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EXPLORING CHANGE: ORAL METADISCOURSE OF ADVANCED LEARNERS OF RUSSIAN IN EXTENDED STUDY ABROAD

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Exploring Change: Oral Metadiscourse of Advanced Learners of Russian in Extended Study Abroad

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my family - Maya, Graham, Ken, Dru and Nina for their unwavering support and incredible patience through every step of this long journey.

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Exploring Change: Oral Metadiscourse of Advanced Learners of

Russian in Extended Study Abroad

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Abstract: In this dissertation, I propose to examine the oral metadiscourse of advanced learners of Russian (RAL2). The data is drawn from speech samples collected at Time 1 and Time 2 during the subjects' yearlong residence abroad. The first oral segment portrays RAL2s' metadiscourse (MD) after four months of in-country residence, and the second oral segment demonstrates changes in MD that result from an additional five months spent in the target language environment. Speech samples include role-play and narration, which are the tasks that RAL2 carry out in the Test of Russian as a Foreign Language level 3 (TORFL-3) Professional mastery, speaking portion. From the perspective of the current study, TORFL-3 role-play situated in a professional context most vividly demonstrates the composition of RAL2 oral metadiscourse as participants engage in organizing their message and positioning themselves in a formal setting. In order to understand whether task format bears any significance, I also consider narrative from TORFL-3 and provide a between-task comparison of metadiscourse.

To explore oral metadiscourse in RAL2s' speech, I apply the functional framework of metadiscourse put forth by Hyland (2005). Such analysis illuminates the composition of unexplored facets of proficiency by offering a description of an RAL2 metadiscourse profile. Furthermore, this dissertation addresses the question of nativelikeness by juxtaposing RAL2s' and native speakers' metadiscourse in role-plays. I explore the extent to which RAL2's and native speakers' (NS) metadiscourse exhibit similarities. The findings herein contribute to research on long-term study abroad gains, and they offer

implications for instruction in the area of metadiscourse at the advanced level of proficiency.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 ADVANCED PROFICIENCY

Prior to the 21st century both researchers and language educators concentrated their efforts on the lower levels of language instruction. After September 11, 2011, however, the United States has had a growing demand for speakers with a professional level[1] of foreign language ability in business, government and industry (Brecht et al. 2015; Brecht & Rivers, 2000; Martin, 2015; Kennedy & Hansen, 2015). This has facilitated increased scholarly and pedagogical interest in the higher levels of proficiency.

Recent empirical research has clearly demonstrated that "the pathway to professional-level competencies in the major world languages is open and available to Americans" (Davidson 2015, p.145), and that Superior level (ILR-3) in foreign languages such as Russian has become a reality. According to recent data, 89% of Russian learners who have participated in the Language Flagship program have returned from their capstone year abroad at ILR-3. (Jackson 2015).

While higher levels of proficiency have become a realistic goal for 21st century language learners, research on the specifics of language acquisition at the upper limits of

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[1] For the U.S. Government, Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) Level 3 ("General Professional Proficiency") is the minimum level at which employees could manage their working responsibilities successfully (Long et al. 2012).

proficiency has not yet fully addressed the set of linguistic correlates and learning needs of that population (Brecht, 2002; Byrnes, 2008; Long et al. 2015; Martin, 2015).

In the area of Russian language acquisition, studies have mostly considered learners with an Intermediate level of proficiency. Such research has explored pragmatics, which includes the speech acts of requests, apologies, compliments, and politeness (Dong, 2010; Dubinina, 2012; Dunn, 2012, 2012; Krulatz, 2012; Ogiermann, 2009; Owen, 2002; Shardakova, 2005, Shcherbakova, 2010). The most extensively documented realm of Advanced Russian L2 learning is that of L2 gains (Davidson, 2015). Gain is defined as the difference between pre-program and post-program testing scores (Davidson, 2015). Outside of research on linguistic gains, developments in oral proficiency at the post-Advanced levels have not been fully explored.

The publication of "Developing Professional-Level Language Proficiency" (2002) has marked the beginning of the era of exploration of pathways and processes associated with achievement of Superior (ILR-3) level language proficiency. Despite the fact that several volumes have been published since the inaugural issue (Advanced Language Learning, 2006; Exploring the US Language Flagship Program, 2017; The Longitudal Study of Advanced L2 Capacities, 2008; To Advanced Proficiency and Beyond 2015), the majority of the publications concerning the study of Russian language have centered their efforts on describing curriculum planning that facilitates Advanced to Superior proficiency development (for example, Brown et al. 2015; Freels et al. 2017), or issues of assessment (Davidson 2017; McAloon, 2015). To date, the growing body of research on Russian ILR-3 speakers still lacks a description of linguistic correlates of professional level proficiency

outside of functional descriptors of learners' target language abilities offered by proficiency scales (Long et al. 2015).

In order to fill the gap, this study aims to explore one kind of such linguistic correlates, namely metadiscourse, to establish metadiscourse correlates of ILR-2+ and ILR-3 Russian second language (L2) learners (RAL2), who have participated in a yearlong study-abroad programs. The study also aims to gauge developmental perspective by measuring the quantitative change in metadiscourse of oral production that occurs between Time 1 (end of the first study-abroad semester) and Time 2 (end of the second study-abroad semester) in the target language (TL) environment. The third goal of the study is to compare metadiscourse markers of RAL2 and native speakers (NS) in the context of role-play and narrative tasks.

Metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005) is an umbrella terms that comprises a number of discourse markers and other linguistic means that assist speakers in structuring their contribution and positioning themselves in their discourse. The chief reason for using Hyland's metadiscourse taxonomy (2005) in the present study is its inclusive nature, which allows us to explore and establish metadiscourse markers salient for RAL2 oral discourse at ILR-2+ and ILR-3 in the context of the two tasks – role-play and narrative.

1.2 METADISCOURSE

Previous studies have indicated that Advanced learners do not make major developmental leaps on a structural level during their study-abroad experience, but they nevertheless "seem to improve in some *indefinable way*" (Regan, 1995, p.245).

Undeniably, both pragmatic and sociolinguistic competences contribute to such a positive impression of onlookers, as do increased fluency and cultural knowledge. The metadiscourse component of proficiency could also be part and parcel of improvement that is not registered by current testing instruments. As has been shown, Advanced learners' processing capacity is not occupied solely by the propositional aspect of input and output. L2 learners are working on the contextual appropriateness of their contributions, organization of the message and encoding stance in their target language discourse (Regan, 2003); these are areas in which metadiscourse plays a central role. Therefore, in exploring the metadiscourse component of oral proficiency the study addresses the 'invisibility' aspect by quantifying metadiscourse changes and attempting to gauge their effect on overall speaking proficiency.

In the present study, Hyland's (2005) metadiscourse model is used as a framework for analysis of oral production. Hyland (2005) advocates a broad approach to metadiscourse, calling for inclusion of a wide variety of metalinguistic elements. For him, metadiscourse includes self-reflective expressions that facilitate the negotiation of interactional meaning in a text, help the writer (or speaker) in expressing his/her point of view and assist the writer (or speaker) in engaging with readers who are members of the same discourse community.

To date, metadiscourse framework as a category along with most of its constituent elements (for example, discourse markers) has received little or no attention in formal language classes, whereas studies of spoken discourse demonstrate an abundance of metadiscourse elements and their functional polysemy. Research in other languages

demonstrates, however, that L2 learners notice and internalize discourse markers from the TL environment without instructional support (Hellermann & Vergun, 2007; Polat, 2011), lending further credibility to an exploration of RAL2 metadiscourse.

This study proposes to examine the developmental continuum of metadiscourse, in other words the quantitative difference between Time 1 and Time 2. Results of this study might contribute an alternative way of making quantifiable claims of progress, pragmatic development, and nativelikeness in L2.

Previous studies have considered metadiscourse in L1 and L2 academic writing. To date, though, only a limited number of studies (Rui & Xin, 2009; Aquilar, 2008; Ädel 2010) have explored metadiscourse in oral L2 production, two of which have addressed metadiscourse solely in the context of academic lectures.

1.3 STUDY ABROAD

In the last two decades, the number of opportunities to study overseas has grown exponentially allowing foreign language learners to experience target language (TL) and culture first hand. Study-abroad (SA) programs vary in length, structure and expected outcomes. Each SA program provides access to the TL environment's numerous opportunities for interaction in the target language. Among both educators and students of language, immersion has long had the status of a "magic wand," in that studying a foreign language in its natural habitat likely grants one fluency and cultural sophistication in a short time (Freed, 1995; Goodwin & Nacht, 1988, p.16) by "osmosis" (Davidson, 2010).

Previous empirical research on study-abroad in the field of applied linguistics has addressed a number of variables that affect resultative language outcomes in order to understand the often cited 'osmotic' nature of second language acquisition in the study-abroad setting. Brecht, Davidson and Ginsberg (1993) demonstrated that gender, pre-program grammar and reading skills strongly correlate with resultative outcomes of a sojourn abroad in their first large-scale statistical study of language-gain predictors in study-abroad (SA) programs in Russia. The length of stay in the target environment has been also found to positively affect L2 proficiency (Davidson, 2010). Other studies have found the interaction between high levels of intercultural sensitivity and positive language-related outcomes to be of importance (Kinginger, 2013; Baker-Smemoe et al., 2014). The level of pre-program-proficiency has been found to affect outcomes non-linearly. A higher level of pre-program proficiency does not necessarily predict better end-results (Davidson, 2010). Research has convincingly shown that the "probability of gaining sharply reduced as initial level increases" [Please check this quote; it is not grammatical.] (Brecht, Davidson, & Ginsberg, 1995, p. 47). Later studies have demonstrated that "students with initial level 2 on Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) or Advanced on ACTFL scale have about an equal chance of remaining at the same level after a [I think this should either be "after one year of study" or "after a one year study"] one year of study, of advancing to 2+ or of attaining 3…" (Davidson, 2010, p. 22)[2]. The slowing of pace at the upper levels is attributed to bursts in the amount and the

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[2]
  ILR and ACTFL level descriptors can be found in Appendix 1.

quality of language learners are expected to acquire, which has been visually represented in the ACTFL model of language proficiency - an expanding inverted pyramid (American Councils on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL, 2012). A number of researchers, beginning with Freed (1995), have conceded that such lack of progress in terms of testing scores could very well be the artifact of a testing protocol, which does not capture finer developments in L2 interlanguage[3] at the upper levels of proficiency.

This dissertation seeks to investigate these previously unexplored finer developments at the upper levels of oral proficiency. Since it bases its analysis on scores from two testing systems – the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview and the Test of Russian as a Foreign Language, a brief overview of the two tests, along with possible gray areas, follows.

1.4 L2 SPEAKING ASSESSMENT

Presently, in the field of Russian as a second language two testing systems are in use, the results of which validate one's proficiency for educational and professional needs. The Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) and the Test of Russian as a Foreign Language (TORFL) both provide a holistic and, in many ways, useful profile of one's language progress.

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[3] Selinker (1972) proposed to use the term "interlanguage" to describe L2 learner' system of language that is in flux and prone to restricting with every new knowledge

University foreign language programs in the United States have been assessing learners' speaking skills with the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) since the 1982 inception of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) Provisional Proficiency Guidelines (Liskin-Gasparro, 1984), a document that delineated levels of proficiency and described skills pertinent to each level. The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines informed the creation of the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI), a multi-phase speaking test. The OPI is conducted in person or over the phone by a certified tester, who determines and confirms a candidate's level with the help of level-appropriate elicitation procedures. The Oral Proficiency Familiarization Manual (2012) describes the test as "a global evaluation of oral second language ability which measures language ability holistically based on the patterns of strengths and weaknesses" (p.4). The level is assigned based on learners' skills in maintaining a level-appropriate degree of control over context, particularly text type and level-appropriate functions (ACTFL Guidelines, 2012). The ACTFL Proficiency Scale consists of five levels: Novice, Intermediate, Advanced, Superior, and Distinguished. Each level except Superior and Distinguished is further divided into Low, Mid and High sublevels. The ACTFL Inverted Pyramid is a visual model of levels of proficiency (Appendix 1), which reflects the steadily increasing amount of language a learner needs to acquire in order to move to the next level of proficiency.

The second testing protocol available for assessing proficiency in Russian is called The Test of Russian as a Foreign Language (TORFL). It was designed and developed in 1995 by Moscow State University. TORFL comprises six levels:

elementary, basic, level 1, level 2, level 3 and level 4 , where 'elementary' level reflects one's proficiency after 6 months of study and level 4 represents the language abilities of an educated native speaker.

In the current dissertation, oral samples are drawn exclusively from the TORFL level 3 Speaking portion, which corresponds to Advanced Mid. Specifically, role-play and narrative tasks at Time 1 and Time 2 are analyzed. The decision to draw samples from the TORFL rather than from the OPI was made for several reasons. First, the seven RAL2's took TORFL-3 at four (Time 1) and nine months (Time 2) into their study abroad, generating comparable speaking samples. Despite the fact that the particulars of instructions at Time 1 and Time 2 differ, communicative functions are identical. In the role-play task participants discuss and resolve an issue at work with their subordinate, and in the narrative task RAL2 discuss an abstract idea illustrating it with the examples from a film excerpt. Second, unlike the OPI, which RAL2 take at the beginning and at the end of the program, TORFL-3 registers speaking abilities at the mid and end point of the program. Third, the TORFL-3 set of role-plays and narratives present a unique data set, which has not been previously explored. Such data are especially valuable because they allow the exploration of potential developments in one of the facets of proficiency, namely metadiscourse, before and after the time in the study abroad program where RAL2 start using their language skills in the professional environment. After the initial four months of study, RAL2 do internships with professional organizations in the city.

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While speech samples originated in TORFL-3, ACTFL OPI serves as a benchmark for the RAL2 overall progress. In order to provide a reliable evidence of progress, ACTFL OPI scores from the beginning and end of the program are used.

1.5 NATIVELIKNESS

The definition of "nativelikeness" stems from the highly contested question of the educated native speaker. Despite the fact that by 1985 the native speaker as benchmark had been pronounced dead (Pikeday, 1985), some thirty years later, applied linguists, foreign language educators and students of foreign language continue to debate the value of such a benchmark. The educated native speaker norm has been debunked as an ill-conceived construct by some in the field of SLA. For example, Cook (1999), in reviewing characteristics of the native-speaker as a model for L2 learners, maintains that NNS never becomes NS only by virtue of not ever being able to meet a key criterion for NS – L2 acquisition in childhood. Drawing on evidence such as code-switching, unavailable to monolingual speakers, Cook (1999) relieves the L2 learner from his/her "failure to become native speaker", and, instead, credits him/her with the status *L2 user*, free to accept or reject certain interactional norms of L2. In short, for Cook (1999), the native speaker as a model is not appealing because it overshadows the learner's success by diminishing his/her attainment, whereas in reality the skills L2 learners develop make them cognitively superior to monolingual speakers.

Davies (2003) approaches the issue of the NS from a slightly different angle. He argues that is it less about the point of departure and arrival, and more about the

continuum of proficiency. He reframes the highly-contested debate into a question of the extent, to which the L2 learner is able to approximate a native speaker in various L2 modes. More importantly, Davies (2003) contends that "with sufficient contact and practice" (p.435) it is possible for an L2 learner to become native-like in many ways. He notes, however, that the domains of discourse and pragmatics remain challenging even then. Davies (2003) goes so far as to suggest that removing NS as a benchmark does more harm than good by leaving L2 learners in a "mapless setting" (Davies, 2003).

Kramsch (1997) reminds the profession of the origin of NS construct: it was Chomsky's model of "ideal speaker-listener" which brought the ideal of the NS into the spotlight. Later, the notion was extended into other areas of competence. In her view, the model of the *unitary* native speaker is artificial due to the fact that NS dialects and linguistic proclivities vary. Additionally, indirectly expressing her view on the NS-NNS dichotomy, Kramsch (1997) defines nativespeakership in terms of in-group/out-of-group status, as determined by the group that finds such dichotomy meaningful. Extending the NS debate into the social realm, the researcher invokes Fairclough's idea of language as power, and, thereby, extends the debate into critical discourse theory.

Valdez (1998) echoes Kramsch's (1997) conclusion in his discussion of the meaning of the NS for the foreign language profession: "Near-native ability is largely in the eyes of the beholder" (p. 157). Valdez (1998) asserts that presently there is not a definition of near-native speakership satisfactory for the FL field, nor is there consensus in the FL field about its significance.

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NS might be not an ideal model for L2 users to imitate. When it comes to research, however, NS is the essential source of linguistic data. Birdsong (2003) defines nativelikeness as "a standard by which upper end of the L2 attainment is typically measured" (p. 176). He states that, in order to establish the range of nativelike performance, it is necessary to draw experimental data from native controls, which results in operationalized nativelikeness. Therefore, attainable or not, the NS is a valuable source of native controls in L2 research. Drawing on nativelikeness research results, Birdsong (2003) concludes that when observed, nativelikeness is restricted to "narrow domains of performance" (p. 325).

Considering Birdsong's (2003) definition of nativelikeness and the role native controls play in establishing a nativelike range, it is reasonable to apply this method in the present work to determine whether RAL2 become nativelike in the "narrow domain" of metadiscourse. That is to say, do they perform in the range of native controls. Therefore, nativelikeness in the context of the current dissertation is operationalized both in numerical terms and qualitative characteristics of RAL2 as it compares to NS metadiscourse distributions.

1.6 MAIN ARGUMENT AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this dissertation, I argue that the metadiscourse framework presents an opportunity to describe linguistic correlates of ILR 2+ and ILR 3 oral proficiency. Furthermore, I argue that studying metadiscourse in the RAL2 oral production at the time

of immersion is especially relevant. Study-abroad (SA) programs serve as language gateways for L2 learners. The SA program under investigation is a well-structured overseas program that equips RAL2 with ample opportunities for observing, practicing and, possibly, internalizing ways, in which NS interact, and, by extension, use metadiscourse. RAL2 attend formal language classes, participate in one-on-one sessions with a tutor, enroll in a university class for Russian native speakers, stay with host-families, and do internships in professional organizations. Moreover, the structure of the program creates a favorable environment for RAL2 to develop social networks found to be crucial for quality L2 use, which also facilitates gains (Baker-Smemoe, Dewey, Bown, & Martinsen, 2014). The question whether the rich interactional environment in the target language translates into acquisition of metadiscourse elements informs current this study.

To contribute to the body of research on metadiscourse and professional-level proficiency of RAL2, I propose investigating the metadiscourse structure of Russian advanced level students' oral production. I argue that mapping interactive and interactional categories of metadiscourse onto the oral performance could aid in describing patters of RAL2 oral metadiscourse. Moreover, mapping RAL2 oral discourse produced at two different points of the study-abroad program could potentially shed light on metadiscourse developments in RAL2 oral production. Comparing resulting RAL2 oral discourse and NS oral discourse could inform claims of nativelikeness, emerging at the end of the study-abroad sojourn.

In this study, I hypothesize that RAL2's metadiscourse exhibits native-like features at the end of the study-abroad experience. In order to prove my hypothesis, I

propose examining quantitative aspects of the data to answer the following research questions:

1) Do participants demonstrate statistically significant gains in Speaking on ILR and TORFL-3?

2) Does the length of their Role-Play and Narrative change between Time 1 and Time 2?

3) How does increase in proficiency affect quantitative aspect of metadiscourse?

4) Do numbers of interactive resources change from Time 1 to Time 2?

5) Do numbers of interactional resources change from Time 1 to Time 2?

6) What are the advantages of providing qualitative account of metadiscourse?

7) Do RAL2 and NS use similar proportion on metadiscourse on the Role-Play task?

8) Do RAL2 demonstrate nativelike use within each category of markers?

9) How feasible is the use of the metadiscourse framework in evaluating the RAL2 proficiency?

Results of the analysis will contribute to the exploration of metadiscourse in RAL2 production and indicate further directions in research. Moreover, comparing the RAL2 role-plays at different times in the program will yield a new perspective on the pragmatic development of RAL2 who study abroad, and contribute to charting acquisition patterns of metadiscourse. Furthermore, conclusions drawn from comparison of the RAL2 and NS corpora will indicate whether RAL2 acquire metadiscourse characteristic of NS as a result of their study abroad.

1.7 OVERVIEW

Chapter 2 Part I describes the history of foreign language education in the US. This will aid in understanding how Russian evolved as one of the foreign languages studied in the U.S. I look specifically at government initiatives and policies that led to state of the art in the foreign language education, as well as the availability of Russian at an advanced level in the US.

Chapter 2 Part II presents different perspectives on metadiscourse, considering in detail Hyland's metadiscourse taxonomy (2005).

Chapter 2 Part III presents relevant findings from the literature on study abroad (SA) to contextualize the environment and conditions of language learning, as it is in SA that participants in the current study develop their language abilities.

Chapter 3 outlines the methods, describes participants and specifies procedures of the current study.

Chapter 4 contains quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data.

Chapter 5 is a discussion and interpretation of the findings.

The conclusion addresses limitations, directions for future research and teaching implications.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE U.S.

In order to contextualize the study of Russian in the United States, this section of the second chapter will first provide the history of foreign language study and assessment on American soil. As Kinginger (2008) notes, it is important to appreciate the role foreign languages play in L2 learners' L1 culture in order to understand these learners' study abroad experiences and outcomes.

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, foreign language proficiency is increasingly sought after by private U.S. employers, and government agencies as a means to ensure global reach and strengthen national security. National emergencies of the past decades repeatedly called attention to the modest foreign language capacities of the workforce, which promoted gradual increases in funding and in the number of initiatives addressing the issue.

The United States' modern-day priorities, including nurturing and developing world languages and educating students to "be linguistically and culturally prepared to function as world citizens" (ACTFL Vision Statement), have vacillated through a long history of pros and cons. Indeed, at different points in the nation's history, politicians' and educators' views of the value of foreign languages varied from fervent support for bilingual programs to fierce efforts to eradicate language instruction. As education reflects a nation's priorities and takes shape under particular sociopolitical and economic conditions, multiple sways of the sociopolitical and, to lesser degree, economic

pendulums have inevitably affected foreign language (FL) education. Overall lack of interest, few FL programs, and scarce funding in the past led to a limited number of foreign language specialists and interculturally competent professionals in the US. This shortage has eventually become an impediment to the nation's strategic interests.

Over the life of the United States as a nation, the "English only" movement has waxed and waned as a cultural force. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the native languages of European immigrants thrived and coexisted peacefully with English, but 20th-century changes generated a new understanding of the role that language played in the identity of an American citizen. "English only" drew strength from widespread fears of a massive immigrant influx at the beginning of the 20th century. This fear contributed greatly to the marginalization of anything foreign, including language. Shortly thereafter, in the wake of World War I, language acquired the status of a national enemy when anti-German propaganda generated a link between "American-ness" and English language proficiency, pushing other languages away from public discourse. At about the same time, the US Congress for the first time passed a law requiring newcomers to demonstrate mastery of English, in essence ordering a forfeiture of their linguistic heritage (Pavlenko, 2002).

While introduction of the "English only" rule over the years proved to have contributed to the idea of the "melting pot," an idea widely associated with acceptance of all newcomers and their peaceful coexistence on the American soil, little has been said about its impact on immigrants' native languages. The melting pot narrative also asked immigrants to leave their linguistic heritage behind, making it difficult to maintain other languages (Pavlenko, 2002). While such a policy appears to carry a potential for

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resistance on the part of newcomers, it did not become a point of conflict. After all, as Bernhard (1998) reminds us in her overview of sociohistorical perspectives on language teaching in the US, "The very essence of America […] contradicts the concept and goals of the teaching of foreign language and culture" (p. 43). For many newly minted Americans, language was part of an oppressive past that people tried to forget.

With such a heritage, it comes as no surprise that foreign language (L2) learning always took a back seat among educational initiatives in pre-globalization era. The lasting legacy of several initiatives which put greater emphasis on FL instruction makes these initiatives relevant to the current study.

The official beginning of L2 education occurred with the 1890 recommendation by "The Committee of Ten"[4] to add foreign language (including ancient and modern languages) to the secondary school curriculum. As a result, a majority of secondary and high-school students were enrolled in a four-year foreign language sequence. Forty years later, "The Coleman Report" (1929) stifled the development of L2 programs. The report called for limiting all FL instruction exclusively to a reading mode of proficiency. Coupled with a reduced sequence in schools from four years to two years post-WWI, such a policy produced a "muted" generation and conditioned the nation into the state of monolingualism (Lisking-Gasparro, 1984; Bernhard, 1998).

A decade later, the U.S. military experienced the need for specialists capable of communicating with speakers of other languages. At that time, the number of available

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[4] This committee comprised a working group of educators who recommended standardization of curricula for American schools in 1982 (Harzberg, 1988).

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speakers proficient in FL could not meet the nation's demand. The search for functional

L2 speakers failed, paving the way for the development of the Army Specialists' Training

Program in 1942 (Angiolillo, 1947). In 1952, the Civil Service Commission was ordered

to check and develop an inventory of Government employees' language abilities. With no

system to conduct such inventory, the Commission relied on self-reports and the number

of hours that employees spent in the FL classroom. One of the most important outcomes

was a proposal to devise a system which could be objective and applicable to a range of

languages. Mandatory FL testing of all Foreign Service Officers began in 1958. In the

same year, the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) opened their Testing Unit, which

developed an interview protocol for testing oral skills that relied on the previously

developed scale (Herzog, n.d.). Today, the standards developed by the US government

are known as the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) scale (Leaver & Campbell,

2015).

The next era in the history of FL education began in 1958. That year, President

Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), which

secured funding for the improvement of L2 learning, including the development of study

abroad programs and FL centers across the country. The chief goal of this legislation was

to promote instruction in less commonly taught languages (LCTL).[5] In 1968, the

establishment of the American Council On Teaching Foreign Languages (ACFTL), an

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[5] Russian is one of them.

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organization involved solely with the development of resources and training programs for FL teachers and learners, marked yet another new era in the state of FL instruction.

Despite these many changes, the initiatives of the previous years did not bear fruit on a national scale.

President Jimmy Carter's Commission on Foreign Language issued its report "Strength through Wisdom," which lamented the state of foreign language in the country, calling it "nothing short of scandalous" (PCFLIS,1979, p.5). In fact, according to the report, incompetence in FL and the lack of international perspective in the country threatened the nation's ability to compete on a global stage. With the publication of this report, yet another era in the state of FL education began: ability to speak another language became linked to matters of US prosperity. The "Strength through Wisdom" report gave rise to multiple initiatives that contributed to an increase in L2 teaching, research, and study abroad programs in many parts of the country. The growth of L2 programs and their orientation towards fostering functional abilities among learners raised questions about shared language assessment. Concurrently, it became necessary to shift from a micro perspective on planning and evaluation, which isolated categories to be taught, to a macro perspective that focused on the things students *can do* with language (Scebold, 1992).

The search for a "common yardstick" (Woodford, 1970) in FL assessment became one of the key developments of this period (Liskin-Gasparro, 1984). The Common Yardstick project based its work on the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) proficiency scale. As mentioned, the six-level scale, currently known as Interagency Language Roundtable

(ILR), was developed by the Foreign Service Institute in 1950 along with an interview procedure, which aided in assigning a rating to a speech sample (Omaggio Hadley, 2001).

An adequate assessment of foreign language skills was also a concern in the academy. Due to the unbridgeable gap in proficiency of FSI students and students in foreign language departments, the scale and the interview did not prove useful for academia. The government's testing instruments did not reflect noticeable changes in students' linguistic performance due to the overall lower level of attainment possible within four year programs of study. College majors in French, German, Russian and Spanish in the second semester of their senior year could barely reach ILR 2 (Carroll, 1967). In other words, the existing scale lacked specificity at levels realistically achievable by college undergraduates. Consequently, Carroll (1976) called for an increase in focus on levels below 2. Another group of learners that did not demonstrate much progress in the ILT scale was returning Peace Corps volunteers. The Education Testing Services staff, who started using the scale in testing these volunteers, experienced difficulties in discerning finer gradations within the levels. Additionally, the international community recognized the need to develop levels to better reflect academic realities.

Collaboration between specialists from the ACTFL, the Education Testing Services (ETS) and the US Government Agencies on a 1981 project "A Design for Measuring and Communicating Foreign Language Proficiency" resulted in publication of the ACTFL Provisional Proficiency Guidelines (1982). The document outlined yearly achievement goals and prioritized speaking over other modes (Liskin-Gasparro, 1984). It

also completed the development of in-level gradation or sublevels and their descriptors (Liskin-Gasparro, 1985).

Finding a common assessment denominator meant agreeing on components, skills, and their hierarchy—or, in other words, levels of language competence. Ultimately, such negotiation led to a shared model of language ability, which underlies and informs one's progress in FL mastery. Models of language proficiency sprouted at the rate of at least one per decade. Examples include Oller's (1976) unitary competence proficiency model, Cummins's (1979) CALP/BICS model, Canale and Swain's (1980) communicative competence model, and Bachman's (1990) communicative language ability model (Kramsch, 1987). Only with the development of the ACTFL Proficiency Provisional Guidelines (1982) did the profession acquire an adequate framework for assessing the academic attainment of undergraduate students. The Guidelines (1982) addressed the functional aspect of language ability across three axes: content, function, and accuracy (Higgs, 1984).

The ACTFL Guidelines and the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI), a speaking testing protocol based on the guidelines, quickly generated separate camps of supporters and opponents. A significant number of studies have indicated this scale's weaknesses, including its purely theoretical nature and that it does not originate in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research, as well as its lack of similarity to actual communication (cf. Lantolf & Frawley,1985; DeKeyser, 1995; Johnson, 2001). It is difficult, however, to underestimate the magnitude of the document's impact on the profession and the FL field.

First and foremost, this document "galvanized" the proficiency movement (Watzke, 2003). Proficiency became an organizing principle of instruction (Higgs, 1984), which shifted emphasis from the structural to the functional aspect of FL competence. The proficiency movement became the driving force in focusing on performance instead of achievement or method of teaching (Liskin-Gasparro, 2003). Furthermore, the proficiency movement connected communicative language teaching with a means of assessing its results (Mitchell & Vidal, 2001) while allowing for flexibility in the choice of curriculum.

The so-called "washback effect"[6] led to the creation of instructional materials, the celebration of communicative activities in the classroom, and a thrust for interactional research in SLA. The fact that ACTFL Guidelines (1999) acquired prominence in textbooks and served as a foundation for the "Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st century" (1996) further exemplifies their significance.

Four decades later, the construct of proficiency is alive and well. The ACTFL Guidelines (2012) have been revised several times and translated into other languages. The OPI protocol produces results that are considered valid and drive high-stakes decisions in both academic and professional circles. This framework serves as a foundation for the Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st century, a more recent US government initiative launched as a part of President Bill Clinton's "Goals 2000." Foreign language has been included in the document as a core K-12 subject

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[6] This term refers to the effect of testing on teaching practices (Hadley, 2001).

thanks to the efforts of ACTFL and other language organizations (Lafayette & Draper, 1996 as cited in Omagio Hadley, 2001).

A long history of ups and downs in the field of FL instruction has resulted in current consensus that FL proficiency lies at the core of national educational priorities. A growing number of undergraduate and graduate American students traveling abroad and investing time in learning FL further supports the need for empirical research to deepen current understanding of the processes that promote and at times hinder learning in study abroad programs. Research on linguistic gains in the overseas context is one way to increase understanding, and possibly improve learning. The next section provides an overview of studies that describe predictors of linguistic gains, linguistic gains proper among different levels of proficiency, factors playing a role in the learner's experiences, the development of intercultural competence, programmatic variables, and other issues in forming a second language (L2) identity.

2.2 STUDY-ABROAD PROGRAMS IN THE UNITED STATES

2.2.1 Introduction

In this section, I provide a summary of the relevant literature on study abroad with a focus on language acquisition. Each study reviewed below presents valuable evidence that contributes to the understanding of how students learn foreign languages abroad. Russian L2 SA research will be described in more detail. The purpose of this section is to showcase findings of previous research and areas yet not fully explored.

In the last two decades, the number of participants in SA programs has grown at a steady rate (Open Door Report, 2014). This growth is not surprising considering the internationalization efforts of many American campuses. Mission statements of both private and state institutions of higher education contain references to internalization and global outreach, concepts that also permeate public discourse.

Compared to the number of educational opportunities overseas, language study programs are only a small proportion of the cumulative number. According to the Open Door Report (2014), enrollment in a summer- or semester-long study abroad program amounts to 10% of total undergraduate population of those majoring in foreign language, global studies, or international relations.

The majority of foreign language SA programs in critical languages[7] are supervised and funded by the National Security Education Program (NSEP), which was

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[7] As of 2017, Russian belongs to the list of 60 critical languages. The US government designates the language as critical when there is a high demand and a low supply for speakers of that language.

established in 1991 as a result of the David L. Boren Act. This act marked the beginning of the US government's serious commitment to investing in future foreign language professionals by providing them with extensive experience abroad, which gave an impetus to the launch of SA programs in the U.S.

According to the agency's mission statement, the NSEP works to assist American undergraduate and graduate students in gaining vital expertise in foreign languages. Every year the program awards scholarships and fellowships to individuals who would later join the federal government, bringing "unmatched professional expertise along with advanced cultural and language skill" (Mission Statement, NSEP website). NSEP programs include Fulbright Hays, Critical Language Scholarship (CLS) and The Flagship Overseas Program, all of which support language learning on an Advanced level.

As it pertains to the teaching of Russian, study-abroad programs have been borne out of a small-scale initiative to promote academic exchange and the study of foreign languages. The academic exchange with the former Soviet Union (American Councils for International Education, n.d.) led to the founding of the American Councils for International Education, a non-profit organization that pioneered intercultural connection between college students and professors and, subsequently created opportunities for language immersion all over the world.

In 2017, the American Councils for International Education is the major educational organization that designs and supervises study abroad programs in a variety of languages. Ultimately, this organization forges much needed communities of ILR 3 speakers of critical languages for the US Government. In discussing one of the AC

programs, Dan Davidson, the president of AC, comments on its achievements in Russian instruction: "The pathway to professional-level competencies in the major world language is open and available to Americans with the motivation and support to engage the necessary mechanisms of immersion study and domestic learning" (2017, p. 145).

The Russian SA programs are located in major Russian cities; participants live with host families, attend formal classes and meet with language tutors several times a week. The programs that target higher levels of proficiency require participants to directly enroll in classes with Russian students at local universities and do internships in professional organizations (Bain, 2007). What makes AC SA programs the cornerstone of foreign language immersion overseas is their rigorous programmatic design supported by research findings. This design also includes pre-program orientation and guided learning support, both of which have been shown to positively affect language outcomes (Pedersen, 2010). In surveying results of 1,457 subjects across several languages, program types, and levels, Davidson (2015) demonstrates universal improvement across the board after participants return from their SA program of choice.

Since funding for many Russian SA programs comes from the Department of Education, NSEP and other agencies, the resultative outcomes of these programs play a key role in ensuring continued financial support. Research is a form of demonstrating and furthering the understanding of SA impact and results. Therefore, SA research serves a twofold purpose: first, accumulation of the knowledge and understanding of Russian acquisition patterns and processes, and, second, assurance of actual returns on

stakeholders' investments in the study of critical languages abroad.[8] The ongoing search

for products (Lafford, 2005) in SA studies, also characterized as utilitarian (Kinginger,

2009), stems directly from the duality of demands placed on the field of SA research.

The present study is part of ongoing utilitarian effort in that it seeks to instantiate

the development of yet another 'product' in L2 oral proficiency: metadiscourse.

2.2.2 Research on Study Abroad Research

The inaugural volume of Second Language Acquisition in a Study Abroad

Context," was published in 1995 and contained 12 chapters. In his foreword to the

seminal volume, Ferguson emphasized its "timely" appearance (1995, p. XI) indicating

that a summary of trends in the SA SLA were much needed for policy makers and

program administrators as well as the field of second language acquisition. Two decades

later, the volume's findings still hold true. For instance, Brecht et al. (1995) demonstrated

correlation between pre-program levels of reading and grammar and post-program gains

in all skills after a semester in Russia. Furthermore, studies in the volume pioneered

thematic vectors for the field, along which SA SLA field continued to widen its

knowledge base in subsequent years. Comparison between domestic immersion and study

abroad programs (Lafford, 1995); characteristics of oral language, such as fluency (Freed,

1995); advantages of immersion at the early levels of language levels (Guntermann,

1995; Huebner, 1995); acquisition of pragmatic competence, specifically politeness

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[8] A critical language is a language deemed important for national security.

(Marriott, 1995); and identity readjustment associated with diverging perceptions of communicative norms and gender roles in the target culture (Siegal, Regan, and Polanyi, 1995) are some of the recurring themes in SA research to date. Another important theme that emerged from the volume was a closer look at the learners' attitudes and beliefs about language learning (Miller, Ginsberg, 1995). While primarily concerned with various aspects of L2 learning, studies also explored language use in TL environments both within and outside of classroom settings (Brecht and Robinson, 1995).

Some findings from the 1995 volume directly inform the current study. First, Freed (1995) observed that students with low initial proficiency gain more overall than their advanced peers during SA. She explains that this effect "may very well be an artifact of the testing package" (Freed 1995, p. 20). This observation speaks to the perceived lack of evidence of language development gathered by OPI at the levels beyond Advanced. This lack has been repeatedly voiced by many researchers (Freed, 1990, 1998; Milleret, 1991; Brecht et al., 1995; Collentine, 2004; Kinginger, 2009, Reese and Klapp, 2008) who call for more granular measures for the Advanced level's abilities. The ACTFL OPI offers "too blunt" of a scale to register changes occurring in short-term study abroad programs beyond the Advanced level of proficiency (Freed, 1990; Milleret, 1991; Brecht et al., 1995; Collentine, 2004; Kinginger, 2009). Therefore, studies began to look for indicators of development outside of ACTFL scale. For example, fluency (Walsh, 1994; Freed, 1995; Allen and Herron, 2003; Freed et al., 2004; Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal, 2007; De Silvio et al., 2016) and acquisition of speech acts (Bardovi-Harlig, 2011; Owen, 2001; Frank; 2002; Shardakova, 2005) have been considered. The speech

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act strand of research discovered that L2 learners are able to approximate NS norms in speech act production; however, these learners rarely acquire NS repertoire (Hoffman-Hicks 1999; Owen, 2001; Shardakova, 2005; Magnan and Back, 2007; Warga and Schlomberg, 2007; Taguch, 2008). The second important finding, directly relevant to the present dissertation is the analysis of gender and its effect on the overall experience and linguistic outcomes of sojourners. Studies demonstrate that divergent gender schemata cause misunderstanding and withdrawal from possibly rich L2 interaction opportunities, which, eventually, reflects on the L2 outcomes.

In terms of methods, one of the trends in the SA research has been the small number of quantitative studies with statistically significant results. This trend is explained by the limited access to large amounts of participants. (Carroll, 1967; Meara, 1995; Brecht et al. 1995; Davidson, 2015). The majority of studies provide insights drawn from mixed methods studies of participants' linguistic experiences. In the majority of the studies the OPI serves as an ultimate measure of proficiency. In characterizing early trends of SA research, Freed (1995) pointed out that "interpretive" (Erickson, 1991) methods have been prevalent. That is, studies maintain a delicate balance between quantitative and qualitative methods to inform, support and interpret test scores with insights gained from participants' journals, diaries and interviews. The data in such studies also includes language usage reports (LUR), pre- and post- OPI scores, discourse completion tests, and role-plays. Recently, introspective qualitative studies have gained popularity (Pellegrino Aveni, 1998, 2005; Kinginger, 2008; Jackson, 2008). Overall, growing interdisciplinary inquiries into the nature of human experience drive the move

toward qualitative inquiry, which is more powerful in uncovering the ways in which a variety of individual socio-cognitive characteristics for example such willingness to take risks and set goals shape the SA outcomes (Kinginger, 2008).

Some other trends in SA research are important to highlight. SLA treats the SA setting as experimental; in other words, no control group is usually present (Kinginger, 2002). Earlier studies (DeKeyser 1986, 1991) stipulated the futility of comparing SA and at-home immersion learners by demonstrating advances in the vocabulary and fluency of SA students, in contrast to little to no progress in at-home groups.

This dissertation will address criticism of the ACTFL scale, which casts too wide of a net to capture the granular progress of L2 learners at the Advanced level of proficiency. Specifically, I will employ the framework of metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005) to explore and gauge RAL2 oral progress. The analysis will yield a pragmatic account of RAL2 discourse.

2.2.3 Advantages of Studying Foreign Language Abroad

A growing body of literature testifies that studying a foreign language abroad accelerates one's path to proficiency. Since the very first days of SA, it has been established that SA programs are *vital* for foreign language study (Carroll, 1967; Brecht, Walton, 1994).

In addition to language skills, during SA students gain intercultural competence (Davidson, 2016). Just exactly how much students are able to internalize "new ways of being" in the foreign language depends, however, on their length of stay in the target

environment and the quality of scaffolding practices that the program puts in place to facilitate students' entry to the TL social networks.

Advantages of SA are especially visible in longer sojourns. Previous research has convincingly shown that summer, semester or yearlong programs lead to different outcomes. Longer sojourns result in more meaningful engagement with target language[9] society, which, in turn, carry potential for "secondary socialization". Subsequently, it translates into measurable language gains (Baker-Smemoe et al., 2014). Despite the documented advantages of a longer stay, only 3% of American students embark on a yearlong program (the Open Doors Report, Institute of International Education, 2016). The low numbers of learners who choose to pursue LCTL such as Russian at the Advanced level in part stipulate the rather scarcely documented profile and development of SA Russian Advanced (ACTFL) learners' proficiency (RAL2). Yet, such a profile is much needed in order to better meet the needs of RAL2 in their language acquisition quest.

2.2.4 Significance of Study Abroad for Less Commonly Taught Languages

Comparison of at-home students and SA participants demonstrates that overseas immersion promotes greater language gains and the development of intercultural competence (Freed, 1995; Davidson, 2015). When it comes to LCTLs, SA also enables learners to overcome the so-called "ceiling effect" (Rifkin, 2005, p. 32-33).[10] This effect,

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[9] Target language – the language being studied

[10] inability to attain next level of proficiency

first documented by Carroll (1967), describes the highest possible level of language proficiency attained by L2 majors in domestic programs. In Carroll's study (1967), four years of FL usually resulted in ILR 2+.[11] Students rarely, if ever, moved to the next level in their proficiency. Later reports from French (Magnan, 1986 as cited in Rifkin, 2005) and German (Tschirner, 1996 as cited in Rifkin) corroborated previous findings.

Although German and French majors fare significantly better these days, dynamics in less commonly taught languages (LCTL) such as Russian demonstrates rather limited proficiency outcomes at the end of undergraduate language study. There is a mismatch between the number of instructional hours required to attain Advanced level (ACTFL) of Russian (600 hours) and hours offered in the course of an average undergraduate program. For Russian, the ceiling occurs just below Advanced (Rifkin, 2005) or ILR 1+. While such lag in learning Russian could be explained by the fact that Russian belongs to category 4[12], based on its profound linguistic differences with English (Foreign Service Institute Blog Post), it does not solve the issue of preparing students to use Russian in professional setting. Therefore, for Russian majors, SA takes on a particularly significant meaning once students reach Intermediate High. In summarizing the role of Russian SA, Davidson (2017) emphasizes that

> overseas immersion learning is not the only pathway for language acquisition, but
> where the less commonly taught languages are concerned, it is difficult to

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[11] Advanced Mid on ACTFL scale

[12] Foreign Service Institute ranking of languages consist of 5 categories of difficulty, where 1 is the easiest and 5 is the most difficult

construct a comprehensive curricular model within our existing educational

system without recourse to one of more immersion models. (p. 145)

Rifkin further testifies that for most learners, reaching the Advanced threshold becomes

possible by going overseas for a summer or semester-long program. What becomes truly

challenging after that is attaining Advanced High or Superior levels of proficiency

outside of the Flagship program. To sum up, for students of Russian aspiring to use the

language in a professional setting, the study abroad component is essential.

In the next section, I will review research findings that further our understanding

of factors, conditions and processes that enable or hinder L2 development. Special

attention will be given to studies exploring aspects of Russian Advanced Learners (RAL)

competences.

2.3 VARIABLES AFFECTING GAINS IN STUDY ABROAD CONTEXTS

2.3.1 Time

Within highly structured SA environments, length of stay is a powerful predictor of outcomes. The general consensus in the field is that the longer the stay, the more significant the gains are, when gains are operationalized in terms of proficiency scores.

From the outset of SA research, it has been acknowledged that "any time spent abroad" (Carroll, 1967, p. 137) is going to positively reflect on test scores. Carroll's seminal study (1967) laid the foundation for the SA field by lending support to improvements on several measures after overseas immersion (1967). Despite Carroll's lack of qualitative analysis and "flimsy" evidence (Meara, 1994, p.38), his original findings have been confirmed by subsequent research. Davidson (2010) persuasively demonstrates that the more time one spends abroad, the better the outcomes are. Time is a critical resource in L2 use because of inherently social nature of language use. L2 use is highly dependent on relationships with the members of the host community, which take sustained effort to flourish. Relationships with NS have been shown to be critical for meaningful interactions. More time abroad usually translates into more meaningful relationships with NS. Such relationships forge a unique environment for high-quality language use, one that is rarely available outside of such social networks. The transformative character of close contact with TL and culture on learners' identity and its renegotiation are featured in several studies (Ochsner, 1979; Schumann, 1980; Jackson, 2008).

In describing pragmatic development, Kasper and Rose (2002) caution against the reliability of length of stay as a predictor of gain. Dietrich et al. (1995 as cited in Bardovi-Harlig, 2011) find length of stay to be an uninteresting variable; to them, interaction intensity is of primary importance. In discussing literature associated with pragmatic gains and length of stay, Bardovi-Harlig (2011) hypothesizes that SA programs lasting up to a

year may be too short for the pragmatic gains to show. Kecskes (2000) demonstrated that 2 years was the time in which English L2 speakers started interpreting and producing conventional expressions in accord with target-like norms.

Previous research has characterized the likelihood of a RAL2 moving from level 2 ILR to level 3 ILR in the course of the nine-month academic year SA program as approximately one in three (Davidson, 2015). The likelihood of reaching 2+ or remaining 2 was also one in three. In the early days of the proficiency movement in the United States, the phenomenon of the Advanced-language plateau (Davidson, 2015, p. 136) gave rise to the concept of "terminal 2" (Higgs and Clifford, 1983).

As metadiscourse belongs to the domain of pragmatics, it remains to be seen whether it will exhibit changes in RAL2 oral performance at the end of a year-long SA program.

2.3.2 Homestays

The quest to understand how each factor of SA immersion programs plays into participants' gains led researchers to seek learners' perspectives on homestays and examine the types of interaction that a host family affords learners.

The so-called *sine qua non* of language study abroad (Rivers, 1998; Davidson, 1995), the host family environment does not guarantee ubiquitous interaction.

Home-stay has been evidenced to vary in terms of language use and language gain. On the one hand, data from a number of studies have challenged the assumption that host families positively affect L2 proficiency development. Rivers' (1998) study compared language gains of Russian L2 learners who stayed in the dormitory and those

who lived with a host family. Home-stay subjects gained less in speaking and listening proficiency, while showing improvement in reading. Rivers (1998) suggested that *ceaseless* target language input could be too difficult for levels below functional proficiency. In his ethnography of the home-stays, Frank (1997) discovered that both the hosts and the participants experienced frustration resulting from L2 learners' inability to communicate sufficiently. Pellegrino (1998) found that home-stays are not conducive to the development of meaningful communication.

While learner active participation in host culture has been found to be a key factor in L2 acquisition (DuFon & Churchill 2006, as cited in Di Silvio et al., 2014), many learners require assistance from the program to help them develop and increase engagement with the host culture (Back, 2013; Frank, 1997; Kinginger, 2011; Knight & Schmidt-Rinehart, 2010; Vande Berg et al., 2009). A number of studies (Dewey et al., 2014; Magnan & Back, 2007; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004) have not found home-stay to significantly influence L2 use or outcomes. At the same time, Schmidt-Rinehart and Knight (2004), Hernández (2010), Kinginger (2008) found that participants viewed home-stays as advantageous for their language learning progress and explained their L2 progress by spending time with the host family.

In a study of Chinese, Russian and Spanish SA L2 learners, Di Silvio et al. *(*2014) examined the beliefs of students and their host families. Among other things, they determined that overall satisfaction with language learning largely depends on the home-stay experience. Language was significant predictor of variation; specifically, more than 25% of Russian L2 learners disagreed that they were glad to live with host family,

compared to 6% in Spanish and 10% in Mandarin. A higher number of students in Russian reported that they did not wish to keep in touch. with the family post-program compared to students of other languages. Nevertheless, all students improved their post-program proficiency rating (Di Silvio et al., 2014), demonstrating that satisfaction with the host family and language gains do not form a meaningful relationship. However, a "happy homestay" (p. 180) did exhibit positive effects. The study does report level of students, which could be an impediment as well as a facilitator to meaningful interaction. On the one hand, interactions with NS have been found to be anxiety-provoking and challenging to one's identity (Kinginger, 2013). On the other hand, once at a higher level of proficiency, learners are quite capable to overcome their limitations, and are generally more open to interactions with NS.

2.3.3 Language Use

Does L2 use affect language gain? Findings of empirical studies on the effect of language use on language acquisition have yielded mixed results. While some find no relationship between the two (Mendelson, 2004; Freed, 1990), others report language use to be a significant predictor in proficiency gains (Hernández, 2010). Scholars also described variables that affect the extent of learners' language use (Pellegrino Aveni, 2005; Isabelli-Gracía, 2006; Wilkinson, 1998; Dewey et al., 2014).

In a large-scale study, Dewey et al. (2014) explored the possible effects of multiple variables, including intercultural sensitivity, personality, initial L2 proficiency, social networks, gender, age, and program type, on L2 use as reported by participants.

Analysis of 118 participants from six study abroad programs showed that program type and age were the only two factors that increased language use. Despite the common belief that just being there is enough, SLA empirical studies show the opposite: learners require their program's assistance for finding entrance points in L2 community. Without this assistance, their opportunities for social contact and exposure to L2 are limited to classroom environment and brief service encounters.

The effect of program type on learners' language use, and, ultimately, outcomes, corroborates the results of Bain's (2007) analysis of language learning behaviors of ACTR Program participants. Major threshold gains, demonstrated on a regular basis by Flagship participants, were most profoundly affected by carefully structured curriculum design and demanding requirements (Bain, 2007). Considering the fact that the program in question is well-designed and the mean age of participants is 22, it is safe to assume that the learners would form more meaningful connections with the host culture and engage in L2 use opportunities more often than their younger peers who participate in a less structured study abroad programs (Brecht et al., 1993; Freed, 2004).

2.3.4 Intercultural Competence

Among variables relevant to the current study are intercultural sensitivity and initial proficiency level of L2. Intercultural competence has been shown to be a decisive factor in whether L2 learner takes a defensive stance toward L2 culture or not. The former usually results in limited contact with native speakers (Isabelli-Gracía, 2006;

Wilkinson, 1998). Therefore, understanding the dynamics of intercultural competence (ICC) is directly related to the question of language gains.

As language gains permeate study abroad research, new lines of inquiry continue to develop. One prominent theme is the impact that study abroad exerts on the development of intercultural competence. With growing demand in today's globalized world for globally competent professionals, the time is ripe to reveal how studying a language abroad might transform an individual's perception, attitude and orientation to other cultures.

To measure this effect, scholars compare scores on the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), a commercially available testing tool, from study abroad participants and those participating in a domestic program. With few exceptions, findings indicate that study abroad positively correlates with changes on the IDI scale (Paige et al., 2004; Engle & Engle, 2004; Andersen et al., 2006; Rexeisen et al., 2008; Patterson et al., 2006 as cited in Davidson et al., 2017). Pedersen (2010) points out that the development of intercultural competence relies centrally on guided learning: that is, carefully designed opportunities that facilitate learners' entry to the cultural spaces of target language environment (as cited in Davidson et al., 2017). Salisburry et al. (2013) conducted a longitudinal study with 1,647 subjects, which addressed the limitations of previous studies and verified the field's general consensus that study abroad improves students' intercultural competence in a holistic manner. Authors utilized the Miville-Guzman-University-Diversity Scale (MGUDS, 1999 as cited in Salisburry et al., 2013) and multiple biographical questionnaires. Previous findings indicated improvement in several

dimensions of intercultural competence: more positive views of the host culture, an expanded global perspective, and increases in intercultural awareness and sensitivity. However, the only significant improvement on the parameter of diversity of contact was found by Salisburry et al. (2013), refuting earlier evidence that study abroad increases all aspects of intercultural competence Their results indicate little effect on relativistic appreciation of culture differences or comfort with other cultures. Despite its persuasive quantitative evidence, this study lacks a qualitative dimension – a key part of intercultural competence assessment as outlined in Deardorff (2006).

Measures of intercultural competence in a language immersion study abroad demonstrate quite different outcomes. Watson et al. (2013) found that 498 participants in a semester-long study abroad program drastically improved their cross-cultural competence as measured on Intercultural Development Inventory. The authors propose the notion of "interrelated whole" when it comes to advances in language, cultural competence and regional knowledge. Inclusion of the language learning study abroad programs is critical in studies measuring development of intercultural competence. Although foreign language skills are not on the list of skills associated with interculturally competent individuals, participating in a language immersion study abroad program is the most straightforward means to developing ICC. Moreover, while lack of practice could erode foreign language ability with time, ICC could be a more permanent development.

Davidson et al. (2017) have contributed to understanding of the relationship between second language acquisition and ICC. Their study found that language

proficiency fuels intercultural development while concurrently being fueled by it. By including ICC pre- and post-scores for both language immersion study abroad and non-language study abroad groups in the data set (N=305), the authors demonstrate only minimal gains in IC for the non-language cohort compared with high gains for language cohorts. Additionally, drawing data from a range of proficiency levels, Davidson et al. (2017) established the relationship between language gains and intercultural development across levels. Statistical analysis indicates a correlation between Superior level and higher IDI scores, while no such relationship exists elsewhere. Another outcome of the analysis is that pre-program IDI scores do not predict L2 gain, in contrast to previous findings (Baker-Smemoe et al., 2014 as cited in Davidson et al., 2017). Further, information about participants' engagement provides additional insights into the dynamics of IC development. For instance, active involvement in the community events and activities outside of those mandated by the program increased IC score for the two thirds of the participants.

In sum, the growing vein of research convincingly demonstrates that learning a foreign language in the country of its origin changes learners on cognitive, behavioral and perceptual levels in addition to providing the benefit of accelerated path to language proficiency. Evidence also supports the importance of well-structured study abroad programs, which create a favorable environment for increasing intercultural competence across proficiency levels and even outside of them. What remains to be learned is whether a mix of language proficiency, study abroad and intercultural competence results in more effective use of metadiscourse.

2.4 FINDINGS IN RUSSIAN SA SLA

Russian SA studies of American learners have tackled three major areas and an emerging fourth area: first, interlanguage pragmatics (specifically, the speech act performance in both writing and speaking); second, variables affecting gains; third, studies of fluency development; and lastly, issues in constructing the self in the L2.

2.4.1 Interlanguage Pragmatics

Interlanguage pragmatics is one of the few subfields of SLA that has been extensively described. Studies in Russian interlanguage pragmatics are modeled on frameworks developed in the course of the Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka et al.,1989). CCSARP investigated the realization patterns of the speech act of request and apology in eight languages. This multilingual study established variation in speech acts previously deemed universal (Austin, 1962; Levinson, 1976). In the field of Russian Interlanguage Pragmatics, both speech acts and politeness have been described (Dong, 2010; Dubinina, 2012; Dunn, 2012, 2012; Krulatz, 2012; Mills,1991; Ogiermann, 2009; Owen, 2001; Shcherbakova, 2010). These studies not only established cross-cultural differences between realization of speech acts; they also addressed the question of nativelikeness (Owen, 2001). By describing an area of communicative competence which is not explicitly addressed in instructional settings, researchers also confirmed that learners acquire language features outside of the class environment during SA.

Owen's (2001) study of request strategies by L2 American learners of Russian explored a variety of proficiency levels and their developmental patterns. It is the first study in Russian interlanguage pragmatics that takes a developmental approach. The data for the study comes from the role-plays that were conducted as a part of the OPI testing. The study first delineates NS preferences in making requests drawn from the NS corpus of similar role-plays. Results demonstrate that non-native speakers (NNS) show strong preference for a speaker-oriented strategy, characteristic of their L1, which presents a striking contrast with the Russian NS's preference for indirect hearer-oriented strategies. Owen (2001) found that only participants at the Advanced (ACTFL, 2012) level of proficiency demonstrated significant improvement in the performance of requests that approximate the NS norm.

Due to the unavailability of Advanced (ACTFL, 2012) speakers at the beginning of the study, a developmental account was only provided for Intermediate Mid-level: speakers tested at that level both before and after the program. The post-test exhibited movement towards the NS norm; however, some learners retained features of L1 requests (Owen, 2001). The fact is that NNS returning from SA exhibited greater nativelikeness in performing requests that those who left for SA at that level. This finding indicates that interlanguage pragmatics is one of those pliable areas of communicative competence which is especially malleable during sojourn. Importantly, NNS beyond Advanced threshold demonstrated "nearly identical strategies" (Owen, 2001, p. 216) to those used by NS. Dramatic changes in preference for directness were also found among the returning SA participants: NNS learned to be more direct.

Similar to many previous studies, Owen (2001) comments on the OPI's wide margin between levels. The OPI pictures "very crude changes in speaking skills" (p.233) and thus is not necessarily suitable for exploring finer developments in the language, including those at the level of pragmatics.

Shardakova (2005) studied the speech act of apology in Russian learners. The comparison of at-home and SA groups with NS controls in production and perception of apologies across proficiency levels yielded absolute advantage for the SA environment in terms of proficiency increase (Shardakova, 2005). In other words, exposure to the target language and culture during SA promotes approximation of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic aspects of the speech act of apology to the NS patterns, while improvement in proficiency does not play as important of a role. The lower-level proficiency group demonstrates a greater degree of alignment with NS norm post-immersion than the higher-level proficiency group without direct exposure to the L2 environment. This is yet another corroboration of SA's advantages for influencing non-instructed aspects of proficiency.

By making use of introspective tools in the study, Shardakova (2005) also captured complex dynamics at the identity level which are reflected in language use. In regards to apologies, the Advanced group exhibited divergent behavior post-immersion, knowingly acting against NS norm. Interviews conducted after the post-test revealed that L2 refuse accept the NS norm blindly. Simply put, divergence from the norm does not demonstrate lack of awareness; rather, it points to the process of negotiation with the norm, its acceptance or non-acceptance due to its potential to run counter to one's

identity. In other words, L2 divergent behavior is the result of reflection on the norm and maintenance of one's identity in a new language. Metadiscourse, too, could be affected by one's identity preferences.

In the same line of inquiry, Moskala-Gallaher (2011) examined the emergence of the speech act of direct complaint in pragmatic competence of the adult learners of Russian at the intermediate and advanced level of proficiency during study abroad. Additionally, the study provided comparison with NS Russian and NS American English corpora. The findings indicate that Advanced level performance of direct complaint markedly differs from that of NS in several ways. L1 transfer affects complaints by being less direct toward friends, containing more face-saving strategies, oversupplying apology, and restoring harmony. At the same time, L2 Russian learners' semantic strategies seem to indicate similarity with Russian NS. By drawing on her data, Moskala-Gallaher (2011) proposed interlanguage competence "in transition" from L1 to L2. This study also contributes to understanding of Advanced level proficiency underpinnings: non-native perceptions of social distance and social power continue to cause difficulties, despite Advanced learners being linguistically equipped to negotiate the problem effectively. Whether metadiscourse markers are able to provide insights into the issues of social distance and power remains to be seen.

In order to further the knowledge of pragmatic acquisition in Russian Advanced Learners, I will examine metadiscourse (MD).

2.4.2 Gender Variable Specific for Russian

Working with data from Russian SA, Brecht and Robinson (1993) found that men benefit more from study abroad than women. Authors suggested the effect could stem from differential amount of agency the target culture attributes to men and women. In other words, linguistic affordances vary depending on one's gender status in the Russian TL culture. In her autobiography of learning Arabic in Iran, Schumann (1980) documented limited opportunities for women to practice language. Interactions with expert speakers in the target language are not as available to women compared to men. Polanyi's (1995) analysis of study abroad participants' journals discovered a striking contrast between men's positive experiences and women's "almost universally unpleasant" (Polanyi 1995, p. 280) encounters with NS. Predominant feelings of self-doubt and awkwardness in female students resulted in lower listening and speaking scores. Pellegrino Aveni (2005) also considered the effects of gender in Russian SA and found that both L2 women and men show a preference for interacting with NS women. Interactions with NS men are threatening to the L2 male and female learners' sense of security. As a result, women frequently avoid interaction with NS men, which automatically limits their pool of potentially rich interaction with NS. The research on interaction of L2 learning and gender in the context of Russian study abroad demonstrates that highly traditional gender roles in Russian society interfere with SA interactional opportunities.

Gender also plays a role in the types of input L2 to which sojourners are exposed in class. In discussing the gender aspect of the speech act of request, Owen (2001) relies on Zemskaya's study, which describes gender differences in speech. However, Owen's (2001) data, based on a limited set of her NNS speakers, does not exhibit patterns of gendered language. Owen (2001) hypothesis that this effect might well be the reflection of the fact that NNS men model their request behavior on the available input, which is more often than not provided by female instructors. Moskala-Gallaher also describes gendered aspects of language use. In comparing English L1 and Russian L1, she concludes that English exhibits less variety between the talk that female and male speakers employ.

The evidence of the newer study, however, runs counter to the previous findings in that statistically it does not confirm effects for gender (Davidson, 2010). In this dissertation, gender will be considered as a potential variable for metadiscourse development.

2.4.3 Development of Fluency in Study Abroad

The first study that examined development of fluency in Russian (Di Silvio et al., 2016) along with fluency in Spanish and Chinese found "relatively few changes observed in the fluency measures" (p. 620), while subjects from Spanish and Chinese cohorts made significant progress across the board. Curiously, L2 Russian speakers showed a decreased rate of repair and increased unfilled pauses on post-test. Results from Chinese and Spanish exhibited an opposite dynamic on the former and the latter. The authors interpret

it by referring to differing pause patterns in English and Russian. Riazantseva (2001 as cited in De Silvio et al., 2016) earlier described longer pause durations in L1 Russian than in L1 English. Considering the fact that Russian L2 return with longer pauses that match the Russian L1 norm, this could be an indication that learners internalize native-like norms during their sojourn. Researchers examined fluency gains and their relationship in three languages, Russian being one of them, and provided large-scale quantitative analysis of L2 fluency development.

Fluency has been measured with NS judgments (Dubiner et al., 2006; Freed, 1995; Ullakonoja, 2008), which were criticized for their lack of ecological validity and failure to isolate aspects of L2 speech contributing to the impression of higher fluency at the end of the program (De Silvio et al, 2016). Speech rate and signs of struggle have been used to quantify speed and fluidity of speech (Segalowitz & Freed, 2004). Fluency develops rapidly and exhibits significant improvement in L2 American learners (Freed et al.,2004; O'Brien et al., 2007; Du, 2013). Within the fluency domain, the number of words in the longest run (Du, 2013; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004), repair rate (D'Amico, 2012) and speech rate (Llanes & Muñoz,2009) could potentially affect metadiscourse, as increased fluency indicates availability of attentional resources which could be redirected to the management of impression with other means, for example, metadiscourse markers.

2.4.4 Construction of Self in Study Abroad

Pellegrino Aveni (2005) is one of the few studies in the field of Russian SA SLA that does not make use of proficiency scores. Her use of Grounded Theory Methodology

(Strauss and Corbi, 1990, 1998 as cited in Pellegrino-Aveni, 2005) facilitates foregrounding students' voices and reframing the understanding of a learner as good or bad. Rather, she proposes to look at the juncture of environmental and social factors and their effect on L2 use. Her book pioneered an interdisciplinary line of inquiry into Russian L2 SA by exploring L2 learners' experiences through the lens of enactment and representation of self (Mead, 1934; Goffman, 1959). Because language is the most robust means of presenting the self, understanding how L2 SA sojourner manages to reconstruct the image of self in L2, the core process of the study abroad experience, sheds light on learner-internal processes, to which other means of inquiry do not grant access.

While Pellegrino-Aveni's study does not demonstrate linguistic gains of the participants, it is relevant to the current study because it explores experiences of American learners of Russian, who resided in a major Russian city for extended period of time (one year). Consideration of difficulties of the self-presentation in L2, especially in the context of an unfamiliar role the participants are enacting during role-play, could potentially aid in explaining metadiscourse use, a functional category assisting one in self-representation. Therefore, the current study shares Pellegrino's attention to the identity formation in L2.

2.5 METADISCOURSE

2.5.1 Introduction

As evidenced in the previous section, study abroad exhorts a positive influence on various areas of L2 development. Residence in L2 country (Coleman, 1998) is especially useful for development of social interaction. In particular, study abroad supports aspects of interaction that do not develop well during classroom instruction: awareness of register and style, conversational fluency, development of formulaic language, and increased repertoire of speech acts, to name a few (Kinginger, 2008; Kinginger, 2013). By the same token, it is reasonable to assume that discourse competence[13] (Canale,1983), which lies at the core of communicative competence in the model put forward by Celce-Murcia et al. (1995, 2007), changes dramatically in a target language environment. It is important to note that discourse competence and metadiscourse are functionally similar in that both subsume a variety of linguistic elements that contribute to the coherence of the message and convey the speaker's attitude (Celce-Murcia, 2007; Hyland, 2005). The functional proximity of the two concepts suggests that metadiscourse represents a number of building blocks that underlie L2 discourse competence. Additionally, at the Advanced level of proficiency as outlined in ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (2012), language learning is primarily concerned with acquiring discourse-level skills, such as the ability to narrate in all major time frames discuss an issue at length, where metadiscourse works as a glue that holds discourse together.

During study abroad, RAL2 learners are coached in and exposed to a variety of L2 discourses, to which metadiscourse is integral and, more importantly, "intimately linked to the norms and expectations of particular cultural and professional communities" (Hyland, 1998, p. 438). This suggests that while processing a number of texts of TL (whether written

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[13] Interpretation and production of language beyond the sentence level (Celce-Murcia, 2007).

or spoken) and producing their own texts, RAL2 learners might acquire metadiscourse specific to Russian culture.

Whether and how successfully RAL2 learners manage the task of acquiring metadiscourse is the question that this dissertation seeks to investigate. In order to accomplish this goal, I will first ground the present work in the context of previous research on metadiscourse. Next, I outline the scope of discourse management devices traditionally referred to as metadiscourse.

2.5.2 Previous Research

Presently, in the field of applied linguistics there is an agreement on what constitutes the core object of study when it comes to metadiscourse. Researchers generally define metadiscourse as "discourse about discourse," but they often disagree on the kinds of phenomena that belong to this category (Ädel & Mauranen, 2010). Division exists not only in the definitional realm but also in terms of approach. The interactive model of metadiscourse assumes interaction between the reader and the writer, while the reflexive model considers metadiscourse to be a manifestation of the metalingual function (Ädel & Mauranen, 2010).

As evidenced by following review of studies, differences in delineating the scope of metadiscourse might have evolved as a result of including or excluding interaction as an outward vector, one meant to involve the text's addressee and elicit responses.

Inquiry into the concept of metadiscourse, or reflexivity (the term that is used synonymously to metadiscourse and reflects a structural tradition), as the means of

language to refer to itself (Mauranen, 2010) started in the philosophy of language. The pervasive nature of reflexivity and its universality in both oral and written language and genres are well-documented (Crismore 1989; Mauranen 2010). As Crismore (1989) demonstrates, the history of exploration of meta-phenomena in language spans across centuries, genres and cultures: from Greek philosophers to Shakespeare to modernity, authors peppered their texts with signal words, phrases, and even stretches of sentences to orient and steer their reader toward the desired interpretation (Crismore, 1989).

The term «metadiscourse» emerged from the works on relfexivity (Lyons 1977) to indicate a unique property of natural language to comment on itself.

Reflexivity as a fundamental criterion of human language is also emphasized in Lucy (1993), who labels metalanguage "reflexive language." For him, metalanguage is used to talk about language (for example, linguistic terminology), while reflexive language provides commentary on the actual content of the text. In Lucy's view, reflexive language includes metalinguistic utterances as well as strategies.

Jakobson (1980) has suggested that metalanguage is separate from "object language,"[14] but "the same verbal stock may be used" (Jakobson, 1980, p. 86) to practice metalanguage. This scholar identified metalingual function (also called "reflexive") as one of the six language functions. For Jakobson (1960), metalingual function is different from others[15] in that it aids in commenting, explaining, glossing, or referring to the propositional

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[14] Object language is used to refer to the world or reality, while metalanguage is used to refer to language.

[15] Jacobson (1960) defines referential, poetic, emotive, conative and phatic functions in addition to the metalingual function of the language.

meaning (Metapragmatics in Use, 2007). Silverstein (1993) proposed that metalanguage ensures appropriate use of language; that is, it functions metapragmatically.

Metalingual function is performed at times when either the addresser or the addressee "need to check up whether they are using the same code" (Jakobson, 1980, p. 86). Simply put, the code's (language) ability to comment on itself is realized through metalingual function. Another important observation about the functioning of metalanguage is that "we practice metalanguage without realizing the metalingual character of our statements" (Jakobson, 1980, p. 86). That is, such glossing is often intertwined in the message.

Habermas (1984) also references metalanguage. For him, comprehension between interlocutors occurs on two levels: content level and meta level. The latter prescribes the manner in which one should approach content (Metalinguistics in Use, 2007). In other words, he too emphasizes the guiding nature of meta-phenomena. Similarly, Bateson (1972) views metadiscourse as separate from the content or proposition. Making a further distinction within metadisourse itself, he identifies two kinds of the meta messages: metalinguistic and metacommunicative. In his view, metalinguistic messages provide information about language, while metacommunicative messages refer to the speaker-addressee continuum. This distinction is important as it provides grounds for the two distinctly different theoretical traditions of metadiscourse which will be described in detail in the next section. Bateson's (1972) contribution to theorizing the concept of metalanguage is remarkable also because he includes vocal and kinesic modes, viewing

them as constitutive parts of metalingual plane. However, the present work will only consider linguistic manifestations of metadiscourse.

The interest in metadiscourse among applied linguists is a recent development which stands in stark contrast to the previous neglect of this phenomenon. Such lack of interest could have stemmed from what Vande Kopple (1988 as cited in Ädel, 2006) characterized as pre-1980's propositional trend in linguistic research, positing that meaning resides on the ideational or referential plane of the text, even despite the fact that phatic (Malinowski, 1930) planes of meaning have been previously described. Schiffrin (1980)'s study of metatalk was one of the first studies of meta-phenomena to emphasize coexistence of both referential and expressive planes in talk about talk[16] which became later reflected in the interactive model of metadiscourse.

It was not until the late 1980's that applied linguists turned to the study of metalanguage as a distinct feature of texts. As early as 1959, Zellig Harris introduced the term "metadiscourse" as a way to conceptualize an addressor's (writer or speaker's) efforts to manipulate an addressee's understanding of the text. In order words, metadiscourse embodies the means by which speakers are able to negotiate their presence in the text (Hyland, 2005), which highlights the interactional nature of any text.

Metadiscourse has been found to play important role in textbooks (Crismore, 1989; Hyland, 2000), dissertations (Hyland, 2004; Swales, 1990), advertising (Fuertes-Olivera et al., 2001), and rhetoric (Williams, 1981, Vande Kopple, 1985). In addition, Mauranen

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[16] Schiffrin (1980) uses "talk about talk" to refer to metadiscourse.

(1993) has applied metadiscourse to describe rhetorical variations within different cultural groups, which suggests that metadiscourse represents yet another cultural layer that comes with learning a foreign language.

Currently, the growing number of studies that address metadiscourse and its use within the field of applied linguistics indicates that its status of "meaningless or superfluous verbiage of low status" (Ädel, 2006) has been slowly changing.

The majority of metadiscourse research (Ädel, 2006; Crismore, 1989; Hyland & Tse, 1998, Vande Kopple, 1988) has explored metadiscourse in written texts, in particular L1 and L2 academic writing (Intraprawat & Steffenswen, 1995; Hyland, 1998). Only a handful of studies (Ädel, 2010; Ahour & Maleki, 2014; Aguilar, 2008; Norrik, 2001; Schiffrin, 1980; Bu, 2014; Rui & Xin, 2009) have described metadiscourse in oral modality. With the exception of a very limited number of studies (Rui & Xin, 2009) that explore metadiscourse in oral language, many scholars maintain their focus solely on academic speaking. This trend could very well result from efforts to apply and compare findings from academic writing to academic speaking metadiscourse, or it may result from increasing demand among the international community to clarify the role metadiscourse plays in academic English.

To date, only one study has examined and established patterns in L2 oral metadiscourse (Rui & Xin, 2009). The authors focused on metadiscourse in Chinese learners of English in oral communication, examining its correlation with the level of proficiency. Rui and Xin (2009) have discovered two important trends: learners' limited use of metadiscourse, and expansion of metadiscourse repertoire with gains in oral

proficiency. The most relevant outcome of their work, which directly informs present study, is their observation that with gains in proficiency, the qualitative aspect of metadiscourse changes, while quantitative numbers do not differ.

The limited number of L2 oral metadiscourse studies, coupled with the absence of metadiscourse research done with RAL2 learners, indicates a lacuna which present study sets out to fill.

2.5.3 Approaches to metadiscourse

The divide between two distinct approaches to the study of metadiscourse—the so-called "broad" and "narrow" approaches—has evolved and developed into two stands of research (Ädel, 2006).

The first, "broad" approach to the study of metadiscourse is also called "integrative," and the other, "narrow," is known as "non-integrative." As Ädel (2006) explains, this divide is based on inclusion or exclusion of the language metafunctions outlined in Halliday's functional model of language: the "ideational," the "interpersonal," and the "textual." The ideational function is equated with proposition, which lies outside of the metadiscourse domain. It is the interpersonal and textual functions that have been considered as the main constituents of metadiscourse. The interpersonal function manifests itself in linguistic devices that represent an author's persona in the text, and the textual function is realized in connectors between propositions.

Proponents of the "integrative" or broad approach—for example, Vande Kopple (1985), Markkanen et.al (1993), Crismore et. al (1993), Luukka (1994) and Hyland (2005—view metadiscourse as a means to signal text organization and to explicitly demonstrate the author's presence in the text by displaying attitudes or commenting on

propositions. Put succinctly, metadiscourse includes both interpersonal and textual functions in the range of phenomena (Ädel, 2006).

Studies that utilize 'integrative' approach focus on academic writing or speaking, with few exceptions that explore metadiscourse in historical texts (Mao, 1993) and advertising (Fuertes-Olivera et al., 2001).

The literature on metadiscourse refers to *Style: Ten Lessons in Clarity and Grace* (Williams, 1989) as the first work to use metadiscourse in the broad sense (Ädel, 2006). Another notable contribution in this tradition belongs to Vande Kopple (1985), who has put forward a seven-type taxonomy of metadiscourse as seen in Table 1 (Ädel, 2006, p. 169).

Table 1 *Vande Kopple's taxonomy*

Label and Definition	Example
Text Connectives	
show how texts are organized and how different parts are related to each other. They are used to connect particular block of information to each other.	
(i)Logical Connectors	(i) On the other hand
(ii)Announcements	(ii) We shall see, in later chapters
(iii)Reminders	(iii) The argument about progress describes above
(iv)Sequences	(iv) First,… second,…

Code Glosses Signal rephrasing of portions of the text, give cues to proper interpretation, comment on ways of responding textual elemenets, or identify a style.	That is
Illocution Markers Make a specific discourse act explicit (e.g. introduce something, hypothesize, claim, give examples, or conclude)	For comparison
Narrators Inform readers who said or wrote something, i.e. they introduce reported speech or quotes material	All Newton himself ever said
Validity Markers Show what assessment of the probability or truth of propositional content the writer wishes to express. There are three subgroups	
(i) Hedges (ii) Emphatics (iii) Attributors	(i) Perhaps (ii) Certainly (iii) As a wise person once put it

Attitude Markers	Unfortunately
Signal the writer's attitudes toward the propositional content	
Commentary	Consider, suppose
Is used to address readers directly and draw them into an implicit dialogue	

Both Markkanen et al. (1993) and Crismore et al. (1993) carried out studies following the model suggested by Vande Kopple (1985). Lukka (1994 as cited in Ädel, 2006) has added to the outlined above categories "contextual metadiscourse," which refers to the actual situation of discourse occurrence and materials that go with it. Ädel (2006) gives an example of contextual metadiscourse: *I will move this slide a little bit so you can…* (p.171).

One important feature that integrativists include under the umbrella term "metadiscourse" is "stance," which has been studied before as a separate category. Stance is viewed as expression of "personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessment" (Biber et al. 1999, p. 966 as cited in Ädel, 2006). Stance has also been previously called "evaluation" (Hunston and Thompson, 2000), "appraisal" (White 2001) and "modality" (Halliday 1994). Thus, while stance could be studied as a phenomenon in and of itself, it also has a place in metadiscourse: both "validity markers" and "attitude markers" in Vande Kopple's model have elements representing stance (Ädel, 2006). Hyland (2008) also views stance and engagement as critical components of his taxonomy. For him, evaluation is comprised of stance and engagement, where the former is expressed by means of hedges,

boosters, attitude markers and self-mention, and the latter is represented by reader pronouns, directives, questions, shared knowledge and personal asides.

Advocates of the "non-integrative" or narrow approach view the textual function as the one and only constituent of metadiscourse. In fact, as Ädel (2006) points out, the term metadiscourse is replaced with "metatext," invented by Enkvist in 1975. In defining "metatext," Markkanen et al. (1993) emphasize that it describes the text in which it is located, and not things in the outside world. One of main proponents of this approach is Mauranen (1993). She uses the term "reflexivity in the language" to refer to metatext and introduces the scale of explicitness of the phenomenon, which is illustrated in the Table 2 below (Ädel, 2006, p. 176).

Table 2 *Scale of explicitness*

Highly explicit reflexivity	Reflexivity of low explicitness
a. References to the text (*in this article, in the following*)	a. Internal connectors (*second, however, in addition*)
b. Discourse Labels (*to illustrate, as noted earlier, stated formally)*	b. Discourse labels (*it is reasonable to think, [our present data] show)*
	c. References to the text *(as a first step)*
c. Addressing the reader (*recall [that], the reader*)	d. c. addressing the reader (*there is reason to remember*)

In the scholarship that views metadiscourse strictly as "metatext," one of the relevant studies belongs to Schiffrin (1980), who coined the term "metatalk" and is one of the few scholars who have aslo studied metadiscourse in spoken texts. Her contribution is also significant for the present work is also in that she explores non-academic varieties of talk. A number of scholars in this tradition (Telenius, 1994; Valero-Garcés, 1996; Bäcklund, 1988; Bunton, 1999; Thomspon, 1993; Dahl, 2003) have explored written and oral modalities of academic discourse from master's theses to academic writing in the field of economics and medical science. The main focus of such studies varies from text linguistics to contrastive rhetoric to L2 writing. Only Schiffrin's study focuses mainly on discourse analysis (Ädel, 2006). In her analysis, she chooses a tripartite model of classification: "metalinguistic referents" (deixis, things in the language), "operators" (true, false, right, wrong, mean), and "verbs" (say, tell, clarify, argue, joke) (Ädel, 2006).

Another metadiscourse taxonomy or schema has been developed by Hyland (1998), whose aim was to cover as fully as possible the kinds of metadiscourse critical for academic writing. Hyland (1998) has adopted the integrative approach in his taxonomy, including both textual and interpersonal types of metadiscourse. His taxonomy is based on the work of Crismore et al. (1993). However, Ädel (2006) asserts that majority of Hyland's categories could be found in Vande Kopple's model. Hyland's (2005) model will be reviewed in the next section in greater detail, as it is the center of my analysis framework.

In the current dissertation, I argue for the broad or integrative approach, which non-integrativists consider too inclusive to clearly delineate the boundaries of metadiscourse. Nonetheless, the integrative approach appears more useful for exploratory purposes, which

this study aims to achieve, in order to establish the kinds of metadiscourse that is salient in RAL2 speech. Moreover, spoken discourse has been found to contain a greater range of metadiscourse markers than written modes (Ädel, 2010). As this study in some ways begins charting the territory of L2 non-academic oral metadiscourse, it appears necessary and valid to consider as much phenomena as possible in order to understand how metadiscourse functions.

Because the models of metadiscourse include a variety of discourse markers, and some discourse markers have been considered in the context of L2 learning, in the next section relevant finding are presented. Although research on discourse markers does not paint a picture of entire metadiscourse, it addresses questions of acquisition and types of markers in L2 oral production.

2.5.4 Discourse Markers in L2 Learning

Researchers agree that discourse markers convey pragmatic meaning. In describing their role in language, Crystal (1988) proposes that discourse markers are "the oil which helps us perform the complex task of spontaneous speech production and interaction smoothly and efficiently" (p. 48).

Recent studies began to examine the acquisition and the use of discourse markers in L2 learners. Müller (2005) investigated discourse marker use by German learners of English. She found that discourse markers are more successfully learned outside of the classroom, specifically from the contact with NS. Her findings emphasize the importance

of NS input and availability of target language (TL) environment, where language is not stripped of its interactional elements (as is often the case in instructional setting).

Wierzbicka (2010) suggests that L2 communicative competence hinges, in part, on the use of TL discourse markers. At the same time, she notes that L2 learners have a difficult time acquiring them. A number of studies (Fung and Carter, 2007; Guilquin, 2008; House, 2009; Muller, 2005; Romero Trillo, 2002) have established that NNS do not employ discourse markers the way NS do. Such findings echo studies on cultural variations of metadiscourse in writing (Markkanen et al. 1993; Mauranen, 1993; Valero-Garcés, 1996; Vassileva 1998; Dahl, 2004) that highlight the importance of teaching different rhetorical conventions across languages.

Fung and Carter (2007) did a comparative study of discourse markers use in conversations of Hong Kong undergraduates with their British peers. English as a Foreign Language (EFL) speakers have demonstrated strong preferences for certain types of discourse markers, ignoring the ones in NS range. Importantly, after mapping NS discourse marker usage, Fung and Carter (2007) found that NNS preferences do not get prominence in NS speech. The opposite was also true: frequently occurring discourse markers in NS speech were underused by NNS. In other words, NNS seems to cling to few elements, possibly transferring them from L1, and reuse them. Gilquin's study (2008) of hesitators, a type of discourse marker, provides additional evidence of a limited range of discourse markers employed by NNS, which results in overuse of one or two. In her study, this "lexical teddy bear effect" (Hasselgren, 2002) was exemplified by the overuse of "well."

Hellerman and Vergun (2007) investigated discourse marker use by immigrants in TL environments. They found a correlation between proficiency level and frequency of discourse marker use. Moreover, they registered positive relationships between discourse marker use and amount of time spent interacting with NS.

In sum, findings from previous studies in regard to discourse markers indicate that the availability of NS input, opportunities for incidental learning in TL environment, and advanced-level proficiency could result in the use of target-like metadiscourse in RAL2.

In the next section, metadiscourse framework is described.

2.5.5 Definitions

For purposes of my analysis, I adopt the definition of metadiscourse put forward by Hyland (2005), whose research is informed by a Hallidayan functional approach to language. For him, "Metadiscourse is the cover term for the self-reflective expressions used to negotiate interactional meanings in the text, assisting the writer to express a viewpoint and engage with readers as members of a particular community" (Hyland, 2005, p. 37). In other words, exploring a text's metadiscourse leads to uncovering functional microelements that motivate the pragmatics of a text. Hyland's metadiscourse taxonomy is especially fitting for the current study because it offers a perspective on how elements of different kinds contribute to the emergence of meaning on both interpersonal and textual planes of discourse (Halliday, 1985). Furthermore, the metadiscourse framework comprises linguistic elements that share a functional orientation; however,

they originate in different grammatical classes. Because of their varied grammatical status, these elements have not been considered under the same umbrella before in analyzing empirical oral data. In fact, researchers could not agree on delineating the range of metadiscourse phenomena, or, put differently, what to count as reflexive language (Ädel, 2006). Such vagueness of borders between metalingual and other functions of language, however, does not stop researchers in their empirical effort to describe and understand the "fuzzy" concept of metadiscourse (Schiffrin 1980; Ädel 2006).

Specifically, Hyland (2005) includes discourse markers, discourse particles, parenthetical lexicalized clauses, interjections and connective elements, all of which contribute to interactional and textual planes of a discourse. I argue that by adopting the functional approach to metadiscourse, it is possible to provide an alternative view on proficiency in demonstrating how RAL2 learners' discourse acquires or increases effective use of cohesion, coherence, and interactive dimensions.

What is remarkable about Hyland's approach is his different perspective on the function of metadiscourse elements. Metadiscourse elements used to be considered as "linguistic expressions thought not to affect the propositional content of utterances in which they occur" (Schourup, 1999, p.227), "the glue of conversation" (Schiffrin, 1987 as cited in Polat, 2011), or "metatalk" (Schiffrin, 1980), which played a role of mere addition to the primary discourse (Crismore, 1994; Vande Kopple, 1985; Brauvais, 1989, as cited in Rui & Xin, 2009). In contrast, Hyland (2005) argues that metadiscourse elements are interwoven in discourse, allowing language user to do work on several

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levels: to organize their text, to provide evaluation, to signal stance, and to engage receivers of the message.

2.5.6 Principles of metadiscourse

In order to distinguish metadiscourse from the text, Hyland and Tse (2004) have proposed three key principles of metadiscourse. First, metadiscourse is not a part of the proposition. Thus, removing metadiscourse elements does not alter the ideational plane of meaning of the text. Second, metadiscourse encodes sender-receiver interactions. Therefore, following Bakhtin's (1981) notion of the dialogic nature of any text, some metadiscourse is a key to dialogic nature of a text, be it in oral or written form. Lastly, metadiscourse structures intertextual relations, which do not extend beyond a text. In view of previous findings, this last principle is slightly problematic. For example, both Blakemore (1992) and Blass (1990) have stated that discourse markers, which belong to the category of metadiscourse, could relate utterances to unstated assumptions, hence creating space for extratextual relations. One interpretation of this incongruence is that Hyland and Tse (2004) derived their principles from working with written data, while Blakemore (1992) and Blass (1990, as cited in Schouroup, 1997) relied on oral data.

To sum up, all of the above criteria indicate that metadiscourse belongs to the pragmatic realm of communication, where meanings are created in interaction, and cannot be derived in full from analyzing only the semantic aspect of utterances. These principles also speak to the variation of metadiscourse across cultures due to variations in interactional conventions and norms (Ifanidou, 2005; Wierzbicka, 2010).

In the next sections, Hyland's (2005) taxonomy with all its elements will be described in detail.

2.5.7 Classifications

2.5.7.1 Interactive Markers

Previous taxonomies of metadiscourse were problematic in that some elements overlapped or did not fit into any of the metadiscourse types: textual or interpersonal (Vande Kopple, 1985; Crismore et al.,1993 as cited in Rui and Xin, 2009). Hyland (2005) has found these views limiting and has proposed to arrange metadiscourse elements based on their function. He has put forward an interpersonal model, building on the two views of interaction proposed by Thompson and Thetela (1995 as cited in Hyland, 2005), who have isolated interactive and interactional planes of communication. The former manifests the author's effort to adjust his/her text to fit its intended audience, while the latter regards the author's explicit comments on propositional content (stance) and creates space for the reader to respond to the text (engagement). Such a dichotomy has allowed the scholar to account for a variety of elements that either move the proposition forward or add interactivity to the text. Admittedly, by including both stance and engagement in the model of MD analysis, Hyland (2005) enables a more encapsulating/holistic view of MD, whereby both an author and a reader play an active role in negotiating message's pragmatic meaning.

Table 1 lists types, functions and examples of interactive resources available to language users. The main function of interactive resources as a group is to organize

propositional flow in such a way that the target audience can recover the "writer's preferred interpretations and goals" (Hyland, 2005, p. 49).

Table 3 *Interactive markers*

Marker Type	Function	Examples
Transition markers	- help to make sense of pragmatic steps in the text - index additive, causative, contrastive relationship	Also, therefore, similarly
Frame markers	- signal text boundaries - sequence, label, predict, shift arguments	Suffice it to say, In sum, well
Endophoric markers	-refer to other parts of the text -steer the reader to the desired interpretation	Video available at
Evidentials	- represent an idea from another source - distinguish who is responsible for the position	According to X
Code Glosses	- supply additional information - rephrase, explain or elaborate what was said	That is, for example

Taking into consideration my dissertation's focus on the oral mode of communication and the role-play scenario that participants enact, I expect to find a small amount of interactive markers with a heavy tilt towards transition markers and code glosses. The narrative task, on the other hand, could yield a very different picture.

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2.5.3.2 Interactional Markers

The second metadiscourse dimension in Hyland's functional model is comprised of interactional resources. These markers (Table 2) assist authors in explicating their views within the text and in invoking readers' responses to both semantic and pragmatic layers of the text. Interactional markers also work to conceal or reveal possible alternative voices in the text (Hyland, 2005, p. 52).

Table 4 *Interactive Resources*

Marker Type	Function	Examples
Hedges	- Frame information as an opinion rather than certain knowledge	Likely, maybe
Boosters	- Close down alternative ways of interpretation - Convey confidence by confronting alternatives	Must, of course
Attitude markers	- Render author's affective stance	Agree, hopefully
Self-mention	-Represent self and self-alignment or lack of thereof	I, we, our

Engagement markers	- Focus addressee's attention or include them as participants	You may notice
	- Rhetorically position the audience leading them to specific interpretation	
	- Respond to potential objections from readers	

The proportion and type of metadiscourse interactive markers in RAL2 learners' data may depend on several factors. Considering the role-play task, speakers will probably favor markers of the second type. Moreover, given the fact that both interactive and interactional components of metadiscourse represent a layer of text that could be conceived as an author's intrusion in the text or their commentary, it is reasonable to imagine that cognitively, the work on this level starts after the propositional level task becomes fairly automatic. In other words, metadiscourse is a characteristic of advanced language learners. Therefore, a higher level of proficiency should positively correlate with increase in metadiscourse presence.

Patterns of metadiscourse acquisition are difficult to predict, as well as the relationship between stages of proficiency and the kinds of MD. The analysis of empirical data will offer evidence to enable the drawing of preliminary conclusions.

Chapter 3 Methods

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the study is trifold. First, the study aims to provide longitudinal and developmental perspectives on a previously unexplored domain of oral proficiency, namely metadiscourse. As Ortega and Byrnes (2008) note, in the field of applied linguistics, the term *longitudinal* has been used to designate periods of time spanning from seven weeks to six years. The current study will consider a span of 4 months as longitudinal. A developmental perspective of the study is grounded in the experimental design. Specifically, the juxtaposition of the two metadiscourse versions, extracted by way of analyzing oral samples recorded at Time 1 and Time 2, provides an account of development.

Second, the study establishes a Russian native-speaker (NS) metadiscourse baseline, constructing the NS standard of metadiscourse. This step not only constructs a new knowledge base but also plows the soil for the next, comparative, step in the study. Third, the study examines similarities and differences between NS metadiscourse and RAL2 Time 2 metadiscourse in order to elucidate the role RAL2 extended immersion and engagement in the L2 academic, social and professional environments plays in metadiscourse developments. Moreover, the study offers a unique perspective on RAL2 capabilities, some of which RAL2 develop on their own time, since metadiscourse is not explicitly tackled in the formal instructional materials as a functional category in and of itself.

In order to discover, describe and compare metadiscourse the study utilizes the data from one of the yearlong study abroad programs administered in one of the major Russian cities, run by the American Councils for International Education. The data set is two-part. The RAL2 set include subjects' biographical information, biweekly language usage reports, and excerpts of audio recorded during Time 1 (month 4) and Time 2 (month 9) proficiency testing (TORFL-3). Role-play and narrative RAL2 performances are extracted from TORFL-3 Time 1 and TORFL-3 Time 2 for the study.

The NS dataset includes biographical information and audio recordings of role-play, acted out based on the prompt offered to RAL2.

3.2 PARTICIPANTS

The participants in the study come from two groups, differentiated by their native or non-native speaker status in Russian. The first group consists of seven native speakers of Russian (NS), who received their higher education in Russia; five are women. These NS have been residing in the United States for varying length of time – from two weeks to twenty-three years. All of the participants use Russian daily for communication in formal and informal contexts. Native speakers were chosen on the basis of their availability and interest in participating in the study. Volunteers did not receive any financial reimbursement for their participation. The NS group could not be considered representative of the whole Russian-speaking population due to its small size, uneven gender distribution, and possible interference from their English mastery. Nevertheless,

the group paints a picture of nativelike metadiscourse for the study, against which non-native speaker performance is compared.

The second group of participants is a subset (n=7) of a study abroad cohort (n=18), all of whom at the time of data collection had been participating in an intensive year-long study-abroad program in a major Russian city. Central to the selection of the six subjects was their repeated participation (Time 1 and Time 2) in the Test of Russian as a Foreign Language, level 3, professional mastery (TORFL-3). Due to the developmental focus of the study mentioned above, comparable oral performance drawn from TORFL-3 is critical in demonstrating the development of metadiscourse over the course of the second semester of their study.

The seven participants were undergraduate (n=5) and graduate (n=2) students, who major in Russian language, literature, area studies and translation. Three were women. The mean age was 22.5 years. The group mean for studying Russian prior to the program is five years. Prior to the yearlong sojourn, every participant had studied Russian language between two and twelve months in the target language country. Five out of the seven learners declared proficiency in one or more foreign languages: Czech, French, and Japanese (see Table 5).

Table 5 *Participants*

ID	Pre-ILR	Post-ILR	Time 1 TORFL 3	Time 2 TORFL 3	Total time studying	Time in Russia	Major/ College level	Other L2 proficiency
Tim	2	3	79	79	4 y.	5 mo	Russian/International Studies	French
Eva	1	2+	66	82	3.5 y.	9.5 mo	Russian Language and Literature	none
George	2	3	79	84	n/a	2 mo	Russian/Literature	Czech, French
Donna	2	2+	84	83	6 y.	4 mo	Psychology/Russian	none
Mary	2	2+	66	72	3.5 y.	4 mo	Russian	Spanish
Rob	2	3	71	83	7 y.	12 mo	Russian: Translation	Japanese Portuguese French
Kyle	2	3	75	76	5 y.	9 mo	Russian	French

The AC study abroad program regularly administers testing to measure learners'

proficiency in speaking, writing, lexis, grammar and reading. During the yearlong

programs, the testing occurs in three cycles: upon entering the program, in the middle of the program and at the end of the program. Two types of tests are used to test speaking to ensure congruence of the results. One of the tests is ACTFL OPI, which yields a participant's speaking rating, and the other is the Test of Russian as a Foreign Language (TORFL), a testing protocol grounded in the European Common Framework. ACTFL OPI is conducted in person or over the phone by a certified tester before and after the program. TORFL testing is conducted in person three times during the program: before the beginning of classes (Level 2), after the end of the first semester (Level 3), and at the end of the second semester (Level 3 or 4). All speaking tests are audio recorded and stored digitally.

Upon entering the study abroad program, all but one participant (ILR 1+) tested at ILR 2 in speaking. After one academic year in Russia, four subjects attained ILR 3 speaking, two tested at ILR 2+.

Throughout their academic year overseas, all candidates were enrolled in formal university Russian language classes. Formal group classes were supplemented with one-on-one time with a tutor, which amounted to one hour per student each week. In addition to Russian language instruction, these learners attended a university content class of their choice with Russian students in the evening in the first four months of the program (September-December). In the second half of the study abroad program (January – May), subjects were matched with internships according to their professional preference; they participated in the work of the organization of their choice one day each week. Throughout the study-abroad program, all participants resided with host families and

attended group cultural events such as day trips to nearby towns and excursions to museums.

As mentioned above, during their study abroad, students completed three rounds of TORFL testing, two of which (December - Time 1, May - Time 2) contained comparable Speaking sections. As stated earlier, the availability of the two comparable oral samples was central to the NNS (n=7) selection.

Along with other tasks, each oral sample included an oral role-play and narration. As these speaking tasks were excerpts from the Test of Russian as a Foreign Language (TORFL) level 3 professional mastery, the Time 1 and Time 2 performances are considered de facto comparable on the basis of their assignment to the level 3 (TORFL) candidates.

The participants' agreement for future uses of their data, collected at the time of the program, had been received by American Councils for International Education. Due to the small sample size, the group could not be considered representative of American learners of Russian at the Advanced level of proficiency.

Nevertheless, the data is informative because it reflects development in RAL2 metadiscourse, only marginally explored to this day in oral production. Moreover, additional insights into "advancedness" (Byrnes, 2008) are gleaned. Comparison of the two groups—NNS and NS makes it possible to draw conclusions about which subcategories of metadiscourse markers at the advanced level of proficiency are most malleable during an extended stay abroad at advanced stages of proficiency.

3.3 PROCEDURES AND PROMPTS

3.3.1 On method

Studies of interlanguage pragmatics regularly employ written discourse

completion tests (DCT) as the instrument to gauge L2 learners' performance of particular

aspects of pragmatics, for example speech acts. Such atomization of one discourse feature

invokes criticism among those who view interaction as the interplay of multiple features,

such as "address terms, honorifics, backchannels, and conversational management"

(McNamara, 2006, p.72). Additionally, while DCT is a useful tool, it does not portray

one's actual ability to produce extended discourse, but rather one's intuition about how it

should be done. Many studies in the tradition of conversation analysis (CA) demonstrate

how intuitions differ from what actually happens in interaction. Therefore, it is necessary

to move past DCT to a method, which bears more similarities to the natural conversation.

One such method is role-plays (McNamara and Roever, 2006). Despite little research

done on the similarities and the differences between role-plays and real-world

conversation (Young and He, 1998), of paramount importance to the present work is the

fact that role-plays are co-constructed, thus requiring participants to constantly monitor

and adjust their contributions to make them relevant.

In discussing potential pitfalls of role-plays, McNamara and Roever (2006)

contend that role-plays do not establish context the way actual interaction does. Pretend

presentation of self (Goffman, 1959) during the role-play is not similar to that in socially-

consequential interactions.

Bearing in mind all limitations of role-plays, the advantages of this method make

it superior to DCT, because it involves acting on one's intuitions about L2.

3.3.2 Native Speakers Group

In order to establish a native-speaker benchmark, I identified six colleagues and friends who were willing to participate in the study. I prepared a printed prompt of the speaking task and arranged a meeting in a quiet space. At the time of the interview, I handed a printed prompt to the NS informant and asked him/her to read it. Afterward, I once again restated the task orally in Russian and asked about any remaining questions. The task prompt was the following:

> *You are in charge of the upcoming student conference that is going to happen at your university in two days. Today, it came to your attention that a lot of things are unfinished. You called your employee to come to your office. Ask him/her to clarify the situation. Find out where he/she is in the process with conference applications, accommodation of the participants and cultural program activities. In the end, announce your decision.*

Once the NS informant expressed confidence in understanding of the prompt, I turned on the audio recorder and proceeded with a role play based on the prompt. After the interview, the researcher transferred the audio files to a computer digitally and assigned each audio a key. After all NS interviews were complete, I transcribed data using the commercially available transcription software 'Express Scribe' and the text editor in MS Word.

3.3.3 Non-Native Speaker Group: Advanced Learners

The growing interest in capabilities of learners at the Advanced level of proficiency is reflected in volumes and books that address L2 learning issues at higher levels of proficiency (Advanced Foreign Language Learning: A challenge to College programs, 2003; Advanced Language Learning, 2006; To Advanced Proficiency and Beyond, 2015; Developing Professional-Level Language Proficiency, 2002; The Longitudal study of Advanced L2 capacities). In SLA literature, the term "advancedness" is employed to mean one of three things: post requirement L2 study (Thomas, 2006), late-acquired language features (Rees & Klapper, 2008) and sophisticated language use in context (Achugar & Kolombi, 2008).

When it comes to advanced capabilities (Byrnes, 2008), an understanding of Advanced L2 skills hinges on the ACTFL Guidelines (2012), which are [and is] dominant in the field (Byrnes,2002). Specifically, advancedness is associated with discourse length text, the ability to describe and narrate in all major time frames, and the ability to discuss concrete and abstract topics while producing a small number of errors. The ACTFL Guidelines, however, are but one way to look at the AL2 ability.

In order to reflect the social dimension and the role it plays in L2 learning, Byrnes (2002) has proposed to define AL2 users in terms of their increased ability to make "situated meaning-making choices" (p.50). For her, the AL2 user is "(1) someone who is able to draw on a sizable repertoire of fixed or chunked language forms that will ensure the sociocultural appropriateness and acceptability of utterances while, simultaneously, enhancing their fluency, and (2) someone who also has a good command, including a significant level of metalinguistic awareness, of meaning-form relationships that are encoded with various degrees of fixity and fluidity at the lexico-grammatical level, thereby giving the impression of fluent but also thoughtful, online, situated creation of meaningful language" (p.51-51). This definition portrays the AL2 user as an active subject who draws

on experiences and knowledge of the TL system to construct his/her participation in a manner adequate to that TL environment.

3.3.4 Task Description

In order to measure the change in the oral proficiency of the RAL2 in metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005), two samples of learners' speech were obtained from the American Councils database. Specifically, TORFL-3 audio recordings from the middle (Time 1) and the end (Time 2) of the year-long study abroad program were chosen for this analysis.

The rationale for zooming in on the TORFL-3 oral performances stems from three reasons. For one, previous studies have considered data from the OPI (ACTFL), while TORFL-3 data remains largely untouched. Studies exploring alternative sources, such as TORFL-3, could bring to light aspects of RAL2 that are not represented in data received in OPI (ACTFL, 2012). Second, what is unique about the TORFL-3 testing protocol is that it goes beyond the interview format, which has been shown to poorly reflect one's actual communicative competence (Johnson,2001).

One of the TORFL-3 tasks under examination requires the learner to enact the role of a supervisor, which puts the burden on the learner to make decisions about social distance and relative power, and how those are reflected in conversations. Both social distance and relative power are part of sociopragmatic competence, which have been shown to stay relatively unchanged even after a study abroad program (Shardakova, 2005).

The chief reason, however, for scrutinizing TORFL-3 data stems from the fact that it portrays largely unexplored RAL2 oral language from the middle and end points of an extended well-structured immersion program. Therefore, by analyzing TORFL-3 data this study aims to begin exploration of speaking outside of the OPI.

I examined both the role-plays and the narratives produced by the NNS at Time 1 and Time 2 and describe metadiscourse found in each. To identify variation in metadiscourse resulting from the task type, I examine and compare metadiscourse only from Time 2 samples. The choice to analyze RAL2 time 2 production has been based on assumption that time 2 metadiscourse is a product of a more mature RAL2 learners' interlanguage system.

At Time 1, NNS had been instructed by a trained TORFL tester to act out a role-play based on the same prompt as NS, which was exemplified earlier. Similar to the NS group, RAL2 were acting out the role of the dissatisfied supervisor.

In addition to the role-play task both at Time 1 and Time 2, the NNS group completed a narration with the element of the opinion. At the time of the test, NNS watched a non-subtitled scene from the Russian film "Return" (Zviyagintsev, 2003), portraying a young boy who, unlike his older brother and his friends, was scared to jump from a high tower into the river. His older brother and their friends call him a "coward" and, eventually, left without him. The boy stayed on the tower shaking and crying until his mother found him and took him home. The NNSs are asked to participate in an imaginary group discussion of phobias, and provide their explanation of phobia as a phenomenon and ways of overcoming, it drawing on the film as a source of examples.

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At Time 2, approximately five months after the Time 1 recording, the NNS completed similar tasks (in terms of roles and intentions) as a part of their routine TORFL testing mandated by the program. The Time 2 oral-play prompt reads as follows:

> You are the director of a new store that is about to open. Today, you received a letter with results from the sanitary inspection. The letter does not give you an approval for the store opening due to the failure to meet several requirements: the freezers are not working properly, workers do not have a medical evaluation, cleaning supplies are not in stock. You called the employee, whose job it was to supervise these aspects. Discuss the issues with him/her, and announce your decision.

The Time 2 narrative is based on another movie clip "The Thief" (Chukhray, 1997). The clip portrays a young boy, whose mother's boyfriend was visiting. The boy was shoved outside when the man decided to have a one-on-one conversation with the boy's mother. The NNS were asked to participate in a discussion about step-parents and ways to transition to a new family using the movie clip as a source for examples.

3.4 MEASUREMENT APPROACH

After collecting seven NS and seven NNS recordings, I transcribed and coded each transcript based on the metadiscourse framework proposed by Hyland (2005). In his *Interpersonal model of metadiscourse*, Hyland (2005) isolates two categories of metadiscourse markers: *interactive* and *interactional*, both of which work to project the author's subjective meaning to the informational plane of the text. *Interactive markers* index a speaker's organization of the message (e.g., first, next, last). *Interactional marker*s project the speaker's subjective evaluation of the message (e.g., hopeful, unfortunate) and

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his/her ability to present information as an opinion rather than a universal truth (e.g., perhaps, might be). Both categories are further divided into five subsections.

3.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of this study is to explore and compare metadiscourse in NS and NNS oral production. Hyland's (2005) metadiscourse framework was used for purposes of discovering metadiscourse structure in both NS and RAL2 oral performance.

In order to address the first research question about quantitative characteristics of the NS metadiscourse in speaking, oral-role play recordings of the seven NS participants were analyzed. Resultant numbers of interactive and interactional markers, representing the conceptual category of metadiscourse, were entered into a chart for further quantitative comparisons.

The next step of analysis involved counting and recording RAL2 learners' metadiscourse from Time 1 and Time 2 role plays. After the coding and calculation of NS and RAL2 learners oral-role plays, I analyzed metadiscourse in narratives.

In the next stage of the study, I compare types and numbers of Time 1 and Time 2 RAL2 performance to assess areas of change. After that, I compared Time 2 RAL2 role-play metadiscourse with NS role-play metadiscourse in order to determine similarities and differences.

Next, I analyze Time 1 and Time 2 narrative tasks, searching for kinds and numbers of metadiscourse markers. The main purpose of the last step was to see if the task has any influence on metadiscourse.

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In order to determine whether types of metadiscourse markers in the group of RAL2 learners has statistical significance, I conducted a paired sample T-test comparing Time 1 and Time 2 RAL2 learners' results, and comparing NS role-plays to RAL2 role-plays.

At the end, qualitative analysis of one of the RAL2 participants is provided. The experimental design allowed me to indicate areas in which RAL2 demonstrate native-like metadiscourse as well as areas that deviate from NS standard, established in the present study. In the next section, I will present results of the study.

Chapter 4 Results

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores quantitative and qualitative characteristics of RAL2 learners' metadiscourse, and compares its quantitative aspect to that of NS. First, it portrays the RAL2 metadiscourse across two tasks, a Role-Play, and a Narrative task, and measures changes between Time 1 and Time 2 within those tasks. Next, qualitative analysis is offered for one of the participant's discourse. Furthermore, the chapter offers a comparison of RAL2 Role-Play Time 2 metadiscourse to NS Role-Play metadiscourse which highlights similarities and differences found within the two metadiscourses.

Prior to the analysis of metadiscourse, it is important to establish that Time 2 RAL2 learners' metadiscourse is a product of learners with higher proficiency. Research has previously shown that residence in a TL environment does not necessarily lead to changes in L2 proficiency at the upper levels of proficiency. Therefore, to demonstrate that metadiscourse at Time 2 is not only a byproduct of longer stay in TL, but also a superior product to that at Time 1, it is useful to consider available variables of RAL2 performance. First, and likely the most reliable variable is RAL2's testing scores, both ILR and TORFL-3 scores. The former represents achievement over full year of time spent on a study abroad program. The latter characterizes the continuum of improvement over the second semester of study abroad, with which this dissertation is primarily concerned. Second, the number of words and metadiscourse ratio to words merit attention.

After the initial metrics are presented, the two categories of interactive and interactional metadiscourse are characterized quantitatively as they emerge from the RAL2 data. The goal is to discuss any changes in metadiscourse over time. The category of interactive metadiscourse contains subcategories of transitional, frame, endophoric, evidential, code glosses, and the category of interactional metadiscourse includes hedges, boosters, attitude markers, self-mention and engagement markers.

Qualitative analysis of one of the RAL2 participants is offered next. The analysis provides perspective of the dynamics between Time 1 and Time 2, which quantitative analysis does not capture. In the last section, comparison of the RAL2 Time 2 and the NS metadiscourse on Role-Play task is offered illuminating similarities and differences between the two and providing the basis for defining nativelike features of RAL2 metadiscourse.

4.2 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF RAL2 LEARNERS' PERFORMANCE

4.2.1 Test scores: Speaking

Two sets of testing scores are available for the RAL2 learners. The first set (N=7) represents learners' overall progress in Speaking from the beginning to the end of the study abroad program (see Table 1). To test whether improvement in Speaking was significant, a paired-samples T-test was performed.

Table 6 *ILR Speaking Scores*

Participant	Start Score	End Score	Improvement
Tim	2	3	1 level
Eva	1	2+	1.5 level
George	2	3	1 level
Donna	2	2+	0.5 level
Mary	2	2+	0.5 level
Rob	2	3	1 level
Kyle	2	3	1 level

A statistically significant difference between Start Score (M=1.85 SD=0.4) and End Score (M=2.78 SD=0.26) was found (t=0.0003). Thus, the analysis confirms that RAL2 learners dramatically improved their speaking ability at Time 2.

A description of the ILR 3 proficiency contains references to professional contexts in which a speaker uses language "as part of normal professional duties" (Govtilr, n.d.). Cohesive discourse, filling of pauses suitably, as well as flexible and elaborate use of structural devices are indicated among the characteristics of ILR-3 proficiency (Interagency Language Roundtable Language Skill Level Descriptions – Speaking, n.d.). Whilst these indicators describe one's L2 control, there is no indication

in the testing scores of the extent to which these descriptors must be present in one's

output to suffice for a speaker to qualify for the ILR-3 Speaking Proficiency.

The second set of scores characterizes RAL2 learners' Speaking on the TORFL

Scale. Participants (*N*=7) in the study repeated TORFL-3 twice – in December (Time 1)

and in May (Time 2). Their Speaking ratings are presented in the Table 2.

Table 7 TORFL-3 Speaking Scores

Participant	Time 1	Time 2
Tim	79%	79%
Eva	66%	82%
George	79%	84%
Donna	84%	83%
Mary	66%	72%
Rob	71%	83%
Kyle	75%	76%

In order to verify whether improvement in the second semester alone is

statistically significant, a paired samples T-test was performed. Although the result was

close to significant (t=0.06), statistically speaking no difference in Speaking TORFL-3

scores between Time 1 (M=74 SD=0.05) and Time 2 (M=80 SD=0.03) exist. However,

building on Larson-Hall's (2015) argument for considering 0.1 as the level of

significance ($p < 0.1$) in the field of applied linguistics, the difference between Time 1

and Time 2 demonstrates statistically significant result.

As could be evidenced from Table 7, that improvement in TORFL-3 speaking

scores is not ubiquitous across the group with a few outstanding values: Donna's slight

decline in percent values and Eva's largest increase in the group. The inconsistencies in

scores might be attributed to the variability in scoring techniques used by different testers

and the small sample size of the group. Furthermore, as language testing is associated

with elevated anxiety levels (Bailey 1983, Horwitz et al. 1986, Young 1991) variation in

an individual performance on any given day is to be expected. Whether variation is a

feature of metadiscourse will be addressed later.

The ILR Speaking scores demonstrate a significant leap in proficiency of the

entire group, while the TORFL does not paint a picture of universal improvement. These

data speak to the fact that the existing testing systems capture language development that

occurs over a span of the year more easily. Such evidence once again confirms field-wide

critique that Russian language gains accrued over the semester are challenging to

measure with current test scales (Davidson 2007). Another possible explanation for the lack of growth evidence from TORFL-3 scores is that ILR might be more global in approaching testing oral language.

4.2.2 Number of Words at Time 1 and Time 2

Prior to exploring metadiscourse on RAL2 speaking, the number of words participants employ at Time 1 and Time 2 merit attention. In their study of requests, Blum –Kulka and Olshtain (1986) have demonstrated that L2 learners overall use more words than NS to make a request, specifically, NNS include a lot more external modifications in their requests. In their discussion of the construct of proficiency, Lantolf and Frawley (1988) state that verbosity increases with gains in language proficiency. In other words, Advanced L2 learners produce longer utterances than both NS and Intermediate L2 speakers do. Examining the number of words in the Russian data set allows to explore such dynamics on the continuum of Advanced.

The number of words RAL2 produce to accomplish RP and Narrative task at Time 1 and Time 2 are presented in Table 8. Figure 1 and Figure 2 illustrate individual participants' dynamics between Time 1 and Time 2. On the RP task at Time 2 Tim, Donna and Rob demonstrate an increase in word numbers. Due to issues with Mary's recording at Time 1, her change could not be characterized. Other participants – Eva, Kyle and George – use fewer words than they do in the first role-play.

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In order to check for statistical significance, a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted. No statistical significance was found for the number of change in words produced between RP1 and RP 2 (U-value=17; Z-score = -0.08; p=0.93) and between N1 and N2 (U-value=23; Z-score=-0.12; p=0.89).

Table 8 Time 1 and Time 2 Number of Words

Task	Time 1 *Mean*	Time 1 *SD*	Time 2 *Mean*	Time 2 *SD*	*Mean* Difference
RP	339.3	193.2	338.5	150. 6	0.8
Narrative	338.8	106.1	345.4	137.9	6.6

Figure 1 *Number of Words in Role Play*
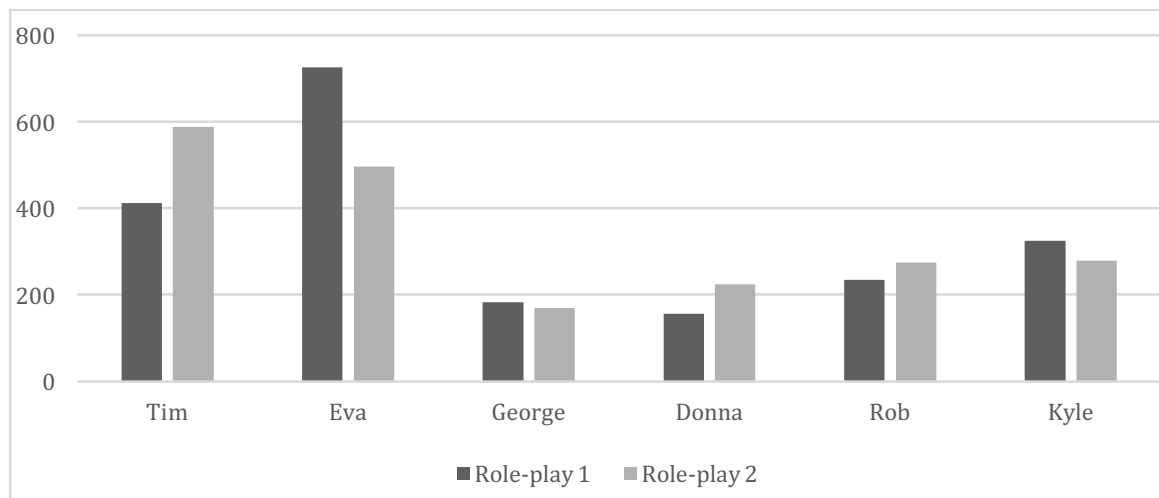
Overall, within the group two categories could be distinguished: increasers and decreases. On the RP2 task (see Figure 1), Tim, Donna and Rob used more words than they did on the RP1. Therefore, growth in proficiency is reflected in a word-count increase for them.

Among increasers only Donna used more words on RP 2 in the same time as she did on RP1, which suggests that her fluency also increased. Eva, George and Kyle used fewer words on the RP2, which puts them in the category of decreasers. Therefore, for them a higher proficiency could be said to be associated with "less is more", in that they employed a more concise manner of interacting.

Figure 2 *Number of Words in Narrative*
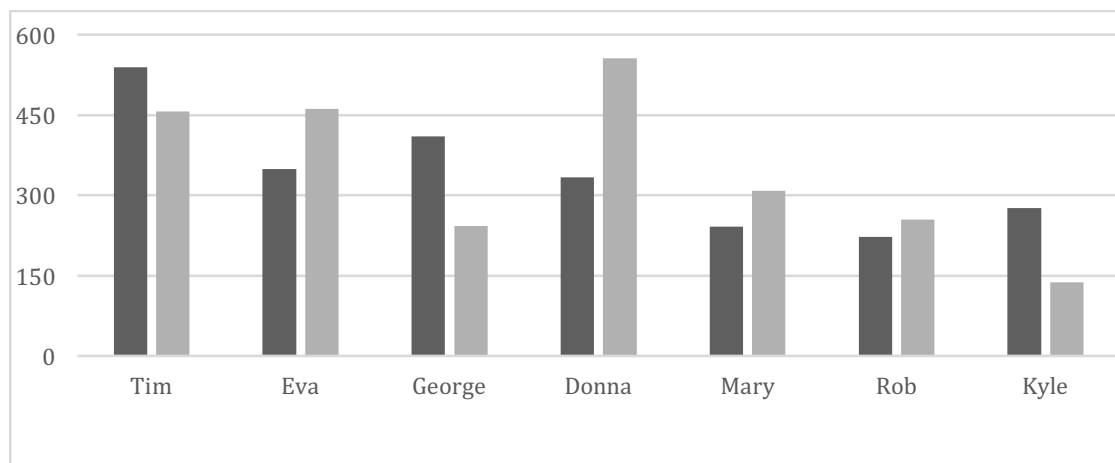
On the second Narrative task (see Figure 2), Tim, George and Kyle produced fewer words. Both George and Kyle exhibited the same dynamic on RP2 task, which indicates that for them growth is proficiency results in a more concise way of expressing themselves. Tim, however, used fewer words on N2 but more words on RP2. For Eva, Donna, Mary and Rob Narrative 2 resulted in higher number of words, therefore for these RAL2 learners gains in proficiency result in more output, the result that is in agreement with previous findings (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1986; Lantolf & Frawley 1988).

With half a group exhibiting increase, and the rest of the group demonstrating decrease in the number of words, no consistent trend could be established. The ratio of metadiscourse to words and its change between Time 1 to Time 2 will be demonstrated in the next section.

4.2.3. Number of Words and Metadiscourse

Previous section has demonstrated that gains in proficiency interact differently with the number of words participants employ to complete tasks. While all participants' proficiency raises, some of the speakers increase the length of their contributions, while others use less words. In order to establish whether group's quantitative preferences for metadiscourse varies across time, the ratio of total metadiscourse markers to words is counted. On the Role-Play task, participants demonstrate no statistically significant change in preference for metadiscourse between Time 1 and Time 2, based on the Mann-Whitney U test results (U-value=15; Z-score=0.78; p=0.42).

Figure 3 *Role-Play Metadiscourse to Words Ration*
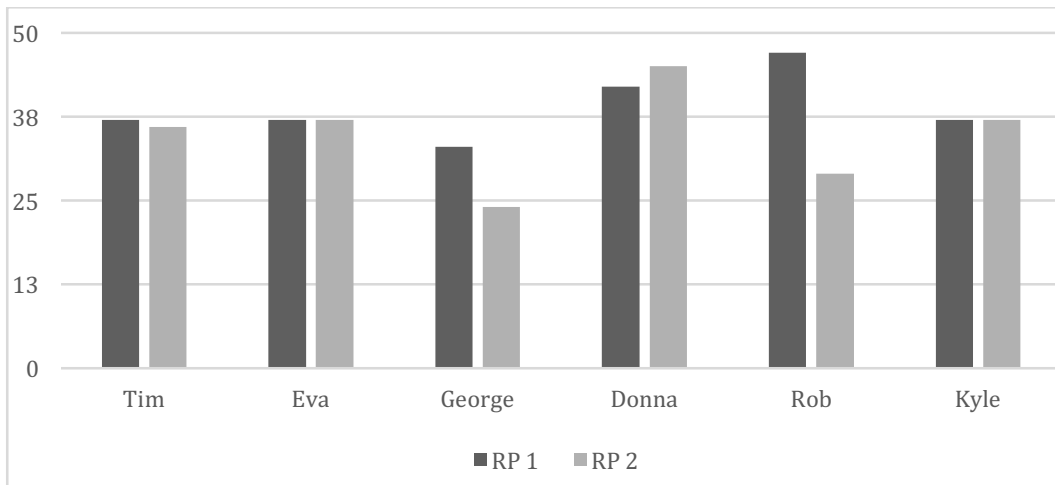
Similarly, on the Narrative task subjects demonstrate consistency across two times in their metadiscourse use. No significant difference has been found on a Mann-Whitney U test (U-value=22.5; Z-score=0.19; p=.84).

Figure 4 *Narrative Metadiscourse to Words Ratio*
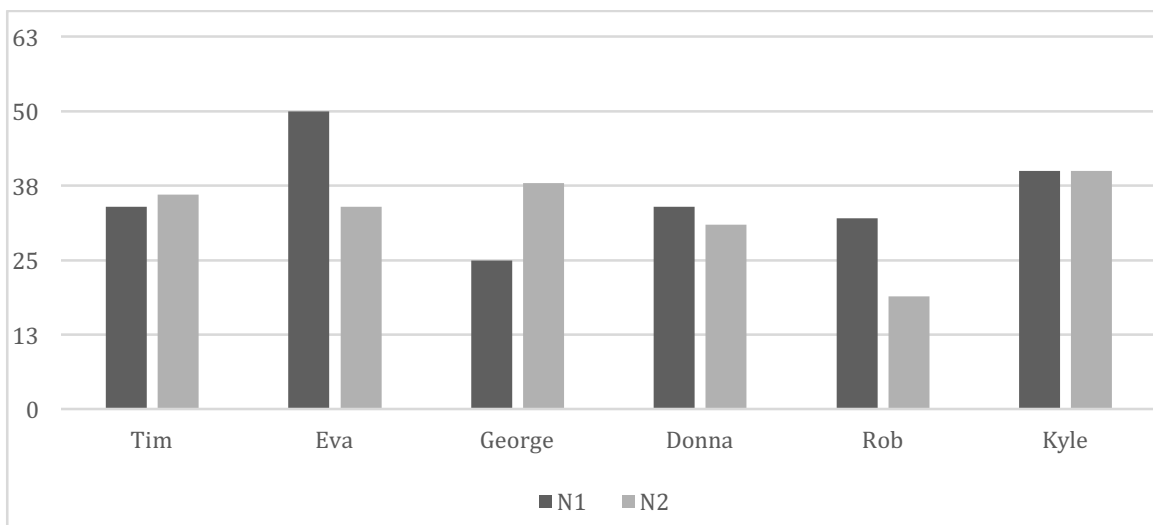
The lack of statistically significant results on either of the tasks merits conclusion that RAL2 incorporate similar amount of metadiscourse across two times. This finding suggests that increase in proficiency at the upper limits of proficiency do not affect quantitative aspect of the metadiscourse. In order to definitively conclude that metadiscourse use remains unchanged between Time 1 and Time 2, inquiry and comparison between the two subgroups interactive and interactional markers merit further inquiry to rule out the possibility of within category variation.

4.3 RAL2 METADISCOURSE: INTERACTIVE AND INTERACTIONAL RESOURCES

The bulk of the analysis concerns the use of metadiscourse, which includes interactive and interactional resources available to RAL2 learners and NS that they employ in speech to organize their message and mark their orientation to the propositional content of an utterance. Interactive resources primarily function at the textual level, managing coordination between the parts of the argument, whilst the interactional resources represent the author-audience interface, providing information about the author's (non-) committal stance towards the proposition and his/her understanding of the reader's role (Hyland, 2005).

4.3.1 Interactive Resources

According to Hyland (2005), interactive resources are linguistic devices which assist the author in expressing his/her expectations about his audience's background knowledge, cognitive abilities and rhetorical assumptions. By employing interactive

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resources, the author is able to "serve" the message in the best possible manner for the audience to easily recover his or her "preferred interpretation and goals" (p.49). Interactive resources primarily work as discourse organizers, the use of which is predicated on the author's estimate of his audience.

4.3.1.1 Transition Markers

These resources index pragmatic relations between the parts of the argument. They render additive relations (*moreover, furthermore, and, by the way);* causative relations (*thus, therefore, consequently, in conclusion*); contrastive relations (*similarly, in the same way, equally, in contrast, however, but, on the contrary*). Hyland (2005) emphasizes that these are mainly conjunctions and adverbial phrases. In order to compare the use of transition markers at Time 1 and at Time 2 on both the RP and Narrative tasks, independent two-tailed T-tests were conducted. The results (see Table 9) did not demonstrate any statistical significance in the area of transition markers. On the RP task, the mean score of the participants remained similar (22.6 ± 10.13 to 24.3 ±23.18, (t< 0.8), at Time 1 and Time 2, respectively). On the Narrative task, the mean score of the participants also remained unchanged (39.1±18.51 to 39.6 ±16.1, (t<0.9), at Time 1 and Time 2).

Table 9 *Transitions by Time*

Task	Time 1 Mean	Time 1 SD	Time 2 Mean	Time 2 SD

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Role-Play	22.6	10.1	24.3	23.2
Narrative	39.1	18.5	39.6	16.1

Of the seven participants, four – Tim, Eva, Donna and Kyle used more

Transitions on the RP2 with only Donna demonstrating the dynamics of increase on the

Narrative 2 of the four RP2 increasers.

On the Narrative task, the use of metadiscourse markers was inconsistent across

the group of seven RAL2. Three of them, Donna, Mary and Rob increased their use of

transitions, the remainder of the group used fewer transition markers.

One possible explanation as to why the growth in transition markers is not

statistically significant could reside in the small sample size. Individual preferences for

more or less explicit connectors between ideas also play a role. Moreover, some

participants might prefer other linguistic means to convey connectedness between ideas,

for example, theme/rheme positioning. Additionally, as Ädel (2010) has demonstrated

some genres, such as academic lecture, require more explicit connection between ideas

than others. Because in the current data set both RP and narrative are constructed in

response to the prompt, where the context is known to both the speaker and the listener,

speakers do not invest as much efforts in the use of transitions.

4.3.1.2 Frame Markers

Sequencing (*first, then, at the same time*), predicting (*I hope to find*), labeling (*I argue here, my purpose here*), summarizing (*in sum, by way of introduction*), and shifting the argument's focus (*okay, well, let us return to*) are the functions of frame markers (Hyland, 2005). Therefore, frame markers help to announce the goals of discourse and mark topic shifts.

In order to check for the statistically significant changes in frame markers between Time 1 to Time 2 on both the RP and Narrative task, paired samples T-test was conducted. Results (see Table 10) did not demonstrate any statistical significance in the area of frame markers. On the RP task, the mean score of the participants remained unchanged (9.7 ± 4.51 to 9.4 ± 7.14, ($t< 0.9$), at Time 1 and Time 2, respectively). On the Narrative task, the mean score of the participants also did not change significantly (10.7 ± 9.2 to 7.29 ± 4.61, ($t<0.9$), at Time 1 and Time 2).

Table 10 *Frame Markers by Time*

Task	Time 1 Mean	Time 1 SD	Time 2 Mean	Time 2 SD
Role-Play	9.7	4.5	9.4	7.1
Narrative	10.7	9.2	7.3	4.6

Similar to Transition Markers, Frame Markers do not exhibit changes in their use between Time 1 and Time 2. Considering the functions of frame markers, which aid the addressee in orienting in the stages of discourse, and, at the same time, taking into

account the possibility of low priority of such function on the tasks, where steps have been clearly outlined, I argue that prescribing the steps participants need to take to accomplish the task minimizes RAL2 learners' efforts to explicitly orient their interlocutor to the stages in their speaking. By extension such rigid task structure might limit RAL2 in their opportunities to display their competence in discourse management. Another possible explanation for the lack of dynamics between Time 1 and Time 2 in frame markers is that non-verbal planes of meaning such as intonation, gaze, and gesture might fulfill the function of frame markers in the context of face-to-face interaction with the tester. In his work on multimodal language, Streek (2009) demonstrates that meaning is a composite phenomenon, where language plays as big of a role as other aspects of meaning formation in interaction. The present work uses only audio recorded data, therefore other evidence is not available for the analysis.

On the Narrative Task, equal number of frame markers speaks to the moderate need in shifting topics or announcing discourse goals.

The lack of effect for the task type could be interpreted in terms of either of the tasks' goals. Neither set of instructions asks the learner to argue a point or discuss several topics. Another possibility is that spoken language does not utilize as many frame markers as, for example, academic writing necessitates. Therefore, this category might not be entirely suitable to the discussion of the spoken discourse.

Overall, frame markers do not play a large role in RAL2 discourse. Whether this is an attribute of the informal spoken mode, where signposting is not as common, or the small sample size of oral discourse remains unclear.

4.3.1.3 Endophoric Markers

This category comprises markers that refer the addressee to the other parts of the ongoing discourse or the text. They could be reminding the audience of the ideas mentioned previously or could be referring the reader to upcoming information. By scaffolding comprehension, endophoric markers remind the reader of important points and guide the audience's interpretation.

In the RAL2 dataset, endophoric markers are used at a low rate. "*Kak ja skazal*" (as I said) and "*Chto kasaetsya*" (in regards to) are the two kinds that appear in each task once or twice.

One of the possible explanations for the low use of endophoric markers is their limited applicability in spoken discourse. While academic texts such as books, dissertations and even different parts of the same article often require such markers to demonstrate the interconnectedness of ideas, in spoken everyday discourse they might be seen as redundant , and imply a poor image of the listener, as the one who has little memory of ideas offered by the speaker just a moment ago. Thus, their limited use could very well be due to the form of spoken discourse and the fairly small sample of RAL2 oral discourse. Similar to the previous groups of interactive markers, the numbers of endophoric markers do not change across time or between tasks.

In sum, endophoric markers do not provide useful information in either aspect of their functioning in RAL2 learners' discourse. Their fairly limited numbers speak to their lack of utility in the everyday spoken context.

4.3.1.4 Evidentials

Resources that bring the voices of others or hearsay in the discourse are known as "evidentials" in Hyland's (2005) framework. These markers reference to a trusted source, for example, they may point to the authors of cited information.

The RAL2 used this type of markers primarily to appeal to the listeners' background knowledge in general ('*kak vy znaete*' as you know) or to the video fragment as the source of such knowledge ("*V videofragmente*" in the film excerpt). "*Kak vy znaete*" (as you know) serves to establish a shared context in the situation. The absence of such markers in the narrative, communicative goal of which is to formulate and share one's view on a particular issue, points to the role that communicative context plays in the choices of metadiscourse markers (Ädel, 2006).

Evidentials are not evenly used across RP and Narrative, where the latter contains slightly more evidentials. Statistical analysis did not yield any significance in the use of evidentials. On the RP task, mean score of the participants stayed similar (1.86 ± 1.57 to 1.00 ± 0.71, ($t < 0.3$), at Time 1 and Time 2, respectively). On the Narrative task, mean score of the participants also did not change significantly (1.57 ± 0.79 to 1.29 ± 0.76, ($t < 0.5$), at Time 1 and Time 2).

Table 11 *Evidentials*

Task	Time 1 Mean	Time 1 SD	Time 2 Mean	Time 2 SD
Role-Play	1.86	1.57	1.00	0.71
Narrative	1.57	0.79	1.29	0.76

Several factors could cause a low use of Evidentials. First, the nature of task. While in the RP speakers do refer to the information they receive from the outside source, in the narrative task they pick fragments from the film to illustrate their point, thereby invoking those references by lexical means or chunks of text. Hence evidentials become redundant. Second, while in academic writing citing sources is of primary importance, where the audience is removed in time and space, the shared context of conversation and its on-line nature might legitimize omitting such references once they are established with the interlocutor.

4.3.1.5 Code Glosses

Markers in this category restate information already provided in a manner that assists the audience in accessing the author's meaning if the first attempt has not been fully successful. Examples of such markers are *this is called, for example, that is, this can be defined as* and information in parentheses. RAL2 numbers in this category of interactive markers are also low. Within the category of code glosses the most prominence is observed in the use of marker that clarifies and extend ideas. "*To est*"

(that is, in other words) is present in the oral discourse both at Time 1 and Time 2 across both tasks (see Table 10). This marker aids in clarifying the point by rephrasing. The fact that numbers remain stable between Time 1 and Time 2 (on the RP task 2.43 ± 0.79 to 2.14 ± 1.88, (t< 0.6), at Time 1 and Time 2, respectively; on the Narrative task 4.71 ± 2.56 to 3.14 ± 2.91, (t<0.08), at Time 1 and Time 2) speaks to RAL2 consistent orientation towards linguistic means that assist in restating one's idea or illustrating one's thought (See Table 12).

The use of code glosses could also stem from RAL2 stance as learners of the language who want to ensure that full clarity is achieved. Considering the TORFL-3 testers' uncooperative behavior manifested in attempts to avoid answering questions directly could have prompted participants to implement more code glosses in order to establish full and confirmed understanding.

Table 12 *Code Glosses*

Task	Time 1 Mean	Time 1 SD	Time 2 Mean	Time 2 SD
Role-Play	2.43	0.79	2.14	0.71
Narrative	4.71	2.56	3.14	2.91

Considering the question of how the use of code glosses fluctuates during the four months between Time 1 and Time 2, it is worth noting that raw numbers demonstrate that five out of seven participants decreased the use of code glosses, which might suggest that

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RAL2 developed an increased confidence in their ability to convey their ideas accurately the first time, therefore requiring fewer clarifications and restatements.

4.3.2 Interactional Resources

These resources help an author situate him/herself in relation to the reader and to define what stance he/she takes towards the content. They also work to restrict or expand opportunities for alternative views in the text (White 2003 as cited in Hyland, 2005).

4.3.2.1 Hedges

Hedges indicate a cautionary stance of the speaker towards certain interpretations and invite listeners to consider alternatives (Hyland, 2005) They render one's idea as opinion instead of fact, which leaves room for other positions. Importantly, hedges signal the degree of certainty to which the author commits. The RAL2 spoken corpus presents many examples of the use of hedges. The most common are *prosto* 'simply', *kazhetsya* 'it appears', *mozhet byt* 'maybe', and *v printsype* 'in principle'. Notably, *prosto* 'simply' appears to be a favorite both at Time 1 and Time 2 on both tasks. The RP scenarios necessitated some amount of indignation on the part of the boss (RAL2) because of the trouble caused by the employee's (tester) lack of control. Relative frequency of *prosto* 'simply' speaks to the utility of such a marker in mitigating the force of utterances. *Prosto* 'simply' is also a common filler, which is used to buy time when thinking or hesitating (Erten, 2014). Another marker *kazhetsya* 'it appears' assists speakers in withholding commitments and presenting their point of view tentatively, which projects caution on the one hand, and openness to other interpretations on the other hand.

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Akin to the previous marker, *mozhet byt* 'maybe' is a hedge that does not have positioning restrictions, that is it could be placed in any slot in the utterance. While synonymous in meaning to *kazhetsya* 'seems', *mozhet byt* 'maybe' has the advantage of placement flexibility. *V printsipe* 'in principle' is a highly colloquial marker that is often omitted from textbooks. This marker displays uncertainty and lack of commitment. Its emergence in Time 2 RAL2 discourse could very well indicate that it is the second semester of the study abroad for RAL2 learners that makes it possible for them to start developing a relationship with the salient features of TL discourse not explicitly taught in language classes.

The cumulative number of hedges is fairly high compared to previously considered markers in RAL2 in both RP and Narrative tasks. Whether such a feature originates in L1 negative politeness (Brown &Levinson 1987) and works to express a tentative stance, or is motivated by the fact that Russian is the speakers' second language, remains unclear. Subsequent comparison with NS numbers of hedges will allow attributing the high number of hedges to the more likely cause of the two. Despite the fact that hedges are more common in the data, there is no statistically significant change between Time 1 and Time 2 (on the RP task 5.43 ± 2.64 to 4.71 ± 3.67, ($t < 0.7$), at Time 1 and Time 2, respectively; on the Narrative task 5.71 ± 4.79 to 8.14 ± 4.85, ($t < 0.03$).

The comparison of raw numbers between Time 1 and Time 2 indicates a decrease in hedges on the RP, while numbers rise on the narrative task. In the RP, this might be a result of the more confident position that RAL2 are projecting due to increased language

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proficiency and familiarity with the type of tasks. The shift of pragmalinguistic norm from Engslish to TL could also be a reason for lower numbers. Indeed, Russians have been found to be more direct with their interlocutors in their requests, which brings the number of modifiers such as hedges to a minimum (Mills, 1991).

As for the narrative task, the higher number of hedges, again, could result from two causes. The Time 1 task concerned phobias – a rather abstract topic that does not involve emotional appeal, while the second topic – the forming of relationship with a step-father – is rather emotionally laden, especially considering the contents of the film fragment where the step-dad-to-be shows disrespect and rudeness to a young boy. Given the contents of the fragment, the increase in the use of hedges on the second narrative task might be due to a higher need to use more evaluative language and, therefore, incorporate more hedges.

Outside of the realm of numbers, several important features are displayed in in the use of hedges. First, the use of the prefix *po-* which adds a connotation of "a little bit" to adverbs putting them to the category of hedges. Some examples are *pobystree* 'a little bit faster', *popozzhe* 'a little bit later' and *poran'sh*e 'a little bit earlier'. This type of hedging does not characterize English hedges. Therefore, RAL2 awareness and active use of this Russian morphological hedge indexes development of metadiscourse competence by RAL2. Furthermore, diminutive suffixes, which are wide spread in Russian and are absent from English, are also located in the data: *nemnozhk*o 'a little bit' and *potihon'ky* 'bit by bit'. In sum, as evidenced from examples, the RAL2 output is richer in hedges than in categories of markers considered before.

4.3.2.2 Boosters

Boosters are elements of metadiscourse that express the author's certainty, thus closing off for the reader possibilities for other interpretations. Boosters project speaker's confidence, which stems from a strong alignment with certain points of view and less so with other possibilities. In the RAL2 corpus, boosters are well represented. In fact, the number of boosters is the highest among metadiscourse markers in the data set. However, boosters do not demonstrate statistically significant change from Time 1 to Time 2 (on the RP task 6.43 ± 3.46. to 5.86 ± 5.12, (t< 0.8), at Time 1 and Time 2, respectively; on the Narrative task 6.86 ± 3.24 to 12.43 ± 9.09, (t<0.16).

Table 13 *Boosters*

Task	Time 1 Mean	Time 1 SD	Time 2 Mean	Time 2 SD
Role-Play	6.43	3.46	5.86	5.12
Narrative	6.86	3.24	12.43	9.09

In Russian, the category of boosters includes the use of particle *zhe*, which is placed after the word that it emphasizes, the use of *voobsche* 'at all', a highly colloquial element. Among the most commonly used are five markers – *dazhe* 'even', *konechno* 'of course, surely', *ochen* 'very', and *tol'ko* 'only'.

Between Time 1 and Time 2 five out of seven participants dropped their use of boosters on the RP2. This could be interpreted as a step towards RAL2 emerging ability to treat propositions less categorically and with more emotional detachment, which is essential to the context of professional conversation. Similar to the distinction between oral and written discourse, one of the axes on which colloquial and professional speech differ is the decreased use of emotionally laden lexis. Therefore, the move toward a more detached speaking style, as indicated by the lower use of boosters at the Time 2 RP indicates a developing sensitivity to the formal register.

On the Time 2 Narrative task, however, RAL2 learners demonstrate the opposite result. The use of boosters on the narrative task demonstrates the largest increase among all metadiscourse markers.

This trend should be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, prompts for the narrative ask participants to express their opinion. Boosters aid speakers in aligning themselves with a certain point of view and conveying confidence. Therefore, an increase in boosters could indicate RAL2 ability to align themselves more firmly with their opinion. On the other hand, when compared to the first narrative task about phobias, the second task is a lot less abstract and deals with some potentially emotional issue, which could very well strike a more personal cord with learners. Specifically, the second narrative task elicits RAL2 opinion on ways to build relationships when step-father joins the family. Moreover, the film fragment that they watch prior to the task, from which they need to pick materials to illustrate their point of view, portrays poor treatment of a

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five-year-old boy by a man. Such an emotionally charged subject could generate strong feelings in the participants, leading to increased use of boosters.

To sum up, boosters exhibit the highest presence of all metadiscourse markers in the corpus. The RAL2 used more boosters when they expressed their point of view on the narrative than during RP. This discrepancy is explained by the different registers that are characteristic of these two tasks: while the RP presented a conversation in a professional context, narration happened in a less formal setting, in which the RAL2 is one of the several roundtable participants. Additionally, the actual context of the second role-play could be consequential for the amount of boosters that participants employ.

4.3.2.3 Attitude markers

These elements indicate a speaker's affect, for example, *surprise, agreement, frustration, obligation, importance*. Attitude is most often signaled by verbs, adjectives and sentence adverbs (Hyland, 2005). Attitude markers are rather limited in the RAL2 learners' data set. What is unusual about this metadiscourse category is that one of the participants, Rob, did not use any markers of this kind across all tasks. Approximately a quarter of the total are adverbs such as *uzhasno* 'terribly', *yavno* 'clearly', *osobenno* 'especially'.

The absence of any salient categories within attitude markers might indicate that speakers are withholding their attitude. Whether this is a face-saving strategy in the role-

play with interlocutor, who holds a higher rank in the real-life setting, or if it is a function of cultural preference for neutrality on the axis of attitude remains unclear.

The number of attitude markers is low in the data, and their change from Time 1 to Time 2 does not exhibit any statistical significance (on the RP task 1.43 ± 2.15 to 2.86 ± 2.84, ($t < 0.2$), at Time 1 and Time 2, respectively; on the Narrative task 2.86 ± 4.34 to 2.57 ± 3.55, ($t < 0.9$).

Table 14 *Attitude Markers*

Task	Time 1 Mean	Time 1 SD	Time 2 Mean	Time 2 SD
Role-Play	1.43	2.15	2.86	2.84
Narrative	2.86	4.34	2.57	3.55

Overall, this category of markers might be somewhat similar to that of boosters and hedges. Conceptually, their meanings overlap – all three of them indicate modality (Hyland, 2005). If the only criteria that separates boosters and attitude markers is their grammatical status, then merging these two categories in one makes metadiscourse framework more robust. Moreover, the framework could be more applicable to the oral discourse.

4.3.2.4 Self-mention

First-person pronouns "I" and "you" along with their possessive counterparts are the elements in this category. Self-mention indicates the presence of the author and the reader in the text (Hyland, 2005). How are these markers useful in understanding the spoken discourse of RAL2 learner? Grammatical evidence demonstrates that Russians tend to lump together the speaker and the hearer by using the inclusive 'we' when appropriate instead of separating them into 'he and I' or 'she and I', therefore indexing in-group identity of participants and cooperation, which is not the case of RAL2 leaners' L1. Moreover, Kibrik (2011) demonstrates that pronoun "I" tends to be omitted in Russian in the present tense, because verbal ending indicates the speaker, and therefore "I" appears redundant in conversational context.

Table 15 shows the three salient categories in this group: *Ya* 'I', *vy* formal 'you', *mne* 'to me'. *Ya* 'I' occupies the first place in the RAL2 corpus across RP and does not change significantly from Time 1 to Time 2.

The use of *vy* 'formal you' takes second place and is used less than '*I*'. It also decreases from Time 1 to Time 2. Analysis of the engagement markers '*we*' and '*ou*rs' presented in the next section should illuminate whether those occupy the slots freed by 'I' and 'formal you' at Time 2. The fairly consistent use of "*I*" and the unremarkable drop in *vy* 'formal you' numbers speak to the lack of dynamics in this area of self-mention.

Results of a paired T-test did not demonstrate any statistically significant changes in numbers from Time 1 to Time 2 (on the RP task 27.3 ± 11.9 to 23.9 ± 23.18, (t< 0.6),

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at Time 1 and Time 2, respectively; on the Narrative task 18.14± 7.52 to 14.57 ± 6.65, (t<0.4).

Table 15 *Self-mention*

Task	Time 1 Mean	Time 1 SD	Time 2 Mean	Time 2 SD
Role-Play	27.3	11.90	23.3	23.1
Narrative	18.1	7.52	14.6	6.6

Overall, the mean number (see Table 15) of self-mention decreases in both RP and Narrative, which could be interpreted as participants' shift from the use of *"I"* to the use of "*we*", which belongs to the category of engagement markers that will be examined in the next section. The heightened use of '*we*' might stem from participants' increased awareness of the role '*we*' plays in building intersubjectivity and cooperation in the context of Russian communicative norms.

4.3.2.5 Engagement Markers

In order to involve the reader in the discourse or focus his/her attention, authors use engagement markers. According to Hyland (2005), engagement markers along with hedges and attitude markers assist in developing the relationship with the reader or listener, bringing addressee in the foreground or leaving him/her in the background of discourse. Ultimately, engagement markers contribute to the realization of affective appeal, steering the addressee to a desired interpretation. This category of markers

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contains modals (should, must, have to), inclusive "we", "you" and "your"; questions and directives/imperatives (note, consider, etc)

This type of interactional metadiscourse is well-represented in the RAL2 learners' dataset. The most common metadiscourse markers within this are *nado/nuzhno* 'it is necessary, one needs to', *dolzhen* 'one has to, one must', *my* 'we' and *nash* 'our'. However, statistical analysis does not indicate a change between Time 1 and Time 2 (on the RP task 8.57 ± 3.99 to 9.29 ± 8.47, (t< 0.7); on the Narrative task 5.14± 3.58 to 5.57 ± 3.46, (t<0.8).

Table 16 *Engagement Markers*

Task	Time 1 Mean	Time 1 SD	Time 2 Mean	Time 2 SD
Role-Play	8.57	3.99	9.29	8.47
Narrative	5.14	3.58	5.57	3.46

The RAL2 discourse exhibits a noticeable presence of modal verbs conveying obligation, which likely stems from the communicative goals prescribed by the task. During Role-Play, the RAL2 are issuing a warning and proposing a course of actions to ensure the successful resolution of a workplace problem. In Narrative, the RAL2 must discuss ways to overcome phobias and to build harmonious relationships with new stepchildren. The context calls for the use of modal verbs as most participants offer "it is necessary" or "the new person should".

The question raised in the previous section "is the slight fall in the use of 'I'

replaced by an increased use of 'we'" now can be answered. The fact that *my* 'we' is

among the most used metadiscourse features of the category indirectly suggests that the

RAL2 not only notice but also pick up on their significance in Russian discourse.

By aligning with the interlocutor almost equal amount of time as they use "*I*" pronoun,

RAL2 learners demonstrate their culturally sophisticated approach to problem solving in

Russian, or, more broadly, an effective use of the pronoun to draw the listener into the

discourse. A further indication of such efforts to build a mutual playing field with the

tester is reflected in the use of *nash* 'our'. Almost double the amount of *nash* 'our' in

their second RP and a total absence of such markers from the narrative speak to their

strategic use of this category.

In the next section, I will offer a sampling of features of one of the RAL2's

speaking.

4.3.3 Metadiscourse Case Study of Participant

4.3.3.1 Participant's Background

One of the seven RAL2 – Eva – has demonstrated high numbers of metadiscourse

markers across all categories, therefore her oral production was selected for an in-depth

qualitative analysis in this section. Eva's ILR score demonstrates that she has jumped 1.5

levels between the beginning and end of the program. She entered the program at ILR 1

and left with ILR 2.5 proficiency. According to her bio data, at the time of joining the

program she had been studying Russian for 3.5 years and had spent a total of 9.5 month

studying abroad in Russia prior to joining the program. She did not claim to speak any additional language besides Russian, or use Russian at home. Her major was Russian language and Russian literature, and she was an undergraduate student in one of a small Liberal Arts colleges in the U.S.

4.3.3. 2 Metadiscourse and Language Usage Report

In this section, I will examine Eva's language usage report (LUR) data with the purpose of identifying the venues of her language use. Such information could help in analyzing sources of her encounters, engagement and possibly acquisition of metadiscourse outside of formal language classes. Furthermore, whether the LUR contains such evidence is the question that this part of the analysis will attempt to answer.

LUR is an electronic form that learners fill out biweekly. The report consists of six parts:

1. In part one, students provide information about the number of hours they spend using Russian during formal language learning, participating in language tutorial sessions, communicating with members of their host family, socializing during internships, interacting during their daily commute, interacting with friends and engaging in cultural life. Questions also regard the listening to the radio or watching TV, and a number of questions concerns various kinds of reading for example academic, press and for pleasure.

2. In part two, students describe language and culture-related challenges they encounter. In the follow-up question, learners strategize about overcoming difficulties in the future.

3. Part three of the report elicits information on communicative successes.

4. Part four serves as a space for setting goals for the upcoming weeks and encourages respondents to identify two-three topics, language functions and/or genres one wants to master.

5. Part five asks to exemplify an instance of cultural differences and reflect on the valence of the outcomes.

6. Part six offers a space for any additional comments.

In the first section, Eva reports the numbers of hours she spends engaging with Russian. Such categories as "formal language learning classes," "language tutorial sessions,"and "cultural events" are similar for all participants, because these are required components. The hours that participant spends with the host family, friends and at elective course/internships, however, appear to speak more to Eva's exposure to language outside of class. Throughout the academic year, biweekly Eva spends 10.2 h in interaction with her host family. She occasionally providing glimpses into the kinds of interaction with them, for example, a discussion of the Russian army service, or how life values change overtime. During the first semester, participant attends elective course, and does internship in the second semester. Every two weeks she spends 2.2 hours there. In her comments, she frequently brings up the issue of not being able to follow professor's lecture, and strategies she uses to overcome this difficulty, for example, asking her

professor to suggest additional reading, requesting help from her Russian peer to share the notes for the lectures. In addition, Eva reports spending 3.8 hours biweekly with friends. Her comments reflect how much she expresses delight at her successful interactions, especially the ones that involve joking. The participant notes how she has a difficult time understanding people from certain regions, and plans to interact more.

Two weeks into her study abroad program, Eva indicates that in addition to the activities required by the program, she goes to dance class. In fact, as further examinations of the report show, she attends it weekly for the entire duration of the program. The comments she provides also indicate that she is proactive in her interaction with strangers, for instance, one day she helps an elderly woman to attend to an unconscious woman and call for ambulance, the other day she talks with the elderly man who she frequently encounters on her way home. Eva also comments on her successful interaction with her doctor and long and captivating interaction with a Russian pharmacist. Both her comments and the number of hours she reports suggest that her interactions with NS are frequent and enjoyable. Moreover, she portrays herself as an active contributor in the conversations she mentions. Two times in her LUR she expresses her delight on being mistaken for a native speaker in the first five minutes of the conversation, which, on the one hand suggests that Eva orients towards native speaker as the gold standard and is possibly motivated more than others to emulate conversational habits of NS, of which metadiscourse is a part of. Previous research has demonstrated that motivation plays an important role in successful L2 acquisition (Ellis 1997). Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that Eva's speech will carry traces of native-like metadiscourse use.

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Her conscious efforts to take advantage of the immersion context is evinced by her recurring comments in her LUR that portray her as active consumer of the language. While in the beginning of the first semester Eva sets goals mostly associated with increasing her vocabulary, honing her listening skills, tracing the point of argument in the long discussion, and talking "more freely" in big groups of Russians, towards the end of her sojourn, she sets more specific goals, for instance, "learning how to assertively convey when I cannot do something", "always making myself understood in conversations", "carry out a monologue", "working on a narrative of a complex situation".

Considering that the primary focus of Eva's LUR examination is the search for metadiscourse acquisition indicators, her stated goal to "hold and gain the floor in a discussion" is likely to be the crux of such evidence. It is precisely metadiscourse that plays critical role in such effort. She also recognizes her need to "explain things in a more direct manner". On the last biweekly LUR, Eva again comments on her hope to express her points more directly. She also reports her success in explaining to a Russian colleague "a subtle discrepancy between intent and phrasing in one of the survey questions," which speaks to the sophistication of the foreign language learner that she developed in the course of her study-abroad program.

4.3.3.3 Number of metadiscourse markers

Eva's quantitative aspect of metadiscourse use on the RP and Narrative tasks and their features merit attention. First, the numbers of metadiscourse markers are characterized, then examples from RP1 and RP2, and Narrative 1 and Narrative 2 are considered.

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As shown in Figure 5, Eva's metadiscourse at Time 1 and Time 2 on RP task differ slightly. In her Time 2 RP, she employs more transitions, frame markers, endophoric markers, boosters, and a lot more attitude markers.

Figure 5 *Eva's Metadiscourse in Role-Paly*
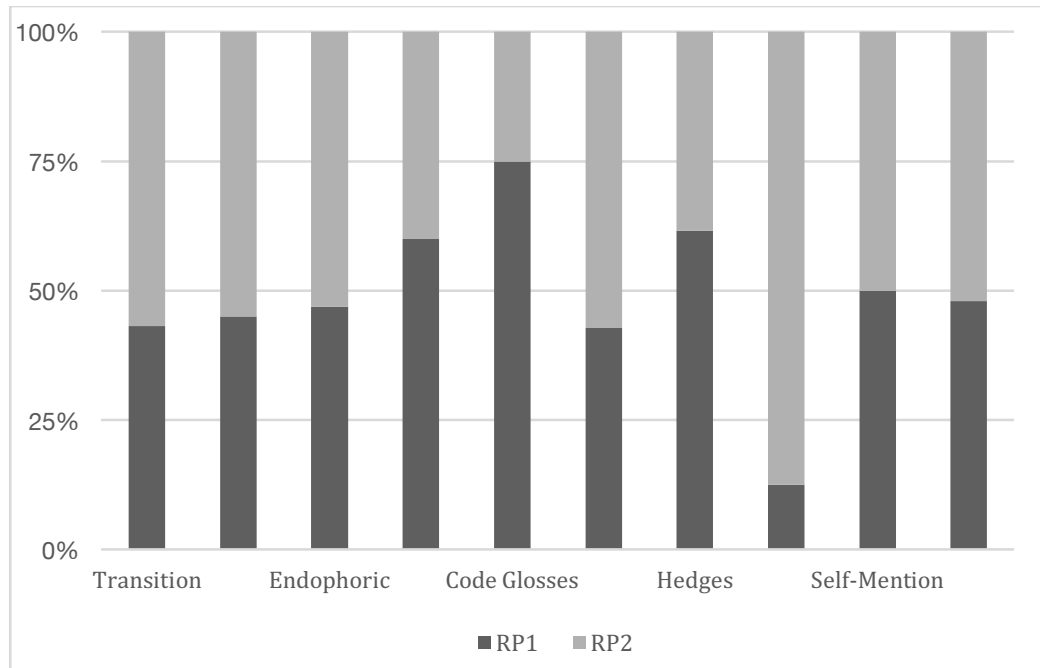
The higher proportion of transitions, frame markers and endophoric markers at Time 2 suggests that Eva actively manages and organizes her speaking while participating in RP and narrative tasks. The hike in boosters and attitude markers in her RP2 points to Eva's growing awareness of NS preferences. In contrast, she uses fewer evidentials, code glosses, and hedges. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that she is more confident in her message being sufficiently clear in that code-glosses that facilitate clarification of the message drop, and she is able to express herself more directly, and thus her need in hedges drops too. Self-mention, along with engagement, stay the same across Time 1 and Time 2 RP.

On the Narrative Task, the use of metadiscourse is slightly different. At Time 2,

Figure 6 *Eva's Metadiscourse in Narratives*
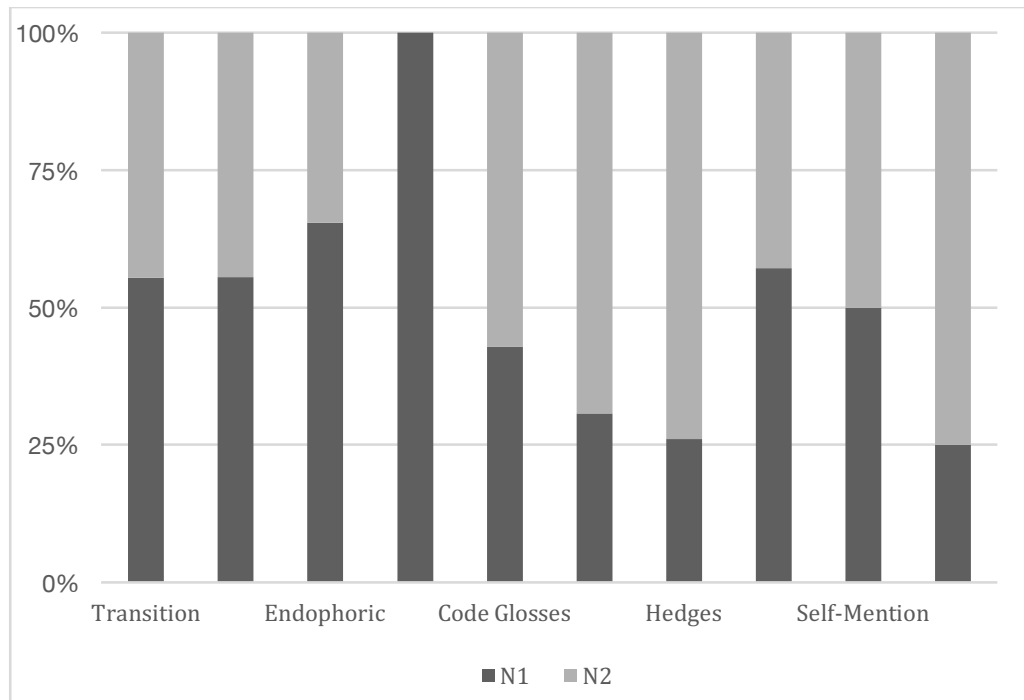
Eva uses fewer transitions, frame markers and attitude markers. This is different from her metadiscourse marker use in the Role-Play. However, the numbers of code glosses, engagement, hedges and boosters rise. An increase is boosters is one of the features that is consistent with the change from Time 1 to Time 2 in RP. Another notable feature is the use of self-mention. Both on the RP and the Narrative tasks, at both times, Eva's preference remains steady. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that for this participant some metadiscourse markers are more characteristic of the Role-Play task, while others are more coomon in the Narrative task. For example, transitions are more represented in Narrative at both times, but the use of others does not differ markedly, for example self-mention. Furthermore, the change from Time 1 to Time 2 is not ubiquitous across all markers. In the next section, examples from Eva's are presented.

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4.3.3.4 Qualitative Analysis of Eva's Metadiscourse

In this subsection, sampling of salient features of Eva's metadiscourse are exemplified. On the first Role-Play, as Eva explains to her interlocutor why the conversation is taking place, she actively engages the addressee, and relies on their prior knowledge by saying:

(1) *Nu, kak vy znaete, u nas konferencia cherez dva dnya*

(1)'Well, as you know, we have a conference in couple of days'

In the same turn, she stacks double negation *nichego ne gotovo* 'nothing is ready' and the booster voobshe 'at all', thereby successfully conveying her frustration with the situation. She repeats it two times, and then moves on to a hedged statement of her goal for this meeting:

(2) *Prosto mne by hotelos' vyasnit*

(2) 'Simply I 'd like to find out'

Then she appeals once more to the interlocutor's previous knowledge *kak vy znaete* 'as you know' to remind the interlocutor about her duties. This example illustrates that by combining metadiscourse markers, Eva is able to signal her strong affect, establish mutual ground with her interlocutor and index the presumably shared context. Her use of colloquial discourse marker *nu* 'well' and adverb *voobsche* 'at all, in general' makes her contribution more colloquial and less confident at the same time. *Nu* 'well' has been characterized as the most common and most used discourse markers in modern colloquial speech (Bolden, 2016). It is also necessary to highlight that while she uses *voobsche* 'at all, in general' three times, two of the instances carry the same meaning while the third one is different. Compare their uses in the following examples:

(3) *skazal, chto voobsche nichego ne gotovo*

(3) 'said that at all nothing not ready'

(4) …*nu voobsche nichego*

(4)   well at all nothing

(5) *Nu eto voobsche vasha dolzhnost' tak delat'*

 (5) Well, this in general your duty so do

These examples demonstrate her mastery of multifunctional discourse marker "voobsche" (at all, in general, emphasis) that is highly characteristic of NS discourse (Malov & Gorbova,2007). Interestingly, Eva's use of the discourse marker *voobsche* in the examples (3) and (4) corresponds to the function described Kiselyova and Payar (1998) that is characteristic of the speech of educated NS. Authors suggest that unlike Russian youth that uses *voobsche* as smoothing element to introduces information that is loosely tied to the preceding utterance, educated NS incorporate *voobsche* as a synonym to 'important detail' or 'I'd like to emphasize'.

Next, the response from her employee is not satisfactory to her, due to a lack of clarity, therefore, Eva chooses to explore further what the employee means, and uses the hedge *prosto* 'simply' to mitigate the following *vy mozhet ne ponimaete* 'you maybe do not understand the situation', and structures her utterances by employing frame markers *vo-pervyh* 'first' and *vo-vtoryh* 'second' to what she is asking her employee to do. She also communicates her understanding of the situation, where *Kak ja ponimayj* 'as I understand', self-mention mixed with engagement serves as effective way to reintroduce her earlier frustration with unfinished preparation for the conference. Moreover, her repeated use of double negation, which falls in the category of boosters, again creates affect:

(6) *Kak ja ponimaju situaciyu voobsche nichego est*

(6) As I understand the situation at all nothing is there

(7) *potomy chto ja ne vizhu nikakih aaa nu nikakih spiskov nu nichego ne vizhy*

(7) Because I do not see no hm well no lists well nothing do not see

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In her next turn, Eva uses the emphatic particle "zhe", a booster:

(8) *"Nu eto zhe nedelu nazad"*

(8) Well this was a week ago

Unlike the other six RAL2, Eva incorporates *zhe* (emphasis) into her speaking signaling her awareness of the means to add emphasis in Russian with the help of metadiscourse marker.

Another notable feature of Eva's RP1 is her use of the discourse marker *nu* 'well', which is characteristic of colloquial speech (Bolden, 2016). *Nu* 'well' has been described as multifunctional marker (Vasilyeva, 1972; Zemskaia, 1979; Multisilta, 1995, Bolden, 2016). In the present dissertation *nu* 'well' has been classified as frame marker or hedge marker. In some instances, it functions as a hedge that sanctions the use of the booster in the next position

(9*) nu voobsche nichego ne gotovo*

(9) well at all nothing is ready

or as a hedge to introduce request in the form of the imperative

(10) *nu poshlite mne vot eti spiski*

(10) well, send me those lists

In a number of lines Eva employs *nu* 'well' as a turn-initiating marker or as Bolden (2016) calls it *Nu-prefacing* (see example 5). In fact, Eva starts most of her turns with *nu* 'well', and also uses it mid-turn to hold the floor in the conversation. As Bolden's (2016) analysis indicates nu-prefacing signals to the recipient that upcoming utterance is problematic. Given the context of the RP, it is difficult to discern whether Eva employs *nu* to indicate her assessment of what is coming as problematic or to employ *nu* 'well' as her "lexical teddy-bear"(Hasselgren,1994). Another possibility is that *nu* 'well' could very well be the result of L1 negative transfer. Based on Sherstivona's (2010) findings, *nu*

'well' is the fourth most frequent word in a 35-hour corpus of Russian colloquial speech. Abundance of *nu* in Eva's performance demonstrates native feature.

On the second RP2, Eva's speaking does not exhibit as many repetitions and false-starts as her first RP, therefore, her RP 2 produces an impression of her progressing through ideas effortlessly. At Time 2, participant demonstrates strings of metadiscourse rather than disjointed markers. For example, her use of *nu* 'well' becomes embedded into the collocations, for example *nu vy znaete* 'well, you know', *nu posmotrim* ' well, we will see', *nu konechno* 'well of course'.

Eva also diversifies in her turn-initial metadiscourse use. While before her utterances mostly started with *Nu* 'well', by Time 2 she starts employing *a* 'and', for example, *A vy ne znaete*? 'and do you know' or *A vy ne dumali*? 'and didn't you think', *A pochemy*? '*and why'*. Her use of "a" in the turn initial position demonstrates her sophistication in a conversational routine, because 'and' translates into Russian in two ways 'i' and 'a'. The former is only used in the context of adding, and the latter conveys the meaning of "and" only in conversational context.

Eva also incorporates a new metadiscourse marker *v principe* 'in principle', which is a hedge, and is highly popular in NS speech (Malov & Gorbova, 2007). In the category of transitions, the new metadiscourse markers in her RP2 are *hotya* 'although', *esli…to* 'if then', *poetomy* 'therefore', *a* 'and'.

As was established in the previous section, Eva dramatically increases her use of attitude markers and boosters on RP2. Through her skillful use of metadiscourse, she appears to meet the requirements of her role as dissatisfied director better than she did in RP1. For example:

(11) *ja by hotela uznat' i pryamo sejchas*

(11) I would like to find out and right away

(12) *Ya hochu unzt' tochno chto tam*

(12) I want to find out exactly what is there

(13) *Nu konechno vy ponimaete, chto takaya situacija sovsem plohaya*

(13) Well, of course you understand, that such situation is completely bad

The use of metadiscourse in the narrative task also changes qualitatively from Time 1 to Time 2 also. At Time 1, in the beginning of her narrative, Eva overuses "i" (and), trying to links propositions in the narrative by using "I"(and) which becomes redundant. For example:

(14*) I kak ya lichno otnoshus' k etoj teme i nu moralno otnoshus*

(14) and how I personally treat this topic and well moraly treat

(15) *I vo-pervyh*

(15) and first

All too often her use of *I* 'and' precedes other markers *I no* 'and but', *I naprimer* 'and for example'. For Eva, these are the points in her narrative where she introduces new ideas, therefore, "I" as an additive transition fulfills its function on a macro-level of narrative. However, on the level of the utterance its omission would not disrupt the propositional plane. Whether this is a feature of L2 learner spoken discourse, or this is a transfer from the learner's L1 preferences is unclear.

Similar to the use of "I" in the first half of the Narrative, Eva peppers her story with *nu* 'well' similar to the Role-Play. She starts with *Ny ya seichas pogovoru pro fobii* 'Well, I now will talk about phobias', *I nu moralno otnoshus* 'and well morally relate', *I ny takzhe eti phobii normalnye voobsche* 'and well also these phobias are normal in general'. As soon as she moves to discussing the ways of resolving phobias, she does not employ nu 'well' anymore. Based on instances of her use of *nu* 'well', it is possible to discern

functions that Eva assigns to the marker. First, when *nu* 'well' appears in turn-initial position, it serves as a marker of introducing a new idea in the discourse, for example:

(16*) Nu sejchas ja pogovou pro fobii*

(16) Well, now I will talk about phobias

(17) *Nu voobsche chto mozhno delat*?

(17) Well all in all what possible to do

Second, nu 'well' facilitates self-correction, and follows the trouble spot, for example:

(18) *I voobsche on horosho nu normalno postupil*

(18) and in general he okay well normally acted

 (19) *I voobsche est' nu vot takie situacii mogut dat' cheloveky fobii*

(19) And all in all there are well such situations might give a person phobias Likely the most important function of "nu" for RAL2 learners, who are able to formulate their complex ideas, that is discernable in the data is its pausing property. Previous research named it "word searchers" (Vasilyeva, 1972) or "finding information sought" (Kuosmanen &Multisilta, 1999). For example:

(20) I nu takzhe eti phobii oni normalnye voobsche

(20) and well also these phobias they are normal in general

 In sum, Eva demonstrates her versatile and nuanced understanding of the marker *nu* 'well'

Eva's use of self-mention changes from Time 1 to Time 2. At Time 1, she constructs her narrative almost entirely removing herself from the story. She uses a total of three "Ya" (I), in the beginning to introduce her topic and announce her plan. At Time 2 she takes on a different approach, and project herself in the story slightly more by employing self-mentions as part of expressions *mne kazhetsya* 'to me it seems' four times and *ya ne znauy*

'I do not know' twice. Importantly, she aligns herself with her interlocutor by using inclusive 'we' in *esli my ne dumaem, chto takoj brak…* 'if we do not think that such marriage…'. Her use of 'we' could be interpreted as her full alignment with the Russian speaking interlocutor, or, broader, Russian speaking community of which she claims herself to be a part.

Eva's second narrative is also different in terms of evaluation that she offers for the situation. While in the Time 1 narrative, Eva describes how phenomena evolves and uses film excerpt as an example, at the end she suggests how to overcome those phobias without evaluating the situation explicitly. As evidenced from Figure 8, the number of interactional markers – hedges, boosters and engagement rises, which increases the participant's presence in the text. Therefore, her performance on the Time 2 narrative is different from Time 2 in the interactional domain. Thus, it is possible that interactive resources come first in the order of acquisition, and only when RAL2 has a good grasp of those, interactive resources appear in their output. Whether such a trend is generalizable requires further inquiry; however, sampling of several metadiscourse markers and their functioning suggest Eva's complex approach to metadiscourse markers and her awareness on their multifunctional nature (Müleer, 2005).

4.4 NS TO RAL2 TIME 2 COMPARISON

4.4.1 NS Corpus

The purpose of this section is to provide comparative account of metadiscourse use between the RAL2 learners and the NS participants. The ultimate goal is to gain insights into the areas, in which both groups demonstrate similarity, and where they

differ. Such an analysis will help to address the larger issue of nativelikeness of the learners beyond Advanced level proficiency.

Prior to considering the use of markers, the number of words warrant a comment. Due to the lack of time constraints set up by the experimenter, the role-plays performed by the NS are significantly longer. The mean number of words produced by the NSs is 633, while the RAL2 learners on average spoke half as much at 306 words on average. Comparing the number of words on the Independent two-tail T-test yields statistically significant result (t<0.04). Such a discrepancy in the number of words calls for the normalization of data. Therefore, in order to exclude the bias of uneven performance in NS, the number of metadiscourse markers in both RAL2 and NS are normalized by the mean number of words on RP. The total number of metadiscourse markers each participant[17] used per 100 words in reflected in the figure X. After running an independent one-tailed T-test, the trend reflected in Figure X has been confirmed. The difference in the use of metadiscourse markers is statistically significant between the two groups (19.8 ± 2.05 to 34.9 ± 5.9 (t< 0.03) for NS and RAL2 group respectively), that is, the RAL2 learners overuse metadiscourse markers when compared to NSs. Higher number of metadiscourse markers in RAL2 data could stem from a number of reasons.

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[17] Before The RP2 from participant 5 is missing due to the technical issues with their recording, therefore both NS participant 5 and RAL2 participant 5 data are excluded.

Figure 7 *Metadiscourse per 100 words*
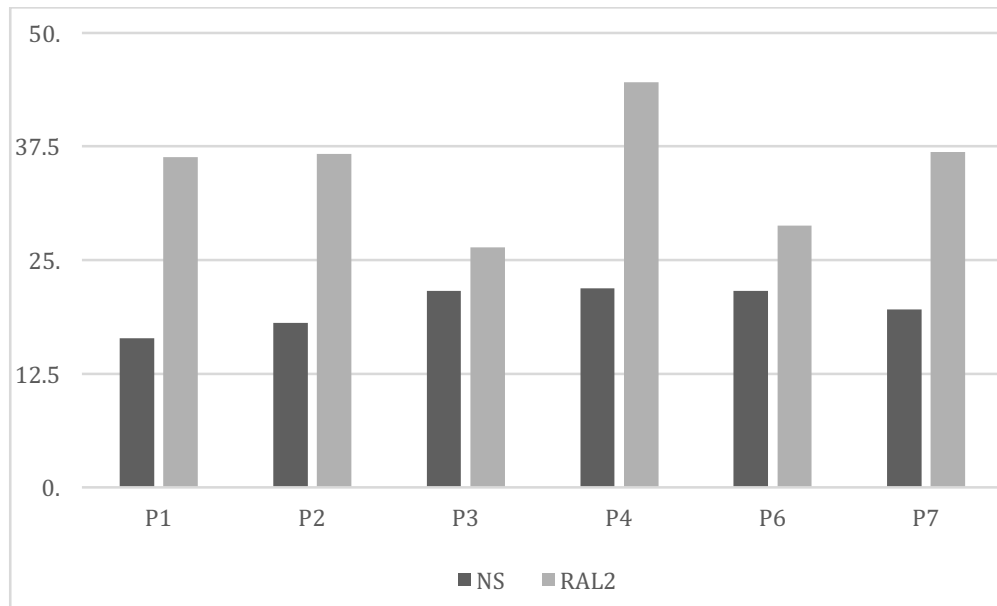
The higher number of metadiscourse markers in the RAL2 data could stem from a number of reasons. In order to provide in-depth inquiry into the types of metadiscourse markers, which contribute to the difference, the following section presents a quantitative overview of each category of markers. The data was normalized, as described above, throughout the analysis, therefore all the numbers of metadiscourse markers are given per 100 words.

4.4.2 Comparison of Interactive Markers

4.4.2.1 Transitions

In the area of transition markers, the NS and the RAL2 learners differ. The RAL2 learners employ significantly more transitions than NS. The difference in the use of metadiscourse markers is statistically significant (3.7 ± 1.1 to 8.8 ± 2.1 (t< 0.001) for NS and RAL2 group respectively).

Figure 8 *Transitions Per 100 words*
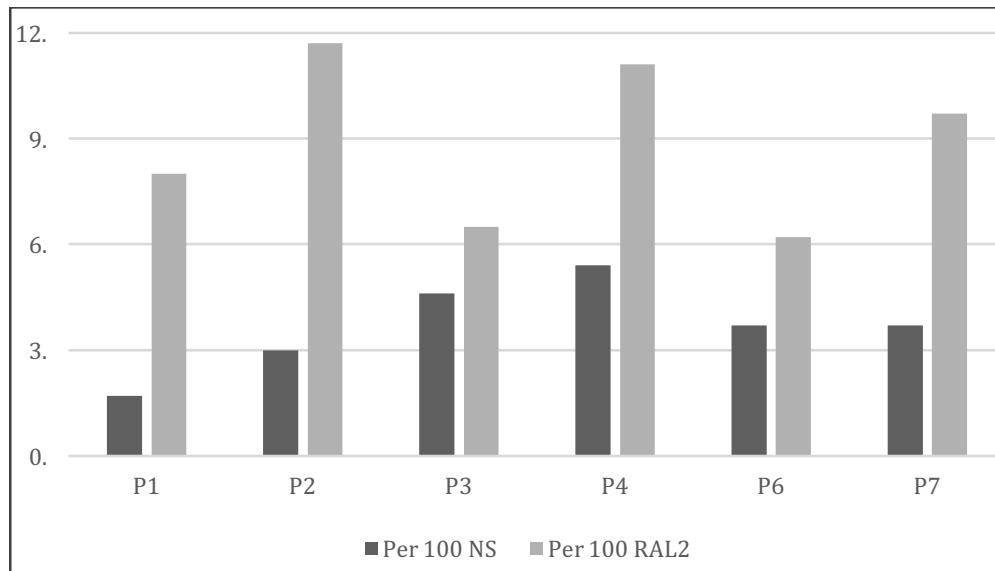
Therefore, in their use of transitions at Time 2 RAL2 do not approximate native norm. Figure X shows that RAL2 learners overuse transitions in comparison to NS.

4.4.2.2 Frame Markers

The RAL2 learners are similar in their use of frame markers as the NS at Time 2. That is, they sequence, predict, label, summarize and shift the argument's focus similar to the NS patterns (2.2 ± 1.2 to 3.4 ± 0.7 ($t < 0.09$) for NS and RAL2 group respectively), established in the NS corpus. The nativelike use of frame markers suggests that these do not present a particular challenge for the RAL2 learners.

Figure 9 *Frame Markers Per 100 words*
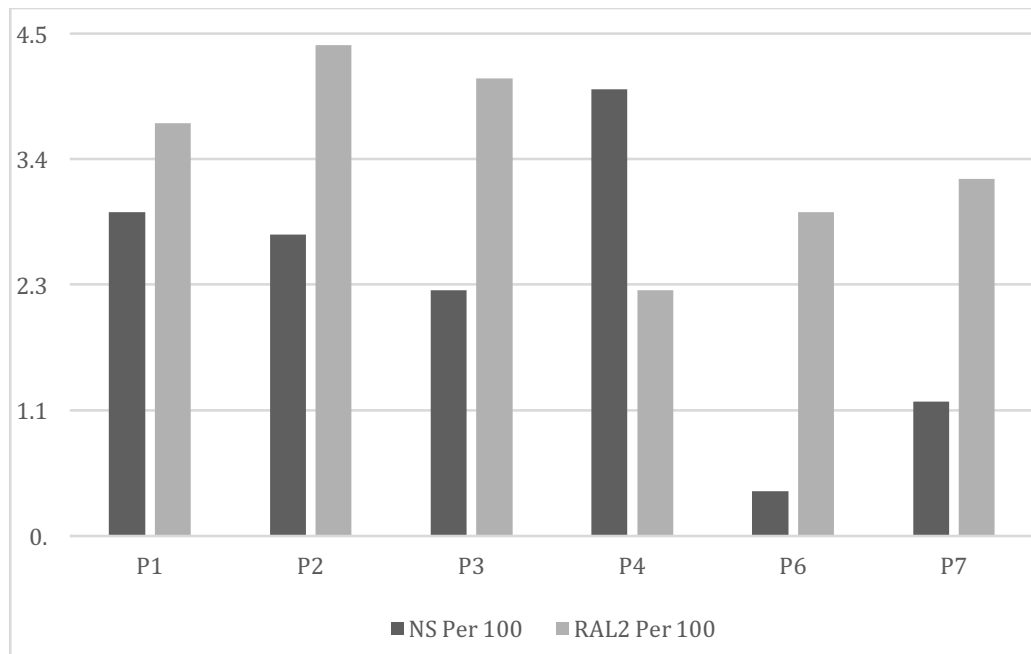
4.4.2.3 Endophoric Markers

The NS employed significantly fewer Endophoric markers on the RP task (0.4 ± 0.4 and 2.8 ± 1.8 ($t < 0.03$) for the NS and the RAL2 group respectively). As this type of marker helps to scaffold comprehension by connecting to information mentioned before or what is yet to come, the RAL2 learners' reason for over- applying them in the RP possibly indicates their stronger preference in "enforcing" the context due to the tester's evasive strategy. That is, they remind the interlocutor of points they have covered earlier. At the same time, NS tend to employ fewer endophoric markers possibly due to their perception of a shared context, and, perhaps, more agreeable interlocutor.

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Figure 10 *Endophoric Markers per 100*
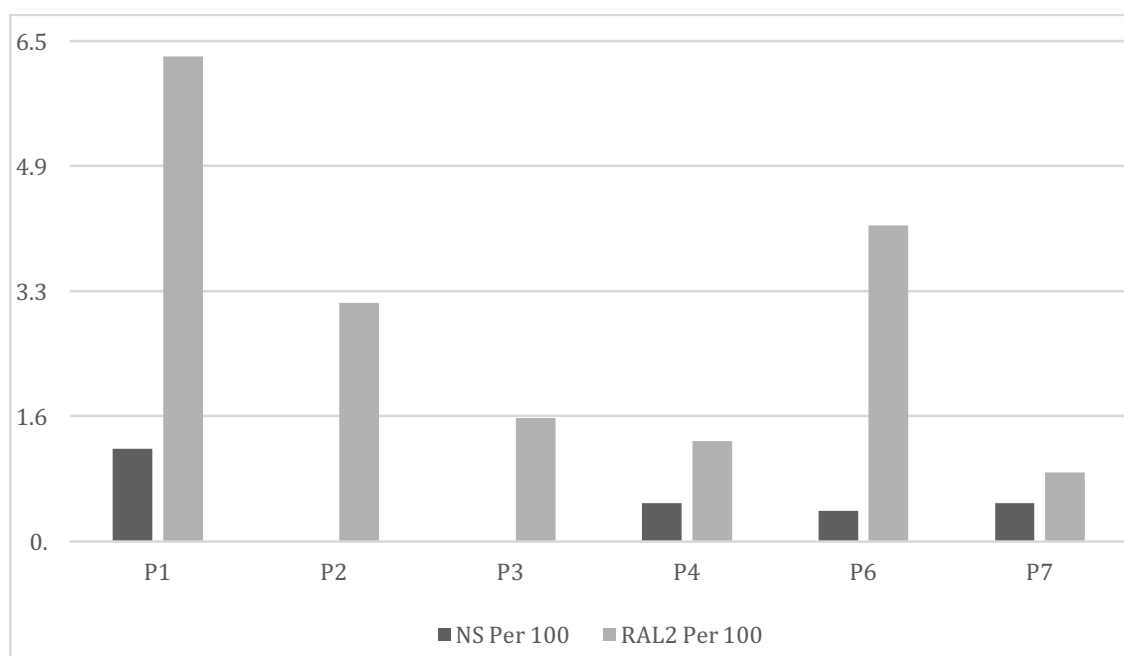
4.4.2.4 Evidentials

Compared to other metadiscourse markers the use of evidentials by both groups is low, however, is statistically significant (0.1 ± 0.1 to 0.2 ± 0.05 (t< 0.05) for the NS and the RAL2 groups respectively). The difference could stem from the RAL2 almost universal reliance on the mentioning the of the source of information they include. In other words, in providing grounds for the conversation about work-related issues, the RAL2 learners refer to the source of information of the trouble with the store, while the NS do not perceive such grounding as important.

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Figure 11 *Evidentials per 100 words*
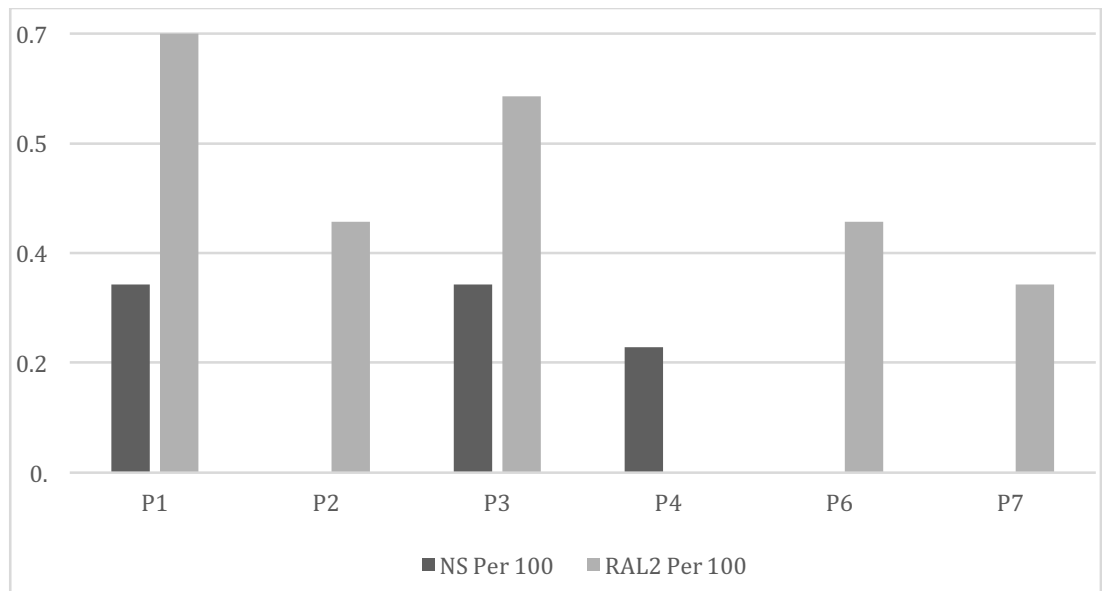
4.4.2.5 Code Glosses

Both the NS and the RAL2 learners used few code glosses, and the difference between the two groups is not significant (0.9 ± 0.5 to 1.8 ± 1.9 ($t < 0.5$), for the NS and the RAL2 groups, respectively. Because code glosses work to facilitate better access to the information, that is restating or exemplifying a point, the low use of code glosses on the Role-Play 2 task, might stem from the straightforward nature of the task or the lack of misunderstanding throughout the task. RAL2 learners use less code glosses on the Time 2 RP, which signals increased confidence on their part in explaining themselves sufficiently the first time.

Figure 12 *Code Glosses Per 100*
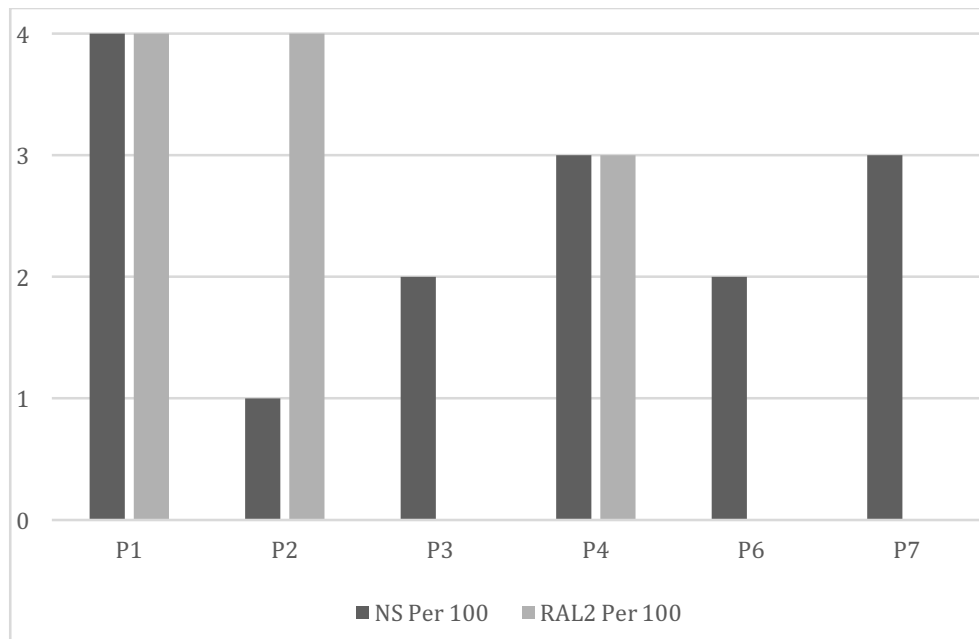
4.4.3 Comparison of Interactional Markers

4.4.3.1 Hedges

Hedges are the first markers in the interactional category, which is interlocutor-rather than text-oriented, and markers in this category reflect the type of relationship the speaker forms with the audience. Contrary to the expected outcome, neither the NSs nor the RAL2s demonstrated statistically more hedges (1.9 ± 0.1 to 5.5 ± 3.8 ($t < 0.1$) for NS and RAL2 group respectively). A statistically significant difference had been expected due to the face-saving potential of hedges, and the active role they play in the American participants' L1 politeness norms. Figure X, unlike the statistical analysis depicts an uneven use of hedges.

Figure 13 *Hedges per 100*
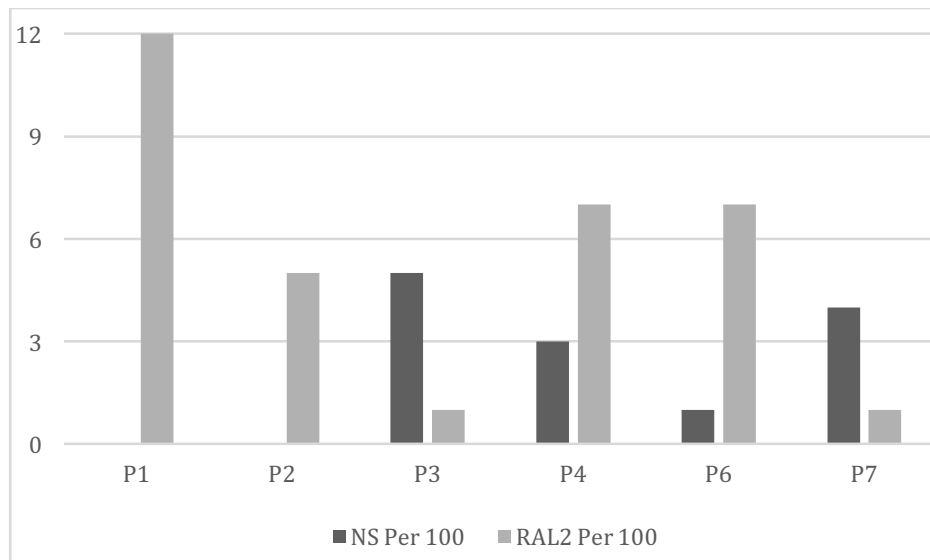
Unlike the RAL2 learners, the NSs did not employ hedges unanimously. Only

participants 3,4,6 and 7 choose to incorporate them. Additionally, as evidenced from

Figure X, the number of hedges are lower among the NS participants.

4.4.3.2 Boosters

Boosters increase the effect of the following word, and enhance the affective

aspect that an utterance carries. Similar to hedges, there is no statistically significant

difference observed from the NS and the RAL2 groups comparison (1.3 ± 0.4 to $1.9 \pm$

1.03 ($t < 0.4$) for NS and RAL2 group respectively). Unlike in the case of hedges, Figure

X indicates a more even distribution across participants and within each group.

Figure 14 *Boosters per 100*
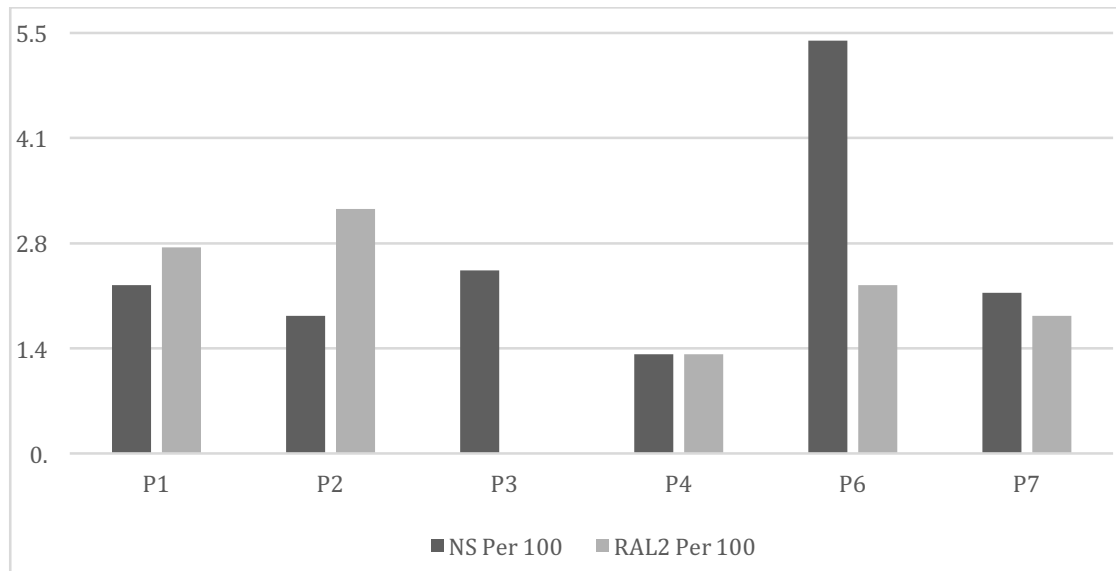
Thus, the RAL2 demonstrated nativelike use of boosters by the end of their

yearlong study abroad experience.

4.4.3.3 Attitude

Similar to Hedges and Boosters, the RAL2 learners also mirrored nativelike use

of attitude markers. Independent two-tail paired T-test demonstrated that the difference in

the use of metadiscourse markers is not statistically significant (1.6 ± 0.8 to 3.3 ± 2.5 (t<

0.8) for the NS and the RAL2 group respectively.

Figure 15 Attitude Markers per 100
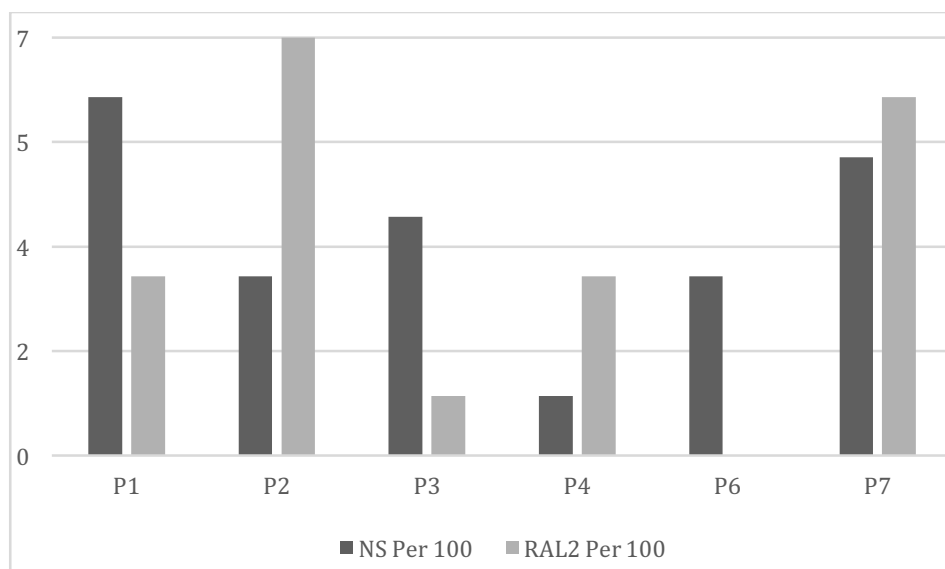
Such effect could also partially be a result of the context of professional conversation, where only a certain amount of attitude markers suffices, but more importantly, the fact that the perceptions of RAL2 learners coincide with that of NS indicates that they are using them in the native range.

4.4.3.4 Self-Mention

Although Sherstinova (2010) found that "I" is the most frequent word in the 35-hour corpus of Russian colloquial speech, analysis of self-mention nevertheless showed statistically significant difference between the RAL2 and the NS groups (3.8 ± 1.6 to 9.1 ± 3.1 ($t < 0.01$) for NS and RAL2 group respectively).

Figure 16 *Self-Mention*
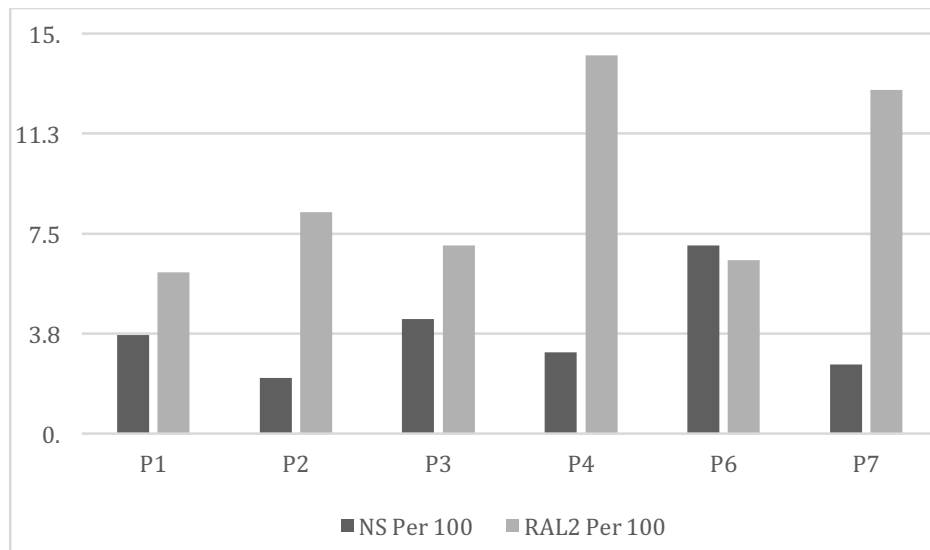
The RAL2 learners at Time 2 still overused self-mention demonstrating the difficulty in overcoming L1 transfer. Due to the fact that the category of self-mention markers contains both "I" and "you", "my" and "our", it is necessary to examine examples to get the definitive answer as to whether is it "I" that causes the numbers of the RAL2 learners to be high in this category. Another possibility is that the use of possessive pronouns "my" or "our", uncommon in Russian, causes the difference.

4.4.3.5 Engagement Markers

The discrepancy in the numbers of engagement markers is statistically significant between the two groups (5.8 ± 1.6 to 3.05 ± 1.5 (t< 0.01) for NS and RAL2 group respectively). The NS choose to incorporate more engagement markers than the RAL2 learners.

Figure 17 *Engagement per 100 words*
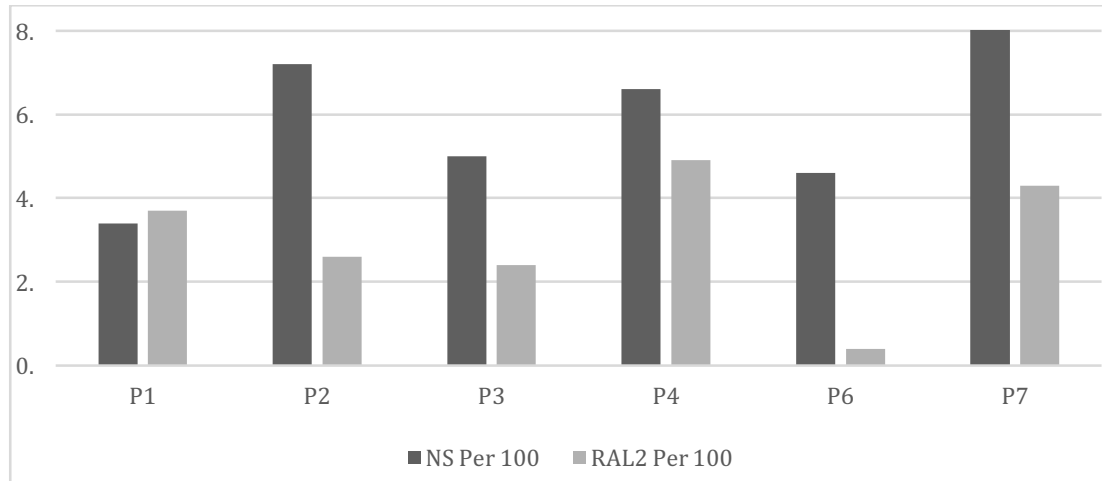
Because engagement markers aid the speaker in pulling their interlocutor in the discourse and steering them towards a desired outcome, the RAL2 learners and the NS could hold different preferences in the perceived need to pursue such actions. Reasons could stem from cultural variables. For example, the concern for one's privacy (Wierzbicka, 1997) could stifle RAL2 learners' efforts to use engagement markers, for example modal verbs and imperatives as those violate one's privacy by imposing advice or even worse directive.

In sum, the quantitative analyses of the RAL2 learners' Role-Play 2 and its comparison to NS numbers revealed categories of metadiscourse markers both within the interactive and interactional categories, across which RAL2 learners demonstrate nativelike behavior.

Thereby, at the end of the study abroad, RAL2 learners do acquire nativelike metadiscourse features on the role-play task on several categories of metadiscourse. They

mirrored the behavior of native speakers in frame markers, code glosses, hedges, boosters and attitude markers; while the use of other metadiscourse categories such as transitions, endophoric, evidentials, self-mention and engagement was more resistant to change.

The lack of evidence of change between Time 1 and Time 2 RP in RAL2 speakers opens up different avenues for the interpretation. First, there is a possibility that due to the small sample size, the statistical instruments do not register change. Second, it is possible that participants begin deploying metadiscourse earlier in their L2 learning career, acquiring a sense for metadiscourse slots in the target language and filling them in with metadiscourse available to them. With time, however, L2 learners widen their repertoire of metadiscourse markers. However, as numbers do not change overtime, there is a chance that later on these "primary" markers are replaced with their more advanced counterparts. For example, the analysis of the Eva's speech demonstrates that instead of clinging to "*nu*" (well) in RP2, she demonstrated a broader repertoire of metadiscourse markers at Time 2.

Chapter 5 Discussion

The purpose of this dissertation has been to explore metadiscourse as it relates to RAL2 speaking proficiency and to compare RAL2 metadiscourse use with that of NS. At the outset of the study, I proposed the hypothesis that RAL2's metadiscourse use would change during the study-abroad experience, and that it would exhibit native-like features by the end of the sojourn.

In order to confirm or refute the hypothesis, I proposed to answer several research questions:

RQ1: Do participants demonstrate statistically significant gains in Speaking on ILR and TORFL-3?

At the end of the program all participants demonstrated proficiency gains, and therefore the RAL2 Time 2 performance is considered as the one that represents a linguistically more mature interlanguage.

RQ2: Does the length of their Role-Play and Narrative change between Time 1 and Time 2?

Participants did not demonstrate universal increase or decrease in completion time on either the Role-Play task or Narrative. In analyzing Advanced learners' speech, Kasper (1989) found greater verbosity among speakers at this level, as they are more aware of their foreigner status, and thus they feel the need to establish rather than presuppose more ground with the interlocutor. As for the RAL2 who decreased their speaking time, further analysis is needed in order to determine whether their Time 2 production had few repetitions or their rate of speech was higher.

RQ3: How does the increase in proficiency affect the quantitative aspect of metadiscourse?

The quantitative analysis of the ratio of metadiscourse markers to content words revealed an unexpected consistency in metadiscourse number. That is, participants employ equal proportion of metadiscourse in their Time 1 and Time 2 Role-Plays and Narrative tasks. Such a finding warrants further qualitative study. As has been shown in Eva's example, while at Time 1 and Time 2 similar numbers of metadiscourse slots are occupied, there are qualitative differences in the types and uses of metadiscourse markers.

RQ 4: Do numbers of interactive resources change from Time 1 to Time 2?

Within the interactive category of metadiscourse, transitions, frame markers, endophoric, evidentials and code glosses did not exhibit statistically significant changes between Time 1 and Time 2. Additionally, the category of endophoric markers was not commonly employed, and therefore might not be very well suited for oral language.

RQ 5: Do numbers of interactional resources change from Time 1 to Time 2?

Within interactional resources the use of hedges in the Role-Play task at Time 2 decreases, while in the Narrative task participants use more hedges. Boosters, the most represented category of metadiscourse in the RAL2 corpus, drop at Time 2 in the Role-Play task and increase in the Narrative task. No change was found in the infrequent use of attitude markers. Self-mention and engagement markers also did not change during the sojourn abroad. Overall, quantitative evidence points to the lack of dynamics in metadiscourse between Time 1 and Time 2. To date, no longitudinal studies of the advanced learner's use of metadiscourse in oral discourse has been conducted, and it is necessary to explore qualitative aspects.

RQ 6: What are the advantages of providing a qualitative account of metadiscourse?

The analysis of Eva's Role-Play and Narrative tasks at Time 1 and Time 2 shows that qualitative analysis could yield a more detailed understanding of the changes between Time 1 and Time 2.

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RQ7: Do RAL2 and NS use similar proportions of metadiscouse in the Role-Play task?

The NS employ less metadiscourse than the RAL2 do. Ädel (2006) suggests that discrepancies between learner and NS corpus could arise due to a "learner factor" (p. 151) According to her, greater use of metadiscourse is a learner strategy. As a non-monolingual language user, one is more linguistically reflexive in his/her language use, which results in more metadiscourse.

RQ 8: Do RAL2 at Time 2 demonstrate nativelike use within each category of markers?

At the end of their sojourn abroad, the RAL2s demonstrate nativelike use across several categories: frame markers, code glosses, hedges, boosters, and attitude markers. Interestingly, RAL2 use of transitions, endophoric markers, evidentials and self-mention is higher than NS use. The only category of markers where the NS dominate is that of engagement markers. This finding of partial nativelikeness concurs with Birdsong's (2005) assertion that at the upper limits of proficiency L2 learners develop islands of nativelike mastery.

RQ9: How feasible is the use of the metadiscourse framework in evaluating the RAL2 proficiency?

Based on the analysis of data, I have concluded that the metadiscourse framework requires modification in order to reflect proficiency in oral L2 use. I propose to add a category of hesitators, vague language and address terms not included in Hyland's (2005) taxonomy. Additionally, in order for the framework to reflect Russian metadiscourse use more accurately, some phenomena specific to Russian language have to be considered. These include diminutives, prefixes, the use address terms, and word order, because the meaning they carry contributes greatly both to the interactive and interactional dimensions

of the text. In sum, then, our current framework of metadiscourse does not allow us to fully evaluate oral L2 use. Therefore, much more empirical research is required prior to establishing metadiscourse correlates with levels of L2 proficiency.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 GOALS OF THE STUDY

The study has aimed to explore an area in the Russian Advanced Learners' proficiency that has not been described earlier, namely the use of metadiscourse in the RAL2 spoken discourse. The study has also compared RAL2 learners' metadiscourse at the end of their studt abroad to that of NS. By analyzing metadiscourse markers in two types of tasks (role-play and narrative), the study has established the relative weight of each type of markers in the Russian Advanced Second Language Learner's proficiency. Furthermore, the study has attempted to demystify the subtle changes in RAL2 learners' proficiency that occur between Time 1 (December) and Time 2 (May) by analyzing categories of metadiscourse markers. Finally, one of the goals of this project has been to compare RAL2 learners' metadiscourse and NS metadiscourse in order to discern which categories exhibit nativelike presence in RAL 2 conversation and those that diverge from the NS norm.

6.2 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

The most important aspects of this study are its contribution to the broader field of metadiscourse study and the application of the metadiscourse framework to the inquiry into native and L2 Russian discourse in role-play and narrative tasks. While in its current form the study primarily relies on its quantitative evidence, it opens up avenues for in-depth qualitative analysis.

Secondly, the study contributes to the body of literature on Advanced learners in general, and Advanced learners of Russian in particular. Given the growing interest in the profession in capabilities beyond Advanced, and, more importantly, methods to get

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students to that level of proficiency in Russian, the study uncovers areas that play an important role at that level of proficiency.

Third, findings of this study portray several important trends in metadiscourse acquisition. Although quantitatively there is no difference between Time 1 and Time 2, analysis of one student's speaking demonstrates a clear-cut qualitative change. This implies directions for future inquiry. Another important trend is discerned from the juxtaposition of RAL2 learners and NS data from Time 2 Role-Play, wherein RAL2 learners' use of metadiscourse becomes nativelike across several categories of metadiscourse. This finding confirms the hypothesis that a well-structured study-abroad program produces Advanced-level speakers, whose metadiscourse use becomes nativelike.

6.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The current study is of an exploratory nature; therefore, a number of limitations apply. First, a low number of participants undermines the possibility of statistically conclusive findings. Recruiting more informants could increase the power of the findings.

Second, studying metadiscourse in the context of the Speaking test might not be ideal for evaluation of proficiency. While RAL2 learners are motivated to demonstrate their best speaking abilities, anxiety could contribute to their flawed performance.

Third, the study has not addressed in full the qualitative aspect of NS or RAL2 metadiscourse. Further research could look in depth at the functions of markers and their possible change over time. Additionally, a number of metadiscourse features specific to the Russian metadiscourse should be described in detail.

Fourth, native speaker participants in the study are mostly women, which could contribute to bias in metadiscourse use. It has been previously established, that men and

women use language differently; exploring the possibility of gender as a variable that affects metadiscourse preferences should also be the goal of further research.

Fifth, coding has been done by one rater, and therefore may have less reliability.

6.4. PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Metadiscourse framework, either interactive or interactional, comprises a number of resources in language that enrich meaning. At the very early stages of L2 acquisition, learners become familiar with conjunctions, in Russian " i" (and), "a" (but, and), "no" (but), "potomu chto" (because), which are a part of Transitions. Only later do L2 learners acquire "vo-pervyh" (first) and "zatem" (then), which represent frame markers. These examples illustrate that as L2 learners progress from one level of proficiency to another, they increase their familiarity with such resources one by one, and rarely do they see them as a part of a larger framework of resources in the language, which assist language users in creating multiple shades of meaning.

In order to increase L2 learners' sensitivity to this plane of language, it is necessary to address metadiscourse explicitly in the course of instruction. Teachers should explicitly draw attention to markers that are salient to NS discourse (*voobsche* in general, emphasis, at all) and, more importantly, to markers that are multifunctional (*nu* 'well').

The higher the level of proficiency the more important metadiscourse becomes. As L2 learners construct larger texts, both written and oral, their need of such markers increases. Therefore, including metadiscourse as an instructional unit could help them in developing awareness and sophistication in both comprehension and production.

6.5. FURTHER RESEARCH

Due to the large number of metadiscourse markers, a more detailed look at a single category could provide better insight into the qualitative aspect of metadiscourse function.

Moreover, the setting of a semi-scripted role-play is not an ideal environment for determining the actual metadiscourse use in Russian. An analysis, therefore, of more naturalistic data could reveal a different set of preferences.

Future research should examine both spoken and written genres in Russian in order to paint a fuller picture of metadiscourse functioning. As Russian and English rhetorical traditions differ greatly, a comparative study of Russian and English oral and written discourse also merit attention.

The contribution of the learner's perspective on metadiscourse use constitutes another potential avenue for research. Further, it would be worthwhile to analyze the data for collocations of metadiscourse markers, as they often occur in groups.

Despite its limitations, the current study demonstrates that metadiscourse evaluation can be an important tool in exploring L2 (and L1) discourse, as well as a tool for measuring gains in proficiency.

Appendix A

Comparison of the Proficiency Scales of the American Council on the Teaching Foreign Languages and the US Interagency Language Roundtable

	ACTFL	ILR
Novice	Novice Low (NL)	0 (no proficiency)
	Novice Mid (NM)	
	Novice High (NH)	0+ Memorized Proficiency
Intermediate	Intermediate Low (IL)	1 (Elementary Proficiency)
	Intermediate Mid (IM)	
	Intermediate High (IH)	1+ (Elementary Proficiency, Plus
Advanced	Advanced Low (AL)	2 (Limited Working Proficiency)
	Advanced Mid (AM)	
	Advanced High (AH)	2+Limited Working Proficiency, Plus)
Superior (S)		3 (General Professional Proficiency)
3+	General Professional Proficiency, Plus	
Distinguished (D)		4 (Advanced Professional
4+	Advanced Professional Proficiency, Plus	Proficiency)
5 (Functional Native Proficiency)		

Appendix B

Comparison of Levels of the Russian State Testing System of General Proficiency of Russian as a Foreign Language (TORFL) with the ACTFL Levels (n.d.)

ACTFL	TORFL
Novice	Элементарный / Elementary
Intermediate	Базовый/Basic
Intermediate High	I уровень/ Level I
Advanced	II уровень /Level II
Advanced High	III уровень/ Level III
Superior	IV уровень/Level IV

Test of Russian as a Foreign Language Rater's Table (Balykhina, 2006)

Objects of Control/Evaluation Parameters	Scale	Totals
1. Ability to represent the situation	Contents 0 1 2 3 4 5	
2. Ability to express intention according to the task prompt (explain reasons)	Intention 0 1 2 3 4 5	

3. Adequacy of the form and structure of performance to the contents and intentions of the text that is being produced	Structure and Form 0 1 2 3 4 5	
4. Proximity of the performance to the contemporary norms of the Russian language	Language Means 0 1 2 3 4 5	

Appendix C

RAL2 data

Time 1 Role-Play

T: Zdravstvujte, vy menja vyzyvali?

T: Hello,   you me   called?

P: Da, zdravstvujte, ja vyzyvala aaam vas potomu chto:: nu kak vy znaete u   nas konferencija

P: Yes, hello,   I called   ehhh you because   well as you know with us conference

cherez dva dnja i::: ja podoshla   k::: odnomu cheloveku i   on mne   skazal, chto voobshhe

in   two days and I approached to one   person   and he to me said,   that generally

nichego ne gotovno i::: aaa   nu voobshhe nichego i   a programma konferencii,   i:: aa nu

nothing not ready   and ehhh well generally nothing and eh program (of) conference and ehh well

 vot jeto organizovanie kul'turn… kul'turnoj programmy, nichego ne gotovno i   prosto mne

here this organization   culture… cultural   program,   nothing not ready   and just   to me

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by   hotelos' vyjasnit', chto zdes' proizoshlo, potomu chto kak vy   tozhe znaete, nu jeto voobshhe

would wanted find out what here happened,   because   how you also know, well this generally

vasha dolzhnost' tak delat'.

your   occupation so do.

T: Nu   ja ne ponimaju   mmm v chem problema. Nu da,   da   programma konferencii.. vy,

T: Well I not understand mmm in what problem. Well yes, yes program   (of) conference… you

znaete ja ee podgotovila, no problema v tom, chto   a ja gotovila programmu eshhe tri mesjaca

know   I it prepared,   but problem in that which eh I prepared program   yet   three months

nazad, a   vot   mesjac nazad i   dazhe dve nedeli nazad eshhe prodolzhali prihodit' tezisy i   ja

ago,   but here month ago and even two weeks ago   yet   continued come   theses and I

dejstvitel'no ih   ne smogla vstavit', potomu chto my vypustili knizhku s programmoj

really   them not could   insert, because   we issued   booklet with program

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konferencii   m   poltora   mesjaca nazad, no vot   i   pojetomu kazhetsja, chto programma

(of) conference mm one and a half months ago,   but here and so   seems, that program

ne gotova, no ona na samom dele gotova, no ona nemnozhko ne takaja kakaja budet.

not ready, but   it   in very   deed ready, but it   a bit   not so   which   will be.

P: Nu:::   prosto vy mozhete aaam ne ponimaete situacii   voobshhe, potomu chto esli nu..nu

P: Well… just   you can   ehh   not understand situation generally, because   if well well

vo-pervyh, esli poltora   mesjaca nazad vy chto-to   poterjali ili kakuju-to knigu ili chto,

at first,   if one and a half months ago   you something lost   or some   book or what,

pochemu vy togda mne ne podoshli,   vo-pervyh, i   vo-vtoryh, aa nu   kak..   kak ja

why   you then me not approached, at first,   and second,   ehh well somehow how I

ponimaju situaciju voobshhe nichego est', potomu chto ja   ne vizhu nikakih aaa nu nikakih

understand situation generally nothing is,   because   I   not see   none   ehh well none

spiskov nu   nichego ne vizhu, jeto doma   u   vas ili gde.

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lists   well nothing not see,   this at home with you or where

T: Net-net-net, spisok uchastnikov   u   nas est', prosto my sejchas proverjaem tot

spisok, kotoryj

T: No-no-no,   list (of) partisipants with us is, just   we   now   check   that list,

which

byl mesjac nazad i   spisok poslednij, kak ja uzhe skazala, eshhe dve nedeli nazad

prihodili tezisy

was month ago   and list   last,   as I already said,   yet   two weeks ago came

theses

i   my jeti   tezisy tozhe vkl…jetih ljudej,   kotorye prislali jeti   tezisy, my tozhe

vkljuchili v

and we these theses also   inc.. these people, which   sent   these theses, we also

included   in

programmu konferencii.

program   (of) conference.

P: Nu jeto   zhe   nedelju nazad.

P: Well this as to week   ago.

T: Nu,   ja vam prinesu segodnja, my jeto delaem, jeto v komp'jutere est'.

T: Well, I you bring   today,   we this do,   this in computer   is.

P: Nu   jeto v komp'jutere est'.. A   vy   ne mozhete nu: poslat' ih   mne   po

jelektronnoj

P: Well this in computer   is…And you not can   well send them (to) me by electronic

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pochtu prjamo sejchas

mail   right   now.

T: Da-da,   kak tol'ko my zakonchim, nu,   ja ne dumaju, chto cherez chas zakonchim, nu

chasa

T: Yes-yes, as   soon we will finish, well, I not think,   that in   hour will finish,

well hours

cherez 4 zakonchim.

in   4 will finish

P: Nu, voobshhe ja konechno ne ochen' dovol'na s jetim, aa i mne kazhetsja, chto esli by

vy

P: Well, generally I surely not very satisfied with this, ehh and to me seems, that if

would you

znali dve nedeli nazad, chto eshhe budet   mnogo vremja…vremeni, chtoby

zakonchit' jeto

knew two weeks ago,   that more   will be a lot   (of) time ..time,   in order to finish

this

vse, nu   vse ravno aa vy dolzhny byli   mne skazat' ob   jetom. Nu:: sejchas nichego

delat',

all, well all equal ehh you should were to me say   about it.   Well, now   nothing

do

 nichego ne mogu delat' po jetomu povodu, tak chto davajte sdelaem tak. (teeth sucking)

nothing   not can   do   on this   matter, so that let's   do   so

Vy cherez skazhem: 4 ili 5 chasov nu poshlite mne vot   jeti   vse spiski i   tak dalee   iii

You in   (let's) say 4 or 5 hours well send   me   here these all lists and so further

aaand

T: Vas interesujut tol'ko spiski uchastnikov?

T: You interest   only lists   (of) particiapnts?

P: Net, vsjo, vsjo mne…nu   u   vas   nu kak u   vas net:: nu programmy voobshhe,

P: No, all,   all   to me well with you well how with you no…well program   generally

konferencii?

(of) conference?

T: Da, est'   programma, da un   my sejchas ee peredelyvaem.

T: Yes, (there) is program,   but well we now   it redo.

P: Tozhe peredelajte? vot   jeto vse…

P: Also redo?   Here this all…?

T: U nas problemy, konechno, s   kul'turnoj programmoj nu

T: With us problems surely,   with cultural   program   well

P: Nu,   kak kakie problemy?

P: Well, how which problems?

T: Nu   vy   znaete my zakazali bilety   v dva   teatra,   no bilety   byli zakazany, no

segodnja

T: Well you know   we booked tickets in two theaters, but tickets were booked,   but

today

utrom   ja pozvonila, oni skazali, chto u   nih   ne budet   spektaklja   v jetot den'

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morning I called, they said, that with them not will be performance in this day.

P: Ne budet?

P: Not will be?

T: A vo vtorom teatre u nas problemy s avtobusom. Delo v tom, chto teatr

T: And in second theater with us problems with bus. Thing in that, which theater

nahoditsja na okraine Peterburga, na Ohte, i iz gostinicy ih nado privezti na

is situated in outskirts (of) Peterburg, on Ohta, and from hotel them need (to) bring on

avtobuse, a vot k sozhaleniju, my sejchas ne mozhem najti avtobus, chtoby ih privezti.

bus, and here to regret, we now not can find bus, in order to them bring.

P: Oj, kakoj uzhas. Horosho. A ja sejchas, davajte sdelaem tak. Jeto konechno ne ochen' horoshij

P: Oh, which horror. Good. And I now, let's do so. This surely not very good

vyvod, no ja prosto ne mogu…u nas tol'ko dva dnja, tak chto aa nu davajte ustroim kakoj-to

exit, but I just not can….with us only two days, so that ehh well let's organize some

spektakl'   sami,   ja ne imeju v vidu kak spektakl',   no mozhet byt' kino ili chto-to

performance ourselves, I not have   in view as performance, but may   be   movie or something

spektaklja   aa kotoryj uzhe   byl   kogda-to i   nu   u   nas bol'shoj zal, i   jekran tam i

performance ehh which already was once   and well with us big   hall, and screen there and

aa potomu chto vot jeto spektakl'   nu est'   zapis' ja znaju, oni uzhe   sdelali kak-to

ehh because   here this performance well (there) is record I know, they already did somehow

dva goda nazad v Kaliningrade, tak chto davajte tak delaem, I   chto kasaetsja spiskov, poshlite

two years ago   in Kaliningrad, so   that let's   so do,   and what touches   lists, send

mne ih   i   chto eshhe est'   u   nas…(chitaet) rasselenie   uchastnikov. Da,   nu davajte

me them and what else (there) is with us…(reads)   housing   (of) participants. Yes , well let's

ja posmotrju jeto vse, vy poshlite to, chto   u   vas uzhe   est'. Aa ja konechno, ne ochen'

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I will look   this all,   you send   that, which with you already is. Ehh, I surely,   not very

 hochu jeto delat', no ja aa otlozhus' aaa tu rabotu, kotoraja kotoruju mne nado delat' i ja

want   this do,   but I ehh postpone ehh that work, which   which   to me need do,   and I

 budu zanimat'sja jetim…jetimi voprosami i   posle konferencija aa opjat' my s   vami pogovorim

will   occupy   this…..these questions   and after conference ehh again we with you will speak

i::   nu prosto vy ponimaete, chto jeto ne ochen' udobno   kak vy   postupili, tak chto nam

and well just you understand, that this not very convenient how you dealed,   so that to us

 nado peredumat' mne kazhetsja vashi obshhestvo…

need unthink   to me seems   your   company…

T: Horosho-horosho. V obshhem, vse,   chto gotovo, ja cherez chas vam   prishlju. Horosho?

T: Good-good.   In general, everything that ready,   I in   hour to you will send. Good?

P: Horosho.

P: Good.

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T: Ja mogu idti?

T: I can go?

P: Da

P: Yes.

T: Do   svidanija, spasibo.

T: Until date,   thanks.

Time 2 Role-Play

T: Tuk-tuk.   Zdravstvujte, vy menja vyzyvali?

T: Knock-knock. Hello,   you me   called?

P: Da   da-da-da.   Nu: vy znaete, ja tol'ko chto poluchila pis'mo iz rajonnoj sanitarnoj

P: Yes, yes yes yes. Well you know, I just   that received letter   from regional sanitary

inspekcii   iii   tam napisano, chto: u nas v magazine vse   ne v porjadke. Ja
znaju,

inspection aaand there written, that with us in shop   everything not in order.   I
know,

chto vy dolzhny: otvechat' v principe za   jeto.

that   you must   answer   in principle for this.

T: [da-da-da]

T: [yes yes yes]

P: tak chto ja hotela s   vami pogovorit'…

P: So that   I wanted with you talk…

T: mhm da

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T: mhm, yes.

P: A vy ne znaete, chto tam sluchilos'? Potomu chto zdes' napisano u   menja, chto

P: Eh you not know, what there happened? Because   here written   with me,   that

 v principe, morozil'nye kamery ne rabotajut, temperaturnye normy hra. .ne

sootvetstvujut

in principle, freezing   rooms not work,   thermal   norms […] not correspond

normam iii   tak dalee, mne   prosto interesno, nu   ne tol'ko interesno, nu ja by

norms   aaand so further, to me just   interesting, well not just   interesting, well I would

hotela uznat' i   prjamo sejchas, chto tam   sluchilos'. A   vy   ne mozhete ob"jasnit'

mne?

wanted know and directly now,   what there happened. And you not can   explain

me?

T: Da-da,   vse   pravil'no.

T: Yes-yes, everything correct.

P: Vse   pravil'no v kakom smysle?   Pozhalujsta

P: Everything correct   in which   meaning? Please

T: Nu vot   vse   ne rabotaet da..

T; Well here everything not works,   yes..

P: A pochemu?

P: And why?

T: normam   ne sootvetstvuet.

T: (to) norms not correspond

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P: [A pochemu?]

P: [And why?]

T: Nu   trudno skazat'

T: Well difficult (to) say.

P: A   vy ne   dumali sluchajno, chto mozhet byt' horosho mne ska skazat' ob jetom?

P: And you not thought accidentaly, that may   be   good   to me sa say about this?

To, chto   vse   ne rabotaet. Potomu chto ponimaete, chto jeto ne   jeto jeti   ja

That, which everything not works. Because   understand, that this not this those I

kotoryj (pauza) schitaetsja vinovatym v jetom, i:::   jeto   konechno ne tak, jeto vy, tak

chto

which (pause) is considered guilty   in this,   and… this surely   not so, (it) is you, so

that

 ja hochu uznat' tochno, chto (pauza) chto tam.

I   want learn   exactly, what (pause) what there

T: Nu:: vinovata..

T: Well guilty

T: I   pros... .i …i vse?   Vy   ne hotite skazat', chto …nu.. nu dazhe prosto ne

T: And jus..and …and everything? You not want   say,   that   well well even just   not

poluchilos', a   kogda jeto vse   sluchilos'?

turned out,   but when this everything happened?

T: Nu   tak poluchilos'

T: Well so happened.

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P: Nu ponjatno, i da tozhe u rabotnikov otsutstvujut sanitarnye knizhki, a chto vy

P: Well clearly, and yes also with workers lack sanitary books, and what you

 mozhete skazat' po jetomu povodu?

can say on this cause

T: [Da, k sozhaleniju, ih net.

T: [Yes, to regret, them no.

P: A vsegda ne bylo ih?

P: And always not was them?

T: Da, ja ne sledila za jetim.

T: Yes, I not followed after this

P: A pochemu?

P: And why?

T: Ne znaju.

T: Not know

P: A vy:: razve ne hotite zdes' rabotat'? Potomu chto mne kazhetsja, sejchas vy ponimaete,

P And you perhaps not want here work? Because to me seems, now you understand

chto prosto kak …ja dazhe ne..ne ne slyshu nikakih opravdanij voob..voobshhe, ja hochu

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that   simply how….I even   not not not hear   any   excuses   at… at all,   I   want

 znat' nu   dazhe hotite li vy zdes' rabotat'

know well even want   if you here work

T: Da

T: Yes

P: Vy hotite?!

P: You want?!

T: Da

T: Yes.

P: Nu:: a   vy ne   mozhete skazat', chto budet   v budushhee? Potomu chto jeti

problemy

P: Well and you not can   say,   what will be in future?   Because   these

problems

sushhestvujut..tozhe u   menja takaja problema, chto:: kak ja skazala ja v principe

exist   also   with me   such problem,   that how I   said   I in principle

schitaetsja   chto ja vinovata v jetom ,hotja   konechno ne vinovata i:: hotja

dazhe

is considered   that I guilty   in this   although surely   not guilty   and although even

est'   shtraf dazhe hotjat vychtat' iz   moej zarplaty dazhe nu dazhe odnoj

(there) is fine   even want extract from my   salary   even well even one

zarabOtnoj zarplaty ne budet

salary   not will be

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T: [Da

T: [Yes

P: Tak chto Nichego skazat' (smeetsja) po jetomu povodu u vas?

P: So   what nothing   say   (laughs)   on this   cause   with you?

T: Ja vinovata. Ja vinovata, vinovata, vinovata, ja postarajus' vse   ispravit'.

T: I   guilty.   I guilty,   guilty,   guilty,   I will try   everything set right

P: [Nu horosho

P: [Well good

Nu fff   konechno, vy ponimaete,   chto takaja situacija sovsem plohaja, i   ochen'

ploho,

Well […] surely,   you understand, that such   situation entirely bad,   and very   bad.

 chto tak i   poluchilos' voobshhe. No ja hochu

that so   and turned out   generally. But I want

T: [Da Prostite menja.

T: [Yes, excuse me

P: Nu   posmotrim. Ja hochu skazat', chto:: esli vy ..nu pral'na   vedete sebja

P: Well will see.   I want   (to)say, that   if you well correctly behave yourself

v budushhem ja ja budu ochen' vnimatel'no smotret' na jeto I   no vot jetot shtraf vy

budete

in future   I   I will very   attentively   look   on this and but here this fine   you

will

platit', ne ja, potomu chto vinovaty, pojetomu konechno i   aa posmotrim, vot jetot

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pay,   not I, because   guilty,   so   surely   and ehh will see,   here this

 sledujushhij dva-tri   mesjaca posmotrim kak vy rabotaete i   esli vy mozhete

spravit'sja

next   two three months will see   how you work   and if you can   cope

s   jetim s   jetoj rabotoj, to   mozhet byt' vy mozhete zdes' rabotat', esli net, to

with this   with this work,   then may   be   you can   here work,   if   not, then

k sozhaleniju a…

to regret eh

T: Horosho, ja ponjala.

T: Good, I understood

P: Da, horosho. Spasibo.

P: Yes, good. thanks

Time 1 Narrative

P: Nu   ja sejchas pogovorju pro   fobii   i   kak oni   voznikajut u   cheloveka, chto

P: Well I   now   will speak about phobias and how they appear   with person,   that

mozhno delat' ob   jetom i   kak ja lichno   otnoshus' k jetomu temu i   nu

moral'no

possible do   about it   and how I personally refer   to this   topic and well

morally

otnoshus' k jetomu temu. I   vo pervyh fobii   voznikajut iz   situacii aa kotorye

chelovek

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refer   to this   topic. And at first   phobias appear   from   situation ehh which

person

prozhil   i   kak   nu   jeto tozhe zavisit   ot   togo, kak on   sam   po harakteru

otnositsja

experienced and how well this also   depends from that   how he himself by character

refers

k jetim situacijam. I   aa   nu   takzhe vot jeti   fobii   aaa nu   oni normal'nye

voobshhe

to these situations. And ehh well also   here these phobias ehh well they normal

generally

esli est'   takie sitauacii, kotoryh…kotorye chelovek dolzhen byt' boit'sja aaa

kotoryh

if   (there) is such situations which   which   person   must   be   scared ehhh which

chelovek dolzhen byt' boitsja nu   naprimer   jeto normal'no, esli chelovek boitsja

vysota,

person   should   be scared well for example (it) is normally   if   person   scared

height

potomu chto jeto opasno,   i   jeto   estestvenno chto on tak i   boitsja, i   aa   no

tak

because   (it) is dangerous and (it) is naturally   that he   so and scared, and ehh but

so

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chto fobii   tozhe mogut a voznikajut ot   takih situacijam i   naprimer   v fil'me
pokazan

that phobias also may   eh appear   from such situations   and for example in movie
shown

nam aa   pokazannom nam tam byl   mal'chik i   on bojalsja aa sprygat' s   platformy,
ochen'

us   ehh shown   us   there was boy   and he   scared   ehh jump   from platform,
very

vysokoj platform, i   on byl ochen' molodoj i   voobshhe on horosho nu   normal'no
postupil

high   platform and he was very   young   and generally he all right well normally
behaved

potomu chto esli by   on ne   byl boit'sja vot   jetogo bylo by   stranno aa   zato
because   if   would he not was scared here this   was would be strange ehh in return

drugie ljudi   ne ochen' horosho regerirovali na jeto i   ne   dali emu vozmozhnost'
prosto

other people not very good   reacted   on this and not gave him possibility   just

spravitsja s   sit..ssituaciej aa i   voobshhe est'   nu vot takie situacii   mogut
dat'

cope   with sit..situation ehh and generally (there) is well here such situations may
give

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cheloveku fobii, potomu chto pervyj raz jeto   prosto to, chto   on…ispugal ..ispugalsja i

v

person   phobias because   first   time (it) is just that, which   he   scared …scared

and in

sledujushhij raz jeto mozhet byt' to, chto   on voobshhe vspominaet o   tom, kak

jeto bylo

next   time this may   be   that which he   at all   remembers about that, how it

was

ran'she i   ne mozhet sejchas spravitsja…popravit'sja situaciej i   chto mozhno delat' ob

before and not can   now   cope….   recover   situation and that possible do

about

jetom…nu voobshhe, chto mozhno delat', mozhno dat' cheloveku vozmozhnost'

spokojno

it   well at all   that possible do,   possible give person   possibility   calmly

aa   byt' v takih situacijah no tozhe chuvstvovat' sebja   v bezopasnosti a to   est' nado

delat'

ehh be in such situations but also   feel   himself in safety   eh that is need do

situacii   bolee postupnyj i   aa   kak po-tihon'ku dat' cheloveku vozmozhnost'

prinimat'

situations more available and ehh how slowly   give person   possibility   take

situaciju v   normal'nom kontekste, no na samom dele ja schitaju, chto ne nado kak lEchit'

situation in normal   context   but indeed   I think   that not need how cure

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cheloveka, u   kotoryh..u   kotorogo est'   aa fobii,   esli vot jeti   fobii   ne meshajut

person,   with which   with which   (there) is ehh phobias, if   here these phobias not obstruct

emu v zhizni, samoe vazhnoe, jeto   chtoby   on mog zhit' normal'no i   esli jeto tak, to jeto

him in life,   most   important, (it) is in order to he could live normally and if this so, then this

prosto zavisit ot   haraktera, zavisit   ot   togo, chto chelovek sam   hochet i   esli on mozhet

just   depends from character, depends from that, which person   himself wants and if he can

spokojno   zhit' tak, to   jeto   ne tak vazhno,   no to, chto   vazhno,   jeto to, chto esli

peacefully live so,   then (it) is not so important, but that, which important, is that, which if

chelovek aa okazyvaetsja v situacii,   gde   emu nado aa aa kak-to   ili on dolzhen postupit'

person   ehh turns out   in situation, where him need ehh ehh somehow or he must act

aa ili delat' chto-to   i   on ne mozhet iz-za   togo, chto u   nego est'   kakaja-to fobija,

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ehh or do something and he not can   because that which with him (there) is some phobia

to   jeto uzhe   ploho i   chelovek dolzhen ponimat',   chto hotja   mozhet byt' on boitsja

then this already bad   and person   should   understand, that although may   be   he scared

chego-to, vse-taki nado delat' to, chto   emu nado delat' v situacii.   Naprimer,   esli zdanie

something still   need do   that which him need do   in situation. For example, if building

gorit i   on tam   na chetvertom jetazhe ili chto-to,   no i   on boitsja vysota, vse-taki nado

burns and he there on fourth   floor   or something, but and he scared height, still need

sprygat' i   nado prosto otlozhit' jeto vse i   ne dumat' ob   jetom, tak chto aaa vot fobii

jump   and need just   delay   this all and not think about it ,   so that   ehh here phobias

normal'nye, no nado popravitsja s   nimi tol'ko v takih situacijah, gde   bez   jetogo nel'zja

normal   but need cope   with them just   in such situations where without it impossible

vyzhit'.

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survive.

Time 2 Narrative

Horosho, nu my… est',   konechno, takaja problema, chto ochen' chasto kogda est'
Ok,   well we…(there) is, surely,   such problem,   that very   often when (there) is

mama i   rebenok i po kakim-to prichinam mama vyhodit zamuzh eshhe raz, to   ochen'
mum and child   and by some   reasons   mum gets   married once again, then very

slozhno poluchaetsja sozdat' otnoshenija mezhdu rebenkom i   ego novym papoj, v
principe.
difficult happens   create relationship between child   and his new   dad, in
principle.

I   nu   konechno esli ljudi zhdut   do togo, kak uzhe… uzhe.. nu   vse   uzhe,
And well surely   if people wait until then, how already… how, well everything already

nachinaetsja uzhe   pozdno mne   kazhetsja, i konechno luchshe chtoby   vot jetot
novyj
starts,   already late   to me seems, and surely   better   in order to here this new

papa uzhe   postaralsja uznat' novogo rebenka do   jetogo i   v fil'me my smotreli
dad   already tried   know new   child   before this   and in movie we watched

konechno vidno, chto otnoshenija nu   ne   ochen' horoshie aaa potomu chto novyj papa
surely   seen, that relationship well not very   good   ehhh because   new   dad

mne   kazhetsja prosto on dazhe ne hotel   poznakomit'sja aa s   rebenkom i mama
to me seems   just   he even not wanted get acquainted ehh with child   and mum

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k sozhaleniju… nu ja ne znaju situaciju polnost'ju, no mne kazhetsja, chto jeto vsegda

unfortunately …well, I not know situation completely but to me seems, that (it) is always

slozhno, kogda: mama hochet byt' s papoj i: .. sohranit' ih otnoshenija v principe i:

difficult, when mum wants be with dad and…save their relationship in principle and:

tam est' tak…rebenok..i vot jetot rebenok, kot… on ochen' hotel poznakomit'sja with

there is so …child and here this child, whi.. he very wanted get acquainted s

papoj i on postaralsja dazhe on videl vot est' takie novye otnoshenija i ponjatno,

dad and he tried even he saw here is such new relationship and clearly,

chto nikto ne ob"jasnil emu, chto za otnoshenija, i: kak mozhno pravil'no aa

that nobody not explained him, what kind relationship and how possible correctly ehh

voobshhe vedet sebja… vesti sebja v jetoj situacii i papa prosto kogda

generally behaves himself…behave himself in this situation and dad just when

rebenok hotel prisoedinit'sja k nim, to papa voobshhe prosto tolknul ego obratno i

child wanted join to them, so dad at all simply pushed him back and

potom mama zastavila ego guljat', nu ona dazhe zakryla dver' na zam..dver' na zamok

then mum made him walk, well she even closed door on loc..door on lock

voobshhe i aa vidno, chto ona hotela v principe, chtoby: papa ne razdrazhalsja,

at all and ehh seen, that she wanted in principle in order to dad not lost temper,

chtoby emu bylo horosho, potomu chto ona ne hotela ja ne znaju, terjat' ego mozhet

in order to him was all right, because she not wanted I not know, lose him may

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byt', no mne kazhetsja, chto na samom dele nado ochen' ostorozhno otnositsja a k jetomu

be, but to me seems,   that   indeed   need very   carefully   treat   eh to this

i   k jetoj situacii,   potomu chto esli my: ne dumaem, chto takoj brak   v principe   jeto

and to this situation, because   if we not think,   that this marriage in principle that

ne esli uzhe   est'   rebenok, to   jeto brak   ne tol'ko s   zhenoj, no tozhe brak

not if   already (there) is child,   then this marriage not only with wife,   but also marriage

s   rebenkom v kakom-to smysle, i   navernoe esli papa mozhet, to   luchshe ne tol'ko

with child   in some   meaning, and probably if   papa can,   then better   not only

poznakomit'sja zaranee,   nu   do togo kak reshenie uzhe   prinjato vyjti..nu zhenit'sja

get acquainted in advance, well before   how decision already taken   get… well get
married

na kogo-to   ili chto, no uzhe   kak-to   guljat' s   rebenkom i: dazhe, chtoby   oni

on someone or that but already somehow walk   with child   and even in order to they

byli odni   v jetom smysle, dazhe bez   materi i   prosto chtoby   poznakomitsja

were alone in this   meaning, even without mother and just   in order to get acquainted

poluchshe a vidno, chto v jetoj situacii tak ne postupili i: pojetomu mne kazhetsja

better   eh seen that in this situation so not acted   and so   to me seems

poluchilos' ne ochen' horosho, no v principe   luchshe (smeetsja) luchshe zaranee   kak-to

turn out   not very   good,   but in principle better   (laughs) better in advance somehow

reshat' jeto vse.

decide this all.

Native Speakers Data

Native Speaker Role-Play Participant 2

P:: Evgenija Ivanovna, zdravstvujte

P: Evgenija Ivanovna, hello

T: Zdravstavujte, vy vyzyvali menja Elena….

T: Hello,   you called   me   Elena

P: Prohodite, prisazhivajtes', Elena Igorevna

P: Pass,   sit down,   Elena Igorevna

T: Elena Igorevna

T: Elena Igorevna

P: Pozhalujsta

P: Please

T: spasibo

T: Thanks

P: vvedite menja v kurs   dela,   kak u   nas obstojat dela   po   konferencii?

P: Induct   me   in course (of) case, how with us   stand   things about conference?

T: aa   po   konferencii…nu   vy   znaete, u   nas est'   nekotorye problemy, v principe

T: eeh about conference… well you know, with us   (there) is   certain   problems, in principle

vse   gotovo, no nuzhny   nekotorye korrektirovki

everything ready, but necessary certain   corrections

P: A   mozhno mne   pozhalujsta po spisku, chto gotovo, chto eshhe nuzhno   sdelat',

P: And possible (to) me please   by list,   what ready, what more necessary do

 chtoby   ja imela predstavlenie o   tom, na kakoj stadii my nahodimsja

in order to I   had   idea   about that, on what stage we stand

T: jejeje znachit delo v   tom, chto   uchastniki   aa   konferencii prisylali zajavki   do

T:jejeje means thing in that, which participants ehh conference sent   applications until

poslednego momenta

last   moment

P: mhmh

P: mhmh

T : i   pojetomu na segodnjashij den' programma ne sovsem sootvetstvuet aaa   real'noj

T: and so   on today's   day program   not exactly corresponds   ehhh real

 programme…

program

P: To   est' u   nas raspechatannaja programma ne sootvetstvuet real'noj programme?

P: That is   with us   printed   program   not corresponds real   program?

T: Da,

T: Yes

P: Tak!

P: So!

T: potomu chto my raspechatali programmu nedelju nazad…aaa

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T: because   we printed   program   week   ago …ehhh

P: Mhm, naskol'ko izmenenija sushhestvennye?

P: Mhm, how   changes   significant?

T: dobavilos' kolichestvo uchastnikov,   i   kto-to   ne prinimaet uchastie v konferencii

T: added   quantity   (of) participants, and someone not takes   part   in conference

kak planirovalos'.

as   planned.

P: Skol'ko   u   vas jekzempljarov programmy?

P: How many with you copies   (of) program?

T: 200

T: 200.

P: 200? Tak… ja dumaju, chto vam nuzhno   budet   srochno v srochnom porjadke najti

studentov

P: 200? So…   I think,   that you necessary will be proptly in urgent   order   find

students

nu   porjadka tridcat' chelovek, sest' i   za   chas v ruchnuju vse   ispravit', vse

well order   thirty people,   sit and for hour by hand   everything correct, all

 programmy, potomu chto u   nas teper' net drugogo varianta, my ne   mozhem predostavit'

programs,   because   with us now no other   option, we not can   introduce

programmu, kotoraja ne sootvetstvuet dejstvitel'nosti, potomu chto jeto zaputaet vseh

program,   which   not corresponds reality,   because   this confuse   all

uchastnikov i   sorvet nam   konferenciju…

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participants and disrupt (to) us conference…

T: 30 chelovek…gde   zhe ja ih   najdu

T: 30 people……where just I them find

P: U   nas zanjatija eshhe idut v universitete. Pogovorite pozhalujsta s   Rimmoj

Valer'evnoj.

P: With us   lectures   still   go   in university.   Speak   please   with Rimma

Valer'evna

T: Horosho.

T: Good.

P: Snimite studentov s   zanjatija na chas. Nam nuzhno   jeto sdelat'.

P: Dismiss students   from lecture   for hour. To us necessary this do

T: Horosho

T: Good.

P: Mh, tak dal'she

P: Mh, so further.

T: Aa, delo v tom, chto gostini…tochnee   studencheskoe obshhezhitie, kuda my

T: Ehh, thing in that, which hotels,   more precise students'   dormitory,   where we

 planirovali poselit' aaa   nashih uchastnikov, otkazalo nam chastichno v mestah   i

pojetomu…

planned   lodge ehhh our   participants, refused us   partially in places and so…

osobenno potomu chto uchastnikov sejchas bol'she, chem planirovalos' iznachal'no, aaa

u   nas

especially because   participants now   more,   than planned   initially   ehhh

with us

men'she mest   chem uchastnikov

fewer   places than   participants.

P: Tak, vashi predlozhenija…chto vy   s   jetim delat'?

P: So,   your suggestions…   what you with this   do?

T: Nu   libo   my mozhem aaa   ispol'zovat' nashi den'gi, kotorye dolzhny byli pojti na

kul'turnuju

T: Well either we can   ehhh use   our   money, which must   were go   on

cultural

programmu na to,   chtoby   snjat' kommercheskuju gostinicu aaa   a   takzhe my

mozhem

program   on that, in order to rent commercial   hotel   ehhh and also   we   can

 poselit' uchastnikov po dva cheloveka v nomer

lodge   participants by two persons   in room.

P: hm, nu   ja dumaju, chto dva cheloveka v odnomestnyj nomer s   odnoj krovat'ju jeto

P: hm, well I think,   that two persons in one-place   room with one bed   this

 ne variant. Kul'turnaja programma…chto u   nas bylo zaplanirovano na kul'turnuju

programmu?

not option. Cultural   program…   what with us was   planned   on cultural

program?

T: U   nas byl zaplanirovan…

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T: With us   was planned…

P: po kul'turnoj programme?

P: on cultural   program?

T: teatr,   no   delo v tom, chto   teatr ……teatr,   v kotorom my planirovali pojti iznachal'no

T: theater, but thing in that, which theater…theater, in which   we planned   go   initially perenes spektakl',   a   drugoj teatr nahoditsja na okraine goroda i…nam   nuzhno…

moved performance, and other theater is   on suburbs (of) city and (to) us necessary…

nuzhen   dopolnitel'nyj transport, chtoby   chtoby   dobrat'sja tuda..

necessary additional   transport in order to in order to get   there…

P: To   est' u   nas vse ravno   kul'turnoj programmy net, ja tak ponimaju

P: That is   with us all the same cultural   program   no, I so   understand.

T:…my mozhem organizovat' avtobus v drugoj   teatr…

T:…we can   organize   bus   in another theater…

P: My mozhem ogranizovat' ili my uzhe   organizovali?

P: We can   organize   or we already organized?

T: net, my ne organizovali, no ja mogu svjazat'sja s   nimi i …

T: no, we not organized, but I can   connect   with them and…

P: mhm, tak, kakie   mozhet byt' u   vas est' al'ternativnye predlozhenija po kul'turnoj programme?

P: mhm, so, which may   be with you is alternative   suggestions on cultural program?

Vy rassmatrivali kakie-nibud' drugie vidy teatra   jeto ne edinstvennyj variant?

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You considered some   other   kinds (of) theater this not only   option?

T: Nu   u   nas v universitete est'   teatral'naja studija, my mozhem obratit'sja k nim

za

T: Well with us in university (there) is theatrical   studio, we can   apply   to them

for

pomoshh'ju, chtoby   oni razvlekli nashih gostej

help,   in order to they entertain our   guests

P: Za dva dnja postavit' o…ili dazhe otrepetirovat' postanovku, kotoraja byla v rabote

P: For two days set   or even   rehearse   performance, which   was in work

predstavljaetsja malo verojatnym

appears   less   possible

T: Da, ja s   vami soglasna. Mozhet byt' my mozhem otpravit' uchastnikov v kino?

T: Yes, I with you agree.   May   be we can   send   participants in cinema?

P: V kino?

P: In cinema?

T: Sejchas idet prekrasnyj fil'm   «Anna Karenina»

T: Now   goes wonderful movie "Anna Karenina"

P: «Anna Karenina»

P: "Anna Karenina"

T: Mhm

T: Mhm

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P: Kak naschet togo, chtoby nu jeto opjat' ne ulozhit'sja v nash bjudzhet prosto organizovat'

P: How about that, in order to well this again not settle in our budget just organize

banket ili banket nash uzhe zaplanirovan?

banquet or banquet our already planned?

T: Net, banketa u nas net, da, banket budet slishkom dorogo… ja bojus'

T: No, banquet with us no, yes, banquet will be too expensive, I fear

P: A kakie muzei v gorode?

P: And what museums in city?

T: est' istoricheskij muzej, est' aa muzej iskussta, i takzhe kraevedcheskij muzej

T:(there) is historical museim, (there) is ehh museum (of) art, and also regional museum

P: mhm, ja dumaju, chto u nas ne ostaetsja nikakogo drugogo varianta, kak aa potratit' den'gi,

P: mhm, I think, that with us not stayes no other option, as ehh spend money

kotorye byli …chast' deneg, kotorye byli rasschitany na kul'turnuju programmu, na rasselenie

which were… part (of) money, which were count on cultural program, on lodging

 ljudej v bolee dorogih gostinicah i .. v kachestve kul'turnoj programmy predlozhit'

(of) people in more expensive hotels   and.. in quality (of) cultural program   suggest

prosto vizit v muzej..   ja dumaju, my smozhem osilit'…bilety v muzej   ne nastol'ko

dorogie ..

just   visit in museum..I think,   we can   master...tickets in museum not so

expensive..

T: mhmh

T: mhmh

P: kak vy schitaete

P: how you consider

T: da, bilet osobenno v kraevedcheskij muzej   stoit …imeet dostatochno priemlimuju

cenu.

T: yes, ticket especially to regional   museum costs… has   enough   reasonable

price.

P: Tak, a   kto zanimaetsja jetim voprosom? Rasseleniem i   kul'turnoj programmoj?

P: So, and who deals   this   question? Lodgind   and cultural   program?

T: Ja

T: I

P: Konkretno   denezhnoj storonoj jetogo   voprosa   tozhe vy da?

P: Specifically financial   side   (of) this question also   you yes?

T: tozhe ja

T: Also I

P: Mhm, ja dumaju, chto ja poproshu Valerija Gennadievicha zanjat'sja jetim, potomu chto sejchas

P: Mhm, I think,   that I will ask   Valerij Gennadievich deal   this,   because now

nam nuzhno   v ochen' srochnom porjadke reshit' vse jeti   voprosy   i ja ne dumaju, chto

to us necessary in very   urgent   order   decide all these questions and I not think, that

vy   odna spravites' s   jetim, tak chto ja jetu…jeto zadanie…jeto konkretno zadanie

you alone manage with this, so that   I this… this task…   this certain   task

pereporuchu emu..

relegate   (to) him…

T: A   mozhet byt' vy …mogli by pozvonit' v gostinicu… ne v gostinicu, a   v obshhezhitie

T: And may   be you…could   call   in hotel…   not in hotel,   but in dormitory

i   pogovorit' s   komendantom,   potomu chto mne   kazhetsja u   menja ne

and talk   with building superintendant, because   (to) me seems with me   not

hvataem   aa   avtoriteta tak skazat' chtoby…

(is) sufficient ehh authority so   say   in order to…

P: Ja dumaju, chto Valerij Gennad'evich   s   jetim spravit'sja, ja emu   ob   jetom

soobshhu.

P: I think,   that Valerij Gennadievich with this   manage,   I (to) him about this   inform

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ak, znachit, chto …davajte ja zapishu, ne hvataet   mest   dlja dlja razme ne hvataet mest

So,   means   that…   let's   I   write,   not sufficient places for for   lodg   not sufficient places

v gostinice, vrjad li   kakie obshhezhitija i   aa s#em bolee dorogih   nomerov, tak ja ponimaju

in hotel,   unlikely some dormitories   and ehh […] more expencive rooms,   so   I understand.

T: da, da ….da

T: yes, yes…yes

P: Horosho, ja emu   vse   peredam. Posle togo, kak my s   vami pogovorim, poprosite

P: Good,   I (to) him everything give.   After that, as   we with you speak,   ask

pozhalujsta ego ko mne zajti.

please   him to me   enter.

T: objazatel'no.

T: certainly.

P: Chto eshhe?

P: What else?

T: jeto vse

T: This all.

L: Horosho. Tak aaa kakie u   nas …u   nas ostalis' eshhe kakie-to voprosy nereshennye?

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P: Good.   So ehhh which with us …with us left   other some   questions unsettled?

T: net, jeto vse, edinstvennoe, chto aa   uchastniki   prodolzhajut prisylat' svoi zajavki   i

….

T: not, this all,   only,   that ehh participants continue   send   their application

and…

P: jetogo ne mo…my bol'she ne prinimaem zajavki,   u   nas   konkretno bylo

propisano na

P: this   not […] we more   not accept   applications, with us specifically were perscribed

on

stranice nashej v internete do   kakogo chisla zajavki   prinimajutsja, posle jetogo chisla

page   our   in internet until what   date applications are accepted,   after this   date

nikakih zajavok   k sozhaleniju prinjat' ne mozhem, pozhalujsta v ochen' vezhlivom

porjadke

no   applications to regret   accept not can,   please   in very   polite   order

napishite otvet   vsem   jetim uchastnikam…otvety   jetim   uchastnikam chto k

sozhaleniju

write   answer (to) all these participants… answers (to) these participants   that to regret

 nikak…v sledujushhij raz. Tol'ko ochen'-ochen' vezhlivo, potomu chto my konechno

noway…in next   time. Only   very-very   polite,   because   we surely

zainteresovany v tom, chtoby oni k nam priehali v sledujushhij raz

interested   in that so   they to us   came   in next   time.

T: bezuslovno. Da.

T: certainly.   Yes.

P: aaa, horosho, aaa   pozhalujsta postarajtes' sfokusirovat' vashe vnimanie na ostavshihsja

P: ehh, good,   ehhh please   try   focus   you   attention on remaining

voprosah, kotorye aaa   v vashem rasporjazhenii pod   vashim vnimaniem ostalis' i pozovite

questions, which   ehhh in your   disposition   under your   attention   remain and call

ko mne Valerija Gennad'evicha. Vse vy svobodny.

To me Valerij Gennadievich.   All, you free.

T: Horosho. Mogu idti?

T: Good.   Can   go?

P: da, do   svidanija.

P: yes, until date.

T: spasibo.

T: Thanks.

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