios; for instance, an old janitor who walked by. I believe this helped their imagination and helped the assumed situations in the scenarios become more real because the respondents saw the presence of the real persons there. I had a chance to observe them at their work sites where they had actual interactions with American pilots and personnel during the 2000 Cobra Gold. Unfortunately, I did not have a chance to record such interactions visually and orally because I had fixed schedules with my respondents. It was very exciting that one respondent who was just mistakenly captured by the Myanmar soldiers during his training flight along the Thai and Myanmar border walked into the room after landing and decided to be in my study. Before the recording started, this young F16 pilot (a former student of mine) was asked by a clerk to locate where the Myanmar spotted his plane so he could type a report for him. It seemed that the incident was such a common routine that no one took it seriously. So I teased him that I was fascinated to know that he had just been involved in an actual English interaction with foreigners.

The following are descriptions and discussions of the recorded interview data which were transcribed and translated into English. The information was selected based on what was related to the focus of this study. The data were based on the respondents' own opinions and own words regarding their perception of politeness and their politeness performance.

4.7.3 Reasons behind the choice for their L2 politeness strategies

This section presents the data from the interviews in regard to what lies behind their choice of politeness strategies in their L2 performance. According to the interview data, the respondents rely on three basic grounds; (1) using of the L2 formulaic

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expressions to guarantee politeness; (2) substituting some L1 politeness strategies for the unknown L2 strategies (e.g., transfer); and (3) reacting the same way they are approached to by native speakers of English (i.e., casual/formal speech).

1. Most respondents agreed on how they would perform politeness in Thai. That is, they tend to use kin terms, ending politeness markers, the tone of voice, indirectness (long utterances) to portray their politeness in their L1; and these politeness strategies are more emphasized when their interlocutors are older than they. The respondents all agreed that they realized that English speakers, unlike Thais, do not differentiate their speech by the ages of the interlocutors. Since their mastery of English, in their opinions, is not efficient enough, they tend to rely on the formulaic expressions they learned in English classes. They all thought that they felt more secure using such forms because they realized that as nonnative speakers of English, they should use only polite forms with everyone. Even with friends with whom they think that casual forms might be more proper, they would rather not use casual forms with native speakers of English. Some admitted that they do not know the exact rules of polite English speaking. They believe that language instruction does not teach students to be rude. Thus, they trust what they are taught in class, which are the formulaic forms. That is the most fundamental rule of their L2 performance. The facts that (1) they were aware of the politeness of the formulaic forms; (2) they did use the forms in practice; but (3) they admitted that they do not know exactly what the rules are, imply that they have learned the forms by memorization rather than comprehension of the pragmatic rules which go hand in hand with the forms.

2. The next rule is to rely on their L1 principles if they do not know exactly what the L2 pragmatic rules are. To substitute the absence of the age-based linguistic and pragmatic elements in their L1 such as the use of kin terms and the use of ending politeness marker 'k^{h}rub' for male speakers, they indicate their politeness toward the older interlocutors over the younger by using the more formal forms (e.g., 'would you mind' rather than 'imperative with please'), emphasizing the use of polite terms, speaking with a softer tone of voice/lengthening vowels, or using modest gestures (e.g., bowing). Indirectness in terms of length of utterance, one of the L1 politeness strategies for older interlocutors in particular, is not listed above because it is the hardest one to maintain in their L2 performance due to their limited L2 speaking skill. They feel uncomfortable speaking briefly with older interlocutors. Many think directness, which they perceive as bluntness, is not a polite or proper form to use with older people. To show some respect even to subordinates who are older (e.g., janitors), they use longer sentences by giving more explanations/reasons before they give them orders for work. Respondent # 46 added that Thais tend to be indirect before getting to the point, because they like to form close relationships with each other first, especially with older interlocutors. He suggested that "They (Western people) do not care to know all the details because they do not have time to listen to all that.". With limited skills, he thinks, Thais will find it difficult to make English requests with long utterances as they do in Thai. According to his comments, it is no surprise that Thais like to play safe by using English formulaic expressions if available. Respondent # 27 suggested that when speaking English, the longer the utterance, the more mistakes. Apart from the language difficulty and their awareness of the preference of native speakers of English (i.e., mostly referred to Americans) for direct

speech, there is another interesting explanation as to why the average length of the English requests in this study is shorter than the Thai ones (see also Table 7.2). Respondent # 46 viewed, "There is no close relationship in the Western society.". Respondent # 42 said, "With farangs (Westerners), there is still a distance. I feel more comfortable speaking English with Asian pilots.". Likewise, Respondent # 33 commented that he felt closer to Singaporean pilots because of their sharing similar cultures. Moreover, Respondent # 29 claimed the distance in relationship with Westerners was a consequence of language barriers and difference in appearance. This reflects Singer's (1998) term 'perceptual groups' which refers to groups of people around the world who share similar perceptions of the world and become an 'identity group' through communication. After that, they form closer relationships than even their own relatives. This explains why many of the respondents feel closer to Asian pilots and more distant from American ones because the latter group shares much less similarity in cultures. In this study, the respondents did not distance from the 'dissimilarity' of language and culture by having a negative evaluation toward the English language like the Turkish students in Stalker's identity study (2000). Rather, they distanced from such dissimilarity by maintaining their cultural/linguistic identity (e.g., relying on Thai politeness principles) and, in some cases, by shortening their utterances. Therefore, distancing caused by cultural/linguistic differences more or less reveals its effects on the length of their utterance as well. Stalker's example of communication between sailors of different cultures suggests that more communication (within the perceptual group) forms closer relationships among them. In reverse, it may imply that more distant relationships might provoke less communication when some individuals have less in common than

others. In the case of the Thai pilots, the closeness among the 'perceptual group' has various dimensions. That is, they feel closer to Asian than to American pilots though they all share the same profession. Such distinction might be a result of their shared feeling with other Asian pilots as being nonnative speakers of English. Among nonnative speakers, they tend to feel more comfortable and communicate better in the same target language than they do with native speakers of such TL because they feel that as learners of the same TL they will be more understanding.

3. The last rule as suggested by the respondents in the study is to observe what native speakers do and then imitate their degrees of politeness. Some said if native speakers used causal forms with them, so would they. Respondent # 7 said, "I will wait until Americans allow me to call them by their first names." Because many agreed, they did not know exactly what the polite rules in English are, nor were they able to distinguish the level of politeness in English, this rule seems to be a strategic resolution to what is unknown to them.

This section presents the respondents' perception of politeness. As mentioned in Chapter 3 that the respondents in this study were all male officers in the Royal Thai Air Force, their perception of politeness might be of interest for most readers who are not familiar with the military people. Many respondents agreed that speaking politely helps secure their good image as officers and perhaps, gentlemen. Respondent # 44 even said that he believed military people were more polite than civilians. The higher rank or position, the more polite. Being polite makes them look smart. Respondent # 22 said that from his experiences in a U.S. air base, he heard sergeants call officers with 'sir' all the time and they always used the formal form (e.g., 'Would you mind...?') with officers.

Then he learned to do the same from what he had observed. To be polite, to Respondent # 36, means to make the person whom you talk to feel good or important. He quoted, "Carnegie said that everyone wants to feel important. To ask someone to do something, you must ask the person nicely."

However, some suggested that formality did not always express politeness. Respondent # 36 suggested that with friends, formality is not a good choice. It increases the distance between individuals and their friends. Using kin terms, on the contrary, helps strengthen the bond of relationship with each other, especially when the superior uses them to their subordinates. However, in this study, formality seems to be a commonly agreed-upon choice in the speech used by people of lower seniority in age to those of higher seniority. However, the use of kin terms does not seem to be applicable in most of the respondents' ILP because of their awareness of non-use of such terms in L2 and their probable feeling of distance from native speakers of English, who, in their perception, are foreigners. Respondent # 42 said, "I am reluctant to use kin terms with foreigners because they might find it offensive since they are not actually related to us (Thais).".

To conclude, the perception data in the interviews provide strong evidence of learning/acquisition, pragmatic transfer, and creativity in their ILP. That is, learning/acquisition is observed through their use of formulaic speech and their awareness of its formality and politeness. Pragmatic transfer is observed through their reliance on their L1 when L2 pragmatic rules are not available to them. Creativity is observed through their judgment after debating what L1 rules or available L2 rules should be the closest in appropriateness for a particular L2 situation.

4.8 Summary of the findings

The findings in this chapter can be viewed into two main aspects: the findings retrieved from the questionnaire data (production) and those from the interview data (perception). The findings in both the production and the perception data are in mutual agreement.

4.8.1 The findings in the production data (oral questionnaires)

4.8.1.1 The requestive pattern elicited by the Thai speakers in this study

The requestive pattern found in this study is similar to that proposed in CCSARP. Namely, it consists of four main parts: the Attention Getting part (alerters), the Introductory part (preposed supportive moves), the Request Head Act part, and the Closing part (postposed supportive moves). The Attention Getting part includes 7 strategies: addressing by address terms, proper names, kin terms, title nouns; also, excusing; greeting; and asking for permission. The Introductory part includes 7 strategies: stating the necessity/problem, stating the want, checking availability, asking of knowledge, giving additional information, referring to the previous/future event/act, and signaling an upcoming request (with a subcategory of stating a statement of 'krengjai'-no desire to place the imposition on others). The Request Head Act part consists of two language versions. The Thai version includes 11 direct requesting forms and 13 indirect requesting forms. The English version includes 3 direct requesting forms and 16 indirect requesting forms. The Closing part includes 8 strategies: stating the necessity/problem, confirming the want, restating the request, asking of knowledge, checking availability, giving additional information, thanking, and showing concern.

The internal modifications used in the Thai requests were the use of the politeness marker 'k^{h}rub', the use of two types of downgraders: an understater 'noi' and two downtoners 'na' and 'si', and the use of first-person and second-person singular pronouns. The internal modifications found in the English requests were the use of the politeness marker 'please' and the use of the address terms 'sir', 'ma'am, and 'madam' functioning as politeness markers in particular contexts.

4.8.1.2 The respondents' choice making of strategies and elements in the requestive pattern in support of the effects of the age difference of the addressees

I. Choice of strategies in the requestive pattern:

(1) The frequency of the top strategies (i.e., the highest frequency) used in the Attention Getting part in both language data (Thai and English) showed evidence of the age effects especially on the part of the addressees. Though the use of most of the strategies was shared in both age groups, the frequency of their use was tremendously oriented toward the older group. There is only one exception in the Thai data that addressing by names was never used with the older interlocutors because of its casualness. However, the choice for not using this particular strategy with a particular age group did show evidence of the age effects on the part of the addressees.

(2) The frequency of the top strategies (i.e., the highest frequency) used in the Introductory part in both language data (Thai and English) also showed evidence of the age effects especially on the addressee part. Likewise, the strategies in this category were also used across age groups. In the Thai data, among the top strategies, four out of six had a tendency of use toward the older group and in the English data, among the top strategies, three out of four had a tendency of use toward the older group. Though the

frequency rate was not much different between both age groups, the frequency of use of those top strategies did point toward the older group. That is, age does determine the choice for the strategies in this category.

(3) In the Thai data, though most requesting forms in the Request Head Act part showed non-significant distinction of their use in terms of the age difference, the preferences of the particular requesting forms for one particular age group over the others were noticeable. The simple question form such as wh-questions and its incomplete version or yes-no questions was commonly used with the younger group. Conversely, the more formal forms such as the forms with the help of some formal verbs or the complex sentences are more likely to be used with the older group. Like the Thai data, the English casual forms such as 'Can you…?' is more likely to be used with the younger interlocutors whereas the formal formulaic expressions such as 'Would you please…?' and 'Would you mind…?' are the choice for the older group. The distinction of use with regard to the age of the addressees is even accentuated within several similar requestive contexts by the same respondents.

(4) The top strategy in the Closing part shared by both languages was 'stating the necessity/problem'. It was used across age groups. But the total percentage showed the frequency of use of the Closing strategies both in Thai and English toward the younger group. There was a tendency for them to leave the Request Head Acts open when requesting the older. There is no adequate information for this phenomenon. However, the age difference did determine their pragmatic behaviors in closing the requestive acts.

All in all, frequency of use of strategies shows more obvious effects of the age difference than types of strategies selected.

II. Choice of politeness markers:

(5) The Thai politeness marker 'k^{h}rub' for male speakers was used significantly more with the older group (72.01%) than the younger group (27.99%) (See the total percentage in Table 6.1). The English politeness marker 'please' was used more with the older group (56.62%) than the younger group (43.38%) (See the total percentage in Table 6.4). The address term 'sir' was used significantly more with the older group (87.90%) than the younger group (12.10%) and the address term 'ma'am or 'madam' was used significantly more with the older group (90%) than the younger group (10%) (See also the total percentage in Table 6.4).

III. Choice of mitigating terms:

(6) Thai mitigating terms such as 'na' (Y=60.45%; O=39.58%) and 'si' (Y=74.10%; O=25.80%) were more commonly used with the younger group. The mitigating term 'noi' as equivalent to 'a little bit' in English had no huge distinction of use regarding age difference (Y=55.05%; O=44.95%). (See the total percentage in Table 6.6)

IV. Choice of the use of first and second personal singular pronouns

(7) The English data did not show any distinction of pronominal use regarding the age difference. But the Thai data did show distinctions and a variety of pronominal use in particular age groups. In the first-personal pronoun group (see the list in 2.7.1), the pronoun 'p^{h}om' was used with both age groups, but used significantly more with the older group (52.63%) than the younger group (14.83%) (see the total percentage in Table 5.1). The pronoun 'p^{h}ee' (i.e., older brother in this case) was used with the younger only and was ranked the second next to the most popular one, 'p^{h}om'. In the second-personal

pronoun group, there are more varieties of pronouns used by the respondents. Within the younger group, the pronoun 'nong' (i.e., younger brother in this case) was the most popular one; its usage was 16.08% of all the pronouns used in this category (the total of 143) and was never used at all with the older addressees. Within the older group, the pronoun 'p^{h}ee' was the most popular one; it was used 49.65% of the total of 143 and was never used at all with the younger addressees (see also the total percentage in Table 5.2).

V. Distinction in length of utterance:

(8) The mean values of the total length of utterances show that the respondents used longer requests in the Thai data (4.959) than in the English data (3.070). With regard to the age difference, the mean values of the total length of utterances show that both Thai and English data show evidence for the use of longer requests toward the older group (Thai=5.723; English=3.575) than the younger group (Thai=4.195; English=2.565) (see Table 7.2).

4.8.2 Findings in the perception data (interviews)

There are three basic rules that were used by the respondents regarding their L2 pragmatics: (1) use of learned formulaic expressions if available; (2) reliance on L1 rules if L2 knowledge is not available; and (3) observation and replication of native speakers' pragmatic performance. The interview data reveal their recognition of the importance of the age difference of the addressees in both language performances. The data also reveal the process of their negotiation for resolutions to the unavailability of their L2 knowledge, which is evidence for the creativity in their ILP.

4.8.3 Evidence for three basic components in the L2 learners' ILP

According to the analysis of the ILP in both the production and perception data, there is evidence that in the learning process some L2 elements were already learned and perhaps acquired. Some shared characteristics of their L1 pragmatics through direct (borrowing) or indirect/processed transfer (negotiation). The pragmatic phenomenon in the latter is a consequence of learners' creativity through the negotiation process which reflects the learners' own judgments of appropriateness. Therefore, the three basic components of the L2 learners' ILP are learned/acquired, transferred/borrowed, and creative forms.

4.9 Conclusions of this chapter

To understand the interlanguage pragmatics of L2 learners, their L1 pragmatic behaviors must first be analyzed. On this account, the analysis of the Thai requestive behaviors was prior to the analysis of the English requestive ones in order to draw a baseline for analysis.

The analysis of the data in this study reveals answers to the research questions 'What are the components of L2 learners' interlanguage pragmatics?' and 'What constitutes ILP components of Thai learners of English as a foreign language?'. The components, as hypothesized, may consist of L1-like forms (evidence of transfer), L2-like forms (evidence of learning/acquisition/acquiring), and creative forms (evidence of learners' internalized negotiation process). Hypothesis 1 and its sub-hypotheses were then supported. The word 'form' above is equivalent to language phenomena which occur in the learners' second language learning process. Pragmatically, during such a long process on the continuum toward complete acquisition, some L2 pragmatic rules and

elements are learned, some may be acquired, and some are not yet known to them. Apart from difficulties of new pragmatic rules and elements, L2 learners have to deal with their familiarity with their L1 pragmatics and the absence of some of those familiar rules and elements. To cope with that, their reliance on their L1 rules or elements is inevitable. Pragmatic transfer can be viewed as direct borrowings of L1 rules or elements or it can be viewed as results of learners' internalized negotiation process. Pragmatic transfer in the latter case is processed in either their conscious or unconscious mind, or perhaps both. It is a process of learners' creativity and judgments for resolutions of problems stemming from what is unknown and unavailable in the L2. Such creativity along the path of pragmatic transfer is a complicated thinking process like 'hypothesis testing'. The difference is that this creative process is based mainly on the learners' own judgments as to what level of appropriateness satisfies their needs most and what strategy they feel comfortable with. That is, their ILP must serve their goals of interaction and, simultaneously, secure their self/cultural identity, which in this study is to maintain the seniority system in their L2 pragmatic behaviors (i.e., distinction in their politeness regarding the age difference of the addressees). Thus, the findings in this study did support Hypothesis 2 and its sub-hypotheses that the age of the addressees show its effects on the choice of politeness strategies and length of utterances in both languages.

At the pragmatic level where language behaviors are cultural and socially based, learning a new language does not mean learning just new linguistic forms. As a matter of fact, it is learning to be able to use a new language; to communicate with people who use that language for communication at the point that satisfies those involved in such communication. Acquisition of native-like proficiency might not be necessarily the case,

particularly, where an L2 is learned in a foreign language learning context (e.g., learning English in Thailand). Learning another language is also a psychological process which involves some sensitive matters that L2 learners have to go through. The fear of identity loss or the fear of being condemned by their country mates for disloyalty to their own culture more or less has influence over learners' choice of their L2 pragmatic behaviors. Therefore, such pragmatic transfer should not be viewed as interference in their L2 learning because their ILP is not absolutely a result of what they do not acquire. Rather, it is also a result of their choice making and the compromises necessary for a satisfactory interaction.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

The evidence found in this study confirms that Brown and Levinson's framework is insufficient to account for pragmatic behaviors of speakers in some collectivistic cultures where the value of seniority is dominant. Thus, the age difference between speakers in a given social context is then another primary factor to be considered in that in such particular cultures it does determine L2 learners' pragmatic behaviors in their L1 that influence their ILP as well. In the study of person-referring expressions in the Thai pronominal systems, Simpson (1997) found that power and solidarity Brown and Gilman (1960) proposed as the primary factors affecting pronoun choice are not sufficient to account for the pragmatic/linguistic choice of pronouns in all languages. Her interest primarily focuses on the role of the gender difference of interlocutors on the choice for the Thai person-referring expressions. Though the gender effect did show its effect on the choice of pronouns in the Thai pronominal systems in the data of this present study, the roles of the age difference of the addressees on choice of the first and second personal pronouns were more dominant. Since my major interest was on the age issue, the gender effect was then not the focus of discussion because the primary purpose of adding the gender difference in one of the contexts studied intended to show a variety of contexts in which the age difference of the addressees might have an effect. Therefore, in regard to the choice for the first and second personal pronouns, the focal discussion of the findings in this study then compares the effects of the age difference of the addressees in the production of the respondents' L1 (Thai) and their L2 (English).

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The L2 learners' interlanguage pragmatics in this study was investigated through their choice of politeness strategies in request making. The analysis of the requestive patterns in their L1 and L2 in conjunction with the analysis of some other pragmatic/linguistic elements (e.g., politeness markers, choice of pronouns and length of utterances) for politeness manifestation was intended to find evidence for basic pragmatic phenomena in their ILP such as learning/acquisition, transfer, and creativity as proposed. Simultaneously, evidence for the age effect on the part of the addressees was looked for to support the claim for the roles of the age difference of the addressees as another determinant for pragmatic behaviors.

5.2 The findings

According to 4.8 (summary of the findings in Chapter 4), there was tremendous evidence for the effects of the age difference of the addressees on pragmatic choice of the Thai learners of English in their L1. Such age effects determine their pragmatic choice for different age groups in several respects such as the choice for first- and second-personal pronouns, strategies in the requestive patterns (e.g., formal/casual forms in the Request Head Act), internal modifications (e.g., excessive use of politeness markers and mitigating terms in one age group over the other), and length of their utterances (the longer, the more indirect, then the more polite). To a certain extent, such age value in their L1 plays an important role in their L2 pragmatic choice as well. Namely, it strongly determines the tremendously higher frequent use of a politeness marker (e.g., please) and some address terms (e.g., sir) to portray politeness toward one age group over the other. The age difference also showed its effects in the preference of use of strategies in the requestive patterns, particularly in the Request Head Act. That is, a more formal form

was chosen when the addressee was much older than the addresser, and a more casual

form was chosen when the addressee was much younger than the addresser. Likewise, the

addressers used longer utterances in their request making with the older addressees than

with the younger addressees in their L2. The pronominal choice was not affected by the

age difference due to much fewer varieties of pronouns in the L2 (English).

Moreover, the proposed three basic components of the ILP were observed. The

learned/acquired forms were observed through their use of formulaic expressions. The

transferred forms were observed through the higher frequency of use of some pragmatic

elements or the preference of formal or casual forms with one age group over the other.

This reflects the transfer of their concern over the seniority in the age of the addressees

onto their L2 pragmatics though it lacks another L1 prominent characteristic of the in-

group orientation via the use of kin terms. The creative forms were observed through the

redundant use of a politeness marker 'please' within the same sentence, for instance.

5.3 Thai politeness

Kanithanan (1993) concluded that there are four basic aspects of being polite in

Bangkok Thai, which is considered to be the standard form of the Thai language; that is,

(1) being humble and modest, (2) being respectful to the hearer, (3) being formal, and (4)

being redundant (i.e., the longer the utterance, the more polite). In so doing, Thai

speakers may pronounce their politeness through the tone of voice (e.g., the softening and

the lengthening of vowels) or word choice (e.g., the use of politeness markers or the use

of some common terms to strengthen politeness for particular age groups). An example of

the latter is the use of first-person and second-person pronouns which are

age/gender/status based. For instance, the first-person singular pronoun '*nuu*' refers to the

male or female speaker of lower status than the hearer. As for the male speaker, the term is almost always used when conversing with his parents in his home. The second-person singular pronoun 't^{h}aan' refers to the hearer who is a much older person of much higher status regardless of gender.

Kanithanan (1993) confirmed the effects of the age factor governing the pragmatic behaviors of Thai speakers. She affirmed that all Thai speakers who are raised in the society where the value of seniority is dominant all learn how to estimate the age differences between themselves and their interlocutors. They learn that the misuse of the first-person and the second-person pronouns will inevitably be perceived as offensive and disrespectful manners on the part of the speaker. However, she added that the influence of the Western culture has strengthened the role of social status in determining the choice of pragmatic behaviors. Work titles or ranks are becoming a more influential factor than the age factor especially in Bangkok Thai (i.e., the Standard Thai) where the use of kin terms among those who are not genetically related is diminishing. Nevertheless, in the military environment where ranks are dominant, the use of kin terms to differentiate age groups is proven to retain its popularity among the officers in this study. Therefore, the findings in this study did confirm her frameworks of Thai politeness.

5.4 Implications for foreign language pedagogy

The findings of this study imply that learning a language is inevitably in association with learning its culture. One cannot deny that language and culture are inseparable. Even when a child learns her first language, she also learns the social disciplines of the mother tongue. When such a learner learns an L2, she negotiates and produces her L2 performance based on her L1 and the existing L2 knowledge both

linguistically and culturally. In particular, when a language learner comes from a culture which is different from that of the target language, it is advisable that both language teachers and learners should learn to understand the natures of the two cultures involved: the target language and the learner's native language. Language teachers learn them to be able to provide effective instructions and language learners learn them to become good language users. Teachers then can point out the pragmatic distinctions together with some common ground of the two languages. It is, however, left to the learners themselves to negotiate their way to perform their interlanguage pragmatics based on their creativity and judgments. It seems the more advanced, the more creative and the more adventurous.

The findings in this study confirm that the culture of the collectivistic learners does influence on their performance of an individualistic L2. The age of the addressees is a social factor that should not be ignored in the study of pragmatics because it certainly plays an important role in some Oriental cultures such as Thai. It is evidenced in the pronominal systems of the Thai language as discussed in Chapter 4.

This study is an attempt to open up the scope of languages studied in this field. There should be more pragmatic investigations on Oriental/Asian languages because there have been a large number of Oriental learners around the world learning Western languages as their L2s, especially English as a second language. The studies will help bridge the gap between ESL/EFL teachers and their Oriental students. When the teachers are aware of the nature of their students' pragmatic behaviors in their native languages, they can point out the distinctions and emphasize the similarity between the target language and the students' L1. In so doing, it will lead them to the appropriate/effective use of the L2 pragmatics. To learn a language is to learn its culture at the same time. With

the understanding on the part of the ESL/EFL teachers, their students will not be hesitant to trust and follow their instructions. Moreover, the understanding will allow them to have positive attitudes toward their learning the L2; namely, no fear of identity loss or of L2 intrusion onto L1 systems. Then it is left to the students to exploit their creativity and judgments to shape their L2 pragmatics to effectively serve their communicative needs.

However, as mentioned earlier, there is one concern that should not be overlooked; that is, many adult L2 learners are subconsciously concerned that they might lose their self identity when they are learning an L2. In that case, native proficiency is not their ultimate goal. Rather, the negotiation of being appropriate at the acceptable level in both the target culture and their L1 culture is required by the judgments of the learners themselves with the help from the ESL/EFL teachers in the ESL/EFL classes. There are circumstances where L2 learners such as the high-intermediate learners in this study have to make judgments on their own. This suggests that linguistic instruction alone does not help L2 learners acquire the appropriate use of the L2 pragmatics. The English data in this study showed evidence of the imbalance of the competency of these learners on the linguistic and pragmatic rules of the target language. Their linguistic competence seems to outdo their pragmatic one. The unsystematic variation of their L2 pragmatic behaviors indicates their lack of adequate understanding about the pragmatic rules of the target language. For instance, the address term 'sir' in this study was used in every level of relationships (i.e., colleagues and strangers), with persons of every work status (i.e., egalitarians and subordinates), with every age group (i.e., younger and older addressees) and even with every gender (i.e., male and female addressees) (see also Table 5.5). Only its frequency can show its consistency in regard to its use toward one particular age

group, which is the older group. Thus, it would be of great benefits if ESL/EFL teachers put more emphasis on pragmatic instructions of the target language in their classrooms. Pragmatics deals with functions of languages. As a result, class activities should be based on practice of the use of L2 pragmatic rules in varied situational contexts. The practice may start from the utterance level in isolated speech acts like the questionnaires in this study, then develop to small interchanges like adjacency pairs, and then to the negotiated discourse level where various unexpected interactions occur like in natural exposures. Thus, roleplays might be an appropriate type of class activity. Adequate practice will help to minimize the need for trial and error, thereby lessening the risk of communication breakdowns and miscommunication at worse. The teachers who are aware of the distinctions will understand what underlies the learners' interlanguage pragmatics and what might account for the potential pragmatic transfer. The so-called pragmatic failures might result from their incompetence of the L2 rules or from their ignorance of the negative outcomes of their nonnative status (i.e., unintentionally what they do is sometimes perceived as improper or rude by native speakers). In the light of creativity in the learners' ILP, some people who are ignorant of this nature of the ILP might view their creativity as a failure as well. As a matter of fact, direct transfer or transfer through creativity is not necessarily considered interference or a failure as long as the L2 learners can successfully get their messages across, even though their ILP is still impaired.

As for the concept of identity, Simpson (1997) explains that the use of person-referring expressions in the Thai language portrays how Thai speakers construct and negotiate their own identity and their relationships with others in the society through the choice of pronouns. For instance, to make a choice from several options for the self, they

make judgments based upon contexts, interlocutors, and social factors. This indicates that at the sociolinguistic level learners cannot deny the role of culture. At the pragmatic level, learners make judgments as to what is appropriate before they perform a speech act. Adult learners who have had long and high familiarity with their L1 culture, which develops and reinforces the rules of their pragmatic competence, will have difficulty in getting rid of L1 norms when learning or performing an L2 which has different/new norms. This helps explain that familiarity as well as fear of identity loss might result in pragmatic transfer. Native culture is a base for constructing a person's identity, once it is adopted it is hard to replace. Thus, L2 pragmatic behaviors which are culturally bound seem to be harder or later achieved than L2 linguistic knowledge by L2 learners.

5.5 Limitations and suggestions

This study was designed to overcome the limitations of previous studies. It was an attempt to retrieve the most natural data possible. Though the questionnaires were not required negotiations, the data could portray the elicitation in many circumstances where an initiation of a request may be completed in one turn of utterances; particularly, where the degree of imposition of the illocutionary force was kept low. Moreover, the requesting scenarios in this study were the situations that were most likely to happen in the respondents' daily life. The gender of the speakers and the hearers were controlled. The data elicitation was designed for oral production on tape recordings. The oral production questionnaire method was chosen basically because of its effectiveness and practicality; and it was proved in earlier studies to be one of the most effective methods for data elicitation. The number of the respondents was large enough (i.e., 50) for the analysis of this type of research, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods.

However, there are some limitations in this study. First, the respondents were all males who worked in the military environment. Since gender was not the focus of this study, it might be interesting to have a further investigation on the production of female speakers to male hearers or to female hearers. Second, the occupation effect might be claimed more or less to play a role in the respondents' pragmatic behaviors unless we can find proof to show no effects by implementing the similar research on civilians. Third, the questionnaires were given in order in terms of the age of the addressees; that is, they were asked to respond to the scenario where they would make a request to a younger interlocutor followed by the scenarios where it required a response to an older interlocutor. Thus, some respondents might have thought that different responses for different age groups were expected. To avoid this probable effect, in the further research, the scenarios should be given in mixed order or in different days. However, the interview data show that some respondents admitted that they would talk differently to different age groups no matter what. Fourth, it would be interesting if we can find evidence for the age of the addressees in a longer discourse consisting of more than one turn of exchanges where negotiations are available; particularly, the requesting contexts where the degree of imposition is high. Fifth, other Asian languages where the value of seniority in age is dominant in their cultures are expected to show similar evidence of the effects of the age of the addressees on the speakers' pragmatic behaviors. Pragmatic transfer might appear on their interlanguage pragmatics. Thus, a further investigation should be done on other Asian languages as well. Lastly, to be able to make a generalization and to confirm the effects of the age of the addressee, other speech acts should be investigated. For instance, Thai has at least two expressions of appreciation, the usage of which is differentiated by

the age difference of the interlocutors. That is, the older speaker will say 'khob-jai', not 'khob-khun' to the younger hearer. Conversely, the younger speaker will say 'khob-khun' to the older hearer, but never use 'khob-jai' with the older hearer. In some cultures like the Indians, the older will not say 'thank you' to the younger.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

REQUESTING CONTEXTS

Context 1: Asking male colleagues to repeat the time

<u>The younger Colleague-1 scenario</u>

During the break in a seminar or some training, you need to go for an appointment. You forgot your watch and there is no clock available. You have just asked the time from a familiar colleague who is much YOUNGER than you (10-20 years younger). He has told you the time, but he speaks too softly or there is a loud noise. You are not quite sure what you hear. You are asking him to tell you the time again.

<u>The older Colleague-1 scenario</u>

The situation is the same as in 1.1, but you ask a familiar <u>male</u> colleague who is much OLDER than you (10-20 years older) to tell you the time again.

Context 2: Asking male colleagues for direction

<u>The younger Colleague-2 scenario</u>

You are having lunch with your <u>male</u> colleagues in a new and big restaurant. You want to go to the restroom. One of your YOUNGER colleagues (10-20 years younger) went to the restroom and has just came back to the table. You ask him to tell you where the restroom is.

<u>The older Colleague-2 scenario</u>

The situation is the same as in 2.1, but you ask the direction to the restroom from an OLDER male colleague (10-20 years older) who has just came back from there.

Context 3: Asking male colleagues to tell the time

The younger Colleague-3 scenario

You come to work in the morning. You remember that there will be a meeting today, but you cannot remember what time the meeting starts exactly. You ask the first person you meet in the office this morning about the meeting time. That familiar <u>male</u> colleague whom you ask is much YOUNGER (about 10-20 years younger) than you and he is supposed to attend the meeting as well.

The older Colleague-3 scenario

The situation is the same as in 3.1, but your familiar <u>male</u> colleague whom you ask about the meeting time is much OLDER than you (about 10-20 years older) and he is supposed to attend the meeting as well.

Context 4: Asking male clerks to print a file

The younger Clerk-1 scenario

You have lost the report of the last meeting. You need some information from the report. The young <u>male</u> clerk in your office still has this file in his computer. You ask him to print out another copy for you. He is much YOUNGER than you. You have known him for quite some time.

The older Clerk-1 scenario

The situation is the same as in 4.1, but you ask a senior <u>male</u> clerk who is about your father's age to print out another copy of the meeting report for you. You have known him for quite some time.

Context 5: Asking male clerks for some change

<u>The younger Clerk-2 scenario</u>

You need some change for a dollar bill in order to make a phone call. You ask a young <u>male</u> clerk in your office (10-20 years YOUNGER than you) for some change.

<u>The older Clerk-2 scenario</u>

The situation is the same as in 5.1, but you ask an old <u>male</u> clerk in your office (10-20 years OLDER than you) for some change.

Context 6: Asking male janitors to clean the wet spot

<u>The younger Janitor scenario</u>

You come to a meeting earlier than the other participants. You see a wet spot on the floor of the room. You ask a young <u>male</u> janitor (about 10 years YOUNGER than you) who is working in that area to dry it up before the meeting starts. You know that he has worked for your office for quite a long time.

<u>The older Janitor scenario</u>

The situation is the same as in 6.1, but you ask an OLDER <u>male</u> janitor (about your father's age) who is working in that area to dry it up before the meeting starts. You know He has worked at your office for a long time.

Context 7: Asking male strangers to locate a friend

<u>The younger Male Stranger scenario</u>

You are meeting with your friend at his workplace at the first time. You cannot find his office. You are looking around to find someone who can show you where his office is located. You happen to see a young man standing outside of the building

smoking a cigarette. You walk toward him and you are behind him now. He looks about

10 years YOUNGER than you. You do not know him.

<u>The older Male Stranger scenario</u>

The situation is the same as in 7.1, but the gray-haired <u>man</u> who is smoking looks

much OLDER than you (10-20 years older). You do not know him.

Context 8: Asking female strangers to pass the sauce

<u>The younger Female Stranger scenario</u>

At a buffet party, you are sitting at a table with all strangers. You want some

sauce. You ask the <u>girl</u> who sits next to you and closer to the sauce to pass it on to you.

The girl is much YOUNGER than you (10-20 years younger).

<u>The older Female Stranger senario</u>

The situation is the same as in 8.1, but the old <u>lady</u> who sits next to you is much

OLDER than you (about your mother's age).

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

p^h aspirated 'p' as in 'piece'

k^h aspirated 'k' as in 'car'

uu   as in 'noon'

u   as in 'took'

?   rising intonation

.   falling intonation

(...)   ellipsis

[...]   an explanation of the characteristics or meaning of the antecedent

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