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Socio-Pragmatic Functions of Greeting Expressions in Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language Textbooks

Yabancı Dil Olarak Türkçe Öğretimi Ders Kitaplarındaki Selamla(ş)ma İfadelerinin Toplum-Edim Bilimsel İşlevleri

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Abstract

Greetings serve as a fundamental aspect of human communication, playing a pivotal role in establishing and maintaining social relationships. This research investigates the socio-pragmatic functions of greetings reflected in teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language (TFL) textbooks, aiming to shed light on how the intricate interplay between language, culture, and social interaction is reflected in teaching materials. With this aim, greeting exchanges from five different series of TFL textbooks were collected and analyzed. In the quantitative analyses, the frequency of each form and strategy of greetings were determined in the data. In the qualitative analyses, the classification and pragmatic functions of the greetings were investigated by analyzing different variables such as the gender of the speakers, time relations, familiarity between the speakers, formality/speaker roles, the speech context, and the photographic details accompanying greetings. The data was also analyzed according to Ebsworth et al.'s (1995) categorization of American greetings. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) levels of the textbooks under focus were considered in the analyses. The findings showed that greeting forms have mostly been reflected in the A1 level according to the CEFR criteria and the most frequently reflected form of greeting in Turkish is merhaba (Ar. marhaba/Eng. hello) in the current data. In terms of the socio-linguistic/pragmatic and non-verbal aspects regarding greetings and the classification and the socio-pragmatic functions of greetings in TFL textbooks, various reflections of the role of greetings in shaping social interaction in Turkish culture were also displayed.

Keywords: Socio-pragmatics, Turkish, TFL textbooks, greetings.

Öz

Selamla(ş)ma, insan iletişiminin temel bir unsurudur ve sosyal ilişkilerin kurulmasında ve sürdürülmesinde önemli bir rol oynar. Bu makale, Yabancı Dil Olarak Türkçe (YADOT) ders kitaplarında yansıtılan selamla(ş)maların toplum-edim bilimsel işlevlerini inceleyerek dil, kültür ve sosyal etkileşim arasındaki karmaşık etkileşimin öğretim materyallerine nasıl yansıdığına ışık tutmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla beş farklı YADOT ders kitabı serisinden selamla(ş)malar derlenmiş ve incelenmiştir. Niceliksel incelemelerde, mevcut verideki her bir selamla(ş)ma biçiminin ve yönteminin sıklığı belirlenmiştir. Nitel incelemelerde ise,

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konuşmacıların cinsiyeti, zaman ilişkileri, konuşmacılar arasındaki aşinalık, resmiyet/konuşmacı rolleri, konuşma bağlamı ve selamla(ş)malara eşlik eden görsel detaylar gibi farklı değişkenler incelenerek selamla(ş)maların sınıflandırılması ve edim bilimsel işlevleri araştırılmıştır. Veriler aynı zamanda Ebsworth ve diğerlerinin (1995) Amerikan selamla(ş)malarına ilişkin sınıflandırmasına göre de incelenmiştir. Odaklanılan ders kitaplarının Avrupa Ortak Öneriler Çerçevesi (AOÖÇ) seviyeleri incelemelerde dikkate alınmıştır. Bulgular, AOÖÇ ölçütlerine göre selamla(ş)ma biçimlerinin çoğunlukla A1 düzeyinde yansıtıldığını ve mevcut verilerde Türkçede en sık yansıtılan selamla(ş)ma biçiminin merhaba (Ar. marhaba/İng. hello) olduğunu göstermiştir. Ayrıca, YADOT ders kitaplarında selamla(ş)manın toplum-dilbilimsel/edim bilimsel ve sözel olmayan yönleri ve sınıflandırılması ile selamla(ş)manın toplum-edim bilimsel işlevleri kapsamında Türk kültüründe selamla(ş)manın sosyal etkileşimi şekillendirmedeki rolünün çeşitli yansımaları da ortaya konmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplum-edim bilim, Türkçe, YADOT ders kitapları, selamla(ş)malar.

Greetings are indispensable not only in everyday oral social interactions but also in some written forms of communication such as e-mails, text messages, letters, etc. They are usually the markers of the beginning of these interactional exchanges and could be in verbal and/or non-verbal forms. Kendo (1990, p. 153) defines greetings, in the reprinted version of their work with Andrew Ferber in 1973, as a "unit of social interaction often observed when people come into another's presence, which includes a distinctive exchange of gestures or utterances in which each person appears to signal to the other, directly and explicitly, that s/he has been seen".

Even though greetings are a universal phenomenon observed in many languages, they have a great diversity across languages due to different factors such as various cultural and socio-religious aspects of languages, regional differences, the social context and speech setting they are used in, the familiarity/roles of the speakers and even the personal traits of the speakers. In addition, even if they are mostly considered ritualized behaviors, they can contain elements that are not routine. Therefore, they could be problematic for non-native speakers. Greetings could also present difficulties to non-natives since non-native speakers were frequently inclined to transfer the greeting strategies of their native language into their second or foreign languages. The more speakers understand the cultural context of the greetings, the better the society appreciates them, and the more they are regarded as well-behaved (Schleicher, 1997, p. 334).

The Classification and Pragmatic Functions of Greetings

The production of the speech acts has attracted researchers who study the teaching of a language as a second/foreign language since performing a native-like linguistic, communicative, and pragmatic competence in the production of speech acts by non-native speakers of a language is a highly challenging task that requires special attention in language classes. Most of these studies focused on the speech acts of thanking/expressing gratitude, apologizing, and requesting. The speech act of greeting has recently been the focus of such studies.

In some of these recent studies, researchers tried to give a classification of greetings depending on different perspectives. Shleykina (2019) suggests that traditionally, verbal greetings in English are classified according to time indication, contextual factors, and lexico-semantic content and as the ones distinguished by the social context. There are lots of research studies classifying greetings by using these various criteria (see Halliday, 1975; Greere, 2005; Leech & Svartvik, 2002; Schegloff,

1986 for more information). Similarly, as for the form a greeting takes, Ellis (1994) and Zeff (2016) emphasize the importance of the context of the encounter.

In another study analyzing greetings in English, Ebsworth, et al. (1995, p. 93-95) identified eight categories of American greetings as follows; *Greetings on the Run* (greeting among intimates and acquaintances), *Speedy Greeting* (greeting that begins and ends abruptly, and information is exchanged.), *The Chat* (greeting includes a short discussion on a topic or two before either leave-taking or the real purpose of the communication is introduced), *The Long Greeting* (greeting involves re-establishing bonds between two people after a period of separation.), *Intimate Greeting* (greeting in which the speakers may know each other so well that they may leave a great deal implied or unsaid. Sometimes the greeting itself is omitted except for non-verbal), *All Business-Greeting* (greeting which is sometimes characterized with a noticeably short preliminary greeting or, sometimes, no greeting at all.), *The Introductory Greeting* (greeting between two people who are meeting for the first time. It can start with a comment.), and *The Re-greeting* (greeting that involves acknowledging someone you have greeted earlier or seen repeatedly during the day).

As known, greetings have various pragmatic functions other than the literal meanings they convey. They can serve to acknowledge the presence of a conversational partner (Goffman, 1971), or they function as expressive illocutionary acts (Austin, 1962). They could also be used pragmatically to mark politeness and positive face or to acknowledge differences in social status (see Brown and Levinson, 1987; Goffman, 1971). In this respect, Wei (2010) categorized the greetings based on Brown and Levinson's model of politeness and the five strategies they suggested that a person can deal with a face-threatening act to maintain the interactant's negative face or enhance their positive face to any degree in social interaction (bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness, off-record, and not doing the Face Threatening Acts). In another study, Williams (2001) categorized greetings according to four linguistic forms; 'Hi,' 'Good X' (morning, evening, etc.), 'Hello,' and 'Other.' He also classified greetings according to passing (the use of an utterance by at least one of the two people involved without any other conversation at that moment) and engaging (a greeting leads to some form of conversation after the initial exchange); and mirrored (e.g., hi/hi), and greeting-response (e.g., good morning/how are you?).

The acquisition of cultural pragmatic norms related to greetings takes time for non-native speakers of a language, even for the ones with higher levels of proficiency. The performance of these cultural pragmatic norms of greeting could be very determinant in judging the proficiency level of a non-native speaker in his/her second/foreign language. However, as emphasized by Zeff (2016, p. 3), the typical second language (L2) classroom may provide too few examples of this extremely important phase of communication that is often the first opportunity for language learners to demonstrate their communicative competence. Similarly, Ebsworth et al. (1995, p. 101) point out that sometimes non-native speakers feel anxious about greeting people in social settings and do not know what to say (which is mostly due to the limited ritual universal models that non-natives are typically given in language classrooms-the ritual of beginning with a "hello", exchanging names and following with asking about well-being.) They also emphasize that little is available in textbook materials to show learners how a topic of conversation is mutually developed or how native speakers ease into formal introductions. Due to these facts, some researchers

analyzed the pragmatics of greetings reflected in textbooks designed for teaching a second/foreign language. For example, Williams (2001) suggests that textbooks fail to provide students with authentic situations (lack of variety, inappropriate representation of status, etc.). Similarly, Inawati (2016) points out that fewer various types of greetings are presented, and meta-pragmatic information is limited in the textbooks designed for teaching English as a Foreign Language in Indonesia. There are other studies emphasizing that textbooks address greetings with limited real-life like pragmatic instruction (Kakiuchi, 2005; Zeff, 2020). As a result of this situation, non-natives acquiring a language in language classrooms depending on the contexts that textbooks provide, could fail to give immediate and culturally appropriate native-like responses in real-life situations.

Greetings in Turkish

Greetings in Turkish is an understudied subject. Gökdayı (2008) lists the expressions *günaydın* (Eng. good morning), *iyi akşamlar* (Eng. good evening), *iyi sabahlar* (Eng. good morning/ have a nice morning), *selamünaleyküm* (Ar. salam aleykum/Eng. Allah's peace be with you), *iyi günler* (Eng. have a good day), *merhaba* (Ar. marhaba/Eng. hello) as formulaic greeting words in Turkish.

In a more comprehensive study with a historical linguistic perspective, Keskin (2017, p. 129) provides a broader list of common phrases and expressions of greetings in Türkiye and draws attention to the similarity of the greeting phrases, including the meaning of "good (iyi)" in Turkish with the greetings "good morning, have a good day, have a good sleep (...) in English, and the similarity of *hoş geldiniz* in Turkish with *wel(l)come* in English. Keskin (2017, p. 129) also suggested that the use of the words *selamünaleyküm* (Ar. salam aleykum/Eng. Allah's peace be with you), *merhaba* (Ar. marhaba/Eng. hello), and the phrases with the meaning of *hayırlı* (Ar. khayr-mubarak/Eng. blessed) became widespread with the influence of Arabic after the Turks met with Islam. Other than these influences from Arabic, Keskin also pointed out that the Turks widely used expressions derived from Turkish, Mongolian, and Persian origin words from the beginning of history to the present day, and in general, they brought the idea of "friendship," and "harmlessness"; and the wishes of "health", "peace", "kindness", "happiness", "good luck" and "blessedness" to the front in these expressions of greetings and goodbyes, just like other communities.

From a socio-pragmatic point of view, Yüceol Özezen (2017) analyzed greetings acts in 51 dialogues and monologues from two Turkish novels. Some of her significant observations and assumptions are as follows:

(1) Even if greeting someone and responding to greetings are mostly perceived as a moral issue, a matter of politeness, and a religious "obligation" in Turkish society, sometimes communication could be directly initiated without greetings, or the greetings are fudged or conducted only by one of the parties due to several reasons (such as greeting a group of audience who are naturally in a passive position in the communication process)

(2) In Turkish culture, there are certain social expectations for determining the person who greets the other first. For example, the person who knocks on a door and enters greets the person inside first, or younger people greet the older first. However, the opposite situations could be observed depending on the intimacy level between the parties.

(3) There are at least three stages of greetings in contextual situations exceeding the limits of greeting words and in an ideal greeting: the first stage is the preparation, the second stage is the main part, and the third stage is the dialogue after the greeting.

(4) Almost every greeting act has two pragmatic functions (such as wishing someone well and greeting, introducing oneself and greeting, etc.).

(5) In some contexts, there are no distinctive markers of the greeting act. The greeting act could be realized indirectly.

(6) There are various non-verbal behaviors accompanying greetings in Turkish society, such as placing the right hand on heart while greeting, hugging, hand-kissing (for greeting the elderly or respected people- after kissing the hand, the greeter's drawing the hand to his/her forehead), or the greeter's buttoning his/her clothes with respect.

Similarly, with Çetin (2022) investigated greetings in Turkish folk tales with a socio-pragmatic perspective based on politeness theory and speech act theory.

As for the responses in the contexts of greetings in Turkish, Aksan & Demirhan (2015) suggest that expressions of gratitude in Turkish *teşekkür ederim* and *sağol* are used as ritualized responses.

Other than the ones mentioned above, there are studies analyzing greetings in Turkish with different perspectives. (Akalin 2008; Küçükbasmacı, 2015; Gel, 2001; Sümer, 1980).

The aim of this study is to analyze the pragmatic functions of greetings reflected in 5 commonly used teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language (TFL) textbook series consisting of different proficiency levels and to evaluate if adequate pragmatic content is provided in these book series to raise the pragmatic awareness of learners of TFL, guided by the following research questions.

1. What are the most frequently used forms and strategies of greetings presented in TFL textbooks?
2. How are some socio-linguistic/pragmatic aspects regarding greetings, such as the gender of the speakers, time relations, familiarity between the speakers, formality/speaker roles, and the speech context reflected in TFL textbooks?
3. What are the classification and the socio-pragmatic functions of greetings in TFL textbooks?
4. What kind of photographic details are used to reflect non-verbal behaviors accompanying greetings in Turkish society?

Methodology

To investigate speech acts, researchers must analyze data, which can be gathered through different methods. The concepts of *armchair*, *field*, and *laboratory* have been presented by Clark and Bangerter (2004, p. 25) as categorizations for distinct approaches to conducting pragmatic research. In this study, the researcher utilized the field method which depends on observations on daily language use in Clark and Bangerter's (2004) categorization. As suggested by Jucker (2009), since research articles, newspaper features or novels also have communicative aims, the term *field method*

could be applied to all empirical analyses of language that was produced outside of the research project. According to Jucker (2009, p. 1616), the field method comprises four different approaches, and in the philological method (one of these approaches), the researcher reads data, typically novels or other fictional material (foreign language textbooks in the current study) and makes notes of all the language data under focus that can be found.

By employing the field method approach, this study ensures the collection of authentic and contextualized data, enhancing the validity and reliability of the research findings. However, the investigation of the greeting act is being limited when using foreign language textbooks, as it only allows for analysis of the greeting situations found within the textbooks. Therefore, it was important to choose the TFL textbook series with various reflections of the greeting act in Turkish.

Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

In the current research study, a mixed-methods approach was employed, utilizing both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to provide a comprehensive understanding of the greeting acts in Turkish. Ensuring validity and reliability in qualitative research can be challenging compared to quantitative research due to several reasons, such as subjectivity, small sample sizes, contextual factors, researcher influence, lack of standardized instruments, etc. To address these challenges, researchers employ various strategies, such as using multiple data sources and methods and peer debriefing.

In this study, various precautions were taken by the researcher to enhance the validity and reliability of the research. To ensure the validity of the study, the opinion of a subject expert, an instructor who had experience in teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language with different TFL textbook series and had a Ph.D. in Turkish Language and Literature, was taken for the selection of the material that will contribute to the purpose of the study.

In this respect, the data for the current study comes from the greeting exchanges collected from five different series of TFL textbooks, including twenty-four books. Yedi İklim Türkçe, Yeni İstanbul, İzmir, Yabancılar İçin Türkçe, and Yeni Hitit textbook series were selected as the subject of analysis since they had various reflections on the greeting act in Turkish in versatile contexts as mentioned above. They were also among the most popular series in TFL classes. In addition, there are not many options regarding TFL textbooks since TFL has recently been a popular field of study. Each series consists of several textbooks classified by Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) proficiency levels from A1 to C2. The information about the textbooks analyzed is as seen in Table 1.

Table 1. The Information About the Textbooks Analyzed

Number	Title	CEFR Level/Number of Textbooks	Publisher	Publication Year
1.	Yedi İklim Türkçe	A1 (1), A2 (1), B1(1), B2 (1), C1 (1), and C2 (1)	Yunus Emre Enstitüsü	2015
2.	Yeni İstanbul	A1 (1), A2 (1), B1(1), B2 (1), and C1 (1)	Zeki Kitap KS Kültür Sanat Yayınevi	2022

Press Glocal				
3.	İzmir	A1 (1), A2 (1), B1(1), B2 (1), and C1 (1)	Papatya Yayıncılık Eğitim A.Ş.	2015
4.	Yabancılar İçin Türkçe	A1 (1), A2 (1), B1(1), B2 (1), and C1 (1)	Gazi Üniversitesi TÖMER	2013
5.	Yeni Hitit	A1-A2 (1), B1 (1), B2-C1 (1)	Ankara Üniversitesi TÖMER	2009

After determining the textbook series to analyze, individual expressions of greetings and greeting exchanges were identified in each textbook as the units of analysis and both quantitative and qualitative analyses were conducted. All of the findings of the research were presented without comment, and data loss was prevented by taking notes by the researcher in a detailed and organized manner, which has an increasing effect on the reliability of the research. Additionally, the data were scanned independently by the subject expert mentioned above to make sure that greeting acts were collected consistently and reliably from the data. A consensus was reached between the researcher and the subject expert on the consistent and reliable collection and classification of the data.

All samples of greetings were marked no matter in which context they occurred. In this respect, the greetings reflected in example sentences, exercises, introductory speeches/texts, narratives, personal recounts, public speaking, oral presentations, letters, e-mails, phone calls, (live) radio/TV interviews, and other forms of social exchanges in the textbooks were all included in the analyses.

In order to answer the research questions, first, the number of occurrences of each form and strategy of greetings were determined in the obtained data, and the most frequently used forms and strategies were found. As for the classification of greetings and their pragmatic functions; the gender of the speakers, time relations, familiarity between the speakers, formality/speaker roles, and the speech context were considered in the analyses.

As suggested by Jucker (2009), the field method allows the researcher to go back over the material several times to make sure that s/he did not miss a single sample of the subject matter. Using this advantage of the field method, the researcher revisited the entire corpus and checked the correct marking of the greetings each time she analyzed a different variable during the process. In this respect, she revisited the corpus more than seven times and checked all the collected data, which enhanced the validity of the data collection procedures.

The findings were classified according to the CEFR levels of the textbooks under focus. Ebsworth et al.'s (1995) categorization of American greetings was also investigated in the current data. Photographic details that are used to reflect non-verbal behaviors accompanying greetings were analyzed by using the pictures accompanying the parts of the textbooks involving greeting expressions and exchanges.

Findings

In this section of the study, the findings of the quantitative and qualitative analyses are presented regarding the frequency, classification, and pragmatic functions of greetings reflected in TFL textbooks.

Table 2. Raw Frequency of Expressions of Greetings Reflected in TFL Textbooks

	A1	A1-A2	A2	B1	B2	B2- C1	C1	C2	Total
(Edacığım) (Herkes) Merhaba(lar) (arkadaşlar/sinemaseverler/kızım/oğlum/günlüğüm/değerli öğrenciler)									
(My dear Eda) (Hello (to everyone) (friends/cinema lovers/my daughter/my son/my diary/my dear students).	136	19	47	30	7	0	0	1	240
Ben/(Benim) Adım (I am/ My name is)	114	15	22	5	1	0	1	0	158
(Sen/Siz) Nasılsın(ız)? (How are you?)	106	9	12	11	4	0	0	0	142
(Ben de)(Çok şükür) (Ben çok) İyiyim / (Biz çok) iyiyiz/ İyilik (sağlık)/iyidir. (Me too) (Thank God) (I am very) good / (We are very) good / All's well (Everything is fine including my health)/ I'm doing fine.)	62	11	13	11	2	0	0	0	99
(Salsa Organizasyon) İyi Günler. (Salsa Organization) Good Afternoon.)	47	6	16	5	2	0	0	1	77
(Programımıza) Hoş geldin(iz) (efendim) (geçin içeri çocuklar)(Sofya Hanım)(hanımefendi) (buyurun)(sefalar getirdiniz). (Welcome (to our program) (sir) (come in, guys) (Mrs. Sofia) (madam) (yes, sir (means I'm listening)) (you're very welcome (it's been a pleasure seeing you)).	31	4	11	5	9	0	1	1	62
Teşekkür ederim(sen?)/Teşekkürler. (Thank you (you?)/ Thanks.)	42	2	8	3	1	0	0	0	56
(Ben de)(Tanıştığımıza) Memnun oldum. (Nice to meet you,(too).)	51	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	55
(Hoş geldiniz)(Tabi efendim) (Altınkanat Havayolları) (Gezgin Seyahat) (Kapıda kaldınız) Buyur(un) (Cem Bey/Murat Bey/efendim/amca/beyefendi/lütfen/abla)(oturun) (şöyle oturun) (ne vardı?) (Welcome) (Sure sir) (Altınkanat Airlines) (Gezgin Travel) (You've been standing by the door for a while) Please come in (Mr. Cem/Mr. Murat/ sir/ uncle/ Mr./ elder sister) (have a seat) (have a seat over here) (how can I help you?)	21	5	17	6	4	0	0	0	53

Diğer duruma özgü selamlamalar (Other situational greetings)	18	3	10	5	11	0	0	2	49
Günaydın (efendim)/ İyi sabahlar. (Good morning (sir)/Have a nice morning.)	29	6	3	3	0	0	0	0	41
Sayın (yetkili/seyirciler/dinleyiciler/müdürüm/hocam/ Eren Bey)/ Sevgili (arkadaşım/Fatma/ anneciğim/ailem/günlük/ dostum/ gençler/izleyiciler)/ Değerli (meslektaşlarım/müşterimiz/ Anneciğim/öğretmenim) (Dear (sir-madam/ audience/listeners/(my) manager/(my) teacher (lecturer-professor)/ Mr. Eren) Dear ((my) friend/Fatma/mommy/(my) family/(my) dairy/(my) close friend/ young people/viewers) Dear (colleagues/(our) customer/mommy/(my) teacher))	6	4	5	8	6	1	2	1	33
Ne haber?/ (Senden) Naber?/ (Sen) Ne yapıyorsun? (burada)/Ne var ne yok?/N'apıyorsun? (What's up? / What's up (with you)? / How are (you) doing? (here)/ What's up?/How you doing?)	22	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	30
Hoş bulduk (efendim). (I'm glad to be here (sir).)	16	2	5	2	4	0	0	1	30
Alo (baba)/Efendim? ((on the phone) Hello (dad)/ Yes?)	8	8	6	7	0	0	0	0	29
Pardon/Affedersiniz (memur bey)(bakabilir misiniz?)/(Garson) bakar mısınız? (Pardon me / Excuse me (officer) (can you take a look here?)/(Waiter) can you take a look here?)	18	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	22
Selam(lar). (Hello/Greetings.)	16	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	20
(Sizin/Senin) Adın(ız) ne(dir)? (What's your name?)	13	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
(Evet Mussa) Şikâyetin(iz) ne(dir)?/Neyiniz var? (Yes, Mussa) What's your complaint? What's wrong with you?	6	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	12
(Size) Nasıl yardımcı olabilirim?/Yardım edebilir miyim (hanımefendi)?/Nasıl yardım edebilirim? (How can I help (you)? Can I help you (ma'am)? How can I help?)	5	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	11
(Sen) Nerelisin(iz)? (Where are you from?)	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Sağol(un).	4	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	9

(Thank you.)									
Karagöz Hacivat gölge oyunu selamlamaları (The greetings of the two lead characters of the traditional Turkish shadow play)	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	6	9
İyi akşamlar. (Good evening.)	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Ne alırsın(ız)?/Ne içersiniz?/Ne arzu edersiniz?/Ne yemek istersiniz?/Siparişlerinizi alayım? (What would you like to have (order)? /What would you like to drink? / What would you like to have? / What would you like to eat? /Can I take your order?)	4	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	7
(Senin de (kutlu olsun) (oğlum/kızım) (bayramın mübarek olsun (oğlum/dedeciğim/benim tatlı kızım)). Happy Eid (to you, too,)) (my son/ daughter) (may your Eid be blessed, too, (my son/grandfather/my sweet daughter)).	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Remzi Usta/Rasim Bey/ Güzin Abla/Muavin Bey/ Ayşe Teyze/Baloncu Amca/ Ali (Repair Master Remzi/ Mr. Rasim/ Big Sister Güzin (Advice Columnist)/ Mr. Bus Attendant/ Aunt Ayşe/ The balloon man (uncle)/Ali)	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	6
Hayırlı işler. (Have a blessed working day.)	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
Geçmiş olsun. (Çok merak ettik seni). (I am glad it's over (I'm glad you recovered). (We were worried about you).)	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	6
Bayramın(ız) kutlu/mübarek olsun (anne/baba/anneciğim/babacığım)/Hepimizin bayramı mübarek olsun. (May your Eid be blessed (mom/father/mommy/daddy)/ May we all have a blessed Eid).	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Kolay gelsin. (May it be easy.)	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Selamünaleyküm./Aleykümselem. (Allah's peace be with you. / Allah's peace be with you, too.)	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	4
Aman efendim kimleri görüyorum./ Sizi görmek ne büyük şeref./ Şeref verdiniz ./ Gözümüz yollarda kaldı. (Oh my, look who this is. / What an honor to see you. / We are honored by your presence. / We have been waiting for a long time to see you.)	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	4

Rica ederim. (You're welcome.)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
İyi geceler. (Good night.)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
İyi bayramlar (anneanne/benim güzel yavrum). (Happy Eid (grandmother/my beautiful child).)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Eh (işte) fena değil. (Eh (well) not bad.)	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Tebrikler (Suzan Hanım). (Congratulations (Ms. Suzan).)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
İyi dersler. (Enjoy the class.)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hayırlı günler. (Have a blessed day.)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
(Ahmet) Nerelerdesin görüşemiyoruz? ((Ahmet) Where have you been? Long time no see.)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

As seen in Table 2, greeting forms have mostly been reflected in A1 level, and the most frequently reflected form of greeting in Turkish is merhaba (Ar. marhaba/Eng. hello) in the current data. The introductory greeting *ben/(benim) adım* (Eng. I am/ my name is), and *nasılsın(ız)?* (Eng. how are you?) followed it. *Teşekkür ederim(sen?)/teşekkürler* (thank you (you?)/ thanks) are also common forms of greeting in the current data. As mentioned before, Aksan & Demirhan (2015) suggest that *Teşekkür ederim(sen?)/teşekkürler* (thank you (you?)/ thanks) as expressions of gratitude in Turkish are used as ritualized responses in greetings. That is probably why “How are you? Fine, thanks and you? I am fine, thank you” is the most commonly taught pattern of greeting someone in teaching English as a second/foreign language classes in Turkey. However, it is interesting that Kakiuchi (2005) reports “thanks/ thank you” as responses to the greeting “how are you?” have not been observed in authentic conversations of native speakers of American English in his data. This is a reflection of how the appropriate performance of greetings goes much beyond linguistic appropriateness and is linked to the pragmatic and communicative competence, and metapragmatic awareness of the speakers.

Greetings involving phrases with the meaning of *hayırlı* (Ar. khayr-mubarak/Eng. blessed), and the expressions *iyi bayramlar/ bayramın(ız) kutlu/mübarek olsun* (Eng. Happy Eid/May your Eid be blessed) and *selamünaleyküm/aleyküm selam* (Eng. Allah’s peace be with you-Ar. salam aleykum/ Eng. Allah’s peace be with you, too- Ar. aleykumu s-salam) that have religious orientations and are very common in daily use were also reflected in different leveled books (mostly in A1 level books).

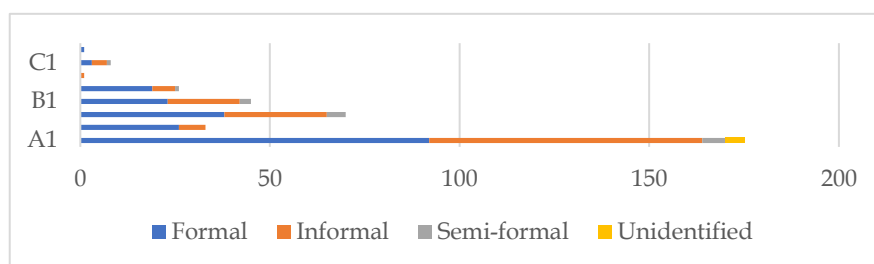
The special greetings of two leading characters *Hacıvat* (educated) and *Karagöz* (illiterate) in traditional Turkish shadow play coming from Ottoman Empire times were also reflected in B2 and C1 level books of two different textbook series understanding of which requires a very good command of Turkish language and cultural background knowledge. Most of the time these greetings include fun elements and rhyme which makes them harder to understand for non-native speakers of Turkish.

Some reflections of family relationship terms (such as “*amca*” (uncle), “*teyze*” (aunt), “*abla*” (elder sister), “*abi*” (elder brother), “*kardeş*” (younger brother), “*yenge*” (sister-in-law)) very commonly used when addressing someone as an indication of respect, and affection in Turkish society were also found in the current data.

Among the time-bound expressions, *iyi günler* (Eng. have a nice day/good afternoon) was the most frequent expression in the current data (Turkish expression *iyi günler* could be translated into English as *have a nice day* or *good afternoon*. However, the exact translation of *good afternoon* is *tünaydın* in Turkish. *Tünaydın* as a greeting expression was not reflected in any of the textbooks analyzed). In general, time-bound expressions were common in A1-level books.

Another issue analyzed in the current data was the formality level of the greetings in TFL textbooks. The findings are seen in Table 3:

Table 3. Formality Level of the Greetings Reflected in TFL Textbooks



As seen in Table 3, greetings were reflected more in formal contexts in TFL textbooks for all CEFR levels except B2-C1 and C1 levels. Some greetings were classified as semi-formal as seen in example (1). In some cases, it was totally difficult to determine the formality level due to different reasons such as the shortness of the conversation, lack of contextual information, unidentified speaker roles, etc. These examples were classified as unidentified in the current data.

(1) Müşteri: Merhaba. Ben kurs programlarını öğrenmeye geldim.

(Customer: Hello. I'm here to have some information about the course programs.)

Görevli: Tabii. Hemen takvime bakalım. Hafta içi çarşamba, perşembe, cuma akşamları 18.00-20.00 arası, cumartesi-pazar ise sabah 10.00-13.00 arası ders var.

(Course Secretary: Sure. Let's take a look at the calendar right now. There are classes on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday evenings between 18:00 and 20:00 on weekdays, and between 10:00 and 13:00 in the morning on Saturday-Sunday.)

(...)

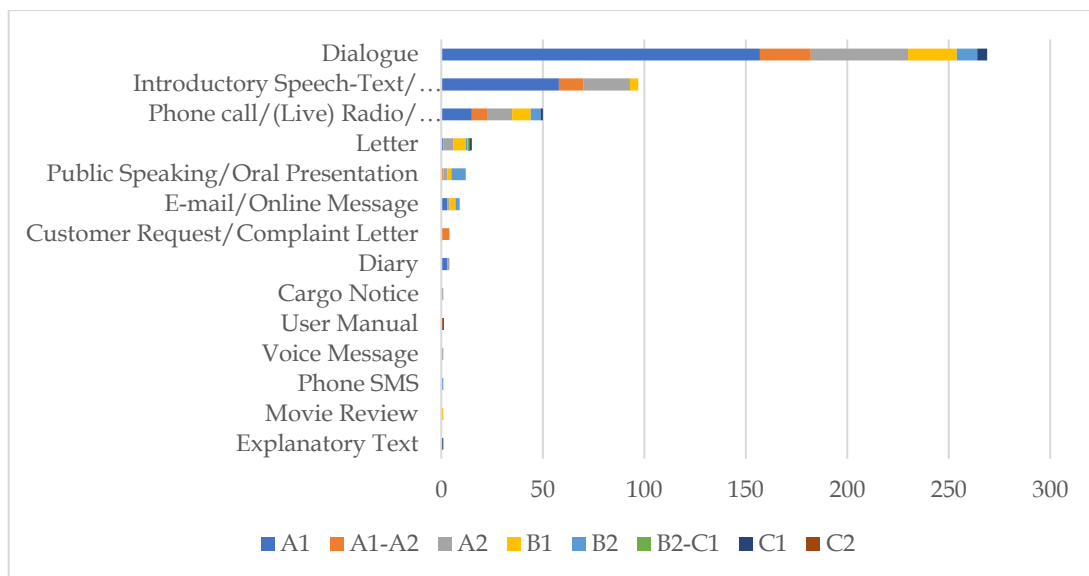
Görevli: Şu formu doldur lütfen.

(Course Secretary: Please fill out this form.) (İzmir A2, p. 96)

In example (1), the context seems to be formal, but the first sentence of the customer after the greeting word "hello" and the last sentence of the course secretary does not sound formal in Turkish. A more formal way of saying the first sentence could be "*Kurs programları hakkında bilgi alabilir miyim?* (May I have some information about the course programs?)" which sounds more appropriate for the context. The last sentence seems OK when its English translation is considered; however, there is a difference in the use of "you" in the formal context in Turkish. In Turkish, "sen" (second person singular) is used when the speakers are intimates, and "siz" (second person plural) is used in formal contexts both of which mean "you" in English. In example (1), the sentence could be more formal by saying "*Şu formu doldur(un) lütfen*" in which the "-un" suffix refers to the formal second person plural "you" (*siz*) in Turkish.

As for the context of greetings reflected in TFL textbooks, the overall findings are seen in Table 4.

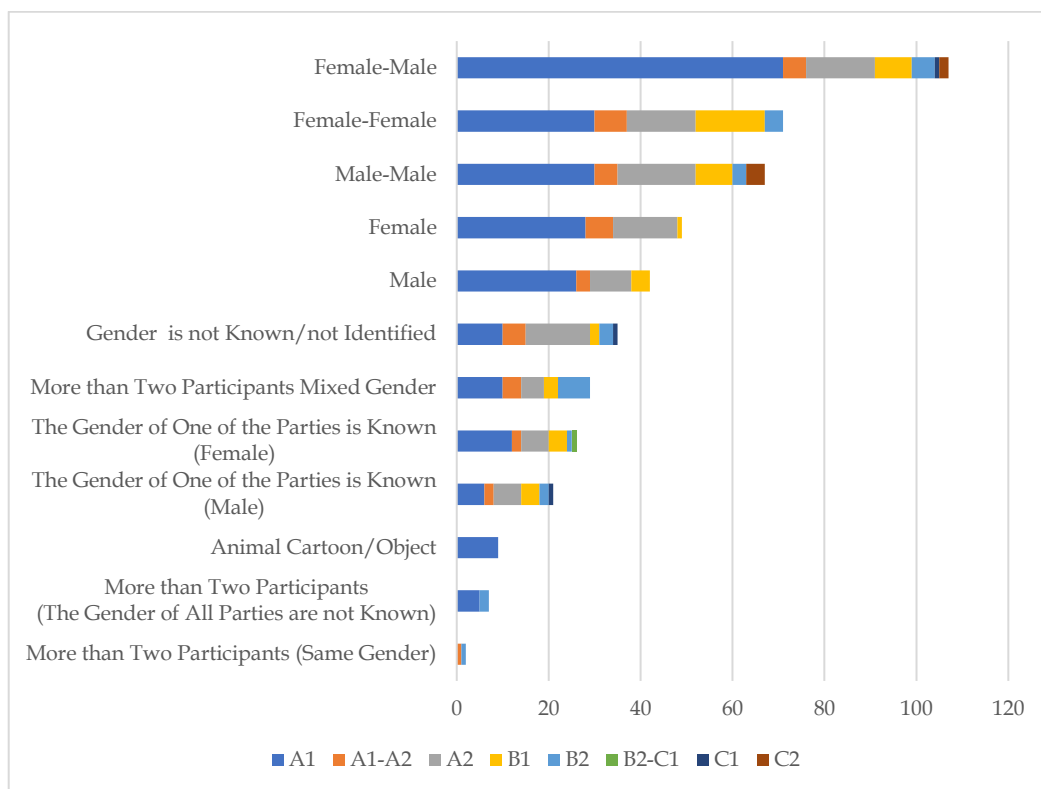
Table 4. The Context of Greetings Reflected in TFL Textbooks



As seen in Table 4, greetings were mostly reflected in dialogues between two or more speakers in the current data. Introductory speeches-texts/personal recounts/narratives by a single person were also common contexts in textbooks with different CEFR levels. Greetings in public speaking and oral presentations were common in B2 level books as expected since they require a stronger command of language. In Table 4, it is seen that greetings in various specific contexts including cargo notices, user manuals, voice messages, and movie reviews were reflected in TFL textbooks.

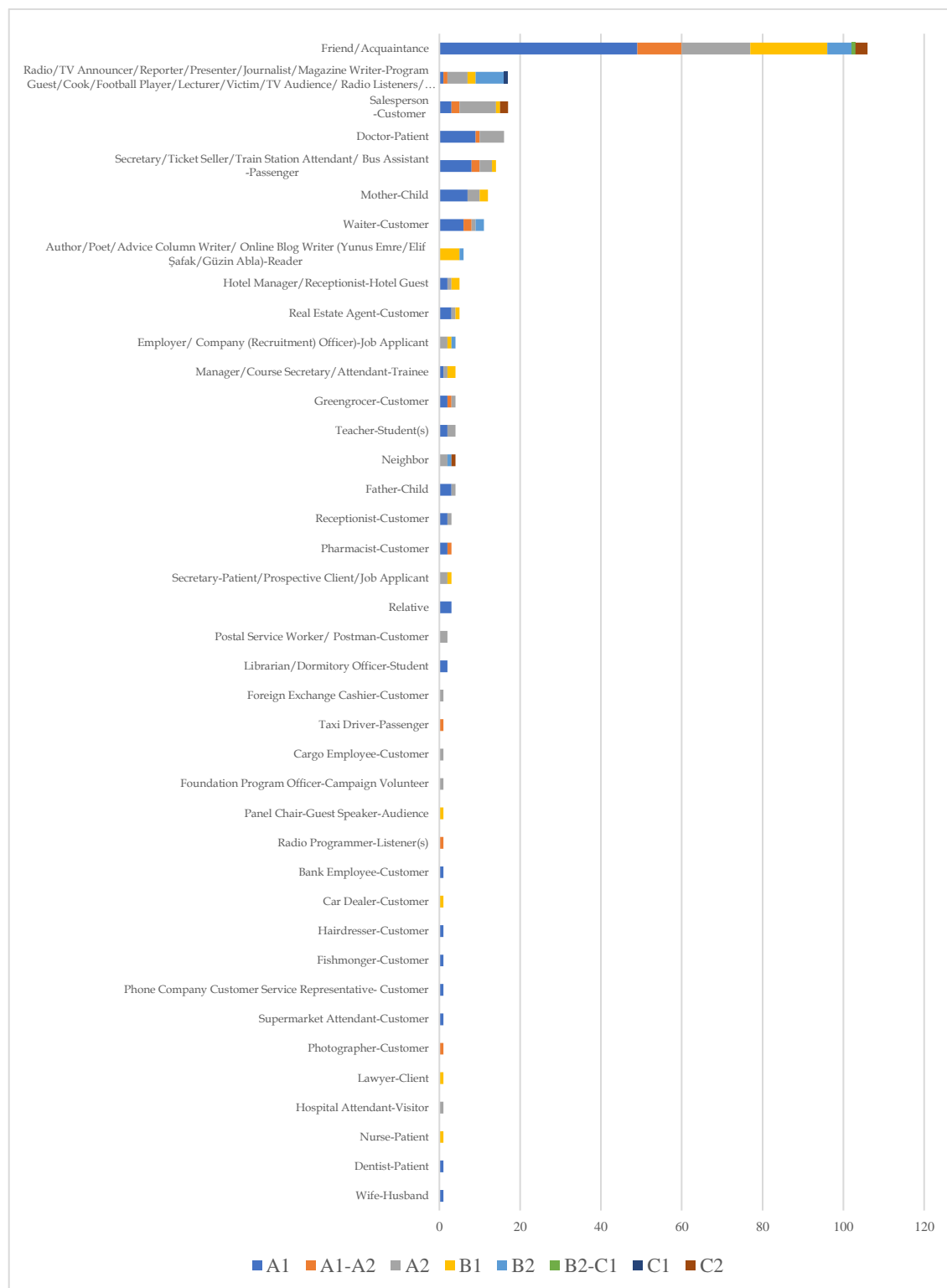
The gender distribution and the speaker roles in these contexts of greetings in TFL textbooks were also analyzed in the current data. The findings are seen in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5. Gender of the Speakers in Greetings Reflected in TFL Textbooks



As seen in Table 5, greetings were mostly reflected in contexts involving two participants and these greetings mostly took place between a female and a male participant. Female greeters were used more in greetings taking place in contexts such as introductory speeches/texts, personal recounts, and narratives involving a single person. In some contexts, the gender of the participants could not be identified (more common in A2-level books). In A1-level books, this was due to the use of cartoon characters instead of people.

Table 6. Speaker Roles in Greetings Reflected in TFL Textbooks



As seen in Table 6, speaker roles in greetings were reflected very broadly in TFL textbooks. Greetings between/among friends or acquaintances were the most common forms in the current data.

In the qualitative analyses, Yüceol Özezen's (2017) findings on the socio-pragmatic features of Turkish greetings were considered.

In some cases, communication was initiated without distinctive markers of greetings in the current data. This was mainly due to the initiator's intentional skipping of the greeting markers or his/her forgetting to greet. Examples 2-3 could indicate some reflections of these two reasons mentioned above:

(2) (Telefonda) Aloo, baba. Arabamın tekeri patladı. Ne yapmam lazım?

(On the phone) Hello, dad. I have a flat tire. What should I do? (İzmir A2, p. 55)

(3) Filiz, neyin var? Üzgün görünüyorsun.

(Filiz, what's wrong with you? You look sad.) (Yabancılar İçin Türkçe A2, p. 64)

Another reason for skipping greetings in the current data was the temporary anger of the initiator of communication toward the person with whom he will communicate. Although observed very rarely, this case could be exemplified by the current data as follows:

(4) Anne: Nereden geliyorsun kızım?

(Mother: Where are you coming from my daughter?)

Kız: Hımm, şey!

(Daughter: Hmm, well!)

Anne: Şey ne? Neden cevap vermiyorsun?

(Mother: What do you mean "well"? Why don't you answer?)

Kız: Şey, biz sinemaya gittik.

(Daughter: Well, we went to the movies.)

(...) (İzmir A2, p. 68)

In example (4), the mother gets angry with her daughter for coming home late, and she directly calls her daughter to account for her action without greeting her.

In formal complaint notes/letters/ e-mails, etc., it was observed that formal greeting markers such as "Sayın Yetkili" (Eng. Dear Sir) have been remained in the current data.

(5) Sayın Yetkili,

10 katlı bir binada neden asansör yok, anlamıyorum. Yaşlı ve hasta insanları düşünmüyor musunuz?

(Dear Sir,

I don't understand why there is no elevator in a 10-storey building. Don't you care about old and sick people?) (Yeni Hitit A1, p. 71)

Other than these examples, there are cases where the greeting process is absent or incomplete due to different socio-pragmatic reasons. For instance, in some of the all-business greetings, especially the ones in conversations that are used to ask for permission or request information, greeting markers are omitted. The communication starts directly

with the purpose of communication or most of the time, all-business greetings begin with forms such as “affedersiniz (Eng. excuse me), pardon (Eng. pardon me), bakar mısınız (Eng. excuse me)” which function as attention getters and greeting the recipient; however, the recipient does not reply with a greeting marker in most cases. See examples 6-7 below:

(6) A: Bu sandalye boş mu?

(A: Is this chair empty?)

B: Evet boş.

(B: Yes, it is empty.) (İzmir A1, p. 39)

(7) A: Affedersiniz, banka nerede?

(A: Excuse me, where is the bank?)

B: Banka, şu büyük binanın arkasında.

(B: The bank is behind that big building.) (Yedi İklim A1, p. 85)

In some cases, the greeting was performed indirectly as seen in example (8).

(8) (Ali okuldan geldi...)

(Ali got home from school...)

Anne: Ali! Yemek hazır, seni bekliyoruz.

(Mother: Ali! The meal is ready, we are waiting for you.)

Ali: Tamam anne. Ellerimi yıkayıp geliyorum.

(Ali: OK Mom. I will wash my hands and then join you.) (İzmir A1, p. 84)

There are other examples in which greetings are conducted by one of the parties only due to the specific nature of the situation, such as greeting a group of audience (in public speaking, presentations, TV, and radio broadcasts), and greetings in letters, e-mails, diaries, user manuals, short notices, introductory texts, voice mail messages, etc. These cases sometimes occur since the data analyzed in the current study come from materials designed for teaching activities in textbooks. But still, most of them are the reflections of real-life occurrences. Some examples of one-sided greetings from the current data are as follows:

(9) Merhaba, şu an toplantıdayım. “Dut” sesinden sonra mesajınızı bırakabilirsiniz.

(Hello, I am in a meeting right now. You can leave your message after the “Dut” sound.) (Yedi İklim A2, p. 141)

(10) Herkese günaydın! İyi sabahlar! Burası İstanbul’un Sesi Radyosu. (...)

(Good morning to everyone! Good morning! This is the Voice of Istanbul Radio.) (Yeni Hitit A1-A2, p. 24)

(11) Sayın Müdürüm, Değerli Meslektaşlarım, Sevgili Gençler,

Bir eğitim-öğretim yılının sonuna daha geldik. (...)

(Dear Manager, Dear Colleagues, Dear Young People,

We have come to the end of another academic year. (...)) (Yedi İklim B1, p. 133).

Another observation in the qualitative analyses was the dual-functioning nature of the greeting acts. Some examples from the current data are as seen in examples 12-14.

(12) *Wondering/ Asking and Greeting*

Ayşe: N'aber Ali? N'apıyorsun?

(Ayşe: What's up Ali? What are you doing (here)?)

Ali: Kardeşime hediye bakıyorum. (...)

(Ali: I'm looking for a gift for my brother) (...) (İzmir A2, p. 2)

(13) *Reproaching and Greeting*

Murat: Ahmet nerelerdesin, görüşemiyoruz.

(Murat: Ahmet, where have you been? Long time no see.) (Yabancılar İçin Türkçe A2, p. 60)

(14) *Welcoming and Greeting*

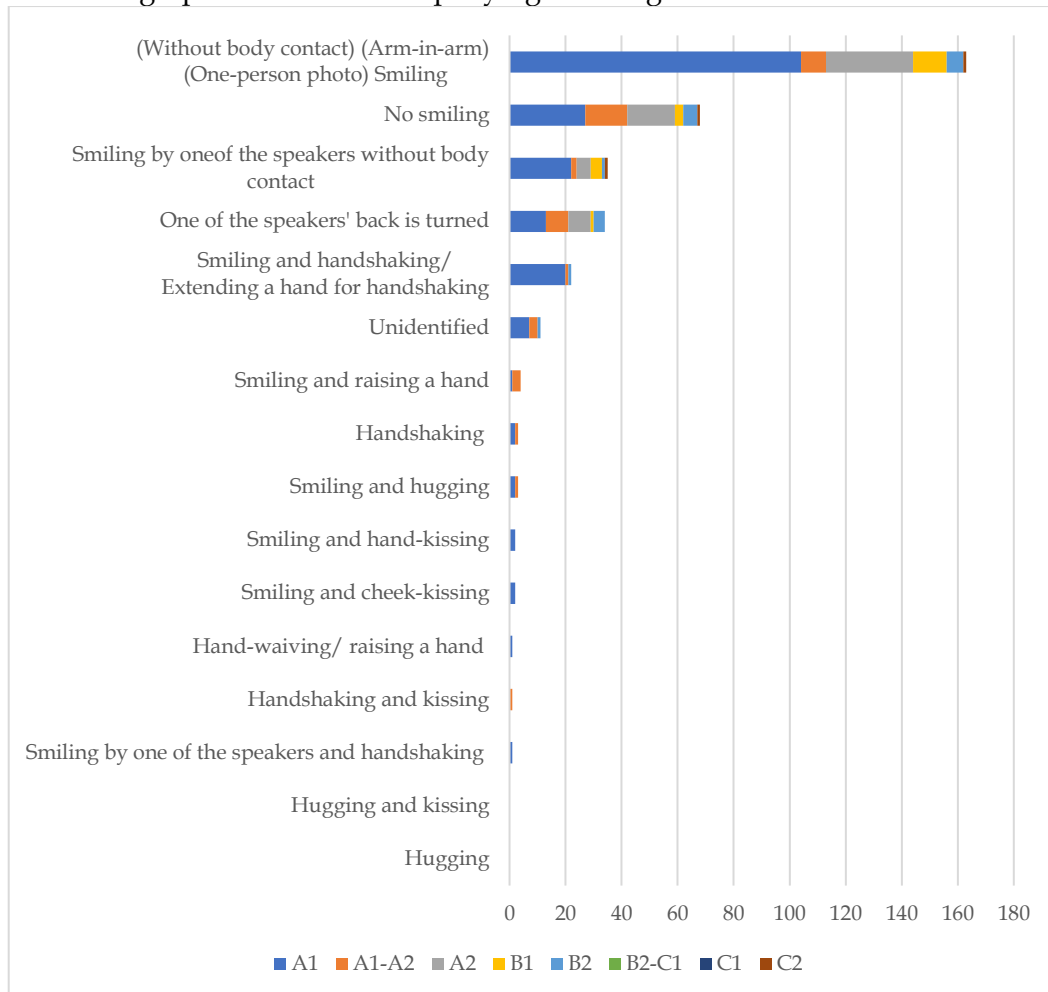
Ayşe Hanım: Hoş geldiniz buyurun. Ev biraz dağınık kusura bakmayın. *

(Ms. Ayşe: Welcome (to our house). Come on in. Sorry for the mess in my house.) (...) (Yedi İklim B2, p. 165)

(* Additional Dual-Function: Welcoming and Apologizing)

As mentioned by Yüceol Özezen (2017), some non-verbal behaviors accompany greetings in Turkish society. Photographic details accompanying greetings in TFL Textbooks were analyzed to investigate how these non-verbal behaviors were reflected in the current data. The findings are seen in Table 7.

Table 7. Photographic Details Accompanying Greetings Reflected in TFL Textbooks



As seen in Table 7, greetings were mostly accompanied by an image of smiling people. When there is no smiling, it is often related to the context of the greetings in which people are tense, anxious, or angry such as conversations with the doctor or at the hospital, conversations on serious issues, spoken/written complaints, etc. Smiling was also missing in some of the introductory texts especially in which famous people introduce themselves.

The number of pictures in which one speaker's back was turned was also relatively high in the current data. Some pictures were not clear enough to determine the non-verbal behaviors, especially the drawings and cartoon characters. These were categorized as unidentified. Hand-kissing which is a very common way to greet the elderly in Turkish society (involves kissing the back of the hand of the elderly, and placing the hand shortly to your forehead after kissing) was reflected in 2 pictures only. One of these pictures (in *Yedi İklim A1*, p. 167) accompanied a conversation reflecting greetings among family members (grandparents, parents, children, daughter/son-in-laws, and grandchildren) on Eid-Mubarak. It is quite a good reflection of a highly sociocultural form of non-verbal behaviors accompanying greetings.

In addition to the findings stated above, most forms of non-verbal behaviors accompanying greetings in Turkish society mentioned and/or observed by Yüceol Özezen (2017); such as smiling, hugging, hand/cheek-kissing, and handshaking were also observed in pictures accompanying greetings in the current data even if hugging, hand/cheek-kissing, and handshaking were reflected much lesser compared to smiling (Table 7). Some other forms of non-verbal behaviors accompanying greetings such as showing respect, welcoming, and astonishment as in examples 15-17 were observed only in the linguistic and pragmatic content of the textbooks without accompanying pictures in the current data.

(15) Hoş geldiniz Sayın Eren Bey.

(Welcome Dear Mr. Eren) (*Yabancılar İçin Türkçe C1*, p. 32)

(16) *Aa Ahmet! Hoş geldin!*

(Ah Ahmet! Welcome!) (*Yeni Hitit A1-A2*, p. 136)

(17) *Gözlerime inanamıyorum, Polat sen misin?*

(I cannot believe my eyes, Polat is this you?) (*Yedi İklim B2*, p. 10)

Due to not involving detailed descriptions of motion events/emotions nature of the current data (which is a characteristic of language use in novels), another aspect of greetings regarding the social expectations to determine who should greet first could not be analyzed in detail in the current study. Most of the time it was not easy to determine the person who was on the move, who was entering the room or who was younger/ older than the other. However, there are good reflections of these social expectations in some examples from the textbooks as seen in example (18) (a conversation among family members on Eid-Mubarak, which was mentioned above)

(18) Asuman Hanım: Aaa! Hoş geldiniz! Geçin içeri çocuklar!

(Ms. Asuman: Ah! Welcome! Come on in, guys!)

İrfan: Bayramın mübarek olsun anne!

(İrfan: Happy Eid Mubarak Mom!)

Asuman hanım: Senin de oğlum.

(Ms. Asuman: Same to you my son.)

İrfan: Bayramın mübarek olsun baba!

(İrfan: Happy Eid Mubarak, Dad!)

Mustafa Bey: Senin de bayramın mübarek olsun oğlum.

(Mustafa Bey: Happy Eid mubarak to you too, my son.)

*Filiz: Bayramınız kutlu olsun anneciğim.

(Filiz: Happy holidays, Mommy.)

Asuman Hanım: Senin de kutlu olsun kızım.

(Ms. Asuman: Happy holidays to you too, my daughter.)

Filiz: Bayramınız kutlu olsun babacığım.

(Filiz: Happy holidays, Daddy.)

Mustafa Bey: Senin de kutlu olsun kızım.

(Mustafa Bey: Happy holidays to you too, my daughter.)

Asuman Hanım: Esra! Sen benim elimi öpmeyecek misin?

(Ms. Asuman: Esra! Won't you kiss my hand?)

Esra: İyi bayramlar anneanne. Bayramın mübarek olsun!

(Esra: Happy holidays, Grandma. Happy Eid Mubarak!)

Asuman Hanım: İyi bayramlar benim güzel yavrum.

(Ms. Asuman: Happy holidays, my beautiful baby.)

Esra: Senin de bayramın mübarek olsun dedeciğim.

(Esra: Happy holidays to you too, Grandpa.)

Mustafa Bey: Senin de bayramın mübarek olsun benim tatlı kızım, hepimizin bayramı mübarek olsun.

(Mustafa Bey: Happy holidays to you too, my sweet girl, happy holidays to all of us.)

Hep birlikte: Amin.

(All together: Amen.) (Yedi İklim A1, p. 167)

(*Filiz is the daughter-in-law)

Example (18) represents the traditional way of greetings in Turkish society on Eid Mubarak (in which younger family members greet the elder family members first by kissing their hands.) When the granddaughter Esra was a little bit late (or reluctant) to celebrate, her grandmother Ms. Asuman kindly refers to this social expectation by saying “*Esra! Won't you kiss my hand?*”.

Regarding the stages of greetings, which were mentioned by Yüceol Özezen (2017, p. 274-276), it was observed that most reflections of greetings in the current data do not involve all three main stages and substages of the ideal greetings as expected. In real-life situations, people do not always greet each other by following all the stages as well. In the current data, the reflection of ideal greetings could be seen more especially in all-business greetings according to Ebsworth et al.'s (1995) classification as seen in example 19 below.

(19) Yakup: Garson, bakar mısınız?

(Yakup: Excuse me (can we order)?) (*Preparation Stage*)

Garson: Buyurun efendim, hoş geldiniz.

(Waiter: Yes, sir, welcome.) (*Main Part*)

Yakup/Yusuf: Hoş bulduk.

(Yakup/Yusuf: Thank you.) (*Main Part*)

Garson: Ne arzu edersiniz?

(Waiter: What would you like to have?) (*Post Greeting Dialogue*)

Yusuf: Bana bir ezogelin çorba, bir porsiyon da tavuk şiş.

(Yusuf: A bowl of *ezogelin* soup and (a serving size/portion of) chicken skewers for me.) (*Post Greeting Dialogue*)

(...)

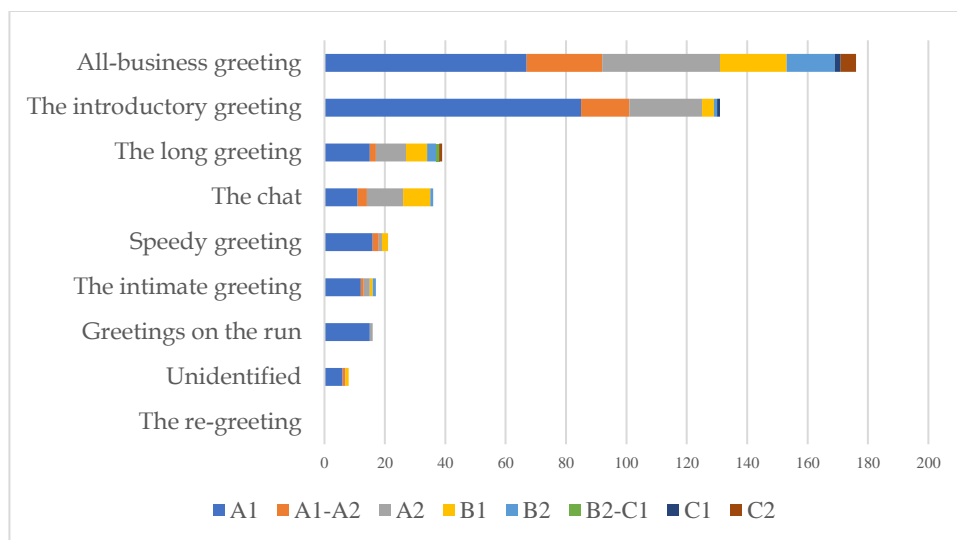
Garson: Hay hay efendim, hemen getiriyorum.

(Waiter: Aye aye sir; I'll bring your order right away.) (*Post Greeting Dialogue*)

(Gazi Tömer A1, p. 34)

In the qualitative analyses, the current data was also analyzed according to Ebsworth et al.'s (1995) classification of greetings regarding their pragmatic functions. Some greetings were not easy to be classified according to their classification. This was mainly due to the differences in the data collection procedures. Most of these kinds of examples were marked as unidentified in the current data. Table 8 shows the overall findings regarding Ebsworth et al.'s classification.

Table 8. Pragmatic functions of greetings according to Ebsworth et al.'s (1995) classification



As seen in Table 8, all types of greetings in their classification were observed in the current data except the re-greeting. All-business greetings were the most commonly pragmatic function of greetings reflected in the textbooks. These types of greetings were reflected in all CEFR levels even if they were more common in A1 and A2 levels according to the CEFR criteria. In addition, they were reflected in many different settings including participants from different occupations such as dentists, doctors, greengrocers, real estate

agents, etc. (see Table 6). The introductory greetings were also very common in the current data, and as expected they were mostly reflected in A1 and A2 levels by nature.

Other than the findings presented above regarding the pragmatic functions of greetings in Turkish, it was observed that some examples of greetings were inappropriate both pragmatically and culturally. Example (20) is a reflection of this issue from the current data:

(20) Asuman Hanım: Merhaba Meltem Hanım. Nasılsınız?

(Ms. Asuman: Hello Ms. Meltem. How are you?)

Meltem Hanım: Merhaba Asuman Hanım. İyiyim, siz nasılsınız?

(Ms. Meltem: Hello Ms. Asuman, I am fine, how are you?)

Asuman Hanım: Teşekkür ederim, ben de iyiyim. Alışveriş sepetiniz çok dolu. Neler aldınız?

(Ms. Asuman: Thank you, I am fine, too. Your shopping cart is very full. What did you buy?)

Meltem Hanım: Bir kilo pirinç, bir buçuk kilo mercimek, beş yüz gram yoğurt, bir litre ayran, iki kilo domates, iki kilo soğan, bir kilo kıyma, bir tepsi baklava ve biraz kuruyemiş aldım.

(Ms. Meltem: I bought one kilo of rice, one and a half kilo of lentils, five hundred grams of yogurt, one liter of ayran, two kilos of tomatoes, two kilos of onions, one kilo of minced meat, a tray of baklava and some nuts.)

(...) (Yedi İklim A1, p. 66)

In example (20), the conversation starts in a semi-formal/formal way, but then Ms. Asuman asks Ms. Meltem “Your shopping cart is very full. What did you buy?”. It is inappropriate to ask such a question to someone with whom you do not have a high level of intimacy. Obviously, the teaching objective of this conversation is to teach how to use the units of measurement; however, for the sake of this objective, an inappropriate form of greeting was reflected.

Regarding the socio-pragmatic functions of greetings, some greeting examples reflected in TFL textbooks include highly cultural elements and show sociolinguistic variations of language use in terms of the educational level of speakers as seen in example (21).

(21) Gişe görevlisi: Buyur abla. Nereye gideceksin?

(Ticket Seller: Yes, (elder) sister. Where are you heading to?)

Profesör: Ben Uzun Göl'e gitmek istiyorum.

(...)

(Professor: I would like to go to Uzun Göl.

(...))

(Profesör bileti alıyor ve otobüs saatinde 34 numaralı perona gidiyor. Trabzon otobüsünü buluyor ve şimdi de muavin ile konuşuyor.)

(The professor buys the ticket and goes to platform 34 at the scheduled departure time. She finds the bus to Trabzon and is now talking to the bus assistant.)

Muavin: Nerede ineceksin teyze?

(Bus Assistant: Where will you get off, aunt?)

Profesör: Trabzon'da ineceğim.

(Professor: I will get off in Trabzon.)

(...)

Muavin: Peki teyze. Kaç numaralı koltuk?

(Bus Assistant: Okay, aunt. What is your seat number?)

Profesör: 8 numaralı koltuk.

(Professor: Seat number 8.)

Muavin: Al teyze bu bagaj fişin, kaybetme. Haydi iyi yolculuklar.

(Bus Assistant: Take this luggage receipt, aunt, don't lose it. Have a nice trip.)

Profesör: Teşekkürler.

(Professor: Thank you.) (İzmir A2, p. 94)

In example (21), the textbook provided some information about the context in which a professor studies people's spoken language use and frequently travels for it. The professor searches for how people communicate at the bus terminal, which words they use, and how they address people. She goes to the bus terminal and buys a ticket. She talks to the ticket seller and bus assistant and records their voices. The use of "buyur" (a very informal form which means "Yes, I'm listening to you. How can I help you?" and is generally preferred by speakers with a low educational level) and the use of family relationship terms (as mentioned before they are used very commonly when addressing someone with respect, and affection) such as "abla" (elder sister) and "teyze" (aunt) (in this context their use may be an indicator of a low educational level) are good reflections of the socio-pragmatic and cultural information on greetings in Turkish language, even if some meaning has been lost in translation into English.

Discussion and Conclusion

As suggested by Zeff (2016, p. 10), greeting contexts often are places where people are moving, and due to this, proper etiquette is harder to define because time constraints are determinant in greeting acts. Therefore, language learners could feel insecure and inadequate when greeting someone in the target language. Through the inclusion of authentic and contextually relevant greetings, textbooks can effectively prepare learners for real-life interactions, fostering their communicative competence and intercultural awareness. Moreover, by reflecting the socio-pragmatic functions of greetings, textbooks can contribute to the development of learners' sociolinguistic competence, enabling them to navigate diverse social situations with confidence and sensitivity.

This study sought to unveil the socio-pragmatic functions of greetings reflected in TFL textbooks. The main findings of the study showed that greeting forms that are very common in daily use along with the greetings involving phrases with the meaning of *hayırlı* and expressions that have religious orientations were highly reflected in different leveled textbooks. Among the time-bound expressions, *iyi günler* (Eng. have a nice day/good afternoon) was the most frequent expression. Some uses of family relationship terms in greetings, as an indication of respect and affection in Turkish society, were also found in the current data. Greetings were reflected more in formal contexts for all CEFR

levels except B2-C1 and C1 levels, and they were reflected more in dialogues that mostly took place between a female and a male participant. Introductory speeches-texts/personal recounts/narratives by a single person were also common contexts. As for the speaker roles in greetings, greetings between/among friends or acquaintances were the most common in the current data.

In the qualitative analyses, the findings were interpreted in comparison with Yüceol Özezen's (2017) findings on the socio-pragmatic features of Turkish greetings. In these analyses, it was found that communication was sometimes initiated without distinctive markers of greetings. Yüceol Özezen (2017, pp. 270-273) states that this situation may arise from 4 different reasons. First, the initiator of communication may consider greeting unnecessary (In the current data, this case was mostly observed concerning the intimacy level of the people who greet each other. If the participants of the communication have a close relationship, they may skip the use of greeting markers. Ebsworth's (1995) intimate greetings explained above may correspond to these examples.) Second, the initiator of communication forgets to greet for various reasons. However, in most cases, it is not easy to determine if the initiator intentionally skips the greeting markers or if he forgets to greet. Third, there may be a permanent and long-term hostility between the initiator of communication, and the person with whom he is going to communicate. This third reason has not been observed in the current data. Finally, the initiator of communication could be temporarily angry with the person with whom he will communicate (see examples 2-4). As also mentioned by Yüceol Özezen (2017: 284), in some cases, specific and limited structures of greeting were not employed directly but still, the greeting was performed indirectly (see example 8). Sometimes, greetings were conducted by one of the parties only due to the specific nature of the situation and the context. Another issue emphasized by Yüceol Özezen (2017) was the dual-functioning of greeting acts. As mentioned before, she suggested that almost every greeting act had two pragmatic functions. She classified these functions from her data as follows: wishing someone well and greeting; wondering/ asking and greeting; introducing oneself, asking for identification/ providing identification and greeting; reproaching and greeting; welcoming and greeting; and finally thanking and greeting. The findings also showed the dual-functioning of greeting acts such as welcoming and greeting, thanking and greeting, etc. (see examples 12-14).

As for the photographic details, greetings were mostly accompanied by an image of smiling people in the textbooks. Most forms of non-verbal behaviors accompanying greetings in Turkish society mentioned and/or observed by Yüceol Özezen (2017); such as smiling, hugging, hand/cheek-kissing, and handshaking were also observed in pictures accompanying greetings in the current data even if hugging, hand/cheek-kissing, and handshaking were reflected much lesser compared to smiling (see examples 15-17). There were no reflections of some other forms of non-verbal behaviors mentioned and/or observed by Yüceol Özezen (2017); such as making a slight bow, the greeter's buttoning his/her clothes with respect showing respect, standing up, taking off hats, giving someone the big eye, making noise, and showing embarrassment in the current study. One reason for that was analyzing a written corpus accompanied by images with the one-dimensional representation of motion which fails to give some information about the direction of motion. Another reason was the differences between the corpora analyzed in the current study and Yüceol Özezen's (2017). Even though she also investigated a written corpus (two Turkish novels), the current data is missing detailed descriptions of motion events/emotions which are a characteristic of language use in novels. Due to this nature of the current data, another aspect of greetings that was pointed out by Yüceol Özezen (2017) regarding the social expectations to determine who should greet first could not be

analyzed in detail in the current study. Even if this aspect of greetings could not be analyzed, there were some clear reflections of these social expectations as in the traditional way of greetings in Turkish society on Eid Mubarak (in which younger family members greet the elder family members first by kissing their hands) (see example 18).

Regarding the stages of ideal greetings (three main stages: preparation, main part, post greeting dialogue) mentioned by Yüceol Özezen (2017), most reflections of greetings in the current data do not involve all three main stages and substages of the ideal greetings. As suggested by Yüceol Özezen (2017), working on data based on authentic spoken language instead of working on non-authentic data (prepared for teaching purposes and involving the analysis of written texts such as e-mail, letters, etc.) could present more examples of ideal greetings following the three stages of ideal greetings.

In the qualitative analyses, the current data was also analyzed according to Ebsworth et al.'s (1995) classification of greetings regarding their pragmatic functions. Some greetings were not easy to be classified according to their classification. This was mainly due to the differences in the data collection procedures. Ebsworth et al. (1995) observed greetings among natives and non-natives as they occurred in natural discourse; however, in the current study greetings in teaching materials were analyzed. Another reason for that was the length of the conversations. Some conversations were really short and there was not enough information for classification. In some cases, even if the conversations provided enough data, distinguishing one type from another was hard. In other cases, it was difficult to decide whether the conversation started as reflected in the textbooks, or it was taken from the middle of a longer conversation. Most of these kinds of examples were marked as unidentified in the current data. All types of greetings in Ebsworth et al.'s (1995) classification were observed in the current study except the-re-greeting. All-business greetings were the most commonly reflected pragmatic function of greetings in the textbooks. These types of greetings were reflected in all CEFR levels even if they were more common in A1 and A2 levels. In addition, they were reflected in many different settings including participants from different occupations, such as dentists, doctors, greengrocers, real estate agents, etc. For detailed explanations and examples from the current data regarding Ebsworth et al.'s (1995) classification of greetings regarding their pragmatic functions see the Appendix.

Other than the findings presented above regarding the pragmatic functions of greetings in Turkish, it was observed that some examples of greetings in the textbooks were inappropriate both pragmatically and culturally (see example 21). Ishihara (2010: 146) asserts that the majority of published textbooks are written on the basis of the curriculum writers' intuitions; therefore, textbook dialogues may at times sound awkward or stilted and such dialogues are inauthentic since they are not the reflections of spontaneous pragmatic language as used in natural settings.

In sum, textbook designers and language educators must prioritize the integration of socio-pragmatic functions of greetings, ensuring that learners are equipped with the necessary linguistic and cultural skills to engage meaningfully in cross-cultural communication. The socio-pragmatic functions of greetings can enhance intercultural communication, foster cultural sensitivity, and facilitate effective interpersonal relationships in diverse social contexts. Further research analyzing the socio-pragmatic functions of Turkish greetings in authentic spoken data is required.

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Abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic
Eng.	English
CEFR	The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
TFL	Teaching Turkish as a Foreign Language