THE SPEECH ACT OF GREETING PERFORMED BY

RUSSIAN EFL LEARNERS

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Abstract: The present study centers on interlanguage and cross-cultural pragmatics. It investigates semantic formulas in the speech act of greeting performed by Russian EFL learners. In particular, it compares the non-native speakers' (NNS) and native speakers' (NS) production of semantic formulas in terms of their number, frequency, and content. Secondly, the study examines the NSs' perception of NNS greetings for their pragmatic appropriateness and identifies areas that influence the ratings. A Free Discourse Completion Test (FDCT) containing 16 situational prompts was used to elicit greetings by the English NNSs and NSs. Retrospective interviews were additionally administered to triangulate the data. The NNSs' greetings were rated by the NS raters on a four-point scale for their pragmatic appropriateness. The results show that the NNSs significantly deviate from the NSs in terms of number, frequency, and content of greetings strategies, namely, greetings proper, phatic questions and phrases, address terms, and situational greetings. The differences result from negative pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic transfer, lack of appropriate linguistic means, or not fully developed pragmatic competence. The NNS greetings were rated as pragmatically appropriate in general; however, several areas including grammatical and sociopragmatic factors led to lowering the scores. The NSs' ratings as well as NNSs' production can be regarded in view of socio-cultural differences in communication styles between Russian and English cultures. These dissimilarities in sociopragmatic behavior may account for low ratings from the NSs' perspective and for frequencies of certain semantic formulas in the NNSs' production as well. Finally, important pedagogical implications regarding pragmatic instruction are discussed. The results contribute to a better understanding of how Russian EFL learners greet and respond to greetings in English. They also shed light on the discussion of L2 learners' pragmatic competence and NS perception of pragmatic appropriateness.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A – age
ACTFL - American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages
BYUBNC - Brigham Young University British National Corpus
CCSARP – Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project
COCA – Corpus of Contemporary American English
D - distance
DCT – Discourse Completion Test
EFL – English as a foreign language
ELF – English as a lingua franca
ESL – English as a second language
F – formality of the situation
FDCT – Free Discourse Completion Test
FL – foreign language
FSA – face saving act
FTA – face threatening act
GSP – Grand Strategy of Politeness
H - hearer
IL - interlanguage
ILP – interlanguage pragmatics
L1 – first language, native language
L2 – second language, target language
LSAC - Longman Spoken American English Corpus
NNS – non-native speaker
NS – native speaker
ODCT – Oral Discourse Completion Test
P – power
PetrSU – Petrozavodsk State University
R – rank of imposition
S – speaker
SL – second language
SLA – second language acquisition
TEFL – teaching English as a foreign language
TESL – teaching English as a second language
WDCT – Written Discourse Completion Test

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present study is situated in the fields of interlanguage and cross-cultural pragmatics. Interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) – the study of acquisition and use of second language (SL) or foreign language (FL) pragmatics – recently has received a lot of attention (Martínez-Flor & Usó-Juan, 2010a; Trosborg, 2010). Research has been focused on a variety of speech acts performed by non-native speakers (NNSs) of different languages. It has been shown that performing speech acts is a complex task since it requires linguistic knowledge and communicative and pragmatic competence as well. A SL/ FL learner should not only know the linguistic rules of a language – its phonetics, phonology, morphology, semantics, and syntax, but also should know how to use these rules appropriately. In other words, a learner should have communicative competence which enables successful and appropriate interaction and understanding of the immediate conversational content and overall broad social-cultural context as well. This is especially important in today's conditions of globalization and multiculturalism. As Hinkel (2006) points out, the goal of current ESL pedagogy is to create conditions for effective cross-cultural communication and facilitate successful interaction: "As an additional outcome of increased global mobility and the internationalization of English, instruction on L2 speaking skills has been placing a greater emphasis on the sociocultural features of communication and oral production" (p. 116).

Research has shown that even advanced SL and FL learners may encounter significant difficulties acquiring communicative rules and pragmatic norms and may in general lack communicative competence (Bardovi-Harlig, 2001; Bodman & Eisenstein, 1988; Ebsworth, Bodman, & Carpenter, 1995). Moreover, it is possible that they transfer pragmatic rules of their native language (L1) into the target language (L2) production which may be inappropriate (Thomas, 1983). Such lack of communicative competence and pragmatic transfer often leads to communicative breakdowns, misunderstandings, and communicative and pragmatic failure. Compared to grammatical or vocabulary errors, pragmatic errors or "errors of appropriacy" (Crandall & Basturkmen, 2004, p. 38) are perceived as serious by native speakers (NSs) and are "less easily forgiven" (Yates, 2010, p. 288). Such errors might be associated with lack of respect, seen as offensive and rude, and may lead not only to misunderstandings but to more serious consequences: "When there is a mismatch of understanding on such matters, miscommunications are not only possible but also potentially damaging" (Yates, p. 288).

ILP research has investigated the production of various speech acts by SL/FL learners, requests and apologies being the most well-studied (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Trosborg, 1995). In the production of speech acts, an important topic is the realization of semantic formulas or components of speech acts (Cohen, 1996) and identifying differences between NSs and NNSs (Bardovi-Harlig, 2009). Other significant aspects of NNSs production such as the importance of social distance and power in the selection of semantic formulas, various affecting factors such as L2 proficiency and exposure to L2 have also been explored (Barron, 2003; Schauer, 2009).

1.1. Motivation for research

In the examination of speech acts' production in ILP, some areas remain understudied. First, the Russian language and Russian learners of English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) are somewhat on the periphery of ILP research. Second, the speech act

of greeting and particular greeting semantic formulas in which NNSs deviate from NSs have not received much attention. Third, perception of NNS production, and in particular, greetings, by NSs remains an area that needs investigation.

These areas seem interesting to study for several reasons. First, English and Russian are two languages that entail dissimilar formulas of speech acts and specifically of greetings. Dissimilar interactional styles can lead to misunderstandings in communication and creating stereotypes of linguistic and social behavior of Russian NNSs of English (Larina, 2009; Visson, 2005; Wierzbicka, 2002).

Second, the speech act of greeting has an important social function in speech communities. Producing appropriate greetings and responding to them are essential for establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationships. For language learners, greetings are important as a key for creating contacts and communication and serve "as a door to the target culture" (Kakiuchi, 2005, p. 63). Knowledge of greetings is an important component of communicative competence in L2: "the more speakers understand the cultural context of greetings, the better the society appreciates them, and the more they are regarded as well behaved" (Schleicher, 1997, p. 334). Greetings, despite their seeming simplicity and formulaicity, in different cultures can be complex and elaborate, can contain various forms, and depend on different social variables: "greeting formulas universally serve an affective function of establishing non-threatening contact and rapport but their precise content is clearly culture specific" (Holmes, 2013, p. 295). Therefore, greetings and their appropriate use may pose challenges for language learners.

The third area connected to the NNS production of certain speech acts which needs more investigation is the perception of the produced speech act by NSs. It is important to analyze if NSs perceive NNSs' speech acts as appropriate and polite and what particular areas affect the NSs' perception of pragmatic appropriateness. Kasper and Schmidt (1996) claimed that

simply identifying differences does not inform us which of those differences may matter in interaction. Some differences between NS norms and L2 performance may result in negative stereotyping by NS message recipients, whereas others may be heard as somewhat different but perfectly appropriate alternatives. (p. 156)

Thus, it seems necessary to explore NSs' perception of NNS speech acts more in depth.

This dissertation aims to address the above-mentioned gaps in research. First, in order to extend the body of research of various speech acts, the study examines the production of greetings. Second, to increase the number of languages other than English, the study employs Russian learners of English as major participants. And thirdly, based on Kasper and Schmidt's (1996) recommendation, the present study investigates NS perceptions of nonnative greetings.

1.2. Research questions

The following research questions are addressed in this work:

1. Are semantic formulas in greetings produced by Russian EFL learners different or similar to those produced by English NSs in terms of their number, frequency, and content? What types of greetings exhibit differences/ similarities?
2. How are the NNS greetings rated by NSs in terms of their appropriateness? What types of greetings are judged as more appropriate/ inappropriate? What features of greetings make them appropriate/ inappropriate, in raters' opinion?

1.3. Dissertation structure

The dissertation has six chapters. The first one is the introduction. It provides general background and introduces the topics of the current research. The second chapter – literature review – presents the field of ILP, its areas of interest, important concepts, and data collection instruments and presents theories and concepts relevant for the study: the theory of speech acts and theories of

politeness. It looks more closely at the speech act of greeting and discusses its characteristics and types in English and in Russian as well. The third chapter presents the research methodology. It describes the development of the instruments – Free Discourse Completion Test (FDCT) and pragmatic appropriateness rating scale, NS and NNS participants, and data collection and analysis. Chapter Four announces the results of the study. First, it presents comparison of the number and frequency of the greeting semantic formulas employed by the NSs and NNSs. Second, it presents the results of the NS ratings of NNS production for pragmatic appropriateness. Chapter Five provides discussion and explanation for the major results of the comparison of NS/ NNS production of greetings and NS ratings. The final chapter is the conclusion which addresses implications of the study, its limitations, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will review studies and theories relevant for my research. First, I will introduce pragmatics and the concept of speech acts in the studies by Searle (1969, 1975, 1976) and Austin (1962) and discuss pragmatic principles in the works of Grice (1975) and Leech (1983, 2007) and Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory. Secondly, I will introduce cross-cultural, intercultural and interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) and the concept of pragmatic competence and review literature on developmental issues in ILP. Thirdly, I will review literature on the non-native speech acts production, in particular the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) and individual speech acts. Further, I will review works devoted to other areas in ILP, namely, acquisition and use of linguistic formulas, phatic expressions, and terms of address. Next, I will discuss the main data elicitation procedures in ILP. This will be followed by discussion of pragmatic competence assessment and the role of native speakers (NSs) as raters. Finally, I will analyze the research on the speech act of greeting, its characteristics, functions, classifications, and constituents, and introduce English and Russian greetings. The chapter will end by the review of works devoted specifically to greetings in ILP research.

2.1. Pragmatics, pragmalinguistics, and sociopragmatics

Pragmatics is the subfield of linguistics which analyses language in use and the relationship of utterances to the particular context in which they occur. A definition of pragmatics has been offered by many scholars (for example, Horn & Ward, 2004; Levinson, 1983; Mey, 2001; Wierzbicka, 1991; Yule, 1996). Wierzbicka (1991) viewed pragmatics as "the discipline studying linguistic interaction between 'I' and 'you'" (p. 5). Yule (1996) called pragmatics "the study of contextual meaning communicated by a speaker or a writer, and interpreted by a listener or a reader" (p. 3). According to Mey (2001), "pragmatics studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society" (p. 6). These definitions emphasize important characteristics of pragmatics, namely, mutual communication, the context in which users interact, and the significant role of society. One of the most elaborate descriptions of pragmatics belongs to Crystal (1985), who defined it as

> the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication. (p. 240)

Crystal's definition highlights the actual language use and communicative nature of the interaction in a social context. Pragmatics focuses on the construction and interpretation of meaning in a given context and the influence of the context on meaning.

Leech (1983) and Thomas (1983) distinguished between pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics. Pragmalinguistics refers to certain linguistic tools to produce and understand utterances such as directness and indirectness, modification devices to soften or intensify a speech act. Sociopragmatics refers to social rules of linguistic behavior that influence speakers' linguistic choices and hearers' interpretations. It refers to such factors as social status, social distance, degree of imposition, and the like.

2.2 Speech acts

One of the main concepts in pragmatics is a speech act. The following section defines and classifies speech acts.

Austin (1962) claimed that analysis of speech acts is the major goal of pragmatics. He introduced the term "speech act" as a basic unit of communication. While articulating words and utterances speakers produce three types of acts: a locutionary act, an illocutionary act, and a perlocutionary act. A locutionary act is defined as an act of saying something with a certain sense understood by its propositional meaning (for example, an utterance "It's hot in here" is a statement that it is hot in a certain place). An illocutionary act is producing an intention through locution (for example, "It's hot in here" might be an indirect request to open the window since it is hot in a certain room, an indirect refusal to close the window, and a complaint about hot temperature in the room). A perlocutionary act is the effect of an utterance on the hearer (for example, "It's hot in here" might result in someone opening or closing the window). An illocutionary act is central in this classification.

Austin classified illocutionary speech acts as follows:

1. Verdictives – acts of making verdicts or judgment, e. g, estimate, rate;

2. Exercitives – acts of making a decision regarding the action, e.g. order, permit, advise;

3. Commissives – acts of making a commitment to a certain action, e.g. promise, intent;

4. Behabitives – acts of expressing attitudes or feelings, e.g. thank, welcome;

5. Expositives – acts of demonstrating and clarifying the words usage, e.g. reply, argue, illustrate, assume.

Searle (1969) inherited some of Austin's ideas, but criticized his taxonomy for the lack of governing principle of organization, confusions between illocutionary verbs and acts, overlaps and

heterogeneity within the categories. Searle (1976) developed the theory of speech acts and their classification in his own way. He named five basic categories of speech acts:

1. Representatives or assertives – acts that commit the speaker (S) to the truth of the expressed proposition, e.g. affirm, believe, conclude, deny;

2. Directives – acts that make the hearer (H) perform a certain action, e. g. ask, insist, request;

3. Commissives – acts that commit to some future action, e. g. guarantee, pledge, promise, swear;

4. Expressives – acts that express attitudes, e. g. apologize, congratulate, thank, welcome;

5. Declarations – acts that immediately change reality according to the propositional content, e. g. I resign.

Bach and Harnish (1979) borrowed some of the terms of Austin (1962) and Searle (1976) and developed their own taxonomy of speech acts. They distinguished the following types of illocutionary speech acts specified by the type of attitude expressed:

1. Constatives, e. g. announcing, claiming, confirming, identifying, reporting, and stating;

2. Directives, e.g. advising, forbidding, ordering, permitting, requesting, suggesting, and warning;

3. Commissives, e. g. agreeing, inviting, offering, promising, and swearing;

4. Acknowledgements, e.g. apologizing, condoling, congratulating, thanking, and greeting.

2.2.1. Felicity conditions.

Speech acts are successful and achieve their purpose only if they satisfy several criteria – felicity conditions (Austin, 1962). Searle (1969) identified four types of these conditions:

1. Propositional content – propositional content should be appropriate.

2. Preparatory condition – S and the physical circumstances should be appropriate.

3. Sincerity condition – the intent of the S should be sincere.

4. Essential condition – S's intention to perform a certain speech act.

2.2.2. Direct and indirect speech acts.

In addition to the classification of speech acts according to their function, speech acts are distinguished according to their structure into direct and indirect (Searle, 1975). Direct speech acts correspond to the three syntactical types of sentences: declarative, interrogative, and imperative. In direct speech acts, there is a clear relationship between the structure and the function (statement, question, and request/ order). In indirect speech acts, in contrast, there is no direct relationship between structure and form. According to Searle (1975), in indirect speech acts,

> the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer. (pp. 60-61)

Examples of indirect speech acts include requests in interrogative form, imperatives, warnings, advice, threats, refusals, suggestions, and invitations.

2.3. Pragmatic principles and politeness theory

Within the field of pragmatics, a number of pragmatic principles and politeness theories have been proposed. Two major principles – Grice's (1975) Cooperative principle and Leech's (1983, 2007) Politeness principle – are the most significant ones. They make an important contribution to pragmatics as they lay a foundation for pragmatic rules and explain social conventions of the language use. Among politeness theories, the theory of Face proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) is particularly important for the current research as it approaches the study of politeness from a pragmatic perspective.

2.3.1. Grice's Cooperative principle.

One of the most important concepts in pragmatics is Grice's Cooperative principle. According to Grice (1975), participants in a conversation follow and assume that others are following certain rules. He wrote: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (p. 45). He summarized this rule in four maxims:

1. The maxim of quality – to say what the S believes is true and not to say what the S believes is false.
2. The maxim of quantity – to give the right amount of information – not too little and not too much.
3. The maxim of relation – to be relevant in the conversation.
4. The maxim of manner – to be brief and orderly and to avoid ambiguity and obscurity.

Grice's principle has been criticized for not being universal to all languages and cultures (Keenan, 1976), for lack of attention to local and global context (Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003), and for focusing primarily on speakers' intentions and thus having a static view of interaction (Eelen, 2001; Grainger, 2011; Mills, 2011). At the same time, Grice's principle remains as one of the most important and influential in pragmatics.

2.3.2. Leech's Politeness principle.

Leech (1983) expanded and complemented Grice's Cooperative Principle and offered a more elaborate model. He developed the Politeness principle and six conversational maxims. The Politeness principle states: "Minimize (other things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs; Maximize (other things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs" (p. 81). The conversational maxims are the following:

1. Tact – to minimize the cost and maximize the benefits to the others.

2. Generosity – to minimize the benefit to self and maximize the cost to self.

3. Approbation – to minimize dispraise of other and maximize approval of other.

4. Modesty – to minimize the praise of self and maximize dispraise of self.

5. Agreement – to minimize disagreement between self and other and maximize agreement.

6. Sympathy – to minimize antipathy between self and other and maximize sympathy.

Although Leech claimed that these maxims might vary in different cultures, his theory has been criticized for its sole orientation to Western culture, its individualism and neglecting group values characteristic of Eastern culture (see, for example, Wierzbicka, 1991). In response to this criticism, Leech (2007) reformulated his theory and proposed Grand Strategy of Politeness (GSP). GSP states: "In order to be polite, a speaker communicates meanings which place (a) a high value on what relates to the other person (typically the addressee), and (b) a low value on what relates to the speaker" (p. 167). Leech used GSP to explain politeness phenomena in English as well as in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. To account for linguistic and social differences in these languages, GSP uses parameters of variation in five areas (scales):

1. Vertical distance between S and other (power, role, age, and status);

2. Horizontal distance between S and other (degree of familiarity);

3. Weight or value of what is being transacted;

4. Strength of social rights and obligations;

5. "Self-territory" and "other-territory."

These scales might have different weight and value in different cultures. However, they are "widespread in human societies" (Leech, 2007, p. 200) and can explain both qualitative and quantitative socio-cultural differences.

2.3.3. Brown and Levinson's theory.

The most influential theory of politeness in pragmatics belongs to Brown and Levinson (1987). The concept of "face" is central to it. Face is defined as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (p. 61). The researchers distinguish "positive" and "negative" face. Positive face reflects the desire to have a positive image, self-esteem and be well thought of. Negative face refers to personal freedom and independence, as well as to freedom from imposition. During social interactions, it is necessary to preserve the two faces of interlocutors, in other words, demonstrate the knowledge of interlocutor's face, establish good relationships in interaction, and show respect. Face-saving acts (FSAs) maintain good self-image and lessen the possible threat to a person's face. Face-threatening acts (FTAs) can threaten or damage the S's face (e.g. apology) or the H's face (e.g. invitation). There are various strategies to minimize the threat in FTAs. To save face and minimize the effect of an FTA, the S can:

1. Perform the FTA on record without redressive action – to perform the speech act directly, in a clearly unambiguous manner, without redress, i.e. without an attempt to save face. This strategy is used when the S is superior in power to the H, when the S has a close relationship to the H (for example, family), if the threat to the H's face is minimal, or in cases of urgency or efficiency.

2. Perform the FTA on record using positive politeness. This strategy is oriented on the positive face of the H. The S emphasizes the H's needs and wants, assures that s/he likes and accepts the H by demonstrating in-group solidarity, expressing personal sympathy, addressing the H's needs and wants, including both S and H in the activity, and so on.

3. Perform the FTA on record using negative redress or politeness. This strategy is oriented on the negative face of the H. The S respects the H's negative face, avoids intruding into H's territory, does not interfere with freedom of action and maintains distance in

order to avoid face loss of both S and H. This strategy includes hedges, apologizing, impersonalization, and so on.

4. Use an off record strategy. Brown and Levinson describe it as follows: "it is done in such a way that it is not possible to attribute only one clear communicative intention to the act" (p. 211). In other words, the S formulates a speech act in an indirect way so that several interpretations become possible and the H's face might not be threatened. This strategy includes hints, association cues, irony, rhetorical questions, metaphors, contradictions, and so on.

5. Not to perform the FTA at all, to avoid it.

The choice among these five strategies depends on the three social factors: social distance (D), relative power (P), and rank of imposition (R). D refers to the social relationships between interlocutors and encompasses such factors as degree of familiarity, solidarity, and frequency of interaction. It is based on "an assessment of the frequency of interaction and the kinds of material or non-material goods (including face) exchanged between S and H" (Brown & Levinson, p. 77). P refers to the power status of interlocutors based on a higher position in an organization, etc., or professional or social status, and is asymmetrical. There are three possible P relations: S has more power than H, S has less power than H, and S and H have equal power. R is "a culturally and situationally defined ranking of impositions by the degree to which they are considered to interfere with the agent's wants of self-determination or of approval" (Brown and Levinson, p. 80). It refers to the rights and obligations to perform an act, reasons to perform it, and the extent to which the imposition can be tolerated.

Taking into consideration these variables, one is able to evaluate the weightiness (seriousness) of an FTA. Brown and Levinson introduce the following formula (p. 76):

$$W_x = D\,(S,H) + P\,(H,S) + R_x$$

In this formula, W is the weight of an FTA, D – social distance, P – power, and R – rank of imposition. This formula predicts how these factors interact and determine a course of interaction. The variables of D, P, and R affect the choice and the use of redressive action taken to prevent a potential FTA. The more serious an FTA is, the higher the number of the five strategies the speaker will use.

The universality of Brown and Levinson's theory has been questioned and it has been criticized for its Anglocentrism and Western bias (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Kasper, 1990; Wierzbicka, 1991). Researchers have shown that Brown and Levinson's theory is not universally valid. They have claimed that non-Western pragmatics and politeness principles are different regarding the concept of face, views on respect, and understanding of collective good, well-being, and individualism (Chen, 2010; Gu, 1990; Ide, 1989; Mao, 1992; Matsumoto, 1988). Despite such criticism, Brown and Levinson's politeness theory is considered to be groundbreaking and one of the most significant works done in that field.

2.4. Cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatics

Within the field of pragmatics, several sub-fields including cross-cultural, intercultural, and interlanguage pragmatics have developed.

A cross-cultural pragmatics approach is comparative. It analyzes and compares linguistic behavior of speakers of various languages and representatives of different cultures, identifies its similarities and differences which reflect cultural values and priorities (Wierzbicka, 1991). Cross-cultural pragmatics "takes the view that individuals form two societies or communities carry out their interactions (whether spoken or written) according to their own rules or norms, often resulting in a clash in expectations and, ultimately, misperceptions about the other group" (Boxer, 2002b, p. 151). In particular, cross-cultural pragmatics compares speech act realization in different

languages, linguistic norms that exist in different cultures, and pragmatic breakdowns and failures caused by the differences.

Intercultural pragmatics is different from cross-cultural in the way it approaches communication. Intercultural pragmatics is based on a socio-cognitive perspective (Kecskes, 2013) and is defined as "the way the language system is put to use in social encounters between human beings who have different first languages, communicate in a common language, and, usually, represent different cultures" (p. 14). The socio-cognitive approach means putting together individual features, a-priori existing knowledge, and experience with the actual social situation and emerging, co-constructed and co-existing knowledge. Such an approach allows researchers to analyze communication holistically, considering all contexts and experiences in a dialogic manner. Intercultural pragmatics focuses on interlocutors rather than their languages or cultures; it analyzes actual language use in particular context and its unique features.

2.5. Interlanguage pragmatics (ILP)

Another subfield of pragmatics is interlanguage pragmatics (ILP). In a way, ILP includes cross-cultural pragmatics (Wierzbicka, 1991) as its model, base, and the main reference (Kasper & Schmidt, 1996). ILP is based on the theoretical construct of interlanguage which is discussed in the section below.

2.5.1. Interlanguage.

The term interlanguage (IL) was introduced by Selinker (1972). He claimed that second language acquisition (SLA) develops in stages through a process that he termed "interlanguage."

IL refers to the progression through which each language learner constructs a system of linguistic rules. In other words, IL is a learner's language, neither foreign, nor native, but somewhere in between. It is a collision of two languages, a new unique linguistic system

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intermediate between a target (L2) and a native language (L1). IL is a normal and inevitable part of language learning. The main principles of IL formation include overgeneralization of patterns in L2, transfer from L1, and fossilization. Fossilization refers to the persistence of non-target-like features in the production of L2, regardless of age and amount of instruction. Selinker classified fossilization into individual and group types, and into temporary and permanent. Fossilization occurs on phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic levels. It can be reduced by implementing proper learning strategies, decreasing negative transfer from L1, and providing enough exposure to the target language and culture.

2.5.2. Interlanguage pragmatics.

In a narrow sense, ILP focuses on non-native speakers' (NNS) comprehension and production of speech acts (Kasper & Dahl, 1991). In a broader definition, ILP includes the concept of politeness:

> Typical issues addressed in data-based [interlanguage pragmatics] studies are whether NNS differ from NS in the 1) range and 2) contextual distribution of 3) strategies and 4) linguistic forms used to convey 5) illocutionary meaning and 6) politeness – precisely the kinds of issues raised in comparative studies of different communities. (Kasper, 1992, p. 205)

Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993) called ILP a "branch of Second Language Acquisition research" and "a subset of pragmatics" (p. 3). Later, in a different work, Kasper (1996) focused on both L2 acquisition and use and defined ILP as "the study of non-native speakers' use and acquisition of L2 pragmatics knowledge" (p. 145), in other words, development, comprehension, and usage of SL or FL pragmatic rules and behaviors. According to Kasper (1996), the topics in ILP include

nonnative speakers' perception and comprehension of illocutionary force and politeness; their production of linguistic action; the impact of context variables on choices of conventions of means (semantic formulae or realization strategies) and forms (linguistic means of implementing strategic options); discourse sequencing and conversational management; pragmatic success and failure; and the joint negotiation of illocutionary, referential, and relational goals in personal encounters and institutional settings. (p. 146)

2.6. Communicative and pragmatic competence

One of the central concepts in ILP is communicative competence. Many scholars view and analyze ILP within this construct.

The term "communicative competence" was first coined by Hymes (1966, 1972) as a response to Chomsky's (1965) notion of competence based on rule-governed creativity. Hymes distinguished between linguistic and communicative knowledge to highlight the differences between the knowledge of language forms and the knowledge that enables a person to communicate functionally and interactively. Communicative competence empowers language learners and users to convey and interpret messages and to negotiate meanings interpersonally within specific contexts. In other words, it allows the users to interact appropriately. A speaker with communicative competence is able to produce appropriate utterances and understand the immediate conversational content, and the overall broad social-cultural context.

The notion of communicative competence was further developed by Canale and Swain (1980). They defined four components of communicative competence and included pragmatic competence into the category of sociolinguistic competence:

1. grammatical competence which refers to the knowledge of lexical items, and rules of morphology, syntax, sentence-level grammar semantics, and phonology. It is a type of competence that we associate with mastering of the linguistic code of a language.

2. discourse competence which is the complement of grammatical competence. It is the ability to form and connect sentences and to interpret series of utterances.

3. sociolinguistic competence which is the knowledge of the socio-cultural rules of language and discourse. It is a type of competence that requires understanding of the social context in which a language is used.

4. strategic competence which is the knowledge of communication strategies that can compensate for weaknesses caused by the insufficient knowledge and understanding of grammar and/ or sociolinguistic norms. It includes both verbal and non-verbal strategies.

In Bachman's (1990) presentation of communicative competence, the pragmatic component is named explicitly. He organized communicative competence into two categories: organizational (grammar and discourse competence) and pragmatic competence (sociolinguistic and illocutionary competence). Both are necessary to achieve true communicative competence. In a revision of this model, Bachman and Palmer (1996) maintained the importance of pragmatic competence. In the most recent model of communicative competence, Bachman and Palmer (2010) also describe pragmatic competence as a part of language ability, responsible for speakers' ability to formulate and comprehend messages and relate their language use to specific settings.

Kasper (1989) saw pragmatic knowledge as a component of communicative competence, which is distinct from discourse, grammatical, phonological and semantic knowledge although it interacts with all of them, selecting and combining their elements. Barron (2003) also talked about interaction of several components in pragmatic competence. She defined it as "the knowledge of the linguistic resources available in a given language for realizing particular illocutions, knowledge of the sequential aspects of speech acts, and finally, knowledge of the appropriate contextual use of the particular languages' linguistic resources" (p. 10).

In a recent conceptualization of pragmatic competence, Timpe Laughlin, Wain, and Schmidgall (2015) viewed it as a combination and synthesis of multiple components of pragmatic-functional and sociocultural knowledge. Components of pragmatic-functional knowledge include speech acts, functions, cohesion, coherence, register/ modality, naturalness, dialects/ varieties, formulaic expressions, cultural references, figures of speech, and genre. Components of sociocultural knowledge are topic, role of participants, setting, norms, conventions of interaction, power relations, gender, and age. In this view, pragmatic competence represents "a conglomerate of multiple distinct, yet interrelated knowledge components" and a "mastery of strategically relating linguistic and nonlinguistic contextual information in order to generate meaning beyond the grammatical level in oral, written, or a hybrid mode of communication" (p. 19).

The common idea of the above-mentioned studies refers to pragmatic competence as a distinct component in a language, necessary and crucial to achieve communicative competence, and interconnected and actively interacting with other aspects of language competence.

2.7. Developmental issues in ILP

In the view of ILP as a branch of SLA, as it has been noted above, its focus is on language development (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999; Kasper & Rose, 2002; Kasper & Schmidt, 1996). The studies represent a range of topics: language transfer, acquisition of grammar and pragmatics, stages of SL/ FL pragmatic development, and individual and contextual variables affecting acquisition of pragmatics such as length of residence and instructional effect. Represented studies in these areas as well as important theoretical models are reviewed in the following sections.

2.7.1. Pragmatic transfer.

Pragmatic transfer – effects of L1 pragmatic rules on L2 – is an important area of ILP studies. Kasper (1992) defines pragmatic transfer as "the influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures other than L2 on their comprehension, production, and

learning of L2 pragmatic information" (p. 207). Researchers distinguish positive and negative pragmatic transfer (Al-Issa, 2003; Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990). Positive pragmatic transfer occurs when the two languages have the same pragmatic conventions. Negative transfer happens when these conventions are different and leads to non-native like linguistic behavior and often to pragmatic failure.

In addition, transfer is distinguished as pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic (Kasper, 1992). Pragmalinguistic transfer occurs when L2 learners use L1 grammatical or syntactical structures in L2 production. Sociopragmatic transfer happens when L2 learners transfer their L1 cultural social knowledge and behavior to L2.

2.7.2. Pragmatic failure.

Pragmatic failure is defined as "the inability to understand what is meant by what is said" (Thomas, 1983, p. 91). It occurs on any occasion "on which H perceives the force of S's utterance as other than S intended s/he should perceive it" (Thomas, p. 94). The following examples illustrate the definition:

   a. H perceives the force of S's utterance stronger or weaker than S intended s/he should perceive it;

   b. H perceives as an order an utterance that S intended s/he should perceive as a request;

   c. H perceives S's utterance as ambivalent where S intended no ambivalence;

   d. S expects H to be able to infer the force of his/her utterance, but is relying on the system of knowledge or beliefs that S and H do not share (Thomas, p. 94).

Pragmatic failure is of two types: pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic. Pragmalinguistic failure results from negative pragmalinguistic transfer and occurs when "the pragmatic force mapped by the speaker onto a given utterance is systematically different from the force most

frequently assigned to it by native speakers of the target language, or when conversational strategies are inappropriately transferred from L1 to L2" (Thomas, p. 99).

The following examples illustrate the notion of pragmalinguistic failure. The phrase "Can you do X?" is a request in English; however, it can be perceived as a genuine question about someone's abilities and be followed by an answer (Thomas, 1983). Similarly, due to inappropriate transfer of speech act strategies an utterance intended to be a request may be perceived as an order (as in an utterance "Give me that book"). Another example of pragmalinguistic failure is the inappropriate use of semantic or syntactic equivalents from L1. A Russian phrase "конечно" (koneshno[1]) – "of course," used for affirmation, may be transferred inappropriately into English and in a dialogue such as "Is it a good restaurant? – Of course" may sound "at best peremptory and at worst insulting. … For English H (hearer) What a stupid question!" (Thomas, p. 102). Similarly, common Russian responses to a "Thank you" "пожалуйста" (pozhaluista) or "не за что" (ne za shto) have English equivalents of "please" and "never mind" which may sound unacceptable and awkward if directly transferred into English.

In addition to these examples of negative transfer from L1, there are instances of pragmalinguistic failure caused by instruction. Thomas gives examples of teachers who may require the students to give full responses to questions such as "Have you brought your coat? – Yes, I have brought my coat!" and comments that this may create an "unfortunate impression" (p. 102).

A different type of pragmatic failure is sociopragmatic. It results from different cultural norms and pragmatic principles that govern linguistic behaviors in different societies. This type of failure concerns such sociopragmatic judgments as size of imposition, costs and benefits, social status, and rights and obligations, which might vary in different cultures. Sociopragmatic failure is

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[1] Russian words are transliterated.

culture specific and represents the L2 learner's system of cultural values and social norms appropriate in the L1 society. Illustrations of sociopragmatic failure in certain cultures and contexts may concern inquiries about age, income, and marital status; religious or sexual topics; and what is considered polite and impolite in a given culture in producing different speech acts.

Vast literature exists on pragmatic failure in cross-cultural communication in general (for example, Lihui & Jianbin, 2010) and in producing particular speech acts. Here are a few examples: greetings (Ebsworth et al., 1995), expressions of gratitude (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986), invitations (Rakowicz, 2009; Zhu, 2012), disagreements (Salsbury & Bardovi-Harlig, 2001), apologies (Cohen & Olshtain, 1993; Enslen, 2010; Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper, & Ross, 1995; Trosborg, 1995), and requests (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2011; Economidou-Kogetsidis & Woodfield, 2012; Krulatz, 2012). These studies show that NNSs diverge from NSs in morpho-syntactic as well as socio-cultural speech characteristics. Learners at all proficiency levels often rely on their L1 knowledge and its politeness rules and transfer them to L2.

2.7.3. Grammatical and pragmatic competence.

The relationships between pragmatic and grammatical competence are complex. Researchers have contradictory views on this question. One opinion is that grammatical knowledge precedes pragmatic. However, achieving a high level of grammatical competence does not mean achieving the same level in pragmatics (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999; Bardovi-Harlig, 2001). This view has been supported by empirical evidence: learners of advanced levels of language proficiency demonstrate lack of pragmatic competence and have difficulties in producing particular speech acts. For example, Bodman and Eisenstein (1988) showed how learners with high grammatical competence produce non-native-like and pragmatically inappropriate expressions of gratitude, transferring their L1 complex grammatical and syntactical structures. Takahashi and Beebe (1987)

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demonstrated inappropriate use of questions instead of imperatives or other direct strategies in the context of a potential theft. Similar results were found by Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1990) who observed and analyzed advising sessions between NNS graduate students and their advisors. They showed that the students failed to use appropriate communication strategies: they overused interrogatives to express indirectness instead of direct strategies which should be more appropriate considering the context.

The opposite view is that pragmatic knowledge precedes grammatical (Koike, 1989; Schmidt, 1983, 1993). The main argument here is that learners have sufficient pragmatic knowledge from their L1s and they can use it in L2. This view is represented in Bialystok's (1993) theory of a two-dimensional model of language acquisition. The researcher claimed that compared to children, adults have an advantage of conceptual and representative knowledge of a language and do not have to acquire it. In second language learning, they have to gain control over processing, develop strategies, and choose appropriate linguistic behavior according to the context of the communicative situation.

Empirical evidence supports this point of view. Research showed that learners with very limited grammatical knowledge are able to convey meanings and achieve illocutionary goals as they rely on their L1 or universal pragmatic knowledge. One of the earliest and most famous studies in this area is a three-year observation of language development of a Japanese ESL learner, Wes (Schmidt, 1983), who demonstrated good pragmatic competence while his grammatical knowledge remained limited.

Other studies proved a mismatch between grammatical and pragmatic knowledge. For example, Koike (1989) showed that L1 pragmatic knowledge and experience helped beginning learners of Spanish produce polite requests. However, their grammatical and syntactic knowledge in L2 was poor and thus the requests that they formulated remained simple. Salsbury and Bardovi-

Harlig (2001) demonstrated that although ESL learners were grammatically fully competent in formulating modal expressions, they were not able to use these expressions in actual speech.

An attempt to account for such misbalance and make a connection between grammatical and pragmatic competence has been made by Kasper and Rose (2002) who suggested that grammatical and pragmatic competence develop in a complex manner, unevenly, according to the levels of L2 overall development. At the beginning stages, learners rely on their L1 pragmatic knowledge and it helps them in L2 pragmatic development. Thus, at this stage, pragmatic competence is ahead of grammatical. At the next stages of L2 development, grammatical competence increases and outstrips pragmatic knowledge.

2.7.4. Grammatical and pragmatic awareness.

Another direction in the investigation of grammatical and pragmatic competence is the studies of grammatical and pragmatic awareness. Research showed that grammatical and pragmatic awareness are independent. One of the most significant studies in this area belong to Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998) who examined Hungarian EFL and ESL students' ratings of grammatical and pragmatic errors. Low proficiency EFL students rated both grammatical and pragmatic errors as low. High proficiency students showed a significant increase in grammatical awareness. EFL students rated grammatical errors higher than ESL students. EFL students treated grammatical errors as more serious, whereas ESL students considered pragmatic errors as more severe. In a replication of this study, Niezgoda and Roever (2001) obtained similar results: ESL students treated pragmatic errors as more serious than grammatical ones. Other results were different from those in Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998). Czech EFL students in Niezgoda and Roever's study noticed a higher number of pragmatic and grammatical errors compared to ESL students. They perceived both types of errors – grammatical and pragmatic – to be serious and treated them stricter than the ESL students. As for the correlation of rating to the proficiency level,

lower level students - both EFL and ESL - rated pragmatic errors as more severe than grammatical ones. In contrast, higher level students treated grammatical errors as more serious. Similar results – perception of pragmatic errors as more severe by ESL learners and grammatical errors as more serious by EFL learners – were demonstrated by Schauer (2006, 2009) with German learners of English.

To date there has been no agreement on the order of acquisition of grammatical and pragmatic features and development of grammatical and pragmatic awareness. The questions which researchers agree upon are that grammatical knowledge does not guarantee pragmatic competence and that grammatical and pragmatic types of awareness are independent; they do not develop equally and simultaneously and, in general, interrelations between grammatical and pragmatic competence and awareness are complex (Bardovi-Harlig, 2013; Kasper, 2000b; Kasper & Rose, 2002).

2.7.5. Factors affecting pragmatic acquisition.

Several factors affect acquisition of pragmatic knowledge and development of pragmatic competence. Pragmatic instruction and length of residence are highly significant and well-studied.

Researchers explore pragmatic instruction in ILP in several directions: whether pragmatic competence can be taught, how it can be taught, what kinds of instruction and teaching methods can be used, and what factors of instruction influence the pragmatic development.

Studies have demonstrated that many aspects of pragmatic competence are teachable and instruction is facilitative (Bardovi-Harlig, 2001; Kasper, 2001). Pragmatic instruction can raise L2 learners' awareness, inform and provide the learners with pragmatic choices in communication in L2 in order to understand and be understood better (Bardovi-Harlig & Mahan-Taylor, 2003). The input-based approach was found to be effective (Cohen & Ishihara, 2005; Rose, 2005; Takimoto, 2008) and more impactful than simple exposure to the target language (Yoshimi, 2001). Thus,

teacher's role becomes very important (Cohen, 2008) and preparation of teaching materials – crucial. The choice of teaching resources should be based on the purposes and goals of a particular course and lesson and can include authentic materials such as films and TV shows, can be corpus-based, or technologically-enhanced (Bardovi-Harlig & Mahan-Taylor, 2003; Cohen, 2008; The Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA), n.d.).

However, as research has shown, classroom pragmatic teaching is impoverished compared to natural communication. Speech acts presented in ESL/ EFL textbooks can be quite limited in terms of authenticity and variability, and thus such material does not provide adequate and reliable pragmatic input (Crandall & Basturkmen, 2004; Gilmore, 2004; Usó-Juan, 2007). For example, Williams (2001) compared greetings taken from 27 random ESL textbooks with those used in real life situations, specifically in casual settings such as restaurants and coffee shops. He found that greetings given in the textbooks differ significantly from those used in natural conversations. Greetings from the textbooks lack variety of forms and flexibility of routine formulas. Kakiuchi (2005) found similar results after comparison of NS greetings from natural discourse and greetings from Japanese EFL textbooks. Textbooks present some non-native-like greetings or greeting responses, for example, responding "Thanks/ Thank you" to a greeting "How are you?" which in the researcher's data never occurred in authentic conversations.

Despite such challenges and somewhat limited opportunities, a number of ESL/ EFL classroom activities have proved their effectiveness, for example, awareness raising, giving examples of authentic language through audiovisual input (Alcón, 2005; Martínez-Flor, 2007), and observational and sociocultural tasks (Kasper, 1997).

Comparing explicit and implicit pragmatic instruction, research has indicated that explicit instruction is more effective compared to implicit (House, 1996; Rose & Ng, 2001; Takahashi, 2010). However, an implicit teaching approach can also be beneficial (Martínez-Flor, 2006).

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Length of residence is another significant factor affecting pragmatic development. Taguchi (2010) claimed that "development of pragmatic competence is best described from a longitudinal perspective" (p. 336). Longitudinal studies demonstrated a positive correlation between length of residence in the L2 environment and pragmatic development (Félix-Brasdefer, 2004; Matsumura, 2001; Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985; Schauer, 2009; Taguchi, 2012). Moreover, longitudinal studies analyzed the learning context – second or foreign language, and found that pragmatic development is best observed in an SL environment. Takahashi and Beebe (1987) demonstrated this with Japanese ESL and EFL learners. Enslen (2010) showed that study abroad experience enhances learners' abilities in appropriate speech act production. In a study of the acquisition of greetings, requests and apologies by Japanese ESL and EFL learners, he showed that Japanese EFL learners performed English speech acts that were evaluated as non-native like. They failed to use formulaic language, often used direct translations form Japanese, and were limited in the choices and strategies. In contrast, ESL learners demonstrated greater pragmatic development. Schauer (2006, 2009) found similar results with German EFL and ESL learners. ESL students outperformed their EFL counterparts in terms of recognizing pragmatic errors and producing native-like requests. Such an advantage of SL context over FL context is explained by a large amount of input and L2 exposure the learners get in an SL environment in comparison to FL where the use of L2 is often limited to the classroom and is thus insufficient (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993; Kakiuchi, 2005; Kasper, 1996, 1998; Roever, 2005).

Other factors that affect acquisition and realization of speech acts include individual differences such as personality type and aptitude (Kuriscak, 2010), individual characteristics of learners (Taguchi, 2012), acculturation (Barron, 2003), and motivation (Dörnyei, Adolphs, & Zahran, 2004). In the latter area, research has shown that integratively motivated L2 learners perform significantly better than those who are instrumentally motivated (Khorshidi & Nimchali, 2013).

2.8. Speech act analysis in ILP

The main area of investigation in ILP research is concerned with speech acts and their acquisition, comprehension, and production by NNSs (Kasper & Dahl, 1991).

The CCSARP (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984) represents a significant body of work done in this field. This project focused on requests and apologies in eight languages: Australian English, American English, British English, Canadian French, Danish, German, Hebrew, and Russian. It analyzed cross-cultural differences of the particular speech act realization under three contextual factors which were defined by Brown and Levinson (1987), namely, P, D, and R. The data were elicited through a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) where participants were given prompts with certain situations and were instructed to write what they would say. The CCSARP classified strategies used by NSs and NNSs according to a coding scheme, analyzed their occurrence, and identified and investigated similarities and differences.

Since then, the speech act paradigm has dominated ILP research. The most well-studied speech acts are those examined in the CCSARP: requests (e. g. Blum-Kulka, 1991; Churchill, 2002; Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2010, 2011; Economidou-Kogetsidis & Woodfield, 2012; Kasper, 1989; Khorshidi, 2013; Krulatz, 2012; Mills, 1993; Owen, 2001; Reiter, Rainey, & Fulcher, 2005; Rose, 2000; Usó-Juan, 2010; Wongwarangkul, 2000; Woodfield, 2010) and apologies (e. g. Cohen & Olshtain, 1981b; Jung, 2004; Kondo, 2010; Maeshiba et al., 1995; Olshtain, 1989; Shardakova, 2005; Tateyama, 2001; Trosborg, 1987, 1995).

Other speech acts that have been analyzed in ILP include complaints (e. g. Boxer, 1993a, 1993b, 2010; Tatsuki, 2000; Wijayanto, Laila, Prasetyarini, & Susiati, 2013), compliments and compliment responses (Baba, 1999; Chen, 2010; Chen & Boonkongsaen, 2012; Chen & Rau, 2011; Yun, 2015), refusals (Allami & Naeimi, 2011; Eslami-Rasekh, 2010; Félix-Brasdefer, 2004; Gass & Houck, 1999; Keshavarz, Eslami-Rasekh, & Ghahraman, 2006; Nelson, Carson, Al Batal, & El

Bakary, 2002; Ren, 2013), invitations and invitation responses (Félix-Brasdefer, 2003; Rakowicz, 2009; Zhu, 2012), leave-taking (DuFon, 2010b), disagreements (Malamed, 2010), suggestions (Martínez-Flor, 2010), favor-asking (Bataller, 2008; Goldschmidt, 1998), and expressions of gratitude (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986, 1993; Pishghadam & Zarei, 2012).

In the production of speech acts, NNSs deviate from NSs in several areas: choice of speech acts, semantic formulas, and form of a speech act (Cohen, 1996). In the first area – the choice of the speech acts themselves, NNSs may produce speech acts that are different from those used by NSs in the same context. For example, as shown by Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1990), NNSs did not always use rejections to advice where NSs did, or did not produce the particular speech act at all (Cohen & Olshtain, 1993).

In the second area – semantic formulas – the choices of NNSs can also be different from those of NSs. A semantic formula is the component of a speech act. It refers to "a word, phrase or sentence that meets a particular semantic criterion or strategy; any one or more of these can be used to perform the act in question" (Cohen, 1996, p. 265). For example, in declining an offer, S can produce three semantic formulas: a refusal itself, then, an explanation, and finally an expression of gratitude: "No, I'm just looking, thank you" (Bardovi-Harlig, Bastos, Burghardt, Chappetto, Nickels, & Rose, 2010, p. 169). NNSs may prefer to use different semantic formulas than NSs would use, as shown, for example by Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1990) in the case of refusals, Murphy and Neu (1995) in the case of complaints, and other ample research on the NNS production of speech acts mentioned above.

The third area of differences in the realization of speech acts refers to the sociolinguistic form of a speech act – "the actual language forms used to realize the speech act (e.g. *sorry* vs *excuse me, really sorry* vs *very sorry*) … the actual words or phrases selected in order to realize the speech

act in the given sociocultural situation" (Cohen, 1996, pp. 254-255). It also includes linguistic formulas, routines, or "typical expressions" (Hudson, Detmer, & Brown, 1995, p. 50).

An additional category of difference in speech act production between NNSs and NSs is the content – information given or exchanged in a speech act (Bardovi-Harlig, 2001). NNSs may choose different topics and focus on different themes. For example, Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992) demonstrated that NSs and NNSs differed in the content of explanation in the rejections: NSs preferred to invent their own reasons to reject an offer and NNSs used the reasons, which they were given by the researchers in the experiment. Similarly, Beebe et al. (1990) found differences between NSs and NNSs in the content of refusals: English NSs used more details in the refusals, for example said "I have a business lunch that day" and Japanese learners of English were vaguer in the explanations and might have said, "I have something to do."

Overall, studies analyzing speech act production by NNSs and NSs identified several areas of differences: choice of speech acts, semantic formulas, forms, and content. On the material of a variety of speech acts, requests and apologies being the most studied, the research empirically illustrated and analyzed these differences. Besides, studies demonstrated and analyzed difficulties that NNSs have with the production of certain speech acts or particular aspects of speech acts.

2.9. Other areas in ILP

Speech act research has been the largest component of cross-cultural and IL pragmatics research. However, research in other areas has also been conducted. Three areas – linguistic formulas, phatic expressions, and address terms – are discussed below.

2.9.1. Acquisition and use of formulas.

Pragmatic formulas are very important in overall pragmatic competence; they are "the heart and soul of native-like language use" (Kecskes, 2013, p. 105). According to Granger (1998), "the

formulaic nature of many pragmalinguistic rules has necessarily contributed to bringing the study of prefabs to the fore" (p. 145).

Various aspects of formulaic language in L2 have been studied: the amount of formulas used in the speech in L1 and L2 (Jaworski, 1990), length of formulaic utterances (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1986), stages of formulaic language development (Bardovi-Harlig & Salsbury, 2004; Edmondson & House, 1991; Tateyama, 2001), recognition (Bardovi-Harlig, 2008, 2009) and interpretation of formulas (Kecskes, 2000), factors that influence their recognition and production (Roever, 2005), and finally, teachability of formulas (House, 1996; Nattinger & DeCario, 1992).

Concerning the number of formulas and length of utterances in speech act production by NSs and NNSs, research has demonstrated somewhat contradictory results. On the one hand, it has been shown that NNSs talk more than NSs in the same speech acts. For example, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986) and Edmondson and House (1991) found that NNSs produce longer DCT responses for requests and apologies in terms of number of words. They used fewer formulas and preferred to elaborate and paraphrase. The researchers connected such result mainly to the lack of communicative competence and also to the written mode of the task – Written Discourse Completion Test (WDCT).

On the other hand, in oral DCTs, as shown by Bardovi-Harlig et al. (2010), NNSs did not produce significantly longer responses than NSs in a variety of speech acts. In respect to the frequency of semantic formulas, no systematic tendency in the differences between NSs and NNSs was found. Some formulas were used more frequently, some – less. For example, NNSs employed the formula "Nice to see you" in response to introduction more often than NSs; another formula – "Thank you. You too" – as a response to "Have a nice day" by a cashier at a shop – was used less often by NNSs than NSs. The researchers showed that the number and frequency of semantic

formulas and length of utterances may depend on a variety of factors such as task mode – written or oral, speech act, task scenario, and individual learners' characteristics.

Other researchers found that NNSs in general use fewer L2 formulas than NSs and demonstrate less variability. For example, Jaworski (1990) compared American learners of Polish and Polish learners of English in their L1 and L2 production and showed that these groups were different in the distribution and frequency of the use of linguistic formulas in greetings, inquiries into well-being, expressions of pleasure at seeing someone, expressions of surprise, forms of address, and compliments. As Jaworski suggested, this might lead to misunderstandings and misperceptions from each side – both American and Polish – that NNSs sound superficial, rude, insincere, or unwilling to communicate in general.

The use of target-like formulas does not positively correlate with proficiency: advanced learners often produce longer responses than NSs, using extended elaboration instead of a formula (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1986; Edmondson & House, 1991). Advanced language learners may have problems with formula recognition and appropriate responses to them (Jaworski, 1994). Often, formulaic language reflects interlanguage development and contains transfer from L1 (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986). In cases of negative transfer, it results in overgeneralization, undergeneralization, or wrong use of formulas (Kecskes, 2000; Wildner-Bassett, 1994). Besides, NNSs may use intonation, pauses, rhythm, and other suprasegmental features differently from NSs. They may use the correct linguistic formula but deliver it incorrectly (House, 1996; Tateyama, 2001). Among factors that influence the production and recognition of the formulas, length of residence and exposure to the L2 are the most important ones (Kakiuchi, 2005; Roever, 2005). Motivation also plays a significant role in the acquisition and the use of formulas (Dörnyei et al., 2004).

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2.9.2. Small talk and phatic communication.

Another area of ILP research concerns "small talk" (Coupland, 2000) or, in Malinowski's (1923) terms, "phatic communion." It denotes the non-referential use of a language in order to communicate feelings, attitudes, and sociability in general. In other words, phatic communication has a social function rather than an informative one and does not require literal understanding. Through ritualized expressions and conversational formulas, phatic talk establishes social bonds and relationships, attracts the interlocutors' attention, initiates and maintains communication, and avoids communication conflicts (Laver, 1981). Phatic communication is "the activity of talking merely to preserve sociability," as Leech (1983, p. 141) described it in his Phatic Maxim. It encourages interlocutors to "avoid silence" or "keep talking" (p. 141). Besides, it "serves to extend the common ground of agreement and experience shared by the participants" (p. 142). As Boxer (2002a) claims, phatic communication is "an important social lubricant" (p. 49).

The categories of phatic utterances include the following:

1. neutral phrases about weather and other spacio-temporal conditions of a communicative situation, such as "Lovely day," "Nice party," etc.;

2. phrases referring to S, such as "I really love this weather";

3. phrases referring to H, such as "Nice dress," "How is life?", "Do you like the party?" (Edmondson & House, 1981; Laver, 1981; Padilla Cruz, 2013a; Ventola, 1979).

The appropriate choice of phatic expression depends on the social variables of distance and status. Interlocutors who are familiar with each other may use any type of phatic utterances; however, those who are not familiar consider the interlocutor's social status. Neutral phrases can be used independently of status; phrases referring to S ("self-oriented," in Laver's (1981, p. 302) terms) can be used by those of a relatively lower status, and phrases referring to H ("other-oriented") – by the speakers of relatively higher status (Laver, 1981). Regarding the concept of face

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in phatic communication, phatic expressions are generally considered to be face-enhancing acts (Holmes, 1988; Leech, 1983) due to their positive politeness and social functions. However, as Laver (1981) and Padilla Cruz (2013a) claim, considerations of face in phatic utterances might be complicated and problematic. For example, self-oriented phrases can potentially threaten S's negative face by providing the information to H. At the same time, they can attend to S's positive face by showing oneself as being an interesting interlocutor. Similarly, other-oriented phrases and questions can threaten H's negative face by intruding his/her personal space, and at the same time can address positive face (Laver, 1981). Besides, the perception of particular phatic utterances might vary in different cultures (as Jaworski (1995) showed in the case of compliments in Polish). Thus, the use of particular phatic phrases should take into consideration the immediate conversational situation, relationships between interlocutors, as well as the broad cultural context.

Similarly, the content of phatic communication depends on the particular context, conversational phase, and the cultural expectations of appropriate topics. The content is usually "non-controversial" (Leech, 1983, p. 142) and familiar to the interlocutors; however, it might be negotiated in a process of a conversation itself (Kasper, 1984; Padilla Cruz, 2013a). As will be shown later in the chapter, a phrase or a question can be phatic or non-phatic depending on the situation and the context (Coupland, Coupland, & Robinson, 1991).

Considering the issues discussed above, phatic communication can pose difficulties for language learners (Padilla Cruz, 2013a, 2013b). It requires a high level of meta-pragmatic awareness and thus, can be challenging for L2 learners and users in various domains (Holmes, 2000). Pragmatic failure in phatic communication can cause misunderstandings and create certain, at times unwanted negative attitudes (Padilla Cruz, 2013b). In order to avoid pragmatic failure and develop learners' "conversational competence" (Iwai, 2007, p. 122), phatic expressions should be integrated into language teaching through various awareness raising and practice activities (Padilla Cruz, 2013a).

2.9.3. Address terms.

ILP research has studied the acquisition and use of address terms in a variety of languages and contexts, using different theoretical and methodological approaches. DuFon (2010a) presented an extended overview of studies devoted to the acquisition and teaching of address terms in a second or foreign language. The common findings of the research are that first, terms of address present difficulties for language learners in their grammatical forms as well as sociopragmatic use and require sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic competence (Liddicoat, 2006). Second, NNSs often deviate from NSs in the frequency of addressees' use. For example, Bardovi-Harlig et al. (2010) found that NSs in the scenario of an introduction to a new roommate used the name of the person to whom they were being introduced in 67% of responses whereas NNSs – only in 32%. Other studies provided additional evidence (DuFon, 1999; Hao, Zhang, & Zhu, 2008; X. Liu, n.d.). Third, it has been shown that often teaching materials and dictionaries underrepresent and oversimplify terms of address (Sacia, 2006). Lastly, research has proved that awareness of address terms is facilitated in study abroad contexts. Often, it improves the actual production of address terms and language learners adapt to the NS rules of use; however, sometimes it is not the case as much depends on the quality and length of study abroad and individual characteristics of learners as well (Barron, 2003; DuFon, 2010a; Hassall, 2013; Kinginger, 2008).

2.10. Data elicitation in ILP

Two broad types of tasks are used for eliciting data in ILP. The first type is production tasks, the second – non-production. Production tasks observe or stimulate conversations or short utterances for analysis. They include observations and recordings of natural speech, and elicited tasks such as role-plays and DCTs. Non-production methods (or "perception/ comprehension procedures," in Kasper and Dahl's (1991) terminology (p. 7)) include judgments, ratings, and interpretation tasks.

Kasper and Roever (2005) offered the following classification of production tasks: observations of spoken interactions, self-reported questionnaires, and oral and narrative self-reports. The first one includes authentic discourse, elicited conversations, and role-plays; the second – DCTs, multiple-choice responses, and scaled responses, and the last one – interviews, diaries, and think aloud protocols.

2.10.1. Discourse Completion Tests.

Introduced in pragmatic research in 1982 by Blum-Kulka, DCTs have been frequently used in ILP research (e.g. Blum-Kulka, 1982; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984). DCTs (also referred to as WDCTs) are "written questionnaires including a number of brief situational descriptions, followed by a short dialogue with an empty slot for the speech act under study" (Kasper & Dahl, 1991, p. 14). In Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) definition, the contextual variables are mentioned: DCTs are

> scripted dialogues that represent socially different situations. Each dialog is preceded by a short description of the situation, specifying the setting, and the social distance between the participants and their status relative to each other, followed by an incomplete dialog. (pp. 13-14)

The DCT has variations in its format. Several types are distinguished. The first one is a situational prompt followed by a hearer response – a rejoinder and an empty slot for a participant to write the response (Blum-Kulka, 1982; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). The second type is a situational prompt with an initiating utterance by an interlocutor but without a rejoinder (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993; Hudson, 2001). Rose (1992) and Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993) compared these types of DCT and found that the rejoinder has no significant effect on the production of a speech act in the DCTs. However, in the question of inclusion or omitting the rejoinder, it is necessary to consider whether a speech act under investigation is a reaction or an initiation

(Klimczak-Pawlak, 2014; Roever, 2004). The third type of DCT is a situational prompt without an initiating utterance and without a rejoinder; in other words, a participant is given a situation and asked "What would you say in this situation?" (Hudson et al., 1995; Safont-Jorda, 2003). The situation description can include extensive context (Billmyer & Varghese, 2000).

Another variation of DCT is elicitation of free dialogues (referred to as Free Discourse Completion Task – FDCT (Barron, 2003) or Dialogue Production Task (Schneider, 2008)) in which participants are asked to write short dialogues between two or more interlocutors on the given situations. The prompt sets the situational context which helps avoid possible ambiguities, assists participants in beginning the dialogue, and reduces the completion time (Barron, 2003). Since FDCT represents a dialogue, it allows observing and analyzing the sequential nature of speech act realization. The participants may be "instructed to write as much as they feel is necessary for each situation, an instruction which also facilitates the analysis of the speech act as a series of turns" (Barron, p. 90).

Besides classical written DCTs, researchers identify oral DCTs (ODCTs) and multiple-choice DCTs. In an ODCT, participants listen to a recorded description of a situation and then record their answer to the given question (J. Brown, 2001; Brown & Ahn, 2011; Cohen & Olshtain, 1981a; Eisenstein & Bodman, 1993; Hudson, Detmer, & Brown, 1992; Hudson et al., 1995; Yuan, 2001). Such a method is also referred to as closed role-play (Félix-Brasdefer, 2010; Kasper & Dahl, 1991). In a multiple-choice DCT, participants are asked to read a situational prompt and then select an answer from several given choices (Brown & Ahn, 2011; Hudson et al., 1992, 1995; Rose, 1992; Tanaka & Kawade, 1982). In recent studies, DCTs have been used as computer-based multimedia elicitation tasks (Roever, 2005, 2006; Roever, Fraser, & Elder, 2014; Schauer, 2009).

DCTs have certain advantages compared to other methods of data collection. First, DCTs are relatively easy to administer. They allow the researcher to gather large amounts of data quickly,

to control different variables easily, and to classify and analyze various linguistic structures (Cohen, 1995; Nurani, 2009). Researchers are able to statistically compare speech act production by NSs and NNSs (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). Moreover, DCTs are effective in studying the "stereotypical" and "canonical shape" of speech acts and possible factors that are likely to affect speech and performance (Beebe & Cummings, 1995, p. 80). Kasper and Dahl (1991) point to an additional possible advantage of the WDCT, namely to its written mode, which may allow respondents to be thoughtful in their responses and thus demonstrate their competence fully, as compared to oral tasks. Furthermore, use of a WDCT helps to reduce anxiety of the participants because of the low pressure of the situation, as compared to the higher pressure of oral tasks (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986).

However, considering all strengths and the common use of DCT, Kasper and Dahl (1991) say that DCT is a "much beleaguered elicitation format in cross-cultural and IL pragmatics" (p. 14). DCT has been criticized for its non-interactiveness (Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992; Holmes, 1991), for eliciting data which does not resemble natural conversations (for example, due to the length of the utterances and repetitions, containing few conversational turns and other discourse patterns), for collecting not all pieces of data (such as non-verbal behaviors and emotions) (Beebe & Cummings, 1995), and for the necessity of providing extensive contextual clues (Félix-Brasdefer, 2010). In the latter issue – importance of the context in DCTs – parameters of setting, participants, ends or purposes, act sequence – form and order, keys – tone and manner, instrumentalities – language, norms of interaction, and genre, which were originally proposed by Hymes (1974), are of particular significance (Cohen, 2004). Providing more contextual clues and giving sufficient background information can enhance situational prompts of the DCT and significantly enrich the elicited data (Billmyer & Varghese, 2000). However, contented enhanced DCTs require additional cognitive skills such as reading the situational prompt and responding to it through writing, which makes the task more demanding for the respondents (Labben, 2016).

Moreover, the context and its variables are not constant but are flexible and are negotiated by the interlocutors in the immediate conversation (Grabowski, 2007; Labben, 2016). Besides, sociopragmatic situational variables can be perceived differently and inconsistently, even within one group of NSs (Blum-Kulka, 1991; J. Liu, 2006a, 2007b; Spencer-Oatey, 1993). Thus, scenario generation might present certain challenges for researchers. The situations have to be written in such a way that would eliminate differences and discrepancies in perception.

A very important point of criticism is that DCTs ask participants to produce language in imaginary settings, what they would say in the given situations or what they think they would say. Thus, the DCT measures what the participants know, rather than what they actually say (Félix-Brasdefer, 2010), generates metapragmatic data, represents "a participant's accumulated experience within a given setting" (Golato, 2003, p. 92), and becomes "a valid instrument for measuring not pragmatic action, but symbolic action" (Golato, p. 92). Furthermore, Golato argues, "a DCT is not an *on-line* task in which a person uses language spontaneously and without consciously focusing on linguistic output, but is instead an *off-line* task in which a person has time for introspection" (p. 110).

Another issue that has been addressed is the validity of DCT, in other words, to what extent DCT measures what it is supposed to measure, in our case, a production of a certain speech act. This question arises due to the interactive nature of many speech acts (e.g. refusals, greetings, apologies) and due to the dynamic nature of the interactional context with constantly co-constructed variables, which has been mentioned above. Thus, many researchers talk about the possibility of using role-plays as a more appropriate instrument (J. Brown, 2001; Hudson, 2001; Roever, 2004).

2.10.2. Role-plays.

Role-plays are the second commonly-used method in ILP research. Researchers distinguish closed and open role-plays. Closed role-plays are oral versions of the DCT, as mentioned above.

Participants are given a prompt and asked to produce a one-turn oral response to it. In open role-plays, participants are given roles and scenario but the conversation itself is not predetermined. As Kasper and Dahl (1991) point out, open role-plays "represent oral production, full operation of the turn-taking mechanism, impromptu planning decisions contingent on interlocutor input, and hence, negotiation of global and local goals, including negotiation of meaning, when required" (p. 27).

Compared to WDCTs, role-plays are a richer source of data. Since they represent oral production, they include oral and real-time interaction. Oral role-plays allow examination of speech acts in context, analysis of overall discourse and sequence organization, turn-taking, negotiation of meaning, and other discourse phenomena. These features make role-plays closer to the authentic conditions in natural occurring conversations (Kasper & Dahl, 1991).

Disadvantages of role-plays include practicality issues. First, they are very time-consuming. As a result, role-plays usually include fewer situations than DCTs. Besides, there might be difficulties in administering role-plays: arranging the participants, recording them, and so on. Next, role-plays require coding and transcribing, which is again very time-consuming. Another serious disadvantage is that role-plays, as DCTs, present imaginary situations and imaginary roles, which may be far from the real ones (Gass & Houck, 1999; Golato, 2003). Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) point out another issue in using role-plays, namely, the anxiety of NNSs when being listened to and tested orally.

2.10.3. Natural discourse.

The third method of data collection is recording natural speech. Natural conversations reflect real-time interactions, what people are actually saying in different contexts under different circumstances. Authentic discourse is a very rich source of knowledge. According to Bardovi-Harlig (2010), "authentic and consequential data best reveal language use and where two-way communication occurs, interaction and effect on participants as well" (p. 242).

Such data is "underrepresented in ILP" (Kasper & Dahl, 1991, p. 30) because of several limitations. First, it has to be audio or video recorded or notes have to be taken and this can be very problematic because of practical and logistical issues. Second, there is a need for transcription, which is very time consuming. Moreover, the data can be biased in different respects such as linguistic preferences of the interlocutors, preferences for short exchanges, and finding typical examples (Beebe & Takahasi, 1989). Besides, representative data might be very difficult to collect, and it is possible that a speech act under investigation will not be produced in the observed conversation. In addition, a researcher does not have control over the interaction or over variables (Kasper & Roever, 2005) and often variables are unknown to the researcher (Beebe & Cummings, 1995). Therefore, even though natural interactions are a rich source of data, such a method can be very problematic.

Despite these challenges, there have been successful attempts to elicit naturalistic language data (for the review of studies analyzing language in cross-cultural interaction in work settings and education, see Boxer, 2002a). For example, Boxer (1993b) observed and recorded conversations between NSs of American English and Japanese to study the use of complaints. She found a striking difference between Americans and Japanese in the use and frequency of complaints: complaints were very common among Americans and almost non-existent among Japanese. In a more recent study, Boxer (2002a) applied an ethnography of speaking approach to examine interactions between foreign students and staff of international program offices. She analyzed the use of FTAs, various politeness strategies, and speech and behavior patterns.

2.10.4. Other methods of data collection.

Other methods of data collection include verbal reports and ethnographic interviews.

Two types of verbal reports are distinguished: think-aloud protocols and retrospective reports. In think-aloud protocols, participants are asked to "think aloud" and voice their thoughts

while performing a task. Retrospective reports are used after task completion and elicit information on participants' thoughts on speech act production. Verbal reporting is used to examine socio-cultural perceptions and attitude of learners towards L2 (Félix-Brasdefer, 2003); to examine the cognitive process of speech act production (Cohen & Olshtain, 1993); to supplement and clarify the results obtained by other methods; and to increase the degree of content validity of the instrument (Woodfield, 2008, 2010).

Ethnographic interview is another valuable method to elicit pragmatic and metapragmatic knowledge (Cohen, 1998) and shed light on learners' pragmatic development (Kasper & Roever, 2005). For example, Ebsworth et al. (1995) and Eisenstein and Bodman (1986, 1993) used retrospective interviews to assess the situational context of DCT prompts. Besides, ethnographic interviews can be used in order to tap participants' implicit knowledge and explain their linguistic performance. For example, Blum-Kulka (1997) and Blum-Kulka and Sheffer (1993) analyzed discourse of American-Israeli families by observing them at dinners in their homes. By interviewing them afterwards the researchers showed how families construct and index their attitudes and identities through discourse. Boxer (1995) applied ethnographic interviews to the investigation of the speech act of indirect complaints. The primary goal of Boxer's study was to uncover tacit knowledge of NSs on the issue of indirect complaints, their characteristics, use, and appropriateness. She argued that all NSs bear implicit knowledge of the language use in a certain speech community and this knowledge can be tapped with the questions of an ethnographic interview. Moreover, the interviewer him/ herself also has implicit knowledge which can be discovered through the questions asked and answered. Thus, the main characteristic of an ethnographic interview – joint construction of meaning and co-construction of knowledge – is emphasized by such a method.

2.10.5. Non-production methods.

Non-production methods of data collection include judgment tasks and ratings of various kinds. Kasper (2000a) and Kasper and Dahl (1991) distinguish two main types of assessment: pragmalinguistic assessment, when participants are asked if the language expressions are appropriate, and sociopragmatic – when participants evaluate the context of the situation and its effects on speech act realization. Barron (2003) analyzed sociopragmatic judgements of P and D in the production of refusals by Irish learners of German. Appropriateness of compliment responses, conceit, and overall impression was evaluated by British and Chinese NSs in the study by Spencer-Oatey, Ng, and Dong (2000). Hinkel (1996) examined NNS perceptions and attitudes towards NS pragmalinguistic norms and behaviors. NNSs answered the questions such as "In the US, if I miss a class I need to apologize to the teacher" (p. 57) or "The rules of polite speech in the US are very complex" (p. 59) on a Likert scale.

A different type of non-production method was employed by Garcia (2004) who used multiple-choice questionnaires to explore pragmatic awareness of NNSs of English in requests, corrections, suggestions, and offers. Participants listened to several authentic language dialogues which contained the speech act under investigation and afterwards answered a set of questions on the speech act interpretation and identification. The study demonstrated how proficiency level correlates with speech act recognition and what linguistic features of speech acts account for differences and difficulties in identification and interpretation.

Assessment questionnaires can be used to supplement data elicited from DCTs. For example, Maeshiba et al. (1995) used DCT and an assessment questionnaire in order to see the correlation between speech act production and assessment of contextual factors. Takahashi (2001), in an assessment questionnaire following completion of the DCT, elicited data on the degree of learners' confidence in producing requests.

As these examples show, non-production tasks can be used for different purposes and can be a valuable instrument as a supplement of other methods or by themselves.

2.10.6. Multiple methods.

The methods of data collection – DCTs, role-plays, and natural discourse – can produce different results in the same group of learners. This has been shown in many studies.

Rose (1994) compared a DCT and a multiple-choice questionnaire which elicited requests performed by Japanese NSs and American English NSs. She found that in the Japanese context, responses in multiple-choice questionnaires were closer to the face-to-face interactions and had more contextual variations than the ones in the DCT. Yuan (2001) compared Chinese responses to compliments in WDCTs, ODCTs, field notes and recorded natural conversations and showed that the ODCT has a significantly larger number of natural speech features than the WDCT. Beebe and Cummings (1995) compared refusals performed by English NSs in real telephone conversations and in the DCT. They demonstrated that the "real" refusals were more elaborated, longer, and employed more strategies than those in the DCT. Similar results have been found by Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992) who compared production of refusals in real academic advising sessions and in the DCT. Golato (2003) examined German compliment responses in the DCT and natural conversations and found them to be very different in the use of response types. She concluded that the choice of data collection methods depends on the purpose of the research – for example, in order to make general statements of linguistic abilities of a certain population researchers use DCTs, in order to comprehend the actual language use, – observe natural speech. Other factors that are significant in the choice of methods are discussed by J. Brown (2001). He compared six methods – WDCT, multiple-choice DCT, ODCT, role-play, self-assessment, and role-play assessment in requests, refusals, and apologies in two different settings – English as a foreign language and

Japanese as a second language. He stated that the choice of these instruments should depend on the setting, practical considerations, and participants' characteristics, such as proficiency level.

In sum, various methods of data collection – DCTs, role-plays, naturalistic observations, verbal reports, interviews, and non-production questionnaires – produce interesting and informative results. All of them have their advantages and disadvantages. Thus, they should be chosen carefully in order to suit the research purpose, directly address research question, and elicit necessary data.

2.11. Assessing pragmatic competence

2.11.1. Types of pragmatic assessment.

A well-known framework for assessing pragmatic competence was established by Hudson et al. (1992, 1995). The researchers took the CCSARP as the theoretical and methodological framework and developed three types of measurement: indirect measures which include a written free response DCT and a multiple-choice DCT, semi-direct measures – an oral DCT (ODCT) and a free response face-to-face interview, and self-assessment measure – a self-assessment for the DCT, and a self-assessment for the interview. In DCTs participants wrote down their responses to a particular situation, in ODCTs they spoke their responses into a microphone, in multiple choice DCTs they marked the appropriate response from several given answers, in role plays they performed speech acts in interaction, and in self-assessment evaluated their own performance. The tests included three variables: Power, Distance, and Rank of imposition (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The three speech acts – requests, apologies, and refusals – were selected to be investigated inside the proposed framework.

This model was followed in several studies which demonstrated that except multiple-choice DCT which had several problematic issues in terms of reliability (Yamashita, 1996), the other five pragmatic tests were reliable, valid, and effective instruments to assess pragmatic competence of L2 learners (Ahn, 2005; J. Liu, 2006b, 2007b). The use of the particular tests

depends mainly on their purpose and other factors such as the group of test-takers and practicality issues (J. Brown, 2001).

Another type of pragmatic assessment is teacher-based assessment performed in the classroom by the actual instructor and designed to facilitate language development in the classroom environment (Brown & Hudson, 1998; J. Fox, 2008; Ishihara, 2009; Lynch, 2001; McNamara & Roever, 2006). It includes reflective writings, rubrics, role-plays, and self and peer-assessment.

While the tests discussed above focus on the production of particular speech acts and politeness, there have been attempts to measure L2 learners' pragmatic abilities in social interaction, in extended discourse data elicited through role-plays (Félix-Brasdefer, 2004; Gass & Houck, 1999; Trosborg, 1995; Youn, 2015). Taguchi (2006) claimed that in pragmatic assessment not only syntactic analysis plays its role. Other features such as discourse management and grammaticality of production should be taken into consideration. Roever (2011) agreed with that and added that "a speech act approach … underrepresents the construct of pragmatic ability, and tests need to include real-time measures of learners' interactional abilities to allow defensible extrapolation to a target domain of social language use" (p. 470). He argued that pragmatics tests should include participation in extended monologic and dialogic discourse, consideration of sequential organization, and contextualization cues, and in general be more discursive oriented.

2.11.2. NS rating criteria.

Pragmatic tests such as DCTs and role-plays discussed above require ratings. Researchers extensively use raters and develop rating criteria and rubrics ranging from general holistic scales to elaborated detailed ones. Rating criteria play a crucial role in assessing performance (Youn, 2015).

Hudson et al. (1995) developed criteria for NS raters to evaluate NNS responses in DCTs and role-plays for pragmatic appropriateness of requests, refusals, and apologies. The researchers described six criteria:

1. The ability to choose a correct speech act. Since the study was designed to elicit three particular speech acts, namely, requests, refusals, and apologies, the NS raters had to decide if the produced act is appropriate in the given situation.

2. Typical expressions and gambits used by the NNSs in the given situation. This criterion is linked to the level of proficiency and transfer from L1. Grammatical errors should not be considered.

3. Amount of speech. Giving too much or too little information should be considered as an appropriateness factor. It is also connected to the level of proficiency, as more proficient NNSs might be more elaborate, and less proficient NNSs – more abrupt. Besides, individual differences might contribute to the amount of produced information. However, the main issue is the appropriateness of utterances length.

4. Degree of formality refers to certain word choice and speech register.

5. Degree of directness is expressed in the verb forms and choice of strategies. For example, utterances "Would you mind passing the rice?" and "Pass me the rice" have different degrees of directness.

6. Degree of politeness refers to overall politeness rules, degrees of formality, directness, and politeness markers. (pp. 49-51)

These rating rubrics have been successfully applied in several studies. For example, Ahn (2005) used them in the context of Korean as a FL and found the ratings to be consistent; Yamashita (1996) adapted them to Japanese as a SL and a FL; and Youn (2007) applied Hudson et al.'s (1995) criteria to exploring interactions between raters' bias and test types and speech acts.

Other variants of NS rating scales have been used extensively in assessing pragmatic appropriateness in various speech acts. For example, Jaworski (1994) employed NS raters in analyzing pragmatic appropriateness of the greeting responses by Polish EFL learners. His raters used a five-point scale without specified descriptors: 1 – completely inappropriate, 2 – somewhat inappropriate, 3 – OK, 4 – somewhat appropriate, and 5 – completely appropriate.

Another example is the four-point scale for measuring appropriateness of directives and expressives developed by Jernigan (2007). It includes basic descriptors in the area of pragmalinguistics as well as the situational context:

4 – response is completely acceptable pragmatically given the context, not noticeably affected by any errors;

3 – response is generally appropriate given the context, but contains one or more pragmalinguistic flaws that affect the intended meaning;

2 – response is generally unacceptable pragmatically in this context, though perhaps not in all contexts;

1 – response is unacceptable pragmatically given the context. (p. 78)

Taguchi (2006) applied rating scales for measuring appropriateness of requests in oral role-plays with the following descriptors:

5 – excellent. Expressions are fully appropriate for the situation. No or almost no grammatical and discourse errors.

4 – good. Expressions are mostly appropriate. Very few grammatical and discourse errors.

3 – fair. Expressions are only somewhat appropriate. Grammatical and discourse errors are noticeable, but they do not interfere with appropriateness.

2 – poor. Due to the interference from grammatical and discourse errors, appropriateness is difficult to determine.

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1 – very poor. Expressions are very difficult or too little to understand. There is no evidence that the intended speech acts are performed.

0 – no performance. (p. 520)

This scale evaluated whether learners could use appropriate linguistic expressions of requests at the proper level of directness and politeness in various contexts. It also included grammatical and discourse characteristics of speech act production.

Other applications of NS ratings focus on sociocultural judgements of NSs. For example, Maeshiba et al. (1995) implemented NS judgements and ratings of sociocultural features of the context, such as seriousness of offence, obligation to apologize, and likelihood of apology acceptance. NS judgements in the form of "yes-no" questions elicited information on pragmatic appropriateness of NNS complaints in the study by Murphy and Neu (1995). Hendriks (2010) examined the NSs' perception of requests in e-mails in English by Dutch EFL learners. Her NS participants answered questions on a seven-point Likert scale about personality of e-mail senders, comprehensibility of the message, and reasonableness of request.

The rating criteria in all these studies were developed in order to measure the appropriateness of speech acts in certain contexts and include several determining factors: levels of formality, directness, length of utterances, grammatical errors, discourse features, formulaic expressions, and overall degree of politeness and native-likeness. In some studies, the focus was on sociocultural judgements and perceptions of NSs.

2.11.3. NS raters' behavior.

Several questions concerning raters' behavior in assessing pragmatic performance have been addressed in the literature. Among them are raters' variability in applying rating criteria, raters' individual characteristics, and training.

Research has indicated that raters can approach and weight rating criteria differently, in other words, what is significant and crucial for one rater may be of minor importance to another. For example, Taguchi (2011) showed that some raters focused on linguistic features of request expressions such as level of directness or politeness markers, while for others, politeness strategies or the content were of utmost importance. Sydorenko, Maynard, and Guntly (2014) demonstrated that several factors might be salient for raters in assessing appropriateness of request sequences. Such factors include appropriateness of a speech act in general, specific elements of a speech act (head acts, supportive moves, downgraders and upgraders), the context of a situation, intonation in oral production, repetitions, and cultural awareness. Walters (2007) found that in assessing compliment responses, NS raters relied on the knowledge of NS speech patterns, whereas NNS raters considered L1 transfer and such performance aspects as fluency and pronunciation.

The division of raters into NS and NNS groups can be a highly significant factor. As shown by Alemi and Tajeddin (2013), NS and NNS raters focus on different language features in their ratings and exhibit different degrees of pragmatic awareness. In their study, NS raters used 11 criteria for rating appropriateness of refusals; while NNS raters applied only six. NSs focused on more specific criteria such as "reasoning/ explanation;" NNSs tended to use more general "appropriateness" criteria. Moreover, NNS raters overall gave higher scores and demonstrated less convergence in their ratings that NS raters. Other researchers found similar results. J. Liu (2007a) analyzed assessing appropriateness of requests; Liu and Xie (2014) assessed appropriateness of apologies. They demonstrated that two groups of raters were consistent in their ratings; however, they differed significantly in their severity. NNS raters were found to be more lenient than NSs.

Another determining factor might be familiarity of raters with NNS language and culture. As Janicki (1985) and Jaworski (1994) noted, those NS raters who are familiar with the NNS culture or those who live in the NNS culture and have adapted to it to some extent will differ in their ratings from those NSs who are not familiar with the NNS culture. J. Liu (2006b), Liu and Xie (2014),

Sydorenko et al. (2014), and Winke, Gass, and Myford (2012) provided evidence for this phenomenon and showed that those raters who were familiar with the NNS language and culture appeared to be more lenient than those raters who were not.

An additional variable to consider is the linguistic and teaching background of the raters. Experienced raters-linguists and raters-non-linguists will approach evaluations differently, apply different criteria, and pay attention to different features of the performance (Hsieh, 2011; Sydorenko et al., 2014).

Several studies focus on the raters' training. Research has shown that despite the training and the agreement upon the criteria, raters often bring their individual as well as socially variable values and beliefs into the assessment (A. Brown, 2003; Ishihara, 2013). Brown and Ahn (2011) and Tajeddin and Alemi (2014) demonstrated that despite the training, raters' bias remained, although the inter-rater reliability and consistency of ratings increased after the training.

In addition to the variables discussed above, pragmatic variability, subjectivity, and idiolects of raters might complicate the ratings even further. As Taguchi (2011) demonstrated, NS raters with different cultural backgrounds, personal experiences, and individual features vary greatly in their approaches to pragmatic standards in ratings. They consider various dimensions when evaluating NNS performance – rules of politeness, politeness markers, vocabulary, word order, non-linguistic features, and weight them differently; moreover, they rely on their personal experience and project the context and the responses to themselves. NS norms might also change in the process of rating itself and during discussions and negotiations (Taguchi, 2011).

In sum, variables such as raters' being NSs or NNSs, their familiarity with NNS language and culture, previous teaching experience, and individual features need to be taken into consideration as they might affect the overall ratings as well as raters' approaches to specific rating criteria.

2.11.4. Issues in using NS ratings.

The use of NS raters raises an important and contradictory question of applying the NS norms and standards in assessing language proficiency in general and in assessing pragmatic appropriateness in particular. First, it is difficult to determine the norm since variability inside the language is high, and the concepts of NSs are not homogeneous (Félix-Brasdefer & Koike, 2012; Mulder & Hulstijin, 2011). Second, Chomsky's ideal native speaker-hearer is very unrealistic in practice (Davies, 2003). Third, it might be problematic to use NSs as raters as some learners may perceive closeness to NS practice as intrusive and inconsistent with their NNS status and role and may not want to achieve NS pragmatic competence (Ishihara & Tarone, 2009; Kasper, 1998). Moreover, learners' preferences and attitudes towards the target language norms might be ambivalent and contradictory and might depend on such factors as exposure to the target language use, views on the ideal vs acceptable language models, learners' motivation and expectations, and the like (Sibtirelu, 2013). NSs' attitudes towards NNSs might also be diverse and contradictory. NSs may not want NNSs to talk and behave as NSs and may see NNSs as out of the group members and perceive their closeness to NS behavior as being presumptuous (Janiski, 1985). In this vein, NSs may misconstrue NNSs' behavior because they approach NNSs stereotypically and have certain expectations about how NNSs talk and behave (Hassall, 2004). Lastly, the communication between NNSs or between NSs and NNSs may be very different from that between NSs (Widdowson, 1994); thus, the NS norms might not be necessary for communication between NNSs who outnumber the NSs (Crystal, 2012).

The debate on the use of NS norms in TESL/ TEFL and applied linguistics is ongoing and intense. Supporters of NS norms refer to the necessity of providing standards and norms in teaching and assessment (North, 2000). For example, J. Liu (2010) called the NS norm "by far the only possible standard we can apply" (p. 479). Another argument is the learners' expectations and preferences for the NS norms (Scheuer, 2008; Trudgill, 2008). The opposing view suggests

abandoning NS norms and applying, for example, English as a lingua franca (ELF) model (Jenkins, 2006, 2007; Mauranen & Ranta, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2004), the notion of multicompetence (V. Cook, 1999), and the idea of developing procedural knowledge (the how) instead of propositional (the what) (Canagarajah, 2014). Instead of the NS concept, the term "an expert ELF user" (House, 2003, p. 150) is offered. In the area of pragmatics, researchers suggest the creation of "intersociety," or an "in-between style of interaction" (House, 2003, p. 148-150) built on dialogicity and heterogeneity of sources or negotiating "hybrid pragmatics" (Murray, 2012, p. 4). The latter is based on the immediate purposes of the conversation and mutual agreement of the interlocutors and equips learners with a "pragmatic toolkit" (Murray, p. 7) of strategies appropriate for a particular interlocutor in a particular context.

Despite the challenges discussed above and different approaches towards the NS norms, it has been a tradition to use the NS norm as the criterion for assessment of NNS language production and to use NSs as raters for pragmatic appropriateness.

2.12. The speech act of greeting

The following sections discuss the speech act of greeting, criteria for greeting identification, and functions and major characteristics of greetings. Secondly, they view greetings in the theories of speech acts and politeness; and lastly, focus on the English and Russian greetings and their constituents.

2.12.1. Greetings in speech act theory.

In speech act theory, greetings are analyzed as simple utterances and often as examples of ritualization in speech (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). Greetings are included in the category of expressives (Searle, 1969), behabitives (Austin, 1962), and acknowledgements (Bach & Harnish, 1979). Although the terminology is different, the common feature of the speech acts included in these categories is that they express attitudes and feelings towards H, represent politeness, and are

often motivated by a certain event and are expected in a certain social situation. In addition, Austin claimed that one of characteristics of behabitives is their "special scope for insincerity" (p. 161). Along these lines, speaking specifically about greetings, Searle assumed that greetings lack propositional content and denotational meaning and have no requirement for sincerity. Bach and Harnish, however, interpreted greetings as expressing "pleasure at seeing (or meeting) someone" (p. 51). The view of greetings as devoid of propositional meaning or having an elementary meaning has been criticized for example by Duranti (1997) and Wierzbicka (1985), as will be discussed later in the chapter.

2.12.2. Definitions and functions of greeting.

Greetings are commonly defined by linguists according to their social function in communication. Goffman (1971) included greetings in "access rituals" which are "conventionalized acts through which an individual portrays his respect and regard for some object of ultimate value" (p. 62). In Goffman's words, greetings "mark the transition to a condition of increased access" (p. 107). Major functions of greetings, according to Goffman, are social: to establish and reestablish relations and to acknowledge different social status. However, they have other functions in communication: "politeness, presence validation (for self and others), threat denial, petition preliminary, display, and identity establishment for self and others" (Goffman, 1971, p. 74). Firth (1972) also defined greetings in their social sense as "recognition of an encounter with another person as socially acceptable" (p. 1). According to him, greetings are highly conventionalized and patterned routines which produce attention, identify interlocutors, and reduce anxiety in a social contact. Laver (1981) followed this view and approached greetings as conversational routines and part of linguistic politeness. Goody (1972) once more emphasized the social functions of greetings: opening a communicative act and establishing and maintaining identity and rank. The social aspect of greeting was highlighted in the recent definition by Felecan

(2015): "The greeting is a communicative behaviour, by means of which a speaker shows his/ her availability towards the interlocutor" (p. 5).

2.12.3. Criteria for greetings identification.

Some languages have specific greeting words and phrases, others – do not, thus certain criteria are necessary to identify greetings. Duranti (1997) suggested the following six:

1. near-boundary occurrence;

2. establishment of a shared perceptual field;

3. adjacency pair format;

4. relative predictability of form and content;

5. implicit establishment of a spatio-temporal unit of interaction;

6. identification of the interlocutor as a distinct being worth recognizing (p. 67).

Greetings occur at the beginning of a conversational or social encounter, usually after the parties have sighted each other; they are usually a part of an adjacency pair and constitute a unit of interaction. Greetings distinguish a particular person from a group, recognize him/ her, and attract attention. As for the fourth criterion, Duranti disagreed with the view that greetings are always predictable and formulaic and have neither propositional content, nor denotational value (Firth, 1972; Searle, 1969). Duranti argued that greetings have "relative" predictability and depend on the broad context and immediate situation as well. As he showed in the empirical study of Samoan greetings, greeting exchanges in that culture do have propositional content, for example, giving and asking for new information or sanctioning certain actions. Thus, the researcher concluded, in order to fully analyze the pragmatics of greetings, it is necessary to include ethnographic information and consider contextual and cultural characteristics. To say that greetings are set formulas and routines would be limiting and inaccurate as greetings can be complex, can be adapted to particular situations, can establish new contexts, and communicate new information. Duranti (1997) rightfully

claimed that in real-life encounters any kind of conversation opening can serve as a greeting: "we must be open to all kinds of conventional openings in social encounters as potential cases of greetings" (p. 67). They depend on the context and the relations between the interlocutors; and thus, can be either conventional or unconventional.

> The present study adopts such a view on greetings that, according to Duranti (1997),
>
> to say that greetings are constituted by formulaic expressions only tells half of the story. The other half is how such formulaic expressions may be adapted to, and at the same time help establish, new contexts. … Greetings are indeed, towards the formulaic end of the formulaic-creative continuum that runs across the full range of communicative acts through which humans run their everyday life, but they also can communicate new information to participants through the types of questions they ask and the kinds of answers they produce. (p. 88)

2.12.4. Adjacency pairs.

An important characteristic of greetings is their use in adjacency pairs (Duranti, 1997; Schegloff, 2007). Adjacency pairs are defined as sequences which have the following features:

1. two utterance length;

2. adjacent positioning of component utterances;

3. different speakers producing each utterance;

4. relative ordering of parts. (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, pp. 295-296)

Greeting adjacency pairs are often viewed as "closed sets, formulaic, and easily learned" (Richards & Schmidt, 1983, p. 131). However, in naturally occurring conversations, besides canonical reciprocal greetings such as "Hello – Hello" or "Hi – Hi," different combinations exist. The first part can not necessarily be followed by the second part, and other patterns that do not correspond to adjacency pairs' format are possible, for example, absence of greeting return or

absence of a greeting phrase itself (Greere, 2005; Limberg, 2010; Williams, 2001). In English, greetings often represent triplets such as "Hello. How are you? – Good. How are you? – Good" rather than pairs.

2.12.5. Politeness in greeting.

Polite norms exist in the choice of greeting formulas in relation to social status and identity, age, gender, degree of familiarity, and degree of intimacy or distance (Ferguson, 1981; Laver, 1981). The speakers choose formulaic phrases of greeting and signal their perception of the situation, degree of its formality and relationships between interlocutors. Violating the rules can threaten face of either S or H, or can signal a change in social relations from intimacy to distancing or vice versa. Variables of age, setting, kinship, level of acquaintance, social rank, and dispensation were summarized by Laver (1981) in his greeting model (see Figure 1). S enters the network, follows the necessary path, and makes the choice of an appropriate form of greeting. The same social variables influence the small talk – its topics and formulas – which commonly follows the greeting.

Although Laver (1981) viewed greetings in all their forms – formulaic phrases, terms of address, and phatic communication – as routine rituals, he said that greetings are "far from being relatively meaningless and mechanical social behavior" and "can be understood as extremely important strategies for the negotiation and control of social identity and social relationships between participants in conversation" (p. 304).
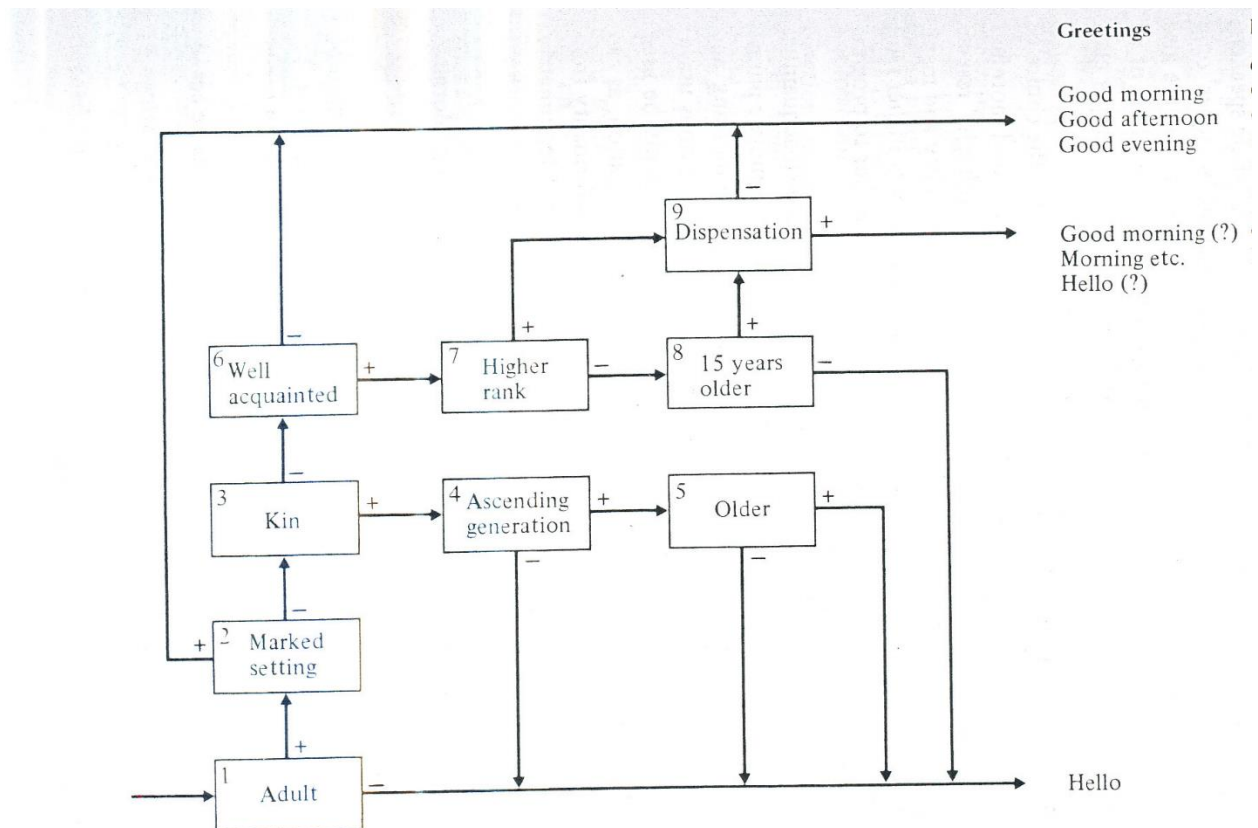
Figure 1. Laver's (1981) greeting model

In Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, greetings, if performed appropriately, are viewed as FSAs because of their positive politeness, phatic communication, and the establishment of a relationship in a non-threatening atmosphere. However, if a greeting is performed inappropriately, for example, violating variables of P or D, it may become a potential FTA. Moreover, absence of greetings or greeting responses will violate politeness rules and threaten face of H and S.

Although Brown and Levinson did not specifically focus on greetings and did not discuss them in detail, there have been attempts to apply Brown and Levinson's politeness theory to greetings specifically. For example, analyzing greetings in German-speaking Switzerland, Rash (2004) approached greetings through the framework of the theory of face. Many informants showed

that "they are aware of face-saving function of greeting" (Rash, Greetings section, para. 1): they said that greetings are used in order to be polite, to tell that S recognizes, likes and respects H, to establish contact, and to do that unintrusively and safely. A threat to face occurs in cases of inappropriate greeting, lack of greetings, or failure to respond to a greeting.

Another example of adopting Brown and Levinson's model to the analysis of greetings is presented in the work by Qian (1996). As reviewed previously in the chapter, Brown and Levinson named five strategies to minimize threat in FTAs: bald on record strategy, positive politeness, negative politeness, off-record strategy, and avoidance of an FTA. Qian categorized greeting strategies according to this framework. First, bald on record strategy is applied when no greeting is produced at the beginning of conversation. It can occur in short conversations between family members or friends and in cases when efficiency is more important than politeness. Second, positive politeness is expressed in "positive greetings" (Qian, p. 32) which are directed towards H's positive face and are intended to please H, for example, phrases such as "I have heard a lot about you. You do look very well" (Qian, p. 32). Third, negative politeness strategy is used in "negative greetings" (Qian, p. 31) in which redressive strategies are directed towards H's negative face. For example, in greeting people that you do not know or do not know well, the conversation might begin with a negative greeting or, in Schegloff's (2007) terms, with a summons, as in the utterance "Excuse me, are you N?" Next, off-record greetings are used between close friends and establish and maintain in-group solidarity. These are, for example, humorous and ironic greeting utterances such as "Still alive?" (Qian, p. 33). Finally, a greeting can be not produced at all and body language or gestures can be employed.

As explained earlier in the chapter, Brown and Levinson's formula for determination the weight of an FTA is the following:

$$W_x = D (S,H) + P (H,S) + R_x .$$

Qian (1996) revised this formula relative to the politeness of greetings as

$$X = D (S,H) + P (H,S) + \ldots$$

In this formula, X is the degree of greeting politeness, D is social distance, and P is relative power. X varies, if D or P change. For example, in dialogues "Hi, John! – Hi, Jack. Glad to see you here!" and "How do you do, Mr. Smith? – How do you do, Mr. Jones? I am pleased to meet you" the variables of P and D are different and thus the degree of politeness changes accordingly (Qian, p. 36). The formula is open-ended as other contextual variables may influence the choice of a greeting strategy. These factors include conversational type, time of day, duration of contact, period of time in which interlocutors have not seen each other, interlocutors' gender, communicative intention, number of interlocutors in communication, and individual speech preferences and styles (Felecan, 2015; Qian, 1996).

2.12.6. Classifications of English greetings.

Researchers propose several classifications of English verbal greetings: according to the presence or lack of the time indicator, contextual factors, and lexico-semantic content.

First, English greetings are classified according to indication of time or lack thereof into time-free (such as "Hello," "How are you?"), time-bound (such as "Good morning," "Good afternoon"), and seasonal greetings (such as "Happy New Year") (Halliday, 1975).

Second, greetings are classified into formal and informal according to contextual factors, such as P, D, age, number of greetees, and level of formality (Greere, 2005; Leech & Svartvik, 2002). Formal greetings are commonly used in formal contexts, in business situations, with colleagues, and interlocutors of higher status and age. Also they might be used between people who do not know each other well. Formal greetings are more restrictive in their usage, and often reflect time of day. Informal greetings are more flexible and variable; they are used between family

members, friends, peers, and in informal situations in general. Both formal and informal greetings are reciprocal.

Besides, greetings are classified according to the context of the social settings into various kinds: service encounters, telephone calls, TV/ radio broadcasts, and other (Qian, 1996). Each of these contexts has specific opening phrases which function as a greeting or precede it, for example, "Can I help you?" in service encounters; "This is BBC news" in radio shows; summons in telephone calls (Schegloff, 1986) and in office hour conversations in academia (Limberg, 2010). The function of summons is to get and mobilize attention of the interlocutor. Summons can include names, titles, courtesy terms (such as "excuse me"), physical contact, and mechanical or physical devices (such as knocking on the door, telephone ringing, etc.) (Schegloff, 2007, p. 49).

In distinguishing greetings according to context, a special kind of introductory greeting is differentiated (e.g. "Nice to meet you," "How do you do," "My name is …") (Greere, 2005; Masi, 2008). This type of greeting is culturally determined and might involve more or less formulaic exchanges. It is special as it starts the relationships between interlocutors and establishes interaction rules.

Finally, greetings are classified according to the content into personal and non-personal (Qian, 1996). Personal greetings address the greetee personally, inquire about his/ her health, feelings, family and demonstrate an interest in the greeted person. Such greetings can include phatic questions such as "How are you?", "How is your family?", and compliments or remarks appropriate to the situation, for example, "You're looking bright eyed this morning!", or "What a lot of books you have to carry!" (Martin, 1983, p. 4). Non-personal greetings (for example, "What a lovely day!") relate to non-personal objectives and common topics such as weather.

2.12.7. Constituents of English greetings

English greetings include three major components: greeting phrases, address terms, and elements of phatic communication.

Special greeting phrases or "greetings proper" (Bonsignori, Bruti, & Masi, 2011) are interjections such as "Hello" or affirmations such as "Good morning." Address terms include personal names and titles, for example, "John" or "Mr. Smith." Phatic communication is often referred to as greeting substitutes (Greere, 2005, Sacks, 1975) and represents "more elaborate linguistic elements, which contain additional information than those enclosed in pure greetings" (Greere, 2005, p. 16). Phatic expressions can be formal (such as "How do you do?"), informal (such as "How's it going?"), and slangy (such as "Wassup?" or "What's shaking?"). They can also be divided into S-oriented, H-oriented, and neutral or non-personal phrases. S-oriented phrases relate to the S, for example "I love this weather." H-oriented phrases make comments or inquiries about the H, for example "How is your family?", "Nice haircut." Non-personal or neutral phrases are related to objective factors or immediate circumstances, for example, "Lovely day," "Nice party," and the like. When greeting substitutes are used, the greeting proper might be omitted – the greetee only answers the question and does not produce a special greeting phrase, for example, "Hi, how are you? – Fine, thanks."

The current research adopts the reviewed classifications of English greetings according to time indicator, contextual factors, and lexico-semantic content. The following sections present major constituents of the English greetings: greeting phrases, terms of address, and phatic questions and expressions.

2.12.7.1. English greetings proper.

The category of 'greetings proper' in English demonstrates variability depending on the context and characteristics of the interlocutors. Interjection "Hello" is neutral, "Hi" and "Hey" are

more informal. They represent "straight recognition signal with no putative informational content" (Firth, 1972, p. 10). Time-bound affirmations "Good morning," "Good afternoon" and so on are more formal and are more restricted in their usage. As shown by Brown and Ford (1961), "Hi" is more common with friends, peers, and subordinates, while time-bound greetings are more common with distant acquaintances and superiors. The researchers provided the following revealing example of a real-life switch of a greeting: "a workman was greeted "Hi" and promptly answered "Hi," but as he turned and recognized the boss, he added "Good morning" (Brown & Ford, 1961, p. 381).

As shown by Rydblom (2014) in the analysis of greetings in three large English corpora – Brigham Young University British National Corpus (BYUBNC), Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), and the Longman Spoken American English Corpus (LSAC), "Hello" is used in more formal contexts, more by men and younger people; "Hi" is used in more informal contexts, by older people, women, and people of the higher social class; and "Hey" – is more informal and is used more by men, younger people, and people of lower social class. It was also shown that "Hi" and "Hey" focus more on the solidarity of interlocutors, whereas "Hello" has a function of respecting negative face of the interlocutor. Time-bound greetings were found to be less common than greeting interjections in all three corpora. They were mostly used in TV and radio shows (COCA).

2.12.7.2. English greeting "How are you?"

The phrase "How are you?" is mentioned in many ethnographical descriptions of English and American culture (for example, K. Fox, 2004) as a non-genuine question which often confuses English NNSs. Many linguists humorously point at that feature. Wierzbicka (1991) quotes an old English saying: "Don't tell your friends about your indigestion: "How are you" is a greeting not a

question" (p. 132). Berger and Bradac (1982) tell an old joke: "A: How are you? B: I have bursitis; my nose is itching; I worry about my future; and my uncle is wearing a dress these days" (p. 82).

"How are you?" is a "phatic expression" (Malinowski, 1923, p. 315), which has a social function rather than a referential one. It recognizes interlocutors, produces initial attention, and establishes contacts. This question does not require literal understanding; in other words, there is no need to give an honest and realistic answer, as there is no intention to listen to it. It does not convey a message; however, "How are you?" is a necessary component of a social encounter (Berger & Bradac, 1982; Larina, 2009; Leech, 1983).

Despite its phaticity, in certain contexts the phrase "How are you?" is not completely phatic and does require an answer about the interlocutor's present state and well-being. Coupland et al. (1991) demonstrated this idea in the case of questions on elderly health. Their data showed that the majority of responses can be considered in between phatic and non-phatic utterances: the respondents in the interviews were ambiguous, used multiple statements, shifted in their judgements, and in general were far from being phatic. Besides, the response to "How are you?" – either phatic or non-phatic – might depend on the intonation and other prosodic features such as loudness, position of stress in the phrase, duration of stress on a syllable, changes in the pitch of voice, and others (Schegloff, 1986).

The phrase "How are you?" is an example of lexicalization and grammaticalization of conversational routines when certain phrases with specific language-specific meaning are used (Wierzbicka, 1991). According to Wierzbicka (1991), the phrase "How are you?" serves as a complex phenomenon of a greeting, a question, and a conversation opener. It consists of eight semantic components:

1. I know: we can now say things to one another because we have come to be in the same place;

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2. I want to say something to you … that people say to one another when they came to be in the same place;

3. I want you to know: I feel something good towards you;

4. I say: I want to know 'how you are now';

5. I want you to say something because of this;

6. I want you to say: 'I am well';

7. I think you will say something like this;

8. I think we will feel something good because of this. (Wierzbicka, 1991, p. 132)

The first component of meaning demonstrates that the phrase is a conversation opener. The second continues "established conversational routine" (Wierzbicka, 1991, p. 132), the third serves as a friendliness marker, the fourth – interest marker, the fifth – shows that the question needs a response, the sixth – the response has to be positive, the seventh – the expectation of the positive response, and finally, the eighth – positive outcome for both interlocutors.

The response to "How are you?" can be neutral, positive, or negative. A neutral response such as "OK" does not lead to further inquiries. Positive responses maintain the norm of the positive conversational routine and take into consideration the following assumptions:

a) I know that you want me to say something good;

b) I know that you don't want me to say something bad;

c) I think that you think I will say something very good;

d) I think that you think I will not say something very bad. (Wierzbicka, 1991, p. 134)

Positive or even strongly positive responses are often explained by cultural orientation of Westerners and particularly Americans on "positive thinking," "positive language," "language of the optimists," friendliness, and "optimistic view on life" (Visson, 2005, p. 88). Negative answers are contextually possible but overall they tend to break the norm – the positive conversational

routine (Wierzbicka, 1991). They lead to further questions "Why?" or "What's the matter?", which, in Sacks's (1975) words, launches a "diagnostic sequence" (p. 70) and encourages further conversation. The response itself to "How are you?" is a mandatory step; the thanking and the reciprocal question are optional.

In sum, English "How are you?" is a phatic and ritualized expression. The response is also ritualized. It does not require an elaborate and honest answer. The "How are you?" sequence might initiate a topic and generate talk depending on the context and relationships between interlocutors. However, its main function is to perform a social task: acknowledge the interlocutor, establish the routine, and demonstrate politeness.

2.12.7.3. English terms of address.

Address terms or vocatives are an important part of greetings. There are many categories of nominal terms of address in the world languages (Braun, 1988; Fitch, 1998; Sacia, 2006). The most common English ones include:

- personal names;

- respectful and formal terms or honorifics such as Mr./ Mrs., Sir/ Madame;

- titles such as Doctor, Professor, Major;

- kinship terms which can be used literally and metaphorically;

- terms of endearment in addressing children or close and intimate persons such as "honey,"
"sweetie," "buddy";

- colloquial or slangy addresses, such as "dude," "bro";

- nicknames derived from proper names or personal characteristics of the addressee.

The use of certain address terms depends on a variety of contextual factors, relationships between interlocutors, and individual characteristics of interlocutors such as age, gender, education, social status, and so on (Braun, 1988).

2.12.8. Greetings in descriptive and comparative studies.

There is a number of linguistic and sociolinguistic studies of greetings in specific languages and cultures, such as Chinese (Ma, 2000; Yongbing, 2001), Russian (Formanovskaya, 1987), German (Rash, 2004), Romanian (Felecan, 2015), Yoruba (Schleicher, 1997), Sesotho (Akindele, 2007), Tuareg (Youssouf, Grimshaw, & Bird, 1976), Persian (Dezhara, Rezaei, Davoudi, & Kafrani, 2012), and Arabic (Alharbi & Al-Ajmi, 2008; Jibreen, 2010; Rababa'h & Malkawi, 2012).

Comparative studies of greetings in different languages have been conducted: English and Chinese (Li, 2009; Ma, 2000; Qian, 1996), English and Vietnamese (Suu, 1990), English and Polish (Jakubowska, 1998), American English and Peninsular Spanish (Pinto, 2008), English and Thai (Bornmann, 2001), English and Persian (Negargar, 2015; Salmani-Nodoushan, 2007), American English (in particular, speakers from California), German and Spanish (speakers from Peru) (Feller, 2007), and English and Italian (Bonsignori, et al., 2011).

These studies show that greetings vary in different languages and cultures and depend on contextual and social variables, linguistic and cultural norms, and rules of appropriateness and politeness in a certain culture. In some cultures, factors of age and gender are of crucial importance; in some – the context structures greetings; in others – socio-religious rules play their role. This might be challenging for NNSs in terms of linguistic and cultural comprehension. For example, common Chinese and Thai greetings "Have you eaten?" or "Where are you going?" may sound inappropriate and even offensive for English speakers as intruding in their personal space and threatening their face (Li, 2009; Sukwiwat & Fieg, 1987), although for Chinese speakers such greetings "show concern for others' welfare and at the same time maintain the hearer's positive face" (Li, p. 74). Similarly, Thai introductory greetings include questions about interlocutor's name, age and the like, that help determine the status of the interlocutor in order to address him/her properly. For an English speaker "a person who fires a series of questions … may seem more

like a police interrogator than a friendly conversationalist" (Bornmann, 2001, p. 17). Another example of a common Thai greeting which involves comments on the addressee's physical appearance, weight gain or loss will seem improper and impolite for Americans; whereas for Thais such greetings "show warm, personal interest in the other person. Weight gain or loss is being viewed as an objective condition by both speaker and hearer rather than as a sensitive issue which might embarrass the one commented on" (Sukwiwat & Fieg, p. 5). In a similar vein, English greeting phrases such as "Hello" or "Good morning" might pose challenges for NSs of Thai as such greetings have no direct equivalents in this language (Sukwiwat & Fieg, 1987). An informal greeting question "What's happening" or "How's it going?" might be equally confusing as

> Thai thinking … is shaped by the Buddist notion that all things are constantly changing by themselves; therefore, they do not have … curiosity to keep up with every new event, for all is transitory, ephemeral. Thus a vague question about "What's happening?" seems pointless unless one comes in the midst of turmoil or trouble. … When Thais ask questions about events in the hearer's life, they are usually highly specific. (Sukwiwat & Fieg, p. 4)

Speakers of other languages and representatives of other cultures might also experience problems with the perception of English greeting phatic questions. For example, "How are you?" might be perceived as a genuine question by the speakers of Slavic and East European languages. These cultures promote the norm of sincerity in conversational formulas whereas Anglo-American culture does not and thus they come into conflict:

> The perceived 'insincerity' of the 'How are you?' routine consists both in the belief that the speaker doesn't really want to know how the addressee feels and is expecting the addressee to reply positively … regardless of how the addressee really feels. Consequently, common positive answers … are felt to be generally insincere, and the whole game is perceived as an exercise in shared insincerity. (Wierzbicka, 1991, p. 116)

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Such perception of "How are you?" as a genuine question which requires a detailed or honest (to some extent) answer might lead to cross-cultural misunderstandings, negative stereotypes (Kartalova, 1996), and pragmatic failure in communication (Jaworski, 1994).

Considering such cultural and linguistic differences, greetings represent a speech act which can be analyzed within cross-cultural and IL pragmatics.

2.12.9. Russian politeness and Russian greetings.

Analyzing Russian linguistic politeness rules is not the goal of the present study. Neither is the intention to compare them to the American speech etiquette. However, since the NNSs in the present study are Russians, some general observations have to be made and some previous research conclusions have to be mentioned in order to get a full picture and understand the EFL usage better. Such information will provide valuable insights and will help analyze and interpret the results of the current study, specifically, cases of possible negative transfer and NS ratings of the NNS responses.

2.12.9.1. Russian politeness.

Researchers have shown that Russian politeness differs from the Western one. It has been noted that Russian politeness is a politeness of solidarity rather than maintaining distance (Formanovskaya, 1987; Krongauz, 2013; Visson, 2005; Watts, 2003; Wierzbicka, 1991, 2010). In other words, Western culture is more individualistic with low Power distance and Russian – collectivist with high Power distance (Larina, 2005, 2009). Such difference is expressed, for example, in demonstrating politeness towards close friends (for the discussion of the concept of "friendship" in Russian and English, see Wierzbicka, 1997). While Russians are more polite with friends, Westerners are more polite with strangers. Russians demonstrate more directness with friends and consider this as sincerity and closeness; Westerners, on the other hand, might consider such directness offensive and imposing on their freedom (Bergelson, 2012).

Differences in politeness rules and cultural values lead to differences in the language use. Russians use unmitigated direct strategies more often and negative strategies – less; whereas English use indirect strategies and negative politeness more. Larina (2005) emphasized this difference of communication styles by calling Russian "message-oriented" and English – "Hearer-oriented" communication style.

2.12.9.2. Russian greetings.

The typical neutral greeting in the Russian language is "Здравствуй/ Здравствуйте" Zdrastvui/ Zdrastvuite (Hello). Time-bound greetings "Доброе утро" Dobroe utro (Good morning), "Добрый день" Dobryi den' (Good afternoon), and "Добрый вечер" Dobryi vecher (Good evening) although common, are more context-dependent. The greeting "Привет" Privet (Hi) is also common; it is more informal and is used when interlocutors are familiar with each other (Ushakov & Romanova, 2000, p. 55). Personal names of addressees are often used in the Russian greetings: first names and their diminutives to address close people, family members, and friends or a first name and a patronymic to address interlocutors of higher age and power and in formal settings.

In Russian, there are several phrases corresponding to the English greeting "How are you?" The most common are "Как дела?" Kak dela? (How are things?), "Как живёшь/ живёте?" Kak zhivyosh/ zhivyote? (How do you sg/ you pl live?), and "Как жизнь?" Kak zhiz'n'? (How is life?). Such questions are ritualized; however, the ritualized nature is different from English. First, the question "Kak dela?" is not universally asked. Asking such a question depends on social variables of age, distance, and power. It is typically asked among friends, close people, or in-group participants, in other words, when there is a rapport and close relationships between participants or such rapport and relationships are being established. The ritualized response is usually neutral, e. g. "OK," "All right." Besides, there is a tendency to downgrade the response and answer "Not so good," "Bad," "Don't ask," etc.. Moreover, such responses require some elaboration which often

leads to further talk. Of course, this is not to say that "Kak dela?" always leads to an extended conversation. The response might be brief depending on the context and such factors as age, distance between interlocutors, and social status. Finally, contrasting with English, the question does not have to be reciprocated.

An additional characteristic of Russian greetings is connected to the grammatical T/ V distinction. The principle for this distinction is based on the social distance between interlocutors: the greater the distance is, the more preference is given to the V form (Pajusalu, Vihman, Klaas, & Pajusalu, 2010, p. 79). The second person pronoun 'ты – ty' is used to address friends, peers, immediate members of the family, and in general familiar people of the same age and status; and the respectful form of the second person pronoun 'Вы – Vy' – to address those of higher status and age, and strangers. Also, according to Formanovskaya (1987) the use of T/ V form depends on the type of discourse: 'ty' is used in informal settings and 'Vy' – in formal. The use of the proper form of greeting depends on that grammatical distinction (Barinova, 2013): "Здравствуй" Zdrastvui (Hello, sg) corresponds 'ty' and "Здравствуй**те**" Zdrastvui**te** (Hello, pl) – 'Vy.'

2.12.10. Greetings in ILP research.

Compared to other speech acts, greetings have not received much attention in ILP research. Empirical studies of greetings are scarce. One of the reasons for that as suggested by Baratta (2009) is the relative simplicity and straightforwardness of greetings and their formulaic nature. Moreover, according to some researchers' opinion, teaching greetings "involves little more than modelling and practice, then incorporation into the personal interactions of those involved" (Bowen, Madsen, & Hilferty, 1985, p. 102). However, greetings can be more than formulaic, involve different forms, and depend on contextual variables (Baratta, 2009; Duranti, 1997). Considering these factors, greeting can be a speech act that poses certain difficulties on English learners (Waring, 2012) and thus can present certain interest for ILP research. Despite that, greetings have rarely been taken up

in ILP. In fact, very few studies specifically focus on the ILP aspect of English greetings and address the question of their production and use by the ESL/ EFL learners.

The first one (Ebsworth et al., 1995) clearly showed that greetings can be complex and involve "a wide range of behaviors and a sensitivity to many situational and psychological variables" (p. 89). The researchers analyzed greetings produced in various situations by English NSs and NNSs with various L1s. Seven types of greeting were identified: greetings on the run (brief phatic statements), speedy greetings (some information exchange), chat (short discussion), long greetings (some narration), intimate greetings (between people who know each other well), introductory greetings, and re-greetings. DCTs and role-plays were used to elicit data. In addition, retrospective interviews with participants were conducted. The analysis showed that even advanced learners of English had serious difficulties with producing greetings and responding to them. The researchers found evidence of pragmatic transfer, developmental problems, sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic failure, and a limited variety of greeting phrases. The biggest difficulty was found in greetings on the run and speedy greetings. These types were "almost impossible to perform" (p. 97) by English NNSs and contained many sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic flaws.

The second study which analyzed greetings in ILP was conducted by Gharaghani, Eslami-Rasekh, Dabaghi, and Tohidian (2011). The study demonstrated that Persian EFL learners had difficulties with the production of appropriate greetings in English and exhibited pragmatic failure because of the negative pragmatic transfer from Persian. The researchers found that Persian EFL learners transferred their native style of greeting to their English performance in elicited DCTs and produced greetings and used politeness expressions that were inappropriate in English. They tended to overuse power-politeness in different situations and thus sounded too formal. In addition, they failed to consider social status of the interlocutors and the situational context and produced a limited number of greeting types.

Another study, performed by Kakiuchi (2005), compared natural discourse greetings by NSs of American English and Japanese NNSs of English. Kakiuchi recorded greetings that she overheard on campus of an American university. The greeting one-turn patterns were found to be similar in both groups; however, NNSs were less target-like in producing multiple-turn greetings. Moreover, NNSs showed less variability in greetings. Such factors as length of residence and previous language instruction were named as influencing the native-like production of greetings.

Several other studies investigate the development of pragmatic appropriateness of greetings in languages other than English: DuFon (1999) studied American learners of Indonesian; Omar (1991) – American learners of Kiswahili; and Sithebe (2011) – American learners of Swazi. DuFon (1999) examined the acquisition of Indonesian greetings by American beginners and intermediate learners in Indonesia. In particular, she analyzed how the learners of Indonesian socialized themselves into the target culture by the use of greetings. In her ethnographic study, she used observations, tape and video recording, interviews and journals of several learners of Indonesian as well as observations and interviews with Indonesian NS students and teachers. The researcher showed that learners of Indonesian at first preferred Indonesian greetings that were close to English. In Indonesian greeting formulas, the learners focused on their referential meaning rather than a social one and in general tended to avoid such greetings. Gradually, however, the learners began to recognize the Indonesian greeting formulas and used them more often. Linguistic, social, and cognitive factors influenced the acquisition of greetings. Forms that have direct equivalents in English and greetings that do not have social and contextual limitations were easily acquired. However, specific Indonesian greeting formulas "Have you bathed yet?" and "Do you want to eat?" were problematic for learners since in English they are not greetings but questions and require an answer. Moreover, Indonesian greetings index social status, class, age, gender, nationality, and group membership through a variety of means such as code switching, semantic content, and non-verbal behavior. Such social constraints of greetings appeared to be problematic as well. However,

with time, the learners became more comfortable with Indonesian greetings and started to recognize the social and situational context, and adapted themselves to the rules of Indonesian greetings.

Omar (1991) studied the acquisition of Kiswahili greetings by American learners in the FL context in role-plays and recordings of greetings exchanges between students and a Kiswahili instructor. She demonstrated that although the learners were competent in different forms of greetings (this was shown through a dialogue questionnaire task where the learners were asked to recognize certain greeting types), their performance was poor. In the actual production tasks, the learners did not initiate greetings; moreover, the greeting responses were minimal, short, and abrupt. Kiswahili greetings are elaborate and involve several turns; the learners, however, tended to use few turns and produced short greetings, which pragmatically was not appropriate. Another of Omar's findings was that pragmatic competence does not correlate with grammatical competence. Some beginners were able to produce pragmatically appropriate greetings and some intermediate learners failed the task. The reverse situation was also observed, which indicates that learners, irrespective of their proficiency level, go through individual stages of pragmatic development, including acquisition of greetings.

Sithebe (2011) investigated Swazi greetings produced by NSs and NNSs and found that the patterns of greeting were very different. Swazi greetings are elaborate and repetitive; they vary according to the social status and age of the interlocutors. NNSs were able at times to use Swazi strategies for greetings but mostly they demonstrated deviations from the NS norms. Namely, they avoided informal greetings because of the lack of pragmatic knowledge and self-confidence. Second, NNSs produced shorter greetings than NSs, and lastly, used incorrect address terms.

In sum, although seemingly simple and highly formulaic, greetings can pose serious difficulties for language learners. Recognizing the relevant socio-cultural rules and linguistic behaviors can be very challenging for language learners. Even more challenging is the actual

production of greetings. Learners transfer grammatical and syntactical strategies and socio-cultural norms from their L1s demonstrating both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic transfer which may lead to pragmatic failure. Strategies that the learners use include avoidance and the use of neutral greeting forms. Language learners need to consider the rules of politeness and appropriateness in general in the given culture, and in particular, linguistic rules of producing greetings as indexes of social identities and roles. "Failure to conform to their norms of social interaction could get the encounter off to a bad start" (DuFon, 1999, p. 261).

2.13. Chapter conclusion

This chapter introduced the broad field of pragmatics and its important concepts. It reviewed theories relevant for the present research: the theory of speech acts and the theory of politeness. The chapter presented the subfields of pragmatics – intercultural and IL pragmatics and reviewed literature on developmental and acquisitional aspects of pragmatic competence, as well as major objects of investigation and methods of data collection and analysis in ILP. The chapter proceeded to review the existing literature on the speech act of greeting. Greetings have been presented in the framework of politeness theory and the theory of speech acts; the important functions, characteristics, and classifications and constituents of greetings – greetings proper, phatic expressions, and address terms – have been discussed. The section that followed discussed studies comparing greetings in different languages and cultures. The focus was made on English and Russian greetings. The final sections reviewed literature on greetings in ILP research – in English and other languages.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The chapter introduces and discusses methods used for data collection and analysis. The current research employs a combination of methods. The first one is a type of a DCT – Free Discourse Completion Task (FDCT). Its advantages are discussed and its use is explained and justified. Next, the development and implementation of the FDCT are described in detail. An additional method of ethnographic interviewing was used in order to further interpret and clarify the results of the FDCT. The FDCTs were assessed by NS raters for pragmatic appropriateness. This use of the ratings is discussed and explained. The chapter then proceeds to describe the participants – NNSs and NSs for the FDCT, interviewees (NNSs), and raters (NSs), the setting, and the procedure itself. Next, the chapter explains data coding and analysis.

3.1. Methods used in the present study

As we saw in the previous chapter, analyzing and assessing pragmatic competence and appropriateness of learners' SL/ FL can be performed through different approaches. Some studies compare strategies used by NNSs to those used by NSs, applying CCSARP methodology; others – employ NS raters' judgments. In 1996, Kasper and Schmidt (as previously cited in chapter 1)

emphasized the need for ILP studies that examine aspects in NNS language production that result in pragmatic failure and negative perception by the NSs:

> Simply identifying differences [between NNSs and NSs] does not inform us which of those differences may matter in interaction. Some differences between NS norms and L2 performance may result in negative stereotyping by NS message recipients, whereas others may be heard as somewhat different but perfectly appropriate alternatives. (p. 56)

A decade later, Taguchi (2006) echoed that call and argued that it is necessary to analyze and evaluate L2 appropriateness via a combination of approaches: quantitatively analyze NS ratings of NNS production and qualitatively analyze pragmatic strategies and expressions used to perform speech acts. Analyzing and assessing pragmatic performance via one approach only might be overly simplistic.

Two approaches were combined for the current research: first, analyzing linguistic expressions produced in the speech act of greeting by NNSs and comparing them to the analogous NSs production; and second, NS ratings of speech act appropriateness. Both approaches, as discussed in the previous chapter, have challenges for researchers. The former one – in missing a variety of aspects that can potentially influence pragmatic appropriateness (Kasper & Schmidt, 1996; Taguchi, 2011); the latter – in subjectivity and pragmatic variability of NS raters (Ishihara, 2013). Despite these difficulties, the two approaches taken together might complement each other, compensate for their weaknesses, and elaborate strengths. Moreover, they might further inform researchers on their advantages and drawbacks. Such a combination will help examine ILP phenomena in detail, more specifically, investigate what factors are significant in the choice of appropriateness strategies for both NSs and NNSs, and what aspects are salient for the NS raters.

As we saw in the literature review, various methods of data collection in ILP have their strengths and weaknesses. They should be chosen carefully, considering research purpose,

participants' characteristics, practicality, and feasibility. The first method of data collection for the present research is FDCT. It was chosen since the main goal of the study was to reveal participants' pragmatic competence and analyze the production of greetings in various contexts. The use of FDCT allowed the researcher to gather data relatively quickly, to control important variables both of the context and participants, and to compare NNS and NS responses. Moreover, compared to DCTs, FDCTs better reflect real-life situations as they represent dialogues with several turns, a sequence of utterances, and involve negotiation of meaning. Furthermore, FDCTs, because of their written mode, lower the anxiety of participants and allow them to produce more thoughtful responses. In sum, as shown in the previous chapter, DCTs and FDCTs have been used extensively in ILP research. In the current study, the use of the FDCT situates it in the rich tradition of cross-cultural and IL pragmatics studies.

To supplement the data from the FDCT, clarify participants' responses, and to understand their performance better, retrospective ethnographic interviews were conducted. It seemed reasonable to gather data through multiple approaches in order to get a richer picture of the linguistic phenomena under investigation.

3.1.1. Free Discourse Completion Test (FDCT).

Development of the FDCT for the present research involved several stages: item generation, FDCT piloting, and actual implementation (Birjandi & Rezaei, 2010; Hudson, 2001; J. Liu, 2007b).

3.1.1.1. FDCT pilot version 1.

The first stage was exemplars generation. DCT item generation is a very important process as it affects reliability and validity of the instrument and its feasibility in a certain context (J. Liu, 2007b). The very first version of the FDCT was based on the situational prompts used by Ebsworth

et al. (1995) in their study of realization of greetings by NSs and NNSs of English. The prompts in their research included seven situations:

1. a peer greets a peer in a hurry;

2. a peer greets a peer not in a hurry;

3. a peer greets a peer when coming for dinner;

4. an employer greets a boss in the office;

5. an employee and a boss greet each other when passing by in a work place;

6. a person greets a peer stranger in a formal context;

7. a person greets a peer stranger in an informal context.

The seven situational prompts were used as the preliminary basis for the first pilot FDCT. Two situations were changed in order to fit the participants and make the prompts more authentic. The situations "An employee greets a boss in the office" and "An employee and a boss greet each other when passing by in a work place" seemed unlikely for the potential participants who were students, so they were changed into "A student greets a professor in the office" and "A student and a professor greet each other when passing by in a university hallway" respectively. With that modification, the power status remained the same and the prompts became more realistic for the participants of this study.

The goals of the pilot study were the following:

1. to see if the NSs and NNSs greet differently in English; in other words, if they use semantic formulas – greeting words and phrases, address terms, and phatic expressions – differently;

2. to identify negative transfer in the NNSs' responses;

3. to see if the situational prompts are feasible for the participants and if they produce relevant responses;

4. to get additional information of the greetings' variability.

The NNS participants of the first pilot study were 19 Russian EFL students from Petrozavodsk State University (PetrSU), Russia, majoring in English, Finnish, Swedish, economics, and art; aged 18-23; number of years of English learning varied from five to 15. Three of the respondents had been to English-speaking countries before. The NS group consisted of 14 undergraduate students at an American university majoring in various fields, aged 19-24.

The NNS participants were asked to write short dialogues on the seven given situations in English and Russian. Three NNS respondents agreed to be informally interviewed on the likelihood of the given situations and their possible variations. In addition, the informal interviews included questions on the variability of greetings, phatic phrases, and "small talk" topics.

The comparative analysis of the NNS and NS responses demonstrated differences in the use of greeting words and phrases, linguistic formulas, address terms, and the content of the dialogues. Many instances of negative transfer – both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic - from NNSs' L1 were identified. Regarding the FDCT situational prompts, the results revealed several issues. First, the situations "A peer greets a peer in a hurry" and "A peer greets a peer not in a hurry" produced identical greetings. Likewise, greeting professors in the office and in passing at the university was very similar. Second, in their interviews, participants mentioned that greetings and the "small talk" immediately following the greetings would depend on the level of context formality and the context itself, in other words, at the university they would make remarks on classes, papers, and other academic subjects; in cafes, restaurants, and parties – remarks on food, people, and the like. Third, the previous acquaintance with the interlocutor would affect the greeting. Respondents said that they would greet strangers and acquaintances differently. Finally, the participants said that age and status of the interlocutors would be a concern and would affect language choices.

Such results demonstrated the need to analyze NNSs' greetings production more in depth, systematically compare it to the NS data, revise the situational prompts, and include additional combinations of variables. Thus, based on the students' constructed dialogues, their feedback on the FDCT and the greetings' variability, and personal intuitions of a researcher as a bilingual Russian-English speaker, the second pilot version of the FDCT was written.

3.1.1.2. FDCT pilot version 2.

The second pilot version of the FDCT was written on the topic "You are a student studying abroad." Four situational prompts - a peer friend greets a peer friend, a student greets a professor at the university, a peer greets a peer in a formal and informal context – which were originally used in Ebsworth et al.'s (1995) study and were adapted for the FDCT Pilot 1, remained in FDCT Pilot 2. Fourteen new situational prompts were added. The contextual variables included power (P), distance (D), age (A), and formality (F). As discussed in the preceding chapter, variables of P and D are considered highly significant in speech act production (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Additional variables of A and F are important and might affect the use of language and the choice of speech strategies. The prompts included the following combinations of P, D, A, and F variables:

Power: =P (equal Power of S and H), +P (higher Power status of H);

Distance: -D (S and H know each other), +D (S and H do not know each other);

Age: =A (equal Age of S and H), +A (H is older than S);

Formality: -F (situational context is informal), +F (situational context is formal).

The second round of piloting was done with five Russian EFL learners – students from PetrSU, majoring in English and Russian, aged 18-21, one male and four females. None of them had ever been to English-speaking countries; however, all reported occasional opportunities to

interact with English NSs. Two NSs – undergraduate students from a university in the US were employed for NS data.

The participants were asked to answer the situational prompts of the FDCT and to give feedback on the wording of the prompts and the situations themselves in terms of their comprehensibly and feasibility to answer. Based on the responses and the feedback, two situations were deleted. The prompts "You meet your host parents in a university hallway" and "You meet your host parents on a city street" seemed problematic for the respondents. They were unfamiliar with the situation since they never experienced it in real life. It seemed difficult for the participants to imagine such situations; thus, they did not know how to react appropriately. Therefore, the situational prompts were omitted from the final version of the FDCT. Several prompts were revised and reworded.

The pilot versions of the FDCT were given to the NNSs in English only and it appeared to be problematic for several participants as they misunderstood some of the prompts. For example, in the prompts "You run into a good friend" and "You run into your professor on one of the streets in the city," the phrasal verb "run into" was understood as "bump" and thus an apology was produced. This demonstrated incompetence in particular verb phraseology and showed the necessity to either explain the verb or provide translation into L1.

3.1.1.3. FDCT pilot rating.

The pilot version of the rating scale included four points from 4 – "completely appropriate" to 1 – "completely inappropriate" and was intentionally made very general in order to see what the raters actually pay attention to, what factors of the speech production are salient for them, and what is more and less important.

The responses of the second pilot FDCT were rated by three NSs of Standard American English. The raters were graduate students of English and political science, mean age 31, all male,

with some experience in TESL/ TEFL. Before the rating, they were given a short training, which explained the purpose of the research and the procedure and provided examples. The raters were asked to explain the given scores in written comments and to name the factors and areas in the language production that were important for them. After completion of the rating, the raters were informally interviewed on the criteria that were salient while rating, clarity of instructions, difficulties they encountered during ratings, and possible changes in the procedure. Their ratings were carefully reviewed and comments on criteria, instructions, and the procedure were considered. The criteria that the raters named were included in the final rating scale.

3.1.1.4. FDCT final version.

The final version of the FDCT includes 16 prompts with the contextual variables of P, D, A, and F. These variables were selected because, as mentioned earlier, in pragmatics research they are identified as important, culturally sensitive, and principal in speech act realization behavior (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Speech act production can change depending on the contextual variables: cultural, situational, and relational context (Baratta, 2009).

The items in the FDCT represent all possible (for the particular participants) configurations of P, D, A, and F (all binary). The distribution is represented in Table 1. P is presented as +P (the plus sign indicates that H has more power than S) in the situations of greeting professors and instructors and =P (the equal sign indicates that the power status of S and H is equal) in the situations of greeting peers. In the current study, situations where S has more power than H were not included in the FDCT, as the participants were university students and it might have been difficult for them to imagine situations where they have to greet someone of less power. Similarly, A in the FDCT is presented as a binary category: +A (the plus sign indicates that H is older than S) and =A (the equal sign indicates that the age of S and H is equal). F and D are of binary value: +F (the plus sign indicates that the situation is formal), -F (the minus sign indicates that the situation

is informal), +D (the plus sign indicates that S and H do not know each other),- D (the minus sign indicates that S and H know each other). FDCT dialogues include greetings with peer friends and university professors and instructors in formal and informal contexts. Dialogues 1-8 include greetings with the people that one already knows, and dialogues 9-16 – greetings with unfamiliar interlocutors, in other words, introductory greetings. The complete FDCT is given in Appendix A.

Table 1. Variables distribution between items of the FDCT

FDCT dialogue	Variables			
	P	A	F	D
#1. Friend informal	=	=	-	-
#2. Friend formal	=	=	+	-
#3. Friend older informal	=	+	-	-
#4. Friend older formal	=	+	+	-
#5. Professor informal	+	+	-	-
#6. Professor formal	+	+	+	-
#7. Instructor young informal	+	=	-	-
#8. Instructor young formal	+	=	+	-
#9. New friend informal	=	=	-	+
#10. New classmate formal	=	=	+	+
#11. New friend older informal	=	+	-	+
#12. New classmate older formal	=	+	+	+
#13. New professor informal	+	+	-	+
#14. New professor formal	+	+	+	+
#15. New instructor informal	+	=	-	+
#16. New instructor formal	+	=	+	+

3.2. Data collection

The prompts of the FDCT were written in both English and Russian in order to assure their full understanding by the NNSs. The FDCT was administered during class time or immediately after class by the researcher or cooperating instructors of English in PetrSU. The NSs were given the FDCT to complete at their convenience.

The purpose of the research, the procedure, and the participants' rights were explained before administering the FDCT (See Appendix B for the Participant Information Sheet DCT).

3.2.1. FDCT participants.

Two groups of participants were employed in the current study: NNSs of English – Russian EFL students, and NSs of American English – undergraduate students in an American university. In addition to the FDCT, both groups of participants were asked several demographic questions regarding their age, gender, and university major. Besides that, the NNSs answered questions about the number of years of English learning, previous travels to English-speaking countries, and opportunities they have to communicate with English speakers.

3.2.1.1. NNS participants.

NNS participants of the research were EFL students from PetrSU. The total number was 56. However, six (10.7%) from that sample were eliminated from the final analysis because of missing data or incompleteness (two participants answered 13 prompts out of 16, one – 12, one – five, another – eight, and the last one – only three). With the exclusion of these six informants, the total number was 50. All participants were students of the Department of Philology. This department has several majors: Russian language, Russian literature, journalism, classical philology, Scandinavian philology, Baltic and Finnish philology, and Germanic philology.

Twenty six participants (52%) were majoring in English language and literature at the sub-department of Germanic philology at the Department of Philology. This major includes required fundamental and basic courses in the English language – theoretical and practical grammar, morphology, history of English, phonetics, listening, reading, speaking, country studies, and translation. Besides, students take various courses in English literature. Students from all years of study – first, second, third, and fourth – participated.

Eighteen participants (36%) were majoring in the Finnish and English languages at the sub-department of Baltic and Finnish philology at the Department of Philology. This major, besides fundamental linguistic courses in English, includes analogous courses in Finnish. In addition, the major requires courses in Finnish literature and culture. The students who participated were in the first and second years of study.

Six participants (12%) were majoring in journalism. This major includes courses in Russian, English, literature, and writing. The aspects of English that are taught include practical courses in reading, listening, speaking, and writing. Theoretical courses in English linguistics are not offered for this major. The students who participated were in the second and third years of study.

Five participants were male (10%), 45 – female (90%). Age was between 18 and 24 years (the mean age 19.5 years). Number of years of English learning varied from five to 16 years (the mean number 9.8 years).

Seven participants (14%) have been to English speaking countries before. However, only two named the specific countries: one – the USA, one – Great Britain. One participant named previous travel to Malta, the country of the Outer Circle, where English is spoken as a second language, and Finland, the country of the Expanding circle, where English is spoken as a foreign language (Kachru, 1985). Four participants did not specify the country.

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Nineteen participants (38%) answered that they never communicate with English speakers, fourteen (28%) – rarely, thirteen (26%) – sometimes, and four (8%) – often. Those who do have the opportunity to interact with English speakers, named the following countries: the USA (nine references), Great Britain (eight references), Finland (seven references); Spain, Germany, France, and Sweden – two mentions each; Australia, Canada, Norway, Italy, India, Brazil, China, and Israel – one reference each. As we see, the NNSs have the largest opportunities to communicate with NSs from two countries of the Inner circle – the USA and the UK. The third country in the list is Finland and this can be explained by the fact that Petrozavodsk – the city where the NNS data were collected – is situated in the region of Russia bordering Finland, and it is common for Russians living in that part of the country to travel to Finland and for Finns to visit Russia. Other countries named include those of the Inner circle (e.g. Australia and Canada), Outer circle (e.g. India), and Expanding circle (e.g. Norway and Italy) (Kachru, 1985). So, these Russian EFL learners communicate in English with English NSs and English NNSs as well.

3.2.1.2. NS participants.

The second group of participants included 40 NSs of American English. The NSs were undergraduate students of an American university majoring in various fields (English, German, arts, music, history, geography, psychology, sociology, business and finance, botany, strategic communication, engineering, and political science), aged 18-24 (the mean age 19.5), 28 female (70%) and 12 male (30%). Thirty one respondents came from mid-western states, one was from California, one – Pennsylvania, two – Minnesota, and five did not specify the state. The variables of age and social status coincide with the NNS group. The NSs were given the same FDCT in English to complete.

3.2.2. Interviews with NNSs.

An additional method used in the current research was retrospective ethnographic interviews with the NNS participants. After the completion of the FDCT, NNS participants were asked to share their thoughts on the subject of greetings and participation in the FDCT in informal interviews. The procedure of the interview and the participants' rights were explained (see Appendix C for the Participant Information Sheet Interviews). Four participants – two female and two male – agreed to be interviewed. The interviews were semi-structured. They were conducted in an informal setting and took 20-30 minutes each. The language of the interviews was Russian. Overall, 80 minutes of interview conversations were audio recorded, transcribed, translated, and coded for recurrent themes. Translation from Russian into English was performed by the primary researcher. Ten minutes of the interview data (12.5%) were cross-translated by an independent Russian-English bilingual speaker who is a NS of Russian and a graduate student in English. The basic questions for the interviews are given in Appendix D.

3.2.3. Rating FDCT for pragmatic appropriateness.

3.2.3.1. NS raters.

The raters were six NSs of American English, three undergraduate students majoring in political science, business, and foreign languages, and three graduate students majoring in English; three male, three female, aged 18-23 (the mean age 20.5 years), from mid-western states of the USA. The characteristics of age and social status coincide with those of the respondents and this encourages reliability of the rating. Undergraduate raters were non-experts in TESL/ TEFL. This lack of previous experience in ESL/ EFL teaching or knowledge in the field helped avoid bias and sympathy for NNSs of English (McNamara, 1996). Graduate raters had some experience in TESL (from one semester to two years of teaching) and some background theoretical knowledge in the

areas of ESL, SLA, and linguistics. None of them, however, were experts in pragmatics and they did not have prior experience in assessing pragmatic competence.

3.2.3.2. Raters' training.

Before the rating, the raters were given approximately one-hour training. The goals and procedures were explained and the examples of FDCT responses were shown. The raters became familiar with the rating scale, assessing criteria, practiced ratings, and discussed them.

3.2.3.3. Rating scale and criteria.

In the development of the rating scale and descriptors, the criteria reported in the literature were used (Hudson et al., 1995; Jernigan, 2007; Taguchi, 2006). In addition, the comments of the NS raters in the pilot study were considered.

The four-point scoring system was developed. The numbers in the scale were made even rather than odd in order to eliminate "default rating" in the middle which might lead to the overuse of the middle score and discrimination in the rating of the responses (Bachman, 2004; Creswell, 2005). The rating scale and the descriptors are presented in Table 2. The rating criteria include the general norm of native-likeness, as well as specific benchmarks of grammaticality, discourse, and vocabulary use, degrees of politeness, formality, and directness, and amount and content of the given information. Appropriateness here represents a holistic concept which includes pragmatic features and linguistic aspects as well (Taguchi, 2006).

Table 2. Pragmatic appropriateness rating scale for the FDCT

4 – the response is completely appropriate in the given context.
The response: - approaches native-like usage;   - might have minor grammatical, discourse, and / or vocabulary errors. The errors, if any, do not interfere with pragmatic appropriateness and do not affect comprehension;

	- effectively uses expressions typical for the given context;
	- has appropriate degrees of politeness, formality, and directness;
	- is appropriate in length and content.
3 – the response is generally appropriate in the given context.	

The response:
- is near native-like usage;
- might have minor grammatical, discourse, and / or vocabulary errors that may distract from effectiveness;
- has one or two flaws in the use of typical expressions;
- has somewhat appropriate degrees of politeness, formality, and directness;
- is somewhat appropriate in length and content.

2 – the response is generally inappropriate in the given context.

The response:
- is generally non-native-like usage;
- has noticeable errors in grammar, discourse, and/ or vocabulary that affect the meaning and comprehension;
- has several errors in the use of typical expressions;
- has several flaws in expressing degrees of politeness, formality, and directness;
- might be too long or too abrupt and contain inappropriate content.

1 – the response is completely inappropriate in the given context.

The response:
- is clearly non-native-like usage;
- has numerous errors in grammar, discourse, and / or vocabulary that make it difficult to understand;
- has serious errors in typical expressions;
- is unacceptable in terms of politeness, formality, and directness,
- is unacceptable in length and content.

The raters conducted the ratings during several weeks (it took three weeks for undergraduate raters to complete the ratings, and about 12 weeks for graduate), in the time that was convenient for them. This was done in order to reduce raters' fatigue, which could influence their accurateness and attentiveness and consequently negatively affect the ratings (Wolfe, Moudler, & Myford, 2001). The raters were asked to briefly explain the given scores in written comments.

3.3. Data analysis

The following sections present methods of data analysis: comparison of NNS and NS production and analysis of the NS ratings for pragmatic appropriateness.

3.3.1. NNS and NS production.

It has been shown in the literature review that NNSs deviate from NSs in the production of speech acts in several areas: choice of the speech acts, semantic formulas, form, and content of the speech act. In the current study, following the method of data analysis used in ILP research (Bardovi-Harlig et al., 2010; Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1990; Beebe et al., 1990; Keshavarz et al., 2006), semantic formulas – components of the speech act of greeting – were used as units of analysis. This part answered the first set of research questions:

Are semantic formulas in greetings produced by Russian EFL learners different or similar to those produced by English NSs in terms of their number, frequency, and content? What types of greetings exhibit differences/ similarities?

3.3.1.1. Greeting semantic formulas.

Semantic formulas of the speech act of greeting in NNS and NS production were identified and coded. A coding scheme was developed. As discussed earlier, the FDCT contains situational prompts which are aimed to elicit greetings of peer friends, university professors and instructors in formal and informal contexts and analogous greetings of unfamiliar interlocutors. The major semantic formulas in greetings in the present data include:

1. greetings proper which are subdivided into time-free and time-bound greetings and formal and informal variants. For example, greeting proper "Hello" is time-free, neutral; "Hey" is time-free, informal; "Good afternoon" is time-bound, formal.

2. terms of address which are subdivided into personal names, titles (Doctor, Professor), honorifics (Mr./ Mrs., Sir/ Madam), and colloquial addresses (man, dude);

3. phatic questions which can be neutral (How are you?), formal (How do you do?), and informal (What's up?);

4. phatic phrases such as "Nice to see you";

5. situational greetings – phrases or questions which serve as a greeting in a particular situation and are tailored to a specific context and circumstances.

For example, the greeting "Hello, John! How are you?" includes three semantic formulas: time-free neutral greeting proper, personal name, and the phatic question; introductory greeting "Dr. Jones? Hello. My name is Ann. Nice to meet you" contains a summons, neutral greeting proper, self-introduction, and a phatic phrase.

3.3.1.2. Coding reliability.

In order to ensure the reliability of data analysis, a second coder coded 10% of the FDCT data, an amount sufficient for establishing raters' reliability (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 243). The second coder was an ESL instructor, English NNS. Before the coding, the coder was given a short training: a coding schema was explained and the examples were discussed. After the training, the coder independently coded five randomly selected FDCTs from each participant group. The results showed high reliability (97%) between the coders. The disagreements were resolved through discussion.

3.3.1.3. Number and frequency of semantic formulas.

The number of semantic formulas was calculated and compared between the two groups. The mean number of all semantic formulas was calculated by dividing the total number of semantic formulas by the number of responses (total # of semantic formulas / N). The mean number of particular semantic formulas was calculated by dividing the total number of particular semantic formula by the number of responses (total # of particular semantic formula / N).

The frequency of semantic formulas was calculated both cumulatively and for every FDCT dialogue. Overall frequency is given as the percentage of the total number of semantic formulas produced by the respondents ([total # of particular semantic formula / total # of semantic formulas]

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x 100). Frequency of usage in the particular dialogue was calculated as [# of particular semantic formula in the dialogue/ total # of semantic formulas in the dialogue] x 100 (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993, p. 147).

In order to determine whether there is a difference in the number of produced formulas between the two participant groups and whether the difference is significant, the chi-square test was conducted and the p-value was calculated.

For qualitative analysis, the NNSs' responses were examined from the semantic formulas perspective in relation to NSs' responses, attention was paid to the features and content of obtained discourse data and information obtained in the interviews.

3.3.2. Analysis of NS ratings.

The second part of analysis was the NS ratings of the FDCT responses for their pragmatic appropriateness. It answered the second set of research questions:

How are the NNS greetings rated by NSs in terms of their appropriateness? What types of greetings are judged as more appropriate/ inappropriate? What features of greetings make them appropriate/ inappropriate, in raters' opinion?

Consequently, the analysis of NS ratings looked at the following aspects:

1. The main focus of analysis was areas in L2 production that influenced the ratings, in particular, what aspects made the raters lower and increase the scores for pragmatic appropriateness of greetings;

2. Reliability of ratings. The focus of analysis here was to establish inter-rater reliability. In order to test inter-rater reliability, statistical tests were run in SPSS. The second focus of analysis was the comparison of the two groups of raters: undergraduate and graduate NSs;

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3. FDCT prompts. The third focus was on the types of greetings that were rated as more or less appropriate. In other words, in which situations, in the raters' opinion, the NNSs demonstrated pragmatic success and in which situations – failure.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The chapter presents a description and comparison of NNS and NS production of the speech act of greeting. It presents the total numbers, the mean, and frequency of semantic formulas both in aggregate form and per each FDCT dialogue, identifies statistical differences, and gives examples. The purpose of the analysis was to reveal differences in the greeting strategies of the two participant groups. As discussed in the previous chapter, the data were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. For the quantitative analysis, the semantic formulas used in FDCT were identified and classified into greetings proper, phatic questions and phrases, address terms, and situational greetings. The number of formulas, the mean, and frequency were calculated. Statistical tests and column charts were employed to show the numbers and frequency of semantic formulas in the two groups across 16 dialogues of the FDCT as well as differences between the groups. For the qualitative analysis, the NNSs' responses were examined in relation to NSs' responses. Attention was paid to the features and content of discourse data and information obtained in the interviews. Secondly, the chapter presents the results of the ratings of the NNS greetings by NS raters in terms of their pragmatic appropriateness. The interrater reliability is established and areas of low scores for pragmatic appropriateness are presented.

4.1. Semantic formulas in NS and NNS initial greetings

The following sections present first the overall number of semantic formulas produced by the NSs and NNSs, and second, the results of the production of semantic formulas in NS and NNS initial greetings in the following categories:

1. greetings proper. This category includes subcategories of time-free greetings "Hello," "Hi," and "Hey" and time-bound greetings "Good morning," "Good afternoon," and "Good evening";

2. phatic question "How are you?" and its formal and informal variants;

3. phatic phrases such as "Nice to see you";

4. terms of address. This category includes personal names, titles, honorifics, and colloquial addresses;

5. situational greetings which may contain a variety of expressions and are tailored to a particular situation.

4.1.1. Total number and the mean of semantic formulas.

Table 3 presents the total number of semantic formulas produced in the entire FDCT and the mean. The mean number of all semantic formulas was calculated as the total number of semantic formulas produced in the FDCT divided by the number of responses (total # of semantic formulas / N).

Table 3. Total number and the mean of semantic formulas in NS and NNS data

	NS	NNS
Number of participants	40	50
Total number	1313	1712
Mean number	33.025	34.24

In order to determine whether there is a difference in the number of produced formulas between the two participant groups and whether it is significant, the chi-square test was conducted and the p-value was calculated. For the total number of produced semantic formulas, $X^2 = 0.0384$, $p=.844567$. This result is not significant at $p < .05$. The two participant groups did not produce a significantly different number of sematic formulas in the FDCT.

The mean number of semantic formulas per FDCT dialogue was calculated as the total number of semantic formulas in the particular dialogue divided by the number of responses. The total numbers of formulas per each FDCT dialogue and the mean are displayed in Table 4.

Table 4. Total numbers and the mean of semantic formulas per FDCT dialogue in NS and NNS data

	Total number		Mean	
FDCT dialogue	**NS**	**NNS**	**NS**	**NNS**
#1. =P,=A,-F,-D	90	137	2.25	2.74
#2. =P,=A,+F,-D	77	113	1.925	2.26
#3. =P,+A,-F,-D	83	126	2.025	2.52
#4. =P,+A,+F,-D	88	110	2.2	2.2
#5. +P,+A,-F,-D	95	94	2.375	1.88
#6. +P,+A,+F,-D	95	82	2.375	1.64
#7. +P,=A,-F,-D	91	99	2.275	1.98
#8. +P,=A,+F,-D	80	86	2	1.72
#9. =P,=A,-F,+D	82	106	2.25	2.3
#10. =P,=A,+F,+D	76	119	1.9	2.38
#11. =P,+A,-F,+D	83	102	2.075	2.4
#12. =P,+A,+F,+D	79	106	1.975	2.12

#13. +P,+A,-F,+D	73	106	1.875	2.12
#14. +P,+A,+F,+D	77	116	1.925	2.32
#15. +P,=A,-F,+D	72	102	1.8	2.04
#16. +P,=A,+F,+D	72	108	1.8	2.16

According to the data in Table 3, the overall mean of semantic formulas produced by the NSs and NNSs is similar. In other words, in average, the NSs and NNSs produced similar number of semantic formulas in the entire FDCT. However, the results of the mean of formulas per each FDCT dialogue in Table 4 demonstrate certain interesting differences between the NSs and NNSs. The number of semantic formulas changed depending on the variables of power and distance. The NNSs produced more semantic formulas when greeting status peers (=P) in dialogues 1-3 and in introductory greetings (+D) in dialogues 9-16 and fewer semantic formulas when greeting status superiors – university professors and instructors (+P) dialogues 5-8. The higher number of semantic formulas produced by the NNSs can be explained by an IL condition known as "waffle phenomenon" (Edmonson & House, 1991, p. 273) which means excessive production of various linguistic means, redundant verbosity, and repetitions in expressing oneself. Besides, it might be accounted for by the intention of the NNSs to demonstrate their competence in English, their knowledge of particular English phrases, and their abilities to use them. Regarding the lower number of semantic formulas in greeting status superiors, politeness rules and communication style of L1 were transferred to L2 production and influenced the number of semantic formulas.

4.1.2. Particular semantic formulas in initial greetings.

4.1.2.1. Greetings proper.

The category of greetings proper includes time-free greetings*:* neutral "Hello," informal "Hi" and "Hey," and time-bound greetings "Good morning," "Good afternoon," and "Good evening."

4.1.2.1.1. Hello.

Table 5 presents the total number, the mean, and percentage of the production of the greeting "Hello" in NS and NNS data. The mean number was calculated by dividing the total number of particular semantic formula produced in the entire FDCT by the number of responses (total # of "Hello" in FDCT/ N). The overall percentage is given as the number of particular semantic formula in the FDCT divided by the total number of semantic formulas in the FDCT and multiplied by 100 – [# of "Hello" in FDCT/ total # of semantic formulas in FDCT] x 100.

Table 5. Total number, the mean, and percentage of the production of "Hello" in NS and NNS data

	NS	NNS
Total number of semantic formulas	1313	1712
Total number of Hello	196	310
Mean	4.9	6.2
Percentage	14.92%	18.1%

In order to determine whether there is a difference between the two participant groups and whether it is significant, the chi-square test was conducted and the p-value was calculated. The chi-square was conducted on the comparison of particular semantic formula ("Hello" and all

subsequent formulas) versus the total number of all semantic formulas. For the production of "Hello," $X^2=3.8627$, $p=.049369$. This result is significant at $p < .05$. The two participant groups produced a significantly different number of "Hello" in the entire FDCT.

Figure 2 illustrates the frequency of the production of the greeting "Hello" by the NSs and NNSs in 16 dialogues of the FDCT in percentage. The frequency was calculated as the percentage of the total number of semantic formulas produced in each FDCT dialogue (the number of particular semantic formula in the dialogue divided by the total number of semantic formulas in the dialogue and multiplied by 100 – [# of "Hello" in the dialogue/ total # of semantic formulas in the dialogue] x 100).
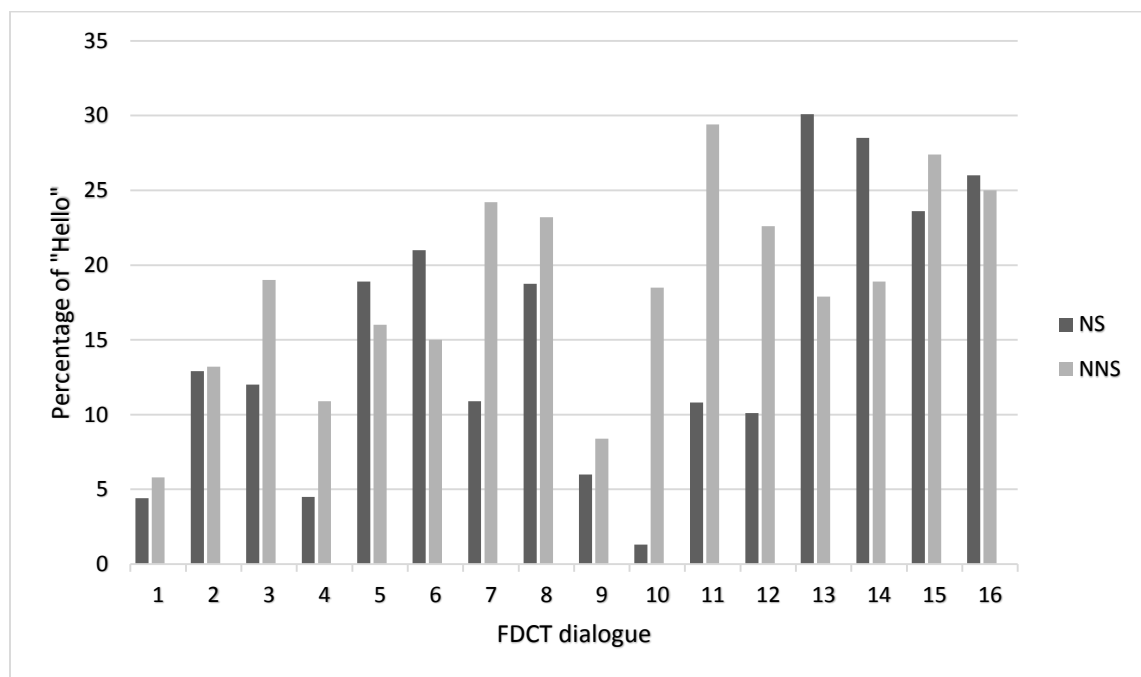
Figure 2. Percentage of "Hello" per FDCT dialogue in NS and NNS data
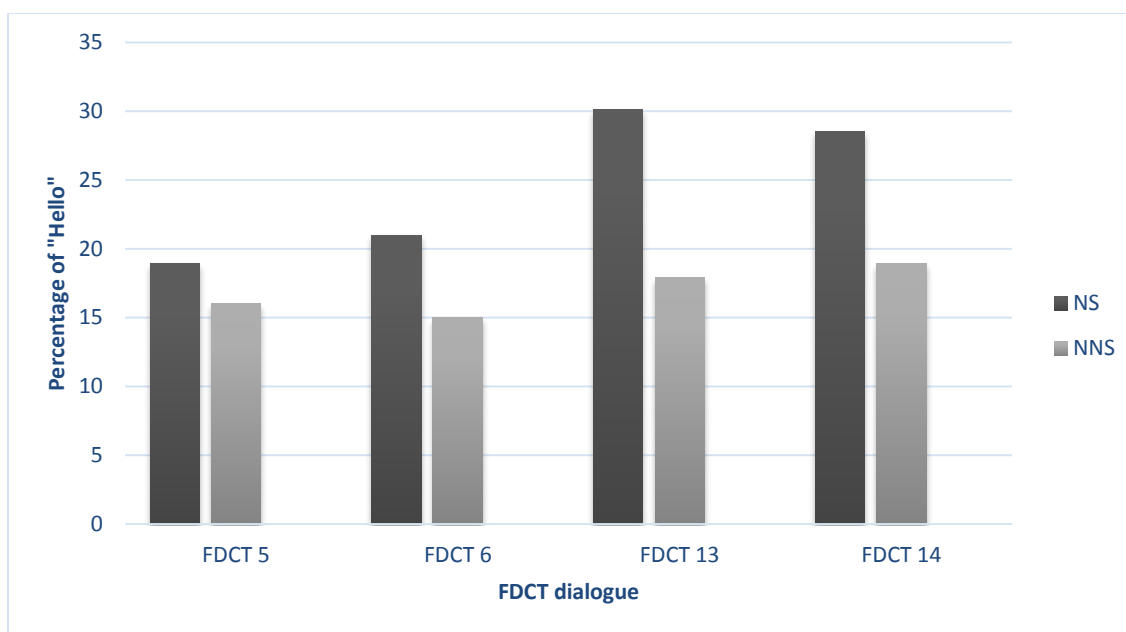
Figure 3. Percentage of "Hello" in FDCT dialogues 5, 6, 13, and 14 in NS and NNS data

According to the data in Table 5, overall, the NNSs used the greeting "Hello" more frequently than the NSs. The difference between the groups is statistically significant, as the chi-square test showed. As for the FDCT dialogues, an interesting tendency was observed: the NNSs produced "Hello" less often with status superiors – in greeting professors in FDCT dialogues 5, 6, 13, and 14, as Figure 3 displays. In these dialogues, the NNSs preferred time-bound greetings, which, in their opinion, are more polite and thus more appropriate in greetings professors. In all other dialogues, the NNSs outnumbered the NSs in the production of "Hello." Statistically significant differences in the production of "Hello" between the NSs and the NNSs were observed in FDCT dialogues 7 (X^2=3.9792, p=.046065), 10 (X^2=10.7976, p=.001016), and 11 (X^2=6.3176, p=.011954). Dialogue 7 contains greeting of a university instructor of the same age in an informal context, dialogue 10 is an introductory greeting of a peer student in a formal context and dialogue 11 – an introductory greeting of a status peer who is older in an informal context. The NNSs preferred to use "Hello" in these situations, whereas the NSs used greetings that are more informal. For the NNSs, "Hello" is a neutral greeting phrase, which is most appropriate in greeting unfamiliar

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interlocutors and interlocutors of a higher status. For the NSs, in these situations, informal phrases such as "Hi" and "Hey" were more common. In general, the frequent use of "Hello" by the NNSs might be explained by their competence in this particular greeting phrase. The greeting "Hello" is one of the first introduced to English learners in EFL classes, it is recurrently used in the classrooms, and is commonly known and is easily recognized. Such explanation will be addressed in detail in the discussion chapter.

4.1.2.1.2. Hi.

Table 6 presents the total number, the mean number, and percentage of the production of the greeting "Hi." Figure 4 illustrates the frequency of the greeting "Hi" by the NSs and NNSs in 16 dialogues of the FDCT in percentage.

Table 6. Total number, the mean, and percentage of the production of "Hi" in NS and NNS data

	NS	NNS
Total number of semantic formulas	1313	1721
Total number of Hi	141	157
Mean	3.525	3.14
Percentage	10.67%	9.17%
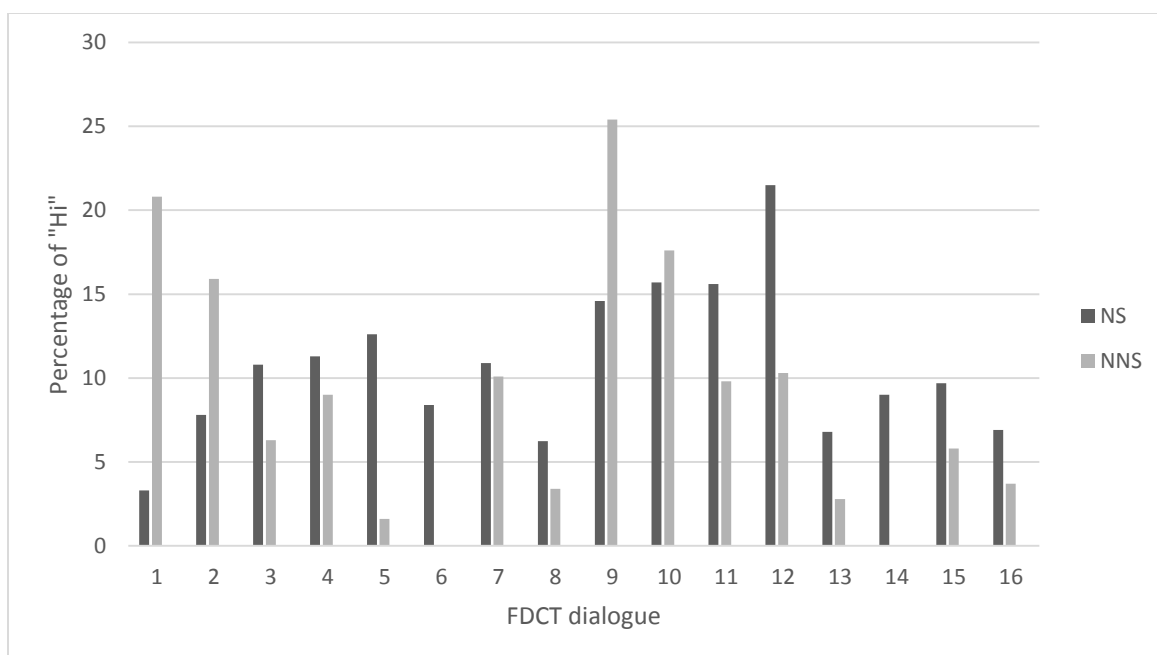
Figure 4. Percentage of "Hi" per FDCT dialogue in NS and NNS data

According to the data in Table 6, overall, the NNSs produced the greeting "Hi" less frequently than the NSs. However, the difference is not statistically significant: for the total number of "Hi," $X^2 = 1.6856$, $p=.19418$. This result is not significant at p < .05. The distribution of the production of "Hi" across FDCT dialogues was unequal between the participant groups. In dialogues 1 and 2 – greeting age and status peers in formal and informal contexts and the paralleling dialogues 9 and 10 for introductory greetings, the NNSs used "Hi" more frequently than the NSs (Figure 5). In greeting professors in dialogues 5, 6, 13, and 14, the frequency of the production was reverse: the NS produced "Hi" to greet professors relatively frequently, whereas in the NNSs data such a greeting was rare or not observed (Figure 6). The differences between the groups are statistically significant in dialogues 1 ($X^2=10.6272$, $p=.001114$), 5 ($X^2=8.6306$, $p=.003306$), 6 ($X^2=6.6568$, $p=.009878$), and 14 ($X^2=10.0173$, $p=.001551$).
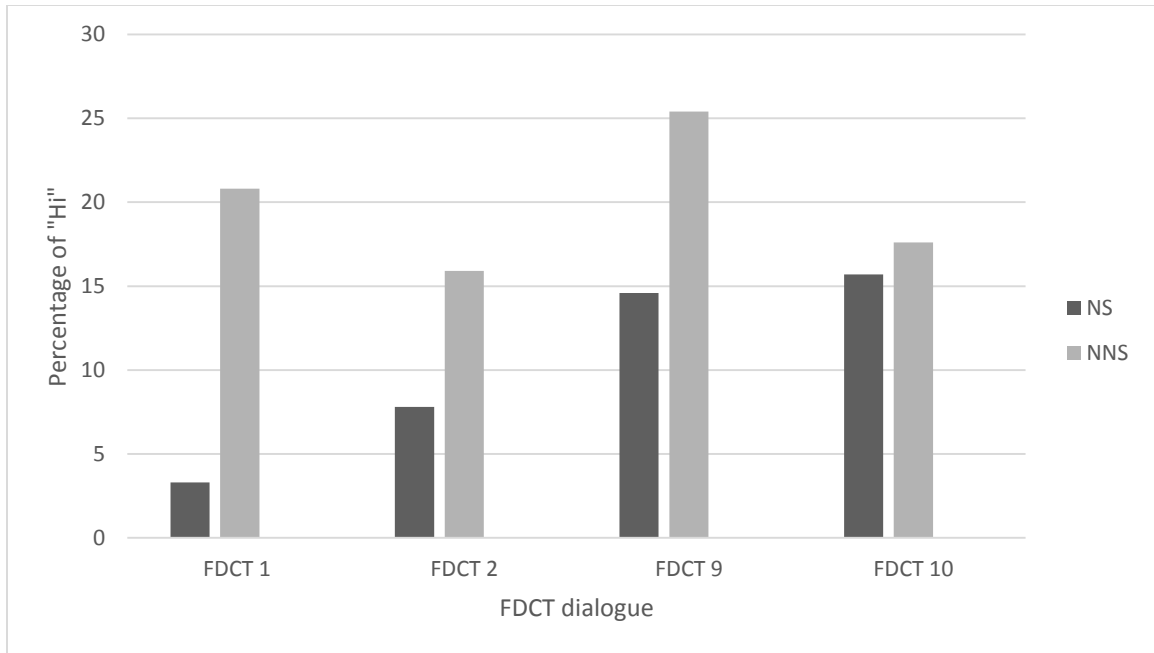
Figure 5. Percentage of "Hi" in FDCT dialogues 1, 2, 9, and 10 in NS and NNS data
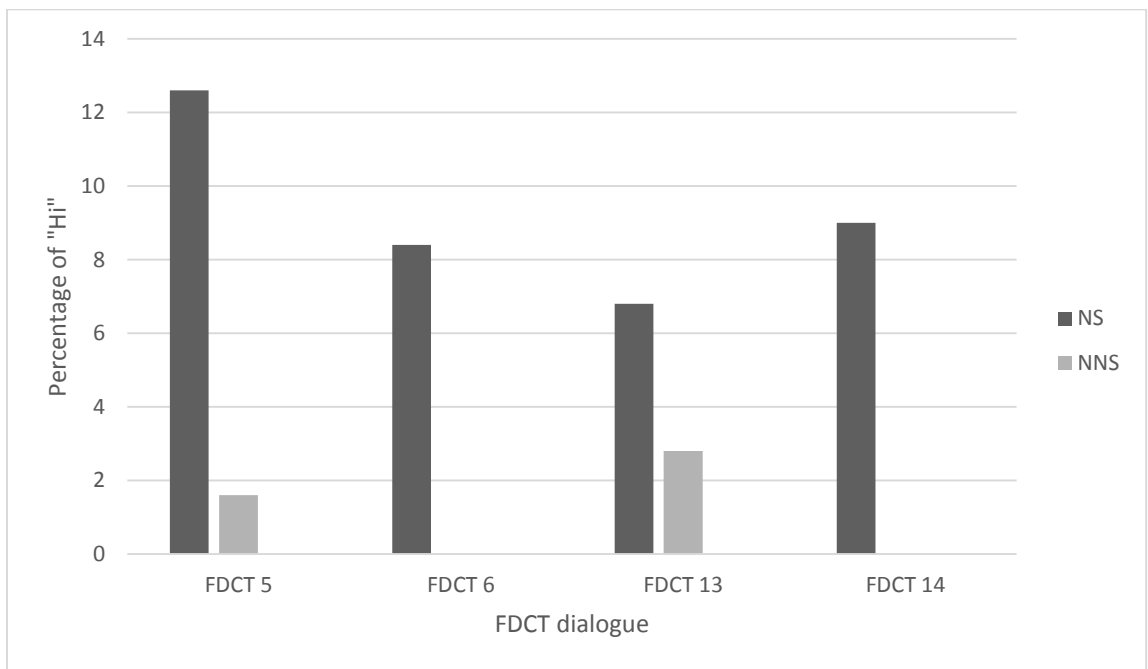
Figure 6. Percentage of "Hi" in FDCT dialogues 5, 6, 13, and 14 in NS and NNS data

Such production of "Hi" by the NNSs might be explained by the induced teaching rule that "Hi" is less formal than "Hello" and is used predominantly with peers. It roughly corresponds to the Russian greeting "Привет" (Privet) which according to the politeness rules of the Russian language cannot be used in greeting status and power superiors. That is why, in dialogues 5-6 and 13-14 – greeting university professors – the production of "Hi" by the NNSs was either very small or non-existing. Similarly, the production of "Hi" by the NNSs in the greetings of university instructors (FDCT dialogues 8, 15, and 16) was relatively limited with the exception of dialogue 7 – greeting a familiar instructor of equal age in an informal context – where the acquaintance with the interlocutor, the same age, and the informality of the context happened to be important. The Russian greeting "Privet" – an approximate equivalent of the English "Hi" – is used with age superiors much less than with age equals. This L1 norm can be seen in L2 production in dialogues 3-4 and 11-12 where the greeting "Hi" was less frequent that in dialogues 1-2 and 9-10 – greeting age equals.

4.1.2.1.3. Hey.

Table 7 presents the total number, the mean number, and percentage of the production of the greeting "Hey" in total FDCT. Figure 7 illustrates the frequency of the greeting "Hey" by the NSs and NNSs in 16 dialogues of the FDCT in percentage.

Table 7. Total number, the mean, and percentage of the production of "Hey" in NS and NNS data

	NS	NNS
Total number of semantic formulas	1313	1712
Total number of Hey	167	40
Mean	4.175	0.8
Percentage	12.64%	2.33%
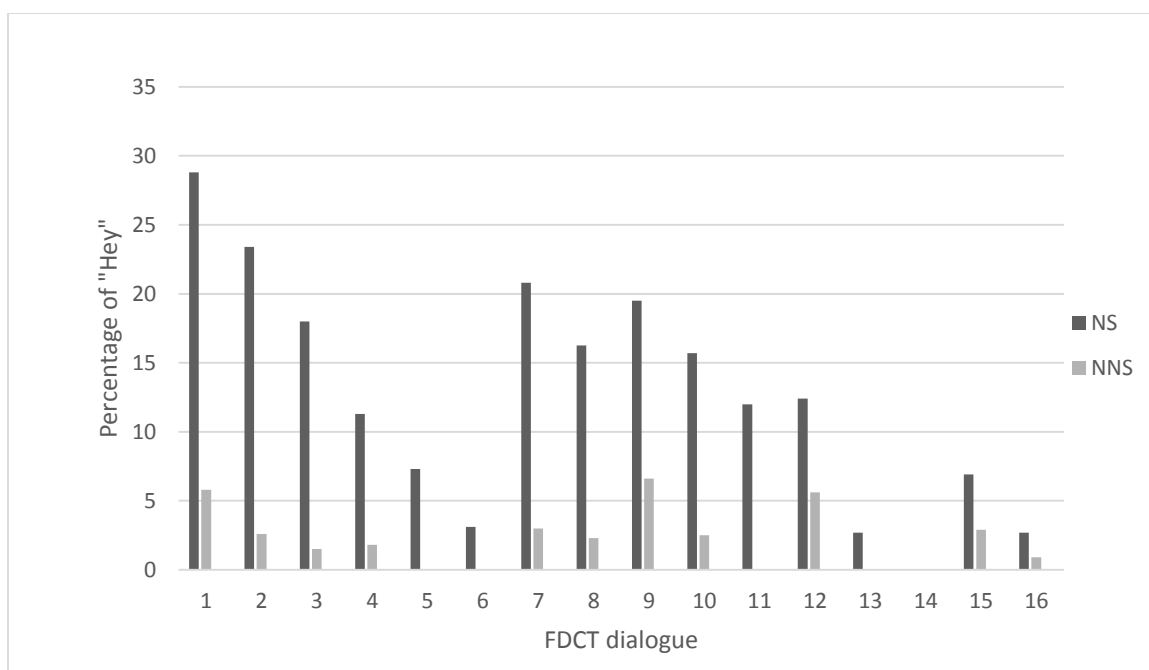
Figure 7. Percentage of "Hey" per FDCT dialogue in NS and NNS data

Data from Table 7 and Figure 7 indicate how little the NNSs produced "Hey" compared to the NSs. The difference between the groups is statistically significant: $X^2 = 108.4231$, $p = <.0001$. In all situational prompts, the NSs produced greeting proper "Hey" more frequently than the NNSs. The difference between the groups is significant in all dialogues of the FDCT with the exception of dialogue 6 and dialogues 13-16 where the production of "Hey" was very small in both groups. The greeting "Hey" was mostly used by the NSs in greeting peers in dialogues 1 and 2. Its production declined in the greetings of age and status superiors. However, in greeting instructors (equal age but higher status) in dialogues 7 and 8, the NSs also produced the greeting "Hey." The production of "Hey" in the NNS data was very limited. These results stem from incompetence in the greeting's usage, induced instruction, and the influence of L1 where greeting superiors and unfamiliar interlocutors with an informal phrase is inappropriate.

4.1.2.1.4. Time-bound greetings.

Time-bound greetings include phrases "Good morning," "Good afternoon," "Good evening," and "Good day." Table 8 presents the total number, the mean number, and percentage of the production of time-bound greetings in total FDCT. Figure 8 illustrates percentage of the production of time-bound greetings in aggregate in 16 dialogues of the FDCT.

Table 8. Total number, the mean, and percentage of the production of time-bound greetings in NS and NNS data

	NS	NNS
Total number of semantic formulas	1313	1712
Total number of time-bound	43	233
Mean	1.075	4.66
Percentage	3.25%	13.6%
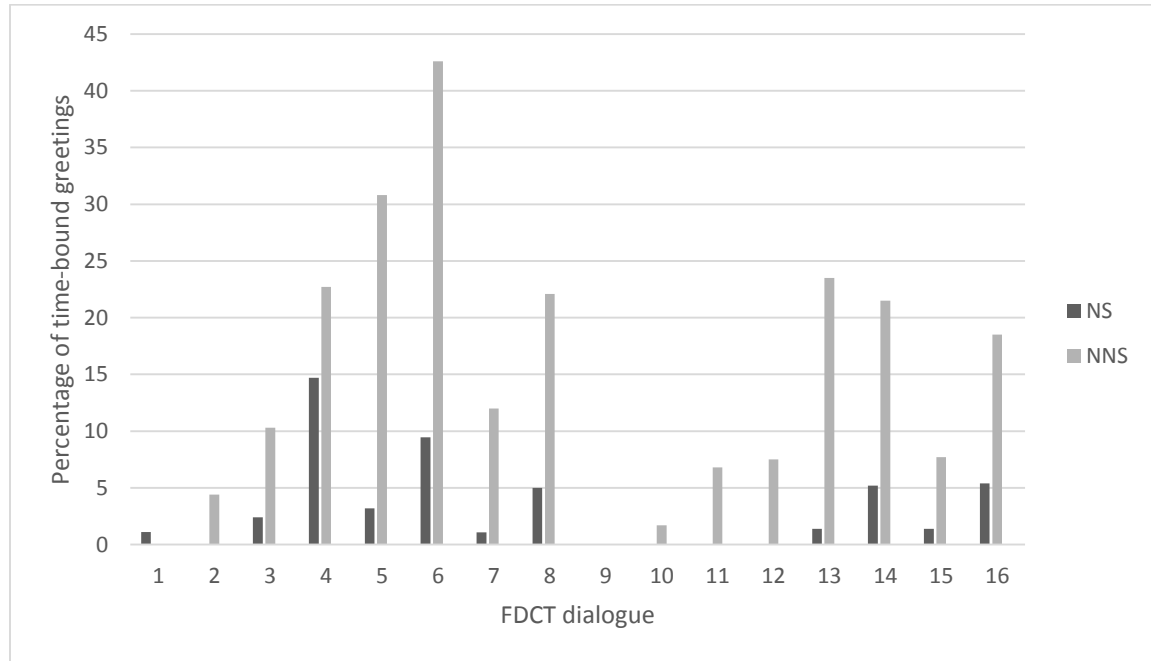
Figure 8. Percentage of time-bound greetings per FDCT dialogue in NS and NNS data

The difference between the groups is statistically significant: X^2=80.9056, p= <.0001. The NNSs employed time-bound greetings more frequently. The number of occurrences increased in formal context and with age and status superiors. The highest number was observed in dialogue 6 – greeting a professor at the university – a situation, which according to the NNSs, requires polite language strategies. Similarly, in dialogues 5, 7-8 and the paralleling introductory dialogues 13-16, in greeting professors and instructors, the frequency of time-bound greetings was high. The NSs produced time-bound greeting significantly less frequently than the NNSs in all dialogues of the FDCT. The differences between the groups is statistically significant in all dialogues with the exception of dialogues 1-2 and 9-10, where the production of time-bound greetings was limited, and dialogue 4. This dialogue includes direct indication to the time of day: "You run into a friend/ colleague who is older than you when you come to studies/ work on Monday morning." It was the only one in which the NSs used the phrase "Good morning" frequently. In all other dialogues, the production of time-bound greetings by the NSs was very limited.

4.1.2.2. Greeting phatic questions.

Greeting phatic questions include neutral question "How are you?", formal "How do you do?", and informal questions such as "How's it going?" and "What's up?".

4.1.2.2.1. How are you?

Table 9 presents the total number, the mean number, and percentage of the production of the greeting "How are you?" in the entire FDCT. Figure 9 illustrates percentage of the greeting "How are you?" by the NSs and NNSs in 16 dialogues of the FDCT.

Table 9. Total number, the mean, and percentage of the production of "How are you?" in NS and NNS data

Semantic formula	NS	NNS
Total number of semantic formulas	1313	1712
Total number of How are you?	166	98
Mean	4.15	1.96
Percentage	12.56%	5.72%
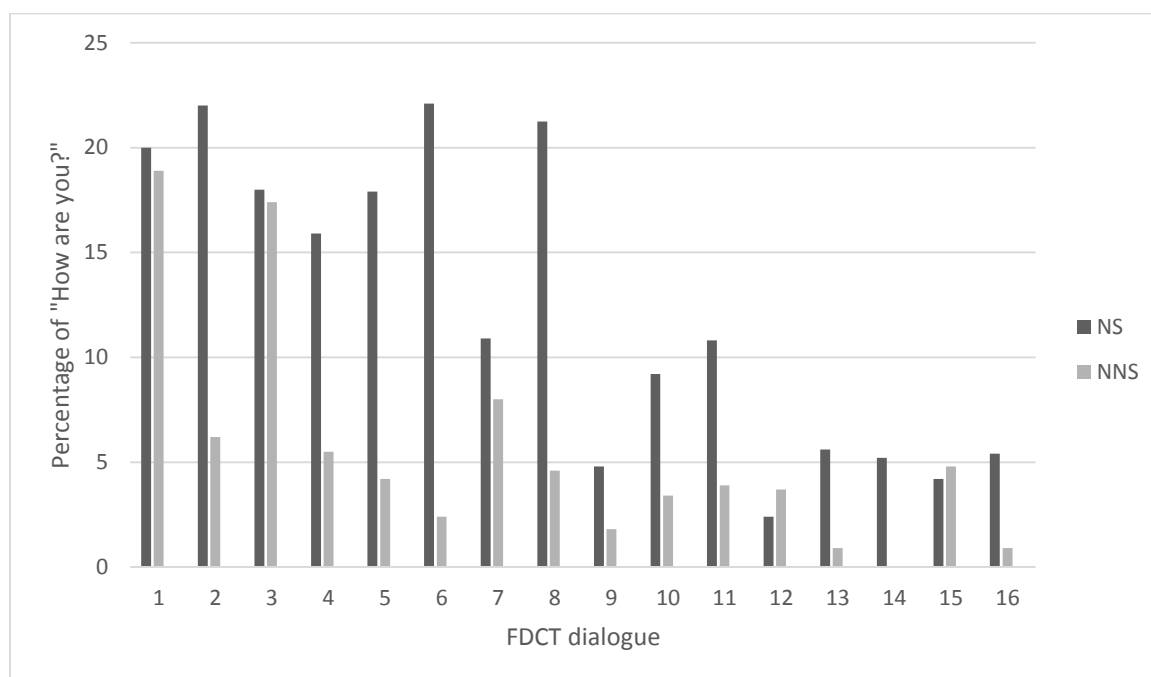
Figure 9. Percentage of "How are you?" per FDCT dialogue in NS and NNS data

In the overall production of "How are you?", the participant groups demonstrated statistically significant difference: X^2=37.2091, p= <.0001. The NSs employed "How are you?" frequently in the greetings of familiar interlocutors – both peers and professors (FDCT dialogues 1-8); in the introductory greetings (FDCT dialogues 9-16), the use of "How are you?" was less common. The NNSs produced "How are you?" much less frequently than the NSs. The frequency was high in the informal greetings of peers – dialogues 1 and 3. The number of "How are you?" in greeting peers in a formal context (dialogues 2 and 4) significantly decreased. In the greetings of

instructors (dialogues 7-8 and 15-16), the NNSs produced "How are you?" much less frequently than the NSs; in the greetings of professors (dialogues 5-6 and 13-14) – the number of occurrences was limited or not observed. Statistically significant differences between the groups were observed in dialogues 2, 4, and 8 – greetings in formal context, as well as in dialogues 5 and 6 – greetings professors. Such tendency reveals the rules of L1 politeness, which will be discussed further in the "Discussion" chapter.

4.1.2.2.2. How do you do?

In several FDCT dialogues, the NNSs produced the formal variant of the question "How are you?" – "How do you do?" Table 10 presents the number of its production in FDCT dialogues by the NNSs. In the NS data, this greeting has not been observed.

Table 10. "How do you do?" in NNS data

FDCT dialogue	Number of occurrences (total 16)	NNS's ID (total 7 respondents)
#2. =P,=A,+F,-D	2	21, 31
#4. =P,+A,+F,-D	2	10, 21
#5. +P,+A,-F,-D	4	27, 32(initial and reciprocal), 48
#6. +P,+A,+F,-D	1	48
#7. +P,=A,-F,-D	1	44
#9. =P,=A,-F,+D	1	27
#11. =P,+A,-F,+D	2	27 (initial and reciprocal)
#13. +P,+A,-F,+D	2	27 (initial and reciprocal)
#14. +P,+A,+F,+D	1	27

We can see here that the largest number of "How do you do?" occurrence was observed in

dialogue 5 – meeting a professor in an informal situation (Examples (1)-(3)):

(1)   - How do you do?
        - How are you?
        - Fine, thanks.
        - Bye. (NNS 27, dialogue 5) [2]

(2)   - How do you do
        - How do you do. (NNS 32, dialogue 5)

(3)   - Hello, Mr. Clark! What a surprise to meet you here! I have not seen you for a
        week! How do you do?
        - Hello, Megan! I am quite well, thank you. (NNS 48, dialogue 5)

We might have hypothesized that the variables of P and A are important here and students

might tend to greet their status superiors with a "How do you do?" However, as shown in the data

– particularly, in dialogue 2 (=P,=A,+F,-D), Examples (4) and (5) – "How do you do?" was also

used in greeting peers:

(4)   - Hello!
        - Hello!
        - How do you do?
        - Fine! (NNS 21, dialogue 2).

(5)   - Hello, how do you do?
        - Hello, everything is okay (NNS 31, dialogue 2).

At the same time, in the data, the peers were greeted with "How do you do?" exclusively in formal

situations.

In the introductory greetings, "How do you do?" was observed in all combinations of

variables: =P/ +P, =A/ +A, and -F/ +F. However, as we see, "How do you do?" in introductory

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[2] Examples are taken from the actual FDCT dialogues and are presented as they appear. Any errors, including spelling, punctuation, and grammar are not corrected. Each example is followed by a parenthetical indication of the group, participant's ID, and dialogue number.

greetings was employed by the same NNS participant, so this usage might be connected either to induced teaching or idiosyncratic speech characteristics of the respondent.

4.1.2.2.3. Informal phatic questions.

Nine informal phatic greeting questions were observed in the data. They are the following: in the descending order of the number of occurrences, "How's it going?", "What's up?", "How are things?" – produced by both groups; "What are/ have you been up to?", "What's on?", "Howdy?", "What's kicking?" – produced by the NSs only; and "How are you feeling?" and "What's new/ news?" – produced by the NNSs only. The total number, the mean number, and percentage of their production among the NSs and NNSs are presented in Table 11. The percentage of informal phatic questions in the 16 dialogues of the FDCT is presented in Figure 10.

Table 11. Total number, the mean, and percentage of the production of informal phatic questions in NS and NNS data

Semantic formula	NS	NNS
Total number of semantic formulas	1313	1712
Total number of informal phatic questions	98	30
Mean	2.45	0.6
Percentage	7.41%	1.75%
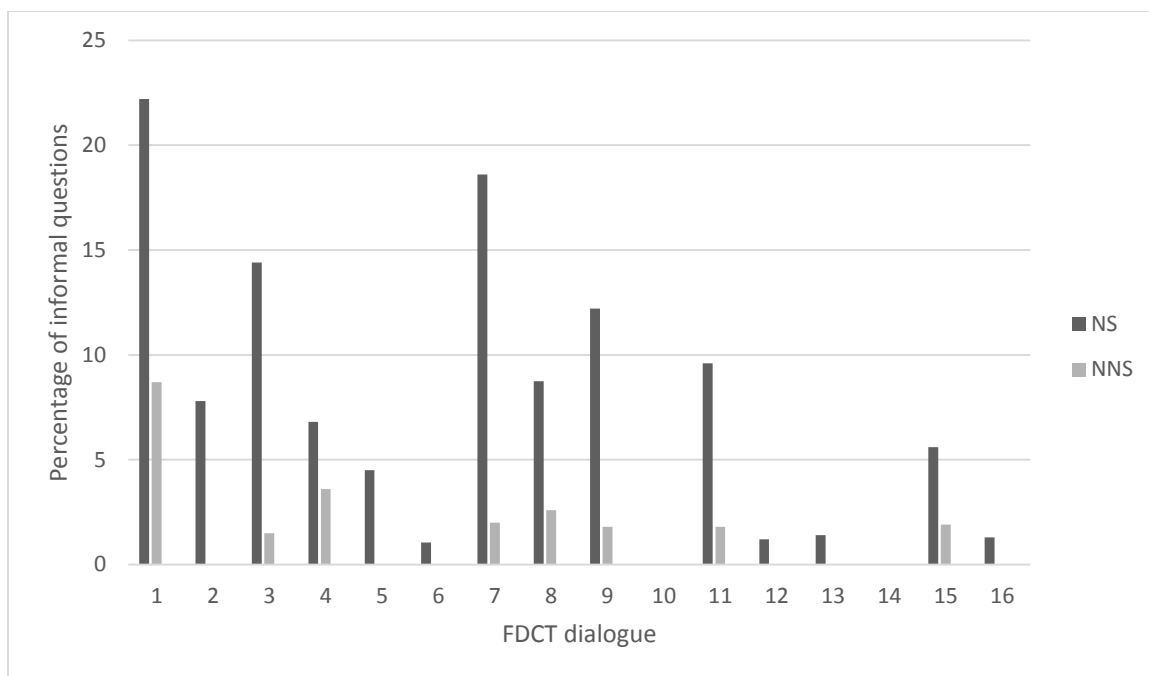
Figure 10. Percentage of informal phatic questions per FDCT dialogue in NS and NNS data

In the overall production of informal phatic questions, the participant groups demonstrated statistically significant difference: X^2=54.6071, p=<.0001. The NSs mostly employed informal greeting questions in dialogue 1 – greeting a peer in an informal context, dialogue 3 – greeting a peer who is older in an informal context, dialogue 7 – greeting an instructor in an informal context, and dialogue 9 – introductory greeting of a peer in an informal context. In these dialogues, the difference in the production of informal questions between the NSs and the NNSs was statistically significant. The common feature of dialogues 1, 3, 7, and 9 is the informality of the context. In the formal context as well as in greeting status superiors, the use of the informal questions by the NSs was lower. The NNSs produced informal phatic questions only in dialogue 1, in all other situations the use of such questions was either very small or did not occur.

4.1.2.3. Phatic phrases.

The following phatic phrases as part of initial greetings were observed in the data: "Nice to see you," "Nice to meet you," and "Haven't seen you." The total number, the mean, and percentage of the phatic phrases' production in the initial greetings are presented in Table 12.

Table 12. Total number, the mean, and percentage of the production of phatic phrases in NS and NNS data

	Total number		Mean		Percentage	
	NS	**NNS**	**NS**	**NNS**	**NS**	**NNS**
Nice to see you	11	26	0.275	0.52	0.83%	1.51%
'Nice to meet you' as initial greeting	-	17	-	0.34	-	0.99%
Haven't seen you	3	19	0.075	0.38	0.23%	1.1%

In NS and NNS data, a phatic greeting phrase "Nice to see you" was observed in the FDCT responses to the prompts 1-7 – greetings of familiar interlocutors. The difference between the groups was insignificant. The NSs demonstrated variability in the phrase and used the following adjectives: "nice," "good," "great," "happy," and "fancy." The NNSs showed less variability in the adjectives and tended to use "nice" predominantly.

A phatic greeting phrase "Nice to meet you" was observed in the NNS data as the initial greeting of status peers familiar to the speaker, as shown in Examples (6), (7), and (8):

(6)   - Hi! I'm so glad to meet you. How are you?
       - Hi! Everything is OK. (NNS 18, dialogue 2);

(7)   - Good morning! Nice to meet you.
       - Good morning. Nice to meet you too. (NNS 10, dialogue 2);

(8)   - Hi, pleased to meet you. How are you? (NNS 46, dialogue 3).

Such use of "Nice to meet you" may serve as an example of negative pragmalinguistic transfer. This collocation is often translated into Russian as "рад видеть/ приятно встретиться" (rad videt'/ priyatno vstretitsya) which corresponds to the English "Nice to see you" and is used as a general polite phrase regardless of familiarity and distance between interlocutors. In other words, it can be used for greeting both familiar and unfamiliar interlocutors. The production of "Nice to meet you" in initial greetings demonstrates that the learners are familiar with the English verb "to meet – to come into the presence of someone" but not with the usage of the collocation. Moreover, the NNSs might not differentiate between "Nice to meet you" and "Nice to see you," as Example (9) illustrates:

(9)   - Hello! How nice to meet you here.
           - Hello. I'm happy to see you too. (NNS 35, dialogue 3)

As we will see later in the chapter, the use of "Nice to meet you" as a part of initial greeting in non-introductory greetings was one of the reasons for the lower scoring in pragmatic appropriateness by the NS raters.

The third phatic phrase – "Haven't seen you" – was employed predominantly by the NNSs in the greetings of familiar interlocutors. The number of occurrences in the NS data was small – only three uses. The difference in the production of the phrases "Nice to meet you" and "Haven't seen you" is statistically significant: X^2=12.9823, p=.000314 and X^2=7.8883, p=.004976 respectively.

4.1.2.4. Terms of address.

The following terms of address were frequently observed in NS and NNS data: personal first names, titles such as "Professor" and "Doctor," honorifics "Sir/ Madam" and "Mr./ Mrs.," and nominal informal colloquial addresses such as "man" and "dude."

4.1.2.4.1. Personal names.

Personal names were produced in FDCT prompts 1-4 while addressing status peers both in formal and informal setting and prompts 7-8 while addressing a university instructor of the same age.

The total number, the mean number, and percentage of the production of personal names in NS and NNS data are presented in Table 13. The percentage of personal names production per FDCT dialogue is illustrated in Figure 11. Since according to FDCT prompts personal names could be produced only in dialogues 1-8 – greeting familiar interlocutors, Figure 11 contains information on these dialogues only and does not include dialogues 9-16.

Table 13. Total number, the mean, and percentage of the production of personal names in NS and NNS data

	NS	NNS
Total number of semantic formulas	1313	1712
Total number of personal names	48	50
Mean	1.2	1
Percentage	3.63%	2.92%
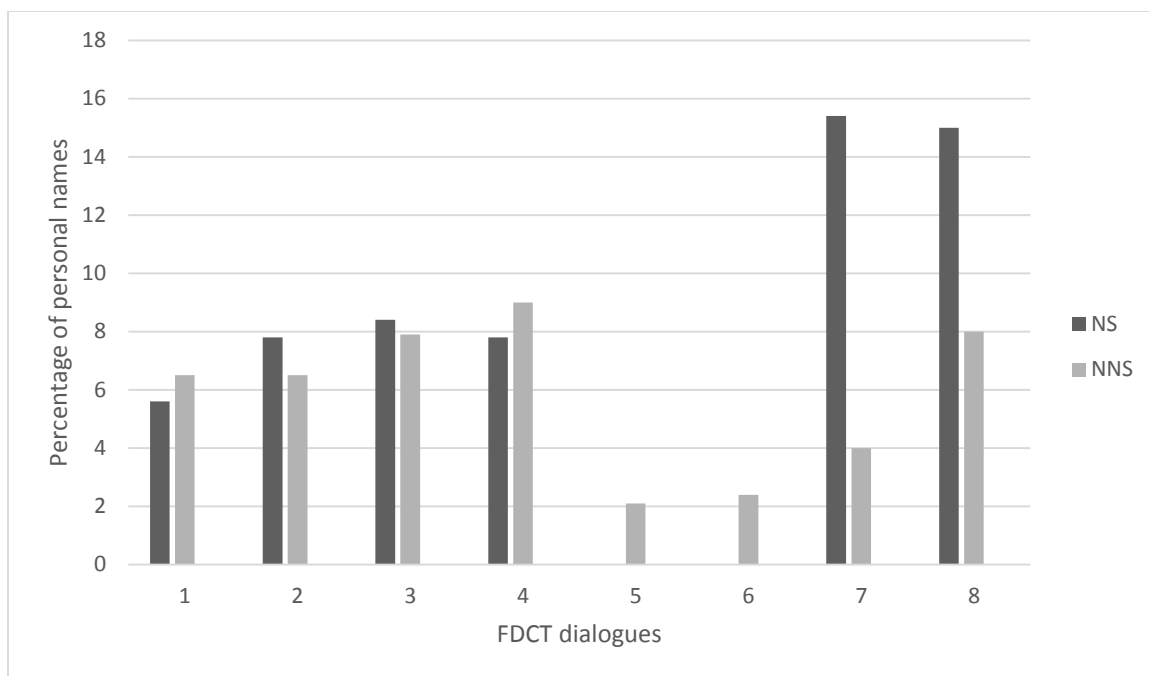
Figure 11. Percentage of personal names per FDCT dialogue in NS and NNS data

In dialogues 1-4 – greeting status peers, the production of personal first names is comparable between the groups and the difference is statistically insignificant. However, in situation 7 – greeting a university instructor of the same age in a formal setting, the difference is significant: X^2=5.8737, p=.015369. The NSs preferred to use personal first names; whereas, the NNSs produced them less frequently. In dialogue 8 – greeting an instructor in an informal setting, the NSs employed personal names more frequently as well; however, the difference between the groups is not significant (X^2=2.2169, p=.13651). Such production might be explained by the politeness norms in L1. In Russian, one has to use polite personal pronoun 'Vy' and a first name with a required patronymic to address interlocutors of the higher status irrespective of age. The first name with a mandatory patronymic is also always used in formal situations. First names only (without the patronymic) are not allowed in addressing interlocutors of the higher status. This rule constrained the NNSs from using first names to address university instructors. Adherence to the

rule of using a patronymic when addressing a superior was also seen in FDCT dialogues 5 and 6 –

greeting professors, as in Examples (10) and (11):

(10)   Hello, Alexey Gennad'evich (NNS 23, dialogue 5);

(11)   Good morning, Irina Viktorovna! (NNS 51, dialogue 6).

4.1.2.4.2. Titles and honorifics.

Titles (Dr., Professor) and honorifics (Mr., Ms., and Sir) were produced in FDCT prompts

5-8 and 13-16 while addressing university faculty. The total number, the mean, and percentage of

the production of honorifics and titles are presented in Tables 14 and 15 respectively. The

percentage of the production of honorifics and titles across FDCT dialogues is presented in Figures

12 and 13 respectively. Since according to FDCT prompts, the use of titles and honorifics was

contextually possible only in the situations of greetings university professors and instructors,

Figures 12 and 13 display the percentage of their production in dialogues 5-8 and the paralleling

introductory dialogues 13-16.

Table 14. Total number, the mean, and percentage of the production of honorifics in NS and NNS

data

	NS	NNS
Total number of semantic formulas	1313	1712
Total number of honorifics	22	75
Mean	0.55	1.5
Percentage	1.66%	4.38%

Table 15. Total number, the mean, and percentage of the production of titles in NS and NNS data

	NS	NNS
Total number of semantic formulas	1313	1712
Total number of titles	80	26
Mean	2	0.52
Titles	6.05%	1.51%
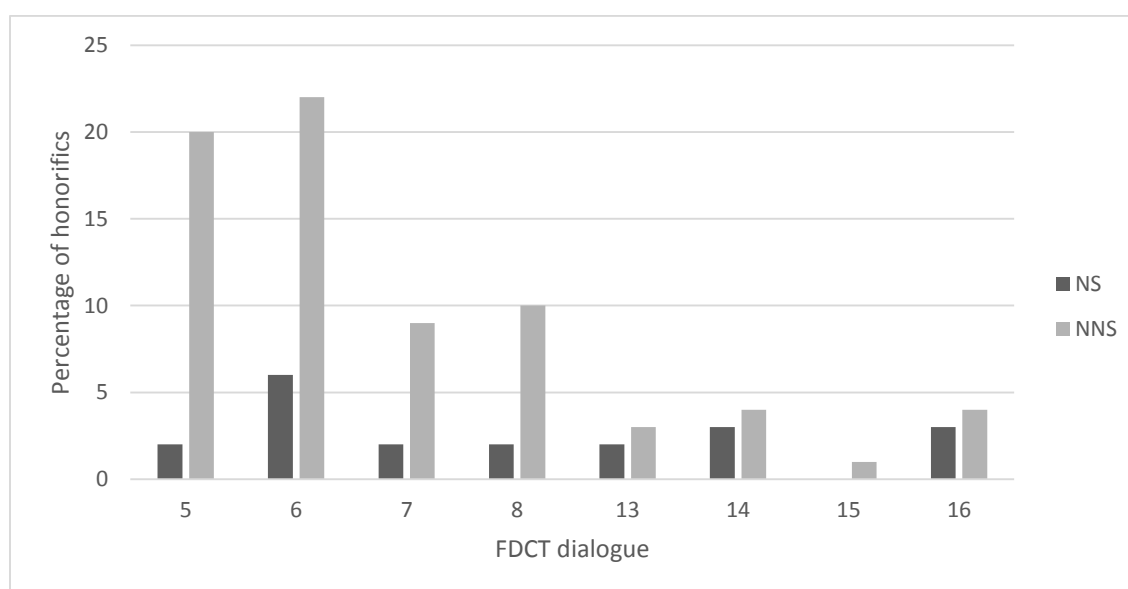
Figure 12. Percentage of honorifics per FDCT dialogue in NS and NNS data
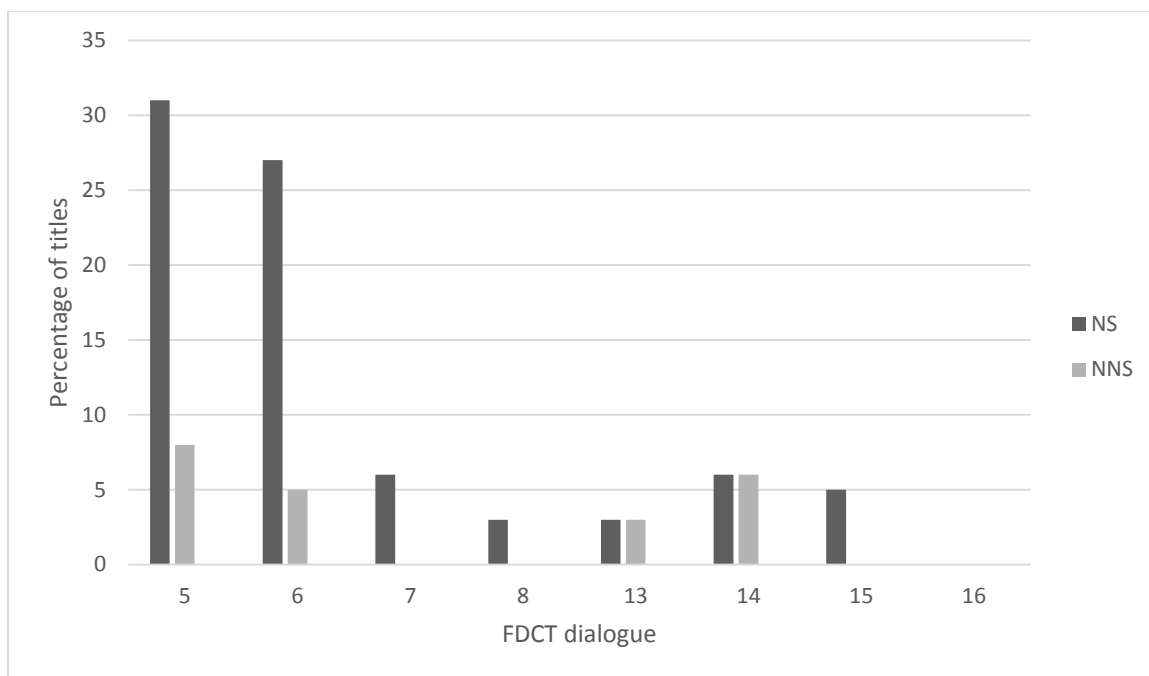
Figure 13. Percentage of titles per FDCT dialogue in NS and NNS data

According to the data, the NSs prefered to use titles such as "Dr." and "Professor," whereas the NNSs – honorifics such as "Mr./ Ms." The difference between the groups is statistically significant: for the production of titles, X^2=42.6406, p=<.0001, for honorifics, X^2=16.4928, p=.000049. The distribution of the honorifics' and titles'occurrences across FDCT dialogues (Figures 12 and 13) reveals the tendency. The most interesting results concern situational prompts 5-8 (greeting university professors and instructors) where the NNSs predominantly used honorifics and the NSs – titles and demonstrated significant differences in the numbers.Typical greetings from the NNS data in the dialogues 5-8 are Examples (12)-(15):

(12)   Hello, Mr. Brown! (NNS 2, dialogue 5);

(13)   Good morning, Mr.Morgan! (NNS 4, dialogue 6);

(14)   Hello, Mrs. Borisova. (NNS 30, dialogue 7);

(15)   Good day, Mr. Green! (NNS 21, dialogue 8).

Typical NS greetings in the same dialogues (FDCT 5-8 – greeting professors and instructors) are

Examples (16)-(19):

> (16)   Hey, Professor N (NS 2, dialogue 5);

> (17)   Hey there Dr. Walker, how are you today? (NS 12, dialogue 6);

> (18)   Hey, (name) (NS 14, dialogue 7);

> (19)   What's up, (insert name)? (NS 11, dialogue 8).

As we will see in the "Discussion" chapter, such preference of the NNSs might be caused

by the induced teaching: the NNSs used honorifics "Mr./ Ms." as they have been taught in EFL

classes and were less familiar with the use of titles since they have not been instructed to use them.

4.1.2.4.3. Colloquial addresses.

Colloquial addresses such as "man,'" "buddy," and "dude" were observed in FDCT

dialogues 1-4 – greeting status peers, 7-8 – greeting instructors, and 9-12 – introductory greetings

of status peers. One instance of colloquial address was observed in the NNS data in dialogue 13 –

introductory greeting of a university professor in an informal setting. In this particular dialogue –

Example (20), the NNS respondent used humor and employed a theme of misunderstanding and

taking a professor for a peer:

> (20)   - Hello, dude! Who are you?
>   - Hello, nice to meet you. I am a new professor at the university.
>   - …
>   - Hey, dude, are you alive? (NNS 35, dialogue13).

In Example (20), a student greeted the interlocutor with a neutral "Hello" but added a colloquial

term of address "dude" and asked a direct question for identification "Who are you?" The

professor's response that he/ she is a new professor overwhelmed the student and he/ she did not

find words to react. The professor, instead, replied to that silence in an ironic manner addressing

the student with an informal "hey" and reciprocal "dude" and a sarcastic question "Are you alive?"

The total number, the mean, and total percentage of the production of colloquial addresses are presented in Table 16. The percentage of colloquial addresses per FDCT dialogue is given in Figure 14.

Table 16. Total number, the mean, and percentage of the production of colloquial addresses in NS and NNS data

	NS	NNS
Total number of semantic formulas	1313	1712
Total number of colloquial address	15	20
Mean	0.375	0.4
Percentage	1.13%	1.16%
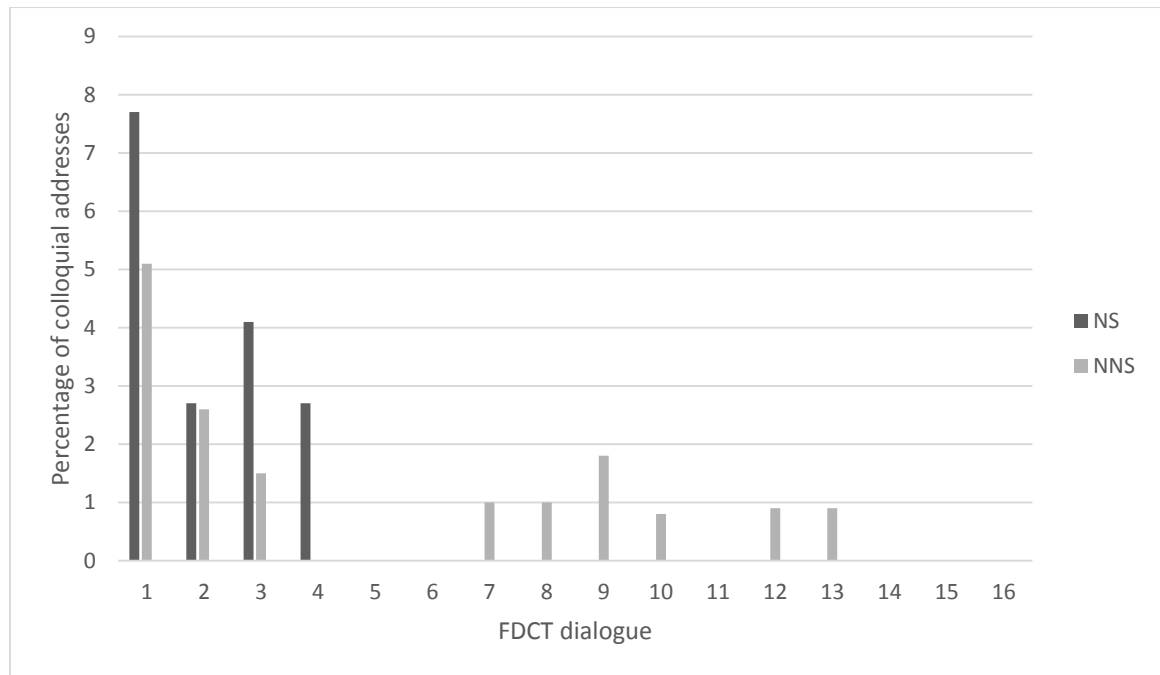
Figure 14. Percentage of colloquial addresses per FDCT dialogue in NS and NNS data

The total number and percentage of colloquial addresses production are similar between the two groups (Table 16) and the difference is not statistically significant (X^2=0.0042, p=.948161). However, the percentage of production per FDCT dialogue (Figure 14) is different. We can see that the NSs produced colloquial addresses exclusively in the situations of greeting status peers (dialogues 1-4). In the NNS data, the production of colloquial addresses was spread across the dialogues. The NNSs mostly produced colloquial addresses in greeting age and status peers in an informal context (dialogue 1). In all other dialogues, the production of colloquial addresses by the NNSs was very limited and thus can be explained by idiosyncratic characteristics of the respondent (as shown in Example (20)) or by the intention of the NNSs to demonstrate their competence in colloquial addresses.

4.1.2.5. Situational greetings.

As discussed earlier, the speech act of greeting is highly context-sensitive and dependent on a number of variables. In different contexts, depending on the immediate situation and relationships between interlocutors, a variety of speech acts may be used as a greeting (Duranti, 1997). In the present data, phrases that were used as situational greetings differed in the greetings of familiar interlocutors, in other words, non-introductory greetings (FDCT dialogues 1-8) and in the greetings of unfamiliar ones – introductory greetings (FDCT dialogues 9-16).

4.1.2.5.1. Situational greetings in non-introductory dialogues (FDCT 1-8).

Situational non-introductory greetings in the present data include five types:

1. questions "Where are you going?" and "What are you doing (here)?";

2. question "How was your weekend?";

3. expressions of surprise;

4. situational questions for information;

5. other situational utterances.

The questions "Where are you going?" and "What are you doing (here)?" were restricted to FDCT dialogues 1-3 – greeting familiar interlocutors of equal status. The question "How was your weekend?" was dictated by the situational prompt (FDCT dialogue 4 "You run into a friend/ a colleague who is older than you when you come to studies/ work on Monday morning"). Expressions of surprise were also produced in the greetings of familiar interlocutors as in Examples (21)-(24):

(21)   My goodness! Hello! (NS 5, dialogue 2);

(22)   Hello, wouldn't expect to see you here (NS 28, dialogue 2);

(23)   What a sudden! Isn't it amazing! (NNS 11, dialogue 2);

(24)   Hello, what a surprise! (NNS 12, dialogue 2).

The next type of situational greetings is questions for information which are asked in a particular context – in a cafe, as in Examples (25) and (26), or at the university – Examples (27) and (28):

(25)   Hey, do you come here often? (NS 30, dialogue 7);

(26)   Hello, Mr. Porter, do you like this place? (NNS 37, dialogue 7);

(27)   Good morning! On your way to class? (NS 10, dialogue 4);

(28)   Hello. Do we have lecture with you again? (NNS 31, dialogue 8).

The fifth type of situational non-introductory greetings is the broadest one. It includes a variety of speech acts used as greeting strategies, for example, compliments as in Examples (29) and (30), requests – Example (31), negative comments on interlocutor's appearance – Example (32), complaints – Example (33), neutral statements – Examples (34) and (35); apologies –

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Example (36), expressions of wishes/ desires – Example (37), and suggestions and offers – Examples (38) and (39):

(29)   What a pretty dress! (NS 19, dialogue 3);

(30)   You look great (NNS 12, dialogue 3);

(31)   Hi John, do you mind if I sit here? (NNS 43, dialogue 3);

(32)   Good morning. You look sleepy (NNS 17, dialogue 4);

(33)   Oh my God, it's Monday again! (NNS 37, dialogue 4);

(34)   Good morning, mr. Professor. Nice weather, isn't it (NNS 29, dialogue 5);

(35)   Hi! Is it a nice café, isn't it (NNS 36, dialogue 7);

(36)   Sorry, I'm a bit late now (NNS 13, dialogue 6);

(37)   Hello, bon appetite (NNS 35, dialogue 7);

(38)   Good morning. Do you want to drink coffee with me? (NNS 46, dialogue 7);

(39)   Hello, our group all together is going to the exhibition today, would you like to join us! (NNS 47, dialogue 8).

The total number, the mean, and percentage of situational greetings in non-introductory dialogues (FDCT dialogues 1-8) in aggregate are presented in Table 17. The percentage of their production per FDCT dialogue is presented in Figure 15.

Table 17. Total number, the mean, and percentage of situational greetings production in non-introductory dialogues (FDCT 1-8) in NS and NNS data

	NS	NNS
Total number of semantic formulas (FDCT 1-8)	699	847
Total number of situational greetings	40	157
Mean	1	3.14

Percentage	5.7%	18.53%
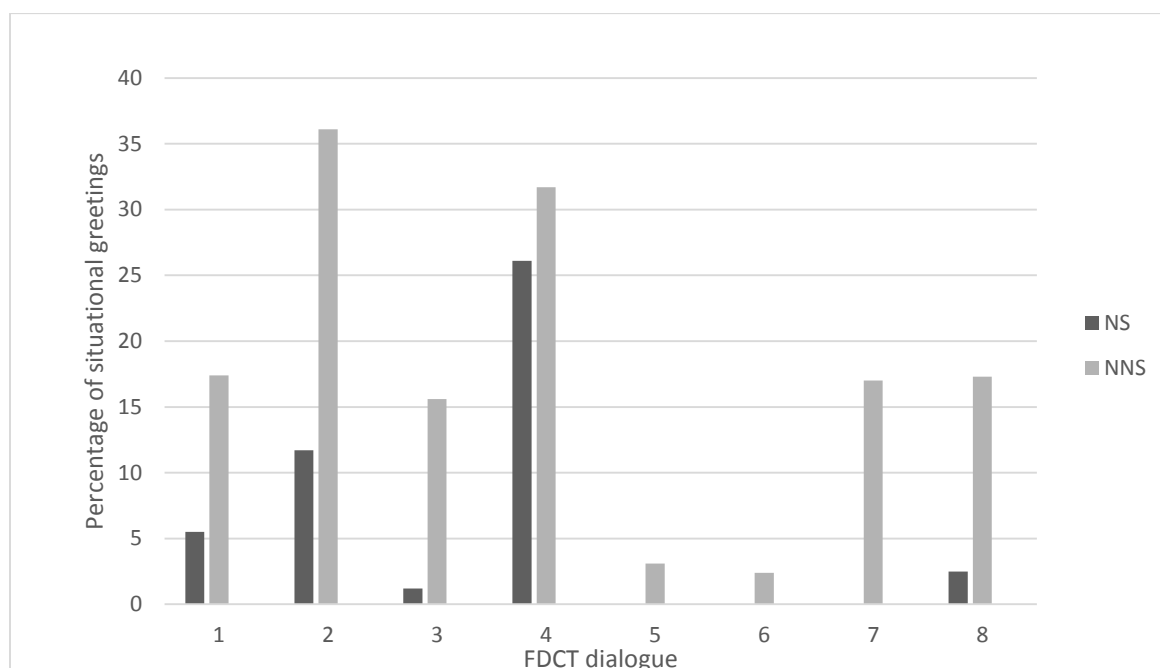
Figure 15. Percentage of situational greetings per FDCT dialogue (FDCT 1-8) in NS and NNS data

As we see in Table 17 and Figure 15, in non-introductory greetings, the NNSs produced significantly more situational greetings than the NSs (X^2=44.3919, p=<.0001), except FDCT dialogue 4 where the NSs employed the question "How was your weekend?" and other situational questions frequently.

First, in the NNS data, the most frequent questions used as situational greetings were "Where are you going?" and "What are you doing (here)?" These questions were produced in dialogues 1-3 (greeting status peers in formal and informal contexts) and in dialogue 7 – greeting an instructor in an informal setting. In the NS data, such questions occurred only in dialogue 1 and were very rare (three occurrences). The frequent use of the questions "Where are you going?" and "What are you doing (here)?" by the NNSs will be addressed in the discussion chapter.

Second, the NNSs produced expressions of surprise such as those in Examples (23) and (24) in dialogue 2 frequently; whereas in the NS data, such expressions were observed only twice – Examples (21) and (22). This might be explained by the NNSs' attitude towards the FDCT as a means of demonstration their English proficiency and the desire to write as much and as well as possible.

The third type of situational non-introductory greetings is the question "How was your weekend?" It was common in both NSs' and NNSs' responses to situational prompt 4. The number of occurrences was similar between the groups: NS – 11 occurrences (12.5%), NNS – 15 occurrences (13.6%); however, the answers to the question were different between the groups. The majority of the NSs (81%) answered briefly with a positive adjective "Good" or "Fine," two respondents (19%) answered with a neutral statement. The NNSs (60%), on the other hand, told what they did and named certain activities, as in Examples (40)-(42):

(40)　-Hi, Ben. How was your weekend?
　　　-I spend my time with my family. We have barbecue, and go to the park.
　　　 (NNS 4, dialogue 4);

(41)　-Good morning! How did you use your weekend?
　　　-Hello! I went to my family in another city! (NNS 24, dialogue 4);

(42)　-Good morning! How was your weekend?
　　　-Good morning! I was in Finland with my relatives this weekend.
　　　(NNS 25, dialogue 4).

Another difference was in the reciprocal question: the NSs (90.9%) asked the reciprocal question "And how was yours?" as in Example (43), whereas the NNSs never did.

(43)　-Hi, how was your weekend?
　　　- Good. Yours? (NS 13, dialogue 4).

Other greeting strategies that were used by participants in their responses to prompt 4 include situational questions as in Example (27) and in NNSs' data – negative comments on the interlocutor's appearance and complaints as in Examples (32) and (33). Such negative comments

and complaints were among the reasons for low pragmatic appropriateness ratings by the NSs, as will be shown later.

The next type of situational greetings – questions for information asked at a particular context, e.g. a café or a university, were common in both groups (Examples (25)-(28)). As for the fifth type of situational greetings – other situational utterances used as greeting strategies, the NNSs demonstrated a wide variety of those, as in Examples (30)-(39). In contrast, in the NS data in FDCT dialogues 1-8, only one occurrence of this type of situational greeting, namely a compliment used as a greeting, was observed (Example (29)).

4.1.2.5.2. Situational greetings in introductory dialogues (FDCT 9-16).

In the introductory greetings – FDCT dialogues 9-16, situational greetings in the present data include four major types:

1. summons in "courtesy terms" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 49) as in Examples (44) and (45):

   (44)   Pardon me, but I don't believe we met (NS 11, dialogue 9);

   (45)   Excuse me, I'm seeking for … (NNS 13, dialogue 16);

2. self-introduction as in Examples (46) and (47):

   (46)   Hello, my name is Sara (NS 4, dialogue 12);

   (47)   Hello. My name is Jack. What is your name? (NNS 16, dialogue 9);

3. similar to non-introductory greetings, – situational questions for information which are asked in a particular context as in Examples (48)-(51):

   (48)   Hey, what year are you? (NS 8, dialogue 10);

   (49)   Is it your first day here? (NNS 11, dialogue 10);

   (50)   What major are you studying? (NS 7, dialogue 12);

   (51)   Hello, are you a new instructor? (NNS 4, dialogue 15);

4. similar to non-introductory greetings, – other situational utterances which are tailored to

   a particular context as in Examples (52)-(56):

       (52)   Hi! You have a nice dress! Where did you get it? (NNS 8, dialogue 9).

       (53)   Man, parties are lame (NS 12, dialogue 11);

       (54)   Hey man, I like your shoes (NS 38, dialogue 12);

       (55)   Hello! I see you have trouble with the timetable (NNS 8, dialogue 12);

       (56)   It's fun here, right (NNS 17, dialogue 15).

The total number, the mean, and percentage of situational greetings in introductory dialogues (FDCT dialogues 9-16) in aggregate are presented in Table 18. The percentage of their production per FDCT dialogue is presented in Figure 16.

Table 18. Total number, the mean, and percentage of situational greetings production in introductory dialogues (FDCT 9-16) in NS and NNS data

	NS	NNS
Total number of semantic formulas FDCT (9-16)	614	865
Total number of situational greetings	278	432
Mean	6.95	8.64
Percentage	45.27%	49.94%
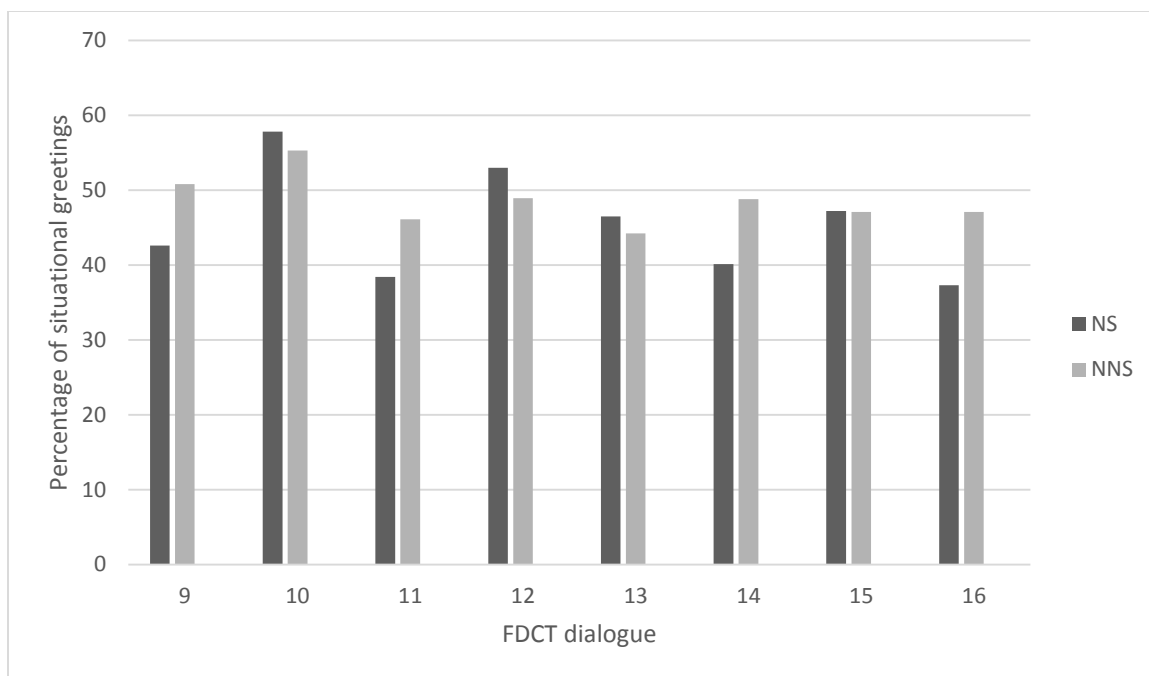
Figure 16. Percentage of situational greetings per FDCT dialogue (FDCT 9-16) in NS and NNS data

Table 18 and Figure 16 show that situational utterances including summons, self-introduction, questions for information, and contextual utterances constitute the largest part of semantic formulas in introductory greetings. The participant groups demonstrated statistically similar numbers of the production of situational greetings: $X^2=1.1062$, $p=.292902$.

Self-introduction was the most common semantic formula in introductory greetings in both NS and NNS data. The percentage of its production in FDCT dialogues 9-16 is displayed in Figure 17.
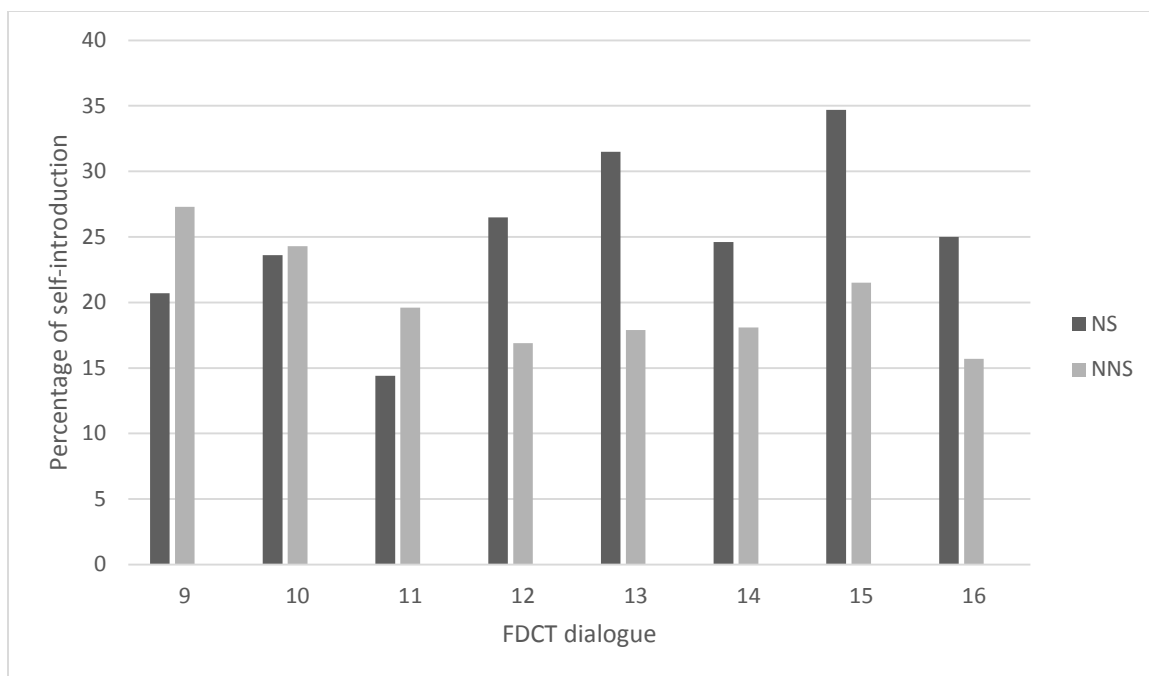
Figure 17. Percentage of self-introduction per FDCT dialogue (FDCT 9-16) in NS and NNS data

Interestingly, the NSs used self-introduction more while introducing themselves to status and age superiors (FDCT dialogues 12-16); the NNSs introduced themselves more to status peers (dialogues 9-11). Lack of self-introduction to university instructors and professors was considered as one of the pragmatic flaws by the NS raters, as will be discussed later in section 4.2.2.2.

Regarding other types of situational introductory greetings, the data showed that summons as in Examples (44) and (45) were commonly employed by both respondents' groups. In the same way, questions for information as in Examples (48)-(51) were frequently produced as part of the introductory greetings by the NSs and NNSs. However, in other situational utterances – questions, comments or remarks tailored to a particular context and circumstances, – the respondents' groups demonstrated differences. In the NS data, those included compliments as in Example (54) and non-personal or neutral statements as in Example (53). In the NNS data, the variety was wider. Besides compliments and neutral statements (Examples (52) and (56)), the NNSs produced requests and personal comments oriented to the hearer, as in the Examples (57)-(62):

(57)   Hello! You are so lovely! Maybe dance with me a bit? (NNS 44, dialogue 9);

(58)   Hello, you seem familiar to me or I am wrong (NNS 48, dialogue 9);

(59)   Hello, wouldn't you mind if I stand with you? (NNS 10, dialogue 11);

(60)   I have some questions, may I ask? (NNS 4, dialogue 14);

(61)   Hello, I didn't think our new instructor is so young (NNS 16, dialogue 15);

(62)   Hello, Mike says me that you are good instructor (NNS 46, dialogue 15).

The directness of the NNSs in these utterances and the lack of small talk were one of the reasons for low pragmatic appropriateness ratings, as judged by the NSs, as will be shown in the next sections and in the "Discussion" chapter.

4.1.3. Section summary.

In the sections above, the results of the comparison of semantic formulas' production between the NSs and the NNSs were presented. It was found that the NSs and NNSs produced similar number of semantic formulas in the entire FDCT assignment. However, the participant groups demonstrated differences in the number of semantic formulas in individual FDCT dialogues. Namely, the NNSs employed more formulas in greetings peers as well as in introductory greetings and fewer formulas in greeting status superiors. As for the production of particular semantic formulas, the NSs and the NNSs exhibited differences in the numbers and percentage of their production. The most significant differences were observed in the greeting "Hey" and time-bound greetings: the greeting "Hey" was predominantly used by the NSs and was not common in the NNS data, time-bound greetings were frequent among the NNS and rare among the NSs. Phatic questions were a common constituent of the NSs' greetings; whereas the NNSs employed them less frequently and their production was restricted to the situations of greeting peers. However, a formal variant of a phatic question, namely, the phrase "How do you do?" occurred in the NNSs' data and never in the NSs' data. Phatic phrases were more frequent in the NNSs' greetings. In the production

of address terms, the most interesting results were found in the production of personal names to address university instructors – a common strategy among the NSs, and rare among the NNSs. Another difference concerns the use of titles and honorifics. The NSs employed titles to address their professors, the NNSs – honorifics. In the situational greetings – phrases and questions used as greetings depending on the context, the participant groups also showed dissimilarities. The NNSs employed a wide variety of those: questions "Where are you going?" and "What are you doing (here)?", expressions of surprise, personal comments, requests, suggestions, offers, compliments, and complaints were among them.

4.2. NS ratings

The results of the NS ratings are presented in the following order: first, inter-rater reliability is established; second, the ratings of undergraduate and graduate raters are compared; third, areas of the NNSs' production that led to lowering the scores are presented; and lastly the most and the least appropriate FDCT dialogues are shown.

4.2.1. Inter-rater reliability.

The first step in the analysis of NS ratings was establishing inter-rater reliability and consistency. Inter-rater reliability is crucial in studies where pragmatic competence and appropriateness of language production is measured by NSs (Ishihara, 2013).

In order to determine inter-rater reliability, Cronbach's alpha was calculated using SPSS. The alpha coefficient for the six items (raters) is .859 (α = .86) suggesting that the raters have relatively high internal consistency.

4.2.1.2. Variables of raters that affected the scores.

Although analysis of raters' behavior was not the primary goal of the present study, several important results need to be mentioned. While reviewing the scores that the raters gave for the NNS

responses, two interesting tendencies concerning the differences between graduate and undergraduate raters were observed.

First, the undergraduate raters gave higher scores and the graduate raters lower scores to the greeting dialogues which included humorous and sarcastic utterances, as in Examples (63)-(65):

(63)   What are you smiling at, dude? Wanna fight? (NNS 6, dialogue 9);

(64)   Hi, man! Such an old guy in university. Seems strange (NNS 6, dialogue 12);

(65)   Hello, are you interested in a pleasant conversation with a young man while he is not busy giving autographs? (NNS 29, dialogue 11).

Graduate raters called such greetings in the dialogues "unrealistic" (Rater 5), "aggressive and rude" (Rater 4), "unnatural" (Rater 6), and added that these respondents "must watch a lot of TV" (Rater 6). Undergraduate raters, on the other hand, in their comments mentioned "obviously an amazing understanding of English!" (Rater 1), "very funny and good sense of humor. Very American-friendly humor" (Rater 2), and made comments such as "10/10 Genius" (Rater 1).

As a side note, it is interesting to mention here that the NNS students who constructed humorous, ironic, or sarcastic dialogues used good English – with few grammatical errors and extended and elaborate vocabulary including slang and colloquialisms. This confirms G. Cook's (2000) ideas that the use of humor positively correlates with proficiency level, that is, the higher the level is, the more "language play," in Cook's terms, is used. Another variable that affected the use of humor in the FDCT is gender. Only male participants employed humorous and ironic responses. These results may bring us to a discussion of the issue of gender and humor (see, for example, a review by Kotthoff, 2006), which is definitely an interesting question but is outside the scope of the present study.

The second interesting observation in the raters' behavior concerns the perception of the NNSs' grammar. Two out of the three undergraduate raters were more intolerant of grammatical

errors in L2 greetings than the graduate raters. One undergraduate rater took into consideration only very serious errors, which could make the utterance incomprehensible. A general tendency was that if the dialogue contained grammatical errors, both groups of raters – undergraduate and graduate – mentioned them. However, the approach to the severity level of grammatical errors was different. The graduate raters either did not reduce the score or reduced it not significantly (for example, gave the score of "3" rather than a "2"). The two undergraduate raters, on the other hand, were more attentive to the grammar of greeting utterances and underlined almost every grammatical, vocabulary, or spelling error or mistake and gave lower scores because of them. In Examples (66)-(70), the greetings were rated lower by undergraduate raters than by their graduate counterparts (grammatical errors which caused low ratings are underlined):

(66)   Hi and <u>there</u> is the professor? (NNS 4, dialogue 16)
undergraduate rating M= 2.30, graduate M=3.00;

(67)   Hello. You look good. What <u>did you doing</u>? (NNS 5, dialogue 4)
undergraduate rating M= 2.30, graduate M=3.00;

(68)   <u>What's</u> about going out <u>to anywhere</u>? (NNS 24, dialogue 1)
undergraduate rating M= 1.30, graduate M=2.00;

(69)   Hi, or maybe I <u>must</u> say "hello, instructor"? (NNS 28, dialogue 7)
undergraduate rating M= 2.30, graduate M=3.00;

(70)   Good afternoon! The weather <u>changed, didn't it</u> (NNS 34, dialogue 5)
undergraduate rating M= 3.00, graduate M=4.00.

Such scoring might be explained by the previous TESL experience and the knowledge in linguistics or lack thereof of the raters. As described in section 3.2.3.1. of the "Methodology" chapter, the undergraduate raters had neither previous TESL experience, nor a linguistics background. For them, the concept of pragmatic appropriateness was unknown before the raters' training. During the training, the notion of pragmatic appropriateness was explained, various examples were discussed, and raters' lack of knowledge in linguistics and TESL was carefully considered by the researcher. However, the undergraduate raters (two out of three) approached the

NNSs' FDCT dialogues as the demonstration of overall competence in English; and the most important part of that competence was the grammatical one. The graduate raters, on the other hand, had some experience in TESL practice and theory, were more skilled and thus might have been more tolerant towards grammatical errors of the NNSs. They were used to communicating with various NNSs from diverse language backgrounds and of different proficiency levels. They knew the sources of grammatical errors, their types, and frequencies. Thus, grammar was not the most significant reason for lowering the scores. The graduate raters paid more attention to the pragmatic aspects of greetings such as politeness and level of directness. As for grammatical errors, the graduate raters, as noted above, mentioned those in the cases where the errors influenced comprehensibility of an utterance but did not lower the scores significantly. Such results are in agreement with the previous research (Sydorenko et al., 2014; Walters, 2007) which showed that NS raters pay attention to different aspects of language production and different features are salient for them. In addition, it agrees with previous studies (e.g. Ajioka, 2010) that besides grammar, other factors such as "pragmatic unnaturalness" (p. 243), fluency in interaction, and mutual understanding are important for NSs while communicating with NNSs.

In order to see if the undergraduate raters were more lenient than their graduate colleagues, the ratings of the two groups of raters – undergraduate and graduate – were compared using descriptive statistics tests. Table 19 demonstrates that the mean ratings of the two groups – undergraduate and graduate raters – are similar. Correlation between the groups was calculated in Pearson correlations (Table 20). Table 20 shows that the correlation between the two groups is highly significant ($r = .60$, $p < .000$).

Table 19. Descriptive statistics for undergraduate and graduate raters

Descriptive Statistics			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
UNDERGRAD	3.6137	.47670	800
GRAD	3.5780	.52683	800

Table 20. Correlations between undergraduate and graduate raters

Correlations		UNDERGRAD	GRAD
UNDERGRAD	Pearson Correlation	1	.593**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	800	800
GRAD	Pearson Correlation	.593**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	800	800
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

These results show that the overall agreement between the two groups of raters is high. Although in some instances undergraduate raters were more severe than the graduate, in others they appeared to be more lenient. Previous TESL experience and knowledge in linguistics or related fields could have an effect on the ratings in that the raters paid attention to different aspects of the speech act production. Graduate raters were skilled in TESL: they were familiar with ESL practices, worked on various ESL aspects, including evaluation of the written texts. Thus, knowledge in TESL was an important factor. Other variables such as gender or social background might be of significance as well. However, these variables were not considered during the analysis in the current study. They might become a new direction in the future research. Similarly, pragmatic idiosyncrasies of the NS raters, which can complicate the ratings even further, are not discussed here but might be studied in the future.

4.2.2. Areas of L2 greetings that lowered the scores.

4.2.2.1. Grammatical issues in L2 production.

Several areas that affected the ratings of the NNS respondents were identified. They include both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic factors. Pragmalinguistic features contain grammatical and lexical issues, and sociopragmatic – certain topics, inquiries, and politeness rules.

First, as stated above, the raters lowered the score if the respondents had errors in grammar. The undergraduate raters were more attentive to grammar and gave low scores in the cases of grammatical and lexical errors; the graduate raters noticed the errors but they were not the major factors for lowering the scores significantly.

As described earlier, the NNS participants were majoring in English, English and Finnish, and journalism. The mean number of years of English learning was 9.8. According to the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (2012), the participants belong to the Advanced level of English proficiency, ranging from Advanced High to Advanced Low. Advanced High speakers "have sufficient control of basic structures and generic vocabulary" (p. 5); Advanced Low speakers are "marked by a certain grammatical roughness (e.g., inconsistent control of verb endings)" (p. 6) and may demonstrate negative transfer from L1, for example, in the use of false cognates and literal translations.

The following grammatical errors were mentioned by the raters as important: modal verbs (Examples (69) and (71)), tenses (Example (67)), subject-verb agreement (Example (72)), prepositions (Example (73)), adverbs (Examples (66) and (74)), pronouns (Examples (68) and (75)), and sentence structure (Examples (76) and (77)):

(71)   Hello! May you help me with one of my homework? (NNS 24, dialogue 8);

(72)   Hello, how is things in the job? (NNS 31, dialogue 7);

(73)   Are you instructor about math? (NNS 43, dialogue 15);

(74)   Hi, what are you doing there? (NNS 45, dialogues 3);

(75)   Hello, do you like that party? (NNS 43, dialogue 13);

(76)   Where situates room #379? (NNS 47, dialogue 12);

(77)   Good morning, Mrs. I need you to talk (NNS 39, dialogue 5).

According to the raters, such grammatical errors distract from effectiveness and may lead to misunderstanding. Moreover, they may make the NNSs sound impolite and even offensive, as in Example (77) which "sounds like a threat" (Rater 4) and should be corrected as "I need to talk to you."

The second area which led to low scoring was incorrect lexical choice. The following greetings – Examples (78)-(89) – were rated low because of improper or inappropriate use of the underlined words and phrases:

(78)   <u>What's people</u>! How are you? (NNS 24, dialogue 1);

(79)   Hi! What's up? <u>Are you going to Jane</u> next week?(NNS 45, dialogue 1);

(80)   Hello. I need help. I cannot <u>decide this task.</u> (NNS 44, dialogue 12);

(81)   - Hi! How are you doing?
         - Hi! <u>I'm quite normal</u>! What about you? (NNS 18, dialogue 4);

(82)   <u>Good day!</u> (NNS 10, dialogues 10&12);

(83)   <u>Good night</u>! (NNS 55, dialogue 3);

(84)   Good morning, I'm N. I didn't understand last <u>lection</u> (NNS 5, dialogue 14);

(85)   - Hello! I haven't seen you before. What's your name?
         -Hi! I'm Christina. Yes I've changed the <u>faculty</u> (NNS 8, dialogue 10);

(86)   Hello, Sarah. Your lesson was so <u>cognitive</u> last time in the university, I got a lot of useful information. (NNS 48, dialogue 7);

(87)   Hi! I'm Tanya! What are you <u>keen on</u>? (NNS 45, dialogue 9);

(88)   Evening. I'm Tanya. What <u>are you fond of</u>? (NNS 45, dialogue 11);

(89)   - Do you want to <u>come out</u> with me tomorrow?
         -<u>With great pleasure</u> (NNS 46, dialogue 2).

Incorrect use of vocabulary comes from the negative transfer from L1 and is seen in the use of literal translations as in Examples (78)-(83) and false cognates in Examples (84)-(86). For instance, the phrase "What's people" in Example (78) is the literal translation from Russian "Какие люди" (Kakie lyudi) – a phrase expressing surprise at meeting a friend or a well-familiar person. The phrases in Examples (82) and (83) are also translations from L1: "Good day" corresponds to the Russian phrase "Добрый день" (Dobryi den') – a polite Russian greeting, and "Good night" – "Доброй ночи" (Dobroi nochi) – a greeting and a leave-taking in Russian. The latter one – "Good night" – is used as a leave-taking and not as a greeting in English. False cognates are shown in Examples (84)-(86): "lection" instead of "lecture," "faculty" instead of "major," and "cognitive" instead of "informative."

Secondly, incorrect use of vocabulary may be induced from instruction, in particular, such phrases as "to be keen on" (Example (87)), "to be fond of" (Example (88)), "with great pleasure" (Example (89)) or "How do you do?" (Examples (1)-(5)) are commonly taught at the EFL lessons but were perceived by the NSs as "formal" or "archaic" (Rater 3). The same issue was seen in the use of time-bound greetings proper "Good afternoon" and "Good evening" (section 4.1.2.1.4) which are introduced in EFL instruction and directly correspond to the Russian greetings. For the NS raters, they seemed formal, not common in general, and not common among students at all. In a similar vein, phrases used in NNSs' greetings as those in Examples (87)-(89) were perceived by the raters as not common in English, "non-idiomatic" (Rater 4) and "non-native" (Rater 5) and thus led to lowering the scores.

In general, the scores that the NS raters gave to the NNS respondents correspond to their linguistic competence. In other words, the raters tended to lower the scores in the cases of grammatical, syntactical, and/ or vocabulary errors. However, the severity of scoring due to linguistic competence was different among raters: two undergraduate raters were more severe in their ratings even though during the training it was emphasized that grammatical mistakes and

errors should not be taken into consideration unless they influence overall comprehensibility and pragmatic appropriateness. An additional and important issue in lowering the scores because of grammatical or lexical errors, is the rating task effect. The raters read FDCT dialogues and could be affected by the written mode of the task: errors or flaws that could go unnoticeable in oral speech, might have become clear in writing.

4.2.2.2. Sociopragmatic issues in L2 production.

Besides grammatical and lexical flaws and errors, NS raters noted sociopragmatic issues. The major question here was the NNSs' level of directness. The first revealing example comes from FDCT dialogue 4 – greeting a friend/ colleague (older) at a formal context on Monday morning. The NNSs made negative comments on the interlocutor's appearance or complained about Monday or not enough sleep, as in Examples (32), (90)-(93):

(90)   - Hello! How was your weekend? You don't look very great.
        -Hi! Yes, I didn't get enough sleep. How did you notice?
        -You have dark circles (NNS 8, dialogue 4);

(91)   - Good morning!
        -I doubt that it's good. I slept badly tonight. (NNS 49, dialogue 4)

(92)   - Oh my God, it's Monday again!
        -Is it hard for you to wake up early?
        -Of course, I hate Monday's mornings.
        -I hate it too! (NNS 37, dialogue 4)

(93)   Hi, how are you feeling? You look bad. (NNS 43, dialogue 4).

The raters gave low scores for such greeting utterances and explained the decision: "The interaction about getting enough sleep is not idiomatic. It feels like the speaker is trying to get the other person to ask about their malady (this happens sometimes, but isn't socially acceptable)" (Rater 4) or "We don't usually tell people they look bad" (Rater 5). For the Russian speakers, such references to the bad appearance or health problems in the conversations with familiar or close people could be seen as appropriate; however, for the English NSs, it seemed unacceptable. This agrees with Larina's

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(2009) and Wierzbicka's (1991, 1999, 2002, 2006) observations, that Russians are sincere and direct with friends and intimates, but such level of openness and sincerity can be perceived as offensive and unacceptable by the English NSs.

In the raters' opinion, the NNSs were also inappropriately direct in speech acts that commonly followed the immediate greeting proper. For example, in greeting interlocutors in a café or at a party, NNSs could proceed to an invitation or a request to join following the greeting proper or even omitting it, as in the Examples (59), (94)-(97):

(94)   Hi, can I sit here? (NNS 7, dialogue 7);

(95)   Hi. My name is Nicka. Would you like to have a drink with me? (NNS 25, dialogue 15);

(96)   Let's have a drink (NNS 27, dialogue 8);

(97)   Hi, do you mind my joining you? (NNS 34, dialogue 11);

Such level of directness was considered "intrusive" (Rater 5) because the NNSs proceeded to the requests or suggestions immediately after the greeting, during their first conversational turn, and without any preceding small talk or the invitation.

Some situational greetings and responses to greetings contained commands or directives as in Example (98) – a professor greeting a student, and Example (99) – a greeting between friends:

(98)   Sit down (NNS 5, dialogue 14);

(99)   - Hey K*! I'm glad to meet to!
        - Me too! Come and sit down! (NNS 47, dialogue 3).

For the NS raters, such directness was considered rude and completely inappropriate. Similarly, straightforward questions or remarks in greetings – Examples (100)-(105) – without preceding greetings proper, introduction, or small talk were rated low for pragmatic appropriateness as "blunt" (Rater 3), "too direct" (Rater 4), and "strange" (Rater 6).

(100)   Hello! Excuse me, but you are looking at me as if you know who I am (NNS 48, dialogue11);

(101)   What do you want? (NNS 36, dialogue 14);

(102)   What are you doing for a living? (NNS 49, dialogue 9);

(103)   Hello. What do you enjoy? (NNS 51, dialogue 11);

(104) Good evening. How are you today? Are you spending your evening here alone? (NNS 51, dialogue 3);

(105)   - Good night! I'm glad to see you! What are you doing here?
         -Good night! I have a romantic supper with my husband.

         -Oh my God! Are you married?
         -Yes. (NNS 55, dialogue 3).

Another illustration of sociopragmatic failure is the amount of information given or asked

for, as in Examples (105)-(109):

(106) Hi, what is your name? I'm so tired and it is good party to rest stupid studying (NNS 5, dialogue 13);

(107) - How is your mood?
      -My son is ill, so I am sad (NNS 2, dialogue 7);

(108) - Hello! How are your holidays?
      -All is fine, I go to the shop to buy some meat for barbecue (NNS 26, dialogue 5);

(109) This is the best place where I expected to see you! Ha-ha, what are you doing here? (NNS 4, dialogue 2).

For the NS raters, the greeting in Example (106) was too direct and contained unnecessary and

inappropriate information; Example (107), besides a "not idiomatic" (Rater 1) question, included

the information that the greeter has not asked for. Example (108) had the same issue. As one of the

raters commented, "We wouldn't volunteer so much information" (Rater 5). The question "What

are you doing here?" as in Example (109) was often judged as inappropriate for the same reasons:

"We wouldn't ask in an obvious situation" (Rater 1) and "The person can tell himself but I wouldn't ask" (Rater 6).

One more constituent of greetings, namely address terms, was an area of low scores for pragmatic appropriateness. Several NNSs used first names to address university instructors of the same age. For the raters, such addresses seemed inappropriate as is seen in this rater's comment: "you don't call an instructor by the first name" (Rater 3). Interestingly, such view contradicts the NS FDCT data. As the data from Figure 11 in section 4.1.2.4.1. "Personal names" showed, the NSs used personal first names in FDCT dialogues 7 and 8 – greeting a university instructor – more frequently than the NNSs. Colloquial terms such as "mate," "dude," or "man" to address instructors were also judged as inappropriate, and this is in agreement with the FDCT data which showed that the NSs did not use colloquial addresses in respect to the interlocutors of higher status (Figure 14).

The reasons underlying sociopragmatic behavior of the NNSs and in particular the level of directness which was seen as inappropriate by the NSs raters are to be addressed later in the discussion chapter.

4.2.3. Variables of NNS participants that affected the ratings.

In order to see the production of which participants was rated low and high, descriptive statistics was used. The mean rating each rater gave to the particular NNS participant was calculated. Since the analysis of participants' variables was not the primary goal of the current research, only the highest and the lowest mean ratings were traced and analyzed. The highest ratings (M=4.00) were given to NNS participants 12, 21, 43, and 56. These participants learnt English from seven to 15 years (the mean number of years of English learning – 10.75 years). Two of them (NNS participants 12 and 21) were majoring in English. In the background questionnaire, they claimed previous visits to English-speaking countries, and occasional opportunities to communicate with English speakers. The other two (NNS 43 and 56) were majoring in Finnish and English, have

never been to English-speaking countries, and said that they had rare opportunities to interact with English speakers.

The lowest scores (M< 3.00) were given to the following participants: 5, 6, 24, and 28. Three of them were majoring in English and one – in journalism. They learnt English from five to 12 years (the mean number of English learning – 9.5 years). All of them have never been to English-speaking countries and had rare opportunities to interact with English speakers.

In this small data set, the university major did not have influence on the ratings of appropriateness: students with the English major were rated among the most and the least appropriate. However, the number of years of English learning had an effect on the appropriateness: those who were judged as the most appropriate had more years of English instruction. Lastly, communication with English speakers and visits to English-speaking countries also were associated with higher ratings for appropriateness: those who were rated as the least appropriate had no such experience. However, these conclusions are based on very small data and cannot be considered representative. Moreover, the variable of previous English instruction, as well as visits to English-speaking countries and interaction with English speakers, cannot be the determining factors as the quality of the instruction, the kinds and length of visits abroad, and levels and values of communication with English speakers were unknown.

4.2.4. FDCT prompts.

Another significant factor that affected the scores was the FDCT prompts. The highest and the lowest mean ratings for each FDCT dialogue were calculated (Table 21).

Table 21. The highest and the lowest mean ratings for FDCT dialogues

Rater	FDCT dialogue	The highest mean	The lowest mean
Rater 1	#7		3.64

	#4	3.88	
	#10	3.88	
Rater 2	#2		3.42
	#10	3.78	
Rater 3	#2		3.38
	#4	3.69	
Rater 4	#7		3.50
	#1	3.82	
	#10	3.82	
Rater 5	#7		3.28
	#1	3.82	
	#4	3.82	
Rater 6	#7		3.32
	#4	3.63	

The lowest scores were given to dialogue 2 – greeting a friend (same age) at a formal context and dialogue 7 – greeting an instructor (same age) at an informal context. The highest scores were given to dialogue 1 – greeting a friend (same age) at an informal context, dialogue 4 – greeting a classmate/ colleague (older) at a formal context, and dialogue 10 – greeting a new classmate (same age) at a formal context. In other words, social variables influenced the speakers' choices of greeting strategies and in turn influenced the ratings of pragmatic appropriateness. According to the data, the NNSs were most appropriate with status and power equals. At the same time, the context played its role: dialogue 1 with an informal context was among the most appropriate and dialogue 2 with a formal context – among the least. Similarly, paralleling dialogues

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2 and 10 – greeting familiar/ unfamiliar peers at a formal context were rated as the least and the most appropriate respectively.

4.2.5. Section summary.

The results of the NS ratings of L2 production for its pragmatic appropriateness showed that the raters had relatively high reliability and consistency. The groups of graduate and undergraduate raters also demonstrated a high level of overall agreement. However, in the ratings of individual dialogues, the undergraduate and graduate raters disagreed in their evaluations of pragmatic appropriateness in the dialogues containing, first, humor and, second, grammatical errors. For the humorous dialogues, the undergraduate raters gave higher scores to them, for the dialogues with grammatical issues – lower. As for the areas in L2 production, which affected the ratings, those include grammatical and lexical issues, as well as sociopragmatic aspects – certain topics and politeness rules. NNSs' levels of directness and formality were among the most important in judging for pragmatic appropriateness. Regarding variables of the NNSs' participants that affected the ratings, some general tendencies were observed: the number of years of English instruction and previous visits to English-speaking countries had a positive correlation with the ratings for pragmatic appropriateness. The university major did not have an effect on the ratings. Lastly, in the analysis of FDCT prompts, the highest scores for pragmatic appropriateness were given to the dialogues of greetings status peers.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This chapter summarizes and analyzes the results of the production of semantic formulas in initial greetings and the results of ratings for pragmatic appropriateness of the NNS responses and discusses the results in the light of the former research. The chapter is organized according to the order in which the results were presented. The first section discusses the production of semantic formulas by the NS and NNS participants. It begins with a subsection on the number of semantic formulas in the NS and NNS data. This is followed by the discussion of the production of greetings proper, phatic greeting questions and phrases, address terms, and situational greetings. Along with the FDCT examples, extracts from the ethnographic interviews with the NNSs are used to illustrate and clarify the results. The second section of the chapter discusses the NS ratings of the NNS greetings for their pragmatic appropriateness.

5.1. The production of semantic formulas

5.1.1. The number of semantic formulas.

Overall, the NNSs and NSs produced similar numbers of semantic formulas. The difference was statistically insignificant. However, in the mean number of semantic formulas per response, the NNSs demonstrated a higher number of formulas in the situations of greeting peers– both status

and age, and a lower number of strategies in greeting status superiors. In addition, the NNSs produced more formulas in introductory greetings of all types.

The higher number in the production of semantic formulas in the introductory greetings can be explained by the "waffle phenomenon" (Edmonson & House, 1991) which refers to the L2 learners' "excessive use of linguistic forms to fill a specific discourse 'slot' or 'move, i.e. achieve a specific pragmatic goal" (pp. 273-274). According to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986), such verbosity and overuse of semantic formulas is more evident in high-intermediate and advanced learners. The "waffle phenomenon" "may reflect a desire to 'play it safe' by making propositional and pragmatic meanings as transparent as possible" (R. Ellis, 2003, p. 172). Moreover, the L2 learners may not be fully competent in the range and appropriateness of semantic formula use in certain circumstances (Edmondson & House, 1991). Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986) and Edmondson and House (1991) showed that NNSs produced longer DCT responses for requests and apologies in terms of number of words. In these studies, NNSs used fewer formulas and a higher number of words than NSs to convey the information and express themselves. The current study provides partial evidence of Edmondson and House's (1991) phenomenon. In the present research, the NNSs exhibited "waffling," but not in the number of words. Rather, they produced a higher number of semantic formulas in general and "waffled" not in the number of words but in the number of formulas. They used strings of formulas in order to emphasize the illocutionary meaning, to ensure that it is clear and successfully understood, and that the communicative goal is achieved. For instance, a typical NNS greeting of a friend would contain three semantic formulas as opposed to the typical NS greeting with only one formula, as in Examples (110) and (111):

(110)   Hello. Haven't seen you for ages. How have you been? (NNS 12, dialogue 1);

(111)   Hey (NS 1, dialogue 1).

At the same time, the results agree with Bardovi-Harlig et al. (2010), in that NNSs did not produce significantly longer responses than NSs in a variety of speech acts and the number and

frequency of semantic formulas and length of utterances may depend on different factors. In the present study, the significant factors were the power status, age, and familiarity with the interlocutor: the NNSs spoke more with Power and Age equals and in introductory greetings, and less with Power superiors.

Additionally, the results in the number of formulas can be explained by the attitude of the NNSs towards the FDCT. They approached it as a serious assignment given either by their instructor or the researcher and tried to show their best abilities and overall knowledge in English. They tried to show that they are proficient enough to produce long and extended utterances (Faerch & Kasper, 1989). As R. Ellis (2003) states, "verbosity may also reflect a desire on the part of such learners to display their linguistic competence" (p. 172). The NSs, on the other hand, did not have to demonstrate their language abilities and tried to respond to the FDCT items in the most natural manner as they actually talk in real life. As one of the NS respondents commented in the FDCT, "This is how I really talk most the time" (NS 12).

As for the lower number of greeting formulas with status superiors, the results can refer to the politeness rules in the Russian language and more hierarchical structure of the Russian society compared to the American one. As discussed in the previous research (Bergelson, 2012; Larina, 2009), Russians are more direct and sincere with friends and close people and may find it impolite and inappropriate to ask certain questions and discuss certain topics with status superiors such as university professors. In the current research such a point is clearly demonstrated by the use of the phatic question "How are you?" which was produced less frequently by the NNSs in greeting status superiors as will be discussed further.

5.1.2. Greetings proper.

The production of greetings proper by the two participant groups presents revealing results. The NNSs used "Hello" and time-bound greetings more often than the NSs and the informal

greeting "Hey" – less. In the production of these greetings, the differences between the groups were statistically significant. As discussed earlier, the greetings "Hello," "Hi," and time-bound greetings are presented during EFL instruction as the most common English greetings and are explicitly taught. Moreover, they have direct Russian equivalents: Hello – здравствуй/ здравствуйте (zdrastvuy/ zdrastvuyte), Hi – привет (privet), which makes them easier to acquire and use. In Russian, "zdrastvuy" is more formal, "privet" – more informal. The greeting "Hey" is not explicitly taught, neither has it a direct equivalent in Russian; it can be translated with colloquial or slangy phrases. The English learners get the knowledge of "Hey" and its usage mostly from English NSs or from English movies and different kinds of media. Thus, as the data showed, they were not fully competent in its usage and preferred to "play safe" (R. Ellis, 2003, p. 172) and used the greetings that they know such as "Hello" and "Hi" so as not to insult the interlocutor or sound inappropriate (Interview Extract 1).

> (Extract 1): In Russian, I would have said differently. In English – more politely, unobtrusively, and safely (Interview 1).

Another NNS interviewee commented on the use of greetings proper and induced teaching:

> (Extract 2): The greetings that are introduced at school are "Hello," "Hi," and "Good morning," "Good afternoon," and "Good evening." "Hello" is the most common. "Hi" is an informal "Hello." "Good morning" and the like are more official. Other [greetings] I heard but I don't remember that we were taught them. (Interview 3)

FDCT data showed that the NSs preferred more informal greetings and the NNSs – more formal or neutral ones. These results are supported by interview data. As one of the NNS informants said, English greetings proper are more informal than the Russian counterparts:

> (Extract 3): I think English greetings are less formal. For example, we can say "Hi" to anybody in English. In Russian, I wouldn't dare to say "Hi" to a person who is older than me. I would say "zdrastvuite." Also, I wouldn't say "Privet" to a person whom I don't know. And in English, it is acceptable. (Interview 3).

As for the time-bound greetings, the high number of production might be explained by induced instruction and direct Russian equivalents, as has already been mentioned, but also by the transfer from the Russian language where they are considered more polite than other greetings:

(Extract 4): If I meet a professor I will say "Good afternoon." It sounds more polite and good-natured than a usual "Hello." More targeted to the addressee. "Hello" is a common greeting, everybody says it. But when you say "Good afternoon" people will look at you differently. (Interview 4)

In the production of time-bound greetings, the NNSs transferred their L1 politeness norms to the L2 production. Consequently, as the results of the ratings showed, the NNSs could be perceived as too formal and inappropriate in these particular phrases.

5.1.3. Greeting phatic questions.

As discussed earlier, English "How are you?" is a phatic and ritualized expression. The response to it does not require an elaborate and honest answer. The "How are you?" sequence might initiate a topic and generate talk depending on the context and relationships between interlocutors. However, its main function is to perform a social task: acknowledge the interlocutor, establish the routine, and demonstrate politeness. In Russian, the corresponding phrases such as "Как дела?" ("Kak dela?" – "How are things?") are also ritualized; however, the ritualized nature is different from English. The main difference is that such questions are not universally asked: they are typically used among friends, close people, family members, or in-group participants; very rarely – among people who do not know each other well; seldom – to greet interlocutors of a higher status; and never – between strangers. The ritualized response is usually neutral or downgraded and requires some elaboration which often leads to further talk.

Such differences have led to the lesser use of "How are you?" and its informal variants by the NNSs (Figures 9 and 10). While the NSs used "How are you?" universally throughout FDCT dialogues 1-8, regardless of the interlocutor's age and power status and the formality of the context,

the NNSs produced it much less frequently. The high numbers of "How are you?" in the NNSs'

production were observed only in dialogues 1 and 3 – greeting friends in an informal context. In

all other dialogues the number of occurrences of "How are you?" was very small. For the NNSs, it

seemed inappropriate to ask "How are you?" of their professors and instructors as in Russian it is

regarded as a genuine question and a conversation opener rather than a greeting and is used among

friends and close people only. Such understanding is supported by the literature (for example,

Larina, 2009) and FDCT production. Two revealing dialogues are given in Examples (112) and

(113):

(112) -Hey! How are you?
       -I don't think it's appropriate to talk to your university instructor in that way…
       (NNS 1, dialogue 8).

(113) -Hello. What's up, man?
       -Hey. How are you talking to me?
       -I'm sorry.
       -Watch your words. (NNS 32, dialogue 8).

In Example (112), a student greeted the instructor with an informal greeting phrase "Hey"

and a neutral phatic question "How are you?" The greeting and the question caused a response

which showed that the greeting was perceived as inappropriate by the instructor. According to the

NNS participant, such greeting was considered as an attempt to chat, to initiate an informal

conversation which is appropriate only among peers, and thus, it broke the subordination of power

and status between the students and the instructor. In Example (113), the informal phatic question

"What's up?" together with the colloquial address "man" was also perceived as inappropriate by

the imaginary instructor; he/ she felt insulted and consequently the student had to apologize.

The NNS interview data provided additional support (Extracts 5 and 6):

(Extract 5): In the Russian speech, there is no such a thing, as "How you doing? How do
you do?" Such things, common polite speech. In Russian, well, I don't know, "Hello –
Hello. Privet, kak dela?" But for me it is more personal communication. Such questions as
"How are you?" are more the norm of greeting and politeness, and in Russian it is not
necessary. These are just different relationships. In English, it is the norm of politeness and

you can ask anybody. But in Russian, I won't ask a classmate whom I haven't seen for seven years "How are you?" I will say "Hello" and go. As for teachers, professors, everything depends on the relationships. What has formed, if we could chat, so to say. If I know the person, I will ask. And if I don't, or this is just a nodding acquaintance – I won't ask. Just "Privet" and leave. (Interview 2)

(Extract 6): In Russian, "How are you?" is a question, you cannot answer "Privet" to it. In English, we can say "How are you?" and the response will be "Hi." But also you need to see the context, if someone said to you "Hi! How are you?" then it is a question, it is a formality but still a question and you need to answer something like "Great" or "Pretty good." In Russian, there is no greeting question. "Kak dela?" is a question and you will answer something like "OK," "Bad," or "Good." I can ask "Kak dela?" a friend, but cannot ask at the street someone I don't know or someone I know not well. That's why personal questions – and "How are you?" is a personal question – are possible only with close or intimate people. (Interview 4)

The common theme in Extracts 5 and 6 is the view of the "How are you?" as a personal question which is appropriate only among well-familiar or close people and inappropriate among distant-familiar interlocutors and strangers. The reasons explaining this phenomenon lie in the area of socio-cultural relations and different systems of politeness in the Russian and English cultures.

Answering to "How are you?" or similar phatic questions with negative or detailed responses occurred in the NNS production and never in the NS production. Such responses stem from cultural differences: in English, the appropriate response is brief and usually positive or neutral, in Russian – although brief answers are common, more elaborate and honest responses are also appropriate.

5.1.4. Terms of address.

As shown in the data, the NNSs often deviated from the NSs in the frequency and use of address terms. In particular, the NNSs produced more honorifics and fewer titles than the NSs (Figures 12 and 13). This may serve as an example of induced teaching and insufficient information on the address terms in an academic environment (Interview Extract 7).

(Extract 7): In Russian – patronymic and 'Vy,' in English there is no patronymic and no 'Vy.'At English classes we always called our teachers by their first names and partonymics. Now at the university – the same thing: name and pantronymic. We had one teacher at school and he asked us to call him Mr. and his last name. That was awkward. And that teacher was an exception. We were taught that you need to address teachers Mister or Missis, sir or madame, or professor. Also, there is such stereotype that Americans are very simple in communication. We can call them by names, for example, her name is Julia, so that's how to address her. We had an instructor – a Swede, he asked to address him by his first name – Svenson. I wrote Mr., as we were taught. I think it is more common. And I have never talked to American professors, so I don't know. (Interview 1)

As for the use of personal names, the NSs produced them quite frequently to address university instructors; however, for the NNSs, such use was unacceptable and they employed personal names to address instructors only in the humorous dialogues. Conversely, in the Interview Extract 7, the informant talked about the stereotypical informality of addressing in English and even gave an example of a university instructor who requested addressing him by the first name. The NNS FDCT data showed that such address of interlocutors of higher status, even if they are of the same age, is not common. Therefore, knowledge of certain rules or preferences to address people does not necessarily mean that these rules are applied in L2 production. The NNSs based their addresses on the politeness norms of L1 which say that one has to address interlocutors of the higher status respectfully. Consider the following FDCT dialogue – Example (114):

(114)   -   Hello, Nick.
         -       Shhh. We are in the university. I'm your instructor.
         -       Excuse me. I didn't want to say it.
         -       It's okay. Later you'll accustom. (NNS 42, dialogue 8).

In Example (114), a student used the first name to address an instructor. Such address was perceived as inappropriate in that particular context and as a result, the student had to apologize. In Russian, all instructors – irrespective of their age – should be addressed by their first name and patronymic, thus using the first name only is considered informal and unacceptable at the university. Lack of the similar linguistic form in English caused certain difficulties in the NNSs' L2 address production, as we saw in the previous chapter.

5.1.5. Phatic greeting phrases.

As the comparison of the production of phatic greeting phrases showed, the NNSs produced them more often than the NSs (Table 12). We could have hypothesized that this is the influence of the L1; however, interview data did not support that (Extracts 8 and 9):

> (Extract 8): it is not necessary to say such phrases, and it will depend on the context (Interview 3).

> (Extract 9): We don't say that to friends, it is not necessary. It is clear without phrases that you are glad and so on. For first time meetings and formal situations – maybe (Interview 4)

So, the more frequent use of greeting phrases may be explained by the effect of the FDCT assignment: the informants said that they had "a feeling that they need to write something" (Interview 3) and that is why they produced phrases that they knew could fit the situation. Secondly, as mentioned earlier, the NNSs tried to demonstrate their best abilities and competence in English and used phatic phrases in order to show that they know them. Lastly, the NNSs tried to exhibit politeness in the constructed dialogues and say it "more politely" (Extract 1) in the foreign language; whereas in their L1 they would have said it differently. The latter point may bring us to a discussion of personality change when speaking a foreign or a second language (see, for example, Enkvist, 2001; Wierzbicka, 2014) which is a fascinating question but is out of the scope of the current study.

As described earlier, a revealing example of the phatic greeting phrase is the NNSs' use of "Nice to meet you" instead of "Nice to see you." This may serve as an illustration of a pragmalinguistic failure due to a language transfer which in turn led to semantic fossilization (Selinker, 1972) – the use of language forms that exist in the target language but do not have the meaning which the learner tries to express in the particular context. In Extract 10, one of the interviewees recalled the rule that was taught at school in EFL lessons:

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(Extract 10): In English, we were told very distinctly that "Nice to meet you," "Glad to meet you," "It's a pleasure to meet" are used when you meet someone for the first time. And when you meet someone for the second time, the verb "meet" is changed to the verb "see." At school, this was often emphasized: don't forget, first time – verb "to meet," second time – "see." (Interview 3)

According to the data, this collocation was not acquired in full or was acquired incorrectly. The learners might have acquired the verb but not the collocations which might have been caused by implicit processes of analysis of sequence information or by explicit processes of mapping words or phrases into conceptual categories or existing L1 equivalents (N. Ellis, 1997).

5.1.6. Situational greetings.

As the data showed, the NNSs used a variety of speech acts in greetings and often preferred to explain themselves through idiosyncratic phrases. This again can be explained by the "waffle phenomenon" (Edmonson & House, 1991, p. 273), a desire to "play it safe" (R. Ellis, 2003, p. 172), and willingness to demonstrate L2 proficiency. An additional factor that could influence L2 production was the use of the FDCT as the main instrument for data collection. As discussed in the literature review, there have been concerns about reliability and validity of DCTs (Félix-Brasdefer, 2010; Golato, 2003; Kasper & Dahl, 1991), the major being that DCTs elicit hypothetical language – what the participants think they would say in a certain situation. Moreover, the participants have time to think, construct the answers, and self-correct their mistakes or they can be influenced by time constraints and fatigue. Thus, responses elicited by DCTs may sound unnatural and artificial as shown in the Interview Extract 11:

(Extract 11): I had a feeling that we need to write something and ask some kind of question. In the real life, I probably wouldn't have said that but here I wrote it because otherwise it wouldn't be a dialogue as the assignment said. And I wrote questions that could fit the situation. But if I imagine the same situation in reality, yes, such questions sound strange. In the real time we don't have time to think and just talk but here when you start thinking what you should write, you come up with such questions (Interview 3).

As explained in the methodology chapter, the FDCT was chosen as the most suitable instrument for data collection since the purpose of the study was to analyze different greetings produced by the NNSs, compare them to analogous NS greetings and reveal pragmatic competence of the NNSs. It was not intended to analyze natural discourse data and to compare natural speech of NSs and NNSs. The NSs and NNSs in the present research completed the same FDCT and the contextual and situational variables of the FDCT items were carefully chosen and examined.

Besides the task effect and the attitude of the NNSs towards the assignment, another interesting observation can be made concerning the production of the situational greetings. Many of the NS situational greetings contained elements of small talk such as phatic questions, complimenting, or neutral statements on immediate circumstances. The NNSs produced such utterances less frequently and asked direct questions and made direct comments or remarks oriented on the hearer more often. Such features were judged by the raters as pragmatically inappropriate as was shown earlier and will be discussed further.

5.1.7. Section summary.

Among the major factors that influenced the NNS production of the speech act of greeting are induced instruction, transfer from L1, low competence in the particular greeting phrase or strategy, desire to sound polite, and NNSs' attitude towards the FDCT as a means to demonstrate L2 competence. Besides that, the NSs and NNSs applied different rules of greetings which are part of the politeness systems in their L1s. For the NSs, greetings are mostly informal, even greetings of professors and instructors. For the NNSs, informal and casual greetings of people of higher social status are unacceptable. Such perception is reflected in the large production of the informal greeting "Hey" by the NSs and high production of time-bound greetings which are considered more polite by the NNSs. Besides, politeness rules of greeting status and age superiors as well as unfamiliar interlocutors are reflected in the low production of the "How are you?" question and its informal

variants by the NNSs. Politeness rules are rooted in socio-cultural differences between Russian and

English NSs; therefore, it seems necessary to talk about them in order to shed light on the NNSs'

speech act production and also on the NSs' ratings of pragmatic appropriateness.

5.2. The systems of social relations in the English and Russian cultures

Analyzing social relationships in the English and Russian cultures, Larina (2009)

summarized that the English culture being individualistic has the scale of social distance (D) longer

and the scale of power distance (P) shorter than the Russian collectivist culture (Figure 18).

Russian   English

Figure 18. Social relations of P and D in the Russian and English cultures (Larina, 2009, p. 144).

Since the scales of social distance and power are different in the two cultures, the

communicative space is also different and is asymmetric (Figure 19). In Figure 19, E represents

English communicative space, R – Russian communicative space. Three zones are specific for these

cultures: Z' – zone of private autonomy (in the English culture) and zone of intimacy (in the Russian

culture), Z" – zone of power (which is more important in the Russian culture), and Z''' – zone of

English communicative space indicating that it is wider than the Russian one. In particular, zone Z'

identifies communication boundaries between interlocutors and sets the limits of intrusion into

interlocutors' personal space. In the English culture, intrusion into the zone of privacy is considered

a violation of communicative and social behavior. In the Russian culture, Z' is the zone of intimacy

– communication between close people, in which Russian NSs are sincere and warm but do not use

as many etiquette politeness formulas as English NSs and consider such formulas unnecessary among close interlocutors. According to Larina (2009), in Russian, the zone of private autonomy does not exist and this influences Russian communicative behavior. The second zone – Z" zone of power – is more significant in Russian communication than in English and reveals such cultural values as egalitarianism of the Western culture and hierarchy in Russian. The last zone – Z''' social distance – demonstrates that the English communicative space involves more participants than the Russian one. English NSs demonstrate similar politeness rules in communication with well familiar interlocutors as well as moderately familiar and unfamiliar interlocutors. Russian NSs tend to avoid communication with unfamiliar interlocutors but if they do come in such contacts, they apply politeness rules, which are different from communication with close and familiar interlocutors.
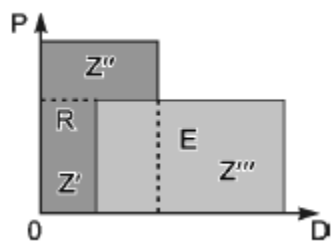
Figure 19. Asymmetry of English and Russian communicative space (Larina, 2009, p. 145).

Larina (2009) distinguished three types of Russian social behavior: no relations, formal relations, and intimate relations. The first type is observed in communication with strangers who usually do not enter communicative space; the second type – formal relations – is observed with distant interlocutors, for example, colleagues; and the third – with close and intimate people, for example, family members. The most polite communication is observed in the second type of relations; however, in the first and third types – relations with strangers and with intimates – Russian people can demonstrate impoliteness and may seem rude.

Such observation is supported by the interview data. The interview informants in Extracts 12-14 talked about inappropriateness and complete unacceptability of asking strangers "How are you?" ("Kak dela?"), reactions that it can cause, and underlying socio-cultural factors.

(Extract 12): There is no such tradition in Russia. There is no such thing as to ask a stranger "Kak dela?" In the store, it is impossible to imagine. It will cause in the best case a surprise as "Why do you care?" and responses "Why?", "Why do you ask?", "Who are you to ask me?" It will be perceived as if the person is either drunk or is trying to build a bridge for further talk. Why is this so? Perhaps, because people are more disconnected, more hostile towards each other, more irritated by their lives and each other. But they [in the West] have a community, people support each other, "How are you?" – "Everything is OK. Thanks for asking." (Interview 4)

One interviewee compared Western and Russian communication styles and in particular, greeting and getting acquainted, and concluded that Russian people communicate with strangers less and build new social relations with more difficulties than the Westerners:

(Extract 13): In the West, it's the norm. When I went to Sweden, people often approached me and started talking. The Swedes do that easily. And in America, as I watch films and documentaries, it is common just to approach someone and to get acquainted, no problems. And we don't have that, it is more severe here. Although. No, still, more severe. Here, if people get acquainted, it is done exclusively, in the bars and places like that. The majority of people in the Russian society will consider it strange to approach somebody in the street to get acquainted. And everywhere it's the norm. (Interview 2)

However, with well-acquainted, close, and intimate interlocutors, Russians are more open, sincere, and honest than Westerners. One interviewee elaborated on the topic of responses to "Kak dela?" in Russian communication:

(Extract 14): We will tell everything what's in our souls, what's at home, and even about friends. But they probably won't. I don't know, for example, Scandinavians that I've met, the Swedes, they don't answer. Simply say "Good, thank you." They don't discuss problems. We do discuss: "Oh, hi! I'm tired, so and so, dean, so and so. – Yes, I understand you. Me too." In general, such soulful communication. We met with you, "How are you?" and so. You said to me: "Everything is well." And so on. It is broader. They just say: "yes, everything is OK." For them, it is not accepted, it is considered bad manners to complain on problems, to complain that it is bad, it will say that they need some pity for them, some help, and they want to be independent. They are not connected as we Russians are. They don't initiate the contact first. As I communicated with the Finns. The Swedes, they need

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at least a week of communication to say: 'Oh, you know, I am having this and this." More closed. It's better to talk on general topics with them. (Interview 1)

In the interview data, it might seem a contradiction that one interviewee said that the Russian people are "disconnected" (Extract 12) and the other one talked about the broadness, connectedness, and openness of Russians (Extract 14). However, these are two sides of the same coin: Russian people might be more disconnected as a whole society, but in their inner circles such as family or close friends, they are truly and tightly connected. Another seeming contradiction is the topic of the Western people initiating contact (Extract 13) or not (Extract 14). The Westerners might initiate social contact and ask phatic questions and do that often, but achieving a high level of sincerity and openness, which is expected by the Russian NSs, might be problematic. Such differences in communication are also revealed in the Western tradition of small talk and the lack thereof in the Russian culture, as shown in the Interview Extract 15.

(Extract 15): We talk more to the point. Then, later, the person starts to relax. They [the Westerners] have a ritual, a tradition, just to talk. The society is more hedonistic that ours. Social communication is considered as entertainment. The Western etiquette supposes that you have to show interest in the person with whom you are talking. And we don't have that: "Hello – Hello" and that's it. In the West, it's different. If time permits, of course. It is not developed here. It is less necessary here. All this super-politeness, it takes a lot of time. I think, we have a less polite language. (Interview 2)

The differences between English and Russian communication styles, in particular, lack of "zone of private autonomy," importance of "zone of intimacy" and "zone of power," in Larina's (2009, p. 145) terminology, and wider communicative space in the English culture are revealed in and can explain the production of the speech act of greeting by the NSs and NNSs and the NSs' ratings as well.

5.3. NS ratings

Results of the NS ratings support the previous literature in that the relations between linguistic and pragmatic competences are complex and unstable (Kasper & Rose, 2002). The NNS

participants in the current study were advanced learners of English; however, their level of linguistic competence did not necessarily correspond to the same level of pragmatic knowledge. This is in agreement with previous research (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999; Bardovi-Harlig, 2001; Bodman & Eisenstein, 1988; Takahashi & Beebe, 1987) which showed that advanced learners of English may have difficulties in the production of speech acts in terms of their pragmatic appropriateness.

On the one hand, the results suggest that there is a connection between proficiency and ability to produce appropriate speech acts: the higher proficiency level is, the more appropriate speech acts are (Bachman & Palmer, 1982; Roever, 2005; Rose, 2000; Taguchi, 2006; Trosborg, 1995). In the present data, the FDCT dialogues containing grammatical or lexical errors or mistakes were rated as less appropriate. Considering that, we could assume that grammatical competence of the NNS participants corresponds to their knowledge of pragmatic rules. However, this is only one side of the issue. Textual effect of the FDCT assignment comes into play: grammatical incorrectness and inappropriateness were noticed because the responses were written rather than oral. A more important point here is that in the data, many FDCT dialogues, which were grammatically flawless, were rated as inappropriate because of incorrect use of politeness strategies, discourse issues, or socio-cultural dissimilarities. This suggests that grammatical knowledge is not the only condition of pragmatic competence: "linguistic competence is not sufficient to guarantee the development of pragmatic knowledge, but it is probably necessary" (R. Ellis, 1991, p. 119). The rating results also suggest that pragmatic appropriateness can be approached as a holistic concept including pragmatic features such as level of politeness, directness, and formality as well as grammatical and discourse features such as syntactical patterns, vocabulary use, or use of the phatic phrases and conversational routines.

The area of sociopragmatic failure, as judged by the NS raters, concerns not only politeness strategies used to talk in general and in particular to greet interlocutors but also and more importantly different cultural values and mentality of Russian and English NSs.

As shown in the previous section, Russian and English communicative styles differ in regard to privacy, intimacy, power, and distance (Larina, 2009). Consequently, as research has shown, Russians are more direct in such speech acts as requests, commands, directives, refusals, advice, complaints, and invitations than English NSs and communicate their intentions precisely (Larina, 2009; Ogiermann, 2009; Shcherbakova, 2010; Visson, 2005; Zemskaya, 1997). For example, instead of indirect and interrogative forms in requests and directives such as "Could you do X?" or "Would you do X for me?", Russian speakers would use direct imperatives or imperatives mitigated by "please." Russian invitations are also direct, contrasting with English indirect or interrogative invitations or invitations that offer choices minimizing a threat to face. Such invitations as "Let's go to the cinema" or "Come to my birthday party" are commonly used and are pragmatically appropriate. Moreover, for Russian speakers, it could be pragmatically appropriate and polite to invite someone for a drink or ask to join in a café or at a party. For English NSs, such level of directness may sound too direct and imposing. On the contrary, for Russian NSs, using indirect speech acts may be considered hypocritical, sarcastic, and offensive.

Next, in English, negative comments, such as "You look bad" are considered a threat to face. In Russian, they are acceptable among close people, good acquaintances, or friends. According to Wierzbicka's (2002, 2006) observations, for Russian people, it is more important to tell the truth to the interlocutor than to think about a threat to face. For English NSs, such truthful remarks are inappropriate as the autonomy and privacy of a person are the major cultural values and cannot be intruded. One of the major cultural scripts or in other words, "cultural norms, values, and practices" (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2004, p. 153) in the Russian culture is "it is good if other people know what a person feels" (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 237), in English – "one should try to make the other person feel something good" (p. 254).

Similarly, the use of elaborate or honest answers to "How are you?" and asking questions such as "Where are you going?" and "What are you doing?" might be seen by English NSs as

pragmatically inappropriate, as a violation of Grice's (1975) maxim of quantity – to give the right amount of information – not too little and not too much. However, as Wierzbicka (2008) argued, the Gricean maxims cannot be applied universally to all cultures. The questions "Where are you going?" and "What are you doing?" in one culture might be seen as FTAs (Brown & Levinson, 1987) as they may intrude S's self-territory and threaten face; at the same time, in a different culture (in our case, Russian) they are appropriate and common among friends, as one NNS interviewee explained:

> (Extract 16): I often ask "Where are you going?" if it is a friend or good acquaintance: "Oh, hi! Where are you going?" And I am being asked too. If there is time to talk, we will talk. If not, we'll talk later. It all depends on the level of acquaintance. For example, I just went to a post office and met an acquaintance there: Oh, what are you doing here? And we talked a bit. (Interview 3).

Lastly, directness in Russian communicative style has led to the lack of the small talk genre in the Russian culture. Such meaningless, from the point of view of the Russian speakers, conversations are perceived negatively since they lack propositional content and, more importantly, lack such essential features of Russian communication as sincerity, openness, and directness (Fenina, 2005; Sergeeva, 2004). A revealing dialogue to illustrate this point is Example (115):

> (115) - Good morning, Mr Professor. Nice weather isn't it?
> - What are you talking about, young man?
> - You know, the small-talk. What else I can say
> - Well you could say when are you going to re-write that test you failed at two weeks ago (NNS 29, dialogue 6).

In Example (115), a student attempted to greet a professor with a neutral statement about the weather. The professor perceived such utterance as unacceptable and asked a direct question regarding the student's academic work. While this dialogue was identified as pragmatically inappropriate by the English NSs ("Funny, but not realistic" (Rater 5); "The student's utterances would be considered strange, while professor's would be considered rude" (Rater 6)), Russian NSs can easily imagine such a conversation and would not consider the professor rude. More than that,

they would think that the professor is actually right in his/ her demand and the student should not be talking about weather or similarly insignificant topics if he was having academic problems.

In general, English communicative style, as Larina (2009) and Wierzbicka (1991) discuss, can be characterized as demonstrating distance, decreasing imposition as much as possible, indirect, form-oriented, trying to save face of both H and S, respectful, compromising, and not authoritative in any way. Russian communicative style, on the other hand, is demonstrating contact, showing imposition, direct, content-oriented, and uncompromising. Consequently, as shown above, these differences have affected the NSs' ratings and often led to lowering the scores for pragmatic appropriateness.

5.4. Chapter conclusion

This chapter summarized and analyzed the results of the production of greetings in NS and NNS data and explained the results of NS's judgements for pragmatic appropriateness. In the production of semantic formulas of greetings, the NNSs' choices may be explained by such IL phenomenon as excessive use of linguistic means to convey the meaning ("waffle phenomenon"), a desire to demonstrate L2 competence, induced instruction, low confidence in the use of particular formulas, negative transfer from L1, and attempts to use the safest language strategies. Overall, it can be concluded that some of the differences between the NSs' and NNSs' production of greetings result from negative pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic transfer, other – from lack of appropriate linguistic means or not fully developed pragmatic competence. Concerning the NSs' ratings of NNSs' greetings for their pragmatic appropriateness, it can be concluded that the area of linguistic competence was neither the only nor the main reason for lowering the scores. More significantly, traits of sociopragmatic failure, in particular the NNSs' levels of directness and formality, affected the scores. The NSs' ratings as well as NNSs' production can be regarded in the view of socio-cultural differences in communication styles between Russian and English cultures. These

dissimilarities in sociopragmatic behavior may account for low ratings from the NSs' perspective

and for frequencies of certain semantic formulas in NNSs' production as well.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes the study, makes conclusions, discusses theoretical and pedagogical implications, acknowledges limitations, and points out directions for future research.

To contribute to the ILP studies, the present dissertation has identified and explored research gaps in the area of the speech act of greeting as produced by NNSs of English and perceived by English NSs. To the best of my knowledge, the current study is the first to systematically investigate how Russian learners of English greet in various contexts in English as compared to English NSs. Therefore, the current study contributes to the existing literature of IL speech act realization in general, and the research on the speech act realization of greetings in particular.

The focus in the present study was made on the production of semantic formulas in greetings by English NNSs and NSs. It was found that the NNSs of English significantly deviate from the NSs in the number, frequency, and content of semantic formulas. All constituents of greetings, namely, greetings proper, phatic questions and phrases, and address terms, exhibited differences. They can be explained by several factors: excessive use of linguistic means to convey

the meaning known as "waffle phenomenon" (Edmonson & House, 1991), efforts to demonstrate competence in English, low confidence in the use of particular formulas, attempts to use the safest language strategies, induced teaching, attitude towards the FDCT, and negative pragmatic transfer from L1. As for the second part of the current study – NS ratings of NNS greetings' production for pragmatic appropriateness – several important results were found. First, the inter-rater reliability was high; the agreement between undergraduate and graduate raters was also significant. Second, several areas including grammatical and pragmatic factors affected the ratings. The major factor that led to lowering the scores was the NNSs' level of directness: in the raters' opinion, the NNSs were at times too direct and straightforward. Another pragmatic factor that affected appropriateness was the level of formality: the NNSs were too formal from the raters' point of view. The NNSs often relied on Russian cultural norms which affected their linguistic and pragmatic choices in realizing the speech act of greeting. Next, according to the raters, the NNSs were more appropriate in greeting status peers (classmates and friends) than status superiors (university instructors and professors). Lastly, difficulties in the production of greetings suggested that grammatical knowledge is not the only condition of pragmatic competence and that the learners need to know pragmatic conventions as well. Pragmatic rules of communication are often different in English and Russian cultures and languages and these socio-cultural differences help explain the NSs' ratings as well as NNSs' production. As Wierzbicka (2010) wrote,

> in different societies there are culture-specific speech practices and interactional norms, and … the different ways of speaking prevailing in different societies are linked with, and make sense in terms of, different local cultural values, or at least, different cultural priorities as far as values are concerned. (p. 47)

6.1. Pedagogical implications

The study has important pedagogical implications for learners and teachers of ESL/ EFL. Research has shown that exposure to particular speech acts, explicit instruction, cross-cultural comparisons, and raising pragmatic awareness are necessary in order to develop pragmatic and communicative competence (Bardovi-Harlig, 2001; Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998; Kasper, 1997; Martínez-Flor & Usó-Juan, 2006; Martínez-Flor & Usó-Juan, 2010b; Takimoto, 2008). A variety of activities and teaching materials for pragmatic instruction has been developed (see Taguchi, 2011 for a review). Activities and triggers for instructors specifically tailored for teaching greetings and conversation openings have also been suggested (e.g. Wong and Waring, 2010). An important issue in teaching pragmatics in general and greetings in particular is their representation in EFL textbooks and by EFL teachers. As previous research has shown, EFL textbooks often present insufficient or even incorrect information on particular speech acts including greetings (Kakiuchi, 2005; Usó-Juan, 2007; Williams, 2001). As for the EFL teachers, they are commonly NNSs of English (J. Liu, 2006a) and may lack pragmatic knowledge. Such a deficit of authentic materials and instruction might hinder development of pragmatic competence. As the results of the current study show, some of the learners' non-target pragmatic choices may be instruction-related and may be influenced by EFL textbooks and classroom discourse (as interview Extracts 2 and 7 illustrate). In addition, results of the current study demonstrate that Russian EFL learners often lack pragmatic awareness and cross-cultural knowledge of greetings in particular. To overcome the shortcomings of pragmatic instruction in EFL contexts, ideally, textbooks could include corpus-based materials and accurate authentic information and instructors could become competent in the target-language pragmatics and in various cross-cultural encounters.

However, in teaching pragmatics, it is necessary to consider the goals and needs of the learners, as they may not necessarily be to achieve native-like pragmatic competence (Ishihara & Tarone, 2009; Kasper, 1998). NNSs may consciously choose to be distinct from L2 pragmatic

norms and maintain their NNSs' identities through language use (Ishihara, 2010). Besides, NNSs' emulation of NS pragmatic norms might be perceived controversially by NSs (Hassall, 2004; Janiski, 1985). In addition, nowadays, most of communication in English takes place between NNSs of English (Crystal, 2012) who bring their own cultural norms and instantly construct pragmatic standards and conventions in interaction (House, 2010). Thus, in teaching pragmatics in particular, it is important to consider this dynamic of pragmatic acts and their constant negotiation in interaction (Kasper, 2006). The above-mentioned issues should also be considered in the general approach of ILP which

> should operate with a difference hypothesis rather than a deficit hypothesis … and not simply analyze NNS discourse in terms of failure to conform to NS conversational norms. Pedagogically, it implies that the learner's task in developing an ability for interactional speech using the L2 is not simply one of acquiring nativelike sociolinguistic competence in the attempt to mimic the behavior of a native speaker, but requires the development of an ability to use specific comity strategies appropriate to the context of NNS discourse. (Aston, 1993, p. 245)

Pragmatic instruction in general could consider "the users' cultural content and their sense of appropriate use of English" (McKey, 2003, p. 13) and could aim on developing an "in-between style of interaction" (House, 2003, p. 150) or "hybrid pragmatics" (Murray, 2012, p. 4). In particular, it could use "less structured dialogic activities where learners have choices to adapt their pragmatic resources to ongoing interactions" and "apply performance-based analysis that involves examination of wide-ranging features of interactional competence" (Taguchi, 2011, p. 304-305).

6.2. Limitations of the study

Although the study has provided interesting results regarding the production of greetings by Russian EFL learners and their perception by NS's raters, it has some limitations, including

selection of participants, data elicitation method, and ratings for pragmatic appropriateness. First, the NNS participants came from the same university, and the variety of participants' background in terms of age, gender, and language proficiency was limited. Second, although the NS participants represented a relatively homogenous group – in terms of university, age, and place of residence, there still could be macro-social variations in language use related to their geographical, social, and family background. The regions in the United States, the locations inside one state, as well as family traditions and belonging to a certain social group might also have been factors influencing their use of pragmatic conventions. Thus, careful caution is necessary in generalizing the current results to different contexts.

Another limitation is concerned with the data collection methodology. Although FDCT as the instrument of data collection has several significant advantages such as the possibility to collect large amounts of data and control different contextual variables of the speech act as well as different variables of participants, it has its drawbacks, the most important of which is the artificiality of the task. In the current research, the participants were asked to greet imaginary interlocutors – peer students, university instructors, and professors. The FDCT scenarios as well as the background information on the interlocutors and the context were generic and by no means represent all possible situations that occur in daily life. Thus, the greetings that the participants produced could sound artificial because of the generality of the context. As discussed in the dissertation, the speech act of greeting is highly context sensitive and greeting strategies might depend on a variety of factors such as time of day, number of greetees, period of time the interlocutors have not seen each other, and the like. Thus, in order to get a fuller picture of greeting strategies, extensive context and detailed descriptions of each FDCT scenario might be necessary. Another issue that has to be taken into consideration since it might affect language production is the mode of the task. FDCT is a written assignment given to the participants during one session. As discussed, the NNS participants took the assignment seriously and tried to show their best language abilities in the constructed

responses. On the other hand, some participants – both NS and NNS – answered mechanically with brief and highly repetitive phrases without any attention to greeting strategies. This might have been caused by the fatigue of the respondents and their hurriedness to be done with the task. Overall, attitude towards the FDCT, the length of the responses, and the choice of strategies might have been affected by the mode of the FDCT – written task on the imaginary situations. In order to get a broad picture of the speech act under investigation, it might be necessary to compare the FDCT data with oral data from role-plays and natural conversations.

The next limitation that has to be addressed is connected to the NS ratings for pragmatic appropriateness. First, raters' variables such as age, gender, education, and social background might affect the ratings. The current study took into consideration TESL experience of raters. However, other variables might come into play and thus are worth analyzing. Next, rating for pragmatic appropriateness is subjective, and thus, might be highly variable (Taguchi, 2011). To address this issue, multiple raters were employed and rating reliability was promoted. However, individual characteristics of NS raters which might have a significant impact on the ratings could be studied in detail in the future. Finally yet importantly, as discussed above, the very issue of applying NS norms in pragmatic performance is a contradictory one because of a language variability and NSs' and NNSs' attitudes towards pragmatic norms.

6.3. Directions for further research

More research in the area of ILP in general and in investigation of the speech act of greeting in ILP in particular is necessary. The results of the present study point to several directions for further research. First, variables of NNS participants such as gender, university major, level of L2 proficiency, and previous exposure to L2 that might affect the choice of greeting strategies could be studied further and more in depth. Besides, individual characteristics of ESL/EFL learners and their effect on the speech act production represent an interesting area to explore. A question that

has been mentioned cursorily in the present research – NNSs' attitude towards English NS pragmatic norms and politeness rules – is also worth studying. Second, similar issues can be analyzed form the point of view of NS raters: variables of gender, age, and social background that might influence the ratings; idiosyncrasies of raters; and the raters' attitude towards pragmatic appropriateness in NNS production. An intriguing area to study is the application of conversational analysis and an emic approach to the field of ILP which might help analyze and understand talk-in-interaction and the process of constructing and negotiating meanings in specific contexts. In addition, as mentioned above, the effect of pragmatic instruction – explicit and implicit – should be studied further in order to understand its advantages and drawbacks and develop necessary conditions to foster pragmatic and communicative competence of EFL/ ESL learners. Finally, the constructs of communicative and pragmatic competences and their application under the current conditions of ELF, for example, the issue of orientation on the NS norms and necessity of such approach for NNSs, could be addressed in future research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

FDCT Russian version

Составьте короткие диалоги по данным ситуациям. Используйте типичный для данных случаев язык.

1. Вы встречаете своего хорошего друга (одного с Вами возраста) где-то в городе.

2. Вы встречаете своего хорошего друга (одного с Вами возраста), когда приходите на стажировку в бизнес компанию/ правительственное учреждение и т.д.

3. Вы встречаете своего друга (старше Вас) в ресторане/ кафе.

4. Вы встречаете своего друга / коллегу (старше Вас), когда приходите на учебу/ работу в понедельник утром.

5. Вы встречаете своего университетского профессора где-то в городе.

6. Вы встречаете своего профессора в коридоре университета.

7. Вы встречаете своего университетского преподавателя (одного с Вами возраста) в ресторане/ кафе.

8. Вы встречаете своего университетского преподавателя (одного с Вами возраста) в коридоре университета.

9. На вечеринке друзей Вы знакомитесь с одним из гостей (одного с Вами возраста).

10. В первый день занятий Вы видите нового студента (одного с Вами возраста) и решаете с ним/ с ней поговорить.

11. На вечеринке друзей Вы знакомитесь с одним из гостей (старше Вас).

12. В первый день занятий Вы видите нового студента (старше Вас) и решаете с ним/ с ней поговорить

13. На университетском празднике Вы видите профессора, с которым еще не знакомы, и решаете поговорить с ним/ с ней.

14. Вы приходите на консультацию к университетскому профессору, с которым еще не знакомы.

15. На университетском празднике Вы видите преподавателя (одного с Вами возраста), с которым еще не знакомы, и решаете поговорить с ним/ с ней.

16. Вы приходите на консультацию к университетскому преподавателю (одного с Вами возраста), с которым еще не знакомы.

FDCT English version

You need to write a short dialogue for each situation in English that represents typical language that you would use if you were in these situations.

1. You run into a good friend (of the same age with you) in one of the streets in the city.

2. You run into a good friend (of the same age with you) when you come for an internship to a business company/ government agency, etc.

3. You run into a good friend (older than you) at a restaurant/ café.

4. You run into a friend/ a colleague (older than you) when you come to studies/ work on Monday morning.

5. You run into your professor on one of the streets in the city.

6. You meet your professor in the university hallway.

7. You run into your university instructor (of the same age with you) in a restaurant/ café.

8. You meet your university instructor (of the same age with you) in the university hallway.

9. At a friend's party, you see someone whom you do not know (of the same age with you) who smiles in a friendly manner and seems willing to chat.

10. On the first day of classes at the university, you see a new classmate (of the same age with you) and decide to talk to him/her.

11. At a friend's party you see someone whom you do not know (older than you) who smiles in a friendly manner and seems willing to chat.

12. On the first day of classes at the university, you see a new classmate (older than you) and decide to talk to him/her.

13. At a university party, you see a new professor whom you do not know yet and decide to talk to him/ her.

14. You come for a consultation to a new university professor whom you have not met before.

15. At a university party, you see a new instructor (of the same age with you) and decide to talk to him/ her. You have not met the instructor before.

16. You come for a consultation to a new university instructor (of the same age with you) whom you have not met before.

Please tell a little about yourself:

Gender: male   female   Age:

University major:

Number of years of English learning:

Previous travel to English speaking countries (Great Britain, USA, Canada, Australia, New

Zealand):   no   yes (specify)

How often do you have opportunities to interact with English speakers?

     Never or almost never

     Rarely (from what countries?)

     Sometimes (from what countries?)

     Often (from what countries?)

     Always or almost always (from what countries?)

Questions, comments.   Thank you for participation

APPENDIX B

Participant information sheet. DCT. Russian version

Название проекта: Исследование речевого акта приветствия у русских студентов изучающих английский язык.

Исследователь: Шлейкина Г.Ю., факультет английского языка, Оклахомский государственный университет.

Цель исследования: описать речевой акт приветствия у русских студентов изучающих английский язык, обсудить уровень прагматической адекватности, возможные сложности, положительную или отрицательную интерференцию родного языка, а также значимость в преподавании английского языка.

Метод: Составление диалогов по данным ситуациям, содержащим приветствия. Задание займет приблизительно 30 минут.

Возможные риски: нет.

Возможные выгоды: возможность участия в исследовательской работе.

Вознаграждения: нет.

Права участника: участие в проекте добровольное. Отказ от участия не влечет за собой никаких последствий. Вы можете отказаться от участия в любой момент.

Конфиденциальность: Все данные строго конфиденциальны. Письменные данные не несут какой-либо идентифицирующей информации. Данные будут храниться в безопасности – в закрытом кабинете и компьютере, защищенном паролем. Только исследователь и лица, отвечающие за конфиденциальность исследования, имеют доступ к данным.

Контактная информация: если Вам необходимо обсудить участие в проекте и/ или получить информацию о результатах исследования: Шлейкина Г.Ю., факультет английского языка, Оклахомский государственный университет. 205 Моррилл, Стиллвотер, OK 74075, 744-2085. galins@okstate.edu; научный руководитель: профессор Д.Халлек. факультет английского языка, Оклахомский государственный университет. 109 Д Моррилл, Стиллвотер, OK 74075, 744-9470, gene.halleck@okstate.edu Если у Вас есть вопросы о правах участников проекта: профессор Шейла Кеннисон, IRB Chair, 219 Корделл Норф, Стиллвотер, OK 74078, 405-744-3377, irb@okstate.edu

Если Вы согласны участвовать, выполните задание и составьте диалоги. Выполнение этого задания означает Ваше согласие на участие.

Participant information sheet. DCT. English version

Project Title: Investigating speech act of greeting produced by Russian learners of English.

Investigator: Galina Shleykina, Department of English, Oklahoma State University.

Purpose: to describe the speech act of greeting in English produced by the Russian advanced learners of English, and to discuss the level of appropriateness of the greetings, difficulties that the students encounter, possible negative and positive transfer from the native language, and, finally, to explain the implications for English teaching.

What to expect: Participation will involve completion of a Discourse Completion Test (DCT). It will ask to compose dialogues, which contain greetings. The task will take 20-30 minutes.

Risks of Participation: There are no known risks associated with this project, which are greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.

Benefits: You may gain an appreciation and understanding of how research is conducted.

Compensation: No compensation for participating in the research will be given.

Your Rights: Your participation in this research is voluntary. There is no penalty for refusal to participate, and you are free to withdraw your consent and participation in this project at any time, without penalty.

Confidentiality: The records of this study will be kept private. Any written results will discuss group findings and will not include information that will identify you. Research records will be stored securely and only researchers and individuals responsible for research oversight will have access to the records. The data in this research study will be reported based on the themes that the PI identifies in the questionnaires. The will be no identifying information. All pieces of data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the PI's office. Only the PI will have access to these materials. The computer with the data and the analysis will be password protected and only the PI knows it.

Contacts: You may contact the researcher at the following address and phone number, should you desire to discuss your participation in the study and/or request information about the results of the study: Galina Shleykina, Department of English, Oklahoma State University. 205 Morrill, Stillwater, OK 74075, 744-2085. galins@okstate.edu; advisor: Dr. Halleck, Department of English, Oklahoma State University. 109 D Morrill, Stillwater, OK 74075, 744-9470, gene.halleck@okstate.edu If you have questions about your rights as a research volunteer, you may contact Dr. Shelia Kennison, IRB Chair, 219 Cordell North, Stillwater, OK 74078, 405-744-3377 or irb@okstate.edu

If you choose to participate: Complete the DCT and return it to the envelope provided. Returning your completed DCT indicates your willingness to participate in this research study.

Participant information sheet. Interviews. Russian version

Название проекта: Исследование речевого акта приветствия у русских студентов изучающих английский язык.

Исследователь: Шлейкина Г.Ю., факультет английского языка, Оклахомский государственный университет.

Цель исследования: описать речевой акт приветствия у русских студентов изучающих английский язык, обсудить уровень прагматической адекватности, возможные сложности, положительную или отрицательную интерференцию родного языка, а также значимость в преподании английского языка.

Метод: Интервью с исследователем. Вопросы касаются темы приветсвия в русском и английском языках, задания по составлению диалогов и Вашего участия в нем. Интервью займет приблизительно 30 минут.
Возможные риски: нет

Возможные выгоды: возможность участия в исследовательской работе

Вознаграждения: нет

Права участника: участие в проекте добровольное. Отказ от участия не влечет за собой никаких последствий. Вы можете отказаться от участия в любой момент.

Конфиденциальность: Все данные строго конфиденциальны. Письменные данные не несут какой-либо идентифицирующей информации. Для обозначения участников интервью будут использованы псевдонимы. Данные будут храниться в безопасности – в закрытом кабинете и компьютере, защищенном паролем. Только исследователь и лица, отвечающие за конфиденциальность исследования, имеют доступ к данным. Аудио файлы будут затраскрибированы и уничтожены в течение 30 дней после интервью. Кроме этого, участники получат возможность ознакомиться с анализом интервью и изложением представленной информации. В случае если, по мнению участника, информация представляет угрозу конфиденциальности, она может быть удалена.

Контактная информация: если Вам необходимо обсудить участие в проекте и/ или получить информацию о результатах исследования: Шлейкина Г.Ю., факультет английского языка, Оклахомский государственный университет. 205 Моррилл, Стиллвотер, ОК 74075, 744-2085. galins@okstate.edu; Д. Халлек. факультет английского языка, Оклахомский государственный университет. 109 Д Моррилл, Стиллвотер, ОК 74075, 744-9470, gene.halleck@okstate.edu Если у Вас есть вопросы о правах участников проекта: профессор Шейла Кеннисон, IRB Chair, 219 Корделл Норф, Стиллвотер, ОК 74078, 405-744-3377, irb@okstate.edu

По вопросам участия обращайтесь Шлейкина Г.Ю. galins@okstate.edu

Participant information sheet. Interviews. English version.

Project Title: Investigating speech act of greeting produced by Russian learners of English.

Investigator: Galina Shleykina, Department of English, Oklahoma State University.

Purpose: to describe the speech act of greeting in English produced by the Russian advanced learners of English, and to discuss the level of appropriateness of the greetings, possible difficulties that the learners encounter, negative and positive transfer from the native language, and, finally, to explain the implications for English teaching.

What to expect: an interview with the researcher. The questions will be about greetings in Russian and English, the DCT, and the participants' experiences and opinions on it. The interview will take approximately 30 minutes.

Risks of Participation: no known risks associated with this project which are greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.

Benefits: You may gain an appreciation and understanding of how research is conducted.

Compensation: No compensation for participating in the research will be given.

Your Rights: participation is voluntary. There is no penalty for refusal to participate, and you are free to withdraw your consent and participation at any time, without penalty.

Confidentiality: The records of this study will be kept private. Any written results will discuss group findings and will not include information that will identify you. Research records will be stored securely and only researchers and individuals responsible for research oversight will have access to the records. Pseudonyms will be used to refer to the participants. All pieces of data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the PI's office. Only the PI will have access to these materials. The computer with the data and the analysis will be password protected and only the PI knows it. Audio tapes will be transcribed and destroyed within 30 days of the interview. The major themes that emerge from the data analysis and the report resulting from the research study will be presented to the participants to ensure the accurate representation of their responses during the interview. During the member-check process, the participants may choose to remove any information that they feel might compromise their confidentiality.

Contacts: You may contact the researcher at the following address and phone number, should you desire to discuss your participation in the study and/or request information about the results of the study: Galina Shleykina, Department of English, Oklahoma State University. 205 Morrill, Stillwater, OK 74075, 744-2085. galins@okstate.edu; advisor: Dr. Halleck, Department of English, Oklahoma State University. 109 D Morrill, Stillwater, OK 74075, 744-9470, gene.halleck@okstate.edu If you have questions about your rights as a research volunteer, you may contact Dr. Shelia Kennison, IRB Chair, 219 Cordell North, Stillwater, OK 74078, 405-744-3377 or irb@okstate.edu

If you choose to participate: Contact Galina Shleykina at galins@okstate.edu

APPENDIX D

Interview set of questions. English version.

1. What do you think of the questionnaire? Was it difficult? Easy? Why?

2. What were your responses in these situations?

3. If you were to construct the dialogues again, would you do it the same way or differently? Why?

4. Were you translating phrases from Russian or using English phrases?

5. Where did you learn English greetings?

6. How easy/ difficult are English greetings for you?

7. How are they different from Russian?

8. Have you ever encountered difficulties with greetings in English?

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Thursday, April 17, 2014

IRB Application No   AS1442

Proposal Title: Investigating Speech Act of Greeting Produced by Advanced Russian
Learners of English

Reviewed and   Exempt
Processed as:

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved   Protocol Expires: 4/16/2017

Principal
Investigator(s):

Galina Shleykina   Gene Halleck
605 W Bennet Dr Apt C   311B Morrill
Stillwater, OK 74075   Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

☒ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval. Protocol modifications requiring approval may include changes to the title, PI advisor, funding status or sponsor, subject population composition or size, recruitment, inclusion/exclusion criteria, research site, research procedures and consent/assent process or forms
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of the research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Dawnett Watkins 219 Cordell North (phone: 405-744-5700, dawnett.watkins@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,

Shelia M. Kennison

Shelia Kennison, Chair
Institutional Review Board

VITA

Galina Shleykina

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: THE SPEECH ACT OF GREETING PERFORMED BY RUSSIAN EFL
          LEARNERS

Major Field: TESL/ Linguistics

Biographical:

      Education:

      Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy in TESL/ Linguistics
      at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in May, 2016.

      Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy in Russian at
      Petrozavodsk State University, Petrozavodsk, Russia in 2007.

      Completed the requirements for the Master Arts in Russian and English at
      Petrozavodsk State University, Petrozavodsk, Russia in 1998.

      Completed the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts in Russian and English at
      Petrozavodsk State University, Petrozavodsk, Russia in 1998.

      Experience:

      Teaching associate at the English Department at Oklahoma State University
      Assistant Director of International Composition program 2011-2016

      Senior instructor of English at Petrozavodsk State University (2009-2011)
      Instructor of Russian as a Foreign Language at Petrozavodsk State University

      Fulbright Scholar at Oklahoma State University (2008-2009)

      Instructor of English at Petrozavodsk State University (2005-2008)
      Instructor of literature at Petrozavodsk State University (2001-2005)

      Professional Memberships:

      American Association for Applied Linguists (AAAL)
      Oklahoma Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (OKTESOL)