國立交通大學 英語教學研究所碩士論文

A Master Thesis

Presented to

Institute of TESOL,

National Chiao Tung University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

Master of Arts

阿拉伯人與美國人問候用語之探討

"Hello" or "Salaam?" Greetings by Arabs and Americans

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Abstract

Greetings are often people's first impressions of one another; therefore, learning how to greet someone appropriately is important in making a good first impression and avoiding pragmatic failures. Many studies have been conducted on the speech act of greetings, and greetings in different cultures. However, very few numbers have been examined the relationship between the contextual variables (e.g., gender and social distance) and greeting strategies.

Moreover, while previous researches have been done on Arabs greeting strategies or Americans greetings strategies, no previous study put Arabs and Americans greetings in comparison.

This study aims to compare between greeting strategies used by Arabs and Americans in terms of oral speech and body language. In addition, some contextual variables, such as gender, social distance, and situations have been put into test in order to examine to what extent these variables could influence the use of greeting strategies.

Three different data collection methods have been used in the purpose of achieving the goals of the study. The first one was the natural observation of some occasions and gatherings, where people naturally tend to use greeting strategies. The second data collection method was using the DCT questionnaire, which included 6 situations with different variables. A total of 60 participants of both Arabs and Americans group took part in the questionnaire. Afterwards, an interview with 18 participants, from both groups, has been held to understand the participant's perceptions about greeting strategies.

The results showed that both Arabs and Americans used oral speech strategies more than body language in greetings. However, Americans tended to use more oral speech than Arabs in general, and Arabs used more body language strategies than Americans. The results also showed

the differences in the greeting's patterns used by Arabs and Americans in both oral speech and body language. While Arabs mostly used the routine greeting strategies, Americans tended to use variety of strategies and language. However, according to their culture, Arabs used many body language strategies, in which, some of them Americans avoided to use.

Overall, the number and the use of greeting strategies differed between Arabs and Americans. Moreover, the contextual variables, such as gender, social distance and situations played an important role in influencing the choice of the greeting strategies in general.



Acknowledgment

Regardless the efforts of a person, the success of any project depends largely on the encouragement and guidelines of many others. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the people who have been instrumental in the successful completion of this thesis. First of all, I would like to show my greatest appreciation and deepest gratitude to my advisor Dr. Stephanie W. Cheng. I can't say thank you enough for her tremendous support and help. I feel motivated and encouraged every time I attend her meeting. Without her encouragement, guidance and persistent help this thesis would not have been possible

I would also like to express the deepest appreciation to committee members, Dr. Sheue-Jen Ou, and Dr. Yueh-Ching Chang, for their assistance and guidance. Thanks to all the committee members for the useful comments, remarks and engagement in this thesis. Also, I like to thank the participants in my survey, who have willingly shared their precious time during the process of interviewing.

During this journey, many people have also shown their great support and help to me. All the respect and gratitude to my teachers in the TESOL department, Dr. Lin, Lu-Chun, Dr. Chang, Ching-Fen, and Dr. Sun, Yu-Chih, as well as all my classmates who made me feel like having a big loving family.

I would like to thank my loved ones, who have supported me throughout entire process, both by keeping me harmonious and helping me putting pieces together. Thanks to my dear friends, Janda, Elma, Maryam, Nadia, Jana and Nicole, who have been always there for me helping, supporting, and cheering me up when feeling really down. I will be grateful forever for your love.

Last but not least, all thanks and gratitude go to my best friend and beloved husband,
Ashraf Milhim, for his love, kindness and support he has shown during the past four years it has
taken me to finalize this thesis. Without him, I could never been where I am today in the first
place. Furthermore I would also like to thank my parents and the whole family for their endless
love and support.

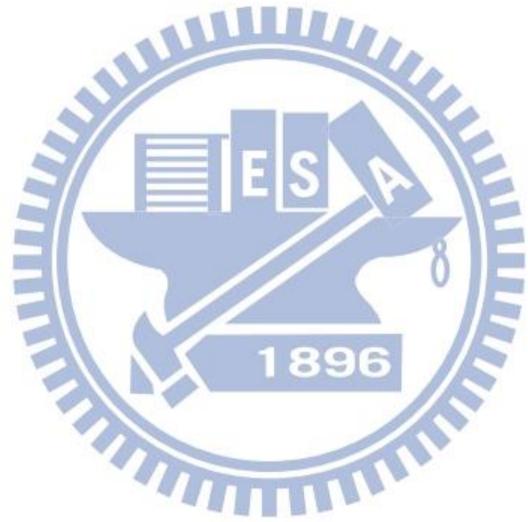


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Chapter One

Introduction

Background and Rationale

Language is the most typical human act and the most common way to interact among people. It goes through naturally and essentially into virtually everything in a given speech community from greeting an acquaintance to making a scientific research out to the moon. It evolves the simplest terms that interactants often employ when sending and receiving a message through various channels of communication, including verbal and nonverbal forms (Ervin-Tripp, 1971). As it has been considered the global language, English is being learned as a second language by a dramatic increasing number of students from all over the world. Communicative competence should be the goal of L2 learning because without such knowledge and ability there will be confusion and misinterpretation for both L1 and L2 students. The purpose of acquiring conversational competence is to overcome these problems. Conversations usually begin with greetings and then progress through various ordered moves (Yusuf, 1986).

Greeting is a socially significant event in universal terms, and like other major speech acts, its realization is language specific. Greetings consist of a single speech act or a speech act set. Successful greetings may be simple or complex, phatic or meaningful, formulaic or creative. Bodman, Carpenter, and Eisenstein (1995) found that "even relatively advanced non-native English speakers experience difficulty with various aspects of American greetings on both productive and receptive levels" (p. 101-102). They also added that challenges for cross-cultural communication would range from lexical choices to substantial diversity in cultural norms and values; therefore, "pragmalinguistic or sociopragmatic failure may occur in cross-cultural greeting encounters" (p. 102).

Purpose of the Study

This study aims to highlight English greeting strategies used by native speakers of English (i.e., Americans) and non-native speakers of English (i.e., Arabs). One aim of the study is cross-cultural realization of speech act of greetings. The other is linguistic realization of greetings, as all the participants have to speak and orally interact in English.

The issue of translatability across cultures or the culturally equivalent terminology as the example of greeting discourse was intuitively addressed in Davies (1987). The Arabic *marhaba* (said to greet a visitor to the house), for instance, seems to Davies to be untranslatable, or when welcome is used, as an English equivalent, it "would sound rather quaint or stilted" (Davies, 1987, p. 80). Many other words or phrases in Arabic language would not make much sense if being translated literally into English. More obvious formulaic expressions, which propose extreme difficulty for terminologists when considered cross-culturally, are religious phrases, such as *Merry Christmas* and *Hajon maqbul wa Thenbon maGfur* ('May God accept your pilgrimage and forgive your sin', said to someone who is about to go or has just come from a pilgrimage to Mecca) (Alharbi & Al-Ajmi, 2008). Therefore, the study also aims to offer a closer look at the intercultural pragmatic failure among different cultures in greetings performance, especially in some religious occasions.

The focus of the study is not limited to one aspect; rather, the study investigates different variables in real-life situations, such as gender, social distance, religious and cultural background. To gain the most authentic results, I used various data collection methods. I started with natural setting observations, then moved to DCT open-ended questionnaire (based on the natural observation results), and ended with interviews with participants.

Research Questions

I want to address two main research questions in this study, focusing on the intercultural interaction and the contextual variables, such as gender, familiarity, and different situations.

The research questions are:

- 1. How do Arabs and Americans perform greetings in English in terms of oral speech and body language?
- 2. How do contextual variables (e.g., gender, social distance, and situations) influence intercultural greeting performance by Arabs and Americans?

Significance of the Study

Conversational openings are very important to the rest of the conversation because it is during the openings that speakers evaluate each other and decide in what way the interaction can be further developed. The present study is significant because it explores an area of intercultural pragmatics that has not, to the best of my knowledge, been sufficiently explored, especially at this topic and target groups. It is hoped that the study will bridge the gap in literature and, thus, enrich the field of intercultural pragmatics.

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Chapter Two

Literature Review

This research emphasizes on dynamic face-to-face interaction between Americans and Arabs when greeting in English from a sociolinguistic perspective. This chapter mainly introduces the most important and relevant literature, including conversation routines, speech acts, greetings, politeness theory, and second language acquisition and pragmatics failure.

This chapter starts with defining conversation and conversational routines, and then moves to speech acts and greetings. Topics such as: Conversational routines and speech acts, the speech act of greetings, greetings and religion, Politeness Theory and greetings in different cultures are discussed. This chapter further discusses the relations among greetings, politeness and gender, social distance, and ends with examples of pragmatic failure and misunderstandings of greetings in different cultures.

Conversational Routines and Speech Acts

Starting the conversation is a frequent and useful speech act in daily communication. While first language learners can easily acquire their own cultural greeting rituals, second language learners need to learn the language and culture to understand the appropriate ways of starting a conversation. Yusuf (1986) claimed that one of the weaknesses of ESL students is the inability to start conversations. She further argued that there are many things prevent or discourage ESL learners from initiating conversations; for example, ESL learners feel embarrassed to start a conversation with native speakers, or the strict directions they learn in school about initiating conversations with native speakers. The greeting routines ESL students

learn at school (e.g., *Hello*, *how are you? I am fine*, *thank you*, *and you*?) does not always imply the real usage of greetings, or they may sound awkward for native speakers in casual conversation. However, after more than a quarter century has passed since English has become one of the most popular languages worldwide, I wonder if the previous claims are still true; and whether second language learners of English still have the barriers of starting conversations with native speakers.

What is conversation?

Conversation is often described as ranging somewhere between casual talk in everyday settings and spoken interaction in general. This use of the term "conversation" as a catchall for any type of spoken discourse is common usage. Among different speech events, conversation is the most prevalent form of discourse, accounting for more than 90 percent of all spoken language, and is considered the essence of spoken discourse (Svartvik, 1980). It has to take in consideration when analysing the conversation that it exists within a social context and interactions between people which determines the purpose of the conversation and shapes its structure and features.

In her book, *The Language of Conversation*, Pridham (2001, p. 2), provided a definition for conversation and the different settings where it can occur:

Conversation, therefore, is any interactive spoken exchange between two or more people and can be:

- face-to-face exchanges these can be private conversations, such as talk at home within the family, or more public and ritualized conversations such as classroom talk or question time in the houses of parliament;
- non-face-to-face exchanges, such as telephone conversations;

• broadcast materials, such as a live radio phone-in or a television chat show.

G. Brown and Yule (1983, p. 21) defined the conversation as *a structure event* existing of encounters, and they divided the conversation's functions as *transactional* or *interactional*, adopted from Lyons (1977). *Transactional conversation* is when the focus of the encounter is to transfer information; then the language used is primarily "message oriented," while *interactional conversation* is when the focus of the encounter is to establish and maintain social relationships.

Jakubowska (1999, p. 19) expanded the concept of *interactional conversation* and provided three phases of an encounter:

During an encounter, one or more phases may occur. Three kinds of phase can be distinguished: an opening phase, a central phase, and a closing phase. Opening and closing are highly conventionalized and always have interactional character; the former consist of exchanges in which interlocutors acknowledge each other's presence and establish their social roles during the conversation; in the latter, the conversation is brought to an end.

The present study focuses on greetings as a conversational opening in interactional conversation. Greetings or conversational openings could affect the rest of the speech. Therefore, it is very important to learn not only what to say, but also how to perform greetings. Especially when there are some social roles that may control the appropriate way to exchange greetings, one might want to avoid making mistakes that may lead to pragmatic failures between interactants.

Conversational routine.

Conversational routines are used in many social events in our daily life for native speakers and L2 speakers. Coulmas (1981, p. 2) described conversational routines as a set of tools which individuals employ in order to relate to others in an accepted way. Knowing which words may be used, speakers need to understand the appropriate situations to use them. Aijmer (1996, p. 27) suggested that conversational routines emerge and become conversationalized as a result of successful linguistic behavior being repeated in similar situations and becoming an established pattern over time. In pragmatic terms, the speaker's knowledge of appropriate linguistic behavior is described as a frame or "hypothesis about speakers' stereotypic knowledge of situation and how this knowledge is organized in the long-term memory" (Aijmer, 1996, p. 27). The frame contains all the information about a speech act or routine that is required for the speaker to use it appropriately.

Some researchers proposed that conversational routines in second language acquisition are often picked up before their function is fully understood, and they are used to smooth the progress of social interaction. For example, Hakuta (1974) reported his observation of a five-year old native Japanese speaker learning English in the United States, and found evidence for "learning through rote memorization of segments of speech without knowledge of the internal structure of those speech segments" (1974, p. 31). In another study of routines in child language acquisition, Wagner-Gough (1975) noted that her subject heavily relied on routines and patterns to communicate and integrated them into his speech. Hanania and Gradman's (1977) study on an Arabic speaker living in the United States showed that in the beginning her English output consisted mainly of memorized items that are commonly used in social contexts with children. They noted that the girl was using the expressions without recognizing the individual words

within them and was unable to use the words in new combinations. In addition, Fillmore (1976) found her subjects used routines and patterns frequently and from an early stage, suggesting that the routines are learned first for social interaction, and the desire to be involved with target language speakers seems to underlie the L2 learners' use of routines. Greetings, in general, can vary from structured conversational routines to very complex rituals. ESL learners can easily pick up the conversational routines from English textbooks and classroom environment; however, in order to acquire the authentic and more complex language of greetings, you have to go deep into the culture to learn. The current study examines the use of strategies in different situations, which in some; simple routine greetings will not fit into the context.

What is speech act?

Frake (1964) defined speech acts as utterances or utterance sets with an interpretable function. Some examples of the routines that can mark the borders of episodes are; promises, jokes, apologies, greetings, requests, or insults. Speech acts, unlike functions, are cultural units, and must be discovered by focusing not only on the language, but also on the culture and people themselves (Frake, 1964). Austin (1962) also defined speech acts as acts performed by utterances such as giving orders or making promises. They may be a direct or an indirect utterance (a word, phrase, sentence, number of sentences or gesture and body movement) that serves a function in communication such as thanking and apologizing (Hatch, 1992).

Searle, J. R. (1969) identified four basic categories of speech acts: utterances, propositional utterances, illocutionary utterances, and perlocutionary utterances. He (1975, p. 64) maintained that ordinary conversational requirements of politeness normally make it awkward to issue flat imperative sentences (e.g., *leave the room*) or explicit performatives (e.g., *I order you to leave the room*), so people resort to indirect means to their illocutionary ends (e.g., *I wonder if*

you would mind leaving the room). Searle, J. R. (1979) further claimed that speech acts perform five general functions: declarations (e.g., I now pronounce you husband and wife), representatives (e.g., it was a warm sunny day), expressives (e.g., I'm really sorry), directives (e.g., don't leave anything behind), and commissives (e.g., we'll not disturb you).

Speech acts include real-life interactions and require not only the knowledge of the language but also the appropriate use of that language within a given culture to minimize misunderstandings (Hatch, 1992; Lindfors, 1999); this is in line with Celce-Murcia and Olshtain (2000) claimed that learners need to be aware of discourse differences between L1 and L2 to insure the proper acquisition of pragmatic competence.

Greeting is one of the most commonly used speech acts that people perform in daily interactions. However, performing greetings in special occasions (e.g., New Year or Christmas) differs from the daily routine, where different greeting strategies might be used.

The Speech Act of Greeting

Nowadays linguists agree that people do not use language just to exchange information efficiently; in addition to the informational content, language users also employ communicative strategies that are suitable for the contexts in which the exchange is made. It is difficult to generalize differences in impolite and polite non-verbal behavior since such differences vary greatly across cultures. For example, greeting exchange is a social ritual which makes communication between members of the society possible. Though greetings are often treated as a spontaneous emotional reaction to bring together or separate people, they carry their own social message, and highly conventionalized for the most part (Greere, 2005).

Definition of greetings.

According to Aijmer (1996), greeting represents an acknowledgment of the relationship between two individuals. It is an act of communication in which human beings intentionally make their presence known to each other, to get attention, and to suggest a type of relationship or social status between individuals or groups of people coming in contact with each other.

Brown, I. C. (1963) noted the place of greetings in the large context of culture: "It is the way we greet friends or address a stranger, the admonition we give our children and the way they respond, what we consider good and bad manners, and even to a large extent, what are consider right and wrong" (p. 26). Brown's wide scope of definition seems to put the whole greeting concept in a big container, while other researchers provide simpler definitions.

Searle, J. R. (1969) considered greetings corresponded to some part of rituals or sometimes formulated to go along with the speech act and in its rules in the speech community. His definition of greetings is shown below:

Greetings are a much simpler kind of speech act, but even here some of the distinctions apply. In the utterance of 'Hello' there is no propositional content and no sincerity condition. The preparatory condition is that the speaker must have just encountered the hearer, and the essential rule is that the utterance counts as a courteous indication of recognition of the hearer (p. 64-65).

In his definition, Searle simplified the context and usage of greetings, which may not be the case in different occasions. I would agree with the point that greeting is a common speech act which can be easier to learn that some other speech acts. However, rather than our daily routine greetings, this type of speech act could be very complex in some situations and occasions.

Later, in his book *Relations in Public*, Goffman (1971) proposed three generalizations in interpreting greeting behavior: (a) exchanges serve to reestablish social relations, (b) acknowledgement of a differential allocation of status, and (c) when greetings are performed between strangers, there is *an element of guarantee for safe passage* (p. 74). Firth S. (1973) also referred to greeting phenomena as ritual with verbal and non-verbal forms. Verbal forms include one of three linguistic units: question (*How are you?*), interjection (*Hello/hey*) or affirmation (*Good morning*), whereas non-verbal forms are composed of body languages such as hand shake, kisses, and hug. I think that these two authors provided good definitions of greeting types and greeting functions.

Laver (1981) viewed greeting exchanges as having three components: formulaic phrases, address forms, and phatic communion or small talk (e.g. *Nice day for this time of year*). Laver applied the notion of routine to all three categories, thus proposing that greeting exchanges as a whole are routine rituals. In short, greetings are composed of several interlinking behaviors: (1) salutation or the verbal linguistic form, (2) term of address, (3) body language, and (4) social context. In his definition, Laver tended to treat 'term of address' as a separate greeting strategy or behavior, while in most studies- including the current one- this element considered as part of verbal linguist form. That is because one can simply use only the term of address to perform greeting to another (e.g. *Mark!*).

After reading through the literature, I would define greeting as a human behavior aims to acknowledge people's presence, show respectful, share cultural rituals, and simply start a conversation. Greetings can be very simple (e.g. our daily routine greetings) or very complex (e.g. religious or public occasions). They also could be consist of only one single strategy, or combined of different greeting strategies in same conversation. In addition to the oral greetings,

the present study will also focus on body language between Americans and Arabs, because both groups are from different cultural backgrounds which might require different body languages when greeting.

Greetings and body language.

When greeting, people use different forms of body languages. For example, they bow, rub noses, shake hands, kiss, or raise their eyebrows. People in different cultures use different body languages. For example, Polynesians rub each other's backs or sniff each other's breath, East Africans might spit on the ground in a greeting, and Tibetans used to stick out their tongues. Some New Guinean tribesmen pat each other on the rump. Not long ago, Westerners learnt elaborate ways of removing their hats with a flourish or even threw themselves face-down on the ground in front of their superiors. There is hugging of heads, clasping of knees, kissing of feet, touching of shoulders – even today (Lundmark, 2009).

It might seem easy to say *hi* and to say *bye*. However, the matter of meeting and leaving tends to be a complicated act. The rituals of approaching and departure seem infused with etiquette and custom, no matter which culture you belong to. If misperformed, one might end up in trouble or embarrassed. What seems entirely natural in one culture can be a strange behavior in another.

Kissing as a greeting has been used ceremoniously depends on the cultural setting. As the New Zealand ethnologist R. W. Firth (2004, p. 19) put it:

American and English people who might exchange a kiss in private greeting may refrain from such intimacy in public. But this is a highly cultural matter – a Frenchman in office

may bestow a kiss on another on a formal public occasion when he would not do so at an informal private meeting.

Bowing is part of many greeting rituals. A bow can be as quick and easy as a slight nod of the head, or as long and complex as a Chinese kowtow. In some countries, bowing is a veritable science in itself. In Japan, bowing is done not only in business and social settings, but also in religious, sport, traditional arts, school and many other situations (see Figure 2.1). The bow is also an essential part of the Japanese tea ceremony. Bowing is so ingrained in Japanese people that they even bow when speaking on the telephone. Moreover, the bow is often inextricably linked to a word or phrase. For example, to say *arigato-gozaimasu* 'thank you' without bowing would seem very strange, if not unthinkable, to a Japanese person (Lundmark, 2009).

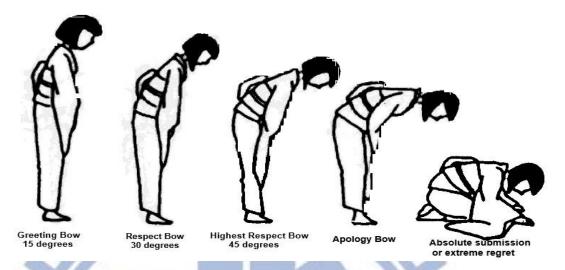


Figure 2.1 Japanese bowing.

On the other hand, bowing is not an appropriate way of greeting in Arabic culture because bowing is one of the special moves they do when they perform their praying to God. They consider bowing is not for another human beings, but only exclusive for *Allah* 'God' (see Figure 2.2). Therefore, in an intercultural communication between Arabs and Japanese, cultural misunderstanding may occur.

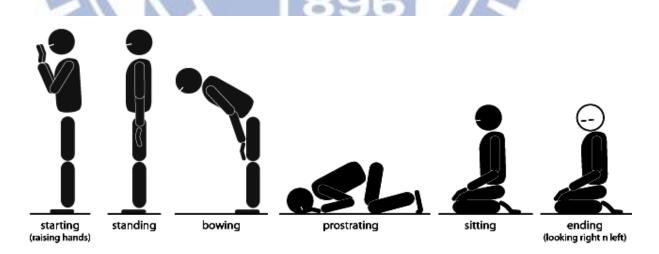


Figure 2.2 Muslim prayer movements.

As an example for cultural misunderstanding, on April 1, 2009 in London, president Obama bowed to Saudi King Abdullah while he was greeting him (see Figure 3), what aroused anger among American society, especially that, later same day, he just nod his head to Queen Elisabeth II, which made many people looked at his bowing as he was 'paying his obey for money'. Not to be deterred by the criticism that followed, Obama bowed later in 2009 to the emperor of Japan. However, at that time, some people said that he was trying to show respect to other people's culture, yet; many other people still couldn't accept this greeting act from American president. Even in Arabic countries, people and media criticized Obama's bowing, and considered it as 'inappropriate way to perform greeting', while in Japan they said that Obama was not bowing correctly, and he looked like he was apologizing instead of greeting (he bowed in more than 45 degrees). Obama at least has learned not to bow to Saudi royals; two months after his April 2009 prostration, he avoided repeating the mistake.

Veteran White House reporter Keith Koffler (2012), wrote an article titled 'Obama Has Bowed Eight Times as President' saying:

American presidents, who have been put in charge of a democratic nation that specifically broke from royalty, particularly should not bow to kings and queens. We need our presidents to appreciate and be polite to other cultures and leaders. But the president of the United States is the leading political figure in the world. He must command respect. Let others bow to him.

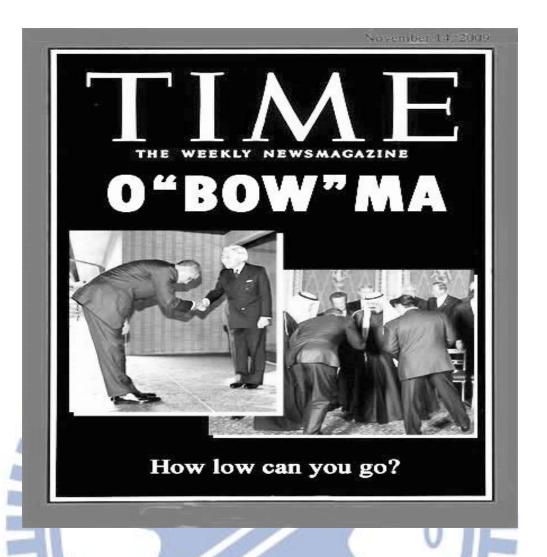


Figure 2.3 Time Magazine's cover talking about Obama's bowing.

Other ways of greetings, such as handshake, which spread gradually throughout the second half of the 19th century, became the preferred greeting all over Europe. A few notable ones include the East African variety: a gentle slap of the palms, followed by cupping the hand and grasping each others' fingers. The Mexican model is a conventional handshake followed by flicking the palm upwards and grabbing hold of each others' thumb. Another African variant, popular among the Bantu people and others in the south, is a conventional handshake which ends with the joined hands being raised into the air, and letting go at the top (Lundmark, 2009).

"In May 2008, a Muslim man in Sweden lost both his apprenticeship and pay when he refused to shake hands with the company's representative, a woman. He claimed that his religion

did not allow him to touch females outside his immediate family" (Nyheter, 2008, May 23). This is one of many examples where cultural misunderstanding takes place not only in private meetings, but also in some public occasions. For example, Emine Erdogan, the wife of Turkish prime minister, did not allow the French minister to kiss her hand in a public political occasion. While kissing ladies hands is a polite protocol in France, it is not an acceptable act of greeting WHAT among some groups of Muslims.

Greetings in religious and other occasions.

American Holidays.

Christmas Day is an annual commemoration of the birth of Jesus Christ, celebrated generally on December 25th as a religious and cultural holiday by billions of people around the world ("Christmas," n.d.). Popular modern customs of the holiday include gift giving, Christmas music, an exchange of Christmas cards, church celebrations, a special meal, and the display of various Christmas decorations, including Christmas trees, Christmas lights, nativity scenes, garlands, wreaths, mistletoe, and holly.

Christmas and holiday greetings are a selection of goodwill greetings used around the world to address strangers, family, coworkers or friends during the Christmas and holiday season, which spans an approximate time-frame from late November to January. Holidays of this season generally include Christmas, New Year's Day, Hanukkah, and Thanksgiving. Some greetings are more prevalent than others, depending on the cultural and religious status of any given area. Typically, a greeting consists of the word "Happy" followed by the holiday, such as Happy New Year or Happy Hanukkah, although the phrase Merry Christmas or Season's *Greetings* can be a notable exception (Marling, 2001).

In the United States, the collective phrase *Happy Holidays* is often used (mainly by stores) as a generic cover-all greeting for all of the winter holidays: Thanksgiving, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Hanukkah, and Kwanzaa; however, the phrase is not widespread in other countries. The greetings and farewells *Merry Christmas* and *Happy Christmas* are traditionally used in North America, the United Kingdom, Ireland and Australia, commencing a few weeks prior to Christmas (December 25) of every year. The phrase is often preferred when it is known that the receiver is a Christian or celebrates Christmas. The nonreligious often use the greeting as well; however, in this case its meaning focuses more on the secular aspects of Christmas, rather than the Nativity of Jesus (Marling, 2001; Young, 2004).

Arab Holidays.

In the Arabic-Islamic world, both the Arabic language and the Muslim faith are often viewed as inseparable parts of the same Arab Muslim identity, as mentioned in the words of Abdo A. Elkholy "The Arabic language is an inseparable part of Islam" (Turner, 1978, p. 109). As Stewart Desmond (1968) explained, "the Arabic language is more than the unifying bond of the Arab world; it also shapes and molds that world" (p. 14). Since Arabic is the language of the Qur'an and Muhammad, the Messenger of God, "it has an even greater effect on its speakers than other languages have on their speakers" (Desmond, 1968, p. 14). Speakers of Arabic and those who read it via their devotion to the Qur'an recognize the language as directly dispensing Allah's word and law, as well as the words of the earliest disciples of those pronouncements.

This lexicon is the rich and varied body of hundreds, perhaps thousands of religious expressions which form a unique feature of the Arabic language, including *insha' Allah* 'God willing', *alhamdulillah* 'Praise be to God', *subhan Allah* 'Glory be to God', *masha Allah* 'It is

the will of God', baraka Allahu fik 'May God bless you', jazaka Allah khayr 'May God reward you', fi amanillah 'God with God', inna lillahi wa inna ilayhi raji'un 'From God we come and to Him is our return' and a multitude of others.

There are two main holidays (or Eid) for Muslims all over the world, one comes after month *Ramadan* called *Eid al Fitir*, and the other one comes after the big pilgrim to Mecca in Suadi Arabia (Hajj), called *Eid al Adha*. In these two occasions, Muslims usually exchange greetings and perform special religious rituals. Phrases like *Eid Mubarak*, *Ramadan Kareem*, *Hajjan Mabroor*, and *Happy Eid*, are widely used by all Muslims —even the ones who does not speak Arabic as the first language.

Greetings in Different Cultures

Fieg and Mortlock (1989) attempted to generalize the utility of greetings initially as influences of social factors, and then pointed out cross-cultural differences, such as how each culture's cosmological views influence the meaning of their speech act. The theoretical concerns then revolve around notions of culture and provide underlying explanations of purpose. Greeting, in short, is a speech event with pragmatic meaning and the meaning, in turn, is affected by cultural perspectives.

Saying "good + time of day" is a common greeting among Indo-European languages. The Germans say *guten Tag*, the French say *bonjour*, the Italians say *buon giorno*, the Spaniards *buenos dias*, the Macedonians *dobar den* (in most Slavonic languages, *dobro* means 'good'), the Poles *dzien' dobry*, and so on. But other cultures and languages don't use this form of greeting at all. The Chinese, for example, commonly say *Have you eaten*? as a greeting. The normal Arab

greeting is *Peace be upon you*. The Masai ask *How are the children*?, and the New Zealand Maori encourage you to *Be well* (Lundmark, 2009).

According to P. Brown and Levinson (1978), one of the principal means of expressing politeness is through greetings. Greetings in many languages may include questions about the addressee's health such as *How are you?* Such questions are largely ritualistic and need not be answered sincerely. In English, they are often not answered at all. In Malay, greetings are elaborate and such questions must be answered.

Different from Germans' greetings where in informal situations, one is normally greeted by a simple *Hallo*! 'Hello!' or *Guten Tag*! 'Good Day!', Californians seem to prefer to begin the communicative interaction with *What's up*? or *How is it going*? In accordance with Knuf and Walter (1980), I believe that ritualized greeting formulas are different from sincere inquiries about a person's well-being. Nevertheless, one cannot deny that such a conversational starter is much more context-sensitive and thus more susceptible for emotional traits than the German openings. In Peru, too, people normally come into contact by using formulas in the form of *Cómo está*? 'How are you?' with older or hierarchically higher interlocutors and likewise *Cómo estás*? or *Qué tal*? 'What's up?' when addressing close acquaintances or younger people.

Greeting expressions constitute an important part of the polite language. By greeting, the speaker indicates his attitude toward the addressee, or starts a conversation with him. For example, in China, greeting expressions can be divided into different types. One is called 'interactive', for instance, *chi le ma*? 'Have you eaten yet?', *shang nar qu ia*? 'Where are you going?'. They are not real questions, but are used as a friendly salute. This type of greeting carries a sense of informality and intimacy; it is often used among familiar acquaintances.

Another type assumes the form of giving regards to others; typical examples of which are *ni hao*! 'How are you?' or *nin zhao*? 'Good morning'. The third type of greetings uses expressions of paralanguage, such as facial expressions, gestures, or some prosodic sounds. The usual form of this type of greeting used in China is nodding and smiling. Implications of such greeting vary according to social status of the speaker, as well as the relationship between the two. Generally speaking, women prefer this type for the sake of dignity and staidness, whereas men can use it to display an air of reserve. This type shows distance and indifference between acquaintances, and therefore, it is often used to strangers.

A large scale study on greetings, entitled "Cross-cultural realization of greetings in American English" was conducted by Eisenstein Ebsworth, Bodman and Carpenter (1995). The participants were divided into different groups based on their native languages, such as American English, Spanish, French, Hindi, Japanese, Chinese, Russian, Greek and other languages, in order to analyze greetings. The study shows that the difference of the usage of greetings was recognized when the choice of a special topic such as the family occurred in a conversation.

American English speakers tend to ask about the well-being of the hearer and all members of family, but for Arabs, Iranians and Afghans the greeting would only involve male family members, indicating that different cultures have different rules of greetings' usage. Russians, Ukrainians and Georgians were surprised when they were asked about their well beings, because they expect that these greetings performed when they meet a good friend. Therefore, they would wonder about the reasons which make people greet a person they do not even know well.

Ebsworth (1992) also indicated that greetings can be seen in the different ways which cultures choose to perform these speech acts. Greetings in American or British English are often produced by a serial turn taking of the communicative partners. It was recognized that American

greetings have a greater variety because Americans make use of more creative language. Compared with Afghans, it was found that people of this speech community greet each other simultaneously and overlap each other by producing for instance similar questions about well-being. They also use a full greeting every time they meet during the day so that a "greeting on the run" would never occur in Afghanistan (e.g., wave to somebody when you pass by and say 'Hi' without stopping to chat with him) as it can be fine for Americans. These facts already show that greetings as part of cross-cultural communication may vary from lexical choices to substantial differences in cultural norms and values.

Regardless the differences in languages and cultures, when it comes to perform greetings, many variables may influence the person's choice of greeting strategy, starting from gender, social status, social distance, age difference, occasion, and religious or ethnical background.

Greetings in American English.

Every society has its own particular customs and ways of communications. People in the United States come from different backgrounds with regional and temperamental differences. It is difficult to make generalizations about American manners and customs. Therefore, when one reads that Americans do so and so or think so and so, we need to keep in mind that not all Americans do so. One of the examples is greetings exchange.

Greetings in American English consist of a range of linguistic and non-verbal choices which may include a simple wave or smile, a single utterance, or a lengthy speech act set which can involve complex interactional rules and take place over a series of conversational turns.

Nodoushan (2007) provided some examples and explanations for the most common used greetings in American English. He divided the greetings into two different types based on time:

in time-free and *time-bound*, and suggested that English greetings could be displayed as the following:

- 1. Time-free greetings:
- How do you do?
- Hello. How are you?
- Hi. How are you?
- Glad to meet you!
- (it's) Good to see you (again)!
- (How/Very) Nice to see you (again)!
- Long time no see you!
- (Ah, X [any first name or honorific]) just the first person I wanted to see/was looking for/was after.
- 2. Time-bound greetings

Daily formal greetings:

- Morning: Good morning.
- Afternoon: Good afternoon.
- Evening: Good evening.
- Day: Good day.
- Night: Good night.

Seasonal (in)formal greetings:

- Happy New Year!
- Happy Anniversary!

- Happy Easter!
- *Happy Birthday (to you)!*
- *Many happy returns (of the day)!*
- (A) Merry Christmas (to you)!
- Many happy returns (of your birthday)!"

Nodoushan (2007) also claimed that Americans tend to be more informal in their daily life greetings. Except on official occasions such as reception of distinguished guests, American society has a certain amount of informality in introductions and greetings. On most occasions one need not be 'particularly conscious of social status, Americans generally ignore it' (p. 359). In spite of the informality, however, there are rules of good manners and social patterns that should be followed. There are rules of introducing people to each other. A younger person is generally introduced to an older person, a man to a woman, a guest to the host or hostess, and a person to the group (Nodoushan, 2007).

The most common greeting for acquaintances meeting on the street is "Hello." It can be used as formal and informal greeting depend on the sentence it comes within. For example, if you meet your friends and greet them with Hello guys! It will be considered informal, while when you meet your boss for example and say Hello Mr. Green! It will be a more formal greeting. Other more formal greetings are Good morning, Good afternoon, and Good evening. These greeting (except "How do you do?") are often followed by the question How are you? Though in a question form, the greeting of How are you? only requires a brief replies such as Just fine. How are things with you? This may cause miscommunication in a situation when a patient comes to see a doctor; the receptionist asks How are you? and he answers just fine! when

the receptionist actually wants to know more details about his health condition to write down on his report.

However, in spite of the informality, Americans are not completely devoid of customs that show consciousness of social distinction. One is likely to use somewhat more formal language when talking to superiors or people with higher social status. For example, the less formal *Hello* (without terms of address) is an acceptable greeting for an employee (when greeting his employer), the employee is more likely to greet with more formal greeting like *Hello*, *Mr. Adversin*, whereas the employer may reply *Hello*, *Jim* or even *Hi*, *Jim*.

The custom of hand shaking varies among different culture groups. In general, hand shaking is mostly reserved for formal occasions. When men are introduced, they generally shake hands, but women shake hands less frequently. For example, when women meet each other for the first time they generally do not shake hands unless one is an especially honored guest. If a man and a woman are being introduced to each other, they may or may not shake hands. If they do, woman always extends her hand first. For acquaintances meeting on the street, if a person does not shake hands when he meets and old acquaintance, he is not regarded as impolite. He may compliment the acquaintance and consider him as a member of his own group (Nodoushan, 2007). Kissing-related greetings, such as kissing on the cheek or kissing hand, are less common among Americans. Hand kissing is only observed in "absolutely formal situations on certain occasions" (Nodoushan, 2007, p. 359).

Greetings in Arabic culture.

In Muslim society, the most common verbal greeting is assalamu'alaykum 'peace be upon you'. This is, according to the Qur'an, how you will be greeted by the angels as you enter

Paradise, and it is also the way you greet your fellow humans. The most common reply is alaykum as-salam, 'and upon you, too, peace'. However, one of the guidance in Qur'an is that "when you are greeted with a greeting, greet with one fairer than it" (Surat An-Nisa', 86), which means that you are invited to redouble the greeting back and out-greet the greeter, as in wa'alaykum as-salam wa-rahmatullahi wabarakatuhu, which means 'and on you be peace, and also God's mercy and also His blessing' (Lawrence, 2006).

In the Arab culture, an adult usually should greet each individual in the whole group even if there is only one person in the group who is known to him. In situation where one person walks by or meets a group, greeting not only is to maintain solidarity with the whole group but also is viewed as a social etiquette with a religious obligation. In Arabic culture, if a passer-by does not say *Hello* to the group he will be criticized publicly. However, greetings are largely optional if people have previous conflict or tense relationship with each other. In addition, a greeting is also optional when the group is made up of two, so one may simply greet one to the exclusion of the other.

The custom of hand shaking in Arabic countries varies from one country to another. When men are introduced, they generally shake hands. Women shake hands if they are familiar with each other, or if the other part is an important (female) guest. However, even today, in most cases, when a man and a woman are being introduced for the first time, they almost never shake hands due to their religious beliefs. The same holds true with regard to kissing-the-cheek custom; however, kissing the cheek is very common if two females greet each other.

Politeness Theory

Politeness is an area of interactional pragmatics which has experienced an explosion of interest over the past quarter of a century and in which empirical studies have proliferated, examining individually and cross-culturally languages and language varieties from around the world (Hickey & Stewart, 2005).

What is politeness?

In his own book 'Politeness,' Richard Watts (2003, p. 1) described how hard it is to define politeness:

Most of us are fairly sure we know what we mean when we describe someone's behavior as 'polite'. To define the criteria with which we apply that description, however, is not quite as easy as we might think. When people are asked what they imagine polite behavior to be, there is a surprising amount of disagreement. Some people feel that polite behavior is equivalent to socially 'correct' or appropriate behavior; others consider it to be the hallmark of the cultivated man or woman. Some might characterize a polite person as always being considerate towards other people; others might suggest that a polite person is self-effacing. There are even people who classify polite behavior negatively, characterizing it with such terms as 'standoffish', 'haughty', 'insincere', etc.

Politeness manifests itself in social interaction and is conditioned by the socio-cultural norms dictated by the members of a society who negotiate their intentions by means of verbal and non-verbal actions (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008). The majority forms of politic behavior consist of highly routinised sequences whose function is to regulate the lines taken in the interaction order and to ensure overall face maintenance. This is the case with greeting sequences, leave-taking

sequences (e.g., saying goodbye), request and acceptance sequences, apology sequences, addressing other interactants, etc. These sequences have a regulatory force in facework, contributing to the reproduction of politic behavior (Watts, 2003).

In this perspective, the politeness markers can be labeled together with speech acts such as greetings, farewells, jokes, compliments and congratulations as supportive interchanges belonging to "the ritualization of identificatory sympathy," "rituals of ratification" (Goffman, 1971, p. 65, 67), which function as displays of reassurance between interlocutors and provide signs of involvement in and connectedness with another person in society. Thus, rather than redressing a negative face-threat, the display of verbal energy in these situations constitutes an act of doing positive face (Lakoff, 1973, p. 298), as it emphasises goodwill to bring the interaction to a successful end.

Politeness and gender.

At a stereotypical level, politeness is often considered to be a woman's concern, in the sense that stereotypes of how women in general should behave are in fact rather a prototypical description of white, middle-class women's behavior in relation to politeness. That is, teaching and enforcement of 'manners' are often considered to be the preserve of women. Femininity, that set of varied and changing characteristics which have been rather arbitrarily associated with women in general, and which no woman could unequivocally adopt, has an association with politeness, self-effacement, weakness, vulnerability, and friendliness. This manifests itself in the type of language practices which Lakoff described as 'talking like a lady' (Lakoff, 1975, p. 10).

Women's linguistic behavior is often characterised as being concerned with co-operation (more positively polite than men) and avoidance of conflict (more negatively polite than men).

This characterization is based on the assumption that women are powerless and display their powerlessness in language; these forms of politeness are markers of their subordination.

However, stereotypes of gender have been contested for many years by feminists and have themselves been changed because of the changes in women's participation in the public sphere. We can therefore no longer assume that everyone has the same 'take' on a stereotype, or that they share assumptions with others about what a particular stereotype consists of. Mills (2003) discussed in her book the complex relations between gender and politeness and argued that although there are circumstances when women speakers, drawing on stereotypes of femininity to guide their behavior, will appear to be acting in a more polite way than men, there are many circumstances where women will act just as impolitely as men.

Greetings and politeness.

Politeness is one of the most important aspects of human communication: human beings can only exist in peace together if certain basic conventions of politeness are observed (Rash, 2004). Since Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson first developed the theory of linguistic politeness, most sociolinguistic studies have looked at politeness in terms of "face" (Hartung 2001, p. 214). Social cohesion depends upon awareness and consideration of the "face needs" of others. Each participant in human society has two types of face need: a "positive face need" and a "negative face need". The positive face need is "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants" and the negative face need is "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction - i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (Brown & Levinson 1987, p. 61). Positive politeness attends to a person's positive face needs and includes such speech acts as compliments, invitations and greetings. It expresses good-will and

solidarity. On the other hand, negative politeness attends to a person's negative face needs and includes indirectness and apologies. It expresses respect and consideration (Holmes, 1995, p. 154).

Interactants in a communicative act great to respect the face needs of others. Failure to do so is seen as an intrusion into another's personal space or territory; as a "face threatening act" (FTA) (Lüger, 2001, p. 6). FTAs include threats, insults, criticism and orders. The negative effect of an FTA may be reduced or totally eliminated by a variety of types of corrective "face work". Such "face-redressive" or "face-saving" work may involve linguistic indirectness, such as modal verbs, particles or hedges, as in *Wouldn't you like to close the window?*. An FTA may also be mitigated by an apology, as in *I'm sorry to bother you, but would you please close the window?*.

As with politeness in general, greetings can be analyzed within the framework of theories of face. When we approach our fellows, we are entering their personal space, or their territory. This can be interpreted as an FTA, particularly if we remain silent, as silence is naturally experienced by human beings as disconcerting: breaking a silence, as in greeting, is a sign of friendly intent (Züger, 1998, p. 29). A greeting, if performed correctly, that is with appropriate words, tone of voice and body language, can attenuate the force of a potential FTA. Some people are aware of the face-saving function of greetings: one greets to show that one wishes to establish a relationship in a non-threatening atmosphere. This is also referred to as "phatic communication" (Crystal, 1987, p. 427). Züger (1998) documented two aspects of greeting: (1) *Initialphatik* 'initial phatic communication' or 'initial greeting', and (2) *Terminalphatik* 'terminal phatic communication' or 'leave-taking'. A greeting exemplifies how a phatic communication act may be "other-oriented" or "self-oriented" (Laver 1975, p. 223). Self-oriented greetings may

include declarative statements, such as *My legs weren't made for these hills*; other-oriented greetings often contain a question, like *How are you?* or comments, such as *That looks like hard work* (Laver, 1975, p. 223). Holmes (1995) believed women to be more other-oriented than men, as exemplified in their greater readiness to accept apologies. She claimed that this is because women feel more responsible for social harmony than men; that they are more interested in finding common ground and establishing solidarity (Holmes, 1995, p. 188). In Switzerland, as elsewhere, it is women who tend to perform the very important task of teaching greeting conventions to their children.

Social Distance

As other variables play an important role in the speech act of greeting, the element of social distance has no less significant role in here. Familiarity and intimacy between people would affect all kind of speech acts they use among them (Blum-Kulka, S. & Olshtain, E., 1984). Social distance between people, their relative status, and the formality of the context all together influence the choice of appropriate speech forms (Holmes, 2008: 273). Migge (2005), revealed that greetings play an important role in defining the nature of social relationship. When people greet family members or close friends, they tend to use less formal speech, and less number of greeting strategies; they can directly engage to a conversation without using long and formal openings.

According to Migge (2005), greetings that convey less social distance are usually consist of less formulaic utterances, and the verbal content of the adjacency pairs implies a great degree of familiarity or a closer relationship. Moreover, one can notice the less social distance between two interlocutors when they exchange personal information (e.g. about their state of health) and directly relate to each other using pronominal forms of address. She also suggested that in

everyday situations, like in daily greetings between neighbors, classmates or people who regularly meet each other and maintain a cordial, yet formal relationship, they tend to use less greeting strategies (usually only three sequences), and more formal language. People also tend to use more politeness strategies when they greet someone they are not very familiar with (Migge, 2005). In the current study, I used social distance as one of the research variables in order to elicit more authentic results that are closer to real life situations.

Second Language Acquisition and Pragmatic Failure in Greetings

In the context of a foreign language, "the more speakers understand the cultural context of greetings, the better the society appreciates them, and the more they are regarded as well behaved" (Schleicher, 1997, p. 334).

Intercultural communication is perceived as being somewhat problematic, given the varied cultures that come into contact with one another. Misunderstanding and communication breakdown are said to mark many intercultural encounters as participants rely on the norms of their mother tongue and native culture to interpret meaning.

The term 'pragmatic failure' is borrowed from Thomas (1983) and is said to occur on any occasion on which the hearer perceives the force of the speaker's utterance as other than the speaker intended s/he should perceive it. In a natural setting this may lead interlocutors to serious misinterpretations of each other's intentions and in the most dramatic cases to communication breakdowns.

Greeting is one of the functions in language that establishes a platform for acceptance creating a positive social bond between interlocutors. When it is not performed well, it can result in confusion, awkwardness, and hostility. Dissimilar interactional styles between two languages

can lead to misunderstandings and negative stereotypes, including such widely-held false assumptions that Spaniards are rude and English speakers are hypocrites (Ballesteros, 2001).

The following two examples are the notion of pragmatic failure involving formulaic language. In United States, a lot of foreigners are annoyed by the apparent insincerity of some Americans who say they would like to invite someone to lunch, but never really do so (Wolfson, 1981). What happens is that the foreigners do not realize the formulaic nature of such expressions like *We must have lunch together some time*, or its more recent variant *Let's do lunch* which belong to some Americans' repertoire of leave-taking formulas such as: *See you, So long, Take care*, etc., and these expressions do not signal the speaker's commitment to have lunch with the hearer. Pragmatic failure occurs because the hearer assigns the force of the invitation to an utterance whose intended force is a friendly leave-taking. In other words, the intended force of the utterance as a formulaic leave-taking is mistaken for a (non-formulaic) invitation.

The second example quoted by Fillmore (1984) contains two separate anecdotes about the use of the American English formula *I thought you'd never ask*. It's a fairly innocent teasing expression in American English, but it could easily be taken as insulting by people who did not know its special status as a routine formula. In one case a European man asked an American woman to join him in the dance, and she, being playful, said, *I thought you'd never ask*. Her potential dancing partner withdrew his invitation in irritation. In another case a European hostess offered an American guest something to drink, when he, unilaterally assuming a teasing relationship, said, *I thought you'd never ask*. He was asked to leave the party for having insulted his host (Fillmore, 1984, p. 129-130).

Another difference concerning the way of greeting can be seen in Puerto Rico, where greeting a friend has a high significance, which means that conversations are always interrupted when a friend passes by. Americans would be confused by this behavior because they always feel that their first obligation is to the person they are having a conversation with and when a friend would like to talk to one of the speakers, he or she would have to wait just outside the listening distance until the conversation has come to an end.

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986) examined possible causes for pragmatic failure in learner's inter-language. They aimed to capture the types of misunderstanding which occur when two speakers "fail to understand each other's intentions," especially when one of these speakers is a second language learner, whose different linguistic and cultural background may play a key role in such misunderstanding (p. 49). The authors examined the semantic formulas employed in native and non-native requests. One of the most remarkable results of their analysis involved "length of utterance" which is the number of words used in each sequence. Opposing to the expectations, they discovered that the learners in their study used more external modification, and thus more words, than the native speakers to convey their requests. Such findings were surprising as one would normally expect that learners, who have more limited linguistic means, would be less verbose than native speakers, and they would naturally have a tendency to talk less.

Using "too many words", Blum-Kulka and Olshtain claimed, was an important factor leading to pragmatic failure. Exmaples from their data revealed that excessive talk by learners was often inappropriate, overly-informative, irrelevant, and confusing. The present study also examines the response length and possible explanations for increases in response length are discussed. While the findings clearly are not comparable with the results of studies on length of

utterance, some of the discussion regarding learner verbosity can be considered her, particularly discussion of how learner's responses vary from native speakers, and may lead to pragmatic failures.

In the area of cross-cultural pragmatics, it has been always difficult for researchers to capture the authenticity, creativity and richness of natural speech while trying to control the many variables inherent in language use so that data from different individuals can be meaningfully compared (Eisenstein,1995). Ebsworth (1992) & Bodman – Eisenstein (1988) have come up with an approach that combines natural observation and elicited data in their researches. In this study I adopted their data collection method.

I started with observing greetings among natives and non-natives as they occurred in natural discourse with different occasions. On the basis of these natural data, an open-ended questionnaire was designed containing six situations in which different kinds of greetings typically occurred. After analyzing the data collected from the questionnaire, a group of participants were selected based on their answers, and interviewed to stimulate more explanations about their responses to the different scenarios in the questionnaire.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology of the study, including three kinds of data collection methods, data collection procedures, and data analysis.

Observation

Three different methods of data collection are used in this study. The first data collection method is the naturalistic observation; that is observing people interactions in the natural environment. The observation settings include social gatherings and parties for specific holidays, such as Christmas, Thanksgiving, Ramadan, and Muslims Eid.

Christmas and Thanksgiving are two religious Holydays for Christians over the world. Christmas is popular in Taiwan nowadays; mostly for commercial function then religious ritual. Many people celebrate and exchange greetings with others. However, Thanksgiving did not receive as much popularity as Christmas in Taiwan. I observed three Christmas parties and two Thanksgiving feasts held by American friends of mine, and I was also invited to attend the gatherings.

Ramadan and Eid (Eid Al Fitir and Eid Al Adha) are celebrated not only by Arabs, but by Muslims around the world. Basically, people depend on the moon calendar to calculate the date of each occasion, so they could be in summer or winter or any day of the year. In these religious days, Muslims use special phrases or sentences to greet each other. For example, as in Christmas day we use the phrase *Merry Christmas*, in Ramadan people use the phrase *Ramadan Mubarak* 'Have a blessed Ramadan', or in Eid *Happy Eid* or *Eid Mubarak* 'Blessed Holiday'. Those occasions are not very popular in Taiwan though, because of the small number of Muslims are

there, which is not more than few thousands, and most of them are Indonesian or Malaysians.

However, there are also Arabs and American Muslims in Taiwan, who celebrate these holidays together, and share the same religious background.

Settings.

In Christmas and Thanksgiving parties, the host prepared some food, and invited friends to his/her party which usually takes place in student's hostel, or the host's house if big enough. Most of the guests brought some food, drinks, or desserts to share with others. Greetings exchange was mostly observed at the beginning of the parties.

Ramadan and Eid parties took place at National Chiao Tung University (at the prayer room), held by Muslim Students' Association. As there is no specific host for these parties, the students' association took responsibility of buying food for everyone, and made it as an open buffet, organizing some games and gifts, and inviting people to participate. The president and vice-president usually welcome people, and introduce the new ones to the whole group.

Participants.

In occasions like Christmas parties or Thanksgiving feasts, the observation focused on Arabs' greeting strategies and the use of greeting phrases related to occasions that they might not be very familiar with. Similarly, my observation was focused on Americans' greetings in Ramadan and Eid parties, in order to examine to what extent they could use appropriate greeting strategies in these occasions.

The average number of participants in Thanksgiving and Christmas parties was about 20 people. The participants included Europeans, Americans, Taiwanese, Arabs, and other

international students of different nationalities and religious background. Arab participants were about 30-40% of all participants in these parties.

For Ramadan and Eid, the size of each party ranged between 40-65 people of different nationalities and religious backgrounds. Most of the participants or about 85% are Muslims from different countries like; Jordan, Egypt, Indonesia, India, Gambia, USA, South Africa...etc., and only minority were non-Muslims who were invited by others, although the parties were public and for everyone. American participants were about 6-8 people, most of them are Muslims.

These religious gatherings for Christians and Muslims were observed from January 2012 to February 2013. In addition to taking field notes, I also video recorded greeting exchanges during the event when possible.

DCT Questionnaire

The second data collection method is the DCT questionnaire survey. From the observed social settings, two groups of randomly selected people were invited to participate in the questionnaire survey, including American English native speakers and Arabic native speakers, both include male and female participants.

Participants.

The participants of the DCT questionnaire survey consist of 60 international graduate students in five different universities in Taiwan, including 30 native speakers of American English (15 males and 15 females) and 30 native Arabic speakers (15 males and 15 females). They enrolled in the following five universities during the time of data collection: National Chiao Tung University, National Tsing Hua University, National Taiwan University, National Chung Hsing University, and National Taiwan University of Science and Technology.

Most Arabic native speakers were from Jordan, Egypt and Morocco, and all of them were Muslims. Their ages ranged from 25 -35 years old, with a mean of 28.8. Their length of stay in Taiwan ranged from 2-9 years, with a mean of 4.5 years. On the other hand, American group's ages ranged from 24-36 years old, with mean of 29.6. The average length of living in Taiwan for American group is 4.9 years, ranging from 1-11 years. An important note is that about 8 of the 30 American participants share the same religious background (Islam) with Arabs, while most of them (about 19) are Christians, and only three participants said they are none (see Table 3.1).

The selection criteria for participants were: similar social status (i.e., students), similar educational status (i.e., graduates), and similar cultural background for each group (i.e., native English speakers are all Arabs).

Table 3.1

Arabs and Americans' Demographic Information

	Arabs	Americans
Age	28.8 (25-35)*	29.6 (24-36)
Length of stay in Taiwan	4.5 (2-9)	4.9 (1-11)
Gender		
Female	15	15
Male	15	15
Religious background		
Christian	0	19
Muslim	30	8
None	0	3

Note. * The number between the parentheses indicates the range of years, and the number on the left of parentheses represents the mean.

Instruments.

The participants were given a questionnaire packet, consisting of an informed consent form (see Appendix A), a demographic survey (see Appendix B), and two versions of DCT questionnaire, both in English, one for Arabs and one for Americans (see Appendix C).

Consent form and demographic survey.

The first two pages of the questionnaire were included the consent form and a demographic survey. The participants were asked to read the consent form first, which contained the purpose of the study, what was required from the participants to do, the participant's rights, and contact information. After reading the form they were asked to sign the paper, as they understood and agreed to the content.

The second part was to fill in a demographic survey including the participant's name, age, nationality, gender, level of education, length of stay in Taiwan, and religious affiliation. These information was later analysed as shown in Table 3.1 above.

DCT questionnaire.

The DCT questionnaire was designed based on the findings from observation data. It consists of six scenarios which varied according to different contextual variables, such as social distance and gender (see Table 3.2). There were two versions of scenarios on the English DCT questionnaire: One was for American participants, and the other was for Arabs. The scenarios were modified for each version to fit their cultural background and intercultural communication context. Modifications include the specific event and interactants' names.

Table 3.2

The relationship Between Variables and Situations

Situation	Arab version Am	erican version	Social distance	Gender
1	Christmas party	Eid party	Close friend (-)	Male
2	Thanksgiving party	Ramadan Iftar	Close friend (-)	Female
3	School's welcome party	School's welcome party	Classmate (+)	Male
4	New Year's party	New Year's party	Classmate (+)	Female
5	Restaurant	Restaurant	Neighbours (+)	Male + Female
6	Chinese New Year's party	Chinese New Year's party	Close friends (-)	Male + Female
	7///	7 /57 /570		

The six situations for greetings are as follows:

Situation 1

a. Arab version:

Your close friend Jack invites you to a Christmas party at his house. You enter the house and you see him talking to a group of people.

1)	You walk towards him and
	say:
	and/or do:
2)	You wait for Jack to come over and welcome you
3)	You ignore him and walk away
4)	Other:

b. American version:

Your close friend Ahmed invites you to Eid party (a religious day for Muslims) at his house. You enter the house and you see him talking to a group of people.

1)	You walk towards him and
	say:
	and/or do:
2)	You wait for Ahmed to come over and welcome you
3)	You ignore him and walk away
4)	Other:

Situation 2

a. Arab version:

Your close friend Maria invites you to a Thanksgiving party at her house. You enter the house and you see her putting some food on the table for dinner.

b. American version:

Your close friend Hala invites you to Ramadan Iftar dinner at her house. You enter the house you and see her putting some food on the table for dinner.

Situation 3

a. Arab version:

You meet Mike, a classmate with whom you are not very familiar, at the school welcome party.

You see him having a drink.

a. American version:

You meet Omar, a classmate with whom you are not very familiar, at the school welcome party.

You see him having a drink.

Situation 4

a. Arab version:

You meet Mariam, a classmate with whom you are not very familiar, at the school New Year's party. You see her having some food from the buffet.

a. American version:

You meet Salma, a classmate with whom you are not very familiar, at the school New Year's party; you see her having some food from the buffet.

Situation 5

a. Arab version:

You are at a restaurant having dinner with a friend. You see your neighbors David and Elaine, whom you haven't seen for quite a while, come through the door and sit near you.

b. American version:

You are at a restaurant having dinner with a friend. You see your neighbors Ali and Maha, whom you haven't seen for quite a while, come through the door and sit near you.

Situation 6

a. Arab version:

Your school is holding a Chinese New Year's dinner. You come in and see Sara and Martin, a couple with whom you are close friends, talking to another couple with whom you are not familiar with.

a. American version:

Your school is holding a Chinese New Year's dinner. You come in and see Jana and Samer, a couple with whom you are close friends, talking to another couple with whom you are not familiar with.

Interviews

After the analysis of DCT, 18 participants, including 10 Arabs (5 males and 5 females) and 8 Americans (5 males and 3 females) were randomly selected and invited for the interview. The length of the interview was approximately 30 minutes for each participant and the interview was tape-recorded for the data analysis. The purpose of the interview was basically to know participants' perceptions of greetings and to elaborate on their DCT questionnaire answers. Therefore, the selected interviewees were asked to comment on their previous answers of the questionnaire and illustrate their behaviour and perceptions of intercultural greetings (see Appendix D).

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection procedures are in the following order: Natural settings observation, discourse completion task questionnaire (DCT) and interviews. Observation was taken from different settings and occasions where people naturally exchange greetings. After the analysis of observation data, selected people were invited to participate in DCT questionnaire and interview.

In order to avoid any confusions or misunderstanding of the DCT scenarios, I met with my participants and explained the study to them in person, instead of sending the electronic questionnaire. As the participants were located in different cities, I scheduled one week for meeting with each group.

After the analysis of the DCT data, the selected interviewees were asked to explain their answers on the DCT questionnaire, as well as some other questions regarding their perceptions and experiences on greeting rituals.

Data Analysis

The data from video-taped natural observation were transcribed and analysed to find general patterns of greetings in various occasions by Arabs and Americans. These findings then aided to design the DCT questionnaire and to create the coding scheme. The descriptive statistics were employed in the presentation of the results. The analyses were conducted for several purposes: (a) to find the most common greeting strategies used by Arabs and Americans in terms of oral speech and body language, and (b) to examine the influence of different variable such as, gender, social distance or situations on greeting strategies.

Examples from the present study are taken from actual data in observation, DCT, and interview. All the examples are shown as presented in the DCT, any errors-other than spelling-are not corrected.

The DCT data were first analysed and categorised into three major categories: Oral speech, body language, and others, as well as various subcategories (see Table 3.3). In addition, the data were analysed according to the number of strategies, gender, social distance and situations to examine how Arabs and Americans perform greetings. In this study, the number of oral speech strategies used by participants represents the length of their speech. That is because, according to the coding scheme, the more oral speech strategies they use, the more words they produce. The DCT main categories and subcategories are as follow:

- Oral speech: the strategy of using spoken language to perform greetings. Following are the subcategories:
 - (a) <u>Initiation words</u>: The words or phrases used to open a conversation (e.g., *Hello, Hey, Good evening*)

- (b) <u>Terms of address</u>: A word or phrase used to address or refer to someone or something (e.g., *My dear, guys, everyone*)
- (c) <u>Declarative sentences</u>: Is a sentence in the form of a statement (e.g., *I miss you, It's nice to see you*)
- (d) Interrogative sentences: Is a sentence that asks a question (e.g., *How are you doing?*)
- (e) Occasion phrases: phrases that used to exchange greetings in special occasions (e.g., Happy New Year, Merry Christmas)
- (f) Politeness strategies: some strategies that used to show politeness when greet other people, such as: complimenting (e.g., *You look nice today*), offering help (e.g., *Let me help you please*), showing gratitude (e.g., *Thank you for inviting me*), inviting (e.g., *Let me treat you a cup of coffee*), and introducing self (e.g., *I don't believe we have met before. My name is X*)
- Body language: the strategy of using the body to perform greeting (e.g., Handshakes, cheek kiss, hug)
- Others: any other strategies that did not fit with main strategies above, and used by participants to perform or avoid greetings, were categorised under 'Others'. Following are the subcategories for this strategy:
 - (a) Non-initiation: wait for the other part to start the conversation.
 - (b) Ignoring: ignore the other person and walk away.
 - (c) <u>Bringing gift</u>: bring some gift for the host, such as flowers or contributing to the party with dessert or drinks.

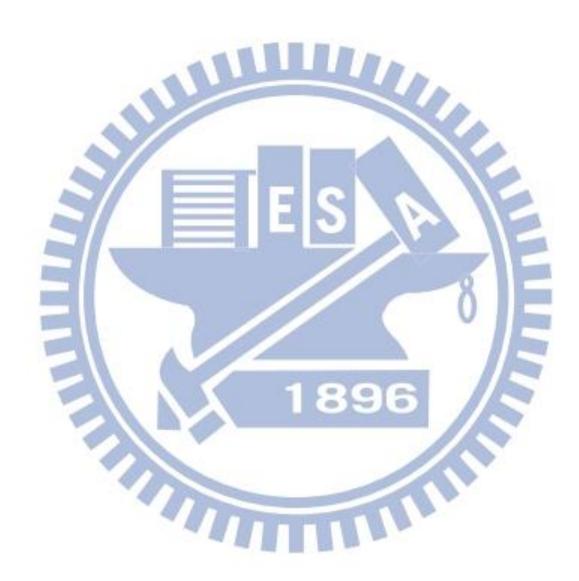
(d) <u>Conditional sentences</u>: use the conditional sentences to indicate an act which may or may not happen according to the situation (e.g., *If the lady offers her hand first, I will shake hand with her*).

Table 3.3

The Categories of Coding Scheme for DCT

Main category	Subcategory	Examples
Oral speech	Initiation words	Hi / Hey/ Hello/ Salaam/ salamu Alaykom
5	Terms of address	Names / my friend/ you/ my dear
3/	Declarative sentences	long time no see/ it is nice to see you/ I miss you/ glad to meet you here
	Interrogative sentences	How are you?/ How you doing?/ What's up with you?/ How do you do?
	Occasion phrases	Happy New Year/ Happy Holidays/ Merry Christmas/ Happy Eid/ Ramadan Mubarak/ Happy Chinese New Year
	Politeness strategies	Offering help/ introducing self/ compliment/ showing gratitude
Body language		Handshake/ Cheek kiss/ Hug/ waving hand
Others	Non-initiation	Wait for the other part to initiate the greeting
	Ignoring	Ignore the other person and walk away
	Bringing gift	Flowers, dessert etc.
	Conditional sentences	'If we have eye-contact, I will say Hello' 'If the lady offers her hand first, I will shake hands with her.'

Interview data were first transcribed, and then analysed to provide a better understanding of the perspectives of participants, including Arabs and Americans greeting usage. The interview findings will be presented and integrated in the Discussion chapter.



Chapter Four

Results

Chapter four presents the results of the present study. It is organized according to the research questions. The observation data are presented first, and then the DCT questionnaire data are analyzed and presented to compare the Arab data with the American data. The interview data were presented in Chapter 5 (Discussion) to provide participants' perceptions of greetings.

The major topics under investigation are the number of greetings and the use of greeting strategies. The first step in each section is an overall description of the topic, then an examination of whether contextual variables (e.g., gender, social distance) have any effect on the language use, followed by an examination of how the topic is used in situations.

The number and the use of greeting strategies are evaluated and interpreted on the basis of descriptive statistics and qualitative analysis. Where graphs are given for illustrative purposes, the tables of exact figures are found in Appendix (E).

Comparison of Greeting Strategies by Arabs and Americans through Observation

This section provides a general finding of greeting strategies observed in natural situations. Two types of religious gatherings are presented: (a) Arabs in Christmas and Thanksgiving, and (b) Americans in Ramadan and Eid.

Arabs in Christmas and Thanksgiving.

In terms of oral speech, Arab participants, in general, tended to start the greetings with opening words like *Hi* or *Hello*, followed by terms of address such as *everyone* or *guys*. They

also frequently used phrases relate to the occasion like *Merry Christmas*, *Happy Thanksgiving* and *Happy Holidays*. Politeness strategies were also used by Arabs. For example, they offered help to the host (e.g., *Can I help you?* or *Please let me give you hand with that*), showing gratitude (e.g., *Thank you so much for inviting me*), and compliment the party or the food (e.g., *The food looks so yummy!* or *Very nice party!*). Additionally, in terms of body language, Arab participants mostly used handshakes and cheek kisses.

Gender differences between males and females were quite noticeable in terms of using oral speech and body language greeting strategies. Although the first three most used strategies by males and females were the same (opening words, terms of address, and occasion phrases), females used much more politeness strategies than males. They offered help, complimented the host and the food, and showed gratitude to be invited. Females also used more body language strategies than males. In addition to handshakes, females also used cheek kisses and hugs with other females in the parties, but they only used waving hand to greet other male guests.

Arabic male participants used a little less oral speech strategies, however, they tended to engage more in the party and talk with everyone. Instead of greeting people one by one-like females did- they chose to greet the whole group and then start regular conversations with other guests. I also noticed that Arab males tended to use humor or jokes to break the ice between them and other people they are not familiar with, unlike females who preferred to chat and stick with close friends. In terms of body language, male participants used only handshakes and hand waves to greet others.

Americans in Ramadan and Eid.

The most frequent used greeting strategies by American group in Ramadan and Eid were: Using opening words (e.g., *Salaam, Salamu Alaykom*, or *Hello*), followed by phrases related to the occasion (e.g., *Ramadan Mubarak*, *Happy Eid*, or *Eid Mubarak*), and then using interrogative sentences to ask about well-being (e.g. *How are you?, Kefak?*, or *How you doing?*). As for body language strategies, they mostly used handshakes and cheek kisses.

For gender differences, American females produced a little more oral speech by using more politeness strategies than males. For example, females used compliments, such as, *You look very beautiful today*, *I like your dress*, or *The food is so delicious!*, and showing gratitude, like; *Thanks for the invitation!*, or *I am so glad to be here. Thank you for inviting me*. Females also used more declarative expressions, such as, *I miss you!*, or *long time no see!*. For body language strategies, females used handshakes, hugs and cheek kisses.

American males, on the other hand, tended to use more Arabic words or sentences than females in terms of oral speech. For instance, they used opening words like *Salaam* 'Hello or peace', *Marhaba* 'Hello', or *Salaamu Alaykom* 'peace be upon you'. Females also used these terms, but not as much as male participants did. Males also used more interrogative sentences like *How you doing?* or *Kefak?* 'How are you?' than females. Male participants were more open to talk and interact with other people in general. They mostly used handshakes or waves as body language greeting. Finally, I noticed that none of American females used any kind of body language with other males, and same for American males who never used body language with any other females.

Comparison of Greeting Strategies by Arabs and Americans through DCT Questionnaires

This section provides the comparisons of greeting strategies between Arab and American groups in terms of number of strategies and use of strategies.

Number of strategies.

The total number of all greeting strategies is 1263 strategy. Arab participants used a total of 586 strategies. Each Arabic participant used an average of 3.25 (SD= 1.13) strategies per situation, ranged from 1 to 9 strategies. American group, on the other hand, used a total of 677 strategies. On average, each American participant used 3.76 (SD= 1.99) strategies, ranging from 1 to 8 strategies.

Among all gender groups, American males produced the highest number of strategies (368), with average of 4.01. The second highest is followed by American females, who used a total of 309 greeting strategies, and an average of 3.43 strategies. These numbers are very similar to the number of strategies produced by Arab females (308), with average number of 3.42 for each participant. Arab males came in last among the four groups, as they used 278 strategies, with a mean of 3.09 greeting strategies.

Table 4.1 displays the results by each situation. It shows that Arab females contributed the most numbers of strategies on Situation 2 (30.84%), Situation 6 (21.75%), and Situation 1 (15.58%). On the other hand, the top three situations where the numbers of strategies for Arab males are: Situation 1 (22.30%), Situation 2 (19.78%), and Situation 5 (16.91%).

American females produced the most strategies in Situation 2 (33.98%), Situation 1 (25.89%), and Situation 5 (13.59%). Whereas, American males used most number of strategies

in Situation 1 (29.08%), Situation 2 (22.55%), and Situation 5 (14.95%). Interestingly, all groups –except for American males- used the least number of strategies in Situation 3.

Table 4.1

Number of Strategies Used by All Groups for each Situation

	Arab Females (n= 15)	Arab Males (n= 15)	American Females (n= 15)	American Males (n= 15)
	(II— 13)	(II= 13)	(II= 13)	(II– 13)
1	15.58 (48)*	22.30 (62)	25.89 (80)	29.08 (107)
2	30.84 (95)	19.78 (55)	33.98 (105)	22.55 (83)
3	5.84 (18)	11.87 (33)	5.83 (18)	11.96 (44)
4	12.66 (39)	13.67 (38)	8.09 (25)	8.42 (31)
5	13.31 (41)	16.91 (47)	13.59 (42)	14.95 (55)
6	21.75 (67)	15.47 (43)	12.62 (39)	13.04 (48)
Total	100 (308)	100 (278)	100 (309)	100 (368)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

Use of strategies.

The three main categories under greeting strategies are: oral speech, body language, and others. According to Table 4.2, Arabic group used 64.33% oral speech strategies, 19.62% body language, and 16.04% for other actions. Similarly, American group used oral speech as the major greeting strategy (76.07%), then body language (16.25%), and other actions (7.68%). Evidently, oral speech was the most used category by Arabs and Americans, followed by body language and then other actions. However, Americans used more oral speech than Arabs, and Arabs used more body language and other actions than Americans.

Table 4.2

Overall Use of Three Major Categories by Arabs and Americans

Arabs $(n=30)$	Americans (n= 30)
64.33 (377)*	76.07 (515)
19.62 (115)	16.25 (110)
16.04 (94)	7.68 (52)
100 (586)	100 (677)
	64.33 (377)* 19.62 (115) 16.04 (94)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

Oral speech strategies.

According to Figure 4.1, Table E1, and Table 4.3, the most used oral speech strategies by Arabs are: Initiation words (e.g., *Hello*, *Hi*, or *Hey*) consisting of 30.24% of overall oral speech, the second frequent is the occasion phrases strategy, such as, *Merry Christmas*, *Happy New Year*, or *Happy Thanksgiving* consisting of 18.57% of their oral speech, and then comes terms of address and politeness strategies to be used equally by Arabs (15.92% for both strategies). Examples for terms of address are: *My friend*, *Jack*, *My dear*, or *everyone*. Arabs tended to use politeness strategies to show gratitude (e.g., *Thanks for inviting me*, or *Thank you for organizing this nice party*), offer help (e.g. *Can I help you with anything?*, or *Let me help you with that*), and invite others over something (e.g., *Would you like to have cup of coffee together?*).

Americans, likewise, used 26.99% of initiation words, which makes it the most used oral speech strategy. However, they didn't only use words such as *Hi* or *Hello*; but they also used Arabic initiation words such as *Marhaba* 'Hello', *Salaam*, and *Salamu Alaykom* 'Peace be upon

you'. The second most used strategy for Americans was politeness, and the results show only 2.52% less than the most frequent used strategy. Examples of politeness strategies used by American participants included: Offering help (e.g., *May I help you?* or *Do you need help with that?*), complimenting (e.g., *Ummm.. I like Arabic food!*, or *You look great tonight*), and introducing self (e.g., *I don't believe we've met. I'm X*). The third most used strategy by Americans was interrogative sentences (16.50%) such as *How are you?* or *How do you do?*.

Overall, Arabs used more opening words, terms of address, and occasion phrases than Americans. It is worthy to mention that both groups used Chinese phrases like *Xin Nian Kuai Le!* 'Happy New Year' or *Gonshi, Gonshi!* 'Congratulations' to greet in Chinese New Year parties. Americans used some Arabic phrases such as *Eid Mabrook* 'Happy Holiday', or *Ramadan Mubarak* 'Have a blessed Ramadan' when they greet other Arabs for Muslims' Holidays. Americans on the other hand, used more politeness strategies, declarative and interrogative sentences than Arabs.

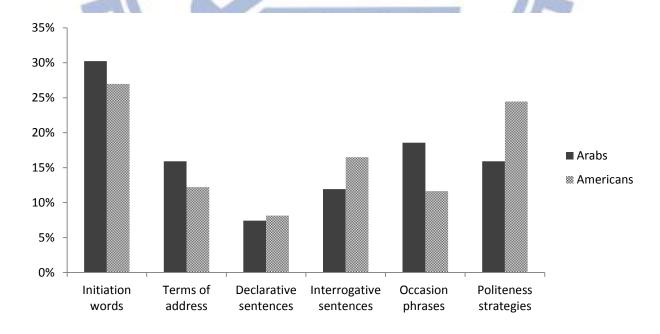


Figure 4.1 The use of oral speech strategies by Arabs and Americans.

Table 4.3

The Preferred Oral Speech Strategies by Arabs and Americans

	Arabs (n= 30)	Americans (n= 30)
Initiation words	30.24 (114)*	26.99 (139)
Occasion phrases	18.57 (70)	11.65 (60)
Terms of address	15.92 (60)	12.23 (63)
Politeness strategies	15.92 (60)	24.47 (126)
Interrogative sentences	11.94 (45)	16.50 (85)
Declarative sentences	7.43 (28)	8.16 (42)
Total	100 (377)	100 (515)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

Body language strategies.

Table 4.4 shows the use of body language strategies by Arabs and Americans. Both Arabs and Americans used handshakes most frequently (46.96% and 52.73% respectively). However, their second preferred strategy is quite different: Cheek kiss (21.74%) for Arabs, and waving hand (25.45%) for Americans.

Arabs in general tended to use a lot more cheek kiss (21.74%) and slightly more hug than Americans (9.09% and 12.73% respectively). While Americans appeared to use more handshakes and waving hands than Arabs.

Table 4.4

The Use of Body Language Strategies by Arabs and Americans

	Arabs (n= 30)	Americans (n= 30)
Handshake	46.96 (54)*	52.73 (58)
Cheek kiss	21.74 (25)	9.09 (10)
Hug	16.52 (19)	12.73 (14)
Waving hand	14.78 (17)	25.45 (28)
Total	100 (115)	100 (110)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

Other strategies.

Others strategy included 4 sub-strategies: (a) Non-initiation: wait for the other part to initiate the greetings, (b) ignoring: ignore the other person and walk away, (c) bringing gift: bring some gift for the host, and (d) conditional sentences: use some conditional sentences in certain situations.

In general, Arabs used more sub-strategies in Others strategy. Among these sub-strategies, Arab participants chose non-initiation as the most used strategy (41.49%). The second frequent strategy was ignoring other people and walking away (37.23%), and the third frequent strategy was conditional sentences strategy (11.70%). The following examples show the use of conditional sentences by Arab participants:

• If I see new people in the party, I will use some jokes to break the ice before talking to them.

- If the lady offered her hand first, I will shake her hand.
- *If she looked directly at me, I will say Hi.*

American group used non-initiation strategy as the most preferred strategy (53.85%). The second preferred strategy was ignoring the other part and walking away as (26.92%), and the third preferred strategy was bringing gift (17.31%). Examples for bringing gift strategy by American participants are as follow:

- I will most likely try to contribute to the dinner either with food or flowers or something to drink.
- I will offer her the food that I brought with to share with her and her family.
- I will bring some flowers for her.

Table 4.5

The Use of Other Strategies by Arabs and Americans

	Arabs (n= 30)	Americans (n=30)
Non-initiation	41.49 (39)*	53.85 (28)
Ignoring	37.23 (35)	26.92 (14)
Bringing gift	9.57 (9)	17.31 (9)
Conditional sentences	11.70 (11)	1.92 (1)
Total	100 (94)	100 (52)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

Use of strategies by gender.

This section presents the effect of gender in the use of greeting strategies by Arabs and Americans, including both within group and across groups comparisons.

Gender differences within each group.

Arabs: females vs. males.

Table 4.6 shows that Arab females tended to use opening words as the most preferred oral speech strategy (29.41%). The second most used strategy by females was politeness (19.79%). Following are some examples of Arab females showing politeness in their interactions with friends:

- You look beautiful tonight!
- Thanks for inviting me my dear.
- I would like to help if you need any help.
- It seems like you've cooked very delicious food for us!

The third strategy used by Arab females was occasion phrases (18.72%), which is using phrases that are related to a special occasion. For instance, they used phrases like: *Merry Christmas*, *Happy New Year*, *Happy Thanks giving*, and *Happy Chinese New Year to you*.

On the other hand, Arab male participants also used initiation words as the most preferred oral speech strategy (31.05%). In their conversation openings they used words such as *Hi*, *Hey*, *Hello*, *Salaam*, or *Good evening*. The second most used strategy was occasion phrases (18.42%). They also used phrases such as Merry Christmas, Happy Holidays, or Happy New Year. Moreover, they used some Chinese phrases to greet on Chinese New Year (e.g. *Xin Nian Kuai*

Le!, or Gon shi Gon shi). The third preference strategy for Arab males was using terms of address (17.37%). They tended to use people's names or words such as My friend, everybody, Man, and Guys.

In general, Arab females tried to use more politeness strategies than males. While male participants tended to use more opening words and terms of address in their oral speech greetings. The least strategy used by both groups was declarative sentences, which was the smallest number in both groups (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6

The Use of Oral Speech Strategies by Arabs and Americans Females and Males

			THE RESERVE	
	Arab Females	Arab Males	American Females	American Males
	(n= 15)	(n= 15)	(n=15)	(n=15)
Initiation words	29.41 (55)*	31.05 (59)	25.57 (56)	28.04 (83)
Terms of address	14.44 (27)	17.37 (33)	10.05 (22)	13.85 (41)
	1 2 4			
Declarative sentences	8.02 (15)	6.84 (13)	6.39 (14)	9.46 (28)
	0.62 (10)	14.01 (07)	1 (00 (07)	16.22 (40)
Interrogative sentences	9.63 (18)	14.21 (27)	16.89 (37)	16.22 (48)
Occasion physics	18.72 (35)	19.42 (25)	12.33 (27)	11 15 (22)
Occasion phrases	18.72 (33)	18.42 (35)	12.33 (21)	11.15 (33)
Politeness strategies	19.79 (37)	12.11 (23)	28.77 (63)	21.28 (63)
1 officiess strategies	17.17 (31)	12.11 (23)	20.77 (03)	21.20 (03)
Total	100 (187)	100 (190)	100 (219)	100 (296)
10441	100 (107)	100 (170)	100 (21))	100 (270)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

Table 4.7 below, represents the use of body language strategies by all participants.

According to the Table, Arab females' most preferred body language strategy was cheek kiss (33.33%), and the second most used strategy was handshakes (29.33%), and the third preferred

was hug (22.67%). Most of Arab females used more than one body language strategy in the same situation. For example, they used handshakes and cheek kiss together, or hug and cheek kiss.

Table 4.7 also shows that Arab participants preferred to use handshakes in their most body language interactions (80%). However, they also used a small percentage of hand wave strategy (15%), and then hug with only 5%. None of male participants in this group indicated that they would use cheek kiss as a body language greeting.

Table 4.7

The Use of Body Language Strategies by Arabs and Americans Females and Males

	Arab Females (n= 15)	Arab Males (n= 15)	American Females (n= 15)	American Males (n= 15)
Handshake	29.33 (22)*	80 (32)	32.73 (18)	72.73 (40)
Cheek kiss	33.33 (25)	0 (0)	18.18 (10)	0 (0)
Hug	22.67 (17)	5 (2)	25.45 (14)	0 (0)
Waving hand	14.67 (11)	15 (6)	23.64 (13)	27.27 (15)
Total	100 (75)	100 (40)	100 (55)	100 (55)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

Americans: females vs. males.

According to Table 4.6 above, the three most used oral speech strategies by American females are: politeness strategies (28.77%), initiation words (25.57%), and then interrogative sentences (16.89%). American females tended to use a lot of politeness strategies such as:

- The food looks very delicious.
- How can I help you?

- *Nice party.*
- Thanks for inviting me. It was really thoughtful of you.
- It was very kind of you to invite me tonight, I love Arabic food!

They also used initiation words like: Hey, Hello, or Salaam Alaykom.

American males used initiation words as the most preferred oral strategy (28.04%), followed by politeness strategies (21.28%), and then interrogative sentences (16.22%). For opening words, American males did not only use *Hi* and *Hello*, but they also used some Arabic opening words like; *Marhaba* 'Hello', *Salaam* 'Peace', and *Hala* 'Hi'. They also tended to use politeness strategies very often, as for example: offering help (e.g. *Do you need any help?*), inviting (e.g. *Let's have lunch together*), and introducing self to other people (e.g. *I don't believe we've met before. I am X*). Moreover, following are some examples for interrogative sentences used by American males:

- How are you?
- How you doin?
- What's up?
- How do you do?

According to Table 4.7, there were many differences between males and females within American group in terms of using body language. Females for instance, tended to use all four strategies of body language, with the superior percentage for handshakes (32.73%), followed by hug (25.45%), then hand waves (23.64%), and then cheek kiss (18.18%).

American male participants on the other hand, used only two body language strategies, which were handshakes (72.73%) and waving hands (27.27%). None of American males mentioned that they would use either kisses or hugs as body language greeting strategy.

Gender differences across groups.

Arab females vs. American females.

The results showed close numbers of overall strategies used by both females groups; however, the use of strategies was a little different across groups. For instance, Arab females used initiation words, politeness strategies, and occasion phrases as most preferred oral speech strategies. American females, on the other hand, preferred to use politeness strategies the most, followed by initiation words strategy, and then interrogative sentences (see Figure 4.2 and Table E2).

According to Table 4.6, Figure 4.2 and Table E2, Arabic females tended to use more terms of address and occasion phrases than American females. They were mostly combining opening words with terms of address like: *Hello my dear*, *Hi Maria*, *Hello my friend*, or *Hi everybody*. Although both Arab and American females tended to use more politeness strategies in their speech, American females showed higher percentage than Arab females in the using of politeness strategies. They also used more interrogative sentences strategy than Arab females did. Some examples for interrogative sentences by females are:

- How are you?
- Where have you been hiding?
- How do you do?
- *How is everything going with you?*

The least oral speech strategy used by both female groups was declarative sentences such as:

- Long time no see!
- I miss so much!
- Nice to see you here
- I am so happy to meet you.

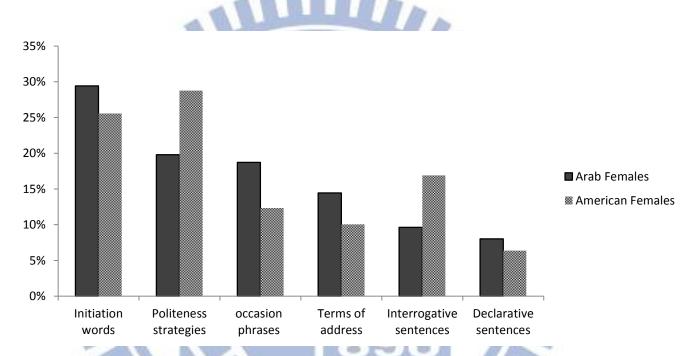


Figure 4.2 The preferred oral speech strategies used by Arabs and Americans females.

There were also some difference in the most preferred body language strategies used by Arab females and American females. According to Figure 4.3 and Table E3, Arab females preferred to use more cheek kisses, then handshakes, and hugs, and the least used strategy was waving hand. On the contrary, American females used handshakes as the most preferred strategy, then hugs, waving hands, and the last one was cheek kisses.

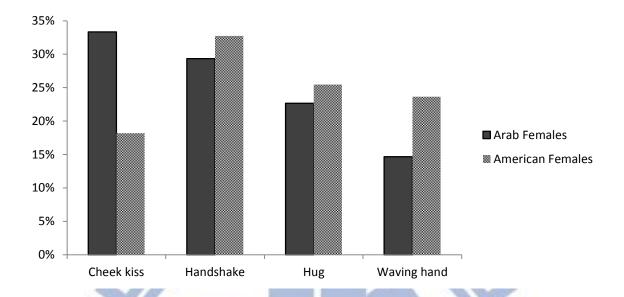


Figure 4.3 The preferred body language strategies used by Arabs and Americans females.

Arab males vs. American males.

Arab and American male groups have also some differences between them in terms of strategies' use. Both Arab male and American male groups used initiation words as the most used strategy. However, the second and third most used strategies by Arab males were, respectively: occasion phrases, and terms of address, and for Americans: politeness strategies and then interrogative sentences (see Figure 4.4 and Table E4).

Arab males used variety of sentences in their oral speech. For example, they used *Hello*, *Hey, Salaamu Alaykom*, and *Peace*, as opening words. They also used *My friend, Man, Guys*, *Everyone*, as terms of address. For occasion phrases, they wrote sentences like: *Happy Chinese New Year*, *Happy Turkey Day*, *Xin Nian Kuai Le*, and *Happy Merry Christmas*. Moreover, following are some examples for politeness strategies used by Arab males:

• Thanks for inviting me.

- I am so glad to be here. Thank you.
- Please let me help you.
- *Is there anything I can do?*
- Let me buy you a cup of coffee.

On the other hand, American males tended to use some strategies more than Arab males, such as: politeness strategies, interrogative and declarative sentences. American males also used some Arabic words or phrases as initiation words strategy, such as: *Salaamu Alaykom* 'Peace be upon you', *Marhaba* 'Hello', *Ahleen* 'Welcome'. They also used interrogative sentence like: *Kefak ya man?* 'Hey man. How are you?' as mix of Arabic and English together. American males also used some Arabic phrases for some occasions such as: *Eid Saied* 'Happy Eid', and *Ramadan Mubarak* 'Have a blessed Ramadan'.

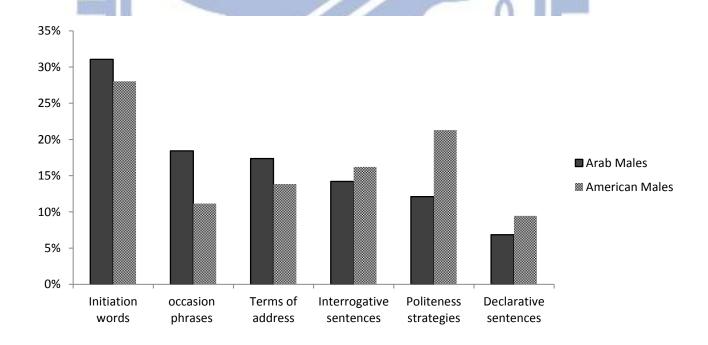


Figure 4.4 The preferred oral speech strategies used by Arabs and Americans males.

Figure 4.5 and Table E5 display the preferred body language strategies used by male participants in both groups. According to the results, both Arabs and American males appeared to use handshake as the most preferred body language strategy. The second most used strategy by both groups was waving hands, with a slightly higher percentage for Americans. Moreover, Arabs used hug in less than 10% of the strategies, yet, none of American males indicated that they would use hug or cheek kiss for greetings.

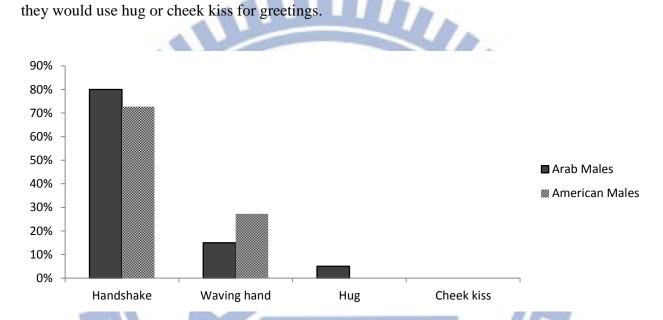


Figure 4.5 The preferred body language strategies used by Arabs and Americans males.

Use of strategies by social distance.

In the questionnaire, scenarios number 1,2 and 6 suggested less social distance with the other part (e.g., close friend), and scenarios 3,4 and 5 suggested more social distance between the participant and the other part (e.g., classmate or neighbor). Results showed that, in terms of oral speech, the three most preferred strategies used by Arab participants when greeting close friends are: initiation words (27.45%), occasion phrases (24.31%), and politeness strategies (20.39%) (See Table 4.8). On the other hand, the most used strategies by Americans in scenarios 1, 2 and 6

were: politeness strategies (32.22%), initiation words (23.06%), and interrogative sentences (14.44%).

Situations 3, 4 and 5 received different responses from my participants (see Table 4.8). Arabic group's results showed highest percentages of using initiation words (36.06%), interrogative sentences (21.31%), and terms of address (15.57%). Similarly, Americans most used strategies for these scenarios were: terms of address (36.13%), interrogative sentences (21.29%), and declarative sentences (18.71%).

Interestingly, the least used strategy by Arabs and Americans, for both cases, was the same. According to Table 4.8, the least used strategy by both groups when greeting a close friend was declarative sentences such as: *I miss you*, or *it's nice to see you*. Furthermore, the least used strategies by Arabs and Americans, to greet people they are less familiar with, were: politeness strategies and occasion phrases (see Table 4.8).

Table 4.8

The Use of Oral Speech Strategies by Social Distance for Arabs and Americans

	Arabs (n= 30)		Americar	ns (n= 30)
	Social distance Social distance		Social distance	Social distance
	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)
Initiation words	27.45 (70)*	36.07 (44)	23.06 (83)	36.13 (56)
Terms of address	16.08 (41)	15.57 (19)	13.61 (49)	9.03 (14)
Declarative sentences	4.31 (11)	13.93 (17)	3.61 (13)	18.71 (29)
Interrogative sentences	7.45 (19)	21.31 (26)	14.44 (52)	21.29 (33)
Occasion phrases	24.31 (62)	6.56 (8)	13.06 (47)	8.39 (13)

Politeness strategies	20.39 (52)	6.56 (8)	32.22 (116)	6.45 (10)
Total	100 (255)	100 (122)	100 (360)	100 (155)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

Arabs and Americans used body language strategies differently according to social distance. Arabs for example, used handshake (45.88%), cheek kiss (28.24%), and hug (21.18%) as most preferred strategies to greet close friends. Americans also used handshakes (57.69%) as first preferred strategy to greet close friends; however, their second and third most used strategies were respectively, hug (17.95%) and cheek kiss (12.82%), (See Table 4.9).

For people with more social distance, Arab participants preferred to use handshake (50%) and waving hand (43.33%) the most, and then cheek kiss and hug came at last with same percentage for each (3.33%). However, Americans showed different results on this category, as they preferred to use waving hand by 59.38%, and then handshake with percentage of 40.63%. Moreover, none of American participants chose to use cheek kiss or hug with people they are not very familiar with.

Table 4.9

The Use of Body Language Strategies by Social Distance for Arabs and Americans

Arabs (n= 30)		Americans (n= 30)	
Social distance (-)	Social distance (+)	Social distance (-)	Social distance (+)
45.88 (39)*	50 (15)	57.69 (45)	40.63 (13)
28.24 (24)	3.33 (1)	12.82 (10)	0 (0)
21.18 (18)	3.33 (1)	17.95 (14)	0 (0)
	Social distance (-) 45.88 (39)* 28.24 (24)	Social distance (-) Social distance (+) 45.88 (39)* 50 (15) 28.24 (24) 3.33 (1)	Social distance (-) Social distance (+) Social distance (-) 45.88 (39)* 50 (15) 57.69 (45) 28.24 (24) 3.33 (1) 12.82 (10)

Waving hand	4.71 (4)	43.33 (13)	11.54 (9)	59.38 (19)
Total	100 (85)	100 (30)	100 (78)	100 (32)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

Use of strategies by situation.

As has been mentioned before, the questionnaire for this study contains 6 scenarios, each of them was modified to suit each group (for example; changing the names and occasions). After analyzing the data that has been collected, I compared between American and Arab groups by the greeting strategies they used in each scenario. Following, are the highlights of the main differences between the groups in each situation:

1. Situation 1: In terms of variables, this scenario included a male close friend. According to Table 4.10, both Arabs and Americans used oral speech the most (75.45% and81.28% respectively), then body language (15.45% and 14.44% respectively), and other actions (9.09% and 4.28%).

Table 4.10

The Overall Use of Strategies by Arabs and Americans in Situation I

	Arabs (n= 30)	Americans (n= 30)	-
Oral Speech	75.45 (83)*	81.28 (152)	-
Body Language	15.45 (17)	14.44 (27)	
Others	9.09 (10)	4.28 (8)	
Total	100 (110)	100 (187)	

^{*}All numbers on the left represent percentages out of 100, and numbers in parentheses indicate raw frequency.

In this situation, according to Figure 4.6 and Table E6, the most used strategy by Arab females, Arab males and American males was initiation words strategy (27.08%, 20.97% and 21.50% respectively). Arab females also preferred to use occasion phrases (20.83%), and politeness strategies (12.50%). While Arab males preferred to use the following three strategies equally: terms of address, occasion phrases, and handshake (17.74% for each strategy). On the other hand, the second most used strategy by American males was politeness strategies (20.56%), and the third was between terms of address and handshakes with 14.02% for each strategy. The Figure also shows that the most used strategies by American females were: politeness strategies (28.75%), initiation words (16.25%), and interrogative sentences (13.75%).

Following are the main differences between groups in using greeting strategies for this scenario:

- Americans used more interrogative sentences than Arabs, such as: How are you?
 or How you doing?.
- Showing politeness like; compliment, offering help, or introducing self are all strategies also used more by Americans than Arabs in this scenario.
- None of all the participants chose to ignore the host and walk away.
- American male participants used some Arabic initiation words, like Salaam, Hala, and Marhaba.
- None of Arab female participants used handshake, cheek kiss, or hug in this situation, while some American females indicated that they would shake hands, hug, or wave hands.

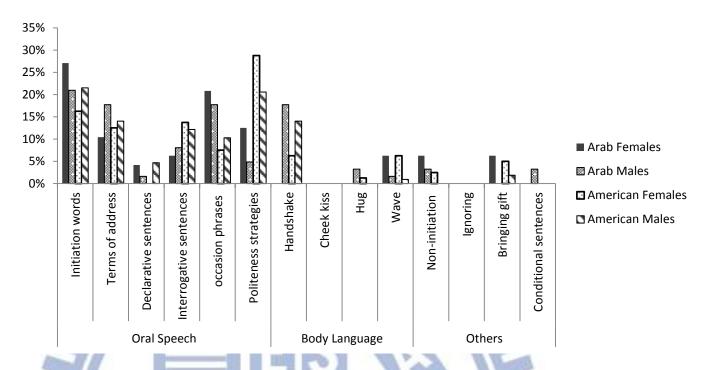


Figure 4.6 The use of all strategies by Arab and American males and females for Situation 1.

2. Situation 2: In this scenario, the settings were all similar except for the host's (the friend) gender (female close friend). Table 4.11 below displays the main strategies used by both groups for this scenario. Arab participants, in general, used 73.33% oral speech, 22% body language, and only 4.67% of other actions. Americans, on the same pattern, used 80.32% oral speech, 17.55% body language, and 2.13% of others.

Table 4.11

The Overall Use of Strategies by Arabs and Americans in Situation 2

	Arabs (n= 30)	Americans (n= 30)	
Oral Speech	73.33 (110)*	80.32 (151)	
Body Language	22 (33)	17.55 (33)	
Others	4.67 (7)	2.13 (4)	
Total	100 (150)	100 (188)	

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

Figure 4.7 and Table E7, show that the most used strategies by Arab female participants in this scenario were: politeness strategies (17.89%), cheek kiss (15.79%), and initiation words (13.68%) followed by terms of address (12.63%). Furthermore, Arab males' most used strategies were: politeness (23.64%), occasion phrases (21.82%), and initiation words (21.82%).

Greeting strategies' preferences for American females in this scenario were as follow: politeness strategies (28.57%), initiation words (15.24%), and interrogative sentences (11.43%). Similarly, American males used politeness strategies the most (30.12%), and the second was initiation words (19.28%), while the third was using terms of address (14.46%). Following are the main differences between all groups in their answers for this situation:

- American group used more interrogative sentences than Arabs to greet a friend.

 They used questions such as: *How do you do?*, or *How are things?*
- Arab participants used more occasion phrases than Americans. For example, they
 used phrases like Merry Christmas, or Happy Holiday. While Americans used
 phrases such as: Happy Ramadan, Ramadan Mubarak, or Happy Holiday.
- Politeness strategies were used more by Americans, like introducing themselves to other people, offering help (e.g., *do you need any help?*), or complimenting the food (e.g., *This food look so delicious!*).
- Females from both groups used more body language than other male participants in this situation. None of male participants used cheek kiss or hug to greet the host (a female close friend).

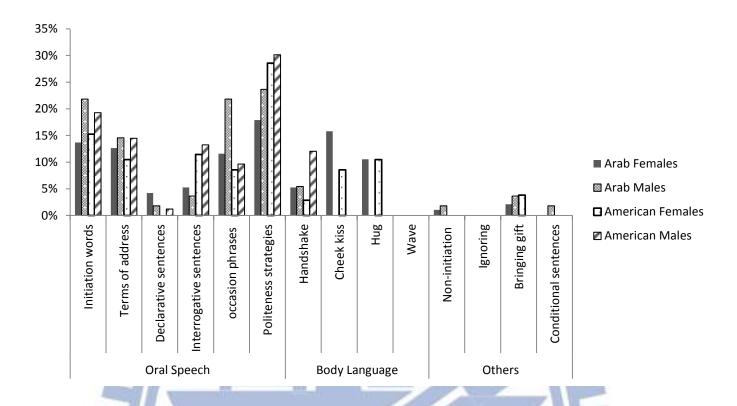


Figure 4.7 The use of all strategies by Arab and American males and females for Situation 2.

3. Situation 3: This situation was different than the first two in terms of the social distance between the participant and the friend in the scenario. The greeting in this situation was addressed to a non-close male friend (classmate). The data showed big differences in terms of the strategies used by Arabs and Americans in this scenario. The highest percentage of strategies used by Arabs was 'Others' strategy (49.02%). They also used 35.29% oral speech, and only 15.69% for body language. Opposed to that, Americans used 69.35% oral speech, 20.97% body language, and 9.68% of other actions (See Table 4.12).

Table 4.12

The Overall Use of Strategies by Arabs and Americans in Situation 3

	Arabs (n= 30)	Americans (n= 30)
Oral Speech	35.29 (18)*	69.35 (43)
Body Language	15.69 (8)	20.97 (13)
Others	49.02 (25)	9.68 (6)
Total	100 (51)	100 (62)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

According to Figure 4.8, the most used strategies by Arab females were: ignoring the other person and walk away (50%), waiting for the other part to initiate the greetings (16.67), and then using opening words and terms of address got equal percentages (11.11%). Arab male participants used the strategy of ignoring in 21.21% of all their answers on this scenario. Their second preference strategy was using opening words (15.15%). They also used terms of address, handshakes, and non-initiation strategies in equal percentages (11.11%).

On the other hand, American females preferred to use initiation words in 33.33% of the times, and ignoring the other part in 27.78%, while their third preferred strategy was to use waving Hello (16.67%). Moreover, the most used strategies by American males were: initiation words (34.09%), waving hand (20.45%), and then using terms of address (See Appendix E 8).

Following are the highlights of the main differences between all groups in using greeting strategies for scenario number 3:

- American participants used initiation words like; Hi, Hello or Salam more than Arab participants.
- Ignoring the other person and walk away was chosen more by Arab participants than by Americans in general.
- Body language strategies like waving hand, or handshakes, were used more by male participants from both groups.

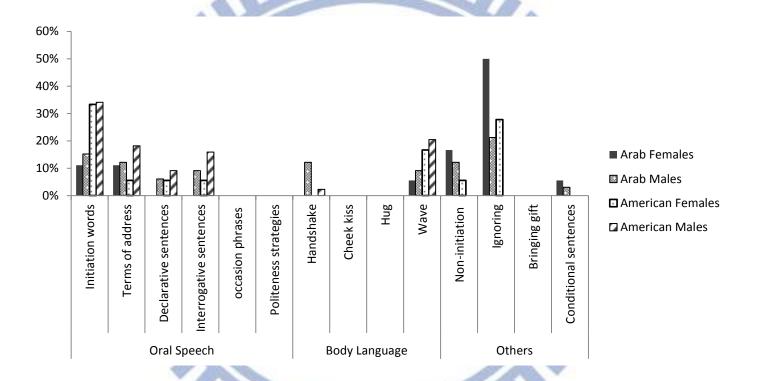


Figure 4.8 The use of all strategies by Arab and American males and females for Situation 3.

4. Situation 4: This scenario was about a non-close female friend. Table 4.13 shows that Arab participants used 62.34% oral speech, 11.69% body language, and 25.97% of other actions in their responses for this scenario. Likewise, Americans used 64.29% oral speech, 12.50% body language, and 23.21% other actions.

Table 4.13

The Overall Use of Strategies by Arabs and Americans in Situation 4

	Arabs (n= 30)	Americans (n= 30)
Oral Speech	62.34 (48)*	64.29 (36)
Body Language	11.69 (9)	12.50 (7)
Others	25.97 (20)	23.21 (13)
Total	100 (77)	100 (56)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

The most used strategies by Arab females in this scenario were: initiation words (20.51%), and ignoring (12.82%). While for Arab males, their first preferred strategy was ignoring (23.68%), and the second was using opening words (21.05%), and then using the interrogative sentences (15.79%).

For American group, females preferred to use occasion phrases (28%), then opening words (20%), and their third preference was to wait for the other part to initiate the greetings (16%). Nevertheless, the most used strategies by American males were: opening words (29.03%), occasion phrases (19.35%), and ignoring (19.35%) (See Appendix E9).

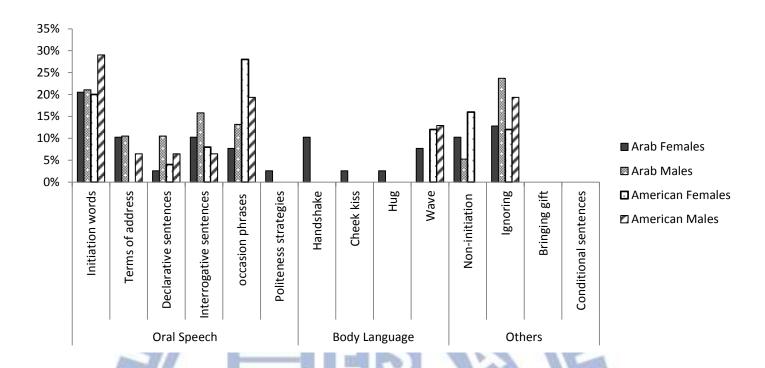


Figure 4.9 The use of all strategies by Arab and American males and females for Situation 4.

5. Situation 5: This scenario included a non-close female and male couple (neighbors). In their responses on this situation, Arab participants used 63.64% oral speech, 14.77% body language, and 21.59% of other actions. The results also show that Americans used 78.35% oral speech, 12.37% body language, and 9.28% other actions (see Table 4.14).

Table 4.14

The Overall Use of Strategies by Arabs and Americans in Situation 5

	Arabs (n= 30)	Americans (n= 30)
Oral Speech	63.64 (56)*	78.35 (67)
Body Language	14.77 (13)	12.37 (12)
Others	21.59 (19)	9.28 (9)
Total	100 (88)	100 (97)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

According to Figure 4.10, the most used strategies by Arab females were: using initiation words (21.95%), using declarative sentences (14.63%), and waiting for the other part to start the greeting (14.63%). While for Arab males, their most preferred strategy was also using the opening words (25.53%), then using interrogative sentences (19.15%), and then using handshakes (10.64%).

As shown in the Figure below, American females used three strategies the most and in equal percentages as follow: initiation words (23.81%), declarative sentences (23.81%), and interrogative sentences (23.81%). Likewise, the most used strategies by American males were also initiation words (20%), declarative sentences (20%), and interrogative sentences (20%) (see Appendix E10).

Following are the highlights of the main differences between groups in terms of using greeting strategies for this scenario:

- American group used more declarative and interrogative sentences than Arabs.
 They used sentences such as:
 - o I haven't seen you guys in a while.
 - o Nice to see you.
 - o What's new?
 - o What have you been up to?
 - o It's been a while since I've seen you.
- Arabs used interrogative and declarative sentences such as:
 - How are you doing?
 - Are we still living in the same building?
 - Long time no see! it's good to see you here.

- It is such a small world! We don't meet at same building but we meet outside?!
- None of American participants chose to ignore the other part in this scenario and walk away, whereas that was the choice some Arab participants in answering to this situation.
- None of the participants chose to use cheek kiss or hug as body language strategy.

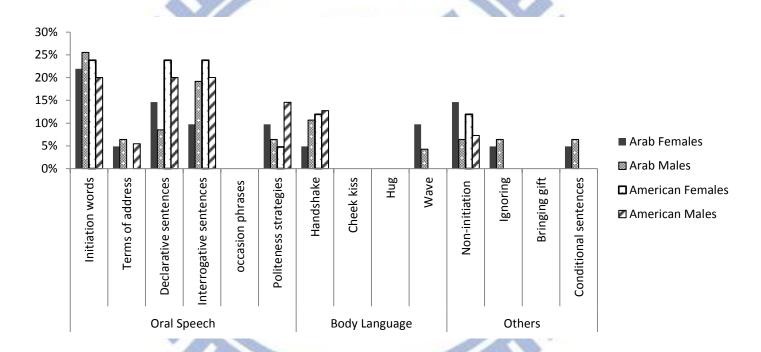


Figure 4.10 The use of strategies by Arab and American males and females for Situation 5.

6. Situation 6: This scenario included a couple of two close friends (female and male). According to Table 4.15, Arab participants used 56.36% oral speech, 31.82% body language, and 11.82% other actions. While Americans used 65.52% oral speech, 20.69% body language, and 13.79% of other actions.

Table 4.15

The Overall Use of Strategies by Arabs and Americans in Situation 6

	Arabs (n= 30)	Americans (n= 30)
Oral Speech	56.36 (62)*	65.52 (57)
Body Language	31.82 (35)	20.69 (18)
Others	11.82 (13)	13.79 (12)
Total	100 (110)	100 (87)

Note: * The number in parentheses indicates raw frequency, and the number on the left of the parentheses represents percentage out of 100.

Results in Figure 4.11 and Table E11 show that Arab females used handshakes and occasion phrases as the most preferred strategies for this scenario (16.42% for each strategy). Furthermore, they tended to use initiation words (14.93%), politeness strategies (13.43%), and cheek kiss (13.43%). The most used strategies by Arab males, on the other hand, were: opening words (20.93%), handshakes (20.93%), and then occasion phrases (16.98%).

The three most used strategies by American females were: politeness strategies (20.51%), waiting for other part to start the conversation (17.95%), and using initiation words (15.38%). However, American males tended to use initiation words as most preferred strategy (18.75%), then politeness and occasion phrases by same percentages (16.67%).

Highlighting the main differences between groups is listed as follow:

Arab participants tended to use more body language than Americans in general.
 Arab females, in particular, used the highest number of body language in this scenario.

- Arab participants also used occasion phrases more than Americans; however,
 Arab and American groups used Chinese sentences to greet for Chines New Year,
 such as; Xin Nian Kuai Le!, Guo Nian Hao or Gon shi Gon shi.
- None of the participants from both groups chose to ignore the other part and walk away.

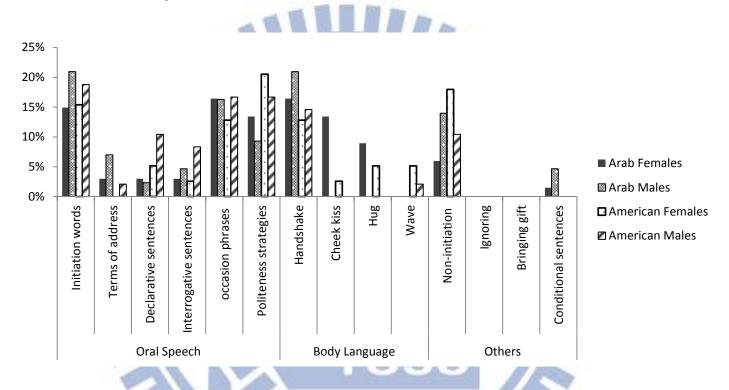


Figure 4.11 The use of all strategies by Arab and American males and females for Situation 6.

Summary of Findings

The observation settings and questionnaire scenarios focused on the greeting strategies used in special occasions in general, and some religious occasions in particular. American group, generally, used higher number of greeting strategies than Arabs. However, in terms of the use of strategies, Arabs used less oral speech than Americans, and more body language and others. The greeting's pattern used by Arabs and Americans, in terms of oral speech, was as follow:

- Arabs: Initiation words, occasion phrases, terms of address, and politeness strategies.
- Americans: Initiation words, politeness strategies, interrogative sentences, and terms of address.

In terms of most used body language strategies, Arab used handshake, cheek kiss, and hug. While Americans' most used strategies were: handshake, waving hand, and hug.

Contextual variables, such as gender, social distance, and situations also played an important role in shaping the greeting's patterns. Table 4.16 shows the three most used strategies by males and females in terms of oral speech and body language. None of the groups used the exact same greeting pattern; however, they used similar strategies, such as initiation words and politeness strategies, and for body language, they all used handshake.

Table 4.16

Greeting Patterns Used by Arabs and Americans Females and Males

	Arab females	Arab males	American females	American males
Oral speech	Initiation words	Initiation words	Politeness strategies	Initiation words
	Politeness strategies	Occasion phrases	Initiation words	Politeness strategies
	Occasion phrases	Terms of address	Interrogative sentences	Interrogative sentences
Body	Cheek kiss	Handshake	Handshake	Handshake
language	Handshake	Waving hand	Waving hand	Waving hand
	Hug	Hug	Hug	

According to the results of social distance variable, both Arabs and Americans used initiation words and politeness strategies as the most preferred oral speech strategies to use with

close friends in certain occasions. Additionally, the most preferred strategies used by both Arabs and Americans to greet non-close friends, were: initiation words and interrogative sentences. In terms of body language strategies, likewise, both Arabs and Americans used handshake, cheek kiss, and hug to greet close friends, while they both used handshake and hand waves to greet non-close friends.

In the questionnaire, the contextual variables varied from situation to another, thus results varied from one to another. Both Arabs and Americans produced the highest number of strategies in Situation 2, and the least numbers in Situation 3 and Situation 4. The most used strategies by Arabs and Americans in situations 1 and 2, were: initiation words, politeness strategies, occasion phrases, and terms of address. While for body language strategies, both groups used handshake the most in Situation 1, and handshake, check kiss and hug in Situation 2.

The most used strategies by Arabs and Americans in Situation 3, were: ignoring the other person and walking away, using initiation words, or waving hand. While in Situation 4, both Arabs and Americans most used strategies were: initiation words, occasion phrases, or ignoring.

In Situation 5, both Arabs and Americans used initiation words, interrogative and declarative sentences as the most used strategies in that scenario. However, in Situation 6, Arabs and Americans used variety of strategies, such as: initiation words, handshake, politeness strategies, occasion phrases, or non-initiation (wait for the other part to initiate the greetings).

Chapter Five

Discussion

This chapter provides a discussion of the interpretations of the findings reported in the previous chapter accompanied with the interview findings. The discussion is organized by the major topics and findings of the study. For each topic, the similarities and differences between native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of (American) English in their greeting expressions, cultural norms, and contextual variables will be discussed.

The major topics and findings to be discuss in this chapter included: Oral greeting strategies by Arabs and Americans, Body language, and Other actions. Additionally, under the main categories, there are some subcategories included: Number of strategies, Use of strategies, Contextual variables and Religious occasions.

Oral Greeting Strategies by Arabs and Americans

Using oral speech was the most predominant among all greeting strategies performed by both Arabs (64.33 %) and Americans (76.07 %). Suggesting that, oral speech is the most common strategy to convey greetings in both groups.

Number of strategies.

Responses' length varied from a scenario to another and from one group to other.

Nevertheless, Arab participants- in general- used less number of oral speech strategies than

Americans (See Table 4.2). In previous studies, some researchers claimed that non-native

speakers tend to use lengthier speech than native speakers to convey the same message (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, House & Kasper 1987, and House, 1996). To account for learner's verbosity,

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986) stated that it is learners' lack of confidence in their linguistic abilities which requires them to talk more. In order to make sure that their communicative intent is being conveyed effectively, learners expand on and embellish their message. House and Kasper (1987) came up with similar conclusions in their explanation for learners' use of too many words. They also said that verbosity is due to the lack of confidence on the part of the learner, however, they claimed that it is primarily the "insecure social status associated with the foreigner role" which causes this verbosity rather than insecurity in linguistic abilities (p. 1285). The findings of this study came to be opposing to those in Blum-Kulka's and other researchers. In the present study I found that native English speakers tended to use more oral speech greeting strategies, and thus lengthier speech than non-natives. In the observation data, native speakers showed more ability to open the conversation, and use variety of greeting strategies, while most Arab participants used less number of strategies and stick to the routine greeting sentences.

Some explanations to that issue came from my interviewees, where some Arab participants said that they don't really feel nervous being around native speakers of English because they are in a foreign country where they have to speak English most of the time. Moreover, they mentioned that the image of dealing with friends and close people in the scenarios or real life situations makes it easier for non-native to start the conversation and have the courage to speak in a second language. In spite of that, most of Arab interviewees indicated that they do believe in the statement that says 'the more you talk, the more you make mistakes', and to avoid making mistakes, which may lead to pragmatic failure afterwards, they prefer to 'make it short and simple'.

Use of strategies.

Conversational routine.

The conversational routine appeared when participants used initiation or opening words and terms of address. These two strategies represent the using of conversational routine in performing the daily greetings. The participants in the study exhibited a very strong tendency to use these two strategies into their greetings. Moreover, using initiation words was the most preferred strategy used by both Arabs and Americans. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) examined similar elements in their analysis of the CCSARP data, an element which they termed "alerters". The "alerters" in their research were contained several subcategories including first name, last name, title or role, term of endearment, etc., as well as "attention getters", such as *Hey* or *Hello*. According to their coding scheme, an alerter functioned exclusively as an opening element which preceded the actual speech act. The terms of address appearing in the present study fell into the same subcategories listed above –first name, last name, and endearment term- with the exception of "attention getters" which were coded here as opening words.

Unlike some results from old speech act studies, the participants who use English as a second language were able to initiate and start conversation with native English speakers without having any problems or feeling uncomfortable about it. Arab participants showed, in all data collection methods, the willingness to walk towards their English native speaker friend and start a conversation with him/her. Similarly, American participants had no problems starting the greeting procedures with friends from other groups and being able to communicate with them. On top of that, some of American participants, especially males, used Arabic words to open the conversation like; *Marhaba*, *Hala* or *Salam*.

Opening words followed by terms of address were commonly used not only in the questionnaire responses, but also in the observation field, where real life situations occur. Moreover, I enquired for more details in the interview with my participants, asking why they usually begin with opening words and/or terms of address. American interviewees indicated that they would use words like Hi, Hey, or Hello to "catch the hearer's attention", and they may use terms of address to refer to the person if he/she is standing between a group of people. There were also other responses by American participants on this question, like "I use opening words because this is the greeting routine" or "I use these words to open the conversation". Arabic interviewees, on the other hand, did not have these clear ideas regarding the usage of opening words or terms of address in greeting exchange. For instance, in the response to the question of Why do you use opening words and terms of address when you greet other people?, some of them answered: "Because everybody do so", "because it is the correct form to start the conversation" or just simply answered "I don't know!". These results may lead us to look back to the study which suggests that conversational routines have been found as a result of a successful use of language pattern for similar situations (Aijmer, 1996). In addition to this, the fact that nonnative speakers may use these conversational routines, just because they are commonly used by native speakers, without understanding the real purpose of using these patterns (Hanania and Gradman, 1977).

Politeness strategies.

Using politeness strategies in greeting exchange has shown some differences between Arab and American groups in this study. Results showed that Arab participants used 15.92% (n= 60) of politeness strategies, while Americans used 24.47% (n= 126) of these strategies in their oral speech greetings. The subcategories under politeness are: compliment, offering help,

gratitude, inviting, and introducing one, all of them have been used more by Americans than Arabs, except for the category of inviting which has been used slightly more by Arabs.

These results lead us to think of some reasons why American participants tend to use more politeness strategies in their speech than Arab participants do. One of these reasons, in my opinion, could be the differences in cultures' view of politeness, as the politeness theory suggests that a polite behavior is equivalent to socially proper behavior (Watts, 2003). However, all the previous politeness strategies are socially acceptable by both groups; some of these strategies may be very important for one culture and less important for the other. For instance, introducing one to other people is the most politeness strategy used by Americans who consider this as 'a very important thing to do when you greet a friend within a group of people with whom you are not familiar'. On the other hand, some Arabic interviewees indicated that it would be 'more polite' to introduce yourself to other people in the same party, but doesn't consider it as 'impolite' if you don't do so. Furthermore, an Arab participant said that he would 'let the host or the friend have the option of introducing him to his/her other friends'.

A second reason might be related to language use. In other words, native English speakers might feel more confident to express themselves to others using their native language opposing to ESL speakers who may prefer to stick to the routine and don't want to risk being a creative user of a second language. By way of explanation, showing politeness is usually beyond the greeting routine that we use everyday, and it might require extra language skills to produce the 'appropriate' forms of politeness strategies. That in fact appeared in the observation field, where it was obvious that native English speakers were able to produce more language, and show more politeness strategies. Arab interviewees on the other hand, stated that they would offer help, show gratitude, or use compliment sentences in order to show more politeness. However,

they didn't use as much strategies as native speakers did in the questionnaire, besides in the observation fields, they tended to use more politeness strategies in Arabic language (their first language), and much number in English (the second language).

Another possible reason could be personal choice. That is, the individual differences among the participants regardless the cultural or language differences. As example, in the same scenario I received different results and responses from the participants within the same group. In scenario number two for instance, some of Arabic participants appeared to be very polite with offering help, compliment the host, showing gratitude for being invited, or even by giving nice gestures like bringing flowers or some dessert as a kind act of gratitude to the host. Other participants from the same group chose just to use the routine greeting exchange without using further politeness strategies, and the same variation applies to the American group as well. From this point we can assume that individual differences could be behind the personal choice of using politeness strategies or 'being polite' with other people, however, we should never ignore the role of gender differences in this case.

In her book "Gender and Politeness", Sara Mills (2003) puts a heavy weight on arguing that the stereotype of women being more polite than men is no longer valid. However, the data received from this study has shown that females in both groups actually tend to use more politeness strategies and tend to care more about face threatening acts. Although the total politeness strategies used by American males and American females are equal, the tables show that females used the strategies of; *offering help, compliment*, and *showing gratitude* more than male participants who have shown greater numbers in using the strategy of *introducing self*. Arabic females on the other hand, expressed more politeness strategies than male participants in all categories. Some female interviewees mentioned that 'it is natural for a girl to be polite', and

other noted that they have to 'keep polite in order not to lose face'. Male interviewees on the other hand, indicated that they would 'act more polite with ladies' than with other men. Furthermore, some Arabic male participants wrote on the questionnaire that they would offer help, compliment or use other politeness strategies, while in the observation field; they didn't actually act as they said they would, although the circumstances were exactly the same. The only explanation I have for such situation is that Arabic male participants acted more naturally in real life situations and tried to be more idealistic in the written form of data collection.

Contextual variables. Gender differences.

Overall, male participants from both groups, as a total number, produced more greeting strategies, and both female groups showed almost the same number of strategies (309 for American females, and 308 for Arabic females). Nonetheless, the order among the four groups, from the most to the least using of the greeting strategies, as follow; American male group, American female group, Arabic female group, and the last one is Arabic male group.

The differences between genders appeared not only in number of strategies or politeness issue, but also in many other levels. Giving for instance, male participants used more greeting strategies than females in four out of six scenarios, while females produced more greeting strategies at only two scenarios. After analyzing the data I found that females tended to feel more comfortable interacting with other female close friends, as example; in scenario two and scenario six. Likewise, male participants showed more willingness to interact with other male friends and tried to act more politely with female friends.

At the interview, when I asked my participants if the gender of the person may influence the way they greet him/her, all female interviewees agreed that they would feel more comfortable when dealing with a close female friend. None of the Arabic female interviewees stated that she has a close male friend, but they all have close female friends, while American females said that they have both male and female close friends, yet they always feel closer to their female friends. On the other hand, when I asked the same question to male participants, most of them claimed that they don't really mind the gender of the person when they exchange greeting. Moreover, American male interviewees said that they have both male and female best friends, unlike Arabic males who stated that they only have male close friends and no close female friends 'except if she is a girlfriend'.

Social distance.

One of the variables in this study was social distance, which is the level of familiarity and intimacy between people. Three out of six scenarios in the questionnaire were dealing with situations where close friends are the second part. The other three scenarios were about people with whom the participant is not familiar or close. The data showed that social distance does affect the greeting strategies used by both groups.

The results showed that; the closer the persons are together, the more greeting strategies they produce and the less misunderstanding could happen. For example; in the real life observation field, I noticed that some Arabic participants who have American close friends, acted more naturally and comfortable when talking to native speakers, and they produced more accurate language with less pragmatic failures. American participants as well, who have some Arabic close friends, were able to produce greeting strategies using Arabic words or simple

sentences like; *Marhaba*. *Kefak*? 'Hi. How are you?', *Kefak Wala*? 'Hey there! How you doing?' or *Salam* 'Peace'. Some of American participants also mentioned at the interview that they ask their Arabic friends to teach them the greeting words in Arabic language, and they often use them with their Arabic close friends.

In the literature review presented earlier, Migge (2005) claimed that when people are not very familiar with each other, they tend to use more politeness strategies in their speech. However, the data of the current study showed that both Arabs and Americans used more politeness strategies with close friends than non-close friends or people they were not very familiar with. The differences between these results might be because of different interpretation of the politeness concept between this study and others. To clarify, politeness strategies used in the current study were: using compliments, offering help, showing gratitude, inviting for a drink or meal, and introducing self. Most of these strategies appeared to be more appropriate in the context where someone is greeting a close friend. For example, these are some sentences used by my participants to show politeness for a close friend: *Hello my dear. How are you?* [You look so beautiful today], Thanks for all the delicious food you made! I can't wait to taste!, You look busy. Do you need any help?, and Hi X! God![I love your new dress! It looks so cute on you!]. Furthermore, I believe that most participants chose to use formal and routine greetings with people they were not familiar with to avoid any misunderstandings.

Generally, all participants were likely to produce a lengthier speech and use more greeting strategies when interacting with close friends. Additionally, most of the participants seemed to use formal routine greetings with people who they are not very close with. However, male participants of both groups showed a little more interactive speech and tried to get closer to the other part, while female participants preferred to keep a distance and use routine language.

Religious and other occasions.

Religious affiliation was another variable in this study to test the influence of religion on the language of greeting exchange. In order to get enough data to assess this topic, I involved different types of data collection to help me acquire my need. Therefore, I started with observing some gatherings or parties which were related to religious occasions, followed that with including these occasions in my questionnaire scenarios, and later in my interview questions. In addition to that, there were 9 American Muslim participants who share the same religious background as Arabic group. All the findings in general showed that Arabic participants tend to use more religious phrases or words related to the occasion.

In the observation field, American Muslims shared other Muslims- from different countries- their celebration of big religious events like; Eid parties or Ramadan's feasts, and they showed understanding to all the traditions and customs of Islamic culture which they belong to. American Muslim participants involved in the group and acted exactly like other Muslims, they even used the same religious phrases that Arabs or Muslims in general use in such occasions; like *Ramadan Kareem* 'Great month', *Eid Mubarak* 'Happy Holy Day', and *Taqabala Allah* 'May God accept your deeds'. They also used some opening greeting phrases like; *Salamu Alaykom* 'Peace be upon you', *Marhaba* 'Hello', or *Salam* 'Peace'. Some of Arabic participants on the other hand, who participated in Christian's religious Holidays like; Christmas Day and Thanksgiving Day, didn't seem to understand the appropriate way of greeting exchange for these occasions. They always tended to overuse the religious greeting phrases like; *Merry Christmas*, *Happy Holiday*, *Happy Thanksgiving*, and *I wish you a Merry Christmas*, which sounded a little strange for native English speakers.

In order to get more information regarding this issue, I designed scenarios number one and two in the questionnaire to be very similar as the observation field. In these scenarios, I asked American participants what greeting strategies they would use in occasions like Eid party or Ramadan Iftar, and same question for Arab participants in Christmas party and Thanksgiving dinner. The results received from the questionnaire were to support the previous statements as that Arab participants tend to overuse the religious phrases, and American Muslims could easily produce the appropriate amount and quality of greetings using both Arabic and English languages. However, the non-Muslim American participants either wrote some general greeting sentences like *Happy Holiday*, or kept asking for explanation about how to greet in occasions like Ramadan or Eid, while others preferred to keep it 'safe' and not mention any religious greeting words.

In the interview, most of the participants said that the religion of the person will sure not affect the way they greet him/her. Nevertheless, when going through more details, some American Muslim interviewees indicated that they would use religious Arabic words like *Salam* or *Salamu Alaykom* to greet other Muslims, while they will use only English with others. Similarly, Arabic interviewees said that they will open the conversation with any American Muslim, or Muslim friend in general, using the greeting form of Islam; *Salamu Alaykom* 'Peace be upon you', because they share the same religious culture and they both understand that 'this is the appropriate way to greet each other'.

Pragmatic failure.

In several instances I observed some cases of pragmatic failures by Arab and American participants. One of the examples was when Arabic female participant used the phrase 'Happy Merry Christmas' in scenario number 1 in the questionnaire. Native speakers commented on that

sentence as; 'strange, weird, and non-usable sentence', and they said that the most common and appropriate phrases to greet for a Christmas day are *Merry Christmas* or *Happy Holidays*.

The literal translation of Arabic phrases into English was also a problem that led to the occurrence of pragmatic failure. One example was by an Arab female participant, who used the sentence: "How are you? I hope you are in good health". And commenting on these phrases, an American interviewee said: "That's too formal. That's the stuff they'd teach you in English class in secondary school. You could just say *Hope you're doing well*, simpler, same meaning, and sounds friendlier".

Another example was when an Arab male participant introduced himself to a native English speaker at Christmas party using the sentence 'Hello. I don't know you. My name is (X)'. Native speaker interviewees said that they would rather use a more appropriate sentence to introduce themselves like; 'Hi. I don't believe we've met. I am (X)'. Similarly, one of Arab female participants used the sentence 'I am so happy to meet you here' to greet a classmate, while native speakers use the phrase *Glad to meet you*, or *Nice to meet you*, for people they are meeting with for the first time. Therefore, in the case of meeting a classmate or people we already knew, the appropriate English phrases to use would be; *Good to see you*, or *Nice to see you*. It also seemed in some cases that Arab male participants were trying to lighten a stressful moment by joking, but did not have the sociolinguistic control to do so successfully.

American participants on the other hand, did make some pragmatic failures when trying to greet Arabs on some religious occasions. For example, some American participants used the phrases 'Happy Ramadan', and 'Happy Holiday' to greet for Ramadan. In responding to my question on this issue, an Arabic male interviewee said: 'We would not use these sentences to

greet for Ramadan as it is not a holiday in fact, but if someone wants to greet on this occasion, it is better to use the appropriate form as *Ramadan Mubarak*'. Another example of pragmatic failure was when American male participant used a very inappropriate greeting sentence (in Arabic language) to greet some Arab male friends of him while there were some ladies in the place. He used a sentence, which was clearly taught to him by Arabic male as they use such slang between them, but he did not use it in the right place.

Additionally, in contrast with what Fillmore (1984) stated about Americans behavior when greeting a friend who is having a conversation with others, my native speaker participants showed the willing to temporary and politely interrupt the conversation and show their presence by greeting everyone including the friend and his/her company. However, this behavior has been noticed to happen by male participants more than females who would rather more to wait until the other part finishes the conversation.

Body Language

From the overall numbers of using body language as greeting strategies by Arab and American groups, one can notice that the difference between the two groups is very small. However, the differences can be seen in the types of body language used most by each group, and by different gender. American group, for instance, used handshakes as first strategy, then wave hand comes as second, and the least used strategies were cheek kisses and hugs. Arab participants, on the other hand, used also handshake as a first body language greeting strategy, but the second strategy they used was cheek kiss and then hugs while the last was wave hands. These information suggest that handshake is the most common strategy of body language greeting used in both cultures.

Additionally, the data from the study also suggests that the less social distance there are between the two parts, the more body language strategies are performed by the participants. That means when the two people are close friends, they feel free to use more body language to greet each other. Furthermore, strategies like; hug and cheek kiss were used by the participants when they only greeted a close friend. Nonetheless, when it was not a close friend, Americans tended to use hands' waving to say *Hello* from a distance, or just handshake in a closer conversation. Meanwhile, Arab participants preferred not to use any body language strategies if the other person was not a close friend.

Gender differences.

Using body language for greeting is a strategy varies between males and females. In American group for example, male participants heavily relied on handshakes to greet other people, used waving hand to greet from distance (mostly used with non-close friends). American females on the other hand, used different kinds of body language strategies and mixed them together sometimes. For instance, some American female participants used handshakes with cheek kiss to greet close friends (especially other female friends), or used hug with cheek kiss, but they only wave hand for non-close friends.

Similarly, Arabic male participants tended to use handshakes as the most common strategy of body language greeting, and then waving hands to say *Hello* from distance. Females from the same group, used all different types of strategies, and combined some of them together in the same situation. But the most used strategy by Arab females was cheek kiss, which was usually combined with handshake.

In general, all male participants seemed to use handshake as a first choice of body language strategies for greetings. They also used waving hands to greet from distance. However, almost none of them used cheek kiss or hug, except for two cases from Arabic male participants. Females in contrast, used all different types of body language greeting strategies, and they tended to use more than one strategy with close friends. The data from observation notes showed that most participants tend to use more body language strategies in real life than they stated in the questionnaire scenarios. Female participants performed more body language interactions than males in general, yet male participants still used more physical strategies than they stated in the questionnaire they would do. I also noticed more using of hugs between male friends when they exchanged greetings, but in the DCT only two male participants said that they will use this strategy. I assume that female participants were more accurate when they filled in the data for questionnaire scenarios, while men tried to be more formal and careful in terms of using the body language in written forms. The data collected from interviews also came to support the observation data, where male interviewees stated that they would use more body language strategies with close friends, and just perform carefully when interacting with females.

Cultural and religious conflict.

In western societies where this is a common form of greeting, a handshake with a person of the opposite gender is not considered rude by some Muslims. However, some Muslim women may prefer not to do so. To avoid hurt American feelings should a handshake not be returned (and to avoid discomfort on the part of Muslim women when they try to avoid this), it is preferable to wait to see if they offer their hand and then follow accordingly, or greet with a slight nod of the head accompanied by a smile (Hoke, 2013). As a general rule, any touching of

any kind between males and females is not very acceptable in Arabic culture, except if they are family or relatives. Therefore, using body language strategies between males and females is not usual in most Arabic countries; however, greeting using body language within gender is very common.

Western cultures on the other hand, have no such rules. Greetings' exchange between males and females using body language is acceptable and normal act. Still, American Muslims are very familiar with norms and forms of appropriate body language strategies used between males and females, as these are fixed rules in the religion itself. Going from this point, I dint notice any pragmatic failures by American Muslims in terms of using body language strategies to greet Arab people. All American Muslim participants in this study tended to know that fact that Arab females do not shake hands with other males, and for sure never hug or cheek kiss.

Therefore, none of American Muslim males offer to shake hands with Arab females, and none of American Muslim females said that she would use body language strategies to greet Arab males.

All the data gathered from observation fields, questionnaires, and interviews showed that all Arabic females avoid the direct physical interactions with other male participants. While most American females stated that they have no problem with shaking hands or kissing cheeks with close male friend. Arab male participants on the other hand, tried to be more open-minded about using body language with the opposite gender, so I have noticed many cases where they used handshakes or sometimes hugs with other close female friends from American group. Although this act is not acceptable by Islamic religion, Arabic males who used body language with other females stated that they also should respect other peoples' culture and way of performing the greeting, or in one participant's words ' If it is okay for her, why should it be a problem for me?'.

However, while it was 'fine' with American females to use body language strategies with other males, Arab female participants did not feel comfortable to return the greeting when American male participants offer their hands to shake. One of my American interviewees said "It was an awkward moment when I offered my hand to an Arabic lady and she refused to shake my hand". I asked him if he thought that this was an impolite react from the lady to do, and he told me that she apologized to him and explained that Muslim women do not shake hands with foreign men even if they are also Muslims. Similar situation has happened just a month ago, when French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius wanted to shake hands with an Emirati female student during a brief visit to Abu Dhabi's Paris-Sorbonne University in the Emirati capital on May 26, 2013. The student refused to offer her hand, and the Foreign Minister just nodded his head and smiled (see Figure 5.1). This reaction from Muslim females happened more than once during my observations, and many of the American interviewees –males and females- said that they prefer to learn more about other peoples' culture in order to avoid such misunderstandings which may lead to pragmatic and communication failure between the two parts.



Figure 5.1 Emirati student refused to shake hands with French Foreign Minister.

Other Actions

After doing my observation data, I noticed that some participants did not directly engage to the rest of the group and start the greetings, but they instead preferred to wait for other people to come over and welcome them to the party. According to that, I decided to add three more options to my questionnaire in order to make it more reliable and accurate. The three options were: wait for the other part to initiate the greeting, ignore the other part and walk away, and other.

Waiting for the other person to start the conversation, was a hypothesis which suggests that non-native speakers would not have the enough courage and confidence to start the conversation with other native speaker of the language (Yusuf, 1986). Yet, in the current study, that was not the case. My non-native participants were perfectly able to start the conversation with English native speakers and exchange greetings with them. However, other variables like social distance between people, or the open settings like public parties, or restaurants, allowed my participants—from both groups—to have the choice of initiating the conversation, waiting for the other part to start the greeting, or just simply ignore the other part and walk away. Therefore, what I am saying is that all the other actions were kind of 'personal choice' rather than a ritual habit for some culture or group. Although Arabic group showed more usage of the other actions in overall, American group as well used the same strategies when they interacted with non-close friends.

The appearance of gender differences was kind of obvious in some cases, like in the situation where there was a classmate, or people they were not familiar with, female participants mostly chose to let the other part initiate the greeting, or just ignore them and walk away.

Another example, in scenarios number 1 and 6, some of male participants showed no problem to

interrupt their friend, who was having a conversation with other people, and start the greetings, while female participants said that they would prefer to wait for the friend to finish hi/her conversation with other people first.

The close and open places also played role with participants' choice to initiate the greetings, wait for the other part to do so, or even ignore the other person and walk away. That is, many of my interviewees indicated that when the event is a small party in some friend's house, they simply cannot ignore the host and walk away, or even wait for him/her to start the greeting, and that it is a simple politeness rule to greet your friend whenever you enter his/her house and not just stand still waiting for your friend to start the greetings. In contrast, when it is a public event, in an open place, one can have the choice either to start the conversation with other people, or ignore them and walk away without feeling threatening of losing face.

Life in Taiwan

In the demographic survey, all participants were asked to write how many years they have spent in Taiwan. Moreover, one of the questions that have been asked during the interview was; how living in Taiwan influences the greeting style of the interviewee.

Arab interviewees, in general, mentioned the language difficulties when interacting with Taiwanese people. They said that language differences can easily put some barriers in the way of communicating with other people. They also said that in order to survive in the new culture, they had to use English all the time for their daily interactions and they got to use more English than they used to do before. However, some Arab participants noticed that speaking even a few words of Chinese is greatly appreciated by Taiwanese people, so they tended to learn basic Chinese in order to have better communication with other people.

Americans on the other hand, focused more on the use of body language in Taiwanese culture. American interviewees noted that the polite way of greeting people- especially the ones you meet with for the first time- is by a nod of the head or a slight bow. They also said that a simple handshake is quite common, especially between friends, and usually combined with a slight bow to greet high ranking people. One of my American interviewees commented on the way that Taiwanese people shake hands, he said that their handshakes are usually 'limpness' and strong handshakes are not really the norm. Other American interviewees mentioned some 'rules' they learned from Taiwanese friends, such as: Placing your right hand over your left fist and raising both hands to your heart is a greeting of respect for the elderly, and do not touch anyone, especially a baby, on top of the head. Many American interviewees stated that their life in Taiwan has influenced the way they greet other people in terms of using body language. They mentioned that it is quite common in American culture to use hugs, cheek kisses, and handshakes among close friends, yet in Taiwanese culture these body language are not very common or even acceptable is some cases, therefore they preferred to go with culture's norm in terms of using the appropriate greeting style.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Summaries

Greeting strategies used by native Arabic speakers (Arabs), and native English speakers (Americans) have been examined in this study. The current study aimed to examine the most greeting strategies used by Arabs and Americans in terms of oral speech and body language. It also brought many variables to test, such as: gender differences, social distance, and religious issues. Results showed that native speakers tended to use more oral language strategies than non-natives who used body language and other actions more than native speakers in general.

Native speakers of English exhibited a greater variety in the types of greetings and creative language used in producing the greeting than we might have expected from the literature on the subject, especially when they engaged in informal or intimate situations. Non-natives on the other hand, tended to follow rather ritualized routines and remain formal; apparently, they lacked the repertoire for imitating informal style that is so common in native greetings. A number of Arab participants expressed anxiety about greeting people in some social settings. They even stated that they didn't know what to say (e.g. in Thanksgiving party).

In examining the models that non-natives are typically given in language classrooms, Bodman, J. et al. (1995) found that the ritual of starting with a *Hello*, exchanging names, and following by asking about well-being was universally presented as a greeting model. However, in the current study, much more variety occurs. For examples, comments on the food, compliment people's look, offering help, or introducing self and exchange information. Little is

available in textbook materials to show learners how a topic of conversation is commonly developed or how native speakers ease into formal introductions. There is no always a good fit between Americans greeting strategies at parties and those common in other cultures (Eisenstein, 1995).

Complex rules of body language behavior that accompany greeting such as handshaking, kissing, hugging, or waving hands vary from American culture and Arabic culture, especially if different genders involved. Using body language for greeting exchange was a commonly use strategy by both groups; however, there were some cases where misunderstanding of others' culture occurred. Religion and culture are two elements which play an important role of shaping the body language strategies that can be used by males and females when interacting with others. Sharing the same religious background between Arab participants and some American Muslim participants has proved that can definitely help understanding those rules of using the body language, and minimize the possibility of misunderstanding to happen between the two groups.

Implications for Classroom Use

Textbook writers have frequently been using 'safe' polite forms of greetings in their books. It can only be hoped that more people will look in to this issue in the future. It is also important that teachers be flexible in their approach and not to rely only on textbook. According to Schleicher (1997), the use of hand gestures, body language, and auditory sounds which may play a larger role in greetings should be considered. Also teachers may want to incorporate the use of videos; role plays, and presents alternative ways of greeting people (along with other forms of English) within the classroom setting, according to Samovar and Porter (1995).

To sum up, the major implication for second language pedagogy is that models for learning must be based on research into how greetings are actually performed. Unfortunately, not many current texts for English as second or foreign language meet this criterion. Furthermore, the complexity and interactive nature of greeting and how they are realized in different languages and cultures must be considered.

Limitations of the Current Study and Considerations for Future Research

The current study has many limitations. To begin with, the small sample of participants from both groups, which make it very difficult to generalize the findings on a specific culture. Additionally, this kind of research combines both qualitative and quantitative data have been gathered by using three different data collection methods—natural observation, open-ended questionnaire, and interviews—and that made it a very difficult task to categorize and then analyze the data. I also only used a descriptive analysis method and didn't incorporate other statistical analysis like using T-test to examine the significant differences in my data.

Another limitation was in the limited contextual situations. For example, this research did not include the formal contexts or the social status. Therefore, my recommendation for future researches is to work on that area of greeting exchange involving real life situations and incorporate with different variables to be tested. I also suggest studying the relationship between classroom textbooks materials for teaching greetings in English, and those scenarios happen in real life.

In the area of research methodology, the mixed approach to data gathering and analysis taken here was not consistent with previous studies indicating that the semantic formulas that appear in produced written data are equivalent to those found in natural observation. Instead, my

participants tended to produce more greeting strategies in natural observations than the written forms; therefore, other data collection method like role play might be very helpful along with questionnaires in such studies. However, that was only the case with non-native speakers.

English native speakers on the other hand, produced very similar quality and quantity of language in both written and natural observation settings.

Written data are helpful in determining the degree to which individuals are aware of language and content appropriate for greeting others in particular sociolinguistic contexts. The interpretation of data through interviews with participants, representing the various cultural and linguistic groups considered is extremely helpful in reaching an understanding of potentially problematic group differences and in identifying areas of shared values and perspectives. It is through such research that we will continue to expand our understanding of cross-cultural communication.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Consent Form

National Chiao Tung University (NCTU)			
TESOL Department			
Dear participant, I am a graduate student in the Graduate institute of TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) at National Chiao Tung University. I am conducting a research project for my master's thesis, titled "Hello" or "Salam?" Greetings by Arabs and Americans. In this study I want to investigate the sociolinguistic part of greetings. I will focus on the speech act of greetings performed by the two groups, Americans and Arabs, in different occasions using the English language.			
To participate in this study, you will need to complete a questionnaire. It will take approximately 30 minutes. In addition, after the analyzing of the questionnaire, you may be asked to participate in a 30 minutes interview. The interview will be tape recorded. All the information will be kept confidential, there is no risk from participating in this study, and all the data will be used only for research and academic purposes. If you decide to be in this study, you may stop participating at any time. If you have any questions about the study, please contact me (Malak Kirdasi) at my email: ash13mel@hotmail.com, or Ph.D. Cheng, Stephanie Weijung, my advisor, at email: scheng@mail.nctu.edu.tw.			
By signing your name below, you indicate your fully understanding to all information above, and you give your consent in participating in this study.			
Participant's signature Date			

Participant's contact information

Researcher's signature

Appendix B: Demographic Survey (For both Americans and Arabs)

1.	Name:
2.	Age:
3.	Nationality:
4.	Gender/sex:
	Nationality:
	b. Female
5.	Level of education:
	a. School name:
	b. Major/department:
	c. Degree:
	d. Status (if not student):
6.	How long you have been in Taiwan?
7.	What is your religious affiliation?
	a. Buddhist
	b. Christian
	c. Hindu
	d. Jewish
	e. Muslim
	f. Other:

Appendix C: Questionnaire Form

(a) Arabs version

1) You walk towards him and say:

DIRECTIONS: You will read six situations, and then for each one of the situations below, write what you would say and/or do if you met an **English native speaker** or you found yourself in the situations described. You have to choose ONLY one of the answers which you think is the closest to your mind.

(Please specify everything you might say and/or do, like handshake, hug, cheek-kiss, or even if you would do and/or say nothing and **ignore** the person.)

Situation #1: Your close friend Jack invites you to a Christmas party at his house. You enter the house and you see him talking to a group of people.

and	l/or do:
2)	You wait for Jack to come over and welcome you
3)	You ignore him and walk away
4)	Other:
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	on #2: Your close friend Maria invites you to a Thanksgiving party at her house. You
enter th	ne house and you see her putting some food on the table for dinner.
1)	You walk towards her and
	say:
	and/or do:
2)	You wait for Maria to come over and welcome you
3)	You ignore her and walk away
4)	Other:
.,	~

~· .	
	on #3: You meet Mike, a classmate with whom you are not very familiar, at the school ne party. You see him having a drink.
1)	You walk towards him and
	say:
	and/or do:
1)	You wait for Mike to come over and initiate the conversation
2)	You ignore him and walk away
3)	Other:
	on #4: You meet Mariam, a classmate with whom you are not very familiar, at the school fear's party. You see her having some food from the buffet.
1)	You walk towards her and say:
	and/or do:
2)	You wait for Mariam to come over and initiate the conversation
3)	You ignore her and walk away
4)	Other:
	on #5: You are at a restaurant having dinner with a friend. You see your neighbors David aine, whom you haven't seen for quite a while, come through the door and sit near you.
1)	You walk towards them and
	say:
	and/or do:

- 2) You wait for them to come over and initiate the conversation
- 3) You ignore them and walk away

4)	Other:
and Ma	on #6: Your school is holding a <u>Chinese New Year's</u> dinner. You come in and see Sara artin, a couple with whom you are close friends, talking to another couple with whom you familiar with.
1)	You walk towards them and say:
	and/or do:
2)	You wait for them to come over and initiate the conversation
3)	You ignore them and walk away
4)	Other:

(b) Americans version:

DIRECTIONS: You will read six situations, and then for each one of the situations below, write what you would say and/or do if you met an *Arabic native speaker* or you found yourself in the situations described. You have to choose ONLY one of the answers which you think is the closest to your mind.

(Please specify everything you might say and/or do, like *handshake*, *hug*, *cheek-kiss*, or even if you would do and/or say nothing and **ignore** the person.)

Situation #1: Your close friend Ahmed invites you to Eid party (a religious day for Muslims) at his house. You enter the house and you see him talking to a group of people.

1)	You walk towards him and
	say:
	and/or
	do:
	You wait for Ahmed to come over and welcome you
3)	You ignore him and walk away
4)	Other:

Situation #2: Your close friend Hala invites you to Ramadan Iftar dinner at her house. You enter the house you and see her putting some food on the table for dinner.

(Note: Ramadan is a Holy month for Muslims, they fast all the day time, and have the first meal with the sunset 'dinner time')

1)	You walk towards her and
	say:
	and/or do:

2)3)4)	You wait for Hala to come over and welcome you You ignore her and walk away Other:
	on #3: You meet Omar, a classmate with whom you are not very familiar, at the school me party. You see him having a drink.
1)	You walk towards him and say: and/or do:
2) 3) 4)	You wait for Omar to come over and initiate the conversation You ignore him and walk away Other:
	on #4: You meet Salma, a classmate with whom you are not very familiar, at the school rear's party; you see her having some food from the buffet.
1)	say:
2)	You wait for Salma to come over and initiate the conversation You ignore him and walk away
4)	Other:
	on #5: You are at a restaurant having dinner with a friend. You see your neighbors Ali and whom you haven't seen for quite a while, come through the door and sit near you.
1)	You walk towards them and say:
	and/or do:
2)	You wait for them to come over and initiate the conversation

3)	You ignore them and walk away
4)	Other:

Situation #6: Your school is holding a <u>Chinese New Year's</u> dinner. You come in and see Jana and Samer, a couple with whom you are close friends, talking to another couple with whom you are not familiar with.

1)	You walk towards them and
	say:
	and/or do:
2)	You wait for them to come over and initiate the conversation
3)	You ignore them and walk away
4)	Other:

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Examples of interview questions are as follow:

- 1. Does the gender of the person influence the way you greet him/her?
- 2. Does the religion of the person influence the way you greet him/her?
- 3. What kind of body language do you usually use?
- 4. What do you do if you are not familiar with the occasion you are invited to and you don't know any greeting phrases for the occasion?
- 5. How does the life in Taiwan influence your greeting style?
- 6. Do you prefer to learn more about other people's cultures and costumes and the way they greet each other before you communicate with them?
- 7. Do you have real examples or stories where you failed to convey the appropriate way of greeting to other people?

Appendix E: Tables

Table E1

The Use of Oral Speech Strategies by Arabs and Americans

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	Arabs (n= 30)	Americans (n= 30)
Initiation words	30.24 (114)*	26.99 (139)
Terms of address	15.92 (60)	12.23 (63)
Declarative sentences	7.43 (28)	8.16 (42)
Interrogative sentences	11.94 (45)	16.50 (85)
Occasion phrases	18.57 (70)	11.65 (60)
Politeness strategies	15.92 (60)	24.47 (126)
Total	100 (377)	100 (515)

Table E2

The Preferred Oral Speech Strategies by Arabs and Americans Females

	Arab Females (n= 15)	American Females (n=15)
Initiation words	29.41 (55)*	25.57 (56)
Politeness strategies	19.79 (37)	28.77 (63)
Occasion phrases	18.72 (35)	12.33 (27)
Terms of address	14.44 (27)	10.05 (22)
Interrogative sentences	9.63 (18)	16.89 (37)
Declarative sentences	8.02 (15)	6.39 (14)
Total	100 (187)	100 (219)

Table E3

The Preferred Body Language Strategies by Arabs and Americans Females

	Arab Females (n= 15)	American Females (n= 15)
Cheek kiss	33.33 (25)	18.18 (10)
Handshake	29.33 (22)*	32.73 (18)
Hug	22.67 (17)	25.45 (14)
Waving hand	14.67 (11)	23.64 (13)
Total	100 (75)	100 (55)

Table E4

The Preferred Oral Speech Strategies by Arabs and Americans Males

Arab Males	American Males
(II= 13)	(n= 15)
31.05 (59)	28.04 (83)
18.42 (35)	11.15 (33)
17.37 (33)	13.85 (41)
14.21 (27)	16.22 (48)
12.11 (23)	21.28 (63)
6.84 (13)	9.46 (28)
100 (190)	100 (296)
	(n= 15) 31.05 (59) 18.42 (35) 17.37 (33) 14.21 (27) 12.11 (23) 6.84 (13)

Table E5

The Preferred Body Language Strategies by Arabs and Americans Males

	Arab Males (n= 15)	American Males (n= 15)
Handshake	80 (32)	72.73 (40)
Waving hand	15 (6)	27.27 (15)
Hug	5 (2)	0 (0)
Cheek kiss	0 (0)	0 (0)
Total	100 (40)	100 (55)

Table E6

The Use of Strategies by Arab and American Males and Females for Situation 1

		Arab Females (n= 15)	Arab Males (n= 15)	American Females (n= 15)	American Males (n= 15)
	Initiation words	27.08 (13)*	20.97 (13)	16.25 (13)	21.50 (23)
	Terms of address	10.42 (5)	17.74 (11)	12.50 (10)	14.02 (15)
Oral Speech	Declarative sentences	4.17 (2)	1.61 (1)	0 (0)	4.67 (5)
ral S ₁	Interrogative sentences	6.25 (3)	8.06 (5)	13.75 (11)	12.15 (13)
Ö	occasion phrases	20.83 (10)	17.74 (11)	7.50 (6)	10.28 (11)
	Politeness strategies	12.50 (6)	4.84 (3)	28.75 (23)	20.56 (22)
Ð	Handshake	0 (0)	17.74 (11)	6.25 (5)	14.02 (15)
gnag	Cheek kiss	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Body Language	Hug	0 (0)	3.23 (2)	1.25 (1)	0 (0)
Bo	Waving hand	6.25 (3)	1.61 (1)	6.25 (5)	0.93 (1)
	Non-initiation	6.25 (3)	3.23 (2)	2.50 (2)	0 (0)
S	Ignoring	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Others	Bringing gift	6.25 (3)	0 (0)	5 (4)	1.87 (2)
	Conditional sentences	0 (0)	3.23 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Total	100 (48)	100 (62)	100 (80)	100 (107)

Table E7

The Use of Strategies by Arab and American Males and Females for Situation 2

		Arab Females (n= 15)	Arab Males (n= 15)	American Females (n= 15)	American Males (n= 15)
	Initiation words	13.68 (13)*	21.82 (12)	15.24 (16)	19.28 (16)
	Terms of address	12.63 (12)	14.55 (8)	10.48 (11)	14.46 (12)
eech	Declarative sentences	4.21 (4)	1.82 (1)	0 (0)	1.20(1)
Oral Speech	Interrogative sentences	5.26 (5)	3.64 (2)	11.43 (12)	13.25 (11)
0	occasion phrases	11.58 (11)	21.82 (12)	8.57 (9)	9.64 (8)
	Politeness strategies	17.89 (17)	23.64 (13)	28.57 (30)	30.12 (25)
4)	Handshake	5.26 (5)	5.45 (3)	2.86 (3)	12.05 (10)
Body Language	Cheek kiss	15.79 (15)	0 (0)	8.57 (9)	0 (0)
ly Lai	Hug	10.53 (10)	0 (0)	10.48 (11)	0 (0)
Bod	Waving hand	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Non-initiation	1.05 (1)	1.82 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)
S	Ignoring	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Others	Bringing gift	2.11 (2)	3.64 (2)	3.81 (4)	0 (0)
	Conditional sentences	0 (0)	1.82 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Total	100 (95)	100 (55)	100 (105)	100 (83)

Table E8

The Use of Strategies by Arab and American Males and Females for Situation 3

		Arab Females (n= 15)	Arab Males (n= 15)	American Females (n= 15)	American Males (n= 15)
	Initiation words	11.11 (2)*	15.15 (5)	33.33 (6)	34.09 (15)
	Terms of address	11.11 (2)	12.12 (4)	5.56 (1)	18.18 (8)
eech	Declarative sentences	0 (0)	6.06 (2)	5.56 (1)	9.09 (4)
Oral Speech	Interrogative sentences	0 (0)	9.09 (3)	5.56 (1)	15.91 (7)
Ö	occasion phrases	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Politeness strategies	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
4)	Handshake	0 (0)	12.12 (4)	0 (0)	2.27 (1)
ıgnage	Cheek kiss	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Body Language	Hug	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Вос	Waving hand	5.56 (1)	9.09 (3)	16.67 (3)	20.45 (9)
	Non-initiation	16.67 (3)	12.12 (4)	5.56 (1)	0 (0)
LS.	Ignoring	50 (9)	21.21 (7)	27.78 (5)	0 (0)
Others	Bringing gift	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Conditional sentences	5.56 (1)	3.03 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Total	100 (18)	100 (33)	100 (18)	100 (44)

Table E9

The Use of Strategies by Arab and American Males and Females for Situation 4

		Arab Females (n= 15)	Arab Males (n= 15)	American Females (n= 15)	American Males (n= 15)
	Initiation words	20.51 (8)*	21.05 (8)	20 (5)	29.03 (9)
	Terms of address	10.26 (4)	10.53 (4)	0 (0)	6.45 (2)
eech	Declarative sentences	2.56 (1)	10.53 (4)	4(1)	6.45 (2)
Oral Speech	Interrogative sentences	10.26 (4)	15.79 (6)	8 (2)	6.45 (2)
0	occasion phrases	7.69 (3)	13.16 (5)	28 (7)	19.35 ()
	Politeness strategies	2.56 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
4)	Handshake	10.26 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Body Language	Cheek kiss	2.56 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
ly Lar	Hug	2.56 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Bod	Waving hand	7.69 (3)	0 (0)	12 (3)	12.90 (4)
	Non-initiation	10.26 (4)	5.26 (2)	16 (4)	0 (0)
S	Ignoring	12.82 (5)	23.68 (9)	12 (3)	19.35 (6)
Others	Bringing gift	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Conditional sentences	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Total	100 (39)	100 (38)	100 (25)	100 (31)

Table E10

The Use of Strategies by Arab and American Males and Females for Situation 5

		Arab Females (n= 15)	Arab Males (n= 15)	American Females (n= 15)	American Males (n= 15)
	Initiation words	21.95 (9)*	25.53 (12)	23.81 (10)	20 (11)
	Terms of address	4.88 (2)	6.38 (3)	0 (0)	5.45 (3)
eech	Declarative sentences	14.63 (6)	8.51 (4)	23.81 (10)	20 (11)
Oral Speech	Interrogative sentences	9.76 (4)	19.15 (9)	23.81 (10)	20 (11)
0	occasion phrases	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Politeness strategies	9.76 (4)	6.38 (3)	4.76 (2)	14.55 (8)
	Handshake	4.88 (2)	10.64 (5)	11.90 (5)	12.73 (7)
Body Language	Cheek kiss	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
ly Lar	Hug	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Bod	Waving hand	9.76 (4)	4.26 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Non-initiation	14.63 (6)	6.38 (3)	11.90 (5)	7.27 (4)
S	Ignoring	4.88 (2)	6.38 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Others	Bringing gift	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Conditional sentences	4.88 (2)	6.38 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Total	100 (41)	100 (47)	100 (42)	100 (55)

Table E11

The Use of Strategies by Arab and American Males and Females for Situation 6

		Arab Females (n= 15)	Arab Males (n= 15)	American Females (n= 15)	American Males (n= 15)
-	Initiation words	14.93 (10)*	20.93 (9)	15.38 (6)	18.75 (9)
	Terms of address	2.99 (2)	6.98 (3)	0 (0)	2.08 (1)
eech	Declarative sentences	2.99 (2)	2.33 (1)	5.13 (2)	10.42 (5)
Oral Speech	Interrogative sentences	2.99 (2)	4.65 (2)	2.56 (1)	8.33 (4)
0	occasion phrases	16.42 (11)	16.28 (7)	12.82 (5)	16.67 (8)
	Politeness strategies	13.43 (9)	9.30 (4)	20.51 (8)	16.67 (8)
	Handshake	16.42 (11)	20.93 (9)	12.82 (5)	14.58 (7)
Body Language	Cheek kiss	13.43 (9)	0 (0)	2.56 (1)	0 (0)
y Lai	Hug	8.96 (6)	0 (0)	5.13 (2)	0 (0)
Bod	Waving hand	0 (0)	0 (0)	5.13 (2)	2.08 (1)
	Non-initiation	5.97 (4)	13.95 (6)	17.95 (7)	10.42 (5)
SJ	Ignoring	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Others	Bringing gift	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Conditional sentences	1.49 (1)	4.65 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Total	100 (67)	100 (43)	100 (39)	100 (48)