TEACHING PRAGMALINGUISTICS IN TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAMMES

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by

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DECLARATION

This work is original and has not been submitted previously for a degree, qualification or other course.

....

This thesis is dedicated with love and

gratitude

to my mother,

and

to the memory of my father.

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ABSTRACT

PRAGMALINGUISTICS IN TEACHER EDUCATION

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This study investigates to what extent the pragmalinguistics of language is represented in ELT teacher education. Two Turkish teacher education departments were considered as a ground for a case study. First, the field of pragmalinguistics has been investigated by carrying out a study on the use of two discourse markers, **you know** and **I mean** in casual conversations. These were taken as the representatives of pragmalinguistics. The study was comparative in nature in that the use of these markers by Turkish speakers of English was compared with those by NS. It was hypothesized that the NNS used these discourse markers in a different way to NS: they either used them more frequently less frequently or did not use them at all.

The analysis has revealed that the use of these markers can be associated with topic expansion in conversation and facework (Goffman 1967). The NNS appear to have used these markers in a similar way to the NS. Therefore, it was concluded that strong motivation which is supported with exposure to the target language facilitates learning pragmalinguistic features (cf. Schmidt 1993).

Following parts of the study focus on the place of pragmalinguistics in ELT teacher education. Three sets of data were collected in two different teacher education departments in Turkey. The investigation started with classroom observations in the speaking skills class in Uludag University. Following this, four ELT Methodology course lecturers were interviewed in two universities. These studies were explorative in nature and aimed to find to what extent pragmalinguistics was represented. The third set of data was the first half of the questionnaire that was aimed to elicit data about the trainees' attitudes and perceptions towards language learning and teaching in two departments. The subjects were subsequently interviewed. The results of the analyses showed that pragmalinguistic features of language were under-represented in these two programmes. It appeared that pragmalinguistics was not highly regarded. The trainees appeared to be aware that they were missing something out in their education; however, they did not appear to be aware of the under-representation of pragmalinguistics.

The third study was the administration of the second half of the questionnaire to investigate to what extent the teacher trainees in these departments had already learned about pragmalinguistics. The questions focused on speech acts, particularly on indirect requests. They were divided into sections of multiple choice questions, discourse completion, conventionalised formulaic routines (Aijmer 1996; Coulmas 1981) and dialogue writing. The results of the analysis of the questionnaire questions revealed that the trainees were quite successful in recognizing appropriate forms in multiple choice questions. However, when they were asked to produce similar features, they were not so successful (Kasper 1982). When they did not know the conventionalized forms, they tended to improvise (cf. Blum-

Kulka and Levenston 1987). They also appear to have transferred certain forms from Turkish.

Considering the findings of these three studies, the thesis proposes some activities for raising the pragmalinguistic awareness of the first year teacher trainees. This approach is based on Edge's tri-partite framework of teachers as language learners/analysts/teachers. The activities were designed following this approach (Edge1988). They include teaching of issues such as Politeness Strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987) in terms of cultural and linguistic differences between the Turkish and the English languages. They also aim to raise trainees awareness on language teaching and learning issues. The thesis ends with a conclusion that in EFL contexts EFL teachers and teacher trainees need their pragmalinguistic language awareness raised to teach better (see also Wright 1990).

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ABBREVIATIONS

CA Communicative Approach

EAP English for Academic Purposes

EFL English as a Second Language

ELT English Language Teaching

ESL English as a Foreign Language

L1 First Language

L2 Second Language

METU The Middle East Technical University

NS Native Speaker

NNS Non-native Speaker

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Present Study and its Scope

Although the importance of raising pragmalinguistic awareness in language teaching has increasingly been recognized recently, it is still under-represented in teacher education programmes (cf. Tedick and Walker 1994). At present the literature is focused more on raising the language awareness of teacher trainees in general (Wright and Bolitho 1993; 1997) than on raising their pragmalinguistic awareness. Instead, it seems that pragmalinguistic features are left to be picked up by trainees themselves. However, since in an exclusively EFL context they are not exposed to native speakers' discourse, this expectation is unlikely to be fulfilled. Moreover, there is growing evidence that, because of their complicated nature, pragmalinguistic features can cause serious problems for language learners (cf. Blum-Kulka 1989; Lazenby Simpson 1997; Lörscher and Schulze 1988; Trosborg 1987; White 1993).

Since teacher trainees will be teaching future generations, they should be well equipped with the knowledge to enable them to cope with the demands of all aspects of language teaching. As part of their qualifications, non-native speaker trainees or teachers need to have a well-established pragmalinguistic awareness. This would provide them not only with an understanding of how pragmalinguistics operates but also an insight into the role of pragmalinguistics in relation to other components of language. Therefore, helping trainees to

develop positive attitudes towards pragmalinguistics could well be as important as raising their awareness about this aspect of language.

NNS teachers can only adequately support their students in developing their pragmalinguistic skills if they have a good awareness of the use of pragmalinguistic features. Wright and Bolitho (1993) comment that:

> .... a lack of awareness of language often manifests itself at classroom level for example when a teacher is unable to identify and compensate for shortcomings in a course book, or is 'caught out' by a learner's question on the language (p.291).

In such situations teachers should have the confidence to provide the necessary expertise to help learners (ibid.). For this reason, teachers need to develop their own language awareness so that they could guide their students in learning all aspects of language, including pragmalinguistics.

The study on which this thesis is based developed from my personal experience of teaching and learning languages. When I was a research assistant at a teacher education department in Turkey, I observed that trainees had difficulties in understanding and responding to basic social functions of the English language. My students persisted in performing these in Turkish, despite my efforts to persuade them to use English. In addition, being a language learner and ESL speaker myself, I have had difficulties in understanding and performing certain pragmalinguistic features during my stay in Britain. Particularly in my first year, I experienced a series of quite demoralizing communication break-downs and misunderstandings, which sometimes proved costly in terms of money and time. When I look back, I realize that some of my teachers and some of my colleagues, including myself, were

not confident about using pragmalinguistic features of language. The question which then arises is how to raise Turkish teachers' and teacher trainers' awareness of, and confidence in using, pragmalinguistic features.

Raising the pragmalinguistic awareness of Turkish teacher trainees is particularly important as the English language is taught only as a foreign language. This means that what learners are taught at school is their primary source and guide. Although the private sector in particular tends to use English as the medium of education, the official first language of the country is of course Turkish. Learners are not normally exposed to the English language and culture. Familiarity with British culture and the English language in Turkey appears to be unsatisfactory in comparison with that of some other European countries. This does not only result from the geographical distance, but also the cultural and religious differences between Turkey and Britain. In particular, different religious beliefs which are dominant in both countries create an enormous gap, the influence of which on language appears to be ignored in EFL teaching in Turkey. Cultural and religious differences and their reflection in the language may be difficult to understand for language learners in Turkey. In addition to this, other factors such as the low value of Turkish currency make travelling too expensive for an ordinary Turkish person. These factors seem likely to reduce the chances of Turkish EFL learners, including teacher trainees, to simply pick up pragmalinguistic features through exposure. This situation appears to require the inclusion of a component for raising the pragmalinguistic awareness of teacher trainees so that this would support their further learning by providing them with a basis for "noticing" (Schmidt 1993) and "discovering"(G. Thompson 1996a) the features of pragmalinguistics. The present study investigates the

pragmalinguistic awareness of Turkish teacher trainees and how far their current training programmes succeed in raising pragmalinguistic awareness.

One starting point for the study was to try to understand how pragmalinguistics works in order to form the basis for the following studies, of which the ultimate aim was to propose a teaching approach for the purposes of improving EFL teacher training programmes. A study of pragmalinguistics would also help to show that pragmalinguistics plays an important role in interaction, and so help to establish grounds for the introduction of a component of pragmalinguistics in teacher training programmes. The first step in the study was therefore to investigate an aspect of pragmalinguistics and to show how in real language its features function. This would provide me with the baseline information for a comparison between NS and NNS use of discourse markers.

The aspect chosen was discourse markers, which until recently were not regarded highly (cf. Goldberg 1980), and were often treated as mere "performance anomalies" (Schwenter 1996: 855). However, they are now recognised to play an important function in discourse (Özbek 1995; Schiffrin 1987). One problem was that the category of discourse markers is not clearly defined in the literature; Schiffrin (1987) analyses 11 expressions under the title of discourse markers: *you know, I mean, you see, well, oh, then, and, but, or, well* and *now*. The present study focuses on the functions of **you know** and **I mean** in conversation. The reason that these two were chosen was partly related to the author's personal experience as a language learner. She had not "noticed" (in Schmidt's (1993) terms) discourse markers during eleven years of language learning in Turkey. **You know** and **I mean** were the first two markers that

she noticed on her arrival in Britain. In addition, questions about the use of these markers asked by other Turkish postgraduate students increased her curiosity about these markers.

Another reason for this choice is that very little research has already been carried out on the use of discourse markers in NNS discourse, although there is a rich body of research on the use of other pragmalinguistic features such as speech acts (e.g. the CCSARP Project; see Blum-Kulka et al 1989) in both NS and NNS discourse. In addition, there has not been any research carried out on the use of discourse markers by Turkish speakers of English. Therefore, it was decided that research was badly needed to throw light on this area.

The data consists of two sets of casual conversational data performed by NS and Turkish speakers of English. The Turkish subjects were postgraduate students at the time of data collection. They were asked to hold a 15-minute conversation with a non-Turkish person that they knew. Their interlocutors were NS and some other non-Turkish NNS. NS speaker subjects come from all walks of life. For practical reasons, the age, sex and educational background of the NS subjects were not controlled. Like the Turkish subjects, the NS subject were also asked to hold a 15-minute conversation. Settings where the recordings were made were subjects' offices or houses. The researcher did not put any restrictions on the topics that they talked about. However, to avoid embarrassment and misunderstandings, they were asked not to choose topics which were too personal or which were about family affairs.

The second starting point of the present study was to investigate to what extent pragmalinguistics is represented in ELT teacher education departments, and to what extent it

is regarded as a necessary aspect to include in these programmes. Two ELT teacher education departments in Turkey were taken as representatives of ELT pre-service teacher education. Clearly, the situation will vary from country to country. However, evidence from earlier studies (Cullen 1994; Liu 1998; Tedick and Walker 1994) suggests that the situation is similar in teacher education programmes elsewhere in the world.

The second step in the study was explorative: a series of classroom observations was performed in one Turkish teacher education department, and the lecturers responsible for language improvement were interviewed in the two education programmes. The ELT methodology lecturers were also interviewed to elicit information about how far pragmalinguistics was regarded as a vital part of language learning. A questionnaire was administered to the trainees in both teacher education programmes. The first part of the questionnaire aimed to elicit information about the trainees' perceptions of the place of pragmalinguistics in language learning and teaching. The subjects were asked to grade seven language aspects in terms of their difficulty and their importance in improving language skills in general, and speaking skills in particular. They were also asked to make judgements about the validity of five statements which were related to language teaching and learning.

Twenty of the subjects who completed the questionnaire were also interviewed. The interview questions were prepared to elicit similar information to that elicited by the questionnaire. The interview protocol started with questions to obtain their opinions about the questionnaire. These were followed by questions which aimed to elicit information about their views on methods of improving language skills in English. The final set of questions

aimed to elicit their opinions about the shortcomings in their own teacher training programme.

The final step in the study investigated the trainees' own pragmalinguistic competence. The second part of the questionnaire mentioned above consisted of questions which aimed to find out to what extent the trainees could use certain pragmalinguistic features. The questions were mainly based on the realization of certain politeness strategies such as indirect requests and address forms. In this part of the questionnaire different question types were used: multiple choice, discourse completion and dialogue completion.

The whole study was designed to investigate how far pragmalinguistics is represented in teacher education programmes. The information which was gained from the explorative and investigative studies was used to develop an approach for the purposes of raising pragmalinguistic awareness of teacher trainees.

The thesis comprises seven chapters. The second chapter establishes the theoretical background for the study, while the third chapter examines the discourse functions of **you know** and **I mean**. The fourth chapter reports the results of the classroom observations, interviews with the lecturers and trainees and the analysis of the first part of the questionnaire. The fifth chapter explores to what extent the trainees can use certain features of pragmalinguistics. The sixth chapter proposes an approach for raising the pragmalinguistic awareness of teacher trainees. The final chapter presents conclusions that can be drawn from

the studies, discusses the limitations of the study and suggests areas for future research. The chapters are outlined in greater detail below.

The second chapter describes the theoretical domain of the present study, which draws upon three major approaches: firstly, Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle, Conversational Implicature and Conversational Maxims; secondly, Politeness Strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987); and thirdly the concept of genre (Swales 1990; Ventola 1989). The present study is interested in the linguistic realization of pragmatics, which is related to and heavily influenced by social norms and rules. Previous research has described these norms and rules as principles, maxims and strategies. For this reason, Chapter Two reviews major approaches to analysing pragmatic meaning and forms a basis for the analysis of pragmalinguistic functions of discourse markers in Chapter 3.

Chapter Three investigates the functions of two discourse markers, **you know** and **I mean** in native and non-native speaker conversations. The analysis draws on Conversational Analysis, systemic functional views of language use in context, and research into L2 learners' use of English. The analysis is based on the possible "mismatches" between the form and function of the discourse markers. This "mismatch" is taken as one of the characteristic features of pragmalinguistics. The study reported in Chapter 3 reveals that learners who are exposed to the target language in the target culture can pick up the uses of **you know** and **I mean**. This leads to another question: Can EFL learners pick up the uses of these markers with exposure through analysis of authentic data?

The fourth chapter investigates the place of pragmalinguistics in EFL education, focusing on teacher training. Issues related to pragmalinguistics have been paid some attention with the rise of the Communicative Approach. However, this approach also appears to have failed to represent pragmalinguistic features of language fully. One of the reasons for this may be that the teaching of grammar was considered at odds with the Communicative Approach (Hughes *et al* 1994). As a result, the Communicative Approach appears to have failed to address the correlation between discourse choice and grammatical choice. Recent research into written and spoken discourse has shown that formerly ignored pragmalinguistic features of language have an important role in interpersonal communication (e.g. McCarthy and Carter 1995; Carter and McCarthy 1995; McCarthy and Carter 1997; Hyland 1996a). In this context, Chapter Four examines how far such research has influenced teacher education.

The fifth chapter uses information from the questionnaires and interviews to examine native speakers' and non-native speakers' awareness of indirect "speech functions" (Halliday 1994). Indirect speech functions have been identified as more commonly-occurring than direct speech functions (cf. Blum-Kulka et al 1989). Recent research has shown that, amongst these speech functions, indirect requests are the most commonly used (Aijmer 1996). The study investigates indirect requests in terms of the mismatch between their form and function (see G. Thompson 1996a), through the analysis of indirect requests and other pragmalinguistic features such as the structure of interaction in service encounters in NS and NNS data.

The sixth chapter gives an overall summary of the main findings to establish grounds for its argument that the component of raising pragmalinguistic awareness should be included in

ELT teacher education programmes. The chapter also proposes three pragmalinguistic awareness raising activities which are based on Edge's (1988) tri-partite framework where teacher trainees are given three roles in their training: user, analyst and teacher.

In the final chapter, conclusions which can be drawn from the results of the analyses are presented. The chapter firstly briefly summarizes the analytical chapters of the thesis. The implications of the findings of the present study for both language learning and teacher education are then summarized. Finally, the chapter considers some major limitations of the study, and suggests possible avenues for further research.

Chapter 2

Pragmalinguistics in Interaction

Introduction

The present chapter introduces the concept of pragmalinguistics as the main domain of the present study. In order to explore the place of pragmalinguistics in teacher training, it is initially necessary to explore the phenomenon of pragmalinguistics. One purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to establish what certain key terms of the present study, such as 'pragmatics', 'pragmalinguistics' and 'context' mean. Leech (1983) describes general pragmatics as having two main elements: pragmalinguistics and socio-pragmatics. He considers socio-pragmatics to be the "sociological interface of pragmatics" (p. 10). He then remarks that:

> the term pragmalinguistics .... can be applied to the study of the more linguistic end of pragmatics - where we consider the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular locutions" (p. 11)

Leech's definition draws attention to the differences between a linguistic representation and its social context. However, this chapter considers pragmalinguistic aspects of language in terms of the analysis of the contextual and social factors which determine the way that meanings are expressed.

This chapter also provides a rationale for the study by considering issues and problems related to the investigation of linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour in interaction. Important works which investigate aspects of pragmatics are Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle (CP) and Conversational Maxims, and Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Principle (PP). These regulative principles and maxims describe the norms

that underlie our social behaviour. In this chapter, some conversational routines are explored as the linguistic expressions of Politeness Strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987). The mismatch between the literal and contextual meanings of these routines is shown to create potential problems for language learners.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2.1 considers the nature of meaning in context and the effects of contextual factors on the expression of meaning, while sections 2.2, and 2.3 summarize Grice's Co-operative Principle and Conversational Maxims, and the Politeness Principle and its assessment factors. Section 2.4 presents multi-functionality as the key characteristic of pragmalinguistic features. Section 2.5 considers linguistic choice in the realization of a genre and the use of conversational routines as ways of realizing particular steps in a generic structure. Raising pragmalinguistic awareness of teacher trainees in an EFL context will be considered in section 2.6. Section 2.7 gives a summary of the previous sections and reiterates how these are related to the thesis.

2.1 Meaning in Context

Pragmatics is about meaning in context. Leech (1983) defines pragmatics as "the speaker's meaning" (p. 6). On the other hand, Thomas (1995) points out that "the process of making meaning is a joint accomplishment between speaker and hearer...." (p. 208). She describes pragmatics as "meaning in interaction" (p. 208). As an aspect of language, pragmatics has its theories, methodologies and underlying assumptions (ibid.). There is a close relationship between pragmatics and other levels of language, which also have a pragmatic aspect to them. For example, the rising or falling intonation of an

utterance could express a great deal in addition to the meaning of the words (cf. Pennington 1996). Therefore, it is important that language is considered as a jig-saw puzzle, the picture of which can only be completed when all its pieces are in place.

Butler (1996) remarks that recently one of the most important questions that pragmatics has tackled is related to "the interpersonal functioning of language" (p. 169). This includes questions such as:

> ....how we should handle the discrepancies between what is actually said and what is conveyed, and why speakers often choose to convey messages in indirect ways (p. 169).

The "contextual meanings" of our words mean more than their "abstract meanings" (Thomas 1995). Contextual meaning is not entirely linguistic: there are many other factors that influence the way in which we create it. These factors are related to cultural and social values. Societal norms play an important role in the way we make and interpret meaning. Gumperz (1982) summarises the importance of contextual meaning as follows:

> We cannot regard meaning as the output of non-linear processing in which sounds are mapped onto morphemes, clauses and sentences by application of the grammatical and semantic rules of sentence-level linguistic analysis, and look at social norms as extralinguistic forces which merely determine how and under what conditions such meaning units are used (pp. 185-186).

From a socio-pragmatic point of view, Gumperz describes how meanings are determined by the social context. To investigate the relationship between these social rules and norms and their linguistic realizations in a systematic way, the determinant

factors which shape interaction need to be described. As Butler (1996) summarizes, "the full speech act force of an utterance can only be worked out in detail if the social and cultural context is taken into account" (p.167).

There are several factors which play an important role in determining the way in which meaning is encoded and interpreted. Halliday and Hasan (1985) analyse these under the headings of three main contextual factors:

> 1. *The Field of Discourse* refers to what is happening
> 2. *The Tenor of Discourse* refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles
> 3. *The Mode of Discourse* refers to what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation (p.12).

Halliday and Hasan describe these as the variables of context of situation. In the Hallidayan sense, these three parameters determine discourse structure and linguistic choice. In addition to these contextual factors, Halliday postulates two more variables which contribute to how we encode and decode meaning. These are features of *the context of situation* and features of *the context of culture*. Cultural values can determine the interpretation of the variables of a context of situation and the relationship between these variables. This role is reflected in the force of an utterance (Butler 1996). For example, in Turkish context of culture the social distance between man and woman is greater that between people from the same sex. This is reflected in the language that is used in interaction between people of opposite sex. That is, men are supposed to use more cordial language and address women as 'sister' or 'aunty' to acquaintances and strangers as well as relatives use polite you form when addressing women who are not from the family.

The features of a context of situation are not static; equally, the interpretations of the meanings of words are not static but dynamic. In the process of interaction, this dynamism is realized by re-negotiating these features. The crucial importance of the features of a context of situation is emphasised by Mey (1993) as follows:

> The context determines both what one can say, and what one cannot say: only the pragmatics of the situation give meaning to one's words. Thus one and the same utterance can obtain completely different, even diametrically opposed effects; well-known phenomena such as irony, sarcasm, metaphor, hyperbole and so on show us the richness and diversity of the life behind the linguistic scene (p. 60).

Words make meaning within a context: as Leech (1983) remarks, "we mean more than we say" (p. 9). This meaning is retrievable from the context. An example which illustrates how context affects the function of an expression is De Fina's (1997) analysis of the Spanish marker *(muy) bien* in classroom discourse. De Fina finds that the marker *(muy) bien* is used as a contextualization cue to signal upcoming changes such as signalling the pre-instruction phase and the instruction phase of a classroom activity and signalling transitions between the steps in a phase. De Fina concludes that

> ....it allows participants to redefine the situation and realign themselves accordingly. Such alignments have been shown to imply changes in the way participants relate to each other and to the activity itself (p. 346).

De Fina finds that *(muy) bien* is also used as an "evaluator" (p. 348) to praise a student who gives a correct answer to a question. In this sense, the marker preserves its literal meaning (e.g. 'good') as well as making a positive evaluation about students' performance. De Fina also remarks that, when the marker is used as an evaluator, it does not lose its transition marking character. She concludes that this type of use is specific to

the classroom context and that the marker is used in a slightly different way in conversation. The main difference is that, in conversation, it is used as a marker of agreement and solidarity. It also marks the change from one "topic and/or frame to another" (p. 352). The teacher as a figure of authority makes decisions and signals so that learners can respond accordingly. In this context, the use of *(muy) bien* indicates the the teacher's authority. Not surprisingly, De Fina finds that learners cannot use these markers. While she mentions that learners may not be able use the marker because of their insufficient linguistic ability, she suggests that the use of this marker in a classroom context indicates authority. Since the learners do not have this authority, they do not use the marker. De Fina's findings indicate that the context of situation imposes some restrictions on the use of certain expressions. As in the case of *(muy) bien,* discourse markers present an interesting picture, because their pragmatic meaning and function can be quite different from what their literal meaning implies. They also have a role to play in the formation of coherence by marking boundaries of talk (cf. Bazzanella 1990). At the same time, they appear to help interactants to re-align their position in talk (cf. Schiffrin 1987; Koike 1996). The effect of contextual factors on the use of two other discourse markers, namely **you know** and **I mean,** will be discussed in depth in Chapter 3.

This section has considered how contextual features influence the way in which the meaning is expressed and interpreted. Amongst these features are the participants, the medium of communication and the situation in which the interaction takes place. In addition to contextual factors, certain principles and maxims have an important role in

determining linguistic choices. The next section will summarize the Gricean view of the factors that it is argued come into play when we talk.

2.2 Co-operative Principle and Conversational Maxims

One of the most important aspects of an interaction is its social goal, which is achieved by establishing co-operation. Grice (1975) explains the Co-operative Principle as follows:

> Make your conversational contribution as 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).

The Co-operative Principle assumes that the participants will co-operate (cf. Leech 1983). The participants in an interaction need to reconcile what they hear with what they understand in the context of interaction. Therefore,

> what is conveyed in any one circumstance .... is a function of (a) literal meaning in the sense in which that term is understood by semanticists and (b) a series of indirect inferences based on .... the co-operative principle (Gumperz 1982: 94).

However, as we shall see later in this section, this may not be so easily taken for granted in real life.

Grice (1975) also suggests a number of Conversational Maxims to support this principle:

> 1) Maxim of Quality (speak the truth, be sincere)
> 2) Maxim of Quantity (a) Don't say less than is required
> (b) Don't say more than is required
> 3) Maxim of Relevance: Be relevant
> 4) Maxim of Manner: Be perspicuous; avoid ambiguity and obscurity
> (Grice 1981).

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the Gricean maxims do not describe actual patterns of social behaviour. They are 'background presumptions' which are accepted until proven otherwise. For example, failing to give a satisfactory answer to a question does not suggest that the Co-operative Principle is being violated (ibid.). However, the situation can be interpreted as "implicating inability to meet the requisite canons of factual information" (1987:5). Grice also explains that these maxims are not always observed. Non-observance can be performed in the form of "flouting", "violating", "infringing", "suspending a maxim" and "opting out of a maxim" (Thomas 1995: 72).

Brown and Yule (1983) explain the regulative nature of the Co-operative Principle and its maxims.

> For the analyst, as well as the hearer, conversational implicatures must be treated as inherently indeterminate since they derive from a supposition that the speaker has the intention of conveying meaning and of obeying the Co-operative Principle (p.33).

Similarly, Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle and its associated maxims are:

> ..... intended to show how very general and powerful principles of human behaviour can account for the conveying of more than is obvious from the literal propositional content of what is said (Butler 1996: 168-169).

However, there are a number of problems with Grice's maxims. Firstly, these Maxims do not seem to have the same weight when they are in operation in communication. For example, 'Be Relevant' appears to have a kind of hyper-term status in comparison to the others (see also Sperber and Wilson 1986). Whatever is said has to be relevant to what was said before so that hearers can infer the implicature. Another problem relates to the type of maxim. Thomas (1995) points out that, unlike the others, the maxim of Quality

can be invoked at two levels: it is either obeyed or not. The Maxims of Quantity and Manner, on the other hand, can operate to a greater or lesser degree. Thomas (1995) remarks that it is not easy to judge how much information is needed. Similarly, the maxim of Manner can be invoked to a greater or lesser extent. That is, the clarity of what the speaker says can be scaleable. It is not necessarily clear whether a speaker deliberately fails to express him/herself clearly or not since an utterance may invoke more than one implicature. Thomas (1995) also points out that since we cannot read the speaker's mind, it is difficult to distinguish between different types of non-observance. Equally, since the maxims overlap, as Thomas (1995) comments, it is not always clear which one is in operation.

As Eggins and Slade (1997) observe, there are also problems in the application of Grice's theory to the analysis of authentic data. They argue that the basis of the maxims, the Co-operative Principle, does not work in real interaction in the way that it is idealised in Grice's theory. They claim that:

> Gricean Pragmatics implies a non-critical idealizing of conversations as homogeneous, co-operative and equal (ibid. p. 43).

It is not always possible to take it for granted that conversationalists will co-operate. On the contrary, Eggins and Slade (1997) argue that there are many situations where disagreement can be an essential factor in the maintenance of casual conversation.

As can be seen from the problems and criticisms above, Grice's Co-operative Principle and the Maxims describe a type of idealistic world which, in reality, we tend to deviate from. Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Principle, which is outlined in the next

section, attempts to explain how we manage to deviate strategically and still communicate with success, if not always then most of the time.

2.3 Politeness Strategies

The Co-operative Principle and the Maxims present only one aspect of the basis of interaction. Language choices also reflect how we consider our position with respect to others and how we consider their position with respect to ours in a social context. The relationship between status and power appears to be an important factor in determining the linguistic choices that we make. We appear to adopt certain strategies to protect our social position and/or other people's social position. The type of strategy which is adopted can be reflected in the linguistic choice that we make, and this choice is interpreted by the addressee within the circumstances of the given context of situation. Butler (1996) remarks that:

> .... in the area of interpersonal aspect of language the selection of one form of communicative strategy rather than another can often be motivated by considerations of politeness (Butler 1996: 169).

Although Brown and Levinson give an exhaustive list of Politeness Strategies and explain them in detail, the present study will simply explain these strategies in terms of Goffman's (1967) concept of face and will not consider detailed categories of Politeness Strategies.

Brown and Levinson (1987) base their theory on Goffman's (1967) work. Goffman suggested that every competent member of society had face. Brown and Levinson explore face as a property that can be protected, maintained or lost. It is assumed that

others will co-operate to maintain face since everyone's face is vulnerable to a degree. Thus, the protection of an individual's face depends on to what extent the other's face is maintained (Brown and Levinson 1987).

According to Brown and Levinson's (1987) model, every member of society possesses two types of face: *positive* and *negative*. Positive face is defined as the desire of every competent member of a group for his/her desires to be regarded as acceptable by at least some members of the group (p 13). Negative face is defined as the desire that every competent member of a group has for his/her desires or unco-operative behaviour to be unimpeded by the other members of the group (p 13). In an interaction, each participant needs to attend to his/her own and his/her addressee's positive and negative face. Failing to do this results in *face threatening acts* (FTAs) (e.g. disagreeing, making assumptions and lying). FTAs could cause great harm to the interaction. For this reason, it is necessary to handle these instances carefully by adopting certain strategies to minimize the FTA. Following Brown and Levinson's work, many studies have looked at different ways of performing face work in different contexts; for example, address forms in Persian (Keshavarz 1988), Politeness Strategies in political monologues (Chilton 1990), Politeness Strategies in Chinese (Gu 1990) and rudeness (Kasper 1990).

Certain factors in a given context of situation are taken into account both by speakers, in preferring one particular Politeness Strategy rather than another, and by listeners in interpreting it. Brown and Levinson (1987) identify three factors that are employed to assess a situation. The next section summarizes these briefly. The results of the

assessment of these factors will orientate speakers in their linguistic choice and listeners in their interpretation of the speakers' linguistic choice.

2.3.1 Assessment factors: Power, distance and rank

Brown and Levinson (1987) hypothesize that, when assessing the force of an FTA, individuals take three factors into consideration. These are *social distance* (D), *relative power* (P) and the *rank of imposition in a particular culture* (R). Brown and Levinson assume that situational factors play an important role in the assessment of the D, P and R. Therefore, the values for D, P and R are only valid in a particular situation for a particular group of interactants. As Blum-Kulka (1989) points out, the degree of social distance and power between participants are important factors in determining the linguistic realization of the speech function that is employed. Blum-Kulka (1989) also remarks that in the case of requests, for instance, the effects of power relations on the degree of directness can be noticeable:

> Requests from children to adults and those addressed to people in positions of greater power were found to be less direct than requests made in the reverse situation. Directness tends to rise with increase in familiarity, as well as with the transition from the public to the private domain (Blum-Kulka 1989: 4).

The way that these factors are reflected in linguistic choice is investigated in McCarthy and Carter (1995), which shows that these factors can play a determinant role in the tense choice. They find that the type of relationship between participants (D) can serve as a determinant factor in tense choice, namely between two future expressions (*will/be going to*) in ordering a meal in a restaurant. In the following example:

> A: [to her friend] *I'm gonna* have the deep fried mushrooms, you like the mushrooms don't you?
> [a couple of minutes later]

> A: [to the waiter] *I'll have* the deep fried mushrooms with erm an old time burger, can I have cheese on it?
> (1995 p. 213) (my italics)

McCarthy and Carter (1995) point out that the use of 'will' should be perfectly acceptable in both cases but the speaker preferred to choose 'be going to' to her friend. Their conclusion is that:

> The force of *be going to* here seems to have to do with indirectness or politeness.... The most useful line to follow would seem to be to look at *be going to* as the verb of 'personal engagement' on behalf of the speaker, whilst *will* is more neutral, detached verb (more suitable when addressing a waiter) (p. 213). (my italics)

The effect of a chosen verb tense on the whole meaning in the given context does not seem to be susceptible to being taken apart and analysed in isolation. Rather, it needs to be interpreted within a context.

These assessment factors, D, P and R appear to exist in different cultures throughout the world, though it is not possible to prove this empirically for the time being. Thus, it is not surprising to find that their linguistic realizations are different. Because they may be perceived in different ways from culture to culture (see Gu 1990; Garcia 1989; Keshavarz 1988) and expressed in a number of linguistic forms, it is highly likely that these factors could pose a problem for language learners (Bentahila and Davies 1989; Davies 1987). For example, Garcia (1989) investigates the apology strategies of Venezuelan female speakers of English in the U.S. in comparison with those strategies performed by native female speakers. She finds that although the Venezuelans were highly proficient ESL speakers, their apology strategies appeared to be less formal. They used more positive politeness strategies compared with the native speakers, while the

native speaker subjects were more deferential. While both groups of speakers were not aware of these differences, they seemed to expect their participants to understand their way of handling the situation. Native speaker subjects thought the ESL speaker subjects were unnecessarily friendly, while the ESL speakers thought that the native speaker subjects were formal and distant. Garcia (1989) concludes that Venezuelan and American conversation styles and understanding of apology strategies are different. She also suggests that these types of cultural differences can potentially cause cross-linguistic misunderstandings.

Some linguistic realizations of politeness strategies (e.g. thanking) appear to have become routinized (Coulmas 1981; Brown and Levinson 1987). By this is meant that speakers are expected to use these routines in certain contexts. When a speaker fails to use the right conventionalized form and attempts to express the same meaning in a different structure, this may lead to a communication breakdown or miscommunication (Thomas 1983).

To conclude, the notion of Politeness Strategies implies that we choose one form of communication strategy rather than another and that, when making these choices, we take certain factors into consideration such as the power relationship, the social distance between participants and the weight of the imposition. The effects of these factors are reflected in the linguistic realization of the Politeness Strategy; this can be observed at different levels of linguistic realization, such as tense choice. Different cultures can have different understandings of P, D and R values of politeness (cf. Wierzbicka 1985). This

can lead foreign language learners to make appropriate choices unless their awareness is raised about such differences.

In order to help learners, we need to understand how politeness strategies are realized in linguistic choice. The features of these linguistic realizations need to be investigated at closely, as there is typically a mismatch between the form of these features and the pragmalinguistic functions that they perform. The next section will consider how pragmalinguistic choices operate in interaction.

2.4 A Key Characteristic of Pragmalinguistics: Multi-functionality of discourse markers

Research has shown that these pragmalinguistic features can sometimes be used multi-functionally; that is, they appear to function at more than one level simultaneously (cf. Östman 1981). For example, Biq (1990) shows how a Mandarin connective *na(me)* (literally meaning 'because') can be used in topic succession and topic change. While *na(me)* keeps its lexico-grammatical function establishing a cause-effect relationship, it also functions at an interpersonal level, where it indicates topic boundaries. Similarly, Romero Trillo (1997) investigates the use of *look* and *listen* in English conversation and their equivalents *oye*, *mira*, *oiga*, *fijate* in Spanish conversation. He describes them as "continuatives", devices which help to organize the "metapragmatic structure of conversation" (p. 206). According to Romero Trillo such continuatives are:

> .... the mechanisms used to create the structure of conversation by means of interactionally oriented elements, elements whose meaning tends to be very different from the function they actually perform (ibid. p. 206).

Schleppegrell (1991) investigates the use of 'because' in conversation. Perhaps surprisingly, she finds that the primary function of 'because' in spoken discourse is not to indicate a cause-effect relationship. Instead, it can be used paratactically where it links speaker stance with what is said. It can also be used as a discourse marker to indicate the elaboration of a prior proposition or response to a previous speaker. Schleppegrell concludes that:

> *Because*, like many other conjunctions, indicates an interpretive link between clauses, but in discourse this interpretive link may be interactional or textual rather than semantic. *Because* plays an interactional role in indicating linkages across speakers, and plays a textual role in displaying relationships between the parts of a text (1991: 336).

Like its Mandarin equivalent, *na(me)* (Biq 1990), 'because' has both textual and interactional functions as well as functioning ideationally (Halliday 1994). It can be argued that the function of 'because' has evolved from its original ideational function into its other functions. This type of use is referred to as grammatical metaphor by Halliday (1994). A "grammatical metaphor" is defined as:

> the expression of a meaning through a lexico-grammatical form which originally evolved to express a different kind of meaning (Thompson 1996a: 165).

Based on his three metafunctions, Halliday (1994) refers to pragmalinguistic expressions as "metaphors of modality" (p.354). Halliday gives the clause "I think" as an example. He argues that "I think" encodes the speaker's "opinion regarding the probability that his observation is valid" (p. 354). In other words, as a type of discourse marker, "I think" does not contribute to the propositional meaning of the message, but to the interpersonal meaning.

The functions of discourse markers, including **you know** and **I mean** have become "grammaticalized" (Hopper and Traugott 1993), a process during which words change their meaning and function, and become members of another grammatical category. Romero Trillo (1997) explains the concept of grammaticalization from the point of view of conversation as follows:

> There are words and phrases whose meanings are modified and/or expanded in conversation. This expansion has an effect on the surrounding discourse and alters the original meaning of the item, with an effect not only on the semantic and syntactic organization of the following elements, but also on the general structure of the conversation, constraining the relevance of the proposition it introduces; an example of this phenomena is the use of marker 'well' as a closing element in a conversation (p. 208).

This modification or expansion results from the way in which the context of situation influences the meaning of an item. For example, Holmes (1995) finds that **you know** has two functions, which she refers to as *referential* and *affective* (p. 88). When **you know** is used referentially, it functions primarily as a lexical hedge expressing linguistic imprecision and uncertainty about the propositional content of the message. When it is used with its affective function, it appeals to the addressee's sympathy, working as a booster to emphasize mutual knowledge to establish solidarity between the participants. The affective uses of **you know** can be associated with *linguistic politeness*. Holmes (1995) also points out that **you know** can be used multi-functionally, that is, its use can be associated with these two functions simultaneously.

This section has considered the complex and sometimes multiple functions of discourse markers in interaction. Earlier research has shown that the pragmatic functions of even apparently insignificant lexical items may be extremely important, and that these

functions can only be properly interpreted if the context of situation is taken into account. The next section considers the role of generic structure in determining the meaning of discourse markers and other pragmalinguistic features in context. The roles that generic form assigns to some pragmalinguistic features such as 'thank you' and 'please' will be investigated in terms of their multi-functional use (see Chapter 5; see also House 1989). It will also be argued that language learners may have difficulty in understanding the crucial role that this type of multi-functional use plays in interaction (cf. Aston 1995).

2.5 Genre

The linguistic realization of activities which we perform in our daily lives can be analysed in terms of their predictability. This is partly possible as they are governed by the principles and social norms (e.g. the Co-operative Principle and face work) which have been discussed previously. Because these linguistic realizations are closely related to social and cultural traditions, they are known to the members of a given community. Therefore, Martin (1985) suggests that genres comprise a system:

> Genres are how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them. They range from literary to far from literary forms: poems, narratives, expositions, lectures, seminars, recipes, manuals, appointment making, service encounters, news broadcasts and so on. The term genre is used here to embrace each of the linguistically realized activity types which comprise so much of our culture (p. 250).

What genre analysts attempt to do is to identify systematically occurring characteristics of each activity type. In this sense, genres have typical structures which are, in Swale's (1990) terms, *prototypes*.

Typically, "genres have beginnings, middles and ends" (Swales 1990: 41). Martin (1992) explains this structure in terms of stages. Firstly, he argues that a genre consists of steps. Secondly, a genre is goal oriented, and the goal is to reach the closing stage. It usually takes a few steps to do this. If closing is not realized for any particular reason, the genre cannot be regarded as complete. Lastly, Martin (1992) describes a genre as social process. Genres are created for realizing social purposes.

Swales (1990) defines genre as:

> .... a class of communicative events the members of which share some sets of communicative purposes (p. 58).

Because of its social orientation, the characteristics of a genre are recognized by a discourse community, (e.g. a community which shares a particular genre). Consequently, the expectations of the members of a discourse community provide the rationale for a particular genre. That is, the participants of the discourse community know more or less what type of standards, style, form and rhetoric they are supposed to produce or to expect to find in a particular example of a genre. For example, the prototypical characteristics of the genre of research articles are established in any individual field of study (see Paltridge 1995a). Readers have certain expectations about the form, the layout, the rhetoric and the content of an article. Writers are expected to fulfil these expectations in order to have their articles published (c.f. Hyland 1996c and Myers 1989). Swales argues that individual occurrences of genres show variation depending on their proximity to the prototypical structure. Thus, some elements in the structure can be repeated, deleted, or embedded or they can occur in a different configuration.

Some characteristics of a genre are obligatory while others can be optional. For example, Hasan's sales encounter model in Halliday and Hasan (1985) contains *obligatory elements* such as "Sale Request, Sale Compliance, Sale Purchase and Purchase Closure" which, Hasan argues, define the genre. The interaction begins with a request such as "Can I have ten oranges and a kilo of bananas please?" (p.64), and is followed by a reply. An affirmative reply from the vendor might provoke more purchases. There are other elements which Hasan refers to as *optional elements*. These are optional as they occur in other genres, and/or they can also occur under certain circumstances. Nonetheless, they still do not occur haphazardly. Hasan describes the conditions under which an optional element may occur. For example, in a busy shop the vendor could say "Who's next?". However, in an empty shop, there is obviously no need to ask this question. Moreover, as the optional elements occur in other types of genre, they do not carry the genre defining characteristics (Halliday and Hasan 1985).

Within the staged structure of a genre, it is possible to observe how the Co-operative Principle, and the Conversational Maxims are used or abused. For example in an exchange encounter, customers normally expect that the salesperson will be co-operative. However, the interaction is not expected to become very intimate. The participants will not say more than necessary. The sales person will be expected to tell the truth about the quality of the goods. In addition, in an exchange encounter, participants are normally expected to protect each other's face. The customer expects the salesperson to treat him/her courteously. When all these Principles, Maxims and norms are in operation, conversational routines are likely to be employed. For example, in Turkish, in the closing stage of an exchange encounter in a clothing shop, a shop

assistant would say 'Iyi gunlerde kullanin' (gloss~ 'May it bring you happiness'), which appears to be used to oil the social wheels and promote the customer's continued patronage (c.f. Tannen and Öztek 1981).

The structure of genre consists in part at least of conventionalized routines, of which the linguistic realizations are performed in much the same way each time the same social function is performed. Some of these routines are thanking, apologizing, bidding goodbye, closing a service encounter, etc. (cf. Coulmas 1981). Leech (1983) remarks that these conversational routines have become "pragmatically specialized" for polite use (p. 28), such as waiters' saying 'afiyet olsun' (~ May it bring you health) when serving a meal at a restaurant in Turkey (cf. Tannen and Öztek 1981). The same expression can also be used by a housewife to reply to a comment praising her cooking. Such expressions can be referred to as "exceptional uses" (ibid. p.28), which can be used only in a particular context of situation. Sometimes, they can be socially obligatory (e.g. thanking), without which one may be regarded as unsociable.

However, the category of conversational routines is very large and its boundaries are not clear (c.f. Aijmer 1996). For this reason, the present study will only focus on the use of routines in the openings and the closings of particular genres such as exchange encounters (Aston 1995; Bardovi-Harlig *et al* 1991). This will also be exploited in a set of questions in the questionnaire reported in Chapter 5 and later in a proposed set of pragmalinguistic awareness raising activities in Chapter 6.

Conversational routines, like other pragmalinguistic features, can be described as multi-functional. For example, 'thank you' can be used to express one's gratitude and/or to indicate the closing of an interaction (Aston 1995). Aijmer (1996) remarks that thanking can be used to mark boundaries of the stages of an interaction (e.g. service encounter). Davidson (1984) finds that thanking can be used as a rejection finalizer. That is, it marks the boundary between the rejection phase and the following part. This appears to allow speakers to express their attitude in a socially acceptable manner so that everybody's face is kept intact.

This chapter has so far considered characteristics of the norms and the principles which are hypothesized to underlie social activities and their linguistic realization. It has been emphasized that the features of the context of situation can have an important role to play in orientating our social and linguistic behaviour. Linguistic choice is determined by the identity of the interactants, and place of the interaction, and the type of interaction. These linguistic realizations are further shaped by other principles and maxims such as the Co-operative Principle, the Conversational maxims and Politeness Strategies. Some of the linguistic realization of these within a given genre can be routinized, which makes at least some parts of the framework of a genre predictable. The predictability and routinization of genres enables language analysts to identify generic structure and generic lexico-grammatical features for teaching purposes (Swales 1990; Martin 1985).

This chapter has shown that pragmalinguistics is a component of language which plays an important role in interaction. This would suggest that it should be considered in language teaching programmes. However, as will be discussed later, it is not an easy

aspect of language to learn, particularly in EFL contexts. Therefore, the present study argues that raising learners' pragmalinguistic awareness may help them to understand how this aspect of language functions.

2.6 Raising Pragmalinguistic Awareness

If pragmalinguistic meaning is expressed and interpreted in context, it could perhaps be argued that classroom discourse does not provide a facilitating environment for re-creating social contexts for language learning. However, such a view overlooks the fact that the classroom environment can still provide a context where a genuine exchange of information and opinions is realized. During these exchanges, if the pragmalinguistic features of classroom discourse can be used appropriately, this would expose students to a wealth of useful pragmalinguistic features. In addition to this type of exposure, the use of pragmalinguistic features can also be introduced through awareness raising tasks. This may require re-adjustment of the position of teachers who, at least in a Turkish context, may need to step aside from their traditional lecturer role. Teachers will have to take on the roles of a guide and a facilitator in order to prompt 'noticing' and 'discovering' processes in raising students' language awareness. Through developing an analytical approach towards real language in these tasks, students can become aware of the use of pragmalinguistic features as well other linguistic features.

As will be seen later in chapter 4, a lack of opportunities to use the social functions of language is given by teacher trainers as a reason for not including pragmalinguistics in teacher training syllabuses. However, this study argues that pragmalinguistics can be taught by raising the awareness of learners about the importance of pragmalinguistic

features in interaction. Even if the trainees do have exposure to the language used in daily life, some language features may not be salient to them. Schmidt (1993) points out that:

> Simple exposure to sociolinguistically appropriate input is unlikely to be sufficient for second language acquisition of pragmatic and discoursal knowledge because the linguistic realization of pragmatic functions are sometimes opaque to language learners and because the relevant contextual factors to be noticed are likely to be defined differently or may be nonsalient for the learners (p.36).

As Schmidt argues, learners need to notice the use of certain features in the language. By gaining this awareness, they may become motivated to find out about other pragmalinguistic features.

In the course of their language learning experience, learners should ideally develop a language awareness which involves becoming sensitive to the functions of language and its role in life and "....developing power of observation and purposeful analysis of language in their immediate environment....." (Shariati 1996: 6). Language awareness is defined as follows:

> .... a person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life (Donmall 1985: 7).

Raising language awareness appears to be a viable approach for introducing pragmalinguistic features in an EFL environment where language learners have limited contact with native speakers. By means of awareness raising activities, it is intended that learners would develop a questioning attitude toward pragmalinguistics. Borg (1994) explains this in terms of language learning:

> Learning about language is not the internalisation of a definable body of knowledge but the on-going investigation of a dynamic phenomenon (p. 62).

In the process of this investigation of language, trainees could be encouraged to review their beliefs about how different aspects of language function (Borg 1994; Wright 1990). A basic premise of the present study is that teacher trainees must be made aware of all aspects of the language. This has a prime importance since they will have to cope with the demands of the teaching profession in the future (cf. Borg 1994).

On the other hand, whether raising language awareness contributes to language proficiency is still controversial (see Frankel 1994). For example, since many other factors were involved in the development of language proficiency in an English speaking environment, the longitudinal study which Shariati (1996) carried out could not reach a definitive conclusion on the relationship between language awareness and proficiency. However, a raised awareness could still help trainees and teachers to develop skills to analyse the foreign language for pedagogical purposes. Thus, a heightened language awareness of pragmalinguistics could help them teach better (see also Wright 1994). It will enable them to develop and refine their knowledge of how pragmalinguistic features function within the language system. It can help them to adopt an analytical point of view towards language, which appears to be important in language learning since it can enable teachers to understand the process of language learning and to make inferences about the problems and difficulties that their students may experience (cf. Wright and Bolitho 1997).

For example, one of the most important characteristics of pragmalinguistics is considered to be multi-functionality. Whichever function is actually being expressed is

understood from the context of situation. Raising trainees' language awareness about the multi-functionality of pragmalinguistics can help them to become familiar with this phenomenon in language. This may encourage them to pay conscious attention to similar forms which they come across. In time, this may eventually lead to their learning to use these appropriately and to interpret them correctly.

The present study also proposes that the awareness of teacher trainees of the structure and the language of genres and their socio-cultural features needs to be raised. This would enable them to analyse different types of genres that they are likely to come across later in their teaching career (see also Stainton 1992, Flowerdew 1993, Paltridge 1995b). Within the framework of genre, it is possible to consider different ways in which social norms and conventions can be expressed through language. (For an example of an application of this type see Chapter 6.4). This will also help teacher trainees to teach about generic features of interaction (written or spoken). The present study hypothesizes that, within a framework of context, similar elements are recycled each time the same situation is performed. This recurrence of linguistic elements emerges as patterns which can be predictable. Halliday (1978) argues that:

> .... given that we know the situation, the social context of language use, we can predict a great deal about the language that will occur, with reasonable probability of being right (p.32).

Using these predictable features in language teaching has been emphasized in functional notional language teaching (McDonough and Shaw 1993). This certainly helps learners in developing an understanding of the linguistic realization of certain social functions such as those characterizing service encounters. However, this approach has been

restricted to certain genre types and does not seem to aim to raise learners' awareness of genre and its linguistic realization.

Another restriction on the use of genre analysis in language teaching is that until recently its application appears to have been mainly limited to the field of English for Specific Purposes (e.g. Jordan 1997). Its use in the field of English for General Purposes appears to have been less well-represented (cf. Flowerdew 1993 and see also Koike and Biron 1996). However, Ventola (1989) argues that:

> .... the framework of genre has a lot to offer to language learners. Why? Firstly, because within this framework, linguists are developing dynamic production models for social interaction. ....They need to have the means to develop their interaction in a foreign language, dynamically, not as a well-rehearsed, stilted play (p.153).

This section has argued that raising the pragmalinguistic awareness of teacher trainees needs to be regarded as an important aspect in teacher training programmes. The section has also suggested that this can be done by raising awareness of pragmalinguistics in the context of genre. Emphasis can be placed on conversational routines such as 'thanking' and other politeness strategies such as saying 'please' when requesting something (see Chapter 6). The trainees' attention can be drawn to the multi-functional use of some of the features such as 'thanking'(see Aston 1995). It is argued that the relative predictability of the stages of a genre can be exploited in raising the pragmalinguistic awareness of trainees.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to lay the foundations for the chapters that follow. It started with describing the place of pragmalinguistics in language studies. It appears to attempt to answer the question that Halliday (1978) asks:

> How do people decode the highly condensed utterances of everyday speech, and how do they use the social system for doing so? (p. 108).

The present study draws on three major approaches: Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle, Conversational Implicature and Conversational Maxims; Politeness Strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987); and the framework of genre (Swales 1990 and Ventola 1989). Grice's CP and Conversational Maxims have been presented as having regulatory functions in interaction. Analyses using these features have attempted to shed light on how "social meaning" (Lyons 1981: 143) is expressed and understood. Politeness strategies are those tactics that speakers adapt to establish solidarity or to protect their social status. Since the present study examines the linguistic realization of these features in conversational interaction, it is helpful to consider the relationship between pragmalinguistic and genre. Genre analysis investigates language use in a particular type of language event, and tries to identify predictable recurring patterns of use.

The present study argues that the pragmalinguistic awareness of Turkish teacher trainees needs to be raised as they do not have much chance to be exposed to the target language and culture. The following chapter investigates two discourse markers **you know** and **I**

mean as the representatives of pragmalinguistics. As explained in chapter 1, these markers were chosen as they, like other discourse markers, were far less often investigated in learner's language as opposed to other pragmalinguistic features such as speech acts (see Blum-Kulka et al 1989). As explained, their idiomatic status appears to make them less predictable for learners. That is, learners cannot predict the form and the meaning of a discourse marker by using their existing knowledge of grammar and the vocabulary of the language (cf. Clear 1987), as in the case of making and/ or interpreting an indirect request. Depending on their level of proficiency, they may be able to infer whether a question is an indirect request or not. However, in the case of discourse markers, learners need to know the exact form and the function of the marker to use and interpret. As will be seen in the following chapter, prolonged exposure can help learners to become aware of the use of discourse markers such as **you know** and **I mean**. However, the learners who are not as fortunate as those who have the chance to be exposed to the use of these markers may not even notice the existence of the markers in their foreign language education process (as pointed out in Chapter 1). This is what seems to make markers less accessible in comparison to some other pragmalinguistic features.

In order to understand more fully the role of pragmalinguistics in everyday spoken interaction, and therefore the issues and problems that need to be addressed in designing EFL teaching and teacher-training programmes which deal with pragmalinguistics, the next chapter investigates the pragmalinguistic features of discourse markers, taking as its focus the markers **you know** and **I mean**. The chapter presents the results of an

analysis of the use of these markers by native- and non-native speaking subjects. This study is intended to illuminate our understanding both of how native speakers use **you know** and **I mean** in casual conversation and of similarities and the differences in use displayed by native- and non-native speakers. The chapter considers them as markers that can be associated with topic expansion in conversation and markers that can be associated with face work (Goffman 1967). The chapter also investigates multiple functions of these markers as the key characteristic of pragmalinguistics. The information gained from this study provides vital information about the role of pragmalinguistics in interaction, and about the particular problems experienced by non-native speakers of English.

Chapter 3

Establishing a Pragmalinguistic Framework: You know and I mean in native and non-native speaker conversation.

Introduction

The study which is reported in this chapter investigated two commonly-occurring discourse markers in spoken English, **you know** and **I mean**, as representatives of pragmalinguistics in NS and NNS English conversation. The study had two main aims. The first one was to examine how NS use these discourse markers in order to understand in greater depth how pragmalinguistic features function. The information which was gathered from the analysis of the NS data could then be used as the baseline for the analysis of the NNS data. Given that pragmalinguistics is not yet a very well-explored area, this information could be valuable in terms of laying the foundations for guidelines in both research into learner language and research into EFL/ESL materials writing. The second aim was to investigate to what extent ESL speakers who are exposed to the language and culture in Britain over a substantial period of time can use these markers. As will be seen later, since pragmalinguistics is under-represented in Turkish EFL education and in Turkish teacher training programmes (see Chapters 4 and 5), it was expected that the Turkish ESL speakers who had gone through the conventional Turkish education system would not be able to use these markers in the way that the NS do. Initial informal analysis of NS and NNS data had suggested that the NNS used markers more frequently compared with their NS counterparts. Clearly it was also necessary to investigate whether NS and NNS used these markers for similar or different purposes.

Earlier studies of these discourse markers have tended to focus on one function, such as topic tracking (e.g. Goldberg 1980). Obviously, this type of approach cannot present a complete picture of the discourse marker. The present study attempts to identify the multiple discourse functions of these two discourse markers through the analysis of their use in native speaker conversations. From this, it is hoped to establish a framework or model to describe the pragmatic functions of discourse markers which may be of help to those designing language awareness programmes for EFL teacher education courses.

The use of these markers in NNS discourse has not been examined closely although some studies have included analysis of their use in the course of a wider study. For example, Scarcella and Brunak (1981) found that **you know** was used in turn taking by NNSs. To gain a greater understanding of how the pragmalinguistic awareness of teacher trainees could be raised, it is necessary to consider in some depth how well non-native speakers use pragmalinguistic features of English. The present study therefore also compares the use of **you know** and **I mean** in English conversations carried out by both Turkish speakers of English and native speakers of English. It is, I believe, essential to examine non-native speakers' use of pragmatic markers such as these in order to help us to help them develop a greater awareness of the pragmalinguistic dimensions of English.

It was hypothesized that Turkish speakers of English would use **you know** and **I mean** differently from their NS counterparts. That is, the Turkish speakers of English might

use the markers more frequently, less frequently or not use them at all. They might also use these markers for different purposes from those of their NS counterparts. Significant differences between the two groups indicate the need for awareness raising about pragmalinguistic features such as discourse markers, even to the NNS living in the target language culture. To investigate the Turkish speakers' behaviour, two sets of recorded casual conversations were analysed, one NS and one NNS, and the results of the analysis of each corpus were compared.

The chapter continues in the following two sections with a consideration of the theoretical background to an analysis of discourse markers in conversation in section 3.1 and the multiple functions of discourse markers in 3.2. Section 3.3 then introduces the study. The results of the analysis are presented in section 3.4, while section 3.5 offers a discussion of these results, discusses the limitations of the study and considers the implications of the study for the development of an understanding of features of pragmalinguistics. Section 3.6 summarizes the conclusions based on the findings.

3.1 Theoretical Background

The present study adopts an eclectic approach to the analysis of the functions of **you know** and **I mean** in naturally occurring casual conversations, drawing on Conversation Analysis (CA), systemic functional views of language use in context and research into learners' use of English. To investigate the functions of the discourse markers **you know** and **I mean**, the analysis exploits the notion of *topic* in CA. In particular, it examines the roles of these markers in topic expansion. Conversational

analysts regard topic management as an organizational element of conversational mechanisms (Sacks *et al* 1974). Topics are "placed" and "fitted" into the conversation (Maynard 1980), rather than changed suddenly, as abrupt changes are not desirable. Sacks describes how conversational topics evolve from one topic into another, proposing a stepwise transition in topic change as follows:

> A general feature for topical organization in conversation is movement from topic to topic, not by a topic-close followed by a topic beginning, but by a stepwise move, which involves linking up whatever is being introduced to what has just been talked about, such that, as far as anybody knows, a new topic has been started, though we are far from wherever we began (lecture 5, spring 1972, pp. 15-16) (as quoted in Jefferson 1984: 198).

The present study also draws on CA to investigate the role of **you know** and **I mean** in signalling topic shifts and topic boundaries. Topic shifts are formulated in such a way that topicality is maintained (Brown and Yule 1983; Maynard 1980). Speaking topically is described by Brown and Yule (1983) as follows:

> We could say that a discourse participant is 'speaking topically' when he makes his contribution fit closely to the most recent elements incorporated in the topic framework (p. 84).

Another method for analysing topic shifts which is described by Sacks (April 17, 1968)[1] is that speakers tend to shift topics towards semantically relevant aspects (cf. Gardner 1987). Sacks gives an example of shifting a topic from cigarettes to a related aspect, cigars. He remarks that this type of semantic relatedness helps interactants perform a smooth transition from one topic to another. In the example below the conversation starts with D's asking his guests about their plans for Christmas. This topic continues for 59 turns except for a digression to talk to the cat in turns 21-25 and

[1] As quoted in Maynard (1980)

the unpleasant experience W and M had last year with the DJ in turns 30-34. The topic returnes to the guests' Christmas break plans in turn 35 with a question from M. Then, it shifts to different types of dancing beginning with line dancing in turn 59. However, the topic of dancing has already been introduced within the Christmas break. In turn 59, D introduces it in terms of dancing and keeping fit. That is, the topic about Christmas break plans expands in terms of the type of entertainment that W and M will have. The side topic of dancing which is part of the entertainment expands towards doing line dancing regularly to keep oneself fit.

1-D: on well so we've got Christmas coming whose house you're going to
2-W& M: ours
3-W: ours
4-D: your house
5-W: yes
6-M: yes (inaudible) have we in a way
7-W: yes
8-D: where are you going to go this time
9-M: we are going to Wales this time
11-M: (inaudible)
12-D: oh really how nice (inaudible)
13-W: we're going on the Thursday wh I'm not sure what's the name of the firm we're going
14-M: erm (inaudible)
15-W: Travel Care or something
16-M: I'll tell you what it is (inaudible)
17-W: no Edna Edna //(inaudible)//
18-D: //(inaudible)//
19-W: er we're collected from Central Square on Thursday morning we're taken to (inaudible) and come on the er (inaudible) four nights
20-M: we're there four nights aren't we
21-D: come on puss
22-W: four four nights yes so we come back on the Monday and
23-M: hello puss
24-W: come on
25-M: hello puss
26-W: we have a (inaudible) all your entertainment is free once you're there it's costing I think eighty six pound each that's half board and then something for insurance [D: yeah] we normally go to (inaudible) institute many years to dance
27-D: oh that's right

28-W: (inaudible) discos
29-D: oh
30-W: no we know the disco they'll try to play ball room dancing you see [D: yeah] but the last time we had this bloke (.) was terrible
31-M: he didn't even know what he was playing anyway
32-W: he didn't know what he was playing we didn't enjoy it so we thought oh we won't go
33-D: //(inaudible)//
34-M: //(inaudible)// er we didn't have any friend with us either
35-D: are you going with anybody else
36-W: yes //we're going with friends// (inaudible)
37-D: oh //(inaudible)// difference yes
38-W: we did have (inaudible) didn't we [M: yes] (inaudible)
39-M: yeah they never they never tried (inaudible) the thing
40-W: I know that's right
41-M: //but remember// (inaudible) anyway
42-W: //(but anyhow)//
43-M: (inaudible)
44-W: four of us going to (inaudible) so I'm going to try it
45-D: oh sounds nice
46-W: well it's quite a reasonable price isn't it
47-D: yes
48-W: oh well I'll enjoy it
49-D: because it can be kind of (.) a bit dead some time once you got your ears //(inaudible)//
50-M: yes yes //(inaudible)//
51-D: that's it isn't it
52-M: there's all kinds of things to do there (inaudible)
53-D: yes I'm sure
54-M: there's everything
55-D: everything you've ball room dancing as well
56-W: and there's entertainment
57-M: and and (inaudible) and they teach sequence dancing if you want to learn it [D: really] yes aren't they
58-W: (inaudible) he's got a mental block when it comes to that (laughs)
59-D: (laughs) wouldn't do for me (inaudible) I don't think but I know a lot of people that (inaudible) erm erm a card from a customer investment (inaudible) used to do a lot of that she's the same age as me so I gave her a ring the other day so I said still do your sequence dancing oh yes she said I go every week just the same as she's (inaudible) laugh keep me fit
60-W: I haven't been (inaudible) sequence dancing but they say you have to go you've got to go all the time you see
61-D: oh yes
(author's data)

The present study also draws on systemic linguistics, particularly its approach towards language as a multi-layered system. The concept of language as a multi-layered system is an important element of 20th century linguistic studies (cf. Jakobson 1960). Halliday (1994) describes language as having three meta-functions: interpersonal, ideational and textual. The interpersonal meta-function involves looking at the role relationships which the interactants are engaged in: that is, the reflection of their attitude towards each other and the interaction between them. It also includes the way that they express their attitudes about one another and things around them. The ideational meta-function is related to the topic of the interaction: it involves how topics are changed. The textual meta-function is related to how cohesion is established between chunks of language, and the devices that are used to link segments of text. However, it is not easy to draw clear-cut lines between these metafunctions, since:

> Adult languages are organised in such a way that every utterance is **both** *this* **and** *that*: has both an *interpersonal* and *ideational* component to it. It does something and it is about something. (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 45). (my italics)

In Chapter 2, pragmalinguistics was described as the linguistic reflection of rules, maxims and principles that shape our social behaviour. For example politeness strategies explain how we express our attitudes towards the people and the events that happen around us. That is, pragmalinguistics is about our social behaviour, our interaction with others in our society. Features of pragmalinguistics appear to be those which realise the interpersonal metafunction in terms of a Hallidayan point of view. James (1983) points out that:

> .... the interpersonal significance of any linguistic choice, not only discourse particles, can derive from any or all of the dimensions of pragmatic, interactional and social-behavioural meaning present in a verbal event.... i.e. all three meaning

> areas constitute sources of semantic potential for the expression of interpersonal rapport (p. 196).

That is, there appears to be a strong relationship between the interpersonal aspect of language and the pragmalinguistic aspect. It appears that the interpersonal aspect in the Hallidayan sense is more focused on the grammar dimension while pragmatics is more about the relationship between these grammatical structures and the social contexts where these structures are used for the purposes of establishing solidarity, or, quite the opposite, making face threats.

The distinction between the propositional meanings and interpersonal meanings of words and clauses has not been addressed by research related to teaching English as a foreign language until recently. However, this distinction appears to be an important one for language learners to help them understand pragmalinguistics. It is likely that the features that do not contribute to the propositional meaning but to interpersonal meaning are less salient for language learners (cf. McCarthy and Carter 1995). The present study emphasizes that language learners need to be made aware of the multi-functional nature of language (cf. House 1996; McCarthy and Carter 1995). Thus, studies that shed light on pragmalinguistics and how the use of its features is learned are vital. It is therefore unfortunate that little research has been carried out to investigate either the process of learning about pragmalinguistics or its use by NNS (cf. Kasper and Schmidt 1996).

However, previous research has shown that, when the right input is given, learners become aware of certain uses. This input can be free exposure to the target language coupled with a strong motivation for learning for survival purposes. It can also be in the form of awareness raising activities where learners are guided to explore and discover different features (Wright and Bolitho 1993). Exploring and discovery processes can gradually lead to noticing use in different contexts and in written and spoken discourse, and eventually to use of the features (Tomlinson 1994).

As will be seen later, the Turkish speakers of English who were taking a postgraduate course in England could approximate their use of these markers to that of native speakers. Therefore, it appears that exposure to the language and culture helps learners to pick up certain pragmalinguistic features. Certainly, these ESL speakers needed to learn English for both survival and academic reasons. Moreover, such input increases the possibility of their 'noticing' (cf. Schmidt 1993) and learning to make appropriate pragmalinguistic choices (cf. House 1996; Wildner-Bassett 1986).

This section has explained the theoretical background to the study, which draws on the concept of topic in CA, Halliday's three meta-functions and research into NNS language learning about pragmalinguistics. It has been pointed out that very little research has so far been done in the area of NNS learning about pragmalinguistics. The next section further explores the multi-functionality of language and the distinction between form and function of words and clauses, focusing on the discourse markers **you know** and **I mean**, as representatives of this type of discoursal phenomenon.

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3.2 The Multiple Functions of Discourse Markers

Discourse markers, as a separate grammatical category, have been investigated from different perspectives in the literature (Fraser 1990; Redeker 1990; Schiffrin 1987; Schourup 1985). However, describing them as a separate category imposes a restrictive view of the markers as this view does not seem to help a great deal in developing an approach towards explaining the multi-functional uses of the markers. Schiffrin (1987) develops an ambitious discourse model containing five separate planes of analysis: Exchange Structure, which reflects the mechanics of conversational organization (e.g. turn-taking); Action Structure, which relates to the sequence of speech acts which occur within the discourse; Ideational Structure, which reflects certain relationships between the propositions found within the discourse; Participation Framework, which deals with the ways in which the speakers and the hearers relate to one another; and Information State, which reflects the ongoing organization and management of knowledge as it forms and changes over the course of the discourse. Schiffrin does not however seem to define these planes systematically (cf. Fraser 1990). It can be said that these planes relate to elements which are included in certain key approaches in socio-pragmatics. For example, Participation Framework appears to be related to Grice's Co-operative Principle and Brown and Levinson's Politeness Principle (see chapter 2). Certainly, a variety of socio-pragmatic features underlie the rules of pragmalinguistic usage. For this very reason, Schiffrin's discourse planes overlap, and she points out that "markers may work at more than one structural level at once" (Schiffrin 1987: 320). However, as Fraser (1990) remarks, Schiffrin's model

does not seem to provide a satisfactory explanation for the multiple functions of the markers, because how the discourse planes overlap is not made clear.

Redeker (1990) attempts to describe multi-functional use of discourse markers by an analysis of the pragmatic uses of conjunctions and interjections. She divides the category of discourse markers into two distinct types: markers of ideational structure and markers of pragmatic structure. She includes a set of lexico-grammatical items in the markers of ideational structure and "pragmatic uses of conjunctions, connective uses of interjections and discourse structuring uses of comment clauses" (p. 372) in the markers of pragmalinguistic structure. Redeker considers **you know** and **I mean** to be comment clauses. One problem for the model is that it has to cope with the magnitude of lexical items that are put under one blanket term: discourse markers. Another is that it appears that an analytical approach like Redeker's which is based on the idea of distinct grammatical categories (e.g. conjunctions) does not provide a satisfying explanation for the multiple functions of discourse markers. Rather, a more flexible approach is needed which explains the uses of these pragmalinguistic expressions in terms of the levels of language, ideational, textual and interpersonal.

In order to develop a framework for the purposes of explaining multi-functional use of the discourse marker **you know**, an early study by Östman (1981) draws upon Halliday's three metafunctions: ideational, textual and interpersonal. Östman identifies three levels of analysis. These are 'the Level of Utterance Structure', which is related to the realization of speech acts, 'the Coherence Level', which includes issues relevant

to conversational mechanisms (e.g. turn taking), and 'the Politeness-Modality Level' which is related to the attitudes and expectations of the speaker in terms of politeness strategies. He also remarks that **you know** can have multiple functions. That is, these three levels can overlap. This model brings together Interpersonal uses of **you know** with its use in conversational coherence (i.e. its textual meta-function). However, one problem with Östman's model is that he does not explain how his tripartite approach works in relation to Halliday's model of the three metafunctions, even though he appears to link the two approaches. For example, since 'the Level of Utterance Structure' is not clearly defined, it is not clear how it is related to Halliday's Ideational meta-function.

Instead of attempting to describe a discourse model or to define a category of discourse markers, the present study aims to develop a pragmalinguistic approach to the analysis of use of markers. That is, it will investigate these as pragmalinguistic features from the point of view of language meta-functions. **You know** and **I mean** were chosen in part because they share similar characteristics, such as the fact that both of them are clauses which include a verb that indicates a cognitive action (i.e. 'know' and 'mean'). Another reason that these markers were chosen was that Turkish speakers of English who were postgraduate students at British universities were informally observed to use these two markers more frequently than others such as 'well' and 'you see'.

This section has summarized recent approaches to the analysis of discourse markers, and has pointed out that these approaches do not seem to explain the multi-functional use of discourse markers satisfactorily. The section has also explained that the present study attempts to develop an approach to analysing the functions of discourse markers in terms of Halliday's three metafunctions.

3.3 The Study

The study consists of a comparative analysis of two conversational corpora, one native-speaker, the other non-native speaker: a group of Turkish students living in the UK. The study has two main aspects. The first of these examines how native speakers of English use **you know** and **I mean** in causal conversation, in order to understand the pragmatic uses of these discourse markers. The second aspect investigates non-native speakers' use of **you know** and **I mean** in casual conversation. The main aims of this study were, firstly, to compare the native and non-native speaker data to see if there are any quantitative differences in the uses of **you know** and **I mean** between these two groups. It was not possible to also investigate qualitative differences between NS and NNS use of those markers for practical reasons. The second aim of the study was to examine whether exposure can influence the pragmatic competence of a group of non-native speakers.

3.3.1 Subjects

There are two sets of NS data in the corpora: audio and non-audio (for which recordings are not available[2]). The NS subjects were all British, ranging in age from 16 to over 50. The Turkish informants were postgraduate students in Britain at the time of the data

[2] This set of data was supplied by Prof Michael Hoey. I am grateful for his generosity.

collection. Their age and educational background were more uniform compared with those of the NS informants. The age range of the NNS subjects was between 25-35 years, and all had done a first degree in Turkey.

The number of conversations for which recordings are available is 14 in the NS data. All conversations were held between two interactants, except for one which was held by three interactants. The total number of NS subjects who contributed to the NS corpus is 66 (27 in the audio corpus and 39 in the non-audio corpus). The gender division presents an almost equal picture for the recorded conversations: 13 male and 14 female subjects. These subjects are all friends or family members. There is no information available about the gender of the interactants who contributed to the transcribed conversations that I used.

There are 12 conversations in the NNS corpus, six of which were held between two interactants (at least one Turkish and one NS or non-Turkish NNS) and the rest between three. One of the interactants in five of these conversations is the author. In order to avoid contamination of the data, the author's uses of **you know** and **I mean** were omitted from analysis. Because it is a smaller corpus, the total number of subjects in the NNS corpus is 15 and the number of Turkish subjects is 11. Like the NS corpus, it also presents an almost equal gender distribution: five male and six female. Four non-Turkish NNS interactants also participated in the conversations in this corpus: two female and two male. The Turkish subjects were all postgraduate students at the time of data collection. Four of them were studying in arts and the social sciences (Medieval English Literature, Applied Linguistics and Clinical Psychology). The other six subjects studied sciences (Mössbauer Physics,

Immunology, Fresh Water Biology and Veterinary Sciences). The number of NS interactants in the same corpus was six: five female and one male.

3.3.2 Data Collection Methodology

The native speaker subjects were asked to hold a conversation at least 15 minutes long with a close friend. They were instructed to talk about whatever topic they liked, excluding personal issues which could be embarrassing and difficult for the researcher to understand. They were told that the general purpose of the study was to compare their conversation style with that of Turkish speakers of English.

Like the NS informants, the Turkish subjects were instructed to hold a 15-minute conversation with a friend of their choosing. The Turkish informants were told that the aim of the study was to investigate the lexical mistakes that Turkish speakers of English would normally make. This excuse was based on their apparent belief that they made many lexical mistakes because of their poor vocabulary. They had expressed their concerns about this issue to the author at various times, and appeared to believe that research was very much needed in this area.

For practical reasons, in both groups variables such as age, sex and educational level were not controlled. Every subject was supplied with a small tape recorder and a blank tape.

3.3.3 The Corpora

The native speaker corpus consists of two types of data. The first is a set of audio-recorded conversations comprising 24,591 words[3]. The second is a set of transcribed conversations (non-audio) comprising 18,350 words. In total, the native speaker data consists of 42,941 words. The non-native speaker data is a corpus of audio recorded conversations collected by the author (except for one conversation), comprising 24,006 words[4]. It was decided to collect a larger corpus of native speaker data to allow the opportunity to perform a more detailed and accurate analysis of the uses of **you know** and **I mean** in native speaker conversations. This information could then form a baseline for the analysis of the non-native conversations.

3.3.4 Computational Tool

Micro-Concord (Scott 1993), a computer programme for analysis of lexical patterns in text, was used in the analysis of the data. It proved a very useful tool for identifying the markers and other linguistic patterns occurring in the vicinity of the markers **you know** and **I mean**. Micro-Concord can be used to search for lexical items and non-linguistic features (e.g. pauses). It gives the frequencies of lexical items, and can also give a concordancing of these words. The concordancing provides only a small part of the context where the lexical item under examination occurs. However, from the concordancing it is possible to access a larger context, which enables a more detailed analysis of the item.

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[3] I would like to thank Angie Reid and Stella Pycroft for giving me permission to use their recorded data.
[4] I would also like to thank YehYi-wen for giving me permission to use.

3.3.5 Data Analysis Methodology

After the occurrences of **you know** and **I mean** were identified using Microconcord, the NS conversations were analysed manually to establish their apparent functions. After establishing categories of functions for the markers in the NS data, the NNS data was analysed in a similar way. The results of both analyses were compared to find out to what extent the NNS subjects were successful in using the markers in comparison with their NS counterparts. Since there is a considerable difference between the sizes of the two corpora, the number of markers per 500 words was calculated to provide a reference frame for comparison.

Initial analysis indicated that the markers could be related to two areas of interaction, the first of which was *topic expansion*. It was therefore decided to investigate topic expansion by the analysis of lexical cohesion in the vicinity of the markers, since lexico-grammatical elements which refer to the same entity or similar entities in the same domain can be related to factors such as topic introduction, expansion and change. The concept of 'expansion' of a topic is used as a cover term which explains an expansion by giving an example, shifting and re-introducing a topic. The second area of interaction identified was *face work*. To understand the ways in which face work was performed in conversations, analysis of evaluative terms (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs) in the vicinity of the discourse markers was performed. Both the native and non-native speaker corpora were analysed using similar methods.

3.4 Results of the Analysis: Describing the categories

The results of the analysis of **you know** and **I mean** in the NS conversations indicate that the functions of these markers can be categorized in two main groups: *topic expansion* and *face work*. The topic expansion category can be divided into two main sub-categories: *local topic expansion*, and *conversational topic expansion*. Conversational topic expansion can be realized by *shifting the topic*, by *giving examples* and *re-introducing a previous topic*. In the category of *face work*, there are examples of uses of **you know** and **I mean** which can be associated with face threatening and face saving acts. A third sub-category comprises the uses where the markers were used for both topic expanding and performing *face work*. These will be referred to as *multi-functional* uses of the markers in this study. In the following sections, the results of the analysis of the NS data will be presented in comparison with the results of the analysis of the NNS data.

3.4.1 Topic Expansion

The concept of topic expansion which is used in this study can be characterized in terms of expanding an idea or concept by describing, paraphrasing or by giving an example to explain the concept. It was found that both *expansion* and *shift* were indicated by different means, such as intonation or lexico-grammatical signals. The results of the analysis showed that in the NS data the most common strategy for topic expansion was that of giving an example. The second way of

expanding a topic is shifting it, whereby the topic remains in the same domain but some aspect of it changes. Analysis of the NS conversations shows that the expansion was done at two levels: at *local level* and at *conversational topic expansion level.* When a marker is associated with topic expansion at local level, the content of the expansion is related to either a word in the close vicinity of the marker or a concept within one turn. When a marker is associated with topic expansion at conversational level, the content of the expansion can be related to the topic on the floor across turns or within the same turn.

3.4.1.1 Topic Expansion at Local Level

At this level, the number of occurrences of **you know** was found to be 0.16 per 500 words while no occurrences of **I mean** were identified (Table 3.1). **You know** appears to be used to mark the part of the talk where an expansion of a concept takes place. The results indicate that **I mean** is not used to mark *local expansion*. Nonetheless, this does not indicate that, in a bigger corpora, the uses of **I mean** could not be found. However, as will be shown, it is used more frequently to mark *topic expansion* at conversational level.

local expansion	you know	per 500	I mean	per 500	total	per 500
NS	14	0.16	0	0	14	0.16
NNS	8	0.16	0	0	8	0.16

Table 3.1: Numbers of you know and I mean and their occurrence per 500 words in local topic expansion in NS and NNS data.

Below, examples of the use of **you know** in *local topic expansion* by both the NS and the NNS subjects are given [5].

[5] See Appendix A for transcription notation.

Extract 1. (NS)[6]

G: do you think it's worth painting that (.) ceiling [A: no] **you know** //where the stain is//
(file: C1)

The topic of the ceiling is expanded in terms of describing where the stain is, the *expansion* appears to be marked with **you know**.

Extract 2. (NS)

W: well you see we like going to (inaudible) institute because it's quite a quite a crowd go there and they're all ballroom dancer not classical dancers (.) they enjoy it
D: yes yes oh yes
W: erm although we don't know any of *them* by name **you know** *they're* a good crowd it's quite nice going in there we have been going there for years
(file: C2)

W and his wife are telling D about the hotels and other places they have been to with the ballroom dance group of which they are members. They seem not to know the other people in the group by name, but both think these people are nice to socialise with. **You know** appears to mark the descriptive information about 'them', the people that W and his wife socialize with. He *expands* the idea of the group as a 'good crowd' to have fun with.

Similar occurrences of **you know** and **I mean** were found in the NNS data. The number of occurrences for both groups of **you know** per 500 words at *local*

[6] See Appendix B for more examples of each category.

topic expansion level is 0.16 (Table 3.2). Although the NNS subjects may not express themselves in grammatically accurate language, they appear to use the markers for similar purposes to their NS counterparts.

Extract 1. (NNS)

M: yeah he used to be on the erm there was an ad on telly about Jack Dee's programme **you know** standing-up comedy [H: yeah] erm the guy was telling that after for a long time he's again on he's back to telly [H: oh yeah] and stuff so
H: oh yes that's brilliant that's brilliant I did see it and I said OK (inaudible) there it's
(M and H - NNS)
(file: NC1)

In previous turns, H remembers that Jack Dee will appear on TV for the first time on Friday night after a long absence. She says she is a fan of Jack Dee. This reminds M that she saw a trailer for his show. **You know** appears to mark *expansion* of the type of Jack Dee's programme, a stand-up comedy show.

Extract 2. (NNS)

E: (continuing) so that couple told me that e-e! Roseanne is the one that looks like an ordinary ordinary American family not the others **you know** Cosbies and everything [T: really] you just she said they're kind of extreme examples this one erm this one is the most probably erm ordinary **I mean** kind of fam American family you can find very (inaudible)
(T and E - NNS)
(file: NC2)

While E and T are watching 'Roseanne' on the television, E is talking about American sit-coms. He informs his interlocutor that an American couple whom he had met in Turkey had told him that 'Roseanne' was the best reflection of a

typical American family, whereas other sit-coms such as 'the Cosbies' were not. T*he expansion* of 'the others' is introduced with **you know**.

This section considered local topic expansion, the scope of which is narrower when compared with topic expansion at conversational level. It is narrow in the sense that it considers the expansion of a single concept or a word. The next section will explore how topic expansion is done at conversational level.

3.4.1.2 Topic Expansion at Conversational Level

The analysis shows that the NS tended to use **you know** and **I mean** to mark instances of shifting topic, giving examples and re-introducing a previous topic. First, some information will be given on the overall distribution of these three sub-categories.

expansion type	you know	per 500	**I mean**	per 500	total	per 500
shift						
NS	7	0.08	11	0.13	18	0.21
NNS	6	0.12	4	0.08	10	0.20
example						
NS	3	0.03	23	0.26	26	0.29
NNS	3	0.06	4	0.08	7	0.14
re-introduction						
NS	1	0.01	3	0.03	4	0.04
NNS	0	0	5	0.10	5	0.10
total NS	11	0.12	37	0.42	48	0.55
total NNS	9	0.18	13	0.26	22	0.44

Table 3.2: Numbers of **you know** and **I mean** and their occurrences per 500 words in conversational topic expansion in NS and NNS data.

As can be seen in Table 3.2, the NS show a significant tendency to use **I mean** for *conversational topic expansion*. The total number of occurrences of **I mean**

per 500 words is 0.42 in the NS data while the total number of occurrences of **you know** is only 0.12. The total number of occurrences of **I mean** is approximately 3.5 times higher than that of **you know**.

However, the same phenomenon is not observed in the NNS data (Table 3.2). The numbers of **I mean** and **you know** per 500 words (0.26 and 0.18 respectively) are not very different. However, Table 3.2 shows that the NNS, like the NS, chose **I mean** more often than **you know** for *topic expansion* at conversational level.

The distribution of the uses of the markers that can be associated with *conversational topic expansion* is also presented in Table 3.2. The uses of **you know** and **I mean** which can be associated with conversational topic expansion are sub-divided into three groups: expansion by shifting topic, by giving examples and topic re-introducing.

3.4.1.3 Topic Shifting

One use of **you know** and **I mean** which can be associated with topic expansion at conversational level is *topic development by shifting.* The number of occurrences of **you know** is 0.08 per 500 words, while the number of occurrences of **I mean** is 0.13 per 500 words in the NS data (Table 3.3).

	you know	per 500	I mean	per 500	total	per 500
shift						
NS	7	0.08	11	0.13	18	0.21
NNS	6	0.12	4	0.08	10	0.20

Table 3.3 : Total number of markers per 500 words associated with conversational topic shift in NS and NNS data.

In the NNS data, the frequency of **you know** is 0.12 per 500 words, while the frequency of **I mean** is 0.08 per 500 words (Table 3.3). While the NS chose **I mean** to mark topic shift, the NNS appeared more likely to choose **you know** to perform this function.

Extract 3.(NNS)

1F: //err that was what's his name of "Going Live" who does "Growing Pains"
2J: Philip
3F: something like that **you know** the other day the animals had crawled onto the table (.) the dog the pig and the duck were all sitting on the table
(file: C3)

F and J are talking about a children's programme on TV. First, F tries to remember the presenter's name. In turn 2, J suggests a name. In the following turn, F appears to abandon the topic. Instead, he shifts the topic from the presenter's name to the story of the programme.

Extract 4.(NS)

E: erm so you mean they they have their posh dinner and then they give you a //sandwich//
S: //sandwich// exactly exactly [E: laughs] **I mean** a funny story about that there's once me and toastmaster Frank Manning and the videographer that was at this wedding erm I was absolutely starving and it was getting towards the end of the day and it was actually wrong time it was nine o'clock in the evening and we weren't sort of I mean fed

and no no I said a lie it was about seven o'clock in the evening anyway a
big plate of sandwiches turned up and put in front of me I thought here we
go lovely and then of course Frank Manning and the videographer sat next to
me and they're divided into three so we've got four small sandwiches with
the crust cut off each
(file: C4)

E has asked S, a wedding photographer, whether he was given any of the wedding reception dinners or cakes. S replies that, on the contrary, he is lucky if he is given a sandwich. Moreover, the wedding organizers appear to be mean even in the number of the sandwiches that they offer to the photographer. The topic is shifted to how this could create funny situations, the shift being marked with **I mean**.

Extract 3.(NNS)

Z: yeah and then she change she got married with a Turkish man a film star
but after then four or five years later they divorced but erm if you if you
you know I think the same in here if you get married with a British man or
Turkish or (inaudible) you have two nationalities
(Z - NNS)
(file: NC3)

Z is talking to a NS about a male Turkish film star who married a British actress. She then shifts the topic to a comparison between Turkish and British marital law. **You know** appears to mark the shift of the topic to the comparison.

Extract 4.(NNS)

C: what about the little girls' accent in the Piano
H: oh I can't remember
C: I couldn't [H: yeah] I couldn't understand er her (inaudible) sentences I
said what (inaudible) speaking is it English language
M: are they from England
C: from England Papua no New Zealand
H: erm I don't know **I mean** I like Liverpudlian accent as well
(C, M and H - NNS)
(file: NC1)

H cannot remember what the little girl's accent is like in the film "The Piano", which she and C saw together. This topic does not develop due to H's fallible memory. Later, H shifts the topic to 'the Liverpudlian accent' which is related to the previous topic, accents. **I mean** marks this shift to talking about a different accent.

3.4.1.4 Giving an Example

You know and **I mean** were found to be used in the vicinity of places in conversations where topics are expanded by means of giving examples. The transition to the example appears to be marked with one of these two markers.

	you know	per 500	I mean	per 500	total	per 500
example						
NS	3	0.03	23	0.26	26	0.29
NNS	3	0.06	4	0.08	7	0.14

Table 3.4 : Total number of markers per 500 words which are associated with conversational topic expansion by giving example in NS and NNS data.

As can be seen in Table 3.4, the number of occurrences of **I mean** per 500 words is 0.26 in the NS data; however, it is only 0.08 in the NNS data. The number of occurrences per 500 words is 3.25 times higher in the NS data than in the NNS data, creating a noticeable difference between the two groups.

Extract 5.(NS)

G: but you associate towns with (.) [A: so] with with the the //counties// //[A: yes you do]// if somebody sort of says where **you know** (.) [G: mhm //(inaudible)//] where's Blackburn (.) you say Lancashire [G: yes] you wouldn't [G: mhm] you'd always give you'd always tell them which county its in
(file: C1)

In the conversation above, the topic has been initiated with talk about the reasons why the authorities keep changing the counties to which towns belong. In the extract, the speakers talk about the tendency of people to associate towns with certain counties. To support the claim, G gives the name of a town, Blackburn, and a county, Lancashire, as examples that are marked with **you know.**

Extract 5.(NNS)

29 M: yeah and also **I mean** I didn't realize it before like **you know** the words like Woolton wool **you know** double o **I mean** and also we were taught American accent **I mean** you call er how do you pronounce it (.) soccer
30 H: soccer
31 M: soccer and what else
32 H: director director
33 M: those are different **you know** (.) sucker **I mean** in American accent you call "sucker*" for football player [H: mhm] but in British it's soccer [H: mhm] which is very different [H: oh yes] sucker is a something which //sucks blood out **you know**// [H: //yes yes //mhm] it's very different but similar in American [H: mhm] and I used to say sucker for football player and I couldn't I couldn't get make myself understood **you know** (.) and also what else
(file: NC5)
(both H and M are NNS)

H and M are talking about how hard it is to distinguish some sounds in English. M gives two examples that she finds difficult to understand. The first example is Woolton, the name of a place where she goes to visit her friend. Earlier in the conversation she said that bus drivers could not understand her when she said Woolton. She says she has to try hard to pronounce the double 'o' sound properly. The second example is the word soccer. She says the way the Americans pronounce this word confuses her, because it sounds like the word

'sucker'. Her examples expand the topic. These three highlighted **you knows** appear to be associated with the expansion of the topic by giving examples.

Extract 6.(NS)

A: we're supposed to match people up by their personality aren't we
C: but they don't though do they
A: no
C: Sam and John used to share but Sam hated John
B: does it cause a lot of problems
C: how does she match people up then or does she just throw anybody in together
A: it does and it don't sometimes it does **I mean** (.) Rose and Florrie get on don't they
C: mmm
(file: C5)

A, B and C, who work in a nursing home, are criticizing the management, which does not care whether they match up the elderly residents who share the same rooms. The interlocutors say that some room mates get on well, and the names of two residents, Rose and Florrie, are given as examples. The names are introduced with **I mean**.

Extract 6.(NNS)

B: are you more are you most interested in animals or the link between animals and humans in your study
A: oh yeah (.) both I can them I can say but actually there is one point important and that one is it's very difficult to separate the parasites that one is vet parasites [B: yeah] that's human parasites [B: yeah] it's really quite difficult because yeah some parasites it's correct there's very limited or specificity [B: yeah] and these parasites just can be e-e parasites just one particular in one particular animal [B: yeah] er and in just one particular tissues in the animal
B: yeah very specialized
A: very specialized very limited [B: yeah] for specificity but some of them not especially [B: yeah] er ectoparasites we call ectoparasites means flee lice mosquitoes [B: yeah] something like that [B: yeah] they can **I mean** if you er a

little bit go further go specialise you can er separate that a little bit that specific mosquito just wanted to **I mean** just fosy* to
B: fussy
A: fussy sorry fuzzy to er (.) bite just one particular animal
(A - NNS and B - NS)
(file: NC4)

A veterinary Ph.D. student, who is about to start his research, explains why he is interested in parasites in both animals and humans. The topic that he will choose for his thesis will be a very specific one, such as the parasites that are transferred by means of a mosquito bite. He says that he can further specialize in the field by studying a particular mosquito which bites only one particular animal. It seems that **I mean** marks his expanding the topic by giving an example.

3.4.1.5 Topic Re-introducing

Re-introducing a topic can occasionally be marked with **you know** and **I mean**. However, there are only three examples of this type of **I mean** and one example of **you know** in the NS data, while there are no occurrences of **you know** of this type in the NNS data (Table 3.5).

	you know	per 500	**I mean**	per 500	total	per 500
re-introduction						
NS	1	0.01	3	0.03	4	0.04
NNS	0	0	5	0.10	5	0.10

Table 3.5: Total number of markers per 500 words associated with conversational topic re-introduction in NS and NNS data.

Instead, the NNS used **I mean** 5 times (0.10 per 500 words). In the NS examples, re-introduction is indicated by saying 'as we said before' or 'we have said this before'. The expansion is performed by re-emphasizing the point that

was mentioned previously. However, the NNS did not mark re-introduction by saying these.

Extract 7.(NS)

A: well you don't get many farmers in North London do you [laughter] um (.) anyway (.) actually as a matter of fact **you know** *going back to er what you said* about family trees [yeah] on my dad's side sort of like about six generations ago [hmh] we had we had a spate of farm labourers
(file:C6)

In this example, A re-introduces a previous topic, family trees. The transition from farmers to family trees appears to be signalled by a few other elements such as the hesitation marker 'um', two short pauses, 'anyway', 'actually' and 'as a matter of fact'. Finally, A uses **you know** which is followed by 'going back to what you said about X'.

Extract 7.(NNS)

1H: yes definitely //Miss Selfridge//
2M: Miss Selfridge
3H: River Island definitely sell them in River Island right Selfridge yes the
4C: (inaudible) River Island is very expensive
5H: I love this I go there god knows how many times
just a
6C: [laughs]
7M: how could you resist [laughs]
8H: //**you know** how could I by the way//
9M: // you're a (inaudible) shopaholic//
10H: by the way I must tell you that I like a suit there trousers and and AND //it seems that//
11C: how much is it
12H: it's been tailored for me
13C: // and so//
14H: made for me
15C: how much
16H: definitely it's about altogether about seventy or eighty pounds
17M: all right (.) definitely far cheaper than how much you could pay in Turkey

18H: yeah and I almost bu bought it because
19M: //I need to buy this sort of things **you know**//
20H: I love their stuff //really chic **I mean** very chic// //grey//
(H, C and M - NNS)
(file: NC5)

After H announces that she saw a trouser-suit in a shop, the topic is shifted towards different aspects of shopping. Later, in turn 20, H *re-introduces* the topic by describing the suit. This *re-introduction* is marked with **I mean**.

Analysis has shown two main types of use of **you know** and **I mean** in conversational topic expansion: at local level and conversational topic level. At local level, **I mean** was not used by either of the groups. Both the NS and the NNS used equal numbers of **you know** which can be associated with expansion at local level. At conversational topic expansion level, these markers can be associated with expansion by shifting the topic, by giving example and by re-introducing a previous topic. The most frequently used marker is **I mean** in both the NS and the NNS data. The NNS used slightly fewer markers in conversational topic expansion.

The association of **you know** and **I mean** with topic expansion at conversational level can be related to the textual aspect of language. On the other hand, the functions of **you know** and **I mean** which could be associated with face work appear to be related to the interpersonal aspect of language. The following category consists of the examples of the uses of **you know** and **I mean** which could be associated with face work in the NS data.

3.4.2 Face work

In the NS data, the total number of occurrences of **you know** which can be associated with face work is 0.80, while the number of occurrences of **I mean** which can be associated with face work is 0.77.

category	*you know*	per 500	*I mean*	per 500	total	per 500
face work						
NS	69	0.80	66	0.77	135	1.57
NNS	67	1.40	57	1.18	124	2.58

Table 3.6: **You know** and **I mean** associated with face work in NS and NNS data.

It appears that the NNS used the markers in face work more than their NS counterparts did. Table 3.6 shows the NNS used **you know** 1.40 times and **I mean** 1.18 times. These are found in the close vicinity of a face threatening act. Their use is associated with face work which can be related to mitigating an imposition, minimising the force of a claim or an opinion, and/or indicating solidarity with the interlocutor.

As can be seen in Table 3.6, both the NS and the NNS appear to be slightly more likely to use **you know** in face work; however, its number of occurrences per 500 words is higher in the NNS data. NS used **you know** in face work 0.80 times while NNS used this marker 1.40 times.

Extract 8.(NS)

1A: just come and sit down I was just saying I don't know what to do with this carpet because its my mother's and she's moving you see so she gave us this carpet and we've put it down here and Catherine says it doesn't go in here you've got to put it somewhere else
2B: oh did she
3A: yes so [B: oh] I wasn't sure where it does go

4B: it looks fine
5C: I think it's fine
6D: it goes with your walls
7B: yes it reflects the light doesn't it really
8A: yes yes
9B: not that I wish to disagree
10A: no no with Catherine of course but er she does have very fixed views about this sort of thing
11D: *maybe* it's the design does she think it's it's
12A: doesn't quite go
13D: *perhaps a pretty* design
14B: yes
15D: whereas you have got more
16A: its Chinese or something
17D: **you know** formal
18E: it's nice it's very nice
19B: actually the colours are really quite good aren't they [A: mm] so
(file: C8)

In the above example, five females are having a conversation about the carpet which A's mother gave her. A is not sure if the carpet goes with the furniture, since Catherine, whose opinion must be important for the speaker, said that it did not go. A asks the interlocutors, B, C, D and E their opinions about the carpet. In terms of face work, Catherine has committed an FTA by telling A that the carpet did not go with the rest of the furniture and the colours in the room. By reporting this and asking for advice, A puts her own face at risk. First, B, C and D make positive comments on the carpet (turns 4-8), which can be regarded as potential FTAs towards Catherine. In fact, B appears to be hesitant about this. In turn 9, she says that she does not wish to disagree with Catherine. In turn 10, what A says about Catherine is an open face threat towards the absent person. In the following turn, D appears to play this down before she discloses her own opinion about the design of the carpet. The summary of what she says in turns 11, 13, 15, and 17 is that the carpet has more of a formal design, whereas a

pretty design would be better. That is, she attempts face work towards Catherine to express her opinion subtly. In turn 17, the crucial evaluative word "formal" by D is marked with **you know**, indicating, that the use of **you know** can be associated with face work.

Extract 9.(NS)

1A: well I don't know I'd love to go skiing with Neil and Julie but um I don't really know if I want the other two to go **I mean** it's not that I don't like them um I just um would rather um we went without them
2B: but why
(.)
3A: *well* I think I might as well not **I mean** quite honestly **I mean** (.)
4B: what do you mean
5C: you really should think again
(file: C9)

A, B and C are talking about their holiday plans, which include four more people. A has doubts about going on a holiday with two of them. By expressing her unfriendly attitude towards them, A commits a face threat towards them. Moreover, she puts her own face at risk, as B and C apparently disapprove of her attitude. A uses **I mean** in her first attempt in turn 1. B's question, the pauses, A's hesitant start and vague language in turn 3 all imply that face work is needed. A appears to be defensive, and the three **I means** in this context can be associated with face work.

Extract 8.(NNS)

1T: you're really naughty E
2E: (laughs) well you make me naughty
3T: when your girl friend comes back so I will tell her about this
4E: *actually I will e-e you know complain about you to her that you called me fat*
5T: //(laughs)//
(T and E - NNS)
(file: NC2)

T, a female, accuses E, a male, of being naughty because of something that happened earlier in the day but which they do not talk about openly. T appears to use this incident as a threat to E as she says that she will report this to E's girl friend, who is abroad. Moreover, earlier in the conversation, following E's complaint that he has put on weight, T mocks him saying that he is a fat man. In turn 4, as a retaliation, E says that he will tell his girl friend that T teased him about his being over-weight. **You know** appears to be associated with face work in this blend of jokes and mild complaints.

Extract 9.(NNS)

1C: //Phantom of the Opera//
2H: //next weekend I want to go to Warwick//
3M: of the what
4C: (laughs)
5H: you can you //can//
6M: //I// quite like opera but //I wouldn't go Manchester to see an opera//
7C: //it is not opera//
8H: //it isn't opera// it is a musical
9M: phantom opera
10H: yeah
11M: musical
12H: the Phantom of the Opera is a musical
13M: is it
14H: yes **I mean** yeah
15M: //**I mean** I like opera//]
16H: //it is made into opera film// play but this one is a musical [M: mhm] do you like musicals I love them
17M: I quite like but it it's something must be something worth going seeing
18H: this one is supposed to be very good
19M: //what about//
(H, C and M - NNS)
(file: NC5)

H, M and C are having a conversation about travelling around England. C informs the others that 'The Phantom of the Opera' is on in Manchester. H

announces that the following weekend she is going to Warwick to visit a friend. Thinking that 'The Phantom of the Opera' is a real opera, M says that she would not go to Manchester to see an opera. In turn 12, H tells M that it is not an opera but a musical. In turn 15, **I mean** appears to mark face work while prefacing M's evaluation. In terms of face work, however, she seems to need to save her face as the mistake can lead to a self-induced face threat.

The overall numbers of **you know** and **I mean** which can be associated with face work in both sets of data are noticeably higher than those which can be associated with conversational topic expansion. A total of 0.55 per 500 words can be associated with topic expansion at conversational level in the NS data, in contrast with 1.57 markers associated with face work. In the NNS data, 0.44 markers are associated with conversational topic expansion, while 2.58 per 500 words are associated with face work. The number of **you know** and **I mean** per 500 words in the NNS data (2.58 per 500 words) is again slightly higher than that in the NS data (1.57 per 500 words).

This section has summarized the functions of **you know** and **I mean** which can be associated with textual and interpersonal aspects of language. However, multi-functional uses of these markers were also identified in the data, supporting the idea that there are no clear cut boundaries between the metafunctions of language (cf. Halliday 1994).

3.4.3 Multi-Functional Use

Analysis of the data reveals that a considerable number of occurrences of **you know** and **I mean** are used multi-functionally. As mentioned earlier, multi-functional use is one of the typical characteristics of pragmalinguistic features. In the case of **you know** and **I mean**, it is possible to associate the use of one marker at two distinct levels: topic expansion at conversational level and face work. For example, a marker can be associated with both face saving and an expansion type at conversational level. The co-occurrence of these two functions is not perhaps so surprising, as face maintaining can be done by shifting a topic towards its less threatening aspects. In other cases, face maintaining can be supported by giving examples in order to justify talking about the threatening issue.

category	you know	per 500	**I mean**	per 500	total	per 500
multiple function						
NS	31	0.36	30	0.35	61	0.71
NNS	17	0.35	51	1.06	68	1.41

Table 3.7: **You know** and **I mean** occurring multi-functionally in NS and NS data.

As can be seen Table 3.7, the number of occurrences of multi-functional uses of **you know** in the NS data is 0.36 per 500 words, while in the NNS data it is 0.35 per 500 words. The number of occurrences of multi-functional uses of **I mean** in the NS data is 0.35 per 500 words while in the NNS data it is 1.06 per 500 words.

Extract 10.(NS)

25B: (cont.) and she had this chap with **I mean** uh he'd been *a wonderful friend* because **you know** her boyfriend well to say her gentleman friend she'd

been engaged to dropped her as soon as they got engaged for some reason or another and this chap he was helping her round and I thought well he's been a wonderful friend **you know** *he's a lot younger than her* [A: yes] (cont.)
(file: C1)

In the example, the two occurrences of **you know** appear to bracket the information which is about the private life of the speaker's friend. The first **you know** seems to mark the topic shift from the boy friend to the ex-fiancé. After telling a rather embarrassing story about the ex-fiancé of this woman, the speaker shifts the topic to the new boy friend. After repeating that he is "a wonderful friend", the speaker also adds some more information about him by saying that "he's a lot younger than her". This information is marked with **you know**. B appears to mark the topic shifts from the new boy friend to the ex-fiancé and from the ex-fiancé to the new boy friend with two **you knows.** At the same time, the speaker gives her personal opinion about the new boy friend by using highly evaluative words: "a wonderful friend" and "he's a lot younger than her". In Brown and Levinson's (1987) terms, by "gossiping" the speaker puts her face at risk. It can be concluded that these two markers appear to be associated with both face work and topic shift at conversational level.

Extract 11.(NS)

L: a key yeh (.) I I think I'll be giving our Debbie money because **I mean** I just don't know what to buy her any more **I mean** I was telling our Elaine (.) she said to me you're better off giving her the money (.) **you know** because at least if she gets money she can when she does go to town with our Susan yeh if she sees something that she likes like a T-shirt or shorts or whatever (.) she picks her own and she's got then she's got her own money then (.) so like if everyone gives her money she can put it all together no matter how much she gets off people whether it be a couple of pound she can put it all together can't she and buy an item what she'd like
(file: C11)

L, a grandmother, tells her friend that she does not know what kind of a present to buy for her grandchildren any more. In other words, she performs troubles-telling (Jefferson 1984), which requires face work. In this sense, **I mean** can be associated with the face work. At the same time, it appears to mark a topic shift from her decision to give Debbie money to her justification for this decision.

Extract 10.(NNS)

1C: actually I need to plan (.) my Birmingham trip erm precisely I want to go to the library see all the art galleries museums and jazz clubs
2H: so you need to stay there
3M: **you know** what could I do you can borrow erm my tourist guide for England and then I think there's a map Birmingham and to stay and stuff **you know** so you can (inaudible)
4 C: so do you want to go to the concert
(C, H and M - NNS)
(file: NC5)

C talks about visiting Birmingham. As she wants to visit various places, she will spend a few days there. In turn 3, M shifts the topic and at the same time "makes an offer", which is potentially face threatening (Brown and Levinson 1987). In this sense, **you know** at the beginning of turn no 3 can be said to have been used *multi-functionally.*

Extract 11.(NNS)

1D: and I don't want to improve my language
2C: what
3D: I don't want to improve my language
4C: why not
4D: because I don't care
5C: ah come on
6D: I'd like to my bloody mössbauer information
7C: yes you'll it'll come //by time it'll be//
8A: //knowledge//
9D: my knowledge [A: yeah] my information knowledge is correctly
10C: knowledge mhm you do it **I mean** it comes naturally because
(A, C and D - NNS)
(file: NC6)

The project that D, who is a physicist, is carrying out is based on the mössbauer technology. The topic on the floor is improving one's English. D appears to be pessimistic about improving his English, saying that he does not want to improve his English any further (turns 1 and 3). Following this, C appears to try to protect D's face. C shifts the topic towards its more generalizable aspects, which are less face threatening. In turn 6, D makes a lexical mistake, using 'information' for 'knowledge', which is corrected by A in turn 8. D corrects himself in turn 9. In turn 10, C repeats the word 'knowledge' before trying to encourage D not to give up studying English. Thus, the use of **I mean** in turn 10 appears to be associated with more than one function, namely re-introduction of the topic and face work.

Table 3.8 shows the occurrences **you know** and **I mean** in all three categories across both groups. As can be seen from Table 3.8, the two groups do not show a greater deal of difference between each other in using the markers in topic expansion. Both groups used **I mean** more frequently than **you know**.

category	you know	per 500	I mean	per 500	total	per 500
local						
NS	14	0.16	0	0	14	0.16
NNS	8	0.16	0	0	8	0.16
topic expansion						
NS	11	0.12	37	0.42	48	0.54
NNS	9	0.18	13	0.26	22	0.44
face work						
NS	69	0.80	66	0.77	135	1.57
NNS	67	1.40	57	1.18	124	2.58
multi-functional						
NS	31	0.36	30	0.35	61	0.71
NNS	17	0.35	51	1.06	68	1.41
NS total	125	1.45	133	1.54	258	3.00
NNS total	101	2.10	121	2.50	222	4.62

Table 3.8: Number of markers per 500 words in three categories in NS and NS data.

When the number of markers per 500 words is compared across the groups, it can be seen that the number of markers used by the NNS is higher in each category. Face work is the category where the most noticeable difference can be observed: the NS used 1.57 markers per 500 words and the NNS used 2.58 markers per 500 words. Finally as can be seen in Table 3.8, the NS subjects do not show a strong tendency towards choosing one of the markers for multi-functional use while the NNS show a strong tendency for choosing **I mean** for multi-functional uses.

The primary categories of the occurrences of **you know** and **I mean** have been presented in this section. These categories were associated with two of Halliday's metafunctions: textual and interpersonal. There were also multi-functional uses of the markers, which supports Halliday's argument that there is no clear dividing line between the metafunctions. The next section will present

other functions that cannot be associated with the previously presented categories.

3.4.4 Other Functions

As Table 3.9 shows, **You know** and **I mean** are also used to perform other less common functions in the data. For example, **you know** is used in repair once by a NS.

other functions	you know	per 500	I mean	per 500	total	per 500
appealers						
NS	2	0.02	0	0	2	0.02
NNS	12	0.25	0	0	12	0.25
repair						
NS	1	0.01	0	0	1	0.01
NNS	1	00.2	5	0.10	6	0.12
fillers						
NS	0	0	0	0	0	0
NNS	1	0.02	0	0	1	0.02
rephrase						
NS	0	0	0	0	0	0
NNS	0	0	2	0.04	2	0.04
failed topic expansion						
NS	0	0	0	0	0	0
NNS	0	0	1	0.02	1	0.02
explanation						
NS	0	0	0	0	0	0
NNS	0	0	3	0.06	3	0.06
total						
NS	3	0.03	0	0	3	0.03
NNS	14	0.29	11	0.22	25	0.51

Table 3.9: Other uses of **you know** and **I mean** in NS and NNS data.

You know is used 12 times by NNS to appeal to the addressee. However, the NS use this marker only twice for appealing purposes. It is used as a means of getting approval from the addressee. At the same time, it conveys the message

"as **you know**" or "I know **you know** about this", as can be seen in the following extracts.

Extract 12.(NNS)

G: he told me **you know** I want to go this place this place and it was better for me **you know** because he he's been **you know** Blue Mosque haga no Haga Sophia another historical places so [A: yeah yeah] so it's really good [A: yeah] and we went what what was e-e Big Island and after we went to some place which which is the I have some favourite drink [A: oh] it's ice-cream put into the something hot but I don't know what's in [A: all right] English actually
(file: NC7)

G and her supervisor went to Istanbul for a conference. G tells A how she took her supervisor to different places when they were in Istanbul. G knows that A knows all the places they had visited in Istanbul. The third marker **you know** appears to indicate this to the addressee.

I mean is used neither as an appealer nor as a filler but it is used in repair 5 times. **I mean** can refer to the repair of a mistake that a NNS makes or the repair of a message which is not put correctly into words, either because of a language mistake or a propositional mistake as the next extract demonstrates.

Extract 13.(NNS)

M: //anyway so// I think his grandparents used to live in Turkey before [H: mhm] the first world war and then they moved into Greece [H: mhm] and stuff and he he know quite a lot bit Turkish [C: ah George] yeah George he was trying to tell me something in Turkish which was real simple sentence you know [H: yes] and I just couldn't get it through took me like (.) five minutes in the end it registered [H: yes] I said God he he was doing his best **you know** [H: yes] you could have understood him *better* **I mean** *quicker* than that (.) [H: yes] but (.) we're not used to hearing different accents //**you know** in Turkish//
H: //probably yes probably//
(file: NC1)

It appears that the appealers form an important part of the *other functions* category. The NS do not appear to use them as often as the NNS subjects do, and it seems that the appeal strategy is used by the relatively less proficient subjects. This may indicate that they use this as a communication strategy. However, this type of appealing is done in a different way from that which is discussed in the literature (see also Kellerman 1990, Karatepe 1993). In this type, the NNS appear to appeal to their interlocutors' understanding and knowledge strategically and subtly.

	you know	per 500	**I mean**	per 500	total	per 500
primary functions						
NS total	111	1.28	133	1.54	244	2.82
NNS total	93	1.93	121	2.50	214	4.43
other functions						
NS	3	0.03	0	0	3	0.03
NNS	14	0.29	11	0.22	25	0.51
grand total						
NS	114	1.31	133	1.54	247	2.85
NNS	107	2.22	132	2.77	239	4.94

Table 3.10: All occurrences of **you know** and **I mean** in NS and NNS data

As can be seen in (Table 3.10), the total number of markers used by NNS is approximately 1.7 times higher than that of the NS. The NS used **you know** 1.31 times per 500 words, while the NNS used this marker 2.22 times per 500 words. Similarly, the NS used **I mean** 1.54 times per 500 words, while the NNS used **I mean** 2.77 times per 500 words.

3.5 Discussion

This analysis has also shown that the functions of discourse markers **you know** and **I mean** can be associated with two types of use: topic expansion and face work. These can be explained in terms of Halliday's (1994) textual and interpersonal metafunctions. That is, the uses in topic expansion can be associated with the textual metafunction while the uses in face work can be associated with the interpersonal metafunction. The analysis also presented some uses of **you know** and **I mean** which can be associated with both of these metafunctions and which were categorized as multi-functional uses. It has been found that the markers could be associated with topic shifts where topics are expanded by evolving from one aspect of a topic to another related aspect. The speaker does this by continuing to 'speak topically' (Brown and Yule 1983), that is, the topic remains within the same domain which is relevant to the context of situation. **You know** and **I mean** have also been found to mark topic re-introduction. This can occur after a digression, when the old topic is brought in again. The speaker develops the topic through expansion by means of examples that serve to make the speaker's point more easily understood.

The second type of use of markers that was found in the data is related to pragmalinguistics. Face work is the most common function with which the use of the markers can be associated. It is important to note that the markers do not appear to be the only mitigating device that speakers use; laughter, pauses,

hesitation markers, words such as 'trouble', 'problem', 'difficult', etc. are normally present in the close vicinity of the face work.

A considerable number of uses of **you know** and **I mean** have emerged as having multiple functions. For example, the markers can be associated with face work and topic shifting simultaneously. As Searle (1975) comments, some forms of speech acts acquire conventional uses in addition to their 'literal meaning':

> Certain forms will tend to become conventionally established as the standard idiomatic forms for indirect speech acts. While keeping their literal meaning they will acquire conventional uses. (Searle 1975: 76).

Halliday (1994) argues that there are two ways of expressing meaning: at the one extreme, there is the *congruent* meaning and at the other there is the *incongruent* meaning. Halliday (1994) further argues that the meaning cline represents variations of more or less congruent meanings.

The concept of cline can be to be seen as a "continuum" (cf. Hopper and Traugott 1993). Both of these metaphors are used here to illuminate the polarity between the content meanings of lexical items and their usage which can be associated with pragmalinguistics. It can be hypothesized that the literal meaning of **you know** and **I mean** as clauses (in which you is the 'senser' and know is the 'cognitive process' and I is the 'senser' and mean as the 'cognitive process') approximate to the extreme congruent representation of meaning at one end of the cline. Towards the other end of the cline, it is hypothesized that we have uses of **you know** and **I mean** which are related to topic expansion at local and

conversational levels. The study has found that it is only **you know** that operates at the local topic expansion level. However, this may be due to the relatively small size of the corpus. Topic expansion at local level is followed along the cline by other types of expansion by means of shifting, giving examples and re-introducing. The study has identified uses of **you know** and **I mean** which could be associated with the linguistic realization of sociopragmatics. To leave some space for newly evolving usages it seems better to hypothesize that these uses of **you know** and **I mean** *approximate* towards the extreme end of the cline. This would permit a limitless continuum that allows space for new uses.

In the middle of the cline, some of the uses relating to face work and topic expansion can co-exist, indicating that it is difficult to draw a clear line between congruent uses and incongruent uses (cf. Halliday 1994). This can be associated with multi-functional uses.

The relatively small size of the corpora has influenced the way that the analysis has been carried out. Although the size of the NS corpus is twice the size of NNS corpus, it is still not large enough to allow the analyst to see in detail the emerging patterns of types of face work. For these reasons, the category of face work has not been analysed further to split it into sub-categories of different types of face work as proposed in Brown and Levinson (1987).

The results of the analysis show that the NS and the NNS use markers **you know** and **I mean** in a similar manner. That is, the categories of the uses of the markers are the same in both groups, although the NNS used 25 markers that did not match any categories in the NS data. Equally, there is not a noticeable difference between the frequencies of the uses of the markers in both groups.

Both groups also show some similarities and differences in using the markers **you know** and **I mean**. In topic expansion at local level, neither group used **I mean**, and both preferred to use exactly the same number of **you knows**. One important difference which appears to deserve further research is that the NNS tended to use slightly fewer markers in topic expansion at conversational level. This leads to the question whether the NNS do not signal topic expansion, or they use other strategies that the present study did not investigate. The NS show a tendency for preferring topic expansion by giving examples more often than do the NNS. When re-introducing the topic, the NNS appear to choose **I mean** without any lexical signal. One important finding is that the NNS used more markers in face work. This may, however, be due to the topics that they chose to talk about. In three conversations, the NNS talked about the communication difficulties that they experience as ESL speakers. It is possible that the NNS did not know the variety of markers that could be used in face work. Consequently, they tended to use those that they knew, including **you know** and **I mean**.

The Turkish ESL speaker subjects in this study appear to have quite a good ability to hold a conversation and express themselves relatively accurately and efficiently. Follow-up informal interviews revealed that subjects were aware of certain uses of the discourse markers **you know** and **I mean**, indicating that there is a relationship between the level of language awareness and the ability to use these discourse markers (cf. Wright and Bolitho 1997). However, further research would be needed to substantiate this.

3.6 Conclusions

The first step of the study, which is the analysis of the NS data, has revealed that the features of pragmalinguistics can have subtle functions. That is, they can function at an interpersonal level and textual level in terms of Halliday's (1994) three metafunctions. The results of the analysis have also shown that there is not a clear dividing line between these two types of functions of **you know** and **I mean**, as quite a number of occurrences of the markers have been found to function at both levels simultaneously. This feature of **you know** and **I mean** can have implications for developing an approach towards an understanding of how other pragmalinguistic features function. It certainly appears that multifunctionality is a feature of these discourse markers and that they reflect a more general tendency of pragmalinguistic features.

However, as will be seen later in the study, features of pragmalinguistics are either under-represented or mis-represented in EFL teacher training programme.

The multi-functional uses are hardly emphasized at all. However it would be useful for both EFL/ESL material writers and language teachers to be aware of how pragmalinguistic features function. An activity for the purpose of raise trainees' awareness about the use of **you know** and **I mean** is presented in Appendix C as an introductory exercise to the activities which will later be presented in Chapter 6.

Contrary to what might have been expected, this study has also shown that, given the opportunity, the NNS can acquire the appropriate use of these markers. This finding challenges the argument that it is necessary to teach the use of pragmalinguistic features such as discourse markers explicitly. The NNS in this study were successful in approximating their use of **you know** and **I mean** to their NS counterparts. However, it should be borne in mind that the NNS in this study have had the opportunity to spend some years in Britain. This exposure to the English language is likely to have had a positive effect on their linguistic competence. In addition, these subjects are postgraduate students who need to improve their English for academic as well as social and survival purposes. Therefore, they have had a strong motivation to acquire a high level of pragmalinguistic skills. Schmidt (1993) remarks that motivation is an important factor in learning pragmalinguistic features, as they are related to social events such as making friends from the L2 community and expressing oneself clearly. He further points out that learners who have a strong need to establish social ties with members of the L2 community are more likely to pay attention to

interpersonal features. Schmidt (1993) adds that these learners may be more successful in learning pragmalinguistic rules than in learning other aspects of language, for example rules of syntax.

The possibility of positive L1 influence on NNS speakers' success is very small, given that Turkish does not have discourse markers in clausal form which resemble the English **you know** and **I mean**. Although the Turkish language appears to have a higher number of markers than the English language does (cf. Özbek 1995), this is not likely to lead learners to use two particular clause form markers in English. Therefore, EFL learners and particularly teacher trainees need to have their attention drawn to the functions and the uses of these markers within the framework of a pragmalinguistic awareness raising course.

In contrast to the experience of my NNS-ESL subjects, the trainee teachers in Turkey are not normally exposed to authentic L2 language. As will be seen later, in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, they are exposed to either a type of bookish language from the texts which they study (which may have been modified and simplified) or the interlanguage that their peers and teachers speak. The literature indicates that NNS teachers typically cannot use such pragmalinguistic features as gambits, fillers and discourse markers (cf. Faerch and Kasper 1989). As has been pointed out earlier, the Turkish EFL environment does not provide much exposure to real language. In this respect, it is crucial that the teacher trainees

should be made aware of the functions of pragmalinguistic features so that they can raise their students' awareness about them.

In the recent literature, it has been pointed out that pragmatic knowledge, even in one's mother tongue, is not completely accessible, which makes research into acquisition of pragmatic knowledge even more difficult (Bialystok 1993; Kasper and Schmidt 1996). That is, it is not yet possible to describe all the rules of pragmatic use of language in a similar way to that of describing the rules of grammar. However, this does not mean that EFL/ESL learners do not need to learn about pragmalinguistics. Schmidt (1993) remarks that:

> ... conscious paying attention to the relevant features of input and attempting to analyse their significance in terms of deeper generalizations are both highly facilitative (p.35).

Although the procedures for using pragmatic competence are not yet completely accessible to us, it is now widely accepted as a part of language competence (cf. Canale 1983, Celce-Murcia 1995, Bachman and Palmer 1996). Therefore, pragmatic competence needs to be treated as an equal of other components of language competence. As we have seen in the case of **you know** and **I mean**, the form and the semantic meaning of these lexical and lexico-grammatical features are distinct from their pragmalinguistic functions, and yet they are interrelated as constitutive elements of the language system.

The present study argues that, by raising the pragmalinguistic awareness of learners, it could be possible to lead teacher trainees like those in Turkey to

notice and gradually use features such as discourse markers. Guiding learners to discover the uses of pragmalinguistic features would lead to their gaining greater awareness, which, it will be argued in Chapter 6, may result in learners using these features appropriately. However, developing an appropriate approach for helping to achieve this is crucial.

Chapter 4

The Role of Pragmalinguistics in ELT Teacher Education: a Turkish case study

Introduction

Research interest in pragmalinguistics and its implications for language learning has increased in recent years (e.g. Blum-Kulka et al 1989; Bialystok 1993; Carter 1998; Hoey 1991; Hyland 1996a; Hyland 1996b). Recent research has emphasized that pragmalinguistics needs to be included in the syllabuses and the pragmalinguistic awareness of learners needs to be raised. This is even more important in an EFL context, particularly, as the classroom context is the only source of the target language to which the learners are exposed (see also Lörscher and Schulze 1988). This is an important step towards representing pragmalinguistics in EFL education almost two decades after Lyons (1981) complained that research into pragmalinguistic features seemed to be excluded:

> It is not only the most obviously ritualized utterances - greetings, apologies, toasts, etc. - that have as their primary function that of oiling the wheels of social intercourse. Looked at from one point of view, this might be correctly identified as the most basic function of language, to which all others .... are subordinate.....Even coldly dispassionate scientific statements, whose expressive meaning is minimal, usually have as one of their aims that of winning friends and influencing people. In general, both what is said and the way in which it is said are determined, most obviously in everyday conversation, but in any context in which language is used, by the social relations obtaining among the participants and their social purposes.... (p. 143).

As a result in part of developing research in corpus linguistics, there has been a growing interest in research on pragmalinguistics. Large corpora, such as London-Lund, COBUILD and CANCODE have initiated many studies (e.g. Aijmer 1996; Carter and McCarthy 1997; Erman 1987; McCarthy and Carter 1997). This type of study helps us to decide about what to include in syllabuses.

However, including these pragmalinguistic issues in the syllabuses in the classroom has not been initiated fully. One reason for this, as the present study argues, is that pragmalinguistic issues are under-represented in teacher education programmes (cf. Liu 1998; Tedick and Walker 1994), many teachers are not aware of the uses of pragmalinguistic features (cf. Faerch and Kasper 1989; Liu 1998; Lörscher and Schulze 1988).

An EFL education system as a whole, with its teacher education programmes and EFL teaching in primary and/or secondary schools, can be considered as the components of an interrelated system. On the one hand, trainees, who are educated in teacher training departments, teach at school or at university level. On the other hand, some of the learners that they teach become trainees to replace them in the process. Thus, the quality of education that one generation receives is crucial in terms of the education of the following generations of EFL trainees (see Appendix D for background information on Turkish EFL teacher education). When there is a problem in one area of an EFL education system, its consequences will be felt in the other parts. Therefore, the system needs to be reviewed and modified in line with the changing requirements of EFL teaching and teacher training. An important part of this process must be improving the quality and quantity of the existing pre-service and in-service training programmes.

Teacher trainees need to learn all components of a foreign language as there is a high possibility that, whichever view of language they were taught, they will hold on to it with only small modifications. Although making use of experienced teachers' wealth of experience can be a very valuable practice (cf. Brown and McIntyre 1993), this may be restrictive when

these experienced teachers may not be motivated to follow current trends in EFL teaching, especially in countries like Turkey where in-service training in the Turkish EFL context is very limited. According to a British Council report (1989):

> On average, a Turkish teacher of English cannot attend a two week summer course more than once in his/her career....(as quoted in Hamiloglu 1997: 22).

Recently, INGED (English Language Education Association), has begun regular in-service courses that are run by the ELT departments of the universities in Ankara. The lecturers from these universities travel to the provinces. However, the course contents do not seem to indicate that improvement of any type of language component is included (see INGED News in Brief 1997). Similarly, the aims of the courses that are run by the Teacher Educators (TEDs) in Ankara do not appear to provide this type of help either. The summary of their aims is as follows:

> The attending TEDs agreed on the following aims while emphasizing the importance of team spirit and commitment:
>
> 1. Self development of the individual TEDs as well as the whole TEDs group via, for example:
>   * discussion of an issue (e.g. testing) as it applies to primary, secondary, tertiary institutions,
>   * helping new trainers; i.e. training inexperienced TEDs trainers, providing them with the opportunity and venue for training sessions.
> 2. Developing others by, for instance:
>   * doing sessions at other institutions
>   * being a resource
>   * acting as advisor
> 3. Socializing and updating each other
> 4. Networking in Ankara
> 5. Networking in Turkey
>
> .... (INGED News in Brief 1997: 8).

As can be seen, there is neither reference to improving trainees' and trainers' pragmalinguistic ability nor to improving overall language skills. "Self development" does not

appear to refer to improving language skills and raising trainees' and trainers' language awareness.

The degree of awareness about all aspects of language will also determine how receptive teachers will be when they are presented with new perspectives on language and language teaching (cf. Borg 1994; Liu 1998). As Wright (1994) points out, insights into language will not necessarily lead trainees or teachers to speak or to write better, but these are the key issues that will help them teach better. Wright (1994) further argues that:

> Knowing about language is not only a question of knowledge - it is also a matter of attitude/judgement/value. Insights into your own attitudes towards language, for example, can help you deepen your knowledge about language, in particular the nature of the choices between alternatives that speakers make (p. ix).

Similarly, as one of the components of language, pragmalinguistics should not be regarded as a luxury in teacher education. Neglect will present an incomplete view of language, and might lead trainees to develop misconceptions about the components of a language. In this respect, trainees need to gain insights into all aspects, including pragmalinguistics, so that they will be able to teach better in the future.

In this context, to what extent features of pragmalinguistic are taught in ELT teacher education programmes is important, as the graduates of these courses will be the future generations of EFL teachers. Accordingly, this study explores pragmalinguistics in terms of current issues in the field of applied linguistics and EFL education. The degree of awareness of teachers about different aspects of language might influence decisions that are made about the extent to which pragmalinguistics should be represented in course materials. This chapter investigates how far Turkish EFL education includes pragmalinguistics and where Turkish

ELT teacher education programmes place it amongst the other aspects of language. Accordingly, it explores pragmalinguistics in terms of the current issues in the field of applied linguistics and EFL teaching.

The chapter is organized as follows. In section 4.1, recent developments in TEFL are summarized in terms of their approach towards pragmalinguistics. Section 4.2 considers the representation of pragmalinguistics in EFL textbooks. The section also gives a couple of examples of misrepresentation of pragmalinguistics from Turkish EFL textbooks. Section 4.3 looks at the place of pragmalinguistics in teacher education, while section 4.4 introduces three small studies which were carried out in two Turkish EFL teacher education departments. Section 4.4.1 presents the first study, that is a set of classroom observations that took place in a teacher education department in the city of Bursa, in Turkey. Section 4.4.2 presents the second study, which is the analysis of interviews with ELT Methodology teachers. Section 4.4.3 presents the third study, that is the analysis of a set of questionnaire items to explore trainees' language awareness and their attitudes and perceptions towards language and language learning. Section 4.5 summarizes the findings and draws general conclusions.

4.1 Recent Developments in TEFL

With the development of the Communicative Approach, raising awareness about pragmalinguistic features has been included more widely in teaching syllabuses. However, although CA "brought a more comprehensive view of language teaching and learning" (Dubin and Olshtain 1986: 88), it did not bring with it a particular approach to raising

pragmalinguistic awareness of learners. Indeed, since the focus in communicative teaching was not on the language itself, the idea developed in some quarters that one should "take care of the content and let the language take care of itself" (Stern 1992: 12). This kind of CA orthodoxy which focuses exclusively on fluency and content appears to have prevented teachers from considering the role of different aspects of language in real communication. The outcomes of such risk taking have been observed in language classes for decades. While CA encourages interaction in classroom via role plays and other simulations, this appears to be done without any reference to raising language awareness.

As has already been mentioned, the rapidly developing field of corpus linguistics has explored pragmalinguistics as well as other aspects of language. Recent research has highlighted that pragmalinguistic features have important and complex functions. Making use of this large and growing body of information in teaching and particularly in teacher education is essential. Integrating new research findings into teacher education programmes becomes even more crucial in teaching situations where in-service teacher education has not yet become institutionalised. However, the application of the results of pragmalinguistic research for language teaching is still in its infancy. It is hoped that the present study will make a contribution towards this development.

As research in EFL/ESL has advanced, the disadvantages of having a language teaching approach that was overridingly based on one notion, communication, has become clear. It has become widely accepted that no single approach could meet all the requirements of teaching and learning. Carter (1998) points out that:

> In spite of numerous pedagogic advantages, communicative teaching has not encouraged in students habits of observation, noticing, or conscious exploration of grammatical forms and function (p.51).

He goes on to argue that learning a language is partly "understanding tendencies, variable rules, and choices according to context and interpersonal relations" (p. 52).

Recently, CA has evolved into what the literature tends to refer to as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) (Dörnyei and Thurrell 1994; McCarthy and Carter 1995). According to CLT, languages are now being taught 'communicatively' to enable learners to make appropriate choices in different contexts. This type of teaching is the outcome of a more 'eclectic view'(Savignon 1991). This eclectic view guides the learners to discover the grammar of the language (G. Thompson 1996a) and raises learners' awareness of certain aspects of language such as the differences between spoken and written communication (*ibid.*).

However, the latest implications of this evolution may not have reached some teachers who work in countries where little research is done in this field. Different interpretations of the notion of communication in CLT have led some professionals to develop certain misconceptions about how CLT may be exploited. For example, G. Thompson (1996b) believes that most teachers have the linguistic means to cope with the demands of CLT. However, they need to learn how to make use of their resources. This partly requires a language awareness that guides teachers on how aspects of language are related and how features of language can be presented in relation to one another. In doing this, they need to become more aware of their strengths and weaknesses (cf. Edge 1988; Wright 1990 and

1991). This type of awareness raising appears to be more related to learning about language and linguistics than language proficiency (see also Chapter 6.4).

Both CA and CLT appear to have taken it for granted that learners will be able to pick up the social functions of language while practising in the classroom (Dörnyei and Thurrell 1994; Wolfson 1989; see also Richards 1990). In other words, the importance of teaching about pragmalinguistics does not seem to have been regarded as part of an EFL education. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that recent research has revealed that even advanced learners fail to interpret and produce features pragmalinguistics appropriately (Blum-Kulka 1990; Tarone and Swain 1995). Blum-Kulka (1990) remarks that:

> ....even fairly advanced learners' speech acts regularly deviate from target language conventionality patterns and may fail to convey the intended illocutionary point or politeness value (p. 255).

This has led researchers to re-consider the crucial place of pragmalinguistics in interaction and, thus, in language teaching (cf. Carter and McCarthy 1995). Blum-Kulka (1990) defines some basic notions in language learning that are associated with the ability to use features of pragmalinguistics. These are:

> ....the ability to infer communicative intentions from indirect utterances, the ability to realise speech acts in non-explicit ways and general sensitivity to contextual constraints in the choice of modes of performance.... (p. 255).

For example, asking *questions* to request information or services involves both knowing how to perform a request in its less face-threatening form and having the ability to use lexico-grammatical resources appropriately in a given context (cf. Bialystok 1993). Such forms are usually conventionalized and cannot be produced simply by manipulating one's grammatical

knowledge. Thus, learners have to learn about these conventional forms because, as Clear (1987) comments:

> The fact remains .... that politeness is conveyed more through conventional formulae than through creative manipulation of grammatical and lexical features (p.69).

Linguistic realisations of requests, like those of many other language functions, have become conventionalized. Assuming that any learner could produce this type of conventionalized language by making use of his/her knowledge of grammar and vocabulary appears to be misleading (see Chapter 5.5.4). That is, it is important to understand the effects of context on linguistic choice (see Chapter 2). Learners may know explicit categories of pragmalinguistic features such as politeness markers; however, they may fail to use them appropriately as they have not yet developed an understanding of the relation between these forms and the context of situation (see for example Chapter 5.5).

Any type of teaching based on the assumption that learners will notice these features without any form of awareness raising could result in a failure to acquire a good command of conventional language. Consequently, learners may resort to transfer from L1 and/or inventing their own forms (Blum-Kulka 1990; Scotton and Bernstein 1988; Trosborg 1987; Williams 1988) (see also Chapter 5.5). These strategies can result in odd realizations of speech functions that can potentially diminish the success of communication (Thomas 1983;1984). In addition, there is always a possibility that these odd forms will become "fossilized" (Selinker 1972) in the learners' language (cf. Roberts et al 1992; Wales 1993). That is, learners may become so accustomed to using these non-standard forms that it

becomes nearly impossible for them to stop using these forms, even though they come to know that they are not correct.

Language learning in an environment where there is no real context of situation in which to use the target language makes the process even more difficult. Therefore, representing features that are closely related to the context of situation and the regulating principles and norms (see chapter 2) is crucial in raising pragmalinguistic awareness.

Perhaps the most difficult part of the research into pragmalinguistics in EFL education is that it requires an in-depth analysis and a holistic view of language in order to cope with complex usages. For example, Hyland (1996a) investigates the use of 'quite' in a variety of mediums, such as lectures, academic textbooks, academic journals, the Microconcord newspaper corpus, NS and NNS exam scripts, informal written registers and spoken data. He also examines various grammar books and textbooks closely. His findings indicate that the published materials fail to give a sufficient amount of information on the complex uses of 'quite'. Hyland explains that the complexity poses particular difficulties for learners:

> .... because *quite* is particularly deceptive, and relatively unusual, in being able to convey two apparently contradictory degrees of commitment. That is, it can be used both as a booster and as a hedge (*ibid.* p. 94).

However, learners tend to assume that assigning a single meaning to a word and using it in any context is acceptable. As Hyland (1996a) points out:

> .... they find it troublesome that the semantic values of most terms are subject to pragmatic and contextual constraints which can alter their meanings (p. 94).

Thus, for learners, 'quite' presents two types of challenge: using it appropriately and interpreting it correctly. To see whether the way it is interpreted in real-world reading and listening showed any similarities to the descriptions in pedagogical grammars, Hyland designed a questionnaire to investigate both NS and NNS judgements. Hyland concludes that the use of 'quite' does not allow an "all or nothing" type of reading (1996a:106). It has to be accepted as a "fuzzy concept" (1996a: 106). He also argues that 'quite' has two functions - referential and interpersonal- which may overlap, and which he refers to as "polypragmatic" (p.106). He also asserts that ESL teaching materials should "....include activities which generate more awareness of how it is used in real texts" (p. 106), and points out that such awareness will help learners gain greater control over the words and phrases that are used to express attitudes.

As seen in Hyland (1996a), features of pragmalinguistics are difficult language points to teach and to learn (see also Thomas 1983, 1984; Valdman 1992). Even if learners know the semantic meaning and usage of a certain feature, they may fail to use it appropriately in every context. For example, White (1993) found that Japanese speakers of English tended to overuse the politeness marker 'please'. Moreover, they appeared to use it with an imperative sentence form (see also Chapter 5.5.2). When subjects were asked retrospectively why they had behaved in such a way, they said that they were trying to be 'polite'. White (1993) concludes that the subjects' knowledge about 'please' as a politeness marker was not sufficient to produce polite behaviour and that its use needed to be adequately contextualized in teaching.

What makes it difficult to talk about this phenomenon is that when a communicative goal cannot be achieved due to the speaker's inadequate pragmalinguistic knowledge, teachers could have difficulty in tracing the problem back to its precise roots (cf. Svartvik 1980). Pragmalinguistically inappropriate usage does not lend itself to correction easily as would be the case with an unacceptable grammatical structure (cf. Svartvik 1980; Takahashi 1996). As there are more than one form for realizing one function, it is even more difficult for NNS teachers to understand and guide their students to understand that certain forms are more appropriate in one context of situation than the others. This appears to require a high level of pragmalinguistic awareness in teachers. Moreover, in EFL situations both NS and NNS teachers may not be aware of the pitfalls of this type of pragmalinguistic clash (cf. Davies 1987). Therefore, it is vital that EFL teachers become well equipped with awareness of different aspects of language.

This section has summarized recent developments in TEFL and the place of pragmalinguistics in these developments. It has been mentioned that, although the Communicative Approach introduced teaching of certain features of pragmalinguistics, it failed to solve all problems as it was based on one concept: being 'communicative' and did not encourage awareness raising. Over time, CA has evolved into the more eclectic Communicative Language Teaching (CLT). However, it has been argued (e.g. Carter 1998) that both CA and CLT failed to represent pragmalinguistics as a component of language but only as an issue that can be touched upon when the need arises (see also Study 2 in Chapter 4.4.2). Nevertheless, research has shown that even advanced learners may experience pragmatic failure. In particular, the multi-functional use of pragmalinguistic features can pose

a serious difficulty. Therefore, this section has argued that pragmalinguistics should be included teaching syllabuses and materials.

4.2 Representation of Pragmalinguistic Features in EFL Textbooks

Representation of language features in foreign language textbooks has been scrutinized in the literature. Holmes (1988) investigates the expressions that are used to indicate doubt and certainty, basing her study on different corpora. She also examines current textbooks and concludes that very few of them give accurate information on the use of those modal verbs and adverbials that are used to express doubt and certainty. Later, S. E. Thompson (1995) looks at the relationship between intonation and communicative intentions. She examines current published EFL teaching materials and finds that intonation is under-represented in these materials. That is, these materials fall short in giving crucial information on expressing certain pragmalinguistic intonational features to EFL learners. Similarly, Carter (1998) examines teaching materials to find to what extent they represent real English. He compares examples of dialogues with the findings of research that is based on CANCODE.

Carter (1998) points out that many of the examples of question and answer sequences that were found in CANCODE have three part exchanges as opposed to the two part exchanges which appear in published teaching materials. However, Carter adds that, in teaching materials that were based on other corpora such as COBUILD, exchanges have three parts. The third part is the follow up move (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). Carter (1998) remarks that the two-part exchange is normally followed with conventionally fixed phrases such as "Really?", "That's interesting" and "That's lovely" (p. 44). He also remarks that, without a commentary third part, dialogues sound stilted. A brief examination of Turkish EFL

textbooks shows a similar approach towards this type of interactive linguistic features. For example, in Yalçinkaya et al (1996), fictitious characters make the following exchange:

> A: Jack, what a nice tie! What is it made of?
> J: Thanks. It is made of silk (p. 1).

As Carter (1998) points out, normally, a third sequence such as "That's lovely" follows this type of interaction. However, in this example, A does not make any comment.

The most common types of these formulaic expressions (Coulmas 1981), such as the question "How are you?" and its answer "I am very well thank you, and you?" are included in most textbooks (Tarone and Yule 1989; Williams 1988), including Turkish EFL textbooks. However, the view presented in EFL materials may be restrictive, since such common functions may well be realized by several different forms. For example, in British English forms such as "How is it going?" or 'How's things?' are quite commonly used (see Chapter 5.5.5).

As mentioned in chapter 2, it is possible to analyse a conversational interaction into its stages such as the greeting - responding pair that are referred to as *openings* and the pairs of bidding good-bye that are referred to as *closings* (Aston 1995; Bardovi-Harlig et al 1991; Hartford et al 1992; Schegloff 1968). Hoey (1991) remarks that these "smooth the conversational path" (*ibid.* p. 67). One of the contexts where they are used very frequently is the service encounter (Eggins and Slade 1997). For example, Aston (1995) investigates how people say "thank you / thanks" in closing service encounters in both Italian and English in a bookstore context when the transaction cannot be completed because the particular book is out of stock. Aston finds that "thank you/thanks" indicates that the short encounter is ending

and the customer is exiting the role relationship as well as expressing gratitude towards the shop assistant. It seems likely that a bookstore is not the only context where "thank you/thanks" signifies the end phase of a service encounter. Thus, thanking is not only done to express gratitude but has a functional meaning in interaction: to close the frame of encounters. Aston (1995) suggests that EFL pedagogy should pay greater attention to this kind of conversational management procedure.

It appears that these types of pragmalinguistic features of service encounters have not been exploited sufficiently in Turkish EFL teaching. Some dialogues that appear in Turkish EFL books are truncated for the purposes of teaching certain structures. That is, dialogues are made up of certain structures without paying attention to whether they are appropriate or not in the given context. Although service encounters are one of the most common situations in daily life, a representative Turkish EFL textbook for intermediate students (Dikmen et al 1994a), surprisingly has only one example of this kind, which completely lacks "frozen" pairs (Hoey 1991):

> Mr. Brown: I want two tins of paint, please.
> Shopkeeper: What colour?
> Mr. Brown: White, please. I want to paint my kitchen. (*ibid* p.7)
> (Contextual clue: a drawn picture of two men in front of shelves in a paint store.)

The shopkeeper's question "What colour?" and Mr. Brown's answer "White please" appear to be expected in a store where tins of paint were sold. However, it is interesting to see that the dialogue is very short and sounds as if it starts in the middle of the interaction since there are no indications that these two men have greeted each other. Moreover, the reader is not given information about what kind of words Mr. Brown and the shopkeeper exchange before and after Mr. Brown pays for the paint. This approach leaves the learners unaware of

acceptable ways of opening and ending an interaction (Bardovi-Harlig et al 1991; see also Chapter 5.5.3).

In the context of purchasing two tins of paint, the action is composed of a series of social actions. One of these is the opening stage of the interaction and another is the closing stage. Amongst many others, these are actually the most predictable ones (Hoey 1991), and therefore lend themselves to teaching more readily than unpredictable ones (Halliday 1978). This appears to suggest that, with careful analysis of conventional language functions, it is possible to choose the most frequent and accessible types.

However, to make learners understand that there is another world beyond the artificial contexts that textbooks create is not an easy task to achieve. Crystal (1981) criticizes the way in which language is represented in EFL textbooks:

> People in textbooks ... are not allowed to tell long and unfunny jokes, to get irritable or to lose their temper, to gossip (especially about other people), to speak with their mouths full, to talk nonsense, or swear (even mildly). They do not get all mixed up while they are speaking, forget what they wanted to say, hesitate, make grammatical mistakes, argue erratically or illogically, use words vaguely, get interrupted, talk at the same time, switch speech styles, fail to understand, or manipulate the rules of the language to suit themselves. In other words, they are not *real* (1981:92).

That EFL textbooks do not reflect real life language use does not seem to be unique to Turkish EFL education only. Ventola (1989) remarks that in Finland only those textbooks for foreign language courses that have been approved by the governmental authorities may be used (just as in Turkish State schools). Many of these textbooks are written by a committee, the members of which are usually a few chosen educationalists and NS advisors. It is the case in both countries that applied linguists are not usually invited to join these

committees (cf. Ventola 1989). It seems that there is an urgent need for the authorities to understand the necessity for a second expert opinion on writing EFL materials.

This section has argued that pragmalinguistics is under-represented in EFL textbooks. This appears to result in having truncated dialogues which do not represent real English language in textbooks. It has also been pointed out that one of the reasons for this weakness is that textbook writers rely on intuitions and prioritise educational concerns to the neglect of applied linguistic information. The next section will deal with the implications of this for teacher education.

4.3 Implications for Teacher Education: a holistic view of EFL education

To show the under-representation of pragmalinguistics in teacher education courses, the course designs for two Turkish teacher education programmes (Uludag University and the Middle East Technical University) will now be considered. The Middle East Technical University (METU), which is in Ankara, is one of the most established universities in Turkey. It was founded with U.S. aid, and technical and academic support. Therefore, it has always been influenced by the American perspective in science and teaching. Living in the capital, the trainees and trainers at METU benefit from facilities that a modern city can offer such as richer libraries, bookstores that stock a variety of books and textbooks in English, and the facilities at the British and the American Consulates. However, Uludag University, which is located in an industrial city, Bursa, is not as established as METU. The city does not offer as many facilities as Ankara does. On the other hand, facilities are far better compared to what one can find in a provincial town in the interior of Anatolia. Certainly, the geographic

proximity of Bursa to Istanbul makes things easier for anyone who would like to benefit from better facilities in this cosmopolitan city.

In order to give the reader an idea about the type of education that these two programmes offer, a copy of their programme designs is presented in Appendices D and E. As can be seen from the programme designs of the two departments, little emphasis is placed on developing the trainees' speaking skills. The number of teaching hours is limited to three per week in the first and second years at Uludag University and this is then replaced with elective courses and literature classes in the third and the fourth years.

As can be seen in Appendix F, the elective courses that are offered concentrate on three areas: literature courses, courses on ELT and courses on comparative linguistics. In theory, trainees can be guided towards any one of these three routes. However, the almost inevitable route seems to be literature, as the trainees are offered many courses on this in comparison with the relatively small number of ELT Methodology courses and courses on comparative language analysis. These ELT Methodology courses are normally limited to giving an account of the historical development of language teaching methodologies and a brief introduction to teaching aids (e.g. using audio-visuals) and their use in ELT teaching. The rest of the ELT Methodology course takes place in secondary schools. Each trainee is assigned to observe classes for a set amount of hours. Following this, each trainee teaches a few classes during which they are observed by the class teacher and a trainer. Trainees are also asked to write an observation report. Normally, trainees do not receive systematic feedback from either the class teacher or the trainer about their performance during practice. As can be seen, ELT Methodology courses have limited scope and do not appear to be

exploited to the full in the Turkish teacher training programmes. For a detailed account of ELT Methodology courses in a Turkish teacher training programme see D. Yilmaz (1998).

A close look at the course programmes raises two questions: firstly, to what extent are features of pragmalinguistics taught in these programmes, and, secondly, what information gained from recent research is included in these programmes. The answers obviously depend on the aims of the syllabus. However, in a teacher education programme, pragmalinguistics needs to have an equal share of time in the course design. It also depends to what extent teacher trainees have already learned about this aspect and to what extent they can use these features successfully. In order to find out about these issues, a series of empirical studies was performed. These studies are reported in the next section.

4.4 Three Studies for Exploring the Teacher Training Programmes in a Turkish Context

These studies, which were preliminary and exploratory in nature, were designed to provide information about Turkish EFL teacher education programmes, Turkish teacher trainers' attitudes toward pragmalinguistics, and Turkish trainees' perceptions and attitudes towards learning different aspects of language. The study aimed to approach the issue from different aspects. For this purpose, different data collection techniques were adopted. It was intended that the data from each part of the study would complement each other to provide a balanced view of the current situation. For example, although classroom observation elicited a wealth of information about the types of approach that the teachers used and the place of pragmalinguistics in a speaking skills course, it did not provide the observer with sufficient

information about the main aims of the course and its place within the training programme. Therefore, other information, such as interviews with class teachers and later interviews with the ELT Methodology lecturers, filled in the gaps in the information that was gathered from the observation. Finally, in order to elicit information about the trainees' perceptions of the place of speaking skills in language learning and teaching and about their attitudes towards language learning, the study used a quantitative data collection technique. A questionnaire was administered to the trainees in two teacher training departments. All three sources of information - observation, interviews and questionnaire- are useful for the study to establish the present place of the pragmalinguistics in Turkish teacher training programmes.

During the observation a check-list from Nunan (1990) (see Appendix M) was used as a reference frame. The initial questions were: What were the aims of the speaking skills course? and What was the place of pragmalinguistics in the speaking skills course? Two different Speaking skills classes were observed to see whether activities relating to pragmalinguistics were included. Speaking skills classes were considered the ideal context to observe the ability of trainees to use features of pragmalinguistics, since they provide one of the few opportunities for the trainees to practise their productive skills in English. The trainees were all first year students who had just started the first semester. The trainees and teacher had therefore not known each other for long. Classroom data was analysed by investigating the linguistic / functional and communicational aims of the speaking skills course. This established the basis for eliciting information in later parts of the study. However, the information which was elicited during the observation sessions was not sufficient to deduce the teachers' beliefs about the nature of language learning. At this point, follow-up interviews with teachers help to compensate for this. Unfortunately, one of the

teachers in the present study declined to be interviewed formally. This may reflect the teacher's attitude towards an analytical approach, such as that used in the present study, to examine the existing training programmes. It may also indicate the kind of insecurity which is experienced by the teachers who work in an insufficiently focused teacher training programme.

The observations were done in a "naturalistic" way (McDonough and McDonough 1997: 114) to see "what happens" (p. 268). McDonough and McDonough (1997) describe this approach as follows:

> The essential feature of this approach is to act as a 'fly on the wall' and, where possible, not at all to influence normally occurring patterns of instruction and interaction (p. 268).

That is, the observer did her best not to interfere with the regular procedures during the classes. Obviously, her existence in the classroom must have put pressure on the teachers and distracted the trainees to some extent (cf. Wragg 1994). The possibilities of contaminating the observatory data have been discussed in Allwright and Bailey (1991) in detail. Both the teachers and the trainees were informed of the reason why the observer was present in their class. However, this may still not have helped teachers and trainees to overcome their anxiety about having a stranger in the class.

This exploratory step was crucial for the study as the following steps were based on the experience and the information that was gained from it. However, the classroom observations were not the only source of information. The lecturers who taught the Speaking Skills courses were interviewed during the observation period to elicit their opinions about

the place of pragmalinguistics in language teaching and teacher education. The questions which were asked in the interviews were based on the observations, and they had been piloted earlier in the same institution in interviews with one of the teachers whose classes were observed and the former deputy head in the same teacher training department.

This observation period provided the researcher with valuable information about the trainees' and the trainers' stance towards language learning and teaching. To investigate this aspect in detail, a set of questions about the trainees' attitudes and perceptions towards language learning and teaching was included in the questionnaire. Subsequently, 20 of those trainees who answered the questionnaire were interviewed to explore their perceptions of pragmalinguistics and their attitudes towards language teaching and learning (see chapter 4.4.3). The questions in the questionnaire and the interview questions were partly based on the information that was gained during the observation period.

As will be seen later, the study proposes a set of activities for the purposes of raising awareness about pragmalinguistics (Chapter 6). Before doing this, the study had to find out whether pragmalinguistics was included in the programmes and, if it was included, to what extent it was represented. The study also aimed to find out whether pragmalinguistics is regarded as an important aspect of language in the teacher training programmes. For these reasons, the observations and the interviews with the teacher trainers who taught the observed lessons provided crucial information for the researcher to explore the area of teacher training and language teaching in training programmes in a Turkish context.

4.4.1 Study 1: a case study of a speaking skills course in an EFL teacher education programme in a Turkish University

To find out whether the Turkish trainees were exposed to any type of use of pragmalinguistic features, 20 hours of classroom observations (10 hours of which were audio-recorded) of two classes at Uludag University were carried out. The subjects were first year trainees. The trainees were placed according to their score in the proficiency exam taken when they started the programme. In one class the number of students was 28, and in the second 33. During this period, regrettably, one of the two lecturers involved declined to be interviewed formally. However, she agreed to answer my questions informally following the observation, though this conversation was not recorded. The second lecturer was interviewed, and the interview was recorded.

The recorded data and observation notes were analysed to identify certain language points where trainees seemed to be weak during the observation period: for example, instances of feedback about pragmatic failure caused by the trainees' lack of language competence. Another area of analysis focused on cross-cultural comparison of expressing certain things in Turkish and in English, and feedback about particular features or L1 transfer.

4.4.1.1 Analysis of Classroom Observations

The analysis of the classroom observations and the interviews with trainers was based on the check-list from Nunan (1990) (see Appendix M). The information which was gained from this analysis was used to prepare a set of interview questions for ELT lecturers (see Chapter 4.4.2).

In the analysis, following Peck (1988), the objects of study were considered as normal categories of teaching, such as oral presentations. These categories were examined to see whether they were utilized to teach pragmalinguistics as well as other language features such as grammar rules and correct pronunciation of words. The unit of analysis was considered to be "the part of a lesson" (Peck 1988). For example, the oral presentation session was taken as a part of each lesson. Later, these parts were categorised and a common pattern of steps in the lesson emerged for each class (see figures 4.1 and 4.2 below). Following this, each category was looked at in terms of the extent to which pragmalinguistics was represented. Since few instances of mentioning the use of pragmalinguistic features were observed, the opportunities that arose but were not utilized were noted, so that they could be described and discussed in terms of how they could have been exploited for the purposes of raising pragmalinguistic awareness (cf. McDonough and McDonough 1997).

The check list below was chosen to analyse the interviews with the teachers. The first item in the list, 'linguistic objectives of the lesson' was expected to include pragmalinguistic aspects of language. Equally, the next item, 'functional/ communicative objectives of the lesson', was expected to represent the functions of pragmalinguistic features in communication. The items were then analysed in terms of the degree of the representation of pragmalinguistics. The trainers' beliefs about the nature of language learning (item 4) was important in order to find about whether they see all aspects of language as an integrated part of the teaching system. As mentioned before, steps in the structure of a lesson were useful to find the parts of each lesson. These parts were then analysed in terms of the degree of the representation of pragmalinguistics.

As will be seen later in chapter 4.4.2, the general tendency appears to be that pragmalinguistics is not perceived as being as important as other aspects, since these trainees will only teach at secondary level or teach reading and writing skills in EAP classes. That is, part of the reason for the under-representation of pragmalinguistics appears to be to be that pragmalinguistics was not perceived as one of the components of language, but as a separate aspect which was outside the scope of an EFL syllabus. This attitude was supported by the findings from the later interviews with the ELT Methodology lecturers.

Class 1

1) Linguistic Objectives of the Lesson

It seemed that main linguistic objective was to encourage the trainees to speak in English. This appears to aim to increase trainee's fluency. In each lesson, 2 or 3 trainees delivered a presentation on a topic that they had chosen.

In terms of linguistic objectives, the mistakes that trainees made were striking. For example, the trainees' pronunciation appeared to be heavily influenced by the Turkish phonetic system. Despite this fact very little linguistic correction from the teacher was observed. Indeed, peers often corrected each other, for example by interrupting the speakers and asking them to repeat or explain meanings and spell the words. The requests for clarification were made by direct WH-questions. The trainees did not tend to use indirect question forms such as "Could you tell us what it means? or "Can you please spell the word?". They appeared to prefer direct questions such as "What does it mean?" though they made their Turkish requests by using indirect forms such as 'Biraz daha aciklarmisin?' (Will you explain a bit more?) and 'Arkadakiler duyamiyor' 'We cannot hear you'. Indirect requests seem to have been made in

Turkish. Such situations that create an opportunity to use pragmalinguistic knowledge could have been exploited better not only to teach how to make a request by using indirect strategies but also how to respond to a request.

Teaching of the skills that are related to the delivery of presentations appeared to be ignored. Trainees wrote up a text before giving their speeches. The text was handed in just before delivering the presentations. For those who made an effort to prepare their speech, writing up the text should have been very good practice. Some trainees seem to have copied a text from published material, but the teacher did not seem to mind this. The trainees did not appear to see the benefits of the oral presentation sessions. In this sense, the activity failed to reach one of its linguistic objectives.

2) Functional/Communicative Objectives of the Lesson:

One of the functional objectives of the lesson seemed to be learning how to make a presentation on a topic of their choice. However, skills related to giving a presentation on a sophisticated topic were not taught directly. Those who were really committed to the task might have thought about how to do the job properly. This was obvious in some presentations which sounded very well planned, interactive and informative. The quality of the presentation influences the quality of the following discussion. For example, a trainee finished her talk about the forests with a prompting question: What must be done to protect forests and prevent fires? The teacher repeated the question. Then, trainees started to give their opinions without having been nominated:

S1: But what must be done to protect the forests and prevent forest fire?
T: Yes. What must we do? yes.
S2: There are some fire ways in forest we should (inaudible)

S3: In the East side of the Turkey it is very cold in e-e (in Turkish-kisin neydi?-what's in winter-)
students: winter
S3: winter [T: mhm] and they must be (inaudible) heat [T: get warm] and they don't e-e (in Turkish- biraz dusununeyim sonra konusurum -let me think a bit I will speak later-).
(laughter)
S4: Farmers burn the forest so they have more fields to farm they think that so they burn
T: mhm
S5: We prefer e-e always the fireman and other thing (.) to (in Turkish -söndürmek neydi?- What's to extinguish?)
students: to put out
S5: put out the fire I think
T: mhm

Sometimes, a presentation turned into a discussion with the help of questions either from the speakers or from the audience, or from both. At times, the students did not agree with each other on some issues as seen in the example below:

In the extract below a speaker talks about capital punishment. She argues that it is against human rights. She also argues that society has changed a great deal recently. People do not approve of capital punishment. She presents her talk interactively by asking questions and getting feedback from the audience.

The extract starts with the presenter's question whether those who were hanged in the past fell victim by mistake or whether the value judgements of the society have changed.

Speaker: Do they fall a victim by mistake or worth rate changed in our society? What do you think of this subject?
audience: (inaudible)
Speaker: Do they fall a victim by mistake or worth rate changed in our society?[Turkish translation of the question by the speaker.]
(.)
S1: What //(inaudible)// changed
S2: //(inaudible)//
S3: [in Turkish] ne bakimdan mi degisti (in what respect it has changed?)

Speaker: [in Turkish] yani deger yargilari insanlarin düsünceleri (I mean value judgements people's ideas)
S1: Ama ne konuda yani onu anlayamadim? (but about what you know what I didn't understand)
Speaker: //(inaudible)//
S3: //(inaudible)//
(.)
Speaker: [in Turkish] Devam edeyim mi? (shall I carry on?)
S4: I think this for taking erm [in Turkish 'oy'] [S1: vote] [S2: vote] [T: vote] for taking vote that's for their [in Turkish 'siyasi'] [S1: political] [T: political aims] for the vote
T: Yes S5
S5: erm it is not a great (inaudible) that hang a person for his political ideas for his thinking so I think our politicians erm agreed that it is not good for our society to hang a person for his idea I think so not only for the vote erm they realized erm they realized the importance of a person [T: mhm] I think so they have (inaudible) not to (inaudible) people
T: mhm
S1: I think it's not for votes or anything else because of America and Europe because they always talk about human rights and to cover that (.) erm they change this change this that's the main reason
S5: to enter erm the European Council European countries told Turkey you have to change your human rights you have to make you have to make that democracy in Turkey if you don't do this we don't take you to the European Council maybe they make for this we don't know
T: Yes S6
S6: I that this is too wrong because if you (inaudible) something to somebody in this way this continues strongly in Turkey this (inaudible)
Speaker: lots of questions mark in my mind erm everyone mention human rights but where are they //we hanged people//
S2: //in Turkey//
S1: //every where // everyone says there are no human rights in Turkey I don't see what more they can want total anarchy only (.) there is no country like in Turkey there are one might think I think in Turkey there are more human rights in any other country
Speaker: what about death penalty in Turkey
S1: why everywhere death penalty there is
Speaker: //inaudible//
S7: //inaudible//
S8: //inaudible//
S1: //there are// in Germany everywhere (.) what they are not talking about that they are killing their they have this thing I mean the law but they only they use erm they use this just they use Turkey as they wanted to do
T: so you've seen different countries
S1: yes
T: which countries you've seen
S1: I've seen Germany [T: mhm] I am I am coming from Yugoslavia [T: mhm] and everywhere same
T: so he has seen different counties so he can make a comparison
(S5 continues)

While they discussed, the teacher adopted a mediating role, which appeared to help in developing discussion skills. She acted as a chair person who nominated the participants. This created an opportunity for the trainees to use language for a purpose and to communicate their opinions. In this sense, the lesson reached its functional and communicative aims to some extent by providing an environment for trainees to practise their English. However, this situation would probably have been better exploited if the trainees, as speakers and as a member of audience, had been made aware of the uses of the interpersonal features in discussions such as linguistic strategies for taking a turn, holding a turn and expressing one's counter argument politely (Brown and Levinson 1987). Clearly, these linguistic strategies exist in the trainee's L1 competence (see Chapter 7 for further discussion). However, the linguistic realizations of such strategies may well differ between L1 and L2. Unfortunatelly, to my knowledge no studies of Turkish conversational strategies exist to allow comparison.

3) Steps in the Lesson(s)

1-Opening
2-Greeting *(done in Turkish)*
3- Activity: There or four speakers presented talk on the topic of their choice.
Closing: Talking about the presentations for the following lesson

Figure 4.1: Steps in a typical Speaking Skills lesson in class 1

The lessons ended with talking about the presentations for the next session. For this, the trainer switched to Turkish. The farewell was also done in Turkish.

4) The Trainer's Beliefs about the Nature of Learning:

In the informal interview the teacher said that a speaking class was the place to give students the chance to speak. Accuracy was not very important so long as students could express themselves in English, since these teacher trainees are not trained to talk to native speakers in Britain. They are trained to teach English to secondary school students in Turkey. Therefore, there are some aspects of language that they do not need to learn about. According to this lecturer, these students are far too advanced to work on situational role plays to learn some contextual functions of language. They are assumed to have already learned these in secondary school. What they need is to practise to improve their speaking skills. However, she did not explain what type of speaking skills she referred to. Since she declined to give a formal interview which could have been recorded, it is not possible to give direct quotes from the interview.

Class 2[5]

1) Linguistic Objectives of the Lesson:

As the trainer agreed herself in the interview, the lesson did not have linguistic objectives:

T2: linguistic objectives of the lesson so far I haven't been doing anything like that in my lessons [I: yeah (inaudible)] but I am planning next semester to do that and for a speaking class [I: (inaudible)] linguistic objectives are gonna be just er problem areas in pronunciation.... But I was thinking (.) this semester I've spent the whole class on fluency and I get one of them tàlk [I: mhm] as much as possible and just (.) the language but I realised that I also have to spend some time on accuracy and do pronunciation drills and so they feel like (.) [I: yeah] I'm giving them something (.) you know [I: yeah] so that they can have the first 45 minutes to (.) erm to get something from me [I: mm] (.) especially about

[5] The teacher is a native speaker.

the language and then second half after the break do fluency and just maybe at that point they will be ready to start talking about [I: yeah] whatever topic for the day

The general purpose of this course aims to provide an environment for the trainees to practise their English and improve their fluency. Like the previous one, the primary concern of this class was to encourage the students to speak in English. Tasks were supposed to create a reason to speak in English, but the students insisted on speaking in Turkish with each other. In this sense, the primary linguistic objective of the lesson was not achieved fully.

The trainer made a great effort to eradicate the students' mistakes. She took notes of the various mistakes that the trainees made during the classes. At the end of each session, she talked about these mistakes, corrected pronunciation mistakes and emphasized the importance of stress and intonation. However, correction remained limited to the pronunciation mistakes and lexical mistakes on many occasions. Appropriacy mistakes appeared to be left without correction. This may give the trainees an 'unspoken message' that the way that they express themselves appropriate except for the lexical and pronunciation mistakes.

2) Functional/ Communicative objectives of the Lesson:

This was a very teacher centred-class. Unlike the ones in the other class, the trainees in this class seemed to be reluctant to speak. In the following extract from a lesson, teacher introduced the activity to the class. Students worked on the task in groups and the teacher asked each group about their opinion.

T: Alright so the song was about a family with a particular problem right the family had a problem (.) erm we have got here a story of another family that it's got a problem and in

groups of 4 or 3 I want you together find a solution to their problem what do you think it is the best solution to their problem what do you think it is the best solution (passes out the hand out) (.) it says problem to solve number 5.

[The problem was explained in a short paragraph in the hand out. A couple had a child care problem.]

Group work lasted 5 minutes. Then, a student from each group was nominated by the teacher one by one.

T: OK What problem does this family have? What's their problem? (.) OK What's their problem? (Nominates a student)
S1: The problem is that (e-e) there isn't any person at home (.) which can look after Alice with an unexpected situation.
T: OK (.) so what's your what did you decide what's the best solution?
S1: We decided that they can leave Alice to (inaudible) that can look after baby for a day.
T: They can take care of the baby for a day OK
S1: Yes
T: (inaudible) what did you decide?
S2: (.) They can rent a maid.
T: Rent a maid or a baby-sitter.

In the mean time, students interacted very little: Most of the interaction between students is the result of appeal for help when they are short for words.

T: What are you all discussing? (to a noisy group of male students)
S4: (inaudible) One of them must stay at home and look after the child. (in Turkish) bakici ne bakici? (what's baby-sitter in English?)
A few students in chorus: baby-sitter
S4: (in Turkish) ne? (what?)
students: baby-sitter
(laughter)

As happens with the other class, this kind of appealing interaction in Turkish between students takes place very often.

Sometimes a couple of students interacted without having been nominated. However, student-student interaction did not occur very often. Even this interaction could not develop much most probably due to students' insufficient linguistic resources and experience in speaking in English. In the example below one male and one female trainee exchange their opinions about child care:

T: Suleyman will you tell us again what you've said.
S6 (male): One of them must be at home and look after baby and this person must be mother
S7 (female): (inaudible)
S6: No why what's your solution?
S7 (female): (inaudible) grandmother wants to look after the children or baby-sitter can look after the baby there is no need to stay at home one of them (inaudible)
S7: I can understand them but I (erm) I know mothers who are who have a very large affection for their baby and I know them they can't leave baby (.) babies even grand mothers fathers
T: Sureyya what do you think is a good solution
S9: (inaudible)

According to the teacher, students like speaking in English out of class hours:

T2: Oh you know something that's interesting [I: mhm] is that when we're having a lesson (.) in actual lesson students are very reluctant to talk and erm (.) seem to find it more difficult they seem like I think that they expect I think that they think that I expect them to be perfect [I: mhm] and to speak perfectly [I: (inaudible)] but in the breaks during the breaks or after class they'd come and talk to me [I: (inaudible)] like very comfortably about the same subject a lot of the time and it's completely different there'll there'll several times there have (.) been in the break you know [I: mhm] like 10 students around just talking asking questions and telling their own (.) opinions about the same subjects that we did in the class but they've very uncomfortable in class but during the break they just talk and (.)

The primary concern of the course is similar to that of Class 1: practising speaking skills and improving fluency. The lessons consisted of a series of tasks that were supposed to create a reason to speak in English (Figure 4.2). The teacher designed tasks based on those in a theme-based textbook.

For example, in one lesson the teacher used a listening task based on an American popular song about a boy named Sue. The students were asked to listen to the song in order to answer a number of questions. The trainer talked about her personal experiences relating to the theme of the names, and she encouraged the trainees to exchange their own experiences. The students were asked whether Turkish culture and American culture shared similarities in terms of their traditions and ways of behaving. This provided a niche to discuss cultural differences between Turkey and the United States. Some of the students appeared to be more motivated by these issues than by the listening task itself.

3) Steps in the Lesson(s)

First hour:

1-Opening

2- Greeting

3- Pre-activity (e.g. discuss general issues relating to the task topic)

4- Task 1 (e.g. problem-solving; students answering the questions set by teacher)
 4.1- Students performing the task individually.
 4.2- Students working in pairs.
 4.3- Students were nominated to answer the question(s).

BREAK

Second hour:

 4.4-Finishing the first task

5- Student presentations

6- Feedback (e.g. correction of pronunciation errors performed during the task and presentations

7- Task 2 (a short task independent from the first task)
 7.1 Students work in pairs

(Task 2 and presentations may change place. During the observation period, there was usually not enough time to complete the second task)

Figure 4.2: Steps of a Speaking Skills course in class 2.

4) The Trainer's Beliefs about the Nature of Learning:

This teacher trainer believed that exposure to the foreign language was very important, because it improves listening skills. She said that:

T2: I've a feeling that their English classes are not conducted completely in English [I: mhm] and this is something that really helps when we are giving exams (.) my students have had me

for a semester and they are used to me talking [I: mhm] and it is different from the way a native speaker talks so they're so used to me erm but I was helping another teacher [I: mhm] at the speaking class and her students because they didn't understand a thing I said (.) [I: (inaudible)] like I couldn't ask them a question because they didn't understand me they would listen and they would look at the other teacher and say what's she saying [I: yeah] they were just not used to the way I spoke (.)

She believes that giving students a chance to speak would help their fluency, and they therefore needed to be encouraged to speak as much as possible. In this respect, it was crucial to encourage having all sorts of interactions in English in the class.

4.4.1.2 Discussion

The main aim of the speaking classes in the teacher education department at Uludag University appears to be to provide trainees with the opportunity to practise their spoken English and to develop their communication skills.

However, it appears that the linguistic and functional aims of a speaking course for teacher trainees have not been clearly defined within the training programme. This seems to leave teachers at a loss and insecure about what they should be teaching. This could be partly the reason why one of the teachers did not like to be interviewed on the record.

It appears that the speaking skills course has not been integrated with other courses in the programme. This lack of communication between courses and course teachers is an obstacle to having a homogeneous training programme. This point will be emphasized later in relation with the integration of Linguistics, ELT Methodology and Literature courses within the training programme.

The main aim of the speaking class appears to be giving presentations in front of a class, an activity which should prepare the trainees for their future profession. A focus on developing presentation skills would be good preparation their classroom teaching, and seems to be quite motivating though rather uncontrolled. For example, trainees were not observed receiving any type of input on the generic features of presentations, such as ways of opening and closing presentations. The first trainer teacher argued that developing communication skills is more important than promoting accuracy and that, since these trainees will teach at secondary school level, they will not need to use certain aspects of foreign language.

When the trainees did participate in discussions in the first class, they tended to speak in a kind of interlanguage due to their heavy reliance on communication strategies, as can be seen from the following examples.

> 1- I want to talk about sitting style sitting style is er is important because it indicates your character (*talking about body language*)
>
> 2- if you sit [on a chair] completely it means that you're very er comfortable person and you're trustful (*talking about body language*)
>
> 3- and finally I want to talk about hands' language hands er are important er hands can be very important and can be very effective than hundred words for example hand motion er (.) when you for example a motion can tell a political sign (*talking about body language*)
>
> 4- I don't know much more about them [social sciences] so I was in suspicious of winning wining the university exam or not (*talking about events which happened in 1995*)

transcription notation:
words in [ ] are added to clarify meaning
(.) indicates a short pause

In the second class, the teacher used task-based speaking skills activities. Like Class 1, in this class two or three trainees delivered oral presentations in each lesson; however, unlike in the Class 1, this activity did not dominate the lesson. The teacher tried to use authentic materials (e.g. songs and relevant anecdotal stories). She also gave feedback on pronunciation problems. However, the majority of the class did not appear to be motivated at all. This lack of motivation was sometimes caused by the level of difficulty of the task. For example, the listening activity using the song. "The boy named Sue" was too difficult for the trainees to understand, and they had to listen to it several times. In the mean time, the story of the song lost its comic element.

Since the main aim of the Speaking Skills course was to create an environment for the trainees to speak in English, in Class 2, in every lesson the teacher introduced a topic as a basis for the activities. Sometimes it was clear that the trainees were not really interested in the topics that the teacher had chosen for them to talk about. This can be partly caused by the cultural differences between the trainees and the relatively inexperienced lecturer, who was at the time of the observation in her third month in Turkey.

The teacher of the second class argued that exposure to language and authentic material will help trainees to develop their language skills. Presentations and contributing to the lesson are good for developing speaking skills. She also emphasized that pronouncing words correctly is an essential part of this process. She appeared to put emphasis on this partly because she could not understand the trainees' pronunciation, which was heavily influenced by the sound system of Turkish.

Both of the approaches used by the Uludag lecturers are beneficial in their own terms. For example, they help to develop trainees' communication strategies (cf. Karatepe 1993). However, the evidence from observations showed that this was all that was done. It seems quite unlikely that trainees would get a balanced exposure to spoken language or to listening to /producing a good range of English. Not giving input on presentation and discussion skills are features shared by these two classes, at least during the observation period.

Another feature in common was the absence of interpersonal features of language. Delivering presentations creates a situation where there is a genuine information exchange between the trainees. This also provides valuable opportunity to make use of their linguistic resources and test whether their abilities (e.g. asking questions, contributing to a discussion, producing a counter-argument) can cope with the demands of presenting a talk and acting as a member of an audience (cf. Sharwood-Smith 1993). However, this activity needs to be done in a more controlled fashion so that trainees could benefit more from it. For example, by going through the preparation phase, trainees can learn about the generic features of an academic talk (e.g. introducing, developing, closing), using interpersonal strategies such as questions as an interpersonal feature to establish interaction with the audience, and using intonation interactively (Boyle 1996; Flowerdew and Miller 1997; S. E. Thompson 1995; 1997; Weissberg 1993). An approach based on a comparative view of planned and unplanned talk may help trainees to notice different uses of discoursal features in both types, as exemplified in Carter and McCarthy (1997: 134-139). The audience can be made aware of issues related to the linguistic realizations of interrupting a speaker politely, asking questions, making a request for more information and putting one's counter-argument. The importance of educating trainees to ask questions in the language classroom has been emphasized by G.

Thompson (1997). This ability may help them to develop an analytical approach towards language. That is, they need to analyse the topic into its components to ask detailed questions. At the same time, this may enable them to guide their students in the future.

This section has given a brief account of the first of three studies which aim to explore to what extent pragmalinguistics is taught in the EFL teacher training situation in Turkey. Study 1 consists of a series of classroom observations and interviews with teacher trainers which took place in Turkish teacher training programmes. Analysis of the data has shown that pragmalinguistics was not taught at all during the period of observation and was not practised by the lecturers involved.

4.4.2 Study 2: Interviews with ELT Methodology Course Lecturers

To explore further the extent to which pragmalinguistics was taught in two teacher education departments in Turkey, four lecturers who taught ELT Methodology courses were interviewed. The course designs that are used in these departments do not include a separate courses on pragmalinguistics. The analysis of the classroom observations showed that pragmalinguistics was not taught during the observation period. However, it was hypothesized that pragmalinguistics could be taught within the syllabuses of other courses. In particular, it was thought that trainees might have been taught how to teach pragmalinguistics in the ELT Methodology course. The interview questions were based on the results of the analyses of the classroom observations and the pilot interviews. To preserve confidentiality, lecturers were given the labels L1, L2, L3 and L4.

4.4.2.1 Subjects

At the Middle East Technical University (METU), three of the lecturers who taught ELT Methodology agreed to my request for an interview. The fourth lecturer in this department had already been involved in the present research and advised me on different issues about the courses in her department. Therefore, it was decided not to interview her since she might not have preserved her impartiality. At Uludag University, one of the two lecturers who taught ELT methodology declined to be interviewed. The other however, agreed to co-operate. Three of the four lecturers are female, one is male. All of them had lived in an English speaking country for some time. One of the lecturers had obtained her Ph.D. in TEFL from Reading University, England. The other lecturers had obtained their Ph.D. from Turkish universities in Ankara, Turkey.

4.4.2.2 The Interview Procedure

The interviewees were asked questions in Turkish (see Appendix G for the interview questions). Although the medium of communication was Turkish, the interviewees tended to use English for technical terminology. The interviews took place in the interviewees' office and were audio recorded.

4.4.2.3 Analysis of the Interviews with the Lecturers

The interview recordings were not transcribed completely. It was decided that only the most relevant parts were to be transcribed and translated into English by the author. It was found that the information provided by the interviewees was often complex and rich, and it was therefore necessary to "unpack" the information. This enabled the researcher to analyse

information in greater detail. Pilot studies had already revealed that part of the reason why pragmalinguistics was not represented in the teacher training programmes was that it was not perceived as being as important as other aspects of language such as grammar and syntax.

Are features of Pragmalinguistics taught formally in Turkish EFL Programmes?

L1 believed that communicating in an EFL environment was unnatural. The amount of interaction that takes place in an EFL teacher education situation does not provide the trainees with opportunities to use the social functions of language. He commented that:

> L1: In a class when it comes to talk about non-academic topics, these tend to be done in Turkish. It seems to be impossible to replicate the situations and only certain social functions of language are used in the classroom.

L1 seemed to believe that, because communication in an EFL context appears to be so unnatural, it is almost impossible to create situations in teacher education where social functions of language can be used genuinely:

> L1: There is already a sort of unnaturalness about the interaction in an EFL environment interaction. The classroom does not provide much opportunity to facilitate the use of social functions of language or talking about daily issues. When we get out of the classroom, we tend to switch to Turkish.

L2 also pointed out the insufficient background knowledge that trainees receive in their secondary education:

> L2: I do not think that students have sufficient knowledge of grammar and vocabulary to cope with the demands of social functional English. It seems that they were not taught grammar with what we call a functional approach. Neither the content of the grammar lessons nor the way they are taught follows a functional approach.

She also remarked that trainees begin the education programme with pre-conceived ideas about language learning. One of these is that speaking a language means knowing all about its grammar. The other is that speaking a language means knowing vocabulary. Some even go further and believe that it is good to memorize words from dictionaries.

L3 claimed that she tackled this issue within the framework of EAP, where academic presentation skills and discussions are taught. Within this framework:

> L3: the focus of the spoken English course is an academic English discussion setting: presentations and discussions. They are included in our aims. We already teach skills like turn-taking, interruption, presenting a counter argument, making a [N.B. topical] transition but what we do not do is that we do not teach the way people speak in the streets of England. That is to say, it is not my aim.

L4 believed that pragmalinguistics was not emphasized in their department:

> L4: In this department, the teaching of the basic social functions of the language has not been included in the course design in writing. It is possible that individual teachers add this aspect to their course content but unfortunately we do not have it written officially.

She considered that issues are related to pragmalinguistics may be touched upon in Speaking Skills classes if the teacher is aware of the need.

All subjects pointed out the restrictions that an EFL environment imposes on teaching. They also mentioned their efforts to overcome these restrictions. It appears that issues regarding pragmalinguistics are only taught when teachers notice a need. One interviewee exploits the oral presentation activity to teach about turn taking, putting one's counter argument and discussion skills. It was also mentioned that trainees begin the course with certain

misconceptions about language and its use. It seems that these misconceptions, which apparently stem from secondary school education, pose a barrier in EFL teaching.

What kind of opportunities for learning about pragmalinguistics do the trainees have?

L1 explained that the trainees have very few opportunities to improve their knowledge of pragmalinguistics. At the very beginning of each lesson, they have a chat about general topics. Normally, four or five trainees participate in this conversation. L1 believed that trainees have more opportunities in literature classes where they have discussions about a novel or a short story. An important instance is when the trainees present micro lessons in the 3rd and 4th year ELT Methodology courses, where two trainees perform situational role plays in which one trainee is supposed to act, for instance, as a waiter while the other takes the role of a customer. He remarked that this was when he realized that the trainees' English was far from satisfactory:

> L1: During these activities, we see how much their English is unsatisfactory. They make serious mistakes which turns the role play into a comedy. We correct them on the spot. In spite of 6 years of learning English in secondary school plus 3 or 4 years of university education here, they still make appropriacy mistakes in terms of sociolinguistics. But this is quite expected because many of them have never used language in such situations. They have learned a kind of bookish English. A short role play in the methodology course shows us that their English lacks this kind of knowledge.

He also added that in the Translation course (from Turkish into English), the cultural differences between Turkish and English were emphasized. He suggested that this could help trainees to understand how cultural differences were reflected in the way the language was used. L1 believed that this could be exploited particularly when dealing with untranslatable concepts and notions. He thought such a study could be called a kind of awareness raising

exercise. However, he emphasized that this was only done in written language. He admitted that this might have caused trainees to develop a kind of bookish spoken English.

L4 mentioned an experimental teaching technique that she used when teaching the Writing Skills course that she taught in the previous year. She asked trainees to define their purpose for writing and their readership, and to choose their register accordingly. She thought the trainees enjoyed this approach.

L2 said that she tried to raise the awareness of the third-year trainees about pragmalinguistics in the ELT Methodology course:

> L2: I try to raise their awareness about communication strategies, register style, and other pragmatic issues, that language does not only have grammar and semantic aspects but also a pragmatic aspect and that language is multi-dimensional.

These three interviewees mentioned the limited opportunities that the trainees had in order to explore pragmalinguistics. However, L3 presented a different point of view and claimed that the trainees had already gained a considerable amount of knowledge of pragmalinguistics from their secondary education, which formed a good basis for their training. She also claimed that this helped her to build up an EAP course.

Do the interviewees think that the trainees need to learn pragmalinguistics?

L3 and L1 commented that the use of spoken English is very limited in the Turkish education system:

> L3: Actually this takes us to the question: What is the role of teaching English in the Turkish education system? In the Turkish education system, the weight of spoken English is very limited. Our graduates teach at secondary or university level and teach academic English.

L1 also added that, in these universities, the teaching of Reading and Writing skills was primarily emphasized in the context of EAP. In addition, teaching Academic Listening Skills enables the students to understand lectures in the medium of English. For the inexperienced graduates who had to teach speaking skills, he assumed that they should have audio-visual aids and textbook at their disposal. L1 hoped that they would learn how to teach spoken English while teaching. If there were NS colleagues to interact with, novice teachers would learn how to perform social functions of English after making communication mistakes, being misunderstood and perhaps being regarded as impolite.

L1 suggested that it was necessary to make lessons more interactional, in order to improve the interactional skills of trainees. He admitted that, even though they needed to devote more hours to teaching speaking skills, their busy lesson programme would not allow them to increase the number of hours. Instead, he suggested that they could have a conversation club and advanced seminars that were led by the third and the fourth year trainees to improve their presentational skills. Moreover, he asserted that they had to give importance not only to Speaking Skills courses but also to the other courses. He pointed out emphatically that they had many trainees who still made very serious grammar and pronunciation mistakes. L3 also made this point and stressed that there were many trainees who could not make themselves understood. However, she also mentioned that not only grammatical accuracy but also appropriacy was an important element.

L2 emphasized that the first couple of years of their programme should be exploited for raising language awareness about appropriacy and functional uses of language. This would help them to become "....ready for the methodology course in the third year".

These three interviewees presented quite different views about the place of pragmalinguistics in a teacher training course. Two of them argued that the use of spoken English is very limited in the Turkish EFL context. At university level EAP courses, the development of Reading and Writing Skills are emphasized. Although it is not possible to increase the number of Speaking Skills classes per week, a conversation club could give trainees the chance to improve their conversational skills. It was also stressed that there were many trainees who could not make themselves understood in English. On the other hand, L2 remarked that the courses in the first two years of a teacher education programme should be designed to raise awareness about appropriate language use and the functions of language.

Do the interviewees believe that raising language awareness would help teacher trainees in teaching/learning about pragmalinguistics in EFL environment?

L2 believed that this could help; however, she added that it was not the only solution. Rather, it could be one aspect of a holistic approach to teaching English. She stressed that we needed to make teachers aware that there was a world other than what was described in textbooks. She suggested that it was necessary to improve EFL teachers' English to enable them to cope with the demands of teaching about the social functions of English. In addition, she pointed out that trainers were under pressure to cope with a very full course programme in a limited period of time. She added that

> L2: Raising teachers' awareness is a step towards a solution but the awareness of the curriculum designers and the people who run the system needs to be raised too. However, more aware teachers, at least, are expected to demand certain improvements. In this respect, it is a step forward.

L2 also underlined that they would not have time to prepare teaching materials by making use of authentic materials to teach pragmalinguistics. She stressed this as a limiting factor.

L1 also emphasized that the lecturers in his department already had a busy time table. He believed that although the lecturers were expected be aware of pragmalinguistics, they did not seem to have the time to spare for it. He pointed out that most lecturers in their department had lived abroad, so it was unlikely that they would have problems with the social aspects of language. Nonetheless, their attention could be drawn toward such issues. He appeared to think that pragmalinguistics was unlikely to be introduced as a major element, since their course design focused on educational language and linguistics.

L4 considered that learners needed guidance to learn about the issues related to pragmalinguistics.

> L4: However, teachers' awareness has to be raised about the functional use of language and about the ways of teaching about this to their students. This is not something that a learner can achieve on his/her own. They need to be guided.

In order to change present attitudes, L4 appears to suggest that trainees should be given guidance. Without this, they are more likely to follow what their teachers did to teach them. She pointed out that even though new generations of teachers were knowledgeable about current developments in ELT, they still appeared to insist on teaching in the way that they were taught.

It seems that although the interviewees think it is an ideal way of dealing with certain problems, raising language awareness is not the only way and is not entirely practicable. It

was also suggested that those who make the national educational policy need to have their awareness raised. It was also pointed out that teachers tend to teach in the way they were taught during their education. Therefore, it is necessary that they are taught properly so that they are able to draw upon current approaches to teaching in the future. Two of the interviewees stressed that school teachers and trainers are under considerable pressure to cope with a busy time table and long hours of teaching. They appear to indicate that an additional subject in the course programme will make things even more difficult.

What status is given to the Linguistics course as opposed to Literature and ELT Methodology in the teacher education departments in question?

L2 implied that trainees do not seem to appreciate Literature and Linguistics courses. She claimed that this was because Literature, Linguistics and the ELT Methodology courses were taught as if they were unrelated issues. Consequently, trainees began to think that learning Literature and Linguistics was a waste of time as they would be teaching only at secondary school level:

> L2: To make them aware, these courses should be taught integratively. It is possible to do this by teaching about how linguistics contributes to language teaching methodology. Learners need to study literature to improve their knowledge of language and culture. A linguistic approach towards literature can help. The examples of texts for linguistic analysis can be chosen from literature. This requires literature teachers to update themselves in order to teach the course from more of a pedagogical aspect. Eventually, it is possible to integrate all the accumulation of knowledge with language teaching methodology course.

Similarly, L4 supports the idea of incorporating these courses within the framework of teacher training.

> L4: In the ELT teacher training programmes the place for literature courses is inevitable. However, a lot depends on how it is taught. This should not be done for the sake of literature teaching. It is better to choose more accessible 20th century texts. They can be presented as examples of language and the culture. In a teacher training programme, linguistics and the ELT methodology and literature courses

> complement each other. In a programme like ours, it is not possible to have one without the other. The linguistic knowledge of students can be made use of in analysing literary texts. Discourse analysis helps them to see the components of a text and how they form a whole. By doing so, we can guide the students to ask the right questions which could help raise their language awareness.

L2 and L4 present a more holistic view of language teaching. They appear to think that these courses have an important place in the development of trainees' understanding of language learning and teaching. A stylistic approach towards literary texts was proposed by these two interviewees.

However, L1 presented a different view: while he believed that a balance was needed between teaching of Linguistics and Literature courses, he questioned the use of the Literature courses for improving communicational skills.

> L1: I mean if it is taught as discussion sessions and group work activities, it is the most beneficial one. For example, I understand in drama courses two of our colleagues literally make students act.

L1 does not seem to believe that an integrated approach between these three courses could help the language development of trainees. He appears to believe that Literature courses could only make such an effect on the language through reading. For example, trainees would learn more words in English by studying literary texts.

He appears to suggest that ELT Methodology needs to be highlighted in the course design. He also pointed out that trainees demand a greater emphasis on the teaching of ELT Methodology. He asserted that this appeared to support the need for preparing the trainees for the demands of teaching.

> L1: Some time ago, our graduates used to complain that they did not feel confident that they were qualified for ELT teaching. We have been trying to eliminate this for some time. But we have to prepare trainees for the demands of teaching. I would not think that an extra effort on this would help improving communicational skills ....However, when a balance is established between these three, methodology gets its share, and trainees gain awareness about teaching techniques and their applications. They become experienced and learn about classroom discourse. In teaching classroom discourse, the point which is emphasised is to enable our trainees to manage a class.

However, he does not seem to explain whether an awareness about teaching techniques can enable the teachers to gain confidence to hold a class hour in English. He seems to suggest that knowledge about and the ability of using classroom discourse will help the trainees / teachers to have the courage to perform classes in English.

> L1: We hope that not only the content of the lessons but also the other issues in a class will be held through the medium of English. When we visit the secondary schools for fourth year trainees' practice, we observe that non-content issues are held in Turkish. We try to make our students understand that if they have the confidence in their classroom discourse, they will have the courage to speak in English all through the class hour.

L3 appears to think that Literature courses are important as they contribute to the language development of trainees, by encouraging discussions about the texts. However, she emphasized that a balance should be established between these three courses.

> L3: The fourth years do micro-teaching, practice at schools develop materials and study all the methods and prepare demo lessons .... no doubt literature courses contribute to the students' language development; to start with they read texts and comprehend them and produce ideas on them and sometimes they produce their own arguments about the texts. Studying literary texts provides an opportunity of producing in English and contemporary texts help understanding cultural issues. This is why I think literature courses are useful. But the balance between them is very important.

It appears that, in both teacher education programmes, the Linguistics course is not thought to be as popular with the trainees. L1 said that, according to a survey carried out in their department, it was the least popular course.

> L1: Linguistics appears to have a question mark. About two years ago we had a survey. We administered a questionnaire about different aspects of our course design on 40 graduates and 50 fourth year students. We found that linguistics had the lowest rating. Therefore, we have got problems with linguistics.

As the informants pointed out, this could be due to the way the course is taught. The informants seem to agree that the content and the place of a linguistics course in a teacher training programme needs be revised. L1 asserted that

> L1: There is a pressing need to go back to the type of material which establishes links between linguistics and language teaching.

The interviewees seemed to agree that the content and the place of a Linguistics course in a teacher education programme needed to be revised. For example, L4 thought the reason that the Linguistics course was not very popular could be the content of the first chapters in the linguistic textbooks.

> L4: The reason why linguistics is not very popular amongst students could be the starting point. Linguistics text-books usually starts with general information about phonology and its terminology, which seems to destroy all the enthusiasm in students. However, those chapters which are about the basic social functions of language are always left till the end. If the teacher starts with these, the course may seem to be more appealing to the students. I think the course outline for linguistics needs revising.

It appears that all four interviewees agree that there has to be a balance between Linguistics, Literature and ELT Methodology. Two interviewees remarked that these three courses are taught as if they were separate issues. Therefore, trainees cannot see the relationship between them. Linguistics is also placed towards the bottom of the popularity list. The interviewees

suggest that this may be due to the way the course is taught. It seems that the subjects from METU are heavily in favour of prioritising Literature courses. These courses are also regarded as the medium for improving linguistic abilities as well as for learning about the target culture.

4.4.2.4 Discussion

All four interviewees pointed out the restrictions that an EFL teaching environment imposes. They also mentioned their efforts to overcome these restrictions. The interviewees appear to think that these pose a barrier for teaching certain language aspects such as pragmalinguistics. The interviewees suggested some solutions to this such as starting conversation clubs, or making use of literary texts for teaching about language and culture and creating a reason for trainees to talk about their opinions.

It appears that issues regarding pragmalinguistics are only addressed when teachers notice a need. It was also mentioned that trainees begin the course with certain misconceptions about language and its use. These appear to be caused by inadequate EFL education in some secondary schools. The interviewees do not think that some of the trainees have already gained the basis for pragmalinguistics. Another issue that was stressed was time constraints and busy time tables in the teacher education departments. They believe that, even if the teaching staff are knowledgeable about pragmalinguistics, there is no time for it in the programme. The interviewees support the idea that raising language awareness can be one of the ways of introducing pragmalinguistics to teacher trainees.

They seem to agree that if Linguistics, Literature and ELT Methodology courses can be taught in an integrated fashion, it can help to raise the language awareness of trainees. However, at present this is not the case in their departments. One of the interviewees pointed out that raising the awareness of students is not enough in itself. It is also essential to raise the awareness of the people who make the national educational policies. She appears to suggest a holistic improvement in the EFL education.

Initially, it was anticipated that pragmalinguistics would be included in the programme to some extent. It is true that some classroom activities that are done may require an analysis of interpersonal features of language. For example, in Literature classes, text analysis may require an exploitation of the interpersonal relationship between the characters in the story line. In this kind of analysis, lecturers and trainees may talk about some features of pragmalinguistics. It seems that features of pragmalinguistics are addressed as an auxiliary topic within a larger context such as the ELT Methodology course. Sometimes, it is done by the teacher to compensate for the general short comings of the trainees, as happens in the role plays during the micro-teaching sessions. However, it is not part of the syllabus. What this study was looking for was a part of a course that focused on pragmalinguistics. However, it seems that pragmalinguistics is touched upon only when dealing with some other issues. None of the interviewees confirmed that there was any formal representation of pragmalinguistics or awareness raising activities about pragmalinguistics.

It appears that the type of language that is used for interacting in the EFL classroom (e.g. Initiation- Response- Feedback cf. Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) is regarded by these

interviewees as an unusual variety of English which does not display features of 'normal' language. This ignores the interpersonal aspects of language used between teacher and their students. Moreover, 'classroom discourse' is also intended to refer to the 'teaching' elements: an EFL classroom would normally include samples of written and spoken discourse that were (or were not intended to be) specifically classroom (e.g. authentic reading texts, role plays). Classroom discourse can give them the opportunity to become familiar with the way language is introduced to the learners that they will teach in the future. This idea is also supported by Carter (1998), who argues that language users:

> at all levels also need to build relationships, express attitudes and affect, evaluate and comment, and make the propositional content of a message more person-oriented (p. 50).

Carter (1998) further argues that the ability to perform these with a reasonable degree of confidence will empower NNS teachers. However, if they are deprived of this type of confidence and ability, they will be disempowered in comparison to NS teachers (cf. Liu 1998). Carter (1998) claims that "It is yet another version of cultural and linguistic hegemony" (p. 51). He continues by asserting that, if informal and interactive meanings of language are ignored, the trainees as language learners will be deprived of "pedagogic, linguistic and cultural choices" (p. 50). In the case of teacher trainees, they may choose not to teach certain features depending on the circumstances under which they will teach. However, the choice must be theirs, not their trainers (cf. Carter 1998).

Liu (1998) reports that in TESOL courses in the U.S.A. the language improvement aspect of the programme is ignored, and this puts overseas trainees in a disadvantaged position in relation to their NS colleagues who attend the same course. According to the results of a

survey conducted by Liu, 93% of the overseas trainees wanted to have a language improvement component in the TESOL course (see also Murdoch 1994). It seems that it is taken for granted that these NNS trainees will pick up certain language uses and improve their linguistic skills because they are immersed in the culture. However, Liu (1998) comments that even one or two years' stay may not result in learning certain features, as the trainees are confined to a campus where an international community lives and they are very busy with demanding academic work. It appears that, even in an English speaking environment, a separate course for raising language awareness is needed. Obviously, this becomes even more important in a non-English speaking environment (cf. Schmidt 1993).

An applied linguistic component in a teacher training course needs to be presented in relation to an ELT Methodology course, for example, as a "language analysis" component (c.f. Bolitho 1988). As Bolitho (1988) emphasizes, language analysis is needed in NS teacher training as well as NNS teacher training. However, a lot depends on how this language analysis component is interpreted. It appears that at present in the Turkish context it is performed in the way that Bolitho (1988) describes:

> There are some courses .... in which the emphasis is on linguistics: participants are introduced to various theories of language and models of grammar and are asked to show their understanding of these in assignments or examination answers (p.73).

As can be seen, it would be quite difficult for trainees to appreciate the relevance of such an approach. As will be argued in Chapter 6.3, the present study argues that applied linguistics can be incorporated as a language analysis component into the training programme. Since this study is interested in pragmalinguistics, the analysis of these features of language will be focused on particularly.

The study will also emphasize that analysis of pragmalinguistic features can be done by means of awareness raising activities. This type of awareness raising activity can be realized in relation to language learning, which will integrate 'pragmalinguistic analysis' with 'language teaching methodology' in a training programme.

A comparative analysis of pragmalinguistic features across English and Turkish can focus the trainees' attention on salient features of pragmalinguistics in NS language (c.f. Tomlinson 1994). Trainees' attention can also be drawn towards cultural differences and their linguistic realization in two languages. Awareness about the use of certain features in English will make trainees / teachers feel confident (c.f. Bolitho 1988). This confidence can lead them to ask more questions about the language and to enable them to scrutinise language in textbooks (c.f. ibid.). In the process of the analysis of language, they will become familiar with the relevant terminology, which can enable them to read published material in the literature. Their familiarity with the relevant terminology will help them talk about technical aspects of language. This is important both for improving their professional knowledge during and after their university education. A reflective approach following the language analysis can guide them to draw on their language learning experience.

4.4.3 Study 3: the attitudes and perceptions of teacher trainees about language learning and teaching

The third empirical study comprises the analysis of the answers to the questions in part 2, part 5/3 and part 6 of the questionnaire completed by the Turkish subjects (see Appendix

G). These questions are about the attitudes and perceptions of the trainees. The information that was elicited from the rest of the questionnaire will be presented in Chapter 5. For practical reasons, what were in fact two questionnaires had to be administered as one questionnaire in one sitting. The results of the analysis of these questions will be discussed in this section, together with the information elicited from the follow-up interviews with 20 of the Turkish trainee subjects.

The results of the analyses of the interviews with the lecturers and the classroom observations have shown that the general tendency of the teachers and the trainees was to favour some language skills and their related courses over others. For example, Speaking and Listening do not appear to be as favoured as Grammar, Reading and Writing are (see also Kelliny 1994). The questionnaire items were designed to elicit further information about these tendencies. The information that was elicited from this part of the questionnaire was used in establishing a niche for the proposal to raising pragmalinguistic awareness that will be presented in chapter 6.

4.4.3.1 Subjects

The Turkish subjects were all first year trainees at two universities in Turkey: Uludag University (in the city of Bursa) and the Middle East Technical University (in Ankara). The interviews with the lecturers and trainees and the questionnaire administration were carried out in two different universities to see if under-representation of pragmalinguistics is not only particular to one teacher education department but is a more common problem.

groups	number
METU	56
ULUDAG	55
total	111

Table 4.1: Number of NNS subjects

The majority of Turkish subjects were female (69.4%). While 107 of NNS subjects (96.4%) were 17-21 years of age, the rest of the trainees were 21-25 years of age.

The subjects were doing their BA degrees in the two teacher education departments at the time of data collection. The number of the trainees who did the questionnaire is 111 (Table 4.1). The questions that aimed to gain bio-data about the trainees revealed that 14 trainees had lived in different countries (e.g. Australia, Bulgaria, Germany, etc.) at some stage in their lives. These were eliminated since their experience with another language may well have a marked effect on the experience of the subjects in communicating in English.

Another aim of gaining bio-data was to provide the reseracher with an overall picture of the EFL learning background of the subjects. The majority of the trainees were graduates of English medium state schools (55%). The second largest group (22%) consisted of graduates of teacher education secondary schools, where they have a year's English foundation course before they start secondary school education. The third group (20%) was graduates of private secondary schools, where the medium of language is English. Only 3% said that they learned English at a private language school where people usually attend a language course at the weekends or in the evenings. Some private language schools apparently run specially designed courses for entry to EFL teacher education departments. Those who attend English medium private schools and private language schools were usually taught by NS teachers.

22.5% said that they were taught by NS teachers. The length of time that they had studied English varied: 77% studied for 7-9 years, 14% for 10-14 years, and only 9% for less than 5 years. Hence, the overall picture of the subjects is that the majority were graduates of English medium state schools and teacher training secondary schools.

4.4.3.2 Questionnaire and Interviews

The questionnaire and the interview procedures were piloted on 10 of the previous year's first year students at Uludag University's teacher education programme. After the pilot study, the questionnaire went through a series of changes. To elicit bio-data, detailed questions were added to supply information about the English learning background of the subjects. For a copy of the questionnaire in English see Appendix G; for a copy with Turkish instructions see Appendix K.

Following the questionnaire administration, 20 volunteer trainees were interviewed. They were asked questions to elicit information about their ideas about the programme they were following at that time and about their attitudes towards language learning. Due to practical reasons, it was impossible to interview them in pairs as had been originally planned. Subjects were interviewed in bigger groups of four and five as well as pairs. This appeared to lead the subjects to reach a collective agreement about the issues that were considered in the questions. The consequences of this will be discussed later.

The interview questions aim to elicit information about what the subjects think about the present course design in their department and how they perceive the language topics that were considered in the questionnaire. The interview contains questions to elicit information

about the trainees' desire for changes in the course design. The interview aims to show whether they have opinions about ways of improving the quality of education in their department and whether this could indicate that they are aware of certain drawbacks in the present design.

4.4.3.3 Perceptions about Teaching English

This part of the questionnaire comprised four statements about language teaching and learning. The subjects were asked to rank four statements about the place of Grammar in language learning[7]. Grammar has been found to be the language aspect that is the most emphasized in the EFL teacher education courses investigated (see the course design in Appendices D and E). It also appears that this emphasis is at the cost of teaching about other aspects of language (e.g. speaking skills). Therefore, this question was designed to elicit information about what the subjects considered to be the place of a Grammar course in language teaching.

The statements were chosen as they appeared to resemble the underlying principles on which the course design is based. These statements also appear to reflect the opinions that emerged in the interviews with the ELT Methodology lecturers. The results of the interviews indicated that grammar and written discourse were the two most-emphasized elements in these two departments. To investigate how much language awareness these trainees had already developed, statements based on an approach which put a substantial emphasis on studying written discourse were chosen. The underlying idea of these statements was based on Bolitho and Tomlinson (1995). The statements are as follows:

[7] For a similar application for in-service training see Wright and Bolitho (1997).

1) If students learn the grammar of English, they will be able to speak the language well.

2) It is possible to learn a foreign language by imitating correct forms in books.

3) As the grammar of good spoken English and good written are the same you can help learners to improve their spoken English by giving them lots of written grammar practice.

4) Teachers should correct all grammar mistakes that students make.

Subjects were provided with a 5-degree scale [8]:

strongly agree
slightly agree
neutral
slightly disagree
strongly disagree

For analysis, these categories were collapsed to three: agree, neutral and disagree (Table 4.2).

scale	statement 1	statement 2	statement 3	statement 4
agree	35%	19%	40%	54%
neutral	8%	26%	14%	14%
disagree	57%	55%	46%	32%

Table 4.2 : Frequencies of choices regarding language teaching and learning

The statements in this part are related to the beliefs of trainees about the role of Grammar in language learning. For the first two statements their preference is towards the disagreement end of the scale. As seen in Table 4.2, the first statement was disagreed with by 57% of the trainees, and the second statement was disagreed by 55%. Therefore, it can be concluded that the trainees are aware that emphasizing the teaching of Grammar would not be sufficient to enable them to speak better.

[8] The scale was borrowed from Low (1996).

The preferences for the third statement present a more even distribution, (agree 40% and disagree 46%). Published material is the only source of information for many trainees, though now in big cities it is easier to have a cable TV connection at a relatively low cost and cinemas show undubbed American films. However, the majority seem to be at both extremes and only 14% of the subjects chose to remain neutral. The answers indicate that some trainees have adopted the traditional view that studying grammar would be the solution for their problems. On the other hand, some do not appear to be very satisfied with having a heavy emphasis on the Grammar course.

More than half of the trainees (54%) strongly agreed with the last statement, suggesting that they are perhaps self-conscious about the mistakes they make. They seem to believe that corrective feedback from the teacher is an effective way of getting rid of some unwanted forms in their English.

During the follow up interviews, the subjects appeared to think that they were qualified to teach English in terms of their knowledge of grammar. However, they did not regard themselves as ready to teach overall, saying that they needed to learn about teaching techniques. Some complained that, even if they knew about grammar rules, they were unable to explain these to their friends. They firmly believe that Turkish teachers of English should be provided with the means to study the English language in England or in the USA. Another subject claimed that, since their teachers were not given the opportunity to travel to an English speaking country, they did not know about informal language use. He illustrated this with an example: he claimed that a teacher who had been abroad could say 'ten bucks' but one who had not been could only say 'ten dollars'. When he was asked how he knew

about this usage, he said he had made friends with native speakers at the Army Academy in Ankara where he had had his secondary education.

4.4.3.4 Analysis of the Questions Regarding Trainees' Attitudes and Perceptions

The questions in this section aim to elicit information about how the trainees perceive the relationship between the components of language. Trainees were asked to rank seven aspects of language on a 5-level difficulty scale. These aspects are: Grammar, Speaking, Writing, Vocabulary, Listening, Pronunciation and Reading. Later in the analysis, these levels of difficulty were conflated to three: 'easy', 'moderately difficult' and 'difficult'. This idea was based on the hypothesis that those aspects that were perceived as difficult may have been regarded as important for improving their language skills. They were also asked which aspects of language they needed to study more to improve their English language skills and, in particular, to improve their speaking skills. The rationale behind this is that trainees may fail to see the close relationship between the components of language. It is hypothesised that the ability to perceive this kind of relationship between the aspects of language could be an indication of higher language awareness (cf. Wright and Bolitho 1997). This type of awareness could help trainees to become better language users and better language teachers. Wright and Bolitho (1997) remark that:

> .... we see the teacher/analysts and the teacher/user as complementary, with the effective teacher drawing from an analytical and a professional base for her development (p. 167).

Developing an analytical stance appears to be urgently needed to improve the education in teacher training programmes. It can be beneficial for teaching and learning not only the language but also the culture. Liu (1998) reports that in the TESOL course in the U.S., the

trainees were assigned to carry out team work with their native speaker class-mates and to analyse real data. The result was very encouraging. The trainees said that they enjoyed the activity and discovered quite a lot about the English language and American culture. It appears that for teachers this type of knowledge is needed to raise their pragmalinguistic awareness and to make them feel confident (cf. Carter 1998). The importance of developing an analytical approach towards language for improving the language skills and knowledge of the trainees will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

The subjects appear to believe that the most difficult language aspect is Vocabulary (Table 4.3). The second most difficult was Speaking, and the third was Pronunciation. Reading and Writing were not regarded as difficult. Grammar is not thought to be difficult by 48% of the trainees. (Since subjects were allowed to choose as many items as they wanted, the numbers do not add up to 100.)

language aspects	rank 1	rank 2	rank 3
grammar	48%	15%	37%
listening	37%	22%	40%
pronunciation	36%	22%	42%
vocabulary	28%	25%	48%
writing	50%	24%	26%
reading	46%	26%	28%
speaking	32%	25%	43%

Table 4.3 : Frequencies of the ranks of difficulty of language aspects

rank 1 = easy
rank 2 = moderately difficult
rank 3 = difficult

According to the results of the analysis of the interviews with the trainees, Grammar seems to be one of the most emphasized courses in both teacher education programmes. Eighteen of the interviewees complained that there was excessive emphasis on Grammar and that this

stifled the development of language skills. One interviewee pointed out that a group of grammatically correct sentences would not necessarily make a good essay. He said that they needed to learn about other aspects of language as well. As can be seen in Table 4.4, less than 30% of subjects thought that they needed to study Grammar more to improve their language skills. They do not appear to agree with the general trend about the importance of grammar in the Turkish EFL education.

40% of the trainees appear to believe that 'listening' is difficult (Table 4.3). This percentage appears to be rather low when it is considered that they do not have many opportunities to communicate with native speakers. However, the majority of the interviewees commented that even though they could not speak fluently and accurately, they could understand the lectures. It appears that the relatively low percentage may show that trainees do not know to what extent they are successful in using this skill as they are not exposed to authentic spoken discourse. However, there is no way of substantiating this possibility (see also Kelliny 1994).

language aspects	speaking skills improve	general improvement
grammar	25%	28%
listening	37%	47%
pronunciation	41%	43%
vocabulary	55%	75%
writing	3%	33%
reading	23%	28%
speaking	50%	69%

Table 4.4 : Frequencies for improving language skills

As can be seen in Table 4.4, the position of Vocabulary presents similar figures as in the difficulty ranking questions. 75% of the subjects appear to believe that they need to improve their vocabulary in order to improve their English in general. It is also regarded by 55% of the subjects as the most important aspect of language to work on to improve speaking skills.

In addition, those who thought they needed to learn more vocabulary to improve their speaking skills appeared to think that this is also a good way of improving their overall language skills. All the interviewees believed that they needed to learn more vocabulary to speak better. The position of Listening is similar to that of Vocabulary. In other words, some of the trainees appear to believe that improving listening skills is good for both speaking skills and for the improvement of general skills.

The majority of subjects appear to believe that they need to improve their speaking skills. 69% of the subjects seem to believe that improving speaking skills helps their language skills in general (see table 4.4). The benefit of practising with NS was emphasized by 50% of the subjects. All interviewees do agree that one three-hour speaking course per week is not enough to improve their speaking skills. One of them commented that she wanted a more 'interactive' Speaking Skills class. She also argued that the oral presentation sessions in this course did not reach their targets. Sixteen interviewees said that they wanted to learn how to speak 'folk English' and 'informal English'. One subject openly blamed the grammar teacher for their low marks in grammar tests. She said that the teacher depended on the textbook far too much, which she thought was too restrictive. As she had been to England a few times, she thought the number of choices that the book offered was limited. She also believed that the teacher was not flexible enough to accept the other forms that the interviewee had heard during her stay in England.

Listening is the third important aspect for general language improvement, coming fourth in the lists of factors. The importance of Listening Skills was also pointed out by the subjects in the interview. Eight of these interviewees remarked that the content of the Speaking Skills

course content try to cover to many issues such as listening, speaking, pronunciation and intonation. They also suggested that they should have a Listening course where they could improve their pronunciation and learn about phonetics.

They appeared to believe that if they could pronounce words better, they could speak better. This belief is also reflected in the high position of Pronunciation in the rank order. It was regarded as the fourth most important aspect to be studied for general linguistic improvement, and the third important aspect for improving speaking skill. In the interview, they showed considerable consciousness of the importance of correct pronunciation. It seems that they use the word 'pronunciation' as a blanket term that includes accent and intonation, only one of them mentioning intonation, a 'tone of voice'. Those who found pronunciation difficult appeared to believe they needed to work on this aspect to improve their speaking skills.

This section has presented the results of the analysis of the questions designed to elicit information about the attitudes of trainees towards the language and their perceptions about language learning and, to some extent, teaching. The analysis of the questionnaire questions was integrated with the interview analysis. On the whole, the information that was elicited from the interviews strengthened the points that emerged from the analysis of the questionnaire. These results will be discussed in the following section.

4.4.3.5 Discussion

The information that was elicited from the interviews and the questionnaire appeared to support the idea that the subjects were aware of some of the problems that they were

experiencing in language learning and teacher training. The trainees seem to put the blame partly on the fact that they do not have much opportunity to practise English with native speakers. Eighteen of them have ideas about how to improve the course programme in their departments. This indicates that they are aware of the problems to some extent but do not necessarily know how to approach them. They seemed to be quite motivated to improve their English, and were enthusiastic when talking about language learning. Initially, it was hypothesized that the trainees may have perceived difficult courses as important. This proved to be unsubstantiated. This seems to show that they believe courses such as Grammar may not always be regarded as the most important aspect of language learning. In this respect, they seem to disagree with their teachers about the importance of the Grammar course.

The subjects put special emphasis on vocabulary learning, which for them appeared to be the key for general language improvement and speaking better. A few of interviewees complained that they could not use their vocabulary appropriately, and said that they need a 'vocabulary usage course'. One of the interviewees remarked that:

> We know different words but we do not know their usage. We do not know their appropriate use. There are many words that have same meaning in Turkish [when they are literally translated]. But they are used differently. We know their one meaning only and we use it regardless of the context. That is why we cannot improve our vocabulary even in the reading course.

This view appears to have wider implications. What the interviewee described is also mentioned in Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1983), who note that:

> A pair of synonyms share the same components of meaning but differ in register and take different collocations. The learner, aware of only one of the pair, uses it regardless of collocational and stylistic restrictions. The result is often inappropriate usage (p.132).

These subtle differences between the use of synonyms can be hard to teach and to learn. This aspect of vocabulary knowledge is also related to pragmalinguistics, which includes the effects of contextual features. Carter's (1987) explanation of the process of increasing vocabulary shows how complex it is:

> .... increasing a vocabulary necessarily involves a word in more than its semantic sense. It involves knowledge of its inflections and derivations as well as its possible pragmatic functions .... and can also involve increasing complexities in mapping its sociolinguistic and associative properties (p.161).

Thus, increasing vocabulary appears to require an integrated approach towards language learning. The attention of trainees should be drawn towards the complexity of the process of increasing vocabulary. This might help them to realize that they could not take for granted that the words that were classified as synonyms in books could not always be substituted for each other. This could lead them to work towards noticing the effects of context on certain subtle differences in the meanings of words. It appears that the trainees need a course where their awareness could be raised in terms of the effects of contextual factors and other socio-pragmatic factors such as politeness (see chapter 2). For a proposal for such an application see chapter 6.

4.5 General Conclusions

This chapter has shown that pragmalinguistics is under-represented in the Turkish ELT teacher education programmes investigated. The chapter approached the problem from different angles. To show that the place of pragmalinguistics as a language aspect in teacher education is neglected, a series of classroom observations took place in a Turkish university's teacher education department. Analysis of the observations performed in two different Speaking Skills courses has shown that the opportunities that the class activities provided for

awareness raising about pragmalinguistics were not exploited. As a second step in establishing the problems, four lecturers who taught an ELT Methodology course in two Turkish universities were interviewed. The analysis of these interviews showed that pragmalinguistics was not included in the programme as an aspect of language, but its related issues were dealt with in passing when there was a need. The analysis has also shown that pragmalinguistics does not seem to be highly regarded. It appears that trainees were expected to pick up the use of pragmalinguistic features in the process of learning about other aspects of language. The third study investigated the attitudes and perceptions of trainees about language learning, by means of a questionnaire and follow up interviews with 20 of the trainees who did the questionnaire. The analysis of the interviews and the first part of the questionnaire showed that the trainees were aware that they had problems in learning English and using their existing knowledge. They believed that this is caused by their lack of interaction with native speakers. They were concerned that they do not have much opportunity to practise their English.

In the light of the results of the empirical studies, the present study argues that the problem of awareness raising about pragmalinguistics is twofold. On the one hand, it seems to be partly related to attitudes towards the place of pragmalinguistics in language learning. It seems not to be regarded as a very important component of the language. This is possibly the reason why time cannot be allocated for it in the tight timetable of teacher education programmes, even if the lecturers are competent to teach it. Trainees appear to be aware of problems but cannot identify the reasons behind them as they are not exposed to all components of the language. On the other hand, from the interviews with the lecturers, the question is whether it is at all possible to teach this aspect of language in an EFL context or not. The trainees and

trainers would be exposed to very little native speaker language. The trainees are required to show an individual effort to create opportunities for themselves.

The majority of the trainees would like to learn what they call 'informal English' or 'folk English'; while their lecturers think that their education should be based on improving their Reading and Writing skills. The analysis of the interviews with both trainees and lecturers suggests that Speaking and Listening aspects are given relatively less emphasis in comparison with Grammar, Reading and Vocabulary. The reason behind this approach could be the departments' desire to produce teachers who meet the demands of the job market. At Uludag University, the scope of the education programme appears to be even more narrow compared to that of the Middle East Technical University. It is thought that these trainees will only teach basic Grammar and Vocabulary courses at secondary level. Therefore, the programme designers appear to have decided that trainees will not need to learn the English language in a sophisticated way. Similarly, at METU, the trainees appear to be trained for teaching EAP at university level where they are expected to teach Reading and Writing Skills courses only. That is, it appears to be the idea that they will not teach certain features of the spoken language. However, as mentioned before, foreign language teachers do not receive much in-service training after their graduation. They need a good basis to start and improve their abilities with individual effort.

The findings of the studies in this chapter have important implications for the entire study. Firstly, the findings support the initial hypothesis that pragmalinguistics is under-represented in Turkish EFL education. This chapter has established the following problems. Pragmalinguistics appears to be regarded as an issue that can be dealt with in passing. The

opportunities that the classroom environment can provide to study these issues are not exploited to the full (e.g. in oral presentations) in the training programme at Uludag University. The trainees appear to have an awareness that pragmalinguistics is not dealt with satisfactorily. However, they do not necessarily know how to approach these problems. Before making any suggestions to improve the situation, the study will investigate to what extent the trainees can use and interpret the features of pragmalinguistics.

The results of these exploratory studies call for a series of radical changes within the national ELT teacher training programmes and policies in Turkey. Some are not related directly to the place of pragmalinguistics in these programmes. However, these changes would have an important impact on the overall quality of education in teacher training programmes. It appears that courses on language and language skills, such as grammar and reading skills, are taught in isolation without relating them to ELT teaching Methodology. An important indication of this is the weak position of the Linguistics course in relation to the other courses in the programme. This appears to suggest a serious lack of awareness in the people who are responsible for designing the course programme. Similarly, the importance of pragmalinguistics in language and communication does not seem to be understood well enough by the syllabus writers and teacher trainers. Both of these implications appear to indicate a serious need for an in-service pragmalinguistic awareness raising programme for teachers who teach at present. This is important as teachers may not help their students even if they have teaching material on pragmalinguistics. This results in a lack of awareness on pragmalinguistics being transferred from one generation to next.

Introducing a language awareness raising component on pragmalinguistics only or on general language points would help trainees to gain invaluable insights. This can be done along similar lines to that of Bolitho and Tomlinson's (1995: 1-3 and pp. 58-62) unit on 'Myths and Misconceptions' about language learning and language itself and a section on 'Common Words and Misconceptions about Words' (p. 37 and p. 95). The points which were included in this unit appear to indicate that certain misconceptions about language and language learning that the present study also investigated are common problems which inhibit language learning and teaching. Similarly, Spratt (1994) offers two units 'About Communication' and 'About Language Learning' (pp. 7-22) and two units 'Teacher Development' and 'Student Development' in the 'Development' part (pp. 63-72). These first two parts attempt to raise trainees' awareness about communication and language learning within the framework of teaching. The 'Teacher Development' unit aims to raise awareness that the language learning process does not end when trainees graduate. The ideas on teacher development may prompt trainees to make future plans for their professional development. Obviously, these published materials should not be seen as the complete solution to the problems which are mentioned in this study. They can only inspire trainers and writers to design more sound materials for their trainees' needs and the requirements of the training context.

In order to have a sea change in the Turkish ELT teacher education, the Ministry of Education and the Higher Education Council will have to be persuaded to fund an academic organization. Such a project will require the involvement of Universities in awareness raising courses, research into these teachers' and trainees' progress and the quality of the type of

courses that they run. As should be clear, this type of reformation cannot happen overnight. It will take decades to witness the effects of it in the skills and qualities of graduates.

Chapters 3 and 4 presented interesting findings in terms of pragmalinguistic awareness. Chapter 3 showed that exposure to the language and culture and having strong motivation for communicating with the host community could lead postgraduate students to pick up the use of some quite non-salient pragmalinguistic features, such as the discourse markers **you know** and **I mean**. On the other hand, in an EFL teaching context like Turkey, teacher trainees do not seem to receive much input about pragmalinguistics. It is understandable that, unlike the ESL-speaking Turkish postgraduate students, the Turkish teacher trainees and their trainers receive very little exposure to native discourse. However, it was also observed that the opportunities that they had for practising and studying particular pragmalinguistic features were not exploited to the full. Nonetheless, they still have a strong motivation to improve their language skills. During their training, they are expected to explore the language to the full to become qualified EFL teachers.

As will be suggested later in the study, features of pragmalinguistics are not easy to learn without guidance. Moreover, in an EFL context, the chances of picking up the uses of these features are very small. However, the trainees need to be aware of all aspects of language and the relationship between them. The following chapter will explore the ability of trainees to use some features of pragmalinguistics (e.g. indirect speech acts) by analysing the results of the second half of the questionnaire mentioned in section 4.4.3.

Chapter 5

Speech Functions and Pragmalinguistics

Introduction

The present chapter mainly focuses on another aspect of pragmalinguistics, indirect requests, arguing that these are particularly important in language teaching. Many indirect requests are in the disguise of interrogative forms. That is, their congruent forms are questions but they do not aim to elicit information as happens in the example below.

A: Could you pass the salt please?
B: (passes the salt)
A: Thanks
(fabricated example).

There is considerable evidence that this may cause problems for learners (Butler and Channell 1989; Blum-Kulka 1989), including the choice of the most appropriate forms. For example, there is an accumulating body of research demonstrating that language learners have difficulty in interpreting and using modal verbs in indirect requests appropriately (Scarcella and Brunak 1981; Holmes 1988; Faerch and Kasper 1989).

The reason for the mismatch between form and function could be to give the addressee the option of refusing (cf. Leech 1983). This would protect both the speaker's and the hearer's face from the embarrassment of saying 'No, I do not want to do what you want me to do'. Instead, it prepares the grounds for a refusal and softens the tone by giving the hearer the chance to say 'I cannot/could not do what you want me to do' as if performing the requested action is not within

the hearer's capabilities. In some cases, of course, it may actually be totally beyond his/her physical and mental capabilities. Since they give the addressee the chance to say no, indirect speech acts appear to be closely related to politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987; Clear 1987; Butler 1988). This chapter investigates the pragmalinguistic realisation of indirect requests which are performed by both NS and NNS. Data was collected by administering a questionnaire to both groups. The questionnaire aimed to elicit information about NS use of particular indirect speech acts and conventionalized language, and to elicit information about the ability of the NNS to perform these acts and use conventionalized forms.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 5.1 focuses on the mismatch between the form and function and the role of Mood structure in expressing politeness. Section 5.2 gives an account of indirect requests, while section 5.3 examines previous research into the teaching of speech functions to foreign language learners. Section 5.4 introduces the study, and section 5.5 presents the results of the analysis. Section 5.6 presents limitations of the study while section 5.7 summarizes the general conclusions which can be used as the basis for a proposal for teaching pragmalinguistics to be presented in chapter 6.

5.1 Form-Function Mismatch in Indirect Speech Functions

The last four decades have seen various attempts to explain the force of speech functions and the relationships between the force behind the act and the intentions of speakers (cf. Austin 1962, Searle 1975). Recently, analysis of the factors involved in the realizations of the speaker's

intentions has come to the fore. As Eggins and Slade (1997) argue; "every utterance can be analysed as the realisation of the speaker's intent to achieve a particular purpose" (p. 40).

However, it is not always easy to derive the speaker's intention from the form of the speech act. Factors involved in the context of situation need to be taken into account to interpret the meaning of an utterance. For example, while sitting in a room where the window is open, if someone says "It is cold in here", the illocutionary force of this statement is no longer likely to be to inform the others about the temperature. Rather it is to express the speaker's wish that the addressee should close the window, the speaker's desire to obtain permission to close the window. In other words, by making the statement "It is cold in here", the speaker uses an indirect speech act. Characteristically, in indirect speech acts, there is no one-to-one match between the intended meaning and the grammatical form.

Some studies have looked at the relationship between the degree of politeness and speech act classification (e.g. Butler and Channell 1989; Blum-Kulka 1989). Butler (1988) investigates whether there is a correlation between speech act classification and politeness. Butler hypothesised that the directives that were classified as requests were polite and those which were classified as orders were impolite (ibid.). He devised a test which was first given to NS subjects, who were asked to judge whether the directive which they heard from the tape could lead an addressee to perform the act. They were also asked to decide whether these directives could be classified as acceptable orders, requests or suggestions. The items that were found acceptable were further tested on another group of NS subjects to elicit their responses on a politeness

rating. The results of this analysis showed that the directives that were classified as orders were regarded as relatively impolite and those directives that were classified as requests were regarded as relatively polite. The ones which were classified as suggestions were regarded as neither impolite nor polite.

Following Halliday (1985/1994), Clear (1987) proposes that the Mood constitutes an important part of the interpersonal meaning of an utterance. The Mood expresses the four basic speech functions: giving and demanding information and goods-and-services. These are regarded as the most fundamental purpose of an exchange (Halliday 1994: 68). Here, 'giving' means 'inviting to receive' and 'demanding' means 'inviting to give' (ibid). The Mood is described as the component which "plays a vital role in carrying out the interpersonal function of the clause as exchange in English" (Thompson G. 1996a: 41).

Clear particularly focuses on directives and requests. The Mood/Residue structure includes a Pre-proposition (Pre-P), a Proposition (P) and a Post-Proposition (Post-P). The modal element of the utterance is in the Pre-P. In the Post-P, we have tag questions and/or a modal adjunct. Clear (1987: 71) indicates that this tri-partite level of analysis works well to some extent. However, the modal verbs in declaratives and some modal adjuncts within the Proposition do not lend themselves to this type of analysis, and the pattern, he claims (p. 71), is more easily applicable to requests and directives than other speech functions.

Mood analysis and an integrated analysis of the degree of politeness can shed light on the relationship between modalised request questions and the degree of politeness that the question expresses. That is, "the meaning of the clause can only be understood by comparing its grammar to its intended role" (Thompson G. 1996a: 68). For example, the existence of a Subject and Finite in a clause shows that the clause is indicative rather than imperative (p.46). That is, the speaker avoids giving a direct command perhaps in order not to impose him/herself on the listener. Clear (1987) argues that these choices have conventional interpersonal meanings associated with them. He further argues that the interrogatives, modal verb+'you', have become so conventionalized that they have been given a kind of idiomatic status. In the case of interrogative forms with modal auxiliary, these have conventional interpersonal meanings associated with them:

> Like other lexical idioms, the full meaning of the construction cannot be determined through the regular semantics of the constituents and their combination (Clear 1987: 68).

Language learners could experience some difficulty in learning to use these conventionalised forms. The mismatch between form and function of indirect requests may not be of great significance to a NS; however, it may cause difficulties in EFL teaching. These potential difficulties are of two types. Firstly, it may not be possible for a learner to interpret whether a clause is a genuine question or an indirect request. Secondly, learners may have problems in choosing lexico-grammatical forms to express politeness appropriately. In the following section, how politeness is expressed in indirect requests will be summarized.

5.2 Indirect Requests

Requests are described as potentially face threatening acts in Brown and Levinson (1987). As summarised above, Butler (1988) shows a close relationship between the degree of politeness and the degree of indirectness of requests, which suggests that requests require face work to some extent. Aijmer (1996) explains this relationship as follows:

> A request is not, in itself, aggressive like a threat, but can be potentially offensive or threatening because it impinges on the privacy of the individual who is requested to do something (p.139).

Therefore, to overcome this potential threat, strategies are likely to be employed to mitigate the imposition in making requests. It seems that the commonest of these strategies is the use of indirect requests, which are described by Brown and Levinson (1987) as one element in a series of politeness strategies.

As mentioned before, indirect strategies gives the addressee the choice of saying "no" if it is inconvenient to carry out the request (Leech 1983). Some of the most commonly used politeness strategies are:

- the use of a question instead of a declarative sentence
- the choice of a suggestion rather than a request
- the choice of modal auxiliary
- the choice of subject
- giving reasons for doing something rather than stating one's wishes abruptly
- softening the force of an impositive speech act (Aijmer 1996: 138).

Aijmer (1996) finds 18 different types of indirect request strategies in the London-Lund Corpus, though she admits (p. 131) that there is no way of establishing exactly how many strategies exist. Analysis of data in seven languages in the CCSARP project revealed that indirect requests

are the most frequent type of requests in all these languages (Blum-Kulka and Kasper 1989). For example 82.4% of the requests that occurred in Australian English were performed by using conventionalised indirect requests such as "can you", "will you", "can I".

Certain features of language that are employed in making indirect requests can also be graded in terms of the degree of politeness which they express. Butler (1988) found that in modalized questions the degree of politeness that the modals 'would' and 'could' indicate is higher than 'will' and 'can'.

This section has summarized research which shows that using indirect requests is the commonest politeness strategy. This is done for the purposes of reducing the potential threat that a request may pose. Modals that are used in making indirect requests may indicate the intended degree of politeness. Finally, the section has argued that language learners may not be able to understand how the question form can indicate politeness and indirectness. They may also fail to see that making an appropriate choice is just as important as using a grammatically correct form.

5.3. Speech Functions in Learners' Language

The teaching of speech functions has become the centre of attention with the development of the widely-adopted communicative approach (Richards 1990). However, the presentation of these speech functions in textbooks does not seem to be based on an analytical approach. Instead, these materials appear to rely on writers' and teachers' intuitions (Olshtain and Cohen 1990).

Particularly in situations where these people are NNSs of English, the reliability of their intuitions in the foreign language may be dubious.

Olshtain and Cohen (1990) investigate apology strategies in textbooks and in the language of Hebrew speakers of English. They report that even currently popular ELT textbooks put emphasis on a few formulas only, such as 'Sorry', 'I'm sorry', 'I'm very sorry'. They also point out that these textbooks give little information about apology strategies in English.

Some studies have investigated the teaching of particular speech acts. These studies argue that speech functions must be dealt with specifically in teaching and that the social functions of language lend themselves to formal teaching. For instance, Billmyer's (1990) study of compliments in learner language examined two groups of female Japanese learners, one of which was tutored and the other not. The tutored group received six hours of teaching during the 4th and 5th weeks of the study, the main aims of which were:

> 1) to develop the learners' linguistic and sociolinguistic skills in interpreting and expressing compliments; and
> 2) to develop their metapragmatic awareness of the target culture's social and cultural norms and values for complimenting.

In addition, the subjects from both groups attended a weekly "Conversation Partners Programme" where each NNS had a conversation with a NS. These conversations were controlled by asking the partners to perform certain "compliment inducing tasks" such as showing photos, or showing a recently acquired item, and they were audio recorded. To collect base line data, Billmyer asked the NS to perform these tasks first. She found that the learners in

the tutored group produced a greater number of appropriate compliments than the learners in the untutored group. They also used a greater variety of positive adjectives than the learners in the untutored group. Billmyer also looked at the responses that the learners gave in reply to a compliment. While the untutored group replied to compliments with short sentences such as 'Thank you', 'Yes' or 'No that's not true', the learners in the tutored group appeared to be more skilful in using a variety of deflecting strategies (e.g. comment, shift credit, return, downgrade and question). The replies were longer, and they appeared to approximate closely to their NS partners' answers. The tutored group was also more successful in using the replies to sustain the conversation. Billmyer concludes that the formal teaching of the "social rules of language" (p. 44) can lead to a significant improvement in learners' language.

This chapter has, so far, presented indirect speech functions as a potential problem area for EFL learners. The present study particularly focuses on indirect requests since they are one of the most common speech functions. Recent studies have shown that establishing a residual awareness about such speech functions would facilitate both the interpretation and the production of appropriate forms (Olshtain and Cohen 1990). This conclusion leads us the question of how best to develop this residual awareness, an issue which will be considered in section 5.6.

5.4 The Study

The data was collected by means of a questionnaire [9] and a translation task for the trainees which was performed at the end of the interview with the trainees. The questionnaire was administered to gain information about the ability of Turkish teacher trainees to express themselves appropriately in different contexts. The appropriateness of the trainees' replies with regard to the contextual questions was assessed by comparing them with the base line data collected by administering a slightly different version of the same questionnaire to NS in England (for a copy of the questionnaire see Appendix I). The analysis of the bio-data that was elicited from the questionnaire has already been presented in Chapter 4.

The number of NS subjects was 76. The NS informants were the students who attended Liverpool, Leeds and Lancashire Universities. They were currently doing different degrees when the data was collected: 64 BA, 7 MA/MSc, 4 Ph.D. and 1 TEFL Certificate course.

Factors such as age and gender whose effect will not be looked into but which might have an impact on the results were controlled as much as possible. While 37 of the NS (48.6%) subjects were 17-21 years of age, 29 NS (38.2%) subjects were 21-25 years of age. The rest from both groups were above 25 years old of age. The propotion of female NS subjects was 61.8%. Since

[9] The analysis of the items which were in the first half of the questionnaire have already been discussed in chapter 4.

the majority of Turkish subjects were female (69.4%), the female students in the language departments of Liverpool University were specifically targeted.

5.4.1 Questionnaires

As mentioned in chapter 4, part of the questionnaire and some information that was elicited in the interviews with the trainees were used in the analysis in this chapter. As explained earlier, the questionnaires had to be administered to the trainees in one session for practical reasons (for a copy of the questionnaire in English see Appendix H). The questions aimed to elicit information about the trainees' language learning experience and their ability to perform some pragmalinguistic features.

The main aim of the second half of the questionnaire was to investigate the trainees' ability to perform certain pragmalinguistic features such as making indirect requests, using conventionalized language, and functioning pragmalinguistically in everyday situations such as exchange encounters. The linguistic content of the questionnaire was based on the findings of recent studies (e.g. Blum-Kulka et al 1989; Eisentein and Bodman 1986; McCarthy and Carter 1995; Scotton and Bernstein 1988). The questionnaire consists of three main parts. The first part contains questions that aim to test the subjects' ability to recognize and to produce some selected features of pragmalinguistics. This section has two sets of questions. One set contains multiple choice questions, where the trainees are asked to choose the most appropriate form in a given context. For example, the first question is based on a context of situation where they are asked to choose the most appropriate form for asking a favour, while in the second question,

they are asked to perform a request for goods-and-services. The following part contains four questions where the trainees are asked to produce appropriate utterances for a given context of situation. These are a "request for an action" (Strenström 1994); a "request for permission" (ibid.); a short dialogue for ordering a meal in a restaurant; and completion of a service encounter dialogue. The aim of the questions in the fifth part is to elicit information about the subjects' ability to produce "conversational routines" (Aijmer 1996). The information gained from the questionnaire and the information elicited from the post-questionnaire interviews will be drawn upon in the course design which is proposed in chapter 6. As mentioned earlier, the questionnaire was piloted 7 months prior to its administration. After piloting, each question and the choices were scrutinized according to the results and comments from native and ESL speaker informants.

As mentioned before, in Part III of the questionnaire, the subjects were given five contexts and supplied with a varying number of options for each one. The options were chosen after consulting several native speakers and ESL speakers, many of whom were Ph.D. students and had lived in England on average 3 years. Some of these contexts were selected as they were thought to occur frequently. Others, for example the money borrowing context, were chosen as they appeared to be potentially extremely face-threatening acts to perform in both Turkish and British cultures (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987). Another context, replying to someone who has thanked you, was specifically chosen as the author found that she had not known how to perform this act when she first arrived in Britain. Later, she also found that this act was not highlighted in Turkish textbooks as much as thanking. The third part of an exchange, which

could be the reply to an expression of gratitude, appears to be ignored (cf. Carter 1998). As pointed out earlier in Chapter 4, this can be because the simple adjacency pair system so widely used in textbooks dialogues does not allow a third part.

The fast food restaurant context is one that appears to be very similar in nature in both British and Turkish cultures. This might be because the fast food tradition belongs to a foreign (U.S.) culture in both countries. This similarity amazed the author when she first came to Britain and led her to reconsider the use of having her students to perform cumbersome meal ordering role plays. This question aims to elicit information on to what extent the subjects are aware of the effects of contextual factors on the linguistic realization of the act.

The aim of the fourth and fifth questions was to see to what extent the subjects could differentiate the uses of two expressions, 'I am sorry' and 'Excuse me', in different contexts. On a few occasions, the Turkish postgraduate students in Liverpool had asked the author the difference between these two expressions. One of them complained that in Turkey he was taught that they were the same. Similarly, the ESL informants who commented on the questionnaire remarked that these two forms could be confusing for their NNS friends at the university. When the Turkish textbooks were examined, it was found that this distinction was not indicated clearly. Therefore, it was hypothesized that the Turkish trainees might not have been aware of this distinction either. These two questions also aim to assess the awareness of the subjects about the use of the French word 'pardon', which is widely used in Turkish to apologize. The Turkish speakers of English were observed to use this word to apologize in English. They appear to

hypothesize that, since it is a non-Turkish word, it can be used in the same way in English as well (cf. Karatepe 1993 and Kellerman 1990).

5.4.2 Interview Questions and the Translation Task

In the interview, the subjects were asked if they found the questions in the questionnaire difficult and whether they thought the points that these questions covered were important. The interview also included questions about the views of the subjects on the present state of their linguistic abilities in English, and their ideas about how to improve the course programme in their department.

Following the interview, the trainees were also asked to perform a translation task (for a copy of the task see Appendix L). The translation task aimed to elicit information about their ability to translate discourse markers from English into Turkish. The same translation task was also performed by 13 Turkish postgraduate students who were studying at Liverpool and Leeds Universities at the time of the data collection. However, the task appeared to be quite complicated for both the trainees and the UK-based subjects. This indicates that translating such expressions requires a high degree of competence in translation as well as the ability to use the expressions. However, there is evidence that the UK-based subjects who had studied English language in highly-regarded secondary schools in Ankara and Istanbul in the early years of their education were more successful compared to the others. This indicates that a well-established language awareness is an essential foundation for the improvement of language abilities later in one's life.

5.5 A Comparative Analysis and Discussion of the NS and the NNS Questionnaire Responses

The questionnaire consists of four main parts: multiple choice questions, discourse completion, dialogue writing and dialogue completion, and conventional ways of saying things. The multiple choice question part has five questions, two of which are about indirect requests. The rest of the multiple choice questions are about interpersonal features such as how to address strangers before making a request. The aim of these is to see if the trainees can choose appropriate forms. In the dialogue completion and dialogue writing parts, the subjects are asked to complete a dialogue from which the opening and closing sequences are missing. This question attempts to test whether the trainees are aware of the absence of these missing parts. In the dialogue writing part, the trainees are asked to write a meal ordering dialogue. This type of dialogue is an activity which every language learner is likely to have studied in their learning process. This item aims to see whether the trainees can produce a dialogue of which the generic features (e.g. opening and closing) and other interpersonal features (e.g. a polite request) can approximate their NS counterparts in terms of appropriateness. In the last item, the subjects are asked to list a variety ways of asking the time and asking about someone's well-being. These are considered to be as conventionalized routines. These items also aim to test to what extent the trainees can approximate the NS subjects.

5.5.1 The Analysis of the Multiple Choice Questions

This section presents the analyses of subjects' responses to the multiple choice questions. To find out whether the NNS approximated their NS counterparts, the answers to the questions in this section were cross-tabulated. The chi-square values and other relevant statistical information for each situation are given below wherever differences between the NS and NNS groups are statistically significant. For the five multiple-choice questions, the null hypothesis is that there will be no significant difference between the responses of the NS and the NNS. Subjects were allowed to choose more than one option. The multiple choices for the first question are coded as follows:

Money1- Can you do me a favour? I need 10 million.
Money2 - Have your parents send your allowance yet?
Money3- Lend me 10 million, please.
Money4- I've spent so much money on photocopies and books recently. I've run out of money. Do you think you could lend me 10 million until the end of this month?

Situation	groups	Tick	%	Non-tick	%	Total
Money1	NS	44	57.9	32	42.1	76
	NNS	16	14.5	94	85.5	110
Money2	NS	1	1.3	75	98.7	76
	NNS	6	5.5	104	94.5	110
Money3	NS	1	1.3	75	98.7	76
	NNS	5	4.5	105	95.5	110
Money4	NS	10	13.1	66	86.8	76
	NNS	83	75.5	27	24.5	110

Table 5.1: Frequencies of every choice by NS and NNS groups in the Money context

In this question the subjects were asked to imagine themselves asking for money from their best friend. The first and the fourth options are significant at p 0.000. Table 5.1 shows that every

option was thought to be acceptable by at least one NS. This appears to suggest that this type of speech role is difficult to deal with, as the language does not seem to provide clear cut distinctions between the choices and situations. However, there are clear preferences for some options, showing a consensus among the NS for certain choices rather than others.

The first option, which can be regarded as a conventionalized indirect request, "Can you do me a favour? I need 10 million[10] ." was chosen by 44 NS (57.9%) but only 16 NNS (14.5%). That is, the two groups behaved in a strikingly different way. This appears to suggest that the NNS may not have learned certain conventional forms of asking favours. The difference between the numbers of those NS who chose and did not choose this item is significantly lower than that of the NNS. Consequently, it is possible to argue that an indirect request form with the modal 'can' is fairly acceptable in the given context, since as it was chosen by more than half of the NS (cf. Butler 1988). However, the NNS failed to recognize this as an appropriate choice.

The fourth option, which was a longer and more elaborately justified indirect request, "I've spent so much money on photocopies and books recently. I've run out of money. Do you think you could lend me 10 million until the end of this month?", was chosen by 10 NS (13.1%) and 83 NNS (75.5%). Clearly, the two groups did not agree with each other about whether this option was appropriate given the relationship between the speakers and listener.

[10] At the time when the questionnaire was administered 10 million Turkish lira was the equivalent of 50 pounds.

Although the frequencies of the second and the third choices are not statistically significant, the striking similarity between the NNS and the NS indicates that they agree that these two choices are not appropriate. The second option 'Have your parents sent your allowance yet?' is a very vague hint and the third option 'Lend me 10 million, please' is a command. It seems that the NNS are aware that appropriateness in requests not only depends on the relationship between participants but also the weight of the imposition. Butler (1996) describes this with the following example "Lend me your pen." (p. 174) which, unlike "Lend me 10 million, please", could be acceptable between friends.

The multiple choices for the second question are coded as follows:

Burger1- I'd like to have a hamburger and a coke, please.
Burger2- Can I have a hamburger and a coke please?
Burger3- One hamburger and a coke, please.
Burger4- I'm gonna have a hamburger and a coke.
Burger5- Give me a hamburger and a coke, please.

Situation	groups	Tick	%	Non-tick	%	Total
Burger1	NS	8	10.5	68	89.5	76
	NNS	39	35.2	72	64.8	111
Burger2	NS	52	68.4	24	31.6	76
	NNS	45	40.5	66	59.5	111
Burger3	NS	44	58.0	32	42.1	76
	NNS	69	62.2	42	37.8	111
Burger4	NS	2	2.6	74	97.4	76
	NNS	6	5.4	105	94.6	111
Burger5	NS	1	1.3	75	98.7	76
	NNS	3	2.7	108	97.3	111

Table 5.2: Frequencies of every choice by NS and NNS groups in the McDonald's context

In this question, the subjects were asked how to order a hamburger and a coke at a fast food restaurant. The first and the second options are significant at the level of $p \leq .00014$ and

$p \leq .00018$. As with the previous case, every option was thought appropriate by at least one NS. There is a striking difference between the preferences of the NS and the NNS in the frequencies of options 1, 2 and 3. The NNS favoured option 3 while the NS tended to choose option 2. The first option, "I'd like to have a hamburger and a coke, please" was chosen by 8 NS (10.5%) and 39 NNS (35.2%). Although both groups are more likely not to choose this item, the balance of tick/non-tick is different across the groups, with the NS more likely than the NNS to reject this choice, which it appears to be too long for a fast food restaurant context. However, the NNS do not seem to be aware of the effects of context of situation on language choice.

The second option, "Can I have a hamburger and a coke please?", was chosen by 52 NS (68.4%) and 45 NNS (40.5%). The balance of tick/non-tick across groups is quite different, and this is supported by the statistical evidence. The NNS appear to have opted for a "modality reduction" (Kasper 1982). 66 NNS (59.5%) did not tick this option which has a modal verb 'can'. Brown (1991) remarks that there are various views on how the modal verb 'can' functions in the literature. That is, its use appears to be fuzzy due to its different usages which are related to one's abilities, permission and possibility (cf. Walton 1991; see also Chapter 5.5.2). Faerch and Kasper (1989) found that Danish learners of German had difficulty in using modals, including 'can', appropriately. They concluded that the learners need to improve their "metacognitive awareness" (p. 230) and "communicative practice" (p. 230) in order to use modal verbs more appropriately.

The frequencies of the fourth and the fifth options are not statistically significant; however, the results appear to indicate that the majority of the NNS are aware that these two choices 'I'm gonna have a hamburger and a coke', which is a statement of intention and 'Give me a hamburger and a coke, please' which is a fairly bold command, are both inappropriate.

Another indicative though statistically insignificant result is that of the third option "One hamburger and a coke please", which 44 NS (58.0%) and 69 NNS (62.2%) chose. It seems that the NNS opted for the simplicity of the form while the NS preferred the full indirect form of request in the second option. Since the service encounter is potentially less face threatening than the money-borrowing context, the request can be performed using less hedged forms. In the risky money borrowing situation, the subjects preferred to choose an interrogative form of making a request. This indicates that, to some extent, the NNS were aware of the importance of making an indirect request, and they could differentiate between more and less mitigating options in this context.

The options for the third question were

Thanks1- you're welcome
Thanks2- any time
Thanks3- that's all right
Thanks4- don't mention it
Thanks5- please
Thanks6- {just say nothing}

Situation	groups	Tick	%	Non-tick	%	Total
Thanks1	NS	56	73.7	20	26.3	76
	NNS	54	48.6	57	51.4	111
Thanks2	NS	45	59.2	31	40.8	76
	NNS	15	13.5	96	86.5	111
Thanks3	NS	66	87.0	10	13.0	76
	NNS	58	52.2	53	47.8	111
Thanks4	NS	45	59.2	31	40.8	76
	NNS	41	37.0	70	63.0	111
Thanks5	NS	4	5.3	72	94.7	76
	NNS	1	0.9	110	99.1	111
Thanks6	NS	12	15.8	64	84.2	76
	NNS	4	3.6	107	96.4	111

Table 5.3: Frequencies of every choice by NS and NNS groups in the Thanking context

In this question, the subjects were asked how to reply to someone who had just thanked them. The first four options are statistically significant with p values of $\leq .00063$; $\leq .00001$ and $\leq .00268$. As in the first two situations, in this one, every option was thought acceptable by at least one NS. Both groups agree not to choose options 5 and 6. The frequencies of options 1 and 2 show that the groups differ from each other about the use of 'you're welcome' and 'any time'. The first option, "you're welcome", was chosen by 56 NS (73.7%) and 54 NNS (48.6%). When the balance of tick/non-tick is compared, it can be seen that proportionately considerably more of the NS chose the option. The second option, "any time", was chosen by 45 NS (59.2%) but only 15 NNS (13.5%). A significant majority of the NNS did not choose this item, demonstrating a very noticeable difference between the groups. The third option, "that's all right", was chosen by 66 NS (87.0%) and 58 NNS (52.2%). The NS were proportionately much more likely to choose this option than were the NNS. The fourth option, "don't mention it", was chosen by 45 NS (59.2%) and 41 NNS (37.0%). A significant majority of the NNS (63.0%) and a relatively

smaller number of the NS (40.8%) did not choose this item. The NS were significantly more likely to select this response (59.2%) than the NNS (37%). It is in a way surprising that only 41 NNS (37 %) chose 'Don't mention it.', since this option is similar to Turkish routines which attempt to demean the importance of the favour performed by the speaker. These are: 'Lafimi olur' or 'Lafi olmaz' (gloss: It is not worth talking about.); 'Hiç önemli degil.' (gloss: It is not important at all.); 'Tesekküre degmez.' (gloss: It is not worth thanking.) and 'Bir sey degil.' (gloss: It is nothing of importance.).

The subjects were provided with two more options: 'please' and saying nothing. 'Please' was obviously judged by both groups to be an inappropriate choice, and its low frequencies are not statistically viable. This indicates that the NNS are very much aware that this is not an appropriate response.

The last choice, opting for saying nothing, was chosen by 12 NS (15.8%). In fact, in the given situation a smile might well suffice. Interestingly, only 4 NNS (3.6%) chose this option, which may be an indication that learners tend to think that they have to utter some words in any context. This tendency may be induced and reinforced by classroom training (cf. Kasper 1982), where little emphasis may be placed on the importance of paralinguistic features such as body language and facial expressions in oral communication (see also Hurley 1992, Kellerman 1992).

The options for the fourth question are

Address1- Excuse me
Address2- I'm sorry
Address3- Pardon
Address4- Please

Situation	groups	Tick	%	Non-tick	%	Total
Address1	NS	75	98.7	1	1.3	76
	NNS	107	96.4	4	3.6	111
Address2	NS	16	21.0	60	79.0	76
	NNS	13	11.7	98	88.3	111
Address3	NS	4	5.3	72	94.7	76
	NNS	42	37.8	69	62.2	111
Address4	NS	4	5.3	72	94.7	76
	NNS	6	5.4	105	94.6	111

Table 5.4: Frequencies of every choice by NS and NNS groups in the Addressing Strangers context

In this question, the subjects were asked to choose forms that they thought appropriate to address a stranger on the street. Results for option 2 and 3 are statistically significant with p values of ≤.04306 and ≤.00000. Therefore for these options the null hypothesis can be rejected. The similarities between the NS and the NNS groups present an interesting picture. For example, they show a similar tendency to choose 'excuse me'; 75 NS (98.7%) and 107 NNS (96.4%) selected this option. This appears to show that the majority of the NNS are aware of the use of this particular expression in the given context. They also appear to be aware that 'please' is not an appropriate option. On the other hand, 42 NNS (37.8%) ticked 'pardon', while only 4 NS (5.3%) did so. The French word 'Pardon' is used to apologize in Turkish. Turkish speakers of English appear to have a tendency to use this kind of French cognate in English, on the assumption that they would be similar in English (cf. Karatepe 1993). The low frequencies for this option give dubious results.

In the fifth question, the choices are

Sorry1- Pardon me
Sorry2- Oh!
Sorry3- I'm sorry
Sorry4- Excuse me

Situation	groups	Tick	%	Non-tick	%	Total
Sorry1	NS	17	22.4	59	77.6	76
	NNS	43	38.7	68	61.3	111
Sorry2	NS	16	21.0	60	79.0	76
	NNS	6	5.4	105	94.6	111
Sorry3	NS	70	92.1	6	7.9	76
	NNS	98	88.3	13	11.7	111
Sorry4	NS	36	47.4	40	52.6	76
	NNS	34	30.6	77	69.4	111

Table 5.5: Frequencies of every choice by NS and NNS groups in the Apology context

In this question, the subjects were asked to choose apology forms which they thought appropriate to use when one bumped into someone on the street by accident. The first, second and fourth options are significant with p values of $\leq .01850$, $\leq .00111$ and $\leq .02018$. Therefore, it can be said that the null hypothesis appears to be incorrect for these options.

The first choice, "pardon me", was chosen by 17 NS (22.4%) and 43 NNS (38.7%), and was not chosen by 59 NS (77.6%) and 68 NNS (61.3%). That 38.7% NNS chose this option suggests L1 interference, as has already been explained regarding the use of this item for apologizing in Turkish (see the addressing strangers context above).

16 NS (21.0%) and 6 NNS (5.4%) chose the second option, "Oh!" while 60 NS (79.0%) and 105 NNS (94.6%) did not choose it. The fact that nearly all of the NNS did not tick this item

may be a reflection of classroom training which represents communication inadequately, as has already been mentioned. Since learners are required to verbalise everything in oral communication in classroom, they may gain impression that they always have to say something. They may have had very little exposure to the use of interjections.

The third choice "I'm sorry" was chosen by 70 NS (92.1%) and 98 NNS (88.3%) NNS. Both groups agree with each other that this is an appropriate choice, and the null hypothesis that there is no difference between the NS' and NNS' performance is very likely to be correct. The fourth option, "Excuse me" was chosen by 36 NS (47.4%) and 34 NNS (30.6%). The NNS and the NS do not appear to agree each other on the use of this item, the NNS being less likely to choose this item.

5.5.1.1 Discussion

The analysis of the multiple choice questions revealed that every option was thought acceptable by at least one NS, although the NS have shown clear tendencies in their preferences. However, this should not be an excuse for not teaching the more appropriate choices to language learners. Learners need to understand that there is not just one linguistic realization of these everyday social functions. They also need to understand that some choices are more commonly occurring than others. They should in fact be made aware of this ambiguity about these language features. Learning how to cope with this grey area in the language seems to be an important part of language awareness. That every single option was chosen by at least one NS subject indicates the options represented forms that are used in daily life. As explained before, the contexts and

options were chosen either to address the problem areas or to elicit information about the awareness of subjects about the distinctions between certain forms of language.

The French cognate 'pardon' in English was observed by the author to be used in Turkey in English speaking contexts such as in English classes by both teachers and students. The forms that the NNS tended not to choose happened to be conventionalized forms for realizing the speech functions in question, for example, 'could you do me a favour', and 'any time'. The trainees also do not seem to be aware of the use of interjections (e.g. Oh!) and non-linguistic interpersonal behaviour (e.g. smiling instead of saying 'don't mention it'). Thus, it can be said that the NNS may have not been made aware of the use of such non-linguistic elements in interaction.

The aim of this part of the questionnaire was to find whether the NNS were able to perform short tasks successfully. Although they were expected to complete this part of the questionnaire fairly successfully, the results of the comparative analysis have shown that their responses differed in some significant respects from those of the NS. Classroom teaching-induced preferences have also been found. In the fast food restaurant context this seems to be the reason for the use of one of the most polite forms ("I'd like to ...."): and it may also be a reason why the NNS seem not to be aware that they could opt for saying nothing as a response for a 'thank you'.

In addition to differences, there are also similarities between the choices of the two groups, indicating that the NNS seem to be able to approximate the NS subjects in recognizing a number of inappropriate forms, such as the use of imperatives for requests.

The native speaker subjects were also asked to suggest alternative choices (see Appendix K). In the money borrowing context, they tended to write a detailed account of their financial difficulties and asked for money by using indirect politeness strategies. In the other contexts, some of the suggested forms appear to show variations of those which were given in the questionnaire, supporting the reliability of the choices that the subjects were offered.

5.5.2 The Discourse Completion Questions

Indirect requests will be analysed by dividing the components of a request into three parts: pre-Proposition (pre-P), Proposition (P) and post-Proposition (post-P) (see Clear 1987). In the analysis, the degree of directness indicated by the lexico-grammatical elements will be investigated. This will be looked at in terms of the appropriateness to the context of situation where the subjects were asked to produce requests and other related acts such as thanking. In addition, the relationship between other aspects such as tense and the weight of the imposition and other issues regarding politeness is considered. In the first discourse completion item, the subjects were asked to make an "action request" (Stenström 1994) to a group of noisy teenagers to be quiet. In the second item, they were asked to perform a "permission request" (ibid). The expected responses were either complying with the requests or refusing to comply.

When making these requests, the subjects were expected to use modal verbs (e.g. 'can' and 'could'). Aijmer (1996) suggests that the modal auxiliary 'can' is typically used for minor favours, while she describes 'could' as "the preferred or the unmarked" (p.158) choice. The modal auxiliary 'can' is an example of this process. It can indicate ability to do something or a request for permission or for co-operation to do something, or it may indicate both depending on the context. Clear (1987) explains that:

> The modal auxiliaries were once fully lexical verbs of English and through the continual process of stereotyping have become increasingly opaque operators in a clause. Their lexical senses still remain and we can regard them as polysemous; their sense may be delineated in a lexicographic way (p. 71).

Brown (1991) comments that the modal 'can' is an opaque element and it is possible to interpret its use in many ways. He also suggests that this may confuse language learners. He gives an example of an indirect request that could be made in the Cinema context in the present study. It is "If you don't be quiet you can leave the room" (p. 112). Here, 'can' can be glossed as 'must' or 'have to'. He remarks that even an advanced learner will be baffled by this type of use of the modal 'can'. Brown (1991) talks about 'senses' and 'characterisations' of 'can'. These senses are 'ability', 'permission' and 'possibility'. Other uses are "characterisations of the implicatures that can be drawn from uses of CAN .... in particular linguistic and situational contexts" (p.112). Some of these characterisations of 'can' are those which can be used in speech acts, such as indirect requests. He classifies the example above as one of these characterisations of 'can'. According to Collins Cobuild English Usage (1992), 'can you' and 'will you' are appropriate for informal uses; 'would you mind' is more polite and appropriate for formal situations in comparison with 'would you'. Aijmer (1996) reports that the examples of 'will you' which she

found in her data are "fairly direct and assertive" (p. 160). Since Aijmer (1996) does not give the percentages of occurrence of these modal auxiliaries, it is not possible to make a comparison. Rather surprisingly, 'would you mind' occurred only twice in the London-Lund corpus. However, it occurred as frequently as 'can' in the NS data in present study.

5.5.2.1 Results of the Analysis of the Discourse Completion Questions

The context situations were chosen to be similar to what the NNS subjects might have experienced in their life in Turkey. In the Cinema context, the imaginary people whom they were asked to commit an FTA against were younger than the subjects. In both the Cinema context and the Magazine context, the imaginary interlocutors were total strangers. Two request types were chosen to see to what extent they could differentiate between the two different situations. Since the results of the analysis are quite transparent, and the main differences between the NNS and the NS can be seen clearly, further statistical analyses were not performed on them.

Request forms	NS	(%)	NNS	*(%)*
Could you	19	26.4	33	*31.4*
Can you	13	18.1	13	*12.4*
Would you mind	7	9.7	11	*10.5*
Would you	3	4.2	3	*2.9*
Will you	6	8.3	3	*2.9*
Imperative	6	8.3	32	*30.5*
I'm trying to watch	6	8.3	0	*0*
Any other form	12	16.7	10	*9.5*
Total	72	100	105	*100*

Table 5.6: NS and NNS request strategies in the Cinema context

As can be seen in Table 5.6, the most frequently occurring modal type was 'Could you' in both groups; it was used by 19 NS (26.4%) and 33 NNS (31.4%). 'Can you', which is regarded as slightly less indirect in the literature (cf. Blum-Kulka et al 1989a; Hoye 1997), was used by 13 NS (18.1%) and 13 NNS (12.4%). In terms of epistemic modality, by using 'Can' and 'Could' the speaker appears to ask the hearer if there is any 'possibility' of being quiet. The speaker makes a judgement based the context of situation where it is common knowledge that anybody who goes to a cinema should keep quiet. This provides the grounds for the speaker to make this indirect request, which seemingly inquires about the 'possibility' of the hearer's performing the desired action. However, it actually tells the hearer indirectly what to do or what not to do.

The use of the imperative by the NNS appears to be rather significant; it was used by 32 NNS (30.5%), but by only 6 NS (8.3%). The majority of these imperative forms were to be 'be quiet'. The numbers of occurrences in the NNS data of 'Would you', 'Will you' and 'I'm trying to watch the film' are low in comparison with the NS. The 'Would you mind' form is regarded as quite a polite form. However, the number of its occurrences is not very high in either group (9.7% NS and 10.5% NNS). 'I'm trying to watch the film' is a strong hint (cf. Blum-Kulka et al 1989) which seems to be even more indirect than the modalized requests. None of the NNS speakers used this form while 8.3% NS used it.

Asking to borrow a magazine appears to be a more straightforward request. It actually asks the interlocutor to do something for the speaker by lending him/her the magazine. The most frequently occurring modal type in the NS data is 'Could I' (Table 5.7), which was used by 20

NS (26.6%) but only 11 NNS (10.2%). On the other hand, 'May I' was used by 30 NNS (27.8%) but by only 4 NS (5.4%). The number of occurrences of 'May I', 'Can I', and 'Could you' in the NS data are quite low. In contrast, their number of occurrences in the NNS data is quite high. For example, 'Could you' was not used by the NS at all, while it was used by 7.4% NNS; similarly, while only one NS used 'Can I', 16.7% NNS used it.

Request form	NS	(%)	NNS	*(%)*
Could I	20	26.6	11	*10.2*
Would you mind	19	25.3	21	*19.4*
Do you mind	11	14.6	7	*6.5*
May I	4	5.4	30	*27.8*
Can I	1	1.4	18	*16.7*
Could you	0	0.0	8	*7.4*
Conditional	11	14.7	1	*0.9*
Any Other	9	12.0	12	*11.1*
Total	75	100	108	*100*

Table 5.7: NS and NNS request strategies in the Magazine context

Although the number of occurrences of 'May I' in the NS data is only 5.4%, a considerable number of the NNS (27.8%) used it, indicating that they to think that a permission act needs to be performed by using the modal 'May'. The NNS's use of 'May I' could be a reflection of classroom training. Although the semantic meaning of 'May' is described as being related to the idea of permission, it has been found that it is mainly used in formal contexts and in written discourse (cf. Klinge 1993; Collins Cobuild English Usage 1992). Hoye (1997) remarks that in permission the use of 'May' and 'Might' are marked for formality as opposed to the use of 'Can'

and 'Could' for the same act. Walton (1991) comments that "in traditional folk-linguistic belief MAY is felt to be more correct or even more polite than CAN" (p. 344). It appears that the NNS could not assess the appropriate degree of formality that the context of situation required.

There are several other noticeable differences between the two groups. The NS were much more likely to use 'Could I' (26.6%) than were the NNS (10.2%). They were also much more likely to use a Conditional form such as 'I was wondering if ...' (NS 14.7 %, NNS 0.9%). On the other hand, the NNS were much more likely to use 'Can I' (16.7%) than the NS (1.4%). They also chose 'Could you' (7.4%), which was not selected by any of the NS. Perhaps the most striking point about these results is the lack of agreement on almost every choice between the two groups; the only exceptions to this are 'Would you mind' (25.3% NS; 19.4% NNS) and 'Any other' (12.0% NS; 11.1% NNS).

In addition to the type of form of the indirect request, the main verb which is used in making this request is of prime importance. The verb choice appears to be a good reflection of how far the NNS approximate to the NS in their understanding of the action that was required. There is a striking difference between the NS and the NNS groups in their choice of verbs in these contexts of situation.

Verb form	NS	(%)	NNS	*(%)*
Be quiet	24	33.4	66	*62.3*
Keep the noise down/ it down	19	26.4	1	*0.9*
Stop talking	0	0	8	*7.5*
Any Other	29	40.2	31	*29.3*
Total	72	100	106	*100*

Table 5.8: Main verbs in the Cinema context

Table 5.8 shows that three main verb forms were used in the Cinema context. The most frequent one is 'Be quiet', which was used by 24 NS (33.4%) and by 66 NNS (62.3%). Some of the uses of this verb were with an imperative form: as mentioned earlier, 32 NNS (30.5%) used an imperative form with this verb (see Table 5.6). However, some of the uses of 'Be quiet' are not in the imperative but an indirect request form (e.g. Can you be quiet please?).'Keep the noise down', which was used by 19 NS (26.4%) indicates to the addressees that they are allowed to speak so long as they keep the noise down. This appears to be more mitigating as it does not impose a complete ban on speaking in the cinema. However, this was chosen by only one NNS (0.9%). In contrast, 'Stop talking' which was used by 8 NNS (7.5%) but was not selected by any NS imposes a complete ban on talking. The NNS do not appear to have realized this distinction.

While the NS agreed on using only a limited number of verbs, such as three different forms with 'Keep' (e.g. Keep the noise/ it down; keep quiet) and an additional one which is not a polite form: 'Shut up' (6 occurrences), 29.3% NNS appear to have improvised by using 31 different forms. Some of these were in the imperative, while some others were in question forms. A few

examples of these forms are 'Be silent', 'Speak outside', 'Speak slowly', 'Watch the film' and 'Speak in low voice'. This finding appears to support Blum-Kulka and Levenston's (1987) findings that NNS tend to improvise when they do not know the appropriate and/or conventionalized form to perform an act.

The 'Any Other' category in each section is clearly to be quite large. The NNS improvised or produced direct forms such as 'stop talking' (7 times), 'don't speak' (6 times), 'stop speaking' (2 times) and keep quiet (3 times). While the NS produced very colloquial forms such as 'shut up' (6 times), 'shut-it will you' (only once). They also used more indirect forms such as 'People are / we're / I'm trying to listen to this / to watch a film' (18 times), 'we / I'm trying to watch the film (here)' (4 times), and 'You should have gone to a pub instead' (only once),

In the Magazine context, the NS used three main different verb forms only, while the NNS used 5 different forms (Table 5.9). A considerable number of NNS subjects made similar choices to those of the NS. The most commonly chosen verb is 'Borrow' which was used by 35 NS (46.7%) and 26 NNS (23.9%). The second one is 'Have a look', which was used by 24 NS (32.0%) and 17 NNS (15.6%). The verb 'Look at', which actually means borrow, was chosen by almost equal numbers of NS and NNS.

Main verbs	NS	(%)	NNS	*(%)*
Borrow	35	46.7	26	*23.9*
Have	0	0	10	*9.2*
Have a (look/read)	24	32.0	17	*15.6*
Take	0	0	21	*19.3*
Lend	0	0	15	*13.7*
Look	4	5.4	5	*4.6*
Any Other	12	16.0	15	*13.7*
Total	75	100	109	*100*

Table 5.9: Main verb in the Magazine context

However, the NNS also made some inappropriate choices. For example, instead of using 'Borrow', some subjects chose 'Have' (9.2%) and 'Take' (19.3%), which give the impression that the speaker wants to possess or confiscate the magazine (see also Blum-Kulka and Levenston 1987). The use of verb appears to be interesting as it can indicate an L1 influence. Although this claim cannot be substantiated due to lack of research, the equivalent of 'Take' can be used as an appropriate verb in this context in Turkish, indicating possession for a limited period of time.

'Lend' was used by 15 NNS while none of the NS used this verb. Some of these uses actually meant 'Borrow', and it seems that the NNS confused these verbs. The percentage of Other verb forms is higher in the NS data (16.0%), indicating a greater range of verb choices available to the NS subjects.

In the pre-proposition, the NS tended to use address forms such as 'Excuse me' (Table 5.10). The use of 'Excuse me' appears to prepare the addressee for the up-coming request, and for this

reason Blum-Kulka et al (1989) label it an "alerter". Aijmer (1996) classifies apologies in two categories: "casual (ritual) and serious" (p.97). She places 'excuse me' as an address form in the casual apology category, and describes this type of use as "a phatic act establishing a harmonious relationship with the hearer" (ibid. p. 97).

Excuse me	groups	Used	%	Not used	%
Cinema	NS	26	34.2	46	60.5
	NNS	23	20.7	83	74.8
Magazine	NS	39	51.3	34	30.7
	NNS	16	14.4	93	83.8

Table 5.10: Frequencies of use of 'excuse me' in both contexts by NS and NNS

In the Cinema context, 26 NS (34.2%) used 'Excuse me' while only 23 NNS (20.7%) used it. Even more noticeably in the Magazine context, 39 NS (51.3%) but only 16 NNS (14.4%) used 'Excuse me'. It appears that the NNS are less likely to use 'Excuse me' in both these contexts of situation. This might indicate that the NNS would appear rather direct, without attempting to signal their wish for a 'harmonious relationship' with the listener (see also Garcia 1989).

A modal adjunct 'Please' could occur either in pre-P or in post-P. Stubbs (1983) describes 'Please' as "unique" (p. 71) in terms of its syntactic behaviour, and as a "functional item" (p.71), mainly used to mitigate a potential FTA that a request may cause.

Position	NS	(%)	NNS	*(%)*
Pre-P	19	25.0	29	*26.1*
Post-P	24	31.6	49	*44.1*
Total	43	56.6	78	*70.2*

Table 5.11: The number of uses of 'please' in three positions in the Cinema context

As can be seen in Table 5.11, in the Cinema context, the NS used 'Please' in the pre-P position 19 times (25.0%) and the NNS used it 29 times (26.1%), while Table 5.12 shows that, in the Magazine context, the NS used it 5 times (6.6%) and the NNS used it only once. As it is a potentially more face-threatening act, asking people to keep quiet appears to require a higher degree of caution. In post-P position in the Cinema context, NS used 'Please' 24 times (31.6%) and the NNS used it 49 times (44.1%).

Sentential location	NS	(%)	NNS	*(%)*
Pre-P	5	6.6	1	*0.9*
Post-P	22	28.9	23	*20.7*
Total	27	35.5	24	*21.6*

Table 5.12: The number of uses of 'please' in three positions in the Magazine context

While both groups appear to differ in using 'Please' in the post-P position in the Cinema context, they behaved similarly in the Magazine context. As can be seen in Table 5.12, it was used by 22 NS (28.9%) and by 23 NNS (20.7%).

context	NS	(%)	NNS	*(%)*
Cinema	30	39.5	28	*25.2*
Magazine	48	63.1	85	*76.6*

Table 5.13: The number of subjects who did not use 'Please' in the Cinema and Magazine contexts

As Table 5.13 shows, in the Cinema context the number of NS who did not use 'Please' is 30 (39.5%) and the number of NNS is 28 (25.2%). Although this is rather a large difference, the number of subjects who did not use 'Please' is not as striking as in the Magazine context. While 48 NS (63.1%) did not use it, an even higher number, 85 NNS (76.6%) did not. It seems that

the NNS are not aware of the important mitigating role of 'Please' in signalling negative politeness when asking a favour from a stranger.

The findings suggest that even though the NNS approximated to the NS in the use of certain modalized indirect request forms, they failed to approximate to their NS counterparts in terms of appropriacy. For example, in the Cinema context, although the number of uses of 'Could you' and 'Can you' are similar in both groups, the high number of occurrences of an imperative form in the NNS data is striking. Equally, in the Magazine context, there is a significant difference between the numbers of the NS and the NNS who used 'May I'. The majority of the NNS opted for this modal in the Magazine context. The choice of main verb after the modalized verb suggests that the NNS differ quite strikingly. For example, a great majority of the NNS used 'Be quiet'; whereas this verb did not occur in the NS data so frequently. In the use of the main verb in the Magazine context, the NNS made quite a few incorrect choices, such as using verbs like 'Take' and 'Have' instead of 'Borrow'. Their use of incorrect verb forms suggests that they tend to improvise when they do not know the conventionalized form (cf. Blum-Kulka and Levenstone 1987).

Since the NNS used more imperative forms in the Cinema context, this appeared to result in a greater number of the politeness marker 'Please' in the NNS data in this context. However, in the Magazine context, the NNS tended to use fewer instances of 'Please' compared to the NS. The overall picture implies that, when making an indirect request, the NNS can potentially make

inappropriate modal verb and main verb choices. They are likely to use fewer alerters, such as 'Excuse me', and politeness markers, such as 'Please', in an indirect request.

5.5.2.2 Discussion

The results have shown that in the NNS data, the choice of modal forms is focused on the use of three forms ('Can', 'Could' and 'Would'). In the magazine borrowing context, the most frequently occurring modal verb is 'May' in the NNS data; however, it occurs in the NS data much less frequently. As pointed out earlier, this could be encouraged by classroom education. An examination of Turkish secondary school EFL textbooks appears to confirm this interpretation. In the 7th grade book request questions are asked using 'Can' and 'May' as in "Can I borrow [your dictionary]?" , "Can you lend me your pencil?" and "May I sit here?" (Yalcinkaya et al 1994: 62). In the textbook for the 8th grade, the verb 'Lend' collocates with the modal 'Can' in an offer as in "I can lend you some [money]." (Dikmen et al 1994a 46). These books provide very little help for learners to develop pragmalinguistic competence for everyday situations such as making requests, since only a very limited range of forms is presented and practised.

The majority of the NNS failed to use mitigating pragmalinguistic features such as 'Please' as a politeness marker appropriately. As seen in the analysis, they appear to have overused 'Please'. Like Faerch and Kasper's (1989) Danish learners, a majority of the Turkish trainees used the politeness marker 'Please' to soften the force of an imperative. This indicates that the use of modality is a problem for learners. Kasper (1982) found that learners' language displays a "lack

of marking for speech modality" (p.107). Learners either failed to use modality markers, which Kasper terms "modality reduction" (p.107), or tended to overgeneralize the use of one form, which she refers to as "modality overgeneralization" (p. 107). Kasper (1982) argues that:

> In traditional FL teaching, ..., the referential function is dissociated from interpersonal functions in that the former is realized in FL whereas the latter are performed in the learners' and teachers' L1 (p.108).

Kasper also found that the language of EFL textbooks was another reinforcing factor in learners' adopting ineffective modality strategies. It appears that the under-representation of pragmalinguistics is not unique to the Turkish educational context. In summary, the Turkish trainees appear to have problems in using interpersonal features in indirect requests. These are choosing an appropriate indirect request form, a suitable modal verb, and main verb, and using politeness markers appropriately.

5.5.3 Analysis of the Dialogue Writing and Dialogue Completion Sections: the Restaurant and the Paint Store Contexts

For this part of the questionnaire, the subjects were asked to write a dialogue which might occur between themselves and a waiter in a restaurant in which they ordered a meal. The aim was to understand how far Turkish teacher trainees could approximate the NS in performing an everyday activity in English. The subjects were also asked to complete a truncated dialogue which occurred between a shop assistant and a customer. The purpose of this task was to see whether the NNS could use pragmalinguistically appropriate forms in the opening and closing slots of the dialogue.

The analysis was performed in two steps. The first step was to analyse the NSs' answers to identify patterns for the stages in a possible dialogue between a waiter and a customer. This pattern would provide base line data to analyse the NNS dialogues and to compare them with those which were created by the NS. Each dialogue was divided into stages (e.g. opening, main body and closing). The Opening consists of the initiation by the waiter or the customer and the response to this initiation by the customer and the waiter. The Main Body consists of the waiter's questions about the customer's order and the customer's questions about the meals and asking permission to order. The Closing consists of a 'final check' for that the order is complete, 'emphasizing the time constraint', 'repeating the order' and 'thanking'.

Typically, in the waiter initiated dialogues, the response by the customer is to order the meal, and in the customer initiated dialogues, the response by the waiter is to ask the customer what s/he would like. The dialogues where the customer initiates the exchange-encounter seem more complex, as it is difficult to pin down where the opening ends and the Main Body starts. Since the meal ordering step is delayed due to the customer's initiation, it takes place in the third turn in the customer initiated dialogues. Following the third turn the dialogue proceeds to the next stage, namely the Main Body.

The clauses were also analysed to identify whether interpersonal routines such as 'good morning' were used or not. Answers with a frequency higher than 10 per cent and those

which deviate from the NS' use are discussed in the light of previous research and models provided by Turkish secondary school EFL textbooks.

5.5.3.1 Openings

The analysis of the Openings in the Restaurant context is quite complicated since the Opening is done either by the waiter or by the customer. The opening part is extended up to the third turn in some dialogues. That is, particularly, in the dialogues where the customer starts the exchange, the meal ordering occurs in the third turn. Therefore, those third turns which were performed either by the waiter or the customer will be analysed in order to see how far the NNS structure approximates that of the NS. In some others, where the waiter starts the dialogue, the third turn is the last turn (7 NS and 15 NNS). The dialogue is closed by thanking (6 NS and 6 NNS). In yet others (2 NS and 3 NNS), the third turn 'Anything else?' initiates the Closing. Other third turns which are the last turns have the function of compliance by the NS waiter ('Certainly madam') and of serving the NNS customer about the service in the NNS data ('All right.' and 'It will be ready in a few minutes.') and the NNS customer's deflecting a question about further orders ('Yes but not now.'). However, as will be pointed out later, most subjects did not complete the dialogue. As a result, the numbers of occurrences of the third turn are small and the percentages will not be given in the tables. Nonetheless, they appear to indicate that the NNS meal ordering dialogue structure deviates from that of the NS.

Most NS subjects preferred the waiter to start the opening; 46 out of 74 NS subjects (62.0 %) and 48 out of 96 NNS subjects (50.0 %) chose the waiter starting the dialogue (Table

5:15), while the rest of the subjects chose the customer to start it (Table 5:16 below). However, 2 NS and 15 NNS did not do this section. Even those choices which occur in small numbers are included in the tables to show differences between the NS and the NNS groups.

Waiter starting the opening	NS	(%)	NNS	*(%)*
(Good evening)/ (hello) / (hi) Are you ready to order, (madam)/ (sir)?	24	52.2	0	*0*
(Welcome). What would you like [to take)/(order)/(have)/ (eat)],(madam)/ (sir)?	7	15.2	33	*68.7*
Welcome (sir)	0	0	3	*6.3*
Can I help you?	2	4.3	3	*6.3*
Any Other	13	28.3	9	*18.7*
Total	46	100	48	*100*

Table 5.15: NS and NNS waiter starting the opening in the Restaurant context [22]

In the 'waiter opening' interactions, 52.2% of NS opened the service encounter by asking '(Good evening)/ (hello) Are you ready to order, (madam)/ (sir)?' (Table 5.15). Instead, in the NNS data, 68.7% of NNS preferred to use the question form, 'What would you like to + verb', these verbs 'have', 'eat' 'like' and 'take' as well as 'order' appearing in this form. On the other hand, 15.2 % of the NS preferred a shorter form of this: 'What would you like, (madam)/ (sir)?'. 'The NS's top choice 'Are you ready to order?' (52.2%) appears to be less direct compared with the NNS' WH-question. The customer has the opportunity to say that s/he is or is not ready before the waiter asks about what the customer specifically wants. Therefore, this choice is less face threatening. Interestingly, none of the NNS used this form.

[22] It is possible that the linguistic realisation of ordering a meal is performed differently in Turkish. To the best of my knowledge there is no such a study which could help me to reach a conclusion on this issue.

While the NS used interpersonal routines such as 'Good evening' 'Hello' and 'Hi' at the beginning of their initiation, several NNS used 'Welcome' and 4 of the NNS used 'Good day', 'Hello', 'Good afternoon' and 'Good evening' to start their initiation. 'Welcome' (Hosgeldiniz) is a traditional Turkish way of greeting. 'Good day' (Iyi gunler) is also used in Turkish, but to bid good-bye rather than to greet. Three occurrences of 'What would you like' are initiated with 'Welcome'. Another form 'Welcome I can help you', can be due to the result of transfer of the Turkish form 'Yardimci olayim efendim (I can help you madam/ sir?)' -with rising intonation-. It is used by shop assistants in other exchange-encounter contexts such as in high-class boutiques. The NNS appear to have transferred this routine from Turkish. There are 13 occurrences (28.3%) in the 'Any Other' category in the NS data. Some of these occurred twice: 'May I take your order?'; 'Would you like to order?'; 'Have you decided yet?' and 'Good evening, could I take your order?'. In the NNS data, there are 9 different forms (18.7%) in the category of 'Any Other'. These are distorted versions of asking the customer what s/he likes. Some of these are: 'Can I have your orders please?' and 'What would you order?'

Customer Initiating	NS	(%)	NNS	*(%)*
(Excuse me), could I /we order?	8	28.6	0	*0*
(Hi) Could I have X (please)	5	17.8	3	*6.25*
(Excuse me). We're / I'm ready to order (now)	4	14.3	0	*0*
Hello	3	10.8	0	*0*
(Excuse me) I'd like to (have) / (eat) X (please)	0	0	10	*20.8*
(Excuse me) Can I have X please	0	0	4	*8.3*
XX and XX please	0	0	2	*4.2*
Excuse me	0	0	2	*4.2*
Any other	8	28.6	27	*56.3*
Total	28	100	48	*100*

Table 5.16: NS and NNS customer starting the opening in the Restaurant context

The NS customers tended to open the dialogue by asking for permission to order: '(Excuse me), could I / we order?' (28.5%). Two other frequent forms are '(Hi) Could I have X please?' which occurs 5 times (17.8%), and '(Excuse me). We're / I'm ready to order (now).', which occurs 4 times (14.3 %).

As can be seen in Table 5.16, there is only one form which is used by both groups, (17.8% NS and 6.1% NNS): '(Hi) Could I have X (please)?'. The most frequently used form in the NNS data is 'I'd like to have / eat X (please)' which occurs 10 times (20.8%) and is not used by the NS at all. Other forms which occur in the NNS data but are not used by the NS are 'Can I have X please?' (8.3%), 'XX and XX please' (4.2%) and 'Excuse me.' (4.2%).

9 of the NS customers (32 %) who say 'Could I / we order?'; 'Could I have XX please?' and 'We're I'm ready to order' start their initiation with 'Excuse me' while only 5 of the NNS (10.4%) who use all the forms in Table (5.16) start their initiation with 'Excuse me'.

The number of occurrences of 'Any Other' in the NS data is 8 (28.6%). These are 'Can I have X?'; 'Can we order?'; 'Excuse me. Can I make my order?'; 'Good evening'; 'I'll have X'; 'I'd like to order'; 'Excuse me ahh do you think I can order now please?' and 'Hello. May I have X?'.

Since the NNS improvised and created different forms, the 'Any Other' category is quite large: 27 occurrences (56.3 %). 4 of these are about the menu, each of which occurs only

once: 'Could I take the menu please'; 'May I have the menu?'; 'Can I have the menu please?'; 'Excuse me, can I learn the list of the meals please?; 'Can you bring the menu, please?'; 'Could I have the menu?'. There are some inappropriate forms such as 'Excuse me, could you help me?' and 'Pardon'. The French cognate 'Pardon' appears to have been used inappropriately as an address form to draw attention, which can be acceptable to address strangers in Turkish. Three other forms which are a declaration of the customer's desire to order a meal sound odd: 'I want to order my lunch please.'; 'I'd like to order my dinner please.'; 'I want to order something for meal.'

The NNS appear to have transferred from Turkish too. For example, 'Waiter! Can you look here?'; 'Excuse me. Could you come here?'; 'Waiter!. Please can you come here'; 'Pardon. Can you look at?' (each occurring once) seem to have been translated from the Turkish form 'Garson, buraya bakarmisiniz?' (gloss~ Waiter, here look+question+modal+ polite you?) which is acceptable in some restaurants which are probably affordable for the students'.

Waiter Response to Customer starting	NS	%	NNS	%
(yes)(certainly)(madam)/(sure)what would you like	8	28.6	0	*0*
Certainly (sir)	4	14.3	1	*2.1*
(Of course)/ (Yes) what would you like to(have)/ (drink)	0	0	7	*14.6*
Yes (Sir) / (Madam)	0	0	4	*8.3*
(Of course) Here you are	0	0	4	*8.3*
(Yes) Of course	0	0	4	*8.3*
(Yes of course)/ (all right!) Anything else	0	0	2	*4.2*
No Response	5	17.8	0	*0*
Any Other	11	39.3	26	*54.2*
total	28	100	48	*100*

Table 5:17: NS and NNS waiter response to customer's initiating the opening in the Restaurant context

Both the NS and the NNS had the waiter respond to the customer's starting the Opening by using similar forms. As can be seen in Table 5.17, the NS used '(Yes)(Certainly)(madam)/(sure)What would you like' (28.6 %) while the NNS used '(Of course) / (Yes) What would you like / (to have) / (to drink)' (14.6%).

The category of 'Any Other' in both groups in waiter response to customer's starting is quite large (39.3% in the NS data and 54.2 % in the NNS data). In the NS data, most of these are the waiter's affirmative replies such as 'Yes sir.' and 'Of course sir'. Some of these forms are actually initiating for more custom, such as 'And for desert sir'; 'Certainly sir. Anything else?'; 'Is that with salad?'; 'Anything else?'; '(Certainly) (Yes of course). Would you like a drink?'.

The NNS waiter responses also includes several questions for more custom such as 'Yes of course do you want another thing?'; 'OK. Do you want something to drink?' and 'Of course sir. Do you want a drink?'. The NNS waiters asked about the type of the order such as 'OK. Would you like souse* (sauce) on it?'; 'What kind of soup would you like?'. The NNS replied to their customers' initiation by giving short answers: 'Yes'; 'All right sir' and 'OK'.

Since some NS had the customer order the meal in the first turn and ended the dialogue at the end of the first turn, there are 5 'No Responses' in the NS data.

Customer response to waiter's initiation	NS	(%)	NNS	*(%)*
I'll have X (please)	16	34.8	1	*2.0*
I/we'd like X (please)	14	30.4	4	*8.3*
Could I have X (please)	10	21.8	0	*0*
Can I have (please)	4	8.7	2	*4.2*
X and X (please)	0	0	2	*4.2*
I want to have/take	0	0	6	*12.5*
I'd like to eat/ have (please)	0	0	16	*33.4*
Any other form	2	4.3	17	*35.4*
Total	46	100	48	*100*

Table 5.18: NS and NNS customer response to the waiter's initiating the opening in the Restaurant context

As can be seen in Table 5.18, The NS used three forms quite frequently. These are: 'I'll have X' (34.8 %); 'I/we'd like X (please)' (30.4%) and 'Could I have X (please)' (21.8%). While 34.8% of NS chose the form 'I'll have X' (cf. McCarthy and Carter 1995), it was only by used 2.0% of NNS. The differences in the percentages of the NS and NNS subjects who used these three forms is quite striking, as shown in Table 5.18. 33.4% of the NNS used 'I'd like to eat / have (please)' which is similar to the NS' choice 'I/we'd like X (please)'. Those NNS who had the customer started the dialogue used this form (see Table 5.16). However, in the NS data customers did not use 'I'd like X (please)' to begin the dialogue. 21.8% of NS chose to use 'Could I have X (please)' while none of the NNS used this form. However, in both groups, those subjects who had the customer start the Opening, used 'Could I have X (please)' (see Table 5.16). The use of the bald, unmitigated verb 'to want', which is the basic form of expressing one's desires ('I want to have/take'), was used by 12.5% of NNS, while none of the NS used it. A similar use of the verb 'want' was observed in the initiation of the openings in the paint store context.

In the NS data the number of forms in the category of 'Any Other' is very low compared to that of the NNS data. The NS used only two forms: 'To start X and Y' and 'I like X'. The NNS, on the other hand, used 17 forms (35.4 %), 7 of which re related to the menu: 'What do you have on your menu?'; 'Yes, first I want to see the menu'; and 'Let me look at the menu'. It is possible that in a Turkish meal ordering context, the waiter's greeting can be followed by an inquiry about the menu. This could be due to the reluctance of the restaurant staff to update the menu everyday. For this reason, they might have thought it is better to ask the waiter what is on the menu on that day. Since they do not know the conventionalized forms, they appear to have improvised (e.g. 'I want to have XX') and produced a number of forms, while the NS were more decisive and focused on a few forms. This is apparent in the customer response in the Restaurant context.

Third turn: Waiter	NS	*NNS*
drinks	12	*10*
starters	4	*0*
details about the main course	8	*0*
other questions for more custom	9	*2*
waiter complies	4	*2*
waiter repeats	1	*0*
delayed invitation for ordering of the meal	0	*6*
total	38	*20*

Table 5.19: Waiter's third turn in NS and NNS data

In the NNS data, when it is the waiter's turn, the third turn is used to ask for more custom such as 'And something to drink?' and 'Any drink or desert?'. The NS waiter used forms such as: 'And would you like a drink with that?' and 'Yes anything to drink?'. The NS waiters also asked whether the customer would like any starters ('Starters' and 'Any

starters'). As can be seen in Table 5.19, the NNS waiter did not ask about starters. This may be because in the as in Turkish tradition, a meal does not necessarily begin with a starter.

In the third turn, the NS waiter asks the customer about the main course such as 'Certainly. How do you like your steak?' and 'With peas and carrots?'. In the NNS data, questions about the main course are different from those of the NS. They are more about the ordering of the main course, indicating a delay in the meal ordering process. These are: 'Yes sir whatever you want.', 'What would you like to eat (sir)?', 'All right sir. I offer you our speciality.', 'May I have your orders?'. In addition, there are a few occurrences of the waiter's complying by saying 'Yes' and 'Certainly madam' in both data. In the NS data, there is one occurrence of the waiter's repeating the order in the third turn.

In the NS data, when it is the customer's turn, the third turn is used to order the meal (Table 5.20). The forms used are 'I/we'd like X please' (10 times), 'I'll have X please' (3 times), 'Can I have X please?' (2 times), 'Could I have X please?' (2 times) and 'to start XX and then XX' (once). One customer asks a question about a dish 'What's XX like?'. In addition, Thanking after taking the menu from the waiter occurs once and saying 'Yes' to reply to the waiter's question occurs once.

Third turn: Customer	NS	%	NNS	%
I/we'd like X please	10	55.6	3	*9.4*
I'll have X please	3	16.6	0	*0*
Could I have X please	2	11.1	0	*0*
Can I have X please	2	11.1	1	*3.1*
To start X and then X	1	5.6	0	*0*
XX and XX please	0	0	10	*31.2*
I'd like to have / take / eat X please.'	0	0	7	*21.9*
I want to have/ eat X please	0	0	2	*6.3*
Can you get me X	0	0	1	*3.1*
Bring me some X	0	0	1	*3.1*
I prefer eating the days' special meal	0	0	1	*3.1*
deflecting offer for more custom	0	0	2	*6.3*
Answering waiter's question about the type of soup	0	0	2	*6.3*
Making an inquiry about the type of soup available	0	0	1	*3.1*
Inquiring about immediate availability	0	0	1	*3.1*
total	18	100	32	*100*

Table 5.20: Customer's third turn in NS and NNS data

In the NNS data, when it is the customer's turn, the third turn is used to order the meal (Table 5.20). These forms are 'XX and XX please' (55.6 %), 'I'd like to have / take / eat X please.' (21.9%), 'I want to have/ eat X please.' (6.3%) and 'I'd like X please' (9.4%). The rest of the forms 'Can I have X please?', 'Can you get me X?', 'Bring me some X' and 'I prefer eating the days' special meal' each occurs only once. The NNS customer also deflects the waiter's questions about further custom by saying 'Yes but not now.' and 'No thank you. I'll order later'. One NNS customer asks about the type of the soup which the restaurant serves ('What kind of soup have you got?'). Two reply to the waiter's question about the type of soup that the customer wants, ('Any kind. It does not matter.' , 'It does not matter.') One NNS customer asks whether the meal is available to be served immediately, ('Is it possible immediately?').

The analysis of the first three turns reveals that a typical NS Opening in the waiter initiated dialogues is as follows:

w: (Good evening)/ (hello)/ (hi). Are you ready to order (madam)/ (sir)?
c: I'll have X (please).
w: Any drinks?

Figure 5.1: Typical NS waiter Opening based on the analysis

On the other hand, a typical NNS Opening in the waiter initiated dialogues presents a different picture as seen below:

w: (welcome) / what would you like to (take)/ (take)/ (order)/ (have) / (eat), (madam)/ (sir)?
c: I'd like to eat / have (please)
w: And something to drink

Figure 5.2: Typical NNS waiter Opening based on the analysis

In the dialogues where the customer initiates the dialogue, a typical NS Opening is as follows:

c: (Excuse me), could I/we order?
w: (yes) (certainly) (madam)/ (sure) what would you like?
c: I / we'd like X please.

Figure 5.3: Typical NS customer Opening based on the analysis

As expected, a typical NNS opening follows a different pattern to that of the NS:

c: (Excuse me) I'd like to (have) / (eat) X (please).
w: (Of course) (Yes) what would you like to (have) (drink)?
c: XX and XX please.

Figure 5.4: Typical NNS customer Opening based on the analysis

As can be seen, the NNS appear to have a different understanding of how the Opening of meal ordering dialogue works. This could be due to the effects of classroom training and

Turkish EFL text-books. Nonetheless, the most apparent effect appears to be transfer of Turkish forms into English. The customers' asking about the menu and what is available at present such as 'Can I learn the list of the meals?' and the use of Turkish interpersonal routines such as 'Welcome' and the use of the French cognate 'Pardon' to address the waiter all indicate Turkish influence on their performance.

5.5.3.3 Closings

In the paint-store context, a number of NS and NNS subjects (32 NS and 68 NNS subjects) did not finish the dialogue because they used all the allocated lines for negotiating the type and colour of paint and therefore ran out of space. This also happened in the restaurant context, but at a lower level. Only 26 wrote a proper closing in the restaurant context. Unfortunately, this limits the information which can be gained from analysis of the closings.

Closing	NS	(%)	NNS	*(%)*
That'll be £10 please	23	47.9	0	*0*
That's £10 please	10	20.8	2	*4.2*
(Certainly) anything else (required)	5	10.4	5	*10.4*
(OK)/(all right sir) here you are/(sir)	0	0	4	*8.3*
How much does it/do they cost?	3	6.3	26	*54.2*
(Yes) here it is	2	4.2	7	*14.6*
Any other form	5	10.4	4	*8.3*
Total	48	100	48	*100*

Table 5.21: NS and NNS initiating closings in the Paint store context

In the NS data, 68.7% of the subjects gave the price directly, though with a mitigating 'Please' (first and second items in Table 5.17). In contrast, the NNS shop-keepers behave more indirectly, not mentioning the price. They seemed to expect the customer to ask. This is seen in the high number of occurrences of 'How much does it cost?' and its varieties,

which occur 26 times (54.2%) in the NNS data while it is only used by 3 NS subjects (6.3%).

Although some customers in the Restaurant context finish the dialogue in the third turn by saying 'Thank you', these dialogues are not complete as the Closing has not yet been negotiated between the waiter and the customer. The NS data analysis, though a small sample, shows that a transition to the closing of the dialogue appears to be signalled by initiation for more custom and the customer's negative answer and thanking. This leads to the waiter's repeating the order to check, which can be followed with thanking. Those dialogues that do not have these in the closing were counted as not having a proper Closing. Therefore, they were not included in the analyses for both the NS and the NNS data. Only those dialogues with a complete Closing were analysed. For this reason, the numbers of occurrences are quite small.

One factor that could be indicative of the interactiveness of the dialogues is the use of 'thanking' in the Closings. Some conversational routines can be multi-functional; as has already been discussed, 'Thank you' can both be used to express one's gratitude and to signal the closing of an interaction (Aijmer 1996; see also Aston 1995). Saying 'Thank you' to finish an exchange for goods and services has an important function (cf. Aston 1995). In the NS data, it is used also to indicate that orders have been received.

Restaurant/Closing	NS	%	NNS	%
Customer thanking	21	43.7	4	*8.3*

Table 5.23: NS and NNS in the Restaurant/thanking

While 'Thanking' in Closing occurs 21 times (43.7% NS) for the Restaurant context in the NNS data, the number of occurrences of 'Thanking' in the NNS is very small (8.3%) (Table 5.18). Thanking is always done by customers, not by the NNS waiters. However, these results must be treated with caution because several of the dialogues are not complete.

Restaurant steps in closing	NS	*NNS*
Final checking	18	*9*
Emphasising time constraint	6	*5*
Repeating the order	2	*0*
Reassuring the customer about the service	0	*3*
Final checking + emphasizing time constraint	5	*0*
Total	31	*17*

Table 5.24: NS and NNS in the Restaurant/Closing

As can be seen from Table 5.19, the percentages for occurrences were not calculated since the number of occurrences of the items was very small. The table shows that three types of exchanges emerged from the data: 'Final checking', 'Emphasizing time constraint on the waiter', and 'Repeating the order' in the closing stage. In the final check, the waiter asks whether the customer would like anything else (e.g. both the NS and the NNS used 'Anything else sir?'). Quality of service appears to be partly measured against time. Thus, the waiter reassures the customer that it will not take long (e.g. the NS: 'OK back in a sec'; the NNS: 'OK a few minutes later your spaghetti is ready').

Repeating the order and thanking did not occur in the NNS data (e.g. NS waiter: 'OK that's one soup one paté, a medium steak and a salmon'). Instead, the NNS added another move: reassuring the customer about the service. This appears to be functioning to reassure the customer about the quality of the service, the food and their choice (e.g. 'Best choice I'll get it ready for you'). This may be an influence from Turkish (see also Saito and Beecken 1997).

This section has presented the analysis of the questions about two types of exchange encounter: a shop context and a restaurant context. The NNS subjects diverged noticeably from their NS counterparts. The trainees seem to have transferred forms from Turkish (e.g. 'What do you want?'). They also improvised, which increased the variety of forms that they suggested. They did not complete the dialogues, so the results do not show exactly to what extent they are knowledgeable about the closing stage of an exchange encounter. However, the NNS do not appear to have remembered to thank at the end of the dialogues, which seems to be rather a serious violation of an important social rule in both Turkish and British societies. It has to be indicated once again that we do not know much about the generic structure of an exchange encounter in the Turkish context, which may have different features. Had there been some research on this, it would have been possible to interpret some of the data in a more detailed fashion. For example, the NNS shop-assistants did not say the total amount that the customer owed. Instead, it was the customer who asked by using a simple WH-question: 'How much is it?'. It is not possible to say whether this is due to classroom training or a choice that has emerged from the effect of the Turkish language and culture. The analysis in this part has clearly shown that the NNS are not aware of the use

of some conventionalized and routinized forms in an exchange encounter context. The next section will present the analysis of the questions on other types of conventionalized forms: asking the time and asking how people are.

5.5.4 The Use of Conventionalized Routines

These forms appear to be 'fixed' (Aijmer 1996:12) to a degree. Aijmer describes fixedness as "non-substitutability" or "collocational restrictions" (p.12). That is, they cannot easily be replaced with another form, and the number of words or structures to be used with these forms is restricted. Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) put proverbs, aphorisms, and formulas for social action in the category of "Institutionalised Expressions" (p.39). They give 'How do you do?' and 'How are you?' as examples. Some of the conventionalized routines seem to be compulsory, as happens in the case of 'How are you?', which is strongly associated with appropriate social behaviour.

Some of the conventionalized forms play an important role in oiling the social wheels, and these are associated with the cultural context of the language. Therefore, using these forms is compulsory and has to be done in a particular way. In a sense, their use can be said to be 'ritualistic' (Aijmer 1996: 9). For example, in the case of 'How are you?' speakers do not appear to hesitate in echoing each other, as in the fabricated example:

A: How are you?
B: I'm very well. Thank you. How are you?
A: Alright.

This "continuous" (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992: 38) exchange of three turns can help to initiate a daily interaction. Here, a sentence which is used in question form is used to satisfy a

social norm. That is, like many other pragmalinguistic features (e.g. an indirect request and discourse marker **you know**), this question does not appear to ask what its semantic meaning suggests. As mentioned before, this mismatch is what seems to potentially cause 'pragmalinguistic failure' (Thomas 1983).

As Jaworski (1994) remarks, learning the use of formulaic types of conventions of language can be difficult even for advanced learners. Jaworski indicates that learners tend to transfer forms from their mother tongue. Jaworski's Polish subjects have difficulty in interpreting the pragmatic meaning of a greeting 'How are you (doing)?' They appear to take it as a genuine question. This kind of pragmalinguistic failure can happen when the learners interpret the force of the formula in terms of the meanings and functions of their mother tongue. Socio-pragmatic failure can occur when they interpret the socio-cultural basis of the formula in terms of their own culture.

With regard to the analysis of conventionalized routines, the items which occurred at least 10 times in the NS corpus are included in tables 5.20 and 5.22 which show the responses to the two relevant questions in this section of the questionnaire. These items were then counted in the NNS data. Sometimes the NNS used some forms which were not exactly the same but were similar to those forms which occurred in the NS data. These will also be presented to show that at least the NNS are aware of the use of the form though they have problems with its grammatical structure.

In some cases, the NNS produced an exact translation of the Turkish form. As they did for the previous items, the NNS tended to improvise and translate from Turkish; for example, the form 'Can I learn the time?' appears to be translated from Turkish 'Zamani ögrenebilirmiyim?' (gloss: the time learn+ modal+ question+ I)'. These will also be discussed since transfer from L1 may indicate a fossilised mistake (Selinker 1972) or unawareness about the use of conventionalized routines (cf. Jaworski 1994).

Many of the forms which were put in the 'Any Other' category occurred only once or twice. This may have been due to the relatively small number of NS subjects. Had there been a larger group of NS subjects, those which occurred once or twice would perhaps have occurred more frequently. However, as can be seen in Tables 5.21 and 5.22, even a small NS corpus suffices to show that the NNS have quite a poor repertoire of such formulas.

5.5.4.1 Conventionalized Ways of Asking the Time

Although asking the time does not appear to have the function of oiling the social wheels, it seems to have a conventionalized form. The time can be asked by manipulating grammar rules and using a range of vocabulary choices. However, there appears to be a limited range of forms to realize this function, as can be seen in the NS data (Table 5.20). Depending on the context of situation, speakers seem to select from their repertoire of prefabricated formulas . On the other hand, the NNS appear to know only one of those (Table 5.21). Since they were asked to give more than one form, they seem to have had to create new forms either by transferring from Turkish or improvising. However, this did not help them to approximate to the conventionalized forms.

Subjects were asked to provide as many conventional ways as possible of asking the time and asking somebody how s/he was. The NS subjects made 161 suggestions in total, which give an average of 2.11 suggestions per person. In the NNS data, some of the suggestions were grammatically incorrect such as 'Can I learn the time please?' and 'Have you got a time?'. Including such forms, the NNS made 159 suggestions (37 of which were incorrect). The average number of correct forms per person in the NNS data is 1.43, which is less than that of the NS.

Opening	Question	Address	Politeness	Number	%
Excuse me	have you got the (right) time on you	(mate)	please	49	30.4
Excuse me	do you have the (correct/right) time	-	please	27	16.8
-	Could you give me the time	-	please	17	10.6
Excuse me	do you know what time it is	-	please	12	7.4
-	what's the time	-	-	12	7.4
Excuse me	do you know the (right) time	-	please	7	4.4
-	Any Other	-	-	37	23.0
			total	161	100

Table 5.24: Asking the time by NS

Only two forms occurred in both the NS and the NNS data (Tables 5.20 and 5.21). These are 'What's the time?' and 'Could you give/tell me the time?'. The first form occurred only

12 times in the NS data (7.4%) while it occurred 56 times in the NNS data (35.3%). It is the most frequently occurring form in the NNS data.

Opening	Question	Address	Politeness	Number	%
-	What's the time	-	please	56	35.3
-	Can I learn the time	-	please	14	8.8
-	Can you (tell)/say (me) the time	-	please	12	7.5
-	Any Other	-	-	77	48.4
			total	159	100

Table 5.25: Asking the time by NNS subjects

On the other hand, 'Excuse me, have you got the (right) time on you (mate) please?' is the most frequently occurring form in the NS data, occurring 49 times (30.4%). The second most frequently used form in the NS data was 'Do you have the (correct/right) time please?'. The NS used two more forms which were not used by the NNS. These are 'Do you know the (right) time?' and 'Do you know what time it is?' The first one of these occurred 7 times (4.4%), and the second occurred 12 times (7.4%).

As explained before, those forms which occurred more than 10 times and which appeared to be transferred from Turkish were also examined. The NNS used what seems to be a Turkish translation form 'Can I learn the time?' (Zamani ögrenebilirmiyim? gloss: the time learn+can+question+I) which was used 14 times (8.8%) and 'Can you (tell)/ say (me) the time?' (Zamani söylermisiniz? gloss: the time tell+modal+question+ polite you) which was used 12 times (7.5%). It appears that the NNS knew only one form (What's the time?). In order to provide more forms, they resorted to translate from Turkish as they were asked to write as many as they knew.

In the NS data, four forms out of five start with an opening alerter (excuse me) and four of them finish with a politeness marker 'Please'. Although the NNS did use 'Please', they did not use an alerter (e.g. Excuse me). These findings appear to indicate that the NNS are not aware of the importance of this phrase as a Politeness Strategy (Brown and Levinson 1987).

The form 'What's the time,' which 35.3 % of the NNS used, appears to be more direct compared with the forms that the NS used. It is a WH-question and it asks for the time specifically. However, the questions that the NS used appear to ask whether the hearer

knows the time or has the time or s/he is willing to inform the speaker about the time. The analysis of the data for this item of the questionnaire seems to suggest that the NNS are not aware of the routinized forms of asking the time in English.

This section has presented an analysis of the forms which were used by the NS and NNS for asking the time. The most commonly-used NS conventionalized form was 'Have you got the time on you?'. However, a limited range of other options also occurred in the NS responses. The small number of options indicates that this is a point which is teachable to EFL learners. Learners could easily be helped to develop a repertoire of routinized forms such as these (cf. Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992). This may help them to gain confidence in their interaction skills and build up their linguistic competence. The NNS responses showed that they knew only one conventionalized form ('What's the time?'). Beyond this they tended to improvise and create different forms from those produced by their NS counterparts. A close examination of Turkish-produced EFL textbooks reveals that 'What's the time?' is the only form given. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the NNS do not have a wider repertoire of forms to draw on.

5.5.4.2 Conventional Ways of Asking How People Are

A second type of conventional routine chosen was asking how someone is, for example, using the form 'How are you?'. This form, as explained before, can have different functions in interaction. It is both a 'greeting' and a conversation 'opener'. Depending on the context of situation, a variation of this routine can be used for similar purposes. Therefore, it is important that learners should be aware of such factors and variations of this type. The

Turkish trainees appear to have approximated to their NS counterparts better in the use of this formula compared to the one about asking the time (Table 5.22).

Form	NS	%	NNS	%
How is it going?	44	19.6	26	12.4
How is it going on?	-	-	14	6.7
Are you OK/alright?/ well	43	19.2	23	11.0
Are you fine?	-	-	10	4.8
How are you doing (these days)?	26	11.6	4	1.9
(Everything) all right?	18	8.0	-	-
How's things?	10	4.5	1	0.5
How do you do?	3	1.4	27	13.0
How is everything/ things going?	-	-	24	11.5
Any Other	80	35.7	80	38.2
total	224	100	209	100

Table 5.26: Asking how people are by both NS and NNS

The NS produced 224 forms in total, which gave an average of 2.94 forms per person. The NNS produced 209 forms (141 of which were incorrect). The average number of correct forms per person in the NNS data is 0.8, which is far less than that of the NS.

As can be seen in Table 5.22, the most commonly used forms in the NS data did not occur in the NNS as frequently. The number of occurrences of 'How is it going?' is 44 (19.6%) in the NS data and 26 (12.4%) in the NNS data. The number of occurrences of 'Are you OK/alright/well?' across the groups shows a similsr difference. This form occurred 43 times (19.2%) in the NS data while it occurred only 23 times (11.0%) in the NNS data. While the NS used 'How are you doing (these days)?' 26 times (11.6%), the NNS used it only 4 times (1.9 %). Perhaps one of the most common forms in daily life "all right", which occurred in fourth place in the NS data (8.0%) does not exist in the NNS data.

The majority of the NNS subjects changed 'How is it going?' into an incorrect form, 'How is it going on?'. The number of occurrences of this incorrect form is 14 (6.7%). The third NNS choice, 'How do you do?', (13.0%) is an inappropriate one, and the fairly high number of occurrences appears to signal that the trainees have learned its pragmalinguistic function incorrectly.

Another form that does not exist in the NS data but does in the NNS is 'Are you fine?', which seems to be a kind of derivative of the possible answer 'I'm fine, thanks', to the question 'How are you?'. In using the two conventionalized forms, 'How is it going' and 'Are you OK/alright/right/well?', the NNS some extent showed that they could use certain forms. However, they do not appear to know certain commonly used forms and appear to have attempted to overcome this by inventing their own formulas. One of the invented forms, which was included in the 'Any other' category, was 'How do you feel (yourself) (today)/ (this morning)' which occurred 28 times (13.4%). This form does not seem to be an equivalent of a Turkish routine, although the Turkish translation of this question can be asked of a sick person. This choice seems to indicate a pragmatic failure (Thomas 1983). Since this form did not fit any of the criteria which were explained in section 5.5.4, it is not presented in Table 5:22.

Routinized forms present three types of difficulty in language teaching. The first is that there are many of them, and the majority of these are interrelated with culture (cf. Aijmer 1996). To decide which ones to select for teaching requires a good knowledge of their relationship with the context of culture of the language and pragmalinguistics of language. Teachers and syllabus writers also need to know the frequency of occurrence of these forms in daily life

(Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992). Corpus linguistics has provided a great deal of valuable information about these recently (cf. Fox 1997; Willis 1997). Perhaps the most difficult part of all is to teach about the context of culture. Since there is little or no exposure to the target language the culture in an EFL teaching situation, the only way can be making the learners aware of the relationships between culture and conventionalized routines. In order to teach these, teachers should be able to explain the mismatch between the form and function of conventionalized routines and their relationship with the culture. If learners can have a good understanding of how conventionalized routines work right from the beginning of their language learning period, they may be able to develop an awareness of how they function in language.

Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) argue that learners do not need to analyse these forms into their linguistic components. They can learn these as chunks just as children do in the process of acquisition of their mother tongue. Nattinger and DeCarrico also assert that, at later stages, learners will become aware of the linguistic components of these forms. As pointed out earlier, an early development of an understanding of the functions of these forms would help to the learners gain confidence in L2 interaction. Therefore, this study argues that the development of an awareness of conventionalized routines as one element of pragmalinguistics could play a significant role in the improvement of the linguistic and teaching abilities of teacher trainees.

5.5.5 Discussion and Conclusions

In the follow up interviews, the NNS subjects reported that the dialogue completion and dialogue writing were the two most difficult tasks. The overall picture is that the dialogues

which were written by the NNS appeared to be less interactive. For example, in the openings, the NNS did not use interpersonal routines such as 'good morning'. Similar findings have already emerged from the analysis of making requests in the previous section of the questionnaire. In the realization of these requests, the native speakers used 'excuse me' as an alerter form to apologize for the intrusion. However, the NNS failed to do so. This may indicate that they are not aware of the importance of these routines in interaction.

Another example is the NNS' choice of 'what do you want?' in initiating the openings in the service encounter. Although in informal contexts the use of the verb "want" may be acceptable, in indirect requests, offers, and service-encounters it is not regarded as appropriate for more formal situations. However, some of the NNS do not appear to be aware of this.

5.6 Limitations of the Study

The ideal way of collecting data for an investigation on speech roles would be to record naturally-occurring discourse. However, collecting the data by means of this method would not be practicable because the investigated speech role may not occur as frequently as required (Cohen and Olshtain 1993; Hinkel 1997). For this reason, studies which investigate features of the pragmalinguistic use of language have to resort to other means to elicit data such as questionnaires, interviews and role plays (see also Hinkel 1997; Kasper and Dahl 1991). Kasper and Dahl (1991) point out that most methods for eliciting speech acts have drawbacks. They classify discourse completion tasks as highly constrained. However, Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1985) argue:

> Discourse completion type tests provide the researcher with a means of controlling for various variables and thus establishing statistically which variables are particularly significant intralinguistically as well as crossculturally (pp. 26-27).

They also argue that the data gives the researcher "very valuable information on specific strategy preferences at the 'micro speech act level'" (ibid. p.72). Similarly, Beebe and Cummings (1995) investigated refusals in both spoken data and Discourse Completion Tests. They conclude that the similarities between the refusals in spoken data and refusals in Discourse Completion data are strong enough to support the reliability of this type of data eliciting procedure.

The present study had to resort to the Discourse Completion Test to elicit data mainly for practical reasons. However, the questionnaire also contained multiple choice questions and questions aimed to elicit data about the trainees' language awareness and perceptions and attitudes towards pragmalinguistics. It was intended that these different types of items would provide a more rounded view of the subjects' capabilities.

5.7 General Conclusions

This chapter has investigated indirect speech acts, and has attempted to show that the mismatch between the grammatical form and the function of indirect speech acts could pose problems for language learners. This feature has been investigated in terms of three different forms: indirect speech acts (requests), conventionalized routines in a generic structure (exchange encounter) and conventionalized routines (e.g. institutionalised expressions and routinized formulas). A questionnaire was designed to elicit information about the teacher trainees' ability to interpret and produce these types of pragmalinguistic features.

The questionnaire analysis presented a mixed picture, where the Turkish teacher trainees were fairly successful in performing certain pragmalinguistic features but not very successful in others. They also had problems in relation to other aspects of language such as grammar and vocabulary. However, the NNS subjects' responses show that they have a degree of basic pragmalinguistic awareness. Analysis of the responses to the multiple choice questions shows that the NNS appear to be aware of the distinctions in the effect of expressing a demand for action by means of an imperative, a declarative or a modalized interrogative. In the fast food restaurant context, the NNS were able to choose two of the options which were preferred by the majority of the NS. The overall analysis of the questions which are related to indirect requests indicates that the NNS can use and interpret the force of the modal verbs 'Can' and 'Could' to some extent. The NNS also appear to be aware of the uses of certain conversational routines such as 'You are welcome' as a reply to someone who thanks, and 'I am sorry' as an apology phrase. They also know that some expressions seemingly have the same meaning but in fact perform different functions, as in the case of 'Excuse me' and 'I am sorry'.

The results of the analysis of the dialogue writing and dialogue completion questions can be interpreted in two ways: firstly, in terms of the subjects' awareness of the structure of an exchange encounter as a genre, and secondly, the linguistic realization of the steps of the structure. These difficulties seem to be related with a deficiency in their knowledge of grammar and of pragmalinguistics.

However, there are also striking differences between the NNS and the NS. The NNS appear to have problems with assessing the effect of contextual factors (see Holborow 1993; Kramsch and McConnell-Ginet 1992) on the linguistic choice that they make. In real life, this can potentially lead to a pragmatic failure and a communication break down. This type of failure was observed in the form of not using interpersonal features appropriately. For instance, unlike their NS counterparts, they did not use address alerters prior to indirect requests (e.g. 'Excuse me') or greetings as an opener (e.g. 'Good morning' in the opening of an exchange encounter). In addition, a substantial number of the NNS used an imperative form with the politeness marker 'Please'. This seems to show that they are not aware of the pragmalinguistic implications of the imperative even if accompanied by 'Please'.

One part of the questionnaire aimed to see the NNS subjects' ability to differentiate between two meal ordering contexts: a fast food restaurant and an ordinary restaurant. In the fast food restaurant context, a fairly high number of the NNS chose 'I'd like' form compared to a very small number of the NS who used it. In contrast, the majority of the NS chose an indirect request form and the simple form 'xx and xx please'. In the ordinary restaurant context, however, the NNS used the simple form 'XX and XX please' while none of the NS subjects used this form. They seem to have made an overgeneralization about the use of this form.

One of the reasons for their failure in assessing contextual factors can be partly related to their restricted range of linguistic choices such as modal verbs. As mentioned before, they appear to have two modal verbs at their disposal. Only a fairly small number of the NNS subjects was able to use other modals such as 'Would you mind'. In the magazine borrowing

context, the use of 'May' in 'May I borrow your magazine?' is a striking example of their limited knowledge of the use of contextual factors. It can be said that in the contexts when the imposition of the request is fairly high, the NNS subjects have difficulty in assessing the contextual factors, which involves choosing appropriate lexical forms to mitigate the face threat.

This restriction of linguistic choices also appears to have shown its negative effect in the thanking context where the subjects were asked to reply when someone thanked them. In this situation, 51.35% NNS did not choose the option 'Any time' which seems to be a very common form in Britain. Similarly, in the context of asking people how they are, while none of the NNS choose 'All right', which is a common form, 22.40% of the NS used it.

A further influence on the NNS' choices appear to be L1 interference. In the Magazine context, some of the NNS used inappropriate verbs such as 'Have' and 'Take'. The use of 'Take' appears to indicate that they transferred it from Turkish. As mentioned above, the analysis of the data showed that the NNS subjects do not seem to have a good understanding of the generic structure of an exchange encounter in English. They appear to have transferred Turkish meal ordering dialogue structure. The opening of the dialogue by the customer by calling the waiter and asking the waiter to explain the available dishes instead of looking at the menu appear to reflect the influence of the Turkish meal ordering context. In addition, the NNS subjects seem to have transferred the ways of realizing steps of the Opening (i.e. Welcome I can help you?) from Turkish. The NNS also used 'Welcome' as a greeting formula. Its use appears to be similar the Turkish routine 'Hosgeldiniz'. While some NNS used this routine, many others did not use any interpersonal routine, such as 'Excuse me'. As

happened in other discourse completion tasks in this task, the NNS used the French cognate 'Pardon' to address the waiter. These may suggest that the NNS subjects do not have an awareness about the use of such politeness expressions within a generic structure of a meal ordering context.

Another finding that the analysis has shown that the cultural differences between Turkish and British meal ordering contexts are not known to the NNS. The Turkish meal ordering context does not appear to have a tradition of having a starter in the British sense. This seems to have caused an important difference between the generic structures of the dialogues written by both groups by default. In addition, the Turkish meal ordering context does not appear to have an exchange of 'Are you ready to order?' and 'We are ready to order.' as the order is put after talking to the waiter. Likewise, in the closing part, they added a step which did not exist in the NS data: reassuring the customer about the quality of service. As pointed out earlier, this could also be as a result of Turkish influence. This may also suggest that they did not know how to close the dialogue and consequently improvised. However, the numbers of subjects who wrote a proper Closing section are quite small, it is difficult to reach a conclusion about the NNS's ability about the Closing the meal ordering dialogue. It seems that the NNS's attention should be drawn towards this type of cultural differences and their reflection in the language. When the NNS are not aware of these differences, it appears to unavoidable that they would resort to transfer the cultural elements and their linguistic realizations in English.

There are also some indications of the influence of classroom training, for example, in the form of not knowing the use of non-linguistic ways to express meaning. The findings suggest that the NNS are not aware of the use of paralinguistic features. For instance, in the thanking context, only a very small number of the NNS subjects opted for saying nothing when someone thanked them. Similarly, the NNS did not choose the use of an interjection 'Oh!' as a way of apology as did the NS subjects. Since classroom training requires learners to produce lexical forms and grammatical structures, they may gain the impression that they need to perform everything verbally.

One of the most interesting results of the investigation is that similar or identical distorted, inappropriate and sometimes incorrect forms that were used by some NNS subjects can be found in Turkish EFL textbooks. The following examples show that the pragmalinguistic appropriateness of some forms is sacrificed in the cause of teaching certain structures such as:

> In the market: 'I want a pack of tea.' and 'I want two kilos of tomatoes.'
> (Yalcinkaya et al 1994: 33).

There are also instances of inappropriate linguistic expressions of politeness; e.g.

> A: I've got a temperature
> B: If you're ill, see a doctor (Yalcinkaya et al 1996: 22).

Normally, one would expect B to say something to console the sick friend such as, 'I'm sorry. Is there any thing I can do for you?'. In the above example, the interlocutor fails to establish solidarity with the sick friend. Obviously, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusion that the mistakes made by the trainees were teaching induced, since the trainees were educated in a variety of schools where different textbooks were used. Nor is there any way of

finding out where they were educated. Since there are too many factors involved, it is impossible to come to any definite conclusions from this finding. Nevertheless, there are indications that the trainees have been influenced by their own experience of poor EFL models of pragmalinguistics (Holmes 1988; Kasper 1982).

The analysis of the questionnaire provided valuable information about the amount of pragmalinguistic knowledge and awareness that the teacher trainees possess. It should be borne in mind that the questionnaire items did not deal with subtle and complex pragmalinguistic choices, but with simple, everyday situations. Although the overall picture suggests that the NNS subjects have some degree of pragmalinguistic awareness, they seem to need to have their awareness raised about a number of pragmalinguistic features such as the force of a modal verb in indirect requests. They appear to have been exposed to quite a limited number of pragmalinguistic features. Within their restricted use, they are fairly successful; however, when the contextual factors require selection from a wider choice such as conventionalized language use (e.g. 'How's things'), they resort to improvising and creating their own forms (see also Blum-Kulka 1990).

However, these trainees will be educating the next generations through into the new millennium to enable their students to communicate with businessmen, diplomats, academics and tourists. In an ever-growing world market, what the study has found indicates that these trainees do not appear be well qualified to do this. Therefore, there seems an urgent need to revise the syllabuses of EFL teaching in Turkey at all levels.

It will be argued that raising language awareness about the use of these features is a useful starting point. Based on these approaches and the results of the analysis of the questionnaire which were presented in this chapter and in Chapter 3, a course design for the purposes of raising pragmalinguistic awareness is proposed, and sample activities are provided.

Chapter 6

The Context for Pragmalinguistic Awareness Raising in Teacher Training Courses

Introduction

The present study has so far argued that the features of pragmalinguistics have just as important a place in language learning as do other elements, such as grammar. Therefore, these cannot be disregarded, particularly in an EFL teacher training programme. Building on this, the present chapter argues that raising teacher trainees' language awareness about pragmalinguistics can help to develop an understanding of this aspect of language. This chapter will give a brief partial summary of findings which were already presented in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Although the findings will be fully summarized in Chapter 7, it was thought appropriate to remind the reader of the most relevant findings, as they constitute the basis for the proposed activities designed to raise the pragmalinguistic awareness of teacher trainees which are presented in this chapter. The findings will be presented briefly in terms of their implications for teaching pragmalinguistics in teacher training programmes. The chapter then discusses the implications of the three studies which have been presented in previous chapters and offers a possible approach to raising pragmalinguistic awareness in teacher training programmes.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 6.1 re-emphasizes that the point that features of pragmalinguistics may not be acquired automatically in the process of language learning, and that these features require explicit teaching like any other feature of language. Section 6.2

argues that raising learners' language awareness about pragmalinguistics can be an important part of teaching pragmalinguistics. Section 6.3 proposes an approach which is based on Edge's (1988) three roles for EFL teachers as "language users, language analysts and language teachers" (1988:10), and looks at present approaches towards pragmalinguistics in three recently published text-books for teacher of EFL. Section 6.4 proposes an approach to raising teacher trainees' awareness of pragmalinguistics, while section 6.5 offers some concluding remarks on the approach proposed.

6.1 Summary of the Findings

This study so far has shown that pragmalinguistics is a key feature of language. The analysis of the pragmatic functions of the discourse markers **you know** and **I mean** has revealed that pragmalinguistic features play an important role in interaction (see chapter 3). The analysis has also shown that the features of pragmalinguistics can be subtle and complex. One pedagogic implication of the findings is that highly motivated learners such as the postgraduate students in the present study can learn how to use **you know** and **I mean** when exposed to the language and culture for a considerable period of time (cf. Schmidt 1993). This indicates that these NNS might have felt the need to learn, if not consciously then unconsciously, how to use these two markers when communicating with NS. They might have realized that the functions of these markers have an important place in interaction.

Unfortunately, the results of this study suggest that pragmalinguistics is under-represented and under-valued in the teacher training courses investigated (see chapter 4). Classroom observations and informal interviews with class teachers showed that pragmalinguistics was

not represented in the speaking skills classes. Nor was there evidence that this aspect was focused on in other parts of the training programme. The opportunities that the speaking activities observed during the study could have provided for teaching interpersonal features of language were not fully exploited (e.g. oral presentations). The teacher trainers who were interviewed argued that pragmalinguistics cannot be taught in an EFL context. They also emphasized that the teaching time table is too full to incorporate another course in the programme. The analysis of interviews with trainees showed that the trainees appeared to be aware that they were missing out on certain aspects of language. They were not completely satisfied with the present state of their language abilities, and they were concerned that they did not get much opportunity to interact with native speakers. They believed that they needed to learn more vocabulary to overcome difficulties in expressing themselves. Eighteen out of twenty of the interviewees had ideas about how to improve the course design in their department. The main recommendations were having a vocabulary usage course, a listening and pronunciation improvement course, more hours of speaking skills and less emphasis on Grammar and Literature courses. This may suggest that they have a degree of language awareness. Analysis of the first part of the questionnaire and the interviews indicated that they did not find grammar to be either the most important or difficult aspect of language. On the contrary, in the interview, they remarked that grammar was given far too much emphasis in their department. In support of their claim, a close look at the course programme reveals that a lot of emphasis is put on grammar.

It appears that the trainees are expected to simply pick up the use of pragmalinguistic features themselves during their training. However, the analysis of the second part of the

questionnaire has shown that they may not be able to learn how to use these features because they do not receive much exposure to the target language and culture (see Chapter 5).

The present study was undertaken in a context where little information was available about teaching pragmalinguistics to teacher trainees by raising their language awareness. Until now, the literature has focused on either teaching pragmalinguistic features to all types of language learners (Wright and Bolitho 1993) or raising teacher trainees' language awareness in general (e.g. Wright 1991). However, based on the results of the analyses, the present study argues that teacher trainees' pragmalinguistic awareness should be raised to enable them to teach better in the future. The present study appreciates that understanding pragmalinguistic features can be difficult for EFL teacher trainees due to lack of exposure to the target language. However, this can be compensated for by exposing them to a range of activities which are based on authentic data and real language material. The trainees can be guided to notice pragmalinguistic features first. This can for example be done by drawing the trainees' attention to their mother tongue to help them develop an analytical approach towards interaction (cf. Carter 1993a). This can enable them to develop a deeper perception of the features of pragmalinguistics as well as other features of language. Following noticing, they can be helped to understand the use of these futures by analysing the data. The ultimate aim is to facilitate their education so that they can use them appropriately.

6.2 Representation of Pragmalinguistic Awareness in Language Teaching

In most language teaching approaches (e.g. Audio-lingual), features of pragmalinguistics appear to have been under-represented. For example, one approach to teaching conversation, the indirect approach, advocates using interactive tasks in the classroom (Richards 1990).

This approach suggests that learners will acquire language through interaction while performing these tasks. While it is likely that interaction between peers and between learners and teachers will have positive effects on learners' acquisition, this may not be sufficient to help learners to develop awareness of certain aspects of language. The present study has already pointed out that, while peer-to-peer interaction contributes to the learners' language development by providing an opportunity to practice, this does not seem to help eradicate serious problems in the learners' language [12] . The present study argues that learners' understanding of pragmalinguistics can be improved by means of explicit teaching. Particularly in an EFL context, learners should receive adequately explicit instruction to develop an understanding of how, for example, certain interpersonal features of language contribute to interaction. Similarly, Carter (1993b) argues that:

> learning a language involves understanding something of that language: [....] is it is unlikely that such understanding can be developed by naturalistic exposure; and [....] is it has to be quite explicitly taught (p. 148).

As Chapter 4.4.2 showed, the lecturers who were interviewed claimed that the best way of acquiring pragmalinguistic features was to live in an English-speaking country. However, my own personal experience and my observations in the overseas students' community in Britain indicate that, without having an initial language awareness basis, this may not be easy. This problem has also been discussed by Wales (1993), who gives a detailed account of attempts to raise the language awareness of adult immigrant workers, who, despite living in Australia for several years, did not learn to use certain linguistic features, amongst which were a number of features which were related to pragmalinguistics. The advanced learners were observed to have difficulty in dealing with confrontational situations. Since they did not know

[12] See the analysis of classroom observations in Chapter 4.4.1.1.

how to handle the situation, they tended to shout and to become aggressive. Consequently, they had quite serious communication problems. Their attention was drawn to this, and they were shown some strategies such as saying "I do not agree with you" , "Well, I think" and "What do you think?" (Wales 1993: 96). Even after the third lesson, the learners reported that they were able argue their case in union meetings. The immigrant learners also experienced problems interpreting sarcasm and idiomatic expressions. After their awareness about these issues was raised, the learners began to recall many other instances of sarcasm that they had not understood. Wales (1993) suggests that, even though the learners did not have the resources to analyse a linguistic form, they were able to store them. It seems that an awareness raising activity may trigger the process of analysis for developing an understanding about a particular language issue.

Gass (1990) argues that explicit instruction facilitates learners' awareness of:

> target language forms and/or meanings and of the discrepancies between what they have themselves constructed for their second language and the system which becomes apparent to them (through instruction) from the target language data they are confronted with (p.137).

That is, it is possible to guide the learners through a process of constantly discovering and weighing what they have found against their own judgements about the L2. In order to achieve this, as Gass (1990) points out, an "external intervention" (p. 139), i.e. guidance about the use of pragmalinguistic features, is required.

However, a look at current thinking in the field of EFL teacher training does not suggest that this type of approach is regarded highly. When the teacher training textbook market is taken as a reflection of current thinking, it is not surprising to find similar attitudes to those which

have been found in the present study. Textbooks which aim to raise pre-service and in-service teachers' language awareness appear to target native speaker teachers primarily (see Thornbury 1997 as an example). Even though in the introduction Thornbury (1997) argues that the book also targets NNS teachers, the content of the activities and the level of difficulty of language would not allow many NNS teachers to enjoy the exercises as much as their native speaker colleagues would. Clearly, one reason that textbooks target NS teachers is that it is a relatively easy task to appeal to a monolingual community of teachers. If the book is to appeal to the world market, it cannot be based on one particular mother tongue (e.g. Turkish) (see also Bell and Gower 1998; Phillipson 1992).

It is in fact only recently that the literature has begun to pay attention to the place of language awareness raising about pragmalinguistics (see Jordan 1997, Spratt 1994, Thornbury 1997). However, the amount of attention devoted to pragmalinguistic issues is very small, given the large numbers of features which could be represented. Some of the textbooks on the market aim to help non-native speaking teachers and teacher trainees to improve their language skills and think about how to teach the language points which are included in them. For example, Spratt (1994), which is designed for NNS teachers, includes various features of pragmatics, such as speech functions, and conversational skills, and changing the topic. These are classified mainly under the title of "language functions", with some under the title of classroom language. These features appear in 9 out of the 15 units in the book. A few of the language functions are phrases and expressions such as "'now, let me think', 'I mean', 'hold on' and 'just a minute'", which Spratt (1994) refers to as "expressions for correcting yourself/rephrasing, and expressions to stop interruptions" (p. 15). However, she does not give guidelines about how to introduce to trainees and a NNS teacher trainer might well be

at a loss without supplementary information on these expressions. This neglect appears to contradict what she says in the introduction about her readership.

Thornbury (1997) is one of the rare textbooks which aims to raise the language awareness of both native and non-native speaker teacher trainees and teachers. In the introduction, Thornbury (1997) explains the basis of his book as follows:

> The assumption underlying this book is that teachers of English not only need to be able to speak and understand the language they are teaching, but that they need to know a good deal about the way the language works: its components, its regularities, and the way it is used. It is further assumed that this kind of knowledge can be usefully be gained through the investigation- or analysis - of samples of the language itself (p. x).

Rightly, Thornbury points out that teachers of English (or trainee teachers) need to know about how components of language work. From this comment it is expected that the textbook would cover a substantial amount of information about how pragmalinguistic features function. Unfortunately, only one unit (out of 28) includes issues relating to conversational mechanisms (e.g. cohesion, adjacency pairs, schemata, polite requests, turn taking, interrupting and topic). As can be seen from this list, it is a very condensed unit. Since the amount of information about each these issues is limited, there is not likely to be enough background information for a NNS trainer to make use of the materials.

As can be seen, pragmalinguistics is under-represented even in recently published materials. Even if some features are represented, they are not explained well enough to provide information for NNS teachers, trainees or trainers. This is a crucial point in an EFL context, as trainers may not have a variety of resources for finding out about these pragmalinguistic issues. Therefore, a textbook needs to be as thorough as possible in terms of giving

information not only about pragmalinguistic issues but also other issues. Based on this argument, the present study proposes an approach to raise awareness about pragmalinguistic features to Turkish teacher trainees.

This section has argued that raising pragmalinguistics awareness should be a part of language education. The section also examined recent textbooks which were written for teacher trainees. It has been found that pragmalinguistics is not represented adequately enough to provide a good resource for NNS teachers/trainees. It has also been emphasized that even exposure to the target language and culture may not be enough to provide a basis for learning pragmalinguistics. Therefore, current approaches in the field need to be revised to incorporate raising teachers and teacher trainees' awareness about pragmalinguistics. The section next reviews existing models which are designed to raise teacher trainees language awareness in general. The study will then propose an approach for using these models for the purposes of raising teacher trainees' pragmalinguistic awareness.

6.3 Integrating Components of the Teacher Training Course for the Purposes of Raising Pragmalinguistic Awareness

As mentioned in Chapter 4.4.2, it would be desirable if a component designed to raise language awareness could become part of the integrated components in a teacher training programme. In the present study, the analysis of the interviews suggests that the teaching of Linguistics, ELT Methodology and Literature courses are not integrated at present in the two teacher training programmes studies. These courses are not taught based on a common ground, such as raising the trainees' language awareness. The present study argues that integrating linguistics, ELT Methodology and other courses can help trainees to improve their language skills and to raise their pragmalinguistic awareness. One such approach is

Edge's (1988) framework for integrating Language Improvement, Applied Linguistics and ELT Methodology courses to raise ELT teachers'/trainees' awareness. These courses are based on a view of EFL teachers/trainees as language users, language analysts and language teachers. The present study will borrow Edge's framework and adapt it by using Wright's (1991) model.

The second model which the present study draws on is Wright (1991). This is a training course design based on three axes, whereby trainees are considered to be language users/analysts and teachers. Although Wright's (1991) appears parallel Edge's (1988), it differs in that Wright does not incorporate a language improvement component into his framework. Language improvement is done through raising language awareness, whereas in Edge's framework, language improvement is a separate component.

Before explaining the approach of the present study, the study will first look at these two models in greater detail. Later, it will present an adaptation which draws both on these models and on the analyses that have already been presented in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

EFL teachers may well use the English language not only in teaching but also in social contexts, for example, while acting as an interpreter or as a mediator between the peoples of their culture and a foreign culture. Similarly, trainees may not only use English in their course but perhaps undertake additional work where they need to use their English skills. Therefore, both groups use English to a degree in their everyday lives. This does not make them any different from any other language learner. The most important difference, however, between ordinary Turkish learners of English (e.g. doctors, engineers, etc.) and Turkish teacher trainees is that the trainees will have to teach the language in the future, whereas

people who are from other job groups will use it as a tool to improve their professional skills, for example, to read professional journals published in English. In contrast, teacher trainees will need to talk about the language explicitly to teach it to their students in addition to reading texts for professional reasons. Therefore, trainees need to have a specialist knowledge of the language. One way of enabling trainees to teach about language is to add an applied linguistics component to the training course. Edge (1988) comments that:

> ....the experience of language learning and language improvement must proceed in parallel with a growing conscious awareness of how the language is structured and organized. Explicit work on language awareness will directly support the learning styles of some trainees (p. 10).

Edge also proposes three course components to teach these three roles. These are Language Improvement, Applied Linguistics and ELT Teaching Methodology respectively. In Edge's model, the Applied Linguistics component appears to include the other two components: Language Improvement and ELT Methodology. Edge (1988) defines Applied Linguistics, in the context of training, as "raising awareness of language, by a variety of procedures, towards the purposes of language learning and language teaching" (p.12). In the early stages (the first year) of the three-year programme, applied linguistics will be used to provide support for language improvement. This will be carried out by looking at real language data, which will then prepare grounds for an introductory awareness raising study of language in the second year. In the third year, Edge (1988) proposes an Applied Linguistic component as a preparation for an introduction to the study of TEFL methods which is built on the trainees' experiences as learners.

Gaining awareness about language and the process of language learning can help trainees to develop decision-making skills as a language teacher (Edge 1988). The type of decisions that

teachers are required to make are to recognize the purposes of presenting new language points in text; to understand and interpret multi-functional language items; to be able to understand lexical relationships in a text and to decide which ones require pre-teaching; and to be able to do an error analysis to decide which errors need correcting (Edge 1988). Clearly, these skills emphasize that teachers need to know how to make use of the knowledge that can be drawn from linguistic research.

The two teacher training programmes which have been investigated in the present study do have a linguistics course; however, the information gathered from the interviews with the ELT Methodology lecturers indicates that it is done in such a fashion that trainees do not believe that it is useful at all. This does not seem to be an unusual thing to happen. As Edge (1988) comments, in some quarters linguistics is taught in such a way that both teachers and trainees think it is a waste of time (see also Chapter 4.4.2). It seems that both trainees and trainers need to become aware of the important role of linguistic research in developing an understanding of how language works and how this information can be used in language teaching and learning. Edge (1988) points out that:

> What is needed is the development of a wealth of methodological procedures in which the resolution of learning and teaching problems can be shown to draw on the growing linguistic knowledge and skills of the trainees (p. 9).

However, he argues that it is not the Applied Linguistics course in itself but the way its role is perceived as a component in teacher training course as a whole which would determine how effective it can be. Learning to appreciate what Applied Linguistics can offer to language teachers appears to be an important step in raising language awareness in general.

As pointed out earlier, Wright (1991) offers an approach which is similar in some respects to that which Edge (1988) proposes. Wright's is a more comprehensive course design for non-native speaker teachers studying towards a four-year long B.Ed. (TESL). This course, in Wright's terms, is based on three integrated "axes": trainees as language user, analyst and teacher. The course content is summarised in the figure below.

	Methods	*Language Study*
Year 1	Learning languages Teaching methods - 4 skills Teaching materials - construction and evaluation Teaching Practice (3 weeks)	Language Awareness - lexis - grammar - phonology - text
Year 2	Teaching methods - skills and systems - learner language - teaching syllabuses	Language Awareness -grammar topics - phonology - text and discourse
Year 3	Preparation for teaching practice - analysis of syllabus for skills and systems - preparation of schemes of work and materials Teaching Practice (12 weeks)	Language in Context - Introduction to pragmatics
Year 4	Curriculum study testing/assessment /evaluation ESP CALL	Sociolinguistic issues -variety study - language planning / policy - inter-ethnic communication - SLA models

Figure 6.1. B.Ed. (TESL) - Language study and methods programme
(Wright 1990: 66)

As can be seen in Figure 6.1, the course design works on two parallel tracks, one focusing on teaching methods and the other on language analysis. The first year includes a survey of language under the title of language awareness. The principle behind this is raising the

trainees' language awareness by investigating language data and information about language from varying perspectives (lexis, grammar and phonology). Parallel to this, trainees are given the basics of language teaching and learning. Wright (1991) explains that the aim of this "in linguistic terms, was to develop an appreciation of the influence of linguistic context on language use" (p. 67). The interrelationship between these three components of this framework can be seen represented diagrammatically as a triangle in Figure 6.2.

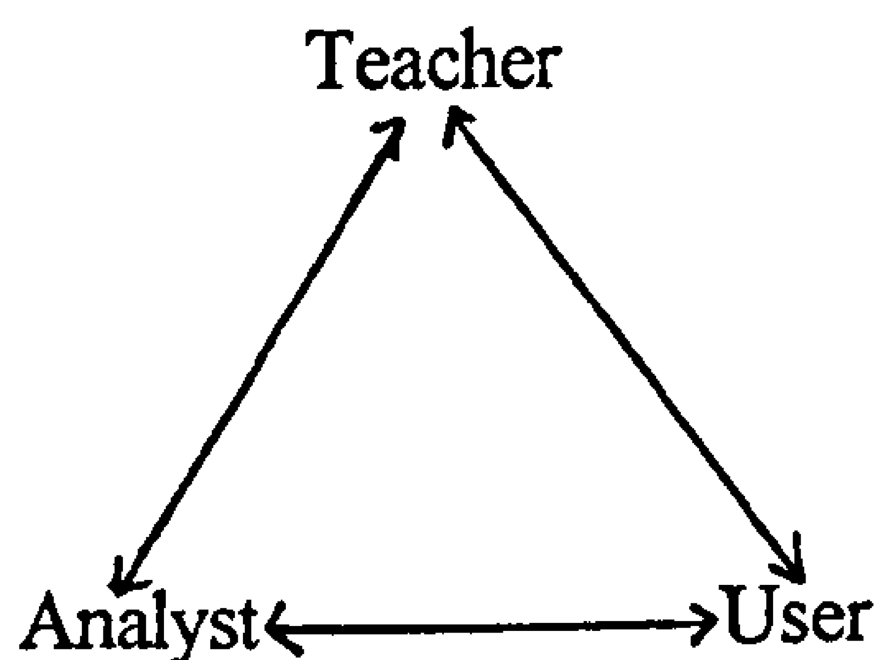

Figure 6.2: The user/ analyst /teacher approach. Based on Wright (1990).

In the following years, the content of the methodology aspects becomes more specialised and focuses on issues such as syllabus, methods and skills. In the 3rd and 4th years, the language awareness component of the programme focuses on issues such as the effects of contextual features on the language and those related to the pragmalinguistics. However, Wright does not actually specify which aspects would be focused on.

In Wright's model, in the third year, language study and methods are integrated to prepare the trainees for the teaching practice. The Language Awareness course begins with attitudes and perceptions about language. In order to encourage the trainees to draw on their language learning experience, in the Methods course the trainees are taught French in four sessions using four different methods. Each session is ended with a follow-up discussion about the

method used and its basis for language learning. Language awareness has an important place in Wright's framework, being seen as the means for language improvement. He relates language awareness to knowledge about language, which he describes as:

> an enabling knowledge that provides the teacher with the tools to carry out such basic tasks as interpreting a syllabus document and translating it into a scheme of work, explaining code errors to learner, providing accessible information about the language to learners, making decisions on behalf of learners regarding the content of instruction and ensuring that there is a linguistic focus - either on language skills or language items or both - in any particular lesson (ibid. p. 63- 64).

Wright puts special emphasis on the trainees' developing their knowledge of different aspects of language such as lexis, grammar and phonology by working on language data. Wright also emphasizes that linguistic skills should be achieved by gaining expertise in ELT teaching; here we see the analyst/teacher axis of the model. It seems that all these skills and abilities aim to enable teachers/trainees to become decision makers. In return, this will enable teachers to choose what to teach in which context.

Wright suggests that greater knowledge about language would help NNS teachers to feel more confident. He remarks that, although many NNS teachers do have quite a high language competence, they lack confidence. They should be encouraged to talk about the language they use, which will give them confidence. However, talking about the language they use requires adopting an analytical approach. This is the user/analyst axis of Wright's model. This confidence could enable them to talk about their language learning experience and draw on this in analysing the language. Although Wright puts an emphasis on the language awareness component in the model, he also indicates that there are many unanswered questions about how it works. Therefore, he calls for more research on language awareness to shed light on its role in this type of programme. Both models in Edge (1988)

and Wright (1991) can be applicable either within a course design on a large scale or a specific course on a smaller scale. These models are designed for a four-year education programme. While Edge proposes a gradual development from being a user to a teacher, Wright suggests that teachers/trainees can start at any point along the process and work in any direction.

Although the present study uses a similar framework, it is very different in terms of its scale. The approach taken aims to raise Turkish trainees' pragmalinguistic awareness through discovery as opposed to lecturing as happens in the traditional teacher training system at present (Wright 1991). The study attempts to do this in the context of the first year's Speaking Skills course only. However, a pragmalinguistic awareness raising strand could be integrated into any language skills course. The choice of the Speaking Skills component as the 'home' of a pragmalinguistic element is to some extent arbitrary. In the Turkish teacher training programmes in question, the pragmalinguistic component of Speaking Skills course appears to be missing, as shown by the classroom observations. Teacher trainees appear to be less than confident about their spoken language skills. They believe that they are missing an important component of language since their speaking skills do not appear to improve as much as they wish. By becoming aware of pragmalinguistics, they would become more at ease with using certain pragmalinguistic features in spoken discourse, which could heighten their confidence in their linguistic abilities and knowledge about the language. In addition, there is a high possibility that raised awareness about the pragmalinguistics of spoken discourse may increase the amount of attention that they pay to the pragmalinguistic component of other aspects of language (e.g. written discourse).

In terms of the framework, Turkish trainees can be said to be users of English. English is used as the medium of education in the Turkish teacher training programmes in question. Students discuss academic issues in English and write their exams in English. On the other hand, Turkish trainees are competent users of Turkish, and this is a valuable reserve of experience which can be exploited. Carter (1993b) points out that "Teaching can and should build on existing competencies" (p.148). A comparative approach could be exploited for the purposes of raising trainees' awareness of the pragmalinguistics of English. At the same time, Turkish trainees are experienced language learners. Their language learning experiences can be exploited to make them aware of the stages in the process of learning and using of the pragmalinguistics of the English language. For example, the trainees can be asked to note down instances of communication breakdown that they have experienced. Talking over such experiences and helping trainees to ask questions about the underlying reasons for a breakdown could raise their awareness of learning about pragmalinguistics (Wright and Bolitho 1993). This approach would also encourage learners to reflect upon their experience (Borg 1994; Cullen 1994).

The second perspective regards the trainees as language analysts (see also Wright and Bolitho 1997). A comparative study of certain salient language features could make language more accessible for the trainees (Carter 1993a; Wright and Bolitho 1993). This approach is based on a view of language as being "systematically organised. Its patterns are not arbitrary. Meaningful language can only be created because of these patterns" (Carter 1993a: 97).

Carter (1993a) also argues that socio-cultural issues in the L2 are better understood when they are presented in a comparative manner with those in the L1. For example, asking the trainees to translate certain culturally-loaded expressions from English into Turkish would make them aware of their social functions rather than simply their semantic meanings. This aspect requires a methodology which will make the trainees aware of the value of their studies in applied linguistics. They could, for example, analyse particular discourse units such as openings and closings, exchange encounters and telephone conversations in the learners' native language (in this context Turkish).

The trainees start their education with certain preconceptions about languages and communication (cf. Horwitz 1988; Wenden 1986). A comparative approach could lead them to ask the right questions in reviewing their beliefs and to reconsider the viability of their ideas. The aim is to help them to adopt an analytical approach towards language so that they review their beliefs about language and modify them when needed (Borg 1994). This links the second perspective in the present study to the third perspective, trainees as teachers.

After becoming aware about certain issues that are related with pragmalinguistics, trainees can be helped to think about ways of learning and teaching. This a crucial point of this approach as it would facilitate 'discovering' as opposed to lecturing in traditional terms. The trainers can draw the trainees' attention to their own learning strategies and the process of developing their own linguistic skills. This can be done either in the larger domain of language learning with all its aspects, or in the particular domain of pragmalinguistics.

In the light of what the trainees have already learned by analysing their L1, their preconceptions about language can be challenged (see also Bolitho and Tomlinson 1995). This could be done by asking them to examine language input and activities in the textbooks and put themselves in the place of students who have to study these. This approach aims to help trainees to acquire a critical stance towards the textbooks, so that they would be better equipped to choose the most suitable materials and teaching approach for their learners. It also aims to enable the trainees to adapt teaching materials according to the requirements of the teaching situation when needed. Trainees must be aware of the effects of the prescriptive approach which is presented in some textbooks (cf. Borg 1994; McDonough and Shaw 1993). They need to notice that the pragmalinguistic rules of language do not easily lend themselves to this kind of prescriptive language teaching (cf. Tarone and Yule 1989). Two of the procedures that McDonough and Shaw (1993) recommend for adapting materials are adding by expanding, and modifying. The first of these involves instigating both qualitative and quantitative changes to the materials. For example, the teaching of a grammar point can be expanded by adding discussion sessions about how to contextualize the linguistic point at the end of the unit (ibid.). The second method is modifying. This process refers to a change of focus or perhaps shift of focus of an activity or an exercise (ibid.). As can be seen, user/analyst components form the basis for the teacher component, as talking about the process of learning how to use particular language points initially requires an analysis of these points, and a considerable amount of knowledge about them (trainees as users and analysts).

This section has given a detailed summary of the two models on which the present study draws. It has also explained how the present study has adapted these two frameworks. The main differences between these and the present study is that the present study aims to

propose activities for teaching a specific area of language: pragmalinguistics, while the others are designed to teach an entire course for teacher training. The next section will present the proposed activities for the purposes of raising the pragmalinguistic awareness of teacher trainees.

6.4 Raising Pragmalinguistic Awareness of Teacher Trainees

As explained above, this study proposes a language awareness component based on an integrated framework. Tasks are not individually designed to exemplify each perspective in the framework. Instead, the activities represent each of these perspectives in an integrated manner. The main objective of the tasks, as pointed out earlier, is to enable trainees to acquire an analytical mind towards pragmalinguistics. While the proposed tasks encourage trainees to become active performers, they also assign the trainers the crucial roles of facilitator and information provider, both important and demanding tasks.

In this study, the language awareness component is presented as supplementary to the existing Speaking Skills course in any teacher training programme. The basis for the activities are the findings from the interviews with the lecturers and with teacher trainees and the results of the analysis of the questionnaires that were discussed in previous chapters.

6.4.1 Example Activities

The activities aim to raise the pragmalinguistic awareness of trainees as language users, language analysts and future language teachers. Each activity is designed to include all these three aspects of the framework. As language users, the trainees will be invited to adopt the role of an analyst. Examples, in both Turkish and English, will be presented for analysis.

Then, the attention of the trainees will be drawn towards issues which are related with teaching the language point focused on. In some cases, the trainees will be asked to reflect upon the type of learning experience which they have had in their previous years of language learning. Some pedagogical materials may be presented to initiate the discussion. Three sample activities are outlined in the following sections: the first focuses on the language of exchange encounters, the second on indirect requests, the third on discourse markers.

6.4.1.1 The Exchange-encounter as Patterned Interaction

The activity is organized in three stages. The first two steps are based on Edge's (1988) concept of trainees as language users and analysts in his tripartite framework. As Edge himself admits, it is not easy to separate these two components, and therefore, these are integrated within the two steps The third step relates to the trainees as future teachers. After analysing exchange encounters in both Turkish and English, the trainees are asked to think about the relevance of this for EFL teaching. As these sample activities target first year trainees only, it would be unfair to expect them to produce teaching materials. However, they could still be asked to examine the materials available in the market and make judgements about how far they reflect reality and whether these are suitable teaching materials.

6.4.1.1.1 Activity One: Analysing an exchange-encounter dialogue in Turkish

Step 1:

Choosing a text from a textbook for non-native speakers of Turkish provides a wider perspective for the trainees, and gives them the opportunity to judge for themselves whether the textbook language should be taken as an end in itself, or as an adequate representation

of naturally-occurring language. The work sheets for this activity can be found in Appendix O.

The dialogue below is taken from a textbook which was written for learners of Turkish. In the dialogue, Deniz (a female) goes to a supermarket where she interacts with the shop assistant. Both the Turkish and the English versions of the dialogue are given for the convenience of the reader [13].

[13] The dialogue is taken from Koç and Hengirmen (1983).

Supermarketde / at the Supermarket

1-Tezgahtar: Buyurun efendim.
Shop assistant: How can I help you?

2-Deniz : Beyaz peynir var mi?
Deniz: Do you do (feta) cheese?

3-Tezgahtar: Var. Ne kadar istiyorsunuz?
Shop assistant: Yes, how much would you like?

4-Deniz: Kilosu kac lira?
Deniz: How much is a kilo?

5-Tezgahtar: Kilosu 300 lira.
Shop assistant: 300 liras.

6-Deniz: Lutfen yarim kilo beyaz peynir.
Deniz: I'll have half a kilo , please.

7-Tezgahtar: Baska arzunuz?
Shop assistant: Anything else?

8-Deniz: Bir yumurta kac lira?
Deniz: How much are the eggs?

9-Tezgahtar: Bir yumurta on lira.
Shop assistant: 10 liras each.

10-Deniz: Lutfen bes yumurta.
Deniz: Can I have five, please?

11-Tezgahtar: Evet, baska arzunuz?
Shop assistant: Yes, anything else?

12- Deniz: Bir sise bal 300 gram zeytin.
Deniz: I'll have a jar of honey and 300 grams of olives, please.

13-Tezgahtar: Bir sise bal 200 lira, zeytinin kilosu 100 lira. 300 grami 30 lira.
Shop assistant: Honey is 200 a jar. Olives are 100 a kilo, 300 grams will be 30 liras.

14-Deniz: Hepsi toplam ne kadar yapiyor?
Deniz: How much do I owe you, then?

15-Tezgahtar: 150 lira peynir, 50 lira yumurta, 200 lira bal, 30 lira da zeytin, hepsi toplam 430 lira yapiyor.
Shop assistant: Cheese 150, eggs 50, honey 200, and olives are 30 liras. That will be 430 liras.

16-Deniz: Tesekkur ederim. Hayirli isler!
Deniz: Thank you. Bye.

17-Tezgahtar: Biz de tesekkur ederiz. Iyi gunler.
Shop assistant: Bye.

Figure: 6.3 An Exchange Encounter in Turkish[14]

The dialogue above can be exploited in terms of raising the trainees' awareness about cross-cultural differences in the realisation of Politeness Strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987). One of the first issues which is striking in the dialogue are address forms, which are regarded as one of the linguistic realisations of Politeness Strategies (see also Keshavarz[15] (1988)). In the dialogue above, the way in which the shop assistant addresses Deniz can be pointed out to the trainees. In the dialogue the shop assistant says "Buyurun Efendim?", which can be translated into English as "I am at your disposal" and, which can be related to the address forms used in Ottoman times. However, its functional equivalent in English appears to be "How can I help you?"[16] .

Trainees' attention can be drawn towards the fact that in many ways, the dialogue sounds unnatural. For example, Deniz asks about the price of every single item she wants to buy. This could stem from a teaching point that the textbook writer wishes to present, most likely because in the unit where this dialogue is included the Turkish numbers are presented. By making Deniz check the prices, the textbook writer can include several examples of numbers. By asking their opinion about the appropriateness of a point in a Turkish text, the trainees are put in the shoes of an expert. This should enable them to be more confident in their comments and to develop a critical stance towards the pedagogic material.

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[14] I would like to thank Dr Ismet Öztürk of Uludag University for his suggestions for the translation of the dialogue..

[15] What Kershavarz (1988) described is similar to the Turkish context in many respects.

[16] This is supported with the results of the analysis which were presented in chapter 5.

To begin with, trainees can be asked whether it is a good idea to sacrifice the naturalness of the dialogue for the sake of presenting vocabulary. It seems that some words and even sentences that the shop assistant says are redundant. Firstly, in turn 13 he says:

Shop assistant: Honey is 200 a jar. Olives are 100 a kilo, 300 grams will be 30 liras.

However, in turn 12 the customer has already made a request for more goods, which required 'compliance'[17] from the shop assistant. Instead he appears to make preparations for calculating the total cost without showing 'compliance' to the request and without asking if it is all the customer would like to buy. This appears to disturb the generic form of the exchange encounter, as one stage (i.e. Compliance) is skipped in the structure.

There are also inappropriate redundant lexical items in the dialogue. In turn 8, the customer asks the price of the eggs. After getting the answer, in turn 10, she makes another sales request to buy eggs saying '[gloss]: 'Please five eggs'. Since the name of the goods has already been uttered (in turn 8), it seems unnecessary to repeat it and more natural to say 'Could I have five, please'.

Another lexical item which does not appear to be used appropriately in this text is the politeness marker 'please'. In the dialogue, in turn 6, Deniz actually says "[gloss]: 'Please, half a kilo of feta cheese". The trainees can be asked if they think 'please' is in the right place syntactically and if they would talk to a shop assistant like this. In Turkish, 'please' is more likely to appear at the end of a request. As the questionnaire results have shown, the awareness of trainees needs to be raised about the use of such markers, as Turkish and

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[17] I would like to thank Dr Ismet Öztürk for pointing this out to me.

English can differ. The use of 'please' could be analysed comparatively so that trainees could see the difference. The trainees' attention can be drawn towards the use of 'please' in Turkish both in terms of its position in a sentence and its function in interaction.

In addition, in the dialogue, the customer does not refer to the shop assistant at all, while he uses the polite 'you' form to refer to her. (In its English rendering, the author of the present study had no choice but to make Deniz refer to the man as 'you' in English.) This does not seem to help learners of Turkish learn how to use pronouns and how to express politeness in a sales request. This point can be raised to make trainees think about how far published EFL materials could reflect real-life language events .

Trainees should also be made aware of the fact that each language has its own peculiar way of using formulaic language and that, therefore, some of the Turkish formulaic forms cannot be translated into English. Instead, learners need to learn their functional equivalents (cf. Jaworski 1994; Wildner-Bassett 1994 and see also chapter 5.5.4). In the example dialogue, bidding farewell is done by using a Turkish formula. There are several formulaic forms in Turkish to perform this function, many of which are blended with Muslim culture. For example, Deniz closes the transaction by saying "Hayirli isler" which can be glossed as "Have a profitable day". However, even this gloss does not express the meaning exactly, as the concept of 'Hayir' in Islam is related to 'Goodness/Charity'. Therefore, the origins of the formula suggests that she wishes him the profit which comes with 'Goodness'.

The Turkish language offers a very rich choice of formulaic forms to its speakers (cf. Tannen and Öztek 1981). The awareness of trainees needs to be raised about these types of cultural differences and their reflection in the linguistic realization of pragmalinguistic features. It is my personal experience that Turkish learners of English (including teacher trainees) tend to translate such expressions quite loosely (cf. Jaworski 1994; Wilder-Bassett 1994). When they realize that they are deprived of their favourite formulaic expressions, they can become frustrated. Trainees can be warned that there may not always be an English formulaic form to replace the Turkish form, and vice versa. However, there are conventional ways of saying things (e.g. bidding farewell to close a transaction). Therefore, they need to become aware of the fact that some Turkish concepts and forms cannot be translated but can be replaced with a functional equivalent which may be a conventionalized form (e.g. saying 'cheers' to bid farewell in order to close an informal transaction).

Step 2:

In order to see how an exchange encounter is realized in English published materials which are based on real data such as McCarthy and Carter (1997) and other material which is given as examples in journal articles (e.g. Applied Linguistics and Journal of Pragmatics) can be used. However, this type of published material, even if it is available, may not be accessible to the trainees as it may be written in too sophisticated language. These factors appear to put even more pressures on the teacher, who will have to provide accessible material for the trainees.

In order to study an exchange encounter, trainees can be motivated to work in groups. They can be given one example of a published and one example of a transcribed exchange

encounter. They can be asked whether the English exchange encounter has similar features to the Turkish one. Following the discovery of similar features (such as greeting, bidding good-bye, and making the sales request), the trainees can be asked to look for differences (e.g. the use of kinship address forms such as 'uncle').

Finally, the steps of an exchange-encounter in both languages can be compared to see if both of them are composed of the same steps (i.e. opening, sales request, closing). When there are other steps such as making a small talk (most probable in the Turkish context), the features of the context of situation (i.e. the relationship between speakers) and their effect on the linguistic choice will be analysed.

Step 3:

In the second step, the trainees are encouraged to investigate the exchange encounter further in the light of what they have learned in the first step. They are all familiar with a typical Turkish 'corner shop' context. They can therefore be asked to think about this context of situation and, working in groups, to write a dialogue which would be likely to occur between themselves and a shopkeeper. After discussing with the members of the class, a decision can be reached about the most appropriate dialogue.

In order to check whether the patterns they suggest resemble what happens in real life, each group can be encouraged to observe service interactions when they go into a shop. They can also be asked to record two exchange-encounters if possible, or to take notes after having bought something from a shop. They can be asked to compare their findings and to reach an agreement on an improved version of their dialogue.

After gaining some awareness of the linguistic realizations of an exchange encounter, the trainees can further be asked to think about the reflection of contextual factors on the language used. For example, their attention can be drawn towards whether the type of the shop makes a difference in the language which is used in the service-encounter. They can be guided to categorize these differences, such as vocabulary choice, intonation, talking about irrelevant topics, greeting, thanking and requesting, complying, closing and saying goodbye. They can be also asked to think about the reasons why people behave in the way they do.

This can also be followed by awareness raising discussions on the effect of contextual factors. For instance, the trainees can be guided to consider the effect of the gender and the age of the shop assistant and the customer on the language they use. In Turkish culture, the distance between people of the opposite sex is greater than the distance between people of the same sex. This is reflected in the language that a male shop assistant may use when serving a female customer, such as switching to the polite 'you' form. A similar change can be observed when the customer is an elderly person. More respectful address forms would be used to refer to the senior person, such as mother, sister, aunt, father, uncle or 'hoca'[18]. Of course the address form choice also varies depending on how familiar the customer and the shop assistant are with each other. After exploring these issues in Turkish, the trainees can then be asked to have a look at such dialogues in textbooks to see whether British or American people observe such social rules. Those who know any native speakers or people

[18] 'Hoca' literally means the man of religion in Islam. In modern Turkish it also means teacher. In colloquial use, it is used to address an elderly person or educated person to show respect.

who have lived in an English-speaking society could be encouraged to obtain further information about this from these people.

Trainees can be helped to see that, although there are certain culture-specific elements in the realization of an exchange encounter in the two languages, the overall structure of the interaction is similar. The effects of these cultural differences can be observed in the linguistic realizations. Drawing on the similarities, trainees can be guided towards finding that certain parts of the interaction are predictable. Trainees can be made familiar with this type of patterning to enable them to understand and assess other type of dialogues in textbooks and other teaching materials (cf. Stainton 1992).

After establishing that contextual factors play an important role in choosing what is said in an interaction in Turkish, the trainees' attention could be drawn towards the English language. Their awareness about the predictability of language patterns should enable them to make a guess about the patterns in a similar context in the English language.

Step 4:

In the first three steps, the pedagogical relevance of the highlighted issues has been pointed out. In the final step, the third aspect of Edge's framework can be exploited further by using some published teaching materials. Published textbook extracts could be analysed to see to what extent the dialogues in textbooks are similar to the results of the survey that the trainees completed. As an activity, each group can be asked to find a fairly good representative of a service encounter dialogue from a textbook or other published materials (such as novels and short stories) for teaching a particular group of learners. They should be encouraged to modify the dialogue in the light of what they have learned. They should also

be able to explain why they think it is a fairly good representative of a service encounter in English and what kind of considerations they had in mind when they were looking for it. A couple of these exchange encounter dialogues can be examined in terms of the issues that have already been pointed out in the above activity. Both of these activities appear to be very demanding as they require trainees to draw upon the experience that they have gained in the process of analysing dialogues in both Turkish and English. They can be asked to decide which of the materials they would use to teach their future students. Alternatively, they can be asked to consider which of the materials they would like their own lecturers to use.

6.4.1.1.2 Activity Two: Talking about the illocutionary force of a request

This activity draws upon the idea which has already been investigated in chapter 5, that there is a mismatch between the form and the function of indirect speech acts, and that this causes problems for language learners (cf. Blum-Kulka 1989). The work sheets for this activity are in Appendix P. Indirect requests in the interrogative form could be misleading for language learners as these could be perceived as genuine questions. One of the aims of the activity is to sensitise the trainees to degrees of indirectness in terms of the context of situation and the assessment factors, power, distance and rank (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987 and see also chapter 2.3.1).

THE ADVERT

narrator: here is a simple question and an answer

1 A: hello
2 B: yes
3 A: do you have the right time please
4 B: yes
5 A: (.) could you tell me
6 B: the time yes yes I could
7 A: right
8 B: yes yes I can definitely do that
9 A: well
10 B: oh do you want to know it now
11 A: oh yes please
12 B: (.)
13 A: So
14 B: I'll get back to you
15 A: get back to me
16 B: yes in a week or so
(recorded from the radio station, Classic FM, in 1997)

Figure 6. 4: The Radio Advert

notes on transcription
(.) denotes a brief pause
A: a female
B: a male
narrator: a male

Step 1:

The advert claims that a particular health insurance company knows how to handle bureaucratic procedures better than other companies. In the advert, their claim was that other companies leave their customers stranded just as the male speaker does the female speaker in the advertisement.

This advert has been chosen because of the misunderstanding which is created deliberately between its two characters. The misunderstanding stems from B's not wanting to see the illocutionary force behind the request that A makes, "Do you have the right time please?" (see also chapter 5.5.4). This artificially created awkward situation is the kind of experience that language learners may actually experience when interacting in English. The second indirect request that B does not want to understand is "Could you tell me?" (see also chapter 5.5.4). Because of its Yes/No question form, the first request appears to ask if B has something in his possession. The modal verb 'could' in the second request creates an impression that A asks B if he has the ability to tell her something (cf. Walton 1991).

Turkish also has similar uses of indirect requests, as in the following example:

X: Aferders*iniz**, saat*iniz** var mi acaba?
X: Excuse me, I was wondering if you had a watch?[19]
Y: Evet, saatim var, kolumda.
Y: Yes, I have a watch on my wrist.
(fabricated dialogue)
* italics indicate the polite 'you' form.

The trainees' attention can be drawn to the fact that, just as in the advert, Y fails to see that what actually X wants to know is not whether Y has a watch or not but what the time is. They could also be asked to think of other examples of this kind in Turkish. By having these examples translated, the mismatch would be seen more clearly, as the trainees have to find a functional equivalent in English.

Trainees can be helped to become aware of the issues related to the appropriate uses of indirect requests by focusing on the circumstances that require this kind of use in Turkish.

[19] This could be rendered as 'Excuse me, I was wondering if you had the right time?'. However, 'Have you got a watch ?' is used to serve for the same function.

In this way, trainees are likely to find that the assessment variables of distance, weight of imposition and power described by Brown and Levinson (1987) play an important role in determining language choice (cf. chapter 2.3.1). Discussion can be encouraged on when the contextual factors do and do not require the use of indirect speech functions, and when not to use them, and the effect of these factors on the linguistic realization of the speech functions.

Trainees can be asked what kind of a question A should have asked to avoid B (deliberately) misunderstanding her. In order to prevent this misunderstanding, A could have used a more direct form "What time is it please?" or "What is the time please?" (cf. chapter 5.5.4). These are comparatively more "fixed" (Aijmer 1996) forms of asking the time than the one A used in the advert, and they can be classified as a more direct type of request. Then, the differences between these two forms "Do you have the right time?" and "What is the time please?", can be discussed in terms of the illocutionary force of a Yes/No question form as an indirect request as opposed to a WH-question as a request for information form. The trainees will be asked to work in groups and to make a list of the forms for asking the time. According to the context of situation, the uses of the forms which they suggest can be graded on a scale of formality from less formal towards more formal. They can be asked which features they focus on in order to make a decision about the degree of formality of the use. The discussion can be focused on the modal verb and the role of its illocutionary force in expressing politeness. One of the crucial features of indirect requests is the modal verb choice, which indicates the indirectness of the request. The relationship between the degree of indirectness indicated and the level of politeness has already been discussed in chapter 5.

For more information and further ideas for preparing teaching materials, Bolitho and Tomlinson (1995: 11), Exercise 4/d and its Commentaries on pages 67-68 offer a similar approach to that of the present study .

Step 2:

Other features in the dialogue (Figure 6.4) that express politeness will also be exploited to make the trainees aware of their functions in interaction. These are the pause and a number of discourse markers that were used by the female speaker to save her own face. Firstly, the attention of the trainees can be drawn towards the pause in turn 5. Its function can be discussed in terms of its role in expressing hesitation which results from B's unexpected reluctance to comply with A's request. This causes A to lose her face. By pausing and so allowing B to self-repair, A appears to protect her own and B's face. A also uses three discourse markers 'right', 'well' and 'so' as she tries to remain calm and confident.

The trainees can be asked the reasons why the speaker might have used these. They can be asked to recall whether they ever noticed these three words used in this way. The trainer could provide them with sample dialogues. As can be seen in the work sheets, an example analysis can be introduced to raise trainees' awareness about the use of these markers. Making their own concordancing can be a way of helping them to notice the discoursal relationship between the markers and the words in their neighbourhood. Analysing the use of markers in a story like this has been chosen to prepare grounds for the third activity where the use of discourse markers in conversation is analysed.

They can also be asked to have a look at a few text-books that they could get hold of to see whether this type of uses of 'right', 'well' and 'so' are represented in them. They can then compare those with the type of uses in the advert. 'Right' can be translated as 'peki', 'well' can be translated as the Turkish interjection 'ee' and 'so' can be translated as the words Turkish 'hadi'. However, these translations may vary depending on one's interpretation [20]. The trainees can be asked to think about their functions, and to translate these words into Turkish.

The trainees' attention can also be drawn towards the use of the pause in both the advert and the example dialogue. They can be prompted to develop tactics in order to use a pause strategically when their linguistic abilities fail them.

An invaluable pedagogical source of information on discourse markers and authentic audio examples is Carter and McCarthy (1997). In addition, the second activity, which is based on authentic data on the discourse marker 'right' in McCarthy and Carter (1994: 202-203), can be useful to both learners and teachers in terms of exemplifying the use of the marker and can give guidance to the teachers in terms of designing an activity on a discourse marker.

Step 3:

The trainees will be asked to reflect about what they have learned from this activity: whether they learned something new and whether the activity was useful for them as language learners and teacher trainees or not. They can also be asked to think about which parts of the activity were more useful. The aim of this is to make them aware of the fact that not every

[20] See Özbek (1995) for different interpretations.

activity can be suitable for their needs. It also aims to remind them of the two aspects of their education: learning the English language and preparing for teaching English.

6.4.1.1.3 Activity Three: Analysing discourse markers

CONVERSATION

1- Stuart: what's the situation on the wedding preparations, then?
2- Brian: er::::r
3- Claire: oh well advanced
4- Stuart: what's that, a why did you ask that question [others laugh] change the subject immediately Stu (.) keep your nose out [talking to himself]
5- David: you've touched on a very sore point, Stu
6- Stuart: //well you know
7- Claire: //no, no you can stir as much as you like you won't be there to see the consequences
8- Brian: everything's going as planned
9- Stuart: good
10- David: well that's very diplomatic
11- Brian: why?
12- David: we::ll well, you know that's not saying a word is it?
13- Brian: ah, well no it's uh
(5 seconds pause)
14- Claire: progressing
(file: C15)

Transcription notation:
(.) short pause
[] extra information
// overlapping words
::: drawl
Stu is short for Stuart

The work sheets for this activity are in Appendix R. In order to familiarize the trainees with reading the transcribed conversation, the transcription notation needs to be studied. To describe the context of situation, the trainees will be asked to use their imagination and try to imagine the amount of stress that the families and particularly couples can have during

wedding preparations. Arguments due to increasing tension during this period are a very common thing to happen in Turkey. At the same time, these incidents are quite embarrassing for both families. The trainees will be asked whether they have witnessed or experienced such a situation.

The trainees will then be asked to try to imagine the type of relationship between the interactants, their attitude towards the topic of conversation and reaction of each one to the question that Stuart asked. The trainees will be guided to understand that the situation is embarrassing. It is obvious that there is a problem with the prospect of the wedding in question, which seems to make Brian, Claire and David feel uneasy. We understand this from Brian's hesitation in turn 2 and Claire's quick and strategic answer to Stuart's inquiry about the wedding preparations. In turn 4, Stuart appears to feel that unease and he tells himself off for asking such a question. David appears to be sarcastic and tells him that what he asked about is a sensitive issue. As a result, Stuart becomes defensive in turn 6. Claire shows her disapproval of his question too. However, Brian gives a strategic answer saying that everything is all right. Stuart takes this at its face value and says 'good' to show his appreciation. However, David goes on behaving sarcastically and attacks Brian, to which Brian responds by a counter attack. Nevertheless, David does not stop and accuses others of being secretive about the wedding preparations, to which Brian appears unable to find any answer. This appears to be indicated by the five-second pause. However, Claire ends the pause by more or less repeating what she said in turn 3. Talking about the context of situation is crucial to make the text accessible to the trainees.

Step 1:

After describing the context of situation, the attention of trainees can be drawn towards the use of some linguistic features, such as discourse markers. Two discourse markers, 'well' and 'you know' which are used commonly in daily language occur in this extract. The extract appears to be accessible for the trainees with some guidance from the teacher.

The discourse marker 'well' can be used as a starting point for raising awareness about the use of discourse markers in general, as it has already been introduced in Activity 2. The awareness-raising process needs to begin with preparing the grounds for less familiar forms of discourse markers such as 'you know'.

The second reason for starting with 'well' is that its use in English appears to be similar to the Turkish 'sey' and 'iste' (cf. E. Yilmaz 1994), whereas the marker 'you know' appears to be different to 'well' as it is composed of a two word clause. As pointed out earlier in Chapter 3, Turkish does not have clausal discourse markers as such. Therefore, it can be difficult for the trainees to become familiar with the concept of discourse markers if the activity begins with a study of the use of 'you know'.

The trainees may not be familiar with idiomatic expressions such as 'touching on a very sore point', 'keep your nose out' and 'stir as much as you like'. That is, these expressions will have to be studied by asking them to find similar Turkish substitutes. There are very similar equivalents for the first two of these expressions. These are - in the same order- 'yaraya parmak basmak' (touching on a very sore point) and 'bilmedigin ise burnunu sokma' (keep

your nose out). The trainees can be asked to make an investigation to find a similar idiomatic way of expressing 'stir as much as you like'.

The study of 'well' can begin by asking the trainees whether there is any difference between the uses of 'well' in 'well advanced' in Claire's turn 3 and other uses of 'well' in turns 6, 10, 12 and 13. Keeping in mind that the situation is very embarrassing, the trainees will be asked to think of an explanation for the reasons why the speakers used them. By talking about the situation in depth, the trainees can be helped to understand that part of the strategic language in this conversation is realized by using 'well'. They can also be reminded that they can draw on what they have already learned from the analysis of 'well'.

Step 2:

After the introduction of 'well', the trainees will be asked to think about the use of 'you know' in turn 6 by Stuart and in turn 12 by David. In turn 5, David appears to criticise Stuart mildly, which leads Stuart to defend himself. The trainees can be asked to interpret what Stuart says in turn 6 ('Well you know'). They will be asked to imagine themselves in Stuart's shoes. In turn 12, David appears to find himself having to defend his position where he uses 'well' twice and 'you know' once. Similarly, Brian, in turn 13, obviously hesitates about what to say and uses different expressions including 'well'. The trainees will be asked if the speakers used this expression to mean that their listeners KNOW something or to indicate something else. They will also be asked in this particular context, whether 'you know' has a similar function to 'well'. Following this, the term 'discourse markers' will be introduced. The trainees can be asked to think of similar words which are used as discourse markers in Turkish.

Step 3:

After introducing the idea of 'discourse markers', the attention of trainees will be drawn towards other pragmalinguistic features in the conversation such as 'err::r, uh and ah', which can be described as 'hesitation markers'. The trainees will be asked to think of their Turkish equivalents. It is also useful if they are reminded that it is possible to use these hesitation markers strategically when they are stuck for words or having problems with planning their talk.

Step 4:

The trainees can be asked to describe each speaker's position by using all the points that have been discussed so far. They can be guided by drawing their attention towards the characteristics of the language behaviour that each speaker displays, such as being defensive, embarrassed, sarcastic, strategic or a mediator.

1- Stuart: what's the situation on the wedding preparations, then?
2- Brian: er::::r
3- Claire: oh well advanced
4- Stuart: what's that, a why did you ask that question [others laugh] change the subject immediately Stu (.) keep your nose out [talking to himself]
5- David: you've touched on a very sore point, Stu
6- Stuart: //well you know
7- Claire: //no, no you can stir as much as you like you won't be there to see the consequences
8- Brian: everything's going as planned
9- Stuart: good
10- David: well that's very diplomatic
11- Brian: why?
12- David: we::ll well, you know that's not saying a word is it?
13- Brian: ah, well no it's uh
(5 seconds pause)
14- Claire: progressing

Stuart -- Embarrassed (He talks to himself in turn 4)
Mediator (He accepts B's answer by saying 'good' in turn 9)

Brian -- Hesitant (He avoids answering Stuart's question in turn 2. and David's question in turn 12)
Mediator (He says that everything is all right in turn 8)
Defensive (He makes a counter-attack to D's attack in turn 11)

Claire -- Defensive (She tries to cover up Brian's hesitation twice in turns 3 and 14)
Protective (She criticizes Stuart for asking that question in turn 7)

David -- Sarcastic (In turn 5, he expresses his criticism by mocking the others' secrecy. He protests about the insufficiency of information given in turns 10 and 12)

Following this character analysis, the trainees will be asked to translate the conversation into Turkish working in groups of three. They will be told to put themselves into each character's shoes when translating and to think what they would say in such a situation in Turkish. The aim of this approach is to enable the trainees to see the relationship between the linguistic choices we make and our personal stance towards our position in interaction. It also aims to help that the trainees to recognize discourse markers as a group of linguistic expressions used to express strategic language. The trainees will also be asked whether they know any other similar expressions in both Turkish and English.

Step 5:

In this step, the trainees' attention will be drawn towards issues relating to language learning. They will also be asked to think whether studying the uses of 'well' and 'you know' which occur in the conversation has helped to them to understand the use of these expressions better. They can also make a comparison between their opinion about the functions of these expressions are and what they think now the functions of these expressions are. This type of reflection will then lead onto a session when they will have a examine some teaching materials.

These three activities attempt to represent a quite a large section of pragmalinguistic features. Since the amount of information that each one presents is quite rich and the steps of the activities are highly dense, it can be helpful to divide steps into smaller steps where less dense information is presented. However, as the pragmalinguistic awareness of the trainees is raised during the process of the course, the activities can take less time and effort on behalf of both the trainees and the teachers.

These three activities aim to embody the main pragmalinguistic issues which were investigated throughout the present study. Pragmalinguistics appears to encompass a wide range of issues, each of which is not easy to deal with comprehensively. In addition, since this study is pedagogical in its orientation, it has to be selective in terms of the number of issues to be included in a language awareness teaching approach. In this respect, it is even more important to inform syllabus designers and teacher trainers about the results of research into pragmalinguistics. The more knowledgeable they are, the better the decisions they could make about what to select both to represent pragmalinguistics in the syllabuses and to enable teacher trainees to become well informed teachers.

6.5 Conclusions

The present chapter has made a proposal for raising the pragmalinguistic awareness of Turkish teacher trainees. By incorporating Edge's (1988) and Wright's (1991) framework, it is intended that the trainees could adopt the roles of language user, analyst and teacher. The course is based on the trainees' experiences: they learn by drawing on their experiences gained through using Turkish and English. Then, they will be guided by analysing interaction

in both languages. The interaction between teacher and students in this process is very crucial for the course to succeed. This approach assigns very active roles both to the teachers and the students.

The teacher's questions would draw the students' attention to a particular language point about pragmalinguistics. The trainees' feedback would reflect to what extent they already have an awareness about the point. Sometimes, to find the answer, they need to carry out a small-scale empirical study which is designed to make them think about pragmalinguistics as an analyst.

Earlier in the study, it was pointed out that part of the reason for pragmalinguistics being under-represented in Turkish teacher training courses is related to attitudes towards it as a component of language (see Chapter 4.4.2). The present study has already shown that one of the steps towards raising language awareness of pragmalinguistics is to enable the trainees to revise their attitudes and beliefs about the state of pragmalinguistics amongst other components of language. Therefore, it is important to encourage the trainees to reflect upon their beliefs. In this context, what they think about the use of a particular pragmalinguistic feature before and after doing these activities is crucial in the process of raising their awareness.

This chapter firstly summarized the main results of the present study. Drawing on these findings, the chapter also laid the foundations for a type of course that could be used to teach pragmalinguistics to teacher trainees. It was argued that the pragmalinguistic issues of language should be included in the training programmes. This is particularly important in

NNS teacher training since trainees need to be well informed about the language that they will teach. Raising their language awareness of some issues of pragmalinguistics has been proposed as a way of doing this. The chapter proposed two sample activities which were based on the framework where trainees are regarded as language analysts, language learners, and language teachers.

The final chapter will summarize the findings of the study which have broader implications particularly for teacher training and more generally for language teaching. It will also discuss the limitations of the study further. Finally, the chapter will provide some suggestions for further research for the purposes of advancing our understanding of pragmalinguistics and improving our knowledge of learning and teaching pragmalinguistics of language in both the mother tongue and the foreign language.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This thesis has investigated the teaching of pragmalinguistics in EFL teacher training programmes. The thesis is based on three separate but interrelated studies. The first of these aimed to explore the complex and wide-ranging nature of pragmalinguistics, through the analysis of two representative features of pragmalinguistics, **you know** and **I mean,** in both NS and NNS conversations. The second study examined the status of pragmalinguistics in teacher training. To do this, two Turkish teacher training programmes were chosen as case studies. An exploratory investigation of one of these programmes was firstly performed in order to discover to what extent pragmalinguistics was taught. Classroom observations and follow-up interviews with the lecturers involved were carried out to explore the role of pragmalinguistics. Four ELT methodology lecturers at Uludag University and the Middle East Technical University were also interviewed to find out how the teaching of pragmalinguistics was regarded and to what extent it was represented in the syllabus. The interview questions were based on analysis of the data gained from the previous study at Uludag University. To find to what extent the trainees were aware of pragmalinguistic issues and could use pragmalinguistic features, a questionnaire was administered to the teacher trainees in these departments, and 20 of the subjects who completed the questionnaire were subsequently interviewed. The first part of the questionnaire was related to the trainees' perceptions and attitudes towards the language. Then, to see how successful the trainees were in using pragmalinguistic features, the data that was gained from the second half of the questionnaire was analysed. The findings from these three studies were used as basis for the

proposal of a possible approach to teach pragmalinguistics by raising the language awareness of teacher trainees.

The present chapter firstly summarizes the main findings of the study (7.1). The implications of the study are presented in section 7.2. Some major limitations of the study are discussed in section 7.3. Finally, section 7.4 presents suggestions for further research.

7.1 Summary of Main Findings

This section will present the main findings of the three studies that have been carried out. The first study is the comparative analysis of the discourse markers **you know** and **I mean** (Chapter 3). The second study comprises three sub-studies: classroom observations and interviews with the class teachers, the first part of the questionnaire on trainees' attitudes and perceptions about language, and interviews with trainees and interviews with ELT Methodology lecturers (Chapter 4). The third study is the second questionnaire analysis (Chapter 5). The overall finding from all these three studies is that pragmalinguistics is important and complex, but under-represented in teacher training courses, and it is not highly regarded.

The first study showed that the functions of pragmalinguistics can be quite complicated. Only close analysis can reveal their functions. The complexity of the use of the discourse markers **you know** and **I mean** stems from the fact that the use of these language forms is interrelated with Politeness Strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987) and other social norms and grammar rules (see Chapter 2 for a review). These markers, as clauses, have a meaning

on their own. However, when they are used as discourse markers, their meaning is distanced from their clausal meaning. Secondly, even when they are used as discourse markers, they appear to have multiple functions. The use of a marker can be associated with both topic expansion and facework simultaneously. The topic expansion category was further analysed. Two types of topic expansion, at local level and at conversational level, were found. At local level, a marker can be associated with an expansion of a concept or a word in its close vicinity. At conversational level, however, the use of a marker can indicate an expansion by means of topic shifting, giving an example and re-introducing a previous topic. Since these markers tend to be either backward looking or forward looking (cf. Schiffrin 1987), this type of expansion can be within one turn or across turns. Those markers that can be associated with face work were found to be in the close vicinity of a face threatening act or a face maintaining act. It certainly appears that multifunctionality is a feature of these discourse markers and that in this they reflect a more general tendency of pragmalinguistic features. Although these are quite complicated language features, the results of the analysis have shown that the NNSs appear to be able learn how to use these pragmalinguistic features fairly well through (sufficient) natural exposure.

In the second study, analysis of the classroom observations revealed that, during the 20 hour observation period of the speaking skills course in a teacher training programme, the teaching of pragmalinguistics was not recorded. The opportunities that tasks created (e.g. oral presentations) were not fully exploited to teach features of pragmalinguistics. The interviews with the class teachers indicated that pragmalinguistics is not taught systematically. Analysis of the first part of the questionnaire and the interviews with the trainees indicated that the trainees were enthusiastic to learn about the type of issues that are included in the domain of

pragmalinguistics. However, they could not categorize them under the title of pragmalinguistics. They also appeared to be aware of some missing link in their language learning, though they did not know what exactly it is. They believed that if they learned more vocabulary they would improve their speaking skills. The analysis of the first questionnaire indicates that the trainees did not believe that difficult courses are always the most important ones. For example, grammar is the most emphasized course in the two training programmes. However, the trainees did not appear to believe that it is the most important one to help them in improving their language skills. The interviews with the ELT Methodology lecturers suggest that they did not believe that it is possible to teach pragmalinguistics in an EFL context such as in Turkey. They appeared to think that one should be exposed to the language and culture to pick up these features.

The third main study is based on the second part of the questionnaire. The results of the analysis showed that trainees had serious problems in performing particular pragmalinguistic features. The trainees were more successful in choosing the right form in multiple choice questions. However, when they were asked to produce forms, they had difficulties in choosing the right modal verb and/or main verb. To compensate for their insufficient pragmalinguistic competency, they resorted to transfer of Turkish forms and improvisation. These strategies resulted in inappropriate and/or ungrammatical forms quite frequently.

This brief section has summarized the findings. The next section will discuss the overall implications of these findings for teacher training and language teaching.

7.2 Implications of the Study

The study has a number of significant implications for the training of EFL teachers. Firstly, the study provides important information about how NNS can acquire pragmalinguistic competence in the foreign language if they are given extended exposure to conversational interaction in the target language community. On the other hand, the study shows that, in an EFL situation, NNS are unlikely to acquire pragmalinguistic competence without explicit training. The study also indicates the vital need to raise awareness of pragmalinguistics for both EFL teacher trainees and, in particular, their trainers. Finally, the study suggests ways in which a pragmalinguistics component which is practical and straightforward to implement can be incorporated in a teacher training programme. These implications are considered in greater detail in this section.

The first implication of the study relates to the learning of pragmalinguistics. The Turkish postgraduate students who lived in Britain picked up the use of discourse markers **you know** and **I mean** reasonably well. This may indicate that ESL speakers can develop a kind of awareness of some features of pragmalinguistics (e.g. **you know** and **I mean**) and competence in using them when they are exposed to the language and culture for at least a year. However, in an EFL teacher training context, trainees are not likely to develop such an awareness and competence without exposure. Similarly, the study has shown that trainees failed to use particular pragmalinguistic features (e.g. indirect requests). Moreover, although the trainees are aware that they have problems, they do not seem to know how to improve

the situation. It appears that such subtle language points are not likely to be picked up without explicit training.

The results of the analysis of **you know** and **I mean** also indicate that pragmalinguistic features can be very complex. For example, they have multiple functions. This complexity makes the necessity for the trainees and teacher to study pragmalinguistics even more compelling. Therefore, pragmalinguistics needs to be introduced into courses at all levels as a component in professional development. Although the present study is interested in pre-service training at B.A. level, the results of the study indicate that pragmalinguistics should be considered as one of the essential course components in Diploma/Masters courses and in-service courses.

The implications for language teaching are related to a broader area of both mother tongue teaching and foreign language teaching. The findings strongly suggest that it is now high time for EFL contexts, such as the Turkish context, to devote time and funding to encourage and foster changes in language teaching syllabuses and textbooks. To do this, the efficiency of existing programmes and teaching materials should be checked vigorously against the results of recent studies and should be scrutinized to see whether they serve their intended purposes. This requires a constant comparative research into the efficiency of EFL teaching, teacher training programmes, teaching materials and new developments. This subsequently means additional research funding needs to be found for the universities and their libraries. This type of attitude may encourage serving teachers to improve their knowledge through in-service training programmes or personal effort (funding themselves to study at universities in

Turkey or abroad). It may also motivate these professionals to revise their existing knowledge about all aspects of language including pragmalinguistics.

The results of the questionnaire analysis imply that the trainees tend to use communication strategies to compensate for their lack of knowledge of certain conventionalized forms. Undoubtedly, the use of communication strategies may be helpful to compensate for the lack of other types of knowledge such as vocabulary. However, in the case of conventionalized forms such as 'Have you got the right time?', employing conversational strategies by means of manipulating their existing knowledge may result in communication problems and even pragmatic failure. Therefore, it is better to encourage the trainees to learn the conventionalized form. Fortunately, these are fairly predictable and the number of those that are commonly used in daily language is limited, making the teaching and learning of these forms relatively easy. This fact appears to balance the complexity of other pragmalinguistic features.

One implication that the findings of the study have revealed is that there is some confusion among Turkish educators about what pragmalinguistics is. To some extent, it appears to be seen as a language component that is all about British or American culture. This might have induced resistance in the EFL teachers and educationalists towards pragmalinguistics, in order to protect the Turkish culture and language (see also Phillipson 1992). This confusion could be caused by the fact that the functions of pragmalinguistic features are not yet known to us. The overall picture of pragmalinguistics has recently been coming together with the advancement of computational linguistics (Carter 1998). To make pragmalinguistics more accessible and less threatening for non-native teachers and teacher trainers, a comparative

cross-cultural approach like the one that was presented in this study can be beneficial. By comparing and contrasting L1 and L2 cultural elements and linguistic expressions, the trainees may become more aware of how pragmalinguistic features function.

Teaching about pragmalinguistic aspects of the target language could be integrated into different courses in a traditional skills based programme. However, at least in the Turkish context, the Speaking Skills course appears to be the most feasible one. This would give more of a purpose and a framework to the existing Speaking Skills course. This framework could help teachers to prepare their lessons more systematically. That is, they could design activities according to the type of pragmalinguistic feature they would like to teach. The activities themselves could remain an important opportunity for the trainees to develop fluency, but they would also give opportunities for pragmalinguistic functions to be highlighted. A post-activity feed-back session could be exploited for raising pragmalinguistic awareness. This goal provides a focus for the lesson and orientates all efforts to reach the final feedback session. It can also give the trainees a feeling of achievement and provides a purpose for a lesson where everybody is expected to perform the difficult task of communicating in a foreign language in a monolingual class.

This section has summarized the main findings of the study. The findings appear to suggest that pragmalinguistics should be treated as a component of language in EFL/ESL syllabuses and teacher training programmes. The next section will consider the limitations of the study.

7.3 Limitations of the Study

This section outlines some of the major limitations of the overall study. However, specific limitations of the three component studies have already been discussed in the relevant chapters.

For both practical and theoretical reasons, the present study had to give priority to pragmalinguistic features which are mainly used in spoken discourse. However, research on pragmalinguistic features of written discourse has shown that they play just as important a role in communicating the interpersonal functions of language as those which are used in spoken discourse. Relevant research includes studies on using hedges in academic writing to establish interpersonal rapport by Hyland (1996a; 1996b; 1996c; and 1996d) and studies on evaluation in text by Thetela (1997).

Having the data collection performed overseas imposes certain limitations on a study, and the present study is no exception. Since the analyst was only a guest researcher in the institutions where the data collection took place, she did not have the chance to take over a class hour to collect data. A set of audio recordings of role plays would have been a good source of information about the trainees' ability to perform oral interaction in a classroom context. Role-plays which were designed to elicit particular speech acts might have provided the analyst with a wider perspective.

Some problems arose with collecting data in my questionnaires and interviews, e.g. the interviews with trainees took place in public areas in these institutions, which forced the

interviews to be quite short. An additional question to elicit information about the meta-language of pragmalinguistics would have given more information about the trainees' present knowledge of pragmatics.

Another limitation is that the activities which are proposed in Chapter 6 could not be tested in the classroom due to shortage of time and other practical reasons. Had there been time to test them, it would have been possible to know their shortcomings and strengths. Therefore, they should be taken as proposals for the purposes of teaching pragmalinguistics. Their main aim is to point out that pragmalinguistic features that occur in everyday language can be exploited in language teaching and that they are not entirely inaccessible even in an EFL teaching context.

That pragmalinguistic features of Turkish discourse have not yet been investigated appears to be an unavoidable limitation of not only the present study but any comparative study. Because of this, it was not possible to evaluate the English data in comparison to the Turkish data to see whether there were cultural differences in terms of face work. It would be difficult to reach a conclusion about how cultural differences could affect the Turkish subjects. It would, for example, have been helpful if there had been studies on face work strategies in Turkish.

This section has summarized the limitations of the study. Some of these were practical limitations, such as the physical setting of the data collection and the time constraint that was imposed on the study. Others were limitations relating to the linguistic phenomena that were

investigated (e.g. speech acts). The next section will present suggestions for further research which come from the findings of this study.

7.4 Suggestions for Further Research

The implications of the present study suggest further research in two broad areas of study: applied linguistics and language teaching. Since pragmalinguistics is not a very well explored area, any comparative studies of pragmalinguistic features will help to improve our understanding of this field. There has so far been little research that compares and contrasts those features in the Turkish and English languages (but see Özbek 1995 and Yilmaz 1993).

Raising language awareness is not perhaps an issue of EFL education only. As Hawkins (1992) points out, raising language awareness is always talked about in the context of foreign language teaching in British education. However, he argues that raising students' awareness of their mother tongue should be given importance. As Hawkins argues, there is a misconception that language studies are done for foreign language teaching but not for mother tongue teaching. It seems that the process of raising language awareness needs to be started in mother tongue education. Then, language awareness of a foreign language can be built on these foundations. For this reason, an investigation into the effects of mother tongue awareness is needed.

One way of investigating the process of learning about pragmalinguistics of language can be by studying the development of pragmalinguistic skills in children learning their mother tongue. A body of research exists in the field of psychology (see Ervin-Tripp et al 1990; Snow et al 1990). However, this needs a complementary linguistic orientation to provide

more useful insights for language learning and teaching. The literature suggests that development of awareness of pragmalinguistics begins at an early age (Bialystok 1993). More studies are needed to investigate how it is acquired and whether this information could help us in EFL teaching.

Earlier in the study, it was mentioned that unfortunately few studies have been carried out to understand the process of learning about pragmalinguistics, the process of raising pragmalinguistic awareness (cf. Kasper 1996; Kasper and Schmidt 1996), or the underlying strategies of pragmalinguistics. One way of looking into the underlying processes of using pragmalinguistics would be an investigation of the use of the pragmalinguistic strategies by learners. This type of strategy appears to have always been included in lexical communication strategies (see Kellerman 1990; Karatepe 1993). However, recent research appears to suggest that they should be isolated and investigated as pragmalinguistic strategies, since they are not entirely related to lexical items and their meanings but to a larger communicative phenomenon where social functions are prominent.

The results call for changes in Turkish teacher training programmes on a large scale. In order to realize these changes, the existing teacher training programmes need to be revised to see to what extent they meet their aims. Moreover, the aims of the teacher training programmes may need to be revised according to the requirements of the modern world. These issues call for a series of studies carried out by educational scientists, linguists and EFL teacher training methodologists working together. These studies should investigate the place of linguistics in training programmes in order to establish a balance between linguistics, literature and ELT methodology courses. Another aspect which should be included is relating skills based

courses such as reading, writing, listening and speaking to ELT methodology. At present these courses are taught for the sake of improving the trainees' four skills. If they could be presented from the perspective of language awareness raising by adapting Edge's tri-partite framework, they would be far more beneficial to the trainees.

Another point that has emerged is the shared views of those who were involved in EFL teacher training and EFL education in Turkey. There is an urgent need for raising these people's language awareness. This need appears to stem from serious misunderstandings and misconceptions about the place of pragmalinguistics in language (both L1 and L2) education. These must be investigated initially so that language awareness raising courses can be designed based on the results of the findings.

The present study has attempted to investigate the teaching of pragmalinguistics in teacher education. Its scope has been quite broad, but its main aim has been to highlight the under-representation of pragmalinguistics and to underline the need to have pragmalinguistics as a component of language in teacher training. This study should be considered as one of the first steps in a series of studies in the field of teaching pragmalinguistics at different levels of EFL/ESL education and teacher training.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION NOTATION

(.) indicates a short pause

[] indicates backchannelling

(laughs) indicates laughter and comments such as "(inaudible)"

! indicates Turkish sounds or words

e-e Turkish interjection

a-aa Turkish interjection

// // indicates overlapping speech

* indicates a linguistic mistake

::: indicates a drawl

(0.5) indicates a pause

words in *italics* indicate the words which can be associated with the uses of **you know** and **I mean**

APPENDIX B

Additional Examples of the Uses of You know and I mean

Topic Expansion

Local Level

NS. 1

D: they've done *that job* they've finished **you know** *the filling in of those window panels those dead window panels*
A: oh have they
(file: C12)

NNS. 2

G: and I I was really really tired the first day you know and the Saturday we went to theatre and I was a little sleep [A: right] in the theatre
A: what did you watch
G: it's about e-e historical play
A: Turkish history
G: Turkish history
A: all right
G: but I can't remember **you know** a little bit musical a little bit (.) **you know** playing
A: yes
(file: NC7)

Conversational Topic Expansion

Topic Shift

NS. 4

Context: Talking about how bad newspapers are as they look for scandals not reality.

M: I I read them I find them it's like **you know** that did you hear about the boy erm from (inaudible) [X: yeah] I mean that was //that was enough// [X: (inaudible)]// because erm did you know I don't know him // (inaudible) did Mary know him //

NNS. 6

H: have you been to Birmingham
C: no somebody told me about it I am //trying to get information//
M:// she might be dreaming//
H:// you've been talking about Birmingham// for sometime
M: is it a imaginary place
C: I want to go there I don't know it's it's
CE: you should go but when you go I mean what you could do stay a couple of days who could you stay with do you know anyone
C: no in bed and breakfast
CE: oh I know there's there's a nice place which is the erm Methodist International House residence
C: mhm is it cheap
CE: yeah it's cheap and they are very nice and self-catering you can just go and cook there if you want or not
M: //or// you can stay in a youth hostel
H: yes **I mean** I I stayed in a youth hostel and three yeah three times different I think they are quite nice [M: (inaudible)] you can't have breakfast you have to buy your own breakfast you have to buy your tea etc
(omission)
(file: NC5)

Topic Expansion by Giving Example

NS. 8

Context: Talking about violent sports such as boxing. R thinks rugby is as dangerous as boxing.

R: (omission) you should be allowed to do it hhh (0.9) and I mean *rugby* had you **you know** you can be *injured playing rugby* quite seriously *people 've died playing rugby*
(file: C14)

Topic re-introducing

Context: The topic in turn 1 is the kidnapped boy's story and how it is exploited by journalists. Then, the topic shifts to a person who knows the boy's family. The speaker had to buy the papers though she did not approve of them. She had to send the cutting to Sean, and her children wanted see the press coverage. After this, she re-introduces the boy's story and its of the possible outcomes of the the journalists' irresponsible approach towards the situation.

NS. 12

1M: I I read them I find them it's like you know that did you hear about the boy erm from (inaudible) [X: yeah] I mean that was //that was enough// [X: (inaudible)]// because erm did you know I don't know him // (inaudible) did Mary know him //
2X: // no Mary only knew vaguely erm // Sean (.) pretty much knew who it was [M: yeah yeah] but I sent Sean press cutting because Richard Thompson here called us (.) [M: all right] erm (.) so I sent all the cuttings from the (inaudible) newspapers we get which didn't tell you much but you know kids wanted them but **i mean** [M: but] THAT got that started as what could have been just a tragic accident erm could be murder could (.) and now as far as I could gather that the poor the poor parents they're coming up (inaudible)
(file:C7)

Face work

NS. 12

A: what's the situation on the wedding preparations, then?
B: er::::r
C: oh well advanced
A: what's that, a why did you ask that question (laughter) change the subject immediately Stu (.) keep your nose out
D: you've touched on a very sore point, Stu
A: *//well* **you know**
C: //no, no you can stir as much as you like you won't be there to see the consequences
B: everything's going as planned
A: good
D: well that's very diplomatic
B: why?
D: *we::ll well,* **you know** that's not saying a word is it?
B: ah, well no it's uh
(0.5)
C: progressing
(file: C15)

NNS. 14

R: //but// I think (.) this is all the problem of coming from from a developing country I think because we need to work hard here (.) to prove us in a way if if if I work like other English people let's say because if you're doing one I have to do two or three
D: yeah exactly
R: yeah because I have to prove myself **you know** because if you don't prove yourself (.) I don't know this's just

C: you're not told to do this but [R: yeah] you feel it [R: you] you you feel obliged to do it so
R: but nobody told me but as you said I feel but at the same time other people let's say in the hospital or in the (inaudible) expect you to to work harder like Peter **you know** [D: mhm] she's he's always giving me books references of books to read and
(file: NC8)

Multi-Functional Uses of You know and I mean

NS. 16

28P: all these are their needs of a different school though aren't they [K: mhm] (0.7) if they are uncooperative and violent they've got problems // all right
29K: // *but if like say* they've got (0.3) *problems* and they're not cared for at home (1.3) I mean (0.6) // *well we're* **you know** *we're not concerned of just sort of learning any sort of*
30P: //well I I I'm not saying just I'm not saying ex
31K: social value
(file:NC2)

NNS. 19

T: //I think// yea this book was for first Semester but not the second Semester
E: yea [T: yeah] plus it's more for you know undergrads
T: yeah I mean it's just you know very //basic//
E: //very// basic one yeah
T: yeah but it's good if you don't know anything about it it's good [E: mhm] it's really good one
E: mhm you know what I did
T: yea //you want some// tissue
E: that's good you know what I did (.) erm
T: I think I'd better make you coffee or tea
E: mhm maybe later on erm what I did was // did **I mean**//
T: //(inaudible)// or do you want to sit on a chair I mean it's up to you
E: **I mean** i can OK
T: OK
E: just (unintelligible) erm so I bought that book and didn't use it at all so **I mean** it was just you know standing (unintelligible) I think why don't you take it to the book shop because they do take book if you know
T: if you don't
E: they're all right so
T: //no but I just want to//
E: //I simply took it to the to the// book shop and replaced with another book actually **I mean** they don't give you don't get any
T: because I underlined and I (inaudible)
E: I see all right
(file: NC2)

APPENDIX C

Proposed Activity for the Use of **You know** *and* **I mean**

The activity below is designed to raise trainees' awareness about the use of **you know** and **I mean** as an element of conversational strategies. It is also designed as a preparation step for the 2nd and 3rd activities in Chapter 6 where the use of discourse markers are analysed. In this activity two extracts from two different conversations held by NNS are used. The use of NNS speech may establish a kind of affinity between these speakers and the trainees who do not seem very confident about their English. The extract has been doctored by the researcher to make it more accessible for the teacher trainees.

Talking about making mistakes and how to use repair strategies may help trainees to feel better about their English. Since this type of features are in the nature of language, they need to have their awareness raised about strategic use of these markers.

In addition, the analysis of the use of **you know** and **I mean** in Chapter 3 has already shown that in embarrassing situations NS tend to use these markers to maintain face. Making a linguistic mistake is an embarrassing thing to do for NNS. As has been seen in the interviews with the Turkish teacher trainees, they are worried about the mistakes they make (see Chapter 4). The fear of making a mistake can be a discouraging factor for many. For this reason, this concern may inhibit the improvement their English. Talking about an embarrassing situation such as making a linguistic mistake in L2 can make them aware of that many language learners are in the same situation. However, to know that this can be remedied to some extent by using some strategies that NS may use in a similar situation can

relieve them to a degree. For this very reason, this activity has double targets: raising awareness about **you know** and **I mean** by presenting their use within a narrow scope and encouraging trainees to make use of some linguistic strategies that more proficient ESL learners and NS can use. It is hoped that once the NNS notice the use of **you know** and **I mean,** they will pay attention to other uses of **you know** and **I mean** and increase their awareness about different uses. The last step of the activity is designed for the purposes of prompting further interest in the use of these markers

Teachers' Notes for Activity

Before introducing the extract, the teacher should ask the trainees to work in pairs and ask their partner what s/he does when s/he cannot remember a word or makes a mistakes when speaking in Turkish. Following the interview, teacher asks trainees to report what their partners told them. A trainee can take notes. Later, common strategies can be found by counting the frequencies. The most probable answers are expected to be saying "sey" {~ **well; you know**}(Yilmaz 1994; Özbek 1995), "iste" {~**you know**}, "yani" {~**you know; I mean** } (Özbek 1995), "e-e" {~**erm**}, giving a pause, repeating the last word.

The teacher asks them to repeat the same process to elicit information about the strategies they adapt when speaking in English. Later, the strategies that they use both in Turkish and in English can be compared. They can be asked to think further whether it would be feasible to adapt their Turkish strategies in English. They can also be asked if they know the English equivalents of some Turkish hesitation and repair markers. Before listening to the tape,

trainees can be asked to reflect how they do repair when they realize they have made a mistake.

In the second step, the trainees will be asked to focus on the extracts of conversations. Before starting this step, trainees must know concepts such as 'repair' in speech. If this has not yet been covered, repair and its types (i.e. lexical repair, pronunciation repair etc.) need to be explained. This will be a first step towards preparing them for teaching profession. This type of familiarity will be helpful in introducing the class the tri-partite approach that will be introduced later in Chapter 6 (cf. Edge 1988; Wright 1991) for the purposes of raising pragmalinguistic awareness of trainees

After listening to the tape and reading the extract a few times, the trainees can be asked where the repair is and how it is done. The trainees are guided to notice that the repair is done at lexical level. In the repair an adjective (a graded form) is corrected.

They may ask the meaning of **I mean** in Turkish. Such a question can be avoided by asking them the Turkish equivalent of **I mean**. Since in the first step, expressions as such have already been talked about both in Turkish and in English, they should have already been prompted. In order to have them to put themselves in the speaker's shoes, they will further be asked how they would like to repair a similar mistake and whether they think they can use **I mean** in repair in a similar way to the example.

The second extract can be analysed in a similar format to the first one. The last question aims to focus trainees' attention on both markers. This question might remain in their minds until the third activity which is is presented Chapter 6. They will also be encouraged to reflect what they have heard while watching films or talking to NS. This can be assigned to as homework as a preparation for the 3rd activity in Chapter 6.

The Activity

Work sheets

Step 1

1- Work in pairs and ask each other what you do when you cannot remember a word or makes a mistakes when speaking in Turkish.

2- Work in pairs and ask each other what you do when you cannot remember a word or makes a mistakes when speaking in English.

Step 2

Conversation 1

In the conversation extract below two speakers M and H, who are female Turkish speakers of English, were studying in England when the recording took place. They talk about how difficult it is to understand different accents both in English and in Turkish. M has started the conversation complaining about a bus driver who did not understand her NNS accent. Since similar incidents had happened to her before, she sounds quite upset. However, she later remembered that once she did not understand a Greek person who spoke to her in Turkish. She explained that it took quite a while for her to understand what he said. Then, she concludes that it is difficult to understand different accents if you are not used to hearing them.

M: I think his grandparents used to live in Turkey before the first world war [H: mhm] and then they moved into Greece [H: mhm] and stuff and he he knows quite a lot about Turkish he was trying to tell me something in Turkish which was a really simple sentence you know [H: yes] and I just couldn't understand it took me like (.) five minutes in the end I understood what he was saying [H: yes] I said he was doing his best you know [H: yes] I could have understood him *better* **I mean** *quicker* than that (.) [H: yes] but (.) we're not used to hearing different accents
H: //probably yes probably//
(data collected by the author)

Listen to the tape and answer the following questions by working in pairs:

a) Where does the speaker do a repair?

b) How does she do it?

c) Do you use a similar strategy when speaking in English? (Correcting the mistake and saying a word like **I mean**)

d) What is the Turkish equivalent of **I mean** ?

e) Do you think **I mean** really means what the individual words 'I' and 'mean' do?

f) How would you do the same repair, if you were in her place?

Step 3

In the conversation extract below, T and E talk about a text-book on linguistics. T is in E's room in the halls of residences at a university in England. E, who is male, is from Turkey and T, who is a female, is from Singapore. Both are postgraduate students in the Linguistics department. It is summer time. They have finished all the taught courses and started working on their M.A. thesis.

It seems that T and E have different opinions of the textbook they talk about. E appears to think that the book is far too simple for the courses in the second term. He thinks it would have been more useful for the courses in the first term. Although T agrees with him, she still seems to find the book helpful. E bought the book because it was in the reading list given by -David- the lecturer of a course that he took in the second semester. David appears to have prepared only one reading list and handed it out during the whole academic year. Without realizing this, E bought it, which he regretted later.

Conversation 2

E: that's also a linguistics book
T: yea that one //you// have it too
E: erm no actually I bought it myself [T: yeah] erm but erm later on I realized that you took David's class in the first term didn't you
T: yeah
E: erm OK I didn't take his class in the first term and when I started taking his class in the second term we were given those shets* sheets **you know** [T: yeah] sheets so this book appeared there as a reference book so I needed to buy the book but and that book I'm afraid didn't you know prove to be immediately you know useful fo for me //so I didn't// even **I mean**
T: //I think// yea this book was for first term but not the second term
(data collected by the author)
* denotes an incorrect pronunciation

Listen to the tape and answer the following questions by working in pairs:

a) Where does the speaker do a repair?

b) How does he do it?

c) Do you use a similar strategy when speaking in English? (Correcting the mistake and saying a word like **you know**)

d) What is the Turkish equivalent of **you know**?

e) Do you think **you know** really means what the individual words 'you' and 'know' do?

f) How would you do the same repair, if you were in his place?

g) Do you think you can use **I mean** and **you know** in another difficult situation such as when you cannot remember a word in order to gain time?

h) Next time when you watch a film or programme in English, try to understand in which situations **you know** and **I mean** are used and, if possible, take notes.

APPENDIX D

Facts about Turkish Teacher Training Programmes

According to the Higher Education Council's 1995 prospectus in the teaching year 1996-97, an intake of 1555 trainees was planned to study TEFL in 16 faculties of education. 1275 of these trainee were to be placed in day courses, while 280 were to study in evening courses. At the time of the data collection, there were 55 universities and 28 faculties of education in the country. Three of these courses are in Ankara (Hacettepe University, Gazi University and the Middle East Technical University) and three of them are in Istanbul (Istanbul University, Bosphorus University and Marmara University). The number of students in the EFL departments in these metropolitan cities are in Ankara 290 and in Istanbul 300. As can seen from the figures, the universities in two main cities carry the greater responsibility for educating future generations of teachers.

APPENDIX E

Programme of the EFL department at Uludag University

number students studying in 1996-97 teaching year in the day course: 100
in the evening course: 40
total: 140[21]

Foundation Year

First Year Programme for Two Semesters

Grammar	6 hours
Writing	5
Reading	6
Speaking	7
total	24

First Year of B.Ed. in EFL Teacher Training Course Programme

Third Semester

English Grammar	4
Writing	2
Reading	4
Speaking	4
Introduction to Translation	2
Turkish Grammar (Turkish)	2
Introduction to Educational Sciences (Turkish)	3
total	21 hours per week

[21] The source of information is the 1995 Higher Education Council's Placement Prospectus for the 1996-97 Teaching Calender.

Fourth Semester

English Grammar	4
Writing	2
Reading	4
Speaking	4
Introduction to Translation	2
Turkish Grammar (Turkish)	2
Sociology of Education (Turkish)	2
total	20 hours per week

Second Year of B.Ed. EFL Teacher Training Course Programme

Fifth Semester

English Grammar	2
Writing	2
Reading	2
Speaking	4
Translation from English into Turkish	3
Translation from Turkish into English	3
Computer Programming (Turkish)	2
Psychology of Education (Turkish)	3
total	21 hours per week

Sixth Semester

English Grammar	2
Writing	2
Reading	2
Speaking	2
Translation from English into Turkish	3
Translation from Turkish into English	3
Computer Programming (Turkish)	1
Teaching Methodology	3
total	18 hours per week

Third Year of B.Ed. TEFL Teacher Training Course Programme

Seventh Semester

Writing	2
Translation from English into Turkish	3
Translation from Turkish into English	3
English Literature	3
Compulsory Electives i)Linguistics ii)Comparative English and Turkish Grammar	4
Electives i)French ii)German iii)Turkish Writing (Turkish)	2
English Language Teaching Methodology	2
Measurement and Evaluation in Education (Turkish)	3
total	22 hours per week

Eighth Semester

Writing	2
Translation from English into Turkish	3
Translation from Turkish into English	3
English Literature	3
Compulsory Electives i)Linguistics ii)Comparative English and Turkish Grammar	4
Elective i)French ii)German iii)Turkish Writing (Turkish)	2
ELT Methodology	3
total	20 hours per week

Fourth Year of B.Ed. TEFL Teacher Training Course Programme

Ninth Semester

Writing	2
Translation from English into Turkish	3
Translation from Turkish into English	3
History of Literature	4
Compulsory Electives i)Linguistics ii)Comparative English and Turkish Grammar	4
Electives i)French ii)German iii)Turkish Writing (Turkish)	2
ELT Methodology	2
total	22 hours per week

Tenth Semester

Writing	2
Translation from English into Turkish	3
Translation from Turkish into English	3
History Literature	4
Compulsory Electives i)Linguistics ii)Comparative English and Turkish Grammar	4
Electives i)French ii)German iii)Turkish Writing (Turkish)	2
Teaching Practice	6
total	24 hours p week

APPENDIX F

Programme of the EFL Department at the Middle East Technical University

Number of students studying in 1996-97 teaching year in the day course: 100

First Year of B.Ed. EFL Teacher Training Course Programme

First Semester

English Grammar I	3
English Composition I	3
Reading Skills I	3
Spoken English I	3
Introduction to Literature	3
Turkish I	1
total	16 hours per week

Second Semester

English Grammar II	3
English Composition II	3
Reading Skills II	3
Spoken English II	3
Elective	3
Turkish II	1
total	16 hours per week

Second Year of B.Ed. EFL Teacher Training Course Programme

Third Semester

Advanced Reading and Vocabulary Development	3
Survey of English Literature I	3
Introduction to Education	3
Computer Applications in Education	2
Elective	3
total	14 hours per week

Fourth Semester

Introduction to Linguistics I	3
Survey of English Literature II	3
Educational Psychology	3
Social Foundations of Education	3
Elective	3
Electives	3
total	18 hours per week

Fourth Year of B.Ed. EFL Teacher Training Course Programme

Fifth Semester

ELT Methodology I	3
The English Renaissance	3
Introduction to Linguistics II	3
Writing Research Papers	3
Introduction to Curriculum Development	3
Elective	3
total	18 hours per week

Sixth Semester

ELT Methodology II	3
English-Turkish Translation	3
the 19th Century Literature	3
Measurement and Evaluation in Education	3
Elective	3
Elective	3
total	18 hour per week

Fourth Year of B.Ed. EFL Teacher Training Course Programme

Seventh Semester

Materials Adaptation & Development	3
Turkish-English Translation	3
the 20th Century English Novel	3
Advanced English Structure	3
Elective	3
total	15 hours per week

Eighth Semester

Teaching Practice	1
Modern British Poetry	3
Modern Drama	3
Senior Research Seminar	1
Elective	3
total	11 hours per week

Selections from the List of Elective Courses

Masterpieces of World Literature 1 & 2
Selections from Shakespeare 1 & 2
Modern Drama 1 & 2
Literature and Society 1 & 2
History of the Theatre 1 & 2
The Short Story in the World Literature 1 & 2
Comparative English-German Language Structure 1 & 2
Comparative English-French Language Structure 1 & 2
Lexical Structure and Word Formation in German
Lexical Structure and Word Formation in French
Reading Comprehension and Writing in German 1 & 2
Reading Comprehension and Writing in French 1 & 2
Lexical Structure and Word Formation in German
Lexical Structure and Word Formation in French
General Linguistics 1 & 2
Language and Culture
History of English Language
Language and Society 1 & 2
Discourse Analysis for language Teachers
Discourse Analysis for Translation
Practical Applications in Language Testing
Error Analysis in ELT
Audio-visual Aids in ELT
Phonetics for Learners of English
Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics

APPENDIX G

Interviews with ELT Lecturers at Uludag University and the Middle East Technical University

Interview Questions

1- It has always been the topic of debate in Turkey that our EFL learners have a fairly good level of knowledge of grammar and vocabulary. But when it comes to performing basic social roles or to having a short conversation on daily issues, the learners do not appear to be as successful as they are expected to be. How far do you agree or disagree with this claim?

2- If this situation is partly due to the learners' lack of experience of communicating in English, how far do you think this can be overcome by making their teachers aware of teaching social English?

3- If the first point, that is about why our EFL learners fail to realise social roles successfully, is partly due to the teachers' lack of experience in using the language as language learners, could you please make suggestions about how far you think this can be overcome by modifying teacher training programmes?

4- To what extent is it important to balance different courses like linguistics, methodology and literature in teacher training programmes to overcome our trainees' lack of experience in using English in communication?

5- How much emphasis do we need put on grammatical accuracy as compared with social appropriateness? (An Example: answering a question with a word instead of in a grammatically correct full sentence)

APPENDIX H

The Questionnaire which was Administered to the Turkish Teacher Trainees with *English Instructions*

There are six sections in this questionnaire.

PART I

In this section you will find 12 questions about yourself. Please tick (×) them as they apply to you.

1)

( ) Male
OR
( ) Female

2) Which age group are you in?

( ) 7-21
( ) 22-25
( ) 26-30
( ) 30-above

3) Where did you learn English?

( ) at a **state** school where the medium of education is **Turkish** (e.g. Bursa Kiz Lisesi)
( ) at a **state** school where the medium of education is **English** (e.g. Anadolu Lisesi)
( ) at a **private** school where medium of Education is **English**
( ) at a private language school
( ) at another university
others (please specify) ....

4) Have you been taught by native speaker teachers at school?

( ) NO
( ) YES

5) For how long have you been learning English? Please choose the appropriate one for yourself.

( ) 7-9 years

( ) 10-14 years
( ) 15-18 years
( ) 19 years and above

6) Have you ever lived in another country?

( ) NO
( ) YES

If you ticked NO for the 6th question, you can jump to the Part II. If you ticked YES, continue answering the questions in this part.

7) In which country/countries did you live?

....

8) For how long did you live in the country/countries in question?

( ) less than 6 moths
( ) 6-12 months
( ) more than 12 months

9) Did you study there?

( ) NO
( ) YES

If YES,

10) For how long?

( ) less than 6 months
( ) 6-12 months
( ) more than 12 months

10) Please give the name of the institution and the qualification you have obtained.

....
....

12) What was the medium of education in that particular institution?

....

13) Were the teachers native speakers of the language in which they taught?

( ) NO

( ) SOME

PART II

In this section, the questions are about your opinions on learning different aspects of language and how you see your knowledge of English. Please answer these 2 questions as they apply to you.

1) Could you please rank the language aspects from less difficult (1) to more difficult (5) in your opinion by ticking.

	less difficult 1	2	3	4	5 more difficult
grammar	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
speaking	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
writing	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
vocabulary	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
listening	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
pronunciation	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
reading	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

2) If you want to improve ***YOUR ENGLISH IN GENERAL***, which aspects of English do you think you need to learn more about. Please tick any of the boxes which apply to you.

( ) reading
( ) vocabulary
( ) pronunciation
( ) speaking
( ) listening
( ) writing
( ) grammar

PART III

In this section you are asked to answer 5 different questions about imaginary situations. You are also supplied with different possible ways of saying things in such situations.

1) Imagine that you want to ask your best friend to lend you a substantial amount of money. How would you ask for it appropriately? Please choose **one**.

( ) Can you do me a favour? I need 10 million.

( ) Have your parents sent your allowance yet? I was going to ask you to lend me 10 million.
( ) Lend me 10 million, please.
( ) I've spent so much money on photocopies and on my books recently. I've run out of money. Do you think you could lend me 10 million until the end of this month?

2) How would you order a hamburger and a coke at a McDonald's in England? Please tick **all** the ones which you think more appropriate to say.

( ) I'd would like to have a hamburger and a coke, please.
( ) Can I have a hamburger and a coke, please?
( ) One hamburger and a coke, please.
( ) I'm gonna have a hamburger and a coke.
( ) Give me a hamburger and a coke, please.

3) Which can be said after somebody has said "thank you"? Please tick **all** the ones you think appropriate to say.

( ) you're welcome
( ) anytime
( ) that's all right
( ) don't mention it
( ) please
( ) { saying just nothing}

4) Imagine that you are lost somewhere in England. You want to ask somebody how to get to the train station. Before approaching him/her, what would you say to get his/her attention? Please, choose **all the ones** you think appropriate to say.

( ) Excuse me
( ) I'm sorry
( ) Pardon
( ) Please

5) When you bump into a stranger in the street in England, which of the following possible ways would be appropriate to say. Please, choose **all the ones** you think appropriate to say.

( ) Pardon me
( ) Oh!
( ) I'm sorry
( ) Excuse me

PART IV

In this section, you asked to imagine some situations and answer 4 questions related to them. Please write in the space provided what you think is appropriate to say.

1) Imagine that you are in a cinema in England. A group of youngsters keep talking while watching the film. You are very annoyed by this. How would you tell them to keep quiet?

....
....
....
....

2) Imagine that you would like to borrow a magazine from a British tourist on a coach trip. How would you make that request of him/her?

....
....
....
....

3) How could you order your meal at a restaurant in England? Could you write a short dialogue between you and a waiter?

....
....
....
....

4) Below there is an incomplete dialogue where a Mr Brown buys two tins of white paint in a paint store. The dialogue, which is taken from an EFL textbook, does not have a beginning and an ending. Please complete the dialogue in a way that seems natural.

dialogue

Shopkeeper:........ ....
Mr. Brown: I want two tins of paint, please.
Shopkeeper: What colour?
Mr. Brown: White, please. I want to paint my kitchen.
Shopkeeper: ....
Mr. Brown: ....
Shopkeeper: ....
Mr. Brown: ....

PART V

Could you please answer these 3 questions below?

1) Could you think of other ways of asking how somebody is in English in addition to "how are you?"

....
....
....
....

2) Could you think of other ways of asking the time in English in addition to "What time is it please?"

....
....
....
....

3) If you want to improve ***YOUR ENGLISH SPEAKING***, which aspects of English do you think you need to learn more about. Please write in the space provided.

....
....
....
....

PART VI

Below you are given 4 statements about language learning and a 5-point scale. Could you please write the letter next to your choice in the brackets provided?

a) I *strongly* agree b) I slightly agree c) neutral d) I slightly disagree e) *I strongly* disagree

1) If students learn the grammar of English, they will be able to speak the language well. ( )

2) It is possible to learn a foreign language by imitating correct forms in books.( )

3) As the grammar of good spoken English and good written English are the same, you can help learners to improve their spoken English by giving them lots of written grammar practice. ( )

4) Teachers should correct all the grammar mistakes that students make. ( )

Thank you

APPENDIX I

The questionnaire which was administered to the native speakers

Dear Informant,

As part of my Ph.D. research, I am interested in finding out your views on the appropriate use of spoken language in different situations.

PART A

Please tick (√) each box as it applies to you.

1)

( ) Male
OR
( ) Female

2) Which age group are you in?

( ) 17-21
( ) 21-25
( ) 25-30
( ) 30-above

3) The type of course you are currently doing

....

PART B

Please read the 5 imaginary situations below, and decide which answer or answers are most appropriate in each case.

1) If you want to ask your best friend to lend you a substantial amount of money. How would you ask for it appropriately?

Choose the best answer from the options below. If you prefer, give your own alternative.

( ) Can you do me a favour? I need 50 pounds.
( ) Have your parents sent your allowance yet? I was going to ask you to lend me 50 pounds.
( ) Lend me 50 pounds, please.
( ) I've spent so much money on photocopies and on my books recently. I've run out of money. Do you think you could lend me 50 pounds until the end of this month?

Other (please specify) ....
....

2) How would you order a hamburger and a coke at a McDonald's?

Choose all the answers which you think are appropriate. If you can think of an alternative, please add it in the space provided.

( ) I'd would like to have a hamburger and a coke, please.
( ) Can I have a hamburger and a coke, please?
( ) One hamburger and a coke, please.
( ) I'm gonna have a hamburger and a coke.
( ) Give me a hamburger and a coke, please.

Other (please specify) ....
....

3) Which of the following can be said after somebody has just said "thank you"?

Choose all the answers which you think are appropriate. If you can think of an alternative, please add it in the space provided.

( ) you're welcome
( ) anytime
( ) that's all right
( ) don't mention it
( ) please
( ) {saying just nothing}

Other (please specify) ....

4) You are lost in a strange English town. You want to ask somebody how to get to the railway station. Before approaching him/her, what would you say to get his or her attention?.

Choose all the answers which you think are appropriate. If you can think of an alternative, please add it in the space provided.

( ) Excuse me
( ) I'm sorry
( ) Pardon
( ) Please

Other (please specify) ....

5) When you accidentally bump into a stranger in the street which of the following things would be appropriate to say?

4) Below there is an incomplete dialogue where a Mr. Brown buys two tins of white paint in a paint store. The dialogue, which is taken from an EFL textbook, does not have a beginning and an ending. Please complete the dialogue in a way that seems natural.

dialogue
Shopkeeper:........ ....
Mr. Brown: I want two tins of paint, please.
Shopkeeper: What colour?
Mr. Brown: White, please. I want to paint my kitchen.
Shopkeeper: ....
Mr. Brown: ....
Shopkeeper: ....
Mr. Brown: ....

PART D

Please answer the following two questions, giving as many alternatives as you can

1) Could you think of other ways of asking how somebody is in English in addition to "how are you?"

....
....
....
....

2) Could you think of other ways of asking the time in English in addition to "What time is it please?"

....
....
....

Thank you very much indeed for your help

Choose all the answers which you think are appropriate. *If you can think of an alternative, please add it in the space provided.*

( ) Pardon me
( ) Oh!
( ) I'm sorry
( ) Excuse me

Other (please specify) ....

PART C

In this part, you are asked to imagine what would be said in four different situations. Please write in the space provided.

1) Imagine that in a cinema a group of youngsters keep talking while watching the film. You are very annoyed by this. How would you tell them to keep quiet?

....
....
....
....

2) Imagine that you would like to borrow a magazine from a fellow passenger on a coach trip. How would you make that request of him/her?

....
....
....
....

3) How would you order your meal at a restaurant? Could you write a short dialogue between you and a waiter?

....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....
....

APPENDIX J

The questionnaire with *Turkish Instructions*

Bu anket 6 bölümden olusmaktadir.

BÖLÜM I

Bu bölümde Ingilizce ögrenme özgeçmisinizle ilgili 12 soru var. Lütfen size uygun olani (√) koyarak isaretleyin.

1) Cinsiyetiniz

( ) Erkek
( ) Bayan

2) Hangi yas grubundasiniz?

( ) 17-21
( ) 21-25
( ) 25-30
( ) 30-üzeri

3) Ingilizce'yi nerede ögrendiniz?

( ) ögretim dilinin Türkçe oldugu bir devlet okulunda (örnegin Bursa Kiz Lisesi)
( ) ögretim dili Ingilizce olan bir devlet okulunda (örnegin Anadolu Lisesi)
( ) ögretim dili Ingilizce olan bir özel okulda
( ) özel dersanede
( ) bir üniversite programinda
digerleri: (lütfen açiklayin)
....

4) Orta ögretim programinda ögretmenleriniz arasinda ögretim dilinin (örnegin Ingilizce'nin) ana dil olarak konusuldugu bir ülkeden (örnegin Ingiltere'den) gelmis olani varmiydi?

( ) HAYIR
( ) EVET

5) Ne kadar süredir Ingilizce ögreniyorsunuz?

( ) 7-9 years
( ) 9-14 yil

( ) 14-18 yil
( ) 18 yil ve üzeri

6) Hiç bir baska ülkede/ülkelerde yasadiniz mi?

( ) HAYIR
( ) EVET

6 inci soruya HAYIR cevabi verdiyseniz, dogrudan ikinci bölüme geçebilirsiniz.
EVET cevabi verdiyseniz lütfen cevaplamaya devam edin.

7) Hangi ülkede/ülkelerde yasadiniz?

....

8) O ülkede/ülkelerde ne kadar süre yasadiniz?

( ) 6 aydan az
( ) 6-12 ay
( ) 12 aydan fazla

8) Orada her hangi bir ögretim kurumuna kayitli devam ettiniz mi?

( ) HAYIR
( ) EVET

9) Ne kadar süre okudunuz?

( ) 6 aydan az
( ) 6-12 ay
( ) 12 aydan fazla

10) Ne tür bir egitim aldiniz? Lütfen okulun ve aldiginiz diploma veya mezuniyet belgesinin adini verin.

....
....

11) Yukarida adi geçen egitim programinda ögretim dili neydi?

....

12) Ögretim dili oradaki ögretmenlerinizin ana dilimiydi?

( ) HAYIR
( ) EVET
( ) BAZILARININ

BÖLÜM II

Bu bölümdeki sorular yabanci dil ögrenmenin degisik boyutlari ve sizin dil bilgisi hakkindaki görüslerinizle ilgili. Lütfen asagidaki iki soruyu size uygun olan yönde cevaplayin.

1) Asagida size yabanci dil ögreniminin 7 degisik boyutu verilmistir. Bunlari size göre daha az zor olandan daha zor olana dogru derecelendirin.

	az zor 1	2	3	4	daha zor 5
grammar	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
speaking	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
writing	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
vocabulary	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
listening	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
pronunciation	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
reading	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

2) Sizce Ingilizcenizi GENELDE gelistirmek icin dilin hangi yönleri üzerinde durmaniz gerekiyor? Eksikli hissettiginizi düsündügünüz konulari isaretleyin.

( ) reading
( ) vocabulary
( ) pronunciation
( ) speaking
( ) listening
( ) writing
( ) grammar

BÖLÜM III

Bu bölüm 3 degisik hayali durum hakkinda sorulardan olusmaktadir. Seçeneklerde bu hayali durumlarda söylenmesi uygun olan ve olmayan cümleler birlikte verilmistir. Söylenmesi en uygun olani/olanlari isaretleyiniz.

1) En iyi arkadasinizdan size, onun ve sizin icin büyük olabilecek bir miktarda parayi ödünç vermesini isteyeceksiniz. Uygun bir dille nasil 5 milyon lira ödünç istersiniz? Seçeneklerden bir tanesini isaretleyin.

( ) Can you do me a favour? I need 5 million.
( ) Have your parents sent your allowance yet? I was going to ask you to lend me 5 million.
( ) Lend me 5 million, please.

( ) I've spent so much money on photocopies and on my books recently. I've run out of money. Do you think you could lend me 5 million until the end of this month?

2) Ingiltere'de McDonald's da bir kola ve bir hamburgeri nasil ismarlarsiniz?. Sizce söylenmesi uygun olanlari isaretleyin.

( ) I'd would like to have a hamburger and a coke, please.
( ) Can I have a hamburger and a coke, please?
( ) One hamburger and a coke, please.
( ) I'm gonna have a hamburger and a coke.
( ) Give me a hamburger and a coke, please.

3) Ingilizce'de bir kisi digerine tesekür ettikten sonra, tesekür edilen kisinin karsilik olarak söylemesi uygun olanlar sizce asagidakilerden hangileridir?

( ) you're welcome
( ) anytime
( ) that's all right
( ) don't mention it
( ) please
( ) {saying just nothing}

4) Ingiltere'de bir yerde kayboldugunuzu ve yoldan geçen birine en yakin tiren istasyonuna nasil gidilecegini sormak istediginizi varsayin. Soruyu sormadan önce bu kisiye ne diyerek yaklasirsiniz? Sizce söylenmesi uygun olanlari isaretleyin.

( ) Excuse me
( ) I'm sorry
( ) Pardon
( ) Please

5) Ingiltere'de sokakta kazara birine çarparsaniz, sizce asagidakilerden hangileri özür dilemek için uygundur?

( ) Pardon me
( ) Oh!
( ) I'm sorry
( ) Excuse me

BÖLÜM IV

Bu bölümde 4 hayali durum hakkinda sorulmus olan sorulari cevaplamaniz istenmektedir. Birakilan bosluga sizce verilen durumda söylenmesi uygun olani yazin.

1) Ingiltere'de bir sinemada bir grup genç filim süresince konusup duruyor ve bu durum sizi çok rahatsiz ediyor. Bu kisileri sessiz olmalari icin nasil uyarirsiniz?

....
....
....
....

2) Sehirler arasi yolculuk esnasinda karsilastiginiz bir Ingiliz turisten dergisini ödünç nasil istersiniz?

....
....
....
....

3) Ingiltere'de bir lokantada yemek ismarlak isterseniz bunu uygun bir sekilde nasil yaparsiniz? Garson ile kendi aranizda geçebilecek konusmayi, kisa bir diyalog halinde yazin.

....
....
....
....

4) Asagida iki kutu beyaz boya almak isteyen bir kisi ile tezgahtar arasinda geçen tamamlanmamis diyalogu baslangiçta ve sonda sizce söylenmesi uygun olabilecek sözleri ekleyerek tamamlayin.

Shopkeeper:........ ....
Mr. Brown: I want two tins of paint, please.
Shopkeeper: What colour?
Mr. Brown: White, please. I want to paint my kitchen.
Shopkeeper: ....
Mr. Brown: ....
Shopkeeper: ....
Mr. Brown: ....

BÖLÜM V

Asagidaki 3 soruyu cevaplayiniz.

1) Ingilizce'de hatir sormak icin kullanilan "How are you?" yapisinin yani sira ayni islevi görecek baska hangi yapilar kullanilabilir?

....
....
....
....

2) Ingilizce'de saat sormak icin kullanilan "What time is it please?" yapisindan baska ayni islevi yapacak baska hangi yapilar kullanilabilir?

....
....
....
....

3) Ingilizce KONUSMA BECERINIZI gelistirmek icin sizce dilin hangi yönleri üzerinde daha çok çalismaniz gerekiyor? Asagida verilen bosluga düsüncelerinizi yaziniz.

....
....
....
....

BÖLÜM VI

Asagida dil ögrenme ile iligili farkli fikir belirten 4 cümle ve bunlari degerlendirmeniz icin 5 kademeli degerlendirme cetveli verilmistir. Her cümlenin sonunda verilen parantez icine cetveldeki derecelendirmeye göre katildiginiz düsünceye karsilik gelen harfi yazin.

a) I *strongly* agree b) I slightl*y* agree c) neutral d) I slightly disagree e) *I strongly* disagree

1) If students learn the grammar of English, they will be able to speak the language well. ( )

2) It is possible to learn a foreign language by imitating correct forms in books.( )

3) As the grammar of good spoken English and good written English are the same you can help learners to improve their spoken English by giving them lots of written grammar practice. ( )

4) Teachers should correct all grammar mistakes that students make. ( )

Tesekürler

APPENDIX K

Suggestions by Native Speaker Subjects

Money Context

1- Could you do me a favour? ....
2- Could you please lend me 50 pounds. I'm struggling for money at the moment.
3- My grant cheque is late. Do you think you could lend me 50 pounds until the end of this month by any chance?
4- You couldn't possibly lend me 50 pounds could you just till ...
5- Could I ask you a favour, could you lend me 50 pounds please?
6- I'm sorry to have to ask but I am in real need of some money. Please could you lend me about 50 pounds until the end of the month.
7- Look I'm low on cash. Are you all right for money? Could you possibly lend me 50 pounds if it's no trouble.
8- I'm really sorry to ask this but I've totally run out of cash for a while. Would it be possible to borrow 50 quid?
9- I'm a bit short of cash, please could you lend me 50 pounds?
10- I have a real problem. I need to get 50 pound. Can you help me out at all?
11- I hate to ask you this but I'm really short of money. Could you possibly lend me 50 pounds?
12- Would you be able to lend me 50 pounds please.
13- Look, I hope you don't mind, but I 'd really appreciate a loan of 50 pounds if you can afford it.
14- I was wondering if you could lend me 50 pounds I'll pay you back as soon as I can.

McDonald's Context

1- A hamburger and a coke, please (3 occurrences)
2- I'd like a hamburger and a coke please.
3- (Please) / Could I have a hamburger and a coke (3 occurrences)
4- I'll have a hamburger and a coke

Thanking context

1- That's fine
2- No problem (4 occurrences)
3- You're all right
4- You're OK
5- It's a pleasure
6- No sweat
7- That's OK
8- It's OK
9- No worries
10- Thank you

11- (give a nod and a smile)

Apology context

1- Sorry (6 occurrences)
2- Pardon
3- Oh, I'm sorry
4- Sorry about that
5- Oh, sorry

Train station context

1- Pardon me
2- Could you help me
3- I'm sorry to bother you
4- Sorry to bother you

APPENDIX L

Interview Questions with Teacher Trainees

1) Did you find the questions difficult?

2)Which ones were easier compared to the rest?

3) Why?

4) Which courses are emphasised in your department?

5) Do you find these courses useful for improving your English in general?

6) What kind of courses can also be added to these?

7) You will qualify to become an English teacher in 3 years' time. Do you think every foreign language teacher should be given the opportunity of visiting the country where the language they teach is spoken?

8) Why do you think so?

I have a task for you. Working together could you translate these extracts from conversations

1) Below two English people whose names are Gillian and Anna talk about decorating a house. Gillian asks her friend whether she should paint the stain on the ceiling in her sitting room or not.
Gillian: Do you think it's worth painting that (a short pause) ceiling **y'know** where the stain is?
Anna: No

Could you translate the sentence including the word in bold into Turkish, and underline the translation of the word in bold? Even if you have not seen it before could you make a guess?

2) A grandmother tells her friend that it is very difficult to find a suitable birthday present for her teenage grandchildren.
Grandmother: The trouble is, **y'know** you don't know what to buy, you don't know what they like.

Could you translate the sentence including the word in bold into Turkish, and underline the translation of the word in bold?

APPENDIX M

Analysing the Lesson

1. Linguistic Objectives of the Lesson:
....
....
....
....

2. Functional/ communicative Objectives of the Lesson:
....
....
....
....

3. Steps in the Lesson:
....
....
....
....

4. The Teacher's Beliefs about the Nature of Learning:
....
....
....
....

Adopted from Nunan (1990), pp. 77-78.

APPENDIX N

Base Line Data for the Interview Translation Task for the Turkish ESL Speakers

Part 1

In this section you will find 7 questions about yourself. Please tick (√) as it applies to you.

1)

( ) Male
OR
( ) Female

2) Which age group are you in?

( ) 21-25
( ) 25-30
( ) 30-above

3) How long have you been living in England?

() less than 12 months
() 1-3 years
() more than 3 years

4) Did you study English in Turkey?

( ) YES
( ) NO

5) Where were you taught English? Please name the institution (s).

....

....

6) What was the medium of education in that institution?

( ) TURKISH
( ) ENGLISH
( ) Other ....

7) Please name the field of study you are currently involved in and the type of degree and/or certificate you are going to receive at the end of the period of study.

....

Part 2

There are two tasks in this part. You are asked to translate two sentences into Turkish

1) Below two English people, Gillian and Anna, talk about decorating a house. Gillian asks her friend she should paint the stain on the ceiling in her sitting room or not.

Gillian: Do you think it's worth painting that (a short pause) ceiling **y'know** where the stain is?

Anna: No

Could you translate the sentence including the word in bold into Turkish and underline the translation of the word in bold? Even if you make a guess.

2) A grandmother tells her friend that it is very difficult to find a suitable birthday present for her teenage grandchildren.

Grandmother: The trouble is, **y'know** you don't know what to buy, you don't know what they like.

Could you translate the sentence including the word in bold into Turkish and underline the translation of the word in bold?

Analysis of the Translation Task

Information about the Turkish ESL Informants

13 informants (4 females and 9 males), who were all postgraduate students in England performed the task. Seven of them were in the age group of 25-30. Six of them had been living in England for more than 3 years. Ten of them studied English in Turkey, while English was the medium of education in the secondary schools that nine of the subjects attended. These subjects thought that this EFL education contributed to their English language education. Only one of the subjects thought the EFL education she received was not good at all. In order to indicate that **you know** is not a clause but a marker, the contracted form **y'know** was used in the translation task.

Analysis of the Answers of the EFL Informants

Question 1

translation	English version	number of occurrences
bildigin gibi	as you know	6
hani*	y'know[22]	2
yani* biliyormusun?	I mean do you know?	2 1
olan	be	
no reply		1

Table 1 : Results of the analysis of the first question in the translation task by the ESL informants
* denotes Turkish discourse markers

22 The translation of the Turkish discourse markers are based on Özbek (1995).

Question 2

translation	English version	number of occurrences
bildigin gibi	as you know	8
biliyormusun?	do you know?	2
yani* bilip	I mean if you know	1 1
no reply		1

Table 2 : Results of the analysis of the second question in the translation task by the ESL informants
* denotes Turkish discourse markers

The Analysis of the Answers of the EFL Informants

Question 1

translation	English version	number of occurrences
bildigin gibi	do you know	2
biliyorsun	you know/ that	6
yani* belli olmadigi halde	I mean despite it's unnoticeable	1 1
(hani)* o bildigin[39]		2
biliyorsunuz (ya)*	*you* know y'know	1

Table 3 : Results of the analysis of the first question in translation task by the EFL informants
* denotes Turkish discourse markers
you denotes polite you

Question 2

translation	English version	number of occurrences
senin de bildigin gibi	as you (too)know	10
su	that	1
(iste)* bilirsin (ya)* biliyorsunuz (ya)*	well you know y'know *you* know y'know	1 1
(hani)* nasil desem	y'know how can I put it	1

Table 4 : Results of the analysis of the second question in translation task by the EFL informants

[39] gloss: you know that y'know

APPENDIX O

WorkSheets for the First Activity in Chapter 6

The Exchange-encounter

You will find a dialogue which takes place at a supermarket where a fictitious character called Deniz shops. The dialogue was originally written in Turkish for learners of Turkish. While reading the dialogue -by working in pairs- consider whether it reflects an exchange encounter dialogue that you normally have when you go shopping. Take notes on the points that you think do not reflect what happens in the real Turkish context. Later, we will have a discussion about these points.

Supermarketde / at the Supermarket

1-Tezgahtar: Buyurun efendim.
2-Deniz : Beyaz peynir var mi?
3-Tezgahtar: Var. Ne kadar istiyorsunuz?
4-Deniz: Kilosu kac lira?
5-Tezgahtar: Kilosu 300 lira.
6-Deniz: Lutfen yarim kilo beyaz peynir.
7-Tezgahtar: Baska arzunuz?
8-Deniz: Bir yumurta kac lira?
9-Tezgahtar: Bir yumurta on lira.
10-Deniz: Lutfen bes yumurta.
11-Tezgahtar: Evet, baska arzunuz?
12- Deniz: Bir sise bal 300 gram zeytin.
13-Tezgahtar: Bir sise bal 200 lira, zeytinin kilosu 100 lira. 300 grami 30 lira.
14-Deniz: Hepsi toplam ne kadar yapiyor?
15-Tezgahtar: 150 lira peynir, 50 lira yumurta, 200 lira bal, 30 lira da zeytin, hepsi toplam 430 lira yapiyor.
16-Deniz: Tesekkur ederim. Hayirli isler!
17-Tezgahtar: Biz de tesekkur ederiz. Iyi gunler.
(from Koc & Hengirmen 1983: 71)

Step 1

1- Now, focus on the way the shop assistant addresses Deniz. form in line 1. How does the shop attendant address Deniz? Can you translate "Buyrun Efendim" into English?

2- When you go shopping what kind of other address forms (i.e. aunt, uncle and brother) do you hear from shop assistants and customers? Why do you think we, as a nation, like using these address forms?

3- The numbers in Turkish are also presented in the unit that this dialogue are presented. Keeping this in mind, can you think of reasons why the writer might have made Deniz to ask the price of every single item she bought?

4- The dialogues in text-books may present unnatural elements. For example, in turn 10, do you think, Deniz has to say 'Lutfen bes yumurta' (Please five eggs.)?

5- In turn 6, Deniz says 'Please half a kilo of feta cheese.' Do you think 'please' is in the right place syntactically? Would you use 'lutfen' (please) at the beginning of request in Turkish?

6- Discuss with your partner in which part of a request sentence 'lutfen' (please) is used in Turkish.

7- Do you think 'lutfen' (please) in Turkish is used less or more often than 'please' is used in English?

8- Notice that although Deniz refers to the shop assistant by using 'you' form all through the dialogue. As the English language does not have a polite 'you' form (siz), do you think native

speakers of English are rude people? Or do you think they use something else to compansate for the absence of polite 'you' form?

9- Deniz closes the transaction by saying 'Hayirli isler'. Do you think it is appropriate to translate it in its literary form as in 'Have a profitable day.'? Would this be appropriate in English? Can you suggest another way of closing the dialogue in English?

10- Divide the dialogue into four main parts and give a name to each part according to the activity that takes place in each one. Such as greeting, purchasing, checking for more purchasing and saying good-bye.

Step 2

The dialogue below takes place between two native speakers of English. While reading it, try to infer the type of relationship between the customer and the seller.

Seller: Good morning, Mrs Reid.
Customer: Good morning, Bob.
Can I have a couple of apples?
Seller: Is that all today?
Customer: Yes, thank you.
Seller: Sixty cents.
Customer: Here you are.
Seller: Thank you
Good day.
Customer: Bye.
(from Halliday and Hasan 1985: 65)

1- Neither the customer nor the seller use 'please'. Does this indicate that these two people are being rude to each other? Or does it indicate something else?

2- Although the seller addresses the customer with her surname 'Mrs Reid', she refers to him by his first name. What does this indicate? What happens in a Turkish contex? (refer back to Step 1, number 2) Why do you think there are such differences between language?

3- Divide the dialogue into four main parts and name each part as you have done with the first dialogue.

Step 3

1- Try to imagine a typical corner shop in Turkey and, working in groups of four, write up a dialogue which would occur between you and the shopkeeper. First decide about the age group and the sex of the shopkeeper.

2- Project for Finding out What happens in an Exchange Encounter in Turkey:

When you go shopping, pay attention to the interaction which takes place between the customer and the shop assistant. If you have a walkman size small tape-recorder, record two dialogues which take place in a shopping context. If you do not have one, try to take notes in the immediate vicinity.

Once each of you have two dialogues, working in groups of four, compare the dialogue with the one that you had thought typically occurred between you and a shopkeeper in the Turkish context. You can compare them in the light of the following questions:

a) Does the type of the shop make a difference in the language which is used in a dialogue? If so, how did it differ?

b) What kind of effect do the factors such as the sex and the age group that of customer and the shopkeeper make a difference in terms of the words used?

c) Does the language they use change when the shopkeeper and the customer knew each other for some time? If yes, how is this reflected in the type of language used?

Step 4

1- Discuss with your partner whether you have found the Turkish dialogue which was introduced at the beginning of this activity a good representative of an exchange encounter for teaching to the learners of Turkish. Take notes of your reasons for thinking that it is a sufficient example or not.

2- As you have also seen in the case of the Turkish dialogue, foreign language text-books may not necessarily present the best example to the learners. This appears to put a lot of pressure on teachers' shoulders. What kind of approach should we, as language teachers, take in choosing teaching materials and text-books so that we can do our best to help our students?

3- In the light of what you have already learned about a typical service encounter dialogue, work in pairs and go through ELT text-books that you can get hold of to find a fairly good representative of an exchange encounter dialogue for your classmates

Tips: You can use the following questions as your criteria.

a) Do the address forms in the dialogue indicate the type of relationship between the customer and the shopkeeper?

b) What does the absence or the presence of the use of 'please' indicate?

c) Are there any irrelevant or redundant parts in the dialogue?

d) Is the general structure of the dialogue in terms of its main parts similar to what we have seen in the English example above?

e) Further suggestions?

4- Have you learned anything new from this activity? Make a list of useful and less useful and useless points that we have gone through. Explain the reasons why you think so.

APPENDIX P

Work Sheets for the Second Activity in Chapter 6

Talking about the Illocutionary Force of a Request

The Advert

narrator: here is a simple question and an answer

1 A: hello
2 B: yes
3 A: do you have the right time please
4 B: yes
5 A: (.) could you tell me
6 B: the time yes yes I could
7 A: right
8 B: yes yes I can definitely do that
9 A: well
10 B: oh do you want to know it now
11 A: oh yes please
12 B: (.)
13 A: So
14 B: I'll get back to you
15 A: get back to me
16 B: yes in a week or so
(recorded from the radio station, Classic FM, in 1997)

notes on transcription
(.) denotes a brief pause
A: a female
B: a male
narrator: a male

The advert above claims that a particular health insurance company knows how to handle bureaucratic procedures better than other companies. In the advert, their claim was that other companies leave their customers stranded just as the male speaker does the female speaker in the advertisement.

Step 1

1- While listening to the tape, try to identify two indirect requests that A makes.

2- The first request 'Do you have the right time?' is also a question. Does the speaker really mean to ask B that he has something in his possession? Or does she intend to ask something else?

3- Read the following fabricated dialogue:

X: Affedersiniz, saatiniz var mi acaba?
Y: Evet, saatim var, kolumda.

What does X intend to ask?

Can Y see this intention? What is it Y thinks X asks?

Discuss with your partner whether there are other examples in Turkish where the intention of a request question differs from the literal meaning of its question form.

Tip: Someone who carries two heavy bags asks to another person whose hands are free: 'Kapiyi acabilirmisin?' (Can you open the door?).

4- Translate the fabricated dialogue above in 3 into English. How many different translations can you make? Why does this happen?

5- Discuss with your partner what kind of request form(s) A should have used to avoid misunderstanding. Put these forms in order of formality from less formal to more formal.

Tip: 'Tell me what the time is?' and 'What is the time?'.

6- Make a list of forms of asking the time by working in pairs.

7- Classify them in terms of the degree of formality they indicate, from more formal to less formal.

8- With your partner discuss the role of modal verbs, in terms of expressing formality.

Step 2

1- Listen to the tape again. This time focus on the pause in turn 5 and 12, 'right' in turn 7, 'well' in turn 9, 'oh' in turns 10 and 11 and 'so' in turn 13. Notice how the tone of the speaker's voice is used expressively. Discuss with your partner what purposes each one of these small words serves in the dialogue.

Tip: From turn 5 on, she is astonished and surprised by the man's attitude. This is reflected in the language she uses.

Mrs Foster's Story

In the dialogue below a mother, who is called Mrs Foster, complains to her youngest daughter about her inconsiderate elder daughter, Claire, who does not keep in touch with her regularly. Mrs Foster rang up Claire to check if she was all right and to remind her that her grandfather's birthday was approaching. Since she rang up several times and could not get a reply, she became worried. Then, she decided to ring up Claire's work place. Since Claire's boss does not like his employees wasting time on the phone, anybody who rings up should pretend that it is a business call not a social call. However, Mrs Foster did not bother with this since she was quite worried about her daughter. She phoned and said that it was Mrs Foster and that she wanted to talk to her daughter. The telephone operator did not seem to be cordial at all since she did not say anything like 'hold on a second' etc. This made the mother even more frustrated. Just as she lost hope and was about to hang up, Claire started to speak. She thought something was wrong with

her family. Mrs Foster told her daughter that she had been quite irresponsible. Then, Claire must have realized her mistake and said that she might have given a key to her sister Kirsty. This did not seem to convince Mrs Foster as she said that the likelihood of Claire's giving her sister a key was as high as the likelihood of pigs' acquiring the ability of flying. Claire explained that one of her friends, Jo, had become an air hostess and she would soon move to another town. That is why she spends quite a lot of time with Jo because she will not see much of her in the near future. Claire also said that she had a new boy friend called Glen, with whom she spent most of her time. Since she did not spend much time in her flat, Mrs Foster never got a reply to her calls. Mrs Foster said that she did not mind her daughter's staying at her friend's place but she thought her daughter should have been more considerate and rung her up every now and then to tell that she was all right.

Kirsty: (laughs) yeah (.) have you heard from Claire

Mrs Foster: mm well I phoned her at work have I spoken to you about this

Kirsty: no

Mrs Foster: oh well I kept phoning her day and night and no reply no reply so sent her a little note saying Claire erm it's your grand dad's birthday send him a card and erm Isaid give me ring if you're still alive you see which she didn't

Kirsty: oh she's dead then

Mrs Foster: got the erm card the letter so I thought i'm gonna phone her from work you see and I phoned her from work and you know you said to me oh you've got to pretend you're arm something or other (.) [**Kirsty**: hmm] (.) you've got to

Kirsty: what are you talking about

Mrs Foster: (laughs) well (laughs) you've got to pretend you're a design studio if you phone Claire at work

Kirsty: oh right yeah

Mrs Foster: right so anyway I thought I'm not messing around with that so I phoned up and I said could I speak to Claire Foster please this is Mrs Foster well the line went dead [**Kirsty**:(laughs)] I couldn't and I thought the bitch she's cut me off you see couldn't hear any transfer of call or just [**Kirsty**: yeah] just the line just went she never just said hold the line or just one moment I'll transfer you anything you know I just said Mrs Foster went uunn like that you see [**Kirsty**: mm] so I thought they've just cut me off I can't believe it so I sort of well I'll hang on just for a little while and I was about to put the phone down when I heard 'mum is that you mum what's the matter is anything up mum mum' [**Kirsty**: (laughs)] 'is anything wrong mum is anything wrong is everyone all right' [**Kirsty**: yeah] so I says yes everything's all right Claire and obviously you're still alive so I'll put the phone down now so she goes 'what d'ya mean what d'ya mean' I says well [**Kirsty**: (laughs)] I just wondered if you were still alive I haven't heard from you for ages not that that worries me but I said I've been phoning up sort of first thing in the morning sort of eight o'clock and last thing at night sort of half past eleven (.) and I can't get any reply and the same thing goes for weekend [**Kirsty**: (laughs)] so I thought you're not in the flat which I don't mind but if you are in the flat you could be dead and we won't know and we haven't even got a key you see (laughs) [**Kirsty**: (laughs)] so she said 'oh I might give Kirsty a key'

Kirsty: yeah right

Mrs Foster: oh yeah pigs might fly so erm (.) she says 'oh I've hardly been there I've been at Jo's and Glen's' (.) so anyway she erm I had a brief conversation with her you see so she said well I'll phone you tonight so I said well you needn't bother I'm just checking that you're still alive that's all anyway she did phone me that night so I had a chat to her about different things erm (.) but she seems OK really I think she's rather sort of tied up with this Jo girl going to be an air hostess in Derbyshire (.) in sort of shortly i think the end of this month I think she was sort of seeing her quite a bit before went and then with this new boyfriend as well [**Kirsty**: yeah (.)] so er I said oh well I don't mind that but you know if you're not at all at the flat I can't get in touch with you so you know if you're not there just give me a ring every now and again just to say you're still alive
(data from Mike Hoey)

1- Now go through the text and circle the markers: 'oh', 'so', 'right' and 'well'. Count how many times each one occurs.

WORK IN PAIRS

2- Make a list of four words following the marker 'so' as shown below:

so I thought I'm gonna
so anyway I thought I'm
so I phoned up and

Then, count the numbers of occurrences of 'so' which co-occurs with 'I thought', 'I said' and 'I say(s)', 'She said'.

3- Make list of four words prior to 'well' and four words following it as shown below:

so sort of *well* I'll hang on just
: mm *well* I phoned her at work
this is Mrs Foster *well* the line went dead

Then, count the numbers of occurrences of 'well' which co-occur with 'I said' and 'I say'.

4- Apply the same process to analyse the use of 'oh'. Count the numbers of occurrences of 'oh' which co-occur with 'I said' plus 'well'. Also mark the places where the speaker sounds a bit disappointed but does not want to show her feelings.

5- Discuss with your partner whether to find 'so', 'well' and 'oh' co-occurring with reported speech is surprising or not as the topic of the dialogue is about reporting past event?

6- What type of conclusion about the use of 'so', 'well', and 'oh' can you draw from the results of your analysis of the dialogue?

7- Discuss with your partner that what kind of effect the use of these discourse markers creates on Mrs Foster's reporting.

8- Which of the discourse markers (so, well, right and oh) makes the listener feel that parts of the story is organized by its use, and that, therefore, the listener needs to keep on listening with full attention?

9- Which of the discourse markers (so, well and oh) gives the listener the feeling that the speaker is disappointed or embarrassed and/ or frustrated?

10- There is one more discourse marker which occurs in the dialogue and the use of which we have not yet analysed. It is used by Kirsty twice and by Mrs Foster only once. Identify the marker. Discuss with your partner the reasons why Kirsty might have used the marker.

11- The place where Mrs Foster uses 'right' appears to be crucial in terms of telling the story. Discuss with your partner why it is so.

12- Now go back the advert with your partner and attempt to translate the markers 'well', 'right' and 'so' into Turkish.

13- How many pauses are there in Mrs Foster's story? Since even native speakers use pauses while speaking, can you try to learn how to use pauses strategically when you cannot remember a word or while you plan your talk during the process of conversation in English? Discuss with your partner whether it is a good idea or not.

Step 3

1- Have you learned anything new from this activity? Make a list of useful and less useful or useless points that we have gone through. Explain the reasons why you think so.

2- Discuss with your partner whether this type of detailed analysis of the English language can help you to become better teachers in the future.

APPENDIX R

Work Sheets for the Third Activity in Chapter 6

CONVERSATION

1- Stuart: what's the situation on the wedding preparations, then?
2- Brian: er::::r
3- Claire: oh well advanced
4- Stuart: what's that, why did you ask that question [others laugh] change the subject immediately Stu (.) keep your nose out [talking to himself]
5- David: you've touched on a very sore point, Stu
6- Stuart: //well you know
7- Claire: //no, no you can stir as much as you like you won't be there to see the consequences
8- Brian: everything's going as planned
9- Stuart: good
10- David: well that's very diplomatic
11- Brian: why?
12- David: we::ll well, you know that's not saying a word is it?
13- Brian: ah, well no it's uh
(5 seconds pause)
14- Claire: progressing
(file: C15)

Transcription notation:
(.) short pause
[] extra information
// overlapping words
::: drawl
Stu is short for Stuart

Step1

1- Have you ever been involved in the stressful process of wedding preparations? Or do you know anybody who has gone through such a stressful period? It is not an unfamiliar situation in

Turkey, is it? Talk to your partner about traditional Turkish wedding preparations to find out his/her opinions.

2- Before analysing the uses of discourse markers in the extract, it is necessary to see what type of approach each character adopts towards the situation.

a) Since Stuart started this situation by inquiring about the progress of wedding preparations, he sounds embarrassed. Where do we understand this?

b) Which of the characters play a mediating role which tries to soften the effect of Stuart's question?

c) Which characters sound defensive?

d) Which character behaves in a way which increases the tension?

Step 2

1- In activity 2, in Mrs Foster's story, you analysed the use of 'well' and three other discourse markers. You have also seen how 'well' was used in the advert. Now, we will have a look at how it is used in another context. In the light of your previous experience of the analysis of the use of 'well', discuss the uses of 'well' in what Claire said 'well advanced' in turn 3 and other uses of 'well' in turns 6,10,12,13, namely:

turn 6: well you know
turn 10: well that's very diplomatic
turn 12: we::ll well that's not a saying a word is it
turn 13: ah well no it's uh

a) Which of the uses of 'well' sounds like an avoidance strategy?

b) Which of the uses of 'well' indicates hesitation?

c) Which of the uses of 'well' sound sarcastic and cause the tension increase?

2- Now focus on the use of 'you know'. Do you think this expression indicates that the speaker wants to say the listener knows something? What kind of relationship is there between the use of 'you know' and the speaker's position in the situation (being defensive, hesitant and sarcastic).

3- In the light of what we have seen in the dialogues in the past two activities and in this one, can you make a short list of characteristic elements of spoken language? Can perfect grammar be one of the elements in your list?

Step 3

1- Discuss these statements which are borrowed from Bolitho and Tomlinson (1985: 3)

a) If you learn the grammar of English, you will be able to speak the language well.

b) It is important to insist that learners of a language speak with the same correctness as we would expect them when they are writing.

c) As the grammar of good spoken English and of good written English are the same you can help learners to improve their spoken English by giving them lots of written grammar practice.

Compare these with what we have seen during the analysis of spoken language.

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