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ASSESSING THE INTERLANGUAGE PRAGMATICS OF CLIL AND NON-CLIL STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

The study focuses on investigating the pragmatic competence of the students enrolled in two state schools participating in the British Council and Spanish Ministry of Education Bilingual and Bicultural program. This bilingual program is characterized by its Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) approach. CLIL entails that full subjects or parts of subjects are taught through a foreign language with the dual aim of learning content and the foreign or additional language in which the content is taught (Marsh, 1994). Some studies in interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) have shown that language learners can use their limited language resources for pragmatic purposes well (Thornberry and Slade, 2006:230-231), while others with fuller repertoires cannot (Bardovi-Harlig, 2013).

This dissertation is a single-moment cross-sectional study that aims to determine if students in CLIL and non-CLIL groups use request modifiers and strategies differently. Spanish students in different levels of English bilingual and regular streams were compared in regards to their ability to soften requests. Students were prompted by means of written situations in the form of a discourse completion test (DCT). The main part of the DCT was a production Written Discourse Completion Test (WDCT) in which students had to formulate requests in high-imposition situations. The DCT had a secondary reception Multiple Choice Discourse

Completion Test (MCDCT) in which students had to select requests they deemed as appropriate. Request modifiers (internal and external) and request strategies were the dimensions used to evaluate students' performances in two different situations, one with a teacher (+ power) and another with students (-power).

The data from the production task was analyzed using Blum-Kulka et al's (1989) coding manual to which new data-driven additions were made. The outcome of these additions was an expanded typology of requests according to which students' requests were coded and quantified. The typology of modifiers used in this study is, therefore, considered both an instrument and an outcome.

In regards to students' frequency of use of pragmatic devices, i.e., metalinguistic development, the results showed potential interlanguage pragmatic progress from one educational level to another. However, the findings also revealed that by pushing students to react to unfamiliar situations not related to their common classroom request-formation routine, the highest educational level in the CLIL group (4th ESO CLIL) and the highest levels in the regular mainstream non-CLIL program (1st and 2nd Bachillerato) tended to significantly mix the use of softening and aggravating request modifications; for example, they employed polite preparatory conditions in indirect requests together with grounders that implicated the hearer as a source of annoyance. The term pragmatic duality or

bipolarity was coined to refer to this phenomenon. At the same time, pragmatic duality was not detected in the performances of a unique group of 2nd Bachillerato students; these were high achievers in the subject of EFL and had received two hours of English language instruction per week throughout the entire academic year. Their use of modifiers and strategies had more potential to soften than to aggravate.

The findings suggest that learners' acquisition of request modifiers and the use of request strategies do not automatically lead to softening learners' requests if used metalinguistically without acknowledging the metapragmatic sense. The findings also suggest that the gains in students' use of request modifiers are not necessarily a direct effect of any particular program type, but could be an effect of accumulative exposure to English language instruction over time. Motivation and maturation are other possible factors that require further investigation. The overall results of this study are in line with former studies that reported language learners' tendency to use more external modifiers (e.g. *grounders*, and *please*) in comparison to their use of internal modifiers (e.g. *understatements*). The study has implications for teaching language use for pragmatic purposes in CLIL and non-CLIL programs.

RESUMEN Y CONCLUSIONES

Este estudio se centra en la investigación de la competencia pragmática de un grupo de alumnos en centros públicos que participan en el programa bilingüe y bicultural del British Council y del Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Este programa bilingüe se caracteriza por el uso de la metodología del Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lenguas Extranjeras (AICLE, CLIL). El programa AICLE consiste en impartir materias total o parcialmente mediante el uso de una lengua extranjera con el doble objetivo de aprender el contenido y aprender la lengua extranjera o la segunda lengua en la que se enseña dicho contenido (Marsh, 1994). Algunos estudios en el campo de la pragmática interlingüística demuestran que los aprendientes pueden utilizar bien sus limitados recursos lingüísticos con fines pragmáticos (Thornberry y Slade, 2006:230-231), mientras que otros aprendientes con repertorios más completos no pueden hacerlo (Bardovi-Harlig, 2013). Este estudio investiga la forma en la que los alumnos españoles que participan en estos dos programas utilizan sus recursos lingüísticos en situaciones de alta imposición, analizando la forma en la que la adquisición de ciertos modificadores y estrategias de petición por parte de estos estudiantes se interrelaciona con su capacidad para utilizarlas.

Esta tesis constituye un estudio sincrónico y transversal que tiene como meta determinar si los alumnos que participan en el programa AICLE y los grupos que no participan en este programa utilizan de forma distinta los modificadores y las estrategias de petición. Se compararon alumnos españoles de diferentes cursos del programa bilingüe en lengua inglesa con alumnos del programa estándar por lo que respecta a su capacidad para suavizar las peticiones. Se sometió a los alumnos a una prueba escrita en forma de *Discourse Completion Test* (DCT): la parte principal consistía en un ejercicio de producción escrita en el que los alumnos debían formular peticiones en situaciones de alta imposición y una segunda parte consistía en un ejercicio de elección múltiple en el que los alumnos debían seleccionar la petición que consideraban apropiada para cada situación. Los modificadores de petición (internos y externos) y las estrategias de petición fueron las dimensiones utilizadas para evaluar la respuesta de los alumnos en dos situaciones distintas, una con un profesor (+ poder) y otra con alumnos (- poder). Se analizaron los datos obtenidos del ejercicio de producción y, posteriormente, se utilizó una tipología de modificadores y estrategias de petición para codificar dichos datos.

Cuando se empujaba a los alumnos a reaccionar ante situaciones con las que no estaban familiarizados y que estaban relacionadas solo remotamente con sus hábitos de clase en cuanto a formación de peticiones, los resultados demostraron

un progreso potencial en términos de pragmática interlingüística de un nivel educativo a otro por lo que respecta a la frecuencia de uso de estas estrategias pragmáticas. También, se observó que los alumnos de los cursos más altos del programa AICLE (4º ESO AICLE) y de los cursos más altos del programa estándar (1º y 2º de Bachillerato) tendían a mezclar el uso de modificaciones de petición atenuantes e intensificadoras. Se acuñó el término *dualidad o bipolaridad pragmática* para hacer referencia a este fenómeno. Por otro lado, un grupo de alumnos de segundo de bachillerato con un nivel alto de rendimiento en la materia de inglés y con más horas de enseñanza de lengua inglesa (2º Bachillerato-EFL) fue capaz de modificar sus peticiones algo mejor que otros grupos que participaron en este estudio, y no se detectó dualidad pragmática en su respuesta.

Los resultados parecen indicar que la adquisición de modificadores de petición y el uso de estrategias de petición no llevan necesariamente al alumno a formular peticiones atenuantes, sobre todo si las utiliza de forma metalingüística sin reconocer su valor metapragmático. Los resultados también hacen pensar que el aumento del uso por parte de los alumnos de modificadores de petición no son necesariamente una consecuencia directa de un tipo de programa concreto, sino más bien la consecuencia de una exposición acumulativa a la enseñanza del inglés a lo largo del tiempo. El análisis de los resultados confirma la necesidad de

enseñar pragmática como una competencia por derecho propio en los programas AICLE y en el resto de programas que no utilizan esta metodología.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The chapter begins by introducing the topic of the study and the nature of the school programs under investigation, which is of essence in this research.

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is discussed in general and then more particularly in Spain before stating the problem, the questions, the scope and delimitations of the study.

1.1. OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH TOPIC

The study focuses on investigating the pragmatic competence of the students enrolled in a sample of the state schools participating in the British Council and Spanish Ministry of Education Bilingual and Bicultural program. This bilingual program is characterized by its Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) approach. CLIL entails that full subjects or parts of subjects are taught through a foreign language with the dual aim of learning content and the foreign or additional language in which the content is taught (Marsh, 1994).

These enrolled schools offer two parallel programs: the bilingual CLIL program as explained, and the regular mainstream program in which the main language of subject instruction is Castilian Spanish. Additional or foreign languages in regular mainstream programs are taught as part of the language curriculum and are not integrated within the content as in the CLIL program. Some studies in interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) have shown that language learners can use

their limited language resources for pragmatic purposes well (Thornberry and Slade, 2006:230-231), while others with fuller repertoires cannot (Bardovi-Harlig, 2013). This study investigates how Spanish students in both programs use their language resources in situations of high imposition to analyze how their acquisition of certain language devices (to express request modifiers and strategies) intertwines with their ability to express them.

The British Council/MEC bilingual program started in 1996 and was officially recognized in 2000 in monolingual (Castilian Spanish) and bilingual communities (including Catalan and Basque) in Spain depending on the region. By providing a bilingual and bicultural education to school students between the ages of 3 to 16, the top two objectives of the program are to promote the acquisition and learning of both languages, Spanish and English, and encourage awareness of both the British and the Spanish cultures (Dobson, Murillo and Johnstone, 2010). The learners involved in this study are from a monolingual region in Spain (Aragón), and the school levels under study are Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO -Educación Secundaria Obligatoria - 4 years) and mainstream Baccalaureate (Bac - Bachillerato - 2 years).

English in the British Council/MEC bilingual program is more than a foreign language. On the one hand, students are exposed to English through English language as a subject (English as a foreign language -EFL), where the learning objectives are language-specific. Depending on the school, EFL classes will have a degree of focus on academic reading and writing as part of preparing

students for the IGCSE (The International General Certificate of Secondary Education) exam in 4th ESO. No specific instruction is geared towards enhancing students' pragmatic competence. On the other hand, students also study content subjects like science and history, where the learning objectives are content-specific.

The CLIL framework embodies a triptych linguistic approach in which teachers and learners together develop the language *of* learning, the language *for* learning and the language *through* learning (Coyle, 2007). The language *of* learning centers on the content subject; the language *for* learning centers on metacognition and grammar; and the language *through* learning centers on cognition and new knowledge. This elevates English in bilingual or CLIL programs to becoming a learning tool as well as an objective to work towards, an advantage students in mainstream programs do not have.

Many language gains in CLIL settings are understood to be related to content-subject classroom discourse. Research that used classroom discourse data showed that CLIL students have the advantage of being exposed to more language registers (Lorenzo, Casal and Moore, 2009), which reflects positively on their written productions (Llinares, Morton, and Whittaker 2012). These students seem to demonstrate more gains in receptive over productive skills (Jiménez Catalán & Ruiz de Zarobe 2007; Ruiz de Zarobe, 2011). They were also found to be at an advantage in regards to lexical variation and complexity (Dalton-Puffer 2007; Jiménez Catalán, Ruiz de Zarobe & Cenoz, 2006), in lexico-

grammar (Ackerl, 2007) and in speaking fluency (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2008). However, pragmatics in CLIL remains exceptionally under-investigated (Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Marsh, 2002; and Nikula, 2008). Results from the few studies that investigated pragmatics in CLIL classroom discourse show that the latter has a transactional nature and has a loose Initiation-Response-Feedback pattern (Nikula, 1996). The same pattern was found in EFL and ESL classroom discourse, and politeness markers were found to be scarce (Kasper and Rose, 1999). It was also found that teachers rarely modify their language and tend to resort to direct strategies, which is possibly a pragmatic principle in classroom interaction whether in CLIL (Nikula, 2002) or EFL (Taguchi, 2011). In turn, students are often warranted the use of directives in regulatory talk during tasks with peers and with the teacher (Dalton Puffer & Nikula, 2006). Such findings lead to wondering if students have the opportunity to explore sufficient pragmatic boundaries in the English CLIL classroom, and if they gain an understanding of the politeness conventions expected of them outside the CLIL classroom in ELF circles (English as a Lingua Franca) in which they are expected to function.

Another point to consider is that English in Spain is a foreign language rarely used by students outside the classroom, and therefore it may not have the same Euro-English status or Lingua Franca status as it does in other European countries. It is far from a straightforward matter to suppose that CLIL students would become *by default* competent users of English where the sociopragmatic

domain is concerned. If CLIL students are regarded as users of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and following the call to understand ELF speakers' divergences from native norms as a third register between their L1 and L2 and not as a deficient interlanguage system (House, 2010), it would not be politically sound or theoretically appropriate to evaluate students' pragmatic performance by native speakers' measures. Treading with caution needs to be exercised then. Nevertheless, CLIL students in their role as 'learners' have granted us, teachers and researchers, the right to probe their language skills, and discuss their development. The literature review – Chapter 2 – will discuss ELF more in depth and argue for reconciliation between the focus, in ELF, on language use and the focus, in second language acquisition, on interlanguage and development. Learners are known to create their own repertoire of pragmatic utterances resulting from a number of factors including L1 sociopragmatic and linguistic influence; grammatical ability; overgeneralization of native rules; resistance to using pragmatic norms that are foreign to learners' native culture; and the effect of textbook instruction (Ishihara and Cohen, 2010). In ELF circles, as will be discussed in chapter 2, it surely seems more socially important that our language learners – today's learners and tomorrow's users – would be socio-pragmatically apt to manage situations with enough intercultural tact, which was the point of departure for this study.

This study, then, aims to investigate how CLIL students formulate requests that involve imposition. A classification of the strategies they use together with their

use of request softeners and aggravators is required to isolate certain elements that could deter their management of rapport and relational work with others. According to literature (Sato; 2008; Whichmann, 2004), there are differences that would alter the level of imposition, as we will see later.

In other words, investigating the pragmatic competence of students through their productions and choice of requests is an assessment of their ability to use them as a social tool to promote or aggravate relationships. It is not the intent of this study to suppose or advocate that learners of English should adopt native-like conventionalism. On the other hand, given that all language learners are intercultural speakers (Byram *et al*, 2002), it is important that their awareness of good communication strategies be raised, especially that these learners are pre-teens and teens in the process of formal and informal education.

It is important to keep in view the origins of CLIL to internalize if the CLIL model is expected to cater for learners' pragmatic competence. The following section is a brief narrative of the origins of CLIL and CLIL in Spain.

1.2. CLIL AND CLIL IN SPAIN

It is agreed that CLIL as a model eclectically draws upon best teaching practice that emerged from general learning theories and language acquisition theories (Coyle, Hood & Marsh, 2010). In the early 1970s, a time marked with travel and immigration, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) became the way to teach in Europe and North America concurrently. Its fame emerged from the

work of linguists like Hymes (1972) and Halliday (1973), who saw that making meaning through language cannot be separated from social interaction and culture. To enable language learners to go about learning second and foreign languages meaningfully, the Council of Europe at that time developed a range of language functions that were used to build syllabi with contexts that travelers and immigrants would need in the contexts they were expected to encounter (Celce-Mucia, 2001). Around the same time, the movement of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), which had previously started gaining grounds in the 1960s, surged in academia and second language teaching and started making use of the practices of the communicative approach (Grosse, 1988). At a parallel time, in 1965, Content-Based Teaching (CBT) and the Canadian immersion model were starting to form the basis for learning a second/additional language through content (Snow, 2001). To draw a clearer picture we could say that ESP and CBT made use of CLT at almost the same time at different degrees in different areas of the globe, and have continued to do so since then.

In 1994, the term CLIL emerged in the European context to contain the theory and practice of teaching and learning in an additional language with the dual focus on content as well as on language. According to Coyle (2010), though CLIL is an approach in its own right having developed from socioculturalism; constructivism; multiple intelligences; and theories of language learning, CLIL and CBT in immersion contexts have common features as they focus on

integrating content and language. Other than that, CLIL has made use of findings from the Canadian bilingual experience as well as from EFL, ESP, and their related teaching methods (e.g. task-based instruction). Therefore, CLIL, in turn, makes use of second language acquisition theories including comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985), extended output hypothesis (Swain, 1993), Vygotsky's notions of the zone of proximal development and inner speech, and all the merited outcomes of task-based instruction (Gass and Selinker, 1994).

CLIL is considered a solution to language learning and acquisition in contexts where exposure to the L2 outside the classroom is minimal for being a foreign language. In CLIL, language is learned / acquired through content subjects, but also language is the tool by which content subjects are learned and thus the intensity of exposure time to language increases, and instruction is made more meaningful if compared to traditional foreign language instruction. Having cognition, communication, and culture among its pillars, CLIL was not only visualized as a better education framework in general, but one with cultural and environmental dimensions (De Bot in Marsh, 2002), where learners develop intercultural knowledge by dialoguing about where cultures converge or diverge and where they are prepared for internationalization and mobility. To align theory to practice, guiding documents like the manual for relating language to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) were developed. The CEFR manual is used as a handbook of language competences

that taps into cognitive levels, and sociocultural behaviors designed for teachers and learners in many contexts including CLIL programs. The CEFR suggests that users of other languages at the B1 level (and above) – English in our case – are expected to recognize and produce language features that foster intercultural communication and to act appropriately when using English. This includes salient politeness conventions, for example.

In Spain, the implementation of CLIL programs started in the 1990s. Since then CLIL in Spain has been growing rapidly, reactively and proactively, as a result of many language policies with the purpose of both creating cohesion in teaching and learning across Europe as well as finding a way to improve Spanish learners' low competence levels in foreign languages. The apparent surface-motive for learning English in Spain is often attributed to increasing mobility for study and employment opportunities especially after the economic crisis in Europe in general and Spain in particular. Next to that, education authorities in Spain have introduced and supported second and foreign languages across the curriculum in line with the Bologna agreement and the recommendations set forth by the European commission (Lasagabaster and Ruiz de Zarobe, 2010) and to cover the gap that EFL could not fill alone. On the overall, Spain as an active member of the global society is working towards educational goals for which access to language learning throughout life is key, and for which there is a need to promote plurilingualism, mutual understanding across cultures for better intercultural communication and

acceptance of cultural differences for social cohesion (COE, 2012). CLIL has succeeded in immersing Spanish students in English for more hours through content instruction, but there are concerns about the need to improve learners' communicative productive skills (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2011). According to Neff-van Aertselaer and Pütz (2008), interactants using a lingua franca will use its grammatical system as an instrument of communication, but will exhibit pragmatic variations. These pragmatic variations remind us that the grammatical system of any language is a doorway through which cultural personas and identities come through. It has, therefore, been proposed that language pedagogy needs to adapt further (Alcón-Soler & Matinez-Flór, 2008) and supply language learners with new areas of knowledge in order that they may function adequately. Learners of English in Spain have little exposure to use English outside the classroom, as mentioned before, with all its pragmatic needs and cultural cues. On one hand, opportunities regarding gains in interpersonal skills through CLIL have been pointed to (Lorenzo, Casal and Moor, 2009); on the other hand, doubts about how far CLIL can benefit learners' pragmatic skills have been indicated (Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Marsh, 2002; and Nikula, 2008). These opportunities and doubts are discussed next in the *statement of the problem*.

1.3. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

CLIL students in the British Council/MEC bilingual project are exposed to different types of instructors who, more or less explicitly, work on different

language aspects: the language teachers, who are often Spanish natives, focus on formal language features; the content teachers work at the textual level; and the language assistants, who are native speakers of English, foster conversational style language (Lorenzo, Casal and Moore, 2009). CLIL students, through their three instructional actors, have the potential to be in an extremely rich language learning environment and be exposed to different registers and bicultural experiences. The question remains if these advantages are sufficient to provide evidence that CLIL does in fact lead students to gain intercultural and interpersonal competences. Nikula (2002), who analyzed teachers' use of modifiers during two 45-minute lessons in a Finnish school, an EFL and a CLIL Math lesson, found that the teachers rarely modified their language and favored direct abrupt strategies. According to Nikula, such direct strategies could be a pragmatic principle in Finnish classroom interaction. The need for local-based investigation in pragmatics and sociolinguistics in CLIL classrooms has since then been voiced (Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Marsh, 2002; Nikula, 2008). Moreover, there is a need to see how students apply their pragmatic competence outside the classroom Dalton-Puffer (2007); how they behave as speakers of English as a lingua franca. A recent evaluation report issued by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science and the British Council in Spain (Dobson, Murillo and Johnstone, 2010) states that further investigation of student intercultural competence and interpersonal skills are required. The evaluation targeted broad social and interpersonal skills but it remains unclear

which interpersonal aspect(s) were studied. Also, empirical evidence next to student and parent perception would have offered more insight to the evaluation reached in the report. Generally, the area of pragmatics in CLIL is uncharted water for the moment. Classroom interactions and role plays have been used though in the large-scale INTER-CLIL¹ project which investigates secondary school learners' language of evaluation when discussing content and their interpersonal language to establish social relations in the classroom. The compilation of findings is abundant and remains to be work in progress. However, no studies have targeted how CLIL students use the speech act of requests.

Since CLIL students are in part EFL students, EFL findings are indispensable as input for CLIL research. In EFL, sociocultural-pragmatic appropriateness has been broadly explored for which the list of studies is exhaustive (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999; Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998; Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993; Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford 2004; Rose & Kasper, 2001; and Kasper & Schmidt, 1996). These studies give us a lead when investigating the pragmatics of CLIL students. It is reported that EFL learners: have limited and inappropriate use of speech acts; overuse or underuse politeness conventions; act too directly at times due to being message-oriented not people-oriented; and translate from their first language (Ellis, 1994). Second language acquisition (SLA) research has

¹ Llinares, Whittaker, Morton, McCabe, Dalton-Puffer, Nikula <http://uam-clil.com/research/publications.html>

also shown that explicit metapragmatic instruction (involving description of the problem, explanation and discussion) of L2 pragmatics has an edge over implicit instruction (Kasper, 2001), which means that learners who have exposure to L2 environment are in need of explicit hints to realize their casual odd utterances (Thornburry and Slade, 2006). If this is the reality in EFL, the same might also be true for CLIL students and, in order to find out, further research is needed. CLIL students are expected to be more grammatically advanced in English, which makes them more at risk than their less proficient counterparts since grammatical proficiency would no longer hold as an excuse for seeming impolite (Enomoto and Marriotti; 1994:155).

Empirical evidence examined first-hand (Nashaat-Sobhy, 2011) in line with the previous concerns showed that some CLIL students could produce grammatically correct requests that were not polite despite their willingness to come across as polite speakers. The recent study (2010-2011) which took place in one of the schools participating in the British Council MEC Bilingual program in Spain aimed to explore CLIL students' L2 pragmatics when making requests. The results of the study showed that though students had attested to wanting to come across as polite (recorded positive intent), they used: directives (imperatives as opposed to indirect questions in requests), negative evaluative statements that were face threatening, and used time conditions (*now*) embedded in *want* and *need* statements. Next to that, the English teachers (4 teachers) of the participating group and their language assistant (1 assistant)

were asked to which extent they thought English teaching supported the students' interpersonal skills in comparison to the academic skills, and to which extent they included activities that addressed interpersonal skills. The results of the questionnaire showed teachers perceived that their classes were oriented to cater for students' interpersonal skills while their answers in the same questionnaire pointed out that most of their practice catered for academic linguistic skills, leaving the interpersonal to whenever critical incidents rose. So on one hand the percentage of inclusion of interpersonal tasks is minimal and on the other hand the door is open to speculate about the nature of the tasks used and whether interpersonal language skills are assessed at all. In addition to the above, the 4 teachers also mentioned that they resort to Spanish when problems arise in the classroom. The findings from the researcher's first hand data were in line with observations regarding students' habitual and often warranted use of imperatives in regulatory talk to organize a task among themselves and with the teacher (Dalton Puffer & Nikula, 2006; Llinares, Morton, and Whittaker, 2012). In addition, findings from Nikula (2007) showed that though Finnish CLIL students used English confidently, they code switched and used their L1 for affective purposes. The previous in its entirety leads to wondering if students have the opportunity to explore sufficient pragmatic boundaries in the English CLIL classroom and if they gain an understanding of the politeness conventions expected of them in ELF circles as they progress outside the CLIL classroom.

1.4. AIM AND QUESTIONS OF THE STUDY

Having put forward that pragmatics in CLIL has been under-investigated, and that the few studies conducted in this area have drawn on classroom discourse (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Dalton Puffer and Nikula, 2006; Llinares and Pastrana, 2012; Nikula, 1996; Nikula, 2002, Nikula, 2008), the aim of this study is to assess CLIL students' pragmatic competence in situations of high imposition with teachers and peers. Given that making requests is an inevitable frequent routine, which could be face-threatening in certain situations (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2008), the speech act of requests was selected as the specific act through which students' pragmatic competence be investigated.

The study examines CLIL students' ability to manage requests in order to account for pragmatic developmental patterns and significant differences across levels (1st to 4th ESO CLIL). The results of the latter can really be evaluated if put in perspective with how students in the Non-CLIL program perform as well, at the same education level and higher; if there are differences in CLIL students' requests across levels from 1st ESO to 4th ESO, a question that poses itself is whether non-CLIL students in the mainstream national program develop similar pragmatic behavior. For this reason, it is proposed to examine the requests of non-CLIL mainstream students contrastively between 4th ESO Regular (Non-CLIL) and 4th ESO CLIL and progressively from 4th ESO through 2nd Bachillerato.

Because students who graduate from the CLIL program after 4th ESO return to the mainstream regular program to continue senior high school education (Bachillerato), comparing currently enrolled CLIL students' performance to previously enrolled CLIL students' performance is helpful for contrastive purposes, especially as a group of these Bachillerato students were offered two hours of extra EFL instruction.

The four main research questions of the study are the following

- i. Are there pragmatic differences across education levels within the CLIL English program?
- ii. Are there pragmatic differences between the highest education level in the CLIL program and its non-CLIL regular mainstream counterpart?
- iii. Are there pragmatic differences across education levels in the non-CLIL regular mainstream program?
- iv. Are there pragmatic differences among groups with more exposure to English (CLIL and non-CLIL)?

The participants and the method of elicitation – the instrument – are discussed in detail in Chapter 3-Methodology (sections 3.2 and 3.3).

1.5. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study focuses on the participants' choice and production of requests in two situations, one with a teacher (+Power) and another one with peers (-Power).

Modifying requests is the means used to assess learners' interlanguage pragmatics in this study since learners' manipulation of these grammatical

elements occurs within the framework of managing social settings and relationships (Mertz and Yovel, 2009:255). For this, a typology of requests modifiers (internal and external modifiers) and request strategies is used. The typology is conceptually based on the idea that softening requests contribute to managing rapport and aggravating requests threaten relationships, which is a key issue in intercultural ELF circles. Therefore, a redesign of former typologies (Blum-kulka and Olshatain, 1984; Sifianou 1999; Trosborg 1995, and Alcón-Soler *et al* 2005) was needed to reflect this concept. The development of the typology is discussed in Chapter 4-Data Analysis.

The study is centered on how learners in different levels, within the same program or across different programs, use these request modifiers and strategies and are interpreted within the scope of pragmatic development. The two compared programs are the national mainstream secondary and high school program in Spain where English is only a school subject, and the other is the British Council/MEC bilingual program within the same schools where English is the language of instruction through CLIL as well as a subject.

1.6. DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The participants in the study were from Aragón-Spain, a region where no previous research in the area of CLIL has been conducted (Ruiz de Zarobe and Lasagabaster, 2010). Of the five schools that follow the British Council Bilingual program in Aragón in Huesca, Zaragoza, and Teruel, the data was collected

from two schools; one in Zaragoza and another in Huesca. The results of the study do not take into consideration variables including the socio-economical district the schools belong to, the participants' parents' socio-economical background, classes taught by different teachers, and gender differences. Given that cognitive and affective maturation are important variables when analyzing pre-adolescents and adolescents' language, yet go beyond the scope of the study, the researcher is taking into consideration that any differences between levels (older and younger students) can be influenced by maturation especially that adolescents have improved problem-solving abilities when compared to pre-adolescents (Gillis and Ravid, 2009:203,232).

The English teachers of the participating groups provided answers to a questionnaire about their practices regarding the teaching of pragmatics. Because none of the teachers taught exclusively in a specific level or program (bilingual program or mainstream), their comments could not be tied, in a specific way, to the performance of students in the CLIL or the Non-CLIL groups. The data from this questionnaire will be used for a separate study, yet parts of the teachers' input will be referred to in Chapter 6 to add a few comments to the general conclusion and support future recommendations (see *Teacher Questionnaire* in Appendix III).

Another delimitation of the study is that while pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics are discussed, the study does not start with any hypothesis regarding which is acquired before the other.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

As an introduction, this chapter gave an overview of the program under investigation in this study (the British Council/MEC bilingual program in state Spanish schools), where Castilian Spanish is the main language of instruction except for 1/3 of the curriculum (usually social science and science but it can also be technology) that is taught in English. The chapter also discussed how students in CLIL programs are not typical EFL learners as they have high exposure to English through different content subjects (usually social sciences) and therefore are exposed to more classroom discourse registers. Gaps in the effectiveness of CLIL in regards to certain language skills were then clarified and it was stated that pragmatics is one of the areas considered highly under-investigated in CLIL. The questions of the study were then stated and followed by the scope and delimitations of the study.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

It was previously stated in chapter 1 that very few studies have been conducted on pragmatics in CLIL (Nikula, 2002; Dalton-Puffer, 2005; Nikula and Dalton-Puffer, 2006; Llinares and Pastrana, 2013) and that the study at hand aims to contribute to this gap in CLIL research. Before proceeding with the study at hand, this chapter reviews the literature most relevant to this study. Since this thesis is situated within the realm of interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) and CLIL students in the Eurozone are international speakers of English, the first part of the literature review discusses English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) with the aim to highlight the possibility of marrying the relatively new concept of ELF and its focus on language use, to the more classical concept of *interlanguage* in language acquisition and its focus on language development. The second part picks up from ELF and the pivotal need for its speakers to manage positive rapport and delves into explaining rapport management and politeness theories, and uses a famous request quote to demonstrate that an eclectic approach to analyzing rapport leads to a more comprehensive understanding than when adopting only one approach or theory. The third part centers first on why requests are important for CLIL students, being ELF users, and briefly refers to the reasons leading to challenges learners face when performing this speech act. The second part of the third section reviews different typologies of modifiers and strategies

created and used in request-studies, and the last part is a review of key request-studies that focused on learner production.

2.1. LEARNING PRAGMATICS IN THE CONTEXT OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA

“Our study focuses on an area of sociolinguistics which is not frequently investigated, that of pragmatic competence. More specifically, we focus on the use, or perhaps misuse, of politeness features in ...second-language performance.”

Scarcella and Brunak (1981:1)

As discussed earlier in chapter 1, the study of pragmatic competence in CLIL is an area that has not received sufficient attention so far (Dalton-Puffer, 2011). Interestingly, the study of pragmatics in general was in the same position thirty years ago (Scarcella and Brunak, 1981). The interest in learners’ pragmatic competence rose and developed in parallel to the concept of Communicative Competence (Hymes, 1971; Canale and Swain; 1980; Canale, 1983; Bachman, 1990) before evolving into today’s Communicative Language Competence (Common European Framework of Reference for languages-CEFR, 2002), which is composed of *general competences* and *language specific competences*. General competences are concerned with sociocultural knowledge, intercultural awareness and intercultural skills, whereas language-specific competences are further divided into sociocultural and pragmatic competences. According to the CEFR, these competences are honed by users’ interactions and their cultural environment(s). Sociocultural competence is the set of knowledge and skills

that are needed to behave adequately in society, as in the knowledge and employment of certain politeness conventions and register differences.

Pragmatic competence, on the other hand, is sociocultural competence put to action; it is the use of the available sociocultural knowledge and linguistic means to express language functions and speech acts. Given that there are currently more users of ELF than native speakers of English (Seidlhofer, 2005), pragmatic competence should have been put on par with the other language competences taught in formal language learning programs as a skill in its own right. Instead, it has not received consistent attention in the language classroom in an era in which non-native speakers of English have already outnumbered native speakers of English by a ratio of 4:1 (Seidlhofer, 2005). The presence of English world-wide, including in the Euro-zone, has resulted in massive international English interactions between speakers of different nationalities, and has created communities of lingua franca speakers from which the native speaker is probably absent (Seidlhofer, 2005). For the purpose of this study, the term *Intercultural English*, which indicates the presence of native speakers of English and non-native speakers in the same situation (Hülmbauer et al, 2008) will be interchanged with *International English* and *Lingua Franca English* without differentiation.

According to Byram *et al* (2002), English learners are intercultural speakers who do not necessarily have perfect competences, including pragmatic ones. They are individuals with partial knowledge of another culture or more, and who are

open to socializing with people from other foreign backgrounds. This definition helps distinguish between native speakers of English as the ideal model, and learners of English who use English to mediate between different cultures. The distinction between learners of English and native speakers of English postulates the impracticality of adopting the native speaker as a model, especially that few bilingual speakers have 'perfect' native sociolinguistic and sociopragmatic competence (Byram, 1997:11). Therefore, the question that poses itself is why learners should be expected to reach native level of perfection when they are not bilingual speakers. House (2008) probes the dictionary meaning of the syllables 'inter' and 'cultural' together with the word 'speaker', and discusses them from different angles including second language acquisition to concoct a definition for the intercultural speaker.

".... A person who has managed to settle for the In-between, who knows and 'can' perform in both his and her native culture and in another one acquired at some later date.... He or she is a person who has managed to develop his or her own third way."

(House, 2008:13)

In this article, House rethinks the norms against which the bi or tri-cultural international speaker should be measured, and the answer surely does not mandate the norms of a mono-culture since the International Speaker is not mono-cultured. In addition, International Speakers as continuing language learners have competences with a developmental nature that are 'under

construction'. In other words their errors are part of their interlanguage, or the "third way" in House's (2008) terms. The English variety used by ELF speakers (in reference to European varieties of English) then need not be regarded as a 'deficient' variety with mistakes, but rather a variety with deviations from the native norm, and one that has its specific pragmatic features (Cenoz and Valencia, 1996).

Caragaranjah (2007) wonders about the threshold level of English proficiency that is required to join this virtual ELF community of practice. The answer to this question is that there is no threshold; it is an open virtual space. Studies have shown that users of ELF tend to focus on the message being dispatched instead of focusing on the manner in which the message is conveyed (Firth, 2009), but efficiency so far is measured by whether the speakers are able to clarify the purposes of their messages regardless of their unconventional word choice and ungrammatical structures. Different terms have been used to refer to the above phenomena: *working consensus* (Goffman, 1959); *the discursive accomplishment of normality* (Firth, 1990); and *Let-It-Pass* (House, 1996). These terms reflect an unspoken agreement among ELF users – who are not all 'deficient communicators' (House, 2009) – to skim over many linguistic elements and features in order to get to the bottom of the intended message. Interaction between speakers of ELF creates a space for their discourse norms as participants belong to different languages, cultures, and underlying experiences. According to Firth (1996) and House (2009), these different norms

do not necessarily lead to pragmatic failure among them. Firth (1996) states that ELF discourse has problems (non-collocates, unidiomatic expressions, and syntactic, morphological and phonological anomalies), which when 'not fatal' do not bring the conversation to a halt. Discourse *is made to flow normal and ordinary* by the interactants who support each other to reach their goal(s). What this means is that it is thanks to the participants that pragmatic failures do not cause communication to discontinue, and not that they do not happen or rarely occur. Firth reports a conversation between a Danish buyer and an Indian seller living in Saudi Arabia, in which the Danish businessman makes a remark regarding the temperature reaching twenty-five degrees in the summer where he lives and adds that relatively it would be like winter in Saudi Arabia. As the Indian seller failed to understand the comment, the comment was brushed aside by both to focus on the transaction at hand. ELF speakers have considerable potential for working out their differences because "they have a common purpose" (House, 2010:369).

Euro-English is the use of ELF in Europe, and while it is argued that ELF speakers dismiss non-fatal errors to focus on the message, they are always at risk of being perceived as impolite (Enomoto and Marriott, 1994:155). Euro-English is used in three main contexts: in academia as a medium of instruction, in business as a medium of negotiation, and among Europeans of all ages in various settings for interpersonal use while travelling, socializing after work, or when participating in school or student exchanges (Berns, 2009). Though there

are no pre-fixed linguistic and pragmatic norms in Euro-English, speakers continue to have their native standards of politeness, values, and traditions present at all times and while they mutually extend the benefit of doubt regarding certain unconventionalities, as mentioned before, for transactional purposes, pragmatic misunderstandings and failures may arise of course. The manner in which a message is conveyed can always be interpreted as fostering rapport or ill-rapport by ELF speakers and judgments can be passed at all times regarding the degree of politeness and courtesy extended to the hearer. As mentioned earlier, ELF speakers with higher grammatical proficiency will be more at risk than their less proficient counterparts if they defy pragmatic expectations as they may seem intentionally impolite (Enomoto and Marriott, 1994:155). Therefore, while it is true that the pragmatic competences of ELF speakers should not be benchmarked against native-speakers', a degree of effort and intent to manage positive rapport with others is certainly appreciated. ELF in academic, business, and service contexts require that the participants be motivated to co-construct positive interactions, soften impositions, and minimize the risks of rapport mismanagement. The latter requires heightened pragmatic awareness expected of students in the Euro-zone in line with the European Commission's recommendations regarding internationalization and intercultural citizenship (Plurilingual education in Europe, 2006).

One of the disputes ELF has presented to second language acquisition research is its mismatch with the theory of interlanguage. The terms ELF and

interlanguage belong to different mindsets; ELF acknowledges the speakers' right to be as far from native-like norms as need be, and interlanguage describes the non-native speaker's language system on a developmental continuum that progresses towards native proficiency (Selinker, 1972). Therefore, some degree of reconciliation between ELF and interlanguage is required at this point, and since this research falls in the area of pragmatics, the next point will center on interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) and ELF.

ILP has been defined in a narrow sense and in a broad sense (Lui, 2006). In the narrow sense it is the study of how non-native speakers develop their ability to comprehend and produce actions in a target language (Kasper & Rose, 2002). In the same narrow sense, it has been defined as the study of nonnative speakers' acquisition and use of linguistic action patterns in a second language (Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993). However, Kasper and Blum-Kulka admit that the definition is restrictive as it did not include immigrants who were competent in two languages, and redefined it more broadly as:

"...the study of intercultural styles brought about through language contact, the conditions for their emergence and change, the relationship to their substrata, and their communicative effectiveness."

Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993:4)

This was later simplified by Kasper (1998:184) as *"how to do things with words in a second language"*.

There is evidence already in Kasper and Blum-Kulka's (1993) definitions that interlanguage pragmatics does not necessarily need to be tied to native speakers' norms. There is an emphasis on 1) culture and the formation of intercultural trends as a result of different languages coming in contact; 2) the settings in which these trends emerge and the conditions leading to changes in these trends, and 3) the communicative effectiveness of these trends in fulfilling different functions. House (2008) stated that she understands the focus on ELF to be more on language use than on language development, acquisition, socio-pragmatic and socio-cultural functions. Nevertheless, there is no reason why use and development would not both remain in scope. Motivation is understood to be one of the determinantes of human behavior (Dörnyei, 1998) and lifelong learning to be one of the tenants of education policies in the EU (CEFR, 2002), so it is up to the language users themselves to decide what they need/want to develop, and define the end point of their development. Hence, the target of an ELF speaker *may involve* acquiring native-like norms as in the following cases described by Berns (2009:197) and Yule (1996). Berns (2009) reports the case of three Euro-English speakers, three lawyers from Austria, Portugal and Germany. The three were responsible for issuing a press release in English. The German lawyer described the situation as follows: "*We three sat together, and within minutes we were clear it was an English conversation, just an English conversation, and we would have to find the text. In any case, the primary concern is the content – what should we do, what 'can' we do? The questions are: "Is*

the content correct? Is it OK for the press? Will the public accept it? Are the vocabulary, syntax, and punctuation correct". The lawyer expressed that they could have considered consulting an Irish or a British colleague on language issues, which they did not, but they would have. These lawyers were considered expert ELF users who, for a certain purpose, reverted as much as they could to native norms to appeal to a certain public. The same situation could surely reoccur in hundreds of academic and business contexts.

Yule (1996:77) gives a recount of how he realized after living in Saudi Arabia for some time that his answer to a certain question identified him as an outsider to the culture for not adhering to the adjacent pair commonly used in Arabic-speaking countries when asked about one's health.

- In Saudi Arabia to Yule: *How are you?*
- Yule in Saudi Arabia: *Fine (Okay)*.

Regular answer (adjacent pair): *Praise to God*

Nothing was wrong or offensive in his reply, but his answer was not 'native-like' from the point of view of the hearer. This type of irregularity or unconventionality most definitely conveys something about the speaker's identity but does not affect relational work. Yule comments that he later chose to use the conventional expected answer. This, as argued before, is a personal choice that non-native speakers of English can make for themselves, but at the same time it is the role of language educators to raise the awareness of learners to the relationship between intercultural understanding and language, and the social-relational impact our utterances have on others in intercultural settings.

On the other hand, the target of an ELF speaker *may* also involve developing better communication strategies in the foreign language without aiming at coming across as near-native for identity purposes. Erling and Bartlett (2006) created a sociolinguistic profile of their English students at a German university using questionnaires and students' reflective essays on the role of English in their lives. Three sociolinguistic clusters were identified: a US-friendly cluster (54%), a pro-British cluster (13%) and a lingua franca cluster (34%). The lingua franca cluster reflected on the challenges they faced to make English their own. Two statements conclude their stance as ELF speakers: their seeing themselves as international 'peacemakers' in a world of internationalization and globalization' (student quote), and their wish not to adopt a foreign identity to their own: "*if you have a native-like accent you might be mistaken for somebody you aren't*" (student quote).

In conclusion, it is up to the community of practice and to the individuals within it to choose whether to focus on language use and apply the let-it-pass principle, or also focus on form as a strategy and a tool to appeal to others when necessary and manage rapport better. In this sense, the term interlanguage pragmatics signals room for optional lifelong development in regards to direction (towards better communication strategies *or/and* native-like norms) and manner (formal learning *or/and* other methods). There is a wealth of studies in interlanguage pragmatics where the outcome has been explained cross-culturally (including native English speakers' pragmatic norms) and

interculturally and have contributed a great deal to interpreting the pragmatics of learners of English in all their varieties and English circles. Another point to be clarified is the possible need to distinguish between the terms '*users of ELF*' and '*learners of English in ELF contexts*'. The first has already been explained in the discussion above and which, in short, refers to the use of English by non-native speakers as a language of mediation. The second term refers to the dual nature of the participants in this group as users of ELF who continue to check their language progress to become better ELF users. Neither terms need to use the native yardstick as a model. However, the use of native norms should not be discarded either to avoid throwing out the baby with the bath water.

2.2. POLITENESS AND RAPPORT MANAGEMENT

Relatively few studies have been conducted in the area of Intercultural Politeness (IP), which could be attributed to the fact that no theory has been developed for it yet. On the other hand, some facets of IP have been laid down. These involve a comprehension of the language(s) being used in interaction and the underlying socio-cultural background of the participants (Trsoborg, 2010). What ELF interlocutors have been noticed to do on many occasions is avoid being disturbed by their interlocutors' anomalies, or change the subject when pragmatic failure or breakdown takes place, for example. In other words, they use negative politeness or a negative frame of communication, which eventually creates "a sense of separation" that may develop over time into discomfort (Janney and Arndt 1992 in Watts 2003). Perceived impoliteness has

been attributed to reasons including the intentional or unintentional use of particular syntactic structures; for example, the use of imperatives in directives. The same negative perception can result from having different speech practices, different situation-specific expectations, and incompatible sociocultural values; for example, not apologizing when breaking a promise to deliver something (Lee-Wong 2002 in Trosborg 2010).

It is difficult to answer in a straightforward manner if an utterance is polite or not in intercultural pragmatics. What follows is a discussion of politeness theories that aims to demonstrate that no single pragmatic framework or politeness theory is fully capable of supplying all the elements to answer this question. Each politeness theory contributes in part to the final picture. Brown and Levinson's (1978) expansion on Austin's Speech Acts (1962), and Goffman's Theory of Face (1959) gained wide popularity, as well as criticism for claiming the premises of their model to be universal. Despite the critiques, the ideas of Face, Distance, Power, and Imposition, which they developed into a model for politeness, are indispensable to any study dealing with politeness. It is the speaker's responsibility to choose from among the many available linguistic expressions in a way that would minimize the risk of incurring a *face-threatening act* (FTA). They propose two types of *face*: negative and positive. Positive Face is '*wanting to be approved by others*' and making the hearer feel good about himself, and Negative Face is '*wanting to be unimpeded by others and avoiding imposition on the hearer*'. In doing either, there is always the matter of

risk-taking. Speakers choose how to express themselves using bald on-record/direct, or off-record/indirect (minimizing the FTA, or abandoning whatever leads to the FTA) based on how they perceive the seriousness or risk of the FTA, which in turn depends on the social distance between the speaker and the addressee (abbreviated as D), the relative power difference between them (P), and the degree of imposition pertinent to the FTA itself in a particular culture I.

Other classical theories of politeness include Searle's and Vanderveken's illocutionary logic (1985) who clarify how utterances extend to affect the hearer's feelings, attitude, and behavior. Three factors convey (im)politeness when directing someone to an action: 1) speakers' intent: illocutionary acts as in to ask, beg, challenge, command, dare, invite, insist, request. It is important to remain aware that each of these intents, if conveyed as they are, are associated to a different degree of strength (illocutionary point), so pleading for something would be stronger than asking for it; 2) speakers' attitude: expressives which the speaker uses to convey an attitude about a certain affair as in to apologize, appreciate, congratulate, criticize, dislike, regret, thank, welcome; 3) speakers' degree of power over the hearer: the illocutionary force is interdependent on the authority of the speaker. The speaker must first satisfy the preparatory condition of being in a position of authority before non-defectively issuing a directive, for example.

Directives, which form an important part of the data collected in this study, are speech acts that intrinsically elicit actions (orders, requests, suggestions, wishes) and thus are inherently imposing, but depending on the benefit and cost to the hearer and speaker (Haverkate, 1984; Watts, 2003) the position of the directive on the imposition-non imposition cline varies. More impositive speech acts would benefit the speaker at the cost of the hearer, or non-impositive speech acts would benefit the hearer (Haverkate, 1984). Then again, when and to whom the directive is oriented will vary the degree of imposition. Let us take the Spanish directive *¡Ojo!* which generally alerts the hearer to move aside. If said by a teen to an older person because the teen simply wants to pass, it is impositive given that the directive benefits the speaker-the teen. On the other hand, the directive would not be impositive if it were said by the teen to protect the older person from a falling door head as it would be a directive in the benefit of the hearer-the older person. The principles in Brown and Levinson's model of linguistic politeness do not always offer an explanation for the interpretation of linguistic behaviors such as the above: speakers may choose not to use the expected set of predetermined politeness forms even in their native language for multiple reasons including the following: informality is sometimes regarded as a sign of friendliness; there is less psychological or social distance between the speaker and the hearer; the speaker is so focused on the objective that formality is put aside; or the speaker does not care to maintain a harmonious relation with the hearer. If these possibilities hold in the L1, it is

possible that the same speaker will make the same choices when using the L2 and the reason may not always be attributed to his/her underdeveloped pragmatic competence in the L2. Therefore, the use of language conventions (polite or impolite) is related to affect and *rappport* whose ultimate goal is to achieve harmony in social relations.

Rappport Management is different from other politeness theories for its focus on identity-work and relationship management (Leech, 1983; Spencer-Oatey, 2000; Watts, 2003). Rappport management is highly dynamic and cannot really rest on a set of predetermined utterances.

According to Spencer-Oaety (2000), managing rapport or politeness across different cultures requires different approaches in order to achieve harmony in social relations. The two parts of rapport are face management and sociality rights management. Face management positively promotes personal qualities like personal worth, appreciation, and competence. It is a reflection of the social persona individuals want to be identified with to be acknowledged as equals, leaders, friends, and so forth. Sociality rights management, on the other hand, deals with fairness and equity and the need for equity is what encourages individuals to look for proper treatment, avoid being exploited, imposed on, or be ordered about. What is fair in one culture could be over-the-top in another. Perspectives on sociality rights and face management are also culture-specific as perspectives on politeness are (Watts, 2003), and they are individual-specific too.

According to Watts' relational work model, unmarked politic behavior is the norm in social interaction, and not overtly polite behavior, at least in the Anglo-Saxon culture. Habits and past experiences lead us to repeatedly use ritualized expressions of procedural meaning (EPM). These EPMs are formulaic or semi-formulaic like *thank you* and *please*. Because EPMs are ritualized, they form an important part of politic behavior, and without them our utterances can be considered impolite.

"I suggested...that linguistic behavior which is perceived to be appropriate to the social constraints of the ongoing interaction, i.e. as non-salient, should be called politic behavior"

(Watts, 2003:19)

On the contrary, overt marked politeness is essential to relational work in certain cultures and situations. In the Arab world for example, using unmarked politic behavior with a senior-in age or rank-without using certain honorifics or using structures that are more directive than suggestive could signal indifference and therefore impoliteness. Watts' (2003) relational work is seen as a continuum or a spectrum that goes from marked over-polite to marked rude inappropriate behavior and in between these two points lie marked positive politeness and unmarked politic behavior (see Table 1).

Table 1. Watts' (2003) Relational Work Spectrum

Marked Over-Polite	Marked Polite and Unmarked Polite	Marked Impolite or Rude
Has excess EPMS	Has an appropriate amount of EPMS or conventionally lacks them	Is deficient in EPMS to the point of being face-threatening

Because politeness is a negotiated social practice in different contexts, linguistic structures should not be evaluated as inherently (im)polite without considering the context, the relationship between speakers, and the evoked norms (Watts, 2003). Also, it is important to keep in mind that politeness is culture-specific and politeness norms are not universal.

To put the previously discussed theories and tenets to practice, I will use an encounter between King Juan Carlos of Spain and the late president Chávez of Venezuela to demonstrate an incidence of ill-rapport between two intercultural speakers. A commentary on the King's request will conclude this section of the chapter in light of the concepts of the pre-reviewed theories. First, the incident:

"¿Por qué no te callas?"

"Why don't you shut up?"

(King Juan Carlos of Spain to the late President Chávez of Venezuela)

In 2007 in the Ibero-American Summit, which is an annual meeting for the heads of government and state of the Spanish and Portuguese-Speaking countries in the Americas and Europe, The late Venezuelan president (Hugo Chávez) was continuously interrupting the speech of the Spanish prime-minister at the time (José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero) criticizing the Spanish

former prime-minister (José Maria Aznar). King Juan Carlos of Spain turned to the late president and said “*¿Por qué no te callas?*” (“Why don’t you shut up?”).

The Venezuelan president’s interruptions were a face threatening act (FTA) and an imposition on the objectives and time of the summit. The initiated FTA gave way to a reactive counter imposition without reservations on part of the King. Obviously, King Juan Carlos could have used a soft hint, substituted ‘shut up’ for another verb, or used a different speech act had it been his intent. Though the King’s request is a non-conventional indirect request – a suggestion –, it is negatively marked as impolite-rude if we were to place it on the continuum of Watts (2003) relational work. A different analysis would explain that this rudeness is partly a result of the use of ‘shut up’, which is a negatively marked verb as it suggests the superiority of the requester who gives himself more sociality rights and power (Spencer-Oatey, 2000). The illocutionary force suggests that the King had authority over the president, as well. Also, the use of ‘you’ is hearer-oriented, which increases the degree of imposition in requests more than using the zero orientation, or the use of plural ‘we’ for solidarity (ex: *Why not let the summit continue?/Why don’t we discuss this later?*). The illocutionary point made by the king reflects an act that seems closer to a command or a dare (Searle and Vanderveken, 1985) and the expressed attitude could be interpreted as dislike or criticism.

The incident was meant to demonstrate the need to draw upon more than one politeness theory and tenet to analyze how a four-word utterance like “*¿porque*

no te callas?” can be aggravating, and to whom. Among the points discussed in the next section are the reasons why pragmatics is not easily acquired in a foreign language and why the area of requests is of particular interest, then a review of the studies that dealt with requests in interlanguage pragmatics is presented.

2.3. INTERLANGUAGE PRAGMATICS AND REQUESTS

When discussing pragmatic competence, sociopragmatics and pragmalinguistics are often distinguished (Kasper and Rose, 2002; Kasper and Roever, 2005). Sociopragmatic competence is understood to be more related to understanding social organization, including power, social distance, impositions in relation to certain events (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and conventional practices within a certain community including rights, obligations, and taboos (Thomas, 1983). The mere decision of carrying out a specific communicative action or refraining from it is essentially based on the global sociopragmatic existing conventions in a certain place. Pragmalinguistic competence on the other hand is more related to knowing about the use of linguistic forms (Leech, 1983). It requires the ability to choose the appropriate linguistic form (directness, indirectness, with softeners, with justifiers...etc.) from a range of linguistic variations to carry out a communicative action (Thomas, 1983). The order in which the two terms are defined here is not related to any hierarchy or undertaken order of acquisition. In fact, contradicting results from several studies have led to a division among scholars

regarding which of the two competences is acquired first or is learned at a faster rate (Rose, 2000; Rose, 2009; Chang, 2011; Hassall, 2012). Hassall (2012) in his response to Chang defines sociopragmatic competence as comprised of two levels, one that requires the knowledge of what illocutionary action to take, which stops at the pre-verbal stage and is acquired faster, and another level which involves learners' knowledge of how to vary their choice of means and forms in relation to the context. Hassall argues that the latter level is acquired at a slower pace and is tied to learners' knowledge of linguistic means and forms for performing speech acts. This order of pragmatic competence acquisition, though not the focus of this study, will be drawn upon when discussing the results of the study in chapter 6.

Studies in interlanguage pragmatics continuously remind us that because learners come from different cultures, there are different traps into which they may fall. For example, while all cultures will have in common the concept of imposition, the communicative actions taken to avoid imposing will vary from one culture to another. In this process, learners may experience difficulty finding the linguistic means to recognize or produce appropriate communicative acts despite their awareness of the needed sociopragmatic rules. In addition, they may lack knowledge of the target sociopragmatic rules and transfer from their own cultural norms, which limit their ability to act appropriately. Barron (2003: 36-60) lays out a comprehensive schema of learner pragmatic acquisition issues represented in:

- learner tendency for pragmatic overgeneralization, whereby they tend to apply a form or a norm that works in a certain context to all others.

One of the reasons for this tendency is the learners' automatization of certain forms and norms rendering them as handy and easy to produce. Another reason is the learners' need, as foreigners, to express thoughts the safest possible way. This may take the form of being direct and explicit (Faerch and Kasper 1989:245), or being verbose (Hassall, 2001:285). A third reason could be misperceiving certain unconventional forms as typical of the target language when they are not (Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993).

- teaching-induced errors, involving false information about a certain culture as in supposing that people can always express their raw emotions no matter the context in the United States (Wajaja, 1997:25), or textbook materials that do not reflect authentic language use. A very important influencing issue in this domain is that of the nature of classroom discourse to which students are exposed to on a daily basis. Classroom discourse is limited in giving learners any opportunity for interpersonal discourse (Nikula, 1996), and its transactional Initiate-Response-Feedback (IRF) pattern lacks politeness markers (Kasper and Rose, 1999) and social language functions.

- the complexity of levels for learners' pragmatic system to develop and its relatedness to grammatical competence; a number of studies have

empirically established that second language speakers might commit pragmatic failures despite their grammatical and lexical command of the target language (Cohen and Olshtain 1981; Kasper 1981; House 1982; Blum-Kulka 1982; Thomas 1983 In Blum Kulka and Olshtain;1989).

Another complexity deals with whether learners struggle more with the underlying sociopragmatic knowledge than with the linguistic form (Bialystock, 1983) and whether learners notice linguistic norms and forms as a result of critical incidents (Schmidt, 1995). Swain's output hypothesis (1995) and Long's interaction hypothesis (1996) together suggest that if learners have limited opportunity for practice and negotiation, they have fewer chances at noticing and understanding what they lack to improve their language competence.

- the influence of L1 is also key in learners' pragmatic development.

Many scholars have explained how learners will use their existing system of literacies, skills, and concepts to manage their L2 until they map out the aspects of L2 in their system of literacies. This system has been referred to in different ways: the common underlying proficiency model (Cummins, 1981); central operating system (Baker, 2001); or the common underlying conceptual base-CUCB (Kecskes and Papp, 2000).

As Kecsckes and Papp explain, when an L2 is taught in a local context where the students' access to the target culture is limited to the classroom, learners depend on their underlying conceptual base of L1

and language-learning through some L2 courses cannot possibly lead to the development of another CUCB. Cummins (1981) and Baker (2001) further clarify how the underlying language processing system for language proficiency is one for different languages as in one unit or source of thought. This explains why it is common and natural to transfer aspects of language like pragmatics to the L2 as part of the learner's declarative and procedural knowledge (Cummins, 2007). Second language speakers' pragmatic failures have been shown to be noticeable in transferring rules of appropriateness and language usage (Widdowson, 1978).

One of the speech acts that have been widely studied in second language acquisition research and interlanguage pragmatics (hereafter ILP) is requests. They are of particular importance given that making requests is an inevitable frequent routine that could be face-threatening, especially when the request poses an imposition on the addressee's space or freedom-negative face. Certain requests can affect the addressee's positive face if they are taken as embarrassing reprimands or accusations as in the case of being requested to return a borrowed item or money (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2008). Also, formulating appropriate requests in regards to power, social distance and context calls for having a certain level of linguocultural awareness, expertise, and sensitivity on part of the learner (Ellis, 1994:168).

Developmental ILP request studies are classified into cross-cultural, cross-sectional, and longitudinal studies. Cross-cultural studies compare request strategies and modifications made by different groups of learners of English to each other and/or to native speakers (House and Kasper, 1981; Faerch and Kasper, 1989; Tanaka 1988; House, 1989; Blum-Kulka *et al*, 1989; Cenoz and Valencia, 1996; Yu 1999; Hassall 2001; Hutz, 2006; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2008; Woodfield 2009; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2011). Cross-sectional studies compare sections or groups belonging to the same population of learners by proficiency level or study discipline, for example (Scarcella, 1979; Kobayashi and Rinnert , 2003; Félix-Brasdefer, 2007; Otcu and Zeyrek, 2008; Trosborg, 1995; Hill, 1997; Rose, 2000; Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan, 2006; Martínez-Flor, 2009, Nikula, 2006; Llinares and Pastrana, 2013). As for longitudinal studies, they follow the same learner (s) over time (Barron, 2004; Ellis, 1992; Gila Schauer, 2009; Schmidt, 1993). While all studies have contributed to understanding ILP, some have contributed with basic essential schemata to organize the study of requests in ILP. The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project - CCSARP (1989) led by Blum-Kulka, House, Kasper – based on earlier work by House and Kasper (1981) and Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) – is particularly influential for having laid down a taxonomic foundation used in schematizing data output in most of the research on requests that followed. Blum Kulka and Olshtain's (1984) coding manual, which was used in Blum-Kulka *et al*'s (1989) CCSARP project, has been key for the

classification of modifiers (external and internal) and request strategies. Other studies that have focused on request modifiers include the use of *please* (Whichmann; 2004, Sato; 2008; Màrtinez-Flòr, 2009) and the use of attention getters like *look* and *listen* (Romero-Trillo, 1997; 2002). This list is not exhaustive of course.

More typologies of strategies and modifiers have recently emerged and are of importance to this study (Trosborg, 1995 and Alcón-Soler *et al*, 2005). The first part of the upcoming section will first describe Blum-Kulka and Olshtain's (1984) coding scheme then briefly compare it to Trosborg's (1995) and Alcón-Soler *et al*'s (2005) as examples of updated coding schemata used to analyze different learner data.

2.3.1. REQUEST TYPOLOGIES.

As seen in the previous section, the analysis of utterances in regards to intercultural politeness requires a combination of theories to avoid bias or limitations in analysis. To exemplify, indirectness-including hints-in requests was considered equivalent to politeness (Leech,1983: 108). However, when examined by participants from different countries (Blum-Kulka, 1987; Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1989) these requests were not perceived as polite by default. Indirect requests and hints were sometimes perceived as ambiguous and lacking sufficient pragmatic clarity, which lead to creating a further imposition on the hearer. It is then concluded that conventional indirectness is

polite, but open-ended un-conventional indirectness will vary depending on many variables like culture, background knowledge, and individual presuppositions (Lempert, 2012). It can therefore be understood why the comparability of results across cross-cultural studies can be an issue if coding schemata or typologies were not carefully considered.

2.3.1.1. THE CCSARP CODING SCHEME

As a result of the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP), members of the project were able to compare requests and apologies across different groups of English learners (Canadian French – Danish – German – Hebrew – Russian), including different varieties of English (Australian English – American English – British English). The same data elicitation instrument was used with these different groups of approximately 400 each and in some cases the instrument was translated. All participating scholars (Shoshana Blum-Kulka, Claus Faerch, Juliane House-Edmondson, Gabriele Kasper, Elite Olshtain, Ellen Rintell, Jenny Thomas, Nessa Wolfson, Eija Ventola, Helmut Vollmer as ordered in Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984) followed the same methodology and coding scheme for data analysis. The CCSARP discourse completion test (DCT) consists of eight incomplete discourse sequences which participants complete by formulating their own utterances in response to socially differentiated situations (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984). The eight situations are:

- a student asking a roommate to clean up the kitchen he/she left in a mess

- a girl asking an unknown on the street (a boy) to stop pestering her,
- a student asking another student for lecture notes,
- a student asking for a lift of people living on the same street,
- an applicant asks for information for a job an advertised,
- a policeman asks a driver to move the car,
- a student asks a teacher for a deadline extension,
- a university teacher asks a student to give his lecture a week earlier than scheduled.

The study accounted for three objectives and four variables (in bold at the end of the objectives below):

- 1) to establish native speakers' patterns of realization corresponding to different social constraints like *social distance and power* in each of the languages **(situational variability)**;
- 2) to establish the similarities and differences in the observed patterns *cross-linguistically* **(cross-cultural variability)**;
- 3) to establish the similarities and differences between native and non-native realization patterns relative to the *same* social constraints **(individual variability in relation to gender; native versus non-native variability)**.

Among the objectives of the study was the creation of a coding schema to compare the requests gathered from the learners in ten different countries.

Blum-Kulka and Olshatin (1984) dedicate their paper to reporting on the final CCSARP coding schema, which different members of the project modified using empirical data from different learners. The coding scheme for the analysis of requests in the modified version was divided into 3 main units: (a) Address Term(s) as in the name of a person without honorific titles; (b) Direct or indirect request strategies in the Headact; and (c) Adjuncts to Headact as in the use of a grounder to justify the request. Only request strategies and adjuncts (modifiers) will be investigated in this study: therefore, Blum-Kulka and Olshatin's (1984) classification of levels of directness and strategies will be illustrated (Table 2) and explained followed by their classification of request modifiers (Table 3).

Table 2. *A summary of levels of directness and strategy types used in the CCSARP project (Blum-Kulka and Olshatin, 1984).*

Level of Directness	Examples after Blum Kulka & Olshatin (1984)	Strategy Types
Marked Directness and Explicitness	Turn the TV down.	Imperative (mood derivable)
	I'm asking you to turn the TV down.	Explicit performatives
	I would like you to turn down the TV.	Hedged performatives
	Guys, you'll have to turn down the TV.	Locution derivable
Conventional Indirectness	I really wish you'd turn down the TV.	Scope stating
	Could you/ Would you turn down the TV.	Preparatory condition (ability or willingness)
Suggestions and Hints	How about you turn down the TV.	Suggestion formula
	You have the TV on so loud.	Strong hint
	It's noisy in here.	Mild hint

Request strategies

Regarding the use of direct and indirect strategies, three main strategies formed the scale of directness (see Table 2):

- (i) The use of explicit performatives, hedged performatives, and imperatives, which are considered marked and hence direct and explicit;
- (ii) The use of conventional indirect speech acts as in “*could’ you’* or “*would you’*”, which are lower on the scale of directness;
- (iii) The use of hints, which are the least direct and consist in making partial or full reference to a certain object or topic in such a way that the hearer infers a request is being made (ex: “*Why is the window open’*”; “*It’s cold in here’*”).

As seen in the previous table, request strategies were classified by levels of directness. Five strategies were classified as most direct:

- *Mood derivable*, in which the mood of the verb (the imperative) marks the illocutionary force – the purpose of the utterance – as a request.
- *Explicit performatives*, in which the speaker names the purpose of the utterance, e.g. “*I’m asking you not to park the car here*”.
- *Hedged performatives*, which have the purpose of the utterance embedded in the request.

- *Locution derivable*, where the illocutionary point – directives in requests or basically getting someone to do something– can be inferred from the utterance.
- *Scope stating*, which is when the speaker relays desires, feelings and intentions regarding an action to be carried out by the hearer.

Preparatory conditions of willingness and ability were classified as conventionally indirect (*'could'/would you*), and the following three strategies were classified as the least direct:

- *Suggestion formulae*, which are sentences that contain a suggestion to do something.
- *Strong hints*, with reference to the objects or elements to nudge the implementation of the act (direct pragmatic implications).
- *Soft hints*, with no reference to the objects of elements involved in the implication of the act, but understood from the context to be a request.

Independently of direct and indirect strategy types, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) presented the typology of modifiers of downgraders or softeners used in the CCSARP project (Table 3).

Table 3. *The CCSARP classification of request modifiers (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984)*

Internal Modifiers (lexical/phrasal)	
Consultative devices	Do you think I could borrow your lecture notes from yesterday?
Understatements	Could you tidy up a bit before I start?
Hedges	It would really help if you did something about the kitchen
Downtoners	Will you perhaps be able to drive me?
Upgraders:	
a. Intensifiers	Clean up this mess, it's disgusting
b. Expletives	You still haven't cleaned up that bloody mess!
Internal Modifiers (Syntactic Downgraders)	
Interrogative	Could you do the cleaning up?
Negation	Look, excuse me. I wonder if you wouldn't mind dropping me home?
Past tense	I wanted to ask for a postponement
Embedded 'if clause	I would appreciate it if you left me alone
External Modifiers	
Checking on availability	Are you going in the direction of the town? And if so, is it possible to join you?
Getting a pre-commitment	Will you do me a favor? Could you perhaps lend me your notes for a few days?
Grounders	I missed class yesterday, could I borrow your notes?
Sweeteners	You have beautiful handwriting, would it be possible to borrow your notes for a few days?
Disarmers	Excuse me, I hope you don't think I'm being forward, but is there any chance of a lift home?
Cost minimizers	Pardon me, but could you give me a lift, if you're going my way?

External modifiers are those found around (before or after) the headact and internal modifiers are those within the headact itself. The modifiers neither change the proposition initially made in the headact nor alter the level of directness; the level of directness remains fixed. However, modifiers mitigate or aggravate the context in which the illocutionary force is embedded, hence referred to as softeners and aggravators. External and internal modifiers can appear sometimes together in the same act (*Do you think it is possible to turn down the TV a bit?*). These modifiers are:

Internal Modifiers

1. Consultative devices: involving or bidding the cooperation of the hearer.
2. Understatements: minimizing the imposition by using certain elements.
3. Hedges: avoiding specifying the illocutionary point (naming the action, naming the manner, or any other contextual aspect).
4. Downtoners: stating the anticipation of the possibility of the hearer's non-compliance of the request.
5. Upgraders: the opposite of downgraders; upgraders are devices that increase the compelling force of the request and aggravating the hearer.
 - i. Expletives: overtly stating the speaker's negative attitude.
 - ii. Intensifiers: over-representing the reality or negatively evaluating the hearer or part of the hearer's reality.

Syntactic downgraders

These are other internal modifiers that depend on syntactic rather than lexical means to mitigate requests. Syntactic modifications reflect the speaker's uncertainty regarding the outcome of the request (pessimism or hesitation) and soften the imposition of the request. These are:

6. Interrogatives;
7. Negation;

8. Use of the past tense;
9. If-statements.

External Modifiers

10. Checking on availability: checking if the precondition necessary for compliance holds true.
11. Getting a pre-commitment: preceding the headact by an attempt to get a pre-committal.
12. Grounders: indicating a reason or a justification for the request.
13. Sweeteners: expressing appreciation or admiration for the hearer's ability in relation to the request that will be asked.
14. Disarmers: indicating awareness of the imposition on the hearer about to be committed.
15. Cost minimizers: considering the cost to the hearer in complying with the request and trying to minimize it.

It is important to differentiate between grounders (an external modifier) and hints (an indirect strategy). A hint like *"you have the TV on so loud"* is a non-conventional indirect request strategy that substitutes a direct or indirect request, leaving it up to the interlocutor to interpret the intention of the speaker from the context. Grounders on the other hand, like *"I have to study for an exam."*

Could you turn the TV off?” are justifications given by the requester before or after stating the request to minimize the imposition (Sifianou, 1999:185) and they do not substitute the request.

Leaving strategies and modifiers aside, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) state that requests have perspectives; any avoidance in naming the hearer downgrades the imposition since the hearer in requests is the imposed upon. *Request perspective* distinguishes among requests on the basis of whether they are:

- a. *Hearer oriented* – could you show me x?
- b. *Speaker oriented* – can I see x?
- c. *Speaker and hearer oriented* – Could we finish this work?
- d. *Impersonal* (The use of: people /they /one, or the use of passive voice).

The CCSARP coding scheme (Blum-Kulka et al, 1989) is still used as a foundation for coding and analyzing data in many studies, some of which will be reviewed in section 2.3.2 in this chapter. The next section presents an overview of the other important, more recent, typologies.

2.3.1.2. RECENT TYPOLOGIES

This brief overview includes the request typologies of Sifianou (1999), Trosborg (1995) and Alcón Soler *et al* (2005) who adapted previously existing typologies in relevance to their data.

Sifianou's (1995) typology is based on requests elicited from Greek EFL learners. Encountered modifiers were then divided into internal and external modifiers. The internal modifiers were divided into: *openers, fillers and hedges* and the latter were considered to serve as softeners or intensifiers depending on the context. External Modifiers included *commitment seeking devices* and *reinforcing devices* (including grounders, disarmers and *please*). Sifianou (1999) argues that intensifying devices (upgraders) are rarely used in English with requests and hence there is no need to divide modifiers into upgraders and downgraders unlike in the CCSARP (1989) and Trosborg's model (1995), which will be reviewed below. The politeness marker *Please* in Sifianou's (1995) was categorized as an external reinforcing device, whereas in Trosborg's model (1995) it was considered an internal downgrader.

Trosborg's (1995) typology is based on requests elicited from Danish EFL learners. It is noted that Trosborg (1995) kept all the strategy types from the CCSARP (1989) but she reclassified them under three levels of directness (Table 4).

Table 4. Trosborg's (1995) modifications of the CCSARP (1989) coding schema.

CCSARP Strategy Types	CCSARP Levels of Directness	Trosborg's Levels of Directness	Trosborg's Strategy Types	Changes
Imperative (mood derivable)	Direct Requests	Direct Requests	Imperative	Trosborg (1995) reduced direct strategies from 5 types in Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) to 3 types.
Explicit and Hedged performatives			Performatives	
Locution derivable (obligation)			Obligation	
Scope stating				
Preparatory condition (ability or willingness)	Conventional Indirect Requests	Conventional Indirect Requests	Ability/Willingness/Permission	Trosborg (1995) added three more types to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain's (1984) conventional indirect strategies
			Wishes (would like)	
			Needs (need to)	
			Suggestions (How about you).	
Suggestion formula	Suggestions and Hints	Indirect Requests	Hints (mild or strong)	Trosborg (1995) considered Hints to be an indirect strategy
Strong hint Mild hint				

The levels of directness in Trosborg's typology were *direct requests* (imperatives, performatives and obligation); *indirect requests* (Hints); and *conventional indirect requests* (preparatory conditions, wishes, needs and suggestions). Regarding the modification of requests, there were no major modifications. Like in the CCSARP (1989), Trosborg (1995) divided the internal modifiers into *upgraders* and *downgraders* (softeners and aggravators). *Internal downgraders* were also divided into two *syntactic* and *lexical/phrasal* as in the CCSARP.

Alcón-Soler *et al.* (2005) based their typology on data elicited from Spanish EFL learners. They chose Sifianou's (1999) division of internal modifiers and then added *intensifiers*; their internal modifiers were divided into: *openers*, *softeners*, *intensifiers*, and *fillers*. For the division of external modifiers, they chose Trosborg's (2005) layout, which resembles the CCSARP. Therefore, their classification of external modifiers included: *preparators*, *grounders*, *disarmers*, *expanders*, *promise of reward*, and *please*. As mentioned before, *Please* as a modifier was categorized differently in these typologies; in Trosborg (1995:112), it was categorized as an internal lexical/phrasal modifier fulfilling the function of a politeness marker that "...pleads for cooperative behavior". In contrast, Sifianou's (1999) and Alcón-Soler *et al.*'s (2005) categorized *please* as an external modifier. Despite considering *please* an external modifier, Alcón-Soler *et al.* (2005) explain the special case of *please* being a device that can appear in several positions whether embedded or standing-alone. They also stated that *please* has different functions, including that of being a request marker, a device to emphatically beg for cooperative behavior and to emphasize what a speaker says (Achiba, 2003: 134).

All the previous typologies show that there is a degree of unanimity in the classification of strategies and modifiers, but flexibility is applied in combining typologies and re-categorizing strategies and modifiers. This fact has served as a key point that led to adapting the CCSARP coding scheme in this study to represent the data best.

2.3.1.3. THE CASE OF 'PLEASE'

Based on the majority of tokens in the COBUILD English Language Dictionary, *please* can be generally defined as a lexical marker that occurs mostly with requests and directives (Sato, 2008). *Please* in this sense is especially evident in indirect requests when occurring in standard medial and final positions (Can you *please* open the door? Could you open the door *please*?). Being widely used in ritualized politic and polite formulae makes *please* a non-marked, non-salient politeness marker (Watts, 2003) used for downgrading or softening requests. Nevertheless, the polite ritual role of *Please* does not take away its importance as a politeness marker given that its absence would make requests sound abrupt. Studies on the use of *Bitte* and *Parakalo* – German and Greek equivalents for *Please* – by House (1989) and Economidou-Kogetsidis's (2005) confirm the formulaic nature of *please* as a politeness marker in languages other than English as well; nevertheless, it is important to take into account that its function may vary with its position in a given sentence and the context in which it occurs. Requests as a function can be expressed through a number of grammatical structures with *please* attached to them, and with different personal pronouns (Quirk *et al*, 1985:569). The requests below show how *Please* fulfills different functions that are position-specific and context-specific at times:

Declarative

- I'd like some more pudding, please. (a softener – speaker oriented)
- *Please.* I'd like some more pudding. (an attention getter similar to *Excuse me* (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2005) – speaker oriented)

Interrogative

- Can/Could I have some more pudding, please? (a softener – speaker oriented)
- Can/Could I *please* have some more pudding? (a softener – speaker oriented)
- Can/Could you *please* give me some more pudding? (a softener – hearer oriented/more imposition)

Imperative

- Give me some more pudding, please. (a softener – hearer oriented)
- *Please* don't handle the merchandise³. (a softener – hearer oriented)
- *Please!* Don't give me any more, I'm so full. (a plea identified by the presence of sentence modifiers like the quantifier *more* and the grounder *I'm so full* in this sentence – hearer oriented).

² Underlined examples are after Stubbs (1983:72) in Sato (2008) and the other examples were added by the researcher.

³ After Sadock (1974:88) in Sato (2008).

Moodless truncated clause

- More pudding, please. (a softener)
- ⁴*Please, Mary.* (free-standing to request someone to stop something)
- *Tea? Please.* (to accept someone's offer)
- *Can I borrow your pen?* ⁵*Please.* (to affirmatively respond to a request for permission.

House (1989) notes that the more indirect the request is, the less likely it is to be accompanied by *Please* (for example: "I wonder if it would be possible for you..."). When requests are specifically obscured as a requestive-act to minimize imposition, *please* is not likely to be used as it tends to form part of ritualized formulas. Wichmann's (2004) findings concur with the previous note regarding the frequency of *Please* in requests of minimal imposition or *socially licensed requests* in Witchman's words. This means asking for things that are customary to request based on a person's job (Bank teller: *Next in line Please*, or Policeman: *Please, move your car/ Could you move your car please?*).

Wichmann (2004) used the ICE GB Corpus (the British contribution to the International Corpus of English) to study the positioning of *Please* in public and private discourse, and its occurrence in speaker and hearer oriented requests in relation to intonation. The following findings are particularly interesting for the

4 (*Please, Mary, this is all so unnecessary*). After Sinclair (1995:1261) in Sato (2008).

5 After Markkanen (1985) in Sato (2008).

study at hand if we think of student-teacher exchange as public speech and student-student exchange as private speech⁶:

- Based on the occurrences of *please* in the ICE GB Corpus, it is predominant in medial positions in indirect requests in public and private speech (Wichmann, 2004).
- In softened commands/imperatives, *Please* is characteristically in initial or medial positions (*Please ask when...*, or *Interrupt me please if...*). A final *Please* in mitigated commands seems to be rare and occurs only in private speech.
- Hearer-oriented *Please* can be more associated with private speech, with a greater sense of obligation and rising intonation.
- American English, for example, has more variation in positions of *Please* when compared to New Zealand English, where *Please* is mostly in the final position.

Sato's (2008) conclusions comparing American and New Zealand English uses of *Please* concur with Wichmann's, and confirm House's (1989) conclusions about the connotation of *Please* when falling in final position in the sentence, as being reserved for task-based requests where the speaker acts as a public-self

⁶ Wichmann (2004) explains private speech as that occurring in speakers' homes, and public speech as that occurring in a classroom, for example.

making socially licensed requests as in the case of '*Next in line please*', which Sato refers to as contract-based. The majority of tokens of *Please* occurring in commands and non-marked polite requests appear in medial position, and are indicative of the speakers' desire to maintain an agreeable to cordial interaction with the participants and hence considered to be prescriptive and face-saving oriented. On the contrary, when *Please* is in initial position, speakers tend to be stressing their individuality, expressing wishes, enthusiasm, or urgency; it is emotionally charged and hence manipulative and demanding with high imposition. When children make requests of adults to get something done, *Please* followed by imperatives are often used (*Please take it off*) when expecting the hearer with authority to object based on previous experience (Wooton, 2005; Green, 1975). It is, therefore, of interest to consider cognitive processing next to politeness as a reason for using this structure; some adult learners similarly have outbursts with sentence initial *please* and imperatives.

Foreign language learners associate *Please* to requests and use it differently based on their level of language acquisition. Koike (1989) found that beginner adult American learners of Spanish associate *por favor* (*Please* in Spanish) with the speech act of requests, which was in line with Barron's (2003:52) findings. Learners start using it as a politeness marker in later levels of acquisition, embedding *Please* more in mid-position than in the earlier levels of acquisition (Barron, 2003:149).

This section centered on the coding schemata and typologies used in analyzing ILP requests. It specifically focused on request strategy types, the division of external and internal modifiers and request perspectives used in the CCSARP project as reported by Blum-Kulka and Olshatin (1984). This model was then briefly compared with other recent typologies and, finally, the case of *Please* was focused on. What follows is a review of studies, some of which used the CCSARP (1989) coding manual.

2.3.2. REQUEST STUDIES IN THE FIELD OF INTERLANGUAGE PRAGMATICS (ILP).

The following review of ILP request studies is divided into cross-cultural studies, which describe the pragmatic performance of different second language learner groups with different first languages, and cross-sectional studies, which aim to describe the acquisition of a pragmatic feature developmentally across different levels and contrastively between groups within the same population. All the reviewed studies are single-moment studies that captured learners' pragmatic behavior at a certain time. The studies are grouped by elicitation method. CLIL-related studies are few and are grouped together at the end of the cross-sectional studies. All reviewed studies involve adult learners except where stated that the participants were young learners. After presenting the data collection method and the groups of learners involved, the main findings relevant to request strategies and the modification of requests are summarized.

The cross-cultural studies described below are divided by elicitation method (DCTs, role plays and e-mails). The first group of in review used DCTs to elicit requests. The first three studies were part of the CCSARP project and used the same DCT and coding scheme.

House and Kasper (1987) used five of the CCSARP situations. Their participants were German and Danish EFL learners. Native English speakers were used as a control group. In regards to request strategies, the most frequently used strategy was query preparatory (questions with ability and willingness), which was used by all learners and native speakers alike in 3 of the 5 situations. The learners also showed that they were able to vary their strategies according to the context. In the remaining 2 situations, learners distinctly employed direct strategies unlike the native speakers. As for the modification of requests, the learners used more external modifiers than the native speakers, which is in line with results of other studies irrespective of the learners' first language (House and Kasper, 1987; Cenoz & Valencia, 1996; Hassall, 2001; Kobayashi & Rinnert, 2003; Yu, 1999). House and Kasper (1987:1283) and several of the researchers in the CCSARP project who used the same five request DCT tasks (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1986; Edmondson and House, 1991) adopted the view that learners used more external modifiers, especially grounders, to overcompensate for their linguistic and sociopragmatic insecurity. In other words, learners become wordy due to their lack of confidence in their ability to send the

message across in fewer words, which leads to lengthier utterances (waffle effect).

Faerch and Kasper (1989) also elicited requests from Danish EFL learners and compared them to native speakers' requests. In contrast with findings in most ILP studies, it was reported that learners used more internal modifiers than external ones. The reason why the percentage of use of internal modifiers could have been inflated can be attributed to learners' overuse of the politeness marker *Please* (an internal modifier in the CCSARP coding scheme). Nevertheless, learners used far less *downtoners* (e.g. *possibly*), which is another type of internal modifiers, in comparison to native speakers. House (1989), who specifically investigated the use of *Please* as an internal modifier using 8 of the CCSARP situations with German EFL learners, also reported that learners' use of *Please* was distinctly higher in one of the situations than native speakers' use. Faerch and Kasper (1989: 232) attributed the overuse of *Please* to the possibility of using it in its double function as a politeness marker and a request mitigator as well as to its ease of use since it does not pose a syntactic challenge.

Moving to a another research context where learners also came from different countries, as in the CCSARP project, Cenoz and Valencia (1996) used a DCT to investigate requests made by European EFL learners in a Basque university including Swedish, Spanish, Norwegian, Italian, French, Greek, Danish, German and Portuguese students. Learner data was compared to requests made by American English native speakers. In regards to request strategies,

European learners of English used more conventional indirect strategies than the native speakers, as well as more supportive moves (verbosity) or external modifications including grounders and cost minimizers. Cenoz and Valencia corroborated that European learners, including the Spanish, used English as a lingua franca to communicate among each other. They also observed that learners tended to have lengthier utterances, as in House and Kasper (1987), as a result of the excess of supportive moves, and noted that intermediate and advanced students *waffled* their requests more than low proficiency students.

Yu (1999) conducted a study with Chinese EFL learners whose requests were compared to those made by American and Chinese native speakers. Findings showed that both learners and natives used indirect requests alike. As for request modification, learners used more external modifications as in House and Kasper's (1987) and Cenoz and Valencia's (1996) studies.

A more recent study was conducted by Woodfield (2008) in which verbal reports were used next to the DCT. The participants were postgraduate German and Japanese EFL learners, and British native speakers were used as a control group. In regards to strategy types, all groups except for two cases among the Japanese learners used conventional indirectness (*can/could*). As for the modification of requests, British native speakers used more internal modifiers. Internal modifiers were present in 69.2% of the requests made by the British native speakers as opposed to 56.5% of German EFL learners' requests and 43.5% of Japanese EFL learners' requests. A closer look at the type of internal

modifiers used by the learners showed that they generally tended to employ lexical modifiers, maybe due to the fact that they are possibly acquired before the syntactic modifiers. Another finding was that Japanese learners employed *Please* far less than their German counterparts and the English native speakers. The difference in the use of *Please* between the German and the Japanese learners suggests that not all groups of learners of English acquire politeness markers – no matter how simple they may be – at the same stage (Gila Schauer, 2009).

In the Greek context, Economidou-Kogetsidis (2008) used a DCT to compare requests performed by 100 Greek learners of English to those of 92 British native speakers. The DCT provided different situations where the addressee presumed a higher status to be used together with a situational assessment questionnaire. On a three-point Likert scale, participants were asked to rate the situations in regards to social status, familiarity and imposition levels. These involved asking a teacher to extend a deadline, requesting a loan from a bank manager, and taking leave-time from a superior. Regarding the use of internal modifiers, learners did not mitigate and did not use the politeness marker '*Please*' or consultative devices/openers as much as the native speakers did. As for the use of external modifiers, the learners overused disarmers in comparison to native speakers, and they combined them with grounders, which were one of the most used modifiers. Native speakers, on the other hand, resorted to apologies when using grounders for certain requests as when requesting job-

leave or a deadline extension. Differences between the two groups were attributed to sociopragmatic perceptions and the social reality in both cultures; the social power a bank manager has was perceived as greater by the native speakers than by the Greek learners and the English native speakers thought that requesting a deadline-extension posed a higher imposition than that expressed by the Greek learners. Economidou-Kogetsidis noted that Greeks convey politeness by using certain degrees of formality rather than using overt politeness markers like *Please /thank you* or offering apologies as English speakers would (Sifianu, 1999).

Similar results were found by Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) in a related study and they added that native speakers of English tended to keep their use of grounders impersonal whenever possible, unlike the Greek learners. In the latter study the participants were advanced ESL learners (83 Greeks, 6 Japanese, and 6 Germans) in graduate and post-graduate studies in a university in the UK. The instrument used for data elicitation was a DCT in which a student requests the extension of a deadline as in one of the situations in the former study. A group of native British English speakers were used as a control group. In regards to the internal modification of requests, learners performed significantly differently from the control group in the following aspects: (i) their over-use of zero syntactic and lexical/ phrasal marking where none of the requests were modified, (ii) their under-use of *consultative devices*, *cajolers*, and the use of *Please* as a politeness marker, and (iii) their underuse of

the *past tense* in syntactic downgraders. As for the external modification of requests – in addition to the previously mentioned finding concerning learners' use of personal grounders- their performance was found to be significantly different from the control group again in the following features: (i) their over-use of preparators, (ii) their underuse of minimizers, and (iii) their underuse of apologies for requesting the extension.

A more recent study by Taguchi (2012) targeted Japanese college students studying English in an immersion setting in Japan. They completed a pragmatic speaking task, which is a computerized oral discourse completion test (oral DCT) that measured their ability to produce appropriate requests in low and high-imposition situations. The tasks were repeated three times over a span of eight months during the academic year. Some of the participants were interviewed to understand their pragmatic gains in relation to the types of sociocultural situations available to them on campus. Results showed slow pragmatic gains in students' ability to produce appropriate requests in high imposition situations (Asking a teacher for a deadline extension on a paper or permission to postpone taking a test). Taguchi's interpretation was twofold; high imposition requests were more sophisticated in terms of pragmalinguistic competence and therefore progress was slow whereas lower imposition requests (Asking a peer for a pen or to repeat what he/she said) are less complex and were learnt by being in contact with other speakers of English on campus or in the classroom. Two more findings related to students' use of bi-

clausal requests (*I was wondering if...*) are important. Firstly, the researcher had verified that eight out of forty-eight students had this bi-clausal structure in their repertoire; however, they did not use it during the speaking task. In retrospect they stated that this type of request was complex: “they prioritized communicating intention clearly by sticking to the forms they were comfortable using, and sacrificed the politeness” (Taguchi, 2012:623). Secondly, one of the students produced a bi-clausal request in the first speaking test but not in the other two tests and showed pragmatic attrition. Losing a target form that was already available in this student’s language system was explained by the informal and casual conversations this student often engaged in with other international students and teachers. Taguchi’s findings are in-line with findings from Nikula (2002) and Nikula & Dalton-Puffer (2006) regarding the abundance of use of directives in classroom discourse. Taguchi describes how low-imposition requests were continuously exchanged in classrooms:

“In one writing class I observed, the teacher produced 20 different request forms, including imperatives, modal expressions (“Could you”), “want” statements (“I’d like you to” + verb), ...”

Taguchi (2012:622)

The second group of cross-cultural studies in review includes three studies that used role-plays to elicit requests. Kasper’s study (1981) elicited requests from tertiary-level German EFL learners. The learners performed role plays with

English native speakers as well as among each other. Findings showed that German EFL learners used more external modifiers (*preparators*) and fewer internal modifiers than the native English speakers did. The EFL learners used *downtoners* less frequently when compared to the control group and they did not use *consultative devices* at all.

The second study was conducted by Tanaka (1988). Request strategies were elicited from Japanese EFL learners and compared to native Australian speakers of English. It was concluded that Japanese learners found indirect request strategies to be more difficult and more complex; hence they resorted to using more direct strategies in general.

Hassall (2001) used interactive role plays on cue cards to elicit requests from Australian learners of Indonesian to investigate their use of modification of requests. A native group of Indonesian (Indonesian as a Foreign Language) students was used as a control group. In regards to strategies, learners and native speakers used query preparatory requests. As for modifiers, the use of internal modifiers was lacking from the learners' output, which was attributed to several factors including the inability of learners to draw upon their pragmatic knowledge when they speak (Bialystok, 1993). Also, Hassall—having considered *Please* as an internal modifier whether enveloping the headact or embedded within it—argued that *Please* does not have a direct equivalent in Indonesian and this explains why students would not have used it. In addition, the employment of internal modifiers was seen as inherently difficult. On the

other hand, learners' use of external grounders was excessive, unlike native speakers' output, and redundant at times. The tendency of learners to become verbose was suggested to be either due to the elicitation method and, thus, this may not occur in a naturalistic setting (Blum-Kulka and Olshatin, 1986; House and Kasper, 1987), or to students' drawing on the use of grounders in their L1.

The third group of cross-cultural studies in review used e-mails that were written by students to Faculty members at a university or at the work place. In comparison to other studies reviewed in this section that used role plays and DCTs, the following two studies used naturally occurring written data, not originally elicited for research purposes.

In the first study, Hutz (2006) analyzed requests in the e-mails of German EFL learners written at the work-place, as well as those by German natives and American natives. In regards to request strategies, direct requests were used in 90% of the requests made in work-related e-mails written by the German EFL learners (imperatives fronted by *Please*) as opposed to 16.7% in non-work related e-mails by the same learners; 9.2% in e-mails written in German by German natives, and 19.4% in English e-mails written by American natives. As for modifying requests, the German learners of English used fewer external modifiers in their e-mails when compared to those written by native Germans and Americans in their L1. No considerable differences were found in Hutz study between the sets of e-mails written by the native speakers. Differences regarding the use of direct requests when comparing learners' e-mails at work

and non-work related e-mails were attributed to possibilities including: a) the time constraints the learners had when writing these e-mails, b) the work context and the urgent purposes for which the e-mails were written, and c) lack of knowledge of request conventions in e-mails when using English.

In the second study, Economidou-Kogetsidis (2012) used e-mails sent to faculty by Greek Cypriot university students (learners of English). The e-mails were analyzed for the degree of directness employed, as well as the type of supportive moves and lexical/phrasal modifiers used by students in their e-requests. In regards to strategy types, EFL students' e-mails were characterized by their directness especially when requesting information. In regards to request modifiers, an absence of internal modifiers (lexical/phrasal downgraders) was evident. Economidou-Kogetsidis noted that there were several features that would cause pragmatic failure including the absence of greetings and closings, and the use of inappropriate forms of address. It was concluded that EFL learners in this context were in dire need of instruction in polite email writing conventions.

The summary of findings from the previous studies will follow after the coming section which describes relevant cross-sectional studies, also grouped by elicitation method. These are DCTs and role plays. The final part of the review of cross-sectional studies is exclusive for contexts in which learners had English as the medium of instruction.

The review begins with the studies that used DCT as an elicitation method. In the Asian context, Hill (1997 In Kasper and Rose, 1999) used a DCT with 8 situations to elicit requests from Japanese EFL learners with low, intermediate and high proficiency levels. A group of native English speakers was used as a control group. Similar to Tanaka's (1988) and Woodfield's (2008) studies, learner groups had a stronger tendency towards using direct request strategies and underused hints. Their use of imperatives decreased with the increase in proficiency levels and higher levels used hints slightly more. Statements of desire '*I would like*' and want-statements were present in all levels irrespective of learners' proficiency level. In regards to the use of *can/could*, progress was noted when comparing the intermediate level to the beginners, but no progress was found between the advanced and the intermediate levels; instead, advanced levels resorted more to the use of *would*. As for using modifiers, learners' use of external modifiers increased linearly with their proficiency level, yet they still used fewer external modifiers than native speakers. Learners overused *please* as a politeness marker and its use decreased among advanced learners who approximated native speakers in positioning it.

Wang (2011) used a DCT with 10 situations to elicit requests from Chinese EFL learners. The situations ranged from requests of low to medium and high favors with power as a constant. Two learner groups responded to the DCT, a group of advanced Chinese EFL learners and a group of intermediate Business English learners. Learners' requests were compared to those made by a group of native

Australian English speakers. In regards to request strategies, the learners did not vary them in accordance to the levels of impositions in the DCT context, as the native speakers did. However, their performance was only moderately different from the native speakers' group. The group closest to native performance was the advanced EFL group. In regards to the modification of requests, learners used fewer syntactic and lexical downgraders. In contrast, they used more external modifiers, including the use of more address terms in quantity and variety, than native speakers'.

In a different context where the participants were young learners, Rose (2000) used a Cartoon Oral Production Task (COPT). The COPT replaces the written situations in a DCT for cartoon-based visuals to prompt the learners to orally formulate their requests. The participants were Chinese learners of English from grades 2, 4 and 6 in primary school. Their proficiency levels were defined by their school level respectively as low, intermediate and high. The youngest group on the overall refrained from making requests. As for the use of request strategies in the two older groups, indirect request strategies were dominant. In regards to the modification of requests, the use of external modifiers increased linearly from grade 2 to grade 6, and the use of internal modifiers varied from one modifier type to another: a) consultative devices increased linearly from low to high proficiency levels, b) the use of politeness markers – *Please* – decreased as the levels of proficiency increased to approximate native use, and c) the use of understatement was non-linear. The issue of whether pragmatic

development moves from pragmatics to grammar or from grammar to pragmatics was also addressed in this study. Since Rose's data showed no evidence of situational variation across the three groups, the study indicates that grammar concerns predominates students' performance in the early stages rather than sociopragmatic performance.

The second group in cross-sectional studies reviews a number of studies that used role plays to elicit requests. One of the earliest ILP studies is Scarcella and Brunak (1981), who based their analysis on Brown and Levinson's positive and negative politeness. Three role-plays were used (with a superior, an equal and a subordinate) to elicit requests from Arabic speaking EFL beginners and advanced learners in an American university. Another group of American native speakers of English were used for control. The researchers focused on politeness features that included exclusive and inclusive '*we*' (*We'll be out of there by 12:00*); directness through imperatives and negation ("*Don't bring your wife and children*" as opposed to "*No wives allowed*"); and request preparators, which included '*please*' and '*I'm sorry*'. In regards to request strategies, learners from both levels generally used more direct strategies across the three situations and they did not vary their strategies according to the context. In regards to their use of modifiers, they were also generally limited. '*Please*' and '*I'm sorry*' emerged early in the repertoire of less proficient users, fronting requests across the three situations. It was suggested that the learners had acquired certain politeness formulas prior to acquiring the sociopragmatic norms for employing

them. Native speakers used '*we*' and passive voice to impersonalize their requests whereas learners mainly relied on '*you*' and '*I*', which indicates they are probably acquired before '*we*' and the use of passive voice. Learners were also found to use negative politeness when addressing subordinates, unlike native speakers, which could possibly be due to transfer from the learners' L1 culture. This confirms that they had not acquired L2 sociopragmatic norms.

In the European context, Trosborg (1995) used role plays as well to elicit requests from Danish EFL learners divided into three different proficiency levels. A group of British English speakers was used as a control group. In regards to request strategies, learners and native speakers alike tended to favor the use of indirect strategies. As for the modification of requests, the learners employed fewer modifiers – internal and external including grounders – than the native speaker group. A qualitative analysis of the internal modification strategies showed that native speakers employed a wider variety of internal modifiers, in general, and used syntactic past tense downgraders. The use of *Please* did not appear in native speakers' requests and though it appeared as expected in the learners' requests, it was used far less in comparison to other studies like Faerch and Kasper's (1989). Comparisons across learner proficiency levels showed that a) the use of external modifiers increased gradually from group 1 to group 3, indicating a linear development; b) that the intermediate proficiency group (group 2) used more internal downgraders than group (1) but also more than the advanced group (group 3). This non-linear use of internal

modifiers showed that speech act features may develop in a non-linear fashion (Hassall, 2001). The unexpected low frequency of use of *Please* in this study was attributed to the elicitation instrument.

Kobayashi and Rinnert (2003) reported similar findings to Hill's study. They also used role plays in eliciting requests from high and low proficiency Japanese EFL learners. In regards to request strategies, learners were found to prefer the use of direct request strategies, including want statements. As for learners' use of external modifiers, they increased in relation to their proficiency level. Time constraint regarding learner planning time was mentioned as a factor that influenced the results of the study.

In an American English speaking context where acquisition issues in Spanish was the focus, Félix-Brasdefer (2007) collected data from forty-five beginner, intermediate and advanced learners of Spanish using open role-plays. The data was analyzed for request directness, request perspective, and internal and external modification. The researcher identified four levels of pragmatic development; 1) the use of '*please*' when mitigating direct requests, 2) showing preference for want/need statements and imperatives, 3) showing preference for conventional indirect requests with some modifications, 4) using more internal and external modification and situational variation as well as syntactic modifications and if conditionals. Levels 1 and 2 reflected the performance of beginner learners who also showed low situational variation, whereas levels 3 and 4 reflected the performance of intermediate and advanced learners. The

overall conclusion was in line with the hypothesis that sociopragmatic knowledge developed before grammatical competence in the performance of requests and that learners' grammatical competence gradually evolved and adjusted to the existing pragmatic competence.

In Otcu and Zeyrek (2008) three interactive role plays were used with two groups of Turkish students of low intermediate and upper intermediate proficiency levels. A group of native speakers of English acted as a control group; it needs to be taken into account that data from the native group was collected using a DCT, which could affect the comparison of results. In regards to request strategies, conventional indirectness was the main strategy used by all three groups with slightly noted differences. The upper intermediate group showed more use of want/need statements. As for the modification of requests, learners used more specific external modifiers than native speakers. These modifiers were a combination of grounders, preparators, and pre-commitments (called GPP by the researchers) and were most frequently used by the upper intermediate group. Native speakers, on the other hand, used significantly more cost minimizers than the upper intermediate group, and the lower intermediate group did not use minimizers at all. Regarding internal modifiers, there were significant differences among the three groups, yet a linear development was observed from the lower intermediate to the higher intermediate group. *Please* was the most used lexical downgrader in the learners' data, which moved towards native-use in the higher proficiency

group. Cajolers (*you know...*) were overused by the latter and underused by the lower intermediate group. In their use of syntactic downgraders, learners did not use past tense and aspect (*I was wondering.../I am wondering...*), and their use was limited to conditional clauses (*...if you...*). The researchers generally concluded that there was a slow-paced linear development from lower to higher proficiency levels towards native use. More specific results included that requests made by the higher- proficiency group were less formulaic and more pragmatically developed, which caused them to exhibit more lexical and linguistic difficulties. In addition, in line with Hassall's (2001) study, the high use of grounders, *preparators* and *pre-commitments* were found to be probably the effect of the prompts. Finally, the use of want/need statements and overuse of cajolers by the higher-proficiency learner group can be attributed to the hypothesis that higher-proficiency learners transfer more from their L1 pragmatics (Takahashi and Beebe's, 1987).

Another study carried out by Al-Gahtani and Roever (2009) examined requests made by Saudi Arabic-speaking students. To determine which utterances were requests, the investigators looked out for instances in which *the hearer* treated the speakers' utterance as a request. The headacts were divided into four types: headacts with imperatives/want statements, with modals (*can/could*), with if-clauses, and other complex requests. The study's focus was on the relationship between second language proficiency and pragmatic transfer; hence learners were divided into four levels of proficiency. They carried out three role plays

where power was constant. The researchers reported that learners resorted more to pragmatic transfer in the higher proficiency levels. High-intermediate and advanced learners negatively transferred considerably more L1 pragmalinguistic and socio-pragmatic norms into the L2 context than the beginners and low-intermediate level learners. The findings in this study are in line with Takahashi and Beebe's (1987) hypothesis regarding increased pragmatic transfer in higher proficiency levels.

The next five studies are of particular interest because the participants were students in contexts where English was the medium of instruction at university (Mártinez-Flor and Usó-Juan, 2006; Mártilnez-Flor, 2009), or they specifically belonged to the CLIL context in secondary education (Nikula, 2002; Dalton-Puffer and Nikula, 2006, Llinares and Pastrana, 2013). The first two elicited requests by means of role plays as well, and the other two looked at requests in naturally occurring classroom discourse.

In the context where English was the medium of instruction at university level, Mártilnez-Flor and Usó-Juan (2006) used two role-plays that were carried out without giving the participants planning time. One of the situations was borrowing notes from a classmate, and the other one was asking a teacher to extend a deadline. Participants were Spanish learners from two different ESP disciplines, English Philology and Computer Science Engineering. The study focused on the amount and type of modifiers learners used in two different situations. English Philology students modified most of their requests (78.08%)

unlike Science Engineering students (21.92%). The rate of use of internal modifiers to that of external modifiers was 65.58% to 34.42% for Philology students as opposed to 57.41% to 42.59% for Computer Engineering students, which indicates that the Philology students used more internal modifiers, while Computer Engineering students used more external devices; however, none of the groups employed complex, syntactic request modifications. In regards to the external modification of requests, *grounders* were the most employed and were almost equally used by both groups while *cost minimizers* were used by none of the groups. Also, Philology students did not use any *promises of reward* and Computer Engineering students did not use *disarmers*. The use of *Please* in both groups was high, but it was clear that Computer Engineering students relied more on its use while English Philology students relied on several devices that included *Please* together with the use of *preparators* and *expanders*. As for the analysis of internal modifiers, it showed that both groups adhered to the use of similar devices, which were *hesitators*, *attention-getters*, *cajolers*, and then *softeners* in a descending order. Philology students did not use *intensifiers* at all while Computer Engineering students did. Also, Philology students used *openers* and *appealers* but Computer Engineering students did not. The authors interpreted the results in light of the role-plays being enacted under pressure as part of an oral final exam, which could explain the observed use of fillers, including hesitators and cajolers (e.g. you know, you see). The more developed performance on part of the Philology students was attributed to the subjects

that students are exposed to throughout the academic year; Philology students covered more “traditional humanities-based General English” than the other ESP disciplines (Hutchison & Waters, 1987: 16-18). While English is a tool and a subject for philology students, Computer Engineering students mainly focus on vocabulary and field-related situations during English instruction. The authors compared their results to Faerch and Kasper (1989), who had classified the use of ‘*Please*’ differently; Faerch and Kasper classified *please* as a lexical internal modifier in line with the CCSARP coding manual while Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan classified it as an external modifier following Trosborg’s (1995) and Sifianou’s (1999) typologies. This discrepancy requires that that results be cautiously compared in regards to the amount of use of external and internal modifiers (for more on this point, refer to Barron 2003:145-152).

In the same vein, Martí-Arnández (2008) compared the requests of 67 university students in different degree programs (English philology, Psychology, Law, and Industrial engineering). A small group of 5 elderly students (above 55 years old), who were studying to improve their English in non-credit continuing education courses were included. The researcher’s aims were to see if students’ with higher grammatical competence produced more request modifiers in regards to quantity and variety. Participants’ proficiency level was decided using a quick placement test that focuses on lexical and syntactic written knowledge. To collect requests from the students, a DCT with 16 scenarios were used and the requests were analyzed using Alcón-Soler *et al*’s (2005) typology of

requests. Martí-Arnández's results showed that the more proficient students in general produced significantly external modifiers (disarmers⁷ and promises of reward) and more internal modifiers (openers). English Philology students were found to quantitatively outperform students in the other courses in regards to external and internal modifiers. No differences were found in regards to the groups' use of grounders and *please* as they were used profusely by all students. This is found to be in line with previous studies that reported their high use in different proficiency levels for being shared in students' L1 and being less syntactically complex in comparison to other modifications.

More recently, a second study by Martínez-Flor (2009) focused on the use of *Please* as a high frequency modification device in Spanish learners' requests collected from the same groups of learners included in Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan (2006). The study aimed to determine the request functions (directives, pleads for cooperation) in which *Please* appeared. *Please* was the third most frequent type (21%) of external modifier after *grounders* and *preparators*, a finding shared with the previous study by Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan. The predominance of *Please* is always attributed to its being a transparent politeness marker that does not require a high degree of pragmalinguistic competence in comparison to the use of disarmers and expanders on part of the learners (Barron, 2003). Four different functions for the use of *Please* were established: i)

⁷ Cost minimizers were counted as disarmers.

as a politeness marker to soften an imposition, ii) as a request marker to indicate a request is being made, iii) as an emphatic device to plead for needed cooperation, and iv) as a reinforcement to emphasize the utterance of the speaker. Results showed that *Please* was used forty times as a politeness marker and only once to plead for cooperation (*oh please I need it ... please ... eh ... I need for study*). The results also showed that most students positioned *Please* at the end of their request for its ease of extrasentential use, which could also be a textbook effect since their main input is from course materials. Usó-Juan (2007) and Salazar Campillo (2007) analyzed a number of tertiary education ELT textbooks which show *Please* in mid or final position. To sum up the results, *Please* in tertiary Spanish learners' repertoire is used as a politeness marker placed at the end requests and is the third most frequent modifier after groundings and openers.

Given that this dissertation looks at pragmatic competence in the requests of CLIL students in secondary and post-secondary education, the following three studies are also relevant to this review despite their focus on the pragmatics underlying classroom interaction and not on students' pragmatics as a learning outcome; i.e., they see what pragmatic norms the CLIL classroom has. These studies analyzed teacher and student classroom discourse, where directives happen to be frequent and legitimate for instructional and regulative purposes.

Dalton-Puffer and Nikula (2006) compared lessons from the Austrian German and Finnish CLIL contexts and analyzed both teachers' and learners' talk.

Results showed differences in politeness norms; more indirect requests for action were made in the Austrian classrooms in comparison to the more direct requests made in the Finnish context. However, the fact that students did not have many opportunities to experiment with polite requests in English was evident in both contexts.

Nikula (2008) explored pragmatics in the CLIL classroom as a matter of local interaction. She investigated instances of classroom interactions from Finnish CLIL physics lessons in a lower secondary school. The focus was on face-threatening acts like disagreements, misunderstandings, and exchanges with the teachers when the students initiated the turn. Students were found to use hesitations, disagreements with *yeah but*-formulations and preparatory conditions with grounders when making requests of the teacher (e.g. *Can I ask something? Can I ask about the hair 'cos my hair used to be really really blond and now it's dark?*). It was concluded that though students are unable to use certain pragmatic elements as a native might (the absence of discourse markers), they attend to pragmatic interpersonal matters when using the L2, and are successful in their local setting.

In this third study, where the focus was not particularly on requests, Llinares and Pastrana (2013) used an updated version of Halliday's functional model (1975). They analyzed primary and secondary school students' talk across educational levels during different activities in the CLIL classrooms during whole-class and group-work discussions. The participants belonged to 2nd year

primary stage (75 students) and 7th to 10th years in the secondary stage (81 students). Findings showed that group-work led students to produce more interpersonal language and regulatory talk in the L2 than when engaged in whole-class discussions. It was also explained that students seemed to adopt the role of the teacher during group work to regulate the task at hand. While the regulatory role required the use of imperatives, interpersonal exchanges to discuss the content seemed to require more complex and indirect structures (such as modal verbs, evaluative lexis, and pre-modifiers), which secondary CLIL students produced more of.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWED STUDIES

To sum up the results from the reviewed cross-cultural studies (see Table 5 below), more than half of the reviewed studies reported that EFL learners used direct request strategies more often than native speakers of English (House and Kasper 1987; Hutz 2006; Cenoz and Valencia 1996; Tanaka 1988; Woodfield, 2008; Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis 2010; Economidou-Kogetsidis 2012; Taguchi, 2011). This was generally attributed to several reasons including the higher structural complexity required when using indirect requests (Tanaka, 1988; Taguchi, 2012) as well the context in which the requests were produced (Hutz, 2006).

Table 5. An overall view of use of modifiers and strategies in Cross-Cultural studies

Studies	Over-use EM	Under-use EM	Over-use IM	Under-use IM	Over-use PLEASE	Under-use PLEASE	Over-use of direct requests
13	6	3	1	6	3	4	7
%	50	23,07	8,33	50	25	33,33	53,84

They also reported that learners underused internal modifiers (Hutz 2006; Economidou-Kogetsidis 2008; Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis 2010; Economidou-Kogetsidis 2012; Hassall 2001; and Woodfield 2008) and overused external ones (House and Kasper 1987; Cenoz and Valencia 1996; Economidou-Kogetsidis 2008; Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis 2010; Economidou-Kogetsidis 2012; Yu 1999; Hassall 2001). These studies reported different findings at times; nevertheless, most of them concluded on the overuse of grounders as an external request modifier, which led to waffling learners' utterances, described as being verbose. Bardovi-Harlig (2006:10-11) refers to lengthy utterances as a feature observed in intermediate and advanced learners' productions; learners in these levels do not use native formulas, or at least they do not use them like natives do.

Regarding the particular case of *Please*, it was observed to have been overused at times and underused at other times. Worthy of noting, more studies in general reported the overuse of *Please* due to its ease of use and its multiple functions. Fewer studies in general reported that *Please* was underused, most of which involved Greek students (Economidou-Kogetsidis 2008; Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis 2010; Economidou-Kogetsidis 2012). Greek students

were noted to use other politeness markers in Greek and their lack or low use of *Please* is attributed to their L1.

Regarding the reviewed cross-sectional studies, half of the reviewed studies reported learners' tendency to use direct requests (Scarcella and Brunak, 1981; Hill 1997; Kobayashi and Rinnert, 2003; Otcu and Zeyrek, 2008; Dalton-Puffer and Nikula, 2006) (see Table 6 below).

Table 6. *An overall view of use of modifiers and strategies in Cross-Sectional studies*

T#	Over-use EM	Under-use EM	Over-use IM	Under-use IM	Overuse PLEASE	Underuse PLEASE	Overuse of direct req	Linear develop. EM	Linear develop. IM
12	2	6	0	5	4	1	6	6	1
%	22,22	50	0,00	41,66	44,44	11,11	50	66,67	11,11

It was also reported that these learners did not vary their request strategies in a way that matches the context (Scarcella and Brunak 1981; Wang 2011). In addition, while one of the studies reported that the use of direct requests decreased in higher proficiency levels (Hill, 1997), another one reported that higher proficiency level students used more want/need statements (Otcu and Zeyrek, 2008). This was explained in light of former observations where higher proficiency students were found to transfer more pragmatic features from their L1 than lower proficiency students (Al Gahtani and Roever 2009; Takahashi and Beebe 1987).

Half of the reviewed cross-sectional studies reported learners' underuse of external modifiers - including grounders (Trosborg 1995; Hill 1997; Kobayashi

and Rinnert 2003; Rose 2000), but they also reported a linear increase in their use by the learners in higher proficiency levels. In contrast, an overuse of external modifiers was reported in two studies by Otcu and Zeyrek (2008) – Turkish students who used more cost minimizers in the higher levels, and Wang (2011) – Chinese students, who used more address terms.

Where learners were contrasted by discipline of study in one of the universities in Spain, English philology students were noted to use fewer external modifiers and more internal modifiers than their colleagues in Computer Science studies (Mártinez-Flor and Usó-Juan, 2006). Also English philology students were found to produce more internal modifiers in comparison to students in a variety of other degree programs (Martí Arnández, 2008), yet in this study they were found to produce more external modifiers as well.

It can be concluded from the review of studies that EFL learners tend to overuse *Please* and are more comfortable using external modifiers than internal modifiers when they modify their requests. Also, learners' acquisition of external modifiers seems to progress more linearly in comparison to their acquisition of internal modifiers, which seem more resistant to acquisition.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

First, it was concluded from the review of typologies that though there is consensus on general classifications of strategies and modifiers, their categories are open to further additions and changes to suit different data in different

ways; a key conclusion which was made use of when classifying and categorizing the data in this study. Chapter 4 centers on how this data was categorized and coded for best analysis, and presents an updated taxonomy of requests.

As for the reviewed studies, though findings vary from one elicitation technique to another, there are broad concurrences among most including that external modifiers are used more, internal modifiers are more complex and therefore used less, and that direct strategies are employed by many EFL learners irrespective of the context. These concurrences have helped the researcher here to understand the acquisition of interlanguage pragmatic patterns better, which will help interpret the data and the results at hand better. The review also showed that there are very few studies in the area of pragmatics in CLIL (Nilkula, 2002; Dalton-Puffer, 2005; Nikula and Dalton-Puffer, 2006; Llinares and Pastrana, 2013). These few existing studies are also all based on classroom discourse, where it is warranted that students use directives and “get on” with work without the use of modifiers. This motivates the purpose of this study in attempting to cover part of this gap by using an elicitation instrument instead of resorting to classroom discourse. The following chapter describes the research design and the elicitation instrument in details.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter is centered on the design of the study and the instrument used for data collection. It starts with a description of the research design and the profile of the participants. The chapter then goes into the creation and validation of the instrument, a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) which has two parts: a Multiple Choice Discourse Completion Test (*henceforth* MCDCT) and a Written Discourse Completion Test (*henceforth* WDCT). The instrument section is divided into four parts: (a) an account of Spanish politeness (b) raters feedback on the DCT; (c) the modified DCT and raters' second and final consensus; and (d) a description of the WDCT. The procedure followed for data collection is then described at the end of the chapter.

3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN

The focus of this study is on assessing interlanguage pragmatic competence in requests cross-sectionally by contrasting CLIL and non-CLIL groups, and progressively by comparing single-moment requests from different school years within the same groups (CLIL and non-CLIL). Unlike other studies, requests from native speakers of English were not used to compare the learners' requests. It was established earlier in the discussion on learners as intercultural speakers of English and speakers of English as a Lingua Franca (Chapter 2 - Literature Review), that because it is accepted that learners would deviate from

native norms, it is not imperative to benchmark learner performance against native performance.

To answer the posed questions, an exploratory mixed-method design (qualitative-quantitative) was used. The instrument used to gather the data was a Discourse Completion Test - DCT (a type of questionnaire) that prompted the participants to either produce requests (written) or select them (multiple choice). The study is qualitative, having yielded results that were subjected to the researcher's interpretation; it constituted patterns that were categorized and coded. The researcher withheld any perceived notions about the results while probing for interpretations until the data had been fully analyzed. The study is also quantitative, having provided frequencies of use of modifiers and strategies, and selected choices that marked students' pragmatic preferences in reply to scenarios, and in which the role of the researcher was that of a statistician without interacting with the data. The rationale for selecting the data-collection method and the instrument is fully discussed in section 3.3 of this chapter.

3.2. PARTICIPANTS

The participants in this study were from two schools in the region of Aragon-Spain (Zaragoza and Huesca). The total number of participants was 402 students across different education levels in the CLIL and Non-CLIL (Table 7).

Table 7. *The participants by program type and school stage*

Program	Education Levels	Total No. Students
CLIL	1 st ESO	66
CLIL	2 nd ESO	65
CLIL	3 rd ESO	44
CLIL	4 th ESO	53
Regular	4 th ESO	26
Regular	1 st Bac.	54
Regular	2 nd Bac.	45
Previously in CLIL	1 st Bac.	12
With extra EFL	2 nd Bac.	37
Total number of students	_____	402

As mentioned earlier in the introduction section, data was gathered from students in schools that form part of the British council/MEC Bilingual program (*henceforth* CLIL program), in which social sciences are taught using the CLIL approach. The schools – IES Sierra de Guara in Huesca and Pedro de Luna in Zaragoza – also have a national mainstream regular program where Spanish is the main language of instruction in content-subjects. As mentioned earlier in the introduction (section 1.1), students in the CLIL program have additional exposure to English through content subjects, but similar to their peers in the non-CLIL program, CLIL students do not receive any specific instruction to enhance their pragmatic competence. Nonetheless, CLIL students in these schools are at an advantage for receiving more hours of instruction in English through content subjects (social sciences) and through English language instruction (EFL). For EFL, they have 5 hours of English per week, whereas non-CLIL ESO students have 3 hours in 1st and 3rd ESO and 4 hours in 2nd and 4th ESO. The CLIL program ends with the end of the secondary compulsory stage, 4th ESO, after which all students continue to study in the regular program for

two years, 1st and 2nd Bachillerato, where the main language of instruction is Spanish.

Data was gathered from all Spanish native students in 1st ESO through 4th ESO in the CLIL program to investigate whether there are differences in students' pragmatic competence across levels in this program.

Data from 4th ESO non-CLIL students was also gathered to contrast it to the pragmatic performance of 4th ESO-CLIL students to compare students' pragmatic competence in both programs at this school year, which marks the end of secondary compulsory education in Spain.

In addition, to determine whether students in the non-CLIL program progress in a manner that is similar or different to those in the non-CLIL program, data was gathered from 1st Bachillerato and 2nd Bachillerato in the regular program to compare differences across levels in the regular program from 4th ESO to 2nd Bachillerato. Regarding the latter non-CLIL groups, the researcher opted for those levels (4th ESO through 2nd Bachillerato) instead of the earlier levels (1st ESO to 4th ESO) for two reasons: (a) it was calculated that CLIL students receive an average of 100 hours of additional exposure to English through content subjects in the CLIL program (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2007) which puts the non-CLIL groups at a disadvantage when being contrasted; in addition (b) CLIL students are claimed to often be a grade level or two ahead of their non-CLIL

counterparts (Navés and Victori, 2010). Therefore, it was best to select higher levels in the non-CLIL program.

Finally, a special class of 2nd Bachillerato students who received two extra hours of EFL instruction also participated. The students in this class are students who had obtained the highest scores in the EFL subject in 1st Bachillerato, and are a mixture of non-CLIL students and former CLIL students. These students' pragmatic competence was compared to that of the highest CLIL group, 4th ESO, and to 1st Bachillerato students who had graduated the year before from the CLIL program.

According to Bardovi-Harlig (2004 In Félix-Brasdefer, 2007:8), in the absence of language proficiency tests, the placement of learners in language courses is a criteria that determines their general language level. This method has been applied in several studies on learners' pragmatic competence (Félix-Brasdefer, 2007; Rose, 2000; Trosborg, 1995; Wang, 2011). Participants in higher school levels who have studied English as a subject more than their peers in lower school levels are therefore expected to have acquired higher language proficiency. Similarly, participants who have had high exposure to English through more hours of EFL instruction or CLIL instruction are understood to have acquired higher language proficiency than those who have had less English instruction.

3.3. THE INSTRUMENT

As mentioned before, an elicitation instrument was chosen to gather requests from the participants (see Appendix for the full instrument). The instrument was a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) that included a multiple choice part (MCDCT) and a written part (WDCT). This section provides the rationale for using a DCT first then proceeds to explain the process of creating and validating the instrument. At the end of this section, and the chapter, the procedure of data collection is explained.

3.3.1. RATIONALE FOR USING A DISCOURSE COMPLETION TEST (DCT)

The elicitation instrument used in this study was Discourse Completion Test (*henceforth* DCT), which Kasper and Dahl (1991) define as a written questionnaire with short descriptions of situations that prompt respondents to reveal a pattern of a speech act being studied.

Ideally, Nikula (2008) called for research in out-of-class contexts to profile CLIL students' pragmatic competence when using English. Unfortunately, opportunities to prompt Spanish students to perform atypical requests of non-Spanish speakers in out-of-class situations are rare. Another option would have been to use an ethnographic method, involving the recording of real or stimulated classroom conversations. The main concern with this method was to have sufficient data supply – requests – to answer the research questions.

Given that each data-gathering method has its pros and cons, I will first review the advantages of using naturally occurring, followed by its disadvantages if it had been used in this study. Secondly, I will review the most relevant critiques for using DCTs in general (Garces-Conejos, 2006; Kasper and Dahl, 1991; Nurani, 2009) and then will show why, despite the discouraging comments of many scholars, the use of a DCT was best for the study at hand.

Results based on authentic interactions in which interlocutors adjust their utterances during discourse are most valid when investigating pragmatics (Kasper and Dahl, 1991). Naturally occurring data has these three advantages, referred to as authenticity, interactivity, and consequentiality. Nevertheless, natural conversations have their drawbacks as well. It is difficult to replicate exact conversations without prompts, making it difficult to control the content of the conversations or compare them. Also, an enormous amount of data would have to be recorded to gather needed pragmatic incidents, which is time-consuming. Recent literature in the field of CLIL shows that naturalistic CLIL classroom discourse has licensed high frequency use of directives whether for instructional and regulative purposes (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Dalton-Puffer and Nikula, 2006; Dalton-Puffer, 2005; Nikula, 2007; Llinares, Morton and Whittaker, 2012). Another reason why informal language (including directives) is high in classroom discourse could be due to the high reliance of teachers on classroom discussions given the absence of written academic texts (Nikula, 2008). Because directives form part of the classroom register, they are warranted

and routinized, and hence would demand less pragmatic processing on part of the students over time. In regards to language processing, Escandell-Vidal (1996) argues that learners use cultural-specific knowledge to respond to rehearsed situations, which lessens pragmatic processing. Therefore it is likely that recording student' interactions in natural classroom conversations would have typical rehearsed exchanges, which this study is not investigating.

Another noted feature in CLIL classroom discourse is having fixed initiation-response-feedback patterns (IRF) that though may vary in frequency from one cultural context to another, remains evident. This IRF pattern does not promise to give way for interpersonal incidents to happen when students would use the speech act of requests in any atypical way (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2006; Dalton-Puffer, 2005; Nikula, 2007). Finally, a speech act approach becomes problematic when discourse data is used to investigate L2 pragmatics since there can be no guarantee that a particular speech act would occur often enough (Nikula, 2008).

Elicitation techniques also have their drawbacks. As far as interlanguage and Cross-Cultural pragmatics are concerned, Kasper and Dahl (1991) and Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993b) criticized DCTs for lacking the features which favor naturalistic data: authenticity, interactivity, and consequentiality. In addition, they were critiqued for limiting respondents' range of strategies and formulas. Another critique was put forward by Beebe and Cummings (1996) as some DCTs do not provide background details about the situation; for example,

including the social status of the interlocutors. Nevertheless, Beebe and Cummings were not against DCTs altogether. They compared the use of DCTs and natural speech data in regards to the amount of talk and formulas used by participants in the speech act of refusal. Their study showed that DCT-elicited data and natural data gave similar results. Beebe and Cummings stressed the advantage DCTs have when collecting a large amount of data in a feasible amount of time and the feasibility of pushing participants output to resemble responses that occur in naturally-occurring situations. Moreover, Bardovi-Harlig (2013), in her discussion of *Developing L2 Pragmatics*, argues that DCTs are ideal for eliciting explicit knowledge that requires analysis and consciousness on part of the participants in the study. Such knowledge is not guaranteed in spontaneous time-constrained talk that is procedural and unconscious. Another important clarification made by Bardovi-Harlig is the importance of remembering that L2 pragmatics is an interdisciplinary area between second language acquisition (SLA) and pragmatics and that standard SLA criteria rely on controlling variables for comparability and generalizability, which conversations do not always allow for and DCTs do.

In certain cases role-plays have been favored over DCTs, or used for triangulation purposes with a DCT, given that they allow for an interactional flow between two speakers. Still, role-plays are not a “panacea” or a magic potion as put by Al-Gahtani and Roever (2012), who argue that role-plays are mock-dialogues in which participants are aware that no real-world

consequences lie ahead as in the DCT. Also, Al-Gahtani suspects that learners' talk in role-plays is influenced by the researcher's interest in their language, which pushes them to self-display rather than focus on solving the task (Al-Gahtani 2010 In Al-Gahtani and Roever, 2012). Regarding studying pragmatics through DCTs alone without using triangulation methods to cross-check results (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 2005; Garces-Conejos, 2006; Kasper, 2000), it has been stressed that recording or video-taping role-plays in itself is considered intrusive for participants.

"It (role-playing) may still make some respondents uncomfortable, at least for the first few minutes"

(Cohen, 1996: 25)

"...some students may say more than others. In addition, they may not use the pragmatic structures that are the focus of assessment...you may wish to give your students some warm-up time, rather than to assume they are ready to perform pragmatically on demand".

(Ishihara and Cohen, 2010: 270)

A recent study by Economidou-Kogetsidis (2013) tested the degree to which Written Discourse Completion Tests (WDCT) requests approximated naturally occurring requests in a service-encounter telephone situation in regards to: (a) the degree of directness, (b) internal modification, and (c) request perspective. Results from the study showed that DCT requests and naturalistically-occurring requests were similar in terms of directness and lexical modification.

Economidou-Koetsidis stated that the WDCT requests approximate naturalistic data where directness and modification is concerned. This can be used as an argument to support the instrument used in the study at hand, as it focuses on request modifiers and strategies as well.

The classical DCT, which ends in the hearer's rejoinder (the response of the hearer) to the speaker's initial request (Blum Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989), is argued to lack authenticity given that speakers formulate their requests without knowing forward the hearers' answer. However, this problem is solved by using DCTs that allow for open verbal responses, in which participants are not limited by hearers' rejoinders (Blum Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989; Safont-Jordá, 2003).

Apart from authenticity, the other two remaining drawbacks in DCTs are interactivity and consequentiality. For interactivity, it would not be far from reality to say that many authentic situations do not require more than a single turn per interlocutor; for example, when a situation arises, one person initiates exchanges by making a request and then the hearer responds. The exchange can lead to more turns of course, but the part under investigation here is the initial request. Though DCTs do not place students in face-to-face situations, it is nevertheless sufficient to create a *realistic* feeling if the prompts give sufficient background details, and can elicit *representative* utterances.

Regarding consequentiality, which is having a real-world outcome; Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (2005) explain that DCT respondents know that their responses will not have real-world consequences. Though true, adding reflective questions to the DCT could enhance consequentiality.

To conclude, the need for controlled comparability across different groups together with the need to stage situations that are not standard and ritualized were given priority over naturalistic authenticity. All the above led to concluding that DCTs are the most suitable for the purpose of this study. The argument for using DCTs is summarized in table 8 below.

Table 8. *A summary of the pros and cons of DCTs in comparison with other data collection methods (adapted from Kasper and Dahl, 1991)*

	Natural Conversations	Institutional Talk	Discourse Completion Tests
Authenticity and consequentiality	Authentic (How people really communicate).	Authentic	Realistic though not authentic.
Controlling Variables	Hard to Control (speaker's status, age, educational background, context/discourse...).	Depends on the macro discourse type occurring in the selected context (classroom discourse).	More controlled (elicitation occurs in a controlled pre-staged setting via a questionnaire, for example)
Interactivity	Yes	Yes	Limited
Comparability	No	Yes	Yes
Time	No limit – limit decided by other factors.	Limit decided by other factors.	Controlled

3.3.2. CREATING AND VALIDATING THE INSTRUMENT

The DCT used in this study included four situations (prompts/cues). Two of the prompts were in the form of a Multiple Choice Discourse Completion Test (MCDCT *hereafter*), which included multiple choice answers for students to select from (reception tasks). The other two prompts were open items, where the participants were asked to freely write (production tasks) what they would say in reaction to the presented situation (Written Discourse Completion Test – WDCT *hereafter*). The WDCT prompts were approved by expert opinion as suitable situations, and the multiple choice options underwent some changes to reach rater consensus regarding their representativeness of different degrees of politeness.

The aim of the MCDT is to examine students' choices when given alternatives without the added cognitive linguistic processing involved in producing requests. According to Paradis (2009:60), implicit pragmatic knowledge is localized in confined areas in the left-hemisphere of the brain, whereas explicit pragmalinguistic knowledge is extensively distributed in both hemispheres and therefore involves "*various mechanisms of conscious reasoning*". The reception tasks do not claim to measure learners' sociopragmatic competence in isolation of their pragmalinguistic competence given that students base their selections on linguistic units they associate with contextual factors and the required degree of politeness (Hassall, 2012). Nonetheless, the production task does require more grammatical processing on part of the participants. This section is

divided into four parts: (a) a description of the initial MCDCT; (b) expert opinion on the MCDCT; (c) the modified MCDCT and experts' consensus; and (d) the description of the WDCT. It is important to comment upfront that the MCDCT is mentioned and discussed first for having gone through a longer process of creation and validation. However, the researcher is more inclined towards seeing the results from the WDCT as the primary source of results for this specific study. The use of the WDCT is intended to show what modifications students can use and will use when they formulate their own requests (in reaction to a certain situation). The MCDCT, on the other hand, is intended for the purpose of generally probing students' tendencies towards appropriate or inappropriate structures.

(a) THE MULTIPLE CHOICE DISCOURSE COMPLETION TEST (MCDCT)

An initial MCDCT was created with two prompts and multiple choices. Blum-Kulka *et al* (1989:16) noted the importance of adapting the elicitation instrument to the language and culture of the participants. Therefore, the MCDCT used for the present study was based on Hickey's (2005) and Nashaat-Sobhy's (2011) observations of forms of Spanish politeness. First, according to Hickey (2005), Spanish politeness:

- 1) is more on the positive side in that it appeals to the hearer rather than avoids impositions. This means that Spanish are more likely to

communicate their thoughts and needs rather than avoid communication, even if an imposition is suspected;

2) is based on acts of trust (*que haya confianza*); e.g., small favors are rarely followed by *thank you*;

3) is more dependent on the use of direct imperatives, sometimes with a compensator as in *Callate, hombre!* (Shut up Man!);

4) is dependent on the use of interrogatives as in *¿Me llevas al aeropuerto?* (Will you take me to the airport?)

5) is serious about promises (*compromisos*) in the sense that promises are expressions of solidarity and concern. Breaking a promise or reminding someone that a promise was broken is a sensitive issue;

6) is dependent on the use of evaluative statements in everyday life as a sign of passionate involvement as in *No digas chorradas* (Don't say nonsense).

Findings from the production task in the Written DCT in Nashaat-Sobhy (2011), discussed earlier in chapter 1, showed Spanish CLIL learners' use of the following resources in the L2 (English):

- 1- imperatives in requests when addressing the teacher⁸; and imperatives with politeness markers with the teacher (*..., I have an appointment, give me your attention please*) and with peers (*Tidy the bathroom; Tidy the bathroom, thank you*);
- 2- negative evaluative statements with the teacher (*you are crazy*) and with peers (*What's the problem with you? You are a very dirty person*);
- 3- need and want statements with the teacher (*I need your attention now*);
- 4- direct threats with peers (*Or you become less messy or you go to the street; or you become less messy or we are going to have problems*);
- 5- adverbs like *now*, or *today*, to put conditions for time, which sometimes co-existed with a politeness markers (*Yes, but I need to see you now; ... I want to talk with you is important! Please*);
- 6- sentences like *"OK, but I have to do things too"; "I don't have a lot of free time"; "But is an important (asunto) and I have an appointment!"* and *"I can't come another day because I am busy too"*, which seemed to function as a reminder to the teacher that the students are equals and equally busy as in the use of *'too'*.

⁸ Students from 4th ESO CLIL were required to respond to two situations. A situation with a teacher who asks the student to postpone the appointment they had made a week before about an urgent matter. The second situation was with a roommate who always left the bathroom disorganized.

These students' requests in English were consistent with many of Hickey's (2005) earlier mentioned forms of Spanish politeness. They were also in line with Reiter's (1997) findings regarding the use of *want* and *need* (*querer y necesitar*) to express wishes and hopes in Peninsular Spanish, as well as the use of imperatives. Based on these findings, it is possible that Spanish students would transfer these L1 norms above by habit when making requests in a second language (Ishihara and Cohen, 2010).

The prompts in the two MCDCTs used in this study presented the students with situations in which they were imposed on. The students were asked to choose a response that would help them achieve their objective. The first MCDCT situation, which will be referred to as the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) (student-teacher situation with multiple choices), is a prompt about a teacher asking the student to come back another day as the teacher is busy despite the student having taken the appointment a week earlier for an urgent matter (Figure 1).

The second MCDCT situation, which will be referred to as the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation (student-student situation with multiple choices), is a prompt about a foreign roommate who leaves the bathroom disordered (Figure 1). Social distance is similar in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations as the teacher and the roommate are known to the student but only as new acquaintances, but in the second situation the teacher has a higher status and therefore more power.

Multiple Choice Discourse Completion Test

Instrucciones: Después de leer cada situación, elige la respuesta que creas es más adecuada y escríbela en el Answer Sheet.

MCQ Ss -T (MCQ situation with a teacher)

You are taking a course in an English-speaking country. You took an appointment a week earlier to meet your teacher for an urgent matter. When you arrive, your teacher is busy and asks you to come back another day. You are worried about your issue and upset at having to come back later because you had an appointment. How do you answer to realize your objective?

Estas estudiando en un país de habla inglesa. Cogiste cita previa para ver tu maestra por un tema muy urgente y no puedes esperar. Cuando llegas tu maestra está ocupada y te pide que vuelvas otro día sin concretar cuándo. Estás preocupado/preocupada por tu asunto y te molesta volver porque tenías cita previa. ¿Qué dirás para conseguir tu objetivo?

You: (knock on the door)

T: Yes, come in.

You: Hello Mr. / Mrs. White

Teacher: I'm afraid I'm terribly busy, so you'll have to come back another day

You answer:

- a) *I really needed to talk to you.*
- b) *Please, I need to talk to you now.*
- c) *I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent.*
- d) *I had to wait for this appointment. I want to solve my problem too.*

MCQ Ss -Ss (MCQ situation with a peer)

Estas compartiendo una habitación con un compañero extranjero. Él/Ella siempre deja el baño desordenado y esto te molesta. ¿Qué le dirías?

You are sharing a room with a foreign roommate. He/She always leaves the bathroom disorganized/cluttered, and this bothers you. What would you say?

You answer:

- a) *Could you remove some of your things?*
- b) *You sure have way too many things in that bathroom.*
- c) *It is impossible to use the bathroom. It's messy.*
- d) *Do something about the way you leave the bathroom, or you will have to find a new room*

Figure 1. The initial MCDCT before expert opinion.

For the MCDCT, earlier discussed forms of Spanish politeness were incorporated into the options together with conventional direct and indirect request formulae. For example, need statements were used but softened by using the past tense, which Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) refer to as syntactic

downgrading. For the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) prompt between the student and the foreign teacher, the response choices were:

- a) A need-statement syntactically downgraded by the past tense: *"I really needed to talk to you."*
- b) A need statement with a time condition, which is fronted by initial-*"please"* and where the justification is in fact an objection: *"But we have an appointment. Please, I need to talk to you now."*
- c) Scope stating by expressing desires, feelings or intentions, syntactically downgraded by the past tense, in addition to the use of an understatement to downgrade urgency: *"I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent."*
- d) A want-statement with 'too' to put the requester's status of affairs at the same level as that of the hearer's and where the justification is an objection: *"I had to wait for this appointment. I want to solve my problem too."*

For the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) prompt between the student and the foreign roommate, the response choices were:

- a) A conventional indirect request using 'could': *Could you remove some of your things?*
- b) A soft hint: *You sure have way too many things in that bathroom.*
- c) A strong hint with an expletive – negative evaluation: *It is impossible to use the bathroom. It's messy.*
- d) An imperative with a threat: *Do something about the way you leave the bathroom, or you will have to find a new room.*

(b) EXPERT OPINION AND INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

To validate the degrees of politeness assigned to the multiple choice responses, the two MCDCT situations with their multiple responses were presented to eleven experts, who were asked to rate the responses as rude, impolite, politic

or polite, following Watts' (2003) model. The degrees of politeness were defined and sent to them to rate and comment on using a survey on-line tool (Figures 2 and 3). The definitions were as follows:

- 1- Rude (perceived as forceful or aggressive without any attempt to be polite).
- 2- Impolite (perceived as lacking tactfulness or even imposing but not particularly attempting to be aggressive or forceful).
- 3- Politic (perceived as unmarked regular behavior that is acceptable without being specifically courteous).
- 4- Polite (perceived as positively marked behavior – intentionally courteous).

	Rude	Impolite	Politic	Polite
<i>a) I really needed to talk to you.</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>b) But we have an appointment! Please, I need to talk to you now (italicized).</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>c) I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent.</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>d) I had to wait for this appointment. I want to solve my problem too.</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Figure 2. The rater survey to rate the degrees of politeness assigned to the responses (Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T)).

	Rude	Impolite	Politic	Polite
<i>a) You sure have way too many things in that bathroom.</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>b) It is impossible to use the bathroom. It's messy.</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>c) Do something about the way you leave the bathroom, or you will have to find a new room</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<i>d) Could you remove some of your things?</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Figure 3. The rater survey to rate the degrees of politeness assigned to the responses (Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss)).

The experts were senior lecturers in tertiary education in Spain and the United States who hold a PhD in the field of Applied Linguistics (two Americans, a Spanish, a British and an Australian), EFL teachers who hold an MA in TEFL or Applied Linguistics (two Egyptians), and native English speakers who teach English in tertiary education in Spain (two British and an Irish).

Expert agreement on the four multiple-choice responses for the MCDCT Ss-T prompt (Figure 4) ranged from 91% on options (b) and (d), 82% on option (c) to 73% on option (a).

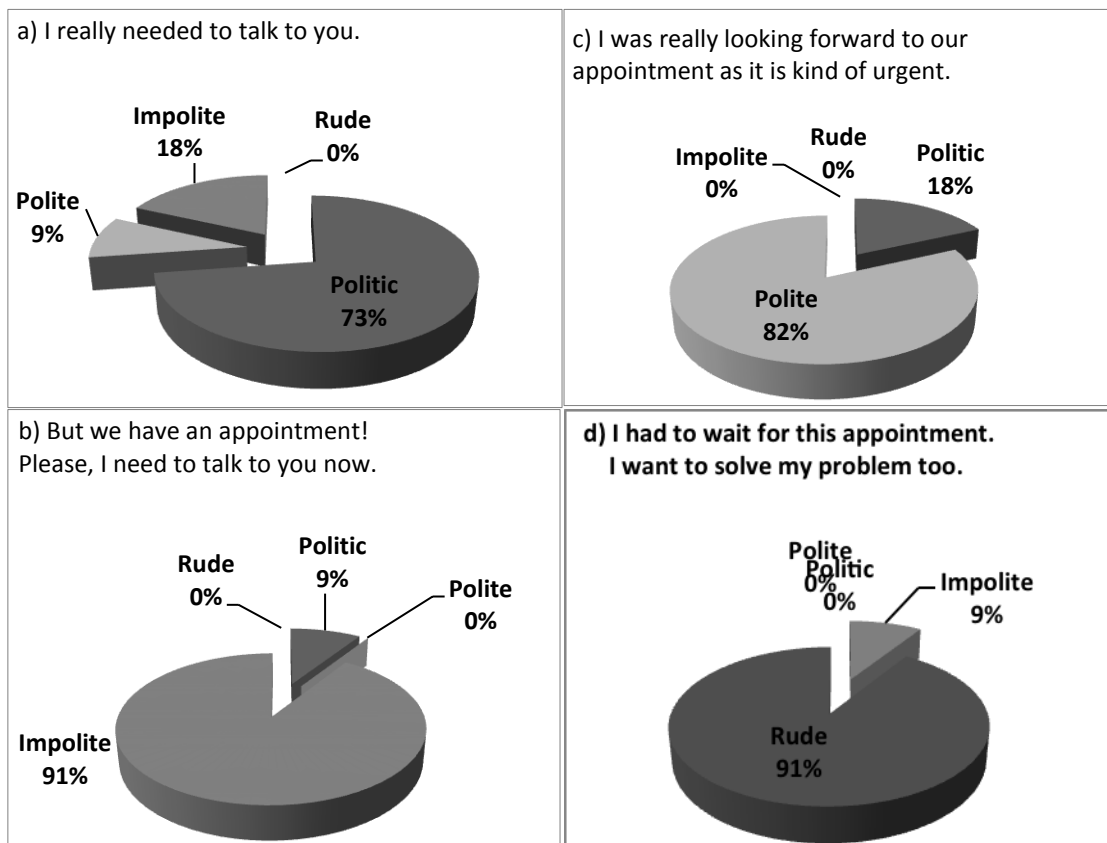


Figure 4. Raters' opinion for the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) options.

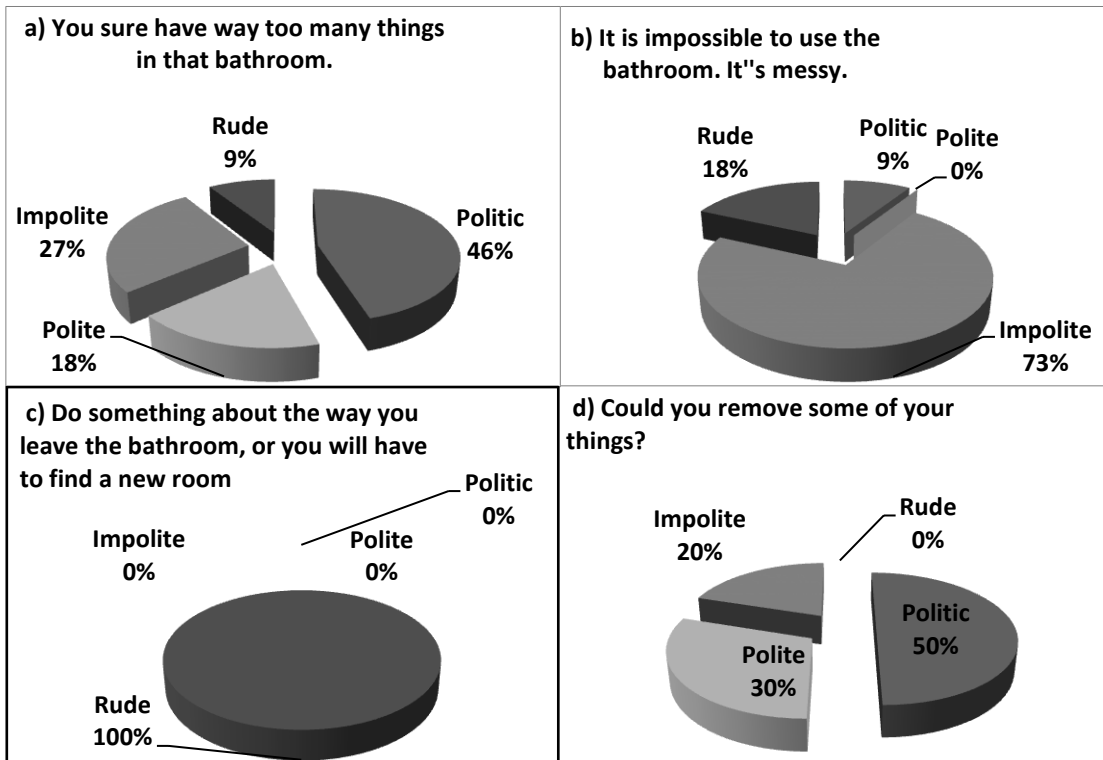


Figure 5. Raters' opinion for the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) options.

However, there were more variations in their ratings of the multiple-choice responses for the MCDCT Ss-Ss prompt (Figures 5). While there was absolute agreement on option I, their agreement on the degree of politeness set by the researcher for options (a) and (d) was as low as 46% and 50%, respectively. Therefore, based on these results, the first set of options for the Ss-T prompt remained without further changes, but the second set for the Ss-Ss was modified.

Experts' comments on the multiple-choice responses for the roommate situation clarified that:

- while '*could you remove some of your things*' could be evaluated as politic by some, it could be perceived as rude given that formulaic politeness with an equal puts distance between the speaker and the hearer.

- in the situation of dealing with an equal, it is most likely that drawing an equal's attention would be either fully acceptable or fully unacceptable (black or white), and that it would be extremely difficult that there would be four categories (shades of grey). Therefore, it was decided that the responses in that situation would be confined to two categories, polite and impolite.

(c) MODIFICATION OF THE MCDCT AND SECOND RELIABILITY TEST

Based on the results of the first reliability test, the degrees of politeness for the situation between equals (Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss)) were limited to two instead of four; polite and impolite (acceptable and unacceptable). Since none of the earlier suggested options received high consensus except for the response all experts evaluated as rude, new responses were crafted. Three polite and three impolite choices were incorporated instead, as follows:

Polite

- a) *"We will have to organize the room ourselves including the bathroom because our tuition does not cover having a helper."* An obligation statement that falls on both the hearer and the speaker followed by a grounder (external modifier);
- b) *"I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom"*. A disarmer (external modifier) followed by a need-statement that is speaker and hearer oriented.
- c) *"I will buy you lunch If you promise to organize the bathroom"*. A promise of reward (external modifier).

Impolite

- d) *"You really must organize that bathroom"*. An intensifier followed by a hearer-oriented obligation statement (internal modifier);
- e) *"Look, 'could' you clear your things out of the bathroom?"* An attention getter (external modifier) followed by a conventional indirect request that is hearer oriented;
- f) *"If you are always so messy, you'll have to find another roommate"*. A threat in the form of a conditional (external modifier).

The three first responses were presumed to reflect politeness, and the following three statements were presumed to reflect impoliteness. The same experts were asked to categorize the responses using these two categories only. The pie charts below show rater agreement in percentages on each of the proposed responses. Raters reached absolute agreement on choices (b), (d), I and (F) and had an 80% consensus on choices (a) and (c) (Figure 6).

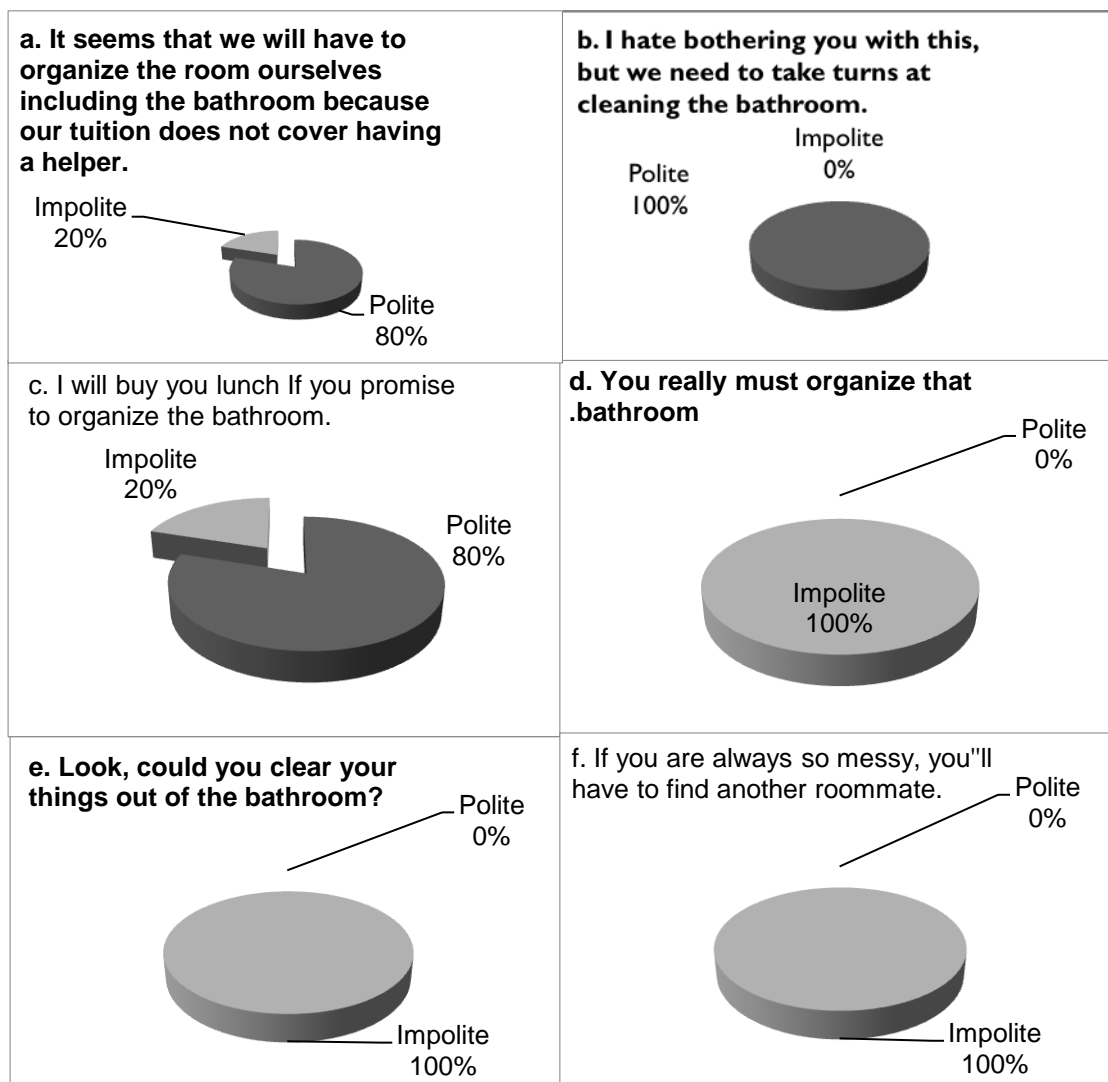


Figure 6. Pie charts showing raters' opinion for the modified Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) options.

(d) THE WRITTEN DISCOURSE COMPLETION TEST (WDCT)

Two prompts for the WDCT (production task) were crafted in parallel to the MCDCT situations; again, one was based on a teacher-student situation and another was based on a student-student situation. The first prompt was a student-teacher situation in which the student is taking a high-stake exam but

the noise from the keyboard the teacher is using is making it difficult for the student to concentrate. The second prompt describes a situation where the student also has a high-stake exam but cannot sleep from the noise coming from one of the rooms in the residence (see Figure 7). As in the MCDCT, social distance is similar in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations as the teacher and the roommates are acquaintances, but in the student-teacher situation the teacher has a higher status and therefore more power.

Written Discourse Completion Test (WDCT)
Instrucciones: Después de leer cada situación, ESCRIBE tu respuesta en INGLÉS en el Answer Sheet.
Teacher Situation (1) El profesor te está dando un examen. Después de dar el papel de prueba se sienta en su escritorio delante de su ordenador para hacer algo de trabajo mientras tú realizas la prueba. El problema es que al teclear en su ordenador hace un ruido demasiado alto y no puedes concentrarte. Realmente necesitas que se detenga el ruido para poder hacer la prueba. ¿Qué dices al profesor?
Residence Situation (1) Estas alojando en una residencia de estudiantes en Nueva York donde hay muchos estudiantes internacionales. Tienes un examen importante temprano por la mañana, pero los otros estudiantes en el mismo piso están viendo la televisión y hablando en voz muy alta. Es imposible 118ehavi. ¿Qué les dices?

Figure 7. The prompts in the WDCT

3.4. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

With the English teacher of each class present, the researcher gave out the four DCT situations, instructions, and Answer Sheet all in pen and paper format (see Appendix B). These were explained by the researcher in Spanish and the students could follow with the sheets in their hands. The researcher explained that timing was important to simulate face-to-face encounters and reactions, so 5 minutes only were given to read and respond to each of the situations.

Students' understanding was checked after explaining the procedure. The researcher clarified the following points to the participants:

- 1- Orthography was not important, so they should not worry about punctuation or spelling mistakes.
- 2- The focus of the questionnaire was not testing their grammatical ability, but to how they handle situations with others.
- 3- The survey will only be used for research purposes, and therefore their answers are irrelevant to their grades in English as a subject.

The reason instructions were communicated in Spanish was to avoid any added difficulty or misunderstanding on part of the participants.

3.5. DESCRIPTIVE AND STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Learners' use of request modifications and strategies were classified by dimensions, categories, and types (explained in Chapter 4). The occurrences of request modifiers were turned into frequency counts and percentages. Visually, the data was represented in bar charts and accompanying tables. To establish whether statistical differences were significant, a non-parametric Chi square test of independence was applied to the data at a confidence level of 95% ($p < 0.05$) using Preacher's (2001) interactive Chi square test of independence. To determine when differences are significant across the compared clusters (groups or levels), for $Df=3$, the $X^2=7.81$; for $df=2$, the $X^2=5.99$; and for $df=1$, the $X^2=3.84$. A Yates correction of error was applied when calculations yielded an

expected frequency that was less than 5. (*df is the degree of freedom which is equal to N of compared groups/levels - 1)

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter revolved around the elicitation instrument which was used to prompt students to formulate or select responses. The process of creating and validating the instrument was explained, providing rationale and justifications where relevant. The chapter also included the research design, the profile of the participants, the setup of the data collection procedure, and how the data was statistically treated.

CHAPTER 4. DATA ANALYSIS

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The initial analysis of the data called for a modification of the Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns (CCSARP) project coding schema (Blum-Kulka *et al*, 1989). It is for this reason that the analysis of data deserves a stand-alone chapter. This chapter first explains the rationale for using the CCSARP coding manual as a foundation for classifying the data in this study and then discusses why additions to the CCSARP coding scheme were needed. Finally, the modified coding schema (from here on referred to as *the request typology*) is presented to account for how the data was analyzed qualitatively, followed by a description of the statistical treatment applied to the data at hand.

4.1. RATIONALE FOR CHOOSING THE CCSARP CODING SCHEMA

The coding schema in the CCSARP project (Blum-Kulka *et al*, 1989) was based on data collected by means of a Discourse Completion Test (DCT), explained in Chapter 2, which has been used in many studies investigating interlanguage pragmatics since then. The CCSARP coding schema was chosen to ground the work for data analysis in this study since both the CCSARP data and the data in this study were gathered by means of a DCT based on individual utterances (De Paiva, 2010). Though more recent typologies are based on the CCSARP coding manual (*like* Trosborg, 1995), they were modified in order to analyze stretches of discourse and interactional turns in role plays, something that the CCSARP

coding scheme did not allow for. The DCT in this study was composed of two parts: a Multiple Choice Discourse Completion Test (MCDCT) and a Written Discourse Completion Test (WDCT). Each of the parts of the DCT had 2 situations. The MCDCT situations gave the students multiple requests to select from (the MCDCT) – reception tasks, and the other two WDCT situations prompted students to formulate requests – production tasks. Both situations in the WDCT have only one slot to be completed by the students with one request, which is the analyzed unit in this study as was the case in the CCSARP project.

All the 402 participating students in this study selected one request option per situation in the Multiple Choice DCT (two situations) and their selections were interpreted in light of degrees of politeness that were previously adjusted to expert opinion (see Chapter 3- Instrument). However, not all 402 students responded to the production task (WDCT), where a total of 719 requests were collected. These responses were approximately divided between the situation involving the foreign teacher (Ss-T situation) and the situation involving peers at a residence (Ss-Ss situation). These 719 requests were initially analyzed using the CCSARP coding manual for the reasons mentioned above in this section.

4.2. RATIONALE FOR MODIFYING THE CCSARP CODING SCHEME

As mentioned in the previous section, 719 requests were analyzed using the CCSARP coding scheme; nevertheless certain pragmatic elements not present in the CCSARP scheme emerged in the data gathered in this study. These

elements were then incorporated into the CCSARP existing dimensions (strategies, external modifiers, and internal modifiers) as categories to comprehensively analyze the data at hand. The CCSARP coding scheme for the speech act of request originally emerged from request features noted by House and Kasper (1981) in a study they conducted using role plays with native English and German students. House and Kasper used their data to describe the levels of directness in requests, the use of downgraders, which included grounders and agent avoiders (House and Kasper, 1981 In Coulmas 1981:168), and the use of upgraders (modality markers). House and Kasper's (1981), as well as *Blum-Kulka et al's* (1989), selection of request features for their coding scheme was motivated by pragmatic features observed in learners' requests and did not merely follow a theoretical justification of why certain pragmatic features emerged and not others (De Paiva, 2010). On designing the coding scheme for the CCSARP, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984:199-200) stated: "the [coding] scheme was then further modified and refined so as to fit the data yielded The main categories or dimensions of the scheme ... were kept constant... The sub-categories, however, are still undergoing modification as fresh data are coming in". In this sense, the creation of the CCSARP coding scheme was data-driven and descriptive rather than prescriptive, a practice which led to designing further typologies (Trosborg, 1995; Achiba, 2003; Alcón-Soler *et al*, 2005).

To answer the questions of the present study, the practice of previous scholars was followed the practice of previous scholars (House and Kasper, 1981; Trosborg, 1995; Alcón-Soler *et al*, 2005); learners' requests were initially classified according to the CCSARP's available category types (explained in Chapter 2-Literature Review) to which emerging data-driven categories were added where appropriate. Adapting the CCSARP coding scheme was important to accommodate the full depth of the data at hand. Following a fixed coding scheme based on another set of data would have corseted the analysis of the requests in this study. The identification of new request categories acted as an additional lens through which further developmental interlanguage pragmatic patterns could be noted. It is possible that these categories did not emerge before in the data of previous studies, or they emerged and were not considered.

4.3. NEW ADDITIONS TO THE CCSARP CODING SCHEME: AN EXPANDED TYPOLOGY

Requests in the CCSARP were segmented into three units for analysis: (a) Address Terms; (b) Headacts; (c) Adjuncts to the Headact. Address terms aside, headacts and their adjuncts were found to possess dimensions that softened or aggravated the act of requesting. These dimensions are (a) External modifiers, which are external to the headact, (b) Internal modifiers, which are embedded within the headact, (c) Request Strategies, which are either direct or indirect, and (d) Request Perspectives by which the requester directs the request at the

hearer, the speaker, includes both speaker and hearer (by using *we*) or avoids both by making the request impersonal. The data in this study showed that two further modifications were needed next to expanding the categories. First, because Spanish learners of English were not noted to use special terms when addressing the teacher or their peers, as Asian learners of English might, address terms were not included as a unit of analysis. Thus, the analysis of the data focused on the headacts and their adjuncts. Second, because all learner requests were hearer oriented, the four previously explained dimensions from the CCSARP were reduced to three (external modifiers, internal modifiers, and request strategies). Variations in the use of hearer-oriented requests were observed to syntactically belong to several sub-categories and dimensions. The categories that emerged from the data at hand were assigned to these three dimensions (Table 9). The five newly introduced categories were classified under two ranges: unmarked to positively marked modifications (which tend to soften), and marked to aggravating modifications (which tend to aggravate).

Under *unmarked to positively marked modifications* are:

- 1) Non-implicating grounders (Specific and non-Specific).
- 2) External understatements.

And the categories under *marked to negatively marked modifications* are:

- 1) Implicating grounders
- 2) Implicating head-acts
- 3) Action-ceasing verbs

Table 9. *The expanded typology of requests.*⁹

Range: Unmarked to Positively Marked Request Modifiers (Softeners)		
DIMENSIONS	CATEGORIES & SUB-CATEGORIES	EXAMPLES
External Modifiers	Non-implicating Grounders: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-Specific • Specific in referring to an object as a source of annoyance (OBJ-SOA) 	Can you <i>please</i> turn the TV down? <i>I have an exam early in the morning.</i> <i>The sound of the TV is loud; can you turn it down?</i>
	External Understatements (external to the headact)	Can you turn the TV down? It's <i>a bit</i> loud. <i>If you're not watching something important, can you turn the TV off?</i>
Internal Modifiers	Cost minimizers	
	Intrasentential-please	Can you <i>please</i> turn off the TV? Can you turn off the TV <i>for a little while</i> ? Can you turn it <i>a bit</i> down?
	Understatements	
	Consultative devices (openers)	<i>Do you mind</i> turning down the TV/ <i>Do you think</i> you could the TV down
	Downtoners (uncertainty)	Can you <i>try</i> to keep the voice down?
	Hedges (not naming the action)	Could you <i>do something</i> with the volume?
Strategies	Preparatory condition – Ability or Willingness	<i>Could you/ Would you</i> turn down the TV
Range. Marked to Negatively Marked Request Modifiers (Aggravators)		
External Modifiers	Implicating Grounders (SOA-P)	Can you be quiet? I can't study <i>because of your noise.</i>
	Threats	If you don't stop now, <i>I'll complain to the supervisor.</i>
	Marked extrasentential please	<i>Please</i> , could you turn it down? Can you turn it down, <i>please</i> ?
Internal Modifiers	Upgraders	Can you turn down this <i>bloody</i> TV?
Strategies	Implicating Head-acts (HA-SOA/P)	Could <i>you</i> try not to make <i>too much noise</i> ? <i>Turn down</i> the TV <i>please.</i>
	Imperatives	
	Obligation	You <i>must</i> turn it off.
	Action-ceasers	<i>Stop</i> this noise.

⁹ *The boxes mark the insertions introduced by the researcher.*

The use of *Please* is not new to request typologies as explained before. The new contribution in this typology is considering *Please* as marked when flanking the request (*initial-please* and *final-please*) and unmarked when embedded (intrasentential). Therefore, it appears under both ranges as a possible softener and again as a possible aggravator, depending on its position. What follows is a description of new insertions and their relation to the CCSARP dimensions. Although *non-implicating grounders*, *implicating grounders* and *implicating head-acts* belong to two different ranges (unmarked to positively marked and marked to negatively marked ranges), they are best described together since all three depend on the notion of implicating/not-implicating the hearer to justify a request. This will be followed by a description of the other added categories (*action-ceasing verbs*, *external understatements* and *Please* as a marked and unmarked modifier). For practicality, the range of *positively marked to unmarked modifications* is referred to as “softeners/softening modifications” and the range of *marked to negatively marked modifications* is referred to as “aggravators/aggravating modifiers”. Where initial and final *Please* were concerned, they were often referred to as such or as marked *Please*.

4.3.1. IMPLICATING THE HEARER AS A SOURCE OF ANNOYANCE.

In students’ requests in this study, it was noticed that the participants used *hearer-oriented requests*. As explained before, the hearer in requests is the party ‘under threat’; hence avoiding mentioning the hearer minimizes imposition and softens requests (House and Kasper, 1981). In this data set, it was noted that in

addition to using hearer-oriented requests, the learners implicated the interlocutor as a Source of Annoyance (SOA). See example 1 (from the actual data 2nd Bachillerato with extra hours of EFL instruction)¹⁰.

1. Student to Student: “Could *you don't make noise, please?* (I have an exam tomorrow)”.

Drawing on systemic functional grammar (Downing and Locke, 1992), the speaker in example 1 placed *noise* in the position of a ‘product’. The interlocutor is considered the ‘agent’ responsible for the undesired outcome. To contrast the latter request to another in which the speaker avoids the undesirable association of the hearer to the SOA, see example 2.

2. Student to Student: “Could *you turn down the volume please* (because tomorrow I have an exam).”

In other words, both examples (1) and (2) are conventional indirect requests with a query preparatory condition of ability (which tends to be associated with polite requests); have a politeness marker (*please*); and have a grounder (external modifier) that justifies and softens the request. Example (1), on the other hand, refers to the hearer as a source of annoyance in the head act, which aggravates the request.

Other than avoiding referring to the hearer as a SOA, some learners opted to refer to *an object* instead of referring to the hearer as the SOA. In example 3, the

¹⁰ All requests were copied from students' answers without corrections.

SOA is the keyboard, and the speaker requests that the interlocutor uses it with more care.

3. Student to Teacher: “*Please, would you mind being a little bit more careful with the keyboard? The noise is very unpleasant*”.

Since agentive subjects can be either animate or inanimate-objects or abstractions-(Downing and Locke, 1992), it is then accepted that inanimate objects in requests can be directly referred to as the source of undesired effects, like in example 3. Following SFL transitivity theory, *the keyboard* as an instrument is presented as the performer of the action, which can still be adjusted by the hearer, but unlike example 1, the hearer is not the direct source of noise. In example 3, the keyboard is part of the headact (HA), which might as well be part of an adjunct to the headact (the grounder) like in example 4.

4. Student to Teacher: Excuse me teacher, I can't focus so much and *the sound of the keyboards it's a little annoying*. Can I move from here?¹¹

To sum up, learners were found to associate annoyance to the hearer at times or to an object in their surrounding at other times (an instrument in the examples above). This referral to the SOA was found to occur in the head-act as well as in grounders and was found to implicate the hearer, an object/instrument, or the speaker himself at times. Based on Leech's (1983) cost and benefit theory and House and Kasper's (1981) avoidance of the agent, it is argued that referring to

¹¹ This example is one of the very few requests in the data where the requester uses a speaker-oriented perspective.

the hearer in requests can be a step in the direction of face-threatening the hearer; therefore, if speakers implicate the hearers as a SOA in their requests (whether in the headact or its adjuncts), this would logically add to the threat. Similarly, effort on part of the speakers to attribute their perceived annoyance to an object/instrument or themselves instead of attributing it to the hearer saves face and softens the request.

Expert opinion was sought before including the concept of SOA into various categories of the request typology:

- Referring to the interlocutor as a SOA.
- Referring to an object/instrument (or the requester) as a SOA.

Although it has been argued that conveying a reason for making a request makes the request less face threatening (Faerch and Kasper, 1989), grounders could be aggravating if they negatively implicate the interlocutor, and hence cannot be considered request softeners by default. This is illustrated in example 5 (below), where the learner referred to the interlocutor as a SOA in the grounder.

5. "Could you stop doing that? (because) *the noise you make it is very high.*"

In contrast, the learner in an earlier example [example 4: Excuse me teacher, I can't focus so much and *the sound of the keyboards it's a little annoying*. Can I move from here?] avoids implicating the interlocutor by referring to the instrument as a SOA and his/her own inability to focus to justify the

request. In other words, the learner used the *grounder* to avoid implicating the hearer by referring to the keyboard and his/her inability to focus.

4.3.1.1. NON-IMPLICATING AND IMPLICATING GROUNDERS

In light of what has been explained regarding implicating the hearer as a source of annoyance, *grounders* needed to be differentiated into two types: those that softened and those that aggravated requests. *Grounders* were therefore divided into *non-implicating grounders* and *implicating grounders* and added to the request typology (Table 9).

1) **Non-implicating grounders**: can be defined as grounders that do not associate the interlocutor with any source of annoyance, which are either specific or non-specific:

a. **Specific grounders**: are grounders that specify an object (OBJ) or an element in the setting as the source of annoyance (SOA), which the speaker uses as an excuse/justification for making a request. These were abbreviated and referred to as **OBJ-SOA grounders** (example 6).

6. "The sound of the TV is loud, can I turn it down?"

The mention of the object softens the request further by intentionally clarifying that the hearer is not implicated and that the object is the source of annoyance.

b. **Non-specific grounders**: can be defined as grounders that are not specific to any particular object as the SOA. These can involve an event ([because] *the exam is tomorrow*) or the speaker himself ([because] *I 'can't concentrate*) as the reason for making the request (example 7).

7. "Could you turn the TV down? *I have an exam early in the morning.*"

2) **Implicating grounders**: can be defined as grounders that associate the hearer or the requestee, who is a person (P) to the source of annoyance; these grounders are seen as aggravating request modifiers (example 5). These were referred to in abbreviated form as **SOA-P**.

4.3.1.2. IMPLICATING HEAD-ACTS

Depending on the syntactic position of the SOA, the SOA will fall into one of two different dimensions. Referring to the hearer as a **SOA in the grounder** justified placing this use of SOAs in the category of grounders under the dimension of external modifiers. However, referring to the hearer as a **SOA in the headact** (examples 8 to 10) had no existing category to be placed under.

8. "Could you try not to make *too much noise*?"

9. "Please, could you try to be *less noisy* when you're typing on the computer? I cannot concentrate at all."

10. "Can you lower the noise the keyboard is making?"

Therefore, a new category was created (*Implicating the hearer as a source of annoyance*) under the dimension of *request strategies*. In examples 8 and 9, the learners manage to communicate that the source of the undesired noise is the hearer (*you are causing a lot of noise, and I am asking you to do less noise*), and this time the referral to the SOA occurs in the headact instead of in the grounder. In contrast, the learner in example 10 avoided referring to the hearer in the *headact* as part of the problem. Though the degree of politeness in these examples (8 to 10) will be decided by other elements in the request (use of modality, directives, and other modifiers), the disentanglement of the hearer from the source of annoyance in the *headact* is a mitigation strategy since it decreases the face-threatening act whereas associating the hearer to the source of annoyance adds to it and to the directness of the request (Brown and Levinson, 1987). It was decided then that referring to a person in the headact as a SOA, similar to examples 8 and 9, should be classified as an aggravating strategy. These were referred to in abbreviated form as **HA-SOA/P**.

4.3.2. THE USE OF ACTION-CEASING VERBS.

Learners were found to use verbs that do not request the interlocutor to modify the manner of a certain action, but require ceasing the action at hand altogether. To exemplify, there is a difference between "*can you lower the TV?*" which is a request for modifying the sound of the TV, and "*can you switch off the TV*", which is a request for terminating the process of watching the TV. Given that optionality in requests and politeness are intertwined (Leech, 1983),

distinguishing between verbs that request modifying and ceasing an action is important. Requesting that someone lowers the sound of the TV gives the performer some degree of optionality in adjusting the volume a lot or a little. Requesting that someone turns off the TV, or stops talking instead of lowering their voice, gives less room for freedom of action and therefore more cost and less benefit for the hearer.

Action-ceasing verbs can then be defined as the use of action verbs like *stop*; *turn/switch off*; *be quiet/silent*; and *shut up*, which inherently do not give the requestee any optionality regarding the degree to which an action is performed. By omitting the requestee's will and overriding it with the requester's (making the world fit the requester's will (House and Kasper, 1981), the use of these verbs could be more aggravating than using other verbs in the imperative (e.g. *turn down, lower, turn up...*). Since these verbs are situated within the *headact* of the request and contribute to the level of directness of the request, this feature was included under the dimension of strategies. This new category was referred to as **action-ceasing verbs**.

4.3.3. EXTERNAL UNDERSTATEMENTS.

Understatements in the CCSARP and taxonomies that followed have been referred to as internal modifiers (example 11) that minimize impositions by using elements like *a little, a bit, and for a moment* (Alcón-Soler et al, 2005). In the data at hand other understatements, including other 'time-related' modifiers

like *just today, only this time, until [] is over*, were found to exist outside the headact (examples 12 and 13) in the *grounder*, which means that behavior could also act as external modifiers of requests.

11. Student to Student: "Can you lower the TV *a bit*?"
12. Student to Student: "Can you make it lower? The sound is *a little bit* annoying."
13. Student to Teacher: "Teacher, excuse me. As there is a complete silence, the computer makes noise that is *a little* annoying, I wonder if you mind switching it off? Thank you

External understatements were identified and included within the category of *understatements* under the dimension of softening external modifiers. This feature was not assigned any specific abbreviation.

4.3.4. THE USE OF PLEASE AS A MARKED AND UNMARKED MODIFIER.

Though '*Please*' is mainly taught in EFL as a politeness marker, it is also a request marker when standing alone; an emphatic marker to plead or beg for something when placed at the beginning of a request; and a behavior at the end of some requests (Martínez-Flor, 2009). Regardless of its functions, it has been classified either as an internal request modifier (House and Kasper 1981; Trosborg 1995; Achiba 2003) or as an external modifier (Sifianou, 1999; Alcón-Soler *et al*, 2005). However, *Please* can be both embedded within the request (could you *please* turn the TV down?) or peripherally situated (could you turn the TV down *please*?). Both positions have been taken into

consideration in the analysis of data at hand. Therefore, *initial and final Please* (examples 14 and 15) as categories were classified under the dimension of marked to negatively marked modifiers given that they are more authoritative and demanding (Sato, 2008; Witchmann, 2004).

14. Student to Student: *Please*, could you turn it down?

15. Student to Student: Can you turn it down, *please*?

In comparison, *mid-please* (example 16) was classified under the dimension of unmarked to positively marked modifiers given that its positioning is conventional of unmarked and polite requests (See chapter 3 – Literature Review; Wichmann, 2004 and Sato, 2008 on the positioning of *Please*).

16. Student to Student: Can you *please* turn off the TV?

4.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this study, learners' pragmatic competence is measured by their ability to soften requests; therefore, the used typology needed to differentiate between students' use of softening request modifiers and strategies and those that are aggravating. For that reason, the CCSARP internal and external dimensions and strategies were reorganized and consolidated with the categories added by the researcher to construct the presented *typology of request softeners and aggravators*.

It is very difficult that an element (lexical, syntactic) would always pragmatically function as a softener or an aggravator, irrespective of the request

and the context. According to Watts (2003), unnoticed non-salient utterances are part of every day's politic behavior and are therefore unmarked. In contrast, overt politeness and impoliteness are marked and noticeable, whether positively or negatively. Therefore, in order to allow for a range of interpretations, when needed, the categories that could contribute to making requests politic or polite were classified under the range of *Unmarked to Positively Marked Modifiers - Softeners* (examples 17 and 18). Similarly, categories that could contribute to making the request marked or impolite were classified under the range of *Marked to Negatively Marked Modifiers-Aggravators* (example 19 and 20).

Unmarked and Positively Marked (Softeners)

17. Unmarked: *Could you please repeat what you said?*

(The example shows conventional non-salient everyday politeness using an indirect request and intrasentential-*please*)

18. Positively marked: *It seems I'm not focused today. Could you please repeat what you said?*

(The example shows salient politeness in the requester's referral to himself as the source of the problem for not being focused)

Marked and Negatively Marked (Aggravators)

19. Marked: *Please, could you turn the volume down?*

(The example shows the use of the emotional loaded *initial-please*. The saliency of the position of *please* here makes the request marked, but not necessarily negatively marked as it depends on the context and who the interlocutors are)

20. Negatively marked: *Stop doing too much noise, please?*

(The example shows referral to the interlocutor as the source of noise and the use of the action-ceasing verb "*stop*" which tends to be salient or marked in a negative manner irrespective of who the interlocutors are. The use of *final-please*, like *initial-please* in the previous example, is marked but not always necessarily negative).

The following is an operational definition of each of the dimensions, categories, and subcategories.

The three dimensions under the two mentioned ranges are: external modifiers, which are external to the headact, internal modifiers, which are within the headact and request strategies, which are levels of directness. Each of these dimensions could be softening or aggravating, marked or unmarked (Table 9). Starting with the range of *unmarked to positively marked* modifiers,

I. Softening External modifiers are devices positioned outside the headact in its immediate context and soften requests. These are divided into:

1) Non-implicating grounders: are grounders that do not associate the interlocutor with any source of annoyance, which are either non-specific or specific:

i. Non-specific grounders: are grounders that are not specific to any particular object as the source of annoyance. These can involve an event ([because] *the exam is tomorrow*) or the speaker himself ([because] *I 'can' not concentrate*) as the reason for making the request.

ii. Specific grounders: are grounders that specify an object (OBJ) or an element in the setting as the source of annoyance (SOA), which the speaker uses as an excuse/justification for making a

request. These were abbreviated and referred to as OBJ-SOA grounders.

2) External Understatements: are devices like *a little, a bit* and other time-related devices (Alcón-Soler *et al*, 2005) positioned outside the headact in the grounder.

3) Cost or Imposition Minimizers: are supporting movements the speaker uses to refer to factors that minimize the imposition on the hearer. These could vary from highlighting the plausibility of the request in relation to certain conditions 'could you give me a lift, *if you're going my way*' (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984) to promising to return something quickly to its lender 'I'll have it back in time' (Trsoborg, 1995). The boundaries between cost minimizers and promises can be blurred (Marti, 2008:181).

Therefore in the data at hand, if-clauses external to the headact supporting the plausibility of requests 'could you *please* turn off the TV, *if you can/if you don't mind /if the program is finished*' were considered cost minimizers.

II. Softening internal modifiers are devices positioned within headact that soften requests. These are divided into:

1) Intrasentential-*please*: a mid-sentence or embedded formulaic politeness marker. (Section 4.3.4 discusses the case of *please* in details)

- 2) Understatements: are devices like *a little, a bit* and other time-related devices (Alcón-Soler *et al*, 2005)
- 3) Consultative devices (openers): are opening words and expressions like 'would you mind doing...', and 'do you think you could...' that involve or bid the cooperation of the hearer (Alcón-Soler *et el*, 2005).
- 4) Downtoners (uncertainty): are devices like *possibly, maybe, perhaps* that signal the possibility of non-compliance on the part of the hearer (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984).
- 5) Hedges (not naming the action): are words by which the speaker avoids naming the requested action 'could you *do something?*' (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984).

III. Softening strategies are conventional indirect requests that use preparatory conditions of ability (can/could) and willingness (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984).

Moving to the range of *marked to negatively marked* modifiers

IV. Marked *Please* and Aggravating External Modifiers: are devices positioned outside the headact in its immediate context and that tend to aggravate requests. These are divided into:

- 1) Implicating grounders: are grounders that associate the hearer or the requestee, who is a person (P), to the source of annoyance;

these grounders are seen as aggravating request modifiers. These were referred to in abbreviated form as SOA-P grounders.

2) Threats: the use of threats is the opposite of a 'promise of reward', which consists in coercing the addressee into carrying an action in fear of a certain penalty.

3) Extrasentential *please*: the use of *please* as sentence-initial or sentence-final. Positioning *please* in these two places causes *please* to be salient and marked (Section 4.3.4 discusses the case of *please* in details).

V. Internal aggravating modifiers: are devices positioned within headact that aggravate requests. The majority of internal modifications act as softeners. Under this dimension, upgraders were the only category.

1) Upgraders: these are devices used to increase the compelling force of the request and are divided into intensifiers and expletives. Intensifiers are words like *very* and *a lot* by which the speaker over-represents the situation, whereas expletives communicate the speaker's negative attitude towards something or someone (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984).

VI. Aggravating strategies: are strategies that intensify the directness and explicitness of the request. In this study, aggravating strategies are:

1) Implicating Head-acts (HA-SOA/P): these are headacts in which the hearer is referred to as a source of annoyance as in

'could you *please stop the noise you are making?*' (Section 4.3.1 discusses the HA-SOA/P in details).

2) Commands in the form of imperatives: it is when the request is mood derived; in other words, the verb marks the illocutionary force as a request (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984).

3) Obligation statements: rather than requesting, the speaker uses statements of obligation like '*you must/have to*' confiscating the hearer's right to refuse. Trosborg (1995) states that statements are less polite than questions.

4) Action-ceasers: the use of action verbs like *stop, turn/switch off, be quiet/silent, and shut up* that inherently do not give the requestee any optionality regarding the degree to which an action is performed.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The collected data in this study showed that learners' requests included modifiers and strategies often perceived as request softeners when they could also aggravate. Examples from the data were shown and discussed to establish the manner in which these modifiers (grounders and the marker *Please*) could aggravate requests depending on other factors. Referring to the hearer in the head-act as a source of annoyance was discussed as an aggravating strategy together with using verbs like '*stop*', which inherently force the requestees to cease from resuming actions they are involved in (action-ceasing verbs).

Understatements were also shown to exist within the grounders outside the head-act (external understatements).

In line with the process used to compile the CCSARP coding manual, external modifiers, internal modifiers, and strategy types found in students' requests were used to adapt the CCSARP coding manual and produce a typology of request softeners and aggravators to analyze the data in this study. Though referred to as request softeners and aggravators, these are two ranges of (1) unmarked to positively marked modifications and strategies that tend to soften, and (2) marked to negatively marked modifications and strategies that tend to aggravate depending on the interlocutors (age, status, culture and social distance for example) and the situation (formal, informal).

CHAPTER 5. RESULTS

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter first reviews the research questions and the data collected from the prompts in the Discourse Completion Test (DCT). The typology upon which the data analysis was based is also briefly reviewed. The chapter then proceeds to present and discuss the results in relation to the research questions. Each question is dealt with in a separate section to facilitate the interpretation of the related results. For each of the four research questions, the results and findings from the production task (WDCT) are presented first, followed by the results and findings from the reception task (MCDCT). The results are grouped in the same dimensions, categories and types explained in the previous chapter in the expanded typology of request modifiers [*unmarked to positively marked request modifiers* (possible softeners), *and marked to negatively marked request modifiers* (possible aggravators), *each divided into external modifications, internal modifications and strategies*)]. A summary and discussion of the main findings follows the results in each point.

Review of the research questions and the data

The study posed four questions:

- i. Are there pragmatic differences across education levels within the CLIL English program? (1st ESO through 4th ESO)

- ii. Are there pragmatic differences between the highest education level in the CLIL program and its non-CLIL regular mainstream counterpart? (4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO non-CLIL)
- iii. Are there pragmatic differences across education levels in the non-CLIL regular mainstream program? (4th ESO through 2nd Bachillerato)
- iv. Are there pragmatic differences among groups with more exposure to English? (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bachillerato graduated from the CLIL program and high achieving 2nd Bachillerato students with more exposure to EFL instruction)

The total number of participants was 402 students. However, not all students responded to the entire production task in the WDCT. The WDCT yielded 361 formulated requests to the situation with the teacher (Ss-T situation) and 358 formulated responses to the situation with the peers in the residence (Ss-Ss situation), hence a total of 719 requests were collected from the production task. On the other hand, all 402 students selected one of the available multiple choice requests in the reception task, hence a total of 804 requests were collected by means of the MCDCT. A summary of the above can be seen in the table below (Table 10).

Table 10. *The number of requests gathered by means of the different parts of the DCT by program and education level*

Program	Education Stage	Total No. Students	No. of students/ reception task	No of students / production task (Ss-T)	No of students / production task (Ss-Ss)
CLIL	1 st ESO	66	66	54	51
CLIL	2 nd ESO	65	65	58	62
CLIL	3 rd ESO	44	44	41	41
CLIL	4 th ESO	53	53	47	45
Regular	4 th ESO	26	26	20	17
Regular	1 st Bac.	54	54	50	50
Regular	2 nd Bac.	45	45	43	44
Previously in CLIL	1 st Bac.	12	12	11	11
With extra EFL	2 nd Bac.	37	37	37	37
Total number of students	———	402	402	361	358

As expected in any natural speech, students' requests combined different modifiers, either external and/or internal, and strategies (Trosborg, 1995). Students' utterances (productions) were analyzed based on the typology of request modifiers presented in Chapter 4-Analysis of Data. To see examples of the dimensions, categories and types see the typology of modifiers (Table 9) in the previous chapter. The typology has two dimensions [*unmarked to positively marked request modifiers* (possible softeners), and *marked to negatively marked request modifiers* (possible aggravators)] with three categories (external modifiers, internal modifiers, and strategies) each of which is divided further into types as follows:

Unmarked to positively marked request modifiers (*Henceforth referred to as Softening Modifiers*)

- **External modifiers:** non-specific grounders (that that do not implicate the interlocutor nor other objects in the situation setting), specific OBJ-SOA grounders (that do not implicate the interlocutor but refer to other objects in the environment as a source of annoyance), external understatements and cost minimizers;
- **Internal modifiers:** intrasentential *please* (*mid-please*), hedges, understatements, consultative devices, and downtoners;
- **Strategies:** preparatory conditions as in the use of 'Can' and 'Could and Would' as preparatory conditions of ability and willingness.

Marked to negatively marked request modifiers (*Henceforth referred to as aggravating modifiers*)

- **External modifiers:** extrasentential *please* (initial and final *please*), implicating grounders (SOA-P);
- **Internal modifiers:** upgraders;
- **Strategies:** reference to the interlocutor as a source of annoyance (HA-SOA/P), mood derivable imperative, locution derivable obligation, and action-ceasing verbs.

The next four parts (5.1. to 5.4.) present the results of each of the study's four questions.

5.1. DIFFERENCES IN THE PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE OF CLIL EDUCATIONAL LEVELS (1ST-4TH ESO CLIL)

The study posed four questions. This section answers the first question as to whether there are differences in the pragmatic competence of students in the CLIL English program across levels, from 1st ESO through 4th ESO. As mentioned in the introduction, the results of the WDCT (production tasks) will be presented first, followed by the results of the MCDCT (reception tasks). Both the WDCT and the MCDCT results have two situations, one with a teacher (Ss-T) and another with students (Ss-Ss). Some examples of students' requests (reported as students wrote them) will be provided where needed in the results sections.

5.1.1. SOFTENING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

These are non-implicating grounders (non-specific and OBJ-SOA grounders), external understatements, and cost minimizers.

In the Ss-T situation, students used more OBJ-SOA grounders when addressing the teacher and more non-specific grounders when addressing peers (see Tables 11 & 12; Figure 8 & 9). Examples of an OBJ-SOA and a non-specific grounder are (21) and (22) below:

- (21) Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL (OBJ-SOA grounder): Excuse me teacher, I am too nervous about the exam and *I can not concentrate properly because of the sound of the computer's keyboard.*
- (22) Ss-Ss, 3rd ESO CLIL (non-specific grounder): *Please, do you put the volume low?, because tomorrow I have important exam.*

Students in 3rd year were the highest to use non-specific grounders (29.27%) followed in percentage by 2nd year (27.59%) then 1st year (20.37%) and finally by 4th year students (19.15%). As for OBJ-SOA, they were used the most by 4th year students (19.15%), followed in percentage by 2nd year (10.34%) then 3rd year (5.56%) and finally by 1st year students (7.32%).

Table 11. Softening external request modifiers - CLIL levels (Ss-T situation)

	Total N	Non-Specific Grounders		Specific OBJ-SOA		Cost Minimizers.		EXT. Underst.	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	54	11	20,37	3	5,56	0	0,00	1	1,85
2 nd ESO CLIL	58	16	27,59	6	10,34	0	0,00	2	3,45
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	12	29,27	3	7,32	0	0,00	0	0,00
4 th ESO CLIL	47	9	19,15	9	19,15	1	2,13	0	0,00

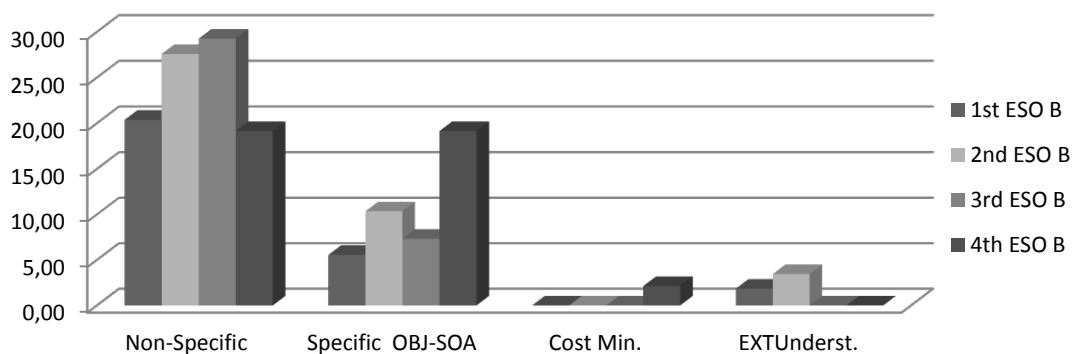


Figure 8. Softening external request modifiers – CLIL levels (Ss-T)

Learners' use of cost minimizers was anecdotal, and appeared only in very few requests made by 4th year students (2.13%). External understatements, were also used very marginally by very few students in 3rd year (3.45%) and 1st year (1.85%).

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 12, Figure 9), the data showed that CLIL students' use of non-specific grounders increased non-linearly from 1st to 4th ESO (from 37.25% up to 73.33%), where they were used significantly more by 4th ESO CLIL students (73.33%) { $X^2=13.203$ ($p=0.004$)} [Table A 1-Appendix A]. OBJ-SOA grounders were used by very few students, and in 4th year only (4.4%). The percentage of use of cost minimizers was again anecdotal, and was only used by 3rd and 4th year students (4.8% and 4.4%). External understatements were not used at all.

Table 12. Softening external request modifiers-CLIL levels (Ss-Ss situation).

	Total N	Non-Specific Grounders		Specific OBJ-SOA		Cost Minimizers.		EXT. Underst.	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	51	19	37,25	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
2 nd ESO CLIL	62	36	58,06	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	25	60,98	0	0,00	2	4,88	0	0,00
4 th ESO CLIL	45	33	73,33***	2	4,44	2	4,44	0	0,00

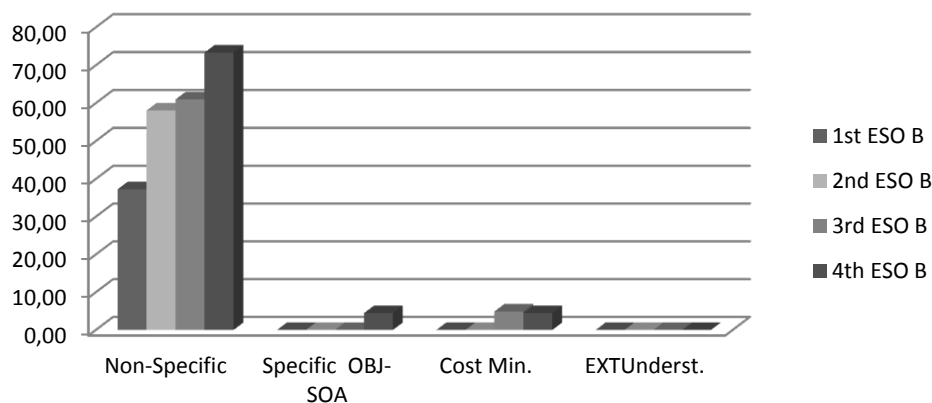


Figure 9. Softening external request modifiers – CLIL levels (Ss-Ss situation).

In both the Ss-T and Ss-S situations, CLIL students from 1st to 4th year situations depended mainly on the use of grounders more than they did on the other two modifiers within this category (external understatements and cost minimizers).

A closer look at students' use of grounders shows that the students seemed to vary the type of grounder depending on the situation, or the context (Ss-T & Ss-Ss). The percentage of use of non-implicating grounders, which is the combination of non-specific and OBJ-SOA grounders, show that students used them considerably more in the Ss-Ss situation than in the Ss-T situation (Table 13; Figure 10).

Table 13. CLIL students' use of non-implicating grounders (non-specific and OBJ-SOA combined) in Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations

	Non-Implicating Grounders in Ss-T situation			Non-Implicating Grounders in Ss-Ss situation		
	Total N SS-T	F	%	Total N SS-SS	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	51	19	37,25	54	14	25,93
2 nd ESO CLIL	62	36	58,10	58	22	37,93
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	25	61,00	41	15	36,59
4 th ESO CLIL	45	35	77,80	47	18	38,30

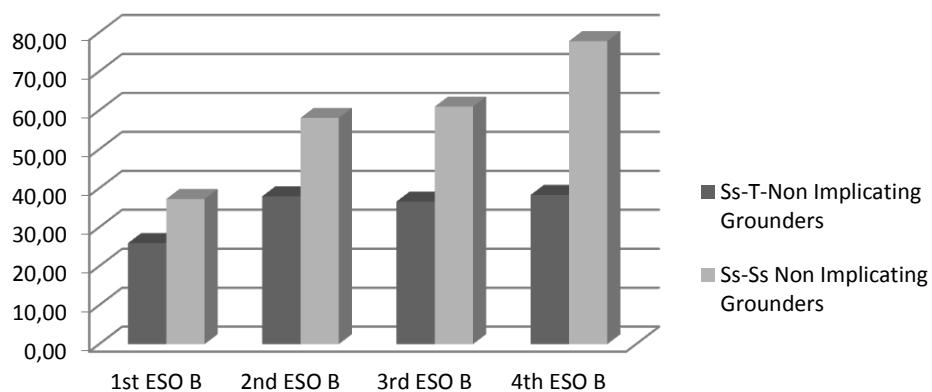


Figure 10. Percentage of non-implicating grounders (non-specific and OBJ-SOA combined) in Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations

MAIN FINDINGS - SOFTENING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

The results in this subsection showed that 1) CLIL students across ESO levels (1st to 4th ESO) resorted mainly to the use of grounders as an external modifier

to soften requests; 2) Though OBJ-SOA grounders were used on few occasions only by 4th ESO CLIL students, they were the only group to use this type of grounder in the teacher situation. No significant differences were found between the four ESO levels regarding this type of grounders. However, (3) the graphs show progress from the lower levels to the higher levels in students' use of non-specific grounders, which were used significantly more by 4th ESO CLIL students than by those in lower levels. 4) Looking at students' combined use of grounders, non-specific, and OBJ-SOA grounders together, the results show that students' total use of non-implicating grounders was higher when addressing other students at the residence than when addressing the teacher during the test. Also, it was observed that students' total use of non-implicating grounders increased progressively from 1st to 4th ESO CLIL. 5) As for the other softening modifiers, 4th ESO CLIL learners used cost minimizers in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations (three students in total) as opposed to 3rd ESO learners who used it only in the SS-Ss situation. No specific conclusions could be drawn from these groups' use of external understatement, which were observed in anecdotal numbers in 2nd ESO CLIL followed by 1st ESO CLIL.

Accordingly, the performance of 4th ESO learners seems distinct in their relatively higher use of OBJ-SOA when addressing the teacher, their significantly higher use of non-specific grounders, their higher use of total softening grounders in general, and the consistence of a few of its students in using cost minimizers in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations.

5.1.2. SOFTENING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

These are intrasentential *please* (*Please* in mid position), hedging, understatements, consultative devices (openers) and downtoners. In the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations (Ss-T & Ss-Ss), 1st to 4th ESO CLIL students depended on the use of intrasentential *please*, understatements, and downtoners more than they did on the use of hedging and consultative devices. Examples of mid-sentence *please*, understatements and downtoners are in (23), (24) and (25) below:

(23) Ss-T, 2nd ESO (*mid-please*): Could you *please* make less noise with the computer?

(24) Ss-T, 2nd ESO (understater): Sir, could you *please* make *a little* less noise?

(25) Ss-Ss, 2nd ESO (downtoner): *Maybe* you can make less noise *please*. I need to sleep for tomorrow. Thanks.

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 14; Figure 11), students from all four levels used intrasentential *please* and understatements at varying rates. Intrasentential *please* was significantly used more by 2nd year students (8.62%) followed in percentage by 4th year students (4.26%) [Table A 2-Appendix A]. Similarly, understatements were used more by 2nd year students (5.17%) followed in percentage by 1st year students (3.70%). As for the use of downtoners, 4th year students used them more than the students from the other levels (6.38%) and were followed in percentage by 2nd year students (3.45%). All other percentages were lower than 2.45% (see figures). Regarding consultative devices, they were

only minimally used by 4th year students (2.13%) only. As for hedges, they were absent from 2nd year learners' requests and their use in the other levels were anecdotal.

Table 14. Softening internal modifiers – CLIL levels (Ss-T situation)

	Total N	Mid-Please		Hedging		Understatement		Consult. Dev.		Downtoners	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	54	1	1,85	1	1,85	2	3,70	0	0,00	1	1,85
2 nd ESO CLIL	58	5	8,62	0	0,00	3	5,17	0	0,00	2	3,45
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	1	2,44	1	2,44	1	2,44	0	0,00	0	0,00
4 th ESO CLIL	47	2	4,26	1	2,13	1	2,13	1	2,13	3	6,38

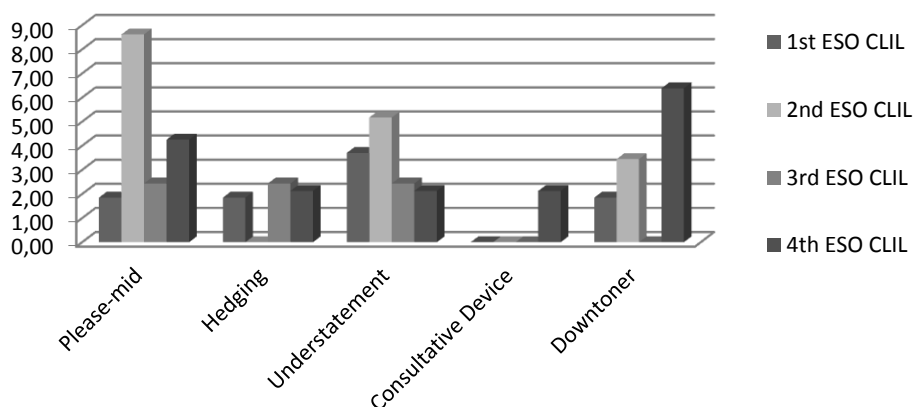


Figure 11. Softening internal modifiers – CLIL levels (Ss-T situation)

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 15; Figure 12), students from all four CLIL levels softened their requests by using intrasentential *please*, understatements and downtoners. Intrasentential *please* was used the most by 1st year students (7.84%) followed in percentage by 2nd year students (6.45%) then 4th year students (4.44%). Understatements were used the most by 4th year students (6.67%) and there is a progressive pattern that shows a steady rise in their use

from 1st to 4th ESO. Downtoners were used the most by 2nd year students (3.23%) followed in percentage by 4th year students (2.22%).

Table 15. *Softening internal modifiers – CLIL students (Ss-Ss situation)*

	Total N	Mid-Please		Hedging		Understate.		Consult. Dev.		Downtoners	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	51	4	7,84	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
2 nd ESO CLIL	62	4	6,45	0	0,00	1	1,61	0	0,00	2	3,23
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	0	0,00	0	0,00	2	4,87	0	0,00	0	0,00
4 th ESO CLIL	45	2	4,44	0	0,00	3	6,67	0	0,00	1	2,22

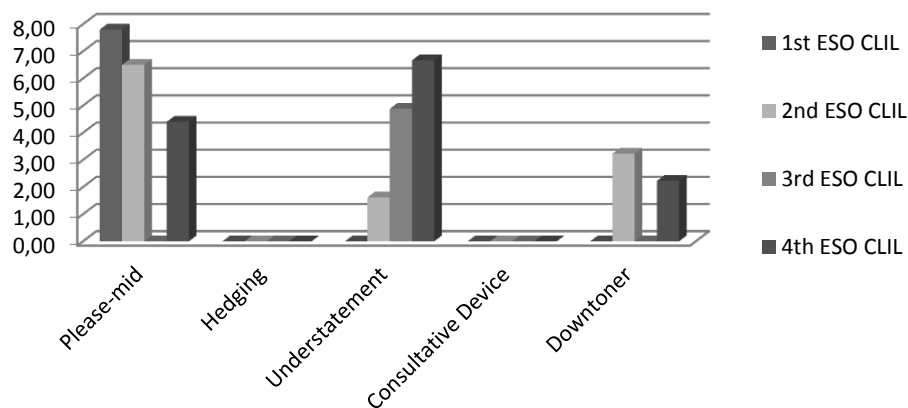


Figure 12. Softening internal modifiers-CLIL students (Ss-Ss situation).

Students use of internal modifiers for softening requests combined from both situations (see Table 16; Figure 13) shows that intrasentential *please* was the most used modifier in this category by 2nd year students (7.50%) followed by 1st year students and 4th year students (4.76% and 4.35%) and finally by 3rd year students (1.22%). The second most used category was understatements, which students used progressively more from 1st year to 4th year (1.9% to 4.35%). Downtoners was the third most used category and progress was noted when comparing 1st year to 2nd and 4th year (0.95% to 4.35%). Hedges were used

minimally and consultative devices were only used by 4th year students, and minimally so as well.

Table 16. *The total percentage of softening internal modifiers combined from both situations-CLIL students (Ss-T and Ss-Ss).*

	Total N	Mid-Please		Hedging		Understate.		Consult. Dev.		Downtoners	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	105	5	4,76	1	0,95	2	1,90	0	0,00	1	0,95
2 nd ESO CLIL	120	9	7,50	0	0,00	4	3,33	0	0,00	4	3,33
3 rd ESO CLIL	82	1	1,22	1	1,22	3	3,66	0	0,00	0	0,00
4 th ESO CLIL	92	4	4,35	1	1,09	4	4,35	1	1,09	4	4,35

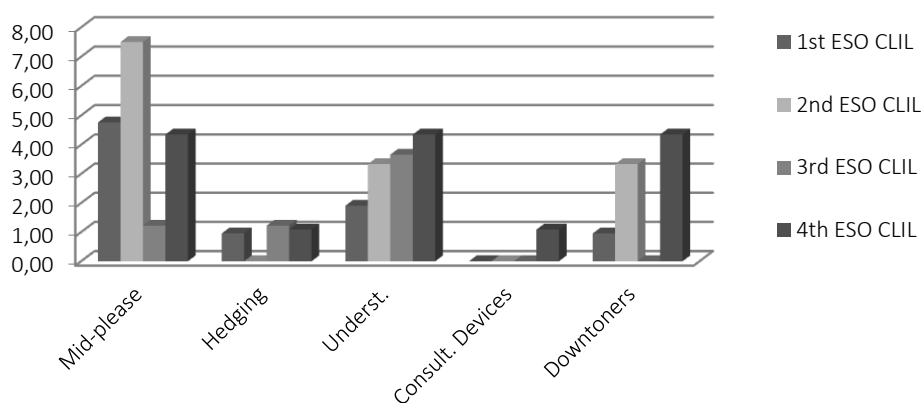


Figure 13. *The total percentage of softening internal modifiers combined from both situations-CLIL students (Ss-T and Ss-Ss).*

MAIN FINDINGS - SOFTENING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

The results in this subsection show that 1) the most frequent types of softening internal modifiers are intrasentential *please*, understatements and downtoners. 2) Though no statistical differences across levels were found in this dimension, the percentage of 4th year ESO students using internal modifiers was relatively higher on the overall and they varied their use of softening internal modifiers from one situation to the other; these learners used downtoners more with the

teacher in the Ss-T situation and understatement more with peers. Students in 4th ESO CLIL also used intrasentential *please* in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations. The relatively higher frequency of use of softening internal modifiers together with varying request formulas on part of 4th ESO CLIL learners could be a sign of potential pragmatic development since lower levels seemed more limited in the devices they resorted to using; 3) In the Ss-Ss situation, learners' requests show a non-linear decline in the use of intrasentential *please* and a linear rise in the use of understatement. Despite the low frequencies in the overall use of these modifiers, there is a visible trend suggesting that learners could be on their way to substituting *please* as a common politeness marker with understatement, a more unconventional type of softener when compared to *please*, which is common in ELT textbooks and often acquired by students in their pre-basic stages of pragmatic development (Félix-Brásdefer, 2007).

5.1.3. SOFTENING STRATEGIES

Softening strategies in the range of unmarked to positively marked modifiers are formed by the preparatory conditions of ability (*can*, *could*) and willingness (*would*). Within this category, CLIL students in the four levels used '*can*' and '*could*' as preparatory request conditions for ability. Examples of preparatory conditions of ability appear in (26) and (27):

(26) Ss-T, 4th ESO: *Please*, teacher *could* you reduce the volume of the computer?

(27) Ss-T, 1st ESO: *Can* you stop writing?

Students in all levels used '*can*' generally more than '*could*', even when addressing the teacher (see Table 17; Figure 14&15).

In regards to the use of '*can*', learners in 4th ESO used it less than the other levels in both the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situation. In the Ss-T situation, they used '*can*' less (55.32%) than the other groups, whose percentages of use declined from 1st to 3rd ESO respectively (72.2%, 77.5% and 73.17%). In the Ss-Ss situation, 4th ESO CLIL students used it significantly less (37.78%) { $X^2 = 8.248$ ($p < 0.041$)} than the other groups, whose percentages of use declined non-linearly from 1st to 3rd ESO respectively (66.67%, 53.23% and 48.78%) [Table A 3-Appendix A].

Differences were also found in favor of 4th ESO CLIL in their use of '*could*' in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations (see Table 17; Figure 14&15). In the Ss-T situation, 4th ESO CLIL students used '*could*' significantly more (40.43%) { $X^2 = 12.272$ ($p < 0.006$)} than the other groups, whose use of '*could*' varied from 1st to 3rd ESO CLIL (22.22%, 12.07% and 19.51%). In the Ss-Ss situation, 4th ESO CLIL students also used '*could*' significantly more (24.44%) { $X^2 = 16.379$ ($p < 0.000$)} than the other groups, whose use of '*could*' increased from 1st to 3rd ESO CLIL respectively (3.92%, 17.74% and 21.95%). [Table A 3-Appendix A].

Table 17. Query-preparatory conditions – CLIL levels (Ss-T & Ss-Ss)

	Total N	Ss-T situation				Total N	Ss-Ss situation			
		Can		Could			Can		Could	
		F	%	F	%		F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	54	39	72,22	12	22,22	51	34	66,67	2	3,92
2 nd ESO CLIL	58	45	77,59	7	12,07	62	33	53,23	11	17,74
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	30	73,17	8	19,51	41	20	48,78	9	21,95
4 th ESO CLIL	47	26	55,32	19	40,43***	45	17	37,78***	11	24,44***

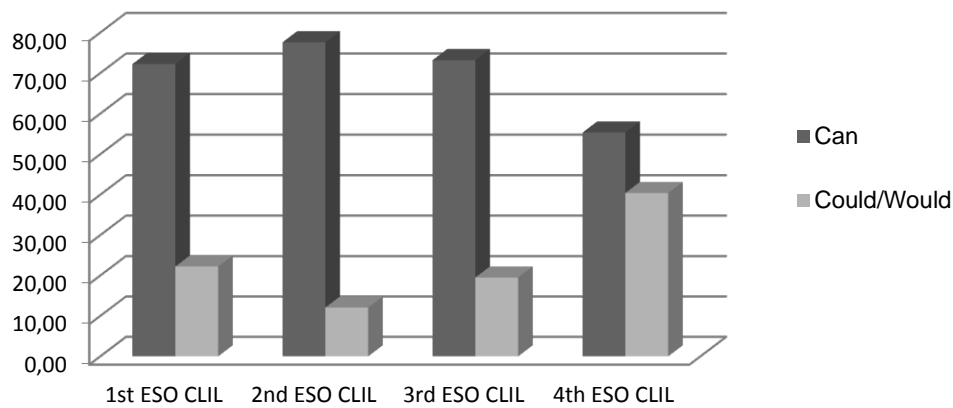


Figure 14. Query-preparatory conditions- CLIL levels (Ss-T situation).

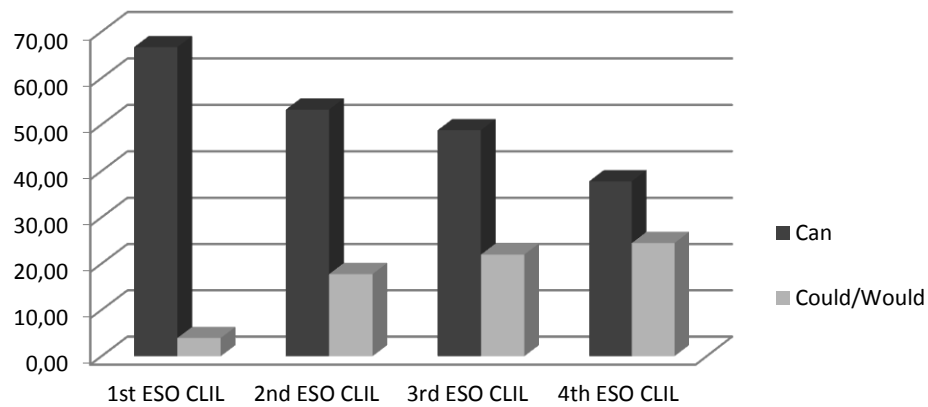


Figure 15. Query-preparatory conditions- CLIL levels (Ss-Ss situation).

When learners' use of 'can' and 'could' were combined independently of the situation, the graph showed that there was a linear decline in learners' use of

'can' and a linear rise in their use of 'could' from 1st ESO to 4th ESO CLIL (see

Table 18; Figure 16).

Table 18. *The cumulative percentages of students' use of each preparatory condition combined irrespective of the situation across the four CLIL levels*

	Can in SsT and Ss-Ss combined			Could in SsT and Ss-Ss combined	
	Total N	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	105	73	69,52	14	13,33
2 nd ESO CLIL	120	78	65,00	18	15,00
3 rd ESO CLIL	82	50	60,98	17	20,73
4 th ESO CLIL	92	43	46,74	30	32,61

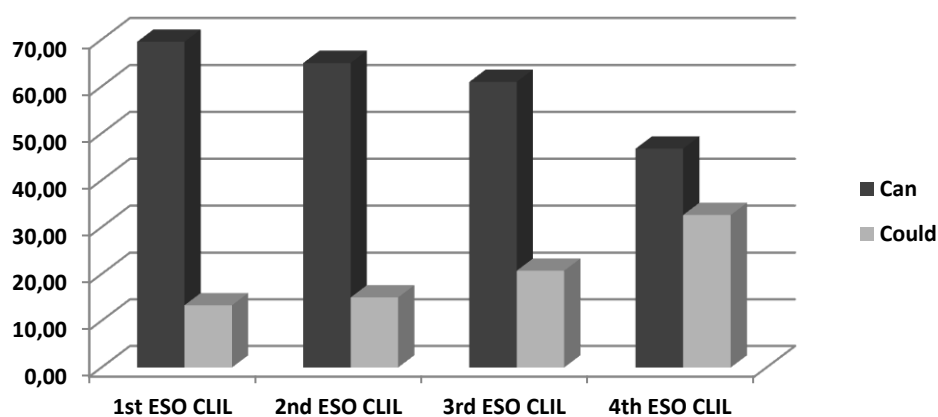


Figure 16. *The cumulative percentages of students' use of each preparatory condition combined irrespective of the situation across the four CLIL levels*

MAIN FINDINGS - SOFTENING STRATEGIES

The results in this subsection show that, in general, 1) learners highly resorted to using the query preparatory request conditions for ability. 2) Also, learners' use of 'can' tends to decline as students' progress towards the higher education levels and their use of 'could' rises. Learners in 4th ESO CLIL used 'can' significantly less than the other levels when addressing peers and noticeably

less than the other levels when addressing the teacher. Similarly, their percentage of use of 'could' was significantly higher than the other levels in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations. On the other hand, when looking at the performance of 4th ESO alone in both situations, we see that they used 'can' generally more times (19 times) when addressing the teacher than when addressing peers (17 times). Though they are more developed than the other levels, they still struggle with varying 'can' and 'could' depending on the situation.

5.1.4. MARKED PLEASE AND AGGRAVATING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

This dimension is composed of extrasentential *please* that fronts and ends requests, threats, and SOA-P grounders that implicate the hearer as a source of annoyance. Examples of the latter are respectively in (28) to (31):

- (28) Ss-T, 4th ESO (initial-*please*): ***Please*** teacher, stop tapping so hard the keyboard.
- (29) Ss-Ss, 1st ESO (final-*please*): *Please*, I have an important exam tomorrow. Can you speak less, ***please?***
- (30) Ss-Ss, 4th ESO (threat): Scuse ^(excuse)me, can you stop talking so loud, I had to sleep, tomorrow I have an exam, and the ¹⁶³behavior _(permitted)time to talk finished one hour ago. ***If not, I will call the police.***
- (31) Ss-T, 4th ESO (SOA-P grounder): *Teacher, you are doing too much noise*, could you try to avoid that, *please?*

In the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations (Ss-T & Ss-Ss), 1st to 4th ESO CLIL students used extrasentential-*please* more than they used other modifiers within this category. Results showed that the frequency of use of *please* varied from one situation to

the other in some of the CLIL levels, and the position of *please* varied from initial to final. As for the other two modifiers, SOA-P grounders appeared more in the Ss-T situation and threats were only used in the Ss-Ss situation and only by a few students.

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 19; Figure 17), 2nd year students used initial-*please* the least (31.03%), followed in percentage by 3rd year (51.21%) then by 1st and 4th year students, who used initial-*please* more than the other levels (57.44%). Regarding final-*please*, 3rd and 4th year students used them the least (19.51% and 19.14%) followed in percentage by 2nd year (20.40%) then 1st year students (34.50%). As for the use of SOA-P grounders, 4th ESO CLIL students used them significantly more than the other groups ($X^2 = 15.063$ ($p < 0.001$)) [Table A 4-Appendix A], followed in percentage by 2nd CLIL students (17.24%) then 1st and 3rd year students, who used them the least (1.58% and 2.44%). No threats were used when addressing the teacher.

Table 19. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers – CLIL levels (Ss-T)

	Total N	Initial <i>please</i>		Final <i>please</i>		Threats		SOA-P Grounders	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	54	31	57,40	11	20,40	0	0	1	1,85
2 nd ESO CLIL	58	18	31,03	20	34,50	0	0	10	17,24
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	21	51,21	8	19,51	0	0	1	2,44
4 th ESO CLIL	47	27	57,44	9	19,14	0	0	10	21,28***

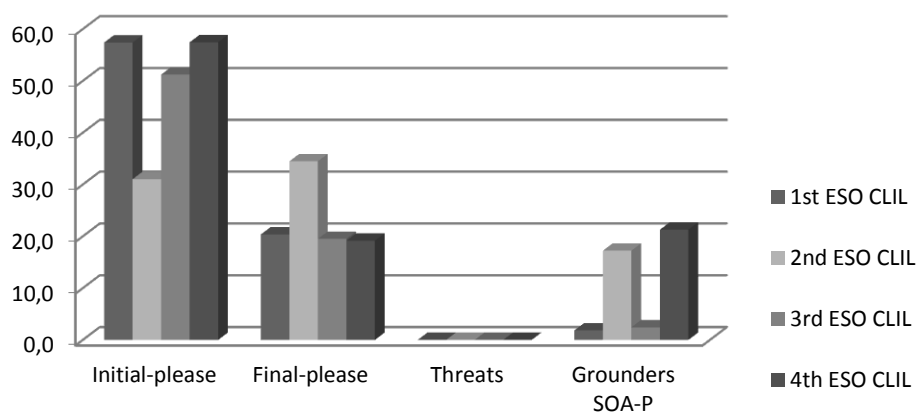


Figure 17. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers – CLIL levels (Ss-T)

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 20; Figure 18), 4th year students used *initial-please* the least (35.55%), followed in percentage by 2nd year (38.70%) then 3rd year (43.90%) and 1st year students (56.86%). Regarding *final-please*, 1st year students used them the least (15.68%) followed in percentage by 2nd year (19.40%) then 4th year and 3rd year learners (20.00% and 22.00%). As far as SOA-P grounders are concerned, they were used far less in the situation with peers; 1st year learners were the group with the highest frequency of use (3.92%), followed in percentage by 4th year and 2nd year learners (1.61% and 2.22%), who used them the least, whereas 3rd year students did not use them at all. Two threats were produced by 4th year students in the Ss-T situation (see previous example-31).

Table 20. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers – CLIL levels (Ss-Ss)

	Total N	<u>Initial please</u>		<u>Final please</u>		<u>Threats</u>		<u>SOA-P</u>	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	51	29	56,86	8	15,68	0	0,00	2	3,92
2 nd ESO CLIL	62	24	38,70	12	19,40	0	0,00	1	1,61
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	18	43,90	9	22,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
4 th ESO CLIL	45	16	35,55	9	20,00	2	4,44	1	2,22

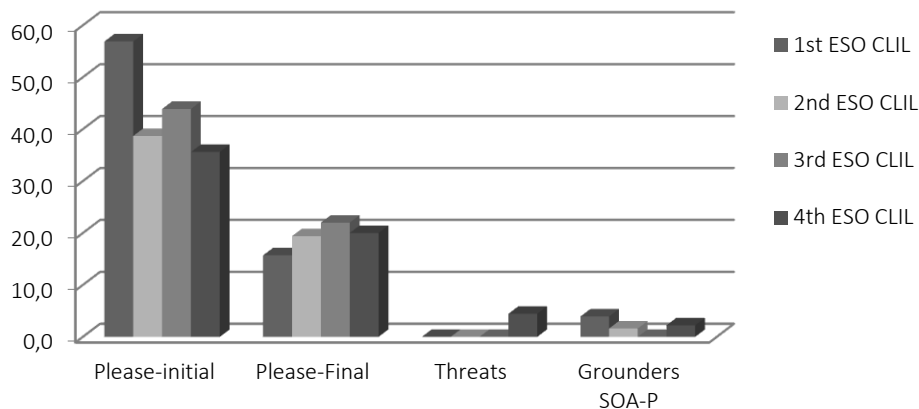


Figure 18. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers – CLIL levels (Ss-Ss)

MAIN FINDINGS - MARKED TO NEGATIVELY MARKED EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

Since initial-*please* is understood to be emotional loaded and therefore marked, it would be expected that students in the more advanced educational levels would avoid it more than their peers in the lower levels. However, it was found that 1) when addressing the teacher, learners in 4th ESO CLIL used it as much as 1st ESO CLIL and more than 2nd and 3rd ESO CLIL. This shows that 1st and 4th ESO CLIL students' requests were as marked and emotionally charged as their peers' in 1st ESO CLIL. The apparent decline in the use of initial-*please* seen in 2nd ESO CLIL could imply a provisional improvement in students' avoidance of

initial-*please* in this education level. Regarding the use of final-*please*, results show that students generally used it far less than initial-*please* in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations. When addressing the teacher, significant differences were found across levels in learners' use of *SOA-P grounders*, where 4th ESO learners used them significantly more. This shows that the ability to avoid the use of aggravating grounders (justifications that implicate the hearer as a source of annoyance) when making requests does not necessarily improve in the highest CLIL level.

5.1.5. AGGRAVATING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

This dimension includes the use of upgraders only, which increase the force of the request and aggravate the hearer by overtly stating the speaker's negative attitude through the use of expletives or by over-representing the reality or passing a negative evaluation that affects the hearer. An example of upgraders is in (32) and (33):

(32) Ss-T, 3rd ESO CLIL: Can you turn of the sound of the computer, *please*? It's making *a lot* of noise.

(33) Ss-Ss, 4th ESO CLIL: *Please* shut *the fuck* up. I am trying to study.

Students scarcely used upgraders (see Table 21; Figures 19&20). Results showed that these were anecdotally used with peers in the Ss-Ss situation by 4th year students (4.44%) and 2nd year students (3.22%), and in the Ss-T situation by one student only (2.43%).

Table 21. Upgraders-*Aggravating internal modifiers- CLIL levels (Ss-T & Ss-Ss)*

	Upgraders Ss-T			Upgraders Ss-Ss		
	Total N	F	%	Total N	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	54	0	0,00	51	0	0,00
2 nd ESO CLIL	58	0	0,00	62	2	3,22
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	1	2,43	41	0	0,00
4 th ESO CLIL	47	0	0,00	45	2	4,44

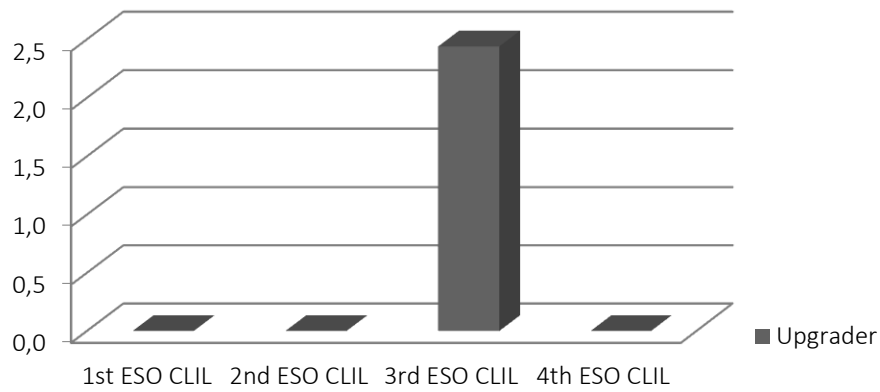


Figure 19. Upgraders-*Aggravating internal modifiers-CLIL levels (Ss-T)*

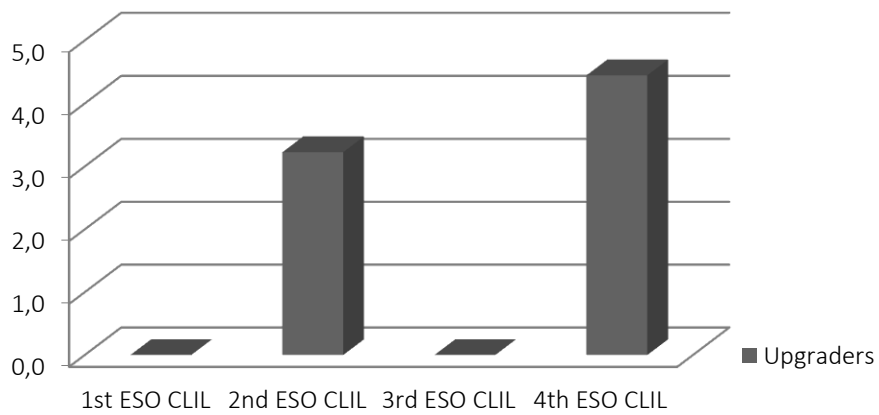


Figure 20. Upgraders- *Aggravating internal modifiers-CLIL levels (Ss-Ss)*

MAIN FINDINGS - AGGRAVATING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

Students hardly used upgraders on the overall and the few tokens that exist are mostly in the Ss-Ss situation. No patterns were established or significant differences were found.

5.1.6. AGGRAVATING STRATEGIES

Aggravating strategies were divided into two clusters: the first has commands (in the form of imperatives), obligation statements, and statements in which the speaker refers to the interlocutor as a source of annoyance in the head-act (HA-SOA/P). These are respectively exemplified in (34), (35) and (36).

(34) Ss-Ss, 2nd ESO (commands): *Turn off* the TV *please*?

(35) Ss-Ss, 2nd ESO (obligation statement): Tomorrow we have an important exam, you *must* sleep.

(36) Ss-T, 1st ESO (HA-SOA/P): *Please*, Geli (Teacher's name), can *you stop doing noise*, is very louder and I can't concentrated.

The second cluster is action-ceasing verbs, which request the hearer to stop an action taking place. An example of this type is in (37).

(37) Ss-T, 4th ESO (action-ceasing verb): *Please* teacher, *stop* tapping so hard the keyboard.

5.1.6.1. IMPERATIVES, OBLIGATION-STATEMENTS AND HA-SOA/P

In the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations, the use of obligation statements was nonexistent in CLIL students' requests except for 2 students in 2nd year who used obligation when addressing peers. Learners' use of SOA-P was

significantly higher when addressing the teacher than when addressing peers and the use of imperatives was significantly higher when addressing peers than when addressing teachers [Table A 6-Appendix A].

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 22; Figure 21), 1st year students used HA-SOA/P the least (29.63%) followed in percentage by 2nd year (50.00%), 4th year (57.45%) and 3rd year students (68.29%) who used it significantly more than the other students { $X^2 = 15.493$ ($p < 0.001$)} [Table A 6-Appendix A]. Their use of commands (imperatives) fluctuated in low percentages across levels; 2nd and 4th year students used imperatives the least (1.72%) and were followed in percentage by 1st year students (5.56%) then 3rd year students (57.45%).

Table 22. Aggravating strategies-CLIL levels (Ss-T situation)

Student Levels	Total N	HA-SOA/P		Imperatives		Obligation	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	54	16	29,63	3	5,56	0	0,00
2 nd ESO CLIL	58	29	50,00	1	1,72	0	0,00
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	28	68,29***	3	7,32	0	0,00
4 th ESO CLIL	47	27	57,45	1	2,13	0	0,00

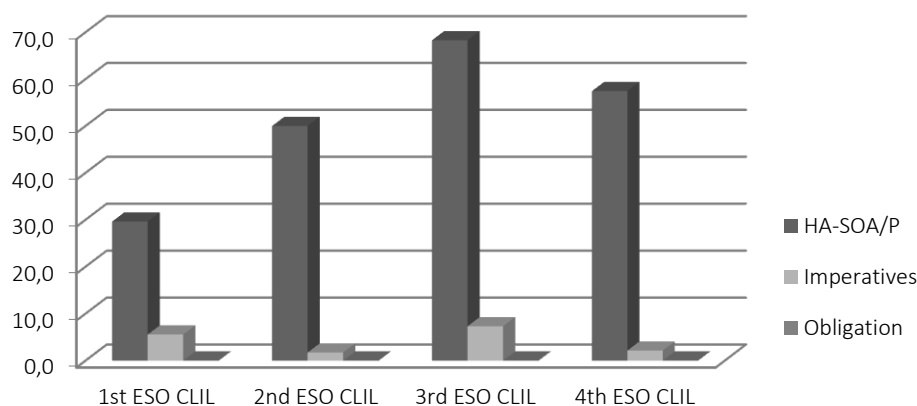


Figure 21. Aggravating strategies-CLIL levels (Ss-T situation)

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 23; Figure 22), 1st year students used HA-SOA/P the least (15.69%) followed in percentage by 3rd and 4th year students (26.83% and 26.67%) and finally by 2nd year students (35.48%) who used it the most. Their use of imperatives also fluctuated; 1st and 2nd year students used imperatives the least (25.49% and 22.58%), followed in percentage by 3rd and 4th year students (29.27% and 37.8%).

Table 23. Aggravating strategies-CLIL levels (Ss-Ss situation)

	Total N	HA-SOA/P		Imperatives		Obligation	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	51	8	15,69	13	25,49	0	0,00
2 nd ESO CLIL	62	22	35,48	14	22,58	2	3,23
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	11	26,83	12	29,27	0	0,00
4 th ESO CLIL	45	12	26,67	17	37,78	0	0,00

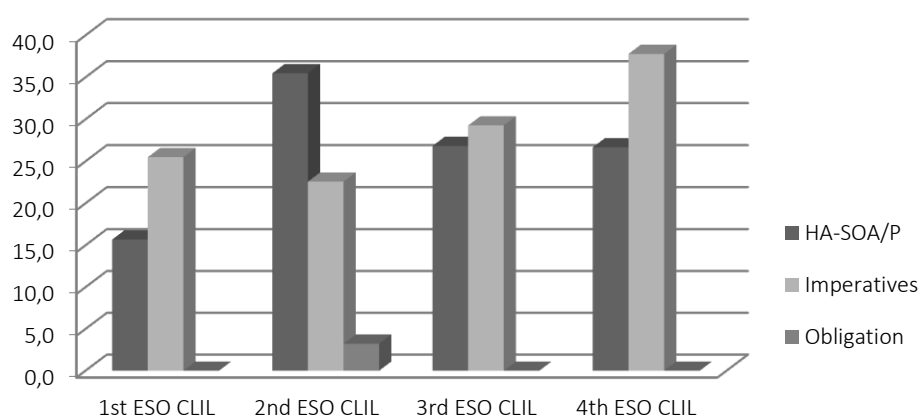


Figure 22. Aggravating strategies-CLIL levels (Ss-Ss situation)

MAIN FINDINGS-IMPERATIVES, OBLIGATION-STATEMENTS AND HA-SOA/P

In regards to aggravating strategies, 1) 3rd ESO CLIL students used HA-SOA/P significantly more in the Ss-T situation, and 2nd year CLIL students used them more in the Ss-Ss situation. 2) As for commands, students used them a few

times when addressing the teacher, but they were mostly used when addressing peers in the Ss-Ss situation, where 4th year and 3rd year students used them more than the other levels.

5.1.6.2. ACTION-CEASING VERBS

CLIL groups' results in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations showed that students used *stop* as an action-ceasing verb when addressing the teacher, mainly, and they used a variety of other action-ceasing verbs when addressing their peers (see Tables 24&25; Figures 23&24).

Table 24. Action-ceasing verbs-CLIL levels (Ss-T situation)

	Total N	Stop		Turn/Switch off		Shut up		Be quiet	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	54	29	53,70***	1	1,85	0	0,00	0	0,00
2 nd ESO CLIL	58	20	34,48	2	3,45	1	1,72	0	0,00
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	9	21,95	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
4 th ESO CLIL	47	18	38,30	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00

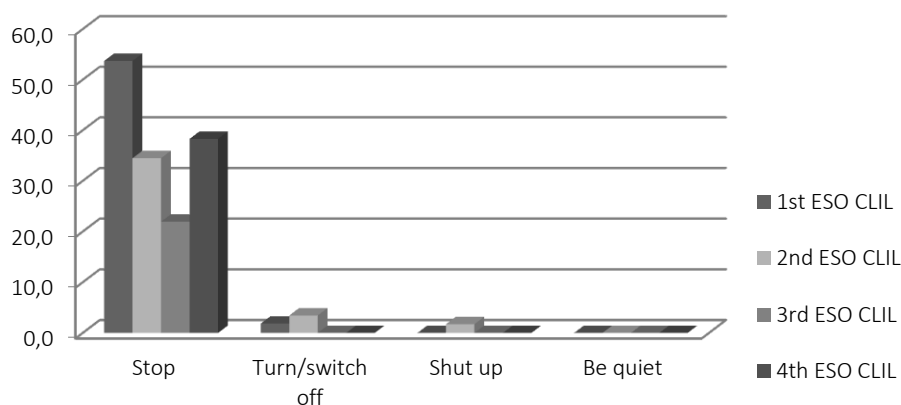


Figure 23. Action-ceasing verbs-CLIL levels (Ss-T situation)

Table 25. Action-ceasing verbs-CLIL levels (Ss-Ss situation)

Student Levels	Total N	Stop		Turn/Switch off		Shut up		Be quiet	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	51	10	19,61	5	9,80	3	5,88	9	17,65
2 nd ESO CLIL	62	8	12,90	6	9,68	5	8,06	2	3,23
3 rd ESO CLIL	41	1	2,44	11	26,83	3	7,32	3	7,32
4 th ESO CLIL	45	3	6,67	7	15,56	4	8,89	4	8,89

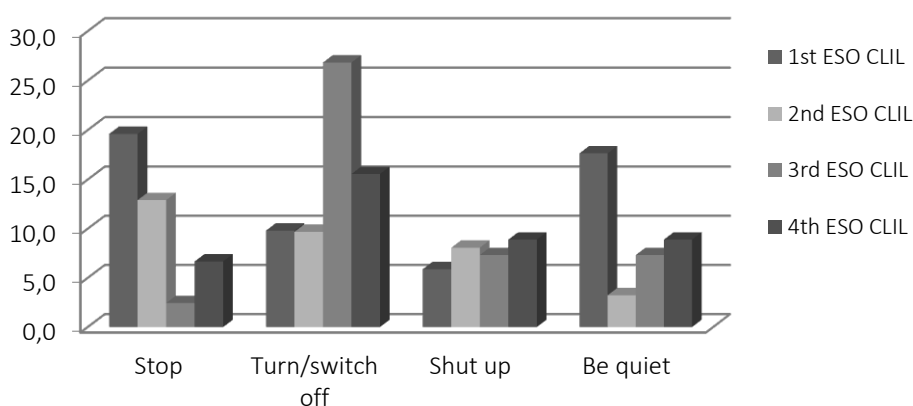


Figure 24. Action-ceasing verbs-CLIL levels (Ss-Ss situation)

When comparing students' use of *stop* in the Ss-T and the Ss-Ss situation (see Figures 23&24), 3rd year students used *stop* the least (21.95% and 2.44%) followed in percentage by 2nd year (34.48% and 12.90%) then 4th year (38.30% and 6.67%), and finally by 1st year students who used *Stop* the most (53.70% and 19.61%). Significant differences were found across levels in students' use of '*stop*' in the Ss-T situation, where 1st year students used it significantly more than the other levels { $X^2 = 10.441$ ($p < 0.015$)} [Table A 7-Appendix A].

Regarding the use of other action-ceasing verbs, which were mainly used when addressing peers in the Ss-Ss situation, 1st and 2nd year students used

turn/switch off the least (9.8% and 9.7%) followed in percentage by 4th year (15.56%) and then by 3rd year students, who used it the most (26.83%). The use of *shut up* was almost even across all four groups and ranged from 5.88% in the 1st year to 8.89% in the 4th year. However, 1st year students used *be quiet* the most (17.65%) followed in percentage by 4th year (8.89%) then 3rd year (7.32%) and finally by 2nd year students who used it the least (3.23%).

MAIN FINDINGS -ACTION-CEASING VERBS

The results in this subsection show that 1) learners' use of *stop* was the most dominant action-ceasing verb when addressing the teacher, whereas the other action-ceasing verbs were used more than '*stop*' when students addressed their peers. The reason why '*stop*' was used more in the Ss-T situation could be attributed to the limitations students had finding other verbs or formulae to express their wish that the teacher would type differently (quietly/softly). In the Ss-Ss situation however, they could choose from a number of verbs that are more accessible to them. These include verbs students frequently hear in the classroom, including '*be quiet*', '*turn/switch off*' or '*shut up*' (*callate* in Spanish), which according to Hickey (2005) could be used by the Spanish in a friendly manner. Students in 1st ESO used *Stop* significantly more than the other groups in the Ss-T. In both situations, however, the use of '*stop*' declines from 1st to 3rd ESO CLIL then slightly rises in 4th year students' requests. Students' reluctance to request that the interlocutor would be asked to stop an action s/he is performing decreases as the educational levels increase, and could be attributed

to students' heightened sense of sociality rights (Spencer-Oatey, 2000). A possible explanation why 3rd ESO CLIL students use 'stop' less than 4th ESO CLIL students could be attributed to the latter group being older and less compliant to show politeness when being imposed on.

5.1.7. RECEPTION TASK RESULTS (Multiple Choice DCT Ss-T and Ss-Ss).

Moving on to the reception task, the four options in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation were:

(A) *"I really needed to talk to you"*.
(Rated as politic)

(B) *"But we have an appointment. Please, I need to talk to you now"*.
(Rated as impolite)

(C) *"I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent"*.
(Rated as polite)

(D) *"I had to wait for this appointment I want to solve my problem too"*.
(Rated as rude)

When addressing the teacher in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation (see Table 26; Figure 25), the majority of students (49% to 56%) in all four levels chose choice (B) followed by choice (A) and then by choices (C) and (D).

Students' choice of (A)-politic request- shows a non-linear decline from 1st ESO to 4th ESO, and their choices of (B) and (D)-impolite and rude requests-shows a linear decline in the same direction. As for their choice of (C)-polite request-, it gradually increased from 1st ESO to 4th ESO where it was significantly higher than in the rest of the levels (28.30%) { $X^2 = 9.892$ ($p < 0.019$)} [Table A 8-Appendix A]

Table 26. The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation – CLIL levels

	Total N	Politic A		Impolite B		Polite C		Rude D	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	66	14	21,21	37	56,06	6	9,09	9	13,64
2 nd ESO CLIL	65	18	27,69	35	53,85	7	10,77	5	7,69
3 rd ESO CLIL	44	11	25,00	23	52,27	7	15,91	3	6,82
4 th ESO CLIL	53	11	20,75	26	49,06	15	28,30*	1	1,89

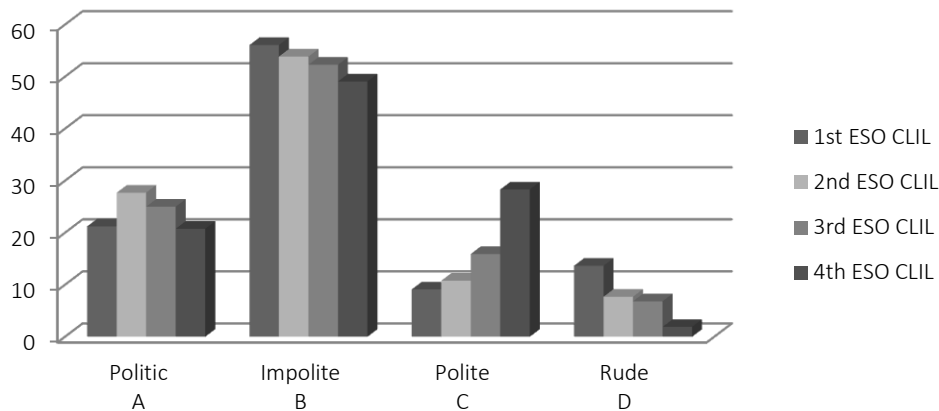


Figure 25. The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation – CLIL levels

As for the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation, choices A to C were rated as polite and choice D to F were rated as impolite. The six options were:

- (A) *“It seems that we will have to organize the room ourselves including the bathroom because our tuition does not cover having a helper”.*
- (B) *“I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom”.*
- (C) *“I will buy you lunch If you promise to organize the bathroom”.*
- (D) *“You really must organize that bathroom.”*
- (E) *“Look, ‘could’ you clear your things out of the bathroom?”*
- (F) *“If you are always so messy, you’ll have to find another roommate”.*

When addressing peers in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation, students across the four levels seemed split between polite and impolite requests (see Table 27; Figure 26). Learners in 1st ESO CLIL had selected more request options from among choices (D) to (F)-impolite, whereas slightly more learners in 4th ESO CLIL had selected more request options from among choices (A) to (C)-polite. From choices (A) to (C), the most selected request structure across CLIL levels was (B), and the most selected from choices (D) to (F) was I. The analysis showed a semi-gradual increase in the number of students who favored request (B) from 1st ESO CLIL (18.1%) to 4th ESO CLIL (35.8%) and vice versa in the case of request I, with a decreasing frequency of use from 1st ESO CLIL (34.8%) to 4th ESO CLIL (16.9%).

Table 27. *The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation – CLIL levels*

	Total N	<u>Polite A</u>		<u>Polite B</u>		<u>Polite C</u>		<u>Impolite D</u>		<u>Impolite E</u>		<u>Impolite F</u>	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1 st ESO CLIL	66	12	18,18	12	18,18	5	7,58	10	15,15	23	34,85	4	6,06
2 nd ESO CLIL	65	7	10,77	19	29,23	1	1,54	8	12,31	18	27,69	12	18,46
3 rd ESO CLIL	44	10	22,73	12	27,27	1	2,27	3	6,82	13	29,55	5	11,36
4 th ESO CLIL	53	10	18,87	19	35,85	4	7,55	7	13,21	9	16,98	4	7,55

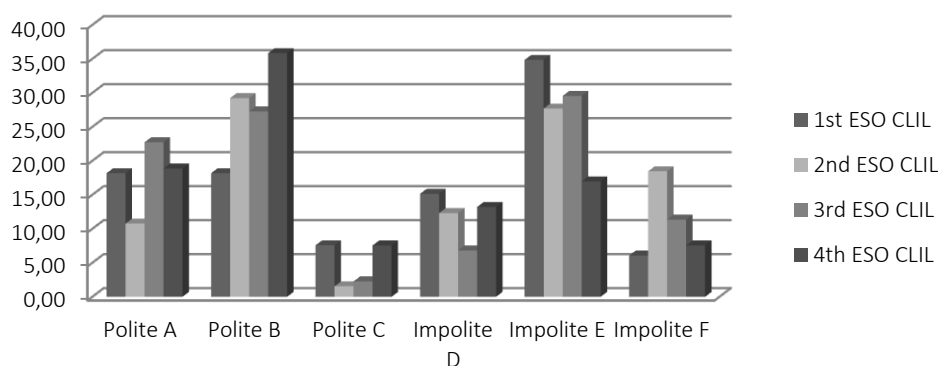


Figure 26. *The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation – CLIL levels.*

SECTION SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The results have shown that for **softening external modifiers**, 4th ESO CLIL students' use of non-implicating grounders (non-specific and OBJ-SOA grounders) was higher in percentage than in the other levels. Students in 4th ESO CLIL used more OBJ-SOA grounders when addressing the teacher than in the other levels and significantly more non-specific grounders when addressing peers. As previously explained, referring to an object in the grounder as the source of annoyance is more indicative that the speaker wishes to avoid mentioning the interlocutor and implicates an object instead of implicating the hearer. Therefore, 4th ESO CLIL students' higher use of OBJ-SOA could be regarded as a potential sign of pragmatic awareness. Also, though the use of cost minimizers was generally trivial in all four levels, 4th ESO CLIL was the only level to use this modifier in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations (Ss-T and Ss-Ss).

Moving to **softening internal modifiers**, which again were trivially used, 4th ESO CLIL students used these the most in comparison to the other three levels and slightly varied their use from one situation to the other; they used more downtoners with the teacher and more understatements with peers. The tendency to vary the use of modifiers was not detected in other levels and could be a sign of pragmatic development if compared to students' tendency in the lower ESO CLIL levels to show preference for one or two main formulas (*mid-please* and understatements), as in Andersen's (1984) one-to-one principle by which learners map one form to one function. Downtoners carry uncertainty

which gives the interlocutor the benefit of non-compliance whereas understatements do not. They mainly downplay the request. Though no significant differences were found between students' use of downtoners and understatements, 4th ESO CLIL students' preference to downplay their requests with peers using understatements and give the teacher the benefit of declining their request by using downtoners, could mean that they are on their way to acquiring different polite requests that vary with the context. Examples of downtoners and understaters are in (38) and (39).

(38) Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL (downtoners):

- Excuse me sir...can you *try* to make no noise *please*?

(39) Ss-Ss, 4th ESO CLIL (understaters):

- Can you switch off the television *only today*?
- *Please* can you shut up *a little*?

Learners' use of understatements and downtoners seemed to increase from 1st ESO CLIL to 4th ESO CLIL, whereas their use of *mid-please* did not. It is possible that students abandon the use of *please* as a conventional politeness marker, typical in ELT textbooks, and slowly acquire more unconventional formulas with understatements and downtoners and without letting go of their overuse of initial and final *please*.

As for **softening strategies**, students in 4th ESO CLIL used '*could*' significantly more than the students in the other CLIL levels in both situations, and used '*can*' significantly less in the Ss-Ss situation. The use of '*could*' may be a sign of

trying to be more formal, and therefore, more polite as generally instructed in ELT books. Though 4th ESO CLIL students were significantly better at discerning that 'could' is more appropriate when addressing a superior (a teacher), more students in all CLIL levels used 'can' more than 'could' with the teacher. This shows that the majority of students, especially in 1st to 3rd ESO CLIL, are still in the initial levels of pragmatic development (Félix-Brasdefer, 2007). Worthy to note that Whittaker & Llinares (2009 In Ruiz de Zarobe & Jiménez Catalán) found that lower level CLIL students (1st and 2nd ESO CLIL) used 'can' almost always to express ability, probability and permission in CLIL classroom discourse. Based on the performance of students presented in this section, 4th ESO CLIL students come across as slightly more pragmatically sensitive than their peers within the other CLIL levels.

Despite 4th ESO students' higher use of the above discussed softeners, they counter-effectively used request aggravators more than the learners in the other groups. As for **marked *please* and aggravating external modifiers**, significant statistical differences were found between groups in the use of SOA-P grounders, which were more frequent in 2nd and in 4th ESO students' requests. This means that while some of the learners in 4th ESO CLIL demonstrated their ability to avoid implicating the hearer as a source of annoyance and mentioned an object instead, another group of students within this level did exactly the opposite and aggravated their requests by implicating the interlocutor (the teacher) as a source of annoyance. Also, 4th ESO CLIL learners' requests were as

urgent and emotionally loaded as those of the learners in 1st ESO CLIL, who used *initial-please* more than the other two levels (2nd and 3rd ESO CLIL). This means that students' avoidance of *initial-please* does not improve in the highest CLIL educational level. It is very possible that students used *initial-please* for different functions, as a request marker or plea (Sato, 2008; Wooton, 2005) and an alerter 'excuse me' (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2005), which could explain its general high frequency of occurrence. Though Spanish learners of English can surely identify *please* as a politeness marker (as instructed in ELT books and similar to 'por 181ehavi' in Spanish), they seem to insert it where convenient in the request without considering its position. According to Barron (2003:249), students employ *please* as a request marker in their early levels of acquisition, and as a politeness marker in later levels of acquisition when they embed *please* more within the request structure (Barron, 2003:52,249). Accordingly, it can be concluded that ESO CLIL learners in this study are in the early levels of acquiring the use of *please*. The apparent decline in the use of *initial-please* seen in 2nd ESO CLIL implies a provisional improvement in students' avoidance of *initial-please* in this education level which does not last.

Finally, learners in 2nd ESO CLIL showed higher frequencies in their use of *final-please* when compared to other ESO CLIL levels when addressing the teacher. This seems to be more in line with textbook instruction regarding the use of *please* in final sentence position or mid position, never in initial position (Salazar Campillo, 2007).

As for **aggravating internal modifiers** (upgraders), 4th ESO CLIL students used them the most when addressing peers though no significant differences were found. In the area of **aggravating request strategies**, significant differences were found in learners' use of *HA-SOA/P*, which was used significantly more by 3rd ESO CLIL students when addressing the teacher. As for the action-ceasing verb '*Stop*', it was used significantly more by 1st ESO CLIL students in the Ss-T situation possibly because students did not have other linguistic means to ask the teacher to type more softly.

Linear and non-linear changes across education levels within the CLIL program offer some interesting insights about the progress in learners' acquisition of certain pragmatic features and their lapse in others. CLIL students' use of non-implicating grounders showed a linear progress from 1st to 4th ESO as explained before in section 5.1. Also, learners' use of intrasentential-*please* with peers declined non-linearly, while their use of understatements rose linearly. Despite the low frequencies in the overall use of these latter modifiers, this trend suggests that learners may be on their way to substituting the few tokens of *mid-please*, as a common politeness marker, for understatements as a type of softening internal modifier as they advance in education levels. The decrease in students' use of *mid-please* in the higher levels (4th ESO CLIL) when compared to the lower educational levels (2nd ESO CLIL in the Ss-T situation and 1st and 2nd ESO CLIL in the Ss-Ss situation) suggests that the use of *mid-please* is not necessarily more syntactically complex for the lower levels as previously

suggested by Barron (2003:149). In addition, learners in regular 4th ESO used *mid-please* somewhat more than the 4th ESO CLIL. Since no significant differences across levels were found in regards to the use of *mid-please*, the question whether *mid-please* is more or less syntactically complex for the lower levels is not conclusive though *extrasentential-please* (sentence initial and sentence final *please*) was used more than *mid-please* by far.

Moving to the results obtained in the reception task, in **the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T)**, 4th ESO CLIL students seemed more pragmatically advanced in their ability to avoid the request that was rated as rude (D); the graphs show a decline in the rate of selection of choice D (rude) in the higher education levels when compared to the lower ones. At the same time 4th ESO CLIL students chose the polite option I significantly more than the other three levels. As for the other two choices in the MCDCT (Ss-T), the request structure most selected by CLIL students when addressing the teacher was choice (B)-“*But we have an appointment. Please, I need to talk to you now*” - which is a need statement that begins with *extrasentential-please* and a grounder placed after the conjunction ‘but’ that transforms the grounder into a statement of disappointment or an objection, and ends with a time condition that intensifies the imposition (rated as impolite). It is speculated that learners in the context of this study found the structures with *please* and grounders to be more appropriate and did not tend to pay attention to other factors that determine marked-ness and (im) politeness like the use of time conditions, the use of elements that denote objection, and

the position of *please* that matches students' performances in the production task (WDCT). The second most selected request structure was another need statement (*I really needed to talk to you*) with an intensifier (politic). The third most selected request structure (*I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent*) also included the past tense as a syntactic internal downgrader, and the understatement 'kind of' as part of the grounder (polite). It was noted that the students from the four education levels were similar in their first preference (B-impolite), favoring the use of *please* and grounders irrespective of possible aggravating factors as discussed before. Last, while none of the learners produced syntactic downgraders using the past tense in the WDCT production task, they selected them in the MCDCT reception task (in choices A-politic, B-impolite, and C-polite).

As for the results from the **Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss)** situation, no significant differences were found across education levels. However, the bar graphs show that students in 4th ESO CLIL selected the polite request structures the most. The most favored request structure, rated as polite was choice (B) - "*I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom*". It begins with a disarmer followed by a need statement with 'we', hence avoiding that the request be directed at the hearer alone. The other highly chosen request structure, rated as impolite (choice E - *Look, 'could' you clear your things out of the bathroom?*), begins with an alerter followed by a conventional indirect request strategy that is hearer-oriented. Students in 4th ESO CLIL chose this

strategy the least. The charts showed a linear rise from 1st to 4th ESO in regards to the polite response (B) and a linear decline in the same direction in regards to the impolite response I. It can therefore be concluded that in the absence of significant differences, learners in higher levels can show potential progress in regards to selecting softer requests that make use of disarmers. As neither disarmers nor alerters of this type appeared in the students' utterances in the production task, it can be suggested that students at higher levels can identify disarmers as softeners even if they are not comfortable producing them.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the significantly higher frequency of non-specific grounders and the generally higher use of OBJ-SOA grounders (external softening modifiers), downtoners and understatements (internal softening modifiers) in the requests of 4th ESO CLIL students suggests they are more developed in the use of these modifications. Students in 4th ESO CLIL also selected the polite option I – *"I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent"* in the Ss-T situation significantly more than the other levels. In addition, when using softening strategies, 4th ESO CLIL students used *can/could* better than their peers in the lower ESO CLIL levels: they used *can* significantly less when addressing the teacher and *could* significantly more than the other levels. However, more students in 4th ESO CLIL used '*can*' when addressing the teacher (19 students) than when addressing peers (17 students). This indicates that 4th ESO CLIL students are still struggling with varying the use of *can/could*, which is typical

of early levels of pragmatic development (Félix-Brasdefer, 2007). The same group, 4th ESO CLIL, used marked *please* in initial position as much as 1st ESO CLIL did when addressing the teacher, and they also used SOA-P grounders significantly more than the other CLIL levels. Using more softening as well as more aggravating requestive modifications strongly suggests that 4th ESO CLIL students have acquired more modification forms but in regards to pragmatics, they are using them randomly. The interpretation granted for this bipolarity is that the learners were able to incorporate request modifiers into their linguistic system without being aware of their sociopragmatic impact. As a result, they are able to make many moves to attend to the complexity of the production task, waffle their requests with forms they assume help them deliver the request the best possible way, but do not always succeed at coming across as polite. The pedagogical implications of these results will be discussed in the Discussion–Chapter 6.

The next section compares regular 4th ESO to 4th ESO CLIL.

5.2. DIFFERENCES IN THE PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE OF CLIL AND NON-CLIL STUDENTS' (4TH ESO CLIL AND REGULAR 4TH ESO)

The study posed four questions. This section answers the second research question of this study: whether there are differences in the pragmatic competence of students who are at the same educational level in the CLIL and Non-CLIL program (4th ESO CLIL and 4th ESO Non-CLIL in the regular mainstream, henceforth referred to as Regular 4th ESO).. As mentioned in the introduction, the results of the WDCT (production tasks) will be reviewed first, followed by the results of the MCDCT (reception tasks). Both the WDCT and the MCDCT results have two situations, one with a teacher (Ss-T) and another with students (Ss-Ss). Some examples of students' requests (reported as students wrote them) will be provided where needed

5.2.1. SOFTENING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

These are non-implicating grounders (non-specific and OBJ-SOA grounders), cost minimizers and external understatement. External understatement (...because you are *a little* noisy) were not found in the data of these two groups. Examples of non-specific grounders, OBJ-SOA grounders and cost minimizers are in examples (40) to (42) respectively.

(40) Ss-T, Regular 4th ESO (non-specific grounder): Sorry, *I can't concentrate in the exam*, can you stop *please*?

(41) Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL (SOA-OBJ grounder): Excuse me, could you *please* write more slowly? *The noise of the computer keys is getting on my nerves...*

(42) Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL (cost minimizer): *Please sir...., if you don't mind, Could you stop?*

In both the Ss-T and Ss-S situations, 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO students depended on the use of grounders more than they did on the rest of the modifiers within this category. Results show that both groups' used more grounders when addressing peers in the Ss-Ss situation than when addressing the teacher in the Ss-T situation (see Tables 28&29; Figures 27&28).

Regular 4th ESO students used non-specific grounders more than 4th ESO CLIL students in both situations (45.00% and 82.35% as opposed to 19.15% and 73.33%), and significant differences were found between both groups in the teacher situation { $X^2 = 4.772$ ($p < 0.028$)} [Table A 10-Appendix A].

Table 28. Softening external request modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-T situation)

	Total N	Non-Specific Grounders		Specific OBJ-SOA		Cost Minimizers.		EXT. Understatement.	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	9	19,15	9	19,15	1	2,13	0	0,00
4 th ESO Regular	20	9	45,00**	0	0,00	1	5,00	0	0,00

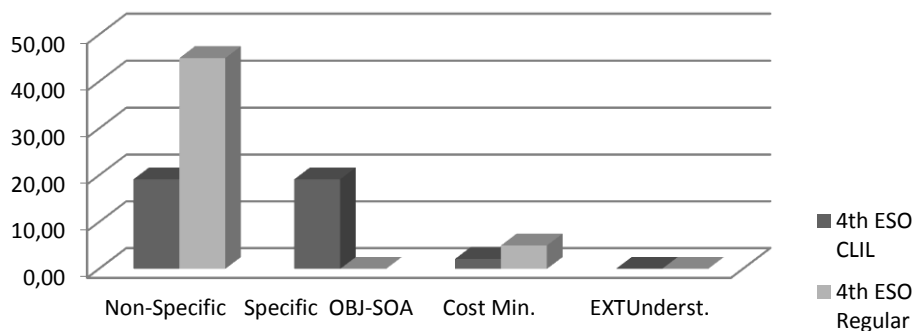


Figure 27. Softening external request modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-T situation).

Table 29. Softening external request modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-Ss situation)

	Total N	Non-Specific Grounders		Specific OBJ-SOA		Cost Minimizers.		EXT. Understatement	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	45	33	73,33	2	4,44	2	4,44	0	0,00
4 th ESO Regular	17	14	82,35	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00

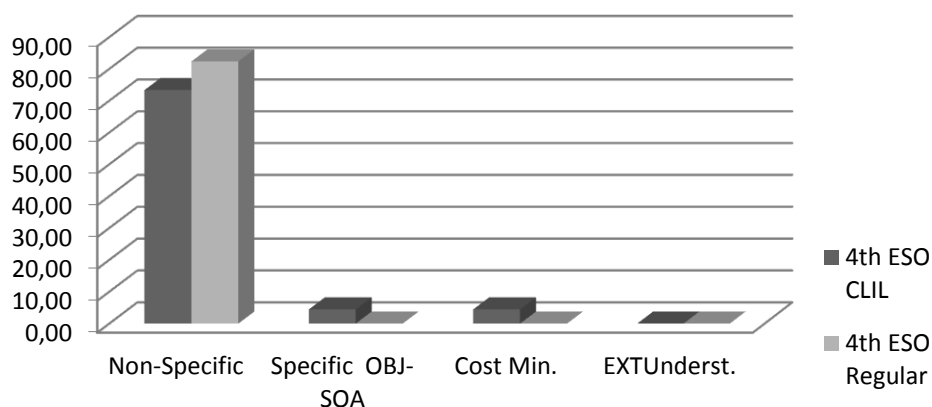


Figure 28. Softening external request modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-Ss situation)

As for OBJ-SOA grounders, 4th ESO CLIL students used them more than the regular group in both situations, with the teacher (19.15%) and with peers (4.44%).

Learners' use of cost minimizers appeared in very few requests in the situation with the teacher in both groups, but there were more incidents of use in regular 4th ESO than in 4th ESO CLIL (5.00% and 2.13%). In the situation with peers, cost minimizers were only employed by the CLIL students (4.44%). As mentioned before, no external understatements were found in the data of these two groups.

MAIN FINDINGS - SOFTENING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

The results in this subsection show that 1) Regular 4th ESO and 4th ESO CLIL were similar in that both groups depended on the use of grounders as an external modifier to soften their requests. As for differences, it was observed that 2) OBJ-SOA grounders and cost minimizers were exclusively used by 4th ESO CLIL in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations, and they used them more when addressing the teacher. In this sense, 4th ESO CLIL learners were clearly more able to avoid implicating the teacher as a SOA, which shows a more consciousness effort on the learners' part to save face. Also, cost minimizers were used by 4th ESO CLIL only. On the other hand, 3) students in 4th ESO Regular used significantly more non-specific grounders in the Ss-T situations than the CLIL group.

5.2.2. SOFTENING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

These are intrasentential *please* (*Please* in mid position), hedges, understatements, consultative devices (openers) and downtoners. Despite the low percentages of use of the latter categories, they were used in the requests of 4th ESO CLIL students in the Ss-T situations. Examples of these categories in the order of their mention above are in (43) to (47).

(43) Ss-Ss, Regular 4th ESO (mid *please*): Can you *please* speak lower and turn off the TV?

(44) Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL (hedges): *Please* can you *do something* to stop that noise.

(45) Ss-Ss, 4th ESO CLIL (understater): *Please* can you shut up *a little*? I have an important exam, thank you.

(46) Ss-T, Regular 4th ESO (consultative device): Sorry, *would you mind* typing softer?

(47) Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL (downtoner): Sorry sir, the noise of typing, doesn't let me to concentrate. Can you *try* to make no noise *please*.

Table 30. Softening internal request modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-T situation)

	Total N	Mid-Please		Hedging		Understatement		Consult. Dev.		Downtoners	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	2	4,26	1	2,13	1	2,13	1	2,13	3	6,38
4 th ESO Regular	20	1	5,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00

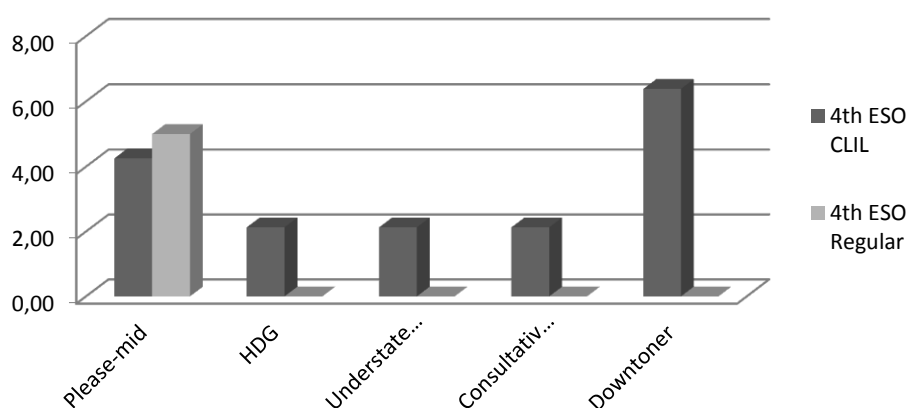


Figure 29. Softening internal request modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-T situation)

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 30; Figure 29) 4th ESO CLIL diversified their use of softening internal modifiers, where all the categories of the latter were used at a low percentage that ranged from 2.13% to 6.38%. In contrast, the regular group limited themselves to using intrasentential –*please*.

Again in the Ss-Ss situation, Regular 4th ESO limited itself to using intrasentential *please* whereas the CLIL group used the latter next to understatements and downtoners (see Table 31; Figure 30). No significant

differences were found between the two groups in their use of softening internal modifiers.

Table 31. Softening internal request modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-Ss situation)

	Total N	Mid-Please		Hedging		Understate.		Consult. Dev.		Downtoner ^s	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	45	2	4,40	0	0,00	3	6,67	0	0,00	1	2,22
4 th ESO Regular	17	1	5,88	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00

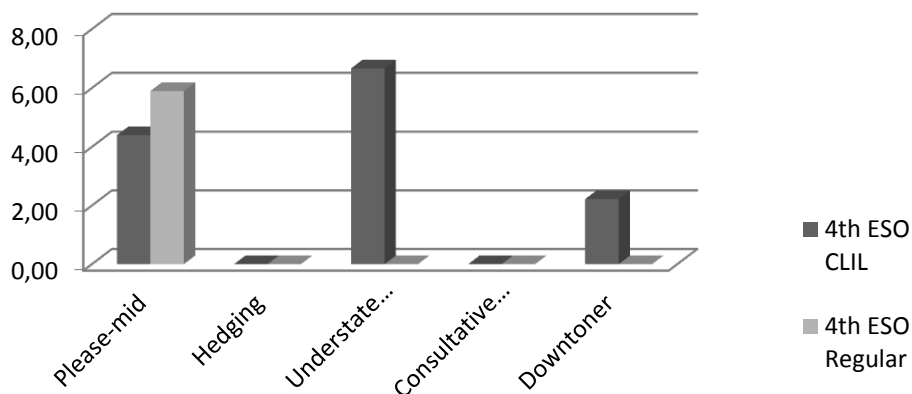


Figure 30. Softening internal request modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-Ss situation).

MAIN FINDINGS - SOFTENING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

The results in this subsection show that 1) though the percentage of use of intrasentential-*please* was very low in both 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO and no significant differences were found in regards to their use of *mid-please*, learners in the Regular group used it slightly more than in the CLIL group (to be noted that 1st ESO CLIL students used it more than 4th ESO CLIL students in section 5.1.2). This finding contradicts Barron (2003:149) suggestion regarding

mid-please being used less by students with lower level language proficiency due to *mid-please*' syntactic complexity. As explained before (p. 96), the CLIL students in this study received more hours of instruction in English through content subjects (social sciences), which is in line with Ruiz de Zarobe (2007), as well as through English language instruction (EFL); they have 5 hours of English per week, whereas non-CLIL ESO students have 3-4 hours only depending on the school year. Navés and Victori (2010) also claim that CLIL students often are a grade-level or two ahead of their non-CLIL counterparts. Therefore, it is not logical that higher proficiency students (4th ESO CLIL) would avoid placing *please* in mid-sentence position, while lower level proficiency students would use it more if *mid-please* were more syntactically complex. 2) Preference and ability to vary softening internal modifiers were noted in the requests of a few students in the CLIL group who used downtoners and understatements more than *mid-please*. In the situation with the teacher, CLIL students used more downtoners, and in the situation with peers they used more understatements. More regarding this point will follow later in the synthesis and discussion at the end of section 5.2.

5.2.3. SOFTENING STRATEGIES

Softening strategies in the range of unmarked to positively marked modifiers are formed by the preparatory conditions of ability (can, could). Examples of 'can' and 'could' are in examples (48) and (49).

(48)Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL: *Please* teacher, *could* you be less louder?

(49)Ss-T, Regular 4th ESO: Teacher, *please*, *can* you stop writing with the computer?

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 32; Figure 31) the CLIL group used '*could*' significantly more than the regular group (40.43% and 5%) { $X^2 = 7.485$ ($p < 0.006$)} and they used '*can*' significantly less (90.00% and 55.32%) { $X^2 = 8.408$ ($p < 0.003$)} [Table A 12-Appendix A].

In the Ss-Ss situation (Table 32; Figure 32), the CLIL group used '*can*' generally more than the regular group (37.77% and 35.29%) { $X^2 = 22$ ($p < 0.00$)} and '*could*' less (24.44% and 35.29%).

Table 32. Query preparatory conditions- 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations.

	Total N	Ss-T situation				Total N	Ss-Ss situation			
		Can		Could			Can		Could	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%		
4 th ESO CLIL	47	26	55,32***	19	40,43***	45	17	37,77	11	24,44
4 th ESO Regular	20	18	90,00	1	5,00	17	6	35,29	6	35,29

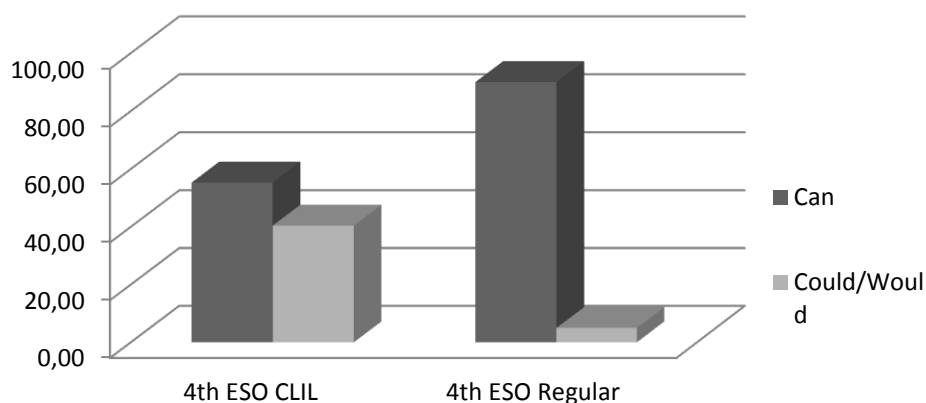


Figure 31. Query preparatory conditions- 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-T situation).

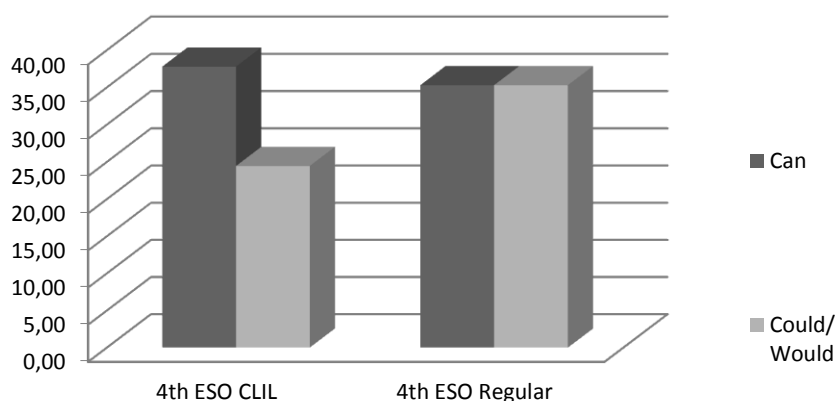


Figure 32. Query preparatory conditions– 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-Ss situation).

Also, when comparing students' use of 'can' across situations, it was observed that both groups of students (4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO) used it more when addressing the teacher than when addressing peers. For example, 55.32% of the CLIL students' requests in the Ss-T situation had 'can' as opposed to 37.77% in the Ss-Ss situation. Similarly, 90.00% of the regular mainstream students' requests in the Ss-T situation had 'can' as opposed to 35.29% in the Ss-Ss situation.

When students' use of 'can' and 'could' were grouped independently of the situation (see Table 33; Figure 33), 4th ESO CLIL students were found to use 'can' generally less than Regular 4th ESO students (39.56%:64.86%) and 'could' more (32.61%:18.92%).

Table 33. The use of 'can' and 'could' independently of the situation in 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO.

	Total N of students	Total N of requests	In Ss-T and Ss-Ss situation			
			Can		Could	
			F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	92	43	39,56	30	32,61
4 th ESO Regular	20	37	24	64,86	7	18,92

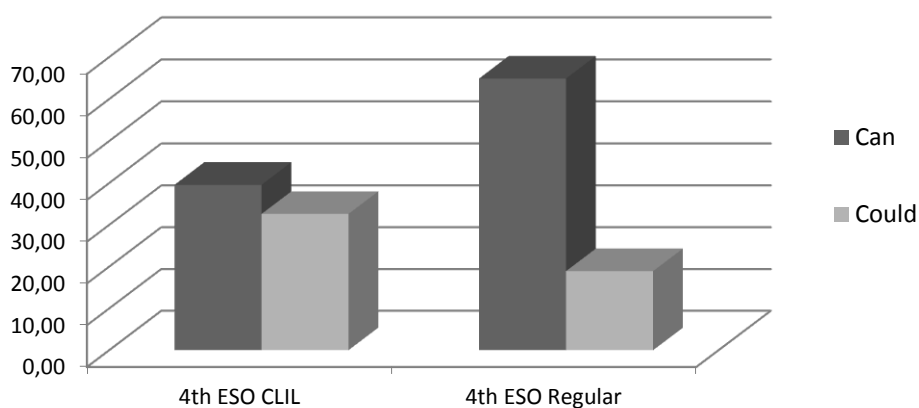


Figure 33. The use of 'can' and 'could' independently of the situation in 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO

MAIN FINDINGS - SOFTENING STRATEGIES

The results in this subsection show that 1) learners highly resorted to using preparatory conditions by using 'can' and 'could', in general. 2) Though both groups used 'can' more when addressing the teacher than when addressing their peers, indicating that many students in both groups did not vary their use of 'can' and 'could' when their interlocutor varied, CLIL students were better in this regard. Their use of 'could' was higher in frequency when addressing the teacher than when addressing peers. This means that the students in the CLIL group are more conform to what is taught regarding the use of 'could' in more formal and polite requests. This

observation was verified by the CLIL group's significantly higher use of 'could' and lower use of 'can' in the teacher situation in comparison to the regular group, indicating that 4th ESO CLIL could be more pragmatically developed in their use of 'can' and 'could'.

5.2.4. MARKED PLEASE AND AGGRAVATING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

This dimension is composed of extrasentential *please* that fronts and ends requests (sentence-initial and sentence-final), threats, and SOA-P grounders that implicate the hearer as a source of annoyance. Examples of sentence-initial, sentence-final, threats and SOA-P grounders are respectively in examples (50) to (53).

(50) Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL (sentence-initial *please*): **Please**, can you stop doing that noise? I can't concentrate myself if I listen to that noise.

(51) Ss-T, Regular 4th ESO (sentence-final *please*): Teacher can you stop with the computer **please**. I don't have very good concentration.

(52) Ss-Ss, 4th ESO CLIL (threats): Hey guys, tomorrow I have an important exam and I need to sleep. Ok? So **stop doing noise or I will switch off the tv**.

(53) Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL (SOA-P grounders): *Please* teacher can you stop using the computer **because you produce a very noise sound**.

Results showed that learners in the two groups, 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO, used extrasentential-*please* more than they used other modifiers within this category. Both groups varied the position of 'please' from one situation to the other (the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations), being sentence-initial and sentence-

final. In the Ss-T situation (see Table 34; Figure 34), 4th ESO CLIL students used *initial-please* more than the students in Regular 4th ESO than (57.4% to 50%) and they used *final-please* less than the regular group (19.1% to 35%). Students in 4th ESO CLIL students also used SOA-P grounders more than the students in Regular 4th ESO (21.28% to 5.00%). No threats were used when addressing the teacher.

Table 34. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers–4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-T situation).

	Total N	<u>Initial please</u>		<u>Final please</u>		<u>Threats</u>		<u>SOA-P Grounders</u>	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	27	57,4	9	19,1	0	0	10	21,28
4 th ESO Regular	20	10	50,0	7	35,0	0	0	1	5,00

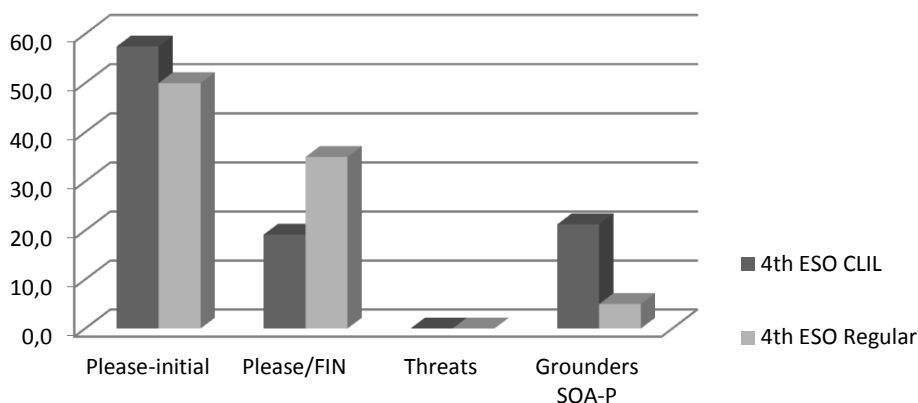


Figure 34. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers–4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-T situation).

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 35; Figure 35), 4th ESO CLIL students used *initial-please* and *final-please* less than the regular group (35.55 % to 41.20% and 20.00% to 35.30%). A few threats were found in the requests of CLIL students

(4.44%) when addressing their peers, whereas Regular 4th ESO students did not use them at all. As for using SOA-P grounders, CLIL students used them more than the regular group (2.22% to 5.88%) as well.

Table 35. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers-4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-Ss situation).

Student Levels	Total N	<u>Initial please</u>		<u>Final please</u>		<u>Threats</u>		<u>SOA-P Grounders</u>	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	45	16	35,55	9	20,00	2	4,44	1	2,22
4 th ESO Regular	17	7	41,20	6	35,30	0	0,00	1	5,88

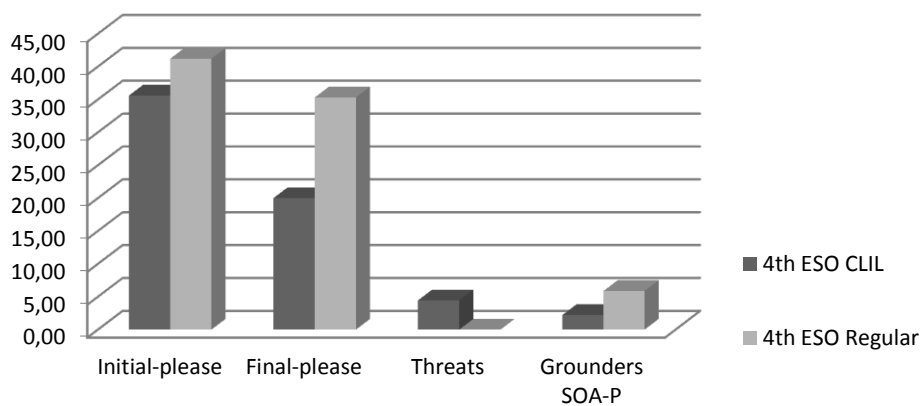


Figure 35. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers-4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-T situation).

MAIN FINDINGS - AGGRAVATING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

The results in this subsection show that 1) both groups used more *initial-please* than *final-please* in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations, yet 4th ESO CLIL used *initial-please* generally more than the regular group, and *final-please* more in the Ss-Ss situation. As explained before, *initial-please* is more emotional loaded and demanding, and hence more aggravating. This suggests that in comparison with Regular 4th ESO students, more 4th ESO CLIL students were urgent and emotional in their requests. There is no verified explanation why more

supposedly proficient students would use *please* in a more marked position, but possibilities are that these students are unaware that initial-*please* is more marked. Students who used initial-*please*, in general, could also have used it as a polite alerter instead of 'excuse me'. 2) In addition to using initial-*please* and final-*please* more, 4th ESO CLIL students used SOA-P grounders more, as well, when addressing the teacher in the Ss-T situation. This could be a subsequent result of the waffle-effect, where more capable students produce longer utterances to show off their linguistic ability and eventually slip up. 3) In the Ss-Ss situation, Regular 4th ESO used final-*please* more than 4th ESO CLIL, and 4th ESO CLIL used threats more than the regular group. Based on the above, 4th ESO CLIL could be said to have used more marked and aggravating request modifications in general; initial-*please* and SOA-P grounders when addressing the teacher, and threats when addressing peers.

5.2.5. AGGRAVATING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

This dimension includes the use of upgraders only, which increase the force of the request and aggravate the hearer by overtly stating the speaker's negative attitude through the use of expletives or by over-representing the reality or passing a negative evaluation that affects the hearer. An example of upgraders is in (54).

(54) Ss-Ss, 4th ESO CLIL: Sorry, I am trying to sleep but with the noise that you produce ^(it) *is impossible*, stop *please!*

Upgraders were used by a few students in 4th ESO CLIL (4.44%) in the Ss-Ss situation only (see Table 36; Figure 36).

Table 36. *Aggravating internal modifiers–4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations.*

	Upgraders Ss-T			Upgraders Ss-Ss		
	Total N	F	%	Total N	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	0	0,00	54	2	4,44
4 th ESO Regular	20	0	0,00	17	0	0,00

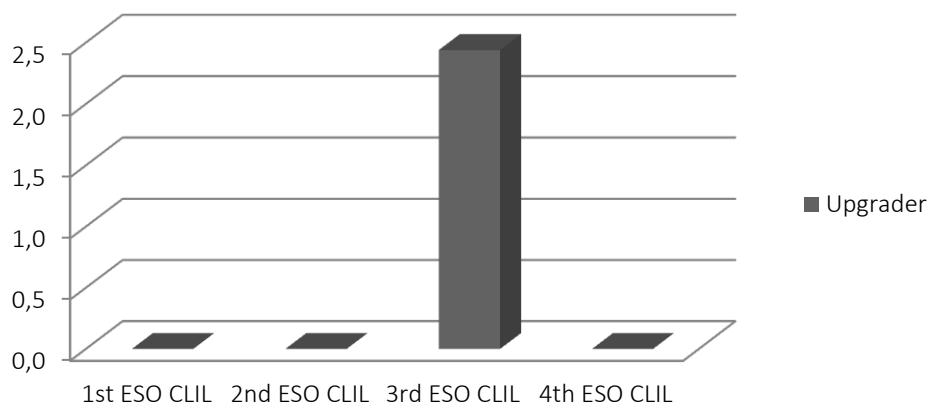


Figure 36. *Aggravating internal modifiers–4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations.*

MAIN FINDINGS - AGGRAVATING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

Only students in 4th ESO CLIL used upgraders in the Ss-Ss situation. Students' use of upgraders, whether intensifiers (the noise...is *impossible*) as in the example above or expletives (Shut *the fuck* up), could be students' way of showing off native-like outbursts.

5.2.6. AGGRAVATING STRATEGIES

Aggravating strategies were divided into two clusters (as explained in section 4.3.2). The first has commands (imperatives), obligation statements and statements in which the speaker refers to the interlocutor as a source of annoyance in the head-act (HA-SOA/P). Examples of HA-SOA/P are in (55), (56) and an example of a command (imperative) is in (57).

(55) Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL (HA-SOA/P): Teacher, *please* you can stop *making noise*?

(56) Ss-Ss, 4th ESO CLIL (HA-SOA/P): Could you *speak without shouting*? I have an important exam in the morning.

(57) Ss-Ss, 4th ESO CLIL (imperative): I have an important exam tomorrow, *please, don't talk too much louder* and ...

The second cluster has action-ceasing verbs, which forces the hearer to stop an action taking place. An example of this type is in (58).

(58) Ss-T, 4th ESO (action-ceasing verb): *Please*, could you *stop* typing words? That is a very annoying noise.

5.2.1.1. IMPERATIVES, OBLIGATION-STATEMENTS AND HA-SOA/P

The data showed that learners' use of HA-SOA/P was higher when addressing the teacher than when addressing peers and the use of imperatives was higher when addressing peers than when addressing teachers. The use of obligation statements was nonexistent in both groups, in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations.

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 37; Figure 37), 4th ESO CLIL students used HA-SOA/P significantly more than Regular 4th ESO students (57.45% to 20%) { $X^2 =$

7.913 ($p < 0.004$) [Table A 15-Appendix A], where HA-SOA/P was the highest of all used aggravation strategy in this situation. As for using imperatives, other than the action-ceasing verbs which are analyzed apart, their use was trivial and the CLIL group used them generally less than the regular group (2.13% to 5.00%), and obligation-statements were not used at all.

Table 37. Aggravating strategies–4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-T situation)

	Total N	HA-SOA/P		Imperatives		Obligation	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	27	57,45***	1	2,13	0	0,00
4 th ESO Regular	20	4	20,00	1	5,00	0	0,00

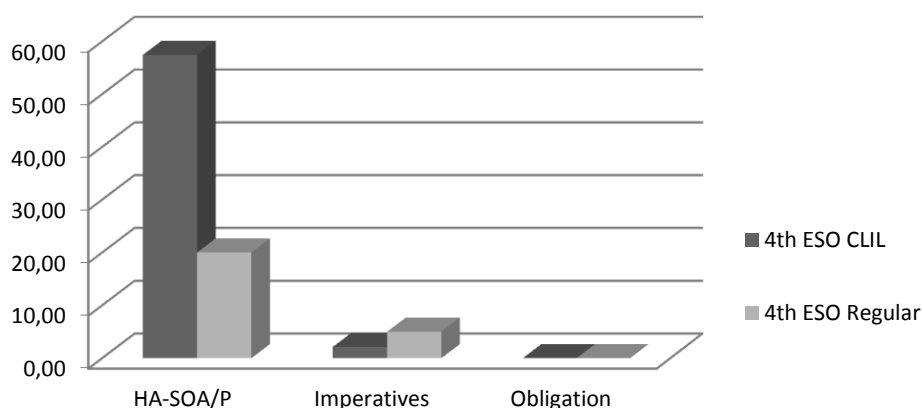


Figure 37. Aggravating strategies–4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-T situation)

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 38; Figure 38), 4th ESO CLIL students again used HA-SOA/P and imperatives more than Regular 4th ESO students (26.67% to 5.88%) and (37.78% to 17.65%), respectively. In both groups, however, the use of imperatives was the strategy most used by students in this situation.

Table 38. Aggravating strategies–4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-Ss situation)

	Total N	<u>HA-SOA/P</u>		<u>Imperatives</u>		<u>Obligation</u>	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	45	12	26,67	17	37,78	0	0,00
4 th ESO Regular	17	1	5,88	3	17,65	0	0,00

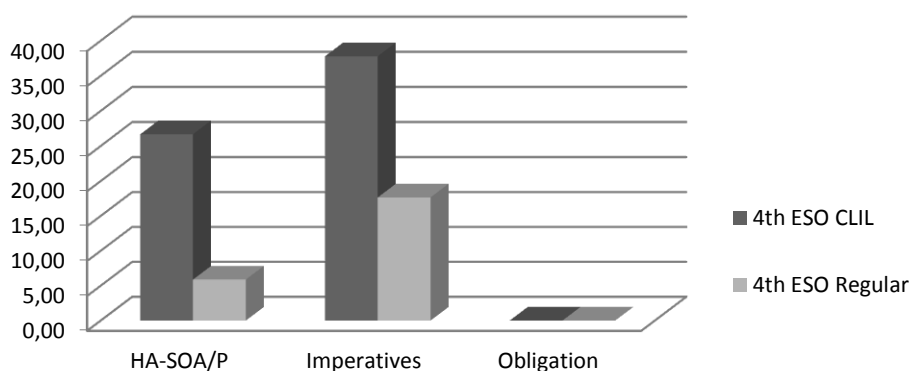


Figure 38. Aggravating strategies–4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-Ss situation)

MAIN FINDINGS - IMPERATIVES, OBLIGATION STATEMENTS, AND HA-SOA/P

The results in this subsection can be summarized as follows: 1) learners' requests showed higher referrals to HA-SOA/P when addressing the teacher than when addressing peers. This could be related to students' tendency to waffle their requests when addressing the teacher leading to pragmatic slip ups. 2) 4th ESO CLIL students employed *HA-SOA/P* significantly more than the regular group when addressing the teacher and the mood derivable imperatives generally more when addressing peers. The fact that students with higher exposure to English (CLIL group) use a significantly higher frequency of aggravating strategies, as seen before when 4th ESO CLIL was compared to the lower CLIL groups (in section 5.1.6), leads to suggest that students' confidence

in their linguistic ability may be unintentionally leading them to aggravating their utterance.

5.2.1.2. ACTION-CEASING VERBS

The results in both groups, 4th ESO regular and CLIL, showed that students mainly used *stop* as an action-ceasing verb when addressing the teacher, but used a variety of other action-ceasing verbs when addressing peers (see Table 39; Figures 40&41). In the Ss-T situation, students in 4th ESO CLIL used *stop* less than the students in Regular 4th ESO (38.30% to 60.00%). The CLIL group did not use any other verbs with the teacher in the Ss-T, whereas the regular group used *turn/switch off* minimally (5.00%).

In the Ss-Ss situation, 4th ESO CLIL students used *stop* and *turn/switch off* more than Regular 4th ESO students (6.67%: 0.00% and 15.56%: 0.00%), on the other hand, the CLIL group used *be quiet* and *shut up* less than the regular group (8.89%: 11.76% and 8.89%: 17.65%).

Table 39. Action-ceasing verbs (aggravating strategies)-CLIL levels (Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations)

Ss-T situation	Total N	<u>Stop</u>		<u>Turn/Switch off</u>		<u>Shut up</u>		<u>Be quiet</u>	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	18	38,30	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
4 th ESO Regular	20	12	60,00	1	5,00	0	0,00	0	0,00

Ss-Ss situation	Total N	F		%		F		%	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	45	3	6,67	7	15,56	4	8,89	4	8,89
4 th ESO Regular	17	0	0,00	0	0,00	3	17,65	2	11,76

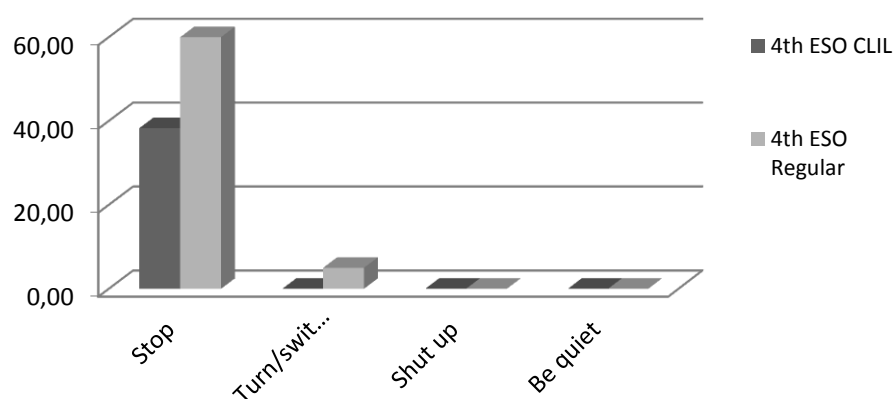


Figure 39. Action-ceasing verbs (aggravating strategies)-4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-T situation)

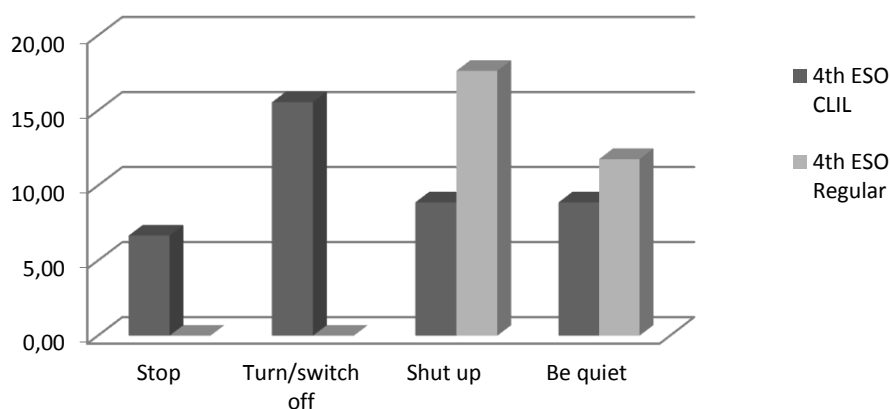


Figure 40. Action-ceasing verbs (aggravating strategies)-4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO (Ss-Ss situation).

MAIN FINDINGS - ACTION-CEASING VERBS

The results in this subsection show that 1) learners' use of *stop* in both groups was frequent when addressing the teacher in the Ss-T situation, which is less tactful given the higher status of their interlocutor. It was also noticed that learners' use of the other action-ceasing verbs was limited. This result could have been the effect of the prompts in the DCT; the difficulty of finding other

verbs or formulae to request that the teacher would type any differently (quietly or softly) could be the reason why learners resorted mainly to the use of *stop*. In contrast with peers in the Ss-Ss situation, they could choose from a wider range of verbs and expressions, often heard in the classroom as well, like *'be quiet'*, *'turn/switch off'* or *'shut up'* (*callate* in Spanish), which according to Hickey (2005) Spanish could use among each other in a friendly way. 2) Each group of students employed the action-ceasing verbs differently; students in 4th ESO CLIL imposed more with their use of *stop* and *turn/switch off* in their requests to peers, whereas Regular 4th ESO imposed more with their use of *be quiet* when addressing peers and *stop* when addressing the teacher.

5.2.7. RECEPTION TASK RESULTS (Multiple Choice DCT Ss-T and Ss-Ss)

Moving on to the reception tasks, the four options in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation were:

(A) *"I really needed to talk to you"*.
(Rated as politic)

(B) *"But we have an appointment. Please, I need to talk to you now"*.
(Rated as impolite)

(C) *"I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent"*.
(Rated as polite)

(D) *"I had to wait for this appointment I want to solve my problem too"*.
(Rated as rude)

When addressing the teacher in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation (Table 40; Figure 41), the majority of students in 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO (49% to 50%) selected choice (B)-impolite-followed by choices (A)-politic- and

(C)-polite then (D)-rude-. Students in 4th ESO CLIL selected choices (B)-impolite less and choice (C)-polite more than their peers in regular 4th ESO.

Table 40. *The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation – 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO*

	Total N	<u>Politic A</u>		<u>Impolite B</u>		<u>Polite C</u>		<u>Rude D</u>	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	53	11	20,75	26	49,06	15	28,30	1	1,89
4 th ESO Regular	26	8	30,77	13	50,00	4	15,38	1	3,85

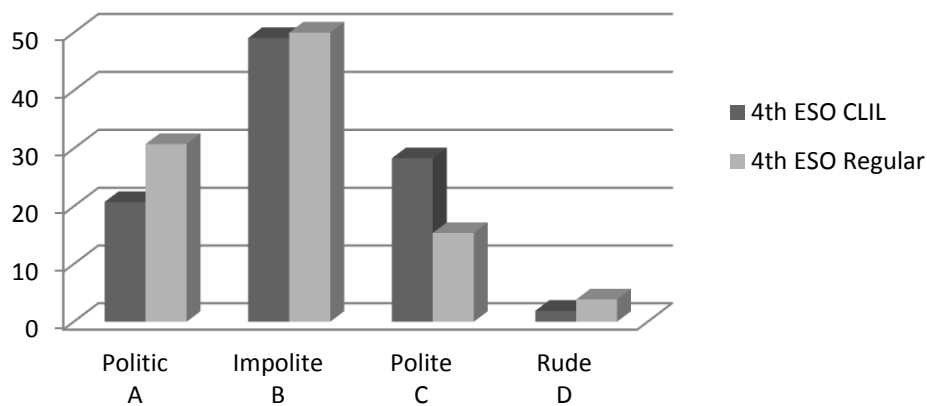


Figure 41. *The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation – 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO.*

As for the Multiple Choice DCT in the Ss-Ss situation, choices A to C were rated as polite and choice D to F were rated as impolite. The six options were:

(A) *“It seems that we will have to organize the room ourselves including the bathroom because our tuition does not cover having a helper”.*

(B) *“I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom”.*

(C) *“I will buy you lunch If you promise to organize the bathroom”.*

(D) *“You really must organize that bathroom.”*

(E) “Look, ‘could’ you clear your things out of the bathroom?”

(F) “If you are always so messy, you’ll have to find another roommate”.

When addressing peers in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation (Table 41; Figure 42), learners showed a general tendency towards choice (B), earlier classified as polite request by the raters, which was selected the most by 4th ESO CLIL learners (35.85%). Choices (A)-polite- followed by I and (F)-impolite-were the next most selected request structures.

Table 41. *The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation – 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO*

	Total N	Polite A		Polite B		Polite C		Impolite D		Impolite E		Impolite F	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	53	10	18,87	19	35,85	4	7,55	7	13,21	9	16,98	4	7,55
4 th ESO Regular	26	5	19,23	8	30,77	2	7,69	3	11,54	3	11,54	5	19,23

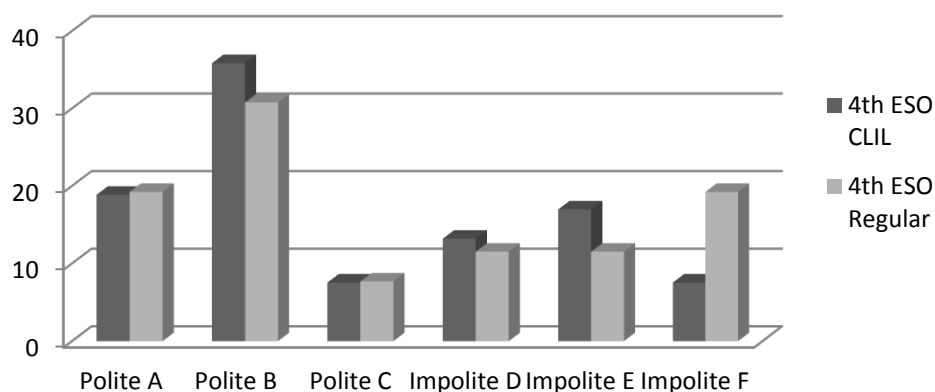


Figure 42. *The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation – 4th ESO CLIL vs. Regular 4th ESO.*

When choosing from among the requests rated as impolite, learners in 4th ESO CLIL seemed more in favor of choice I, which has an alerter, followed by a

conventional indirect request, whereas Regular 4th ESO seemed more in favor of choice (F), which is a threat. Considering all the previous, 4th ESO CLIL students are able to use polite structures better even when choosing from among impolite forms as in the case of choices I and (F), given they avoided the threat structure more than the regular mainstream group.

SECTION SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The results have shown that in regards to **softening external modifiers**, Regular 4th ESO did not show any attempts to use OBJ-SOA grounders in either of the two situations (Ss-T and Ss-Ss), unlike 4th ESO CLIL learners who noticeably used them when addressing the teacher. This implies that 4th ESO CLIL learners might have consciously avoided implicating the teacher as a source of annoyance and therefore are more pragmatically developed in this sense.

With respect to **softening internal modifiers**, they were noted in the requests of a few students in 4th ESO CLIL who diversified their use of these modifiers though in very low percentages; more students in the CLIL group used downtoners instead of intrasentential-*please* with the teacher (Ss-T) and understatements with peers (Ss-Ss), and Regular 4th ESO students used intrasentential-*please* only. Downtoners (*maybe, perhaps, try to*) imply uncertainty which gives the interlocutor the benefit of non-compliance, whereas

understatements downplay the request. Examples of downtoners and understatements are in (59) and (60).

(59) Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL (downtoners): Teacher, you are doing too much noise, could you *try to* avoid that, *please*?

(60) Ss-Ss, 4th ESO CLIL (understatements): Can you switch off the television *only today*?

Though no significant differences were found between students' use of downtoners and understatements, students' preference to downplay their requests with peers using understatements and giving the teacher the benefit of declining their request by using downtoners could mean that the CLIL students are on their way to acquiring different polite requests that vary with the context. In contrast, this tendency to vary modifiers was not detected in the requests of Regular 4th ESO. Based on Andersen's (1984) one-to-one principle, students who map one form to one function and adhere to one formula irrespective of the situation are less pragmatically developed than those who do not. Therefore, seeing more variations by situation in the modifiers used by 4th ESO CLIL students is taken to be a sign of pragmatic development.

Again, no statistical differences were found between 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO in their use of intrasentential-*please*; moreover, intrasentential-*please* was found somewhat more in the requests of Regular 4th ESO than in the CLIL group. This finding contradicts Barron (2003:149) suggestion regarding *mid-please* being used less by students with lower level language proficiency due to

mid-please' syntactic complexity. As explained before (p. 96), the CLIL students in this study received more hours of instruction in English through content subjects (social sciences), which is in line with Ruiz de Zarobe (2007), as well as through English language instruction (EFL); they have 5 hours of English per week, whereas non-CLIL ESO students have 3-4 hours only depending on the school year. Navés and Victori (2010) also claim that CLIL students often are a grade-level or two ahead of their non-CLIL counterparts. Therefore, it is not logical that higher proficiency students (4th ESO CLIL) would avoid placing *please* in mid-sentence position, while lower level proficiency students would use it more if *mid-please* were more syntactically complex. It is possible that students in this study are simply unaware of the impact of *please* in different positions.

As for **softening request strategies**, the CLIL group in comparison to the regular group seemed to conform to textbook input regarding the use of '*could*' in more formal and polite conventional indirect requests; they used '*could*' significantly more with the teacher (Ss-T situation) than with peers (Sss-Ss situation) unlike the students in the regular group. Most regular 4th ESO students used '*can*' when addressing the teacher and used '*could*' more when addressing peers. In this sense, 4th ESO CLIL students show more pragmatic conformity.

In regards to **marked *please* and aggravating external modifiers**, 4th ESO CLIL students used more SOA-P grounders and initial-*please* when addressing the

teacher than regular 4th ESO students did. As for **aggravating internal modifiers** (upgraders), 4th ESO CLIL used them more than Regular 4th ESO with peers (Ss-Ss situation). Moving to **aggravating strategies**, 4th ESO CLIL used more commands (imperatives) with peers and more HA-SOA/P with both the teacher and peers (Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations).

Based on the above, the requests of 4th ESO CLIL point to a duality or bipolarity in their pragmatic behavior as a result of their puffing up their single requests with a mix of modifiers that soften and aggravate.

With respect to the results from the **Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T)**, 4th ESO CLIL selected choices (B)-impolite less than Regular 4th ESO and (C)-polite more. As for the **Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss)** situation, one of the main observations is that both groups favored choice (B)-polite, but 4th ESO CLIL students selected it more. In regards to other selections, 4th ESO CLIL favored request I (*Look, 'could' you clear your things out of the bathroom?*), whereas regular 4th ESO favored request (F) (*If you are always so messy, you'll have to find another roommate*) though no significant differences were found. Both choices (E and F) were rated as impolite by the raters; I is an indirect request strategy that has an alerter and (F) is a direct threat that has a syntactic *if*-statement. When responding to the WDCT (production tasks), *if*-statements were generally used by very few CLIL students when using threats (*if you don't, ...I'll call the police*) and cost minimizers (*I have an important exam tomorrow, please, don't talk too much louder and if you can switch off the television*). This could be an indication that students are not

comfortable structuring *if-statements* and could have avoided them in the production task.

CONCLUSION

The main conclusion drawn from the results presented in this section is that learners in 4th ESO CLIL students used more softening request modifiers but also more aggravating modifiers than Regular 4th ESO students. For example, learners in 4th ESO CLIL used more request softeners like cost minimizers, understatements and downtoners, and avoided referring to the hearer as a source of annoyance by referring to an instrument in their grounders (OBJ-SOA), which Regular 4th ESO did not use. However, the CLIL group used more marked modifiers like initial-*please* and request aggravators like threats (though a few), commands, and significantly referred to the hearer as a source of annoyance in the headact (HA-SOA/P) and in the grounders (SOA-P). There are instances where students use softeners and aggravators co-jointly in the same utterance; to clarify see the example below.

Example: Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL: Sorry sir, the noise of typing, doesn't let me to concentrate. Can you try to make no noise *please*?

In the example above, the phrase 'the noise of typing' is an attempt to avoid saying "the noise of your typing" which skirts the interlocutor to avoid referring to the latter as the source of annoyance. On the other hand, the headact "*can you (try) to make no noise*" states that that the interlocutor is the source of noise and neutralizes the earlier well-intended request justification.

This headact was, therefore, classified as HA-SOA/P. However, the requester uses 'try' which downtones the request.

To conclude, 4th ESO CLIL's utterances combine softeners and aggravators that may lead to a dual pragmatic effect on the hearer. This observation which the researcher refers to as *pragmatic bipolarity* is a reflection of students' oscillation between positive and negative pragmatic behaviors. This observed effect is in line with Bardovi-Harlig (2013) regarding the inability of some language learners with fuller repertoires to use their language resources for pragmatic purposes. The need for instructional intervention will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

The next section compares students' pragmatic competence across regular mainstream levels (4th ESO to 2nd Bachillerato).

5.3. DIFFERENCES IN THE PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE OF REGULAR EDUCATIONAL LEVELS (4TH ESO to 2ND BACHILLERATO)

The study posed four questions. This section answers the third question as to whether there are traces of pragmatic development in the pragmatic competence of students in different levels in mainstream Spanish national program from 4th ESO to 2nd Bachillerato. The researcher opted for those levels (4th ESO through 2nd Bachillerato) instead of the earlier levels (1st ESO to 4th ESO) for two reasons as mentioned in 3.2: (a) it was calculated that CLIL students receive an average of 100 hours of additional exposure to English through content subjects in the CLIL program (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2007), which puts the non-CLIL groups at a disadvantage when being contrasted; in addition (b) CLIL students are claimed to often be a grade level or two ahead of their non-CLIL counterparts (Navés and Victori, 2010). Therefore, it was best to select higher levels in the non-CLIL program.

As mentioned in the introduction, the results of the WDCT (production tasks) will be reviewed first, followed by the results of the MCDCT (reception tasks). Both the WDCT and the MCDCT results have two situations, one with a teacher (Ss-T) and another with students (Ss-Ss). Some examples of students' requests will be provided where needed in the following sections (reported as students wrote them).

5.3.1. SOFTENING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

These are non-implicating grounders (non-specific and OBJ-SOA grounders), cost minimizers and external understatements. External understatements were not found in the data of these two groups.

The analysis of the results showed that all three groups depended on the use of grounders more than they did on the rest of the modifiers within this category, and their percentage of use varied from one situation to the other (Ss-T and Ss-Ss). Examples of non-specific grounders, OBJ-SOA grounders and cost minimizers are in examples (61) to (63) respectively.

- (61) Ss-Ss, 2nd Bac (non-specific grounders): Could you stand down the volume of the TV. *Tomorrow I have an important exam and I have to study all the night.*
- (62) Ss-T, 1st Bac (OBJ-SOA grounders): Teacher, *I can't concentrate with the noisy of the computer.* Can you stop please?
- (63) Ss-T, 1st Bac (cost minimizer): Excuse me, could you stop doing that noise, It would be good for me to concentrate, *please? If it's not annoying for you.*

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 42; Figure 43), Regular 4th ESO students used non-specific grounders (45%) the most, followed in percentage by 1st Bac. (36%) then 2nd Bac (32.56%). As for OBJ-SOA grounders, 1st and 2nd Bac. (14% and 13.95%) used them more than Regular 4th ESO learners, who in turn did not use them at all. Learners' use of cost minimizers was trivial, and they appeared only in very few requests of the requests in Regular 4th ESO (5%) and 1st Bac. (2%). External understatements did not appear in students requests in this situation.

Table 42. Softening external request modifiers – Regular groups (Ss-T and Ss-Ss situation).

Ss-T situation	Total N	Non-Specific Grounders		OBJ-SOA Grounders		Cost Minimizer		Ext. Understatements	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	20	9	45,00	0	0,00	1	5,00	0	0,00
1 st Bachillerato	50	18	36,00	7	14,00	1	2,00	0	0,00
2 nd Bachillerato	43	14	32,56	6	13,95	0	0,00	0	0,00
Ss-Ss situation	Total N	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	17	14	82,35**	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
1 st Bachillerato	50	26	52,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
2 nd Bachillerato	44	33	75,00	0	0,00	1	2,27	0	0,00

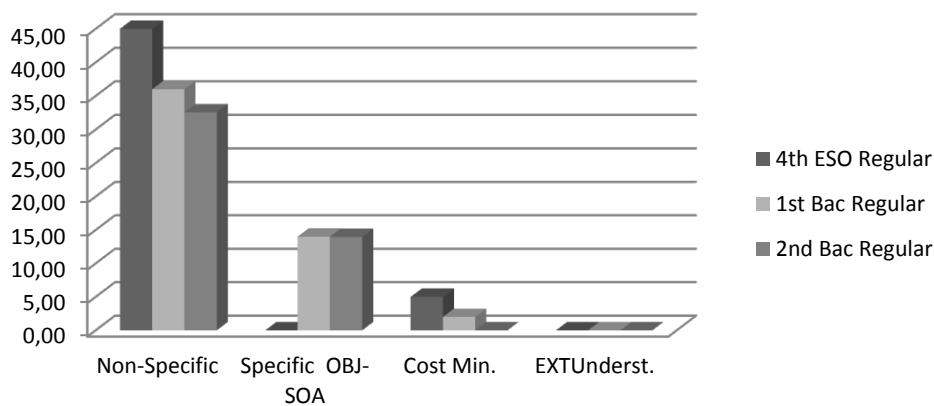


Figure 43. Softening external request modifiers – Regular groups (Ss-T situation).

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 42; Figure 44), Regular 4th ESO students used non-specific grounders significantly more (82.55%) [$X^2 = 8.644$ ($p < 0.013$)] than 2nd Bac (75.00%) and 1st Bac (52.00%) [Table A 19-Appendix A]. Learners' use of cost minimizers appeared only in very few request made by 2nd Bac students (2.27%) and was trivial. The use of OBJ-SOA and external understatements did not appear in students requests in this situation.

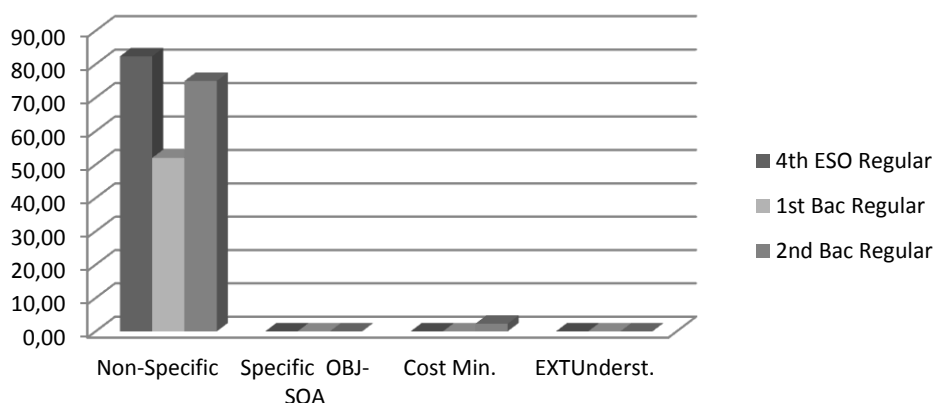


Figure 44. Softening external request modifiers – Regular groups (Ss-Ss situation)

MAIN FINDINGS – SOFTENING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

The results in this subsection show that 1) regular mainstream learners in the three levels mainly used grounders-an external modifier-to soften their requests. 2) Significant differences between groups were found in students' use of non-specific grounders, where regular 4th ESO them the most. On the other hand, OBJ-SOA grounders which were used generally more by the higher educational levels-2nd and 1st Bac when addressing the teacher. Hence, the use of OBJ-SOA grounders by the students in the higher mainstream education levels here is seen as a sign of pragmatic development. The same was observed with 4th ESO CLIL students when compared to the lower CLIL levels and to Regular 4th ESO earlier (in sections 5.2.1. and 5.2.2.).

5.3.2.5.3.2. SOFTENING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

These are intrasentential *please* (*Please* in mid position), hedges, understatements, consultative devices (openers) and downtoners. The three groups used *mid-please*; 4th ESO students limited their modifiers to using *mid-please* only, whereas 1st Bac used downtoners the most and 2nd Bac varied their use of modifiers the most, though anecdotally. Examples of students' use of these modifiers in their order of mention are in (64) to (68).

- (64) Ss-T, Regular 4th ESO (Intrasentential-*please*): Excuse me teacher... can you *please* write lower in the computer?
- (65) Ss-T, 1st Bac (Hedge): Teacher...Can you *do something* to evite (avoid) those (this/the noise)?
- (66) Ss-Ss, 2nd Bac (understatement): Hey guys, could you *please* put down the volume down? Come on, *just for today*: I've got ...
- (67) Ss-T, 2nd Bac (consultative device): *Do you mind* stopping the noise *please*? I can't do my exam.
- (68) Ss-T, 1st Bac (downtoner): Teacher, could you *try to* evite (avoid) typing so loud? I cannot do the exam.

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 43; Figure 45), 4th ESO students used intrasentential-*please* more (5%), followed in percentage by 1st Bac (2%). A few students in 1st Bac used downtoners (6%) and hedges (2%). Again, a few students in 2nd Bac trivially used understatements, consultative devices and downtoners (2.33%).

Table 43. Internal request modifiers – Regular groups (Ss-T situation)

	Total N	Mid-Please		Hedging		Understate.		Consult. Dev.		Downtoners	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	20	1	5,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
1 st Bachillerato	50	1	2,00	1	2,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	3	6,00
2 nd Bachillerato	43	0	0,00	0	0,00	1	2,33	1	2,33	1	2,33

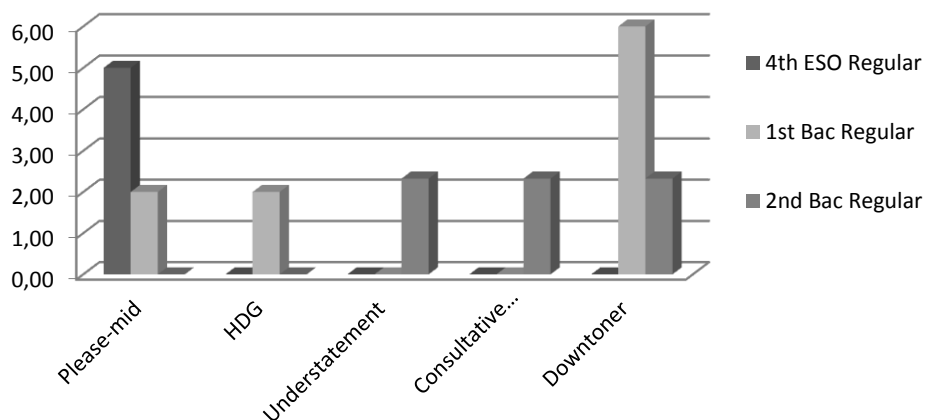


Figure 45. Internal request modifiers – Regular groups (Ss-T situation).

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 44; Figure 46), 4th ESO students used intrasentential-*please* (5.88%) the most and did not use other modifications, followed in percentage by 1st Bac (2%). Students in 1st and 2nd Bac then anecdotally used hedges (2%), understatements and consultative devices (2.33%).

Table 44. Internal request modifiers – Regular groups (Ss-Ss situation).

Student Levels	Total N	Mid-Please		Hedging		Understate.		Consult. Dev.		Downtoner ^s	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	17	1	5,88	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
1 st Bachillerato	50	2	2,00	0	2,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
2 nd Bachillerato	44	3	0,00	1	0,00	1	2,33	0	2,33	0	0,00

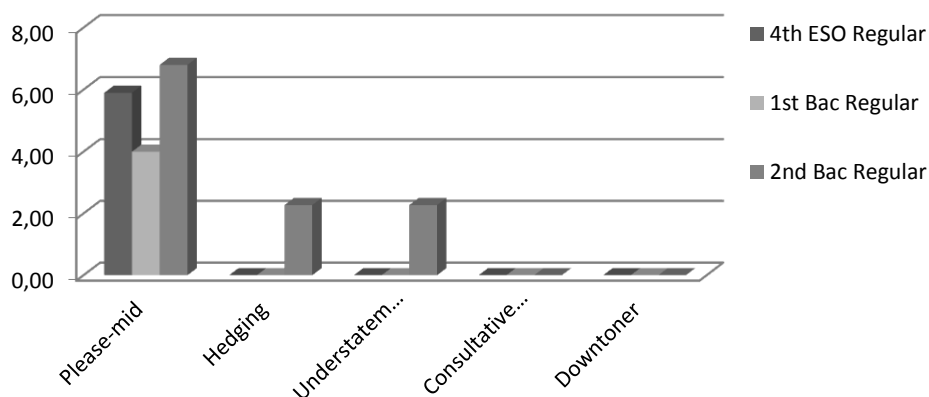


Figure 46. Internal request modifiers – Regular groups (Ss-Ss situation).

MAIN FINDINGS – SOFTENING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

The results in this subsection show that 1) learners' in the three regular-mainstream groups used softening internal modifiers trivially. Within the limits of the few incidents of use of the latter, the lowest education level (4th ESO) mainly used intrasentential *please* whereas the higher education levels (1st and 2nd Bac) showed slight use of consultative devices and downtoners. No significant differences were found when comparing the three levels in the regular stream.

5.3.3. SOFTENING STRATEGIES

Softening strategies in the range of unmarked to positively marked modifiers are formed by the preparatory conditions of ability (can, could). In comparison to students' use of previously analyzed softening modifiers (external and

internal modifiers), preparatory conditions were used more by 4th ESO to 2nd Bac students in both the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations.

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 45; Figure 47), 2nd Bac used ‘*can*’ significantly less (37.21%) { $X^2 = 16.815$ ($p < 0.000$)} when compared to 1st Bac (64%) and regular 4th ESO students (90%). On the other hand, 2nd Bac used ‘*could*’ significantly more (51.16%) { $X^2 = 12.425$ ($p < 0.002$)} when compared to 1st Bac (30%) and regular 4th ESO students (5%) [Table A 21-Appendix A].

Table 45. Query-preparatory conditions–Regular groups (Ss-T & Ss-Ss)

	Total N	Ss-T situation				Ss-Ss situation				
		Can		Could		Can			Could	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
4 th ESO Regular	20	18	90,00	1	5,00	17	6	35,29	6	35,29
1 st Bachillerato	50	32	64,00	15	30,00	50	25	50,00	9	18,00
2 nd Bachillerato	43	16	37,21***	22	51,16***	44	24	54,55	12	27,27

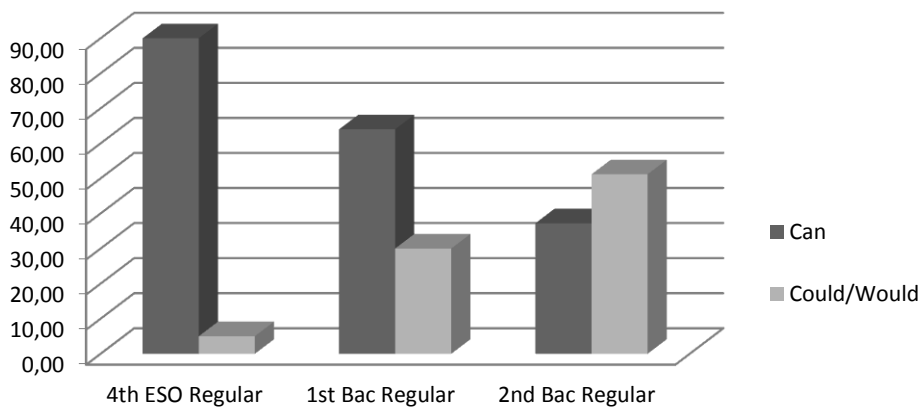


Figure 47. Query-preparatory conditions–Regular groups (Ss-T situation).

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 45; Figure 48), 4th ESO used ‘*can*’ less than the other groups (35.29%), followed by 1st Bac (50%) and 2nd Bac students (54.55%).

On the other hand, 4th ESO used ‘*could*’ the more than the other groups (35.29%), followed by 1st Bac (18%) and 2nd Bac students (27.27%).

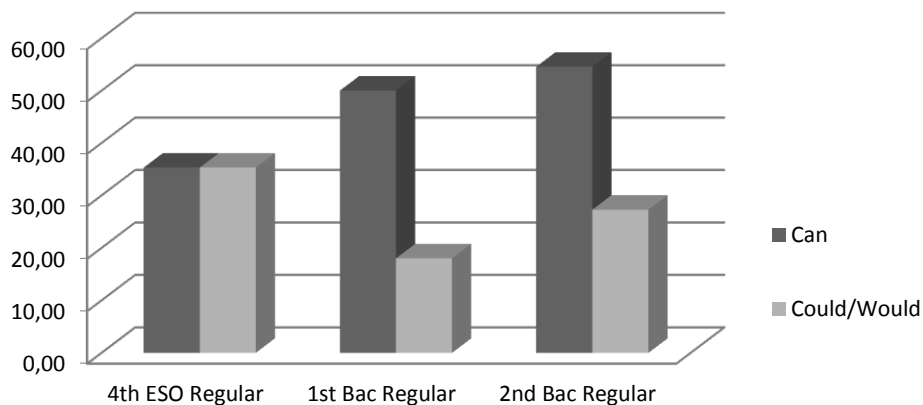


Figure 48. A bar chart showing the use of query-preparatory conditions–Regular groups (Ss-Ss situation)

MAIN FINDINGS - SOFTENING STRATEGIES

The results in this section showed that 1) 4th ESO, 1st Bac. 2nd Bac. mainstream students resorted more to using preparatory conditions than to external and internal modifiers. 2) When addressing the teacher, learners’ use of ‘*can*’ significantly declined in the higher levels and their use of ‘*could*’ significantly rose. When addressing peers, learners’ use of ‘*can*’ increased in the higher educational levels (1st and 2nd Bac.), whereas 4th ESO students used ‘*can*’ and ‘*could*’ equally. Such differences show that the higher levels are more in line with ELT textbooks regarding the use of ‘*could*’ in more polite requests. The researcher inspected the EFL book that students used in 4th ESO (Vince, 2008: 102) in which sentences like “*Could I leave early? Could you help me with the*

computer” are referred to as more polite than “*Can I leave early? Can you help me with the computer?*” The same distinction between the use of ‘*can*’ and ‘*could*’ was verified by Petraki and Bayes (2013) in their inspection of English course books. Teaching students to vary between ‘*can*’ and ‘*could*’ is obviously common in many ELT books at different educational levels. It is quite safe to say that more students acquire this distinction in relation to situational variation as they continue to be exposed to EFL instruction. It is concluded that the regular mainstream 1st and 2nd Bac. students have acquired better pragmatic competence to adapt the use of *can* or *could* according to the degree of formality required in different contexts (Ss-T and Ss-Ss) when compared to Regular 4th ESO.

5.3.4. MARKED PLEASE AND AGGRAVATING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

This dimension is composed of extrasentential *please* that fronts and ends requests (sentence-initial and sentence-final), threats, and SOA-P grounders that implicate the hearer as a source of annoyance. Examples of sentence-initial *please*, sentence-final *please*, threats and SOA-P grounders are respectively in examples (69) to (72).

(69) Ss-T, 4th ESO: ***Please*** teacher can you stop. I need concentration.

(70) Ss-Ss, 2nd Bac: Can you turn down the tv ***please***? I have a very important exam tomorrow and I can't sleep

(71) Ss-Ss, 1st Bac: Hey men can you stop making noises?! *I'll call the police* and ***if you don't stop, I'll hit your heads*** because I've an exam, motherfuckers!

(72) Ss-Ss, 2nd Bac: Excuse me, I would like do my work now but I can't ***because I'm hearing*** ^(hearing/ can hear) ***your noise*** on the computer. Could you finish your work, *please*?

The results showed that students in the regular stream (4th ESO to 2nd Bac) used extrasentential-*please* noticeably more than they used the other modifiers within this category. In both situations-Ss-T and Ss-Ss (Tables 46 & 47; Figures 49&50), the students in 2nd Bac used initial-*please* the least in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations (20.93% and 25.00%) followed in percentage by 1st Bac (40.00% and 34.00%) then by regular 4th ESO students (50.00% and 41.20%). The pattern of use across the three levels showed that the use of initial *please* declines with the increase in level. In the Ss-T situation, Regular 4th ESO used initial-*please* significantly more than the higher educational levels (1st and 2nd Bac.) {X² = 6.298 (p<0.042)} [Table A 22-Appendix A].

Table 46. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers – Regular groups (Ss-T situation)

	Total N	Initial <i>please</i>		Final <i>please</i>		Threats		SOA-P Grounders	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	20	10	50,0*	7	35,0	0	0,00	1	5,00
1 st Bachillerato	50	20	40,0	19	38,0	0	0,00	3	6,00
2 nd Bachillerato	43	9	20,93	20	48,8	0	0,00	5	11,63

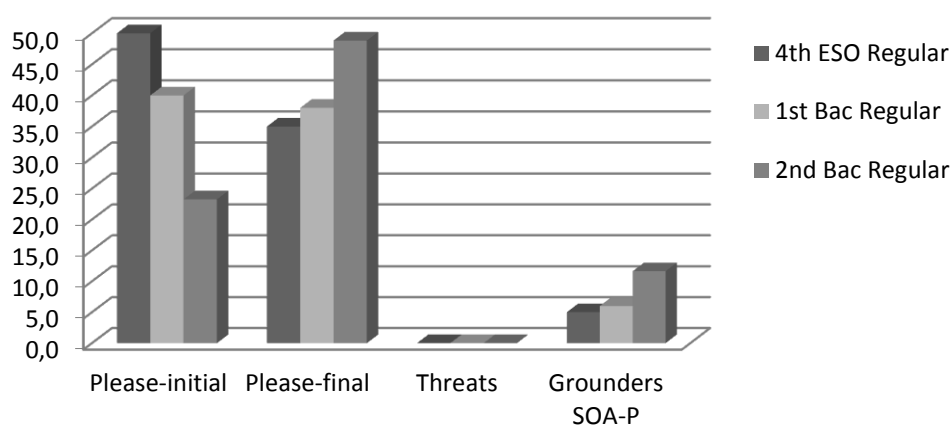


Figure 49. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers – Regular groups (Ss-T situation)

Regarding final-*please*, regular 4th ESO students' use of final-*please* was the same in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations (35.30%). Regular 4th ESO used final-*please* less than 1st Bac and 2nd Bac students in the teacher situation (38.00% to 48.80%) but used it more than them in the situation with peers (26.00% to 27.30%).

Table 47. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers – Regular groups (Ss-Ss situation)

	Total N	Initial please		Final please		Threats		SOA-P Grounders	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	17	7	41,20	6	35,30	0	0,00	1	5,88
1 st Bachillerato	50	17	34,00	13	26,00	3	6,00	4	8,00
2 nd Bachillerato	44	11	25,00	12	27,30	0	0,00	2	4,55

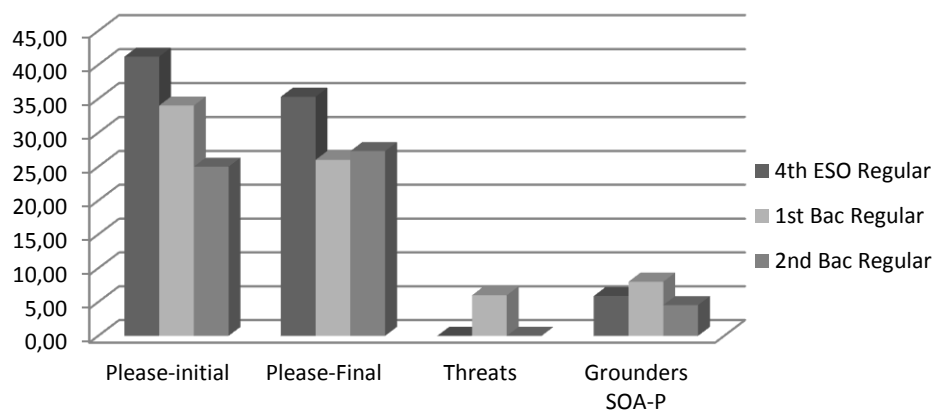


Figure 50. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers – Regular groups (Ss-Ss situation).

As for the other two modifiers, threats and SOA-P grounders, they were used far less than initial and final-*please* by the three levels. In the Ss-T situation (Table 46; Figure 49) 4th ESO students used SOA-P grounders the least (5.00%), followed in percentage by 1st Bac (5.00%) and finally by 2nd Bac (11.63%) who used them the most. In the Ss-Ss situation (Table 47; Figure 50), 2nd Bac students were the least to use SOA-P grounders this time (4.55%), followed in percentage by regular 4th ESO (5.88%) and finally by 1st Bac students (8.00%). Students in 1st Bac used threats (6.00%) with peers, whereas the other two levels did not use them at all.

MAIN FINDINGS - AGGRAVATING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

The results in this subsection show that 1) learners in the higher education levels of the regular mainstream program (1st and 2nd Bac.) used initial-*please*

less than their peers in the lower education level (regular 4th ESO). Also, students in the higher levels used *final-please* more than 4th ESO students. This means that the students in the higher levels used less urgent requests and opted to use *please* in a more transactional or *socially licensed* sense (Whichmann, 2004). 2) However, students in the higher educational levels also aggravated their requests by using more SOA-P grounders and threats. For example, 2nd Bac students used SOA-P grounders more than the other groups when addressing the teacher, and 1st Bac students used them more when addressing peers. Students in 1st Bac used threats whereas the other two levels did not.

5.3.5. AGGRAVATING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

This dimension includes the use of upgraders only, which increase the force of the request and aggravate the hearer by overtly stating the speaker's negative attitude through the use of expletives or by over-representing the reality or passing a negative evaluation that affects the hearer. An example of an expletive is in (73) and an intensifier is in (74).

(73) Ss-Ss, 1st Bac: Hey men can you stop making noises?! I'll call the police and if you don't stop, I'll hit your heads because I've an exam, *motherfuckers!*

(74) Ss-T, 2nd Bac: I can't concentrate, your computer is *very* noisy.

Upgraders were used by only a few students (Table 48; Figure 51). Students in 2nd Bac used them minimally when addressing the teacher (4.65%) and when

addressing peers (4.55%), whereas students in 1st Bac used them when addressing peers only (8.00%).

Table 48. *Aggravating internal modifiers-Regular groups (Ss-T & Ss-Ss)*

	Upgraders Ss-T			Upgraders Ss-Ss		
	Total N	F	%	Total N	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	20	0	0,00	17	0	0,00
1 st Bachillerato	50	0	0,00	50	4	8,00
2 nd Bachillerato	43	2	4,65	44	2	4,55

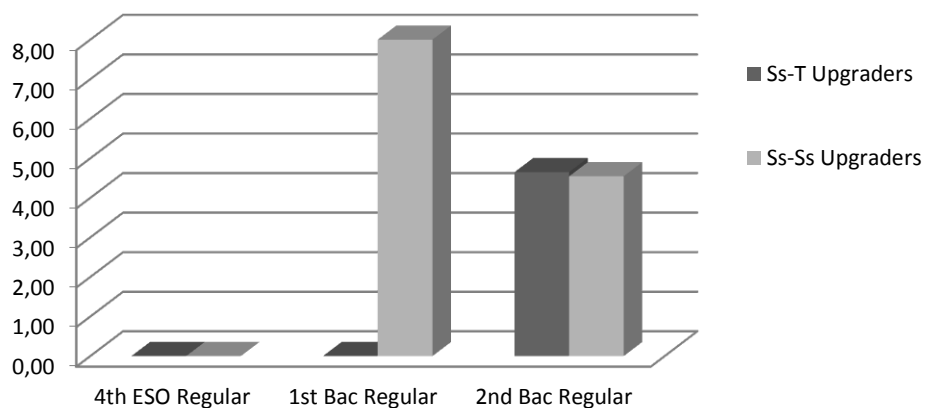


Figure 51. *Aggravating internal modifiers-Regular groups (Ss-T & Ss-Ss)*

MAIN FINDINGS-AGGRAVATING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

In regards to upgraders, the higher levels (1st and 2nd Bac) in the regular mainstream used them in a few requests.

5.3.6. AGGRAVATING STRATEGIES

Aggravating strategies were divided into two clusters (explained in section 4.3.2). The first has commands in the form of imperatives, obligation statements and statements in which the speaker refers to the interlocutor as a source of

annoyance in the head-act (HA-SOA/P). The second cluster has action-ceasing verbs, which force the hearer to stop an action taking place. An example of HA-SOA/P (italicized) combined with an action-ceasing (underlined) verb is in (75).

(75) Ss-Ss, 1st Bac: I can't sleep, I have tomorrow an exam, you can stop
(can you stop) *the noise you make?*

5.3.4.1. IMPERATIVES, OBLIGATION-STATEMENTS AND HA-SOA/P

In the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations, regular stream learners' use of HA-SOA/P was higher when addressing the teacher than when addressing peers, and the use of imperatives was higher when addressing peers than when addressing the teacher. The use of obligation statements was almost nonexistent, and the use of imperatives was noticeable in the Ss-Ss situation when addressing peers.

In the Ss-T situation (Table 49; Figure 52), 1st Bac students used HA-SOA/P significantly more (64.00%) { $X^2 = 7.137$ ($p < 0.028$)} [Table A 24-Appendix A], followed in percentage by 2nd Bac (39.53%) and 4th ESO students (20.00%).

Students' general use of imperatives and obligation statements were trivial.

Table 49. *Aggravating strategies-Regular groups (Ss-T situation)*

	Total N	HA SOA/P		Imperatives		Obligation	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	20	4	20,00	1	5,00	0	0,00
1 st Bachillerato	50	32	64,00*	1	2,00	1	2,00
2 nd Bachillerato	43	17	39,53	1	2,33	0	0,00

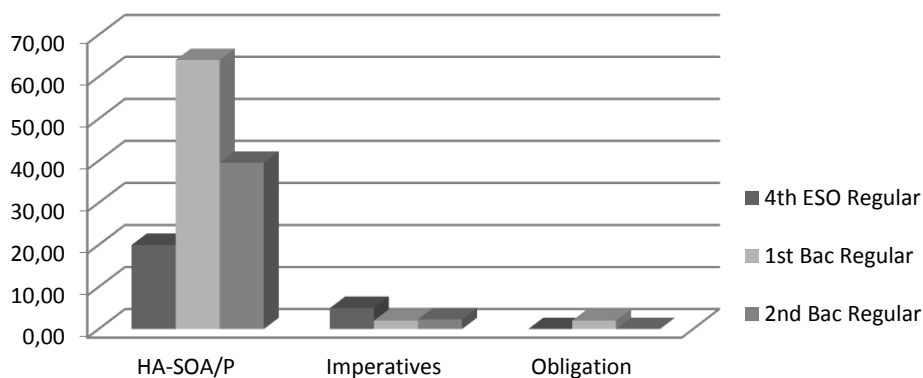


Figure 52. Aggravating strategies-Regular groups (Ss-T situation)

In the Ss-Ss situation (Table 50; Figure 53), 2nd Bac students used HA-SOA/P significantly more (36.36%) $X^2 = 6.009$ ($p < 0.049$); in comparison to 1st Bac and (34.00%) and 4th ESO (5.88%) [Table A 24-Appendix A]. Regarding imperatives, 2nd Bac students used imperatives the least (9.09%) and were followed in percentage by 1st Bac (16.00%) and regular 4th ESO students (17.65%).

Table 50. Aggravating strategies-Regular groups (Ss-Ss situation)

	Total N	HA-SOA/P		Imperatives		Obligation	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	17	1	5,88	3	17,65	0	0,00
1 st Bachillerato	50	17	34,00	8	16,00	1	2,00
2 nd Bachillerato	44	16	36,36*	4	9,09	2	4,55

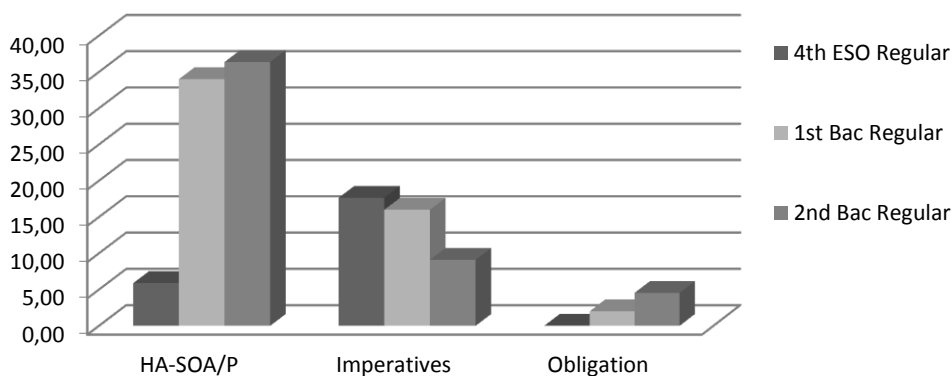


Figure 53. Aggravating strategies-Regular groups (Ss-Ss situation)

MAIN FINDINGS - IMPERATIVES, OBLIGATION STATEMENTS, AND HA-SOA/P

The results in this subsection show that 1) students in the higher regular mainstream levels used HA-SOA/P significantly more than regular 4th ESO students in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations. 2) There were incidental uses of the mood derivable imperative when addressing the teacher, but the main use of this strategy was found in the Ss-Ss situation when students addressed peers. The use of imperatives was higher in 4th ESO and decreased in higher education levels. Obligation statements were trivial and, therefore, no conclusions could be drawn from their use. Again, the higher the educational level, the more aggravators were used by the students.

5.3.4.2. ACTION-CEASING VERBS

The results obtained in the regular mainstream levels showed that students used *stop* as the main action-ceasing verb when addressing the teacher, and a variety of other action-ceasing verbs when addressing peers.

Regarding the use of *stop* in the Ss-T situation (Table 51; Figure 54), 2nd Bac students (65.12%) used it more than 1st Bac students (60.00%) and 4th ESO students (60.00%). Again in the Ss-Ss situation (Table 52; Figures 55), 2nd Bac students (24.00%) used *Stop* more than 1st Bac (20.45%) and 4th ESO students, who did not use *stop* at all.

Table 51. *Action-ceasing verbs (aggravating strategies)-Regular groups (Ss-T situation)*

	Total N	Stop		Turn/Switch off		Shut up		Be quiet	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	20	12	60,00	1	5,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
1 st Bachillerato	50	30	60,00	2	4,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
2 nd Bachillerato	43	28	65,12	1	2,33	0	0,00	1	2,33

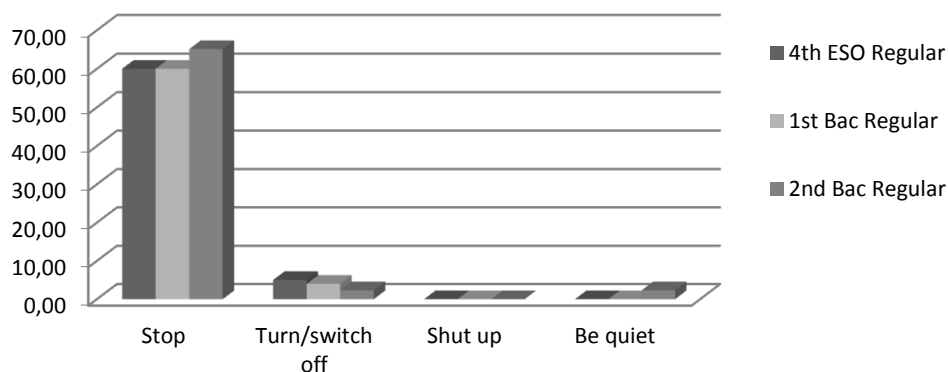


Figure 54. *Action-ceasing verbs (aggravating strategies)-Regular groups (Ss-T situation)*

Regarding the use of other action-ceasing verbs in the Ss-T situation, *turn/switch off* were used the least by 2nd Bac students (2.33%) followed in percentage by 1st Bac (4.00%) and regular 4th ESO students (5.00%). *Be quiet* was trivially used only by 2nd Bac students (2.33%). In contrast, in the Ss-Ss situation (Table 52; Figure 55), *turn/switch off* was not used at all by regular 4th ESO, which was followed in percentage by 1st Bac (4.00%) then 2nd Bac (11.36%). *Shut up* was used the least by 1st and 2nd Bac students (6.00% and 6.82%), followed in percentage by regular 4th ESO students (17.65%). Finally, *be quiet* was used the least by 1st Bac students (2%), and was followed in percentage by 2nd Bac (11.36%) and regular 4th ESO students (11.76%).

Table 52. *Action-ceasing verbs (aggravating strategies)-Regular groups (Ss-Ss situation)*

	Total N	Stop		Turn/Switch off		Shut up		Be quiet	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	17	0	0,00	0	0,00	3	17,65	2	11,76
1 st Bachillerato	50	12	24,00	2	4,00	3	6,00	1	2,00
2 nd Bachillerato	44	9	20,45	5	11,36	3	6,82	5	11,36

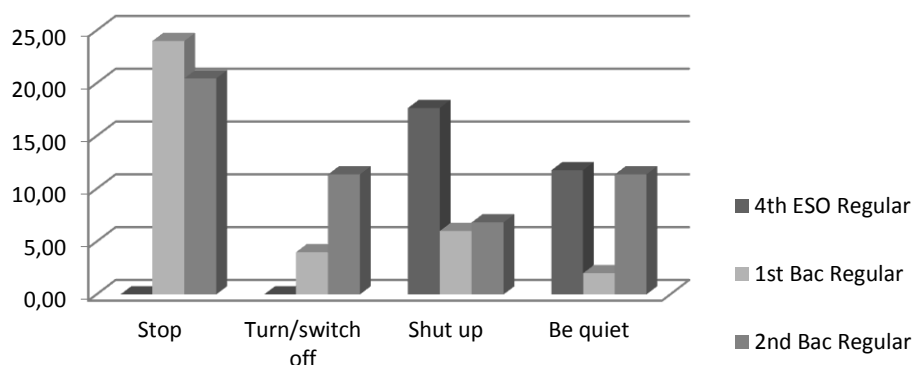


Figure 55. The use of action-ceasing verbs (aggravating strategies)-Regular groups (Ss-Ss situation)

MAIN FINDINGS - ACTION-CEASING VERBS

The results in this subsection show that 1) learners' use of *stop* in the three levels in the mainstream program was higher than their use of other action-ceasing verbs, irrespective of the context. 2) When comparing learners' use of *stop* in both situations, it was observed that *stop* was used more often when addressing the teacher than when addressing peers. This result was observed in the earlier sections (5.1.6 and 5.2.6) and could be the effect of the prompts in the DCT; in other words, the difficulty of finding other verbs or formulas to request that the teacher would type quietly could have caused the learners to resort mainly to using '*stop*'. In the context with peers, they could use a variety of other verbs

that they hear in the classroom from the teacher (*be quiet*) or exchange in a friendly manner among each other in Spanish ('*callate*' – *shut up*), but which is not so friendly in English. The higher levels-1st and 2nd Bac- used '*stop*' the most. Finally, 3) learners in the higher education levels used *turn/switch* more, whereas learners in the lower group used *shut up* more. Both expressions were not part of the prompts; therefore, students had to search their repertoire for verbs to express their request. It is possible that students in the higher levels decided that the phrasal verb *turn/switch off* is less imposing than *shut up*.

5.3.7. RECEPTION TASK RESULTS (Multiple Choice DCT Ss-T and Ss-Ss)

Moving on to the reception tasks, the four options in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation were:

(A) "*I really needed to talk to you*".
(Rated as politic)

(B) "*But we have an appointment. Please, I need to talk to you now*".
(Rated as impolite)

(C) "*I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent*".
(Rated as polite)

(D) "*I had to wait for this appointment I want to solve my problem too*".
(Rated as rude)

When addressing the teacher in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation (Table 53; Figure 56), the majority of students in the three levels (from 50% to 62.96%) selected choice (B)-impolite the most and (D)-rude the least. Level by level, learners in 1st Bac selected (B)-impolite and (C)-polite more than the other

levels, whereas 2nd Bac selected (D)-rude more, and regular 4th ESO selected (A)-politic more. No significant differences were found among the education levels on their selections in this situation.

Table 53. *The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation – Regular groups*

	Total N	Politic A		Impolite B		Polite C		Rude D	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	26	8	30,77	13	50,00	4	15,38	1	3,85
1 st Bac. Regular	54	6	11,11	34	62,96	11	20,37	3	5,56
2 nd Bac. Regular	45	8	17,78	25	55,56	7	15,56	5	11,11

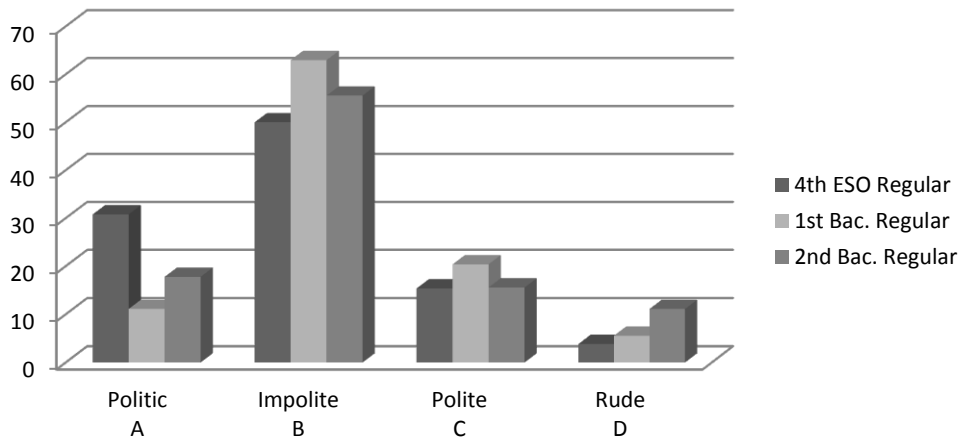


Figure 56. *The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation – Regular groups.*

As for the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation, choices A to C were rated as polite and choice D to F were rated as impolite. The six options were:

- (A) *“It seems that we will have to organize the room ourselves including the bathroom because our tuition does not cover having a helper”.*
- (B) *“I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom”.*
- (C) *“I will buy you lunch If you promise to organize the bathroom”.*
- (D) *“You really must organize that bathroom.”*
- (E) *“Look, ‘could’ you clear your things out of the bathroom?”*
- (F) *“If you are always so messy, you’ll have to find another roommate”.*

When addressing peers in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation (see Table 54; Figure 57), a high percentage of learners in 4th ESO and 1st Bac (30.7% and 40.7%) selected choice (B)-polite more than 2nd Bac in general, where 1st Bac learners significantly selected choice (B) the most { $X^2 = 10.814$ ($p < 0.004$)}. On the other hand, learners in 2nd Bac selected choice (D) significantly more than the other two groups (31.11% to 11.54% and 12.96%, respectively) { $X^2 = 6.453$ ($p < 0.00$)} [Table A 27-Appendix A]. Also, a high percentage of students in the 2nd Bac-EFL also selected choice I-impolite, but no significant differences were found. Regarding regular 4th ESO students, they were the group that most resorted to the threat structure (F), but again no significant differences were found among levels in these regards. An almost equal percentage of students in all three levels (ranging from 19.23% to 20.37%) selected choice (A)-polite.

Table 54. *The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation – Regular groups*

	Total N	Polite A		Polite B		Polite C		Impolite D		Impolite E		Impolite F	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO Regular	26	5	19,23	8	30,77	2	7,69	3	11,54	3	11,54	5	19,23
1 st Bac. Regular	54	11	20,37	22	40,74***	0	0,00	7	12,96	9	16,67	5	9,26
2 nd Bac.Regular	45	9	20,00	5	11,11	1	2,22	14	31,11*	12	26,67	4	8,89

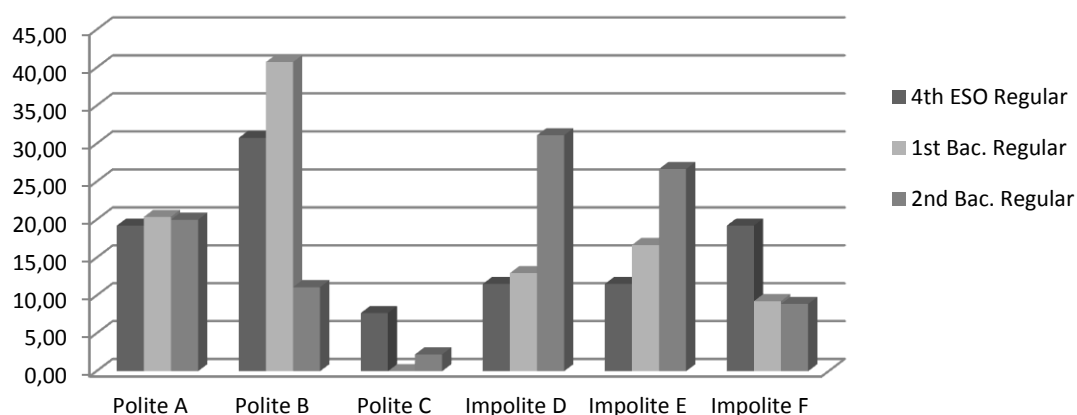


Figure 57. *The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation – Regular groups*

SECTION SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The results have shown that when using **softening external modifiers** learners in 1st and 2nd Bac used specific OBJ-SOA grounders exclusively with the teacher, whereas 4th ESO did not use them in either situation. On the other hand, 4th ESO used non-specific grounder significantly more than the higher levels. As mentioned before, OBJ-SOA grounders could be more indicative of a conscious effort to avoid implicating the interlocutor and thus could be considered a sign of pragmatic development when formulating requests.

As for **softening internal modifiers**, they were minimally used. When comparing the three regular mainstream levels in this section, it was noticed that 4th ESO students depended exclusively on intrasentential *please* whereas 1st and 2nd Bac showed some use of other internal modifiers in both situations (Ss-T and Ss-situations), especially downtoners when addressing the teacher.

Regarding **softening strategies**, learners' use of '*can*' declined in higher education levels when addressing the teacher and their use of '*could*' rose, which is in line with textbooks regarding the use of '*could*' in more formal and polite requests, as mentioned before. When addressing peers, 2nd Bac's use of '*can*' rose and their use of '*could*' declined.

As for the use of **marked *please* (initial and final *please*) and aggravating external modifiers**, there was a general decrease in learners' use of initial-*please* observed in the higher education levels in the Ss-T and Ss -Ss situation. In the

situation with the teacher, a decrease in *initial-please* and an increase in *final-please* was noted. The use of *final-please* is understood to be *marked* since the speaker acts as a public-self, making socially licensed requests (for example, *Next in line please*). *Final-please* appears in ELT textbooks as a politeness marker together with *please* in mid position (Salazar Campillo, 2007 and Usó-Juan, 2007). In contrast, *initial-please*, which is more emotion-loaded (used for pleading) and urgent (Wichmann, 2004; Sato, 2008) does not appear in ELT books. While data from the higher education levels (1st and 2nd Bac.) showed some evidence of pragmatic progress, there was also evidence that they aggravated their requests using other **aggravating external modifiers**. Learners in 1st and 2nd Bac students used more SOA-P grounders and students in 1st Bac used more threats with peers.

Internal aggravating modifiers –upgraders- (intensifiers and expletives) were used by 1st and 2nd Bac only, as well.

Finally for **aggravating strategies**, 1st and 2nd Bac were the most to refer to the interlocutor as a source of annoyance in the headact (HA-SOA/P), 1st Bac used it more in the Ss-T situation and 2nd Bac used it more in the Ss-Ss situation.

While *turn/switch off* and *shut up* are both aggravating action-ceasing verbs, the latter phrasal verb has a more aggravating impact as it targets persons (the person shuts up), while the former targets objects (a TV is turned off). Both phrasal verbs were not part of the prompts and students had to search their vocabulary repertoire for these verbs to formulate their request. It was noted

that the higher education levels used *turn/switch off* slightly more than 4th ESO and *shut up* less. Also, learners' use of imperatives also decreased with the increase in education level.

Results from the **Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T)** situation showed a general tendency of all three levels to select choice (B)-impolite "*But we have an appointment. Please, I need to talk to you now*" in first place. This shows students are comfortable choosing requests that include *please*, irrespective of its position, and need statements. None of the other statements included *please*. Also, while '*but*' introduces the disappointment of the speaker, it could also be perceived as a justification to negotiate the new reality.

Results from the **Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss)** situation showed significant differences in the levels' selections of choices; while learners in 1st Bac selected choice (B)-polite-"*I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom*" significantly more than the other levels, learners in 2nd Bac selected choice (D)-impolite-"*you really must organize the bathroom*" more than the other levels. This demonstrates again that higher education levels may tend to aggravate more than soften their request choices from time to time.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the results from comparing the three levels in the regular mainstream program (4th ESO to 2nd Bachillerato) indicate that 1st and 2nd Bac students controlled varying the use of '*can*' and '*could*' better than 4th ESO

according to the degree of expected social formality (addressing the teacher or peers in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situation). It is possible that developing a better sense for situational variation is related to extended exposure to English, and hence the improved variation of '*can*' and '*could*' in the higher educational levels. Learners in 1st and 2nd Bac also used OBJ-SOA grounders more, which is indicative of a conscious effort to avoid implicating the interlocutor and referring to an object as the source of annoyance instead. The use of OBJ-SOA grounders is, therefore, a possible sign of pragmatic development when formulating requests. Another point was the higher levels' tendency to use *final-please* more than *initial-please*, which is instructed in Usó-Juan (2007) is instructed in the ELT textbooks she consulted. On the other hand, students in 1st Bac and 2nd Bac aggravated their requests by using *HA-SOA/P* (referring to the hearer as a source of annoyance in the headact), threats, and the action-ceasing verb '*stop*'. The higher levels, having received more English language instruction over more months of schooling, modified their requests more using softeners and aggravators. This leads to a dual pragmatic effect on the hearer which the researcher refers to as *pragmatic bipolarity* and is a reflection of students' oscillation between positive and negative pragmatic behaviors. This observed effect is in line with Bardovi-Harlig (2013) regarding the inability of some language learners with fuller repertoires to use their language resources for pragmatic purposes. These students may not be necessarily aware of the

impact of these modifications upon the hearer though. The need for instructional intervention will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

The next section compares the pragmatic competence of students with more but varied exposure to English (CLIL and EFL) across three levels. These are 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bachillerato who graduated a year earlier from the CLIL program, and 2nd Bachillerato who receive two extra hours of EFL instruction at school.

5.4. DIFFERENCES IN THE PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE OF STUDENTS WITH MORE BUT VARIED EXPOSURE TO ENGLISH (CLIL AND EFL)

The study posed four questions. This section answers the fourth and final question as to whether there are differences in the pragmatic competence of current CLIL students and that of students who graduated from the CLIL program, reentered the regular program, and have had different English language instruction. These are the students of 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bachillerato who graduated a year earlier from the CLIL program (*henceforth* 1st Bac ex-CLIL), and 2nd Bachillerato who received two extra hours of EFL instruction per week at school during the academic year in which the data was collected only (*henceforth* 2nd Bac EFL). Students in 2nd Bac-EFL are students who had obtained the highest scores in the EFL subject in 1st Bachillerato, and are a mixture of former regular mainstream non-CLIL students and former CLIL students. Advantage was taken of their availability to contrast their pragmatic competence to that of the highest CLIL level, 4th ESO, and to 1st Bachillerato who formerly attended in the CLIL program. It is unfortunate that the students in 1st Bac. ex-CLIL group were few in number ($n=12$), which gives us an idea of how this group manages the speech act of requests, but cannot be considered to be a representative sample. What all three groups have in common is that they have, or have had, high exposure to English either through CLIL or EFL or a mixture of both. They are referred to in this study as the groups with high exposure to English. As mentioned in the introduction, the results of the WDCT

(production tasks) will be reviewed first, followed in percentage by the results of the MCDCT (reception tasks). Both the WDCT and the MCDCT results have two situations, one with a teacher (Ss-T) and another with students (Ss-Ss). Examples of students' requests will be provided where needed in the results sections (reported as students wrote them).

5.4.1. SOFTENING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

These are non-implicating grounders (non-specific and OBJ-SOA grounders), cost minimizers and external understatements. Examples of these modifiers are in (76) to (79).

- (76) Ss-T, 2nd Bac-EFL (non-specific grounder): Excuse me Sir, could you try to do less noise when you type on the computer? *Because I can't concentrate.* Thank you.
- (77) Ss-T, 4th ESO CLIL (OBJ-SOA grounder): Excuse me, could you *please* write more slowly? *The noise of the computer keys is getting on my nerves and I can't concentrate.*
- (78) Ss-Ss, 2nd Bac-EFL (cost minimizer): *Please* if we speak silence (if you speak quietly) and the volume of the television will more calm (is lower) this night (tonight) *I will pay a luxury dinner after my exam.*
- (79) Ss-T, 2nd Bac-EFL (external understater): Excuse me teacher, I can't focus so much and the sound of the keyboards it's *a little* annoying. Could you make less noise *please*?

In the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations, the students in the three compared groups at hand (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL) depended on the use of

grounders, which varied from one context to the other, more than they used the rest of the modifiers within this category.

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 55; Figure 58), 2nd Bac-EFL students used non-specific grounders moderately more than the other groups (35.14%), followed in percentage by 1st Bac ex CLIL (18.18%) then by 4th ESO students (19.15%). As for OBJ-SOA, they were used the most by 4th ESO CLIL students (19.15%), followed in percentage by 2nd Bac-EFL and 1st Bac ex-CLIL (18.92% and 18.18%).

Learners' use of cost minimizers was anecdotal, and appeared only in a very few requests made by 4th ESO CLIL students (2.13%) and 2nd Bac-EFL students (2.70%). Learners' use of external understatements was also limited and found in the requests of few students in 2nd Bac-EFL only (5.41%).

Table 55. Softening external request modifiers – CLIL vs. Ex-CLIL vs. EFL Groups (Ss-T situation)

	Total N	Non-Specific Grounders		OBJ-SOA Grounders		Cost Minimizers		EXT Understate.	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	9	19,15	9	19,15	1	2,13	0	0,00
1 st Bac. ex-CLIL	11	2	18,18	2	18,18	0	0,00	0	0,00
2 nd Bac-EFL	37	13	35,14	7	18,92	1	2,70	2	5,41

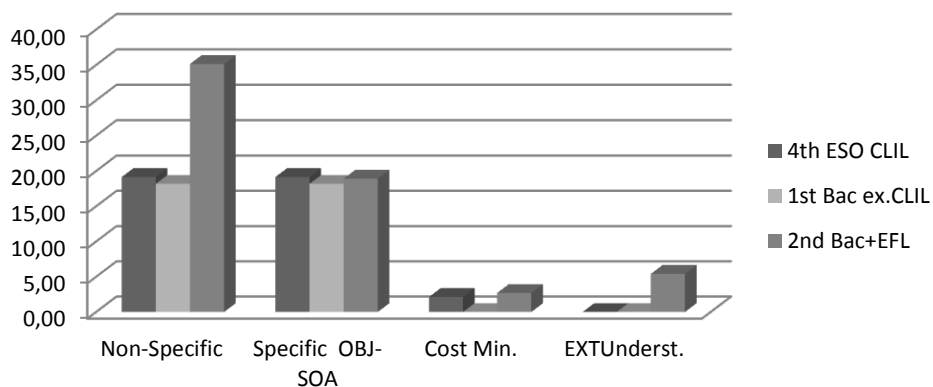


Figure 58. Softening external request modifiers – CLIL vs. Ex-CLIL vs. EFL Groups (Ss-T situation).

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 56; Figure 69), students in 4th ESO CLIL used non-specific grounders significantly more (73.33%) { $X^2 = 7.06$ ($p < 0.029$)} [Table A 28-Appendix A], closely followed in percentage by 1st Bac ex-CLIL (72.7%) then by 2nd Bac-EFL students (45.95%). In contrast, OBJ-SOA grounders were used by very few students in 4th CLIL only (4.44%). The percentage of use of cost minimizers was anecdotal as it was only used by 4th year CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL students (4.44% and 2.7%). External understatements were also used by 2nd Bac-EFL only (2.7%).

Table 56. *The use of softening external request modifiers- CLIL vs. Ex-CLIL vs. EFL Groups (Ss-Ss situation).*

	Total N	Non-Specific Grounders		OBJ-SOA Grounders		Cost Minimizers		EXT Understatements	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	45	33	73,33*	2	4,44	2	4,44	0	0,00
1 st Bac. ex-CLIL	11	8	72,73	0	0,00	0	0	0	0,00
2 nd Bac-EFL	37	17	45,95	0	0,00	1	1	1	2,70

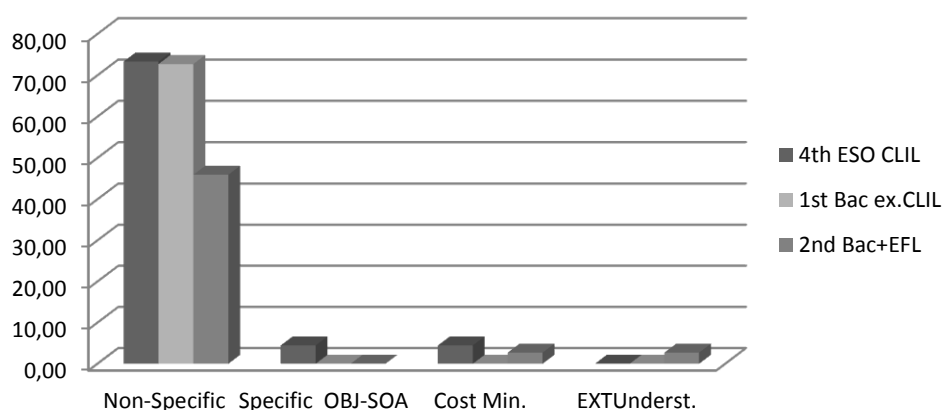


Figure 59. Softening external request modifiers - CLIL vs. Ex-CLIL vs. EFL Groups (Ss-Ss situation)

MAIN FINDINGS - SOFTENING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

The results in this section showed that 1) the learners in the three groups used non-specific grounders distinctly more than the other softening internal modifiers. Learners in 2nd Bac-EFL used non-specific grounders moderately more when addressing the teacher, and 4th ESO CLIL used them significantly more when addressing peers. 2) As for OBJ-SOA grounders, these were used a few times by 4th ESO CLIL students in both situations and by 2nd Bac-EFL students when addressing the teacher. Learners in 1st Bac ex-CLIL did not use them at all. 3) Despite the general low use of other softening external modifiers (cost minimizers and external understatements) in the three groups, 2nd Bac-EFL was the only group that used the full spectrum of modifiers. It is, therefore, concluded that 4th ESO CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL show better use of softening internal modifiers than 1st Bac students.

5.4.2. SOFTENING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

These are intrasentential *please* (*Please* in mid position), hedges, understatements, consultative devices (openers) and downtoners. Examples of hedges, understaters, consultative devices and downtoners are in examples (80) to (83).

(80) Ss-T, 2nd Bac-EFL (hedges): Sorry I couldn't concentrate on my exam with the noise you are doing typing. Could you *do something*?

(81) Ss-Ss, 2nd Bac-EFL (understater): Hey guys, can you *please* turn down *a bit* the volume? I'm trying to sleep.

(82) Ss-Ss, 2nd Bac-EFL (consultative device): Sorry, *do you mind* turning down the volume of the TV, because I have an exam tomorrow and I would like to sleep well, that is if you don't mind.

(83) Ss-Ss, 2nd Bac-EFL (downtoner): Hey, boys, Can you *try* to turn down the volume?

In the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations the results of the three groups showed that the students used hedging and consultative devices less than they used intrasentential-*please*, understatements, and downtoners.

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 57; Figure 60), the students in 2nd Bac-EFL students used intrasentential-*please* more than the other two groups (10.8%), followed in percentage by 1st Bac ex-CLIL (9.09%) then by 4th ESO CLIL students (4.26%). Similarly, 2nd Bac-EFL students used understatements more than the other two groups in their requests (10.81%), followed in percentage by 1st Bac ex-CLIL (9.09%) then by 4th ESO CLIL students (2.13%). As for the use of downtoners, 2nd Bac-EFL used those more than the other groups (18.92%), followed in percentage by 4th ESO CLIL (6.38%). Students in 1st Bac ex-CLIL did not use any understatements in their requests. Regarding the use of hedging and consultative devices, 2nd Bac-EFL and 4th ESO CLIL students used them anecdotally (2.70% and 2.13%). Again, consultative devices and downtoners did not appear in the requests of 1st Bac ex-CLIL in this situation.

Table 57. Softening internal request modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-T situation)

	Total N	Mid-Please		Hedging		Understate.		Consult. Dev.		Downtoners	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	2	4,26	1	2,13	1	2,13	1	2,13	3	6,38
1 st Bac. ex-CLIL	11	3	9,09	0	0,00	1	9,09	0	0,00	0	0,00
2 nd Bac EFL	37	4	10,81	1	2,70	4	10,81	1	2,70	7	18,92

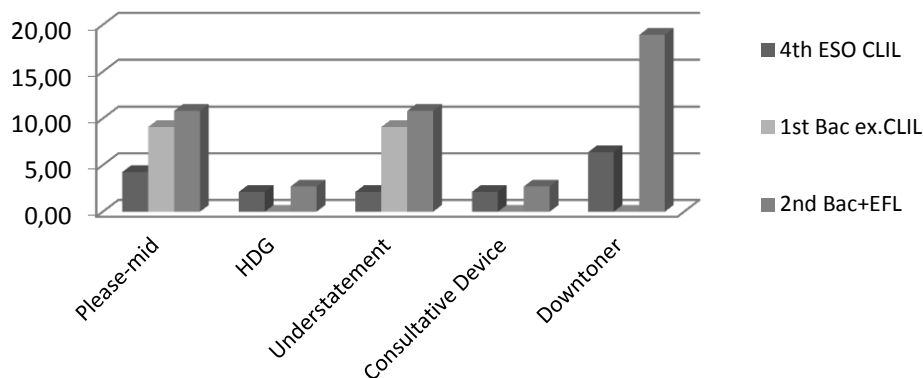


Figure 60. Internal request modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-T situation).

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 58; Figure 61), understaters were the most used softening internal modifiers in the three groups. Learners in 1st Bac ex-CLIL used understatements the most (9%) followed in percentage by 2nd Bac-EFL students (8.11%) then by 4th ESO CLIL students (6.67%). As for intrasentential-*please*, 2nd Bac-EFL students used them the most by (5.40%), followed in percentage by 4th ESO CLIL (4.40%). Consultative devices were used by 2nd Bac-EFL students only (5.41%) and downtoners were used by 2nd Bac-EFL (2.70%) and 4th ESO CLIL students (2.22%). Learners in 1st Bac ex-CLIL hardly used any

softening internal modifiers except for the above mentioned (1 student used an understater).

Table 58. Softening internal request modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-Ss situation).

	Total N	Mid- Please		Hedging		Understate.		Consult. Dev.		Downtoners	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	45	2	4,40	0	0,00	3	6,67	0	0,00	1	2,22
1 st Bac. ex-CLIL	11	0	0,00	0	0,00	1	9,09	0	0,00	0	0,00
2 nd Bac EFL	37	2	5,40	0	0,00	3	8,11	2	5,41	1	2,70

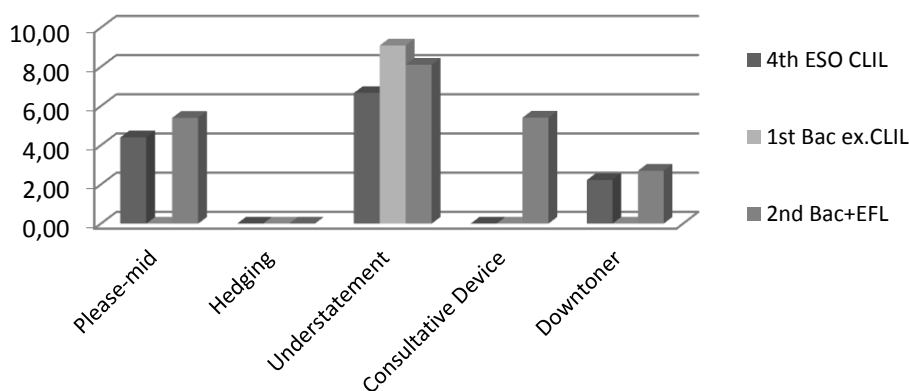


Figure 61. Softening internal request modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-Ss situation).

MAIN FINDINGS - SOFTENING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

The results in this subsection showed that learners with high exposure to English in the three groups used softening internal modifiers at varied rates though minimally. 1) Learners in 2nd Bac-EFL used downtoners more than the other two groups and their use of other internal modifiers (*mid-please* and understaters) was also somewhat higher in percentage. As for their use of downtoners and understaters, they were more noticeable when addressing the

teacher. 2) Students in 1st Bac ex-EFL showed some use of *mid-please* and understatements. However, they used fewer and less varied internal modifiers on the whole. This leads to conclude that 2nd Bac-EFL and 4th ESO CLIL students are more capable of using internal modifiers than 1st Bac ex. CLIL students. It is possible that 1st Bac ex-CLIL students are exhibiting a case of attrition where these modifiers are concerned after re-entering the mainstream regular program. It should be kept in mind that any conclusions regarding this specific group (1st Bac ex-CLIL) are not representative given the limited number of students in this group (11 students).

5.4.3. SOFTENING STRATEGIES

Softening strategies in the range of unmarked to positively marked modifiers are formed by the preparatory conditions of ability (can, could). Students in the three groups with higher exposure to English (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL) preparatory conditions somewhat more when addressing the teacher (Ss-T situation) than when addressing equals (Ss-Ss situation) (see Table 59; Figures).

In the Ss-T situation and the Ss-Ss situations (Table 59; Figures 62 & 63), learners in 1st Bac ex-CLIL used '*can*' more than the other groups (63.64% and 45.45%), followed in percentage by 4th ESO CLIL (55.32% and 37.78%) then by 2nd Bac-EFL (37.84% and 32%). When using '*could*', the three groups followed a reversed pattern; learners in 2nd Bac-EFL used '*could*' more (51.35% and 29.73%),

followed in percentage by 4th ESO CLIL (40.43% and 24.44%) then by 1st Bac ex-CLIL (27.27% and 18.18%). In other words, in both situations, 2nd Bac-EFL students used 'can' the least and 'could' the most, whereas 1st Bac ex-CLIL used 'can' the most and 'could' the least.

Table 59. Query-preparatory conditions – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-T & Ss-Ss).

	Total N	Ss-T situation				Ss-Ss situation				
		Can		Could		Can		Could		
		F*	%	F	%	Total N	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	26	55,32	19	40,43	45	17	37,78	11	24,44
1 st Bac. ex-CLIL	11	7	63,64	3	27,27	11	5	45,45	2	18,18
2 nd Bac CLIL	37	14	37,84	19	51,35	37	12	32,43	11	29,73

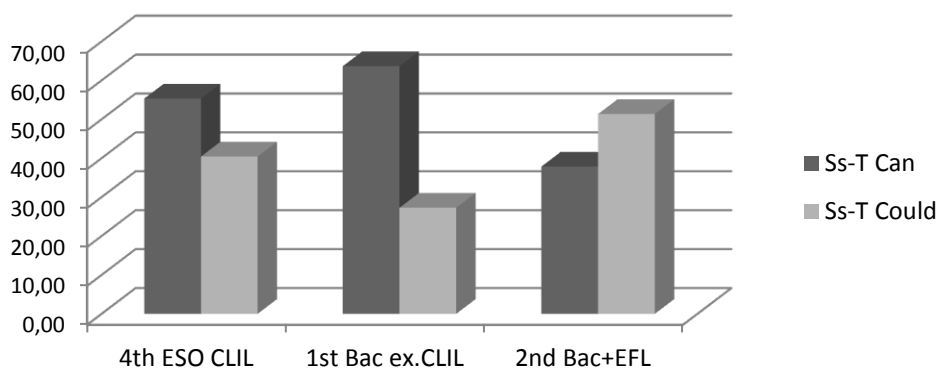


Figure 62. Query-preparatory conditions – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-T).

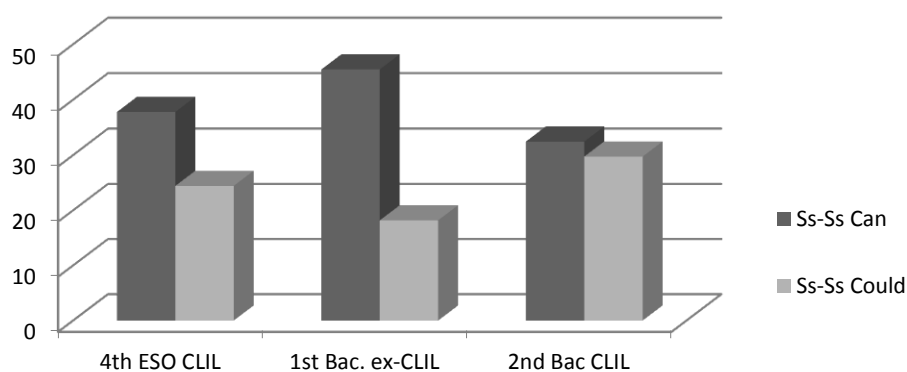


Figure 63. Query-preparatory conditions – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-Ss).

MAIN FINDINGS - SOFTENING STRATEGIES

The results in this subsection showed that all learners resorted to the use of conventional indirect requests at varied rates. Students in 1st Bac ex-CLIL used ‘*can*’ more than the other groups, whereas the students in 2nd Bac-EFL used ‘*could*’ more than the others when addressing the teacher.

5.4.4. MARKED PLEASE AND AGGRAVATING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

This dimension is composed of extrasentential *please* that fronts and ends requests (sentence-initial and sentence-final), threats, and SOA-P grounders that implicate the hearer as a source of annoyance. Examples of sentence-initial, sentence-final, threats and SOA-P grounders are respectively in examples (84) to (87).

- (84) Ss-T, 1st Bac ex-CLIL (sentence-initial): *Please* teacher, could you do anther activity more noiseless?

(85) Ss-Ss, 1st Bac ex-CLIL (sentence-final): Can you keep silent, *please*?

(86) Ss-Ss, 2nd Bac-CLIL (threats): Come on guys, turn down the volume, *If you don't want to have problems*. I have a very important test tomorrow and I need to pass it.

(87) Ss-T, 1st Bac ex-CLIL (SOA-P grounder): Excuse me, *please* teacher can you stop to click on the keyboard, because I'm doing the exam and *with the noise you interrupt me*. Thanks

The three groups in general (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL) used extrasentential-*please* more than the other marked to aggravating modifiers within this category. The frequency of use of *please* varied from one context to the other, and the position of *please* varied from being in initial position to being in final position.

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 60; Figure 64), 1st Bac ex-CLIL students used initial-*please* more than the other groups (63.63%), followed in percentage by 4th ESO CLIL (57.44%) then by 2nd Bac-EFL (37.83%). Students in 2nd Bac-EFL used final-*please* more (21.62%), followed in percentage by 4th ESO CLIL students (19.14%) then by 1st Bac ex-CLIL (9.10%). As for SOA-P grounders, students in 1st Bac ex-EFL used them the most, followed in percentage by 4th ESO CLIL then 2nd Bac-EFL. Threats were not used in this situation.

Table 60. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-T).

	Total N	Initial <i>please</i>		Final <i>please</i>		Threats		SOA-P	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	27	57,44	9	19,14	0	0,00	10	21,28
1 st Bac. ex-CLIL	11	7	63,63	1	9,10	0	0,00	3	27,27
2 nd Bac CLIL	37	14	37,83	8	21,62	0	0,00	7	18,92

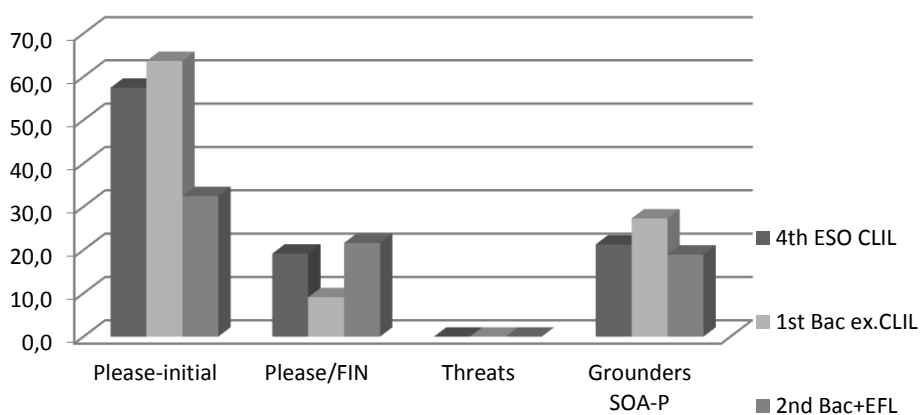


Figure 64. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-T).

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 61; Figure 65), 1st Bac ex-CLIL students again used initial-*please* more than the students in the other groups (54.50%), followed in percentage by 4th ESO CLIL students (35.60%) then by 2nd Bac-EFL students (21.62%). Regarding final-*please*, 4th ESO CLIL students used it more (20%), followed in percentage by 2nd Bac-EFL students (16.20%) then by 1st Bac ex-CLIL students (9.10%). As for threats, a few students resorted to using them in 4th ESO CLIL (4.44%) and in 2nd Bac-EFL (2.70%). SOA-P grounders were trivially used in this situation by 4th ESO CLIL students (2.22%).

Table 61. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-Ss).

	Total N	Initial please		Final please		Threats		SOA-P	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	45	16	35,60	9	20,00	2	4,44	1	2,22
1 st Bac. ex-CLIL	11	6	54,50	1	9,10	0	0,00	0	0,00
2 nd Bac EFL	37	8	21,62	6	16,20	1	2,70	0	0,00

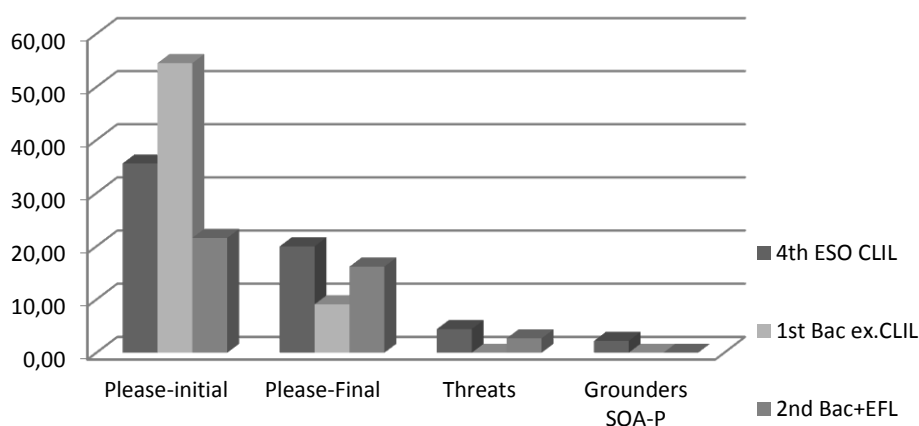


Figure 65. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-Ss).

MAIN FINDINGS - AGGRAVATING EXTERNAL MODIFIERS

The results in this subsection showed that 1) learners generally used initial-*please* in higher percentages in the Ss-T situation than in the Ss-Ss situation, and that they used initial-*please* more than final-*please*. 2) In both situations, 2nd Bac-EFL students used initial-*please* less than the other groups, and used final-*please* the most together with 4th ESO CLIL. Though no significant differences were found across the three groups' use of SOA-P grounders, 2nd Bac-EFL used them the least, whereas 1st Bac ex-CLIL used them the most. This leads to conclude that 1st Bac ex-CLIL marked and aggravated its requests the most by using initial-*please* and SOA-P grounders more than the other groups.

5.4.5. AGGRAVATING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

This dimension includes the use of upgraders only, which increase the force of the request and aggravate the hearer by overtly stating the speaker's negative

attitude through the use of expletives or by over-representing the reality or passing a negative evaluation that affects the hearer. Examples of upgraders are in (88) and (89).

(88) Ss-T, 2nd Bac-EFL (intensifier): I wish you would stop typing. It *really* bothers me and I need to focus. Can you *please* wait to type until I've finished the exam?

(89) Ss-T, 2nd Bac-EFL (expletive): Dudes lower that *fucking* noise because I want to sleep.

Upgraders were not used by 1st Bac ex-CLIL students (see Table 62; Figure 66) and while 4th ESO CLIL students and 2nd Bac-EFL students used them in a few incidents with peers (4.4% and 5.4%), the latter used them more than the other groups with the teacher (8.1%).

Table 62. Internal aggravating modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-T & Ss-Ss situations).

Student Levels	Upgrader Ss-T			Upgrader Ss-Ss		
	Total N	F	%	Total N	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	0	0,00	45	2	4,4
1 st Bac. ex-CLIL	11	0	0,00	11	0	0,00
2 nd Bac CLIL	37	3	8,11	37	2	5,41

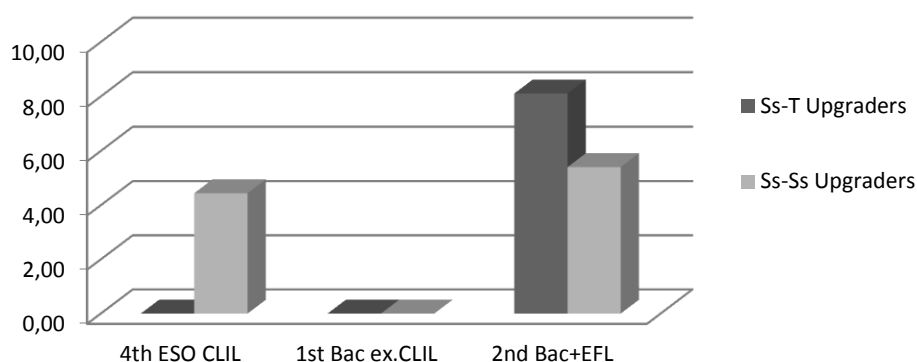


Figure 66. Internal aggravating modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-T & Ss-Ss situations).

MAIN FINDINGS-AGGRAVATING INTERNAL MODIFIERS

In regards to upgraders, 2nd Bac-EFL used generally more than 4th ESO CLIL.

Students in 1st Bac ex-CLIL did not use threats at all.

5.4.6. AGGRAVATING STRATEGIES

Aggravating strategies were divided into two clusters: the first has commands (in the form of imperatives), obligation statements, and statements in which the speaker refers to the interlocutor as a source of annoyance in the head-act (HA-SOA/P). The second has action-ceasing verbs, which force the hearer to stop an action taking place. An example of HA-SOA/P and an action-ceasing verb is in (90).

(90) 1st Bac ex-CLIL:

- Ss-T (HA-SOA/P): Teacher *please can you do less noise when you write* in the keyboard?
- Ss-T (action-ceasing verb): Excuse me, *please* teacher can *you stop* to click on the keyboard, because I'm doing the exam and with the noise you interrupt me. Thanks

5.4.6.1. IMPERATIVES, OBLIGATION-STATEMENTS AND HA-SOA/P

Learners used of HA-SOA/P more when addressing the teacher and commands in the form of imperatives when addressing peers. Obligation statements were used trivially

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 53; Figure 67), learners in 2nd Bac-EFL used SOA-P grounders less than the other groups (37.8%) and were followed in percentage by 1st Bac ex-CLIL students (45.44%) then by 4th ESO CLIL students (57.4%). Students' use of imperatives was limited in general when addressing the teacher; 1st Bac ex-CLIL did not use it at all, whereas 4th ESO CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL used them trivially (2.1% and 5.4%).

Table 63. *Aggravating strategies – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-T situation).*

	Total N	HA-SOA/P		Imperatives		Obligation	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	27	57,45	1	2,13	0	0,00
1 st Bac. ex-CLIL	11	5	45,45	0	0,00	0	0,00
2 nd Bac EFL	37	14	37,84	2	5,41	0	0,00

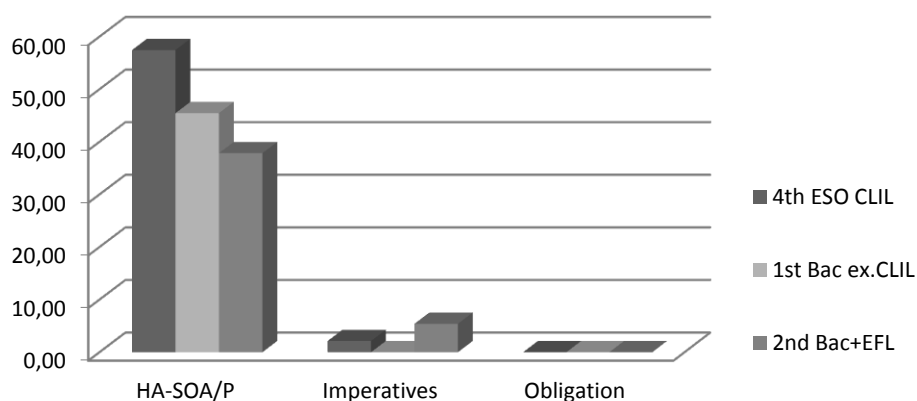


Figure 67. *Aggravating strategies – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-T situation).*

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 64; Figure 68), learners in 1st Bac ex-CLIL used SOA-P less than the other groups (9.09 %), followed in percentage by 2nd Bac-EFL (10.81%) and then by 4th ESO CLIL (26.67%). As for their use of

imperatives, 2nd Bac-EFL used imperatives less than the other groups (21.62%) and were followed in percentage by 4th year CLIL (37.78%) then 1st Bac ex-CLIL (45.45%). The latter was also the only group that used obligation statements in this situation (9.09%).

Table 64. *Aggravating strategies – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-Ss situation).*

	Total N	HA-SOA/P		Imperatives		Obligation	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	45	12	26,67	17	37,78	0	0,00
1 st Bac. ex-CLIL	11	1	9,09	5	45,45	1	9,09
2 nd Bac EFL	37	4	10,81	8	21,62	0	0,00

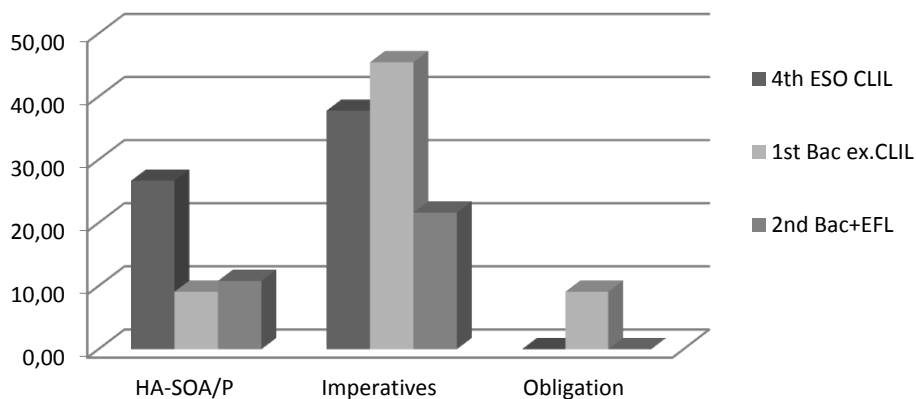


Figure 68. *Aggravating strategies – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-Ss situation).*

MAIN FINDINGS - IMPERATIVES, OBLIGATION STATEMENTS AND HA-SOA/P

The results in this subsection showed that 1) learners' requests were aggravated by HA-SOA/P and imperatives. These were used more by 4th ESO CLIL and 1st Bac ex-CLIL students then generally declined in the use of 2nd Bac-EFL students. This leads us to conclude that 2nd Bac-EFL students were more

capable of avoiding these types of aggravating modifiers than the other two groups.

5.4.6.2. ACTION-CEASING VERBS

The results generally showed that *stop* was the most dominant action-ceasing verb in students' requests in the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations, but it was used more in the Ss-T situation.

In the Ss-T situation (see Table 65; Figure 69), 1st Bac ex-CLIL students used *stop* more (54.55%) than the other groups and was followed in percentage by 2nd Bac-EFL then 4th ESO CLIL (40.54% and 38.30%). The other three action-ceasing verbs were not used at all in this situation.

Table 65. Aggravating action-ceasing verbs – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English)(Ss-T situation).

Student Levels	Total N	Stop		Turn/Switch off		Shut up		Be quiet	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	47	18	38,30	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
1 st Bac. ex-CLIL	11	6	54,55	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
2 nd Bac EFL	37	15	40,54	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00

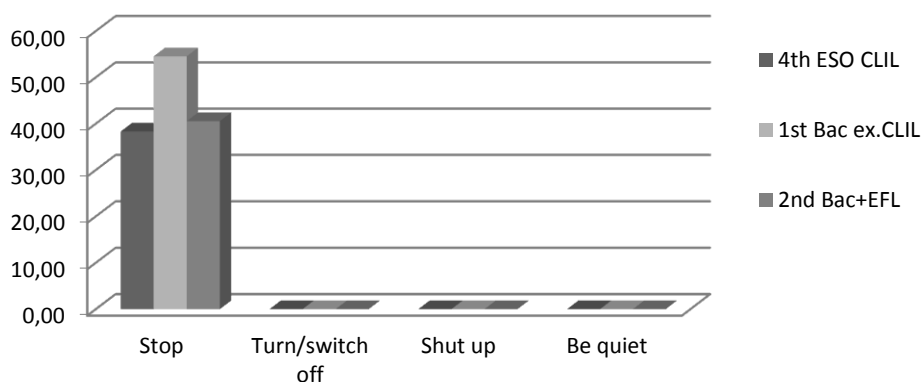


Figure 69. Aggravating action-ceasing verbs – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English)(Ss-Ss situation).

In the Ss-Ss situation (see Table 66; Figure 70), 1st Bac ex-CLIL students used *stop* more than the other groups (18.18%), followed in percentage by 4th ESO CLIL then 2nd Bac-EFL and (6.67% and 5.41%). As for the other action-ceasing verbs, 4th ESO CLIL students and 2nd Bac-EFL used the full spectrum in the following percentages: *turn/switch off* (15.56%:5.41%), *shut up* (8.89%:5.41) and *be quiet* (8.89%:2.70), which shows that less students in 2nd Bac-EFL used action-ceasing verbs other than *stop*. 1st Bac.ex-CLIL students also seemed more inclined to using *stop* and *be quiet*.

Table 66. Aggravating action-ceasing verbs – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-Ss situation).

Student Levels	Stop			Turn/Switch off		Shut up		Be quiet	
	Total N	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	45	3	6,67	7	15,56	4	8,89	4	8,89
1 st Bac. ex-CLIL	11	2	18,18	0	0,00	0	0,00	2	18,18
2 nd Bac EFL	37	2	5,41	2	5,41	2	5,41	1	2,70

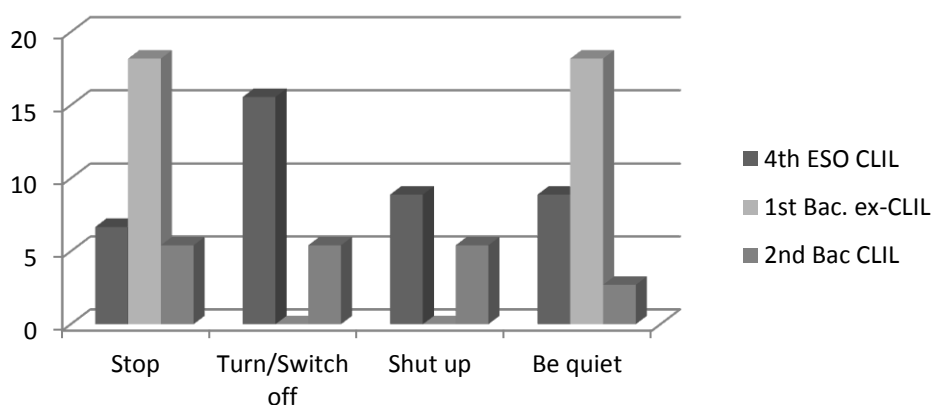


Figure 70. Aggravating action-ceasing verbs – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English) (Ss-Ss situation).

MAIN FINDINGS - ACTION-CEASING VERBS

The results in this subsection show that 1) in the Ss-T situation, learners in the three groups (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL) used *stop* only, where 1st Bac ex-CLIL students used *stop* more than the other groups. The use of *stop* only in the Ss-T situation is probably an effect of the DCT situation and was observed in the earlier sections (5.1.6., 5.2.6., and 5.3.6.); in other words, the difficulty of finding other verbs or formulas to request that the teacher would type quietly could have caused the learners to resort mainly to using '*stop*'. 2) In the Ss-Ss situation, the broadest variation in the use of action-ceasing verbs is seen in the requests of 4th ESO CLIL in comparison to 1st Bac ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL. In the context with peers, students could use a variety of verbs other than *stop* that are available in their repertoire that they hear in the classroom from the teacher (*be quiet*) or exchange in a friendly manner among each other in Spanish ('*callate*' - *shut up*), but which is not so friendly in English. Students in 2nd Bac-EFL, in particular, used the verbs 'lower' and 'turn down' when addressing peers in the residence situation quite noticeably and hence a lower overall percentage of action-ceasing verbs is produced by this group of students in the situation with peers.

5.4.7. Reception Task Results (Multiple Choice DCT Ss-T and Ss-Ss)

Moving on to the reception tasks, the four options in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation were:

(A) *“I really needed to talk to you”*.
(Rated as politic)

(B) *“But we have an appointment. Please, I need to talk to you now”*.
(Rated as impolite)

(C) *“I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent”*.
(Rated as polite)

(D) *“I had to wait for this appointment I want to solve my problem too”*.
(Rated as rude)

When addressing the teacher in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation (see Table 67; Figure 71), 2nd Bac-EFL students were different from the other two groups. Most students in 2nd Bac EFL selected choice I-polite (43.24%), followed in percentage by (B) -impolite (29.73%) then by choices (A)-politic (21.6%) and (D)-rude (5.41%). In contrast, the majority of students in 4th ESO CLIL and 1st Bac ex-CLIL selected choice (B)-impolite (49% and 50%), followed in percentage by choice (C)-polite (28.30% and 33.33%) then by choices (A)-politic (20.75% and 8.33%) and (D)-rude (1.89% and 8.33%). The graph shows a decrease in students’ choice of the impolite request (B) in 2nd Bac-EFL and an increase in their selection of the polite request (C). No significant differences were found.

Table 67. *The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T situation) - 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English)*

	Total N	Politic A		Impolite B		Polite C		Rude D	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	53	11	20,75	26	49,06	15	28,30	1	1,89
1 st Bac ex-CLIL	12	1	8,33	6	50,00	4	33,33	1	8,33
2 nd Bac-EFL	37	8	21,62	11	29,73	16	43,24	2	5,41

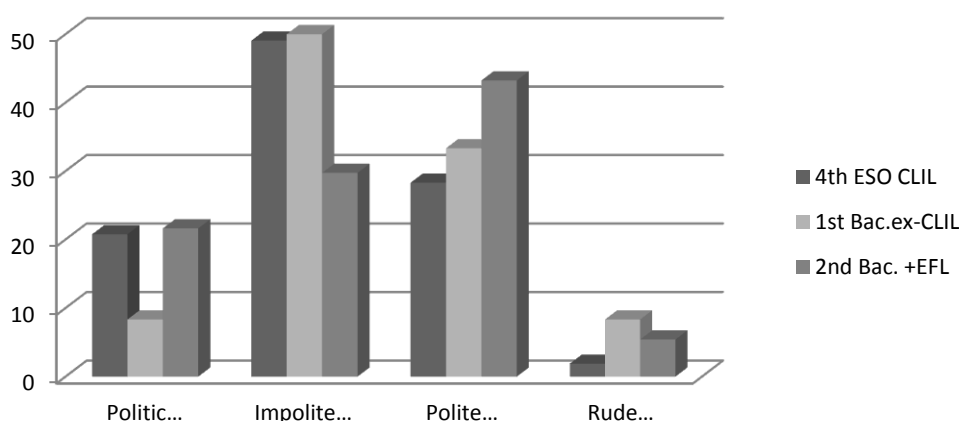


Figure 71. The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T situation) – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English)

As for the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation, choices A to C were rated as polite and choice D to F were rated as impolite. The six options were:

- (A) *“It seems that we will have to organize the room ourselves including the bathroom because our tuition does not cover having a helper”.*
- (B) *“I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom”.*
- (C) *“I will buy you lunch If you promise to organize the bathroom”.*
- (D) *“You really must organize that bathroom.”*
- (E) *“Look, ‘could’ you clear your things out of the bathroom?”*
- (F) *“If you are always so messy, you’ll have to find another roommate”.*

Table 68. The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss situation) – 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English)

	Total N	Polite A		Polite B		Polite C		Impolite D		Impolite E		Impolite F	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
4 th ESO CLIL	53	10	18,87	19	35,85	4	7,55	7	13,21	9	16,98	4	7,55
1 st Bac.ex-CLIL	12	0	0,00	5	41,67	0	0,00	3	25,00	2	16,67	2	16,67
2 nd Bac. +EFL	37	5	13,51	16	43,24	0	0,00	9	24,32	6	16,22	1	2,70

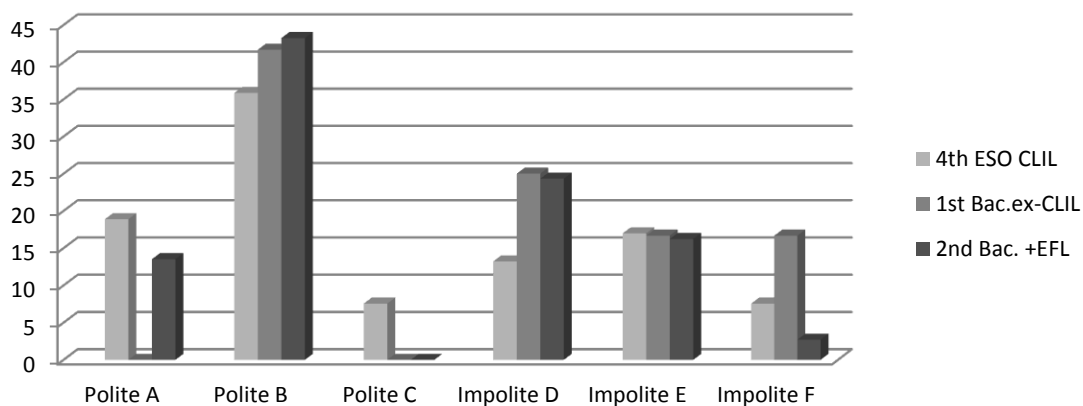


Figure 72. The selection of requests in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss situation) - 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac.ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL (groups with more exposure to English)

When addressing peers in the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation, from among the three possible polite requests, most students selected choice (B) in general, which gradually increased from 4th ESO CLIL to 2nd Bac-EFL (35.85%, 41.67%, 43.24%). Students in 4th ESO CLIL also selected the other two choices (A) and (C) more than the other two groups. Generally, more learners in 2nd Bac-EFL and 4th ESO CLIL preferred the choices raters classified as polite unlike 1st Bac ex-CLIL whose choices mostly fell under impolite requests in choices (D), I and (F), respectively. No significant differences were found across groups in the selection of choices (D) to (F); however, it is noticed that students in 1st Bac ex-CLIL selected choices (D) and (F) considerably in comparison to the other groups.

SECTION SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Learners in 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex.CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL were considered three groups with high but varied exposure to English through: a) participating

in the CLIL program at the time the data was collected (4th ESO CLIL), b) having been part of the CLIL program in the prior academic year (1st Bac ex.CLIL), or having received extra EFL instruction during the academic year when the data was collected (2nd Bac-EFL). In regards to **softening external modifiers**, all three groups used specific OBJ-SOA grounders. No significant differences were found in students' use of non-specific grounders; however, learners in 4th ESO CLIL and 1st Bac ex.CLIL used them more with peers, whereas 2nd Bac-EFL used them more with the teacher. Learners in 2nd Bac-EFL were the only ones among the three groups with high exposure to English to use the full spectrum of the other softening external modifiers (including cost minimizers and external understaters), which suggests 2nd Bac-EFL students show more pragmatic development softening requests using external modifiers.

In regards to **softening internal modifiers**, learners in 2nd Bac-EFL were also the only ones who used the full spectrum of modifiers (including understaters, consultative devices and downtoners) although in a very low percentage. In contrast, Learners in 1st Bac ex.CLIL employed *mid-please* and understaters only. This suggests that 2nd Bac-EFL students in this study, followed by 4th ESO CLIL, are more capable of softening requests using internal modifiers than the other two groups. The same observation was noted in learners' use of **softening strategies**, where 2nd Bac-EFL and 4th ESO CLIL used '*could*' more than 1st Bac ex-CLIL, whereas 1st Bac ex-CLIL used '*can*' more than the other two groups.

In regards to **marked *please* and aggravating modifiers and strategies**, learners in 2nd Bac-EFL used *initial-please* less when compared to the other groups and *final-please* more when compared to 1st Bac. ex-CLIL. The lower use of the urgent and emotive *initial-please* gives 2nd Bac-EFL an advantage over the other two groups. Though *final-please* can be seen as more authoritative in social transactions, ELT textbooks show that *please* is taught in mid-position and sentence-final position (Salazar Campillo, 2007; Usó Juan, 2007). Students in 2nd Bac-EFL also used SOA-P grounders generally less than the other groups. In contrast, learners in 1st Bac ex.CLIL used a higher frequency of threats when addressing peers and *stop-an action-ceasing verb-when addressing the teacher*. As for 4th ESO CLIL, they used HA-SOA/P more. The use of *turn/switch off, shut up, and be quiet* were also more frequent in the use of 4th ESO CLIL. Though 2nd Bac-EFL students used upgraders more when addressing the teacher, in comparison to 4th ESO CLIL and 1st Bac ex-EFL, they used softeners the most and aggravators the least and are, therefore, seen as more pragmatically competent than the two groups.

The Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) and Ss-Ss results showed that students in 2nd Bac-EFL, followed by 4th ESO CLIL again, avoided selecting impolite requests more than 1st Bac ex-CLIL. In the **Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation**, 2nd Bac EFL selected polite requests the most and impolite requests the least when compared to the other groups. Where politic requests are concerned though, 4th ESO CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL were similar to each other and different from 1st Bac

ex-CLIL. In the **Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation**, the selection of the polite structures starting with a disarmer and followed by a need statement "*I hate bothering you, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom*" (choice B) increased linearly from 4th ESO CLIL to 2nd Bac-EFL. This structure was not produced at all by the students in the WDCT production task. This means that disarmers are recognized by the students as a softener, but they are not available in their repertoire when formulating requests. Students in 1st Bac ex-CLIL, on the other hand, used choices (D) and (F) the most; choice (D) contains an obligation and an upgrader "*You really must organize that bathroom.*" And choice (F) is a threat "*If you are always so messy, you'll have to find another roommate*". Learners in 2nd Bac-EFL are therefore concluded to be more pragmatically developed in their ability to recognize polite requests, as well.

CONCLUSION

Learners in 1st Bac ex-CLIL were the least tactful in their requests in more than one aspect: they used '*could*' less and *stop* more when addressing the teacher in the Ss-T situation, and they used threats more with peers in the Ss-Ss situation. In addition, when selecting choices in the MCDCT production task, they tended to choose impolite requests including obligation, intensification and threats. The distinct pragmatic behavior of 1st Bac ex-CLIL could be attributed to their loss of pragmatic gains over the year since leaving the CLIL program. Using delayed posttests in Koike and Pearson (2005) showed that learners' gains in pragmatics were not clearly retained in the longer term irrespective of explicitness or

implicitness of instruction and feedback. This is not the case of 2nd Bac-EFL students given they had received two hours of EFL classes per for a whole academic year prior to gathering the data and are elite students.

In comparison to 2nd Bac-EFL, the students in 4th ESO CLIL are less pragmatically competent having used more aggravating strategies including the use of *HA-SOA/P* in both situations and action-ceasing verbs in the Ss situation. When 4th ESO CLIL students were compared to the other ESO levels in section 5.1, 4th ESO CLIL showed some traces of development and when 4th ESO CLIL was compared to Regular 4th ESO in section 5.3, the term pragmatic bipolarity was used to describe the performance of the former. The researcher had coined the term pragmatic duality or bipolarity in this study to refer to some students' oscillation between positive and negative pragmatic behaviors, especially modifiers that soften and aggravate are used by the same students within the same request or utterance. Results in this section show that 2nd Bac-EFL students did not show evidence of pragmatic duality and that they softened their requests more than the other two groups, 4th ESO CLIL and 1st Bac ex-EFL. It is therefore concluded that 2nd Bac-EFL students are more pragmatically developed in comparison to 4th ESO CLIL.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter started with a review of the research questions and the data collected from the prompts in the Discourse Completion Test (DCT). The

typology upon which the data analysis was based was also briefly reviewed before proceeding to present and discuss the results of the research questions. Each question was dealt with in a separate section. The results in sections 5.1 to 5.4 were presented in the same order of the prompts in the WDCT production task first then in the MCDCT reception task. Also, the results were grouped in the dimensions, categories and types (subcategories) explained in the previous chapter in the expanded typology of request modifiers [*unmarked to positively marked request modifiers (possible softeners), and marked to negatively marked request modifiers (possible aggravators), each divided into external modifications, internal modifications and strategies*)].

It was evident in this chapter that request-modification differences existed across educational levels (1st to 4th EO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO to 2nd Bachillerato) and between groups (4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO as well as across 4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-EFL and 2nd Bac-EFL) in regards to their use of external modifiers, internal modifiers and request strategies in different situations of high imposition (with a teacher and with peers). Learners' use of the analysed modifiers and strategies showed that though learners in 4th ESO CLIL varied their request modifications more in comparison to the other CLIL levels (1st to 3rd) and used more modifiers and strategies in comparison to other groups (Regular 4th ESO, 1st Bac ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL), they are at risk of pragmatic failure. Their requests showed they used more softening features, but also more aggravating features. The term *pragmatic bipolarity* was coined to

refer to this duality when using softeners and aggravators synchronously, and of which they are probably unaware. The same result was seen in the performance of 2nd Bachillerato students in the regular mainstream in comparison to the lower education levels within the same program (Regular 4th ESO and 1st Bachillerato). It was therefore suspected that higher level students in each of the two programs (CLIL and Non-CLIL) acquired more language means without understanding their pragmatic implications. This observed effect is in line with Bardovi-Harlig (2013) regarding how some language learners with fuller repertoires do not use their language resources for pragmatic purposes. In contrast, the performance of 2nd Bac-EFL students, who received two extra hours of English instruction at school during the academic year at the time the data was collected, showed a higher use of some of the request softeners (preparatory conditions and non-specific grounders when addressing the teacher) and a lower use of some marked modifiers and aggravators (initial-*please*, HA-SOA/P, imperatives, and action-ceasing verbs).

The next and final chapter revisits the main findings from the study before proceeding to discuss implications and further research.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

As stated in Chapter 1, the aim of this study is to contribute to the under-investigated area of pragmatics in CLIL. With this aim in mind, the study set out to investigate whether there are differences in the pragmatic competence of CLIL students in the upper secondary levels when compared with their peers in the lower secondary levels, and when compared to their peers in the regular mainstream (non-CLIL) program, at different educational levels. To do so, four interrelated questions were posed. The four questions are:

- i. Are there pragmatic differences across educational levels within the CLIL English program?
- ii. Are there pragmatic differences between the highest educational level in the CLIL program and its non-CLIL regular mainstream counterpart?
- iii. Are there pragmatic differences across educational levels in the non-CLIL regular mainstream program?
- iv. Are there pragmatic differences among groups with more exposure to English (CLIL and non-CLIL)?

The data gathered to answer these questions led to the modification of the CCSARP coding scheme (Cross-Cultural Speech Act Request Project) resulting in a new typology of request modifications. This concluding chapter starts with a final discussion of the study in relation to CLIL research. The main findings in

relation to the new typology of request modifiers and the four research questions are described and discussed, followed by a section on the limitations of the study. Finally, the implications of the findings with recommendations are presented in relation to teaching, teacher training, and research.

6.1. FILLING A GAP IN CLIL RESEARCH

As mentioned in the introduction, investigating pragmatics in CLIL is a relatively new field given that most of the research in CLIL has so far focused on how students and teachers perceive CLIL, the characteristics of CLIL methodology and CLIL students' language competences. Findings from the area of language competences have mostly shown that CLIL students are generally at an advantage in receptive skills (Jiménez Catalán & Ruiz de Zarobe, 2007), lexical variation and complexity (Dalton-Puffer 2007; Jiménez Catalán, Ruiz de Zarobe & Cenoz, 2006), lexico-grammar (Ackerl, 2007), and speaking fluency (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2008). However, research concerned with CLIL students' interpersonal competences is quite novel and scarce. As recently verified in two published reviews about research in CLIL and CLIL gains (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula and Smit, 2010; Ruiz de Zarobe *et al*, 2011), pragmatics in CLIL is under-investigated and the effect of CLIL on learner pragmatics is not known. Where English is the Medium of Instruction (EMI) in higher education, a few studies have targeted English philology students who have more exposure to English given that English is the content-subject of their study (Mártinez-Flor and Usó-Juan, 2006; Martí-Arnández, 2008;

Mártinez-Flor, 2009). These have shown that English philology students outperform their peers in the other degree programs who only have EFL classes and where English is not the main content subject. Whether similar results would be found in the CLIL context at the secondary educational level is up to further investigation, and to which this study aims to contribute. In the specific context of CLIL though, there are only a handful of studies that investigated the interpersonal aspects of CLIL classroom discourse by exploring student-teacher interaction and student-student interaction (Dalton-Puffer and Nikula, 2006; Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Llinares and Morton, 2010; Llinares, Morton and Whittaker, 2012; Llinares and Romero 2008; Llinares and Pastrana, 2013; Nikula, 2007; Nikula, 2008). These studies used naturalistic discourse data gathered during classroom activities that included role plays, presentations, group work, and individual work. These have used classroom discourse so far as evidence of CLIL learners' language use for social-interactive purposes in the CLIL classroom (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer and Llinares, 2013), but they have not targeted pragmatic competence as a learning outcome of the CLIL approach, which is the focus of this study. A discourse approach was a common feature in these studies and some used Systemic Functional Linguistics for data analysis (Llinares, Morton and Whittaker, 2012; Llinares and Pastrana, 2013). The discourse analytic approach in these former studies (e.g., Dalton-Puffer, 2005, 2007; Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2006) have verified that when using the speech act of requests in the CLIL classroom,

directives were warranted despite observing some cross-cultural variations in the level of directness used by the teachers (Dalton-Puffer and Nikula, 2006). Gassner and Maillat (2006) observed the potential of CLIL classrooms to create a pragmatic 'mask effect' that leads students to speak more in the CLIL classroom, which Nikula (2008) has also noted. However, there is no evidence to support or refute whether CLIL students' extended opportunity to use English in the CLIL programs have led to honing their pragmatic competence in preparation to using English not only fluently and accurately, but also adequately in the circles of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF).

Studies in EFL/ESL ILP have shown that some language learners are able to use their limited language resources for pragmatic purposes as in the case of the Japanese learner Wes (Schmidt, 1983), whereas other studies have shown that some students with better linguistic means are not able to do so (Bardovi-Harlig, 2013). Evidence from EFL/ESL could be drawn upon to hypothesize about CLIL students' pragmatic competence, but CLIL students in the Euro-zone cannot be fully categorized as EFL students. We see that on the one hand, CLIL learners are exposed to English for long hours through content-subjects, where it is a learning tool as well as an objective to work towards, and CLIL students also have the advantage of experiencing different language registers during these classes (Lorenzo, Casal and Moore, 2009). On the other hand, in Spain, students are not likely to speak English outside the classroom, where language is classified as institutional talk (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 2005:2)

with the potential to be limited to responding to teachers' questions (Nikula, 2007). Even if CLIL students have the advantage of negotiating and collaborating more in the content class (Nikula, 2005, 2008), their sociopragmatic profile in the L2 is still probably hiding behind habitual classroom discourse formulas. Therefore, researching pragmatics in the CLIL context was needed.

In an effort to contribute to the area of pragmatics in CLIL, the study at hand targeted the speech act of requests of CLIL and non-CLIL students. The aim is to investigate how they used their language resources in atypical situations of high-imposition to see how their acquisition of certain language devices intertwines with their ability to formulate requests. The type of data, the elicitation instrument-a Discourse Completion Test-and the data analysis method allows the results of this study to be compared to studies in the realm of EFL/ESL. The results of the study will hopefully reduce the uncertainties related to whether CLIL benefits learners' pragmatic competence and fill a gap in CLIL research. Equally, the new contributions to the typology of request modifiers and strategies that came out of the analysis of the data in this study could serve further data analysis in the future.

New additions to the typology and the findings from the results of the study are summarized in the following sections. These findings will show that learners can acquire request modification devices as they progress from one educational level to another, yet many students in more advanced educational

tend to fail at employing them. Learners' lack of pragmatic knowledge regarding how these devices should be combined lead to using softening and aggravating devices within the same utterance, referred to here as pragmatic duality/bipolarity. These findings add to previous calls for teaching pragmatics not only for students to learn additional L2 pragmatic forms, but more importantly to learn how to avoid offence when using their available linguistic means.

6.2. MAIN FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The expanded typology played a major role in classifying and coding the data, which shaped the results of this study. Therefore, the first part of this section (*New categories in request typology*) briefly reviews the reasons for expanding the typology of request modifications, then discusses its outcomes in relation to findings from the studies reviewed earlier in the literature chapter (Chapter 2).

The second part of this section (*Main findings of the study*) will then answer each of the four research questions this study set out to answer.

6.2.1. NEW CATEGORIES IN THE REQUEST TYPOLOGY.

As a reminder, the requests in this study were collected by using a DCT that consisted of a written production task (Written DCT) and a multiple-choice reception task (Multiple Choice DCT). When the CCSARP manual (Blum-Kulka *et al*, 1989) was used for the coding of the requests, it was noted that the

participants in this study had used request modifications that were not among the categories available in the CCSARP coding manual. Therefore, these were incorporated to allow for a more thorough analysis of students' requests. The expanded typology was presented earlier in this study (Chapter 4).

The distinctiveness of the expanded typology does not precisely lie in its being data-driven as this trend has been followed in several important studies that have paved the way for this practice (Alcón-Soler et al, Blum-Kulka *et al*, 1989; Sifianou, 1999; Trsoborg, 1995). Its distinctiveness lies in two main points:

First, this typology allows the users to visualize modifiers as an extended range of categories rather than see them on two sides of a pole that are either softening or aggravating. Using the concept of range allows request modifications to be evaluated differently to a certain extent, depending on situational variations when needed. To clarify, the typology has two ranges.

The first includes categories of modifiers and strategies that *tend to* soften requests. These range from positively marked to unmarked modifications. The second includes categories of modifiers and strategies that *tend to* aggravate requests. These range from marked to negatively marked (Table 9 in Chapter 4).

The idea of ranges was based on Watt's (2003) theory of Relational Work.

According to Watts (2003), unnoticed non-salient utterances are part of every day's politic behavior and are therefore unmarked. In contrast, overt politeness and impoliteness are marked and noticeable, whether positively or negatively.

Depending on factors like age, social distance, power and other situational

variations, the saliency or non-saliency of certain modifiers would be favored or not. The updated typology could allow researchers to analyze examples (1) and (2) below differently as a result of having the category of *implicating the interlocutor as a source of annoyance in the headact* (HA-SOA/P) within the dimension of strategies under the range of *Marked to Negatively Marked Modifiers*.

1. Student to Student (HA-SOA/P **in bold**): “Could ***you don't make noise please?*** I have an exam tomorrow”.
2. Student to Student: “*Could you turn down the volume please* because tomorrow I have an exam”.

Without this category (HA-SOA/P), both examples (1) and (2) could be claimed to be similarly modified since they both headacts use a query preparatory condition (could) and a politeness marker (please), followed by the same grounder. The extent to which HA-SOA/P is considered rude is up to many factors. The concept of ranges, therefore, allows for some flexibility when evaluating the degree of softening or aggravation in a request. In the case of example (1), this request may be deemed as marked by some and negatively marked by others, depending on the evaluator's cultural background and first language, the context of the situation in which this utterance was produced, the distance between the interlocutors and the status of each. However, it is important to clarify that no claim is being made here that this modified typology will allow for the same degree of flexibility when evaluating the appropriateness of absolutely any request. To avoid wordiness, the researcher

in this study referred to the range of positively marked to unmarked modifications as “softeners / softening modifications” and to the range of marked to negatively marked modifications as “aggravators / aggravating modifiers” in the results’ section.

Second, placing request modifications under the two mentioned ranges helps stress the potential of these modifiers to soften or aggravate. This takes us back to the origins of the speech act theory and the use of illocution and perlocution (Austin, 1962), which are necessary to distinguish between the intention of the speaker’s utterance and the effect the utterance has on the hearer. Indicating the overall effect of the modifier seems important when discussing managing relationships and pragmatic competence. In doing so, modifiers are classified by more than their position within the head act (internal modifications or strategies) or outside the head act (external modifications), or by their specific functions (grounders, consultative devices, downtoners, understaters...). In example (1) above, next to saying that ‘...*you... make noise?*’ is a strategy (in the head act) whose function is to strongly hint that the interlocutor is a source of annoyance, placing it under *Marked to Negatively Marked Modifications* indicates the potential of this strategy to aggravate. In the case of *please*, for example, assigning a function to it posed a problem given that ‘*please*’ could be used in different capacities: a politeness marker, a request marker, a pleading device or a re-enforcer to emphasize the utterance of the speaker (Alcón-Soler *et al*, 2005; Martínez-Flor, 2009).

Identifying *please* by one of its positions (extrasentential or embedded), or by one of its functions is necessary, but for the purpose of this study a further step was taken to label it by its potential to soften or aggravate (as with the rest of the modifying devices). For example, because *mid-please* is conventionally polite and unmarked, it was classified as a marker that tends to soften (*Unmarked to Positively Marked Modifiers*). Similarly, because extrasentential-please (initial and final-*please*) is unconventional in regular speech and considered either emotive or authoritative, it was classified as a marker that tends to aggravate (*Marked to Negatively Marked Modifiers*).

To sum up the points above, it was important in this study that the typology would reflect whether learners are able to soften their requests enough as speakers of English as a lingua franca, or whether they cause offence by not being able to avoid certain aggravators. Therefore, like Alcón-Soler *et al* (2005) the typology aims to reflect the sociopragmatic competence of learners. In the same line, syntactic grammatical classifications as those found in the original CCSARP's (1989) and Trosborg (1995) were not included in the modified typology since the typology is data-driven and syntactic downgraders (tag questions, interrogatives, negation, past tense and if-clauses) were hardly present in the data.

Adding pragmatic devices that emerged in the data of this study avoided that the analysis would become a mechanical exercise of applying existing tools to new data that would corset the results. The newly identified categories and

subcategories, hence, acted as additional lenses for a more in-depth analysis. As part of the outcomes of this study, these new additions (argued for in Chapter 4) are discussed below. Though they are new additions, they will be discussed in light of the results of the studies previously mentioned in the review of literature. First, we will look at *non-implicating grounders*, *external understaters* and *intrasentential-please* in the range of 'Positively Marked to Unmarked Modifications' which tend to soften requests within the dimension of external modifiers. The description of each is followed respectively by its discussion.

Non-implicating grounders

As described before, these are grounders that do not associate the interlocutor with any source of annoyance, which are either non-specific or specific:

i) Non-specific grounders: these are not specific to any particular object or person as the source of annoyance. They can involve an event ([because] *the exam is tomorrow*) or the speaker himself ([because] *I cannot concentrate*) as the reason for making the request. These grounders are very common in the speech act of requests, and they are culturally universal (Kasper, 1997). Grounders as a category are a feature of all existing typologies since the CCSARP's (1989), but their presence here as a new addition is based on distinguishing them as a subtype, among other subtypes of grounders, in the category of 'Grounders'.

ii) Specific grounders: different from the previous non-specific grounders, these specify an object (OBJ) or an element in the setting as the source of annoyance (SOA), which the speaker uses as an excuse/justification for making a request ([because] *the keyboard makes noise*). These were abbreviated and referred to as OBJ-SOA grounders.

There is enough evidence in the literature that help conclude that the groups which used specific OBJ-SOA grounders in a higher frequency are more pragmatically developed than the groups that used them in a lower frequency. Also, they help conclude that the groups that used these specific OBJ-SOA grounders are more pragmatically developed than the groups that used the more common non-specific grounders.

According to Kasper and Rose (2002:26), formulas are retained and retrieved by EFL learners as chunks, which is less demanding when compared to producing '*freely constructed utterances*'. Kasper and Rose (2002:135) also explain development in learners' requests as a move from depending on formulas to which they have been introduced to using parts of these formulas after defragmenting, analyzing and reusing them in new productions of their own, which Otcu and Zeyrtek (2008: 289) also refer to it as creativity in production. Since referring to an object/instrument instead of the hearer avoids implicating the latter negatively (as a source of annoyance). It is, therefore, only logical that these non-formulaic OBJ-SOA grounders would have been used by students in the higher levels. Producing an utterance like '*I cannot concentrate properly*

because of the sound of the computer's keyboard is likely to require more thinking about how to avoid mentioning the hearer and more language processing when compared to producing more common non-specific grounders like *'I can't concentrate in the exam'*. Non-specific grounders were of course found to be far more frequent when compared to OBJ-SOA grounders in the productions of students irrespective of their school level or group (groups with more or less exposure to English) because they are more common to use. Also, non-specific grounders were sometimes used in significantly higher percentages in groups with less exposure to English. For example, students in Regular 4th ESO used non-specific grounders more than the students in 4th ESO CLIL who had used generally more OBJ-SOA grounders (Table 28).

Generally, students in this study depended on the use of grounders in their requests. These are usually a transparent and common means to communicate pragmatic intent. Previously reviewed research in this study (House and Kasper 1987; Cenoz and Valencia 1996; Economidou-Kogetsidis 2008; Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis 2010; Economidou-Kogetsidis 2012; Yu 1999; Hassall 2001, Hill 1997; Kobayashi and Rinnert 2003; Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan, 2006; Rose 2000; Trosborg 1995) reported an increase in learners' use of external modifiers-including grounders-in higher proficiency levels. However, because these studies did not sub-classify grounders the way they are sub-classified in this study (implicating and non-implicating grounders), it is hard to draw comparisons. In this study, an increase in the use of non-specific

grounders was seen in the higher CLIL educational levels (see Table 13; Figure 10). This increase was significant in 4th ESO CLIL when students addressed peers at a residence in the Ss-Ss situation. Like in the reviewed studies, students in this study resorted to justifying their requests by translating parts of the prompts (as in Hassall, 2001; Otcu and Zyerek, 2008), finding security in reverberating what they believe is expected of them as students to support the request on one hand, and transferring a common request strategy from their own L1 on the other hand. As for OBJ-SOA grounders, where an object is mentioned without directly implicating the hearer and which require more tact and creativity on the learners' end, these were used more by students in 4th ESO CLIL, by students in the higher regular levels of 1st & 2nd Bachillerato, as well as by 2nd Bachillerato students with extra hours of EFL.

External Understaters

These are devices like *a little, a bit*, and other time-related devices as described in Alcón-Soler et al (2005) often found within the head act; however, these were noted to be embedded within the grounders which led to their being classified as external modification devices. Eventually, these proved to be very scarce and no conclusions could be drawn from their use.

Intrasentential *please*

This is '*Please*' embedded in mid-sentence position and used as a formulaic politeness or request marker. (Section 4.3.4 discusses the case of *please* in details).

Faerch and Kasper (1989) report having classified *please* as an internal modifier in line with the CCSARP coding manual; however, when inspecting some of their examples, it is noted that their classification does not mean that it always occurred in their learners' data in mid position.¹²

On the other hand, Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan (2006) and Martínez-Flor (2009) classified it as an external modifier following Trosborg's (1995) and Sifianou's (1999) typologies. This discrepancy makes it difficult to compare how learners in different studies used *please* in regards to its position-being external or internal-(for more on this point, refer to Barron, 2003:145-152).

Findings regarding students' use of mid-*please* in this study showed that some lower educational CLIL levels (1st and 2nd ESO CLIL) used *mid-please* somewhat more than in the highest CLIL level (4th ESO CLIL). The same was observed when learners in Regular 4th ESO used *mid-please* somewhat more than the 4th ESO CLIL which has more exposure to English. This shows that *mid-please* was not more syntactically complex for the lower levels as previously suggested by

¹² Examples from Faerch and Kasper (1989:232): "33. Judith can I please borrow your notes" / "34. Please can I drive with you"

Barron (2003:149). Since no significant differences across levels or between groups were found in regards to the use of *mid-please*, the question whether *mid-please* is more or less syntactically complex for the lower levels is inconclusive.

The above part reviewed the newly added *non-implicating grounders*, *external understaters* and *intrasentential-please* in the range of 'Unmarked to Positively Marked Modifiers' that tend to soften requests. Now, we will look at the newly added devices in the range of 'Marked to Negatively Marked modifiers' that tend to aggravate requests. These are *implicating grounders*, *extrasentential-please* (under external modifiers), *referring to the interlocutor as a source of annoyance*, and *using action-ceasing verbs* (aggravating strategies).

Implicating grounders

These are grounders that associate the hearer or the requestee-a person (P)-to the source of annoyance like in '*Teacher, you are doing too much noise...*' These grounders are seen as aggravating request modifiers. These were referred to in abbreviated form as SOA-P grounders.

Implicating grounders (SOA-P) were used significantly more by the highest CLIL level when compared to the lower CLIL levels and generally more when compared to Regular 4th ESO when addressing the teacher. They were also found in the requests of the groups with more exposure to English (1st Bac. ex-EFL and 2nd Bac-EFL). A slightly increased percentage of use was also detected in the upper Regular non-CLIL levels (1st and 2nd Bac). Given that it is unlikely

that the learners would refer to the teacher as a source of annoyance more than they would with peers, the first suggestion is that it could be a prompt effect. The prompts in the data collection instrument were in Spanish to avoid that students would misunderstand the cue or copy phrases from the prompt into their request. Part of the prompt in the situation with the teacher mentions the noise caused by the professor's computer/typing (*Al teclear en su ordenador, hace un ruido alto...*). It is possible that the learners translated the wording of the problem, and given that they have more linguistic means to transfer from their L1 what they perceive as appropriate, they slipped up. In line with Takahashi and Beebe (1987), Otcu and Zayerek (2008), and Al Gahtani and Roever (2009), higher-proficiency learners in this study could have transferred forms from their L1 pragmatics more than the lower levels. Ellis (1994) also explains that students focus on the message at the expense of the style, the reason why students come across as abrupt. It is quite clear that the learners did not consider the effect implicating *SOA-P grounders* might have on the hearer, or they supposed that all grounders equally justify requests. It is worth mentioning that the same groups who used more *SOA-P grounders* (mentioned above) also used softening *OBJ-SOA grounders*. This duality using softening and aggravating devices will be discussed again in 6.2.2.

Extra-sentential please

This refers to positioning *please* in initial or final position, which makes it salient and marked (Section 4.3.4 discusses the case of please in details).

Unlike the findings from Martínez-Flor and Usó-Juan (2006) and Martínez-Flor (2009), students in this study used *please* more in initial position than in final position (except for 2nd ESO CLIL). This poses a question regarding the function of *please* in students' requests. According to Martínez-Flor, Spanish tertiary-level participants in her study used *please* in final position as a politeness marker, whereas the students in this study used it in initial position that literature in the field has interpreted as a plead to urge the interlocutor to refrain or modify an action (Sato, 2008; Whichmann, 2004). If the students in this study used it in this capacity, it could be attributed to the nature of the prompts that placed the learners in situations of urgency and high imposition on their space. Some of the students' complementary comments (a space in the questionnaire was allocated for students to comment on whether they intended to be polite) included that their will to be polite was communicated by their use of *please*, which suggests that it was intended as a politeness marker. Students probably are not aware of the different functions *please* has. A final comment regarding this point is the possibility of having used initial-*please* as an attention getter instead of 'excuse me' as Sifianou (1999) found in the data of Greek students. Attention getters were not included in the typology of modifiers presented in this study.

Implicating Head-acts (HA-SOA/P)

These are head acts in which the hearer is referred to as a source of annoyance as in ‘could you please stop *the noise you are making?*’ (Section 4.3.1 discusses the HA-SOA/P in details).

The findings in this study indicate that lower levels and levels and groups with less exposure to English used this strategy less. Among the CLIL levels, 3rd and 2nd CLIL used them the most, yet when 4th ESO CLIL is compared to Regular 4th ESO, we see that the former group used it significantly more. In the Regular non-CLIL groups, 1st and 2nd Bac. used them significantly more than 4th ESO CLIL. The only high educational level with a consistent clear (yet not significant) decline in the use of HA-SOA/P was the highest level in the groups with more Exposure to English (2nd Bac-EFL) when compared to 4th ESO CLIL, which received two extra hours of instruction to English per. An explanation could be that as students’ linguistic means increase, they start substituting safe formulas for more self-constructed ones (Kasper and Rose, 2002:26). This leads to a phase in which learners become verbose and slip up, after which they start employing different strategies by which they avoid aggravations while still producing their own-made formulas.

Action-ceasers verbs

These are action verbs like *stop*, *turn/switch off*, *be quiet/silent*, and *shut up* which inherently do not give the requestees any option but to end the action they are performing.

Findings showed that all participating levels and groups used more imperatives when addressing peers than when addressing the teacher. It has been hypothesized that varying language forms according to contextual factors in different situations (power, age and social distance, for example) indicates that learners have attentional control over knowledge (Bialystock, 1993). Therefore, students' use of varied request modifications when producing requests in different situations can be an indicator of attentional control and an improvement in their pragmatic competence. On the other hand, learners seemed to employ the action-ceasing verb *stop* more in the teacher situation than in the situation with peers. The high use of '*stop*' is attributed to the possible difficulty of finding a softer alternative to request that the teacher stops typing, yet some learners in different educational levels managed to focus on the manner in which the teacher was typing instead of asking that the action be stopped:

- "*Can you **be more careful** when you write with the computer, please?*"
- "*Can you **type more slowly?***"

The only significant difference in the use of *stop* was seen in the performance of 1st ESO CLIL in comparison to the other CLIL levels, where the former

used *stop* more. When addressing peers, learners tended to use other action-ceasing verbs like *shut up*, *be quiet* and *turn/switch off* more than *stop* probably because the situation allowed for these alternatives, next to others. A prompt effect could also be at play here.

In this section, we reviewed the newly added devices under the two explained ranges and what the study revealed regarding learners' use of these devices in relation to the formerly reviewed research. The second part of this section will then answer each of the four research questions this study set out to answer by discussing the main findings under each question.

6.2.2. MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY.

The main findings related to the four posed questions in this study are summarized in this section. The primary focus is on students' performance in the Written DCT (see 3.3.2.) followed by the main results of their performance in the Multiple Choice DCT. The findings, though presented separately for each question, intertwine and lead to the final conclusion and discussion.

6.2.1.1. PRAGMATIC DIFFERENCES ACROSS EDUCATIONAL LEVELS WITHIN THE CLIL ENGLISH PROGRAM

The first question investigated whether there were differences in the pragmatic competence of students in the CLIL English program across levels, from 1st ESO through 4th ESO.

Three main findings were drawn from students' productions in the Written DCT:

i) In comparison to the lower CLIL educational levels (1st ESO to 3rd ESO), students' requests in the highest CLIL level (4th ESO CLIL) show effort to avoid mentioning the interlocutor as a source of annoyance in their grounders.

The first main finding, then, is concerned with CLIL students' use of non-implicating grounders (those that do not implicate the interlocutor in the request). The results showed a linear progress in students' use of grounders from 1st ESO CLIL towards 4th ESO CLIL, where these students used non-specific grounders significantly more. Students in 4th ESO CLIL also used OBJ-SOA grounders more than the other levels though no significant differences were found across levels in regards to the latter subcategory.

Their overall higher use of non-implicating grounders shows a conscientious effort to save the hearer's face. Based on Kasper and Schmidt (1996:26), learners' pragmatic competence tends to progress from being dependent on some unanalyzed formulas, which they later analyze and fragment, to reusing parts of learned formulas in more complex utterances. Therefore, since OBJ-SOA grounders are non-formulaic when compared to the more routine-like non-implicating grounders, it is suggested that they require more careful consideration and language processing of the students. This leads to the conclusion that 4th ESO CLIL students are more pragmatically developed than their other CLIL peers.

ii) In comparison to the lower educational CLIL levels (1st to 3rd ESO CLIL), students' requests in the highest CLIL level (4th ESO CLIL) show more situational variation.

As mentioned before, 4th ESO CLIL students showed more effort in formulating atypical justifications for their requests to avoid implicating the teacher as a source of annoyance (OBJ-SOA grounders), which they did not do when addressing peers. For example, they combined OBJ-SOA grounders with non-specific grounders when addressing the teacher (*I am too nervous about the exam* (*non-specific*) and *I can not concentrate properly because of the sound of the computer's keyboard* (*OBJ-SOA*)). Students in 4th ESO CLIL also varied their use of softening internal modifiers slightly from one situation to the other by using downtoners more with the teacher (Ss-T situation) and understatements more with peers (Ss-Ss). In an effort to offer an explanation, the researcher suggests that downtoners (*maybe, perhaps, try to*) carry a level of uncertainty, which gives the interlocutor the benefit of non-compliance, whereas understatements (*a little*) do not. No significant differences were found between students' use of downtoners and understatements and students used them in low percentages. However, 4th ESO CLIL students' preference to downplay their requests with peers using understatements while giving the teacher the benefit of declining their request by using downtoners could mean that they are on their way to using different request modifications depending on who their interlocutor is. Varying language forms according to the situation shows attentional control over pragmatic knowledge (Bialystok, 1993) and situational variation

competence, as discussed in other similar studies mentioned earlier in the literature review section (Félix-Brasdefer, 2007; Rose, 2000).

Nonetheless, contrary to common expectations, students in 4th ESO CLIL in particular used strikingly more SOA-P grounders with the teacher, the implications of which are related to pragmatic duality, discussed below.

iii) When compared to the lower CLIL educational levels (1st to 3rd ESO CLIL), students in the highest CLIL level (4th ESO CLIL) show signs of pragmatic duality / bipolarity.

Initial analysis of 4th ESO CLIL students' requests in comparison to the requests of the other CLIL levels showed a degree of effort on part of 4th ESO CLIL students to map multiple language forms to one function and vary their use of external and internal modifications and strategies. According to Andersen (1984), this could be a sign of interlanguage development. Students in this level had obviously acquired more linguistic means than their peers in the lower educational levels to express themselves. However, it was noticed that students' attempts to vary modifiers included a variety of softening modifications as well as marked and aggravating ones. They used softening OBJ-SOA grounders (*I can not concentrate properly because of the sound of the computer's keyboard*), a few downtoners (*could you try to...*) and a few understatements (*a little, a bit*). Although 4th ESO CLIL students used SOA-OBJ grounders generally more than the other CLIL levels in both situations, they also used SOA-P grounders (*Teacher, you are doing too much noise*) significantly more in the situation with

the teacher (Ss-T), which has the exact opposite effect of the former. As explained before, referring to the interlocutor as a source of annoyance is a potential aggravator. This duality of demonstrating a relatively superior pragmatic performance in one category and a poorer performance in another category leads to conclude that students in 4th ESO CLIL possess some linguistic means to modify requests, but do not possess the pragmalinguistic means to use them for pragmatic purposes. This finding agrees with what Bardovi-Harlig (2013) explains regarding some students' inability to use their fuller repertoires to reflect pragmatic sensibility.

Two more main findings from the MCDCT Ss-T and Ss-Ss *reception task* were drawn from the results:

iv) When given options, students in 4th ESO CLIL are visibly better than the lower educational CLIL levels (1st to 3rd ESO) at selecting more appropriate polite requests and avoiding the less appropriate choices.

In the Ss-T situation, students in 4th ESO CLIL selected the polite form C- "*I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent*" significantly more than the other levels. In the Ss-Ss situation, they also selected the polite form B- "*I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom*" the most and the impolite form E- "*Look, could you clear your things out of the bathroom?*" the least. Generally, students in 4th ESO CLIL tended to select polite requests the most and impolite and rude requests the least. There was also a noticeable increase in CLIL students' selections of the polite option C and a decline in their selection of the impolite option E in the

higher levels. It is, therefore, concluded that more 4th ESO CLIL students are capable of selecting more polite requests when given choices, though not always capable of producing them, as shown above.

v) *Though 4th ESO CLIL students were slightly better, students in all CLIL levels were generally inclined to select requests that took the form of need-statements in both situations (MCDCT Ss-T and Ss-Ss).*

A high percentage of students from the four levels were inclined to choose options with need statements in both the Ss-T and Ss-Ss situations. They chose the impolite option B-*"But we have an appointment. Please, I need to talk to you now"* in the Ss-T situation, and the polite option B-*"I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom"* in the Ss-Ss situation. Though no statistically significant differences were found among CLIL levels in this regard, fewer students in 4th ESO CLIL selected the impolite option B with the need-statement in the Ss-T situation. Favoring need-statements corroborates with previous findings regarding Spanish students' tendency to use want and need statements (Hickey, 2005; Nashaat-Sobhy, 2011; Reiter, 1997). These statements are often used in Spanish, and so Spanish learners tend to transfer them into English. Need statements are considered markedly direct and explicit in the CCSARP scheme, and could therefore be abrupt (as in the case of option B in the Ss-T situation). With respect to disarmers such as *"I hate bothering you"*, which appears in the polite option B in the Ss-Ss situation, learners did not use any in their productions, yet it was selected by students. It is difficult to speculate whether students understood its

pragmatic implication or not, or whether they selected the option in which it was included because it was simply attached to a need-statement. However, option B in the Ss-Ss situation was rated as polite and it was observed that more students from 4th ESO CLIL selected this response in comparison to the other CLIL levels. This shows that all CLIL students were attracted to options with need statements; however, 4th ESO CLIL seemed to be able to avoid them more when they were embedded in options that had been rated as impolite.

Contemplating CLIL students' selections and productions, 1) 4th ESO CLIL students were significantly more competent than the other CLIL levels in identifying the polite options in the reception task, whereas their performance on the production task showed that 4th ESO CLIL students used more requestive softeners as well as more aggravators than the other CLIL levels. 2) The general tendency of CLIL students to choose options with need statements in the reception task was reflected in the tendency of some levels to employ need-statements in their productions as part of their justifications for requests (in their non-specific grounders) as in the examples below.

Examples:

- Ss-Ss, 4th ESO CLIL: Hey! Can you shut up? Please, *I need to sleep*.
- Ss-T, 2nd ESO CLIL: Jorge, *I need to concentrate very much* and with the noise of the computer I can't.
- Ss-T, 1st ESO CLIL: Please *I need concentration*. Can you go to the other part, please?

No need statements were found in the productions of 3rd ESO CLIL though. There have been mixed findings regarding the use of need statements by beginner learners (Félix-Brasdefer, 2007) and higher upper intermediate proficiency students (Otcu and Zeyrek, 2008). The fact that higher proficiency students were found to use more need statements was attributed to the tendency of these students to transfer more pragmatic features from their L1 than lower proficiency students (Al Gahtani and Roever 2009; Takahashi and Beebe 1987). This point requires further investigation and was not fully tackled in this study.

To sum up this section, when comparing 4th ESO CLIL students to their peers in the lower CLIL levels, the former are seen as more developed in having more pragmalinguistic means to vary their request modifications. On the other hand, they seem to be struggling with the use of the modifying devices in their formulated requests for sociopragmatic purposes, and show pragmatic duality. When choosing given options in the reception task, discrepancies among levels are inconclusive.

6.2.1.2. PRAGMATIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL IN THE CLIL PROGRAM AND ITS NON-CLIL REGULAR MAINSTREAM COUNTERPART

The second question investigated whether there were differences in the pragmatic competence of students who are at the same level in the CLIL and Non-CLIL program (4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO ESO).

Two main findings are drawn from students' productions in the Written DCT:

i) In comparison to the regular mainstream (Regular 4th ESO), students' requests in the highest CLIL level (4th ESO CLIL) show situational variations.

When addressing the teacher, 4th ESO CLIL students showed more effort in formulating atypical non-implication grounders (OBJ-SOA grounders) by which they avoided implicating the teacher as a source of annoyance. The CLIL group also showed a tendency to use downtoners when addressing the teacher, and understatements when addressing peers. As explained before, downtoners carry a level of uncertainty, which gives the interlocutor the benefit of non-compliance whereas understatements do not. The CLIL group's preference to downplay their requests with peers using understatements and give the teacher the benefit of declining their request by using downtoners could mean that they are on their way to using different request modifications depending on whom their interlocutor is. In their use of softening strategies, the CLIL group used 'could' more when addressing the teacher than when addressing peers, whereas Regular 4th ESO did the opposite. Varying language forms according to the situation shows attentional control over pragmatic knowledge (Bialystok, 1993) and situational variation competence.

However, contrary to expectations, 4th ESO CLIL students used SOA-P grounders more with the teacher, which takes us to the next finding.

ii) *When compared to its regular mainstream counterpart (Regular 4th ESO), students in the highest CLIL level (4th ESO CLIL) show signs of pragmatic duality/bipolarity*

Learners in 4th ESO CLIL used more request softeners like cost minimizers (Please sir..., *if you don't mind*, Could you stop?), understatements (*a little*) and downtoners (*maybe*), and they avoided referring to the hearer as a source of annoyance by referring to an instrument in their grounders (OBJ-SOA) (Excuse me, could you please write more slowly? *The noise of the computer keys is getting on my nerves...*). On the other hand, the CLIL group also used more marked modifiers like initial-*please* and request aggravators like threats, commands, and referred to the hearer as a source of annoyance in the headact (HA-SOA/P) (*Please, can you stop doing that noise?*) and in the grounders (SOA-P) (Please teacher can you stop using the computer *because you produce a very noise sound*). As explained before in section 6.2.1., 4th ESO CLIL students used more softening request modifiers but then used more aggravating modifiers. Some students used both softeners and aggravators within the same utterances. This haphazard use of modifiers leads to a dual pragmatic effect on the hearer which the researcher refers to as *pragmatic bipolarity/ duality*. It is a reflection of students' oscillation between positive and negative pragmatic behaviors. This observed effect is in line with Bardovi-Harlig's (2013) conclusion regarding the inability of some language learners with fuller repertoires to use their language resources for pragmatic purposes.

One more main finding was drawn from the MCDCT Ss-T and Ss-Ss reception tasks.

iii) When given options, students in the highest CLIL level (4th ESO CLIL) are slightly better than their regular mainstream counterpart (Regular 4th ESO) at selecting appropriate polite requests and avoiding the less appropriate choices.

No significant differences were found between the performances of students in 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO. Nevertheless, the percentages suggest that students in 4th ESO CLIL selected polite requests more in both situations in the MCDCT and avoided one of the three impolite requests in the situation with the peers (Ss-Ss) more than the other group. In the Ss-T situation, a higher percentage of students chose the polite option C-*"I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent"* when addressing the teacher and they avoided the impolite form B- *"But we have an appointment. Please, I need to talk to you now"*. In the Ss-Ss situation with peers, they selected-*"I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom"* more than their regular mainstream counterpart.

To sum up, 4th ESO CLIL students are more developed than their peers in Regular 4th ESO. They seem to have acquired more modification devices, but as mentioned before they struggle to employ them for pragmatic purposes and tend to show pragmatic bipolarity. In regards to situational variation, they seem to vary their modifications more than the regular group in relation to their

interlocutor. In addition, they are better than Regular 4th ESO in regards to their ability to select appropriate requests when given options.

6.2.1.3. PRAGMATIC DIFFERENCES ACROSS EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN THE NON-CLIL REGULAR MAINSTREAM PROGRAM

The third question investigated whether there were traces of pragmatic development in the pragmatic competence of students in different levels in the regular mainstream Spanish national program from 4th ESO to 2nd Bachillerato. As a reminder, I opted for these higher levels (4th ESO through 2nd Bachillerato) instead of mainstream students in the lower levels (from Regular 1st ESO to Regular 3rd ESO) for two reasons mentioned earlier in section 3.2. : (a) it was calculated that CLIL students receive an average of 100 hours of additional exposure to English through content subjects in the CLIL program (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2007), which puts the non-CLIL groups at a language disadvantage when being contrasted; in addition (b) CLIL students are claimed to often be a grade level or two ahead of their non-CLIL counterparts (Navés and Victori, 2010). Therefore, it was best to select higher levels in the non-CLIL program.

Two main findings were drawn from students' productions in the Written DCT:

i) When compared to the highest regular secondary educational level (Regular 4th ESO), the highest regular post-secondary educational levels (1st and 2nd Bachillerato) show more situational variation.

When addressing the teacher, students in 1st and 2nd Bachillerato exclusively used OBJ-SOA grounders with the teacher. These grounders, as explained before, show effort on part of the students to avoid implicating the interlocutor

as a source of annoyance. When addressing the teacher, the students in these two groups also used 'could' more than 'can', whereas regular 4th ESO did the opposite, and 1st Bac used HA-SOA/P less with the teacher (i.e. they avoided referring to the teacher as a source of annoyance in the head act). By varying language forms according to the situation, it is understood that the students in these two groups show more attentional control over pragmatic knowledge (Bialystok, 1993) than their peers and are, therefore, more pragmatically competent.

ii) When compared to the highest regular secondary educational level (Regular 4th ESO), the highest regular post-secondary educational levels (1st and 2nd Bachillerato) seem to have more linguistic means but show signs of pragmatic duality/bipolarity.

The higher levels, which are 1st and 2nd Bachillerato, seemed to possess more linguistic means to modify their requests. These, however, tended to include softeners as well as aggravators as seen in the previous sections (6.2.1 and 6.2.2). Therefore, it is concluded that these two levels exhibit pragmatic bipolarity/duality, as well. This phenomenon is a reflection of students' oscillation between positive and negative pragmatic behaviors, which was seen before in the performance of 4th ESO CLIL when compared to the lower CLIL levels. This observed effect is in line with Bardovi-Harlig's (2013) results, as pointed out in the previous sections. What follows are learners' uses of modifications that led to this effect. The higher-level groups (1st and 2nd Bac) showed more signs of pragmatic development than Regular 4th ESO. Learners

in 1st and 2nd Bac used specific OBJ-SOA grounders fairly more than the other levels and exclusively with the teacher (Teacher, *I can't concentrate with the noisy of the computer*), whereas 4th ESO students did not use them in either of the two situations. As mentioned before, OBJ-SOA grounders could be more indicative of a conscious effort to avoid implicating the interlocutor and thus is a sign of pragmatic development when formulating requests. In addition, 1st and 2nd Bac showed some varied use of internal modifiers in both situations (Ss-T and Ss-situations), especially downtoners (Teacher, could you *try to* evite (avoid) typing so loud?) when addressing the teacher, whereas 4th ESO students depended exclusively on intrasentential *please*. The two higher educational levels varied their use of *can/could* more logically, using '*can*' more when addressing peers and '*could*' when addressing the teacher. Another point was the higher educational level students' tendency to use final-*please* more than initial-*please*. According to Usó-Juan (2007) and Salazar Campillo (2007), who analyzed ELT textbooks in tertiary education, ELT books instruct that *please* be placed in mid or final position. Despite the advantage students in 1st Bac and 2nd Bac seemed to have in regards to their use of softening modifiers and strategies, both groups significantly aggravated their requests by mainly using HA-SOA/P (*Excuse me, I would like do my work now but I can't because I'm hearing* (*hearing/'can' hear*) *your computer. Could you finish your work, please?*), some threats, and the action-ceasing verb '*stop*'.

As for the findings from the MCDCT, the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T) situation showed a general tendency of the three levels to select impolite choice B- "***But we have an appointment. Please, I need to talk to you now***" in first place. This shows students are comfortable choosing requests that include *please*, irrespective of its position, and need statements. In the Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss) situation, while learners in 1st Bac selected the polite choice B- "***I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom***" significantly more than the other levels, learners in 2nd Bac selected the impolite choice D- "***you really must organize the bathroom***" significantly more than the other levels. The clearer patterns of students' choices in both situations suggest that students in 4th ESO and 1st Bachillerato were drawn to the responses with need statements, while 2nd Bac was more drawn to using an obligation statement when addressing peers. It is possible that for being senior students they feel more confident using intensified obligation statements when addressing peers. Global results from the production and the reception tasks shows that like the CLIL levels, the regular levels are also drawn to selecting need-statements that were used as part of students' justifications when formulating requests in the production tasks. Though students in 2nd Bachillerato selected the option with the intensified obligation (*really must*) more than the other groups, intensified obligations did not appear in the students' formulated requests.

To sum up, 1st and 2nd Bac students in the regular stream are more developed than their peers in Regular 4th ESO in some aspects, but not in others. They seem to have acquired more modification devices, but as mentioned before they struggle to employ them for pragmatic purposes and show pragmatic bipolarity. In regards to situational variation, they have also demonstrated that they vary language forms better in relation to the situation than Regular 4th ESO. No progress was noted in regards to learners' selections when given options to choose from in the reception task.

6.2.1.4. PRAGMATIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GROUPS WITH MORE EXPOSURE TO ENGLISH

The fourth and final question investigated whether there are differences in the pragmatic competence of current CLIL students (4th ESO CLIL) and that of students who graduated from the CLIL program, reentered the regular program but have had more exposure to English language (1st Bac ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL). These learners were considered three groups with high but varied exposure to English through: a) participating in the CLIL program at the time the data was collected (4th ESO CLIL), b) having been part of the CLIL program in the prior academic year (1st Bac ex-CLIL), or having received extra EFL instruction during the academic year when the data was collected (2nd Bac-EFL). A fuller profile of these groups is in section 3.2.

Three main findings were drawn from students' productions in the Written DCT and selections in the Multiple Choice DCT.

i) Previous CLIL students who re-entered the post-secondary regular program (1st Bac. ex-CLIL) do not seem to have retained possible formerly acquired pragmatic gains.

Learners requests in 1st Bac ex-CLIL seemed to be the least tactful given that they used 'could' (preparatory condition) less when compared to the two high-exposure groups (4th ESO CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL), the action-ceasing verb *stop* more in the situation with the teacher (Ss-T situation) and they did not use any understatement, consultative devices or downtoners either in that situation. They also used commands (imperatives) more with equals (Ss-Ss situation) and threats more when addressing peers (Ss-Ss situation). In addition, when selecting choices in the MCDCT production task, they tended to choose impolite requests including obligation statements, intensifiers and threats. The distinct pragmatic behavior of 1st Bac ex-CLIL could be attributed to their loss of pragmatic gains over the year since leaving the CLIL program. Using delayed posttests, Koike and Pearson (2005) showed that learners' gains in pragmatics were not clearly retained in the longer term irrespective of explicitness or implicitness of instruction and feedback. It is suggested that 2nd Bac-EFL students are better as they had more continued intensive exposure to English through the EFL classes during the year the data was collected.

ii) The highest post-secondary group with more exposure to EFL instruction (2nd Bac-EFL) shows more situational variation than the other groups with high exposure to English through CLIL (4th ESO CLIL and 1st Bac ex-EFL).

When addressing the teacher, students in 2nd Bac-EFL was the only group to use OBJ-SOA grounders in the situation with the teacher. These grounders, as

explained before, show effort on part of the students to avoid implicating the interlocutor as a source of annoyance. The same students tended to use more downtoners and understatement, something they did not bother with when addressing peers. In the same situation they also used 'could' more than 'can', which the other groups with high exposure to English did not do. By varying language forms according to the situation, it is understood that the students in 2nd Bac-EFL show more attentional control over pragmatic knowledge (Bialystok, 1993) than their peers and are, therefore, somewhat more pragmatically competent.

iii) The highest post-secondary group with more exposure to EFL instruction (2nd Bac-EFL) is more pragmatically competent in their production skills than the other groups with more exposure to English through CLIL (4th ESO CLIL and 1st Bac ex-EFL).

Students in 2nd Bac-EFL oscillated less between using softening and aggravating request modifications when compared to the other two groups with high exposure to English (4th ESO CLIL and 1st Bac ex-EFL), especially students in 4th ESO CLIL, who were found to waffle their requests with different types of modifiers. Though 2nd Bac-EFL students used intensifiers (*really*) more with the teacher (Ss-T), they tended to generally soften their requests and show more situational variation. They used more non-specific grounders with the teacher, whereas 4th ESO CLIL students used them more than with peers. Students in 2nd Bac-EFL used 'could' (a query preparatory condition) more in both situations; however, they varied their use of preparatory conditions when addressing peers (used "can" more) and the teacher (used "could" more). Students in 4th ESO

CLIL did not show this variation and they used the emotion-loaded initial-please with the teacher more. Students in 2nd Bac-EFL were also the only group that used the full spectrum of softening external modifiers (cost minimizers and external understatements) irrespective of their very low frequency of appearance. They used downtoners more than the other two groups and they used other internal modifiers (mid-please and understaters) noticeably more. As for students in 4th ESO CLIL, though they showed they could use OBJ-SOA grounders, which serve to avoid referring to the hearer as a source of annoyance, they used *HA-SOA/P* which refers to the hearer as a source of annoyance (in both situations Ss-T and Ss-Ss) and action-ceasing verbs (in the Ss-Ss situation). When 4th ESO CLIL students were compared to the other ESO levels in section 5.1 and to Regular 4th ESO in section 5.2, the term pragmatic bipolarity was used to describe their performance. When comparing them to the other two groups here, they still appear to possess the same aspects of pragmatic duality, and 2nd Bac-EFL comes across as more pragmatically competent.

As for students' performance in the Multiple Choice DCT, the main drawn finding is:

iv) The post-secondary group with more exposure to EFL instruction (2nd Bac-EFL) is more pragmatically competent in their reception skills than the other groups with more exposure to English through CLIL (4th ESO CLIL and 1st Bac ex-EFL).

Regarding the reception task, the performance of 2nd Bac-EFL's was more toned than the other groups 1st Bac ex-CLIL; they selected the polite choices more and avoided the impolite choices more in both situations (MCDCT Ss-T and Ss-Ss). Except for 2nd Bac-EFL students, there was a general tendency to select a specific request form in the situation with the teacher (MCDCT Ss-T) that was rated by the experts as impolite, B-*"But we have an appointment. Please, I need to talk to you now"*. This choice was selected more by 4th ESO CLIL, then 1st Bac ex-CLIL. In 2nd Bac-EFL, students were more inclined towards other appropriate request forms, the first was the politic A-*"I really needed to talk to you"* and the second was the polite C-*"I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent"*.

As for students' responses in the MCDCT Ss-Ss situation, students in 2nd Bac-EFL chose the polite choice B-*"I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom"* more, whereas 4th ESO CLIL chose two other appropriate forms more¹³. Regarding *"I hate bothering you"*, a disarmer, Learners did not produce any disarmers in their productions, yet the option with the disarmer was repeatedly selected by 4th ESO CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL students (learners with more exposure to English). It was difficult to speculate whether students understood its pragmatic implication or not or whether they

¹³ These were (A)-*"We will have to organize the room ourselves including the bathroom because our tuition does not cover having a helper"* and (C)-*"I will buy you lunch If you promise to organize the bathroom."*

selected the option in which it was included because it was simply attached to a need statement.

By observing the global results from the production and the reception tasks, it is concluded that 2nd Bac-EFL students are capable of making appropriate choices in both task types. In regards to 4th ESO CLIL, just as they aggravated their requests with the teacher in the production task using certain modifying devices, they also selected the impolite response when addressing the teacher more than the other groups.

To sum up, 2nd Bac-EFL students did not show evidence of pragmatic duality and they softened their requests more than the other two groups with high exposure to English, 4th ESO CLIL and 1st Bac ex-EFL. They showed better situational variation and were also better at selecting more appropriate choices in the reception task when given options. It is concluded that students in 2nd Bac-EFL are more pragmatically competent than the other two groups, and 1st Bac. ex-EFL seems to be the less competent group.

6.2.3. GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS.

Findings show that pragmatic development is not necessarily related to students' exposure to English through CLIL in particular, but could be the result of cumulative exposure to English in general. The performance of 4th ESO CLIL students was contrasted to the performance of other CLIL levels, Regular 4th ESO and to other groups that had more and varied exposure to English (1st

Bac ex-CLIL and 2nd Bac-EFL) and it was noted that students go through a phase in which they combine acquired request modifiers and strategies without fully realizing their pragmatic effect(s). Students' overall acquisition of these request modification devices led them to use these devices irrespective of their effect on the hearer (softening or aggravating effect) within the same utterance, at times. This phenomenon, witnessed in the pragmatic performance of 4th ESO CLIL students and the higher levels in the regular mainstream, was referred to as pragmatic duality or bipolarity in this study. Though students in 1st and 2nd Bachillerato have not had any exceptional exposure to English through CLIL like 4th ESO CLIL students have, they have generally had more years of schooling and have had more hours of general English language instruction. This is possibly a reason why these groups show similar pragmatic behavior in regards to their request modifications. In other words, regardless of their educational level, they have gained request modification devices throughout the time they were exposed to English (more or less intensely), which they employ in a similar manner. These groups seem to be at a similar stage of pragmatic competence and, hence, share similar characteristics, including mixing softeners and aggravators together. Two other groups help complete the picture; these are 1st Bac ex-CLIL who are graduates of the CLIL program reincorporated into the regular mainstream, and 2nd Bac-EFL who are high-achieving students with 2 additional hours of EFL throughout the academic year at the end of which the data was gathered. Some students of the

latter group were previous graduates of the CLIL program and others were not. Though 1st Bac. ex-CLIL's students were one educational level ahead of 4th ESO CLIL, they seemed less pragmatically competent as they used fewer softening and more aggravating devices in general. When their requests did not have marked or aggravating modifications, they sometimes tended to be short and indifferent to the situation except for their attempts to use mid-please and understaters in the situation with the teacher. In contrast, there is evidence in the requests of the 2nd Bac-EFL that these students start refining their use of modification devices and start using them more coherently, rendering 2nd Bac-EFL as more pragmatically competent. This process of refinement, which 2nd Bac-EFL students show, is quite subtle and it might not have been possible to observe without the additions to the typology. The typology proved efficient in capturing the fine grain of how students managed requests.

According to Kasper (1997) and Kasper and Rose (2002), learners already have a considerable amount of pragmatic knowledge from their first language.

Requesting, apologizing, and the rest of the speech acts are universal.

Conceptually, knowing that requests need to be softened and that there are forms to do it is already known to adult language learners, which means they do not start from ground zero every time they learn a new language. Tweaking misconceptions about when to use a certain act and which expressions or formulas are more adequate to use with different interlocutors constitute another level of pragmatic competence. Therefore, certain strategies and

modifiers appear in students' productions throughout this study without having received any ongoing explicit pragmatic instruction, like *please* (in general) and grounders. These devices have been reported to appear after students attain the linguistic means to produce them (Kasper, 1997; Félix-Brásdefer 2007). Students in this study have used these devices, but not always appropriately despite being exposed to textbook examples that included them now and then. The question researchers have posed and have tried to respond to is where pragmatic and grammatical competence stand from each other in regards to their development. It seems that pragmatics is available in the learners' minds from the start, before the acquisition of target language grammar. This seems to be the case when there is positive transfer from the L1 pragmatics to the L2 pragmatics. In the findings of this study we saw that students are aware that requests make use of supportive moves, and some of the groups employed many; however, they could not control these devices and always use them to their benefit. As Hassall (2001) suggests, such findings support Bialystok's claim that learners' performance is a cognitive process of two dimensions: knowledge representation and control over knowledge. The latter, control over knowledge, is where 2nd Bac. with extra hours of EFL showed more competence over 4th ESO CLIL and the higher mainstream regular levels (1st and 2nd Bachillerato).

Judging by learners' global performances in comparison to each other, learners in 4th ESO CLIL and 1st and 2nd Bachillerato used modifying devices that they

varied to an extent, but students were obviously deficient in their knowledge regarding how to employ modifying devices for pragmatic purposes. More specific instruction is needed regarding the pragmatic use of modifying devices. This should specifically include the uses of *please* and its positioning and modifiers. Their use of action-ceasing verbs and avoiding implicating the interlocutor negatively should also be on their learning agenda.

In comparison to 4th ESO CLIL, the learners in 1st to 3rd ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO seemed to use fewer modifying devices to start with, which as we saw increases in the higher levels. However, it is expected that these students would also reach the stage of pragmatic duality. Hence, the same recommendation mentioned above applies. The natural educational process for CLIL students is to re-enter the regular mainstream for the Bachillerato stage. As seen in the sample group of 1st Bac ex-CLIL, students did not seem to retain any alleged pragmatic gains they had before during their CLIL schooling. The case of 2nd Bac-EFL is absolutely exceptional because this group receives additional EFL instruction by the school, which is a unique practice one school set out to do at the time the data was collected. The results from this group served to draw attention to the possibility that additional or intense EFL instruction-though not targeting instruction in pragmatics-could enhance students' pragmatic competence. The other possibility is that these students being high achievers in EFL are more motivated to acquire better communication language skills and, therefore, notice how pragmatic forms map to pragmatic purposes. On another

note, it should not be forgotten that the pragmatic competence of 2nd Bac-EFL was evaluated in light of the challenged pragmatic performance of the other lower educational groups. Therefore, the findings can only claim that 2nd Bac-EFL students are better when compared to their peers. However, if standing alone, their performance might also be found awkward or lacking as in example (78) below.

(78) Example from Ss-Ss situation data, 2nd Bac-EFL: *Please if we speak silence (if you speak quietly) and the volume of the television will more calm (is lower) this night (tonight) I will pay a luxury dinner after my exam.*

It is obvious from the example (78) above that 2nd Bac-EFL student is struggling with the parts of speech and word forms (researcher's refinements shown between brackets within the example), which if evaluated in isolation of other students' performances could be rendered as awkward and lacking, as stated above. In comparison to other students' performances in lower levels, this learner makes an effort to mobilize compensatory language strategies like approximation (*speak silence* instead of *speak quietly* and *volume more calm* instead of *volume is lower*) and sociocultural knowledge to compensate the hearers for their trouble (pay for a luxury dinner). Avoiding offence and communicating the intent to be polite in the absence of sufficient linguistic means is an accomplishment. It is also obvious that the student in the example above did not resort to reduction strategies as other students in 1st Bac ex-EFL have, as in example (85).

(85) Example from Ss-Ss situation data, 1st Bac ex-CLIL: Can you keep silent, *please*?

The student's request in (85) shows more preference for the possible employment of reduction strategies by keeping the request confined to the use of 'can' and 'please' without getting into further linguistic complications, unlike the student's request in example (78). Individual factors and students' levels of linguistic confidence are surely at play here as well. Alcón-Soler (2008: 22) also suggests that communicative competence in a foreign language involves more than pragmatic competence and extends to include skill competences, strategic competence and discourse competence, which need to be taken into account in future studies.

As some aspects of pragmatics are common across cultures, Kasper (1997) argues it is a matter of time until learners find the linguistic means to accomplish pragmalinguistic purposes they are already familiar with. However, students do not always transfer their knowledge from one context to another or make the necessary adjustments when transferring knowledge. Some aspects of language (not necessarily pragmatic features) need to be learned and are not likely to be acquired through mere exposure, even in bilingual immersion contexts where the target language is spoken outside the classroom. Lyster (2007: 4) in the French Canadian immersion context found that there are language features learners do not automatically pick up by being exposed to the target language, and called for a more focus-on-form approach to direct

students' attention to form while focusing on meaning and communication. In the same vein, Whittaker & Llinares (2009) in the CLIL context observed that students do not always employ the forms they are exposed to. They found that lower level CLIL students used 'can' almost always to express ability, probability, and permission though the researchers used prompts containing modality (ability and obligation/permission). Students did not borrow other forms they saw in the prompts to complete their tasks (interviews and discussions). There is a gap between noticing, comprehension, and actual production (Schmidt, 1995; Swain, 1995). Learners with more exposure to English in this study have shown that their attention needs to be drawn to how they use requests for pragmatic motives and that more exposure does not essentially mean having more pragmatic awareness.

Because this study is not without limitations, a stop is required before moving into the implications of the findings in this study.

6.3. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As mentioned above, the study has a number of limitations of which the researcher is aware and hopes to revisit in future research.

Limitation 1: it needs to be explained that the results from students' selections in the MCDCT were not easy to tie completely to students' open performances in the WDCT. The MCDCT was created and piloted on a relatively small scale (Nashaat, 2011) then validated by experts and further adapted prior to

collecting the data. The selected responses for the MCDCT targeted the structures that were obvious in the data from the pilot. These were the politeness marker please (and sometimes the attention getters 'look') with grounders, need and want statements, commands and obligations, conventional indirect requests and threats. The profuse data that emerged from the production tasks when the data was collected gave way to more categories that could not have been noticed in the initial analysis using the CCSARP coding scheme. Between the choice to remain confined to a tool or make a more genuine contribution, the researcher opted for the second option. This led to not always having equivalent categories in the production and the reception tasks to compare students' performance on. This might have taken the form of an imbalance in the conclusion and the discussion section, but it is worth mentioning as an experience to consider for research design.

Limitation 2: It is unfortunate that the students in 1st Bac. ex-CLIL group were few in number ($n=12$), which gives us an idea of how this group manages the speech act of requests, but cannot be considered to be a representative sample.

Limitation 3: Gender is a variable that has been considered in pragmatic performance (Kasper and Schmidt, 1996), yet this study did not look for pragmatic differences between male and female learners' use of request modification preferences. It was believed that looking at whole groups or levels in comparison to others was needed as a first step; however, further micro-

studies targeting gender variations in regards to the topic in question is considered of interest.

6.4. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This part reviews the implications of the findings for teaching first, and for CLIL research and research design second. The implications are followed by recommendations for each.

6.4.1. IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TEACHING

Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010) describe CLIL as an educational approach that fuses content-subject and an additional language (English in the case of this study), where language or content can be given more weight depending on the desired learning outcomes. Unmistakably though, CLIL is content-driven. The findings in this study add to the calls for formal pragmatic instruction because there is obviously a need for it. As discussed before, the case of 2nd Bac-EFL is not a common case. Schools do not usually offer extra EFL instruction to high achieving students. The fact that they are high achievers in the subject of English suggests that their relatively higher pragmatic competence is a mixture of better strategic competence when mobilizing their linguistic means and a higher level of motivation, in addition to having more exposure to English, which is more input and opportunity to engage in output, feedback, and noticing. The sociocultural theory tells us that development in communicative competence, including pragmatics, requires interactions with a 'more capable

other' (Thornbury and Slade, 2006:204), which is where the role of teaching and teacher training comes in. Knowing that pragmatic competence takes years to develop in a second language context (Ishihara and Cohen, 2010:76) means it takes longer in a foreign language context. Practically speaking, If today's learners in the CLIL classes are not able to manage their interpersonal and professional relationships smoothly in the future, they are already probably at risk of pragmatic failure outside the CLIL classroom in ELF circles (English as a Lingua Franca), where they are expected to function. For example, it was found that when students' requests in advising sessions were not pragmatically appropriate, they were less successful in obtaining their advisor's support to take the courses they preferred Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993a). Theoretically speaking, language, communication and culture are three of the four pillars of CLIL that come together under the umbrella of pragmatics. Therefore, practically and theoretically we should expect to see pragmatics being taught as part of the curriculum not far from now. Many studies have already confirmed that pragmatic competence can be taught (summarized in Kasper, 1997) and that explicit teaching of pragmatics has better results (summarized in Ishihara and Cohen, 2010:103).

I would like to mention here an observation that was drawn from the data collected from the fifteen teachers who taught the students who participated in this study. As mentioned in the introduction the English teachers of the participating groups provided answers to a questionnaire about their practices

regarding the teaching of pragmatics. However, none of the teachers taught exclusively in a specific level or program (bilingual program or mainstream), so their comments could not be tied to the CLIL or the Non-CLIL program or to any particular level as each teacher taught in several at a time (see Teacher Questionnaire in Appendix III). Nonetheless, parts of their input serve to highlight a few issues in this section. Teachers were asked to provide information regarding whether their teaching outline included learning outcomes related to pragmatics. What follows is an excerpt from the teaching outline (translated from Spanish):

- i) incorporating forms that help learners manage conflicts;
- ii) appropriately use linguistic formulas of politeness, agreement associated with concrete communicative situations;
- iii) identify conventional politeness norms when communicating in English;
- iv) interact in routine situations in an appropriate manner.

The teaching program in itself is proof that pragmatics has a small slot in the curricula, but in reality it is minimal when compared to the focus on the other academic targets. To form a better idea, the document is over 600 pages for teaching English in ESO and Bachillerato, yet only the above few points relate to learning pragmatics. The teachers noted that they share the document, but that each decides which of the above should be taught and

how to teach them. A teacher commented that she had not realized the extent to which pragmatics in requests was important and that they (as a group of teachers) must have taught many things related to making requests without noticing or realizing they did. Another teacher mentioned that he had taught a few points about complaints and apologies that academic year (2011-2012) only because they appeared in the textbook. These comments show that teaching pragmatics is somewhat minimal, secondary, incidental and haphazard though pragmatic competence requires ongoing formal instruction (Da Silva, 2003; Thornbury and Slade, 2006).

The first obvious recommendation is for teaching specialists to reassess the EFL syllabuses in the different mentioned programs (CLIL and Non-CLIL) and introduce more organized instruction in language pragmatics that corresponds to students' needs as ELF speakers. Gillis and Ravid (2009:203) explicitly affirm that language acquisition in children and adolescents is extended beyond the age of twelve in monolingual environments, which means it is much more extended when learning two languages or more in bilingual programs. If there is room for expanding learning opportunities through curricula planning, and crafting explicit learning outcomes to improve students' pragmatic competence should be strongly considered. As noted before, exposure to the target language alone does not guarantee automatic pragmatic learning (Bardovi-Harlig, 2001) or picking up certain features of the target language in the absence of focus on

form (Lyster, 2007: 4). Enough proof has been accumulating to justify allocating time for teaching pragmatics, yet implementation remains pending.

The second recommendation is to stress the practical importance of language pragmatics in teaching EFL and ELF in pre-service and in-service training.

According to Ishihara and Cohen (2010), teachers tend to embrace or avoid certain practices in relation to teaching pragmatics depending on their philosophy towards it, and which may require regulatory actions.

It is suggested that teacher training would attend to:

- discussing the issue of learners' narrow focus on formulating accurate grammatical responses that could be pragmatically inappropriate.

Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1997) found that EFL teachers and learners rated grammatical errors more severely than pragmatic errors while the opposite was true for ESL teachers and learners;

- raising teachers' awareness of the reasons for learners' pragmatic awkwardness and giving suggestions for when and how to deal with them;

- dismissing the myth that teaching pragmatics should be postponed until after students have developed a strong base in L2 grammar and vocabulary (Kasper, 1997).

- raising teachers' awareness to become more critical of the materials they use for pragmatic purposes. The majority of published textbooks tend to rely on curriculum writers' intuition and do not reflect actual

pragmatic uses (Ishihara and Cohen, 2010:146; Usó-Juan, 2007; Salzar Campillo, 2007).

- discussing the notion of identity and its role in learners' pragmatic choices, which should appeal to the wider majority of ELF speakers rather than be tied to native speakers' norms and standards; and finally
- informing and training teachers on how to manage classrooms using a foreign language though surreal at times. Giving classroom instructions, setting rules and managing attitudinal problems and solving problems in the classroom is a source of pragmatic input which CLIL classrooms may lack. Lorenzo, Casal and Moore (2010) found that problem-solving in the CLIL classroom tends to occur in the L1 and students tend to miss a valuable opportunity for experiencing L2 as a means of communication (Kasper, 1997).
- the role of classroom assessment in pragmatics.

In addition to all the above, because strategic competence is a 'set of metacognitive components' and a higher order cognitive process that enables us to manage language knowledge effectively for communicative purposes (Bachman and Palmer, 1996:70), the role of employing or avoiding certain strategies could prove very helpful for enhancing students' pragmatic performance. Dornyei's (1995) provides a taxonomy of strategies that learners should be familiarized with and pushed to practice irrespective of their proficiency level. There is evidence in this study to support that

teaching language pragmatics should attend to having students practice avoiding offence as much as having them practice conveying positive intent and manage rapport. Precisely because we are operating in the era of World Englishes and English as a Lingua franca, the dilemma of whose politeness conventions to teach could be potentially resolved by focusing on teaching strategies that could help the learners come across as strategically polite and cooperative, even if they are still struggling with some language forms.

6.4.2. IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CLIL RESEARCH

The amount of research in a certain discipline tends to reflect the worries and priorities of practitioners in the field. As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, research in CLIL has focused on certain areas from which language pragmatics is almost absent (Dalton-Puffer, 2007; and Nikula, 2008). This study is, to the best of my knowledge, among the first to target pragmatics *in CLIL* as a *learning outcome*. According to Llinares and Pastrana (2013), students in CLIL classrooms are expected to use the additional target language to manage social relationships as well as show knowledge of academic content. However, findings from previous CLIL classroom-discourse studies (e.g. Dalton-Puffer and Nikula 2006; Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Nikula, 2007) have shown that CLIL classrooms may not promote pragmatic development where requests are concerned due to students' warranted high use of directives. The Results of this study have shown that CLIL students may possess more linguistic forms, but since they are not in control of their uses, they show what the researcher

referred to as pragmatic bipolarity/duality. Metaphorically, this duality resembles shooting bullets (modifying devices that soften or aggravate, or both) in a dark room (the production of requests in different situations). The results also showed that after graduating from the CLIL program in 4th ESO upon re-entering mainstream education, CLIL students are at risk of starting to avoid using the modification devices they could have acquired, as in the case of 1st Bac ex-EFL. In contrast, the group that came across as most in control of their use of pragmatic devices for pragmatic purposes was a group of older high-achieving students who continued to have more exposure to English language instruction, which is 2nd Bac-EFL. The implications of these findings for CLIL research include, as a first step, raising the level of priority of investigating pragmatics in CLIL. However, investigating pragmatics in isolation from teaching pragmatics as part of students' core curriculum would be problematic. Teaching drives research and research findings are applied to teaching, hence both form a cycle.

Implications for research also include suggestions for research design.

Typologies for data analysis are indispensable for coding and classifying data in this type of study. For the purpose of this study, it was fundamental to start with typologies scholars have contributed with to the field of pragmatics (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984; Alcón-Soler et al, 2005), but it was also important to see them as a set of keys by which data is arranged rather than a set of rules to which data should be confined. Every set of data resembles a new mine whose

excavation offers a variety of mining opportunities, depending on the used tools. Without having followed a data-driven approach at the stage of data-coding, the results of this study would have probably been different; for example, the opportunity to note that grounders are better divided into types would have been lost and this study could have simply voiced that learners heavily resorted to the use of grounders and documented that the use of grounders in general is a positive sign of pragmatic development. This is the first implication to mention.

The second implication involves the type of data; naturalistic versus elicited data. In another study, Llinares and Nashaat-Sobhy (2013) looked at two sets of requests from 4th ESO CLIL (the highest CLIL level). One was gathered by means of a DCT (the same one used in this study) and the other was recorded during group work in a history class. With the objective of comparing request modifiers in both sets, the researchers found that only *please* and the use of grounders could be compared given that the students had not produced many other request modifiers during group work in the history class, at least not similar to the ones in from the DCT requests. Though naturalistic occurring data is very much valued for interlanguage pragmatics research, it is imperative that research objectives go beyond general preferences to achieve the aims of the research.

Third, the sample of this study was from the region of Aragón (Huesca and Zaragoza), where students' first language is Castilian Spanish. Replicating or

comparing this study in bilingual communities (Valencia, Cataluña and the Basque country) could yield different results. Therefore, it would be interesting to see if the same results hold in bilingual communities.

Fourth, the findings in this study were explained in light of earlier ILP and SLA literature; however, it is highly recommended for future research that participants record in real-time the process they followed when formulating the requests in response to the WDCT, or when selecting requests in response to the MCDCT. This could help reduce errors and guess-work based on theory when explaining the reasons why learners do what they do. To exemplify, the significance of the position of *please* in a request is based on Sato's (2008) and Witchmanns' (2004) analysis of native speech. It is possible that students' introspection on their rationale for placing *please* in different positions would reveal other motives researchers have not thought about. Introspection could be applied to the different dimensions in this study to help validate or modify the explanations given for some of the findings.

Fifth, the researcher generally observed that some students varied forms according to the context more consistently, which is a sign of pragmatic development as per Andersen's (1984) one-to-one principle. It would be of interest to work backwards and investigate what the more-pragmatically-competent students have in common; whether it is the type and intensity of exposure to English; maturation; travel abroad; intercultural sensitivity/openness; or other individual differences.

Sixth, another recommended area for future research is investigating the relationship between students' linguistic confidence, length of utterance, and their use of aggravating and softening grounders in requests.

Seventh, the typology proposed in this study is another area which has plenty of room for improvement, especially to reflect the pragmatics of ELF speakers more.

To conclude, it has become quite clear in this study that learners show some progress in acquiring more modifiers, but instruction in pragmatics is needed for students to gain attentional control over the use of these modifiers in order to use them to their benefit. With English being the language of study and business in the EU, as discussed in the introduction chapter, English in Spain should rise to the lingua franca status that it is in other European countries. Speakers of English today have little chance for pardon if their language offends other ELF speakers; our current learners may raise a few brows today if the language they use is textbook-like, awkward, or inappropriate; however, it will not be a long time before they are crossing borders to seek employment or study opportunities, and may not receive the support they need if they fail to approach others with the expected tact. Therefore, a question that requires measurable answers is whose pragmatics is optimum for ELF circles. Since native-like pragmatics should not be taken for granted to be optimum for the Euro-Zone and for cross-cultural communication where English is the common language, further research is needed to analyze what strategic competences

successful ELF speakers employ when making requests to be drawn upon for teaching purposes.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This final chapter started by clarifying a gap in CLIL research in regards to investigating language pragmatics as a learning outcome as a reminder why this type of study was needed. The main findings of the study were then presented and discussed. The limitations of the study were highlighted, and the implications of the results and recommendations for teaching and future research were suggested.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A-CHI SQUARE TABLES

Table A 1. Softening external request modifiers - CLIL levels (1st ESO to 4th ESO)

Softening External Modifiers	1 st ESO	2 nd ESO	3 rd ESO	4 th ESO	Chi	P <
	CLIL	CLIL	CLIL	CLIL		
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation						
Non-specific grounders	11	16	12	9	2.029	0.566
Specific OBJ-SOA grounders	3	6	3	9	5.589	0.133
Cost Minimizers	0	0	0	1	3.272	0.351
External Understatements	1	2	0	0	2.875	0.411
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students						
Non-specific grounders	19	36	25	33	13.203	0.004***
Specific OBJ-SOA grounders	0	0	0	2	2.496	0.476
Cost Minimizers	0	0	2	2	0.145	0.637
External Understatements	0	0	0	0	-	-

Table A 2. Softening internal request modifiers - CLIL levels (1st ESO to 4th ESO)

Softening Internal Modifiers	1st ESO	2nd ESO	3rd ESO	4th ESO	Chi	P <
	CLIL	CLIL	CLIL	CLIL		
	F	F	F	F		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation						
Mid-Please	1	5	1	2	1.947	0.583
Hedging	2	0	1	1	0.887	0.828
Understatements	2	3	1	1	0.212	0.975
Consultative Devices	0	0	0	1	1.077	0.782
Downtoners	1	2	0	3	1.359	0.715
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students						
Mid-Please	4	4	0	2	1.66	0.645
Hedging	0	0	0	0	-	-
Understatements	0	1	2	3	1.829	0.608
Consultative Devices	0	0	0	0	-	-
Downtoners	0	2	0	1	0.513	0.916

Table A 3. Softening strategies - CLIL levels (1ST ESO to 4th ESO)

Softening Strategies	1st ESO	2nd ESO	3rd ESO	4th ESO	Chi	P <
	CLIL	CLIL	CLIL	CLIL		
	F	F	F	F		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation						
Can	39	45	30	26	6.734	0.080
Could	12	7	8	19	12.272	0.006***
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students						
Can	34	33	20	17	8.248	0.041*
Could	2	22	9	11	16.379	0.000***

Table A 4. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers - CLIL levels (1ST ESO to 4th ESO)

		1st ESO CLIL	2nd ESO CLIL	3rd ESO CLIL	4th ESO CLIL		
Please and Aggravating External Modifiers	Marked	F	F	F	F	Chi	P <
		(Ss-T) Teacher situation	Initial-Please	31	18	21	27
	Final-Please	11	20	8	9	4.943	0.176
	Threats	0	0	0	0	–	–
	SOA-P	1	10	1	10	15.063	0.001***
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students	Initial-Please	29	24	18	16	5.432	0.142
	Final-Please	8	12	9	9	0.627	0.890
	Threats	0	0	0	2	2.496	0.476
	SOA-P	2	1	0	1	0.592	0.898

Table A 5. Aggravating internal modifiers - CLIL levels (1ST ESO to 4th ESO)

Aggravating Internal Modifiers	1st ESO	2nd ESO	3rd ESO	4th ESO	Chi	P <
	CLIL	CLIL	CLIL	CLIL		
	F	F	F	F		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation						
Upgraders	0	0	1	0	1.077	0.782
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students						
Upgraders	0	2	0	2	0.782	0.853

Table A 6. Aggravating strategies (Referring to the interlocutor as a source of annoyance in the headact, commands and obligation statements) - CLIL students from 1st to 4th ESO

		1st ESO CLIL	2nd ESO CLIL	3rd ESO CLIL	4th ESO CLIL	Chi	P <
Aggravating strategies		F	F	F	F		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation	HA-SOA/P	16	29	28	27	15.493	0.001***
	Imperatives	3	1	3	1	0.907	0.823
	Obligation	0	0	0	0	–	–
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students	HA-SOA/P	8	22	11	12	5.614	0.131
	Imperatives	13	14	12	17	3.218	0.359
	Obligation	0	2	0	0	1.209	0.750

Table A 7. Aggravating strategies (action-ceasing verbs) - CLIL students from 1st to 4th ESO

		1st ESO CLIL	2nd ESO CLIL	3rd ESO CLIL	4th ESO CLIL	Chi	P <
Aggravating strategies*		F	F	F	F		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation	Stop	29	20	9	18	10.441	0.015***
	Switch off/Turn off	1	2	0	0	0.666	0.881
	Shut Up	0	1	0	0	1.077	0.782
	Be quiet	0	0	0	0	–	–
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students	Stop	10	8	1	3	5.815	0.120
	Switch off/Turn off	5	6	11	7	7.107	0.068
	Shut Up	3	5	3	4	0.103	0.991
	Be quiet	9	2	3	4	5.557	0.135

**This group of aggravating strategies (action-ceasing verbs) was analyzed separately from the previous aggravating strategies (HA-SOA/P, commands and obligation statements)*

Table A 8. Reception Task (Ss-T) - CLIL levels (1ST ESO to 4th ESO) (Teacher situation)

MCDCT options	<u>1st ESO CLIL</u>	<u>2nd ESO CLIL</u>	<u>3rd ESO CLIL</u>	<u>4th ESO CLIL</u>	Chi	P <
	F	F	F	F		
A POLITIC	14	18	11	11	1.095	0.778
B IMPOLITE	37	35	23	26	0.607	0.894
C POLITE	6	7	7	15	9.892	0.019*
D RUDE	9	5	3	1	4.153	0.245

Table A 9. Reception Task (Ss-Ss)- CLIL levels (1ST ESO to 4th ESO)

MCDCT options	1 st ESO CLIL <i>F</i>	2 nd ESO CLIL <i>F</i>	3 rd ESO CLIL <i>F</i>	4 th ESO CLIL <i>F</i>	Chi	P <
A POLITE	12	7	10	10	2.991	0.393
B POLITE	12	19	12	19	5.750	0.124
C POLITE	5	1	1	4	2.073	0.557
D IMPOLITE	10	8	3	7	1.766	0.622
E IMPOLITE	23	18	13	9	5.026	0.169
F IMPOLITE	4	12	5	4	6.009	0.111

Table A 10. Softening internal modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO

Softening External Modifiers	4 th ESO CLIL	4 th ESO REGULAR	Chi	P <
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
<hr/>				
(Ss-T) Teacher situation				
Non-specific grounders	9	9	4.772	0.028*
Specific OBJ-SOA grounders	9	0	2.931	0.086
Cost Minimizers	1	1	0.023	0.879
External Understatements	0	0	–	–
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students				
Non-specific grounders	33	14	0.166	0.683
Specific OBJ-SOA grounders	2	0	0.006	0.938
Cost Minimizers	2	0	0.006	0.938
External Understatements	0	0	–	–

Table A 11. Softening internal modifiers – 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO

Softening Internal Modifiers	4 th ESO CLIL	4 th ESO REGULAR	Chi	P <
	F	F		
<hr/>				
(Ss-T) Teacher situation				
Mid-Please	2	1	0.261	0.609
Hedging	1	0	0.197	0.657
Understatements	1	0	0.197	0.657
Consultative Devices	1	0	0.197	0.657
Downtoners	3	0	0.261	0.609
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students				
Mid-Please	2	1	0.183	0.668
Hedging	0	0	–	–
Understatements	3	0	0.183	0.668
Consultative Devices	0	0	–	–
Downtoners	1	0	0.26	0.610

Table A 12. Softening strategies - 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO

Softening Strategies	4 th ESO CLIL	4 th ESO Regular	Chi	P <
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation				
Can	26	18	7.485	0.006***
Could	19	1	8.408	0.003***
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students				
Can	17	6	0.033	0.855
Could	11	6	0.286	0.592

Table A 13. Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers- 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO

Marked 'please' and aggravating external modifiers		4th ESO CLIL	4th ESO REGULAR	Chi	P <
		F	F		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation	Initial-Please	27	10	0.315	0.574
	Final-Please	9	7	1.939	0.163
	Threats	0	0	–	–
	SOA-P	10	1	0.009	0.198
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students	Initial-Please	16	7	0.167	0.682
	Final-Please	9	6	0.85	0.356
	Threats	2	0	0.006	0.938
	SOA-P	1	1	0.006	0.938

Table A 14. Aggravating internal request modifiers - 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO

		<u>4th ESO CLIL</u>	<u>4th ESO REGULAR</u>		
Aggravating Internal Modifiers		<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	Chi	P <
(Ss-T) Teacher situation	Upgraders	0	0	-	-
(Ss-T) Teacher situation	Upgraders	2	0	0.006	0.938

Table A 15. Aggravating request strategies (referring to the interlocutor as a source of annoyance in the headact, commands and obligation statements – 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO

		<u>4th ESO CLIL</u>	<u>4th ESO CLIL</u>		
Aggravating External					
Modifiers		<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	Chi	P <
(Ss-T) Teacher situation	HA-SOA/P	27	4	7.913	0.004***
	Imperatives	4	1	0.00	1
	Obligation	0	0	–	–
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students	HA-SOA/P	12	1	2.085	0.148
	Imperatives	17	3	2.288	0.130
	Obligation	0	0	–	–

Table A 16. Aggravating strategies (action-ceasing verbs) - 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO

	Aggravating strategies	4 th ESO CLIL	4 th ESO REGULAR	Chi	P <
		F	F		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation	Stop	18	12	2.672	0.102
	Switch off/Turn off	0	1	0.197	0.657
	Shut Up	0	0	–	–
	Be quiet	0	0	–	–
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students	Stop	3	0	0.183	0.668
	Switch off/Turn off	7	0	1.63	0.201
	Shut Up	4	3	0.273	0.601
	Be quiet	4	2	0.020	0.887

Table A 17. Reception Task (Ss-T)-4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO

MCDCT options	4 th ESO CLIL	4 th ESO REGULAR	Chi	P <
	F	F		
A POLITIC	11	8	0.958	0.327
B IMPOLITE	26	15	0.521	0.470
C POLITE	15	4	1.593	0.206
D RUDE	1	1	0.000	1.000

Table A 18. Reception Task (Ss-Ss) - 4th ESO CLIL and Regular 4th ESO

MCDCT Options	4 th ESO CLIL	4 th ESO REGULAR	Chi	P <
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
A POLITE	10	5	0.071	0.789
B POLITE	19	8	0.200	0.654
C POLITE	4	2	0.184	0.667
D IMPOLITE	7	3	0.023	0.879
E IMPOLITE	9	3	0.090	0.764
F IMPOLITE	4	5	1.343	0.246

Table A 19. Softening external modifiers - Mainstream regular groups (Regular 4th ESO, 1ST Bachillerato and 2nd Bachillerato)

Softening External Modifiers	REGULAR 4 th ESO	1 st Bac.	2 nd Bac.	Chi	P <
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
<hr/>					
(Ss-T) Teacher situation					
Non-specific grounders	9	18	14	0.917	0.632
Specific OBJ-SOA grounders	0	7	6	1.773	0.412
Cost Minimizers	1	1	0	0.323	0.850
External Understatements	0	0	0	–	–
<hr/>					
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students					
Non-specific grounders	14	26	33	8.644	0.013**
Specific OBJ-SOA grounders	0	0	0	–	–
Cost Minimizers	0	0	1	0.825	0.661
External Understatements	0	0	0	–	–

Table A 20 . Softening internal modifiers – Mainstream regular groups (Regular 4th ESO, 1ST Bachillerato and 2nd Bachillerato)

Softening Internal Modifiers	4 th ESO	1 st Bac	2 nd Bac	Chi	P <
	REGULAR				
	F	F	F		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation					
Mid- <i>Please</i>	1	1	0	0.323	0.850
Hedging	0	1	0	0.640	0.726
Understatements	0	1	0	0.640	0.726
Consultative Devices	0	0	1	0.648	0.723
Downtoners	0	3	1	0.390	0.822
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students					
Mid- <i>Please</i>	1	2	3	0.225	0.893
Hedging	0	0	1	0.825	0.661
Understatements	0	0	1	0.825	0.661
Consultative Devices	0	0	0	–	–
Downtoners	0	0	0	–	–

Table A 21. Softening strategies – Mainstream regular groups (Regular 4th ESO, 1ST Bachillerato and 2nd Bachillerato)

Softening Strategies	4 th ESO REGULAR	1 st Bac.	2 nd Bac	Chi	P <
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation					
Can	18	32	16	16.815	0.000***
Could	1	15	22	12.425	0.002**
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students					
Can	6	25	24	1.825	0.040
Could	6	9	12	2.406	0.300

Table A 22. Marked 'please' and aggravating external request modifiers - Mainstream regular groups

		4 th ESO	1 st Bac.	2 nd Bac.	Chi	P <
Marked 'please' and aggravating external Modifiers		F	F	F		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation	Initial-Please	10	20	9	6.298	0.042*
	Final-Please	7	19	20	1.022	0.599
	Threats	0	0	0	–	–
	SOA-P	1	3	5	1.29	0.525
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students	Initial-Please	7	17	11	1.743	0.418
	Final-Please	6	13	12	0.560	0.755
	Threats	0	3	0	1.418	0.492
	SOA-P	1	4	2	0.252	0.881

Table A 23. Aggravating internal modifiers – Mainstream regular groups (Regular 4th ESO, 1ST Bachillerato and 2nd Bachillerato)

Aggravating Internal Modifiers		<u>4th ESO</u>	<u>1st Bac.</u>	<u>2nd Bac.</u>	Chi	P <
		<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation	Upgraders	0	0	2	0.962	0.618
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students	Upgraders	0	4	2	0.457	0.795

Table A 24. Aggravating strategies (referring to the interlocutor as a source of annoyance in the headact, commands and obligation statements) - Mainstream regular groups (Regular 4th ESO, 1ST Bachillerato and 2nd Bachillerato)

Aggravating Strategies	4 th ESO	1 st Bac.	2 nd Bac.	Chi	P <
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation					
HA-SOA/P	4	32	17	7.137	0.028*
Imperatives	1	1	1	0.000	1.000
Obligation	0	1	0	0.640	0.726
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students					
HA-SOA/P	1	17	16	6.009	0.049*
Imperatives	3	8	4	1.249	0.535
Obligation	0	1	2	0.104	0.949

Table A 25. Aggravating strategies (action-ceasing verbs) – Mainstream regular groups (Regular 4th ESO, 1ST Bachillerato and 2nd Bachillerato)

Aggravating Strategies	<u>4th ESO F</u>	<u>1st Bac. F</u>	<u>2nd Bac. F</u>	Chi	P <
(Ss-T) Teacher situation					
Stop	12	30	28	0.262	0.877
Switch off/Turn off	1	2	1	0.106	0.948
Shut Up	0	0	0	–	–
Be quiet	0	0	1	0.640	0.726
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students					
Stop	0	12	9	5.691	0.058
Switch off/Turn off	0	2	5	1.615	0.445
Shut Up	3	3	3	0.000	1.000
Be quiet	2	1	5	1.939	0.379

Table A 26. Reception Task (Ss-T)- Mainstream regular groups-(Regular 4th ESO, 1ST Bachillerato and 2nd Bachillerato)

MCDCT options	<u>4th ESO</u>	<u>1st Bac</u>	<u>2nd Bac.</u>	Chi	P <
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
A POLITIC	8	6	8	4.678	0.096
B IMPOLITE	13	34	25	1.328	0.514
C POLITE	4	11	7	0.503	0.777
D RUDE	1	3	5	0.649	0.722

Table A 27. Reception Task (Ss-Ss) - Mainstream regular groups (Regular 4th ESO, 1ST Bachillerato and 2nd Bachillerato)

MCDCT options	4 th ESO	1 st Bac.	2 nd Bac.	Chi	P <
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
A POLITE	5	11	9	0.301	0.860
B POLITE	8	22	5	10.814	0.004***
C POLITE	2	0	1	1.928	0.381
D IMPOLITE	3	7	14	6.453	0.039*
E IMPOLITE	3	9	12	2.824	0.243
F IMPOLITE	5	5	4	2.132	0.344

Table A 28. Softening external modifiers-Groups with more exposure to English (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-EFL and 2nd Bac-EFL)

Softening External Modifiers	4 th ESO CLIL	1 st Bac.ex-CLIL	2 nd Bac-EFL	Chi	P <
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation					
Non-specific grounders	9	2	13	3.133	0.208
Specific OBJ-SOA grounders	9	2	7	0.01	0.995
Cost Minimizers	1	0	1	0.301	0.860
External Understatements	0	0	2	1.247	0.536
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students					
Non-specific grounders	33	8	17	7.06	0.029*
Specific OBJ-SOA grounders	2	0	0	0.711	0.711
Cost Minimizers	2	0	1	0.144	0.930
External Understatements	0	0	1	1.272	0.529

Table A 29. Softening internal Modifiers-Groups with more exposure to English (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-EFL and 2nd Bac-EFL)

Softening Internal Modifiers	4 th ESO CLIL	1 st Bac.ex-CLIL	2 nd Bac-EFL	Chi	P <
	F	F	F		
<i>(Ss-T) Teacher situation</i>					
Mid-Please	2	3	4	3.199	0.201
Hedging	1	0	1	0.667	0.716
Understatements	1	1	4	1.452	0.843
Consultative Devices	1	0	1	0.667	0.716
Downtoners	3	0	7	2.839	0.241
<i>(Ss-Ss) Situation with students</i>					
Mid-Please	2	0	2	0.109	0.946
Hedging	0	0	0	–	–
Understatements	3	1	3	0.072	0.964
Consultative Devices	0	0	2	1.168	0.557
Downtoners	1	0	1	0.643	0.725

Table A 30. Softening request strategies-Groups with more exposure to English (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-EFL and 2nd Bac-EFL)

Softening Strategies	4 th ESO	1 st Bac.ex-	2 nd Bac-EFL	Chi	P <
	CLIL	CLIL			
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation					
Can	26	7	14	3.529	0.171
Could	19	3	19	1.04	0.594
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students					
Can	17	5	12	0.632	0.729
Could	11	2	11	0.675	0.713

Table A 31. Marked *Please* and aggravating external modifiers-Groups with more exposure to English (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-EFL and 2nd Bac-EFL)

Marked ' <i>please</i> ' and aggravating external modifiers	4 th ESO	1 st Bac.ex-	2 nd Bac-	Chi	P <
	CLIL	CLIL	EFL		
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
<hr/>					
(Ss-T) Teacher situation					
Initial- <i>Please</i>	27	7	14	4.492	0.105
Final- <i>Please</i>	9	1	8	0.869	0.267
Threats	0	0	0	–	–
SOA-P	10	3	7	0.359	0.835
<hr/>					
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students					
Initial- <i>Please</i>	16	6	8	4.640	0.098
Final- <i>Please</i>	9	1	6	0.781	0.676
Threats	2	0	1	0.144	0.930
SOA-P	1	0	0	1.272	0.529

Table A 32. Aggravating internal modifiers-Groups with more exposure to English (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-EFL and 2nd Bac-EFL)

Aggravating Internal Modifiers	4 th ESO	1 st Bac.ex-	2 nd Bac-	Chi	P <
	CLIL	CLIL	EFL		
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation					
Upgraders	0	0	3	2.310	0.315
(Ss-T) Teacher situation					
Upgraders	2	0	2	0.116	0.943

Table A 33. Aggravating strategies (referring to the interlocutor as a source of annoyance in the headact, commands and obligation statements-Groups with more exposure to English

Aggravating Strategies	4 th ESO	1 st Bac.ex-	2 nd Bac-	Chi	P <
	CLIL	CLIL	EFL		
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation					
HA-SOA/P	27	5	14	3.231	0.198
Imperatives	1	0	2	2.000	0.367
Obligation	0	0	0	–	–
(Ss-Ss) Situation with students					
HA-SOA/P	12	1	4	4.122	0.127
Imperatives	17	5	8	3.42	0.180
Obligation	0	1	0	1.272	0.529

Table A 34 . Aggravating strategies (action-ceasing verbs)-Groups with more exposure to English (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-EFL and 2nd Bac-EFL)

		4 th ESO CLIL	1 st Bac.ex-CLIL	2 nd Bac-EFL	Chi	P <
		<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
(Ss-T) Teacher situation						
	Stop	18	6	15	0.979	0.612
	Switch off/Turn off	0	0	0	–	–
	Shut Up	0	0	0	–	–
	Be quiet	0	0	0	–	–
(Ss-Ss)Situation with students						
	Stop	3	2	2	0.625	0.731
	Switch off/Turn off	7	0	0	5.262	0.720
	Shut Up	4	0	0	2.105	0.349
	Be quiet	0	0	0	–	–

Table A 35. Reception Task (Ss-T situation) - Groups with more exposure to English (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-EFL and 2nd Bac-EFL)

MCDT options	4 th ESO CLIL	1 st Bac.ex-CLIL	2 nd Bac-EFL	Chi	P <
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
A POLITIC	11	1	8	1.111	0.573
B IMPOLITE	26	6	11	1.801	0.406
C POLITE	15	4	16	1.882	0.390
D RUDE	1	1	2	1.564	0.457

Table A 36. Reception Task (Ss-Ss situation)- Groups with more exposure to English (4th ESO CLIL, 1st Bac ex-EFL and 2nd Bac-EFL)

MCDCT options	4 th ESO CLIL	1 st Bac.ex-CLIL	2 nd Bac-EFL	Chi	P <
	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>		
A POLITE	10	0	5	2.647	0.266
B POLITE	19	5	16	0.675	0.713
C POLITE	4	0	0	1.663	0.435
D IMPOLITE	7	3	9	2.342	0.310
E IMPOLITE	9	2	6	0.025	0.987
F IMPOLITE	4	2	1	3.215	0.200

APPENDIX B-RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

DISCOURSE COMPLETION TEST (DCT)

Nota Importante antes de Empezar

Gracias por participar en esta encuesta. Los resultados de este test son meramente informativos sin que tengan ningún efecto en tu expediente académico. Los resultados se usarán para mejorar la enseñanza de idiomas y sobre todo el inglés.

Lee las situaciones y las instrucciones abajo con cuidado y asegúrate de que las entiendas bien antes de responder (la traducción al español incluido está subrayado).

Tus respuestas deben ser espontáneas como en cualquiera situación Real Cara a Cara. No SE PUEDE retocar, tachar, o volver atrás para chequear las respuestas ya escritas. Todas las respuestas van en el ANSWER SHEET.

PART A – short answers – WRITTEN DCT

Instrucciones: Después de leer cada situación, ESCRIBE tu respuesta en INGLES en el Answer Sheet.

Teacher Situation (Ss-T)

El profesor te está dando un examen. Después de dar el papel de prueba se sienta delante de su ordenador para trabajar mientras tú realizas la prueba. Al teclear en su ordenador, hace un ruido alto y no puedes concentrarte para poder hacer la prueba. ¿Qué dices al profesor?

Residence Situation (Ss-Ss)

Estas alojando en una residencia de estudiantes en Nueva York donde hay muchos estudiantes internacionales. Tienes un examen importante temprano por la mañana, pero los otros estudiantes en el mismo piso están viendo la televisión y hablando en voz alta. No puedes dormir. ¿Qué les dices?

PART B – MULTIPLE CHOICE DCT

Instrucciones: Después de leer cada situación, elige la respuesta que creas es más adecuada y escríbela en el Answer Sheet.

Teacher Situation (Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T))

Estás estudiando en un país de habla inglesa. Cogiste cita previa para ver a tu profesor en su oficina por un tema muy urgente y no puedes esperar. Cuando llegas tu profesor está ocupado y te pide que vuelvas otro día sin concretar cuándo. Estás preocupado por tu asunto y te molesta volver porque tenías cita previa. ¿Qué le dirás para conseguir tu objetivo? Elige la frase que mejor te venga.

You: (knock on the door)

T: Yes, come in.

You: Hello Mr. / Mrs. White

Teacher: I'm afraid I'm terribly busy, so you'll have to come back another day.

You say:

- A. I really needed to talk to you.
- B. But we have an appointment. *Please*, I need to talk to you now.
- C. I was really looking forward to our appointment as it is kind of urgent.
- D. I had to wait for this appointment. I want to solve my problem too.

Residence Situation (Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss))

Estas compartiendo una habitación con un compañero extranjero. Él/Ella siempre deja el baño desordenado y esto te molesta. ¿Qué le dirías? Elige la frase que mejor te venga.

You say:

- E. It seems that we will have to organize the room ourselves including the bathroom because our tuition does not cover having a helper.
- F. I hate bothering you with this, but we need to take turns at cleaning the bathroom.
- G. I will buy you lunch if you promise to organize the bathroom.
- H. You *really* must organize that bathroom. (Includes intensifier and obligation)
- I. Look, could you clear your things out of the bathroom?
- J. If you are always so messy, you'll have to find another roommate.

Answer Sheet		
Student name and main data...etc (not included here)		
PART A – short answers – Written DCT (responde a las preguntas en tus palabras)		
Teacher Situation (Ss-T)	You say:	
Residence Situation (Ss-Ss)	You say:	
PART B –Multiple Choice DCT (elige las respuestas que mejor te parezcan)		
	Elije una de estas opciones	Comentarios
Teacher Situation (Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-T))	a b c	¿Por qué piensas que tu selección es la mejor? ¿Quieres ser cortés con el profesor?
Residence Situation (Multiple Choice DCT (Ss-Ss))	a b c d e F	¿Por qué piensas que tu selección es la mejor? ¿Quieres ser cortés con el profesor?

Answer sheet for the WDCT and MCDCT

APPENDIX C-TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

Complete the following profile with your information:

- a) Undergraduate degree:
- b) Any additional diplomas, or courses in language or psychology:
- c) Any postgraduate studies:
- d) Years of experience as an English teacher:
- e) Years of teaching in the English bilingual program:
- f) Job Title at your school: _____
- g) I am currently teaching 1ST - 2ND - 3RD - 4TH of ESO – 1st - 2nd Bachillerato
(underline the classes you are teaching)
- h) School Name:
- i) Nationality:

[Appropriateness here means: using honorifics (Ms. - Mrs. - Mr. - Sir) when addressing older people or higher ranked, politeness in requests, indirectness in refusals, choice of words when criticizing, avoiding confrontational language when disagreeing]^

[Intercultural competence here means: openness to people from other cultures – avoiding stereotyping and generalizations – knowing about other target cultures hence avoiding offences or sensitivities]

I. Read the activities below and mark the number on the scale that best represents your teaching practice THIS YEAR.

Activity	Number of times	
1. We used situations to discuss language appropriateness.	A Zero times this year C From 3-4 times this year	B From 1-3 times this year D More than 4 times this year
2. We used role plays to model possible polite and rude language	A Zero times this year C From 3-4 times this year	B From 1-3 times this year D More than 4 times this year
3. We read/talked about different politeness conventions in different cultures	A Zero times this year C From 3-4 times this year	B From 1-3 times this year D More than 4 times this year
4. We practiced exercises with prompts that requested students to accept a compliment	A Zero times this year C From 3-4 times this year	B From 1-3 times this year D More than 4 times this year
5. We practiced exercises with prompts that requested students to make an apology	A Zero times this year C From 3-4 times this year	B From 1-3 times this year D More than 4 times this year
6. we practiced exercises with prompts that required students to make polite requests	A Zero times this year C From 3-4 times this year	B From 1-3 times this year D More than 4 times this year

7. we practiced exercises with prompts that required students to practice complaints in case of problems	A Zero times this year	B From 1-3 times this year
	C From 3-4 times this year	D More than 4 times this year

II. Look at the sample test that students took. Mark the following statements as either True or False

Beliefs and Perceptions	True	False	Comments
1. I expect my students to score not less than 75% on part A			
2. I expect my students to score not less than 75% on part B & C together			
3. I believe that teaching how to sound appropriate in English is something students acquire outside the classroom.			
4. I believe that teaching how to sound appropriate in English is something students can learn inside the classroom.			
5. I believe that intercultural competence is something students acquire outside the classroom.			
6. I believe that intercultural competence is something students can learn inside the classroom.			
7. Teaching students how to sound appropriate in English is among the learning outcomes in my teaching guide (guia docente - programación)			
8. Teaching students intercultural competence is among the learning outcomes in my teaching guide. (guia docente - programación)			

III. Please put a check mark in front of any of the following expressions/strategies if you have taught their use:

- a. Giving reasons for a specific request (because, we will have to....)
- b. Using disarmers (I hate bothering you, but....)
- c. Using promises when making requests (I promise toif you
- d. Using intensifiers (you really must
- e. Avoiding the use of negative evaluations in statements (you are messy)
- f. Avoiding the use of attention getters (look, listen....)

IV. Please answer the following open ended questions to the best of your ability.

a. If you have taught in class anything related to language appropriateness (being polite, impolite, rude) in any form (role plays, short answers to situations...) please elaborate on it?

- i. What was the activity?
- ii. Would you *please* supply/attach the handout of materials you used for this class?

b. If you have assessed or evaluated in class anything related to language appropriateness (being polite, impolite, rude) in any form (role plays, short answers to situations...) please elaborate on it?

- i. What was the test item?
- ii. Would you *please* supply/attach the handout of materials you used for this test?

c. When there are incidents of misbehavior (verbal or physical) in the classroom, do you use Spanish or English to draw the students' attention?

d. Do you correct your students for using the English language inappropriately and sounding rude? Can you give examples of such incidents (what the student said, and your comment)

