



Apology Speech Act Realization by NESTs and NNESTs*

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates apology speech act realization by native and nonnative English speaking teachers of English as a second/foreign language. For this purpose, 100 native English-speaking teachers of English as a second language in the USA and 100 nonnative English speaking teachers of English as a foreign language in Turkey took a discourse completion task in English. Based on the average number of strategies, the most common strategies were selected to compile speech act sets for either group in each situation. These strategies were compared using chi-square tests. Results indicate that the patterns of apology speech act sets differ in all situations. Moreover, chi-square tests revealed significant differences in strategy use. Results have implications in terms of training nonnative English speaking teachers in language use.

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Keywords:

ESL/EFL teachers, pragmatics, apology speech act, strategy use

Introduction

One of the difficult aspects of language acquisition is pragmatics. The reason for this is that pragmatics depends on context unlike other abstract components of language such as syntax. Acquisition of pragmatics entails knowledge of pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics. Leech (1983) coined these terms to differentiate between the formulas and the sociological context. He uses the term sociopragmatics to refer to the level at which politeness, appropriacy, power relations, distance between speakers, and imposition of speech acts operate. On the other hand, he uses the term pragmalinguistics to explain “the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions” (p.11). Knowledge of pragmalinguistics involves having linguistic resources or formulaic expressions at one’s disposal and knowledge of sociopragmatics involves having an awareness and control of the sociocultural context that defines politeness and appropriacy. According to Bachman (1990), pragmatic competence is composed of illocutionary and sociolinguistic competences. In her model, illocutionary competence refers to the knowledge and skills to perform acceptable language functions and sociolinguistic competence refers to knowledge of contextual conventions for such functions to be appropriate. In line with her model, Barron (2003, p. 10) defines pragmatic competence as the “knowledge of the linguistic resources available in a given language for realising particular illocutions, knowledge of the sequential aspects of speech acts and finally, knowledge of the appropriate contextual use of the particular languages’ linguistic resources.” McNamara and Roever (2006) say that sociopragmatic knowledge does not depend on general language proficiency. It means that knowledge of grammar is not sufficient to perform well pragmatically. Considering that learners may need years to develop pragmatic proficiency (Barron, 2003), this aspect of language becomes a complicated issue. Especially important is the pragmatic competence of nonnative English-speaking teachers (henceforth, NNESTs) of English as a second/foreign language. Vellenga (2004) asserts that learning pragmatic knowledge from textbooks is not feasible. Others (Alemi & Irandoost, 2012; Delen & Tavil, 2010; Diepenbroek & Derwing, 2013;

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Peiying, 2007; Soozandehfar & Sahragard, 2011) also find inadequacies in EFL/ESL textbooks in terms of speech act types, frequency, variation and contextualization and suggest that teachers should supplement textbooks because of the evident inadequacies in textbooks. However, it is highly possible that NNESTs of English may have gaps in their pragmatic competence, because, as Cohen (2005, p. 285) puts forward, "L2 pragmatics with an explicit focus... has traditionally been underrepresented in teacher development programs." Likewise, Eslami-Rasekh (2005) mentions that pragmatic competence should be included as an important part of the knowledge of language in language teacher education programs and further asserts that teacher education sources are usually limited to four language skills and do not include a focus in teaching and assessing pragmatic skills. Eslami and Eslami-Rasekh (2008) assert that NNEST candidates, even in EFL settings, can improve pragmatic competence if training is provided.

If learners fail to develop a good amount of pragmatic knowledge as a result of gaps in textbooks and their language teachers' knowledge, intercultural misunderstandings and miscommunications are inevitable when they need to communicate in the target language with the native or nonnative speakers of the target language. In a globalized world today, it is highly likely for individuals to be in situations in which there are one or more interlocutors who do not share their first language. When pragmatic failures happen in such situations, speakers may be considered inappropriate rather than incorrect. Moreover, being inappropriate has far more potential to impact interpersonal relationships than linguistic inaccuracy. Grammatical mistakes are usually tolerated by interlocutors as long as they understand the message. However, pragmatic mistakes may cause more problems in interpersonal relationships. Thus, it is important to address the issue of pragmatic competence of NNESTs, who account for the majority of ESL/EFL teachers. Their position has already been brought to attention as their number grows substantially (Maum, 2002). Lazaraton (2004) says that NNESTs may impact students' acquisition of language by limiting their participation opportunities. Another issue she emphasizes is the possibility that their communicative competence interferes with their teaching.

Berns (1992, p. 3) also questions the issue by asserting that "understanding of the nature of the social and cultural context in which the language they will teach is learned and used" is as important as the knowledge of aspects of language such as form and function. McKay (2003, p. 11) points out that "culture as it relates to pragmatic appropriateness is more problematic" as learners' opportunities to acquire pragmatic competence through rich communication may be limited. In such a case, teacher's knowledge of target pragmatic features is important to support their learners in acquiring pragmatic competence. She says that learners do not get exposed to "a full range of styles, structures, and speech acts that supposedly is necessary to acquire native-like proficiency" (p. 6). This is because teachers will not promote such knowledge in the classroom if they lack such knowledge themselves. Thus, for most learners around the globe, this stays as a potential problem as the majority of English language teachers are nonnative speakers of English. For this reason, Liu (2009, p. 6) mentions that in training nonnative speaking teachers "the most vulnerable area that needs more training is intercultural communication and the pragmatic skills of language use" and these areas are not "easy for those who have never experienced the native culture of the target language."

Comparing native English-speaking teachers (henceforth, NESTs) and NNESTs, Kaplan (1999, p. 6) states that "NESTs have a greater command of the target language, especially of the pragmatics of the language." Moreover, nonnatives are better with the beginning learners while natives are better with more advanced levels. Walker (2006) also asserts that nonnatives are better than natives in the grammar of English. These suggest that NNESTs may have incomplete knowledge in certain aspects of language use.

Some scholars draw attention to the settings in which language teaching takes place. According to Samimy and Brutt-Griffler (1999), teachers' and learners' expectations of success and goals are influenced by the distinction between EFL/ESL. Seidlhofer (1999) draws attention to this distinction by focusing on the difficulties EFL teachers face. She believes that there is doubletalk in EFL settings, which requires EFL teachers to doublethink since they constantly have to codeswitch as the languages they speak and teach are different. She also says that EFL teachers are supposed to carry on the difficult task of balancing between linguistic/pragmatic and pedagogic competences.

According to Rose (1994), language teachers should address pragmatic issues in the classrooms, because it is central to language use and language learning, but the focus of teaching pragmatic competence has been on ESL settings as most of the materials are aimed at ESL contexts. However, "EFL contexts represent unique

challenges for the teaching of pragmatic competence" (Rose, 1994, p. 52). The challenges arise from the fact that most teachers are nonnative speakers of English and thus do not have native speaker intuitions of language use and there is a very limited opportunity to use language in such settings. He says "in teaching language, issues of language use simply cannot be avoided" (p. 56). Thus, there is a need to evaluate the case of NNESTs. If there is a gap in their pragmatic competence, it will be legitimate to suspect that the learners will not have enough opportunities to be exposed to language use required to develop pragmatic competence. Thus, the assessment of pragmatic competence of NNESTs becomes crucial.

Methods

In an attempt to assess pragmatic competence, one can look at whether the participants have the knowledge of illocutionary devices and whether they can provide them in given situations. Discourse completion tasks are designed to see whether participants can provide language functions in the scenarios provided. In this study, an open-ended written discourse completion task (DCT) was employed as the data collection instrument. Eight situations were created based on power of the speaker with respect to the hearer, social distance between the speaker and the hearer, and absolute ranking of imposition, which were proposed as the major factors that are influential in sociocultural contexts (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Hudson, Detmer and Brown, 1995). When combinations of these sociopragmatic factors are made based on being high or low, they naturally make up eight situations. Initially, two situations for each of the eight distributions were created. Then, these situations were pilot-tested with 13 native speakers of American English. The pilot test included 16 situations. Each situation was given with a situation prompt followed by a scale to rate sociopragmatic factors of power, distance and imposition as well as a question, "what would you do in this situation?" The goal of the pilot test was to ensure that intended sociopragmatic design and intended speech act would not be misrepresented or misinterpreted in the actual test. The responses to the scale were analyzed using one-sample t-test. The question prompt was used to see whether the participants interpreted the situation as an apology situation. Next, one situation from each pair was chosen based on how power, distance and imposition were rated and whether the situation was interpreted as an apology. An open-ended DCT including eight apology situations was finally formed. Table 1 outlines the speaker, the hearer and the offense in the scenarios of the eight situations. The situations are mostly business-related as they help make the sociopragmatic factors of power, distance and imposition more transparent for the respondents.

Table 1. Situations

	Speaker	Hearer	Offense
Situation 1	Owner of a private school	Representative of a publication company	Spilling tea on representative's bag damaging his documents
Situation 2	Director of a department store	Employee	Having an accident in employee's car
Situation 3	Employee in a coffee shop	Customer	Failing to put the cap correctly, burning customer's hand
Situation 4	Vice president	President	Signing a document which is not supposed to be signed
Situation 5	Human resources manager	Job applicant	Running late for an appointment
Situation 6	Director of a department	Secretary	Knocking over a vase and a framed picture on the ground
Situation 7	Researcher	Member of a science foundation	Causing books to fall off the bookcase
Situation 8	Customer representative	Customer	Keeping a customer waiting for a couple of minutes

There are a few reasons why DCT was chosen as the data collection instrument. With the advantages DCTs provide like collecting larger amount of data more quickly and the ease of standardization, DCT is a

commonly used method of data collection. Golato (1993) mentions advantages of DCTs such as quick data collection in large amounts, control for many variables, and statistical comparison of native and nonnative speakers easily. McNamara and Roever (2006, p. 67) say if “the purpose of the test is to assess learners’ offline knowledge or repertoire of semantic formulas, DCTs are an appropriate instrument,” but they point out that using DCTs to elicit pragmalinguistic knowledge is only appropriate in assessing pragmatics. Among DCT types open-ended DCT provides the opportunity to collect data about the formulaic nature of speech acts such as apologies. Therefore, in this study open-ended DCT is the instrument of choice. However, the author acknowledges the weaknesses of DCTs, the most important being that DCTs are used to gather unnatural data, which may not reflect language use in natural settings.

Regarding the focus of the test, a specific function had to be selected, since numerous language functions could be performed in various contexts. The speech act of choice is apology. Apologies may potentially prevent interpersonal relationships from being broken because an offense has to be done for an apology to be necessary. When an offence occurs, one party is offended but the offender’s social image is lowered. Therefore, apologies could be regarded as tools of impression management. However, apologies are not simple speech acts and require the user to compile from a fairly large selection of formulas in English. Some strategies are more likely to be effective than others. For example, apologies that have the strategies of acknowledgement of wrongdoing, expression of remorse, and offers of compensation are more likely to be effective (Exline et. al. 2007). Since what apology constitutes can change across cultures, apology behavior in a foreign language may be inappropriate if conventions are transferred from one’s native language.

Since one of the aims of the study is to reveal the pragmalinguistic repertoire of NNESTs in comparison with that of NESTs, coding the data to analyze the strategies employed by the participants is essential. The coding practice of such studies began to develop in the 1980’s in the early studies on cross-cultural pragmatics. The strategy categorization of Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) offered one of the most comprehensive schemes of categorization. Their comprehensive coding scheme has been employed in other studies. For example, another comprehensive study of cross-cultural pragmatics (Hudson, Detmer and Brown, 1995) used an updated version of this coding scheme. They modified this scheme based on their findings in their study. First of all, they grouped speech act strategies into three major categories of alerters, head acts, and modifications. Then, they grouped modifications into downgraders and upgraders. In addition to these major studies in the area, several other cross-cultural studies that have investigated apologies were also looked into to see the method of coding the data retrieved from the native speakers of American English (Battaineh & Battaineh, 2005; Sachie, 1998; Intachakra, 2004; Hussain & Hammouri, 1998). A coding guide was then created. The guide provided the strategies and sample statements for each strategy. A code sheet was, then, created on the basis of the strategies listed in the coding guide. The most commonly used strategies that were analyzed for the purpose of the study are as follows:

Attention getters	<i>Excuse me</i>
Title/role	<i>Professor</i>
Preparator	<i>You won’t believe what happened</i>
Sorry	<i>I am sorry</i>
Account of situation	<i>I bumped into another car (together with illocutionary force indicating device such as <i>I am sorry</i>)</i>
Admission of facts, but not responsibility	<i>I had an accident in your car</i>
Statement of facts, not responsibility	<i>Traffic was really bad today</i>
Offer of repair	<i>I’ll buy you a new one</i>
Minimize offense	<i>It’s just a minor accident</i>
Distract	<i>Why don’t you get a cup of coffee?</i>
Upgrading of offense	<i>Those can really hurt</i>
Accepting blame/self-deficiency	<i>I have nothing to excuse my behavior</i>
Statement / question of dismay	<i>I don’t know what to do</i>
Concern for hearer	<i>Are you OK?</i>
Denial	<i>The other car backed into me, so it was their fault</i>
Pause filler	<i>Well</i>
Understater	<i>A bit</i>

Intensifier *Very*
Emotional expression *Oh*

Two groups of language teachers participated in the study. One group was composed of NESTs of English as a second language in the United States and the other group of NNESTs of English as a foreign language in Turkey. The participants were teaching English to the speakers of other languages at universities in the United States and in Turkey at the time of the study. The total number of participants was 200, with 100 participants in each group. The mean age of NESTs was 42.1 ranging from 22 to 66 while the mean age of NNESTs is 32.1, ranging from 23 to 51. Seventy-one of NESTs were female and 29 of them were male. Similarly, 67 of NNESTs were female whereas 33 of them were male.

After the data were collected, participants' responses were analyzed and categorized into strategies. Then they were codified in the code sheet. Some data were categorical and the tool for data analysis for such data was chi-square test. The data also includes sections such as the number of strategies used by the participants. For this part of the data, t-test for independent measures was used. Results of the t-test for the average number of strategies were used to detect the possible structures of apologies used by NESTs and NNESTs. Chi-square tests were run based on these speech act sets that came out of the averages and frequency of strategies.

Results

In this section, results of the t-test for the number of strategies and the results of the chi-square tests for the most frequently used strategies by the groups are given.

Table 2. T-test results of average number of strategies used by NESTs and NNESTs

	TeacherGroup	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Df	t	Sig.																																																																																
Situation 1	NEST	100	5,0100	1,71444	198	3,717	,000*																																																																																
	NNEST	100	4,1800	1,43111				Situation 2	NEST	100	6,050	2,5121	198	3,986	,000*	NNEST	100	4,810	1,8351	Situation 3	NEST	100	4,8300	1,86437	198	,429	,669	NNEST	100	4,7200	1,76429	Situation 4	NEST	100	4,7500	2,46337	198	,872	,384	NNEST	100	4,4700	2,06194	Situation 5	NEST	100	5,0200	1,88015	198	4,143	,000*	NNEST	100	4,0000	1,58910	Situation 6	NEST	100	4,2800	1,68822	198	5,580	,000*	NNEST	100	2,9900	1,57951	Situation 7	NEST	100	2,7500	1,45904	198	-2,496	,013*	NNEST	100	3,3100	1,70380	Situation 8	NEST	100	3,7200	1,61483	198	5,251	,000*
Situation 2	NEST	100	6,050	2,5121	198	3,986	,000*																																																																																
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	NNEST	100	4,7200	1,76429				Situation 4	NEST	100	4,7500	2,46337	198	,872	,384	NNEST	100	4,4700	2,06194	Situation 5	NEST	100	5,0200	1,88015	198	4,143	,000*	NNEST	100	4,0000	1,58910	Situation 6	NEST	100	4,2800	1,68822	198	5,580	,000*	NNEST	100	2,9900	1,57951	Situation 7	NEST	100	2,7500	1,45904	198	-2,496	,013*	NNEST	100	3,3100	1,70380	Situation 8	NEST	100	3,7200	1,61483	198	5,251	,000*	NNEST	100	2,2600	2,26355																				
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Table 2 shows that in seven of all eight situations, NESTs used more strategies in their apologies than NNESTs. In six of these situations, differences are statistically significant. Only in situation 7, NNESTs used significantly more strategies than NESTs. In all four situations with a low ranking of imposition, significant differences were observed. Of situations with high ranking of imposition, two did not result in a significant difference. Incidentally, in these situations, the power of the speaker is ranked lower than the hearer. Since the ranking of imposition is also rated high, these two situations are quite serious for the speaker and NNESTs used apologies with similar density to those used by NESTs. Figure 1 depicts the results in a graph.

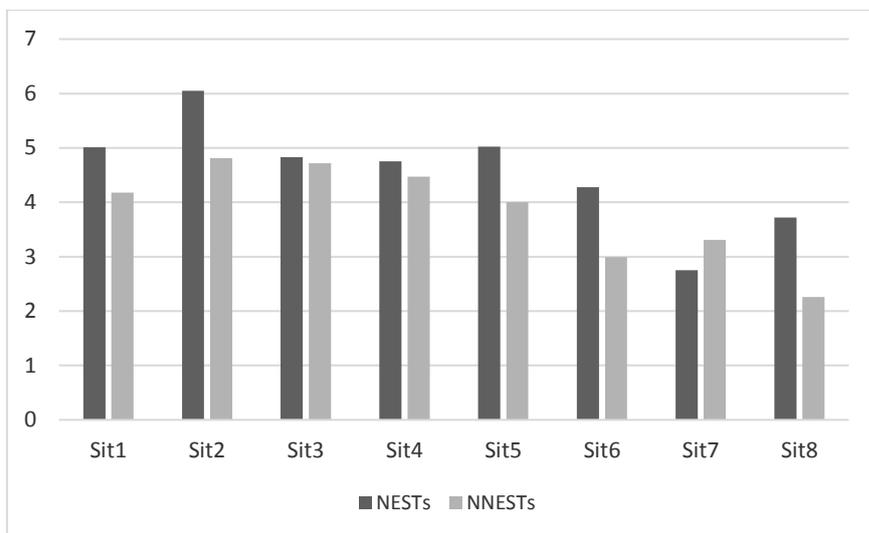


Figure. 1. Average number of strategies

The fact that the apologies provided by NNESTs in nearly all situations include fewer strategies raises a question regarding NNESTs’ repertoire of illocutionary devices. Possibly, they may not have a rich mental collection of illocutionary items that NESTs have at their disposal. Results of the mean scores of the number of strategies used by the groups are used to define the general outlook of apologies by the groups in each of the eight situations. For example, if participants in a group used an average of five strategies in a situation, then it is logical to think that in that situation an apology will be likely formed with five strategies. Then, the five most frequently employed strategies are grouped to see how an apology may look like from that particular group in that situation. The apologies formed based on the mean of the strategies and the frequency of use are given in Table 3 through Table 6. Table 3 and 5 show the possible structure of apologies formed based on the most frequently used strategies in each situation by NESTs whereas Table 4 and 6 show those formed by NNESTs. In other words, even though all four tables have data by both groups, the criteria of analysis is the most frequently used strategies by NESTs in Table 3 and 5 and it is the most frequently used strategies by NNESTs in Table 4 and 6.

Table 3. Most frequently used strategies by NESTs in situations with a high ranking of imposition in comparison with NNESTs

Situation 1			Situation 2			Situation 3			Situation 4		
Strategies	NEST	NNEST									
Sorry	100	91	Sorry	65	63	Sorry	79	83	Adm. Facts	33	23
O. Repair	74	36	Account	54	44	O. Repair	71	59	Upg.Off	39	36
Dismay	28	38	O. Repair	90	86	Concern	54	15	Ac. Blame	64	70
Intensifier	91	87	Preparator	51	40	Intensifier	68	70	Dismay	51	20
Emot.Exp.	52	25	Understater	46	10	Emot.Exp.	55	25	Preparator	48	32
			Intensifier	53	43						

($\chi^2(4, N=200) = 17.398, p <.05$) ($\chi^2(5, N=200) = 18.633, p <.05$) ($\chi^2(4, N=200) = 25.237, p <.05$) ($\chi^2(4, N=200) = 13.192, p <.05$)

Table 4. Most frequently used strategies by NNESTs in situations with a high ranking of imposition in comparison with NESTs

Situation 1			Situation 2			Situation 3			Situation 4		
Strategies	NES T	NNES T	Strategies	NEST	NNE ST	Strategies	NES T	NNE ST	Strategies	NES T	NNES T
Sorry	100	91	Sorry	65	63	Sorry	79	83	O. Repair	25	38
Ac. Blame	25	38	Account	54	44	O. Repair	71	59	Upg. Off	39	36
Dismay	28	38	O. Repair	90	86	Ac. Blame	18	38	Ac. Blame	64	70
Intensifier	91	87	Preparator	51	40	Title/Role	6	36	Preparator	48	32
			Intensifier	53	43	Intensifier	68	70			

($\chi^2(3, N=200) = 4.513, p >.05$) ($\chi^2(4, N=200) = 1.194, p >.05$) ($\chi^2(4, N=200) = 26.323, p <.05$) ($\chi^2(3, N=200) = 6.271, p >.05$)

Table 3 shows the possible outlook of apologies of NESTs in the first four situations that have a high ranking of imposition, that is, the offense caused in these four situations are perceived as more serious than the remaining 4 situations. In all four situations, significant differences were observed between NESTs and NNESTs in the possible apologies by NESTs. Statistically, NNESTs did not produce the kind of apologies NESTs produced in situations with high ranking of imposition. When we look at the apologies produced by

NNESTs, on the other hand, a statistical difference was observed in only situation 3. This may be due to NNESTs' producing apologies with less variability and employing strategies that may be commonly employed in apologies. In other words, their apologies may be more stereotypical, thus, distribution of frequencies of strategies they commonly employ do not differ significantly from those employed by NESTs. This may explain the contradictory results shown in Table 3 and Table 4.

In addition to statistical differences, the apologies formed with the most frequent strategies also look different between the two groups. For instance, in situation 1, in which the owner of a private school spills tea on a publication company representative's bag damaging his/her documents, the possible apology by NESTs consists of sorry, offer of repair, dismay, intensifier and emotional expression while NNESTs formed apologies frequently with sorry, accepting blame, dismay and intensifier. Both groups used sorry, dismay and intensifier as common strategies. The groups differ in that apologies by NESTs frequently included offer of repair and emotional expression, two strategies that do not make into the most frequently used strategies by NNESTs. Unlike NESTs, NNESTs include accepting blame as one of the four most frequently used strategies. While most apologies by NESTs include offer of repair (74%), about half that (36%) was used by NNESTs. Similarly, emotional expression was used twice as frequently by NESTs (52%) as NNESTs (25%). A sample apology in situation 1 by a NNEST is as follows:

(1) *I'm really sorry. I should have been more careful. I don't know what to do.* (Turkish, 29, male)

In situation 2, in which the director of a department store has an accident in his employee's car, both groups employed similar apology strategies except for the understater which was used nearly five times more commonly by NESTs (46%) than NNESTs (10%). The commonly used strategies by NESTs are sorry, account, offer of repair, preparatory, understater and intensifier. Frequent strategies by NNESTs include all strategies but understater, which makes the two groups differ significantly in NESTs' apologies. A sample apology in situation 2 by a NEST is as follows:

(2) *I have some bad news, Laurie. While I was returning, I had a minor accident. I bumped into another car and your car did get a bit of damage. I am so sorry. I will, of course, pay for the repairs.* (American, 51, female)

In the next situation, an employee in a coffee shop apologizes to a customer for burning his/her hand. In this situation, NESTs' typical apology includes sorry, offer of repair, concern, intensifier and emotional expression. NNESTs, on the other hand, preferred sorry, offer of repair, accepting blame, title/role and intensifier. As can be seen, both NESTs and NNESTs used sorry, offer of repair and intensifier commonly. There were also different choices. For example, NESTs' apologies include concern nearly four times (54%) more than those of NNESTs (15%) and emotional expression twice as common at 55% and 25% respectively. On the contrary, NNESTs included accepting blame twice (38%) as commonly as NESTs (18%). Interestingly, while NESTs did not prefer to use title/role (6%), this strategy was among the most frequently used strategies by NNESTs (36%). One of the participants wrote the following apology for this situation.

(3) *Oh my god! Are you okay? I'm so sorry. Let me get something for your burn. I'll ask my manager to come over.* (American, 42, female)

The last situation with a high ranking of imposition describes a scenario in which the vice president of a company needs to apologize to the president for signing a document which should not have been signed. In this situation, upgrading offense, accepting blame and preparatory were observed among the most frequently used strategies in both groups' apologies. Regarding the differences, NESTs used admission of facts and dismay as other strategies while NNESTs employed offer of repair. A sample from the data is as follows:

(4) *I've made a terrible mistake. I would perfectly understand if you didn't wanna work with me anymore. I'm ready to take full responsibility and do whatever it takes to recompensate this mistake.* (Turkish, 39, female)

Results of the situations with a low ranking of imposition, in which the offense is perceived not serious are given in Table 5 and 6. Table 5 outlines the possible outlook of apologies of NESTs formed based on the mean number of strategies and the most frequently used strategies in each situation. Table 6 outlines the same results for NNESTs.

Table 5. Most frequently used strategies by NESTs in situations with a low ranking of imposition in comparison with NNESTs

Situation 5			Situation 6			Situation 7			Situation 8		
Strategies	NEST	NNEST									
Sorry	69	78	Sorry	80	59	Sorry	53	68	Sorry	82	52
St.Facts	49	67	Min. Off.	49	63	O. Repair	38	32	Distract	54	27
Distract	43	31	Ac. Blame	40	22	Emot.Exp.	63	19	Denial	43	24
Ac. Blame	84	71	Emot.Exp.	67	49				PauseFill.	39	13
Attn.Get.	38	18									

$(\chi^2(4, N=200) = 12.946, p <.05)$ $(\chi^2(3, N=200) = 8.719, p <.05)$ $(\chi^2(2, N=200) = 21.852, p <.05)$ $(\chi^2(2, N=200) = 21.852, p <.05)$

Table 6. Most frequently used strategies by NNESTs in situations with a low ranking of imposition in comparison with NESTs

Situation 5			Situation 6			Situation 7			Situation 8		
Strategies	NES	NNES	Strategies	NEST	NNE	Strategies	NES	NNE	Strategies	NES	NNES
	T	T			ST		T	ST		T	T
Sorry	69	78	Sorry	80	59	Sorry	53	68	Sorry	82	52
St. Facts	49	67	Min. Off.	49	63	O. Repair	38	32	Ac. Blame	23	39
Distract	43	31	Emot.Exp.	67	49	Ac. Blame	16	32			
Ac. Blame	84	71									

$(\chi^2(3, N=200) = 6.372, p >.05)$ $(\chi^2(2, N=200) = 6.041, p <.05)$ $(\chi^2(2, N=200) = 5.148, p >.05)$ $(\chi^2(2, N=200) = 5.148, p >.05)$

Similar to situations with high ranking of imposition, significant differences between the groups were observed in all situations when comparisons were based on the most frequently used strategies by NESTs. When apologies of NNESTs were considered, a statistical significance was observed in only one situation. Again, like in the first four situations, NNESTs may have produced apologies by employing more stereotypical strategies. In situation 5, in which a human resources manager runs late for an appointment with an applicant, both groups preferred similar strategies except for attention getter used by NESTs at 38% as opposed to 18% by NNESTs. While NNESTs used sorry and statement of facts more frequently than NESTs, they used distract, accepting blame and attention getter less commonly. A sample from the data reads:

(5) *Hi. I'm sorry I'm late. Traffic held me up. Let's get started right away.* (American, 31, female)

The scenario in situation 6 is that the director of a department knocks over a vase and a framed picture off the secretary's table. In this situation NESTs' common strategies were sorry, minimizing offense, accepting blame and emotional expression. NNESTs, on the other hand, used an average of about three strategies, thus all the strategies observed as frequent strategies in NESTs' apologies were also included as frequent strategies in NNESTs' apologies except for accepting blame. This strategy was observed nearly twice as commonly in NESTs' data (40%) as NNESTs' data (22%). The following is an example from the data for situation 6.

(6) *Oh I'm sorry! I'm such a klutz. Oh wow I'm glad these didn't break.* (American, 30, male)

A researcher causes books to fall off the bookcase while presenting his/her project to a member of a science foundation in situation 7. Both groups used an average of about three strategies for this scenario. Both groups used sorry and offer of repair commonly. However, emotional expression was much more common in NESTs' apologies (63%) than NNESTs' apologies (19%). On the contrary, NNESTs used accepting blame twice as commonly as NESTs (32% and 16%, respectively). An apology from NNESTs in the data is as follows:

(7) *Sorry for my fault. I'll pick them up.* (Turkish, 38, female)

The last situation has a customer representative who keeps a customer waiting for a couple of minutes. In this situation, NESTs used nearly four strategies on average while NNESTs only used about two strategies. The most common strategies by NESTs were sorry, distract, denial and pause filler. NNESTs, on the other hand, used sorry and accepting blame. Distract and denial were observed in NESTs' data about twice as commonly as NNESTs' data. Use of sorry was also more common in NESTs' apologies (82%) than NNESTs' apologies (52%). An apology in the data looks as follows:

(8) *Sorry, to make you wait.* (Turkish, 25, female)

Finally, there are some similarities and differences that are recognized when the tables are pored over. These similarities and differences result from choice of certain strategies across different situations by the two groups. There are also differences in the variety of strategies employed. These similarities and differences can be seen in Table 3 through 6, yet the details are given and discussed in the following section.

Discussion and Conclusion

In terms of similarities, both groups used account of situation in one situation, upgrading of offense in another situation, minimizing offense in another, statement of facts and distract in another. These similar choices of strategies by the two groups in different situations show that NNESTs have developed some degree of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge, which may indicate that these teachers may function well in an intercultural situation. In terms of differences, NESTs used more strategies to compile apologies. Furthermore, they commonly used 12 different strategies in the head acts of their apologies while NNESTs commonly used nine different strategies. This could mean that NESTs possibly have more strategies at their disposal.

Another difference was observed in the use of specific strategies. For example, NNESTs used the strategy of accepting blame more than NESTs. While they commonly used accepting blame in six of the eight situations, NESTs commonly used it in only three of them. On the other hand, NNESTs used offer of repair and emotional expression in fewer situations. NESTs used offer of repair frequently in five of the situations whereas NNESTs used it in three of them. In addition, NESTs frequently used emotional expression in four of the situations as opposed to NNESTs who commonly used it in only one situation. These differences could be because of the effect of NNESTs first language because there is a tendency to frequently use accepting blame in most situations and they used offer of repair and emotional expression in fewer situations than NNESTs.

An alternative explanation could be related to interlanguage development of NNESTs. NNESTs' apologies may be more stereotypical than contextual, that is, they may tend to be more formulaic in nature than being contextually-driven. Likewise, as interlanguage development leads to overgeneralization and avoidance errors in the acquisition of target grammar (Lightbown & Spada, 2013), a similar tendency may be observed in pragmatic development. In the case of frequent use of accepting blame and much less frequent use of emotional expression may be an indication of overgeneralization and avoidance. However, this has yet to be investigated further to confirm the relevance of such behaviors in interlanguage pragmatic development.

Results indicate differences between NESTs and NNESTs, yet it is important to mention here that comparing nonnative speakers' knowledge and use to those of native-speakers is an issue of some controversy. One reason is that generalizing the goal of a language learner or user to the attainment of native speaker competence is an overgeneralization in itself. Not every learner will want to achieve native speaker competence. Also, utterances may be "successful" in exchanges in the foreign language even if they do not look like native speaker utterances. Statistical differences may establish that the apologies provided by the groups may show patterns that are not alike. Nevertheless, differences in statistical distribution do not mean a different apology will never work in natural interaction. In addition, some scholars (e.g. Seidlhofer, 2000; Jenkins, 2006) are critical of accepting native speaker competences as native norms as English is now a global lingua franca and most exchanges in English that take place around the globe do not involve a native speaker for only one quarter of speakers come from countries where English is spoken as native language of the majority of the population. However, there is standardization of norms. Textbooks and materials are prepared based on standardized varieties of English. Just as grammar is mostly based upon native speaker norms because of standardization of native speaker varieties, assessing pragmatic competence of nonnative speakers in comparison with native speakers is still a possible way. Moreover, assessment of underlying knowledge rather than actual use is a common testing procedure. As McNamara and Roever (2006) puts it, assessing the underlying knowledge and repertoire of learners is a way of assessment in pragmatics. Just like most language tests assess a small portion of language knowledge to test the general language proficiency of the learners, testing a portion of the knowledge of pragmatics can be used to assess language users' pragmatic competence in general. Nevertheless, DCT is the sole measure used in the study, so is the apology speech act the sole function. Although the reasons for the choice of DCT and apology are given in the methods section, using a single measure and a single speech act is a limitation. Other studies employing different measures and other speech acts may find results that are not in line with the results of this study. However, as mentioned earlier, attempts at language assessment do not usually involve actual language use in natural settings but focus on declarative knowledge. It is the stance taken in this study towards assessment of pragmatics.

Results show that there are essential differences between the two groups of language teachers although similarities are also evident. Results have implications, first, in terms of the outcome of teaching done by NNESTs. Since textbooks lack content necessary to help learners develop pragmatic competence as explained in the introduction, teachers need to supplement textbooks to help students achieve pragmatic competence.

Lacking pragmatic knowledge of NESTs, it is unlikely that NNESTs will sufficiently provide scaffolding in pragmatic development of learners. Thus, students taught by NNESTs may find themselves in situations in which they misunderstand their interlocutors or they themselves are misunderstood. In some situations they may be considered inappropriate if their pragmatic intent is not understood by their interlocutors. For example, an utterance of encouragement can be perceived as an utterance of discouragement if there are intercultural differences and transfer. Furthermore, when it comes to pragmatics, failures do not mean inaccuracy, but rather inappropriacy. Thus, it is essential to expand our perspective to also include NNESTs of English in addition to second language learners. If NNESTs are expected to be better sources and models of language use, results also have implications in terms of training these teachers in this area of language. Three different types of action could be taken. First, current teachers could be provided with in-service training that includes a strong aspect of language use. Second, teacher training programs could be modified to include courses about the topic. Third, language teaching programs could be revised so that students could be better exposed to pragmatics. Eslami (2005) suggests a learner-as-researcher approach. In her suggestion, teacher trainees choose a speech act, read research, collect authentic data, present and discuss findings in class and finally develop a lesson incorporating the investigated speech act. Such an approach could be incorporated into programs for teachers, teacher trainees and learners in line with the level of their analytic abilities.

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