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Critical Perspectives on Interlanguage Pragmatic Development: An Agenda for Research

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Research on L2 pragmatic development forms the mainstay of many interlanguage pragmatic (ILP) inquiries. Yet exploring L2 pragmatic competence becomes an exceedingly demanding task when different constraints are brought to bear. This dilemma is due in large part to contrasting theories on interlanguage pragmatic development. From exposure to instruction, ILP research has long focused on the problems preventing such development. Adding these together, the field is in dire need of meaningful research to address the full spectrum of both the pragmatic construct and the factors fostering its development. This critical review synthesizes current research regarding key considerations in L2 pragmatic development from cognitive, socio-cultural, psycholinguistic and pedagogical vantage points. The paper argues that there is no integrative model for the acquisition of pragmatic competence. Consequently, several controversies surrounding L2 pragmatic development, especially that of the relationship between grammar and pragmatic development patterns, are unfruitful. To serve that purpose, a model for the acquisition of L2 pragmatic competence is brought to the fore. Finally, a research agenda involving two prime research questions is outlined for future direction.

Introduction

Interlanguage Pragmatics (ILP), a subfield of pragmatics and interlanguage studies, draws on pragmatics theories and principles to flesh out how language learners encode and decode meaning in their L2 (Eslami & Eslami-Rasekh, 2008; Schauer, 2009). The primary focus of ILP is on speech acts, conversational routines, and implicature. Still, quite often ILP emerges on the scene of comparative and acquisitional studies (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig, 1999; Kasper & Roever, 2005).

The cognitive hypotheses underlying research on ILP include Schmidt's (1993, 1995, 2010) Noticing Hypothesis, Swain's (1985, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2005) Output Hypothesis, Sharwood-Smith's (1993) Consciousness Raising Model (later renamed Input Enhancement), and Bialystok's (1993) Two-Dimensional Model of L2 Proficiency Development. In brief, Schmidt (1993) contends that comprehensible input without awareness might not lead to learning. Alternatively, learning occurs when instruction leads students to notice the specific target language features. Schmidt (1993, 1995, 2010) made clear that under awareness "input" could convert to "intake." By going beyond the initial course of acquisition (e.g., noticing forms and initial input selection), Bialystok's two-dimensional model discusses

the progression of prior knowledge through processing control and analysis. Sharwood-Smith's (1993) consciousness raising approach is also consistent with the noticing hypothesis in that to raise learners' awareness there must be some input enhancement. Output hypothesis, another cognitively-motivated assumption, stresses the unnoticed role of language production in models like input hypothesis (see Krashen, 1985). Simply put, output can be both the result of and contributor to acquisition (see Izumi, 2002). Either way, it has the added advantage of making learners more observant of the language.

Yet a socio-cultural realization of L2 pragmatic development is often ignored in the realm of L2 pragmatic research. From this perspective, Vygotsky's (1978) all-embracing theory of "Zone of Proximal Development" (ZPD) has been epoch-making. Even if the name has faded, examining the role of ZPD has rocked the foundations of L2 pragmatic research. Ohta (2005) links the applicability of ZPD to interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) instruction and then analyzes three pragmatic development studies within the framework of ZPD. She argues, however, that none of these studies' implementation or analyses have been informed by ZPD. At minimum, the studies' results could be explained through the lens of ZPD. In Takahashi's (2001) study, for example, the form comparison group compared their own production with native production. This may have assisted some learners to notice forms and to move forward. For this reason, other studies can target the effectiveness of pragmatics instruction not only from a cognitive angle (input-based and out-put based) but also from a socio-cultural standpoint.

Still, L2 pragmatic research has been largely realized within different com-municative competence frameworks (CCFs) put forward by Canale & Swain (1980), Bachman (1990), and others. This realization has been fundamental to conceptual-izing the overall place of L2 learners' pragmatic knowledge. However, the com-mon thread in all CCFs is that they overlook significant interrelationships between pragmatic and grammar competencies (see Schachter, 1990; Bardovi-Harlig, 1999; Kasper, 2001b; Kasper & Rose, 2001). Driven by data from acquisitional studies (see Bos et al., 2004), a psycholinguistic study approach to these two competences first portrays them as being semi-autonomous in nature and then depicts the pattern of their interactions. Thus, in nearly every way, psycholinguistic identification of these competencies reduces the confusion created by isolated definitions in CCFs. The adoption of this approach offers richer insights into the relationship between the grammar and the pragmatic components with far-reaching implications for both theory and research.

Finally, a carryover from the past is the belief that teaching pragmatics in L2 classrooms is truly difficult (e.g., Kasper & Schmidt, 1996). Even so, instruction in pragmatics is indispensable in foreign language settings as a language class does not afford learners ample opportunity to experience the target language (see Bardovi-Harlig, 2001; Eslami, 2005, 2010; Kasper, 2001; Kasper & Rose, 2002).

From the mainstream pedagogical viewpoint, three fundamental questions have motivated a wide array of pragmatics studies (see Rose, 2005):

• Is the targeted pragmatic feature teachable? (e.g., LoCastro, 1997; Liddicoat & Crozet, 2001)
• Is instruction in the targeted feature more effective than no instruction? (e.g., Norris and Ortega, 2000; Yoshimi, 2001)
• Are different teaching approaches (pedagogical interventions) differentially effective? (e.g., Takahashi, 2001; Tateyama, 2001; Rose & Kasper, 2001)

The first question returns positive results. Recent literature reveals the teachability of pragmatics across culturally diverse population groups (e.g. Grossi, 2009). Additionally, it appears instruction outpaces learning by osmosis in L2 pragmatics development (e.g. Rose, 2005). Finally, research documents that explicit metapragmatic instructions is more effective than the implicit one in pragmatic language learning (e.g., Rose, 2005; Rose & Ng, 2001; Takahashi, 2001; Tateyama, 2001).

The present article discusses these four critical perspectives (i.e. cognitive, sociocultural, psycholinguistic and pedagogical). Additionally, the issues surrounding these perspectives and L2 pragmatic development will be discussed in fuller detail.

The Cognitive Perspective

Noticing hypothesis. Virtually all scholars concur that Schmidt's noticing hypothesis yields invaluable insights into the role of pragmatic awareness:

> … Attention to input is a necessary condition for any learning at all, and that what must be attended to is not input in general, but whatever features of the input play a role in the system to be learned. For the learning of pragmatics in a second language, attention to linguistic forms, functional meanings, and the relevant contextual features is required. I also claim that learners experience their learning, that attention is subjectively experienced as noticing, and that the attentional threshold for noticing is the same as the threshold for learning. Finally, I argue that, while incidental and implicit learning are both possible, consciously paying attention to the relevant features of input and attempting to analyze their significance in terms of deeper generalizations are both highly facilitative (Schmidt, 1993, p. 35).

Schmidt adds that to acquire L2 pragmatics, attention to forms, functions and contextual features is necessary and, owing to the non-saliency and infrequency of some forms, learners' attention must be focused to learn them (Schmidt, 1995, 2001). Bearing individual differences in mind, there are some forms that rarely exist in the learners' input. Even if these forms appear in some contexts, they are frequently not sufficiently salient for the learner to notice. Many studies testing Schmidt's (1993, 1995, 2001, 2010) noticing hypothesis have presented evidence that attention drawing activities are more effective for pragmatic learning than mere input exposure (e.g., DuFon, 1999; Alcón, 2005).

Consciousness Raising Model: Input enhancement. Sharwood-Smith (1991, 1993) introduced several input enhancement techniques (e.g., stress in speech

and highlighting in printed text) ideal for developing L2 pragmatic competence. Input Enhancement (IE) is "the process by which language input becomes salient to the learner" (Sharwood-Smith, 1991, p. 119). Sharwood-Smith describes both external input enhancement and internal input enhancement. The aim of external input enhancement is to direct learner's attention to how the language system works. It utilizes a number of outside intervention techniques such as use of gestures, visual enhancement in written text (e.g., boldface formatting and underlining), and even video and traditional explicit input. Internal input enhancement, which is beyond the learner's control, occurs when the natural language development process causes particular aspects of the target language to become salient.

Many studies have offered empirical evidence in support of these techniques (e.g., Rosa & O'Neill, 1999; Leow, 2000; Rosa & Leow, 2004). Takahashi (2001) broadened the notion of IE by devising various input conditions with different degrees of IE, namely explicit teaching, form comparison and form search. The instructional setting provided teacher-fronted or explicit teaching of metapragmatic information on the form-function relationship (of target request strategies). In form-comparison condition, learners were required to compare their own request strategies with those of native speakers in similar situations. At the other end, in form-search condition learners were asked to find the input's intended speech act. The findings confirmed that "the target pragmatic features were found to be most effectively learned when they were under the condition in which a relatively high degree of input enhancement was realized with explicit metapragmatic information" (Takahashi, 2001, p. 197).

Two-dimensional model of L2 proficiency development. Bialystok's (1993) two-dimensional model is another cognitively oriented model influencing ILP research. Bialystok maintains that the pragmatic competence of children learning their first language is different from adults learning a second language:

> For children, the primary task is the process of analysis. For adults, the problem to be solved for pragmatic competence is essentially to develop the control strategies to attend to the intended interpretations in contexts and to select the forms from the range of possibilities that satisfy the social and contextual needs of the communicative situation. Adults make pragmatic errors, not only because they do not understand forms and structures, or because they do not have sufficient vocabulary to express their intentions, but because they choose incorrectly (Bialystok, 1993, p. 54).

The major claims of two-dimensional model have been backed by Koike (1989), Kasper (1981) and Hassall (1997). Koike's (1989) findings validate that pragmatic representation is already accomplished for adult second language learners. In a study with beginning Spanish learners, she discovered that students were not "conceptually" driven to acquire interlanguage pragmatic competence along a continuum from simple to complex forms. Quite the contrary, she contended students "are often guided to produce more polite forms [as a complex instance] from their L1 notions of politeness" (Koike, 1989, p. 286).

The other key assumption of the two-dimension model is that developing control over attention is necessary to appropriately access pragmatic knowledge. This again is evident in Kasper's (1981) and Hassall's (1997) research data on conversational exchanges in various situational contexts. Data from Kasper's subjects underlined the fact that retrieving linguistic forms demanded so much mental energy that learners' speech became almost incomprehensible. Kasper (2001b) places this evidence in step with Levelts' (1989) speech production model. Clearly, learners had conceptualized the requests in their "Conceptualizer", but their "Formulizer" was yet to receive appropriate linguistic data (needed to spell out the speech acts) or fast recall. A quick reflection on Hassall's (1997) data also reveals that subjects of L2 Indonesian confronted a similar dilemma. Following a "buying a movie ticket" scenario, learners took a saya mau, "I want", as their dialogue's departure point but did not drop the phrase in the statements that followed (Elliptic Goal Statements). Once more, these disorganized exchanges indicated inadequate control of attention and processing (For more details also see Kasper, 1984; House, 1996; Hassall, 1997).

Output hypothesis. Not denying the role of input in SLA, the Output Hypothesis was a reaction to the insistence of the Input Hypothesis (Krashen, 1985) that the only necessary condition for second language development is comprehensible input. The Output Hypothesis posits "the act of producing language (speaking or writing) constitutes, under certain circumstances, part of the process of second language learning" (Swain, 2005, p. 471). In other words, output is both the result of and contributor to seeing that production makes the learners notice the gap between the produced form and that in the target language system (Izumi, 2002). Pointing to output marks a milestone in the acquisition of L2 pragmatic competence (Eslami, 2005; Eslami & Eslami-Rasekh, 2008; Liddicoat & Crozet, 2001; Belz & Kinginger, 2003; Bardovi-Harlig & Salsbury, 2004; Davies, 2004; Matinez-Flor & Fukuya, 2005). Studies on the effect of output have recently grown in number and influence (e.g., Izumi, 2002; Shehadeh, 2002; Swain & Lapkin, 2002; Jernigan, 2007, 2012). An exemplar of output-focused research is Swain and Lapkin's (1995) analysis. Their aim was to discover; a) whether learners notice the gaps in their production, b) if yes, whether this noticing trigger cognitive processes contributing to SLA, and c) whether they engage in grammatical analysis of their output. They found evidence of learners' noticing their gaps. The study also reflected that output has the potential to influence the general SLA process.

Swain (1995) postulated that three main advantages accrue from output:

1. The noticing function: As the result of the producing speech acts, the learners come to know their knowledge gaps;

2. The hypothesis testing function: Learners test their hypothesis by modifying their output (for more on this function also see Mackey et al., 2000; Mackey, 2002); and

3. The metalinguistic (reflective) function: trying to produce linguistic forms, leaner uses language to reflect on the form and function he or she intends to convey.

Swain (1997) also places higher priority on these three functions[1] viewing them as cognitive activities through which learners modify their output. These cognitive tasks respectively are: (1) "identifying knowledge gaps," (2) "generating and testing hypotheses" and (3) "solving problems" (Swain, 1997, p.119).

Logically, such drastic effects from output should manifest in the form of "restructuring" the L2 system (see McLaughlin, 1990). To prove this, we need to compare research data relating output to L2 acquisition process. Izumi & Bigelow (2000) argue that, perhaps more than concrete data, it is relying on hunches that adds weight to the research on output efficacy. Shehade (2002) also warns that most studies examining output's effect on L2 learning report of "occurrence" than of "acquisition" (Shehade, 2002, p. 601). More recently, VanPatten (2004) raised concerns that there is a dearth of conclusive evidence to support output in SLA. It is intriguing to note that L2 learners make the most of their output, i.e. notice their gaps or what Swain (1997) and Izumi, (2002) recognize as the primary function of output, when external feedback (e.g. requests for clarification) or internal noticing accompany their linguistic output (see Shehade, 2002).

Output and ILP development research. Putting all these output-informed considerations back in the pragmatics context, we argue that there are several practical problems present in the application of past output-based pragmatic research findings. With the exception of Jernigan (2007, 2012), the bulk of these studies have given output a secondary role (e.g. Swain & Lapkin, 1995). Additionally, the research data from several studies is far removed from the empirical data needed to measure the cumulative effect of the output (e.g., Davies, 2004). Being exploratory and descriptive in nature, these findings do not allow direct cross-study result comparisons. Worse yet is the indeterminate contribution of output. With every study comes an "output" factor working in tandem with an "interaction" element. This makes it even harder to determine whether to attribute any pragmatic achievement to the output or the interaction. Table 1 displays this tendency.

Table 1

Studies on Output and Developing L2 Pragmatics

Research study	Major outcome
Liddicoat & Crozet (2001)	Students produced intended pragmatic forms in interaction with peers, but were comparably unable to extend those forms to other contexts.
Belz & Kinginger (2003)	GFL learners produced correct address forms following interaction with German NSs.
Bardovi-Harlig & Salsbury (2004)	ESL learners developed pragmatic knowledge, due to opportunities for output and interaction with NSs.

Davies (2004)	GFL students produced pragmatically accurate features, as they got motivated to concentrate on their interactional abilities.
Martínez-Flor & Fukuya (2005)	Implicit and explicit instruction groups progressed in written and oral production tasks to learn the speech act of "suggesting"; both were given opportunities for interaction.
Eslami & Liu (2013)	Taiwanese EFL learners produced accurate "requests" following computer mediated interaction with American NSs.

Constructing a model for the acquisition of pragmatic competence is necessary to address these output-related concerns and, in part, those raised by Izumi & Bigelow (2000), Shehade (2002) and VanPatten (2004). We will describe this model later in our discussion of grammar and pragmatics where we can see the place of output within a comprehensive model of pragmatics acquisition. But before switching to the socio-cultural perspective on ILP development research, we must examine the role of interaction in SLA.

Interaction hypothesis. Interaction has been a prominent buzzword in the SLA research arena. However, there is not much crossover among the scholars of "nature and nurture" (see Doughty & Long, 2003). Universal grammar-based theories have prevalent focus on mental processes (internal mechanisms) thus view "interaction" as the potential input (e.g., activator) to trigger parameter setting (for more see Cook, 1996). Quite the reverse, advocates of information processing models—interactionist SLA— view "interaction" for L2 learners as a means to obtain data for learning (e.g. Ellis, 1999).

Long (1996) expanded on the effect of conversation to formulate his Interaction Hypothesis (IH). IH is built on the assumption that negotiation for meaning— as interaction sets off interactional adjustments by the language users— facilitates acquisition and connects input with internal learner capacities for productive output. During negotiation, the learner's attention is directed to:

• The discrepancy between what s/he knows about L2 and what the L2 really is, and

• The areas of L2 of which s/he does not have information (Gass & Torrens, 2005).

Expert opinion is unanimous that interaction is an important condition for expediting SLA processes (e.g., Pica, 1994; Gass, 1997). It is through interaction that (native) speakers modify their speech and interaction patterns to help non-native learners participate in a conversation (see Lightbown & Spada, 2006). Regarding pragmatic learning, we must never lose sight of the fact that, parallel with the interaction hypothesis, there exist different readings of the "interaction" from various theoretical vantage points. As seen in the discussion of output in L2 pragmatics research, there are costs associated with multiplicity for both theory and practice. This is best captured when we shift our focus to the sociocultural stances on L2 learning.

The Socio-cultural Perspective

   Interaction: two different outlooks. In the eyes of many cognitive theorists, interaction, in the broadest sense, is the single most important tenet of zero grammar and task-based language teaching (see Kasper, 2001b; Ellis, 2008). Under this constraint, interaction is confined to "interactional arrangements" to smooth the progress of L2 learning[2] (see Kasper, 2001b). Sociocultural Theory (SCT) addresses the shortcomings of the context-free interaction. Lantolf (1996) cautions that with IH, L2 acquisition takes place in the mind of learners rather than in people-embedded activity. Elsewhere, he commented that interaction is a form of mediation through which learners construct new forms and functions collaboratively (Lantolf, 2000). In the midst of these opposing ideas, Ellis (1999) implicitly accepts that "interaction" is constructed by participants as they dynamically negotiate not just meaning, but also their role relationships and their cultural and social identities. It is safe to assume that in SCT, "interaction" is conceived of as a tool for thinking and learning and above all else "as a competency in its own right"[3] (Kasper, 2001b, p. 516). Still, for some, the social turn of SLA comes into existence "through identification of interaction as a key site for language development" (Ortega, 2013, p. 3). Obviously, these make interaction central to the study of pragmatic development. We now focus on one specific notion within the SCT, "Zone of Proximal Development," and its impact on advancing pragmatic competence.

   Zone of Proximal Development. Central to the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) is the construct of "mediation." Vygotsky (1981) maintained that learning is contingent on biologically determined mental functions that evolve into higher-order functions through social interaction. Vygotsky's account of learning follows an interpsychological-to-intrapsychological pattern. He understood ZPD to be *where* learners construct meaning through socially mediated interaction and *when* adults establish social interaction with children to help their language and cognitive development (Fletcher & Garman, 1986).

   Vygotsky (1978) held that through interaction with more skilled persons, a child would become skilled. For children, ZPD is the distance between what they can do on their own and what they can do with guidance. With that, ZPD highlights the incremental nature of learning. Typically, ZPD has been applied in adult L2 learning contexts. Here, learning context plays a key role in the learner's cognitive growth. As student's language learning develops, the teacher has fewer roles to perform. From the ZPD viewpoint, engaging in interaction with competent interlocutors (e.g., teacher) will benefit the learner's growth.

   There may be some difficulties, needless to say, in implementing a ZPD-centered instruction. The first problem is that ZPD needs individualized attention. To engage the learner's attention and apply ZPD, both student and the helper (e.g., a teacher or a competent peer) should be deeply connected to the activity. A second difficulty concerns the time-consuming nature of developing and implementing a lesson in the instructional context. Even for previously developed tasks, there

must be constant revision to ensure that, with scaffolding, the task is within the learner's abilities.

Even though Vygotsky never described scaffolding as an instructional technique, it has its roots in his original sociocultural theory and ZPD. Through scaffolding, teacher supports students by modeling the desired learning points and gradually transferring the responsibility to the student. He or she helps learners progress beyond their current developmental stage and move from their zone of proximal development to their zone of actual development in which they can autonomously solve problems. Scaffolding entails both the joint construction of language and gradually withdrawing support as learners' competence expands.

Zone of Proximal Development and ILP development research. With reference to pragmatics, Ohta (2005) stated, "it makes sense that the assistance a learner receives through collaboration or interaction with an L2 expert might also push pragmatics development forward" (Ohta, 2005, p. 505). For the most part, the few ZPD-involved studies on ILP have been observational (Ohta, 1995, 1997, 1999; Shea, 1994; Ohta, 2001a, 2001b) while the focus of much of the ILP research is on instructional intervention (for an analysis, see Ohta, 2005). The important point missing from investigations is the systematic analysis of the role of ZPD in pragmatic development research (e.g., its role in the efficacy of instruction and how to improve it). Ohta (2005) asserts that the fact that ZPD effects are not being studied cannot necessarily be taken to mean that they do not exist. She presents three studies (Takahashi, 2001; Samuda, 2001; Yoshimi, 2001) in which ZPD assumes a role, albeit downplayed, in pragmatics instruction and development. Takahashi (2001), the best instance, sheds light on the impact of explicit and implicit instruction on the use of biclausal requests. In this study, participants fell into four groups: explicit, form search, form comparison, and meaning focused. Ohta (2005), pointing to this study from the perspective of ZPD, is of the opinion that both the explicit group and the form comparison group can benefit from assistance or scaffolding. The explicit group outperformed other groups because "a teacher's lecture can serve as a scaffold upon which learners can construct new knowledge, functioning as assistance in the ZPD" (Ohta, 2005, p. 509) and because of the "the assistance that explicit instruction supplied to learners already familiar with the forms taught but unable to use them effectively" (Ohta, 2005, p. 513) Ohta added that "the comparative failure of implicit instruction may relate to scaffolding not provided" (p. 513). With respect to the form comparison group, some learners' ability to notice forms and move forward may have been assisted by comparing their speech with native production. Yet aside from Ohta's (2005), perhaps no other study can better testify to the validity of ZPD than Shea's (1994) analysis. Setting four different participation patterns, Shea made a significant observation that proficient Japanese ESL learners improved their conversational abilities through interaction with native English interlocutors. This finding is consonant with the central premise of ZPD — that is, L2 students progressed beyond a certain point when engaged in exchanges with highly competent speakers. Ohta's (1995) study, however, serves to

polarize this popular opinion on the early notion of ZPD. She found out that during role-play activities with an intention to master polite request forms, both high- and low-proficiency learners developed effective request strategies.

This last example is an influential strand in the analysis of ZPD, which seeks to motivate the need for more longitudinal studies (see Brooks et al., 1997). To amend the earlier notion of ZPD, a synthesis of Ohta's (1995) and Hall's (1995) findings that peer interaction — preferred to teacher-led interactions — would amplify opportunities for learners to interact, would provide a classic starting point.

Ohta (2005) mentions that the following factors relating to incorporating ZPD into pragmatics research must be done justice if achieving a broader view of the pragmatic competence development is the end goal:

- The type of assistance provided to help the learner notice something (assistance involves teacher, materials, grouping students, expert speakers and resources inside and outside of the classroom).
- The type of support given to help the learner function independently.
- The ways in which textual and interactional resources may scaffold learning.
- The ways in which learners assist one another.
- Using and devising methods sensitive to classroom and interactional processes.

With a modicum of common sense, the aim of these inquiries could not be restricted to an analysis of the interplay between ZPD and pragmatic competence. On a much higher level, their goal is to encourage a genuine understanding of the processes through which the communicative competence matures.

The Psycholinguistic Perspective

Relationship between grammar and pragmatic development patterns. In second language acquisition research, a fairly rigid dissociation is observed between L2 pragmatics and L2 grammar development patterns. The first pattern of this disconnection can be found in Schmidt's (1983) longitudinal study. In an outstanding case study with an L2 learner, Schmidt observed that his participant developed new capabilities to produce pragmatically well-formed utterances even though his grammar knowledge was far too underdeveloped. To firmly establish this pattern of dissociation, Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei (1998) elected to extend the pool of participants to both EFL and ESL settings. Convinced by participants' performance on rating and error recognition activities, they concluded that for EFL learners, the task of locating grammar errors, as opposed to pragmatic errors, was more taxing than for ESL learners (also see Walters, 1980; Eisenstein & Bodman, 1993).

Takahashi & Beebe (1987), Salsbury & Bardovi-Harlig (2000) and Takahashi (2001) all support a second explanation for the observed divide between L2 pragmatics and grammar development. They imply that grammar competence development can precede the pragmatic competence development in various ways. Taken together, it has been theorized that the interaction between grammar knowledge and pragmatics development is "complex" (see Kasper, 2001b; Kasper & Rose, 2002). Table 2 features some of these studies and their findings.

Table 2

Summary of studies on L2 grammar and pragmatic development pattern

Pragmatics Before Grammar	Major Findings
Walters (1980)	Both child and adolescent ESL learners adopted right request strategies but their production was very inaccurate.
Schmidt (1983)	Over three years the participant made good progress in pragmatics but less in grammar.
Eisenstein & Bodman (1993)	Advanced ESL learners proved good command over pragmatic use of thanking strategies but utterances contained grammatical errors.
Grammar Before Pragmatics	**Major Findings**
Takahashi & Beebe (1987)	High grammar knowledge brings about negative pragmatic transfer.
Salsbury & Bardovi-Harlig (2000)	"Even Learners with grammaticalized expressions of modality rely heavily on lexical forms to mark their pragmatic intent" (p. 73).
Takahashi (2001)	"Japanese EFL learners lack the L2 pragmalinguistic1 knowledge that an English request can be mitigated to a greater extent by making it syntactically more complex" (p. 173).

Bardovi-Harlig's (1999) view with regard to the results of studies listed in Table 2 warrants serious investigation. She struggles to ask in what way a pragmalinguistic form is connected in practice to its grammatical supplier. With the current trend in studies that compare pragmatic performance of L2 learners with that of native speakers, it is barely conceivable that such a connection could be ever formed.

Two interdependent issues here have special resonance for us. First, how should we place the relationship between the grammar component and pragmatic competence in the wider acquisitional context? Second, do we have a model for the acquisition of pragmatics in which grammar could assume a role?

To tackle the first question requires that we base our argument on the realization of pragmatics within an integrative model of pragmatic acquisition that views the grammar component in interaction with pragmatic competence, and that it of course clearly describes the pattern for this interaction. Thus, we do not base our argument off the cognitive, sociocultural and communicative competence propositions, as it has been the case with the past research.

The rationale for this interactional grammar-pragmatics view comes from "Modular" approaches to language acquisition. Such interaction is well depicted in this psycholinguistic approach. Modularity establishes that language users "have a grammar at their disposal," comprised of different modules of syntax, semantics, and phonology together with "a pragmatic system at their command" (Bos et al., 2004 p. 101). Being semi-autonomous in nature, these grammar modules have their own internal interactions in addition to those external interactions with the

pragmatic competence, all of which lay the foundation of "Interface" research (for a fuller discussion see, Kaiser, 2002; Bos et al., 2004 ; Stainton, 2005).

The detailed discussion of the interface phenomenon falls outside the scope of this paper. For the sake of argument, however, portraying this interaction by elaborating on the basic mechanisms of pragmatic-grammar interface is in order. The interaction between the two competences consists of a tripartite system, namely a module of pragmatics, a module of grammar, and a collection of mapping rules "arranging how information of the pragmatic component is linked to information of the grammar component" (Bos et al., 2004, p.102). The pragmatic module contains information on what may function as topics, foci or comments (Chafe, 1976). The content of the pragmatic module is in a form of information structure (Vallduví, 1994). In an attempt to clarify this pragmatics-grammar interface, Unsworth (2004) studied the development of the pragmatics-syntax (grammar) interface in L2 acquisition. She further compared the L2 development of this interface with that in L1 acquisition. She deduced that for both L1 and L2 learners, mapping between pragmatics and syntax is problematic. Bos et al. (2004) convincingly argued that there is no disguising the fact that L2 learners' knowledge of pragmatics is largely a function of their L1 pragmatics or semantics that could transfer to their L2 syntax. When the L1 pragmatic competence cannot serve language learners' L2 needs, learners will resort to several problem-solving strategies. The probable outcome then might be the discovery of principles specific to the target language system. From a purely intuitive point of view, an analogy can be drawn with the notion of "grammar-pragmatics nexus" from Kasper and Rose (2002). After a thorough review of studies on grammar-pragmatics relationship, reopening an agenda for future research, Kasper and Rose inferred that there should be a grammar-pragmatics nexus — voicing Bardovi-Harlig's (1999) concern—to be explored through longitudinal studies. Again, no integrative model for the acquisition of pragmatic competence was proposed. We see that the two questions brought up here are inextricably bound up with each other. With no model for pragmatic acquisition, it is almost impossible to place any controversy surrounding the relationship between grammar and pragmatic development in acquisitional context and synthesize other study results.

The answer to the second question has far-reaching implications not only for determining the relative place of the grammar component but also for specifying the role of output in the acquisition of pragmatics. Holding a model for the acquisition of pragmatics is the necessary precondition for the accurate analysis of the relationship between pragmatics and grammar. Ironically, the reverse has been the case with pragmatic acquisition. From the literature, we can see scattered lines of reasoning chasing the course of pragmatic development. These lines of thought need to be reconciled in a meaningful way in the form of a model.

Following this growing momentum, Jernigan (2007) offered a model in which all variables appear to have found their proper place. Figure 1 (taken from Jernigan 2007, p. 10) displays an integrative model for the acquisition of pragmatic competence.

Figure 1. Model of pragmatic competence acquisition
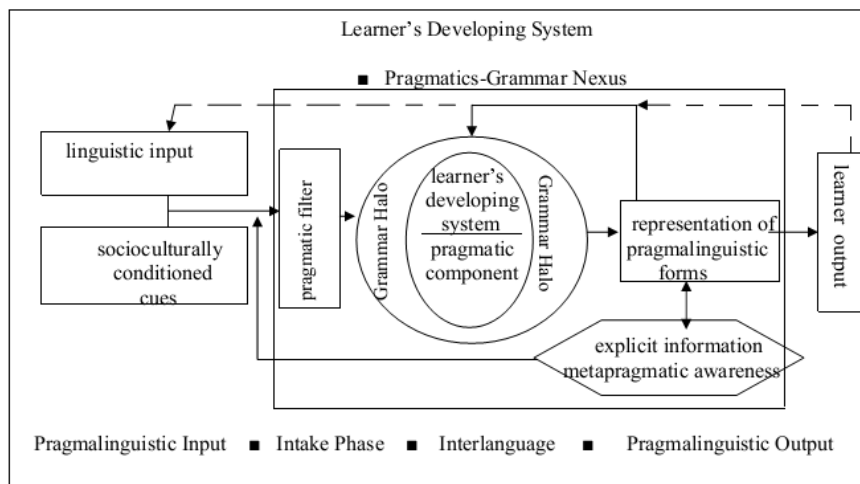
The model has pieced together a combination of disparate psycholinguistic and theoretical linguistic research results. "Grammar Halo," illustrated here, parallels the grammar module in the pragmatics-grammar interface discussed earlier. There is great coherence in placement of and co-ordination between the tightly knit components of pragmatic acquisition. From pragmalinguistic input to pragmalinguistic output, linguistic data interacts with sociocultural signals—becoming socioculturally and pragmatically conditioned (for more on this conditioning see Al-Issa, 2003) — before entering the learner's interlanguage system. Upon entering the dynamic field of interlanguage, the data passes through a cognitive controller (pragmatic filter) that modifies pragmalinguistic input. This, as Jernigan (2007) described, "theoretically" acts as a filter to account for the sociopragmatic context in which the input was produced before converting to intake. The next stage for the linguistic input is to get into the "Halo." The grammar component first runs its normal grammatical analysis and then selects a set of utterances for the final pragmalinguistic form. As the model demonstrates, the grammar component is involved in processing both the input and output. This can be effectively realized when we envisage the pragmatic acquisition system as an intellectually iterative process. With the pragmatic component at the core of the model, the task is to receive the processed linguistic data and link them to the outside entities. In a way, the model provides a more realistic analysis of communicative language ability since the grammar component is not operating in isolation. Referring to his model for the acquisition of pragmatic competence, Jernigan reminds us that the pattern of grammar-pragmatics interaction is mutually complementary. To be precise, the grammar module can alert the pragmatic component regarding the need for "intra-sentential anaphora" and the pragmatic component can update the grammar component on the items in the linguistic data that need to refer to outside concepts.

Jernigan's model arises out of the need for responding to the aforementioned demands and draws on the fundamental framework for second language studies (see Gass, 1988; VanPatten and Cadierno, 1993; Izumi, 2003). Meanwhile, the system described here allows us to investigate the effect of "outputting" on the general process of pragmatic acquisition.

Taking Swain's (1995, 1997, 2005) proposed functions of output and the concomitant cognitive tasks embedded in each function, this model assigns a significant role to output of pragmalinguistic forms in the pragmatic acquisition process sequentially (not the same order that Swain proposes). Prior to noticing, output first helps the learner use interlanguage to test his or her hypotheses about pragmalinguistic production possibilities and determine whether they are acceptable. At the next point, comparing the output with authentic pragmalinguistic forms in the input and triggers the "noticing function of output." Studies on the role of output in L2 development show that through noticing the output or input of others, students demonstrate a tendency towards syntactic processing. Therefore, before this tendency, learners rely to a large extent on semantic analysis (Swain, 1993; Swain & Lapkin, 1995). Drawing this into the zone of ILP development, as Jernigan contended (2007):

> Output allows learners to move from focusing on outward pragmalinguistic forms associated with certain speech acts (e.g., recognizing that 'thank you' may be used in response to a compliment) to a deeper processing of input (e.g., understanding that there are different ways to respond to compliments in different social and cultural situations). (p.10).

For the third function of output, the metalinguistic function, explicit information (knowledge) and metapragmatic awareness are in contact with final pragmalinguistic forms shown in the model. This might be considered a natural outgrowth of learners' use of language to articulate the intended speech acts.

It is critical to note that when more recent models of communicative competence view pragmatic competence as interacting with the grammar knowledge, they fail to set their pattern of interaction and further widen the gap on the issue of output. The tentative conclusions drawn by numerous studies pointing to the complex relationship between grammar and pragmatics, and the skewed scenarios founded upon those patterns, all stem from the natural and inherent characteristics of these two components resulting from the closely-knit system involved in the acquisition of pragmatics. Until these two components are seen as discrete, no unifying pattern for this relationship is likely to emerge.

More to the point is that development of L2 pragmatic competence should be viewed as a parallel development of an "interface" bordering both grammar and pragmatics. Fundamental to this development, then, is the concordant growth of both competencies within the larger framework of communicative competence. Ellis' (1992) two-year study of the requests produced by two child ESL learners provides strong evidence for the importance of this concordant development. He discovered that the learners' use of requests was curtailed as their sociolinguistic knowledge of the target language was restricted. The study reveals an important

fact in the L2 pragmatic acquisition process: Learners' progress in acquiring pragmatic competence is enhanced when all aspects of communicative competence are developed. Without development in the area of grammatical accuracy, pragmalinguistic production suffers. Likewise, without attention to sociolinguistic aspects of learning the new language and culture, the sociopragmatic domain of pragmatic competence is likely to fall behind in terms of development.

The Pedagogical Perspective

Instruction in L2 pragmatics. Contrary to the conditional research results elsewhere in L2 pragmatics, research measuring the effectiveness of pragmatic competence instruction corroborates the necessity of L2 pragmatic teaching (Kasper, 1997; Kasper & Rose, 1999). Appraising the role of instruction has spawned a series of studies on learners' pragmatic development (e.g., Kasper & Schmidt, 1996; Rose & Kasper, 2001; Rose & Kasper, 2002; Rose, 2005; Safont, 2005; Jeon & Kaya, 2006). In this section, we will briefly discuss the instructional approaches to L2 pragmatics and review results with implications for practicing L2 teachers.

An awareness-raising approach (explicit vs. implicit learning) has also fueled L2 pragmatic development research from a cognitive angle. Explicit teaching focuses on the either the deductive explanation of rules or inductive (deducing or formulating the rules of the language from examples) rules of language. By contrast, implicit teaching has no such focus on the rules of language. Research findings indicate that those who received instruction in different aspects of pragmatics are at an advantage (Ohta, 2001; Rose & Ng, 2001; Tateyama, 2001; Kim & Hall, 2002).

Apart from supremacy of explicit metapragmatic instruction over implicit teaching (Rose & Ng Kwai-Fun, 2001; Takahashi, 2001; Alcón Soler, 2005), a number of studies have focused on how implicit teaching could become effective L2 pragmatics instruction (Fukuya, et al., 1998; Fukuya & Clark, 2001; Martínez-Flor, 2004). Fukuya et al. (1998) employed an interaction-enhancement technique and supplemented learners' production of requests with recasts as implicit feedback. The results did not support the hypothesis that this implicit feedback would be beneficial compared to that of the explicit group. At the other extreme, Fukuya and Clark (2001) used input enhancement techniques to direct learners' attention to target features. They randomly assigned participants to one of the three groups: one focused on forms (with explicit instruction on the sociopragmatic features), one focused on form, and a control group. Nevertheless, findings did not reveal any significant difference in learners' pragmatic ability.

In pragmatics instruction, as with other teaching areas, there is no clear-cut line between explicit and implicit teaching (see Jeon & Kaya, 2006; Martínez-Flor & Soler, 2007). Despite the ostensibly dichotomous nature of explicit vs. implicit instruction, the actual treatment conditions of instructed pragmatics studies often reflect a point on a continuum between the absolutely explicit and the absolutely implicit extremes. Many interventional pragmatics studies feature techniques on the most explicit end of the continuum and typically include teacher-fronted

instruction on pragmalinguistic forms or sociopragmatic rules sanctioned by the target speech community.

Inspired by Izumi's (2002) suggestion of using a combination of implicit techniques to help learners notice the target features, Martínez-Flor (2004) analyzed the effect of explicit (teachers' explanation) and implicit (a combination of input enhancement and recasts) teaching on suggestion speech acts. Her results demonstrated that both implicit and explicit groups outstripped the control group in awareness and production of the speech act.

Finally, there is a positive relationship between the length of residency in the target speech community and pragmatic development. When it comes to the length of treatment, however, the limited available evidence is less clear. (see Jeon & Kaya, 2006)

It is premature to posit any causal relationship between treatment length and the degree of success in acquisition of an instructional pragmatics target for many studies. However, longer pragmatic treatments of more than five hours have resulted in much larger gains than those observed for shorter treatments (for a comprehensive review on instructed pragmatic learning see Taguchi, 2011).

What it all comes down to is a research agenda by which these considerations can be exploited to design a study. In the conclusion of this paper, we will offer some suggestions applicable to future research on ILP development.

Conclusion and Implications

In this article, we first revisited the fundamental concepts within the domain of interlanguage pragmatic development. Then, we elaborated on the cognitive, socio-cultural, psycholinguistic and pedagogical variables and considerations essential to enhancing L2 pragmatics. We raised several dilemmas and tried to cast new light on the conflicting ideas within L2 pragmatic development. These included looking at the role of interaction in SCT and other theories, studying the grammar-pragmatics relationship, and, most important of all, emphasizing a model for the acquisition of L2 pragmatic competence. We sought to find the answer to each issue both from a theory of SLA and from results of recent linguistic research. It is now time to recapitulate the key points that lend support to a research agenda for future directions and have implications for practicing teachers by way of conclusion.

Exploring L2 pragmatic development necessitates the adoption of an all-encompassing approach to ILP research. The current knowledge on ILP development acknowledges that effects of socio-cultural considerations (e.g., applying ZPD) might coalesce with the effects of several cognitive (e.g., input enhancement) and pedagogical (e.g., teaching method) factors. Thus, one concern here is not to try to disentangle the socio-cultural features from other aspects in the study designs or, alternatively, control for some of them.

All communicative competence frameworks overlook significant inter-relationships between pragmatic and grammar competence in addition to other competencies. Clearly, future ILP research on psycholinguistic processes and

models might provide a solid basis for examining ILP development from different angles. This is further supported by following a model for the acquisition of L2 pragmatic competence.

It has been suggested that pragmalinguistic proficiency[4] (see Takahashi, 2005) and sociopragmatic proficiency[5] (Bardovi-Harling & Hartford, 1991; Kasper & Roever, 2005) should be simultaneously encouraged (also see Rose, 2000).

Every attempt to make learners notice (e.g., using awareness-raising techniques) the sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic constraints on L2 pragmatics acquisition is essential to the classroom activities.

From the mainstream pedagogical standpoint, explicit instruction retains a significant consciousness-raising advantage over the implicit teaching in promoting pragmatics (see Bardovi-Harlig & Griffin, 2005). Based on the socio-cultural theory of pragmatic development, though, this instruction becomes more effective when it contains scaffolding from an experienced teacher or a skilled helper (see Ohta, 2005).

Output has also proved to be consistent with the noticing hypothesis (see Schmidt & Frota, 1986; Swain, 1997; Shehade, 2002; Izumi, 2002, 2003). It may be that output-based ILP development research can provide richer data regarding optimal conditions for L2 pragmatic development than can studies on ILP development without it. Relative to the other aspects, the possible effect of output has received scant attention in the ILP development literature (see Bardovi-Harlig & Salsbury, 2004; Martinez-Flor & Fukuya, 2005; Jernigan, 2007, 2012).

Instruction has also been taken unilaterally to evaluate the teachability of pragmatic features (e.g., requesting, apologizing etc). ILP is saturated with studies focusing on formal explicit instruction and the difference it makes compared to learning by osmosis and natural exposure (e.g., Kasper & Roever, 2005; Kasper & Rose, 2002; Rose & Kasper, 2001; Martínez-Flor & Fukuya, 2005, to name just a few). However, there are contrary results indicating that learners can improve production of certain pragmatic aspects without explicit instruction (e.g., Yoshimi, 2001). For others, the short length of the instructional period does not fully support the effectiveness of instruction in the long run (e.g., Koike & Pearson, 2005).

With these thoughts uppermost in the mind and leads given by several studies in the literature, such unmet needs created by new interfaces in ILP provide prime fodder for researchers to conduct a study grounded in the notion of ZPD, in all implementation and analysis processes, and with a well thought-out design, to examine the effects of input- and output-based instructional methods on learners' comprehension and speech act production.

It is critical to utilize the best-suited data best suited for such developmental pragmatic research. Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (2005) have pointed out the desirability of conducting research in interlanguage pragmatics that recognizes the tension between "highly controlled production tasks that yield comparable language samples and … the investigation of authentic discourse" (p. 1). Ohta (2001, 2005), among others, has charted a course in interlanguage and developing L2 pragmatics

research that relies almost exclusively on naturally occurring classroom data and naturalistic observational research.

The future of ILP development research is considerably affected by facts from the findings of these two areas of inquiry. Specifically, output-based ILP development research would contribute to the existing body of knowledge regarding how to facilitate pragmatic competence acquisition and its development. And yet, both ZPD- and output-based ILP development research help language teachers adopting new methods, designing new tasks and developing procedural policies to deal with a slew of learners' pragmatic development issues.

Notes

[1] Most recently, Swain and Lapkin (2011) have proposed an important function for a neighboring concept, "Languaging", to restore higher-order cognitive processes with implications for adults with Mild Cognitive Impairment (MCI).

[2] Kasper (2001b) argues that interaction, from the cognitive perspective, is limited to a set of "interactional arrangements" to acquire "grammar." On the other hand, we see that "interactional arrangements" not only help L2 learners develop their accuracy but stimulate their fluency as well. What happens in Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) can provide an obvious example. By overcoming the barriers to in-class interactions, CMC promotes a less stressful environment for learners to interact and improves their "overall" language proficiency (see Payne & Whitney, 2002; Abrams, 2003; Bax, 2003).

[3] Celce-Murcia's (2007) more recent communicative competence model is also in line with this view of Kasper (2001b) as "interactional competence" has formed a sub-component under communicative competence (as a competency in its own right).

[4] Pragmalinguistic proficiency is defined as the degree to which one is able to use appropriate linguistic forms to realize speech acts and their associated strategies (Leech, 1983; Thomas, 1983).

[5] Sociopragmatic proficiency refers to a learner's ability to negotiate social situations involving social variables (e.g., age, gender, differences in status) in pragmatically appropriate ways (see Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1991; Kasper & Roever, 2005).

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