

Pragmatic Development of Direction-Giving by Learners of Korean as a Foreign Language

Jihye Lee
Indiana University

1. Introduction

Foreign language learners often experience limited input in a status unequal setting where modeling of a language is from a higher speaker to a lower addressee, which places limitations on relevant input for the acquisition of L2 pragmatics. This paper investigates the pragmatic development of direction-giving among 30 learners at beginning, intermediate, and advanced levels of Korean as a foreign language. Giving directions is a common conversational exchange in daily life. Communicatively competent learners need to know how to give directions in a target language in accordance with the target norms. Learners should know the structure (e.g., opening, pre-closing, and closing) as well as the content of direction-giving in the target language (e.g., direction-giving types, comprehension checks, and orientation checks) (Scotton & Bernsten, 1983; Pearson & Lee, 1992). Furthermore, learners are required to have the ability to use linguistic devices according to addressee status, and to acquire cultural preference in perspective taking within the direction-giving. That is, learners are required to have sociopragmatic knowledge to use appropriate utterances based on the understanding of social standards, and pragmalinguistic knowledge to produce utterances that convey the speaker's intended illocutionary force (Thomas, 1983). Given that learners need to pay attention to all the relevant linguistic and pragmatic choices, direction-giving in L2 is a complex task.

Direction-giving is not a new task in second language research. It has been used often in studies on task-based language learning (Ellis, 2003). A map task as a real world activity is favored because researchers can observe learners' interactions. During their interactions, learners negotiate meanings, notice input, and produce linguistic output, which lead to language acquisition. In addition to the studies employing direction-giving as a set of tasks, there have also been some studies analyzing native speakers' direction-giving as speech behaviors (for English Psathas & Kozloff, 1976; Scotton & Bernsten, 1983; Pearson & Lee, 1992; for German, Klein, 1982; for French, Denis, 1997; and for Korean and Japanese, Strauss, Katayama, & Eun, 2002). However, studies investigating learners' direction-giving under pragmatic perspectives are rare (c.f. Taylor-Hamilton, 2004). To fill this gap, the current study will explore learners' L2 Korean direction-giving.

Another motivation for this study is derived from a call for ILP (interlanguage pragmatics) studies based on the acquisitional perspective. A large body of research in interlanguage pragmatics has focused on learners' language use rather than their learning (Kasper & Rose, 2002). Bardovi-Harlig (1999a) has argued that research in interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) needs to include developmental issues. Developmental studies of the acquisition of L2 pragmatic competence have found that learners initially rely on lexical items and a few formulaic expressions; in the later stage, learners increase their range of directive types and elaborate their utterances by means of various linguistic devices (Felix-Brasdefer, 2007; Barron, 2003, Rose, 2000; Ellis, 1992; Schmidt, 1983). Although a speech act of request has gained significant attention from ILP studies, there has been relatively less attention paid to L2 direction-giving from acquisitionally-focused research.

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Motivated by these claims regarding the developmental issues, this cross-sectional study primarily examines the acquisitional patterns of L2 Korean direction-giving from beginning to advanced levels by means of computer-based oral/aural map task in relation to direction-giving types, mitigation, and speech levels and honorifics. The present study addresses three research questions:

How is Korean direction-giving realized by learner groups and native speakers (NSs)?

Do learners vary their use of direction-giving types and mitigation devices according to addressee status?

What acquisitional patterns of direction-giving can be found in learner groups?

The following section provides a review of the previous research on developmental patterns of interlanguage pragmatics and direction-giving. After that, politeness in Korean that is achieved through speech levels and honorific meanings will be discussed. The findings on the developmental patterns of L2 direction-giving will be discussed in light of previous ILP studies.

2. Developmental patterns in L2 pragmatic acquisition

Direction-giving is a subset of directives, and directives are defined as “attempts by the speakers to get the hearer to do something” (Searle, 1976, p. 11). The current study is concerned with the acquisitional aspects of interlanguage pragmatics in direction-giving. In this section, studies on L2 pragmatic development will be reviewed. Little research has been done on direction-giving. To overview the development of interlanguage pragmatics, this study draws on previous findings from studies on L2 requests because both direction-giving and requests fall into directives.

Two longitudinal interlanguage pragmatic studies of directives are Schmidt (1983)’s study of uninstructed learner of English, and Ellis’s (1992) report on the pragmatic development of requests by two beginning ESL learners. Schmidt (1983) reported the acquisition of English directives by a Japanese artist, Wes. In Schmidt’s three-year long study, Wes initially used a limited number of formulas *Can I have ~?* and progressive forms *Please never thinking*. He relied on lexical such as *please*, which represents his strategic competence. As he uses hints at the beginning of developmental stage, native speakers often did not understand his speech. Over three years, Wes developed his formulaic expressions and strategic competence, although there was less linguistic development. Instead of relying on the formula, he increased the range of directive types and produced elaborated directives.

Ellis (1992) investigated the requests produced by two beginning ESL learners in a classroom setting for 16 months and for 21 months respectively. The learners initially used minimal request realization, for example, *pencil please* relying on contexts. Afterward, they used direct requests and unanalyzed formula such as query preparatory requests, *Can I have~?*. The productive use of *Can I~?* in different syntactic environment appeared in the next stage. The range of request types increased and the learners often modified their requests by using a politeness marker and repeating their request. However, they seldom produced hints, grounders, and hedged performatives. In addition, they showed limited ability to vary request strategies according to addressees.

Cross-sectional studies explored the pragmatic development of L2 requests among different levels of proficiency. These studies explain the effects of proficiency on the interlanguage pragmatic system. Rose (2000) reported the developmental pattern of requests, apologies, and compliments produced by Cantonese EFL children at different grades by using a cartoon oral production task (COPT). The higher proficient learners used indirect request strategies, whereas the lower proficient learners used direct strategies or opting out. In the main strategies for requests, all the children showed a limited range of pragmalinguistic knowledge. However, the older children employed more supportive moves than the younger. No evidence was found in regard to the development of sociopragmatic knowledge. In other words, none of the groups of children were sensitive to situational variation such as social status and the degree of imposition.

Using open role plays, Felix-Brasdefer (2007) examined Spanish requests of FL learners at different proficiency levels to determine the pragmatic development in Spanish. Beginning learners often employed direct requests, which are realized in the forms of ellipsis, imperatives, need-statement, and infinitive verbs. Whereas beginning learners are less sensitive to social variation in producing requests, more advanced learners showed sociolinguistic knowledge by less using direct

requests in formal situations. However, the intermediate and advanced learners' requests did not approximate the Spanish norms shown in NSs' performance of requests.

On the basis of the longitudinal studies (Ellis, 1992; Achiba, 2003), Kasper and Rose (2002) identified five stages of pragmatic development in L2 requests: 1) pre-basic (dependent on context), 2) formulaic (unanalyzed formula) 3) unpacking (productive language use), 4) pragmatic expansion; and 5) fine-tuning. The studies show that learners initially highly rely on a small number of formulas and later productively use various types of directives (Schmidt, 1983; Ellis, 1992; Rose, 2000; Felix-Brasdefer, 2007). However, all the learners, except for the advanced learners in Felix-Brasdefer's study, had difficulty in performing appropriate request forms depending on the status of the addressee.

3. Previous studies on direction-giving

Directives include requests, suggestions, commands, and direction-giving (Searle, 1976); however, direction-giving forms are different from other directive forms. This section provides a brief review of previous studies describing the linguistic realization of direction-giving. A majority of these studies investigated the structure, the contents, and the strategies of direction-giving in L1.

Pasathas & Kozloff (1976) reported the structure of direction-giving in English produced by British English speakers. The findings revealed that direction-giving included three parts: an introduction of the context of giving-directions, the actual route description, and a repetition of some directions with a closing. A more detailed description of direction-giving sequences was provided by Scotton and Bernsten (1988). They examined direction-giving exchanges by American English speakers and found uniformity in the structure and the content of direction-giving across gender, age, and status. NSs' direction-giving contained other parts as well as actual directions: an opening¹ *The Vet Clinic? Oh man, it's a haul*, a pre-closing² *It's way on the other side of campus from here*, a closing *Thank you*, and orientation checkers *Do you know where the Agriculture Hall is?* (p. 377). To show the gratitude, the direction-givers often responded not with *you're welcome* but with *yep*, *mm-huh*, or no responses. In addition, native speakers used fillers *uh*, *okay* especially in the opening sequences (p. 378). In terms of direction-giving types, although the American English speakers frequently produced bald imperatives (e.g., *Take a right on to Wilson*), they also employed complex structures (e.g., *The best way to go would be to cut across Wilson*).

In a replication study of Scotton and Bernsten (1988), Pearson and Lee (1992) confirmed the highly formulaic direction-giving exchanges by American speakers as found in the original study. The direction-giving by the NSs included "similar moves (opening, main body, pre-closing, closing) and main body moves (directives, parenthetical remarks, orientation, and comprehension checks)" (p. 123). In their study, Pearson and Lee (1992) added the effect of a non-native speaker (NNS) as a direction-seeker on the NS's direction-giving in relation to its structure and content. Findings showed that NS/NNS status and gender slightly affected NS's linguistic choices: NS direction-givers used fewer hedges and more closings with NNSs than with NSs, and female direction seekers received more directive-types than male direction seekers.

Strauss, Katayama, and Eun, (2002) attempted to describe the cross-linguistic difference in the discourse patterns of the route description in Korean, Japanese, and American English. The data were analyzed based on the use, distribution, and frequency of expressions of visual perception (e.g., see, look), which are pertinent to landmarks. They found Korean-specific discourse patterns in direction-giving: Koreans tend to elaborate on "ground rather than figure" (p. 110). That is, whereas English speakers use speaker-centered patterns *You'll see a bookstore*, Korean speakers focus on ground *A bookstore will become visible*. Thus, whereas English speakers often used a verb *see*, Korean speakers preferred visual perception verbs, *naoto* 'appear', *poita* 'become visible', and *issta* 'exist'. The authors argued that English speakers focus on the person moving and passing landmarks. However, in Korean,

¹ "Openings are defined as a type of insertion sequence occurring in the direction-giver's initial turn and containing other semantic material than the immediate propositional answer to the request for directions" (e.g., fillers, question repeats, interjections, pauses and space fillers and openers). "An opener is a synthetic statement, a comment on the goal of the direction" (e.g. It's really far) (Scotton & Bernsten, 1988, p.376).

² "Pre-closing is a comment, often synthetic, which directly follows the actual directions" (ibid. p. 377)

rather than the person moving from one place to the other, the landmarks are referred to as moving entities and become visible to the person.

A recent study provided findings based on a cross-cultural comparison in L1 and L2 direction-giving by speakers of L1 UK English, L1 Arabic, and L2 English (Arabic speakers). Taylor-Hamilton (2004) found that participants mixed various direction-giving strategies: relational directions (e.g., *take a left*), reference to street names (e.g., *you go on to 11th street*), and landmarks (e.g., *you go straight down until you get to Lamcy Plaza*) (p. 169). The NSs of English most favored relational directions and secondly street names, followed by landmarks, whereas Arabic NSs most preferred relational directions, next, landmarks and street names. The L2 learners followed neither Arabic nor English norms. L2 learners heavily relied on relational directions and used landmarks and street names half as much as they occurred in L1 English data.

In summary, four observations emerge from these studies that will inform the current study. First, English speakers tend to employ a uniformed structure and contents in their direction-giving sequences (Psathas & Kozloff, 1976; Scotton & Bernsten, 1983; Pearson & Lee, 1992). Second, English speakers use other complex direction-giving forms other than imperatives (Scotton & Bernsten, 1983; Pearson & Lee, 1992). This is particularly relevant to the present study as it mainly focuses on learners' linguistic repertoire in direction-giving. Third, situational factors such as gender or L1 of the addressee influence the route description (Pearson & Lee, 1992). Fourth, there is a cross-linguistic and cultural difference in using the expressions of visual perception and the strategies for direction-giving (Strauss, Katayama, & Eun, 2002; Taylor-Hamilton, 2004). These previous findings served as a source to develop a coding schema for analyzing learners' direction-giving in Korean. The current study focuses on learners' direction-giving types. It also examines whether learners differentiate their linguistic elements according to situational parameters, age and social status.

3.1. Politeness in Korean through speech levels, honorifics, and downgraders

In this study, social status was a major variable to examine whether learners differentiate direction-giving strategies according to status (professor, instructor, and friend). It is important to consider social status as a variable because in Korean society, the interlocutor's social status, that is, a position in a social hierarchy, is closely related to power differences (Byon, 2004). Korean communication pattern is oriented toward the hierarchical culture, and the particular communication pattern is reflected in the speaker's speech. Thus, examining learners' ability to distinguish pragmatic strategies according to social status will show whether learners have access to sociopragmatic knowledge in the target language. In institutional settings professors are viewed as higher status than students due to their academic expertise and the rank as a faculty member (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1990). Direction-giving events include commands, suggestions, and warnings, which can be considered to be "non-congruent speech acts" (ibid., p.476) when a lower status person addresses higher status. To negotiate status-challenging speech acts, it is important for learners to use appropriate speech act strategies according to social status. This section discusses how Koreans differentiate their language by using speech levels, honorifics, and downgraders according to the addressee status.

Inappropriate use of speech levels or the absence of a subject honorific suffix makes learner utterances impolite. Korean realizes politeness through indirectness, speech levels, the use of downgraders, and honorific elements. A speaker needs to vary his or her use of the speech level³: deferential, polite, and intimate, according to social status and distance. The intimate level is used by children, adolescents, and adults with their family members or with their close friends. Both the polite level and the deferential level are used between unfamiliar equal statuses or with superior status. The distinction between the polite and the deferential level lies in its formality. The deferential level is formal as opposed to its informal counterpart, the polite level. In other words, the most formal and polite level is the deferential level. Thus, the deferential level is often used in news reports and formal speech (Sohn, 1999).

³ According to Sohn (1999), Korean has six speech levels (deferential, polite, intimate, familiar, blunt, and plain). In this present paper, the levels will be simplified into the major three (deferential, polite, and intimate). Thus, familiar, blunt, and plain speech levels will be included in the intimate speech level category.

1. 오른쪽으로 돌아
Oluncchok-ulo tol-^a
Right-toward turn-*intimate ending*
'Turn right'
2. 오른쪽으로 돌아요
Oluncchok-ulo tol-a-yo
Right-toward turn-*polite ending*
'Turn right'
3. 오른쪽으로 도세요
Oluncchok-ulo to-seyyo
Right-toward turn-*honorific ending*
'Turn right'
4. 오른쪽으로 도십시오
Oluncchok-ulo to -sipsio
Right-toward turn- *deferential ending*
'Turn right'
5. 3가를 타고 오셔야 될 것 같아요
3 ka-lul tha-ko o-si-e.ya toy-lkes kath-a-yo
3 street-obj take-and come-*honorific si-if* only become-*probably-polite ending*
'You *probably* should take 3rd street'

As shown in examples (1) through (5), direction-giving in imperatives presents different realizations with respect to the speech levels and the presence or absence of the honorific suffix *-(u)si*. Example (1) with the intimate ending *-a* is used between close friends. Without honorific suffix *-(u)si*, example (2) delivers polite speech. The honorific meaning can be added by replacing the intimate *-a* or the polite ending *-yo* with the honorific ending *-seyyo* or the deferential ending *-sipsio* without changing its degree of directness as in (3) and (4). The honorific ending *-seyyo* is the combination of the honorific suffix *-(u)si* and the polite ender *-yo*. The deferential ending also contains the honorific suffix *-(u)si*. Although (3) and (4) contain the honorific suffix *-(u)si*, it could be considered to be rude due to its directness (e.g., a polite/formal command). As seen in example (5), the directness is mitigated by adding a minus committer, *lket kath* 'probably'. Note the differences in the sentence ending between examples (3) and (5). Whereas example (3) ends with the honorific ending *-seyyo*, example (5) positions a minus committer *lket kath* 'probably' between the honorific suffix *-si* and the polite ending *-yo*. The minus committer serves to underrepresent the speaker's utterance, and functions as a lexical downgrader to mitigate the utterance (Byon, 2006b). In other words, when the speaker includes downgraders or modal expressions to produce hedged utterances, the sentence involves a complex predicate ending as in (5). In contrast, the honorific ending *-seyyo* in (3) is a simple sentence ending, resulting in less polite utterances than endings with downgraders in (5). The difference between the *-seyyo* ending in (3) and the rather complex ending in (5) is crucial to understand learners' pragmatic development.

The use of downgraders influences the degree of politeness. The degree of politeness would be different depending on how many downgraders are involved in the speakers' utterances. In addition to a minus committer *lket kath*, sentence-ending suffixes, *-ketun*, and *-(u)nte* also are downgraders. These suffixes, functioning as hedges, imply speakers' retention and are used to give reasons or background information before delivering the next utterances (Park, 1997). The sentence-ending suffix *-canha*, 'you know', functions as a cajoler, which serves to establish agreement between the interlocutors (Byon, 2006b). Mitigation through various linguistic devices enabled the learners not only to mitigate their speech in direction-giving, but also to appropriate their speech toward hierarchical culture in Korean.

⁴ The sentence ending *-a* is a variant of the intimate ending *-e*.

Within the language socialization framework, Byon (2006a) analyzed teacher-student interactions in Korean-as-a-foreign-language (KFL) classrooms. The study showed how the KFL classroom interactions reflect the asymmetric power status between a teacher and students. The teachers predominantly used assertive directives to implicitly indicate their position of authority. Byon viewed the classrooms as a L2 socializing environment where learners are exposed to the target language as well as the Korean social norm, hierarchism.

While KFL classrooms serve as a socializing environment, the pragmatic input in academic encounters is not sufficient for learners to develop pragmatic competence. Academic talk as an unequal status encounter does not fully provide a pragmatically appropriate model for learners because modeling of a language is from high speaker to low addressee. Byon (2006b) reported KFL advanced learners' communication shortcomings in using honorifics and downgraders in L2 Korean requests. That is, the Korean pragmatic features toward collectivistic and hierarchical culture were not observed in learners' utterances and the learners less modified their requests than NSs. The learners violated the rule of honorific agreements between a first person humble form and a sentence ending, and a subject honorific suffix *-si* frequently was dropped in their speech.

4. Method

This study investigates the production of direction-giving by learners of Korean at different levels of language proficiency through the use of a computer-delivered aural map task that includes different social parameters, age and social status. This study mainly examines the different realizations of L2 direction-giving and the use of speech levels and honorifics according to the participants' language proficiency levels.

4.1. Participants

Thirty six participants are comprised of six Korean undergraduate students for baseline data and 30 undergraduate students enrolled in beginning (K102, n=18), intermediate (K202, n=6), and advanced (K302, n=6) Korean classes. The K102 group has completed their second semester of Korean at a large university in the Midwestern United States. The K202 group includes fourth-semester learners, and the K302 group is comprised of sixth-semester learners. They are placed in their classes either by taking a placement test or by passing their previous semester of Korean. Although a proficiency test was not conducted for this study, teachers indicated that the learners were properly placed at their level. The L1 of the learners is English except for one Japanese speaker and one Chinese speaker. Although each group of learners is placed in the same class, learners showed individual differences in their use of Korean outside classroom: the amount of time listening to and/or speaking Korean outside the classroom, experience in a Korean speaking environment, ethnicity, and their L1.

4.2. Instrument and procedure

Oral data were collected from a computer-delivered aural map task containing 15 items; the first three of which were practice items. The 15 items present three different types of maps designed to elicit different components of direction-giving, advice, and warnings. In order to study learners' spoken language use of direction-giving, it would be more ideal to gather interactive data from natural conversation or role-plays than the aural/oral map task which adopt some features of oral discourse completion task (oral DCT). However, this map task is chosen because it allows researcher to observe learners' production that is not influenced by the interlocutor. One of the goals of this study is to examine sociopragmatic decisions: whether learners select appropriate mitigation devices such as speech levels according to the addressee. In interactive tasks, there is a great chance of imitating a speech level informed by the interlocutor. Another advantage is that this map task matches the aural/oral mode with the target language use; furthermore, the oral DCT is replicable and controllable (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999b). It regulates learners' performance time; therefore, the learners' action is observed when the communicative pressure is on (Bardovi-Harlig, 2009).

The task included situational parameters of social status and age. Three different addressees (learners' Korean Associate Instructor (AI) at her age 30s, Korean professor at his age 50s and a close friend at the same age) were chosen to examine whether the learners made distinctions in their utterances when addressing people of different status: friend in equal, Korean AI in high, and professor in superior status. Both addressees AI and professor are high status compared to student respondents. In the university professors are recognized as higher status than instructors. To capture this, the label "high" is used for the instructor and "superior" for the professor. The 12 items were arranged in a random sequence in three blocks of four, with each block containing one item featuring 'giving directions', one item featuring 'giving directions and advising a means of transportation', and two items containing 'giving directions, advising a means of transportation and giving a warning for avoiding construction sites'. The reason for using these different types of conventions in the map task was to elicit a longer speech sample and mitigation from the participants, but task complexity was not examined as part of the current study. Each block of four items was addressed to each of the three direction receivers (Korean AI, professor, and friend) and a picture of the addressee accompanied a map. Including a picture in the task is to prevent participants from creating an imaginary interlocutor (Rodriguez, 2001).

Giving directions + advice for transportation + warning for a construction

Aural instruction: Now you're at Seoul garden. You are going to meet your *friend* at Seoul garden. Your friend only knows the directions indicated in the blue arrow. Please look at the red arrow on the map and give your friend directions to Seoul garden to avoid the construction site. Your friend is at a school cafeteria at the moment. Please tell your friend about *transportation and construction site*. You are talking to the friend on the phone. *Hello?*

Figure 1. An example of task item

Figure 1 displays an example of a map task item that is originally in Korean. In this item, a participant first listened to the instructions and the situational information in Korean, and then verbally gave directions, advice for a means of transportation, and a warning for the construction site to the virtual addressee in the picture in a telephone situation. The learners were instructed to finish their direction-giving within one and a half minute. After that time, the slide of the map automatically moved onto the next item. All aural/oral instructions were delivered in Korean unless participants asked for confirmation in English to understand the task. Participants performed the map task at no presence of the researcher and their utterances were audio-recorded.

5. Analysis

The oral direction-giving from the map task was transcribed in Korean by the researcher. The production data were analyzed for 1) direction-giving types, 2) external, syntactic, and lexical mitigation, and 3) speech levels and honorifics.

The analysis of direction-giving types was based on the coding scheme for direction-giving that was used in Scotton and Bernsten (1988). Four direction-giving types are comprised of 'simple imperatives', 'you+verb' types, 'you+ auxiliary verb+ main verb' and 'indirect' types. However, the researcher had to add subcategories to the coding schema of direction-giving types based on the detailed observations of the development of L2 Korean direction-giving. Table 1 presents the modified coding schema.

Table 1. *Coding schema for direction-giving*

Head act of direction-giving (Types)			
	Subcategory	Examples: Korean	English
Direct	Ellipticals	Olunccok	‘Right’
	Simple imperatives +ending	Olunccokulo kaseyyo	‘Turn right’
	Imperative conjunctive suffix (and, and then)	Cwahoycen hay-se Ulcilo thako kasitaka Coffee bean cina-ko ‘Turn left at (the) school and then take Ulcilo and keep going, and pass Coffee bean, and’	
	You+Verb	You+Verb	Olunccokulo kasipnita ‘Turn right’
	You/I+ Aux+Verb	Want state	<i>Chalo kamyen cohkesseyo</i>
	Predictive	Talun kilul mannal keyeyyo ‘You’re going to run into different paths’	
	Obligation	Talun kilo keyahayyo ‘You have to take a different route’	
	Ability state	Seoul garden bolswuisseyo ‘You can see Seoul Garden’	
Indirect types	Extrapolation clause	Chalo kanunkey cohayo	‘It’s good to drive your car.’
	Complex imperatives (conditionals)	E-mark ka poi-myen wuhoycen haseyyo ‘When you see an E-mart, turn right’	
	Simple factual state	Olunccokey kongwoni isseyo ‘There will a park on your right’	
	Complex factual state	Oynccokulo tolase kamyen gongwoni olunccokey isseyo ‘When you turn left, there (will) be a park on your right’	
	Syntactic mitigation	Conditionals	Oynccokulo kamyen,
Lexical mitigation	Hedge	Cikum manhi makhi- <i>ketun</i> -yo, Kongsake iss- <i>nunkey</i> -yo.	‘Indeed, now (the road) is congested’ ‘There is construction so...’
	Minus committer	3kalul thako oshyeya toy- <i>lket kath</i> -a-yo	‘You probably should take 3 rd street’
External mitigation	Reason	<i>kongsaka isseyo</i> . Ulcilo kaci ma-seyyo.	‘There is construction. Don’t go to Ulci Ave.’
Speech levels and the subject honorific suffix			
Speech levels: polite level, deferential level			
Subject honorific suffix (to show a speaker’s deference to the subject of a sentence): <i>VERB-(u)si</i>			
Examples (possible predicate endings): <i>V-(su)pnita</i> , <i>V-seyyo</i> , <i>V-yo</i> , <i>V-si (+) -yo</i> , <i>V-si+conjunction</i>			
(Modified based on Scotton & Bernstem, 1988, Blum-Kulka et al, 1989; Rue & Zhang, 2008)			

First, the direct types include ‘elliptical (without verb)’ (e.g., *olunccokulo*, ‘To the right’), ‘simple imperatives’ (e.g., *olunccokulo toseyyo*, ‘Turn right’), and ‘imperative+ connective suffix *-ko* (and) and *-se* (and then)’ (e.g., *olunccokulo tol-ko*, ‘Turn right and’ and *olunccokulo tola-se*, ‘Turn right and then’). The second type is ‘you+ main verb’ (e.g., *olunccokulo tosipnita*, ‘You turn right’). The third type, ‘you+ auxiliary + main verb’, includes sentences delivering want statements (e.g., *Chalo kamyen cohkesseyo*, ‘I want you to drive a car’), predictive statements (e.g., *talun kilul mannal keyeyyo* ‘You’re going to run into different paths’), obligation statements (e.g., *olunccokulo tolase toyyo*, ‘You must turn right’), and ability statements (e.g., *Seoul Gardenul polswuisseyo*, ‘You are able to see Seoul Garden’). Finally, the indirect types are comprised of extraposition clauses (e.g., *Chalo kanun key cohayo*, ‘It is good to drive a car’), complex imperatives (imperative starting with a conditional) (e.g., *E-mart posimyen, olunccokulo toseyyo*, ‘If you see E-mart, turn right’), simple factual statements (e.g., *olunccokulo kongwoni issketunyo*, ‘The park should be to your right’), and complex factual statements (e.g., *E-mart cinasimyen, olunccokulo kongwoni issketunyo* ‘If you pass E-mart, the park should be to your right’).

Each head act of direction-giving was coded for syntactic mitigation and external mitigation (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) by the researcher. Direction-giving forms starting with a conditional clause

were sorted into syntactic mitigation (e.g., *oyncokulo kamyen*, ‘If you turn left’). The head act of direction-giving that accompanied a reason or an explanation was categorized into external mitigation (e.g., *kongsaka isseyo. Ulcilo kaci ma-seyyo*, ‘There is construction. Don’t go to Ulci Ave’).

Head acts of direction-giving were also analyzed for lexical mitigation; for this the researcher particularly followed the coding system for lexical downgrader strategies that were specially devised for Korean by Rue & Zhang (2008). In the data, the following lexical downgraders were found: hedges *-ketun* and *-(u)nte*, cajolers *-canha* and minus committers *-lket kath*. These downgraders are realized with sentence-ending suffixes. The number of downgraders that appeared in participants’ direction-giving was tallied. In addition, the use of speech levels (deferential and polite level) and of the subject honorific suffix *-(u)si* is separately coded to examine the learners’ utterances according to address status.

6. Results

The participants yielded a total of 432 direction-giving sequences (12 direction-giving by 36 respondents). As language proficiency increased, developmental patterns were observed in the use of direction-giving types, mitigation, and speech levels. However, none of the learner groups produced hedged direction-giving or fully acquired the use of the subject honorific suffix *-(u)si*.

This section is divided into three parts. The first section presents the proportion of direction-giving types and direction-giving types according to addressee status. The second section describes the learners’ use of mitigation, and the third section reports the use of speech levels and honorifics.

6.1. Direction-giving types

The language proficiency effect was observed in the use of direction-giving types. The proportion of direction-giving types by learner groups and NSs is presented in Table 2. The number of head acts of direction-giving varied according to proficiency: 585 head acts by 6 NSs, 386 by 6 advanced learners, 482 by 6 intermediate learners, and 1113 by 18 beginning learners (371 head acts per 6 learners). NSs and intermediate learners produced more head acts than the learners of beginning and advanced levels, indicating that the former two groups provided relationally detailed descriptions of their direction-giving.

The beginning and intermediate groups preferred direct types over indirect direction-giving types, whereas the advanced and NSs showed a higher proportion of the indirect types as opposed to the direct types. Only the beginning group produced ‘Ellipticals’ (4.7%), which are realized minimally without a verb (e.g., *Hakkyosiktang, olunccokey* ‘At the school cafeteria, right’); however, all the elliptical direction-giving was produced by only two beginning learners. As the proficiency level increased, the learners decreased the use of ‘simple imperatives’ (e.g., *olunccokulo toseyyo*, ‘Turn right’), but increased the use of ‘imperative+ connective suffix (and/and then)’ (e.g., *oluncookulo tolko*, ‘Turn right and’ and *oluncookulo tola-se*, ‘Turn right and then’), indicating that learners with higher proficiency levels produce combined clauses by using a connective suffix.

The beginning group produced ten times more of the ‘You+Verb’ types (11.5%) (e.g., *olunccokulo tosinnita*, ‘You turn right’) than other groups did (1.0% by intermediate, 0.2% by advanced, 0.3% by NSs). All the learner groups produced ‘ability statements’ (e.g., *Seoul Gardenul polswuisseyo*, ‘You are able to see Seoul Garden’); however, that directive form was used only twice by NSs. The intermediate and advanced groups used the entire range of the subcategories of ‘You+auxiliary+main verb’ types.

Note that the use of ‘complex imperatives’ (21.0%) (e.g., *E-mark ka poimyen wuhoycen haseyyo*, ‘If/When you see an E-mart, turn right’) is balanced with the use of ‘simple imperatives’ (21.5%) (e.g., *toseyyo*, ‘turn right’) by the advanced learners like in the NS group, whereas the beginning and intermediate groups still relied on imperatives (55.5% by K102 and 40.2% by K202) over complex imperatives (2.9% by K102, 12.4% by K202). This finding indicates development in the use of syntactic frames of imperatives from bare imperatives (monoclausal) to complex imperatives (biclausal) with increasing proficiency.

The proficiency effects were observed in the use of the complex factual statement (e.g.,

Oynccokulo tolase kamyen gongwoni olunccokey isseyo. ‘If you turn left, there (will) be a park on your right’). The proportion of complex (biclausal) factual statements increase according to participants’ proficiency: beginning (0.6%), intermediate (7.4%), advanced (15.5%), and NSs (29.1%). These findings present the learners’ change not only in the use of syntactic frames, but also their perspective in a route description, where they seem to foreground the ground rather than the figure.

The proportion of direction-giving types to each addressee status type was observed to examine whether the participants changed the use of direction-giving types according to different addressees. There were no particular developmental patterns in the use of direction-giving types according to addressee status. The NS group decreased the use of direct types and slightly increased the use of indirect types when addressing honorable persons (e.g., AI and professor), whereas both the intermediate and the advanced groups showed an opposite behavior by increasing the use of direct types to the individuals of higher status. Although the beginning group decreased the use of the direct types to a professor; as an alternative, they increased the use of ‘you+verb’ types. However, such behaviors were not observed in any of the other groups.

Table 2. *Proportion of direction-giving types by learners and NSs*

Types	Subcategory	Beginning (n=18)		Intermediate (n=6)		Advanced (n=6)		NSs (n=6)	
		%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Direct types	Ellipticals	4.7	53	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0
	Simple imperatives	55.5	618	40.2	194	21.5	83	11.1	65
	Imperative+conjunctive suffix (and, and then)	4.3	48	12.2	59	18.4	71	19.1	112
	Total n of simple imperatives	64.6	719	52.4	253	39.9	154	30.3	177
You+Verb	Total n of You+Verb	11.5	129	1.0	5	0.2	1	0.3	2
You+Aux +Verb	Want state	0.1	1	0.4	2	1.3	5	0.0	0
	Predictive	0.0	0	0.8	4	0.3	1	0.5	3
	Obligation	0.0	0	1.4	7	1.0	4	2.2	13
	Ability state	1.4	16	2.2	11	6.2	24	0.3	2
	You+Auxiliary+Verb	1.5	17	5.0	24	8.5	11	2.2	18
Indirect types	Extraposition clauses	0.0	0	4.5	22	5.9	23	10.4	61
	Complex imperatives	2.9	33	12.4	60	21.0	81	10.1	59
	Simple factual state	18.6	208	17.0	82	8.5	33	16.7	98
	Complex factual state	0.6	7	7.4	36	15.5	60	29.1	170
	Total n of Indirect types	22.2	248	41.4	200	50.9	120	66.3	388
	Total n of head acts	100	1113	100	482	100	386	100	585

In sum, as the proficiency increased, the learners showed development in the pragmalinguistic knowledge in direction-giving types by using a wide range of linguistic devices and complex sentence structures. However, there seemed to be no clear proficiency effect in development of the sociopragmatic knowledge given that the learners were not sensitive to the direction-giving types according to addressee status.

6.2. Mitigation

Participants frequently mitigated their direction-giving by employing indirect structures, syntactic mitigators, external mitigators, and/or lexical downgraders. Note that one head act of direction-giving can be mitigated by more than one category of mitigation or not be mitigated at all. Table 3 presents the raw numbers of direction-giving directives containing a particular mitigator, and its percentage of the total number of head acts of direction-giving. For instance, the second column in Table 3 presents that among the total number of head acts of direction-giving by beginning learners (N=1113), 22.2% of the head acts are softened through indirectness, 6.3% by syntactic mitigation, 1.7% by external mitigation, and 0.3% by lexical mitigation. The total percentage of mitigation by the beginning

learners is 30.5%. This means that they used approximately 0.3 mitigators per head act of direction-giving. This contrasts with the use of 1 mitigator and 1.4 mitigators per head act by the advanced group and the NS group respectively (100.4% and 145%). The findings indicate that the head acts of direction-giving produced by the higher level learners are more highly mitigated than those by the lower group learners. In general, the percentage of mitigation increased in line with the language proficiency level.

Table 3. *Distribution of mitigation of direction-giving directives by group*

	Beginning (n=18)	Intermediate (n=6)	Advanced (n=6)	NSs (n=6)
Direction-giving directives with	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Indirectness	22.2 (248)	41.4 (200)	51.0 (197)	66.3 (388)
Syntactic mitigation	6.3 (71)	19.1 (92)	34.4 (133)	39.5 (231)
External mitigation	1.7 (19)	13.3 (64)	13.7 (53)	10.1 (59)
Lexical mitigation	0.3 (3)	4.1 (20)	1.3 (5)	29.1 (170)
Total percentages of mitigation	30.5 (341)	77.9 (376)	100.4 (388)	145 (848)
Total head acts of direction-giving	(1113)	(482)	(386)	(585)

Examples (11) through (14) demonstrate development in the use of mitigation by learner group. A majority of the beginning learners employed no syntactic and/or external mitigators as in (11), whereas the intermediate learners as in (12) and the advanced as in (13) showed the use of external mitigation (e.g., reason) before direction-giving directives (e.g., *kongsaka isseyo* ‘There is a construction site’). Unlike the intermediate learners, the advanced learners often employed syntactic mitigators (e.g., *-myen*, ‘if-clause’) as in (14).

11. 5가 안 가세요.

5ka an ka-seyyo. (S6 Beginner to professor)
5 street not go-honorific ending
‘Don’t take 5th street’

12. 공사가 있어요. 그래서 그 길에 못 가세요.

Kongska-ka iss-e-yo. Kulayse ku kil-ey mos ka-seyyo (S5 intermediate, to professor)
Construction-subj exist-pol. So that-way-locative cannot go-honorific ending
‘There is a construction site. So, (you) cannot take that direction’

13. 공사가 있어서 그 길에 못 가요.

Kongska-ka isse-se ku kil-ul mos ka-yo (S3 advanced to professor)
Construction-subj exist-conjunction that-way-obj cannot go-polite ending
‘There is a construction site, so (you) cannot take that direction’

14. 오른쪽으로 돌아서 가면 공원이 오른쪽에 있어요.

Oyn-ccok-ulo tola-se ka-myen gongwon-i olun-ccok-ey iss-e-yo. (S4 advanced to professor)
Left-side-toward turn-and then go-if park-subj right-side-loc exist-polite ending
‘If (When) you turn left, there (will) be a park on (your) right’

15. 그래서 3가를 타고 오셔야 될 것 같아요.

Kulayse 3ka-lul tha-ko o-sh-e.ya toy-lketkath-a-yo. (NS3 to professor)
So 3street-obj take-connective come-honorific need to-probably-polite ending
‘So you probably should take 3rd street’

A striking difference between NSs and the learner groups was found in the use of lexical downgraders (e.g., minus committers and hedges). As shown in Table 3, whereas the learner groups produced few lexical mitigators (3 times by beginning, 20 times by intermediate, and 5 times by

advanced), NSs used them 170 times in total and they increased the use of lexical mitigators when addressing honorable persons. Example (15) shows the NS's use of a minus committer *lketkath* 'probably', served to mitigate the utterance when addressing a professor. These findings indicate that there seemed to be little development with regard to the hedged direction-giving among the learners.

When addressing different individuals in status, the learners as well as NSs employed syntactic devices the most regardless of the addressee. The NS group employed more of the indirect strategies, syntactic mitigation, and lexical mitigation when addressing a superior person in comparison with when addressing their friend. Only the intermediate group slightly increased the use of syntactic mitigation when addressing a superior person. However, no situational sensitivity was found in the learner groups. That is, the learners across all levels exhibited no sensitivity to social status in their use of mitigation of direction-giving.

In sum, the findings suggest that the learners show development in the use of external and syntactic mitigation along with the proficiency level; however, none of the learner group produced hedged direction-giving through lexical downgraders. The learners may not have these downgraders in their language repertoire or have difficulty in controlling them.

6.3. Speech levels and subject honorific suffix *-(u)si*

6.3.1. The use of speech levels

With increasing the proficiency level, the learners appropriately used the speech levels according to addressee status. Figure 2 presents the proportion of the use of the speech levels according to addressee status by learners and NSs. NSs clearly distinguished two levels by using the intimate level with a friend and by using the polite level with a superior status. Both the intermediate and the advanced learners employed the polite speech level with their close friend instead of using the intimate level. However, the percentage of the incorrect use of the polite level by the advanced was lower than that by the intermediate. No intimate level was used by the beginning learners. Interestingly, the beginning learners used 40% of the deferential level with their Korean professor, which is the highest proportion in all groups (11% by the intermediate and 2% by the advanced). As mentioned earlier, the deferential level is used between unfamiliar equal or superior status and in a formal situation. The beginning learners used the deferential form with the professor possibly considering that it is the most polite level. By employing both deferential level and polite level, the beginning learners distinguished status between the professor and the AI. However, the beginning learners did not concern about the formality of the deferential level. In contrast, most of the higher level learners seldom employed the deferential form, indicating that they are aware that the deferential form is an inappropriate speech style in direction-giving because it is too formal.

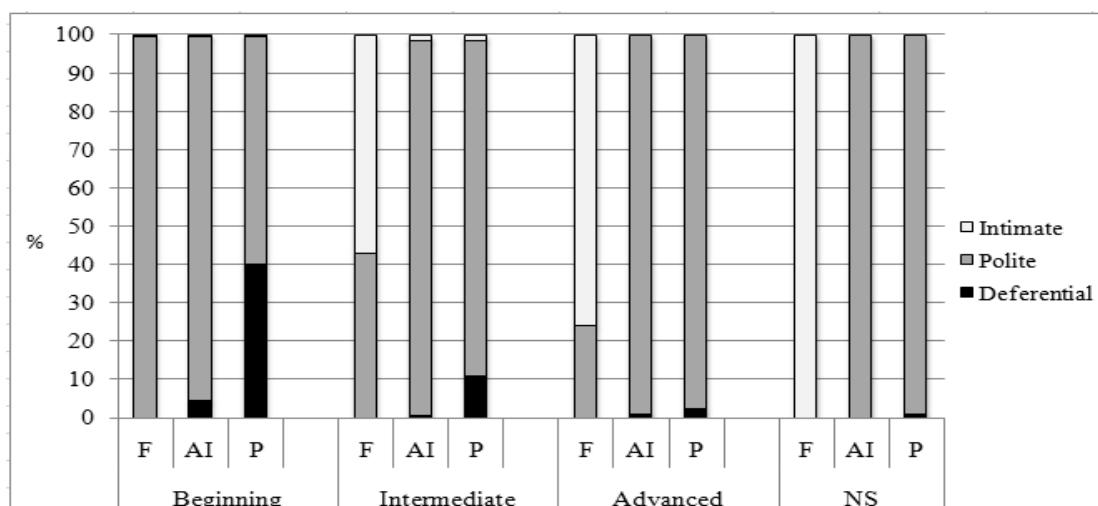


Figure 2. Speech levels according to addressee status by learners and NSs

Note. F (friend), AI (Korean Associate Instructor), and P (Korean professor)

As shown in Figure 3, when referring to a superior status, the learners exhibited a U-shaped curve in honorific use. The beginning and the intermediate learners used 50% and 45% of *-seyyo* respectively. The advanced learners decreased in the use of *-seyyo* and dropped *-(u)si*. This suggests that the advanced learners began to analyze *-seyyo* and attempted to separate *-(u)si* from the polite ending *-yo* or from a conjunction. It was anticipated that superior advanced learners would show the similar patterns to the NSs'. The NSs employed a small proportion of *-seyyo* form; in contrast, they separated the honorific suffix *-(u)si* from *-yo* and from a conjunction. This is, NSs added hedges or modals between *-(u)si* and *-yo* as shown in example (5) This predicate structure was introduced in the section 2.3 when explaining the rather complex sentence structure when the speaker adds modals or lexical downgraders to mitigate his or her utterances, as opposed to a simple structure with *-seyyo*.

In Figure 4, a careful observation demonstrates that the pre-packaged formulaic use of *-seyyo* was dropped off by the advanced learners. Instead, they overused polite *-yo* only. The analyzed form *-si-yo* as in example (19) was only observed in the NS group. The advanced learners attempted to use an analyzed form from *-si*-conjunction as in example (20) by separating the honorific suffix from the conjunction; thus, they unpacked the *-seyyo* form. Overall, the advanced learners dropped the honorific suffix *-(u)si*; thus, they were less target like. However, they were in fact moving toward the language that is more like Korean.

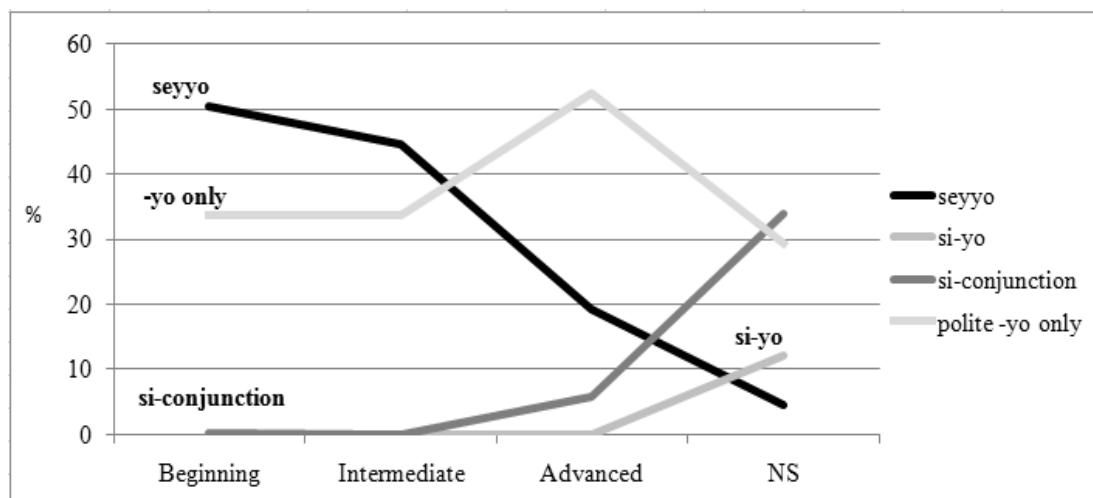


Figure 4. The use of speech levels and the honorific suffix *-(u)si* with a superior status

7. Discussion and Conclusion

This cross-sectional study investigated the pragmatic development of Korean direction-giving among NSs and learners at three different language proficiency levels. Oral data were analyzed for the directness of direction-giving types, and the use of mitigation, speech styles, and a subject honorific suffix *-(u)si*. The results showed that in using direction-giving types the beginning and intermediate learners relied on bare imperatives (direct types), whereas the advanced learners preferred bi-clausal imperatives (indirect types). The intermediate and the advanced groups used more factual statements than the beginning group did. As discussed earlier, Koreans often describe directions by foregrounding the ground (e.g., 'It'll be on your right side', 'The park is there') rather than the figure; in contrast with the direction-giving in English which prefers the motion of the Figure toward the Ground (e.g., 'You can get to the mall from the left') (Strauss, Katayama, & Eun, 2002, p.114). The increase in the use of factual statements in the high proficiency levels indicates that learners are on the path of nativelike discourse patterns and perspective taking in direction-giving.

Learners tended to use 'ability statement' as a direction-giving form (e.g. *Seoul Gardenul polswuisseyo*, 'You are able to see Seoul Garden'), not a commonly used form by the NS group. Given this, the learners should know a range of directive forms; however, more importantly they need to

know when to use those forms, by distinguishing the direction forms from other directives (e.g., request forms).

Although the proficiency effect was observed in the use of direction-giving types (pragmalinguistic knowledge), no clear developmental patterns were found in the use of direction-giving types according to addressee status (sociopragmatic knowledge). The NS group decreased the use of the direct types and increased the use of the indirect types when addressing honorable persons. NSs infrequently used direct commands in general; rather, they provided neutral descriptions on locations; thus, they let the hearer to recognize the directions. However, no such behaviors were observed in the learner groups, suggesting that learners' lack of sociopragmatic development in the use of direction-giving types. This may be because the use of different direction-giving types according to addressee status is not a salient input. The NSs distinguishably used direction-giving types with a different addressee; however, the distinction was not remarkable.

The findings in the use of the direction-giving types follows the previous findings in the ILP studies that learners move from bare imperatives (default strategy) to conventional indirect request strategy (indirect types) as their grammatical competence increases (Schmidt, 1983, Felix-Brasdefer, 2007); however, learners often fail to develop sociopragmatic knowledge for request strategies (Rose, 2000).

Participants' direction-giving was analyzed for four mitigation categories: indirectness, syntactic mitigation, external mitigation (supportive moves), and lexical mitigation. The advanced learners and NSs employed more than one mitigator per head act of direction-giving, whereas the beginning group and the intermediate group used 0.3 mitigators and 0.8 mitigators per head act respectively. As increasing the linguistic proficiency, the use of indirectness, syntactic devices, and external mitigation increased. The findings suggest that the learners expanded the range of linguistic resources for modification as developing their grammatical competence.

A difference was observed in the use of lexical downgraders (hedges and minus committers) between the NS and the learner groups: neither learner groups softened their direction-giving with hedges or minus committers. In English, a lexical downgrader (e.g., a politeness marker, 'please') emerges in the early stage of language acquisition when making requests (Ellis, 1992) because such downgraders are "usually formulaic in nature, or form part of a formulaic utterance, and are propositionally explicit" (Barron, 2003, p. 52). As mentioned earlier, in Korean, an agglutinative language, lexical downgraders are realized through suffixes and are marked in the sentential ending. The suffixes are positioned between a verb stem and a sentential ender. Since a suffix is subject to be inflected depending on the environment, morphologically complexity occurs in its realization. Compared to the politeness marker, 'please' as a pragmatic routine, the lexical downgraders in Korean are less salient because they are embedded in the complex predicate structure; thus, the learners may leave the lexical downgraders out in direction-giving. This would explain why the learners of Korean have difficulty in using lexical downgraders. In addition, a hedge *-(u)nte* performs several discourse functions depending on the contexts. Given this, it is possible that the learners are aware of the sentence ending suffixes for lexical downgraders, but they may not recognize their pragmatic function.

In addition to the linguistic complexity of lexical downgraders, instruction is also responsible for the lack of lexical mitigation in the learners' performance. The sentential suffixes for lexical mitigation used by NSs were taught to all the learner groups except for the beginning group. Given this, it was surprising that the intermediate and the advanced learners hardly employed the mitigating suffixes. However, those suffixes were taught with the dialogues based on the 'request' situations, in which the use of such lexical mitigation is important. Thus, it is possible that the learners may not notice that those suffixes also can be used in direction-giving situations.

In terms of the speech styles and the subject honorific suffix *-(u)si*, learners exhibited a U-shaped curve of development. The beginning and the intermediate group consistently used the honorific ending, *-seyyo* as a chunk, taking an advantage of the unanalyzed form *-seyyo* which softens their bare imperatives. The advanced learners unpacked *-seyyo*; however, they overused polite ending *-yo* and dropped *-si*. Consequently, their utterances without *-(u)si* was less polite than the intermediate learners' polite imperatives with *-seyyo*. It was not surprising that the advanced learners retained *-yo* but dropped *-si* (Byon, 2006b). The polite *-yo* is always positioned at the end of a sentence and the form is invariant in all environments, whereas the honorific suffix *-(u)si* is placed between a verb stem and sentential enders. The suffix *-(u)si* either retains its form or the form varies from *-(u)si* to *sey* or

shey depending on the following syllable. In addition, the honorific suffix *-(u)si* only appears when addressing honorable persons, whereas the polite *-yo* is the most frequently used form in Korean classes by teachers as well as students. Therefore, the polite *-yo* is more frequent and salient than the honorific suffix *-(u)si*. This would explain the learners' dropping of *-(u)si*.

The proficiency effects were observed in the use of the speech levels according to the addressee. Whereas the advanced group used appropriate speech styles with the hearers, the beginning and intermediate group overused the polite style with their friend. Preferring the polite form over the intimate may be due to input from classrooms. Without enough input from outside classrooms, Korean as a FL learner are exclusively exposed to the utterances by teachers, who use the polite level (Byon, 2006a). The lack of opportunities for using the target language with peers is one factor of their late acquisition of the intimate level.

Four developmental stages were found: in the pre-basic stage learners produced lexical direction-giving (e.g. right or left without verb), and in the formulaic stage learners relied on bare imperatives, accompanied by an unanalyzed honorific ending *-seyyo*. In the unpacking stage learners began to analyze the formula *-seyyo* by separating the honorific suffix *-(u)si* from the polite ending *-yo*, although they dropped the honorific suffix, and they frequently used indirect direction-giving forms. Finally, some advanced learners were placed in pragmatic expansion given their frequent internal mitigation. However, they failed to employ produce hedged direction-giving through lexical downgraders. The developmental stages found in this study are parallel to the developmental stages of L2 requests identified by Kasper and Rose (2002) based on longitudinal studies (Ellis, 1992; Achiba, 2003).

Based on the frequent use of simple imperatives and the exclusive use of unanalyzed formula-*seyyo*, the formulaic stage characterizes the beginning and the intermediate learners. However, two beginning learners remained at the pre-basic stage where their direction-giving was context-dependent and realized with ellipticals (e.g., *MacDonald's...olunccokey*, 'MacDonald's... to right side'). Most of the advanced learners were at the unpacking stage considering their preference for indirect direction forms, the frequent use of syntactic and external mitigation, and their analyzing *-seyyo*. Only a few advanced learners produced hedged utterances with lexical downgraders, indicating that they are on the path toward the pragmatic expansion stage.

Learners' pragmatic development was affected by multiple factors including grammatical competence, classroom instruction, input, and communication norms in the target language. Although it is beyond the scope of this study, individual differences were observed in the use of direction-giving types and mitigation within a learner group, suggesting that language proficiency level is not a single factor determining the developmental pattern of direction-giving in Korean as a foreign language. Future investigation is needed to identify the salient influencing factors: L1 effect, the exposure to the target language culture, the amount of contact with NSs (e.g., heritage learners), and the opportunities of use of the target language with different members of the Korean community.

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