

Central Lancashire Online Knowledge (CLoK)

Title	The pragmatic resistance of Chinese learners of Korean
Type	Article
URL	https://clock.uclan.ac.uk/id/eprint/43837/
DOI	https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12656
Date	2022
Citation	Chen, Xi orcid iconORCID: 0000-0003-2393-532X (2022) The pragmatic resistance of Chinese learners of Korean. Foreign Language Annals, 55 (4). pp. 1128-1151. ISSN 0015-718X
Creators	Chen, Xi

It is advisable to refer to the publisher's version if you intend to cite from the work.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12656>

For information about Research at UCLan please go to <http://www.uclan.ac.uk/research/>

All outputs in CLoK are protected by Intellectual Property Rights law, including Copyright law. Copyright, IPR and Moral Rights for the works on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. Terms and conditions for use of this material are defined in the <http://clock.uclan.ac.uk/policies/>

The pragmatic resistance of Chinese learners of Korean 🏠

Xi Chen 

The Challenge

Native-speaker norms remain influential in Korean language teaching and assessment, but do Korean language learners choose to emulate native-speaker norms? This study investigates the choice of resisting the native norms made by Chinese learners of Korean, the largest group of overseas students in Korea.

School of Humanities, Language and Global Studies, University of Central Lancashire, Preston, UK

Correspondence

Xi Chen, School of Humanities, Language and Global Studies, University of Central Lancashire, Preston, UK.
Email: xchenresearch@outlook.com

Abstract

This study examines pragmatic resistance as a choice made by Chinese learners of Korean and the factors that contribute to this choice. Data were collected from 46 upper-intermediate Korean language learners through three different tools, including Discourse Completion Tasks, metapragmatic questionnaires, and retrospective interviews. Findings showed that the participants chose to resist native Korean pragmatic norms in over 40% of their answers by either adhering to Chinese norms or diverging from both native Chinese and Korean norms. Their decision to resist native Korean pragmatic norms was affected by four main factors, namely the learners' personalities, multilingual identities, ongoing life histories, and relational affordances. These findings indicated that native-speaker pragmatic norms, which are still employed as a model by official Korean proficiency tests, are no longer the default preference of Korean language learners.

This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs License, which permits use and distribution in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, the use is non-commercial and no modifications or adaptations are made.

© 2022 The Authors. *Foreign Language Annals* published by Wiley Periodicals LLC on behalf of ACTFL.

This study thus suggests revising the applicability of native pragmatic norms in Korean language teaching and assessment.

KEYWORDS

pragmatic choice, pragmatic divergence, relational affordances, subjectivity

1 | INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the number of learners of Korean as a second or foreign language has increased rapidly in part due to the popularity of K-pop and K-drama. Research on Korean as a second or foreign language has also increased, but is still far from sufficient. One topic that has received little academic attention is the pragmatic choices made by its largest group of learners—Chinese learners of Korean (hereafter CLKs). By 2020, Chinese students accounted for 43.6% of the overseas students in higher education in South Korea,¹ not to mention the 107 universities in China that have established degree programs of the Korean language. This study investigates the pragmatic choices made by this underrepresented learner group with a particular focus on their choice of resisting native-speaker norms.

Although the ideology of treating native-speaker norms as standards remains influential in L2² teaching and assessment (Burns, 2018; Maa & Burns, 2021), studies of pragmatic resistance cast light on L2 learners' willingness to align with native norms (Ishihara, 2009, 2010; LoCastro, 2001; Siegal, 1996). By treating L2 learners as active agents, who creatively deploy multiple language resources, these studies provide an invaluable insight into learner subjectivity, their exercising of agency, and identity construction (e.g., Brown, 2013; Ishihara & Tarone, 2009; H. Y. Kim, 2014; Li et al., 2020). However, even though an array of learners has previously been surveyed, CLKs, despite their large numbers in Korean language learning, have not yet been examined in terms of their pragmatic resistance.

To fill this study gap, this study employs three different types of data, including CLKs' linguistic performance, their metapragmatic comments, and retrospective interviews (RIs). Data analysis not only identifies pragmatic resistance as a choice made by CLKs but also explores the factors contributing to this choice.

This study begins by reviewing previous studies on the conceptual development of pragmatic resistance and previous findings in Korean and Chinese. Methods and data analysis are presented in Sections 3 and 4, respectively, followed by analysis results. Findings are discussed in Section 6 and Section 7 and shed light on their implications. Lastly, the study concludes with brief remarks on the findings and limitations.

2 | LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 | The notion of pragmatic resistance

Built on earlier studies of learners' attitude and subjectivity (e.g., LoCastro, 2001; Siegal, 1996), Ishihara and her colleague systematically developed the notion of pragmatic resistance in a series of

studies (Ishihara & Tarone, 2009; Ishihara, 2009, 2010). They defined pragmatic resistance as L2 learners' "deliberate rejection of adopting what they perceive as native-speaker pragmatic norms that they are well aware of and linguistically capable of producing" (Ishihara, 2010, p. 38). A term, pragmatic divergence, was also used specifically to describe "the actual language use produced as a result of resistance" (Ishihara & Tarone, 2009, p. 106). Following Ishihara's definition, pragmatic resistance is (i) intentional, (ii) learner perception-based, and (iii) not the result of the limited L2 proficiency of learners. It does not include the learner's unconscious or unintended disagreement with L2 pragmatic norms as well as conscious divergence due to lack of language proficiency.

Ishihara (2009, 2010) adopted mainly phenomenological inquiries to investigate the pragmatic resistance of individual cases. For example, Ishihara (2010) found that an American professor who had lived in Japan for 21 years intentionally maintained his distance from L2 Japanese norms, knowing that his Caucasian appearance would prevent him from gaining membership of the local Japanese community. Another American participant in Ishihara (2009), Michael, resisted Japanese pragmatic norms of offering insincere apologies, because the behavior conflicted with his Christian beliefs. His resistance was, however, unsuccessful due to pressures within his social circle. During a leisure trip, Michael was forced to offer insincere apologies, to be accepted by his Japanese friends.

In comparison with the descriptive phenomenological methods used in the above two studies, Ishihara and Tarone (2009) employed a more structured set of experimental tools to investigate specifically the L2 Japanese learners' choice of emulating or resisting native pragmatic norms. Their tools included role plays, Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs), RIs, and follow-up emails. The first two tools were used to collect the learners' linguistic performance, the analysis of which demonstrated pragmatic convergence or divergence. The latter two tools were designed to probe the learners' reasons for their choice. Using these tools, Ishihara and Tarone (2009) collected both performance and retrospective types of data from three advanced Japanese learners at a US university (Mark, Tim, and Ellie). Ellie was the only one who willingly embraced native Japanese norms because of her heritage-speaker identity. Mark chose to emulate L2 Japanese norms only when they were compatible with his own personality, whereas Tim experienced an internal struggle between his egalitarian beliefs and the asymmetrical use of honorifics in Japanese (i.e., using honorifics to seniors who are not required to reciprocate their use to juniors).

These case studies provided a glimpse of the wide array of factors, for example, a learner's personality, identity, personal belief, appearance, and social pressure, which might result in pragmatic resistance. Out of this myriad of factors, later studies in Korean and Chinese examined more specifically the learners' identities, emotions, and social networks.

2.2 | Pragmatic resistance in Korean and Chinese

In L2 Korean studies, Brown (2013) pioneered the documenting of pragmatic resistance in Korean learners. He investigated four L2 Korean learners in the United Kingdom and Australia, using a similar range of experimental tools as Ishihara and Tarone's (2009) study, that is, DCTs, natural conversation recordings, and RIs. Three of his four participants reported pragmatic resistance in terms of Korean honorific use. In addition, they also reported that native speakers did not regulate their use of honorifics in their interactions with "foreigners." The remaining participant in Brown (2013), Patrick, was irritated by native speakers' distrust of a foreigner's competence. He actively adhered to L2 pragmatic norms to claim an equal identity as an intelligent language user to native speakers. Brown, thus, concluded that, on the one hand, the self-identities of L2 Korean learners

affected their pragmatic choices, whereas, on the other hand, native-like patterns were not necessarily at their disposal. At times, their native interactants held an essentialized and stereotypical view of how “foreigners” should be and expected L2 learners to act accordingly. His conclusions agreed with Hassall (2004) and Iwasaki (2011) in Indonesian and Japanese, respectively. These two studies also found that L2 learners were not always encouraged to follow native pragmatic norms.

H. Y. Kim (2014) examined L1 Korean speakers studying English, with the research focus on the relationship between pragmatic resistance and identity construction. In comparison with the aforementioned studies, Kim’s research featured a much larger number of participants (30). She employed questionnaires and DCTs to manipulate this group of participants, while applying interviews and role plays to 7 of the 30 participants. According to Kim’s findings, Korean learners of English resisted L2 pragmatic norms when accepting compliments, making indirect requests, and using titles. They chose to resist L2 pragmatic norms “in the hope of good returns” for their identities, for example, being recognized as “modest students” by their professors (H. Y. Kim, 2014, p. 98).

Recent studies of L2 Chinese enriched this line of research by involving Asian learners of another Asian language. Ying and Ren (2021), for example, invited seven L2 Chinese learners from Vietnam, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey, and Thailand, in addition to two European learners, to provide their responses to Chinese greeting routines. Pragmatic resistance was found in their responses to compliments and situation-bound questions in the greeting routines. The Asian learners stated that the native Chinese speakers’ (CNS) compliments lacked the level of sincerity that they would normally expect. Situation-bound questions, which often inquired about obvious facts (e.g., “Are you buying a coffee?” when encountering at a coffee shop), resulted in them feeling embarrassed. The emotional rejection led these participants to resist or reluctantly accommodate native Chinese pragmatic norms.

Li et al.’s (2020) study involved two Kyrgyz, one Filipino, one Pakistani, and three Thai learners of Chinese. Their study concerned the relationship between learners’ pragmatic choices and their social networks. Over a period of 1 year, their participants converged to L2 pragmatic norms in terms of directness of requests, while diverging in their use of different modifications. A Thai participant, Kent, reported his confusion about whether or not to use external modifications for his Chinese requests. His social network, in which half of his friends knew each other, provided contrary feedback to his use of modification, which contributed to his difficulties. In contrast, a Filipino participant, Camile, developed a highly heterogeneous and loose social network, which allowed her to independently observe how different request strategies were adopted by different individuals in different contexts. However, her increasing awareness of L2 Chinese pragmatic norms also increased the possibility of pragmatic resistance.

Scrutinizing the aforementioned studies showed that the self-identities of L2 learners, among various subjective dispositions, play a considerable role in their choice of pragmatic resistance. Block (2009, p. 40) defined identities in relation to language as “the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one’s sense of self and a means of communication, which might be known as a language, a dialect or a sociolect.” Certain identities appear to have motivated learners to emulate L2 pragmatic norms, for example, the heritage-speaker identity of Ellie in Ishihara and Tarone (2009). More often, however, L2 learners fall into “a site of struggle” (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 414), in which they make choices between emulating and resisting L2 pragmatic norms so as to realize a desirable identity (e.g., “Patrick” in Brown, 2013; H. Y. Kim, 2014).

Caution is needed, however, when attributing pragmatic resistance entirely to L2 learner subjectivity. Li et al. (2020) have demonstrated that the external environment, for example, one’s social network, can exert a considerable influence on learners’ pragmatic choices. To be more specific, an environment becomes influential through the action possibilities it provides, namely “affordances”

(Gibson, 1979). As reviewed above, Brown (2013), Ishihara (2009), Iwasaki (2011), and Hassall (2004) have all highlighted that certain action possibilities, for example, emulating or resisting L2 pragmatic norms, are not necessarily available to L2 learners. On the one hand, native speakers do not expect L2 learners to follow L2 pragmatic norms. On the other hand, even if L2 learners decide to resist L2 pragmatic norms, the environment might not afford them the opportunity to do so. “Michael” in Ishihara (2009), for example, was pressurized by his social circle to offer an insincere apology, following native Japanese norms, even though he had tried to resist doing so. The role that subjectivity plays in pragmatic resistance of L2 learners is thus inseparable from the affordances offered by their relationships with others.

The above review also highlights some uncharted areas in study of pragmatic resistance. First, across the diverse range of L2 learners that previous studies have surveyed, CLKs are entirely absent. Chinese learners of other languages, for example, English, provided isolated cases of pragmatic resistance. For example, Liao (2009), who originally set out to investigate English discourse markers used by Chinese students in the United States, found that one of its six participants refrained from L2 norms of using discourse markers, to maintain her teacher identity and construct a professional persona. Li and Gao (2017), who focused on the role of metapragmatic awareness in request production, found that 1 of their 10 participants consciously followed her L1 Chinese norms when making English requests. These studies provided an insight into Chinese students' pragmatic choices. However, their findings may be attributed to the rise of “World English” (Bolton & Botha, 2015) and cannot simply be generalized to other languages. It is questionable whether CLKs would adopt pragmatic resistance as Chinese learners of English did. Furthermore, as H. Y. Kim (2014) pointed out, previous studies have focused extensively on individual learners and their variation in choosing pragmatic resistance. More collective findings are needed to examine the prevalence of this phenomenon and its implications for foreign/second language teaching and assessment.

Accordingly, this study samples a relatively large group of CLKs with the aim of answering the following research questions:

- 1) For those CLKs with the ability to produce native-like patterns, to what extent do they choose to resist native pragmatic norms?
- 2) What factors contribute to their choice of pragmatic resistance and what are the implications that these findings have on L2 Korean teaching and assessment?

3 | METHODOLOGY

This study involved a total of 135 participants, consisting of 46 CLKs, 44 CNSs and 45 native Korean speakers (KNSs). It employed a similar range of experimental tools as previous studies (Brown, 2013; Ishihara & Tarone, 2009; H. Y. Kim, 2014), including DCTs, metapragmatic questionnaires (MQs), and RIs.

3.1 | Participants

Forty-six CLKs were recruited from third- and fourth-year undergraduate students who were undertaking a degree course in Korean subject. These undergraduates were students at seven different Chinese universities. Six of these universities are in Shandong Province, an area of

China, which has the greatest number of degree programs of Korean due to its geographical proximity to the Korean peninsula, and one university is in Shanghai, a key metropolitan and international city. The diverse range of universities and students involved in this study prevented findings from being restricted to certain institutional or course settings.

Thirty-eight of the 46 CLKs had previously achieved Level 4 (upper-intermediate) in the Test of Proficiency in Korean (TOPIK) during their second or third year at university. The remaining eight CLKs had not taken the test, because they intended to save time and money by obtaining only an advanced-level certificate. All the participants aimed to achieve Level 6 (advanced) at their next (or first) attempt.

In addition, 44 CNSs from the same universities as the CLKs and 45 KNSs from 5 different universities in South Korea were recruited to provide a reference for L1 pragmatic norms. These participants were also third- or fourth-year undergraduate students but were not majoring in language or linguistics-related courses. The KNSs had never learned Chinese or visited China, and vice versa. They had spent almost their entire student life in their home countries and had not sojourned in a foreign country for more than 6 months.

The average age of the CLKs was 22.82 years, with ages ranging from 19 to 25 years. The average age of the CNSs was 21.23 years, with ages ranging from 19 to 23 years, whereas that of the KNSs was 23.09 years, with a range from 20 to 29 years. The KNSs were slightly older than the CNSs and the CLKs, because male Korean students spent 2 years on compulsory military service before finishing their studies. Of the 46 CLKs, 37 were female and 9 were male due to the unbalanced gender ratio in language classes. The CNS group had equal numbers of females and males, whereas the KNS group had 22 females and 23 males.

The influence that an unbalanced gender distribution might exert on the participants' linguistic performance was ruled out by Pearson's correlation tests. The weak correlation, as shown by the r values in the tests (ranging from .09 to .14), indicated that gender did not play a significant role in the participants' speech strategy choices. This may be due to the fact that university students in China and Korea rarely adopt social roles that are conventionalized by gender (e.g., husband and wife).

3.2 | Instruments

Three different instruments were employed: DCTs, MQs, and RIs. DCTs were used to collect the participants' linguistic performance, followed by MQs, which asked the CLKs to identify their own pragmatic divergence. RIs focused on letting them elucidate the factors that they had considered when choosing to resist. The combination of these instruments was intended to triangulate and corroborate findings from both written and verbal data.

3.2.1 | DCTs

DCTs have been widely adopted by previous studies of pragmatic resistance (e.g., Brown, 2013; Ishihara & Tarone, 2009; H. Y. Kim, 2014). They help to collect comparable linguistic performance data from L2 learner groups and native speaker groups. Each item in a DCT has a scenario followed by a dialog with one of its turn omitted, which participants are required to complete. Their design enables researchers to manipulate contextual settings and collect a large set of data from different groups in relatively homogenous contexts. However, the data that they collect have been criticized for

not adequately reflecting naturalistic conversational features (Beebe & Cummings, 1985, 1996). In addition, they tend to display what participants believe to be appropriate in a situation, instead of what they actually perform. This drawback further questions the authenticity of DCT data, although some empirical studies have argued that DCTs are dependable tools (Brown & Ahn, 2011) and effective for collecting typical speech act strategies (Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2013; Eisenstein & Bodman,1993; Kasper & Rose, 2001). For studies of pragmatic resistance, however, DCT data sit well with the defined “deliberativeness” of pragmatic resistance; in other words, the participants’ deliberate pragmatic divergence is expected to be, for their own reasons, what they consider to be appropriate.

To improve the validity and reliability of the DCTs, several refinements were incorporated into the experimental design: (i) the scenarios in each DCT item were enriched with detailed contextual information following Billmyer and Varghese’s (2000) suggestion. The enriched scenarios contained gender-neutral names for the given roles, age of each role, frequency of encounters, role relationships, and actions. The last two variables were varied by social power, distance, and rank of imposition (P, D, R; Brown & Levinson, 1987) on three levels (Table 1, see also Appendix A for an English translation of the DCTs); (ii) two different speech acts, evaluation and refusal acts, were included in the DCT design. This helped to prevent the participants’ performance from being biased by the type of action, a similar design to Ishihara’s (2006) PhD dissertation, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, and H. Y. Kim’s (2014) studies; (iii) an extra group of 15 KNSs and 15 CNSs, with similar

TABLE 1 Descriptions of the DCT situations

Situation	Description	Contextual variables
To evaluate a/an		
1	Tiring workload	[+D P I]
2	Boring conference	[−D P −I]
3	Professor’s character	[D +P I]
4	Noisy drinking party	[D −P I]
5	Date’s appearance	[−D P +I]
6	Unwanted freebie	[D +P I]
7	Tutee’s work	[D P +I]
8	Friend’s self-reflection	[+D +P −I]
To refuse a/an		
9	Suggestion to organize files	[+D −P +I]
10	Suggestion to buy a scarf	[−D +P −I]
11	Offer of a lift	[D P I]
12	Request to make PPTs	[+D −P +I]
13	Request to do a survey	[D −P +I]
14	Invitation to a drinking party	[D −P +I]
15	Invitation to a business dinner	[D +P I]

Note: +P, +D, and +I indicate that the hearer has more power over the speaker, they are well acquainted, and the degree of imposition for evaluating or refusing is high. −P, −D, and −I indicate the opposite, whereas P, D, and I are medium.

backgrounds to the study's participants, were invited to rate the DCTs in terms of their authenticity and accessibility. Only those DCT items, which had been ranked by the participants as authentic and accessible, were retained; (iv) during RIs, the interviewer repeated the answers given by the participants to the DCTs and verbally confirmed with them whether the answers were what they would use in real-world situations. If interviewees denied, the interviewer asked them to provide a further answer, which was consistent with their real-world reactions.

3.2.2 | MQs

MQs were conducted immediately after the CLKs had completed their DCTs, to allow the participants to recall their cognitive processes when performing the evaluations and refusals. MQs were made up of four questions as follows and these were attached under each DCT item. The CLKs were allowed to revise their DCT answers when undertaking the MQs, but they were unable to change their answers:

- 1) What do you think KNSs would say in this (DCT) situation? Was your answer similar to or different from theirs?
- 2) If your answer was different, could you elaborate on this difference?
- 3) What do you think CNSs would say in this (DCT) situation? Was your answer similar to or different from theirs?
- 4) If your answer was different, could you elaborate on this difference?

The MQ design borrowed ideas from Barron (2003), H. Y. Kim (2014), and Ishihara and Tarone (2009), who used similar questions to investigate L2 learners' pragmatic choices. The answers to these questions were in nature narrative self-reports (Barron, 2003, p. 105), which shed light on how the CLKs perceived L1 and L2 pragmatic norms and their awareness of resistance to "perceived pragmatic norms" (Ishihara, 2010, p. 38).

3.2.3 | RIs

Lastly, RIs were conducted on a one-to-one basis within 2 days of the participants completing DCTs and MQs. During the interviews, the interviewer asked both fixed and open questions based on the pragmatic divergence identified by the CLKs themselves. Specifically, the CLKs were asked to articulate the reasons for each of their DCT answers, which they had confirmed in their MQs had shown a divergence.

The combination of DCTs and detailed interviews is considered to be an effective approach to gaining an insight into the linguistic knowledge and thinking of L2 learners (Golato, 2003). MQs were added to this combination to collect learners' emic judgments of pragmatic divergence.

3.3 | Procedure

DCTs and MQs were distributed using online platforms (i.e., Google Forms and MS Forms). Participants completed the DCTs first, after which the online platform automatically started the MQs. Participants were allowed to complete both tasks at a time and location they felt

comfortable with. According to online records, DCTs took 30–50 min to complete, whereas MQs took approximately a further 30 min. Within 2 days of the participants submitting their answers, RIs were conducted. The interviews were on a one-to-one basis using MS-Teams and took ~30 min each.

DCTs were distributed to all three participant groups, that is, CLKs, CNSs, and KNSs. CLKs and KNSs used a Korean version of the DCTs, whereas CNSs used a Chinese version. Back translations were employed to ensure consistency between the two language versions. Only the CLKs were required to complete the MQs, which were designed to examine their awareness of pragmatic resistance. They were allowed to use either or both their L1 (Chinese) or L2 (Korean) to reflect their awareness. RIs were also targeted at the CLKs in terms of the factors that contributed to their pragmatic resistance. RIs were conducted in Chinese, with some hybrid use of Korean depending on the participants' preference. Using the CLKs' L1 allowed them to explicate their reasoning process in detail without being affected by their L2 proficiency.

In summary, 46 CLKs, 44 CNSs, and 45 KNSs participated in the DCTs. In addition, all the CLKs took the MQs, with 23 providing reflections on their evaluations, 18 on their refusals, and 5 on both, on a voluntary basis. The five CLKs who provided metapragmatic comments on both their evaluation and refusal performance were invited to an RI.

4 | DATA ANALYSIS

To identify CLKs' pragmatic choices, data obtained from the MQs were analyzed first. In total, four different choices emerged: converging to L2 pragmatic norms only, converging to both L1 and L2 pragmatic norms, converging to L1 pragmatic norms only, and diverging from both L1 and L2 pragmatic norms. The latter two choices pertain to pragmatic resistance and their data were strictly categorized adhering to Ishihara's (2010) definition. Divergence arising from limited linguistic capability or unintended behavior was re-categorized by asking the CLKs to clarify their intentions. For example, if a CLK reported that, with a higher level of proficiency, she would prefer to adhere to L2 pragmatic norms, her answer in that MQ item was then categorized as converging to L2 norms instead of diverging. Frequency calculations were carried out for all four choices.

Z-tests were performed to analyze DCT data as an etic examination of the CLKs' linguistic performance. Z-tests, also known as z-score tests for two population proportions, examine whether two groups differ statistically in single categorical strategies, for example, whether the CLKs differ from the KNSs or the CNSs in their use of refusal excuses. Strategies used in evaluation and refusal acts were coded by using the lists of semantic formulas proposed by Chen and Wang (2021), and Beebe et al. (1990), respectively. The data analysis focused on those DCT items, in which at least 50% of the CLKs chose to resist L2 pragmatic norms. The threshold of 50% was set to ensure that no other pragmatic choices outweighed the choice of pragmatic resistance in that DCT situation. We expected the pragmatic divergence, identified by the CLKs in their MQs, to match their linguistic performance in the DCTs, which was analyzed by the researcher. The match between emic judgment and etic analysis indicated that the CLKs had a clear knowledge of both L2 pragmatic norms and their own choice.

Lastly, using NVivo, a qualitative analysis was carried out on the RI data. This analysis identified those factors that the CLKs repeatedly used to explain the reason for pragmatic resistance. Similar factors were grouped together into one emergent theme and the analysis was performed iteratively until no new themes could be added. Two coders from each language

community worked independently to categorize the DCT, MQ, and RI data. Inter-rater reliability was tested using kappa tests, the results of which lay between 0.74 and 0.80. The coders then discussed any remaining discrepancies until they reached a consensus.

5 | RESULTS

The analysis results of MQ and DCT data using descriptive statistics and *z*-tests are presented in Section 5.1. The qualitative analysis of RI data is then presented in Section 5.2 to demonstrate the factors contributing to the CLKs' choice of pragmatic resistance.

5.1 | Learners' choice of pragmatic resistance

To answer the first research question, that is, the extent to which pragmatic resistance occurs, the frequency of pragmatic divergence identified by the CLKs in their MQs was calculated and compared with their choice of pragmatic convergence, that is, converging to L2 pragmatic norms only and converging to both L1 and L2 pragmatic norms. As shown in Figure 1, the CLKs deemed ~20% of their answers to be converging to L2 pragmatic norms only (15% for evaluation acts and 21% for refusal acts). Their willingness to converge was high only when they believed that their L1 and L2 pragmatic norms coincided (that is, converging to both L1 and L2 norms). When the two norms were perceived differently, more participants chose to either maintain their L1 norms or diverge from both L1 and L2 norms. These two choices accounted for 41% and 43% of the CLKs' pragmatic choices in evaluations and refusals, respectively, which indicate a considerable and consistent group tendency to resist L2 pragmatic norms.

The CLKs' choices of converging to L1 norms only or diverging from both L1 and L2 pragmatic norms were plotted in Figure 2 by DCT situations. It shows that the CLKs preferred to diverge from both L1 and L2 pragmatic norms in 12 of the 15 situations, while favoring converging to L1 norms in only 3 situations. Their choices exceeded the threshold of 50% in

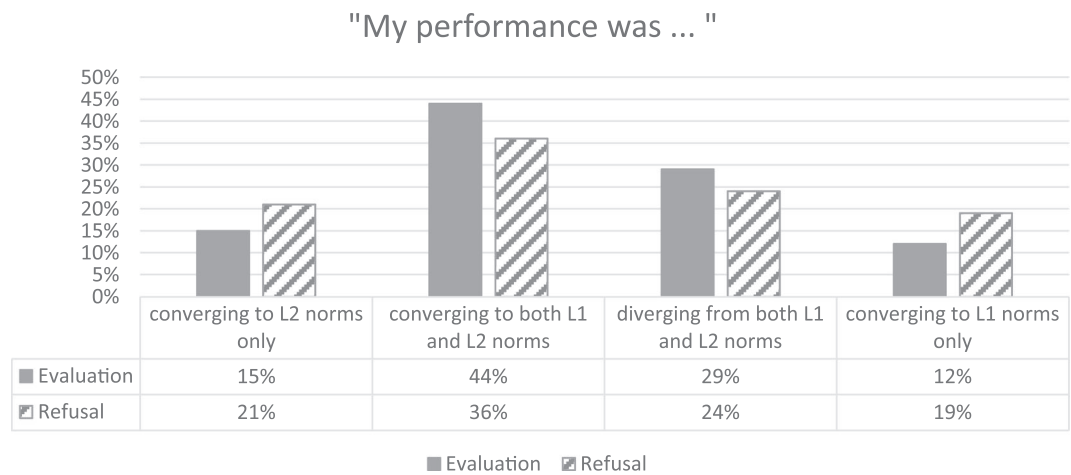


FIGURE 1 The pragmatic choices of Chinese learners of Korean (CLKs)

Situations 3 and 12. In Situation 3, 50% of the CLKs considered their DCT answers to be diverging from both L1 and L2 norms, whereas in Situation 12, 60.9% of CLKs identified their answers as converging to L1 norms only.

Z-tests were conducted to compare the strategies used by the CLKs, KNSs, and CNSs in the two situations. In Situation 3 (evaluating a strict professor), significant differences were found between the two native groups, namely KNSs and CNSs, in their use of high-frequency strategies, for example, conditional evaluations ($Z = 3.13$, $p < .01$), suggestions ($Z = 3.74$, $p < .01$), and excuses ($Z = 2.09$, $p < .05$). In contrast, the CLKs employed a hybrid of these strategies, resulting in their performance differing from both native groups but statistically indistinguishable from either. The CLKs appear to have realized their hybridity of strategy choice, hence claiming in the MQs that they had diverged from both L1 and L2 pragmatic norms. Kramsch (2009, p. 238) attributed the hybrid linguistic practice of L2 learners to their “thirdness,” a metaphoric term used to diminish the view that the multilingual system of learners is an approximation of L1. From the “third” perspective, L1 and L2 are merely parts of the heteroglossia within learners’ multilingual system.

In Situation 12 (refusing a professor’s request), the CLKs offered alternatives in their refusals as frequently as the CNSs. Their strategy choice was significantly different from the KNSs’ ($Z = 2.37$, $p < .01$), who were more inclined to accept the professor’s request than to refuse. Again, in this situation, the CLKs demonstrated a clear awareness of their strategy use and accurately defined it as diverging from L2 pragmatic norms by converging to L1 norms.

It is worth mentioning that both Situations 3 and 12 involved a professor–student relationship, which was most closely bound to the participants’ current experience at university. Their familiarity to this relationship appears to have rendered them a better understanding of what these situations afforded. They deemed, with more confidence, that pragmatic divergence was allowed to a greater extent in these situations than in other situations. During their RIs, the interviewees corroborated this finding by explaining that their relationships with professors generally involved a level of emotional closeness, which afforded a diverging performance. The finding also agreed, in general, with previous arguments that

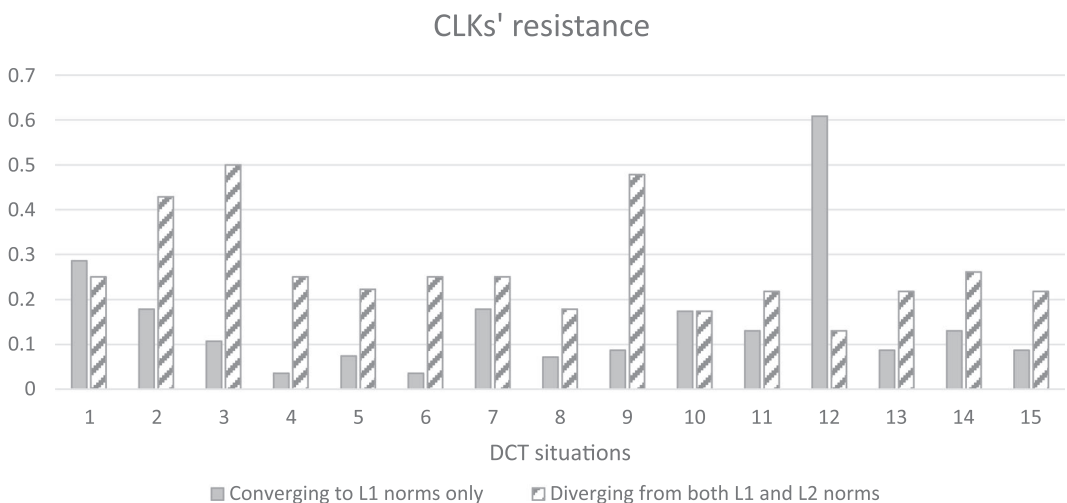


FIGURE 2 Pragmatic resistance of Chinese learners of Korean (CLKs) in each Discourse Completion Task (DCT) situation

relational affordances affect L2 learners' choice of pragmatic resistance (e.g., Brown, 2013; Li et al., 2020), which is one of the main factors found in the next section.

5.2 | Factors contributing to pragmatic resistance

In one-to-one RIs, the CLKs were asked to articulate the reasons for each of their DCT answers in which they confirmed pragmatic divergence had occurred. The five interviewees (pseudonyms CJ, QL, TS, WY, and ZL) reported pragmatic resistance across a variety of DCT situations, ranging from 33% to 47% of their answers. They repeatedly associated their pragmatic resistance with the following four factors: their personalities, multilingual identities, ongoing life histories, and relational affordances.

All the interviewees used personality as an explanation for their pragmatic resistance, with a frequency of 3.6 instances per interview. Not only did they use it as a general excuse, but they also attributed different aspects of their personalities when elucidating the cognitive processes behind their pragmatic resistance. For example, interviewee TS regarded herself as being “hard to get close,” and hence refused to inquire about her interactant's wellbeing with a heavy workload, although she believed that native Koreans would do so (Example 1). She also chose to organize the files in her own way by pretending to take the suggestion but not actually doing it, because being “hypocritical” was another aspect of her personality (Example 2).

(1) Situation 01: evaluating a tiring workload

Interviewer: 这里面就是你选择的答案，你觉得这是更靠近中国人的答案，所以说为什么选择了更靠近中国人的答案呢？

[Here is the answer you chose. You thought it was closer to CNSs' answers. So why did you choose an answer similar to CNSs'?]

TS: 因为我觉得韩国人好像比较自来熟还是什么的，跟我的性格不是不是特别的相同...我个人就不是很很容易跟别人亲近的人，所以我选了这个答案。

[Because I feel that Korean people are born socializers or something. My personality is not quite like that...I am not a person who finds it easy to get close to others, so I chose this answer.]

(2) Situation 09: refusing a suggestion to organize files

TS: 我觉得韩国人他们好像是直接会按照老板就是建议他们怎么做，然后他们就会怎么做，应该是不会像我这个样子。我的想法我先跟你说，我到时候会整理的，然后我不做这个样子。对，我就比较虚伪。

[I feel that Korean people would just follow what the boss suggested them to do, then they would just do it. They wouldn't be like me. I would tell you my thought,

say, I will organize (the files) at the time, then I just don't do it. Yeah, I am somewhat hypocritical.]

Multilingual identities were another factor to which 80% of the interviewees attributed their pragmatic resistance. Their claims of such identities corresponded to their hybrid use of L1 and L2 norms, which were constituents of their “thirdness” (see Section 5.1). Their learning experience and knowledge of both Chinese and Korean clearly provided them with the opportunity to blend the two norms, as illustrated by TS in Example (3). Another Interviewee ZL also adopted both “untrue” praises, the preferred choice of CNSs, and criticism, the preferred choice of KNSs, when evaluating a strict professor. By doing so, her intention was to leave her interlocutor the choice as to whether or not to choose the professor's course (Example 4).

- (3) Situation 14: refusing an invitation from a senior person at your workplace to a drinking party

TS: 因为我是怎么说呢，因为我两个（语言）都学，所以我就有点想要把两个一起用的那种感觉。

[Because how do I say it, because I am learning both (languages), so I kind of want to use the two together.]

- (4) Situation 03: evaluating a strict professor with a university freshman

ZL: 因为我讲的话，我会把他的好处和坏处都讲一点，然后就给他自己选择。

[If I speak, I would talk about the advantages and disadvantages of him (the professor), and then that would allow him to make his own choice.]

The third factor, ongoing life histories, shaped the CLKs' understanding of pragmatic norms, and thereby influenced their choice of pragmatic resistance. The main sources of the interviewees' life histories were their interactions with language educators, friendships with L2 speaking peers, and TV dramas they have watched. These sources continued into their current life as sediments in their emotions and attitudes toward L2 pragmatic norms (Mercer, 2012; Moss & Haertel, 2016). For example, in her long narrative (Example 5), WY expressed an aversion to hierarchically strained relationships in Korean workplaces, which she had observed from the Korean drama “*Misaeng*.” The aversion led her to diverge from L2 pragmatic norms by converging to L1 pragmatic norms.

- (5) Situation 14: refusing an invitation from a senior person at your workplace to a drinking party

WY: 看过一部职场剧，就是韩国的，叫*Misaeng*。然后就会，会感觉他们职场里面就前后辈的关系就特别的紧张，然后作为后辈的话，好像对前辈的话是需要去接受的，就算是可能耽误了家庭那边，也会去接受前辈的要求... 中国人那种对前面的尊敬还是有的，但是我不可能把我下班的时间就无条件的给你。

[I've watched a workplace drama, it's from South Korea, called *Misaeng*. Then I feel that the relationship between their seniors and juniors in the workplace is particularly tense, and then as juniors, it seems that they need to accept (the invitation). Even if it may delay the family business, they will still accept the requirements of their seniors. ... The Chinese still have that respect for their seniors, but I won't give you my time of off-work unconditionally.]

In addition to learner-internal factors, that is, personalities, identities, and ongoing life histories, an external factor, relational affordances, was repeatedly mentioned by all the interviewees, with a frequency of 1.8 per interview. As found in Section 5.1, the CLKs gauged the affordances of their local relationships with professors to determine whether or not to adopt pragmatic resistance. In addition, they also measured the global intercultural relationships and their affordances. As illustrated in Example (6), QL chose to refuse an invitation, because he considered a relationship with a senior person in the workplace to be “not a big deal.” He also expounded at the end of the interview that the global environment is becoming more tolerant of pragmatic divergence in intercultural relationships (“特别是现在这个时代，这种包容性肯定会非常的强”). In contrast, other interviewees were concerned about the social pressures and penalties that flouting L2 pragmatic norms might occasion. Ishihara (2009) and Brown (2013) reported similar worries among their participants. Social pressures and perceived penalties might force the CLKs to “bend” their “knees” to community practice by following L2 pragmatic norms “if it is the trend of the general environment” and “if you are a newcomer” (Examples 7 and 8).

(6) Situation 14: refusing an invitation from a senior person at your workplace to a drinking party

QL: 我写回答的时候就我想的是如果在我如果是我的话，我应该是一定会拒绝的。

[when I wrote my answer, I was thinking, if it was me, I would definitely refuse.]

Interviewer: 为什么？

[Why?]

QL: 因为我觉得工作好像对我来说没那么重要，而且也不是多大的事，只是个前辈而已。

[Because I think work doesn't seem to be that important to me, it's not a big deal. It's just a senior.]

(7) Situation 14: as above

WY: 看过很多在韩企工作的，好像就是说他们很在意这种职场上的那种关系。然后如果是大环境的趋势，很多人都要去，然后我可能会是接受的。

[I have seen a lot of people working in Korean companies. It seems that they care about this kind of relationship in the workplace. Then if it is the trend of the general environment, many people will go, and then I might accept it.]

(8) Situation 09: refusing a suggestion to organize files

CJ: 如果你是新人的话，你反正刚进去总归要低三下四一点。

CJ: [If you are a newcomer, you need to bend your knees a bit anyway.]

The four factors discussed above should not be taken to be an exhaustive list of all the factors that determine learners' choice to resist L2 pragmatic norms. They are also not independent of one another. As observed, when ongoing life experiences with the L2 community went against her personal emotions, WY chose to resist L2 pragmatic norms (Example 5). However, if this choice went beyond relational affordances, the same interviewee felt compelled to follow community practice (Example 7). Li et al. (2020) used the term "synergy" to describe the interactions between external social networks and internal subjectivity. In the current study, the four factors functioned in a similar way: the different dimensions of a learner co-adapted to one another.

6 | DISCUSSION

The level of pragmatic resistance found in this study has indicated that L2 pragmatic norms are no longer the default preference of Korean language learners. Pragmatic resistance occurred in over 40% of the CLKs' answers to DCTs, whereas the CLKs had a clear awareness of their divergence. Previously, Brown (2013) recorded that Western learners of Korean resisted native Korean pragmatic norms. The current study completed the picture by finding that East Asian learners equally claim their "third place" (Kramsch, 2009), in which different norms are constituents of their multilingual resources that they can selectively deploy and blend.

Four factors, namely personalities, identities, ongoing life histories, and relational affordances, were found to influence the CLKs' choice of pragmatic resistance. The findings confirmed previous arguments that the pragmatic choices of L2 learners are navigated by both internal subjectivity and the external environment, including one's relationships with others (Li et al., 2020). Individual variation in the choice of pragmatic resistance, as found in previous studies, is the result of these particularized and context-sensitive factors and their dynamic interactions. Although the current study did not focus on individual variation, we were still able to observe how different aspects of the participants' personalities were mobilized to resist L2 pragmatic norms in different situations. The correlation between personality and pragmatic

resistance uncovered in this study is also in line with Ishihara and Tarone's (2009) finding on individual variation, that is, a learner may only accommodate those L2 pragmatic norms that she or he believes to be compatible with a specific aspect of her or his personality.

The greater value that the CLKs assigned to personality might have been influenced by recent ideological changes in younger generation of Chinese people (Tian, 2014). According to Tian (2014), Chinese people born after 1980 have a stronger sense of individual rights and justice compared with older generations. A higher level of education increases this pattern. The CLKs, who were all highly educated young people, might have felt strongly that they had the right to demonstrate their personalities in communication, whereas others should respect these rights to maintain the justice they value. This also explains why one of the interviewees, QL, regarded the current era as being "highly tolerant" of individual differences.

The CLKs frequently identified themselves as multilinguals. This self-identification corresponded to their frequent choice of diverging from both L1 and L2 norms. Knowledge of both languages provided them with the capability and possibility of blending L1 and L2 norms, allowing them to differ from both the native groups. This identity claim is inseparable from the affordances of their learning environment. Out of all the diversified role relationships in the DCTs, the CLKs displayed the most pragmatic divergence in their relationships with "professors" (Situations 3 and 12). To the best of the author's knowledge, their teachers, including those native Korean teachers who came to work in China, were multilingual users. The multilingual community in which the CLKs were being cultivated might have afforded them the opportunity to resist native pragmatic norms and allowed them to exhibit subjectivity.

This affordance might, however, only be available in a campus-based multilingual community. Intercultural relationships outside of the university environment may not necessarily provide the CLKs with the same affordance to resist L2 pragmatic norms. For example, "Michael" in Ishihara (2009), who was a working professional, was pressurized by his native Japanese friends to offer insincere apologies, following Japanese pragmatic norms. The CLKs were not oblivious to the social pressures and penalties that can arise from their pragmatic resistance in an environment that does not afford them doing so. In those environments, some of them considered "bending knees" to follow L2 pragmatic norms, whereas others thought "it was not a big deal" and proceeded to pragmatic divergence (Examples 6–8). The different approaches adopted by the CLKs to address potential social pressures are certainly a result of the dynamic interactions between their subjectivity (e.g., personality) and environmental affordances.

We should also highlight that, when claiming multilingual identities, the CLKs did not experience the same struggles as Western learners of East Asian languages (Brown, 2013; Ishihara, 2010; Iwasaki, 2011; H. Y. Kim, 2014; LoCastro, 2001; Siegal, 1996). Caucasian learners of Japanese, for example, struggled with self-identification because of their distinguishable phenotype (Ishihara, 2010) and the stereotypes bound to their cultures, for example, "informal and friendly Americans" (Iwasaki, 2011, p. 83). Asian learners of another Asian language rarely report this type of identity struggle resulting from ethnicity and race (Li et al., 2020). It seems that the image of "foreigner" in East Asian communities has often been portrayed to White learners (Maa & Burns, 2021). Asian-phenotype learners have a similar appearance to the target community, which prevents them from being immediately categorized as foreigners. This, on the one hand, offers them the advantage of integrating with local communities. For example, the half-Chinese-half-Filipino participant in Li et al. (2020, p. 12) reflected on her easiness "to access the linguistic and cultural practices of the local communities." On the other hand, these learners do not have the same leeway as "foreigners"

for pragmatic divergence, for example, the heritage learner of Korean in Brown (2013) (i.e., “Daniel”), who felt the pragmatic divergence in his use of honorifics was unduly corrected by native speakers. At times, to comply with the stereotypical image of a “foreigner,” Asian-English bilinguals intentionally conceal their proficiency of an Asian language in their interactions with other Asian speech communities (e.g., the Chinese-English bilingual who was learning Japanese in Maa & Burns, 2021). Although their struggles were different from those experienced by White learners, Asian-phenotype learners of an Asian language also experience hardships when claiming their multilingual identities and do not have the “luxury” of being creative with their language resources.

Besides ethnicity and race, the monolithic view of “East,” as in the “East–West” contrast, also contributes to their hardship and less attention being paid to Asian learners of another Asian language. The geographic dichotomy packages different cultures in East Asian countries into one pan-culture, which is often deemed to be collective and influenced by Confucianism (Kim et al., 1994). The prevalence of Sino-Korean words (i.e., Chinese loanwords) in Korean lexical stock further narrows the perceived language distance (Kellerman, 1979). This highlighted commonness alludes to the assumption that Asian learners of another Asian language, for example, the CLKs, should be able to automatically understand the target culture and hence are less likely to diverge from native norms. Consequently, they are not permitted as much leeway as other foreigners and, at the same time, their intention to diverge is also neglected or misread. Although there is an increase in research on pragmatic variation between different East Asian communities, for example, politeness (Fukushima & Haugh, 2014), indirectness (Chen & Wang, 2021), and the publication of the journal of *East Asian Pragmatics*, Asian learners of another Asian language are still scarcely attended. Our findings on CLKs are thus expected to bring Asian learners to the fore and to open an avenue through which their pragmatic choices can be examined.

6.1 | Implications

The findings have pedagogical implications for both L2 Korean assessment and teaching.

First, official Korean proficiency tests have thus far made reference to native pragmatic norms in their criteria. For example, TOPIK expects advanced learners to “have no trouble expressing him/herself as intended, while s/he may not have achieved the level of a native Korean speaker.”³ The Korean Language Ability Test (KLAT) requires its advanced-level holders to “have a command of the Korean language in various contexts” with “the Korean proficiency of a native speaker.”⁴ The International Standard Curriculum of the Korean language further urges L2 Korean learners to “use appropriately the discourse and text structures that KNSs enjoy using” (J. S. Kim, 2018, p. 47). These criteria settings also have a washback effect on curriculum design, module development, and textbook organization in Korean language teaching (e.g., Choi et al., 2011; Lee, 2019), for example, the image of a less competent learner as portrayed in textbooks (Henrich, 2005).

As their aim was to achieve Level 6 (advanced) in their next attempt of TOPIK, the current participants were in fact learners who would most likely be affected by the native model described in the Korean proficiency tests. The considerable level of pragmatic resistance they adopted thus questions which standard, if not the native-speaker standard, the learners base their L2 competence on. Both Brown (2013) and this study suggest that L2 Korean learners, including both Asian and non-Asian learners, make an active choice to diverge from native

norms based on their knowledge of, and ability to produce, native-like patterns. They consider choosing and even creating their “third” norms as part of their competence. Regarding the learners’ agency in making such choices, it is recommended that the criteria applied in L2 Korean tests are revised to approximate a match with a learner-based, not a native speaker-based, conceptualization of competence.

Second, the above suggestion gives rise to the question of how to respect a learner’s agency in L2 Korean education. The four factors identified in this study have underscored the need for sensitivity in respect to learner identities, personalities, and ongoing life histories. On the one hand, language educators need to recognize these pre-emptive factors that learners bring into the classroom and, on the other hand, it is important for language educators to go beyond explaining L2 forms and mapping them onto L2 contexts. Pragmatic meanings that such form-context mappings may create and the cultural logics behind the meaning-making process also need to be discussed with learners (H. Y. Kim, 2014; Takeuchi, 2021). Acquiring the full complexities of L2 forms helps learners to develop critical thinking strategies to evaluate native norms and to understand the consequences of emulating or resisting these norms. This approach is in line with the long encouraged concept of “explanatory pragmatics” (Ishihara & Tarone, 2009; Richards & Schmidt, 1983).

In the meantime, language educators need to understand the influence that macro-level social changes can exert on the L2 learning environment and the learners themselves. Previous studies and the current study appear to have built a “direct” relationship between pragmatic resistance and one’s social characteristics, that is, the CLKs chose pragmatic resistance to portray their identities, ideologies, personalities, and so on. These features have not (or at least are very unlikely to have) originated from the language itself. In keeping with Silverstein’s (1988) criticism of the Bakhtinian correlation between voice and authority, the CLKs’ awareness of identities, personalities, and ideologies has developed under the reform of Chinese society, including the increasing value placed on individual rights and justice, the proliferation of multilingual communities, and so on. These social changes have occurred at a level beyond, in the broader context of globalization, just as one of the participants insightfully pointed out—the current era is more tolerant of diversity. Knowledge of these social changes is thus essential for understanding the mechanism that drives the learners’ change in perspective and the reasons for the diachronic evolution of their pragmatic choices.

In summary, this study suggests that native-speaker norms serve a departure point from which learners can develop an L2 repertoire of communication strategies, rather than the destination of their achievements. L2 learners need to be aware of the full complexities of L2 norms (i.e., their forms, contexts, meanings, cultural logics, and consequentiality), whereas language educators must be sensitive to learner subjectivity and the evolving learning/communicative environment. Efforts from both sides will cultivate mutual understanding, which helps both the learners and educators to calibrate and achieve their learning and teaching goals.

7 | CONCLUSION

This study investigated pragmatic resistance as a choice made by an underexplored group of language learners—the CLKs. It collected data from the CLKs in terms of their linguistic performance in DCTs, their emic judgments in MQs, and their reasoning processes in RIs. Findings demonstrated that the CLKs resisted L2 pragmatic norms in over 40% of their DCT

answers by either maintaining their L1 norms or diverging from both L1 and L2 norms. Etic analysis of the CLKs' speech act performance corroborated this finding by demonstrating that the CLKs had a clear understanding of the difference between their performance and L2 pragmatic norms. In this study, their choice of resisting L2 pragmatic norms was affected by four main factors, namely the learners' personalities, multilingual identities, ongoing life histories, and relational affordances. These findings confirmed that both internal subjectivity and the external learning environment shape learners' pragmatic choices, of which pragmatic resistance was a significant one.

Future studies are encouraged to address two limitations in the current research design. First, although DCTs assisted the collection of large and comparable sets of data, they prevented us from observing the pragmatic resistance that is manifested via verbal features (e.g., turn-taking, tones, and intonations) and under on-site communicative stress. Natural conversations would thus be a useful addition in future research to investigate the actualization of pragmatic resistance in time- and space-limited settings. Second, the current findings have focused on illuminating the prevalence of pragmatic resistance across different situations, which left little room for discussing the influence of individual contextual variables. Previous studies found that defined social categories (e.g., P and D) did not influence pragmatic resistance as much as subjective dispositions do (Ishihara, 2010; H. Y. Kim, 2014). The CLKs' concerns of relational affordances, however, indicated the possibility that these variables might function through the links between the contextual setting and a learner's capability. Future studies are thus expected to examine the links and the way in which they are manipulated by L2 learners when resisting L2 pragmatic norms.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to both the editors and two anonymous reviewers for their constructive and insightful comments. My special thanks also go to all the participants of this study.

OPEN RESEARCH BADGES



This article has earned an Open Materials badge for making publicly available the components of the research methodology needed to reproduce the reported procedure and analysis. All materials are available at https://www.iris-database.org/iris/app/home/detail?id=york*3a940477&ref=search

ORCID

Xi Chen  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2393-532X>

ENDNOTES

¹ The figure was extracted from the 2020 statistics of the Ministry of Education, South Korea (<https://www.moe.go.kr/boardCnts/view.do?boardID=350%26lev=0%26statusYN=W%26s=moe%26m=0309%26opType=N%26boardSeq=82916>).

² L2 was used as a broad term to cover both second and foreign languages in this study.

³ For test details of TOPIK, see <https://www.topik.go.kr/HMENU0/HMENU00018.do>

⁴ For test details of KLAT, see http://www.kets.or.kr/testinfo/eng_testinfo.asp?pdv=2

REFERENCES

- Barron, A. (2003). *Acquisition in interlanguage pragmatics. Learning how to do things with words in a study abroad context*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10032036>
- Beebe, L., Takahashi, T., & Uliss-Weltz, R. (1990). Pragmatic transfer in ESL refusals. In S. Robin, E. Anderson, & S. Krashen (Eds.), *Developing Communication Competence in a Second Language* (pp. 55–73). Newbury House.
- Beebe, L. M., & Cummings, M. C. (1985). *Speech act performance: A function of the data collection procedure?* TESOL Convention.
- Beebe, L. M., & Cummings, M. C. (1996). Natural speech act data versus written questionnaire data: how data collection method affects speech act performance. In S. M. Gass, & J. Hoyer (Eds.), *Speech acts across cultures: Challenges to communication in a second language* (pp. 65–68). Mouton de Gruyter.
- Billmyer, K., & Varghese, M. (2000). Investigating instrument-based pragmatic variability: Effects of enhancing discourse completion tests. *Applied Linguistics*, 21(4), 517–552. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/21.4.517>
- Block, D. (2009). *Second language identities*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Bolton, K., & Botha, W. (2015). English in China's universities: Past and present. *World Englishes*, 34(2), 190–210. <https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12133>
- Brown, J. D., & Ahn, R. C. (2011). Variables that affect the dependability of L2 pragmatics tests. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(1), 198–217.
- Brown, L. (2013). Identity and honorifics use in Korean study abroad. In C. Kinginger (Ed.), *Social and cultural aspects of language learning in study abroad* (pp. 269–298). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge University Press.
- Burns, K. E. (2018). Marginalization of local varieties in the L2 classroom: The case of U.S. Spanish. *L2 Journal*, 10(1), 20–38.
- Chen, X., & Wang, J. (2021). First order and second order indirectness in Korean and Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 178, 315–328. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2021.03.022>
- Choi, S., Oh, H., Woo, M., & Tohko, F. (2011). Textbook analysis on a valuation basis of TOPIK. *Studies in Linguistics*, 20, 317–346.
- Economidou-Kogetsidis, M. (2013). Strategies, modification and perspective in native speakers' requests: A comparison of WDCT and naturally occurring requests. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 53, 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2013.03.014>
- Eisenstein, M., & Bodman, J. (1993). Expressing gratitude in American English. In G. Kasper, & S. Blum-Kulka (Eds.), *Interlanguage pragmatics* (pp. 694–781). Oxford University Press.
- Fukushima, S., & Haugh, M. (2014). The role of emic understandings in theorizing im/politeness: The metapragmatics of attentiveness, empathy and anticipatory inference in Japanese and Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 74, 165–179. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.08.004>
- Gibson, J. J. (1979). *The ecological approach to visual perception: Classic edition*. Psychology Press. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315740218>
- Golato, A. (2003). Studying compliment responses: A comparison of DCTs and recordings of naturally occurring talk. *Applied Linguistics*, 24(1), 90–121. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/24.1.90>
- Hassall, T. (2004). Through a glass, darkly: When learner pragmatics is misconstrued. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 36(5), 997–1002. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2003.09.001>
- Heinrich, P. (2005). Language ideology in JFL textbooks. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 175–176, 213–232.
- Ishihara, N. (2010). Maintaining an optimal distance: Nonnative speakers' pragmatic choice. In A. Mahboob (Ed.), *The NNEST lens: Nonnative English speakers in TESOL* (pp. 35–53). Cambridge Scholars Press.
- Ishihara, N. (2009). Transforming community norms: Potentials of L2 speakers' pragmatic resistance. In M. Hood (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 2008 Temple University Japan colloquium on language learning* (pp. 1–10). Temple University Japan. 110.
- Ishihara, N. (2006). *Subjectivity, second/foreign language pragmatic use, and instruction: Evidence of accommodation and resistance*. [PhD dissertation]. Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Minnesota.

- Ishihara, N., & Tarone, E. (2009). Subjectivity and pragmatic choice in L2 Japanese: Emulating and resisting pragmatic norms. In N. Taguchi (Ed.), *Pragmatic competence* (pp. 101–128). De Gruyter Mouton.
- Iwasaki, N. (2011). Learning L2 Japanese ‘politeness’ and ‘impoliteness’: Young American men’s dilemmas during study abroad. *Japanese Language and Literature*, 45, 67–106.
- Kasper, G., & Rose, K. R. (2001). Pragmatics in language teaching. In R. Kenneth, & K. Gabriele (Eds.), *Pragmatics in language teaching* (pp. 1–9). Cambridge University Press.
- Kellerman, E. (1979). Transfer and non-transfer: where we are now. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 2(1), 37–57. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0272263100000942>
- Kim, H. Y. (2014). Learner investment, identity, and resistance to second language pragmatic norms. *System*, 45, 92–102. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2014.05.002>
- Kim, J. S. (2018). Kwukcey tongyong hankwuke pyocun kyoyukwacenguy tungkupkwa mokpyo (국제 통용 한국어 표준 교육과정의 등급과 목표). *Say kwuke saynghwal* (새국어생활), 28(12), 31–48.
- Kim, U., Triandis, H., Kagitcibasi, C., Choi, S. -C., & Yoon, G. (1994). *Individualism and collectivism: theory, method, and applications*. SAGE Publications.
- Kramsch, C. (2009). Third culture and language education. In L. Wei, & V. Cook (Eds.), *Contemporary applied linguistics volume 1: Language teaching and learning* (pp. 233–254). Bloomsbury Academic.
- Lee, Y. (2019). A study on the unit subject of Korean language textbook considering learner’s proficiency: Based on the comparative study with International Standard Korean Language Curriculum, *The Korean Society of Bilingualism* (76, pp. 83–110).
- Li, C., & Gao, X. (A.) (2017). Bridging ‘what I said’ and ‘why I said it’: The role of metapragmatic awareness in L2 request performance. *Language Awareness*, 26(3), 170–190. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658416.2017.1387135>
- Li, C., Li, W., & Ren, W. (2020). Tracking the trajectories of international students’ pragmatic choices in studying abroad in China: A social network perspective. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 34, 398–416. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2020.1857393>
- Liao, S. (2009). Variation in the use of discourse markers by Chinese teaching assistants in the US. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(7), 1313–1328. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2008.09.026>
- LoCastro, V. (2001). Individual differences in second language acquisition: Attitudes, learner subjectivity, and L2 pragmatic norms. *System*, 29(1), 69–89. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0346-251X\(00\)00046-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0346-251X(00)00046-4)
- Maa, J., & Burns, K. E. (2021). A tale of two language ideologies: Discursive co-construction of L2 learner identity in Japanese CMC interactions. *Foreign Language Annals*, 54(1), 207–232. <https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12514>
- Mercer, S. (2012). The complexity of learner agency. *Apples-Journal of Applied Language Studies*, 6(2), 41–59.
- Moss, P., & Haertel, E. (2016). Engaging methodological pluralism. In D. Gitomer, & C. Bell (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (5th ed., pp. 127–248). American Educational Research Association.
- Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2011). Identity, language learning, and social change. *Language Teaching*, 44(4), 412–446. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444811000309>
- Richards, J. C., & Schmidt, R. W. (1983). *Language and communication*. Taylor & Francis Group.
- Siegal, M. (1996). The role of learner subjectivity in second language sociolinguistic competency: Western women learning Japanese. *Applied Linguistics*, 17(3), 356–382. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/17.3.356>
- Silverstein, M. (1988). *De-voice of authority* [Unpublished manuscript].
- Takeuchi, D. J. (2021). Language ideologies among Japanese foreign language teachers: Keigo and L2 speakers. *Foreign Language Annals*, 54(3), 589–606. <https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12575>
- Tian, F. (2014). Children of the reform and opening up. In P. Li (Ed.), *People’s livelihood in contemporary China: Changes, challenges and prospects* (pp. 175–200). World Scientific Publishing.
- Ying, J., & Ren, W. (2021). Advanced learners’ responses to Chinese greetings in study abroad. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 000010151520200150. <https://doi.org/10.1515/iral-2020-0150>

How to cite this article: Chen, X. (2022). The pragmatic resistance of Chinese learners of Korean. *Foreign Language Annals*, 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12656>

APPENDIX A: DCT

Situation 1. You are a university student in your 20s. Today, in the school cafeteria you met Jihyeon (Xiaozhang in its Chinese version), a friend from another department but in a same class with you last year. Both of you chose to take a joint honours degree at the start of this year, thus the workload suddenly increased. You are tired of having 24 h of classes per week. Now you and Jihyeon are catching up as you have not seen each other during the whole summer.

Jihyeon (Xiaozhang): Long time no see. How is the new term?

You:

Situation 2. You are an office worker in your 30s. This week you have been sent to another city to attend a conference. You met Yeongju (Xiaowang), who was coming to the same conference, for the first time in the hotel. You found you two are at the same age after you were arranged in the same room. Today's conference was boring. It had barely ended and now you are having a drink with Yeongju (Xiaowang). What would you say in the following conversation?

Yeongju (Xiaowang): hoo~ long day. How did you find the conference?

You:

Situation 3. You are a third-year university student. Today you had a meal and then a drinking party with some first-year students. A first-year student, Jihyeon (Xiaozhang), is thinking to take a course from Professor A. However, as you know, Professor A is very picky and gives a lot of coursework. How would you answer the following question?

Jihyeon (Xiaozhang): Senpaynim (lit: honorific “my senior”), you know, I am thinking about taking a course from Professor A. Do you know how his class is going to be?

You:

Situation 4. You are Yeongju (Xiaowang), a new employee in your 20s. Today you went to a welcome party for new recruits. As it was for the whole company, you met the President of your company, whom you barely saw before. As time went by, the party became very noisy and people got drunk. You are not very capable of drinking, but you were forced to drink, resulting in your stomach not feeling very well. When the party finishes, everyone comes to the front door to see the President off. How would you answer the following question from the President?

The President: Yeongju, how was today ('s party)?

You:

Situation 5. You are an office worker in your 20s. Today you went on a date that was arranged by your mother. Your date (Yeongju/Xiaowang) is the same age as you. Compared with what you have heard, your date was rather poor looking. You were disappointed. What would you say in the following conversation?

Yeongju (Xiaowang): hmmm...How do you feel about me?

You:

Situation 6. You are a housewife in your 40s. You went to an event organized by a department store near your house. Since you frequently go shopping there, the young salesmen and managers in the store know your face. Today's event had many fun games. However, they only had toothpastes for game prizes. You got six toothpaste tubes, which you hoped could be exchanged for other things. When the event finishes, a manager, Jihyeon (Xiaozhang), comes to ask about your feedback. How would you answer the following question?

Jihyeon (Xiaozhang): Acumeni(lit: “lady”), (I saw) you came today. How was the event?

You:

Situation 7. You are a postgraduate student in your 20s. You are tutoring an 11-year-old student mathematics. During the private lesson, the student's mother was always bringing you fruits and drinks. However, the student was not particularly talented at mathematics and always wanted to play during the classes. Today you found that the student's mother was waiting for you after the tutorial finished. How would you answer the following question?

Student's mother: Thank you for all the efforts you put into teaching my son. How is his attitude toward learning? Is it worth your efforts?

You:

Situation 8. You are an office worker in your 20s. A friend, who is 2 years younger than you and you spent your childhood with, passed an important exam and is going to become a civil servant. She called for a party with you and other close friends. In your opinion, the civil servant position is a very good one, as it creates stability and the workload is not heavy. Although you are really happy for your friend, you also feel a little jealous. During the party, what would you say in the following conversation?

Your friend: phew~ finally passed. My parents always nagged me about how good the job is...(I don't understand) what is the good point. The exam is hard though...

You:

Situation 9. You are a 30-year-old secretary in the office of a company president. Today, the president urgently told you to find a file, but due to the files not being properly sorted you took some time finding the file. Afterward, the President suggested that sorting those files in chronological order. However, you think that sorting the files may be more time-consuming. What would you say in the following conversation?

President: It would be better if you can sort those files chronologically, as there are so many of them.

You:

Situation 10. You are an office worker in your 30s. Today, you went to the department store to buy a coat. The sales assistant recommended you buy a scarf that matches your coat. You do not particularly want to buy another, as you already have a few scarves at home. How would you answer the following suggestion?

Sales: Here is a scarf that matches this coat. Try it. It looks even nicer if you put them on together.

You:

Situation 11. You are an office worker in your 30s. You missed the last bus today due to finishing work late. At the same time, a colleague, Jihyeon (Xiaozhang), is driving out from the office building and found that you were waiting alone, so s/he offered you a lift. However, Jihyeon is only someone you have seen a few times in the office and only have only ever said hello to. You think it may be better to call a taxi than taking the same car with someone of the opposite gender. What would you say in the following conversation?

Jihyeon (Xiaozhang): Oh, you are waiting alone? Where is your house? I will give you a lift.

You:

Situation 12. You are a postgraduate in your 20s. You are really tired now after studying in the study room for a whole day. At this time your supervisor called you and asked if you could help him to do a PPT for his conference tomorrow. You do not want to do this as you are really tired. What would you say in the following conversation?

Professor: Jihyeon Kim, could you help me with the conference PPT that I mentioned to you before?

You:

Situation 13. You are a 24-year old university student. Today, a lecturer who is teaching you gave you a questionnaire. The questionnaire is used by a PhD student under the lecturer's supervision to collect data and it needs to be done in an hour. However, you do not want to help with this kind of work for free. What would you say in the following conversation?

Lecturer: Hey, if you have time, could you do this questionnaire? It is used for data collection by a PhD student and needs to be done in an hour.

You:

Situation 14. You are a new employee in your 20s. Today, a senior colleague suggested that you go for a drink together to get to know other colleagues. You would love to take the opportunity to become closer with your colleagues, but you already have an appointment with your girl/boyfriend. What would you say in the following dialogue?

Senior colleague: Yeongju, would you like to join us for a drink after work? It is also for us to get to know each other.

You:

Situation 15. You are the director of a hospital. Today, Yeongju (Xiaowang), who is the marketing manager in the provider company of medical appliances, called to invite you to a dinner in an expensive restaurant. You have met Yeongju a few times before and had talked to him as well. However, you are not interested in this kind of business dinner and thus do not want to go. What would you say in the following conversation?

Yeongju (Xiaowang): Director, do you happen to have time tonight? Thank you for your support of our business. We would like to invite you to dinner and say it in person in OO restaurant.

You: