A linguistic analysis of lying in negative evaluations: The speech act performance of Chinese learners of Korean*

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Abstract

The current study is concerned with cross-cultural speech act performance, specifically focusing on the performance of lying in situations where the speakers perceive or adopt a negative evaluation. The current study shows that more lies are found in the Korean native speaker group than the Chinese learner group. Also, lies are more frequent in situations where evaluations target people than in situations where evaluations target an entity. However, the number of lies is not directly correlated to changes in the relative social distance and power between the speaker and hearer. Moreover, the fact that the preference of different lying strategies also differs between the two groups may imply some differences in terms of cultural awareness.

Keywords: Korean, Speech act, Lying, Negative Evaluations, Chinese Learners of Korean, Cultural awareness

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리키는 것으로 이해할 수 있을 것이다. 우리는 중국인 한국어 학습자 15명과 한국어 화자 15명을 대상으로 담화완성테스트(DCT)와 부연설명질문지(QFE)를 사용하여 피실험자들의 화행을 분석하였다. 피실험자 자신들의 설명과 한국어교육 전문가 다섯 명의 판정을 종합해 '거짓말' 화행을 가려내고 통계 처리를 바탕으로 다음과 같은 결론에 도달했다. 한국어 화자들이 중국인 한국어 학습자들보다 (선의의) 거짓말을 더 많이 수행하는 것으로 나타났다. 그리고 두 집단 모두 부정적 평가가 사물에 관련된 경우보다 사람에 관련된 경우에 '거짓말' 화행을 더 많이 사용한다. 그러나 화자와 청자 사이의 친소관계(distance)나 상하관계(power)는 거짓말 사용에 직접적 상관 관계를 보여주지 않았다. 이 연구는 지금까지 화행 연구 중에서 상대적으로 연구가 부진했던 부정평가와 '거짓말' 화행에 대한 분석을 시도했다는 점에서 의미가 있다. 또한 한국어 화자와 중국인 한국어 학습자 사이에 보이는 화행 수행의 차이를 문화인식(cultural awareness)의 관점에서 해석해 볼 수 있는 가능성도 열어 주었다.

주제어: 중국인 한국어 학습자, 화행, 부정평가, 거짓말, 친소관계, 상하관계, 문화인식, 담화완성테스트

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

The speech act, as one of the main notions in pragmatics, forms a unit of communication that relates the utterance to the delivery of intention and ultimately to the action. This kind of pragmatic communication can vary from one person to another and from one culture to another, but it is always less than perfect simply because no individual's thoughts and cultural background are completely transparent between interlocutors. We can say, from the perspective of pragmatics, that communications involve diverse strategies, including even lying, to reach a rapport instead of perfection between speakers

and actual or potential respondents. The current study is concerned with cross-cultural speech act performance, with a specific focus on the performance of lying in situations where the speakers perceive or adopt a negative evaluation towards either the entity or people involved in the conversation.

Starting with the definition of the speech act of evaluation, according to Searle's (1969) criteria, an evaluation is used to express one's critical opinions for actions already done and there is not a necessary second sequence. However, it has not been widely studied under the framework of speech act. Instead, functional linguistics has a relatively long history of studying evaluative language focusing on the social function of the texts. The study of evaluative language in the functional linguistics' framework pivots around two central issues: "the first is concerned with the question of the nature of attitude, with how texts activate positive and negative assessments. The second is concerned with how texts adopt a stance towards these assessments and related evaluative meaning, with how these assessments and related meanings are negotiated intersubjectively" (White 2002:2). Therefore, the traditional approach from functional linguistics towards evaluative language is very much one of lexico-grammar. However, admittedly, their research is inspirational for the pragmatic study of evaluations. For example, Thomson and Hunston (2000) emphasized the nature of evaluation as being concerned with stance, attitude and emotion. They also made a distinction between evaluation of an entity which involves positive and negative feelings and evaluation of a proposition which is much more cognitive and involves a degree of certainty (Martin and White 2005:38). The present study is inspired by their ideas and thus considers the distinction of evaluation targets and cognition problems in the situational settings. Along with the perspective of analyzing evaluative language in functional linguistics, there are some decoding researches on evaluative devices

or components from other angles as well (e.g. Labov 1972, Bamberg and Damrad-Frye 1991, Küntay and Nakamura 2004). This flavor also dominates sentiment analysis of evaluation (e.g. Asher et al 2009, Gabryś-Barker 2010). Both perspectives provided many useful ideas on the taxonomy of evaluation.

The most relevant studies of evaluation as an act are from Mey (1993/2001) and Blackwell (2010). Mey (1993/2001) identified 'evaluation' as a 'pragmatic act' (including, but not limited to the speech act) which is not just performing act through an utterance, but also involves the personal agent in the context (cited from Blackwell 2010: 2945). Blackwell (2010) obtained Mey's concept and puts forward a qualitative study of evaluative narratives of Spanish film. She viewed evaluations as having three divisions – negative, positive and comparative as well as contrasting subjective and objective opinions. Also some attention has been paid to the power, social distance and element (context) which cause the differences in evaluation. Despite the nominal similarity of pragmatic act and speech act, they are actually very different ideas. The concept of pragmatic act proposed by Mey (1993/2001) emphasizes the influence and/or the possible negotiation within the context. In his proposal, the evaluation does not necessarily have to be an evaluation speech act. Instead, the interlocutors could negotiate the evaluative implicature from the context by, for example, noticing others talking about their own experience related to the evaluation target. Blackwell (2010) examined the evaluation pragmatic acts which occurred in retelling 'the pear story'. A few evaluation pragmatic acts were spotted only by the participants referring to their own pear picking experience, such as 'you need to break the stem to pick the pear'. This might be a suggestion speech act but in the context it alludes to the wrong way that the actor picked the pear. That is the sense of Mey's evaluation pragmatic act. Evaluation speech act, on the other hand, deals with the direct

or indirect evaluative utterances, such as 'the way that the actor picks the pear is wrong' (direct), 'I bet the pear he picked cannot be served as a dessert' (indirect), instead of evaluative inference.

Unlike previous research, the current study takes evaluation as a speech act, although the identity of evaluation sometimes overlaps with other speech acts. Boxer and Pickering (1995), for example, take indirect complaints as a type of negative evaluation. Wolfson (1983) considered compliments as a kind of positive evaluation. As the subject of the present study is negative evaluation, we need to distinguish it from complaints. Olshtain and Weinbach (1993) set out the preconditions for complaints. The speaker must expect a favorable event to occur but the hearer performs a socially unacceptable act (SUA) which is consequentially perceived by the speaker as offensive to him/herself or even to the general public. Meanwhile, the speaker regards the hearer as responsible for the SUA and decides to express his displeasure or annoyance verbally. Here, it is easy to see that the preconditions of negative evaluations would be very different from complaints as the speaker does not necessarily believe that the hearer is holding responsibility for his/her negative opinions.

When the hearer does not have a compulsory responsibility for the coming criticisms and when the speaker is thinking to be critical, the negative evaluation can be very offensive and the speaker might be burdened to actually perform it. Alternatively, people, especially those in collective cultures which emphasize modesty as an important value, may choose to lie in order to comply with the social norms, namely normative judgments of behavior which can be expected of a good person (Linde 1997). The conclusion that lying is prevalent in negative evaluation has also been supported by our pilot study. Moreover, we were able to see a part of the evaluation performance (here mainly lying performance) in the different contextual factors via different

settings in a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) and further measure the impact of each factor.

Lying has been widely researched from a number of angles including sociology, psychology, and philosophy as well as in some multidisciplinary fields such as pedagogy and psycholinguistics. However, "lying is primarily a linguistic act" (Meibauer 2011), though it cannot be treated as a separate type of speech act (see Meibauer 2005: 1375) but may be a pragmeme (Blackwell 2010: 2948). Few studies have involved an analysis of lying in certain speech acts. Instead, lying has been analyzed with regard to its violation of Gricean Theory (e.g. Danziger 2010, Montminy 2006, Meibauer 2005) and in association with assertion (e.g. Meibauer 2005, Kolenda 1971).

Before examining this topic in more detail, it is worth further discussing the identification of a lie. According to Bok (1978: 13), a lie is a statement "intended to deceive a dupe about the state of the world, including the intentions and attitudes of the liar." (cf. Barnes 1994: 11). In other words, a lie can be a lie only if the speaker has the intention to deceive. Another relatively simple definition from Falkenberg (1982) given below also looks at lies from the viewpoint of the speaker's intention. The definition was also adopted by Meibauer (2005).

A lie at certain time (t)
iff a) A asserted a propositional content (p) at this certain time
b) A actively believed at t that not p.

However, the speaker is not always aware of the 'intention'. About 20-30% of the participants in the current study were not conscious of their lies which were recognized as such by the other people. The reason for this problem may be twofold: 1) the participants do not always have an 'intention', especially

when the lie is altruistic. In other words, white lies are not taken as lies all the time by the participants; 2) there is a gap between intending to lie and recognizing a lie. The second reason may give rise to a further concern in defining lies. It becomes arguable whether the lie should be determined by the liar's intention or others' recognition. If the former is the defining point, then those unintended 'lies' will have to be discarded even though the participants did not tell the truth. On the other hand, if a lie can only be considered as a lie when others recognized it as a lie, then some true statements may also be recognized as lies. However, the two defining points are not black and white. Instead, they are at the polar ends of the continuum of defining lies. There are many ambiguous points in-between such as deception, implicating, etc. The current study starts its investigation from the speaker's intention of lying and extends to the recognition of unintended lies. The definition used in the current study is proposed as follows:

if
A made a statement against the perceived 'truth',
and
A realized his/her violation of 'truth' or the violation is recognized by the people who know the 'truth',
then
the statement is a lie

However, we need to be cautious when taking this condensed definition or other such definitions as a standard to judge a lie. The standards for identifying lies differ from one culture to another and also partly depend on the diversity of realization patterns of different people. Therefore, the current study employed the opinions of five judges (see section 2.3 for details). It still cannot

be denied that the gap between the realization of lying performance and realization of lying intention may leave some remaining arguments.

1.2. Research Questions and Aims

The current study compares the lying performance of Korean Native Speakers (hereafter KNS) and Chinese learners of Korean (hereafter CLK) in negative evaluations using a Discourse Completion Test (hereafter DCT) which is a typical tool for cross-cultural speech act investigations. As mentioned in the above section, the studies of evaluation as a speech act are uncommon and research on lying in a speech act is rather scarce. Besides, we could find no relevant studies focusing on the Korean language. Therefore, we are confident to say that this research on lying phenomenon in Korean evaluation speech act will expand the scope of Korean studies as well as foster a better understanding of Asian cultures.

According to our pilot study, lies told in negative evaluation are roughly divided into two groups; insincere talk and circumlocution. These categories may have many sub-categories as well as exceptions due to various possible situations as well as societal and cultural factors. Insincere talk is a direct lie which expresses a positive attitude instead of telling the negative truth, and circumlocution is an indirect lie (e.g. an excuse) which circumvents the question or the negative part itself. The current study also investigates the reasons for lying by giving the participants of the DCT a chance to explain their performance. Other strategies related to the performance of lies will also be discussed. Like other pragmatics studies, the current study set three variables – power, social distance and the target of evaluation, to investigate what triggered the relevant speech act performance (see section 2 for details

of the setting). The research questions are as follows:

1) What similarities and differences have been shown in lying in negative evaluations between KNS and CLK?
2) What kind of contextual setting(s) or contextual factor(s) are leading to more lies than other situations?
3) In which ways are insincere talk and circumlocution distributed in different situations?
4) What are the reasons for KNS and CLK to lie?
5) Is there any difference in the reason for lying between KNS and CLK?

In relation to the research questions, more specifically to No. 2 above, we can also think of the following three hypotheses:

(a) Participants would lie more in situations with judgments targeting people than in those targeting an entity.
(b) The number of lies would decrease in direct proportion to the interlocutor's power status.
(c) The possibility of lying would be higher with hearers who are unacquainted than who are well-acquainted.

Our assumptions regarding these hypotheses are as follows: with regard to hypothesis (a), it is expected that, compared to negatively evaluating an item, the speakers tend to conceal their true intention more when they have to criticize the appearance, ability, and/or achievement of the person in the conversation. It is also conceivable that some of the items, for example, the interlocutor's possessions, may also trigger the speaker's concern about telling the truth. However, telling the negative truth about a person's appearance, ability and achievement is assumed to cause more damage in interpersonal

relationships. Thus, it can be assumed that lies are possibly produced more in the situations where criticisms of people are called for. As for hypothesis (b), the assumption is that the higher the speaker's position, the less likely the probability of telling a lie. It can be assumed that 'powerful' people would be more likely to tell the truth. As for hypothesis (c), psychological studies have already revealed that people feel more obligated to lie for a friend because they feel more indebted to a friend than to a stranger to whom they have lied. This tendency was particularly observed more in collective societies like Korea (Choi, Park & Oh 2011). In light of this, when the truth hurts, it may not be a surprise if the speakers lie more to protect closer relationships than distant relationships. This study also aims to examine if our data supports these hypotheses.

2. Methodology

2.1 Instrument

The choice of instrument for this research is determined by the research questions and the general standpoint of pragmatics. This study consists of a single-moment comparison between KNS and CLK and an attribution of lying to detailed socio-cultural reasons. Accordingly, a DCT and a Questionnaire for Explanation (QFE) were employed. The DCT was originally developed for comparing the speech act realization patterns of native speakers and non-native speakers and was first introduced by Blum-Kulka (1982). The adaptation of this instrument is constantly led by various researchers (e.g. Beebe et al. 1990; Rose 1992; Stadler 2011). However, the DCT as an elicitation tool has also been criticized for its insufficiency of producing spontaneous data. Its strength

and weakness were well discussed in Beebe et al (1996). The reasons that we employ it here are twofold: 1) most participants were abroad at the time of investigation, which restricted the authors' ability to cooperate with them if role-play or other tools were used; 2) the DCT is recognized as being effective in reflecting the actual pragmatic competence as it gives the learners some time to consider what they actually can withdraw from their pragmatic knowledge (Chen et al. 2011). This may lead to a better result for studies like ours aiming to identify the reasons behind speech patterns. In the current study, the DCT acts as a productive questionnaire and the subsequent QFE generates retrospective data.

The present DCT settings involve three variables–distance, power and the target of evaluation. Distance refers to the horizontal relationship between the speaker and hearer, which can be treated in a binary system of acquaintance and non-acquaintance. On the other hand, power indicates the vertical relationship of social position between the addresser and addressee, which might be better suited to a ternary value – higher, equal, and lower status. The target of evaluation refers to the entity which is being talked about and evaluated. The target of evaluation included the hearer, third parties other than interlocutors as well as the entity. Regarding the third parties as the evaluation target, the relatives of the hearer are also included in two situations in our study. In light of the combinations of the above variables, the current DCT is designed to have the following situation sets:

<Table 1> DCT Situations

Situation	***Distance***	***Power***	***Target of Evaluation***
1	+distance	H>S [+P]	TA
2	-distance	H>S [+P]	TA

3	+distance	H=S [P]	TA
4	-distance	H=S [P]	TA
5	+distance	H<S [-P]	TA
6	-distance	H<S [-P]	TA
7	+distance	H>S [+P]	TO
8	-distance	H>S [+P]	TO
9	+distance	H=S [P]	TO
10	+distance	H>S [+P]	TR
11	-distance	H>S [+P]	TR
12	-distance	H=S [P]	TO
13	+distance	H<S [-P]	TO
14	-distance	H<S [-P]	TO
15	+distance	H>S [+P]	TE
16	-distance	H>S [+P]	TE
17	+distance	H=S [P]	TE
18	-distance	H=S [P]	TE
19	+distance	H<S [-P]	TE
20	-distance	H<S [-P]	TE

* H is the abbreviation of the hearer and S is that of the speaker.
* [+distance] indicates the interlocutors' relationship is distant, i.e. strangers or unacquainted people. [-distance] is the opposite, i.e. the relationship is intimate.
* The value of power, [+P], [P], and [-P], is viewed from the hearer's status. When the hearer is in higher rank, it is [+P] and so on.
* TA, TO, TR and TE refer to the evaluation targeting addressee, others, relatives of hearers and entity respectively.

The QFE uses the same situations as the DCT but asks the participants to explain the reasons for the situations in which they did not tell the truth. The so called 'truth' is the content of negative evaluation presented in the situation as the supposed opinion of the speakers. The QFE requires the participant to explain the reasons for not telling the 'truth'. Therefore, the DCT answers with an explanation indicate that the participants may have realized they were lying. Otherwise, they think they did not tell a lie or they did not realize it. The

learners are allowed to explain their reasons using their mother language. Therefore, the explanations will not be biased by the learners' second language proficiency.

2.2 Participants

A total of 30 participants took part in the study, comprising an equal number of Korean native speakers and Chinese learners. However, one participant from each group was excluded due to their failure to complete the QFE. All participants are between the ages of 20 and 35. The KNS group is made up of 6 males and 8 females, and the CLK group is composed of 5 males and 9 females. The KNS group is a mixture of university students and young graduates. Eleven resided in Korea, and three spent around 6 months in the UK before moving back to Korea. The CLK group consists of university students who are 3rd year Korean majors. They have received over 1,000 hours of training in Korean. This should guarantee their ability to complete the current questionnaires. The requirement in their university is that Korean majors must pass level 5 in TOPIK[1)] in their 4th year to graduate. Therefore at the time the data was collected, all the learners were at least at an intermediate level and were preparing for obtaining a lower advanced level.

2.3 Procedure

The first version of the DCT prepared by the authors was modified by two

1) The content of Level 5, the lower class of the advanced category of the Test of Proficiency in Korean, is detailed in the following official link: http://www.topik.go.kr/jsp/hp/sub/subLocation.do?MENU_SEQ=20101040102&UP_MENU_SEQ=201010401

Korean native speakers who are Korean linguistics professors to examine the contextual appropriateness of each situation. After three rounds of discussions and modifications, the master version was finalized and administered to the participants individually via internet communications, such as emails or message tools (refer to appendix I). The QFE was administered immediately after the DCT to ensure that the participants would have no difficulties in recalling their answers in the given situations. The participants were allowed to do the questionnaires at a time convenient for them, and most of them finished the DCT and QFE in 40 minutes to 1 hour. Due to the fact that the learner group is only upper-intermediate level in the Korean language, they were allowed to explain their reasons in Chinese for the QFE. This ensures the avoidance of any misinterpretation of learners' answers in later discussion. After data collection, all the answers from the DCT were sorted according to the situation set. The sorted answers were sent to five Korean native speakers to judge if they are lies and what type of lie. All five judges are Korean language professors or lecturers who have Korean linguistic knowledge and have conducted relevant research in Korean. According to the results of the judgments, the analysis is based on a coding scheme which will be presented in the next section.

3. Coding scheme

The coding scheme is independent from the data collection but equally important. Developing an appropriate coding scheme is always a challenge to speech act researches. The present categories are defined around the pivot of lying, as this is the main purpose of the study.

The basic unit for analysis is the contrastive pair of lies and truth. Both have been subdivided to take into account whether or not they contain explanations. Lies have been further divided into direct lie and circumlocution. Besides lies and truth, there are two other possible answers within the negative evaluations: no-evaluation answers and ambiguous answers, which will be explained further below. These two types have also been categorized in accordance with explanations or absence thereof. The coding formulae have been presented below:

<Table 2> The coding formulae

Lies
Direct lies with explanations
Circumlocutions with explanations
Direct lies without explanations
Circumlocutions without explanations
Truth with explanations
Truth without explanations
No-evaluation answers with explanations
No-evaluation answers without explanations
Ambiguous answers with explanations
Ambiguous answers without explanations.

From the perspective of the 'liars' intention', all the answers with explanations should be treated as lies due to the format of the QFE as it asked the participants to comment on situations in which they did not tell the 'truth'. However, not all of the answers with explanations were considered as lies in the end, as we found other types of answers, such as avoiding the truth, which sometimes also resulted in an explanation. There seems to be a gap between 'not telling the truth' and 'lying'. Meanwhile, some answers without

explanations were also taken as lies as the violation of truth was recognized by most of the judges in this study. Aside from this, the following are examples of no-evaluation and ambiguous answers.

Example1:

Situation14: Staff A recommends Staff B to take on a new project. As a boss, you think Staff B is not suited to this project because of his lack of caution and indecisiveness in the previous work. How would you answer Staff A's recommendation?

Staff A: Boss, B seems like a good person to take this project.

You (Boss): Could you tell me why you are recommending him?

In this situation, the speaker neither lied nor told the truth, instead, s/he just asks for elaboration from the hearer, hence no critical opinion is shown. As for ambiguous answers, even though there are some critical opinions given, it is hard to define whether these critical opinions are lies or the truth. This kind of vagueness can exist between truths and lies and is partly supported by the judgments of the five judges. The judges were given instructions to mark the answers in terms of direct lie, circumlocution, truth and not-sure answer. The answers with judgments of 'not-sure' from three or more judges were treated as ambiguous answers. In addition, some other answers were also considered as ambiguous answers when interpreted differently by the judges and even the participant him/herself.

Example2

Situation1: After a get-together party, you went to karaoke with everyone. As a new employee, you have just met your company president for the first time. The president sang a song. You think he is really a bad singer and did not get the rhythm at all. Now the president is sitting beside you. How would you answer to the following question?

President: I have not had such a good time at karaoke for a long time. Did you hear my singing? How was it?
You: *It was amazing, but you would be better off not singing in other places, hahaha.*

This answer received four different judgments from the five judges, who took it as a circumlocution, a direct lie, a not-sure and a truth respectively. The participant explained "I need to consider the relationship with the president. As a member of staff, I indirectly expressed my inconvenience in order not to hurt the president's feelings". Given this explanation, it would be more controversial to take this answer as a lie or a truth with explanation. Thus answers that present such a dilemma were placed in the ambiguous answer group. In the current study, answers were judged as a certain type of lie only in cases where three or more judges agreed on that type of lie.

Once an answer was defined as a lie, the reason for lying was explored by referring to the QFE answers accordingly. The QFE uses the same situation sets as the DCT but asks the participants to explain the reasons in the situations they think they did not tell the truth. Those explanations reflected the hidden reasons or social factor(s) the speakers were sensitive to, which varied from a single factor of power, distance or context to a combination of these factors. Some personal explanations were grouped as other reasons.

Example 4: Situation 1(see above translation)[2)]

2) The explanations in the current study are quoted directly from the participants' answers in the QFE. Due to colloquial forms and learners' level of proficiency, the explanations may have some grammatical errors or unnatural expressions. The following abbreviations are used in this paper: ACC: Accusative, ATTR: Attributive, CAUS: Causal ending, CONN: Connective ending, COP: Copula, DAT: Dative, DECL: Declarative ending, HON: Honorific suffix, INST: Instrumental, LOC: Locative, NMLZ: Nominalizer, NOM: Nominative, PST: Past tense, POL: Polite

Answer (A lie): *Sacang-nim cengmal cal pwulu-si-ess-supnita.*
President-HON really well sing-HON-PST-POL
'You (the president) sang really well.'

Explanation (1): *Cey-ka pwuhacikwen-ulo sacang-nim-kkey sasil-taylo*
I-NOM staff-as President-HON-DAT truly
malha-l swu eps-supnita.
speak-cannot-POL
'As a member of staff, I cannot tell the truth (about the performance) to President.'

Explanation (2): *Onul cheum-ulo sacang-nim-kwa mannanikka sasil-taylo*
Today firstly President-HON-and meet-CAU truly
malha-l swu eps-supnita
speak-cannot-POL
'I cannot tell the truth because I just met President for the first time.'

Explanation (3): *Hankwuk-eyse sahoysaynghwal-ul ha-ki wihay cacwu*
Korea-LOC social life-ACC do-NMLZ-for often
wissalam-eykey cal poi-e ya toy-pnita
senior-DAT show-should-POL
'It is necessary to behave well (show good) to seniors to get by in Korean society.'

Explanation (4): *Kwuti cheum manna-n sacangnim-kkey nappu-n*
Insistently first meet-ATTR President-DAT bad-ATTR
mal-ul ha-yse pwunwiki-lul mangchi-l iyu-ka
word-ACC do-CONN mood-ACC ruin-ATTR reason-NOM
eps-unikka
not-CAUS
'There is no reason for me to talk bad to the president, whom I've just met, and risk ruining the mood.'

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ending, TOP: Topic particle, QUOT: Quotative marker.

Under the same lie, explanation 1 refers to the speaker's lower status (power) and explanation 2 attributes the lie to the acquaintanceship (distance). Explanation 3 indicated the Korean socio-cultural rules as a context that speakers are supposed to comply with. Explanation 4 includes [distance] and [context] as a combination causing this lie.

4. Data analysis and Discussion

The data contains three parts — the lies in relation to different types of evaluation targets, the different types of lies and the reasons for the lies. In this section, the analysis and discussion will be carried out with a descriptive demonstration of the first two kinds of data followed by the reasons. The three hypotheses mentioned above will also be examined. Interestingly, only the first hypothesis has been supported by our data.

4.1. Lies by types and situation category

First, the mean numbers of total lies in each participant group were calculated to reflect the overall difference and similarity between KNS and CLK. Table 3 shows that the KNS group produced more lies than the CLK group but both groups preferred direct lies over circumlocutions. However, looking at the raw data carefully, we found that more native speakers seem to consider their circumlocution as not being a lie (20 circumlocutions without explanations out of a total of 48 circumlocutions in the KNS group) while more Chinese did not recognize their insincere talk as being a lie (9 instances of insincere talk without explanations out of a total of 52 instances of insincere talk in CLK).

<Table 3> Lies by groups

Lie type		KNS	CLK
Direct lie	Mean	2.55	2.15
	N	20	20
	Std. Deviation	2.964	2.110
Circumlocution	Mean	1.45	1.55
	N	20	20
	Std. Deviation	1.276	1.504
Total	Mean	2.00	1.85
	N	40	40
	Std. Deviation	2.320	1.833

The situations, on the other hand, can be sorted by the targets of evaluations. The distribution of lies with different targets is presented in Table 4. According to the data on Table 4, the first hypothesis was supported as both KNS and CLK groups produced many more lies in the situations with people (including the hearer and others) as the target of evaluation than in those with entities as the target of judgment.

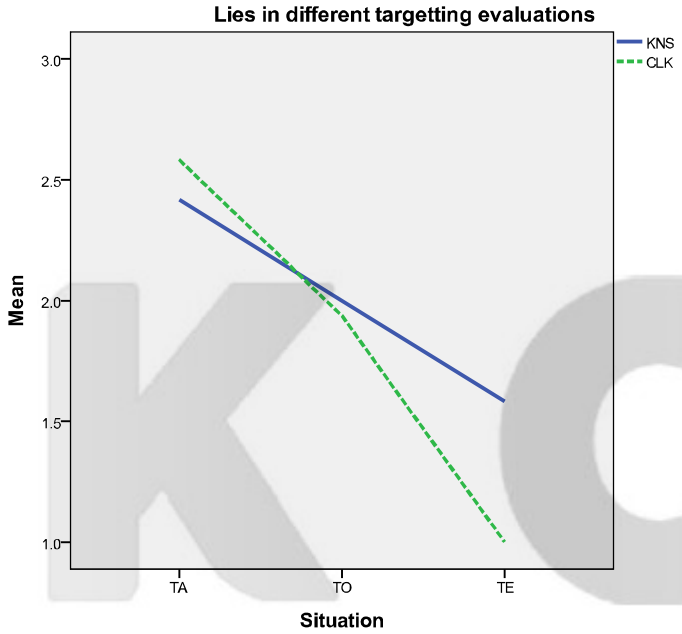
<Table 4> Lies by the target of evaluation

Situation		KNS	CLK
TA	Mean	2.42	2.58
	N	12	12
	Std. Deviation	2.539	2.193
TO	Mean	2.00	1.94
	N	16	16
	Std. Deviation	2.129	1.769
TE	Mean	1.58	1.00
	N	12	12
	Std. Deviation	2.466	1.206
Total	Mean	2.00	1.85
	N	40	40
	Std. Deviation	2.320	1.833

*TA, TO, TR and TE refer to the evaluation targeting addressee, others, relatives of hearers and entity, respectively. TR is included in the TO category.

In TA and TO situations, the figures of KNS and CLK are quite close and the minor differences may be caused by chance. However, in TE situations, KNS produced 1.5 times more lies than CLK. The reason will be discussed in section 3.2.2.

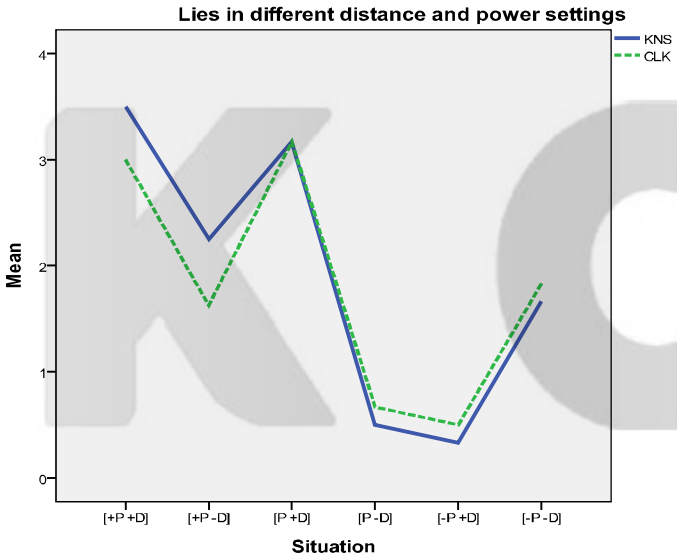
Figure 1 provides a more visualized way to present the drop in lie frequency from TA to TE situations. Both KNS and CLK lied the most with hearer-targeting evaluations and the least with entity-targeting evaluations. However, the decrease is gentler in KNS's performance than in CLK's.



[Figure 1]

Although the first hypothesis is supported, the second and third hypotheses are not completely supported by the outcome (see Figure 2). [-D -P] situations,

which were expected to produce fewer lies than any other Distance and Power sets, exceed [-D P] and [+D -P] situations in the number of lies. More lies appearing in [+D P] than in [-D +P] may indicate that the change of social distance influences the output of lies more than power. This assumption can be partly supported by the marked decline of lies when comparing [+D +P] with [-D +P] and comparing [+D P] with [-D P]. However, the comparison between [+D -P] and [-D -P] shows an exception. Situation 6 [-D -P TA] and 20 [-D -P TE] (see section 4.2) will be discussed in the next section as examples of the violation of hypotheses 2 and 3. Table 5 is provided for the ease of cross-group comparison. As shown in Table 5, the greatest difference was in [+P] situations in which KNS produced 16-38% more lies than CLK. Other than these situations, KNS and CLK exhibited similar performances.



[Figure 2]

<Table 5> Cross-group comparison

Situation		KNS	CLK
[+P +D]	Mean	3.50	3.00
	N	8	8
	Std. Deviation	2.976	2.619
[+P −D]	Mean	2.25	1.63
	N	8	8
	Std. Deviation	1.282	1.506
[P +D]	Mean	3.17	3.17
	N	6	6
	Std. Deviation	3.125	.753
[P −D]	Mean	.50	.67
	N	6	6
	Std. Deviation	.548	1.033
[−P +D]	Mean	.33	.50
	N	6	6
	Std. Deviation	.816	.837
[−P −D]	Mean	1.67	1.83
	N	6	6
	Std. Deviation	2.251	1.722
Total	Mean	2.00	1.85
	N	40	40
	Std. Deviation	2.320	1.833

To sum up, KNS employed more lies than CLK, especially more direct lies. The frequency of lies decreased with the change of evaluation target from people to entity. However, it does not necessarily decrease either with the change of distance from intimate to strangers or with the change of power from higher to lower.

4.2. Factor analysis

It was found that the data did not support the second and third hypotheses.

A few differences were found between KNS and CLK's lying performance. This section is devoted to discussing the reasons underlying the differences and mismatch.

The first possible reason for the cross-group difference could be the learner's limited proficiency. However, it does not seem to be the case in the current study considering that the learners were able to produce circumlocutions as frequently as the native speakers. It is a common understanding in speech act research that indirect strategies normally require more formulae than direct ones. This is because the speaker has to place more effort on hiding his/her true intention. For instance, it might be easier to refuse with a 'No' than specifying the reasons. If the learners are sophisticated enough to produce indirect lies approximate to those of KNS, then it is less likely that the cross-group difference is caused by their limited fluency in Korean language. Then the question is what triggered the different use in lying performance between the two groups.

The QFE, as stated in section 2.1, asked the participants to explain their lies and thus provides a clue to the actual reasons. By analyzing the explanations, we divided the reasons into distance, power and contextual variables as well as other reasons. In cases where the participants lied for different reasons at one time, the combination of different factors causing them to lie were also coded into the three single variables by adding one point to each factor. The examples were given in section 3. Table 6 shows the frequency that KNS and CLK exhibited on the given variables:

<Table 6> Lies by variables

Lie reason		KNS	CLK
Power	Mean	.95	1.15
	N	20	20
	Std. Deviation	1.820	2.134
Distance	Mean	1.10	.80
	N	20	20
	Std. Deviation	1.373	.951
Contextual reason	Mean	2.65	2.20
	N	20	20
	Std. Deviation	2.412	2.142
Total	Mean	1.57	1.38
	N	60	60
	Std. Deviation	2.037	1.896

As shown in Table 6, both groups lied the most for contextual reasons indicating that they were more sensitive to the situation itself than the relative distance and/or power with the hearer, although distance and power were also fairly attended to. Comparing the two groups, we find that KNS lied more for distance and contextual reasons while CLK tended to be more sensitive to power. The biggest difference was found in TE situations (see Appendix II) where lying due to contextual variables has a mean value of 2.17 for KNS compared to only 1.17 for CLK. This may explain why the decrease of lie frequency from TA to TE in CLK's performance is steeper than in KNS's performance. Thus, CLK should be instructed to pay more attention to the context itself, which asks for more accurate explanations about Korean cultural and societal norms in the classroom.

Apart from the cross-group differences, within-group differences were also found, as mentioned in section 4.1, i.e. the violation of the second and third hypotheses. This refers to situations with lower power and distance setting

producing more lies than situations with higher settings. Situation 6 [-D -P TA] and situation 20 [-D -P TE] are given as examples:

> Situation 6 [-distance, H<S, evaluation targeting addressee]
> You always think a child of your neighbor is neither clever nor hard working. However, today s/he has beaten you by a large margin in a quiz game. How would you answer his/her question below?
>
> Child: Bro/Sis, I'm clever, huh?
> You:

According to the second and third hypotheses presented in section 1.2, the number of lies should decrease along with the change of speaker's power status from low to high and with the social distance from unacquainted to well-acquainted. However, Situation 6 [-D -P TA] (8 lies of KNS and 5 lies of CLK) exceeds the supposed 'higher' sets, e.g. Situation 4 [-D P TA] (4 lies from both KNS and CLK). The following are the explanations from the participants for Situation 6:

Example 5: Situation 6

Explanation (1) *Na-lul iki-nun ai-eykey mengchengha-tako phyengkaha-nun*
I-ACC win-ATTR child-DAT silly-QUOT criticize-ATTR
kes-un olh-ci anhta
thing-TOP right-not-DECL.
'It is not right to criticize the kid who has just beaten me as silly.'

Explanation (2) *Ki cwuk-ci malla-ko cohkey malha-yss-ta*
Chi die-not-QUOT well speak-PST-DECL
'I said something nice so as not to make him/her depressed.'

Explanation (3) *Phyengso-ey nay sayngkak-i thully-ess-ul swu-to iss-ta.*
Usual days-LOC my thought-NOM wrong-PST can-also Exist-DECL

Onul ku iwus-tongsayng-i cal ha-yss-tamyen chingchanha-
Today that neighbor-brother-NOM well do-PST-if compliment-
nun kes-i mac-ta.
ATTR thing-NOM right-DECL.
'Maybe my previous thoughts about him are wrong. I should compliment him/her if s/he did well today.'

Explanation (4) *Wenlay meli-to nappu-ko kongpwu-to yelsimhi ha-ci anh-nun*
Originally head-also bad-and study-also diligently do not-ATTR
ai-lako sayngkakha-yss-nuntey tane khwicu-lul cal macchwu-e
child-as think-PST-but word quiz-ACC well match-CONN
uyoy-lako sayngkakhayss-ko ku pwupwun-ul chingchanha-y
unexpected-QUOT think-PST-and that part-ACC compliment-give
chwu-ko siph-ese
-want-CAUS
'I thought s/he was neither intelligent nor hard-working before, so it was unexpected that s/he won the quiz game. I want to compliment him/her (on this point).'

Explanation (5) *Kyeklyeha-nun uymi-eyse ttokttokha-tako ha-yss-ta.*
Encourage-ATTR meaning-LOC smart-QUOT do-PST-DECL.
'I said s/he is smart with the aim of encouraging him/her.'

Explanation (6) *Ai-ka tanswunha-nikka kulehkey malha-meyn soksangha-l*
Child-NOM innocent-CAUS that way speak-if hurt
kes-i-ta.
will-COP-DECL
'S/he is an innocent kid so s/he will be hurt if I say the truth.'

Explanation (7) *Ai-eykey chingchan-ul cwe-ya tway-yo.*
Child-DAT compliment-ACC give-should-POL.
'Children need to be complimented.'

Explanation (8) *Yeyuy-lul cikhi-eya tway-yo.*
Manners-ACC keep-should-POL
'I should be polite.'

Explanations 1 to 5 are from the KNS group and the remainder are from the CLK group. If we try to connect the explanations to the three factors, we find that almost all of the reasons stated here relate to social power and the contextual rules. The keywords in the explanations behind the lies are “kid” and “encouraging/compliment”. In other words, the participants lied due to either the lower status of the hearer or the need to be a good person in the society. Surprisingly, the higher power has an inverse effect on the participants’ performance contrary to our expectation. This means positioning in higher status makes Korean speakers lie more instead of expressing more directly. At the same time, the small difference between the groups may be caused by the discussed result that KNS are less sensitive to power change.

Along with the unexpected power influence, another point worth notice is a concept of ‘caring about others’ found in the explanations. According to Noddings’ (1984) ethics of care, this kind of consideration or caring about others starts naturally but can also be cultivated in social life. However, differing from Noddings’ caring which is assumed to happen between people in any possible status, caring here involves more of the concern from people in higher status towards those in lower status or at least equal status. This is referred to as *paylye* in Korean, which might have stemmed from Confucianism. For example, it is hard for a student to verbally express any *paylye* for his/her supervisor in Korean society even if s/he cares about the supervisor. *Paylye* also happens more in intimate relationships than in distant relationships between the giver and recipient, which can be supported by situation 20.

Situation 20 [-distance, H<S, evaluation targeting entities]
You are visiting your junior fellow’s new place. You found his/her new

place is really small and uncomfortable. How would you answer to your junior's question?

Junior: *Senpaynim*, come on in. How is my room?
You:

Example 6: Situation 20
Explanation (1) *Wuli cip-to ani-ko nam-i sa-nun cip-ul nackey*
My home-also not-and other-NOM live-ATTR home-ACC low
phyengkaha-l iyu-ka eps-ese.
criticize-ATTR reason-NOM not-CAUS
'Since it is not my home, I have no reason to express a negative opinion about it.'

Explanation (2) *Kulayto himnay-lanun uymi-lo cohkey malha-yss-ta.*
Nonetheless cheer up-ATTR meaning-INS well speak-PST-DECL
'But I just want to cheer him/her up.'

Explanation (3) *Cak-un pang-ey sa-nun kes-to soksangha-l theyntey*
Small-ATTR room-LOC live-ATTR thing-also distressing-CONN
solcikhakey malha-y hwupay-lul sulphu-key ha-ko sip-ci anh-supnita.
frankly speak-CONN junior-ACC sad-make-want-not-POL
'It is probably sad to live in such a small room, so I do not want to upset her/him any more.'

Again many explanations in situation 20 were derived from a caring consideration of the hearer's difficulties, i.e. *paylye* for others. Situation 20 [-D -P TE] (8 lies from KNS and 3 lies from CLK) outnumbered the lies in Situation 19 [+D -P TE] (1 lie from each group). The only difference in the contextual setting between these two situations is that the social distance changed from non-acquaintance (Situation 19) to acquaintance (Situation 20).

Also in situation 20, the participants interpreted their lying as an expression

of their caring for people close to them. Even Noddings (1984) admitted that caring starts from the mother-child relationship and then extends further to others. Considering that Korea and China are deeply influenced by Confucianism, the caring shown in the explanations may explain why more lies were produced in [-D -P] situations.

5. Conclusion

This study was initiated in an attempt to investigate the lying performance in negative evaluations of a speech act with special emphasis on the comparison between Korean native speakers and Chinese learners of Korean. A few differences were found in lying performance based on cross-group comparisons and within-group comparisons. In cross-group comparisons, the KNS group were found to produce more lies, especially more direct lies, than the CLK group; KNS also lied more than CLK in TE situations (the evaluations targeting entities). This is interpreted as showing KNS's preference for attending to the context in contrast with CLK's sensitivity to the power variable. When the speaker is of a lower status than the hearer, KNS also tended to lie more than CLK. This may also stem from KNS's lower sensitivity to the power variable as CLK may think it is more of an obligation to be honest to higher-status people. The cross-group difference is less likely to have been caused by the learner's limited proficiency because the CLK group proved their capability of producing very sophisticated indirect lies.

In within-group comparison, the lie production of both groups decreased when the target of evaluation changed from people to entity. This result supports our first hypothesis proposed in section 1.2. However, the lies did not match the changes of power and distance. In other words, when the hearer

is in a lower position (-P) and intimate with the speaker (-D), the lies can occur more frequently than in a higher power and distance setting. One possible explanation for this contrary outcome is that Korean speakers feel more obliged to show polite consideration towards people when they know the hearers well and the speakers are higher in status. In other words, they feel more obliged not to hurt or to encourage those who are close friends or juniors in a lower status and thus generate more lies instead of telling the truth.

Lying is a very interesting phenomenon in socialization but also it is a very difficult topic in language teaching. It is a common tactic in actual daily life but it is hard to include the strategies for lying in a second language syllabus or expect learners to acquire such strategies in the classroom. However, it is not very practical either to let students become familiarized with lying strategies after they step out of the classroom. As communicative language learning requires, we also expect the classroom to provide pragmatic knowledge to a sufficient level. Lying itself should be realized and utilized as a pragmatic strategy by second language learners. The different strategies of lying and the preference of the native speakers should also be introduced. Moreover, second language instructors may need to lead the learners to realize the importance of context when the learners are about to produce a lie.

In sum, the contributions of the current study are threefold. First, the current study makes an attempt to examine the performance of lying in the Korean language, which is extremely scarce in previous research. The Korean language, under the influence of Confucianism, requires its speakers to be aware of the conventional social code more than their individual feelings, which makes people conceal their personal emotion/opinion to a certain extent. By studying lying, we can gain an insight not only of the speech act performance in Korean but also of the Korean culture and society. Second,

the comparison of the performance between KNS and CLK means that this study has pedagogical implications. The outcome can be useful by Korean language learners to learn 1) whether it is appropriate to tell a white lie in a specific situation, 2) what type of lies KNS prefer to tell, and 3) what variable(s) they should be sensitive to when they perceive negative evaluations. Teaching students 'lying' in the classroom may be controversial, but it may be possible to integrate this concept into the socialization process of students. Third, evaluation speech act is a relatively 'new face' in speech act studies in contrast to rather well-known topics such as request, refusal and the like. This study gives an insight into this 'new' speech act which deserves a full-length discussion.

Lastly, we would also like to mention one thing which could not be fully discussed in the current study and where subsequent research will be needed. We expect further studies to develop a rigorous classification of lies in Korean. This study only investigated insincere talk and circumlocution within lies but excluded other types of lies which were intended and recognized by the participants, such as truth answers with explanations and no-evaluation answers with explanations. As for lies without explanation, these represent the opposite cases where judges recognize the answer as a lie whereas speakers do not. Criterions for identification and categorization of a lie need to be developed. Even if the identity and categories of lies are clear, the reasons for lying still need further investigation. In this study, people who have chosen the same type of lies perform their lies because of different reasons/factors. The reasons for lying could be further analyzed from a more qualitative perspective as part of a more in-depth study. Further research in lying phenomena and evaluation as a speech act is expected to deepen our understanding of this field.

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Appendix I

Brief description of situations in DCT

Situation	Description
1	Evaluating the singing of company president whom you met for the first time at the company welcome party for new employees.
2	Evaluating the presentation of your senior at a seminar.
3	Evaluating the date's look at a blind date
4	Evaluating your friend's make-up
5	Evaluating the service of waitress in a restaurant where you are having a dinner.
6	Evaluating the young boy in your neighbor after finishing a quiz game with him
7	Evaluating your department when you were asked by a manager in the company you are visiting.
8	Evaluating your new school life when you were transferred there and met your neighbor who is working there.
9	Evaluating your teacher with your new classmate in a new school.
10	Evaluating an unknown professor's son whom you are tutoring.
11	Evaluating a well acquainted professor's son whom you are tutoring
12	Evaluating the manager and staff in your department with a close colleague.
13	Evaluating your previous tenant after he left a mess to the new tenant.
14	Evaluating your employee who is recommended by another employee.
15	Evaluating an interest place as a guide for a foreign client.
16	Evaluating an English studying group with a professor you know well.
17	Evaluating the food taste with your date whom you met for the first time
18	Evaluating the food taste with a close friend
19	Evaluating the living environment for some students who are looking for a place around your area.
20	Evaluating your junior's new place

Appendix II

Reasons for lying by the target of evaluation

Situation	Lie reason		KNS	CLK
TA	Power	Mean	1.83	2.50
		N	6	6
		Std. Deviation	3.125	3.564
	Distance	Mean	1.17	.83
		N	6	6
		Std. Deviation	1.602	1.169
	Contextual reason	Mean	3.33	2.83
		N	6	6
		Std. Deviation	2.658	1.722
	Total	Mean	2.11	2.06
		N	18	18
		Std. Deviation	2.564	2.413
TO	Power	Mean	.87	.63
		N	8	8
		Std. Deviation	.835	.744
	Distance	Mean	1.25	1.00
		N	8	8
		Std. Deviation	1.165	1.069
	Contextual reason	Mean	2.50	2.50
		N	8	8
		Std. Deviation	2.449	2.563
	Total	Mean	1.54	1.38
		N	24	24
		Std. Deviation	1.719	1.789
TE	Power	Mean	.17	.50
		N	6	6
		Std. Deviation	.408	.837
	Distance	Mean	.83	.50
		N	6	6
		Std. Deviation	1.602	.548
	Contextual reason	Mean	2.17	1.17
		N	6	6
		Std. Deviation	2.401	1.835
	Total	Mean	1.06	.72
		N	18	18
		Std. Deviation	1.798	1.179

Total	Power	Mean	.95	1.15
		N	20	20
		Std. Deviation	1.820	2.134
	Distance	Mean	1.10	.80
		N	20	20
		Std. Deviation	1.373	.951
	Contextual reason	Mean	2.65	2.20
		N	20	20
		Std. Deviation	2.412	2.142
	Total	Mean	1.57	1.38
		N	60	60
		Std. Deviation	2.037	1.896

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