

**METAPRAGMATICS OF (IM)POLITENESS IN TURKISH: AN  
EXPLORATORY EMIC INVESTIGATION**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY**

**BY**

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**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN  
ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION**

**AUGUST 2008**

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## ABSTRACT

### METAPRAGMATICS OF (IM)POLITENESS IN TURKISH: AN EXPLORATORY EMIC INVESTIGATION

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PhD., Program in English Language Teaching

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August, 2008, 362 pages

The research at hand maintains an emic approach to understanding (im)politeness<sup>1</sup> (i.e. in its folk sense) within the meaning making processes involved in Turkish. With the intention of reaching an ethnopragmatic theoretical account of (im)politeness, this study investigates tacit knowledge native speakers of Turkish have on (im)politeness and their related perceptions and evaluations. The thesis explores the cultural-conceptual system of (im)politeness in Turkish utilizing three sources: (a) data from an open-ended metapragmatic conceptualization questionnaire probing Turkish native speakers' politeness encounter narratives through seven key metapragmatic politeness terms (i.e. KİBAR, İNCE, NAZİK, DÜŞÜNCELİ, SAYGILI, GÖRGÜLÜ, TERBİYELİ) and eight key impoliteness terms (i.e. KABA, NEZAKETSİZ, DÜŞÜNCESİZ, SAYGISIZ, GÖRGÜSÜZ, TERBİYESİZ, PATAVATSIZ, KÜSTAĞ), and (b) corpus analyses for the lexical items KİBAR and KABA, (c) (im)politeness encounter narrative interviews with native speakers of Turkish. This research study has been designed mainly as an exploration of what Turkish people consider to be (im)polite, how they express they become (im)polite, and how (linguistic) (im)politeness is interpreted by others in everyday

communication, as well as how Turkish native speakers evaluate (im)politeness through the key (im)politeness lexemes available in the language, what their ‘bases of evaluation’ are and what views they hold concerning motivations underlying the want to be (im)polite in Turkish. The qualitative thematic analysis conducted on the questionnaire data yielded six bases of evaluation for (the total of 1211) politeness narratives, and eight bases of evaluation for (the 1306) impoliteness narratives. It was revealed that the bases of evaluation for a polite act in Turkish were primarily ‘attentiveness to other’s emotions, needs and goals’ and abidance by ‘custom’, whereas they were ‘(quality) face-attack’ and ‘(equity) rights violations’ for impoliteness. The corpus analysis and interview data also corroborated these findings. The quantitative cross-mapping of (im)politeness lexemes to (im)politeness themes suggested biases of lexemes for certain themes and themes for lexemes. The motivational and strategic uses of (im)politeness were related more to egocentric tendencies with politeness being motivated predominantly for self-promotion and image management, and goal attainment, and impoliteness motivated mainly by the desire to establish power and project power on to other, to perform an emotive reaction, to hurt other and to reciprocate others’ impolite acts to self. The relationship between (im)politeness and the concepts of sincerity, intentionality, historicity, reciprocity and public versus private domain influences are worth pursuing further research on for the Turkish culture. All in all, this study provides Turkish baseline data for later cross-cultural (im)politeness research and suggests that (im)politeness1 (lay) conceptualizations can aid the (scientific) theorizing of (im)politeness2 to a great degree.

**Keywords:** (Im)politeness, Bases of (im)politeness evaluations, Metapragmatic (im)politeness, (Im)politeness theories, (Im)politeness conceptualizations, Turkish, Emic.

## ÖZ

### TÜRKÇE'DE META-EDİMBİLİMSEL KİBARLIK/KABALIK OLGULARI: KÜLTÜRE BAĞIMLI BİR İNCELEME

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Ağustos, 2008, 362 sayfa

Bu araştırma kibarlık/kabalık1 olgularının kültüre bağımlı (Eng. emic) bir bakış açısı ile Türkçe'deki anlam oluşturma süreçleri içerisinde ele alınmasını amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, Türkçe'deki kibarlık/kabalığa teorik bir açıklama getirme amacı ile anadili Türkçe kişilerin örtülü kibarlık/kabalık bilgilerini, algılarını ve değerlendirmelerini araştırmıştır. Bu tez Türkçe'deki kibarlık/kabalık ile ilgili kültürel-kavram sistemini şu üç yöntemi kullanarak incelemiştir: (a) dildeki yedi kibarlık (KİBAR, İNCE, NAZİK, DÜŞÜNCELİ, SAYGILI, GÖRGÜLÜ, TERBİYELİ) ve sekiz kabalık (KABA, NEZAKETSİZ, DÜŞÜNCESİZ, SAYGISIZ, GÖRGÜSÜZ, TERBİYESİZ, PATAVATSIZ, KÜSTAH) belirten sözcüğü kullanarak anadili Türkçe kişilerin kibarlık/kabalık karşılaşmaları anlatımlarını soruşturan bir açık-uçlu meta-edimbilimsel kibarlık/kabalık kavramlaştırması anketi verileri, (b) KİBAR ve KABA sözcüklerinin derlem analizi, (c) anadili Türkçe kişiler ile sözlü kişisel kibarlık/kabalık yaşantı anlatı görüşmeleri. Bu çalışma öncelikle Türkçe konuşucuların neleri kibar/kaba bulduklarını, kibarlığı/kabalığı ne şekilde ifade ettiklerini, ve günlük iletişimde ne şekilde yorumladıklarını, ayrıca, anadili Türkçe kişilerin kibarlığı/kabalığı dildeki

kibarlık/kabalık belirten sözcükler ile ne şekilde değerlendirdiklerini ve değerlendirme temellerinin ne olduğunu, ve kibarlığı/kabalığı kullanma motivasyonlarının neler olduğuna dair fikirlerini araştırmak için tasarlanmıştır. Anket verileri üzerine (1211 kibarlık anlatısı ve 1306 kabalık anlatısı) niteliksel tema-analizi uygulanarak kibarlık için altı ve kabalık için başlıca sekiz değerlendirme temeli ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Türkçe’de kibarlık eylemlerinin öncelikle ‘karşıdakinin duygu, ihtiyaç ve amaçlarına dikkatlilik’ ve ‘toplumsal kalıplara itaat’ temelinde değerlendirildiği, kabalık eylemlerinin ise ‘özellik yüzü saldırıları’ ve ‘eşitlik hakları ihlalleri’ ‘temelinde değerlendirildiği bulgulanmıştır. Derlem analizi ve sözlü görüşme verilerinin de bu bulguları teyit ettiği görülmüştür. İncelik/kabalık temaları ile sözcüklerinin niceliksel karşı-eşleştirmesi bazı sözcüklerin temalara bazı temaların ise sözcüklere farklı boyutlarda eğilimleri olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. İnceliğin/kabalığın motivasyon tabanlı ve stratejik kullanımlarının daha çok ben-merkezci temelleri olduğu, ve kibarlığın ağırlıklı olarak kendini-destekleme/yükseltme, imaj yönetimi ve amaç erişimi için, kabalığın ise daha çok güç kurmak/pekiştirmek, karşıdakine güç gösterimi, duygusal tepki vermek, karşısındakini kırmak ve diğerlerinin yaptığı kabalığa karşılık vermek için kullanıldığı saptanmıştır. İlerisi için, Türk kültüründeki kibarlık/kabalık kavramı ile içtenlik, amaçlılık, geçmişlilik, karşısallık kavramları arasındaki ilişkilerin ve özel ve umumi alanların etkileri üzerine yapılabilecek olan araştırmaların değerli olacağı düşünülmektedir. Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma daha sonraki karşılaştırmalı kültür araştırmalarında kullanılmak üzere Türkçe ve Türk kültürü için referans veri niteliği taşımaktadır ve kibarlık/kabalık kavramlaştırılmalarının kibarlık/kabalık2’nin teorize edilmesine ne derece katkı sağlayacağını göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kibarlık/kabalık, Kibarlık/kabalık değerlendirmelerinin temelleri, Meta-edimbilimsel kibarlık/kabalık, İncelik/kabalık kuramları, Kibarlık/kabalık kavramlaştırmaları, Türkçe, Kültüre bağımlı (Emik).

Dedicated to my 'one and only', my dear husband, Onur Güler

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Having completed this study, I know now that writing a dissertation is a unique journey into academic self-discovery as well as a discovery into one's personal social support mechanisms and sanity. This dissertation could not have been possible without the heartwarming company of several important people in my life.

First, I wish to acknowledge the one person that has 'ignited' me on the path toward this avenue of research and later to the achievement of this degree. For the last eight years, this one person has continually fascinated me with her knowledge beyond measure, her unmatched drive and never-ending enthusiasm for research and has shaped my life and me as a person in ways that I am still discovering. She has given me her unquestioned trust and through our many pivotal life-changing conversations, built the courage and strength in me to ask creative questions and challenge myself in trying to develop new ways of looking at linguistic concepts, methods and theories –to 'make a difference' in academia and in life. There are no words that can match the admiration and appreciation I feel for Prof. Dr. Şükriye Ruhi, the most dedicated advisor and more importantly the greatest 'mentor' a young academic and a young woman could ever wish for in her life. For this I am and always will be truly blessed. *Gönülden* teşekkürler Şükriye hocam, for being who you are and making me who I am today.

Many faculty members and colleagues have influenced me in significant ways. I would like to thank my past and present jury members, especially Prof. Nalan Büyükkantarcıoğlu who has sacrificed much time and energy to ensure my success, and Joshua Bear, Betil Eröz, Çiler Hatipoğlu, and Emine Yarar, who have all been extremely instrumental in helping me tie loose ends by providing practical suggestions. I am indebted to Betil Eröz also for always being there for me not only

academically, but also as a true *dost*, a confidante, and for very frequently taking on the role of a psychological counselor over coffee during this process.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to a group of outstanding people in my life. I am grateful to my parents Jale-Atila Işık, who have through their own life history shown me the importance of honesty and ambition and the importance of delivering only your very best, have taught me what hard-work really means and what sacrifices it brings with it, and starting at a very young age, have given me the ‘passion for learning’ as a philosophy in life. I am also extremely fortunate to have my two other parents, Demet-Yaşar Güler, who have accepted me as their own daughter and have kept me dear to them, surrounded me with their endless familial love, care and support. I am also lucky to have my sister and brother Hande-Güven Mengü and sweet little Lara who was I believe worried at times that her auntie would always be at the other end of the ‘phone line’ and would never-ever have any quality time to spend with her. Dear Lara, I cannot tell you on how many occasions your ‘Teyzecem, seni çok özledim’ has lifted up my spirit and given me the strength I needed to finalize this project.

My warmest thanks also goes to my dearest friends, Didem-Deniz Güler and Mine Mısırlısoy and many others who lent a helping hand in recruiting informants during the data collection phase, and Başak-Erdinç Pınar, Derya Çokal and Elif Türedi for especially their friendship and encouragement during the ups and downs of this bumpy journey.

Last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to my soul mate, my dear husband Onur Güler, to whom this dissertation is dedicated. You have practically written, breathe, and ‘lived’ this dissertation with me. Without your never-ending patience, continual support and unconditional warm affection, without ‘you’ my love, none of this could have ever been possible.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Actor of (im)politeness
B	Receiver of (im)politeness act
CPL	Corpus for KİBAR
CIPL	Corpus for KABA
DSC	<i>Düşünceli</i>
DSZ	<i>Düşüncesiz</i>
FTA	Face threatening act(s)
GR	<i>Görgü</i>
GSZ	<i>Görgüsüz</i>
H	Hearer
IN	<i>İnce</i>
KAB	<i>Kaba</i>
KIB	<i>Kibar</i>
KSH	<i>Küstah</i>
L1	First Language
L2	Second language
METU	Middle East Technical University
NS(s)	Native Speakers
NZ	<i>Nazik</i>
NZS	<i>Nezaketsiz</i>
PSZ	<i>Patavatsız</i>
PEI	(Im)Politeness Encounters Interview
S	Speaker
SG	<i>Saygılı</i>
SSZ	<i>Saygısız</i>

SIP(s)	Sociopragmatic Interactional Principle(s)
SPSS	Statistical Packages for Social Sciences
STR	Strategic use of (im)politeness
TDK	Türk Dil Kurumu (Eng. Turkish Language Institute)
TFL	Turkish as a Foreign Language
TNS	Turkish Native Speakers
TRB	<i>Terbiyeli</i>
TSZ	<i>Terbiyesiz</i>
QPM	Questionnaire on (Im)Politeness Metalanguage

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0 Presentation**

In this introductory chapter, first a background to the study is given. Next, the problem this study aims to touch upon, the purpose and scope of the research conducted and also the significance of the study are detailed. Lastly, the limitations of the study, either arising from the issues dealt with or the methodology used are explained.

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

The definition and conceptualization of politeness has been issue to many debates; even the most recent literature on the issue gives way to different interpretations on a remarkable scale. In the most general sense, as an everyday term, politeness has been recognized as closely associated to social appropriateness, which as a field of inquiry dates back to at least the sixteenth century (Burke, 1993 cited in Eelen, 2001). For others, politeness springs from a tradition in history dating as far back as the Augustan Age in the Roman times (Watts, 1992). Still today, for some researchers, being polite is saying the socially correct thing by “conforming to socially agreed codes of good conduct” (Nwoye, 1992, p. 310). Is the matter really so straightforward? A cursory glance at pragmatics and social psychology literature suggests otherwise.

Historically, a number of different factors seem to be involved in determining conceptualizations of politeness: aspects of social hierarchy and social status,

situational variables, but also a more general notion of ‘proper behavioural conduct’. Its meaning is therefore not as straightforward, clear and simple as may seem at first sight, as during its long historical life, it has gathered a complex of interconnecting associative meanings (Eelen, 2001).

Currently politeness is also a well-established scholarly concept, basic to ‘politeness theory’ which is one of the more popular branches of contemporary pragmatics and a widely used tool in studies of (intercultural) communication. This popularity, however, has not been matched with theoretical and conceptual clarity.

Within linguistic, social-psychological and cognitive inquiry, the inherent nature of ‘politeness’ has been debated intensively for the last quarter of a century and it is apparent that scholars have still not reached an agreement on the precise description of the phenomenon. The notion has received a myriad of different definitions and interpretations, ranging from a general principle of language use governing all interpersonal aspects of interaction to the use of specific linguistic forms and formulae (Eelen, 2001). While some research paradigms have sought to explain it in terms of ‘face’ (Brown and Levinson, 1987); others have proposed a number of politeness maxims to explain it (Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983; Gu, 1990); yet others have argued that it entails the upholding of a conversational contract (Fraser, 1990) or that it is appropriate but marked behaviour (Watts, 2003; Locher, 2006). Despite all of these differences, everyone seems to agree that it is associated in some way with harmonious/conflictual interpersonal relations, labeled by Spencer-Oatey (2000a, 2002) as Rapport Management.

In much of the recent works published on politeness, what is called for is a “new” outlook. Gino Eelen’s (2001) *A Critique of Politeness Theories* was the first systematic book-length reading that called for a strong break from the Brown-Levinsonian plateau of theorizing. It was joined by Watts’ (2003) *Politeness* in which he repeatedly claimed “a new approach to linguistic politeness must involve a break with the dominant research paradigm in the field” (p. xii). Though not all

entirely conclusive and complete, new “post-modern” theories of politeness may have a lot to offer to researchers in the field since they all call for and set out to describe new emic methods of inquiry. One such approach involves drawing a distinction as suggested by Watts (2003) between Politeness1 (first-order politeness) and Politeness2 (second-order politeness). First-order politeness (politeness1) is a folk concept—lay people’s perceptions of polite and impolite; second-order politeness (politeness2) is the scientific conceptualisation of the social phenomena of politeness. Watts concludes that what has often been focused on in politeness research is politeness2 and, just as what has been pursued through this dissertation, suggests a reorientation towards politeness1.

## 1.2 The Problem

It has been nearly twenty years since Fraser (1990) and Kasper (1990) asserted that a single theory or approach cannot account for the complex nature of politeness. Part of the enduring problem in this area of research lies within the fact that the current understandings of ‘face’<sup>1</sup> have placed too much emphasis on linguistic behaviour, at the expense of social behaviour. By these theories, politeness is seen as “linguistic manifestations of face” (cf. Brown and Levinson, 1987), but in this consideration, the fact that linguistic behaviour is only *one* aspect of social behaviour and (im)politeness<sup>2</sup> is disregarded as well as the fact that other factors such as sociality rights, transactional and interactional attributes and relational work besides face concerns can be in play during communication (Spencer-Oatey 2000b, 2007; Ruhi and Işık-Güler, 2007).

Although there have been many studies on politeness, these have tended to be one-sided and have been restricted in scope, focusing mostly on production. For

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<sup>1</sup> Theories which deal with ‘face’ as at the heart of politeness phenomena primarily take up a Goffmanian (1967) understanding of ‘face’ as ‘the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact’.

<sup>2</sup> Hereafter, politeness will be used to refer solely ‘politeness’ and impoliteness will be used to refer solely to ‘impoliteness’. ‘(Im)politeness’, thus, will be used when denoting ‘as it applies to both politeness and impoliteness’.

instance, Eelen (2001) points out that in most politeness research the focus of investigation has been expressive politeness<sup>1</sup>, one of his sub-categories of first-order politeness, such as the use of honorifics or terms of address in general, conventional formulaic expressions (*'thank you'*, *'excuse me'*, etc.), different request formats, speech acts, etc. These belong to the category of production. In other words, it can be said that, to date, the focus in politeness research has been on the utterance by the speaker. However, it is equally important to include the hearer in politeness research, as both speaker/actor and hearer/receiver are necessary in determining how politeness is interpreted and acted upon. Eelen (2001) also observes that "... there are two sides to (im)politeness: the production of behaviour by a speaker and the evaluation of that behaviour by a hearer. Both are essential and indispensable elements of any notion of (im)politeness" (p. 36).

As is clear, in any given situation that finds its way under the linguist's attention, not only S but both S (A) and H (B) are needed in giving meaning to properties of politeness (i.e. the meaning making processes involved in social cognition).

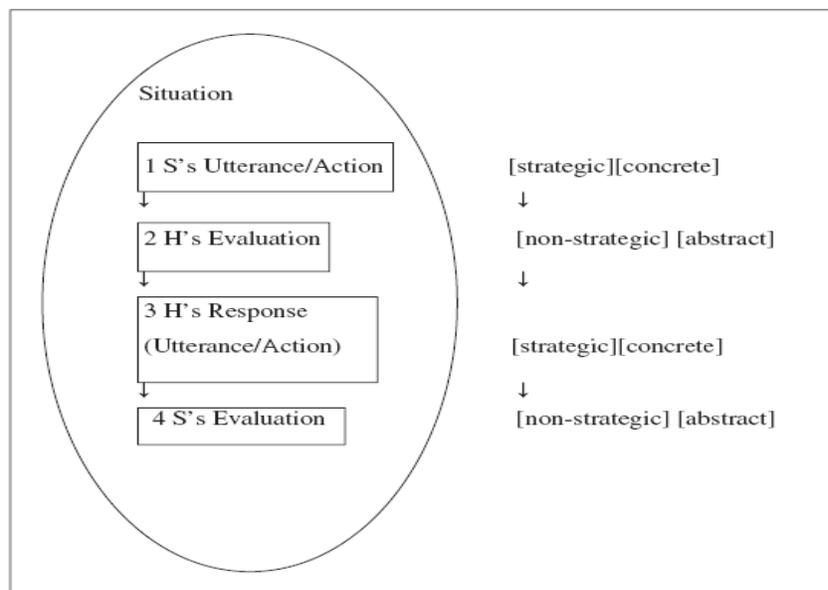


Figure 1. Sequences of Communication  
Source: Fukushima, 2004, p. 366.

For a very long time, in politeness research, S's utterance itself has been judged to be polite or impolite. As the figure above taken from Fukushima (2004) clearly illustrates, in everyday communication, H evaluates S's utterances or actions, although H's evaluation is not (always) explicitly expressed. If H responds to S, this response is again judged by S as to whether the act is polite or impolite, or appropriate or inappropriate. People may not be normally aware of this process when they communicate with each other. When somebody has said or done something which does not match H's expectation, people evaluate the other party's utterances or actions as impolite or inappropriate. Each shared event between H and S is then added to the rapport historicity of S and H. Ruhi (2008) discusses this in relation to intentions: "evaluations of politeness ultimately reside in intentionality and our perceiving not only (linguistic) acts but also people as polite" (p. 38). This is a neglected fundamental aspect of politeness conceptualizations.

Many studies in the past have focused not only on S, but also solely on linguistically manifested politeness, in a rather problematic way. The term, 'linguistic politeness' (e.g. Watts, 2003) has often been used together with the use of the terms such as 'the speaker' and 'the hearer' implying that politeness is manifested only through spoken utterances. For example, in the many studies following the CCSARP project (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989), prompts, in the form of situations, were given to the subjects and they were asked to produce linguistic responses to the prompts. Those responses were sometimes written by the subjects when written DCTs were used as in CCSARP, and they were sometimes oral when role-plays were used. Whatever mode was employed, written or oral, all such studies concentrated on linguistically manifested politeness. However, what has been lacking in politeness research is inclusion of H and of H's actions: how a particular polite act has been evaluated by the receiver. As Eelen (2001, p. iv) points out, "...the scope of politeness stretches well *beyond purely verbal choices*, and includes the whole spectrum of behaviour" (emphasis added), while admitting that the majority of existing theories are preoccupied with linguistic behaviour. In contrast to 'linguistic politeness', Fukushima (2004) proposes the term 'behavioural politeness'

to refer to politeness manifested through behaviours. Behavioural politeness is manifested through actions instead of utterances. This may be a way forward in answering the growing need of politeness research to expand its boundaries in order to see the big(ger) picture. I believe the bases of evaluations as polite and impolite for certain communicative activities (both linguistic and behavioural politeness) are unified at some abstract deeply rooted network from where related schemas (or “frames” as suggested by Terkourafi, 2003) are put into practice during rapport. These frames, however do not only contain linguistic politeness, but are linked to superior politeness conceptualizations that encompass different modes of ‘doing’. The study maintains an emic approach to unearth what these ‘(im)polite modes of doing’ as larger more abstract level components concern.

### **1.3 Purpose and Scope**

Taking a post-modern stance as outlined above (as proposed in Eelen, 2001; Mills 2003; Watts, 2003; and Terkourafi, 2005), the dissertation at hand maintains an emic approach utilizing cultural informants and folk notions to reach an understanding of politeness in Turkish. With the intention of reaching a theoretical account of (im)politeness in Turkish, this study explores the tacit knowledge native speakers of Turkish have on (im)politeness and their related perceptions, and aims to make it explicit by the use and analysis of (a) data from a lexical conceptualization questionnaire probing Turkish native speakers’ seven key metapragmatic politeness terms (i.e. kibar, ince, nazik, düşünceli, saygılı, görgülü, terbiyeli) and eight key impoliteness terms (i.e. kaba, nezaketsiz, düşüncesiz, saygısız, görgüsüz, terbiyesiz, patavatsız, küstah), (b) corpus analyses of the (im)politeness lexemes KİBAR and KABA, and (c) (im)politeness encounter narrative interviews with native speakers of Turkish (hereafter, TNS).

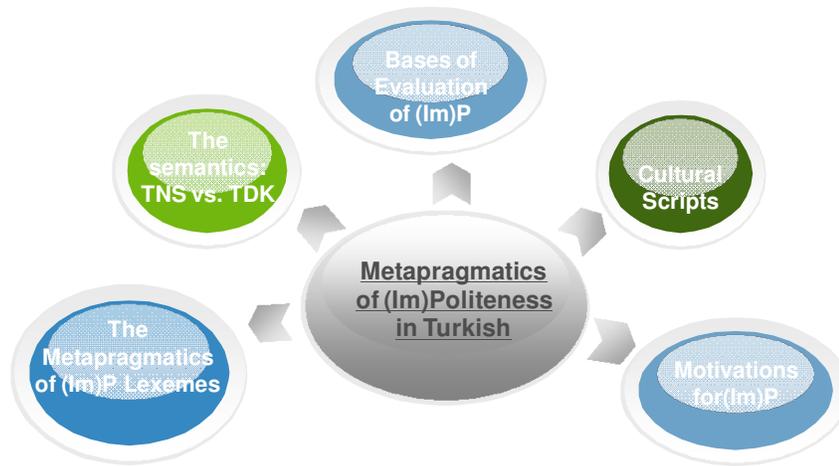


Figure 2. The scope of the study

As illustrated in Figure 2 above, taking an emic standpoint, this research study has been designed as an exploration of what Turkish people consider to be (im)polite, why people want to be (im)polite, how people express they become (im)polite (i.e. cultural scripts), and when and to whom people are expected to be (im)polite in Turkish and on what bases and through which lexemes people evaluate (im)polite behaviour as well as how motivations for (im)politeness are interpreted in everyday communication. Exploring how (im)politeness<sup>1</sup> conceptualizations can aid the theorizing of (im)politeness<sup>2</sup> is also among the immediate intentions of the researcher.

From a research methodology standpoint, the study aims to provide Turkish baseline data to be used in later cross-cultural research by providing the possibility for understanding real-life naturally occurring data as well as aiding the creation of real-life scenarios and other empirical tools to be used in researching (im)politeness encounters within the cultural milieu of Turkish. After all, linguistic differences are due to “aspects of culture much deeper than mere norms of politeness” (Wierzbicka, 1985 as cited in Meier, 2004, p. 18). Thus, the central role in politeness research methodology needs to be ascribed not to culture as ‘linguistic norms’ but to culture

as ‘culture specific values and attributes’ people hold that shape linguistic choices in communication. This said, the linguist’s understanding of “culture” also shapes what is investigated and crucially how deep the investigation goes in politeness research (Brislin, 2000).

According to Hofstede (1994), culture “is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another” (cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2003b, p. 3). Spencer-Oatey (2000b) defines culture as “a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member’s behaviour and each member’s interpretations of the ‘meaning’ of other people’s behaviour” (p. 4). Work in linguistics suggests two important ways in which culture can have an impact on language use: (a) the interactional principles that people hold and (b) the conventions of use of a particular language (Spencer-Oatey, 2002a). This study broadens the scope of politeness research in Turkish to any act (without making a language or behaviour distinction) evaluated as polite or impolite by TNS to reach a level of overall understanding for values and principles embedded in (im)polite rapport in Turkish culture.

At this point, it is important to note that the word ‘metapragmatics’ in this dissertation title owes to the researcher’s interest in ‘metapragmatic’ (im)politeness (see Eelen, 2001) over other kind of politeness-in-practice and limits the scope of the dissertation. Metapragmatic politeness covers instances of talk about politeness as a concept, about what people perceive politeness to be all about. Politeness, however, is taken in its expanded sense, i.e. non-linguistic as well as linguistic acts. Furthermore, the scope is limited to data collected from Turkish native speakers who have become informants for the research study. Since the study at hand is mainly qualitative in nature, the data has driven the analysis and not vice versa until a sense of saturation has been reached (Dörnyei, 2007).

#### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

Recent important critiques of politeness research (Eelen, 200, Watts, 2003, and Pizziconi, 2007) have hinged on a serious philosophical and methodological issue – the progressive “scientific” abstraction of the notion of politeness carried out in pragmatic approaches –that perhaps unwittingly removed the study of politeness from the realm of social interaction to which it more properly belongs. “The attempt to distill global principles out of instances of language use, goes the argument, brings the lens of the analyst away from the nitty-gritty of social values, judgements and manipulations, in other words the linguistic ideologies that polite language subsumes, by which it is informed and which also give politeness phenomena distinctive, culturally specific, or context specific flavors” (Pizziconi, 2007, p. 207).

This is exactly where the significance of this study lies: bringing forth the deeply-rooted, ideological, culture-specific dimension of politeness phenomena. According to Pizziconi (2007), “situated meanings can only be mobilized, recognized, strategically utilized and modified in relation to some broad, culturally shared, and therefore not necessarily context specific, meanings whose investigation can enrich our understanding of language in context” (ibid.).

The significance of the study owes to the fact that it investigates just this: culturally specific meaning and value attribution to (im)polite acts and encounters. Though its value cannot be disregarded, dissection of unit of analysis into little compartments of research agendas often cause academia in any given field to lose the big picture, the overlooking of the part of the jigsaw puzzle that regulates a variety of thinking/doing/saying within a culture, i.e. the underlying dimensions of all polite evaluations in our case. Although pragmatics, according to researchers in the field should by definition concern itself with the relation between signs and contexts of use, the recent history of politeness studies have shown that it is impossible to adopt a reductionist approach that neglects the interactionally idiosyncratic purposes that the use of those signs is meant to achieve, given the various possible interpretations

of what the notion of 'context' should refer to. Thus, the study probes (im)politeness conceptualizations through metapragmatic, culturally-situated 15 (im)politeness lexemes.

The emic dimension to the study is also considerably valuable since the analysis is carried out on metapragmatics of politeness by getting native speakers to talk about their evaluations and by using their accounts of what they have found (im)polite on a broad spectrum without leading the informants to take any particular direction (i.e. a speech act or speech situation). To the knowledge of the researcher, this has not been done for Turkish language and culture before. Such an emic line of research is currently called for by researchers in the field through recent publications (Haugh and Hinze, 2003; Ruhi, 2008; Spencer-Oatey, 2007). This line of research is crucial for not only Turkish politeness researchers but also politeness research at a global scale to rectify the need for culturally-embedded (emic) impoliteness<sup>1</sup> research.

As can be seen from the summary table below, this study attempts to fill a gap in politeness studies by focusing on what has not been investigated much in the past; that is, the evaluation of politeness, as manifested by a multiplicity of modes (language and behaviour). The interplay of universal and culture-specific aspects in language cognition is not an issue that the field can afford to ignore.

Table 1. Research Area of Politeness in the Past vs. Present Study

	<i>Substantial Body of Politeness Research in the Past</i>	<i>This Dissertation Study</i>
<u>What is investigated</u>	<i>Production</i>	Evaluation (Bases)
<u>Whose act is investigated</u>	<i>Speaker</i>	Speaker (if one evaluates own act) Hearer (if one evaluates other's act)
<u>Mode/manner of manifestation under scrutiny</u>	<i>Linguistic</i>	<i>All possible modes:</i> +Behavioural +Linguistic +Non-verbal +Attitudinal
<u>Starting point (Data)</u>	<i>Natural or elicited samples of language use</i>	Narratives/experiences of encounters classified as polite or impolite and sanctioned by the use of culturally significant (im)politeness lexemes

Ruhi (2007) asserts that people's interpretive acts are situated within the linguistic practices of their discourse communities as also argued by the more recent perspectives on politeness (see Watts, 2003; Spencer-Oatey, 2005; Terkourafi, 2005). A real danger lies here for the analyst. Politeness theory cannot aim to describe type of politeness solely based on the examination of the linguistic expressions abstracted from their context of usage and other related phenomena as depicted in Ruhi's (2006) understanding of relational work<sup>3</sup> in Figure 3).

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<sup>3</sup> Ruhi (2006a) defines relational work "as the verbal and non-verbal action that interlocutors take to effect supportive or nonsupportive moves towards the face, sociality rights, and interactional goals of self and/or other/s. It incorporates a continuum of behaviour –from considerate to rude, aggressive behaviour. It involves a range of behavioural forms: warmth, sincerity, respect, etc., depending on the expectations that people have in particular cultures and communicative settings. In this respect, (im)politeness would emerge as evaluative judgements that people make on the social appropriateness of relational behaviour." (p.49).

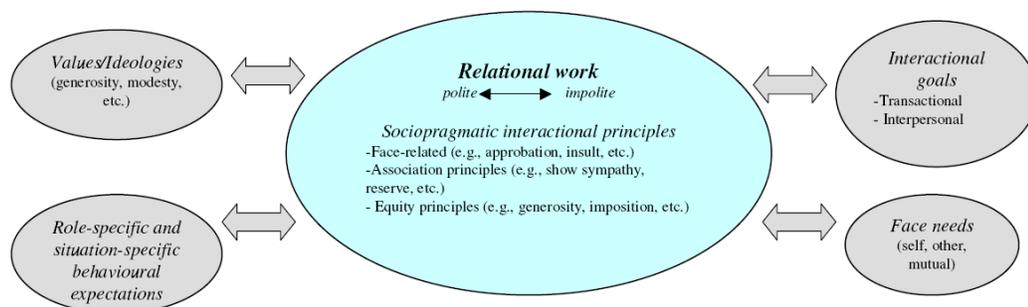


Figure 3. Dimensions of Relational Work

Source: Ruhi, 2006a, p. 50.

Clearly, a productive line of research is to investigate people's evaluations of politeness and describe variations in practices of (im)politeness in interaction, as has been done in this dissertation. According to Ruhi (2007):

examining the interaction between people's linguistic propensities in situated acts of communication, on the one hand, and *their (conventionalized) beliefs on (im)politeness and (conventionalized) ways of enacting (im)politeness*, on the other, may open the way to understanding the various parameters along which (im)politeness judgments emerge (p. 112; *emphasis added*).

It is problematic for researchers trying to make meaning of elicited or naturally occurring interaction as polite or impolite without taking a close look at the aspects/factors depicted in Figure 3 and others that may suffice in different cultural environments. On the whole, the significance of the dissertation lies in the interest it takes into what Escandell-Vidal (2004) refers to as "people's mental representations of social regularities and social categories" from the heart of the Turkish laymen on (im)politeness and the attempt it makes to draw from aspects/factors in Figure 3 together while doing so. Although a purely data-driven analysis will be pursued, in the interpretation and explanation of the findings the "Rapport Management" model (Spencer-Oatey, 2000b, 2002b, 2005a, 2007) will be taken as a basis (see section 2.4.5).

## 1.5 Limitations

There are certain limitations to the study relating to the phenomena under investigation, the approach taken and the research methods used for conducting the study. First, it needs to be noted that this study is not a sociolinguistics study in its strongest sense<sup>4</sup>. No attention is given to bringing explanations to variation between individuals (i.e. according to age, gender, socio-economic status, geographical belonging) and classes of individuals. Thus, a major limitation to the study is that not all levels of the social hierarchy (i.e. only slice of somewhat educated upper-middle and middle class) are being reflected through the choice of participants. The rationale for the choice made concerns the data collection instruments. The researcher-developed questionnaire and interview guide required metapragmatic speech which necessitates a higher level of thinking in Bloom's taxonomy, and a great deal of 'reflexiveness' –i.e. using language to talk about language. Pilots done on participants from different backgrounds revealed that educated upper-middle and middle class Turkish native speakers were more able to do the task and especially found the questionnaire, which required writing longer stretches of prose, less cognitively challenging.

Second, the major sampling methods used for participant selection can also be viewed as bringing a limitation to the study. For especially online questionnaire data collection, snowball sampling was seen as the most effective method and was utilized. Snowball sampling is a technique for developing a research sample where existing study subjects recruit future subjects (Dörnyei, 2007). Among its many advantages, the primary disadvantage of snowball sampling is that as participants self-select other participants they know, at some point, the sample may start to consist of more similar participants than different in terms of certain properties.

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<sup>4</sup> The social-educational characteristics and other variables about the individuals are not the distinguishing factor that the researcher wishes to emphasize.

Third, instead of naturally occurring data, second-hand data (i.e. people talking/writing about what they remember, how they engaged in an (im)polite encounter and how they evaluated it) instead of real-time occurrences of (im)politeness episodes. This may equally be viewed as a limitation as well as a major strength of the study. The whole rationale behind choosing this line of research and pursuing it throughout the dissertation is to reach an emic or ‘insider’ understanding of these phenomena so as to “promote understanding of the reasoning behind the culture and how the linguistic system works within the sociocultural context” (Ishihara, 2005 as cited in Haugh, 2007). It is thus argued that the analysis of the emic conceptualisations of (im)politeness need to be taken into account for any comprehensive theory of (im)politeness if we are to avoid a situation where theoretical accounts of these phenomena diverge from their actual ‘interactional achievement’ (Arundale, 2006; Haugh, 2007). In this sense, second-hand data can be seen as an ‘explanatory power-providing’ tool for (im)politeness research.

Fourth, in terms of the small-scale corpora (i.e. corpus of KABA<sup>5</sup> and corpus of KİBAR) compiled as a source of data a further limitation should be noted. The corpora were compiled mainly based on narrated descriptions and evaluations of (im)politeness encounters and uses of the chosen lexemes in Turkish confession websites (e.g. itiraf.com), personal blogs, forums and internet diaries, which are primarily internet-based and are written for an intended audience, for others to read. Thus, the tokens in the corpora may contain ‘exaggerated’ confessions. They are, after all, for an audience to appreciate. Moreover, the corpus tokens were provided only by people who had internet access as was also the case for the sampling of informants for the questionnaire who sent and completed the questionnaire via the internet.

Fifth, the primary data collection tool, the researcher developed metapragmatics of (im)politeness questionnaire (see Appendix A), was designed as an open-ended, qualitative tool. The questionnaire may have been too cognitively demanding and

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<sup>5</sup> Hereafter, capitalization of lexemes will be used to denote semantic fields.

time-consuming which may have affected the results. Completion time also varied, with some informants reported to have completed it in at a minimum of 40 min., to others who reported that they spent –on and off, 3 to 5 days to complete it. Informants expressed that it required ‘a lot of attention’ due to its open-ended and metalinguistically demanding nature.

Lastly, with regard to the issue of impression management, on the questionnaire and during the interviews, informants, when providing narrated (im)politeness encounters and their evaluations as to what happened during the encounters may have chosen to project favorable positive attributes to self and negative attributes to other with the intention of relating ‘self’ with ‘polite’ and ‘other’ with ‘impolite’ attributes.

#### **1.6. Organization of the dissertation**

This dissertation consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the background, the problem, the purpose and scope, and the significance of the study. Chapter 2 critically reviews past politeness research and theories and more recent post-modern approaches to communication, relational work and rapport management models, and ethnography and ethnomethodology as research orientations. Chapter 3 starts with a presentation of the research questions guiding the study, introduces the research design, the data sources and data collection tools and past research that have utilized an emic methodology. Chapter 4 introduces mainly the qualitative and also quantitative findings on politeness conceptualizations, KĪBAR lexeme associations in the language and discusses the metapragmatics of politeness, bases of native speaker politeness evaluations in Turkish and the strategic sources of motivation to be polite for TNS. Discussions on the metapragmatics of impoliteness, KABA lexeme associations and the qualitative data findings on the bases of evaluation of impoliteness judgements in Turkish comprise Chapter 5. The chapter also depicts motivations of impoliteness from a strategic standpoint and explores further issues in relation to politeness conceptualizations of Turkish native speakers. Finally,

Chapter 6 concludes the discussion, provides a summary of findings and discusses implications for future research in (im)politeness, intercultural communication and foreign language pedagogy.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

#### **2.0 Presentation**

In this chapter, the literature on key concepts, theorizing and research findings central to the study are dwelled upon. First, current differences and related problems in the conceptualisation of politeness are pointed out; next, in light of these different interpretations, critical reviews of the main theories of politeness are provided with an emphasis on two outlooks: the maxim approach and the face-management approach. Subsequently, more recent approaches are presented and what current “post-modern” theories can offer to politeness research is outlined. Lastly, the model of rapport management in relation to research on conversational constraints and interactional principles are brought to the front light as a unified encompassing research stance.

#### **2.1 Theorizing about ‘Politeness’**

The commonsense definition of politeness in terms of ‘proper behaviour’ involves the understanding that politeness is not an area which only confines to language, but can also include non-verbal and non-linguistic behaviour. Most people are familiar with the examples of politeness such as holding the door open for someone, greeting someone with a wave or a nod, etc. Politeness may manifest itself in any form of behaviour, and even in the absence of behaviour.

Many people will believe that they are fairly sure as to the meaning of ‘polite’ in the description of someone’s behaviour<sup>6</sup>. From a social scientific view point, the issue is not so clear-cut since the criteria with which we apply that description cannot be easily explained. According to Watts (2003), to minimize the disagreement for criteria, one may tumble into an effort to seek safety in general statements: “socially correct or appropriate behaviour”, the hallmark of “being a cultivated man or woman”, being “considerate towards others”, being “self-effacing” (p. 1).

Some might even consider politeness as a negative thing: “standoffish”, “haughty”, “insincere” (see Sifianou, 1992 for some similar accounts). For specific cases of polite *language* use, the researcher encounters the same kind of general expression problem: “avoid being too direct”, “language which displays respect or consideration for others”, “language which contains respectful forms of address”, polite “formulaic utterances”, “elegant” language or some others with a negative connotation, “hypocritical”, “dishonest”, “distant”, “unfeeling” (Watts, 2003, p. 2). In relation to the native language (i.e. folk notions) at hand, one might also use terms like ‘respectful’, ‘courteous’, or ‘rude’. But what does, for example, ‘being thoughtful’ or being ‘respectful’ mean, what verbal or non-verbal acts does it entail in any given language and culture?

For any act of (im)politeness, just as the expression that people use to refer to (im)politeness, personal assessments of polite or impolite behaviour can also be expected to vary according to interlocutor-based and contextually-based factors. For a long period of time linguistic structures have been equated with politeness

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<sup>6</sup> There are a number of recent publications in Turkish intended for the education of the general public on the matter. See Alici, 2006; Atmaca, 2007; Ebu Gudde, 2006; Gökçe, 2005; Gruda, 2007; Kurtoğlu, 2005; Özaltın, 2007; Söylemez, 2005; Sudi, 2006; Yüter, 2003. All of these “laymen reader” publications prescriptively describe what needs to be learnt and performed in different areas of life for successful, smooth communication gaining respect, etc. and for the maintenance of social order in Turkey. Some (such as Ebu Gudde, 2006) are directed more at “*maneviyat*” (Eng. spirituality) and involve a religious (i.e. islamic) outlook in their prescriptions for good, moral, correct behaviour especially in the family and in cross-gender relationships, etc.

perceptions; however, as Fraser and Nolan (1981) point out, “no sentence is inherently polite or impolite” (as cited in Sifianou, 1992, p.84). What should be understood from this now famous quote by Fraser and Nolan is that politeness is not just a context bound judgement but also a social judgement, and whether or not an utterance is heard as being polite, is to a large extent, in the hands and/or ears, the mind of the hearer. Moreover, “sentences are not *ipso facto* rude; it is speakers who are rude” (Keinpointer, 1997, p. 255). This crucially means that if we are to understand how relations are managed, we need to have insights into the social expectancies, judgements and motivations of the people involved.

Although the number of studies dealing with this dimension of politeness is growing, as Eelen (2001) indicates, theories of politeness have focused more on polite behaviour than impolite behaviour. The literature on impoliteness does not extend beyond a few studies including Keinpointer (1997) and Culpeper (1996) who have more or less initially stuck to Brown and Levinson’s scheme in accounting for impoliteness. There is growing dissatisfaction with the absence of a comprehensive theory that will be able to explain both politeness as well as impoliteness.

The relative numerical weakness of research on impoliteness clearly contrasts with the idea that participants in verbal interaction are more likely to comment on behaviour they perceive to be impolite and rude than comment on polite behaviour. Haugh (2003) explains this phenomenon through his discussion on ‘anticipated’ versus ‘inferred politeness’. Various aspects of Brown and Levinson’s theory have received attention, but in recent times their claim that politeness is something that is communicated by means of an implicature has come under scrutiny. Brown and Levinson assume that for politeness to arise in interaction, a “polite intention” must be attributed to the speaker by the addressee (Brown and Levinson 1987, p. 95). This attribution by inference to the speaker of an intention to be polite constitutes a (particularised) implicature. A number of researchers, however, have argued that this assumption is counter-intuitive

(Haugh, 2003). They state that politeness is generally not inferred as an implicature, as it is usually expected by interactants, and thus is not noticed and is termed as ‘anticipated’. According to this view, much politeness goes *unnoticed* in interaction.

The distinction between anticipated and inferred politeness is “predicated on the notion of expectation as an estimation” of the probability that certain behaviour will occur (Haugh, 2003, p.71). If we expect a certain behaviour to occur that does indeed occur, and this behaviour gives rise to politeness, then politeness is *anticipated*. On the other hand, if we are not expecting certain behaviour to occur which nevertheless does occur, and this behaviour gives rise to politeness, then this politeness must be *inferred*. Thus, politeness is anticipated when the behaviour giving rise to politeness is expected, while it is inferred when the behaviour giving rise to politeness is not expected. Politeness which is anticipated arises, and thus is unnoticed, when the linguistic form or pragmatic strategy is conventionally used in a particular situation (Terkourafi, 2001; Žegarac, 1998 as cited in Haugh 2003). In other words, we expect that someone will show they think well of others, or do not think more highly of themselves than they should (thereby giving rise to politeness), because this particular linguistic form or strategy is commonly used in such kinds of situations. But how can a theory of politeness reach and have explanatory power on such expectations as engraved in the minds of speakers in different cultures?

Watts, Ide and Echlich (1992) believe that the first step in doing so requires making a clear distinction between the commonsense notion of –everyday-politeness (which we can relate to certain words such as etiquette, civilization, (good) breeding, urbanity, gentlemanly/ladylike behaviour) and its counterpart in scientific conceptualisation. Following a strive to build on and refine the notion of politeness; taking it beyond the idea of just appropriateness, Watts, Ide & Echlich (1992) have adopted new terminology (namely, *first order* and *second order* politeness) to differentiate between different interpretations of politeness. First

order politeness corresponds to the various ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of social groups. Hence, it encompasses the commonsense notion of politeness. On the other hand, second order politeness is a theoretical construct and a term within a theory of social behaviour and language use (Watts et al., 1992).

It is now recognized in research circles that politeness<sub>1</sub> refers to the common notion of the term, that is, the way politeness manifests itself in communicative interaction: politeness-as-practice in everyday interaction (Spencer-Oatey, 2005). According to Eelen (2001) politeness<sub>1</sub> comprises three types of politeness: expressive, classificatory, and metapragmatic (p. 35, *passim*). *Expressive politeness<sub>1</sub>* refers to politeness encoded in speech reflecting the speakers' polite intentions and may be realized in the use of specific terms of address, honorifics, conventional formulaic expressions ('thank you', 'excuse me'), and various linguistic devices, such as those employed to mitigate the direct illocutionary force of a request or to reduce the negative effects of a refusal response, the use of the word 'please', or the use of the conditional to express politeness in situationally-appropriate contexts. *Classificatory politeness<sub>1</sub>* refers to politeness as a categorical tool: it encompasses the hearer's judgments (in actual interaction) of other people's interactional behaviour as 'polite' or 'impolite'. Finally, *metapragmatic politeness<sub>1</sub>* refers to how people talk about politeness as a concept in everyday interaction, and what people perceive politeness to be in different interactional practices.

On the other hand, politeness<sub>2</sub> refers to the scientific conceptualization of politeness<sub>1</sub> and as a theory of the universal principles governing human interaction. The construction of a theory of politeness<sub>2</sub> may help us envision how politeness<sub>1</sub> works in social interaction, what its function is in society, what the characteristics of (im)polite behaviour are, and how polite behaviour is distinguished from impolite behaviour. In addition, it may help establish the existence or non-existence of certain linguistic universals in politeness and

provide us with a better understanding of what (im)politeness is and is not during various communicative practices. Overall, politeness<sup>2</sup> has been presented in various earlier theoretical models that mainly examine politeness as a theoretical construct.

As explained in Eelen (2001), the first and second order distinction is a relevant one since it not only distinguishes between speaker assessment and scientist's assessment of linguistic behaviour but also touches on methodological and epistemological issues regarding politeness research. This premise strongly relates to the theoretical approach/methodology made use of in this study, i.e. giving attention to politeness<sup>1</sup> to reach a more comprehensive theory of politeness.

Nonetheless, it needs to be noted that although a distinction needs to be made, the two are inseparably interconnected. In line with Eelen (2001), if the basic characteristics of politeness<sup>1</sup> is seen as *evaluativity* (i.e. the notions of politeness and impoliteness as used to characterize other people's behaviour, and to do so judgementally) and *normativity* (i.e. the notion of politeness as involving social norms), then politeness<sup>2</sup> should be able to show how the concept functions and how it is internally operationalized in discourse; however, it needs to stay clearly away from being evaluative and normative when doing so.

Undoubtedly, politeness<sup>1</sup> has an evaluative character as it involves social norms, and covers different aspects of the lay notion of politeness and how politeness is intentionally encoded in language by the speaker in various communicative practices, as well as how politeness is perceived or evaluated by the hearer. For a new growing trend in politeness research, this is the route to take: analyzing politeness<sup>1</sup> conceptualizations to sketch a politeness<sup>2</sup> theory of cultural politeness (Eelen 2001; Mills, 2001; Watts, 2003).

A notion of politeness<sup>2</sup> should not be abstracted away from politeness<sup>1</sup>. To do so would represent "an inadequate way of examining those evaluative moments in

social interaction which are interpreted as impolite or polite” (Watts, 2003, p. 31). With notable exceptions research on linguistic politeness based on such theories do not consider instances of dispute in verbal interaction over whether or not a linguistic expression is intended to be heard (im)politely and what effects that might have on the social networking that emerges through verbal interaction (Haugh, 2004; Eelen, 2001). For a long time theoreticians have based their evaluations on ‘what the *researcher* finds (im)polite’ although the emphasis should be on ‘what *people* judge to be (im)polite’.

This is why, for the purpose of the study at hand, probing people’s personal narratives of (im)politeness encounters as well as their emotive responses to the metapragmatics of (im)politeness<sup>1</sup> and a corpus survey of the communicative acts evaluated by Turkish native speakers as politeness and impoliteness scripts have been utilized to investigate (im)politeness within an exploratory emic perspective. (see section 3.3.1 for a discussion on the importance of the emic perspective in researching (im)politeness).

## **2.2 Critical Review of Politeness Theories**

Politeness was proposed as a universal norm governing language use motivated by attention to face as defined by Goffman (1967), though the claims of “universality” have been debated extensively (cf. Ide, at. al., 1992; Gu, 1990; Janney and Arndt, 1993; Matsumoto, 1988, 1989; Watts, 1992). Looking at politeness research and guiding theories that have become a hallmark for much of the work done in the field of linguistic pragmatics before the 21<sup>st</sup> century, one can speak of two distinct approaches to politeness: the *maxim* approach (i.e. Grice, Leech and Lakoff) and the *face management* approach (i.e. Goffman and Brown and Levinson). Clearly moving away from these two approaches, (starting in the late 1990s and governing much of what has been done after the year 2000) several *post-modern* approaches (Terkourafi, 2005) that are still undergoing development

have brought further insight into politeness research. What follows is a brief survey of historical and current approaches to politeness.

### **2.2.1 Maxim Approaches**

The maxim approach relies heavily on Gricean pragmatics in trying to answer the question how people mean more than they say. The main adherents to this view are Lakoff (1973) and Leech (1983).

#### **2.2.1.1 Robin T. Lakoff's Politeness Rule**

Lakoff (1975) was one of the early linguists to examine the concept of politeness in relation to pragmatics. Thus, she can be called “the mother” of modern politeness theory, for she was one of the first “to examine it from a decidedly pragmatic perspective” (Eelen, 2001, p.2). Lakoff's definition of politeness involved seeing the issue as a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange. Her model considers politeness to be a “device used in order to reduce friction in personal interaction” (Fraser, 1990, p. 223).

According to Lakoff, traditional linguistic theory was too weak to explain politeness phenomena; thus, Grice's cooperative principle functioned as a building block for her understanding of the notion. Arguing that speakers are all rational individuals interested in conveying their message in hand effectively, Grice has proposed what has been known as the Cooperative Principle (hereafter, CP): “Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice, 1975). From this CP, Grice advances four sub-maxims: “quality, quantity, relevance, and manner” and articulates that violation of one or more of these conversational maxim(s) may implicate certain speaker intentions.

As CP explains how we can understand more than we hear from an utterance by abiding to or flouting certain maxims, CP served as the starting point of Lakoff's "Politeness Rule". The more you seek to communicate your message directly to achieve full clarity, the more you move away from an expression of politeness; hence clarity and politeness were seen as opposites in her rule. Whereas CP was diverted to the qualities of the content of information, Lakoff's "politeness rule" had a more social side to it. Once a hearer notices that the speaker is not abiding by the maxims, she envisages that the speaker is trying to avoid giving offence. Lakoff introduced her interpersonal rule "be polite" to supplement CP. Her interpersonal politeness rule consisted of three sub-rules:

- (1) do not impose,
- (2) give options,
- (3) make the addressee feel good.

For Lakoff, these rules apply to any communicative exchange, and different cultures tend to use different rules or a combination of the three, which are early suggestions underlying the claim that how to be polite differs interculturally. Which rule cultures adhere to then says something about the culture itself. Consequently, in her latter work, Lakoff (1990) modified her model and distinguished between four stylistic strategies which the speaker engages according to the assessments she makes about the situation: clarity, distance, deference, and camaraderie (as cited in Eelen, 2001, p. 3). The four strategies are seen as an index of social continuum; the clarity strategy being associated with the more distant relationships between participants, while the camaraderie strategy is associated with more intimate relationship between participants.

The main criticism to Lakoff's work rests on the fact that the model is too vague theoretically to be of any use in analysing actual interaction between speakers (Watts, Ide, and Ehlich, 1992). The relationship among the sub-rules and strategies are not fully discussed. Moreover, it is not apparent how a speaker or hearer assesses which level of politeness is required in interaction (Fraser, 1990).

### 2.2.1.2 Geoffrey Leech's Politeness Principle and Maxims

Leech's (1983) approach to politeness is also based on Grice's maxims and is more elaborate than Lakoff's conceptualisation and discussion of politeness in certain regards. Leech chooses to discuss politeness within the framework of "Interpersonal Rhetoric". Interpersonal Rhetoric is related to a speaker's social goals (what social position a speaker takes) rather than illocutionary goals (what a speaker tries to convey through a speech act). Within this domain, Leech (1983) establishes sets of maxims, which are related to three principles: (1) The Cooperative Principle (CP), (2) The Politeness Principle (PP), and (3) The Irony Principle (IP)

Leech's CP corresponds to that of Grice. Nonetheless, he defines the PP as a cover term to "minimise the expression of impolite belief" (p. 81), and the purpose of PP as "maintenance of comity" (p. 104). He presents six -paired-maxims associated with the Politeness Principle:

- (I) TACT MAXIM (in directives and commissives)
  - (a) Minimise cost to other [(b) Maximise benefit to other]
- (II) GENEROSITY MAXIM (in directives and commissives)
  - (a) Minimise benefit to self [(b) Maximise cost to self]
- (III) APPROBATION MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)
  - (a) Minimise dispraise of other [(b) Maximise praise of other]
- (IV) MODESTY MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)
  - (a) Minimise praise of self [(b) Maximise dispraise of self]
- (V) AGREEMENT MAXIM (in assertives)
  - (a) Minimise disagreement between self and other
  - [(b) Maximise agreement between self and other]
- (VI) SYMPATHY MAXIM (in assertives)
  - (a) Minimise antipathy between self and other
  - [(b) Maximise sympathy between self and other]

Leech (1983) also maintains that each maxim operates along a range of scales such as (i) cost-benefit, (ii) optionality, (iii) indirectness, (iv) authority and social distance. This complex interrelation between maxims makes it possible to determine the degree of politeness aiming to achieve maximum benefit to hearer

at minimum cost. The higher up in the hierarchy, the more distant the addressee is, the greater the need for the addressor to minimise cost to addressee, bringing about the need to be more indirect and provide more options for the addressee. All in all, the maxims emphasize the sensitivity of interaction and aim at the minimization of impolite belief in order not to threaten harmony in relations.

Leech (1983, 2007) also distinguishes between relative and absolute politeness. Pragmatic (or relative) politeness refers to politeness sensitive to context and culture relative to norms of in a given society, group or situation, whereas semantic (or absolute) politeness refers to politeness inherently associated with specific speaker actions out of context. The idea of absolute politeness indicates that speech acts are inherently either polite or impolite based on their illocutionary force. Leech postulated the importance of absolute politeness stating, “general pragmatics may reasonably confine its attention to politeness in the absolute sense” (Leech, 1983, p. 84).

Leech (1983) further suggested four main “illocutionary functions”: competitive, convivial, collaborative and conflictive in correlation with “social goal” (p. 104). Leech associated these with types of politeness. Politeness is used most in relation to the first two functions.

- (a) **COMPETITIVE**: The illocutionary goal competes with the social goal; e.g., ordering, asking, demanding, begging.
- (b) **CONVIVIAL**: The illocutionary goal coincides with the social goal; e.g., offering, inviting, greeting, thinking, congratulating.
- (c) **COLLABORATIVE**: The illocutionary goal is indifferent to the social goal; e.g., asserting, reporting, announcing, instructing.
- (d) **CONFLICTIVE**: The illocutionary goal conflicts with the social goal; e.g., threatening, accusing, cursing, reprimanding.

For instance, competitive illocutions (e.g. ordering), which are inherently impolite, require forms of mitigation. On the other hand, convivial illocutions (e.g. thanking), which are inherently polite, call for politeness enhancing positive impact.

Leech's maxims, and scales and situations all interact to lay the speaker and hearer's path of communicative choices and interpretive processes. Generally speaking, his conceptualization is concerned with conflict avoidance as his understanding of politeness is geared to establishing "comity" (Leech, 1983).

Despite its very detailed book-length elaboration on politeness, Leech's model still remains abstract for some researchers. The main criticism on this the model is that it gets lost in too much detail and, therefore fails to adequately reveal the whole picture. The model is also seen as rigid and abstract to reflect our social and psychological process of perceiving and producing polite expressions (Fraser, 1990). The fact that several illocutionary functions may overlap and co-occur in actual discourse is overlooked and since the maxims are open-ended, the model may not serve as a parsimonious analytical instrument (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

## **2.2.2 Face-Management Approaches**

For many working in the field of pragmatics, politeness as a socio-cognitive linguistic theory was first systematised by the face saving view that has been proposed by Brown and Levinson in their book *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. The theory was structured on field research done on three languages: English, Tamil and Tzeltal -which are languages known to be very different from one another. Brown and Levinson express that their theory rests on Goffman's conceptualisation of face; however, it is worth noting that they have later been criticized for misinterpreting some of Goffman's work (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003; Werkhofer, 1992).

### **2.2.2.1 Erving Goffman's Conceptualization of Face**

The notion of 'face' in interaction was introduced by Erving Goffman for his theory of interpersonal communication. Goffman (1959) considered "face" as the

“positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact” (as cited in Thomas, 1995, p. 169). Goffman (1972) conceptualised “face” as a person’s “most personal possession and the centre of security and pleasure”, which however, “is only on loan to him from society” and “will be withdrawn unless he conducts himself in a way that is worthy of it” (as cited in Koutlaki, 2002, p. 4). He discusses face in reference to how people present themselves in social situations and how our entire reality is constructed through our social interactions. Goffman underscored the fact that in any society, whenever the physical possibility of spoken interaction arises, it seems that a system of practices, conventions, and procedural rules comes into play which functions as a means of guiding and organizing the flow of messages. An understanding will prevail as to when and where it will be permissible to initiate talk among whom, and by means of what topics of conversation (Goffman, 1967).

In Goffman’s understanding ‘face’ is a mask that changes depending on the audience and the social interaction (Goffman, 1967). Face is maintained by the audience, not by the speaker, and we strive to maintain the face we have created in social situations. Consequently, in keeping with Goffman, we may state that for a person to maintain face, he needs not only to take on a self image expressed through face, which he needs to live up to -given his position in society, but also needs to avoid certain actions which may be seen as damaging/disparaging that image by means of performing other actions that may be costly for him on a materialistic level or on an intangible level.

An individual will accept such limitations in behaviour because of pride –duty to himself– or honour related to dignity on a physical and emotional level. However, Goffman (1967) repetitively lays emphasis on the fact that there is a two-way face orientation in interaction. A person is not only concerned with his/her own face but is also expected to show concern for others’ feelings to uphold their face for emotional identification with others’ feelings. Goffman’s conceptualisation of

defensive and protective orientations of face will co-exist in practice, although at any time one may predominate resulting in face loss for the other interlocutor. His approach to face gave rise to research in ‘face work’ which serves to counteract incidents whose effective symbolic implications threaten face in stretches of discourse (Koutlaki, 2002). Many of his ideas have been later used to explain politeness practices in linguistic behaviour.

#### **2.2.2.2 Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson’s Politeness Theory**

Though not the first work on politeness, Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory has been the most influential probably because it gave researchers with a systematic scheme of face saving strategies through their book *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage* (first published in 1978 and reissued in 1987).

Bringing a culture-general and context-general perspective on politeness, Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory has been subject to much reaction and criticism; however, over the past decade it has retained its impact by the innumerable publications it has triggered, which have sought to empirically and analytically validate, modify or revise certain issues and systems embedded in it. Although more than 30 years have passed since the first impression of their work, their understanding and politeness strategies are being used as a basis of analysis in research publications.

Lakoff’s and Brown and Levinson’s concepts of politeness are similar (though they differ in central themes) in that they both embody a Gricean Framework (CP approach) but more importantly because they view politeness in terms of the way to avoid conflict and maintain a harmonious interaction. Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory is based on a Model Person (MP) around which they attempt to account for a system of politeness. Core to the theory lies two terms: ‘rationality’, means to ends reasoning and logic, and a central theme of ‘face’. As is also

expressed by the two linguists themselves in their book, their theory springs from Goffman's understanding of 'face'.

Brown and Levinson (1987) assume that all rational MP's, competent adult members of a society have and know each other to have

- (i) 'face', the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself, consisting in two related aspects:
  - (a) negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction — *i.e.*, freedom of action and freedom from imposition;
  - (b) positive face: the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by the interactants;
- (ii) certain rational capacities, in particular consistent modes of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends. (p. 61)

In this sense, positive face and negative face seem to go against each other. For instance, a complete stranger says, "Hi! The weather looks daunting, yeah?" at a rainy day to a bystander at a bus stop who is reading a newspaper. The hearer may immediately think "How rude, I don't not know him! Why can't he leave me alone? Can't he see that I am reading?" resulting in the *negative face* being threatened. The hearer may also think "How friendly! He wants to engage in a conversation with me. He can see I am all alone.", and as an outcome, *positive face* is supported.

Using this framework, speakers can also make the same speech act (e.g. asking for a lift home) differently. If the speaker asks "Would you be able to give me a lift home *whenever* you're going? Only *if it's not too much trouble*", s/he takes into account the hearer's negative face as the hearer's desire not to be imposed upon, intruded, or otherwise put upon has been foreseen by the speaker. An individual's positive face is reflected in his or her "desire to be liked, approved of, respected, appreciated by others" (Thomas, 1995, p. 169). Thus, taking the positive face of the hearer into account, the speaker can choose to say, "Gee, be a sweetie and give me a ride home." Brown and Levinson's positive politeness is

also derivatively interpreted as connectedness, the need to belong to a group in literature.

Brown and Levinson (1987) argue for a pragmatic analysis of politeness that involves a concentration on the amount of verbal work which individual speakers have to perform in their utterances to counteract the force of potential threats to the face of the hearer. "Face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 66). Brown and Levinson define a threat to a person's face as a Face Threatening Act (FTA), and argue that such threats generally require redress: a mitigating statement or some verbal repair (politeness), or breakdown of communication will ensue.

Another important key concept for their theory that needs to be introduced is "weightiness" which is related to three sociological variables. Assessing the seriousness of certain illocutionary acts that can damage a person's face, i.e. FTAs, involves making an assessment of the social parameters related to

- a) Social distance (D) of S and H: the degree of familiarity and solidarity they share.
- b) Relative power (P) of S and H: the degree to which the speaker can impose will on the hearer.
- c) Ranking of imposition (R) attached to the speech act in the culture: the degree of expenditure of goods and services by the hearer; the right of the speaker to perform the act; and the degree to which the hearer welcomes the imposition.

They calculate the weightiness ( $W_x$ ), the seriousness or the estimate of risk of face loss of an FTA using the formula  $W_x = D(S,H) + P(H,S) + R_x$

In a nutshell, "politeness theory seeks to explain why speakers select the particular strategies they do" (Tracy & Baratz, 1994, p. 288). That is, the theory is

geared around putting an explanation for why speakers choose to use a positive politeness strategy, a negative one, baldly stated or an indirect one. In essence, “the greater the social distance, the larger the relative power of the speaker over the recipient; and the bigger the imposition of the act, the more face threatening a communicative act will be” (Tracy & Baratz, 1994, p. 289).

Brown and Levinson (1987) present five super-strategies of politeness illustrating different levels of politeness in connection to the FTA and redress (attempts to counteract the potential face damage of the FTA) made, if any.

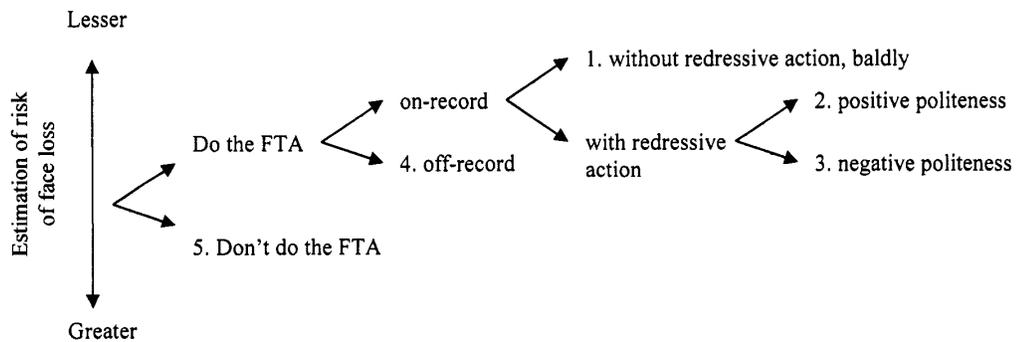


Figure 4. Politeness and Redress Strategies as Ranked by Brown and Levinson  
Source: Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 60.

The theory holds that speakers contemplating the performance of a speech act will generally choose higher-numbered (more polite) strategies in proportion to the seriousness of the act. As mentioned earlier, the superstrategies are hierarchically organized: the first strategy is not polite at all, and the last one is very polite but does not gain anything; thus, there are four different levels of polite strategies that have the potential to gain the goal. However, because of costs (effort, unclarity, other threats to face) associated with the use of higher numbered strategies, speakers will not generally select strategies that are more polite than necessary (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Their further formulation of politeness involves a succinct list of sub-strategies for all of which they also give exhaustive

explanatory realizations in language. Their list of sub-strategies that go with the four superstrategies are as follows:

**(1) Bald on Record**

Brown and Levinson (1987) treat the bald on record strategy as speaking in conformity with Grice's maxims. These maxims are intuitively the characterization of conversational principles that will constitute guidelines for achieving maximally efficient communication. Briefly stated, if one speaks the truth and is sincere, doesn't say less or more than is required, speaks relevantly and avoids any ambiguity or obscurity when doing so the speaker will communicate the message to the hearer in the most direct sense. According to Brown and Levinson's (1987) system, then, politeness is seen as the major source of deviation from such rational efficiency, and also springs entirely from that certain deviation.

One of the several reasons one will choose to go bald on record is because the speaker's wants comes first and is more important than the want to satisfy the hearer's face. In this sense, a direct FTA makes no attempt to acknowledge the hearer's face wants. (e.g. "Do the dishes. It's your turn.")

Other kinds of bald-on-record use of language Brown and Levinson envisage in different circumstances in relation to the underlying motives involve

- a) cases of non-minimization of the face threat: If maximum efficiency is known and searched for by both S and H mutually, no face redress is necessary as in cases of urgency, great desperation, and great danger (usually structured as imperatives).  
e.g. Help!  
e.g. Be careful!
- b) cases of FTA oriented bald-on-record usage: If mutual demands are not overriding face concerns but are actually oriented to face (such as in pre-emptive invitations, greetings, farewells, etc.).  
e.g. Come in.  
e.g. Sit down!

## **(2) Positive Politeness**

A speaker may perform the act while attending to the hearer's positive face wants, e.g. "Hey mate, it would be great if you could do the dishes for me". *Positive politeness* can be gained in a number of ways: through claiming common ground (strategy 1-8); conveying that S and H are co-operators (strategy 9-14); by fulfilling H's wants for some X (strategy 15) (ibid. 101-129).

Strategy 1: Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants needs, goods)

Strategy 2: Exaggerate (interest, approval sympathy with H)

Strategy 3: Intensify interest to H

Strategy 4: Use in-group identity markers

Strategy 5: Seek agreement

Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement

Strategy 7: Presuppose/raise/assert common ground

Strategy 8: Joke

Strategy 9: Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of or concern for H's wants

Strategy 10: Offer, promise

Strategy 11: Be optimistic

Strategy 12: Include both S and H in the activity

Strategy 13: Give (or ask for) reasons

Strategy 14: Assume or assert reciprocity

Strategy 15: Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)

## **(3) Negative Politeness**

A speaker might perform the FTA with negative politeness, acknowledging the hearer's negative face wants, the desire to be unimpeded and not imposed upon, e.g. "I know you've a lot do, but do you think I could get some help with the dishes?". *Negative politeness* can be realized in a number of ways: through being direct (strategy 1); by not presuming/assuming (strategy 2); by not coercing with H (strategy 3-5); by communicating S's want to not impinge on H (strategy 6-9); by redressing other wants of H's (strategy 10) (ibid. 129-210).

Strategy 1: Be conventionally indirect

Strategy 2: Question, hedge

Strategy 3: Be pessimistic

- Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition, Rx
- Strategy 5: Give deference
- Strategy 6: Apologize
- Strategy 7: Impersonalise S and H
- Strategy 8: State the FTA as a general rule
- Strategy 9: Nominalize
- Strategy 10: Go on record a incurring a debt, or as not indebting H

Positive and negative politeness strategies are used both to increase solidarity and to decrease imposition. They interact in complicated ways according to nature of the act and the status of S and H. Overall, positive politeness is concerned more with demonstrating closeness and affiliation (e.g. compliments) whereas negative politeness is concerned with distance and formality (e.g. hedges and deference).

#### **(4) Off-Record**

An indirect FTA is ambiguous, so the hearer may 'catch the drift' but the speaker can also deny a meaning if s/he wishes as the speaker performs the act in a vague manner which in turn could be interpreted by the hearer as some other act.

e.g. The dishes are really piling up.

*Off-Record* utterances can be constructed in a number of ways: through inviting conversational implicatures (strategy 1-10); by being vague or ambiguous through the violating of the maxim of manner (strategy 11-15) (ibid. 211-227).

- Strategy 1: Give hints
- Strategy 2: Give association clues
- Strategy 3: Presuppose
- Strategy 4: Understate
- Strategy 5: Overstate
- Strategy 6: Use tautologies
- Strategy 7: Use contradictions
- Strategy 8: Be ironic
- Strategy 9: Use metaphors
- Strategy 10: Use rhetorical questions
- Strategy 11: Be ambiguous
- Strategy 12: Be vague

Strategy 13: Over-generalize

Strategy 14: Displace H

Strategy 15: Be incomplete, use ellipsis

### **(5) Withhold the FTA**

A person can also choose not to threaten another's face at all performing no FTA and gain no goal in return, e.g. (Opting out) Not saying anything although you would like help with the dishes and probably doing it yourself.

Brown and Levinson have received many criticisms with respect to their theorization of politeness. Fraser (1990) has questioned whether Brown and Levinson's conceptualization maintains Goffman's original notion of face. Along the same line, O'Driscoll (1996) points out that while Goffman's notion of face referred to self-image, Brown and Levinson's face was seen both as an image and as the desire for a positive self-image. Arundale (2006, p. 205) reconceptualizes positive/negative face from a relational standpoint and states that "the dialectic of 'connection face' and 'separation face' accommodates a wide range of culture-specific construals of face, without recourse to a culturally linked aspect of face". Furthermore, other researchers doubt if Goffman's notion can be extended to cover negative face in Brown and Levinson's paradigm (Chen, 2001; O'Driscoll, 1996; Watts et al., 1992).

Many theorists have criticised Brown and Levinson's model of politeness, mainly for its overgeneralization of 'eurocentric' norms (Gu, 1990; Ji, 2000; Kadt, 1998) several theorists have criticised both the overextension and the limitation of use of the term 'face' in Brown and Levinson's use (Mao, 1994; Nwoye, 1992). Similarly, Matsumoto (1988, 1989), Ide (1989) in their work on Japanese politeness find the theory biased due to its presenting western ideals of each individual's value and territorial rights, for that reason, not being able to account for their data. Brown and Levinson's model also seems unable to analyse politeness beyond the level of the sentence. Although he made use of their theory

as a basis for his (im)politeness model, Culpeper (1996) has also criticised their model for being unable to analyse inference, which he suggests is the level at which a great deal of linguistic politeness and impoliteness occurs.

Politeness cannot be said to reside within linguistic forms. Thus, a statement such as “Do you think it would be possible for you to get a doctor’s appointment for me today?” would be interpreted by Brown and Levinson as polite if used by a boss to his secretary, since mitigating features are included in this direct request which might constitute an FTA; however, this might in fact be interpreted as impolite, if it were said by a boss to his/her secretary if they usually have an informal style of communicating, and this is not the first time that the request has been made. Thus, the very features which Brown and Levinson would argue seem to indicate politeness may in fact be used to express impoliteness. Thus, Brown and Levinson’s model can further be criticised for assuming too much about what a polite or impolite act means. Only individuals interacting on their socio-culturally based meaning-making processes can assess whether a particular act is polite or impolite, and even then, such interpretations may be subject to disagreement.

Werkhofer (1992) argues that the Brown & Levinson account of politeness is essentially individualistic: it presents the speaker as a rational agent who at least during the generation of utterances is unconstrained by social considerations and is thus free to select egocentric, asocial and aggressive intentions. One of the major problems with Brown & Levinson’s model is also “the setting out the choices open to the speakers in the form of a decision-tree through which they have to work their way before they can arrive at the appropriate utterances in which to frame the FTA” (Watts, 2003, p. 88). Such a system also excludes the possibility that two or more strategies might be chosen at the same time.

### 2.2.3 Bruce Fraser and William Nolan's Conversational Contract

Fraser (1975) and Fraser and Nolan (1981) approach politeness as a set of constraints of verbal behaviour and label their view as the *conversational contract* (as cited in Fraser, 1990). While Fraser recognizes the importance of Goffman's notion of face, his perspective in politeness differs greatly from Brown and Levinson's. Expanding on Grice's CP, Fraser's view of politeness involves an implicit understanding of the rules governing social interaction between cooperative interlocutors. He explains:

upon entering into a given conversation, each party brings and understanding of some initial set of rights and obligations that will determine, at least for the preliminary stages, what the participants can expect from the other(s). During the course of time, or because of a change in the context, there is always the possibility for a renegotiation of the conversational contract (CC): two parties may read just what rights and obligations they hold towards each other (1990, p. 22).

The starting point is the idea that "what makes a sentence polite and/or impolite is the conditions under which they are used and are not the expressions themselves" (Fraser and Nolan, 1981 reported in Reiter, 2000, p. 28). When engaged in conversational exchange parties enter into a conversational contract in that the interaction is affected, not only by pre-agreed upon factors but the situation is dynamic with shifting relationships, shifting distribution of power, and shifting goals and intentions of participants. The conversational contract is constantly subject to change during the course of interaction, according to the participants' constant assessment of varying contextual factors.

The rights and obligations that interacting participants bring to the conversation vary greatly. Based on the expected sociocultural norms, competent interlocutors know how to behave and what to expect during conversation. They know, for instance, that they are expected to take turns, when not, when and how much to speak, and when to remain silent. Also according to the established social parameters (i.e. status, power, the role of each speaker, and the nature of the

circumstances), participants know what say and how to address the interlocutor appropriately; their messages are determined based on the force and content of their intended actions. Most importantly, since rights and obligations seem to be highly culturally determined, speech act patterns and degrees of politeness are expected to differ cross culturally.

Thus, in Fraser's understanding, if a competent participants respect the terms and conditions of the CC during social interaction, they are considered to be polite. As such, negotiation is also a crucial component of CC. In order to maintain balance in the conversation and being aware of their rights and obligations, participants may renegotiate their intentions as long as they abide by the terms of the CC. Under this view, politeness is anticipated and is something that develops throughout conversation. As observed by Fraser (1990), politeness does not

involve making the hearer 'feel good', à la Lakoff or Leech, nor with making the hearer 'feel bad', à la Brown and Levinson. It simply involves getting on with the task at hand in light of the terms and conditions of the CC (p. 223).

Based on the social norms of a particular culture, cooperative participants are polite when they abide by CC under particular circumstances. By connecting politeness with conversational contract, Fraser (1990) claims the perspective presents the most general and dynamic view of politeness. Fraser's view has been considered as "the most global perspective on politeness by others also (Kasper, 1994, p. 3207), and has been applied to account for politeness in non-western cultures (Nwoye, 1992). However, there are inherent difficulties in applying this approach to linguistic data since the exact components of conversational contracts, rights and obligations in actual interactions, are neither adequately elaborated nor easily detectable in analysis.

## **2.4 Recent Approaches to (Im)politeness and Communication**

The more recent approaches that follow, termed as “post-modern” theories/critiques by some (Arundale, 2006; Terkourafi, 2005a), have arisen out of a deep-seated dissatisfaction with traditional theories outlined above, which they seek to remedy importing insights from social theory and social psychology into pragmatics.

### **2.4.1 Richard Watts’ Work on (Im)politeness**

Watts argues that to define politeness more precisely, there is a need to make a distinction between ‘politic speech’ and ‘polite speech’ to distinguish between politeness as a strategy, and politeness as a set of linguistic conventions.

Watts (1992) describes *politic* speech as

...socio-culturally determined behaviour directed towards the goal of establishing and/or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals of a social group, whether open or closed, during the ongoing process of verbal interaction (1992, p. 50).

Watts (2003) maintains that politic behaviour is “that behaviour, linguistic and non-linguistic, which the participants construct as being appropriate to the ongoing social interaction. The construction may have been made prior to entering the interaction, but is always negotiable during the interaction, despite the expectations that participants might bring to it” (p. 20). Polite behaviour, as distinguished from politic behaviour, depends entirely on “those features of the interaction which are socio-culturally marked by the speech community as being more than merely politic”, in this respect “polite behaviour leads to an enhancement of ego’s standing with respect to alter” (ibid. 51).

Watts (2003) believes that linguistic behaviour should be evaluated from the point of view of expected behaviour. He points out that

... linguistic behaviour which is perceived to be appropriate to the social constraints of the on-going interaction, i.e. as non-salient, should be called *politic behaviour*. ... Linguistic behaviour which is perceived to be beyond what is expectable, i.e. salient behaviour, should be called *polite* or *impolite* depending on whether the behaviour itself tends towards the negative or positive end of the spectrum of politeness. (p. 19)

One of the many researchers who have advocated the dynamic approach to describing language use in recent years is Watts (1992, 2003). Throughout his book *Politeness*, Watts (2003) argues for a radically new way of looking at linguistic politeness. He aims to show that it is necessary to make a clear distinction between the commonsense or lay notion of (im)politeness and the theoretical notion of (im)politeness. The need to make this kind of distinction is also emphasized by Eelen (2001).

The commonsense notion is referred to by Watts as first-order (im)politeness, i.e. (im)politeness<sub>1</sub>, and the theoretical notion is referred to by second-order (im)politeness, i.e. (im)politeness<sub>2</sub>. (Im)politeness<sub>1</sub> is a socio-psychological notion that is used for the various ways in which members of sociocultural groups talk about polite/impolite language usage, whereas (im)politeness<sub>2</sub> is a theoretical, linguistic notion in a sociolinguistic theory of (im)politeness.

Watts' distinction has also been met with a difference of opinion. Xie, He and Lin (2005) argue that Watts' distinction between (im)politeness<sub>1</sub> and (im)politeness<sub>2</sub> is problematic since it is seen as an attempt to "establish sharp demarcations between the ordinary social member and the expert or scientist" and borders on producing social inequality (p. 455).

Watts (2003) acknowledges that the terms polite and politeness and their rough lexical equivalents in other languages may vary in the meanings and connotations associated with them from one group of speakers to the next—even from one individual speaker to the next. Thus, his division of lay (im)politeness, (im)politeness1, versus theoretical (im)politeness, (im)politeness2, is especially critical for cross-cultural politeness research. Watts stresses that politeness conceptualizations are not universal but culturally situated. This is why to use a lay concept in one language as a universal concept for all languages and cultures is particularly inappropriate. As he puts it “there can be no idealised, universal scientific concept of (im)politeness (i.e. (im)politeness2) which can be applied to instances of social interaction across cultures, subcultures and languages” (p. 23).

According to Watts (2003, p.1, *passim*), some examples of lay interpretations of polite language usage are ‘the language a person uses to avoid being too direct’, ‘language which displays respect towards or consideration for others’, or ‘language that displays certain polite formulaic utterances like *please, thank you, excuse me* or *sorry*. On the other hand, some people may consider the polite use of language as, for example, ‘hypocritical’, ‘dishonest’ or ‘distant’. As regards a general level of polite behaviour, some people feel that polite behaviour is equivalent to socially correct or appropriate behaviour, while others consider it to be the hallmark of the cultivated person, etc. The purpose of Watts is to show that the nature of (im)politeness1 is inherently *evaluative* as does Eelen (2001). He argues that (im)politeness1 is a locus of “social struggle over discursive practices” (Watts, 2003, p. 17). For Watts and Locher (2005) (im)politeness1 with whatever terms used in whatever language to refer to mutually cooperative behaviour, considerateness for others, polished behaviour, etc., is a locus of social struggle over discursive practices. In his view, this very fact should be the central focus of a theory of politeness. So, a theory of (im)politeness2 should concern itself with the discursive struggle over (im)politeness1, or in other words, over the ways in which (im)polite behaviour is evaluated and commented on by lay people.

Watts (2003) bases his theory of politeness on Bourdieu's (1977; 1990) concept of social practice and his own theory of emergent networks (see Lizardo, 2004 for an extensive review of the cognitive origins of Bourdieu's *habitus*). Moreover, his notion of 'politic behaviour' is related to the *habitus* in Bourdieu's theory of practice. Watts uses *habitus* as it accounts for the knowledge of which linguistic structures are expectable in a specific type of interaction in a specific social field. Behaviour which is not part of the politic behaviour of an interaction type is 'inappropriate' and open to classification as 'impolite' (Watts 2003, p. 161). Using data from naturally occurring English verbal interaction and his personal experience, he develops an argument that politeness theory can never be fully equated with face theory. He suggests a return to the original Goffmanian sense of face outlining its major differences to Brown and Levinson's understanding. Watts also purports that facework should not be taken as the same as politeness, as some have done so in the past.

Claiming his theorizing to be 'a postmodernist approach', Watts argues that linguistic politeness starts from the assumption that perceptions of politeness lie within the individual as a social being and not that politeness is a quality of verbal interaction somehow lying outside or beyond instances of interaction themselves. Through discourse in social interaction we create common worlds, the most significant of these being our interpersonal relationships with others. The interactional negotiation of these relationships has been referred to as "relational work" (Locher, 2004; Locher and Watts, 2005). Thus, Locher and Watts (2005) propose what they call a broader view of facework that goes beyond polite or appropriate behaviour that is more suitable for explaining social interaction, namely, relational work. They maintain that a discursive approach to polite behaviour has the benefit of analyzing it as part of the relational work carried out in any socio-communicative verbal interaction, which encompasses the entire continuum of verbal behaviour. Locher and Watts (2005) state that especially in accordance with Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory, 'facework' has been "largely reserved to describe only appropriate and polite behaviour with a focus

on face-threat mitigation, at the exclusion of rude, impolite and inappropriate behaviour” (p. 11). To avoid confusion and in favor of clarity, Locher and Watts (2004) adopt relational work as their preferred terminology and conceptualize it in the form of the continuum in the figure below.

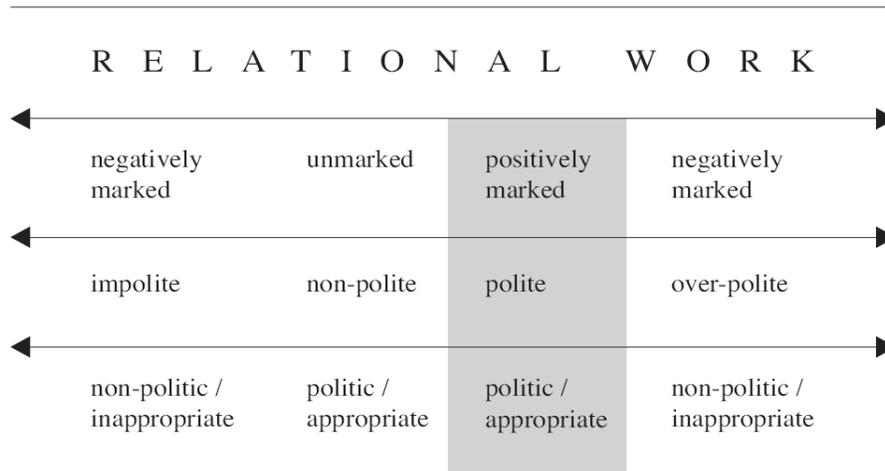


Figure 5. Relational Work and its Polite Version

Source: Locher and Watts, 2004, p. 12.

In terms of individual participants’ perceptions of verbal interaction, they argue that any interpersonal interaction involves the participants in the negotiation of face. Locher and Watts (2005) claim:

The term “facework”, therefore, should also span the entire breadth of interpersonal meaning. This, however, is rarely the case in the literature which is oriented to the norms established in previous interactions, a great deal of the relational work carried out will be of an unmarked nature and will go largely unnoticed. Marked behaviour, conversely, can be noticed in three ways. It will be perceived as *negative* if it is judged as impolite/non-politic/ inappropriate or as over-polite/non-politic/inappropriate. (p.11; emphasis included)

They hypothesize that peoples affective reactions to over-polite behaviour will be roughly similar to their reactions to impolite behaviour. *Positively* marked behaviour will coincide with its being perceived as polite/politic/appropriate. In other words, they claim that polite behaviour is always politic while politic behaviour can also be non-polite. They conclude that if the (im)politeness

researcher is interested in the (im)polite level of relational work, the focus should be on the ‘discursive struggle’ over what constitutes (in)appropriate/(non-)politic behaviour.

#### **2.4.2 Marina Terkourafi’s Frame-Analysis**

According to Terkourafi (2005), politeness research to date has generally adopted one of two views: the “traditional” view based on the dual premises of Grice’s Co-operative Principle and speech act theory (Austin, 1975; Searle, 1969) as advanced by Lakoff (1973), Brown and Levinson, (1987), and Leech (1983), or the “post-modern” view, which rejects these premises and replaces them with an emphasis on participants’ own perceptions of politeness (politeness1) and on the discursive struggle over politeness (Eelen 2001, Mills 2003, Watts 2003). Contrasting these two views, Terkourafi (2005) illustrates yet a third direction for politeness studies, the “frame-based” view. She suggests that the “frame-based view” fits in with the traditional and the post-modern views in a schema addressing politeness phenomena at different levels of granularity.

Initially undertaken as a part of her doctoral project, the empirical data motivating Terkourafi’s theoretical discussion is based on approximately 100 hours of spontaneous conversations in a variety of settings between 672 adult native Cypriot Greek speakers, recorded in the four major urban centers of the Republic of Cyprus. In her study, she combines speech-act theoretic and conversation-analytic considerations, and identifies utterance-sequences realizing offers or requests and distinguishes them based on the desirability of the predicated act (i.e. whether this was desirable to the speaker or the addressee respectively). The process of semi-phonological transcription yielded a database of 2,189 observations of such acts, each of which was characterized for a number of linguistic and extra-linguistic variables. Her ‘linguistic variables’ included features of the main-clause verb, such as lexico-semantic properties (whether this is personal or impersonal, expresses obligation or volition, etc.), the subjective

modality, and the combination of number/ person for which it is marked. 'Extra-linguistic variables' included the sex, age and social class of the speaker and of the addressee, the relationship between them, the setting of the exchange, the type of speech act performed, and finally its sequential placement in the flow of the conversation. In Terkourafi's model, thus, the linguistic variables together with the extra-linguistic variables compose *frame(s)* of reference. Her extra linguistic variables; however, do not contain the notions of historicity, sincerity and intentionality (see section 6.2).

According to Terkourafi (2005b), in scrutinizing interlocutors' motivations for being polite, the first thing to note is that interlocutors are endowed with rationality not only as individuals, but also as members of a community of speakers. "Placing politeness at the interface between individual and societal rationality foregrounds the importance of abiding by prevailing norms of behaviour, since such norms provide the stable background against which all behaviour is (automatically) evaluated as polite (or not)" (p.100).

For Terkourafi, politeness is then expected because it is rational; as such it constitutes the unmarked way of speaking in a community, which accounts for use of polite forms passing unnoticed. In the "frame-based view" politeness is construed as a broader notion, which encompasses all instances in which face is constituted as a "by-product" of interlocutors' adhering to the interactional norms of the community within which they are operating (ibid.). Terkourafi claims that it is less costly to achieve one's goals in situations where hostility and distrust are uncalled for. A collective self is invoked in conversation when one demonstrates one's familiarity with the interactional norms of the surrounding community.

She uses the notions of "appropriateness" and "rationality" as a way to meet ends in the community: doing so requires adherence since "to maintain face is to fit in" (ibid.). She states:

In selecting the most efficient means to realize one's goal, one must take into account the interactional norms of the community within which one is operating. The appropriateness of a certain linguistic act means to achieve a desired end, then, is a more usefully construed as a qualitative notion, which may be explicated as appropriateness relevant to what is usual or expected in a certain situation within a community. Once the appropriateness of a linguistic means to achieve a desired end is construed in qualitative terms, assessing it involves knowing what is usual or expected in a certain situation within a community. (2005b, p.111).

As indicated by Terkourafi (1999; 2001; 2005a; 2005b) one way of formalizing this is by appeal to the notion of 'frame'. Terkourafi (2005a) follows Minsky's understanding of frame as data-structure for representing a stereotyped situation. Since there is evidence that cross-cultural preferences for different politeness modes arise early in life, the community one is socialized in crucially defines one's knowledge pertaining to politeness. Frames are acquired in the course of socialization by abstracting away from, or generalizing over, actual situations. They combine, as separate components, information about the appropriate use of language and are stored in long-term memory with default values filling in particular component-slots. Perceptually encountering a novel situation, then, provides data to be matched with data stored in memory. The greater the number of features of the perceived situation matching default values filling in component-slots of a particular frame, the more strongly this particular frame will be recalled from memory. In this way, expectations are set up and expectations are what guide communicative practices whether at the production or interpretation level:

..... because frames combine information about both the extralinguistic features of a situation, and the appropriate use of language therein, whichever of these is available first will give rise to expectations about the other. In this way, we can account for politeness assessments of utterances produced and interpreted in the course of an actual situation (where expectations are set up with recourse to the extra-linguistic features of the situation); but also, for politeness default values which cultures attribute to specific linguistic behaviours seemingly independently of context (where expectations are set up with recourse to linguistic information). (2005a, p.112)

Terkourafi argues that in making no a priori theoretical claims about the politeness potential of specific linguistic devices (by classifying them, for example, under specific over-arching strategies, in the fashion of Brown & Levinson 1987), frames provide basis for a truly universalizing approach which does justice to the cultural diversity empirically attested in the area of politeness phenomena. The approach proposed by Terkourafi turns out to be constraining enough to account for diverging politeness assessments of formally equivalent linguistic devices by different cultures, while at the same time being general enough to allow for the observed creativity of linguistic politeness. According to Terkourafi, if and when future studies of politeness in other cultures will take up this task of approaching politeness from a frame-based view, testing the claim that these features are indeed organized into “data-structures representing stereotyped situations”, i.e. into frames involved in the processing of polite discourse, as well as impolite discourse, there will be greater insight gained into building a more flexible and complete theory of (im)politeness. More recently, working on the culture-specificity of emic conceptualisations of ‘face’, Terkourafi attempts to ground ‘face’ within its socio-historical domain of Greek. (Terkourafi, in press).

#### **2.4.3 Min-Sun Kim’s Conversational Constraints**

Kim (1994) investigates the relative importance cultural groups attach to certain constraints (for example clarity, avoid hurting other’s feeling, etc.) during conversation in an attempt to provide cognitive accounts for the preferred choice of different conversational strategies in different cultures. Kim and Kim (1997) define their understanding of conversational (interactive) constraints as “fundamental concerns regarding manner in which a message is constructed. They tend to affect the general character of everyday conversation one engages in, and an individual’s conversation style in general” (p.119). Kim used conversational constraints as a tool for understanding communicative style in describing cross-cultural communication. The advantage of her approach is that it connects cultural

tendencies with individual psychology in illustrating how people choose to address others. Such matters are undoubtedly at the heart of politeness phenomena.

Kim (1994) and Kim and Kim (1997) have investigated the functioning of conversational constraints for the speech act request. As for the methodology, in their studies, respondents were asked to judge and rate the importance of each of the following conversational constraints for them in a number of request situations: (1) concern for avoiding hurting the hearer's feelings, (2) concern for minimizing imposition, (3) concern for avoiding negative evaluation by the hearer, (4) concern for clarity, (5) concern for effectiveness.

Kim (1994) compared the responses of Koreans, Mainland US respondents and Hawaiian US respondents and interpreted the results in light of the constructs of individualism and collectivism. Her findings indicated that the perceived importance of clarity was higher in individualistic cultures; though, the perceived importance of avoiding hurting the hearer's feelings and of minimizing imposition were higher in more collectivist cultures. However, the perceived importance of effectiveness and of avoiding negative evaluation by the hearer did not differ significantly across the three groups.

Kim and Kim (1997) investigated whether or not two individual difference variables, i.e. the need for social approval and the need for dominance, had any relation to the five interactive constraints (in request situations) Kim (1994) had formerly studied. Partially using the same data set as Kim (1994), Kim and Kim (1997) found that different personality characteristics (the need for approval and the need for dominance) systematically affect the perceived importance of interactive constraints in Koreans and Americans with regard to their cultures. Spencer-Oatey et al. (2001) point out several weaknesses/limitations in her research design (i.e. having only looked at requests, not controlling contextual variables sufficiently enough, having some conversational constraints that are too

general to elicit sound cultural differences) and expanded on her work in these areas by introducing the rapport management model and notion of sociopragmatic interactional principles (SIP). Kim's (1994) research has been a valuable step for Spencer-Oatey who investigates interactional principles as embedded in a Rapport Management model.

#### **2.4.5 Helen Spencer-Oatey's Rapport Management Model and SIPs**

Spencer-Oatey's understanding of *rapport* refers to the relative harmony and smoothness of relations between people, and rapport management refers to the management (or mismanagement) of relations between people. As Spencer-Oatey (2000b) points out, people can hold differing types of rapport orientations towards each other. For example, they can hold a rapport-enhancement orientation (a desire to strengthen or enhance harmonious relations between the interlocutors), a rapport-maintenance orientation (a desire to maintain or protect harmonious relations), a rapport-neglect orientation (a lack of concern or interest in the quality of relations, perhaps because of a focus on self), or a rapport challenge orientation (a desire to challenge or impair harmonious relations). People's motives for these various orientations can be various, and of course, their orientations can change dynamically during the course of an interaction or series of interactions. Spencer-Oatey (2005b) takes the management of rapport, therefore, to include not only behaviour that enhances or maintains smooth relations, but any kind of behaviour that has an impact on rapport, whether positive, negative, or neutral.

Building on motivational concerns that underlie management of relations, Spencer-Oatey (2000b) presents a conceptual framework, "Rapport Management" that draws a fundamental distinction between face and sociality rights and one that incorporates an independent/interdependent perspective. She asserts that she is aware that such motivational components are not totally absent in Brown and Levinson's framework; however, there is disproportionate focus on linguistic form rather than what lies beneath: rapport management.

Spencer-Oatey (2000b) argues that rapport management (i.e. the management of relationships) involves two main components: face management and sociality rights management. According to Spencer-Oatey (2000b), *face management*, as the term indicates, involves the management of face needs and, following Goffman she defines face as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact.

The management of *sociality rights*, on the other hand, involves the management of social expectancies, which she defines as fundamental personal/social entitlements that a person effectively claims for him/herself in his/her interactions with others. In other words, face is associated with *personal/social value*, and is concerned with people's sense of worth, dignity, honour, reputation, competence and so on. Sociality rights, conversely, are concerned with *personal/social expectancies*, and reflect people's concerns over fairness, consideration, social inclusion/exclusion and so on. Below is a representation of Spencer-Oatey's Rapport Management model involving all these issues.

Table 2. Components of Rapport Management

	<b>Face Management (Personal/Social Value)</b>	<b>Sociality Rights Management (Personal/Social Entitlements)</b>
<b>Personal/Independent Perspective</b>	Quality Face (cf. Brown & Levinson's positive face)	Equity Rights (cf. Brown & Levinson's negative face)
<b>Social/Interdependent Perspective</b>	Social Identity Face	Association Rights (corresponds to one aspect of B & L's positive face)

Source: Spencer-Oatey, 2000, p. 15.

Brown and Levinson (1987) define negative face in terms of autonomy and freedom from imposition; however, Spencer-Oatey's (2000b) notion of sociality rights is much broader than this, and includes a much wider range of issues. For

example, she discusses *equity rights*, and explains these not just in terms of freedom from undue control and imposition, but also in terms of cost-benefit issues (moving along the same line as Leech): the extent to which we are exploited or disadvantaged, and the belief that costs and benefits should be kept roughly in balance through the principle of reciprocity. She also talks about *association rights*: our belief that we are entitled to social involvement with others, in keeping with the type of relationship that we have with them, i.e. the right to appropriate degrees of involvement and disassociation.

Building on work by Matsumoto (1988) who has also stressed the importance of “place within the group” in Japan, compared with individual rights in the West and also research by Morisaki and Gudykunst (1994), who uphold the hypothesis that American and Japanese conceptualisations of face are different, and argue that in America, face concerns relate to individual self-construals whereas in Japan they relate to interdependent self-construals, Spencer-Oatey (2000b) incorporates independent and interdependent perspectives of rapport management in her model and research.

Spencer Oatey and Xing (2003) state that one important function of language is to help manage relationships and in linguistics, the role of language in managing relationships has been primarily studied within politeness theory by Brown and Levinson. However, they propose ways in which they feel Brown and Levinson's (1987) face-saving model needs to be modified in order to reflect authentic interactional issues more accurately. They illustrate their proposal through what they call “incident data”. Their methodology involved asking Chinese students (recent arrivals to Britain) to keep a record of incidents that either had some kind of particularly negative effect; i.e. interactions that made them feel particularly annoyed, insulted, embarrassed, humiliated, etc.; and also to record those incidents that had some kind of particularly positive effect; i.e. interactions with other people that made them feel particularly happy, proud, self-satisfied, etc. Their main purpose in collecting such sort of data was to obtain some authentic

experiential data that could help them check whether Spencer-Oatey's (2000b) framework on rapport management was compatible with the data, or whether there were some inconsistencies. Overall, considerable support for the framework has been found.

Asserting that Brown and Levinson (1987) have taken a rather individual perspective on face by referring to it as a self-image and widening the scope of Rapport Management to involve intergroup and interpersonal orientations to communication, also in line with Spencer-Oatey and Xing (2000) findings and the theory of communication accommodation, they maintain that the study of face need not only be a personal concern but also be a group or collective concern. They also claim that it need not be one or the other but people's orientations may be mixed, e.g. include both interpersonal and intergroup elements.

Within and intercultural communication research paradigm, Spencer-Oatey and Xing (2003) reviewed earlier findings on these principles and elements and proposed that there may be cultural differences in the likely level of sensitivity to the varying components. For example, the interdependent perspective being more important in Eastern cultures than in Western cultures. In support of this possibility, in an earlier study, Spencer-Oatey and Xing (2000) found that identity face seemed to be particularly important to Chinese business people visiting Britain. People's notions of rights and obligations were revealed to be culturally influenced to a great degree especially for role-related rights and obligations.

Spencer-Oatey et al. (2001) have piloted research with British and Chinese respondents that builds on and extends Kim's (1994) approach outlined in the previous section. For the purpose, they have used a questionnaire containing twelve different scenarios for four types of speech acts. The scenarios were designed to incorporate both task and relational concerns, and to cause some kind of dilemma that needed appropriate handling, such as differences of opinion or conflicting wishes. Their initial results were found as encouraging and suggest

that it will be fruitful to explore this type of link between culture and communication in more detail and with more sociocultural groups. According to Spencer-Oatey et al. (2001), such research is “essential if we are to extend our understanding of the impact of culture on communication and to be able to explain it more satisfactorily” (p. 1).

With the intention of building a system of research based on her model to reach a better understanding of similarities/differences (i.e. cultural values, along with personal values) among cultures, Spencer-Oatey and associates proposed a number of SIPs (sociopragmatic-interactive principles). According to Spencer-Oatey and Jiang (2003), “SIPs is a development of Leech’s (1983) notion of politeness maxims and Kim’s (1994) work on conversational /interactive constraints” (p. 3). Spencer-Oatey and Jiang (2003) have adopted the term principle instead of constraint as constraint implies a sense of limitation and restriction while principle is “more neutral, implies simply guidance or influence” and is “associated with values and/or beliefs” (ibid.). They define and explain SIPs as “socioculturally based principles, scalar in nature, that guide or influence people’s productive and interpretive use of language” (ibid.). They assert that in this way SIPs have the advantage of integrating the three main politeness perspectives identified by Fraser (1990) which are the conversational-maxim view, the face-saving view and the conversational contract view. See table below for correspondences between SIPs and other theories of politeness and communication from Işık (2003).

Table 3. Correspondences Between SIPs, Theories of Politeness and Communication

<b>Grice (1975)</b>	<b>Leech (1983)</b>	<b>B&amp;L (1987)</b>	<b>Kim (1994)</b>	<b>Spencer-Oatey (2002)</b>
-Maxim of Manner		-Directness	-concern for clarity	-clarity
	-Tact -Modesty	-Negative Politeness	-concern for nonimposition	-restraint -avoiding trouble (for self and other)
	-Agreement -Sympathy -Generosity -Approbation	-Positive Politeness	-avoid hurting other's feeling -avoid negative evaluation	-warmth -humour -avoiding embarrassment (for self and other)
	-Tact	-Indirectness		-hinting
-Cooperative Principle			-concern for effectiveness	-task accomplishment
				-concern for rights/obligations

Source: Işık, 2003, p. 64.

Spencer-Oatey has been influenced by Leech (1983) who suggested that his politeness maxims could have different importance ratings in different situations and different cultures. Spencer-Oatey et al. (2001) accept that in all languages, there is a range of strategies that enable people to manage such dilemmas in different ways. To illustrate, they refer to findings of some researchers which revealed that there is much greater tendency in China and Japan to downplay/reject a compliment than there is in Britain or the USA. Further, in relation to conflict and disagreement, it is claimed that Leech's agreement maxim is of greater importance in Asian societies than the West (Spencer-Oatey et al., 2001). The key difference between maxims and SIPs, however, is the fact that for Leech's maxims, "one end of the dimension is typically more desirable (e.g. agreement is more desirable than disagreement), whereas for interactional principles, different points on the scale may be preferred in different circumstances" (Spencer-Oatey and Jiang, 2003, p. 3).

Moving on the same lines as Bond, Žeđerac and Spencer-Oatey (2000) who argue that there is a growing need to obtain independent measures of these interactional rules or principles –ones that are independent of language use–, Spencer-Oatey raises a number of intriguing issues. Spencer-Oatey claims that we first need to determine objectively how many fundamental interactional principles exist universally and what they are. The second equally important issue put forth is related to obtaining scores on each maxim for different cultural groups, so that objective and independent measures of the relative importance of each interactional principle in a range of societies can be reached.

More recently, reportedly gaining insights from social psychology, Spencer-Oatey (2005a) has published on the link between behavioural expectations and (im)politeness. She claims that people’s judgements about social appropriateness are based primarily on their expectations, which in turn are derived from their beliefs about behaviour: those that are prescribed, that are permitted and those that are proscribed. As Spencer-Oatey explains:

Prescribed behaviour is behaviour that is regarded as legally and/or socially obligatory: people are obliged to produce it, and others expect (and believe they have the right) to experience it. Conversely, proscribed behaviour is behaviour that is legally and/or socially forbidden (e. g., racist remarks): people are obliged to avoid it, and others have the right NOT to experience it. Prescribed behaviour that is omitted, and proscribed behaviour that is not avoided, is typically experienced as “negatively eventful”.... Permitted behaviour is behaviour that is allowed, but neither technically prescribed nor proscribed. Some permitted behaviour is not socially expected, but if it is socially desirable, it is perceived as “positively eventful” when it occurs. On the other hand, if it is not particularly socially salient, it may simply pass unnoticed.... However, some permitted behaviour is so common and expected that it comes to be regarded as obligatory, and so if it is omitted, it may be regarded as impolite or rude. (p. 97-98).

Such expectations are built around a number of factors. In an attempt to unpack the bases and interrelationships of (im)politeness, face and rapport, she has produced the following model. Her model in the figure below involves her two principles –equity and association) outlined above.

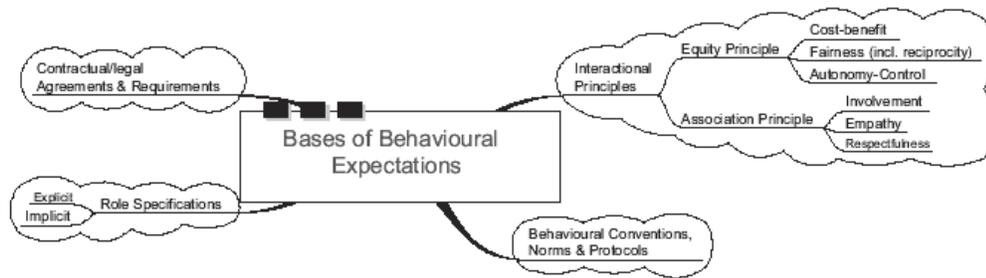


Figure 6. The Bases of Behavioural Expectations  
 Source: Spencer-Oatey, 2005a, p. 98.

Basing her research mainly on data collected during business encounters, Spencer-Oatey (2005a) asserts that beside interactional principles, some expectations are based on contractual/legal agreements and requirements. Other expectations are based on role specifications, which can sometimes be explicit but typically involve a very large amount of implicit specifications.

She states that very frequently, “behavioural expectations are based on behavioural conventions, norms and protocols” (p.99). Conventions and protocols are typically contextually based, and vary according to a range of contextual variables such as the type of communicative activity, the nature of the communicative setting (macro and micro), and the nature of the participant relations (e. g., hierarchical or equal) (ibid.).

Spencer-Oatey (2005a) stresses the dynamic nature of rapport and judgments made by interlocutors in communication. As illustrated in Figure 6 above, when “people interact with each other, they make dynamic judgments as to whether their rapport has been enhanced, maintained or damaged” (p. 116). These judgments (conscious or otherwise) are based to a large extent on assessments of the three key bases of perceptions of rapport: interactional wants, face sensitivities, and behavioural expectations.

According to Spencer-Oatey (2005a, p. 116), when interlocutors have specific interactional wants, they make dynamic judgments as to whether these wants are being achieved, whether they are being dissatisfied, or whether there has been no progress. Similarly, if they are paying attention to interpersonal relations, they make dynamic judgments as to whether they have gained face, have maintained face, have lost face or have had their face threatened. At the same time, they have expectancy reactions to the verbal and non-verbal behaviour that they experience, and perceive it as positively eventful, negatively eventful, or (when the expected behaviour is fulfilled) simply do not notice it. These assessments can often result in significant emotional reactions, which in turn can have a crucial impact on perceived rapport (ibid.).

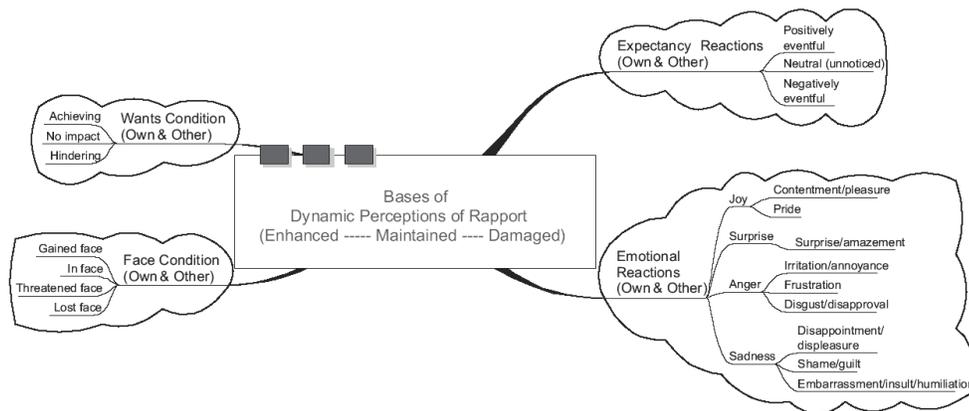


Figure 7. The Bases of Dynamic Perceptions of Rapport  
Source. Spencer-Oatey, 2005a, p. 116.

For effective rapport management, though, “it is essential that people not only assess their own conditions and reactions” (ibid.). Even more importantly, they need to consider their interlocutor’s face conditions, their wants conditions, and whether their interactional expectancies are being fulfilled (see Figure 7). They then need to find an appropriate balance between meeting their own needs and the needs of their interlocutor(s). According to Spencer-Oatey, a number of factors can affect the effectiveness with which people can do this, including personality, personal preoccupations, and awareness of cultural differences.

When trying to investigate conceptualizations of politeness and the metapragmatics of politeness and the bases of politeness judgements in a speech community, it is thus important for the study at hand to consider wants and face conditions as well as expectancy and emotional reactions of the interlocutor (as illustrated by Spencer-Oatey, 2005a, 2005b) with specific reference to social interaction evaluation recalls and personal narratives of (im)politeness and conceptualizations in relation to (im)politeness metalanguage. Furthermore, for the study, owing to the qualitative data-driven (versus a theory driven approach) adopted, the analysis has been carried out in an exploratory instead of a confirmatory fashion with an open mind.

Having surveyed the major frameworks of (im)politeness available, the data and the analysis of data for the study at hand more closely associated itself with the Rapport Management approach to studying (im)politeness (in keeping the distinction between face claims and sociality rights entitlements). Thus, qualitative data reduction (i.e. thematic coding and analysis of data) has primarily made use of the components of the Rapport Management model outlined above. Nonetheless, as a natural consequence of working with 15 (im)politeness lexemes, considering (im)polite acts of non-linguistic nature as well as linguistic behaviour, other components to (im)politeness (i.e. attentiveness as opposed to association, self-presentation styles, self-emotion management, physical aspects of impoliteness, etc.) have also been unearthed as will be dealt with in the chapters to come 5. In the next section, as the last portion of the literature review, ethnography and ethnomethodology as possible research orientations are taken up since the novel methodology pursued in this study are to a certain degree based on the premises of these research orientations.

## **2.5 Ethnography and Ethnomethodology as Research Orientations**

Ethnography has a long and respected history within sociology and social anthropology, dating as far back as the 1920's (Francis and Hester, 2004) and is

recognized as the art and science of describing a group or culture. Ethnographic research begins with the selection of a problem or topic of interest (Fetterman, 1998) and the patterns of human thought and behaviour are the focus of inquiry. Watson-Gegeo (1988) defines ethnography as the “study of people’s behaviour in naturally occurring, ongoing settings, with a focus on the cultural interpretation of behaviour (p. 576). Ethnographies focus on “people’s behaviour in groups and on cultural patterns in that behaviour” (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 577), as a way of grasping and investigating how a group of people make sense of their own lives. The ethnographer is curious to learn about different aspects of a culture, such as family life, social roles, appropriate ways of communication, traditions and history, interpersonal relationships, etc. (Saville-Troike, 1978 as cited in Eröz, 2003).

In its more traditional sense, as in purely anthropological studies, addressing this curiosity and reporting these findings accurately is a challenging task; it entails being closely involved with the lives of members of a culture in order to gain insights about their culture and way of living. The challenging aspect of ethnographies is their demand for objectivity from the ethnographers in very subjective and uncontrolled settings, which is the result of observing a group of people in a real-life setting instead of a laboratory (Nunan, 1992, p. 54-55) in order to comment on, translate, and embellish the native world (Moerman, 1988 as cited in Eröz, 2003). The ethnographer aims to gain information that she didn’t have prior to the study and “provide a description and an interpretive-explanatory account of what people do in a setting (such as a classroom, neighborhood, or community), the outcome of their interactions, and the way they understand what they are doing (the meaning interactions have for them)” (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 576).

The main reason for this turn to ethnography and ethnomethodology, it seems, is the recognition of the importance of the role of subjectivity in social life, or what sociologists in the interactionist tradition refer to as ‘the point of view of the

actor” (Francis and Hester, 2004, p. 22) In other words, researchers accept that the concept and findings of any social inquiry, if they are to explain social action, need to be grounded in an understanding of the meanings and perspectives taken by the participants in such action. The aim of ethnography is then to assemble an account of the way in which people manage and organise their lives as natural social actors, by trying to obtain an ‘insider’s view. This counteracts the temptation when studying others’ lives to read things into them. This is the reason why ethnography insists on approaching the investigation of a setting without theoretical preconceptions as to what will be found, since invariably (though perhaps fortunately) the social world is not organised in ways that analysts and researchers want to find it. Ethnographers do not want to impose a framework on the setting but to discover the social organisational properties of that setting and the culture as it is naturally exhibited.

Ethnographic data is generally collected through a journal, field notes, non-participant observations and participant-observations which take place in the homes or communal settings of the group of people under study, and also interviews. Conducting these interviews “in which people tell [the ethnographer] how they really think about things [she is] interested in learning, or how they think about things that are important to them, is a delicate art” (Wolcott, 1995, p. 105). According to Young (2006) in recent decades, ethnographic interviewing has been embraced strongly by researchers in various sub-fields in the discipline of especially sociology. A guiding presupposition for employing ethnographic interviewing is that it allows for researchers to grasp how individuals make meanings of themselves and the social worlds that they inhabit. The basic research objectives for those who employ this methodological tool are to discern what people “know” about themselves and their social worlds, how that knowledge is socially constructed and disseminated, and how that knowledge affect the behaviours enacted by such people. Each of these points of consideration concern some aspect of the sociology of meaning-making. Much of the past three decades

of sociological explorations of meaning making as a cultural process is an extension of the work of Clifford Geertz (1973, as cited in Young, 2006).

Data analysis is also a crucial element in ethnographic research because usually the information reported by the researcher is her impressions and interpretations of what she has observed. For data analysis and interpretation, citing Pike (1964) who proposed the emic-etic distinction initially from the phonemic-phonetic distinction in linguistics, Watson-Gegeo (1988) highlights the distinction between emic and etic analyses for ethnographic research:

Etic analyses and interpretations are based on the use of frameworks, concepts, and categories from the analytic language of the social sciences and are potentially useful for comparative research across languages, settings, and cultures...[and] “etic terminology is rarely culturally neutral because its source is typically either the culture to which the researcher belongs or what we might call the ‘culture of research’ itself (referring here to the traditions and ways of speaking that have evolved in particular research disciplines) (p. 579); [whereas], emic refers to culturally based perspectives, interpretations, and categories used by members of the group under study to conceptualize and encode knowledge and to guide their own behaviour. Emic terms, concepts, and categories are therefore functionally relevant to the behaviour of the people studied by the ethnographer...[who] incorporates the participants’ perspectives and interpretations of behaviour, events, and situations and does so in [a] descriptive language (p. 580).

According to Eröz (2003), in an attempt to understand how the participants of a social situation perceive the situations that the researcher has observed, ethnographers have shown a strong, but not explicit, preference for the emic approach. However, ethnographic analysis is not exclusively emic. Rather, a carefully done emic analysis precedes and forms the basis for etic extensions that allow for cross-cultural and cross-setting comparisons” (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 580-581). Through their systematic involvement with the community under observation, the ethnographers form a “grounded theory” about the community based on their observations. Wolcott (1995) as a recommendation to researchers who wish to take up ethnographic research, highlights the importance of keeping an open-mind and an open-eye:

Review constantly what you are looking *for* and whether or not you are seeing it or are likely to see it. You may need to refocus your attention to what is actually going on and discard some overconceptualized ideas you brought into the field (such as ‘watching’ decision-making or ‘observing’ discrimination)...That should include patterns of things *not* happening as well as things that are happening (p. 97).

In this sense, in ethnographic studies, the data lead the study, and the researcher would be wise to go with the flow of information as the culture unveils itself in many different dimensions for the phenomena under scrutiny.

Whereas ethnography primarily concerns itself with the prolonged study of a group of people, which in its conventional sense involves immersion and participation in their day to day lives in an attempt to discover who they think they are, what they think they are doing and to what end they think they are doing it, ethnomethodology, studies activities of group members to discover how they make sense of their surroundings. It specifically studies how individuals give sense to and accomplish their daily activities. It is not so much concerned with ‘what’ they are doing but rather ‘how they make sense’ of it in an aim to discover the underlying assumptions that come from the shared knowledge and understanding of a culture and norms of the group under study while analyzing the language or behaviour used to produce and interpret communicative exchanges.

Founded by Harold Garfinkel, ethnomethodology first came into notice with the publication in 1967 of his book *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (Francis and Hester, 2004). From then on ethnomethodology has been accepted as the empirical study of methods that individuals use to give sense to and at the same time to accomplish their daily actions: communicating, making decisions, and reasoning.

One of his pioneering studies, based on 35 hours of interviews with Agnes, a 19-year-old transsexual secretary who became a woman, involved using Agnes’ insights as a man in the process of becoming a woman to report the societal

impositions and suggestions of gender roles. Garfinkel concluded that Agnes must continuously exhibit, in all the activities of her daily life, the cultural characteristics of a “normal” woman, because she hasn’t mastered a routine femininity: she must control her attitudes, when she eats, when she goes to the beach, when she has to hide from her roommate (Eröz, 2003, p. 65-66).

Another original study by Garfinkel was an experiment in which ten students were sent to see a counsellor, ostensibly about their own personal problems, to “illustrate the extent to which we all use a vast store of background knowledge and essentially depend on the context of a conversation or an action in order to interpret it” (Slattery, 2003, p.105). The counsellor sat behind a screen, gave only yes and no answers and even these were random. Yet, the students made sense of this ‘nonsense’ by using their own background knowledge of the problem and what they thought a counsellor would say and by constantly choosing elements from the context to pursue their interpretive processes to create the reference frame of the pattern. The students thought the counsellor provided genuine advice; had they known the counsellor was a fake, their ‘interpretations’ of his answers might have been different.

As discussed in Slattery (2003, *ibid.*) from such experiments, Garfinkel developed three key concepts to explain how ordinary ‘members’ of society not only have the capacity to interpret reality but to create (and recreate) it daily: documentary method, reflexivity and indexicality. By the ‘documentary method’ Garfinkel referred to the way we identify certain underlying patterns out of enormous variety of phenomena we see and experience every day. We then use such general patterns to make sense of the individual phenomena we experience in the future. Social life is therefore ‘reflexive’ –each individual item is seen as a reflection or evidence of a more general theme and vice versa. Thus, not only is ‘each used to elaborate the other’ but a self-fulfilling prophecy develops (Slattery, 2003, p.105). Our general idea of reality directs us to select and interpret individual items of evidence in a predetermined way that tends to confirm our original picture of life

as a person or life in a culture. Finally, Garfinkel (1967) argued that no words or actions make sense outside the context of the conversation or the situation involved. Such 'indexicality' has to be repaired as, for example, when a gesture or phrase has been misunderstood or misinterpreted. Interpretations may be different depending on the context, manner or tone in which an act is said or done.

Thus, ethnomethodologists investigate the ways in which 'social actors' (Goffman, 1959, 1963) adjust their performance depending on the context they are in and use appropriate communicative patterns in these situations (Jones, 1997) in an attempt to learn more about the cultural and linguistic choices of a specific group of people, and as Garfinkel insists, they place the situated production of social actions and activities at the forefront of the analytic agenda and treat mundane events, even physical and biological phenomena, as the 'artful accomplishments' (Heath, 1997) of the participants in the settings in which they arise (as cited in Eröz, 2003, p. 64).

Although its key assumption is that the production of observable social activities involves the local and situated use of member's methods doing such activities, over the past forty years or so, ethnomethodology has developed and diversified. Currently, ethnomethodology is used by not only mainstream sociologists whose foci remain restricted to traditional sociological study agendas such as education, justice, organizations, administrations, and science, but also followers of conversational analysis, discourse analysts and foreign language classroom researchers. Conversation analysis, as a field of research which looks into conversations in search of contextual reconstructions that enable people to understand and convey communicative messages, has flourished under the initial influence of ethnomethodology (Francis and Hester, 2004), having originated in the works of Sacks in the 1960's, and Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (on the organization of turns in conversation) in the 1970's, has now grown into a methodological camp in its own right.

Ethnomethodologists use a variety of data collection techniques (e.g. direct observations, participant observation, interviews, examination of documents, studying video recordings of groups in action). They also commonly ask for the reflections of and insights about participants' own actions, speech, and behaviour in order to report the intentions, thoughts, and reasonings of the group under study without bias since it is important to avoid biases for a more accurate and objective study of the daily life and culture of a society. For especially (im)politeness research, Bargiela-Chiappini (2008) stresses that “an ethnomethodological approach that zooms into the detail, the systematic and the routine of everyday encounters could provide new insights on human interaction that do not depend on the super-imposition of ‘cultural’ constructs but emerge fresh from the sense-making activities of the participants” (in press).

Although the researcher is well aware that this study cannot be labeled as ethnography or ethnomethodology in its entirety; the interviews and open-ended questionnaires have been designed and conducted/administered bearing in mind the ethnographic<sup>7</sup> and ethnomethodological principles and the benefits they can bring to (im)politeness research (see Haugh, 2007).

In terms of the organization of the dissertation, the bulk of the theoretical literature review on major politeness models have been discussed within this chapter; however, to provide ease for the reader in associating current literature with the present study, where applicable, more specific literature has been dispersed between the remainder of the chapters. For example, the literature on specific earlier studies using similar impoliteness conceptualization tools with the present study have been included in the methodology chapter. Furthermore, face has been discussed in an expanded fashion in Chapter 4 and impoliteness in Chapter 5 due to the centrality of the notions for the analysis carried out in these chapters.

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. Waugh, Fonseca-Greber, Vickers, and Eröz (2007) for an application of multiple empirical approaches (including ethnography) for a complex analysis of discourse.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **METHOD OF RESEARCH**

#### **3.0 Presentation**

In this chapter, first the research questions guiding the dissertation study are provided. Second, the research design and the major data sources and informant characteristics are outlined. The three data collection tools/methods are introduced: Questionnaire on metapragmatics of (im)politeness), personal narrative interviews on (im)politeness encounters, and Corpus analyses of chosen (im)politeness metalanguage). The internal composition/sections of the tools and data collection procedures are explained. A brief survey of earlier research using (im)politeness conceptualization tools with an emic methodology is provided. For the data collection questionnaire and interview guide developed by the researcher, the development stages, piloting and changes adopted in their internal and external structure is explained. Lastly, the qualitative data analysis principles and statistical procedures that were used to analyze certain portions of the data are presented.

#### **3.1 Research Questions**

This study seeks to answer the following research questions for the Turkish native speaker informant group:

##### **A. SEMANTIC MINDMAPPING:**

- (1)** How are the concepts of “politeness” and “impoliteness” constructed in Turkish?

**B. METAPRAGMATICS OF POLITENESS:**

- (2) What basic lexical items/emotion words comprise the metapragmatics of politeness in Turkish?
- (3) Which terms is POLITENESS associated with in Turkish?
- (4) What strength of associations do these politeness lexemes carry between each other as well with other lexemes/expressions in the language?

**C. METAPRAGMATICS OF IMPOLITENESS:**

- (5) What basic lexical items/emotion words comprise the metapragmatics of impoliteness in Turkish?
- (6) Which terms is IMPOLITENESS associated with in Turkish?
- (7) What strength of associations do these impoliteness lexemes carry between each other as well with other lexemes/expressions in the language?

**D. BASES OF (IM)POLITENESS EVALUATIONS:**

- (8) What are the domains and principles politeness judgements are based upon?
- (9) Are there certain biases for the cross-mapping of (im)politeness lexemes to bases of evaluations as well as the cross-mapping of the identified bases of evaluations to (im)politeness lexemes?

**E. CULTURAL SCRIPTS:**

- (10) What specific linguistic and social acts do these Turkish native speakers informants consider to be (a) polite and (b) impolite?
- (11) What types of social interaction are evaluated on the belief that rapport has been enhanced, maintained or damaged?

**F. MOTIVATIONS FOR and STRATEGIC USE OF (IM)POLITENESS:**

- (12) In situations where it is an informed choice, which expectations and factors drive the want to be polite and impolite in Turkish?

## 3.2 Research Design

### 3.2.1 Data Sources

#### 3.2.1.1 Turkish Native Speakers

In an attempt to explore a native metapragmatic point of view of (im)politeness, the sampling for all the data collection tools include Turkish-born and bred native speaking individuals from different walks of life in an urban setting<sup>8</sup>. Due to the cognitive challenge required by speaking on language about language and behaviour (i.e. reflexivity), over a few trials with native speakers from other settings and also due to convenience in terms of sampling, a choice was made to employ educated middle to upper-middle class Turkish native speakers. Below is a summary table for demographic characteristics of informants (n=121) to the researcher-devised ‘Questionnaire on (Im)Politeness Metalanguage’ (hereafter, QPM)<sup>9</sup> which is the primary data collection tool.

Table 4. Major QPM Informant Characteristics

	<i>Variable Range</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
<b>Age</b>	18-20	39	<b>32,33</b>
	22-29	31	<b>25,62</b>
	30-39	16	<b>13,22</b>
	40-49	23	<b>19,01</b>
	50-65	12	<b>9,92</b>
<b>Gender</b>	<i>F</i>	76	<b>62,80</b>
	<i>M</i>	45	<b>37,19</b>
<b>Education</b>	<i>High School</i>	48	<b>39,66<sup>10</sup></b>
	<i>University</i>	73	<b>60,33</b>
	<i>Graduate Degree</i>	12	<b>(9,91% of n=121)</b>
<b>Work Experience in Years</b>	<i>None</i>	36	<b>29,75</b>
	<i>1-5</i>	19	<b>15,70</b>
	<i>6-9</i>	24	<b>19,83</b>
	<i>10-15</i>	14	<b>11,57</b>
	<i>16-20</i>	11	<b>9,09</b>
	<i>20+</i>	17	<b>14,05</b>
	Total :	121	

<sup>8</sup> The research design differs from conventional sociolinguistic studies, as variables such as age, gender, education, geographical/regional belonging were not the focus of the study.

<sup>9</sup> The data analysis chapters have been built around the data gathered by QPM.

<sup>10</sup> Most of the informants in this ‘high school graduates’ group were university students attending mainly universities in Ankara and İstanbul.

To give a sense of the socio-cultural background of the informants, the level of schooling for the families of informants has been provided below.

Table 5. Mother and Father's Level of Schooling of QPM informants

	Mother		Father	
	N	%	N	%
Not literate	2	<b>1,65</b>	1	<b>0,83</b>
Literate (no schooling)	10	<b>8,26</b>	6	<b>4,96</b>
Primary School	26	<b>21,49</b>	16	<b>13,22</b>
Secondary School	14	<b>11,57</b>	9	<b>7,44</b>
High School	37	<b>30,58</b>	36	<b>29,75</b>
University	28	<b>23,14</b>	43	<b>35,54</b>
Graduate Studies	4	<b>3,31</b>	10	<b>8,26</b>
Total	121		121	

As for the hometowns of the informants for the QPM, as the table below suggests, there were 47 cities (out of 81 cities of Turkey) which informants identified as their hometown.

Table 6. Hometowns of QPM Informants

	N	%		N	%
<b>City</b>			<b>contd.</b>		
Adana	6	5,0	Karaman	1	0,8
Afyon	2	1,7	Kars	3	2,5
Ankara	9	7,4	Kastamonu	1	0,8
Antalya	3	2,5	Kayseri	1	0,8
Aydin	1	0,8	Kırşehir	2	1,7
Balikesir	2	1,7	Kocaeli	2	1,7
Bayburt	1	0,8	Konya	1	0,8
Bilecik	3	2,5	Kutahya	3	2,5
Bolu	1	0,8	Malatya	1	0,8
Bursa	2	1,7	Manisa	6	5,0
Çanakkale	1	0,8	Mardin	1	0,8
Çorum	2	1,7	Mersin	2	1,7
Çankırı	1	0,8	Muğla	2	1,7
Denizli	3	2,5	Nevşehir	3	2,5
Duzce	1	0,8	Ordu	7	5,8

Table 6 continued.

Edirne	1	0,8	Sakarya	1	0,8
Elazığ	2	1,7	Samsun	1	0,8
Erzurum	2	1,7	Siirt	1	0,8
Eskisehir	3	2,5	Sinop	1	0,8
Gaziantep	4	3,3	Sivas	2	1,7
Giresun	1	0,8	Tunceli	1	0,8
İstanbul	10	8,3	Van	1	0,8
İzmir	11	9,1	Yozgat	4	3,3
			Zonguldak	1	0,8
			<b>Total</b>	<b>121</b>	

For the (im)politeness experiences interview (hereafter, PEI) participants (n=20), the age range was 22 to 51. All were currently working at a governmental or private sector institution in Turkey. Similar to the QPM participants, the fields of occupation for the PEI informants were also vast with informants working as civil servants, statisticians, public relations assistants, secretaries, accountants, media and communications personel, sales representatives, bankers, engineers, human resources experts, lawyers and public schooling teachers, etc.

As for the corpus analyses of chosen politeness and impoliteness metalanguage (hereafter, CPL and CIPL respectively), it was not possible to hold an accurate estimate as to the demographic characteristics of the Turkish native speakers who produced the tokens that comprised the corpuses.

### 3.3 Data Collection Tools

With the intention of making tacit knowledge native speakers of Turkish have on (im)politeness1 explicit through an exploratory approach, data were collected and triangulated via the following tools: (a) a lexical conceptualization questionnaire (QPM) probing key metapragmatic (im)politeness1 terms, and (b) corpus analyses (CPL and CIPL) of KABA and KİBAR, and (c) (im)politeness experiences interviews (PEI). All of these tools take an emic methodological perspective. In the

next section, first the rationale behind taking an emic versus an etic methodological perspective will be discussed.

### **3.3.1 Taking an Emic versus Etic Methodological Perspective**

In cross-cultural communication research, the *emic* approach focuses on studying a construct from within a specific culture, and understanding that construct as the people from within that culture understand it. It is mainly an “insider” approach. The *etic* approach, on the other hand, involves developing an understanding of a construct by comparing it across cultures using predetermined characteristics in an attempt to reach absolutes or universals (Gudykunst, 1997).

The key point here is that emic units under investigation are relevant to and attributed meaning and value by insiders. As the distinction originated in anthropology, the term ‘insider’ is to be taken as ‘cultural insider’, i.e. the members of a culture under investigation, the ‘natives’. Emic knowledge or an emic viewpoint is thus also called “native knowledge” or a “native viewpoint” (Eelen 2001, p. 77). In this regard, an emic methodology also caters for the distinction of (im)politeness1 and (im)politeness 2 (Eelen, 2001; Watts 2003). Having an emic orientation to politeness research, thus, is of critical value since it allows looking into both how the native informant conceptualizes his or her own behaviour, as well as what actually goes on in the native informant’s head while performing the behaviour in question. The focus is on informants’ conscious statements about his or her notion of politeness and how it interacts with spontaneous evaluations of (im)politeness made in the course of interaction.

This study mainly takes an emic approach to uncovering conceptualizations of (im)politeness. Emerging emic studies of politeness have centered around the concept of “face” in different cultures. Some worth noting are Strecker’s (1993) study on face and the self in Hamar culture, Haugh’s (2007) analysis on the notion of place in Japanese politeness, Haugh’s (2004) study on the conceptualization of politeness in Japanese and English, and Ruhi and Işık-Güler (2007) study on (im)politeness lexemes “yüz” and “gönül” and idioms derived from them in

Turkish. Current *emic* research on face do reveal both common and diverging conceptualizations of face and the manner in which it is held to interact with the social person and communicative behaviour (e.g. Haugh, 2007; Strecker, 1993) in a line that earlier *etic* research have not met. According to Ruhi (2006b) ‘key cultural lexeme view’ may be a novel way forward in capturing *emic* conceptualization.

In their study, Ruhi and Işık-Güler (2007) maintaining an *emic* approach, focus on “the notion that (non-)linguistic acts are (multiply) embedded in discourse and consider implications of investigating *emic* (culture-specific) and *etic* (universal) conceptualizations of face and concepts of self that impinge on face” (p. 681). They argue that face and related concepts of self are “value-laden conceptual and social frames, evoked in evaluative judgments of self and/or others. Where there are linguistically available expressions in the language, they function as interpretive use of language, metarepresenting speaker attitudes toward their own and/or others’ (non-)verbal behaviour” (p. 682). This perspective on face is developed through a discourse-analytic investigation of two key concepts that inter-relate with the construal of the social person and self-presentation in the Turkish context, namely, *yüz* ‘face’ and *gönül* roughly, ‘heart/mind/desire’.

Strecker’s (1993) study on face and the self in Hamar culture and Haugh’s (2007) analysis on the notion of place in Japanese politeness are also particularly relevant in successfully adopting an *emic* research orientation. Strecker (1993) argues that it is not face in the sense of public self-image but “barjo” ‘good fortune’ which is foregrounded in the conceptualization of the person (p. 123). He describes “barjo” as the person’s need for physical and social well-being and “the potential to act or simply exist freely” (ibid.). Strecker maintains that ‘barjo’ lies at the center of the Hamar conceptualization of the self and social interaction, which prioritizes attention to alter’s well-being. The conceptualization of politeness in Hamar culture, Strecker argues, would be built around the maintenance of barjo and not on face-maintenance in the sense of public self-image. Strecker’s research implies that cultures may foreground the trans-individual dimension of values such as benevolence and equality in social interaction.

Haugh's (2007) study on Japanese face and (im)politeness, on the other hand, suggests that a culture may focus on aspects of role relationships. He shows that recognition of a person's place in terms of 'the place one belongs' and 'the place one stands' (one's character, social position, and role) underlies Japanese politeness. Thus, it appears to be the case that different dimensions of the self and social relations may become prominent in cultures in their conceptualizations of face and relational work which calls for an emic approach to politeness.

### **3.3.2 Earlier Research Using (Im)politeness Conceptualization Tools**

The rich insights that ethnography and ethnomethodology informed interviews and open-ended questionnaires provide into attitudes, values, and behaviours can be invaluable for politeness research. There have been only a few earlier politeness studies using (im)politeness<sup>1</sup> (i.e. emic) conceptualization questionnaires and interviews of the sort. What follows is a brief survey of these studies.

Sifianou (1992) has made use of a "questionnaire on the definition of politeness" as reported in her book *Politeness in England and Greece* (p. 225). In an attempt to reach a comparative definition of politeness for the Greek and British Culture, Sifianou gave her respondents a questionnaire to unearth native speaker concepts of politeness (see p. 86-93 in Sifianou, 1992). Through her written survey completed by 27 British speakers of English, Sifianou (1992, p.88) found that *politeness* was regarded as "... the consideration of other people's feelings by conforming to social norms and expectations ...". She reports that her informants found the question " Could you write what "politeness" means to you and what you consider to be characteristics of a polite person" extremely difficult to answer. It is highly likely that the problem was caused by the nature of her study since it was conducted only in the written questionnaire mode with no further contextualized probing questions as would be possible with the interviewing technique.

Obana and Tomoda (1994, as cited in Pizziconi, 2007, p. 210) explored similarities and differences in Japanese and Australian English politeness terms with the cautious disclaimer that "culture-laden terms in one language cannot have

isomorphic equivalents in another language”. They set out to investigate the matter by means of spontaneous sociolinguistic interviews with seven native speakers of English and five of Japanese. They prompted the conversations by asking the informants to recall an experience that involved ‘a rude or impolite statement, their reason to judge it as such, and then their interpretation of politeness’. They then let their informants talk freely as long as they could obtain from them the terms they thought were indicative of politeness. The resulting terms were as follows:

Australian English: *friendly, kind, approachable, considerate, wellmannered, humble, appropriate use of language, respect, modest, attentive, indirect*

Japanese: *reigitadashii, teineina, keigo, hikaeme, wakimaeru, enryo, joogekankei, tachiba* (well-mannered, polite, honorifics, discrete, discerning, restraint, vertical relations, position)

They then proceeded to categorize the group of terms elicited into a number of sub-groups. For English:

- a) [“warmly welcoming the interlocutor”] friendly, approachable, kind, attentive.
- b) [“the speaker’s concern for the interlocutor’s wants and needs”] respect, consideration
- c) [“differentiation of terms to be used in different social contexts”] appropriate use of language
- d) [“non-imposing, non threatening statement toward interlocutor”] modest, indirect, humble

For Japanese:

- a’) [*wakimae*: “discernment” (see Ide, 1989), or “recognition of one’s social standpoint in relation to the other”] *enryo* (to be reserved), *hikaeme* (to be modest)
- b’) [*keigo*: “the usage of a particular type of language which expresses recognition of a certain relationship between the interactants”] *enryo* (to be reserved), *hikaeme* (to be modest), *tachiba* (position), *joogekankei* (hierarchical relationship)

Obana and Tomoda (1994) note the absence of equivalents in the Japanese language of the English terms “friendliness, consideration, attentive, approachable, kind” but note the presence of terms (*teineina, reigitadashii*) that are associated with *keigo* (the linguistic system of honorifics and polite expressions) as a whole and with “aloof interactions, concern for keeping public face, and formal settings” (as cited in Pizziconi, 2007, p. 210). This leads them to conclude that: “[s]ketching by this rule of thumb, politeness in English language is often associated with

barrier-breaking features whereas in Japanese language, politeness initially sets up a social barrier” (Pizziconi, 2007, *ibid.*). They find this consistent with the different principles regulating the two societies: individualism in Western society and *amae* (dependence) in Japanese society.

Ide et al. (1992) similarly question the assumption of equivalence in key terms of politeness and set out to explore the concepts that “lie in the minds of native speakers” (1992, p. 282) of American English and Japanese. Through a questionnaire, they asked subjects to examine a number of scenarios displaying the performance of various alternative (verbal and non verbal) behaviours. Subjects then assessed each behaviour based on the lists of qualifying adjectives established by the researcher provided below. Because both situations and adjectives were selected for cross-cultural comparability and were translated from one language to the other, the Japanese and English terms were posited to be formal equivalents, and the purpose of the questionnaire was to test their functional equivalence.

American English: polite, respectful, considerate, friendly, pleasant, casual, appropriate, offensive, conceited, rude

Japanese: *teineina, keii no aru, omoiyari no aru, shitashigena, kanjiyoi, kidoranai, tekisetsuna, kanjoo wo kizu tsukeru, unuboreteiru, bureina*

Subjects indicate with “yes, no, n/a” whether the adjectives “represented their own feelings if the words/actions had been directed toward them” (Ide et al., 1992, p. 283). Their study employs a multivariate analysis of the adjectives that looks at the correlation of the ‘yes’ and ‘no’ answers for each adjective with the respective scenarios. These correlations are then plotted on a bidimensional space, which shows the “degree of similarity of the ten adjectives as calculated from response data” (Ide et al. 1992, p. 284). The two axes of the plot are not labeled, but the data seem to indicate that while the American data are ‘one-dimensional’ (the first axis accounts for 92.3% of the data and the second for only 3.3 %) the Japanese data are ‘two-dimensional’ (75.5% and 13.4%). This is an issue also looked into by Pizziconi (2007). The particular arrangement of adjectives on the bi-dimensional tables led the authors to conclude, among other things, that the judgments of

English speakers were relatively homogenous, whereas for Japanese speakers a fundamental distinction applies: that between a dimension including almost all the adjectives on one side, and a dimension of ‘friendliness’ (‘friendly/non friendly’) on the other, judged to be qualitatively different.

In Ide et al. (1992) findings, the relation of the various adjectives to the basic terms ‘polite’ and ‘*teineina*’ is also interesting: whereas the two corresponding terms ‘respectful’ and ‘*keii no aru*’ appear to correlate highly with the basic terms, and indeed to be on top of the list of correlations, things are much less clear from the second position downwards. In particular, the authors note that correlating with *teineina* is the adjective ‘*tekisetsuna*’ (‘appropriate’), which they link to the Japanese orientation to ‘discernment’ or *wakimae* -a term which has now become common currency in politeness studies. In contrast, English ‘polite’ seems to correlate highly with ‘considerate’, which the authors take to instantiate an orientation to ‘volitional’ behaviour which “is careful not to hurt or inconvenience others, or has regard for another’s feeling, circumstances, etc.” (Ide et al., 1992, p. 290).

Pizziconi (2007) attempts a characterization of the semantic structure of politeness-related terms in English and Japanese. The goal is to “establish a map of the semantic domain instantiated by (some) terms relating to the conceptual categories of politeness and *teineisa*” (p. 217). In order to describe the semantic domain (the realm of concepts) she starts from a description of lexical fields (the realm of words). Once the lexical items have been “plotted on to bi-dimensional maps, an interpretation of the criteria that arguably govern their distribution is proposed. This is an explorative technique: such criteria are not defined a priori, but are hypothesized as the optimum heuristics for the configurations obtained” (ibid.). Her novel method helps the analyst describe structured representations and foreground some dominant principles of their organization that maximizes users’ input and interpretation and minimizes those of the analyst. Pizziconi’s lexeme analysis based approach produces generalizations valid at the level of the system, which can then be globally compared with other systems. The advantage of this

approach is that it “produces an empirically derived mediating plane from which hypotheses can be made on language’s relation to culture, and on how other mediating planes compare” (p. 215).

Pizziconi’s (2007) novel lexeme-analysis based findings supports the association of Japanese culture with values such as ‘modesty’ and ‘restraint’ found by earlier studies. However, her results are less ‘stereotypical’ than those of earlier studies, as they seem to demonstrate that “much is in common for Japanese and English, and that differences arise in the nuances of such otherwise analogous traits” (p. 230). Results show that “the resources –the conceptual constraints and possibilities– afforded to language users by their repertoires are fairly similar (in a basic sense of fundamental judgements about cognitive and affective distinctions that users can make), but they also offer different expressive possibilities (or they facilitate them) with regard to the preference for detail in ‘informal’, ‘friendly’ nuances of politeness in English, and ‘reserved’, ‘modest’ nuances in Japanese” (ibid.). She concludes that a ‘polished’ self-presentation is a by-product of being polite in both languages and that it is a salient distinction.

In another, lexeme-based study, revisiting the conceptualisation of politeness in English and Japanese, Haugh (2004) compared the notions of politeness in English and ‘teinei’, ‘reigi tadashii’ and ‘keii hyoogen’ in Japanese and found that these respective terms encompass somewhat different conceptual ranges:

Politeness in English refers to showing consideration for others and demonstrating a polished self-presentation. In Japanese, on the other hand, it encompasses showing respect (with a strong nuance of vertical respect involved) and consideration towards the position and quality of character of others, and modesty about oneself. (p. 85)

While politeness in both English and Japanese involves showing one thinks well of others (other-oriented politeness) and showing one does not think too highly of oneself (self-oriented politeness), differences in the underlying conceptualisation of politeness give rise to different ways of expressing politeness. He concludes that it is thus difficult to maintain the assumption that politeness can be defined in the same way across different cultures; however, “this does not necessarily preclude the identification of common elements of politeness across cultures” (ibid.).

In his 1992 study, Blum-Kulka looked into the metapragmatics of politeness in Israeli society. For the purpose, he analyzed findings from two semi-structured interviews on notions of politeness complemented by empirical findings on speech act realizations across different cultures. The first set of interviews was conducted by graduate students taking for a course he was teaching at the time. As part of a class assignment, students interviewed two Israeli families (children included) of their acquaintance in pairs. 52 families were interviewed in this way who shared the students' cultural backgrounds. The second set of interviews was conducted with 24 families. The interviews elicited definitions and descriptions of polite and impolite speech and behaviour by asking for verbalizations and evaluations of modes of situated speech performance, and encouraged exemplification via personal narratives (Blum-Kulka, 1992).

Diana Boxer (1996) reports baseline findings on rules for the realization and underlying social strategies of a specific speech act sequence: “griping/troubles-telling”. She uses two sets of ethnographic interviews (one structured and one open-ended) as corroborating evidence and discusses ways of going about structuring such interviews. She concludes, “since the ethnographic interview is a method of getting people to talk about what they know –of discovering what human behaviours mean to the individuals participating in those behaviours –it differs greatly from the traditional interview or questionnaire in that it seeks to uncover not only knowledge that is explicit but also knowledge that is tacit”. The tacit knowledge that informants have about behaviour is brought out only after a rapport has been established between the researcher and the informant. Because ideal informants in studies of speech events are sociolinguistically naive, it is often possible to bring their tacit knowledge to a state of explicitness through gentle questioning by the researcher (Boxer, 1996).

Mills (2003) for her book *Gender and Politeness*, alongside recordings of conversations, questionnaires and anecdotes, has interviewed 20 adults from a range of different occupations and age ranges and four children about politeness

using a set of standard questions about politeness. “The questions asked them to consider what type of event they considered polite or impolite and asked them to talk about an event which they considered impolite, polite or overly polite” (p. 15). She makes a case for using anecdotal evidence and interviews to bring into view the norms that interactants are orienting towards and the meanings their utterances generate, and for rejecting the assumption that the analyst has privileged access to this information.

As can be seen from the studies outlined above, the emphasis on (im)politeness as the input for a theoretical model of politeness such that it includes actual investigations of ordinary people’s concepts of politeness, along the lines of Blum-Kulka (1992) and Ide et al. (1992), has up to now been most scarce. There is a growing need to take up this line of research for a quest to answer such questions as: What kind of situations do they associate with politeness? Which interactional events elicit politeness evaluations? When is politeness deemed as irrelevant? What are perceived as the most important characteristics of politeness? What are its most closely associated notions and what is their precise relationship with reference to politeness? What form can politeness evaluations take on in terms of the terminology used? and so on.

Apart from the notion of politeness itself, such investigations could also provide some indication of the amount of sharedness/variability involved, the kind of aspects that are most susceptible to being shared, etc. According to Eelen (2001) for this kind of research, “the informal interview format such as that used by Blum-Kulka (1992) seems most appropriate, although more structured investigations such as in Ide et al. (1992) have worked well” (p. 255).

### **3.3.3 Questionnaire on (Im)Politeness Metalanguage**

Many scholars (e.g. Fraser and Nolan, 1981; Watts, 2003; Locher, 2004) have argued convincingly that politeness is a contextual judgment: that no linguistic structures can be identified as inherently polite or impolite (i.e. except for very

formulaic chunks of language), and that we cannot (and should not) try to “predict when and how speakers of a language will produce linguistic politeness” (Watts, 2003, p. 160).

Therefore, (im)politeness needs to be viewed as the subjective judgments that people make about the social appropriateness of verbal and non-verbal behaviour. In other words, it is not behaviour by itself that is polite, impolite (Watts, 2003) or impolite; rather (im)politeness is an evaluative label that people attach to behaviour, as a result of their subjective judgments about social appropriateness. Thus, (im)politeness should be used as an umbrella term that covers all kinds of evaluative meanings (e. g. warm, friendly, considerate, respectful, deferential, insolent, aggressive, rude) (Spencer-Oatey, 2005a). These meanings can have positive, negative or neutral connotations, and the judgments can impact upon people’s perceptions of their social relations and the rapport or (dis)harmony that exists between them. Such an outlook is crucial to explore native speaker conceptualizations of (im)politeness.

Researcher and colleague intuitions as well as a pilot survey revealed a number of terms that have links to ‘politeness’ and ‘impoliteness’ in Turkish. The pilot study involved asking participants through e-mail communication and verbally which Turkish words they thought were related to these concepts and documenting them. See Table 7 below for a summary list of the initial findings (in order of frequency) on which the development of the QPM was based.

Table 7. Free Association Pilot Study Results

<i>POLITE(NESS)</i>	<i>IMPOLITE(NESS)</i>
KİBAR/ KİBARLIK	KABA/KABALIK
İncelik	Kaba-saba olmak
Nazik olmak/Nezaket	Saygısız/ Saygısızlık
Görgülü	Görgüsüz
Terbiyeli	Nezaketsizlik
Düşünceli olmak	Düşüncesizlik
Saygılı olmak	Terbiyesizlik
Zarif /Zarafet	Patavatsızlık
Efendi olmak (Beyefendi-hanımfefendi)	Küstah
Şerefli/Haysiyet (İyi Bilinme/Tanınma)	Arsızlık
Alçak Gönüllülük	Pişkinlik
Şık	Umursamazlık
Sıcaklık	Ayıp
İçtenlik	Ahlaksızlık
Samimiyet	Seviyesizlik
	İki Yüzlülük
	İçten Pazarlıklılık

Of these items the words with the most frequently expressed associations, eight politeness lexemes, i.e. KİBAR, NAZİK, İNCE, ZARİF, DÜŞÜNCELİ, SAYGILI, GÖRGÜLÜ, TERBİYELİ and eight impoliteness lexemes, i.e. KABA, NEZAKETSİZ, SAYGISIZ, PATAVATSIZ, DÜŞÜNCESİZ, KÜSTAH, GÖRGÜSÜZ, TERBİYESİZ were chosen as meta-(im)politeness lexemes to be investigated through the researcher-developed primary data collection tool: Questionnaire on (Im)politeness Metalanguage (QPM).

The questionnaire was designed around four main sections. In the first section on politeness and the second section on impoliteness, for each of the 16 (im)politeness lexemes, participants were expected to elaborate in detail on (a) the meaning of the selected lexical items for them, (b) provide an illustration of example situations or people for which they would use the lexical item, and provide (c) a list of other words, expressions and emotion terms they associated with the lexical item in question. In the third section of the questionnaire, participants were asked to rate (on a 5-point Likert scale) the frequency with which they use these lexical items to refer to language use versus behaviour. In the last section, participants were expected to provide brief personal data. (see Appendix A: Kelime Anlamları Çalışması Anketi, for full version).

'Word Associations', a technique borrowed from experimental psychology, was utilized in getting informants to generate lists of associated words, expressions and emotion terms with the lexical item in question. Gorodetskaya (2002) states that a survey with a long history in psychology is an association experiment, i.e. the experiment based on verbal associations of respondents. There are four types of association experiments: paired associations, serial learning, verbal discrimination, and free recall. Association experiments are often called tests, and they can be formal or informal. Verbal association tests help to obtain information about the attitude of a respondent to certain phenomena or concepts named by the words of the respondent's native language. A typical procedure is as follows: participants are asked to respond to a stimulus with the words that the stimulus evokes in their mind. The experimental parameters, such as single/multiple response and free/controlled character of associations, are combined differently depending on the aims of the investigation. Various combinations of these parameters yield the following types of associations (Gorodetskaya, 2002):

- 1) single-response free association: a verbal or non-verbal stimulus is presented to a respondent who is asked to say or write the first word that comes to his/her mind;
- 2) single-response controlled association (is different from the previous type in that the respondent is required to give a response of some given type);
- 3) multiple-response free association (the respondent is not restricted in the number of responses but may give as many as come to his/her mind);
- 4) multiple-response controlled association (the same as in the previous type but with the instructions setting limits on the kinds of responses that are acceptable).

After the experiment, the researcher is left with data with which he can do the following: analyze the distribution of associations to stimuli; reveal the conditions that influence the distribution; study the form and structure of associations; or classify the associations according to their form, structure or some other property under investigation.

Many years of the existence of association tests show that only a small number of associations are unique, most responses are typical (Gorodetskaya, 2002). Calculation of the results must reveal frequency for every association. According to experimental psychology literature, the most frequent responses are called the

cultural primaries, the unique ones are called idiosyncratic responses. In order to uncover word associations of politeness lexemes with KİBAR, which was believed to be the emic umbrella term for politeness, TNS were prompted by a multiple-response free association (where the respondent is not restricted in the number of responses but may give as many as come to his/her mind) task. The related prompt in the open-ended QPM question for each of the lexemes read:

“.....*one of the seven politeness lexeme(s)*.....” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı diğer Türkçe kelime(ler) ve duygular:

As for the development process, the questionnaire was prepared as a Microsoft Office Word 2003 Form. The advantage of using a Microsoft Word ‘Form’ as opposed to a regular Word ‘Document’ is that a Word Form allows creating user-friendly fillable forms that cannot be altered in style etc. by the respondents because they are creator/author-protected. The user-friendly nature of these forms is due to the neatness they provide by the adding of content controls, including text boxes, tick-enabled boxes, and drop-down lists. The questionnaire (as a word form) was sent out to participants via email to fill in and participants were asked to later send their completed questionnaires back to the researcher via e-mail. Another advantage is that they allow for a more automated (as opposed to a manual) transfer of information for the researcher (i.e. for each single form, a conversion of the word form .doc to .txt, and then conversion of .txt to an excel database versus manually transferring each of the form cells by hand). All in all, approximately 33.000 cells (including the demographic information carrying cells) were transferred into the Microsoft Excel Database set up for QPM. The written portions of the QPM data (i.e. lexeme definitions, (im)politeness experience narratives, and answers to supplementary questions on TNS thoughts on (im)politeness) which were subject to thematic coding totalled 81,842 words.

For both the QPM and PEI, it needs to be noted that no distinctions were drawn between hypothetical states/encounter descriptions/narrations and real-event accounts. This was mainly because there was no way of knowing for certain whether what was shared by informants were all from real memory or from a cognitive file of hypothetical global scenarios. However, Holtgraves (1997) states,

“even when the exact wording used to convey politeness is not remembered, people may still encode a general impression of the politeness of a speaker’s remarks. It seems as if people have antennae for politeness” (p. 114). Yet, in view of the purpose and scope of the present study which mainly concerned ‘conceptualizations’, it was not found relevant to distinguish hypothetical states from real events.

### **3.3.4 Corpus of (Im)politeness Metalanguage**

The word ‘corpus’, derived from the Latin word meaning ‘body’, may be used to refer to collection of text(s) in written or spoken form. Although other broader or stricter definitions exist, ‘corpora’ as a central term in corpus linguistics is used to refer to (i) (loosely) any body of text whether large or small-scale; (ii) (most commonly) a body of machine-readable text through corpus analysis tools; (iii) (more strictly) a finite collection of machine-readable texts, sampled to be maximally representative of a language variety or use of language(s) (McEnery and Wilson, 1996). The looser definition of ‘corpus’ has been adopted for the current study at hand as the texts have been selected on a specific predetermined criteria, the collection is small-scale and though constructed and maintained by the use of a computer, is non-digital as in the sense of being machine readable.

For triangulation purposes, two small-scale<sup>11</sup> corpuses were compiled for the (im)politeness meta-terms KABA and KĪBAR and their collocations. These terms were chosen as they were found to represent (through the free association pilot study for QPM) as the highest frequently correlating abstract notions/semantic fields to politeness and impoliteness.

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<sup>11</sup> The type of corpora that are assembled for a specific purpose, which vary in size and composition according to their purpose is called a “special corpus” (Bowker and Pearson, 2002). Special corpora are not balanced (except within the scope of their given purpose) and, if used for other purposes, may give a distorted view of the language segment. However, their main advantage is that the texts can be selected in such a way that the phenomena one is looking for occur much more frequently in special corpora than in balanced corpus. For example, KABALIK occurs 1 times on METU Turkish Corpus (of 2 million words) and IMPOLITE occurs only 55 times on the balanced corpus BNC (of 100 million words), and are thus not conducive to politeness lexeme research on their own. A corpus that is enriched specifically as in the case of a special corpus can be much smaller than a balanced corpus providing the same data, yet much more efficient for certain research purposes.

The corpus data were drawn from primarily internet-based<sup>12</sup> sources: (a) Turkish confession websites (e.g. itiraf.com<sup>13</sup>), (b) Google search hits especially from personal blogs, forums posts, forum-dictionaries (e.g. ekşisözlük.com) and internet-based diaries of Turkish native speakers, and also (c) METU Turkish Corpus (Say, Zeyrek, Oflazer, and Özge, 2002). It needs to be noted that the last source did not reveal many tokens (i.e. less than 10-15 tokens for the lexemes).

For Google searches conducted on Turkish pages on the internet, to the best of the researcher's ability, all the possible "paradigmatic combinations of the variables in the constructions" (Pang, 2005) were taken into consideration. For example, not only "kibar" or "kibarlık" but also "kibarlığın", "kibarlığınız" and word combinations such as "kibar davranış", "kibar davranışı", "kibar kadın/adam/çocuk" have also been considered.

Over a period of three months, initially approximately 530 KİBAR and 310 KABA tokens were collected from the three primary sources outlined above, of these, for the final compiled corpuses, 190 KİBAR tokens (21,356 words) and 120 KABA tokens (13,539 words) were retained. The discrepancy in the initial and final token numbers was due to the secondary analysis which revealed that large numbers of the initial tokens were not conducive to a metapragmatic investigation (i.e. not marking a social interaction evaluation of self or other to the extent that the research required.).

### **3.3.5 (Im)Politeness Experiences Interviews**

*A narrative of personal experience* is a report of a sequence of events that have entered into the biography of the speaker by a sequence of clauses that correspond

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<sup>12</sup>The tokens in the KİBAR and KABA corpora were mostly posted online between 2000 to 2008.

<sup>13</sup>Ogan (2003) analyzed, from a social and religious perspective, how despite the low internet penetration rate in Turkey, the popularity of itiraf.com web site as a genre (i.e. confession) is established attracting 55.000 visitors daily and 1000 confessions every day. In addition, Ogan and Çağiltay (2006) through a survey completed by 4531 users of Itiraf.com (Eng. confession.com) found that diversion drives most reading on the site, but social interaction provides the largest gratification to those who participate through writing confessions, commenting on others' confessions and meeting people offline.

to the order of the original events (Labov, 1997; Reissman, 2001). Narrative discourse provides a way of recapitulating felt experience by matching up patterns of language to a connected series of events. The narrative interview is an invaluable aid in helping the experiencer in reproducing or re-enacting reality. In an attempt to reach Turkish native speaker conceptualizations of (im)politeness, personal oral (im)politeness narratives were collected via qualitative emic interviews. Such interviews were utilized as the two functions of personal narratives are the referential and the evaluative, both of which are necessary to reach native speaker beliefs, expectations, attitudes, and metatalk on (im)politeness.

The elicitation of narratives of personal experiences through sociolinguistic interviewing is a common method of data collection in discourse analytic studies; however, they have only been used by a few studies in politeness research within the field of pragmatics (see Spencer-Oatey, 2004 for an example).

As the present study maintains an ethnographic emic investigation of (im)politeness, getting participants to “break-free” and talk about their real life experiences as openly and as honestly as possible, Milroy’s (1987) “friend of a friend” approach was adopted to create the chain of interviewing. The interviewer was either familiar with the interviewee through earlier personal contact or the interviewer was referred to the interviewee as a “friend of a friend” (see Terkourafi, 2001).

In principle, Stein and Glenn (1979) story grammar analysis was adapted for the development of the *interview guide* and the administrations of the interviews. Where applicable, the (im)politeness narratives were subject to analysis of narrative idea units such as: (a) Setting (i.e. how the interviewee chooses to introduce the main interlocutors, as well as the time and place for the story action), (b) Initiating event and expectancies (i.e. the main action or sequence that brought about the desire of the interviewee to narrate the (im)politeness encounter, (c) Internal response (i.e. the interviewees reactions to the initiating event in terms of use of emotion words and metapragmatic politeness terms; assessing normativity

and evaluativity (Eelen, 2001), (d) Attempt (if any) to show the interviewee has recognized the (im)politeness act on the day , and (e) Consequence and reaction (i.e. what the interviewee believes to be the -short or long term- result of the interlocutors actions in the exchange and his/her emotive reaction to it) .

The interviews were of the “semi-structured” type (Dörnyei, 2007). Semi-structured interviews involve the preparation of an interview guide that lists a pre-determined set of questions or issues that are to be explored during the interview. The semi-structured PEI interview guide was developed by the researcher and a personal copy was provided to the informants (n=20) before the interview started so as to prevent informant apprehension as well as to give the informants a chance to remember past experiences of (im)polite encounters. This guide served as a checklist during the interview and ensured that basically the same information was obtained from all of the informants. There was, however, also a notable degree of flexibility. The order and the actual working of the questions could be altered if preferred so by the informants. The PEI interview guide consisted of 3 sections. In the first section, the informants were asked to share one or more experiences of (im)politeness through the following prompts:

En son yaşadığınız, ya da önceden aklınızda kalan bir ya da birkaç:

(1) Size mutluluk veren/memnun eden çok KİBAR ve benzeri bir dil kullanımının/konuşmanın/davranışın geçtiği bir OLAYI ayrıntıları ile anlatabilir misiniz?

(2) Sizi mutsuz eden ya da rahatsızlık veren/sinilendiren çok KABA ve benzeri bir dil kullanımının/konuşmanın/davranışın geçtiği bir OLAYI ayrıntıları ile anlatabilir misiniz?

If informants were in need of more guidance than the prompt lexeme KİBAR or KABA, other related lexemes (as established via QPM) were uttered. After these two major questions in the interview guide were posed to the interviewees, the informants were verbally guided to deliver the full details of the context, including the reason they thought the encounter took place, the details of the situation and the

environment, the demographic details of the interlocutors and the relative standing of them in relation to one other, what they felt at that moment in time<sup>14</sup>.

In the remaining time, informants were probed to share their beliefs and attitudes through a series of open-ended questions, e.g. “Kaba bulduđunuz ve kibar bulduđunuz iki insanı kısaca tasvir edebilir misiniz?”, “Bir konuşmayı/davranışı sizin KİBAR/KABA bulabilmeniz için söz konusu iletişimin en önemli özelliđinin ne olması gerekir?”, “Dil ve davranışta (a) kibarlık ve (b) kabalıđın hangi AMAÇLAR dođrultusunda farklı sosyal durumlarda insanlar tarafından kullanıldıđını gözlemliyorsunuz?”, etc.) (see Appendix B: Kibarlık/Kabalık Deneyimleri Sözlü Görüşme Kilavuzu for the full set of questions on the guide).

Each of the 20 interviews lasted up to 20-25 minutes. The interviews were audio-recorded with Olympus WS-331M digital voice recorder and were transcribed using Express Scribe version 4.22<sup>15</sup>. On the interview data, selective partial transcription was done, i.e. portions of the interviews of immediate interest to the study were transcribed verbatim. In the transcriptions, discourse analytic conventions (pause marking, overlaps, etc.) have not been made use of due to the scope of the study; however, pronunciations of the informants have been reflected through the transcriptions.

In Figure 8, a summary of the major characteristics of the data collection tools and procedures are provided.

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<sup>14</sup> Eelen (2001) refers to the time during interaction at which evaluative comments are made the “evaluative moments” of politeness (p.35).

<sup>15</sup> “Express Scribe version 4.22” is a freeware transcription program available online to researchers.

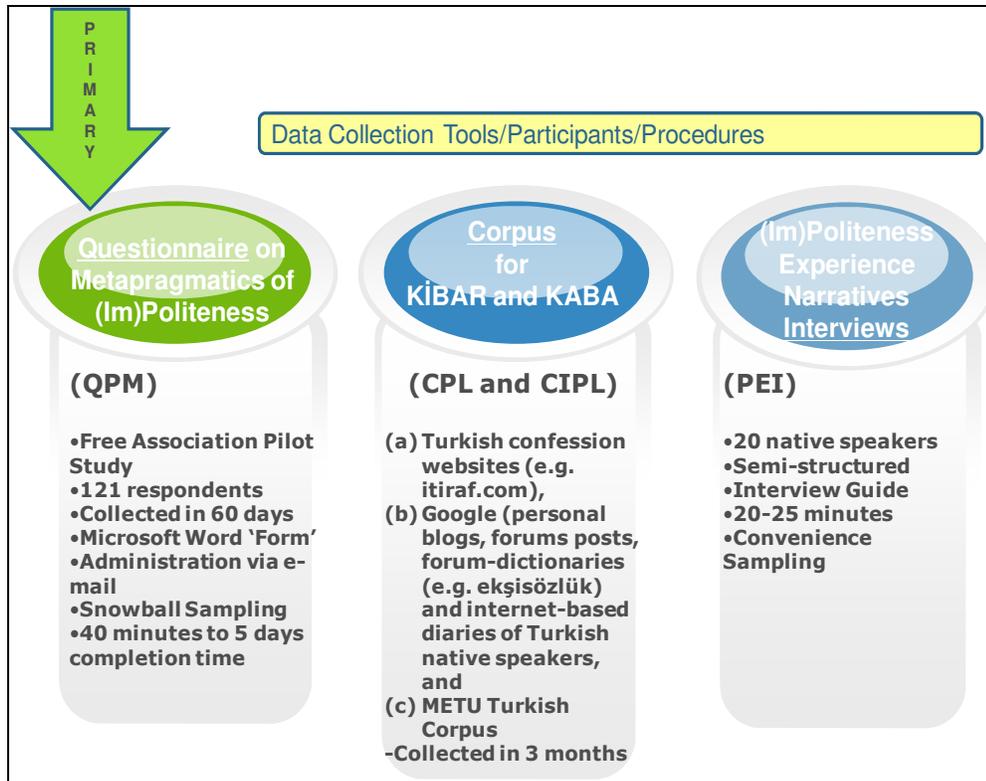


Figure 8. Summary for Related Sections on Research Methodology

### 3.4 Data Collection Procedures and Timeline

In terms of the timeline of data collection, since QPM was selected as the primary data source due to its more comprehensive ‘systematic’ nature of exploring the ‘metapragmatics’ of (im)politeness in Turkish, QPM data were collected before PEI interviews were conducted. Although originally the researcher was considering conducting the interviews with respondents who indicated on the QPM that they could be volunteers, the researcher later felt that a similar but different sample would be more conducive to triangulation, since it would avoid respondent familiarity with the rationale/data collection instruments of the study which would have been a threat to internal validity. While the collection of CPL, CIPL tokens and QPM data were simultaneously carried out, PEI interviews were administered once the first level of coding was completed for the QPM.

As for data analysis procedures, the quantitative data were analyzed by computing descriptive statistics (frequencies and percentages) using SPSS Version 15.00. Word associations in the QPM data were analyzed with “TextSTAT 2.7” and later also with “Simple Concordance Program 4.09” to verify the results obtained<sup>16</sup>. For the qualitative data, qualitative content-analysis following initial and secondary coding procedures and data reduction techniques were performed.

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<sup>16</sup> Both of these are freeware programs made available to researchers.

## CHAPTER IV

### METAPRAGMATICS of POLITENESS (KĪBAR) in TURKISH

#### 4.0 Presentation

In this chapter, first the semantics of ‘politeness’ for the Turkish population will be outlined consorting to data from the Questionnaire on (Im)Politeness Metalanguage (QPM) in comparison to the definition of the seven politeness lexemes provided by *TDK Sözlüğü* (Eng. Turkish Language Institute Turkish dictionary). Then, lexemes with strong lexical associations with KĪBAR as has been found through QPM will be presented. For KĪBAR and the strongest association bearing lexemes (i.e. NAZİK, İNCE, SAYGI, DÜŞÜNCELİ, TERBİYELİ, GÖRGÜLÜ), the results of the qualitative sociopragmatic content-analysis of lexeme-probed politeness event experiences collected via QPM will be presented thorough verification of the themes by tokens from Corpus of KĪBAR (CPL) and the Politeness Experiences Interviews (PEI). The interrelated nature of these themes as bases of politeness evaluations will be scrutinized. Later, results of the quantitative analysis for the cross-referencing of politeness lexeme to theme and politeness theme to lexeme weightings will be discussed.

#### 4.1 Semantics of Politeness in Turkish

Researchers have attempted to pin down a universal definition of politeness in numerous ways; thus, there are numerous definitions available in literature which have mainly stemmed from etic research. To illustrate, Lakoff (1973) defines politeness as an entity that is developed by societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction. Leech (1980) takes a similar approach to define politeness by defining “tact” as “strategic conflict avoidance” and that it “can be measured in

terms of the degree of effort put into the avoidance of a conflict situation” (p.19). Brown and Levinson (1987) view politeness as a complex strategy-laden system for softening face-threatening acts. Kasper (1990) denotes that in such definitions “communication is seen as a fundamentally dangerous and antagonistic behaviour” (p.194).

What seems to have been underplayed in such conceptualizations is that politeness is not just a means of restraining feelings and emotions in order to avoid conflict, but also a means of expressing them. To this end, Arndt and Janney (1985, cited in Sifianou, 1992) propose the idea of interpersonal supportiveness, a more positive and intuitively appealing notion. People are not always on the verge of a blunt conflict situation (or war) which they try to avoid by being polite. A more positive definition is offered by Hill et. al. (1986, p. 394) too: “Politeness is one of the constraint on human interaction whose purpose is to consider other’s feelings, establish levels of mutual comfort, and promote rapport” (as cited in Sifianou, 1992). This definition, although it acknowledges that politeness can be seen as a constraint on human behaviour, indicates that the constraint is not just there to reduce friction but also to enhance rapport and harmony. Ide (1989) defines politeness as language use associated with smooth communication achieved through the speaker’s use of intentional strategies and of expressions conforming to prescribed norms.

Although a universal definition of politeness is seen as necessary to be able to draw some level of analysis between cultures and languages, a theory of (im)politeness also needs to cater for more subtle ways of understanding politeness in different cultures. Looking into how face (which is a culturally based phenomenon) is enacted, what consideration, or smooth consideration means for native speakers, and how important these dimensions are for the making up of (im)politeness are all worthwhile pursuits. One way to do this is to look at how politeness is lexicalized in languages. If politeness is viewed as a “phenomenon that regulates social interaction, it is necessarily constrained by specific ‘ways of experiencing’ polite interaction and hence by the conceptual ‘grid of reference’” (Pizziconi, 2007, p. 210) that conventions of polite interaction in that language and culture have

constructed. For the present study, these ‘grids of reference’ are taken up as seven politeness lexemes and eight impoliteness lexemes in Turkish.

The nature of a lexical domain of politeness-related terms in a language is defined by its overall scope and by salient conceptual distinctions that determine the terms’ internal organization. To capture this, the researcher needs too delve into social cognition bringing out the conceptualization of politeness in the native speaker informant’s stream of consciousness. This study attempts to extract and isolate some of these conceptual criteria of semantic organization and to provide empirical definitions of the principles likely to be main contributors to the “domain’s flavour” (Pizziconi, 2007, p. 218). These principles will provide us a basis for a description of the conceptual topography responsible for language and culture specific views of politeness, and for cross-linguistic/cultural comparison.

There have been a small number of previous studies on politeness-related lexical domains. They have been mainly conducted on Japanese and major varieties of English (Obana and Tomado, 1994 on Japanese and Australian English; Ide et al., 1992 on American English and Japanese; Haugh, 2007 on Japanese; Pizziconi, 2007 on British English and Japanese). These studies have found a lack of cross-linguistic conceptual equivalence between the different sets of politeness-related terms in these languages, and discuss the significance of those terms and meanings in the context of the cultures observed. For Turkish, related lexical domains have been recently tapped by Ruhi and Işık-Güler (2007). Different from this study, their focus was on the lexemes “yüz” (face) and “gönül” (heart/mind/soul) and idioms derived from them.

For the research study at hand which aimed at uncovering the metapragmatic bases of (im)politeness in Turkish, Turkish informant descriptions and conceptualizations for seven politeness-related and eight impoliteness-related lexemes were analyzed. First, in this section, a brief analysis for the semantics of the seven<sup>17</sup> chosen

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<sup>17</sup> Although data for eight politeness lexemes were collected through QPM, ZARİF was left out of the analysis. The rationale here was that TNS said they used the lexeme to refer predominantly to outside appearance (of usually females): the way they dress, basically, a long lean sheek look, although other interpretations were also found. The lexeme did not bear stong correlations with other politeness-domain lexemes in this respect, and created a different domain in its own right.

politeness terms (KİBAR, NAZİK, İNCE, DÜŞÜNCELİ, SAYGILI, GÖRGÜLÜ, TERBİYELİ) will be provided (see section 3.3.3 for a discussion on how and why these lexemes were chosen). Comparative analyses of the findings with *TDK Sözlüğü* (2005) (Eng. Türk Dil Kurumu Turkish Dictionary) entries for these lexemes in Turkish will be made in order to capture the basic “semantics” of the chosen politeness lexemes. Turkish informants’ views on the meanings of each of these lexemes were tapped by asking them to write about (QPM) and verbalize (for the interviews) what the words meant for them (Turkish instruction on the questionnaire read: “... kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam” (see Appendix A for the visual appearance of the prompt).

In contrast to what has been found in TNS data, the definitions for these lexical entries in TDK dictionaries are very circular in nature. For example, KİBAR is described as “Davranış, düşünce, duygu bakımından ince, nazik olan”.

**KİBAR: (adj; Arabic)**

1. Davranış, düşünce, duygu bakımından ince, nazik olan (kimse):  
*“İşte senin bu kibar, bu efendi hâllerine bayılıyorum.”- Y. Z. Ortaç.*
2. Seçkin, değerli:  
*“Fazla bolluk da görmemiş bir ailenin kibar eşyaları sessiz bir şekilde âdeta hitap ediyordu.”- S. F. Abasıyanık.*
3. Zengin, soylu, köklü (kimse, aile):  
*“Telefona giderek kibar ve varlıklı insanlara has bir şive ile köşkten otomobili istetti.”- H. Taner.*
4. (isim, eskimiş) Büyükler, ulular.

**Kibarlık/-ğı/: (noun)**

1. Kibar olma durumu, incelik:  
*“Nerede kibarlık ararsak orada bayağılığa rastlarız.”- A. Ş. Hisar.*
2. Kibar bir insana yakışacak biçimdeki söz veya davranış:  
*“Ne imiş derdi diye sormamak kibarlığını içi içini yemesine rağmen gösterdi.”- T. Buğra.*

*Related entries:*

(proverb, idiom and compound verbs) kibarlığı tutmak ;(üstünden veya paçalarından) kibarlık akmak; kibarlık etmek; kibarlık taslamak; (compound expressions) kibarlık budalası; kibarlık düşkünü (p.1179)

TNS data, however, revealed that these two lexemes differ conceptually in their semantic meanings. TNS defined KİBAR as thinking of other’s welfare, meeting social norms and expectations attached to them, being in a struggle with yourself to avoiding hurting the other person, keeping other people’s “gönül”

(heart/mind/desire) “hoş” (Eng. content), empathizing with the other, exercising self-abandonment for the benefit of the other, handle a person, or your relationship with a person with utmost attention and care, and being careful and temperate in your choice of language.

Sample entries involving putting other over self:

- (1) öncelikli olarak kendinden başka insanları ve iyiliğini düşünerek hal ve hareketlerini buna göre ayarlayan bu ölçüde kendinden fedakarlık eden insan/öncelikli olarak kendinden başka insanları düşünme ve bu ölçüde kendinden fedakarlık etme eğilimi (KIB5)<sup>18</sup>
- (2) Kendinden başkalarının haklarına saygı duymak ve ona uygun olarak davranmak (KIB112)
- (3) kendi duygu,düşünce ve ruh halimizden bağımsız olarak karşımızdaki kişi yada kişilere (KIB 52)
- (4) hareketlerinde hem fiziksel hem zihinsel olarak başkasına öncelik tanıyabilen insan.(KIB45)
- (5) kendi duygu,düşünce ve ruh halimizden bağımsız olarak karşımızdaki kişi yada kişilere düşünceli ve onun rahatlığını gözeterek davranmak(KIB52)

Sample entries involving language use and avoidance of hurtful act:

- (6) karşılıklı ilişkilerde gülümseme, rahatsızlıkların uygun bir dille dile getirilmesi, herhangi bir talepte bulunmadan birinin size yardım etmesi (KIB1)
- (7) İnsanlarla iletişimde kullanılan sözcükleri dikkatli seçerek, davranışlarda da nezaket göstermek. (KIB7)
- (8) karşısındakini düşünüp ona karşı daha anlayışlı olan, empati kurup karşısındakinin incinmemesi için özen göstermek. Genellikle toplumsal statü farklılıklarının olduğu durumlarda uygulanıyor. (KIB24)
- (9) kibarlık bence insanın başkalarına hoşgörüyü ve ince bir şekilde yaklaşması ve insanları kırmamaya özen göstermesidir,ayrıca gerektiği zaman önceliği kendinden başkasına vermek olarak da tanımlanabilir. (KIB26)
- (10)insanlara karşı nazik davranma, insanları kırmadan anlaşabilme, kendini başkalarını kırmayacak biçimde ifade etme(KIB6)

Sample entries involving blending in, abidance to customs, social norms:

- (11) görgü kurallarına uyan, ilişkilerinde argoya kaçmayan(KIB42)
- (12) Yaşanılan toplumda genel kabul görmüş, örf yada adet olarak da adlandırılabilir kurallara uygun davranma(KIB103)
- (13) kibarlık karşılık gütmeyen sosyal ortama uyum sağlamak, insanları kırmamak ve güzel cümleler kullanmaktır. (KIB39)

While KİBAR was simply described as “Davranış, düşünce, duygu bakımından ince, nazik olan”, İNCE quite similarly was defined as “Düşünce, duygu veya

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<sup>18</sup>Notes on data extracts used within the body of the dissertation:

- i. Hereafter, the following convention will be used for data extract identification. For QPM data: Data identification numbers for data retrieved through semantics/definition questions will be given in regular parantheses+lexeme abbreviations+data identification number, e.g (KIB5). Data identification numbers for data extracts retrieved via lexeme-probed personal narratives/experiences questions will be given in square brackets, e.g. [KIB5]. For corpus data, token identification numbers will be given in square brackets+CPL/CIPL+token number, e.g [CPL8]. For interview data the same convention will be used, with the number denoting informant identification, e.g. [PEI12]
- ii. The orthography used by informants in QPM, CPL and CIPL data extracts have not been altered.
- iii. Hereafter, underline will be used for emphasis within data extracts.

davranış bakımından insanın sevgi ve saygısını kazanan, zarif, kaba karşıtı” in its figurative meaning.

**İNCE (adj):**

- 10 . mecaz Düşünce, duygu veya davranış bakımından insanın sevgi ve saygısını kazanan, zarif, kaba karşıtı:  
"Dostum şair, yazar Sabahattin Teoman, yazdığı ince bir mektupla durumu düzeltiyor."- .
- 4 . Aşırı özen gerektiren, kaba karşıtı:  
"İnce nakış."- .
- 5 . Ayrıntılı:  
"Bugün temizlikçi geliyor. Şöyle ince bir temizliğe..."- T. Uyar.

**Related entries:**

(proverb, idiom and compound verbs) ince düşünmek

**İncelik/-ğı/: (noun)**

- 1 . İnce olma durumu.
- 2 . İnce davranış gösterme, zarafet, nezaket:  
"Yüzündeki incelik, olgunluk, onu bambaşka seviyede bir erkek gösteriyor."  
-H. E. Adivar.
- 3 . Bir işin herkesçe görülemeyen nitelikleri:  
"Oyunculuk sanatının inceliklerini ya ustalarından öğrenip ya da kendi kendine arayıp bularak sonradan edinmişti."- H. Taner.
- 4 . Ayrıntı:  
"Necatî'ye vaziyeti bütün inceliğiyle anlattım."- O. Kemal. (p.996)

TNS definitions of İNCE involved out-performance of some sort of polite expectation, thus, nature of İNCE behaviour/language as polite+1, element of surprise, performing social appreciation-receiving acts, kind and considerate gestures, deliberate acts for bringing B happiness and joy, thoughtful acts, involvement with details, details for which a careful eye and mind is necessary.

**Sample entries involving element of surprise, performance of unexpected behaviour**

- (14) yapılması beklenmeyen bir kibarlık (IN1)
- (15) birini mutlu etmek veya onu hatırladığını veya önemsedğini göstermek amacıyla ona küçük iyilikler ve sürprizler yapmak; aynı zamanda insanlarla kurduğun ilişkilerde davranışlarına ve yaptığın konuşmalara özen göstermek daha dikkatli ve estetik olmak (IN9)
- (16) Karşısındakine güzel davranan, karşısındakinin beklemediği kadar iyi olmak bazen de. (IN14)
- (17) Kasi tarafın beklemediği bir davranışı göstererek az da olsasasırtıcı olmak. (IN86)
- (18) herkesin düşünemeyebileceği ayrıntılarla ilgilenen, beklenmedik sürprizler yapan kimse (IN12)
- (19) insanların birbirine yaptıkları jestler olabilir (IN6)
- (20) Davranışlarda gösterilen düşüncelilik. (IN7)

**Sample entries involving attention to detail and thoughtfulness**

- (21) Sosyal ilişkilerde her türlü beğenilen detaylara dikkat edebilme (IN87)

- (22) dümdüz düşünmeyen, ayrıntılar farkedip bunları karşındakinin iyiliği için kullanan (IN69)
- (23) küçük ayrıntılara özen göstererek insanları mutlu edebilme yetisi (IN5)
- (24) her hareketin sonuçlarını ayrıntılı düşünebilen, çoğu kişinin düşünmediği şeyleri bilebilen insan. (IN45)
- (25) gündelik hayatın kargaşası içinde bir çok insanın gözden kaçırdığı ayrıntılara dikkat etmek inceliklidir. (IN41)
- (26) düşünceli ve kibar tavırlar sergileyen ve genellikle başkalarının varlığını, düşünce ve davranışlarını saygılı bir biçimde ele alarak davranabilen kişilere denir. (IN47)
- (27) gereğinden fazla düşünceli ve de kibar (IN11)
- (28) çok düşünceli olma karşındakinin mutlu edilecek davranışı bilme (IN21)
- (29) Başkalarını incitmemeye özen gösteren/gösterme, ufak ayrıntılara dikkat etme (IN82)
- (30) davranışlarında hassas olan kimse (IN85)

In addition, TDK dictionary also has a much *narrower* scope for the description of NAZİK than has been found in TNS semantic entries for this lexeme. The dictionary marks NAZİK as a Persian-loaned word in the Turkish lexicon which means “being respectful to others” in its politeness sense.

**NAZİK: (adj.; Persian)**

1. Başkalarına karşı saygılı davranan:  
"Nazik adam."- .
2. İnce yapılı, narin:  
"Kadın fevkalade nazik ve güzel, çocuklar oya gibi idiler."- S. F. Abasıyanık.
3. Özen, dikkat gösterilmezse kırılabilen, bozulabilen, kötüleşebilen:  
"Nazik bir bitki."- .
4. Gerekli önlemler alınmadığında daha kötü olan, kritik:  
"Şimdi devleti tehlikeden kurtaracak pek nazik zamandır."- A. Ş. Hisar.
5. Dikkat isteyen, özen gerektiren:  
"Nazik bir iş."- .

**Nezaket: (noun; Arabic)**

1. Başkalarına karşı saygılı ve incelikle davranma, incelik, naziklik, zarafet:  
"Ben bu kıza bir türlü nezaket öğretemedim."- M. Ş. Esenal.
2. *mecaz* Bir iş veya durum için önemli olma, dikkatli davranmayı gerektirme.  
*Related entries:* (proverb, idiom and compound verbs) nezaket göstermek; nezaket kesbetmek (p.1460)

TNS have emphasized the emotional appeal embedded in the lexeme NAZİK such as the element of ‘softness’ in order not to agitate hurt or cause discomfort to the other. With the component of respect, some TNS believed it to be in situations where there is obligation to be polite, the manner in which we conduct ourselves is ‘nazik’. Some mentioned managing our own emotions by being calm is NAZİK; others stressed the reciprocity dimension of what being NAZİK meant for them.

Sample entries involving emotional appeal

- (31) düşüncelerin ve davranışların yumuşak olması, diğer insanlara kırıcı veya rahatsız edici davranışlarda bulunmayan hoşgörü çerçevesinde davranan, yumuşak sözlerle konuşan (NZ5)
- (32) kırıcı olmamak, düşünceli ve kibar olmak. incitmemeye çalışan, insanları kırmayan, onlara karşı iyi olmaya çalışan kişi (NZ64)
- (33) Nazik davranışları ile karşısındakini üzmeyen kişi., başkalarının iyiliğini düşünerek hareket etmek (NZ3)

Sample entries involving 'respect' to other

- (34) Her durumda olgun ve saygılı davranış gösterme. (NZ84)
- (35) karşısındakine değer verildiği ya da ortam gerektirdiği için tutum ve davranışların gerekli saygı ve özen çerçevesinde sergilenmesi (NZ359)
- (36) kibarlıkla benziyor. daha çok kişinin içinden gelmediği durumlarda, konumu veya karşısındaki kişinin kim olduğuna bağlı olarak daha 'zorla' anlayış gösteriyorumuş gibi yapmak (NZ24)
- (37) Karşılıklı konuşmalarda saygılı davranan ve karşısındakinin özelliklerini gözönüne alan kişi (NZ120)

Sample entries involving mention of etiquette

- (38) görgü kurallarını bilen ve bunu tavırlarına (karşısındakine karşı hareketlerine) yansıtabilen (NZ79)
- (39) toplumun beklentilerine göre davranan, ölçülü, kibar kimse (NZ12)

Sample entry involving self-emotion management

- (40) Olaylar karşısında kendine sahip olabilen, yapılması gerekeni sabır ve kibarlıkla yapabilen kişidir. (NZ121)

Sample entry involving nazik as premise to Rapport management

- (41) insan ilişkilerinde sağlıklı iletişim kurmak maksadıyla kullanılan bir davranış seklidir. (GR86)

Sample entry involving reciprocity and help without expectancy of a return

- (42) birine yapılan bir iyilikte size aynı şekilde karşılık vermesi bu bir eylem olmak (NZ1)
- (43) Karşısındakine değer verdiğini göstermek. Kibar, ince gibi kelimeleri çağırıştırıyor. Sadece kendi çıkarlarını düşünmeyen başkalarında karşılıksız bir şeyler yapan insana derim. (NZ14)
- (44) insanlara karşı olan davranışlarında ölçülü ve uyumlu olan, ihtiyacı olan insanlara yardım eden (NZ6)

For SAYGI, the description provided by the TDK dictionary was “Değeri, üstünlüğü, yaşlılığı, yararlılığı, kutsallığı dolayısıyla bir kimseye, bir şeye karşı dikkatli, özenli, ölçülü davranmaya sebep olan sevgi duygusu, hürmet, ihtiram” and “Başkalarını rahatsız etmekten çekinme duygusu.” Avoiding to bother others is listed as the second meaning for SAYGI in TDK.

**SAYGI: (adj)**

1 . Değeri, üstünlüğü, yaşlılığı, yararlılığı, kutsallığı dolayısıyla bir kimseye, bir şeye karşı dikkatli, özenli, ölçülü davranmaya sebep olan sevgi duygusu, hürmet, ihtiram:

*“İnsanlara saygıyı yitirdin mi yandın bittin, on paralık oldun demektir.”- Y. Kemal.*

2 . Başkalarını rahatsız etmekten çekinme duygusu.

*Related entries:* (proverb, idiom and compound verbs) saygı duymak (veya beslemek); saygı göstermek

**Saygılı:**

Saygısı olan, saygı gösteren, hürmetli:

"Bundan başka saygılı, temiz ve çalışkan bir kızdı."- H. E. Adıvar. (p.1714)

The idea of veneration, reverence, deference, and holding-in-high-regard for an attribute such as age, divinity, value of the other was a part of both the TNS semantics data and TDK. However, TNS not only mentioned *saygı* for a higher B but also for people of equal or lower standing, their individual rights and freedom, rights to 'being' as is, etc. This was not a part of the TDK dictionary entry.

Sample entries involving recognition of higher other in terms of other's attributes in comparison to self

- (45) karsımızdaki kişinin benimsediği fikirlerinin, olaylara bakış tarzının, kendine özgü davranışlarının varlığını bize uysa da uymasa da kabul etmek, ayrıca kendimizden bir alanda( bilgi/kültür/görgü vb.) üstün gördüğümüz bir kişi karşısında konuşma stilimizi ve davranışlarımızı kendi saygı anlayışımız doğrultusunda ayarlamak (SY29)
- (46) başkalarının varlığının bilincinde olmak; tabi bi de yaş, sosyal konum gibi sebeplerden duyulan saygı (SY51)
- (47) Karşısındaki insanın haklarını/değerlerini/sosyal statülerini gözönüne alarak davranabilme. (SY103)
- (48) İnsanlara sosyal statülerinin, yaşlarının, rollerinin gerektirdiği ölçüde nezaket göstermek ve üstünlüklerini kabul etmek. (SY116)
- (49) kişinin kendisinden konum olarak yüksekte olan kişiye veya bi yabancıya, onun egosunu okşamak amacıyla yaptığı davranış (SY67)

Sample entries rights of individualism, to freedom and rights to 'being' as is

- (50) karşıdaki kişiye insan olmasından duyulan değer, insan olmaktan ileri gelen hakların ihlal edilmemesi (SY1)
- (51) Saygı karşıdakinin hak ve özgürlüklerine duyarlılık göstermektir. Bana göre, dinle ve iktidarla empoze edilmiş "büyüklere saygı, küçüklere sevgi" cümlesindeki anlamından çok farklı bir şeydir. (SY54)
- (52) dünyanın sadece bana ait olmadığı gerçeğinin farkında olup başkalarının da hak, özgürlük ve irade gibi özel seçeneklere sahip olduklarını düşünerek davranmaktır. (SY31)
- (53) kendi öz, içsel istek ve arzularımızdan sıyrılıp, içimizden geldiği yada istediğimiz gibi değil belki ama olması gerektiği gibi davranabilmek (SY52)
- (54) kendine yapılmasını istemeyeceğin bir davranışı bir başkasına yapmamak, bir insanın verdiği kararlara yaptığı seçimlere müdahale etmemek bunların aksine bir davranışta bulunmamak (SY5)

Sample entries involving mention of societal values and morals

- (55) Toplum kurallarına bağlı kalarak istendik davranış ve hitap şekline sahip olma (SY118)
- (56) belirli ahlak kuralları aşmadan hareket etmek (SY50)
- (57) davranışlarımızda ve hareketlerimizde edepli olmak (SY2)

Such a type of respect was seen in combination with the realization that one needs to at times disunite with internal wants and desires, doing so was SAYGI. Other entires were those involving mention of societal values and morals as SAYGI.

For DÜŞÜNCELİ, TDK entry simply read as “Düşünerek davranan, anlayışlı”. TNS stressed the connotation of the word for them as being non-egocentric, working for the benefit of the other, engaging in the maintenance of empathy, tolerance and being understanding, having the ability to put oneself in the other’s shoes, and thinking of other people’s needs and looking out for ways of helping them.

**DÜŞÜNCELİ: (adj)**

1. Düşüncesi olan:

"Özgür düşünceli. Kötü düşünceli." .

2. Düşünerek davranan, anlayışlı.

3. mecaz Kaygılı, tasalı:

"Kadın biraz düşünceli, biraz mahzun görünüyor."- M. Ş. Esendal.

**Düşüncelilik/-ği/: (noun)**

Düşünceli olma durumu. (p.592)

Another dimension of DÜŞÜNCELİ in the ‘thinking ahead’ sense was expressed by a TNS with an analogy of the tailor, with the expression ‘measure seven times and cuts once’ (Tr. “yedi kere ölç bir kere biç”).

Sample entries involving working for other’s benefit, non-egocentrism

(58)içten gelen bir şekilde karşısındakini anlamaya çalışıp onun iyiliği için bir şeyler yapma, kendinden önce baska insanlari dusunmek (DSC24)

(59)karşısındaki insanın nasıl tatmin olacağı hakkında efor sarfetmek, problemini aşma yollarını araştıran (DSC67)

Sample entries with mention of tolerance, understanding and empathy

(60)empati kurmak, zor, kötü bir durumda başkalarınında düşünmek, böyle bir durumda anlayışlı davranmak (DSC2)

(61)empatik, karşısındakinin duygularını gözönünde bulunduran, anlayışlı olma (DSC42)

(62)nezaket,hoşgörü anlayışları dahilindeki davranışları ve başka bir insanı mutlu edebilecek aslında herkesce yapılması gerekir çoğu zaman ihmal edilen geleneksel yada ahlaki seyleri sürekli hatrında bulundurarak bunları hayatına yansıtma eğilimi ve bir konuda diğer herkesçe hemen düşünölemeyen bazı davranışları yapabilme yetisi (DSC5)

Sample entries involving the notion of ‘self-control’

(63)Bu kavram için çok uygun bir atasözümüz var, yedi kere ölç bir kere biç". Ağzından çıkanı duyan insandır düşünceli." (DSC78)

(64)düşünceli kimse bir davranış, sözde bulunacağı zaman karşısındakinin de düşünce ve duygularını dikkate alan kimsedir. düşüncelilik de bu eylemi yapmaktır. (DSC38)

(65)çevresindeki insanlara karşı sorumlu olma duygusunu hissedeni kimse (DSC72)

Sample entries involving thinking of other’s need and helping the other

(66)sadece kendi çıkarını değil, karşısındakini düşünmek. vefalı olabilmek, aradan zaman geçse de dostları hatırlamak. karşındaki insanın ihtiyacının farkında olup, maddi manevi karşılık beklemeden onu ihtiyacından kurtarmak. (DSC39)

(67)(bir kişi için) okadar iyiki ben sormadan ben istemedeni yapmış. (DSC62)

- (68) bireyin ailesinin, çevresindeki ve hatta çok uzaklardaki insanların ihtiyaçları, eksikleri, sorunları ve sıkıntıları hakkında bilgi sahibi olması, söz konusu durumu düzeltmek adına elinden geleni yapmaya çalışması, hiçbir şey yapamıyorsa o konuda kafa yorması demektir (DSC9)
- (69)-Karsındaki insanın ne istediğini ya da istemediğini tahmin ederek ona göre davranmak (DSC61)

In the extract from TDK dictionary below, GÖRGÜ has been defined as “Bir toplum içinde var olan ve uyulması gereken saygı ve incelik davranışları, terbiye”, and TERBİYE has been defined very briefly as “görgü” and “eğitim”.

**GÖRGÜ: (n)**

1 . Bir toplum içinde var olan ve uyulması gereken saygı ve incelik davranışları, terbiye:

*"İçinde yaşadığımız aynı çevre, aynı görgü, beni tamamıyla onlara benzetmiyor."*- O. C. Kaygılı.

2 . Bir kimsenin, yaşayarak ve deneyerek elde ettiği birikim, deneyim.

*Related entries:* (proverb, idiom and compound verbs) görgü fukarası; görgü kuralları

**Görgülü : (adj.)**

Görgüsü olan:

*"Bildiğini iyi bilen, görgülü, kendine güveni tam olan bir erkekti."*- N. Cumalı.  
(p.780)

**TERBİYE: (noun; Arabic)**

1 . Eğitim:

*"Hepsi de karşılıklı bir iyilik ve bir terbiyeden istifade etmekteydiler."*- A. Ş. Hisar.

2 . Görgü.

5 . Hayvanı alıştırma:

*"Sessiz sinema filminde bir yabani atın terbiye sahnesi gösteriliyordu."*- F. R. Atay.

*Related entries:* (proverb, idiom and compound verbs) terbiye almak (veya görmek); terbiye etmek, terbiyesini bozmak; (birinin) terbiyesini vermek

**Terbiyeli : (adj.)**

1 . Topluluk kurallarına uygun olarak davranan, müeddep [uslu, edepli]:

*"Gelenleri kapıdan terbiyeli uşaklar karşılamış."*- R. H. Karay.

**Terbiye (II) noun, folk language:** Araba hayvanlarının dizginleri.(p.1957)

Both of the TNS lexeme descriptions for these word involved (a) morals, norms and traditions, (b) abiding by the rules of social conduct, (c) being able to apply this knowledge as ‘how to act where’, (d) being educated by and outside source, i.e. one’s family. However, TNS again differentiated between these lexemes on a variety of domains: e.g. seeing expressive politeness and self-emotion management

(i.e. holding back your impulses and true feelings) related more to TERBİYE; GÖRGÜLÜ having stronger connections to social customs than TERBİYELİ.

Morals mentions for TERBİYELİ

- (70) ahlak kurallarına uygun davranma, aşırılıklara kaçmadan edebli olma hali (TR3)  
(71) ahlaki değerleri kişiliğine oturmuş insane, sözlerimizde ve hareketlerimizde seviyeli olmak (TR5)

Morals, norm, tradition mentions for GÖRGÜLÜ

- (72) ahlaki olarak bazı değeryargılarını içinde oturtmuş olan kimse (GR55)  
(73) ahlaklı, görmüş geçirmiş, deneyim sahibi, nerde nasıl davranacağını bilen, hal ve hareketlerimizde edepli olmak (GR22)  
(74) ahlaki davranışları bilmek ve uygulamak yerinde ve uygun davranmak. (GR8)  
(75) topluma uygun hareket edebilen kişi, Âdab-ı Muâşerete uygun davranmak (G5)  
orf ve adet kurallarına uyan, toplumsal kurallara göre yaşamaktır. (GR85)

Sample entries involving knowledge of how to act where and being 'görgülü' for TERBİYELİ

- (76) Görgülü olma, yerine, zamanına uygun hareket etme. (TR4)  
(77) yerinde doğru davranmayı bilmek (TR17)  
(78) toplum içinde veya herhangi sosyal bir grupta o birlikteliğin kurallarına ve normlarına uygun olarak davranma, istedik davranışlar sergileme, kibar ve düzgün (argo veya küfür içermeyecek şekilde) konuşma (TR9)  
(79) görgülü, nerde nasıl davranması gerektiğini bilen kimse (TR12)

Sample entries involving the aspect of 'Family education' for TERBİYELİ

- (80) aileden edinilen, başka insanlara karşı nasıl davranılması gerektiğini ortaya koyan genel toplumsal kurallar. (TR48)  
(81) Aileden öğrenilmiş bir şeydir terbiye. Nerede nasıl hareket edeceğini bilmektir. Kişilerle ne ölçüde konuşması gerektiğini bilen insana terbiyeli denebilir. Karşısındakini hal ve hareketleriyle rahatsız etmeyen insandır. (TR14)  
(82) küçük yaşta alınan ve bir ömür boyu sizinle giden usululuk, kibar olma gibi şeylerin tümü (TR37)

Sample entries for being 'Educated' on the rules of good conduct for TERBİYELİ

- (83) toplumun istediği şekilde kriterlere uygun şekilde davranan, sosyallikle alakalı eğitim almış kimse (TR13)  
(84) görgülü, görgü konusunda eğitilmiş olma durumu, eğitilmiş (TR34)  
(85) "iyi yetiştirilmiş", küfürbaz olmayan.. Toplumun normlarıyla doğru olarak bellennmiş sözcük ve davranışları seçerek uygulayabilen kişiler için kullanılır. (TR54)

Sample entries for abidance to societal rules dimesion for TERBİYELİ

- (86) Toplumda doğru kabul edilen değerlere saygılı, kendi sınırlarını bilen ve nezaketle davranan kişi. (TR105)  
(87) Genel ve özel toplum kurallarına uyan veya bunun için gerekli eğitimi almış olan kişi. (TR116)

Moreover although some TNS defined GÖRGÜLÜ as not boasting about, or not showing off about one's attributes, TERBİYELİ definitions in the data did not contain any of such descriptions. Furthermore, GÖRGÜLÜ in the sense of being 'görmüş geçirmiş', an aspect of being *görgülü* as a result of exposure to different settings, etc. was also not a part of the semantic definition of TERBİYELİ for TNS.

Sample entries with mention of not boasting about/not showing off about attributes for

GÖRGÜLÜ

- (88)gösteriş düşkünü olmamak (GR1)  
(89)insiyatif sahibi olma durumudur. gösterişten, çok fazla göz önünde olmaktan sakınmaktır ama bu öz güven eksikliğinden değildir. kendisinin gerçekte ne olduğunu gayet iyi bilir ama uluorta yaşamak istemez herşeyi (GR41)  
(90)Sahip olduklarını yerli yersiz söylemeyen,yeme-içme kültürü olan kişiye görgülü derim.Yan nerde nasıl davranması gerektiğini bilen(GR14)  
(91)Sahip olduklarını taşıyabilen, bunları gerçekten hakeden insandır. Görgülü insanlar elde ettiklerine bir diyalektik sonucu sahip olmuşlardır genellikle, yani bir şeylere kolay yoldan emek sarfetmeden sahip olan insanlar genelde görgüsüz olurlar. (GR54)  
(92)sahip olduğu seylerin değerlerini sindirebilmiş , kültür, bilgi, deneyim bakımından donanımlı (GR29)

Sample entries involving GÖRGÜLÜ as a result of culmination of experiences

- (93)Bir kişinin yaşadıkları olaylardan elde ettiği kazanımlar veya toplumsal yaşamı düzenleyen saygı kuralları (GR120)  
(94)yaşadığı çevreden veya ailesinden aldığı eğitimi, öğrendiği olguları karşılaştığı durumlarda uygulayabilen kişilere görgülü denir. (GR47)

Overall, KİBAR was seen to work as an *emic* ‘umbrella term’ for the other lexemes as KİBAR (more or less) carried qualities shared aspects of the other lexemes. Although in everyday speech we can find that people use some of these terms interchangeably, TNS data revealed that KİBAR, NAZİK and İNCE are not synonyms for each other, just as SAYGILI, GÖRGÜLÜ, TERBİYELİ are not. Even at just this simple “definition” level of analysis, all of these lexemes were found to each carry distinct value dimensions. It is argued that they need to be considered separately with an objective insider’s eye (*emic* approach) in order to get a sense of how they contribute to a broader notion of politeness in Turkish.

The intricate differences between these lexemes have been overlooked in TDK definitions of these words. Section 4.3 will reveal that there are underlying themes with regard to politeness conceptualizations in Turkish culture, with the lexemes diverging on some aspects and uniting on others in the make up of a composite notion of politeness<sup>1</sup>. Before the thematic analysis is presented, in the next section word associations of politeness lexemes with KİBAR which was determined through quantitative data analysis on qualitative data are provided.

## 4.2 Word Associations of Politeness Lexemes with KİBAR

A total of 121 respondents produced 411 words which they believed to be associated with KİBAR. These 411 associations provided originated from 83 words/concepts/lexemes. Of the total of 411 words/expressions by TNS, 238 were word forms of the politeness-lexemes QPM was based on, namely *nazik, ince, saygılı, düşünceli, görgülü, terbiyeli and zarif*<sup>19</sup>. Table 8 depicts the descriptive statistics for the weight of these lexemes individually among other politeness-lexemes also tapped on by QPM. Among other QPM politeness lexemes, NAZİK was the most frequently cited word. Within this group of lexemes it accounted for nearly 50% of the associations.

Table 8. Association Strength of KİBAR within QPM lexemes

Lexemes:	<i>Eng.</i>	N	%
<b>NAZİK</b>	<i>COMITY/TACT/GENTILITY/GRACE</i>	117	<b>49,16</b>
<b>İNCE</b>	<i>COURTESY/TACTFUL</i>	41	<b>17,23</b>
<b>SAYGI</b>	<i>RESPECT</i>	27	<b>11,34</b>
<b>DÜŞÜNCELİ</b>	<i>CONSIDERATE</i>	22	<b>9,24</b>
<b>GÖRGÜ</b>	<i>ETIQUETTE/GOOD MANNERS</i>	13	<b>5,46</b>
<b>TERBİYE</b>	<i>MANNERS</i>	11	<b>4,62</b>
<b>ZARİF</b>	<i>REFINED/ELEGANT</i>	7	<b>2,94</b>
		<b>238</b>	

In the table below, the top 20 ‘cultural primaries’, that is, the most frequent responses bearing the most strong associations with KİBAR are reported. As different from the table above where descriptive statistics were computed only among QPM lexemes, in Table 9 below, the frequency and percentages have been calculated for the whole data set (all 411 association written by TNS).

NAZİK is the word that is most frequently associated with KİBAR. NAZİK, in order of strength, is followed by İNCE, SAYGI and DÜŞÜNCELİ. Although not chosen as a QPM lexeme BEY/HANIMEFENDİ was a term of reference cited 21

<sup>19</sup> Note that small letters refer to the word and capitals to the concept.

times by the respondents. GÖRGÜ and TERBİYE was followed by to other two words which were not included in QPM: ANLAYIŞ and HOŞGÖRÜ.

Table 9. Twenty Strongest Associated Concepts with KİBAR

	<u>Lexical Items:</u>	<u>Eng.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>item on QPM</u>
	<u>'cultural primaries'</u>				
1	<b>NAZİK</b>	COMITY/TACT/ GENTILITY/GRACE	117	28,47	Q
2	<b>İNCE</b>	COURTESY/ TACTFUL	41	9,98	Q
3	<b>SAYGI</b>	RESPECT	27	6,57	Q
4	<b>DÜŞÜNCELİ</b>	CONSIDERATE	22	5,35	Q
5	<b>BEY/HANIMEFENDİ</b>	GENTLEMAN/LADY	21	5,11	
6	<b>GÖRGÜ</b>	ETIQUETTE/GOOD MANNERS	13	3,16	Q
7	<b>TERBİYE</b>	MANNERS	11	2,68	Q
8	<b>ANLAYIŞ</b>	UNDERSTANDING	10	2,43	
9	<b>HOŞGÖRÜ</b>	TOLERANCE	9	2,19	
10	<b>İYİ/İYİLİK/İYİ NİYET</b>	GOODNESS	8	1,95	Q
11	<b>ZARİF</b>	REFINED/ELEGANT	7	1,70	
12	<b>SEVGİ</b>	LOVE	6	1,46	
13	<b>İNSANLIK</b>	HUMANITY	5	1,22	
14	<b>HASSAS</b>	SENSITIVITY/DELICATE	5	1,22	
15	<b>KİBARLIK</b>	POLITENESS	4	0,97	
16	<b>GÜLÜMSEME</b>	SMILE	4	0,97	
17	<b>GÜZEL</b>	BEAUTIFUL	4	0,97	
18	<b>DUYARLI</b>	SENSITIVITY	4	0,97	
19	<b>ALÇAK GÖNÜLLÜ</b>	HUMBLE/HUMILITY	4	0,97	
20	<b>ASALET</b>	NOBILITY	4	0,97	

The percentages also reflect the TNS definitions of the lexemes summarized in the previous section. In the table below, the more 'idiosyncratic responses'<sup>20</sup> (n=85) are listed corresponding to items 21 to 83 on the associations list. No more than 3 occurrences have been found for these words in the TNS data set. In total, these 'idiosyncratic responses' account for 20,68% of all responses (n=411).

<sup>20</sup> The associated words of the idiosyncratic type might be different if the informants were from a different age group or from a different social class in Turkey.

Table 10. Other Associations for KİBAR (items 21 to 83)

<i>'idiosyncratic responses'</i>			
21	SEVECEN	3	0,73
22	HOŞ	3	0,73
23	MUTLULUK	3	0,73
24	DAVRANIŞ	3	0,73
25	DUYGU	3	0,73
26	MEDENİYET	2	0,49
27	YARDIMSEVER	2	0,49
28	TEMİZLİK/TERTİP	2	0,49
29	AĞIRBAŞLI	2	0,49
30	DEĞER/DEĞERLİ	2	0,49
31	GÖNÜLLÜLÜK	2	0,49
32	HUZUR	2	0,49
33	KABA OLMAYAN	2	0,49
34	KÜLTÜR	2	0,49
35	MEMNUNİYET	2	0,49
36	NARİN	2	0,49
37	SEÇKİN	2	0,49
38	ABARTI	1	0,24
39	BAŞARI (ilişkide)	1	0,24
40	BEĞENİ	1	0,24
41	DETAYCI	1	0,24
42	TATLI DİL	1	0,24
43	HİSSİYAT	1	0,24
44	DÜZEN	1	0,24
45	DÜZEYLİ	1	0,24
46	EDEPLİ	1	0,24
47	ELİT	1	0,24
48	EMPATİ	1	0,24
49	GÜÇLÜ ENERJİ	1	0,24
50	GÜVEN	1	0,24
51	HAREKET	1	0,24
52	DOĞRU HİTAP	1	0,24
53	İMAJ	1	0,24
54	İNANÇ	1	0,24
55	İYİLİK (bulmak için)	1	0,24
56	İKİYÜZLÜLÜK	1	0,24
57	İNCE (fiziksel)	1	0,24
58	KIRICI OLMAYAN	1	0,24
59	KIRILABİLİR	1	0,24
60	KIRILGANLIK	1	0,24
61	KIYMETLİ	1	0,24
62	LÜTFEN	1	0,24
63	MİNNETARLIK	1	0,24
64	MUTLU	1	0,24
65	NAİF	1	0,24
66	NEZİHLİK	1	0,24
67	OLUMLU	1	0,24
68	OTURAKLI	1	0,24
69	ÖNGÖRÜLÜ	1	0,24

Table 10 continued.

70	ÖZGÜVEN	1	0,24
71	ÖZÜR DİLERİM	1	0,24
72	PASİF	1	0,24
73	RİCA	1	0,24
74	SABIRLI	1	0,24
75	SAKİN	1	0,24
76	SICAK	1	0,24
77	SOYLU	1	0,24
78	TEŞEKKÜR EDERİM	1	0,24
79	TİTİZ	1	0,24
80	UYGUN	1	0,24
81	VİCDAN	1	0,24
82	YAPMACIKLIK	1	0,24
83	ZENGİN	1	0,24
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>411</b>	<b>100,00</b>

### 4.3 Bases of Evaluation of Politeness in Turkish

In this section, the bases of evaluations of politeness in Turkish will be outlined with support from data. As was underscored before in previous chapters, the data interpretation presented within this dissertation in the metapragmatics of politeness and impoliteness chapters (Chapters 4 and Chapter 5, respectively) are subjected to an emic observation as opposed to an etic standpoint. Through an ‘emic’ approach politeness behaviour relative to context and function within a system of cultural meaning has been investigated. By taking on an emic standpoint, “one gains the advantage of gaining a perception of appropriateness by the members of a society themselves (Harris, 1990 as cited in Stadler, 2006), instead of having appropriateness judged through scientific observation. In interpreting the results, thus, no attempt was made to *judge* the evaluations made by respondents.

The content analysis on the Turkish informants’ shared politeness experience narratives (from the related questions on QPM) revealed six major themes. The prompt in the open-ended QPM question for each of the lexemes read:

Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “.....*one of the seven politeness lexeme(s)*.....” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte hangi OLAYlarda NE ya da KİM için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız:

The unit of analysis in the experiences informants shared are the evaluative comments of verbal or non-verbal behaviour and expectations attached to them. For the analysis, since the focus of this study is not only linguistic politeness but conceptualizations of politeness and politeness evaluations of TNS on a larger scale (including but not limited to linguistic politeness), the conventional means of expressing interlocutor relationships in politeness research as S(peaker) and H(earer) have not been used. Instead, A (Actor) and B (Receiver) have been used where appropriate to signify and explain the agent and the patient relationship. A has been labeled as any acting person performing a polite act, behaviour or language. Whereas B stands for any person in the receiving position of the polite act (act, being used here in the sense of verbal or non-verbal behaviour).

On the basis of initial and secondary coding on QPM data, the strongest thematic category for POLITENESS was named as Politeness as “Attentiveness” to other. This category embodied a number of underlying sub-classifications: Attentiveness as general considerateness for B, Attentiveness to other’s emotion(s) by generosity, Attentiveness to other’s need(s), Attentiveness to other’s goal(s). The second strongest category was labeled Politeness as “Custom”. The third was named Politeness as “Expression for rapport-enhancement” and the fourth “Self-emotion management for rapport-maintenance”. The fifth thematic category was determined as Politeness as “Face-support”. The last thematic category was labeled as Politeness as “Solicitousness to rights and obligations”. Below are the overall frequency and percentages of all shared instances of politeness judgements as falling into the themes<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> In cases where more than one theme was being used as a basis for evaluation, the extract was coded as one pertaining to the strongest theme that the evaluation was based on. The interrelatedness of the bases of evaluation are further discussed in Section 4.4.

Table 11. Summary for QPM Politeness Evaluations-to-Themes Codings

	<i>n</i>	%
1. <u>POLITENESS as ATTENTIVENESS</u> -[wants/desires]: be thoughtful and considerate to B (91) -[emotions]: value B by being generous (119) -[needs]: support and help B (255) -[interactional/transactionalgoals]: concern for B's goal (57)	522	<b>43,01</b>
2. <u>POLITENESS as CUSTOM</u>	290	<b>23,94</b>
3. <u>EXPRESSIVE POLITENESS</u>	208	<b>17,17</b>
4. <u>SELF-EMOTION MANAGEMENT</u>	78	<b>6,44</b>
5. <u>FACE-SUPPORT</u>	59	<b>4,87</b>
6. <u>RIGHTS and OBLIGATIONS</u>	54	<b>4,45</b>
Total:	<b>1211</b>	

Overall, the strongest theme was revealed as (1) ATTENTIVENESS with 522 coded evaluations, equating to nearly half of the data at an overwhelming 43% within the total of 1211 recorded by QPM. This was followed by evaluations of politeness due to adherence to (2) CUSTOMS which subsumed 23.94% (n=290) of the responses collected. (3) EXPRESSIVE politeness (for which an evaluation based specifically on a linguistic expression, the performance of a speech act in a certain manner or on the the specific manner of linguistic communication made in connection to certain conversational principles) came in third place with 208 occurrences (17,17%). The next theme involved (4) SELF-EMOTION MANAGEMENT and accounted to 6,44% (n=78) of the responses. The last two were (5) FACE-SUPPORT where a specific reference to face concerns were provided in the evaluation of a particular act of self or other's as a polite one accounting for 4,87% (n=59) of the data and (6) RIGHTS and OBLIGATIONS with 54 occurrences (4,45%) entailing evaluations based on adherence or concern for other's rights and obligations embedded in the context of the encounter.

In the sections to come, the themes will be introduced in more detail and discussed one by one. Where applicable, examples from the qualitative data will be provided

from all three data sources, namely, QPM, CPL and PEI to highlight important aspects of the themes<sup>22</sup>.

In the evaluation of politeness, it needs to be noted that for some cases in particular, in an evaluation of politeness, there is a close inter-connection between face issues, interactional and transactional wants, emotions of self and other, and notions about situational and cultural appropriateness of the acts under scrutiny. Each will impact upon our perceptions of rapport in a coherent direction. However, the six elements of (im)politeness discovered through content analysis as bases of judgements are not argued to be mutually exclusive categories/concepts. Very much in contrast, they can work both independently and also in a united fashion and in different directions. For example, a person's behaviour can be face-threatening, even though it does not breach social appropriateness, and vice versa, or in some other cases, a behaviour can be both face-threatening and social appropriateness breaching. Thus, the bases of evaluations should not be envisaged as completely separate compartments of thoughts; however, they do carry elements of a certain level of unique property about them.

What has been classified as bases of politeness in this dissertation is the grouping of TNS responses, what each of the responses have highlighted in terms of the themes found metapragmatically and metalinguistically, what these aspect mean for TNS from an emic standpoint, and what their relative importance is to the conceptualizations of impoliteness they hold.

#### **4.3.1 Politeness as “Attentiveness” to Other**

The strongest theme was labelled ‘politeness as attentiveness’ to other. Evaluation of attentiveness involved an individual who is displaying attentiveness, shows

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<sup>22</sup> An informed decision was made to base the thematic analysis primarily on QPM for the descriptive statistical analysis since administratively data were collected systematically (the internal structure of the tool and responses collected through it were comparable under the same conditions) which allowed for a more practical empirical analysis. In addition, respondent size and response size was much greater in comparison to the other tools. However, these themes were also notably prevalent in other data sources, hence, extracts from them will be provided to verify and triangulate the results.

consideration for others by doing/saying something for the potential benefit of others. TNS often used words like thoughtful and considerate (Tr. düşünceli), value (Tr. değer), please (Tr. memnun/mutlu etme), help or support (Tr. yardım ve destek) other physically, mentally or transactionally, and overall, give concern for the other during interaction and pan-situationally. Specifically, the example politeness experiences provided by the TNS that were coded as attentiveness to other involved a verbal or non-verbal action, a behaviour or manner of behaviour or attitude as an evaluation of attentiveness.

Based on (Fukushima, 2004), the 522 events coded as “Politeness as Attentiveness” in the QPM data and others in CPL and PEI follow these steps within a cultural script:

Stage 1: B says/does something, or B says/does nothing, but there is a situation in which both B and A are, or which A can observe

Stage 2: A evaluates B’s actions/utterances or the situation B is in, and *infers* the needs or desires of B.

Stage 3: A offers something to B. At this stage A may either do something, or saying something in order to satisfy the needs or desires of B. *Attentiveness includes the inference of the other party’s needs or desires as in stage 2, but this process is not to be seen. Hence, only stage 3 can be recognized by B.*

Stage 4: B evaluates A’s attentiveness. When s/he appreciates A’s attentiveness, the evaluation is positive. The evaluation may be carried out inside B or by a non-verbal face or body gesture, or a verbal expression of recognition to A.

How well and at what speed the inference takes place in A’s mind is also subject to evaluation by B. It has been found to affect the evaluation of the attentiveness process as manifestly polite.

The utterance ‘Cold in here, isn’t it?’ is often cited in pragmatics books as an example when talking about directness/indirectness and different request formats (e.g. Thomas, 1995, p. 140); however, it explains what is meant by attentiveness in

a much better fashion for our analysis. Here A's response, for example, 'A switches on heater', is what Fukushima (2004) calls attentiveness, and I follow him. In this example, the attentiveness was made in response to the verbal cue, 'Cold in here, isn't it?', but it is also possible that A switches on the heater or shuts the window, just by observing the situation, i.e. it is cold for B. Here, it is not the linguistically indirect manner by which A requests B to close the window that is 'polite' but whether or not B closes the window in response to A's implication or engages in this without even being prompted by A as a gesture of thoughtfulness and attentiveness to A's needs. The TNS data also revealed that politeness evaluations were based to a great deal on how well (with what degree of attentiveness) A inferred B's need and vice versa, not (solely on) how the message was linguistically coded. The streamline interpretation of this utterance is unfortunately a natural reflection of the field's abundance to the speaker's stance/utterance in interaction disengaged from the hearer's perspective/response.

This new interpretation (within a framework of attentiveness) of a recognized, old example shows how much more there is to politeness than directness-indirectness and how important it is that behaviour as well as language is considered for an emic understanding of politeness as relational work within a global level of rapport management.

TNS experiences of being *thoughtful and considerate* (other to self or self to other) embodied a 'positively eventful' message (not only in the linguistic sense) from A to B which got B to feel that A was attending to B and 'giving importance' to him by avoiding disturbing B, taking care of B, taking an interest in B, thinking of B before taking an action, and taking measures to minimize impact of external event to B, that is, being considerate to B's general wants and desires overall. DÜŞÜNCELİ, İNCE, SAYGILI lexemes evoked more such kind of attentiveness examples when compared to the other lexemes (see section 4.6.1).

In a great number of cases where A was evaluated as attentive, B was in a situation where a disruption occurred: Noise (when B is resting), light (when B is trying to sleep), speech (speaking on the phone loudly when B is trying to work or

concentrate) or smoke (in the company of B who does not smoke). A is found polite when A attends to what A thinks B does or does not want/desire to happen in his presence. During a PEI interview below (95), an informant shares his ideas on an act of attentiveness:

- (95) [PEI19]  
PEI19: Annem yanında sigara içilmesinden rahatsızlık duyar ve sigara içinlere genelde sert tepki gösterir. Dayım bunu bildiği için kendisi sık aralıklarla sigara içmesine rağmen onun yanında asla içmez.  
*Int: Tepkisinden mi çekiniyor annenizin?*  
PEI19:Yok aslında, saygı da değil yaştan falan da değil yani bu yani verdiği önemden ona böyle yapması. Ne diyecek yoksa kadın, adam kaç yaşında, ne isterse yapar normalde.. Kim karışabilir.

In this extract, a grown man's refraining from smoking in his sister's company is judged not as a straightforward respect-to-elder sequence ("yaştan falan değil", Eng. not about age) but attentiveness to the sister's choice of what happens in her presence. In (96) and (97) the informants discuss attentiveness in relation to sharing a room and/or an office space. The extracts point to the weight the evaluators put on to how well the other assesses the attribute of B, B's need or desires that call for attentiveness.

- (96) Bunun paylaşılan mekanlarda önemi iyice artıyor benim için. Ben üniversitedeyken biz bir odayı en az 2 kişiyle paylaşılmak zorunda kalıyorduk. Böyle bir ortamda oda arkadaşı uyurken odada telefonla konuşmayan, gürültü yapmayan, kapıyı açıp kapatırken dikkat eden arkadaşlarımı kıbar bulur düşünceli biridir bu kişi derdim bana göre. Şimdi işyerinde de aynı. Ben ofiste dikkatli dikkatli çalışırken bas bas bağıarak konuşmamaya özen gösterip uzayacaksa dışarı çıkıp cebiyle konuşan, ya da sevdiği türkçe pop kanalını sadece kendi duyabileceği gibi açıp dinleyen şimdiki oda arkadaşım da bana karşı böyle. [DNC12]

- (97) uyuyan ya da ders çalışan birinin yanında gürültü yapmamak için uğraşmak, onun da masa lambası ile çalışıp diğerlerini uyandırmamaya özen göstermesi [IN29]

In some other cases A was judged as attentive and thus polite because B thought A was 'taking care of B'. Here A takes care of B who is in some way disadvantaged, i.e. is sick as in (98) and (99), does not have the resources to look out for her/himself and is helpless without A's care. Preparing soup, for example, for a friend who is ill and has nobody to care for him, brewing tea for someone when they are cold to get them warm again, or dropping them off to their house after dark

as in (101) were among the scripts TNS mentioned. The valuation of such acts as polite stemmed from them showing the informants that their welfare was cared for.

(98) Hastayken size çorba getirilmesi.[NZ42]

(99) hastalanan bi yakınınıza uğrayıp hatrını sormak, bi ihtiyacı olup olmadığını öğrenmek ya da hastanede sıkılacağını tahmin edip ona oyalanacağı kitap, dergi vs. bir şeyler getirmek.

(100) Ev arkadaşım korktuğu için yalnız kalmaktan onu hiç yalnız bırakmamam gece bile olsa eve dönmem [DSC56]

(101) Yolda yürürken üşüyen kız arkadaşına üstümüzdeki montu vermek ya da en azından teklif etmek ve her seferinde evine kadar bırakmak.[NZ70]

As in the first part of extract (102), ‘following up’ on B’s well-being or state was also evaluated as a visible sign of attentiveness to B. This extends attentiveness to domains larger than a single interaction. Such kinds of attentiveness require lengthier episodes of “taking an interest in B” on A’s part for the maintenance of healthy sincere rapport.

(102) Birkaç yaz önce tanıştığım ve iyi arkadaş olduğum ...’nın kışın hasta olduğumuzda benim ya da oğlumun durumunu ve sağlığını takip etmek için sürekli iletişim kurması ince bir davranıştı.... Bu durumda karşılıksız sizinle ilgilendiğini, gözünün önünde olmasanız da hep onun aklında olduğunuzu gösterir. (IN106)

While the same evaluations were based on more than one episode of interaction as in (102), others related to the onset of (or even what happened prior to) the interaction. In such cases, the degree of A’s being attentive was judged on how much thought (about B) A had put into an action before taking the action. This had to do with the recognition of the *collective self* where A and B were reflecting a part of a united collective group. Not getting other people into monetary difficulty, as in (103) below, and cancellation of meetings and happy gatherings when one of the group members have experienced loss (i.e. death of a close one) in respect for their mourning were important cultural scripts.

(103) örneklerden biri, babamın işlerinin kötü gittiğini bildiğim bir zamanda, ihtiyacım olan ve de alınmasını istediğim birşeyi almak istemediğimi ve o eşyanın eskisiyle idare ettiğimi, almama sebepimin bu maddi sıkıntı dönemi yüzünden olduğumu çok da belli etmemeye çalışarak dile getirmem annemin bana daha sonra düşünceli olduğumu için teşekkür etmesine sebep olmuştu. (DNC36)

Although initially such acts as in (103) were regarded politeness as attentiveness due to one person thinking about the other, the motive behind such polite acts (especially if the reverse not being thoughtful would result in financial loss or trouble for B) were also expressed as *not making someone feel inadequate* which also concerns maintaining/supporting B's quality face. Moreover, in especially guest-host situations not asking for more than you are given was also seen as an attentiveness act by avoiding giving someone/causing someone to feel they are inadequate.

The extent to which one takes measures to *minimize impact of external event to the other* also affected the evaluations of polite communication. Some sample events involved spending/using/consuming B's possessions wisely, i.e. thinking that B may need that for later use, any form of giving a reply to an invitation to save B time and effort, telling someone you will be late when they are expecting you (not necessarily in formal situations but in close distance relationships) as in (104) below:

(104) Geçen haftasonu annem balık yaptığıında babamın arayıp yemeğe gecikeceğini söylemesi (IN61)

Among other such cited polite acts were taking care and caution for the other's health by giving care to, for example, the other person's allergies (when preparing food for them), when preparing sweets/desserts for diabetics, etc.

#### **4.3.1.1 Attentiveness to Other's Emotion(s) by Generosity**

A sub-theme to attentiveness is 'Attentiveness to other's emotions by generosity' and it involves pre-planning of an act/utterance by a person to bring into the open others' positive feelings of happiness, joy and/or surprise. The positive emotions are the result of B feeling valued by A in these (n=119) situations. The entity that A is being generous to has been found to be B's "gönül" (Eng. heart/mind/desire), not the public image "yüz" (Eng. face). The act of pleasing here is not to do with third party evaluations outside the radius of the communication and/or B's standing in the eyes of the group, but how A has made B feel within, to be seen and felt by B

alone. Thus, the attentiveness here is primarily to ‘the inner core’ (*gönül*) and not just to the face, public image of the person in question.

In the example below, the respondent uses the idiom “*gönül almak*” (Eng. literally, to take *gönül*) which in English roughly corresponds to winning over someone’s heart, attending to one’s heart/mind/ thought/desire, the inner self, when talking about what happens when people are attentive to the other’s emotions by way of certain valuing process in the Turkish culture Ruhi and Işık-Güler (2005).

(105) Doğum, evlilik, askerlik gibi durumlarda, bu durumlarda arayıp soran, küçük hediyeler alan yani bir şekilde onların gönlünü alabilecek şekilde davranan insanlar için kullanmışımdır. (IN75)

Ruhi and Işık-Güler (2007) show that “*gönül*” in Turkish corresponds to what may be described as the ‘inner self’ in the sense that it closely relates to values, self-attributes, and wishes that the person holds dear to himself/herself. The concept maps more directly onto the interpersonal dimension of communication, and metarepresents the display of sincere consideration toward people’s ‘inner selves’, feelings, intentions, and aspirations. Its use in the example above clearly depicts how remembering/acknowledging important events dear to one’s self by the other touches upon the core of KIBAR in Turkish: attentiveness.

*Attentiveness to other’ emotions by generosity* covers a wide range of pleasant feeling- giving to B. The evaluation can be based on a material offering (i.e. gift), on gustatory senses (e.g. cooking someone something they enjoy) or the tactile (e.g. expression of physical sensual affection by stroking someone). All of these acts are targeted at making B emotionally/physically happy, feel “good” about him/herself. The data collaborating this contrasts with claims by Fraser (1990) who views politeness as “Social Adequacy” in that politeness is a state rather than a strategy. Fraser purports that

politeness is a state that one expects to exist in every conversation; participants note not that someone is being polite – this is the norm – but rather that the speaker is violating the C[onversational] C[ontract]. Being polite *does not involve making the hearer ‘feel good’* à la B[rown] and L[evinson]. It simply involves getting on with the task at hand in light of the terms and conditions of the C (p. 233; emphasis added).

The data collected for the study at hand have suggested otherwise. For the Turkish informants making the other feel good by attending to his/her emotions is a central notion to TNS politeness judgments.

The receival/giving of material gifts were seen as central to “Attentiveness to other’ emotions by generosity” evaluations. It was important for the informants that the gifts, whether small or big, all showed that thought had gone into their selection. Important days (such as birthdays, anniversaries, etc.) have been frequently cited as memorable polite experiences where they have been given a gift. For a number of TNS, key to one’s own happiness is seen as making other people happy: it provides a warm feeling when you are able to give a token of love or appreciation, it is a great feeling when you are able to show someone how much you care about the other. Small tokens of sincere affection like flowers or “güzel sözler” (Eng. kind words) to make the other happy given during ‘any day’ under ‘no obligation’ as described in (106) were regarded as İNCE.

(106) zorunlu olmadığı halde karşıdakini mutlu etmek için küçük şeyler yapmak nişanlıyla buluşmaya giderken bir çiçek almak, içinden gelerek sevdiğin bir kişiye iltifat etmek ya da onu onurlandıracak güzel sözler söylemek (IN5)

In (107) and (108) below, a colleague was evaluated as polite because he *frequently* did/gave things paying close attention to things dear to this person. The evaluation was not made for a single event, but for the ‘frequent manner’ by which the element of surprise was embedded in the colleague’s material offerings.

(107) [PEI10]  
PEI10: Evet III ... şey otuzüç yaşımdaydım (*laughter*) çok sevdiğim bi ofis arkadaşım vardı. IIII yani bir kez olmadı birkaç sefer oldu çok nazik bi insandı kendi zaten. İşte hiç bulunmayan mesela müzik parçalarını falan bu tip şeyler inirip ondan sonra bana CD’ler yapardı beklemediğim anda hediyeler verirdi falan bu benim çok hoşuma giderdi. Çok güzeldi.  
*Int: Peki ofis arkadaşınızın bu hareketleri size ne hissettirirdi?*  
PEI10: Böyle sık sık sürprizler yapardı, çok küçük şeyler alırdı ama böyle benim zevklerimi bilirdi yani. Sürpriz yapardı çok hoşlanırdım.

(108) alakasız bir yere gitmiş olsa bile her gittiği yerden bana özel bir şeyler getirebilen arkadaşım. [IN45]

A few TNS mentioned gift cards, on the other hand as an opposite of customized gifts and too neutral in value. Gift cards/vouchers have recently entered the Turkish sales market as an imported trend from the west to Turkey. They were not regarded as gifts that satisfied attentiveness as a PEI extract (109) reveals below.

- (109) [PEI9]  
PEI9: Doğum günlerinde veya yıl dönümlerinde eşlerin birbirlerine ufak da olsa hediye alıp vermeleri ya da arkadaşlar arasındaki hediyeleşme ya da hatırlama  
*Int: Peki hediye yerine size bir mağazadan hediye çeki ya da kartı alınmış olsa daha mı iyi olur?*  
PEI9: Şeyi diyosun di mi bu hediye çeki falan varya artık mudoda falan kasanın yanında. Ya bence o biraz kaba bir davranış yani hiç uğraşmamışsın umursamamışsın gibi. Oldu bittiye getirmek o. Ben biraz kırılırim bana verilse. Küçük olsun hiç sorun değil ama öyle olmasın. Hosuma gideceğini bilerek alsın.

- (110) Misal bir eviniz oldu, evlendiniz diyelim ne kadar çanak, çömlek, saat, borcam tepsi, vazo şu bu eve dolar kalır. Halbuki 3-5 YTL de olsa nakit parayı verin canım ne istiyorsa onu alayım, değil mi? Kendim de hediye yerine nakit para vermek isterim ama çevreden "a-aa, olur mu hiç, ayıp, ne görgüsüz adamsın, şurada hediyelik eşya var" diye kınarlar gider bir leğen, garip bir biblo yahut hediye alacak kişinin işine muhtemelen yaramayacak, yarasa da onun sevmediği bir renk olabilecek birşey alırım ister istemez. .... Sadece hediye konusunda eskiden beri düşündüğüm bir konuyu gündeme getiriyorum. [CPL; BL2]

In these cases again, the amount of effort put into the material offering effects its judgment as polite. This is why for some informants (109), gift vouchers are not a viable option. It may break someone's heart to see that not a lot of time and thought has gone into a gift. Extract (110), from a personal blog in the CP, shows how a Turk fears the negative evaluation of peers he expresses by "a-aa, olur mu hiç, ayıp, ne görgüsüz adamsın, şurada hediyelik eşya var" and does not take the option to give cash to a newly-wed couple as a house gift although he sees this as a very reasonable choice for the good of the couple who will be given freedom to choose their own gift and although he considers this to be a rational option. A comparative analysis of (109) and (110) show that although for the new generation of Turks, vouchers and even cash could be acceptable gift presentations, the fear of being judged as impolite in the Turkish culture overrides with the belief.

The generosity dimension in this category was brought to the forefront mostly in guest-host situation in the Turkish household. Evaluations of polite were based on the level of generosity shown by the host: show generosity to B in material offerings by not limiting offerings to B. In (111) an informant talks about the politeness of buying/preparing more food than guests can consume. Along the same lines, a number of TNS saw handing over a packet of something (whether it be chewing gum or cigarettes) instead of one item in the box as polite behaviour.

(111)

[PEI3]

*Int: Peki..sana mutluluk veren, memnun etmiş çok kibar ya da ince, nazik, düşünceli bulduğun bir dil kullanımını, hatırladığın kadarı ile bir konuşmanın, davranışın geçtiği bir olay anlatabilir misin?*

PEI3: Mesela.. ııı...düşünüm..ııı..mesela eve bir misafir gelmeden önce... ııı...pasta, börek, poğaçaya felan hazırlarken sayılı yapmak ya da sayı kadar almamak. Ben hep çok çok yaparım. Kibar ve düşünceli bir evsahibi bence misafir sayısından daha çok hazırlar herseyi. Yoksa...ııı.. sadece bir tane yiyebilirsin deme gibi olur, bu ayıp olur, yakışık almaz bu. Yani..ııı..belki daha aç misafir ya da daha fazla yemek istiyor bunu düşünmek lazım, lazımdır.

For the recognition of a person or act of attentiveness to be polite, TNS expressed their want to feel that people went out of their way to please them and to show that they valued them. This requires extra effort, thought and time on behalf of the other. A also needs to make B feel important by giving importance to *detail(s)*. This involves ongoing rapport management by giving attention to and keeping a record of special event to B, B's interests and 'favorites' in life as in (112).

(112)

[PEI4]

PEI4: *(reads the question aloud once again from the interview guideline sheet)*

*Int: Hatırlayabildiğiniz böyle bir olayı lütfen benimle paylaşabilir misiniz?*

PEI4: Çok yakın bir zamanda değil bu ama çok hoşuma gitmişti. Halk ezgilerini severim. Bir arkadaşıma söyleşi sırasında bunu dile getirmiştım. Handan Aydın adında bir ııı sanatçı var. Halk ezgilerini jaz formatında yorumluyor çok beğendiğimi söylemiştim. Birkaç gün sonra arkadaşım elinde böyle bir hediye paketiyle geldi. Handan Aydın'ın yeni çıkan albümünü almış. Çok hoşuma gitmiştir yani çok ince bulmuşumdur bu davranışı.

*Int: Kaç yaşlarınızdaydınız?*

PEI4: (laughs) erkek ev arkadaşımı kendisi. 11 yaştımdı. Bu olay yani son..

*Int: yakın bir zaman?*

PEI4: bir bir buçuk yıl içinde olan bir olaydı.

Thus, gifts with no apparent 'important day' value were also classified as attentiveness to emotions by generosity. In (113) again, the evaluation was based

on an acquaintance giving an object the informant has voiced the treally liked as a gift to her.

- (113) [PEI8]  
PEI8: Bir tanıdığımı ziyarete gittim. Masasında bir bardak gördüm ve bardak çok zarif bir bardaktı hani her zaman her yerde görmediğim bir şey. Ee onu beğendiğimi dile getirdim. Ve onun çok zor bulunduğunu söyledi. Ondan sonra hatta ben de ordan çıktıktan sonra birkaç yerde belli zaman aralıklarıyla baktım yani o bardaktan bulabilirimiyim diye. Aradan biraz zaman geçti eee bir gün o tanıdığım elinde pakette ziyaretime geldi. Bi açtım ki o gün beğendiğim bardak. Bence çok ince bi davranış yani özellikle de zor bulunmasına rağmen gidip onu aramış ve bulmuş olması hoşuma gitmişti ve ince ve nazik bi insan demiştim.  
*Int: Tanığının yaşını öğrenebilir miyim ziyaretine gittiğin?*  
PEI8: Yaşını tam olarak bilemiyorum ama kırklı yaşlarında

An important attached value principle is that A does not boast about the value of a gift (i.e. removal of indication of price) and turn this into a matter of self-presentation when the highlight needs to be on B. Turks frequently tip the balance in favor of the value of the receiver over the price or value of the gift with the formulaic utterance, “*siz (sen) daha iyilerine layıksın(ız)*” (Eng. you deserve much better). Zeyrek (2001) also explains such verbalizations as “downgrading expressions to belittle the gift” (p. 54). In (114) a TNS shared:

- (114) alınmış bir hediye sonrası hediyenin nazizaneligini vurgulamak için daha iyilerine layıksınız demek. [KIB106]

On receipt, B is expected to express (non)-verbally that you like the material offering and that you appreciate the other’s attentiveness to emotions through generosity to you. TNS said that to satisfy this unspoken principle they frequently start using the item in question right away before A’s eyes or put it on if it is an item of clothing or accessory.

Some material offerings of attentiveness provided in the QPM as in the extract below was a mixture of a gift situation, a customization to need and an element of surprise:

- (115) ankara’da üniversiteye başlayacağım zaman çok mutsuzdum. yaşadığım şehri ve arkadaşlarımı terkedecektim. iletişim kurmam çok güçleşecekti. annem bunu düşünüp bana sürpriz olarak laptop almıştı. (KIB/DNC31)

In (115) a mother's attentiveness act of buying a laptop to ease her son's homesickness through enhancing his opportunity to interact with his loved ones and friends he left behind was evaluated as polite and considerate by her son.<sup>23</sup>

#### 4.3.1.2 Attentiveness to Other's Need(s)

A sub-level of attentiveness involved cases where the attentiveness was markedly for the sole purpose of rectifying the other's need(s). Attentiveness to other's needs entails help or support to other whether the help be physical, mental or transactional. Needs of B may be immediate or may be needs that are more long-term recently realized by A. In order for A to be regarded as attentive to B's needs, A is required to first of all recognize and identify and later act on it through action or verbalization to satisfy or rectify it. TNS experiences of "attentiveness to other's need" fell into a number of categories:

- i. share assets with B
- ii. relieve immediate trouble for B
- iii. help B save time/resources
- iv. provide psychological support for B
- v. support B in solving problem(s)/finding solutions to B's problems

The politeness experiences in the first category had to do with A *sharing assets* (i.e. financial possessions) with B. Among such possessions cited were one's money when B is apparently in need (116), one's house (117), store discount card (118), or car for the benefit of the other (119), etc. without expecting a return etc.

(116) Lisedeyken arkadaşlarımızla yemek yemeye gittiğimizde, bir arkadaşımızın parasının içeceğe yetmediğini farkedene başka bir arkadaşımız, yanlışlıkla fazladan almış gibi davranarak o arkadaşımıza içeceğini almıştı. [DSC47]

(117) Babam ve S... halam, teyzem ve fakülteden arkadaşım S... çok düşünceli insanlardır.Yurtta kaldığım süre zarfında,İzmir'de ailesiyle birlikte oturan S...cığim ve ailesi bana evlerini açtılar.Öğrencilik yıllarımda bana manen destek oldular.Bana sahip oldular.Onlar sayesinde sıcak bir evin özlemimi çekmeden gurbet ellerde öğrenimimi tamamlayıp ailemin yanına döndüm. [DSC83]

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<sup>23</sup> If the surprise element was foregrounded by the informant then (65) would be considered as based on attentiveness to emotion, yet if the gift was considered to be bought for the sole intention of resolving a 'need,' then it would be evaluated on the basis of attentiveness to other's needs, another sub-level of ATTENTIVENESS found.

- (118) [PEI2]  
Int: *Böyle bir olay hatırlıyor musunuz birinin bir diğerine kibarlık yaptığı?*  
PEI2: Aaa...Evet.Söyleyeyim mi şimdi? Bir bayana..  
Int: *tabi tabi. Lütfen.*  
PEI2: Migros'ta yaptım.  
Int: *Ne oldu tam anlatılabilir misiniz? Ne açıdan kibarlı?*  
PEI2: Ben yaptım migros kartı yoktu yanında duydum. Dedim "isterseniz benimkini kullanabilirsiniz". Bence yaptığım büyük kibarlığı sonuçta benden istemeden belki çekinip isteyemezdi ben kullanın dedim. İşte böyle karşısındakini düşünmektir sizin bir kazancınız olmasa da bence kibarlık.

- (119) Babası rahatsız olan bir arkadaşını arabasıyla hastane, laboratuvar, ev, eczane arasında götürüp getiren ve teşekküre gerek duymayan kişi [NZ116]

Another sub-theme was evaluations of politeness which involved *relieving trouble for B in an immediate need* situation physically. For instance, opening or holding a door for B, holding the elevator for someone, carrying items for them as in (120) and (121), giving one your seat as in (122) and (123) were such acts evaluated.

- (120) evime dönmek üzere 2 bavul hazırlamıştım. 2si de birbirinden ağırdı. onları kapıdan sürükleye sürükleye çıkarmaya çalışırken ben 2 çocuk "yardım edelim mi" dedi... ben de "çok sevindir ama çok ağırlar zahmet olmasın, bir de taksi çağırمام gerekiyor" dedim. bir tanesi telefona gidip taksi çağırırken öteki arkadaşı da valizlerimi yüklenip aşağı indirdi. sonra aynı taksiye bindik, yol üstünde inceklerdi. taksi parasını 2 ye bölüp ödememiz gerekirden 3te 2sinden çoğunu onlar ödedi. [DSC31]

- (121) Memlekette arkadaşlarımla birlikte yürüyüşe çıkmıştım ve ortaokuldan eski öğretmenimize rastladık. Biz onunla konuşmaya dalmışken bir arkadaşım öğretmenimizin elindeki yüklerin farkına vardı ve onları evine kadar taşımayı teklif etti. Ben ve diğer arkadaşım bunu keşke biz de düşünseydik" diye üzülmüştük. [DSC31]

- (122) Yıllar önce ÖSS'ye hazırlanırken dershaneye otobüsle giderdim ve genellikle otobüs kalabalık olurdu. Bir gün ben ve arkadaşlarım bulduğumuz boş bir koltuğa hemen oturduk ve bizim yüzümüzden yaşlı bir teyzeye yer kalmadı. Önümüzde oturan bir genç ise kalkıp bu teyzeye yer verdi ve ben kendi kendime ne kadar kibar birisi diye düşünmüştüm. O günden sonra böyle konularda dikkatli olmaya çalışıyorum.

- (123) [PEI11]  
PEI11: Eeee ııı arkadaşımınla otobüse .. arkadaşım hamileydi, otobüse bindiğimizde bi bey bize yer verdi yani arkadaşşıma.  
Int: *Peki kaç yaşlarındaydı bey? Fiziki görünüşü nasıldı? Mesela kıyafeti?*  
PEI11: Kırk yaşlarındaydı. Takım elbiseliydi. Kravatı vardı. İı gayet, çok beyefendi.  
Int: *Daha sonra neler oldu?*  
PEI11: yer verdi yani ondan sonra "hergün "dedi "karşılaştığımız zaman ben görmesem dahi gelip yer isteyebilirsiniz" dedi. Yani bence bu kibar bi davranış.

It is important, however, to note that for nearly all the experiences shared by the TNS, the underscored fact was that B appeared to be “in trouble”, not coping, lacking strength or vacancy to do something for self, and requiring a helpful hand. For example, ‘opening the door for someone’ narratives always employed a description of B as someone with too much to carry/hands fully occupied. Thus, a heroic/savior image to A is given where A is doing something for B, initiating an action in favor of B when B does not have the freedom or power at that moment in time to self-initiate it. A few TNS also shared narratives of situations where they found themselves polite when they covered for a fellow worker, colleague at the work place.

- (124) öss ye hazırlandığım zamanlarda dersaneye gitmediğim için özellikle coğrafya ile ilgili kaynak sıkıntısı çekiyordum ve bunu normal bir günlük sohbetimiz esnasında arkadaşım Sezer ile paylaşmışım. o da bana doğum günümde öss müfredatının tüm konularını kapsayan bir yaprak test seti hediye etmişti, bu beni hem çok sevindirdi hem de çok duygulandırdı. bu benim için en güzel incelik örneklerinden biridir. [DSC9]
- (125) Bir gün yolda giderken bir kız bana çarptı ve elimdeki kitaplar yere düştü, kız mahçup oldu ve kitapları toplayarak yardım etmenin dışında cebinden kağıt mendil çıkarıp kitaplarımı silmeye başladı. özür dilemesi yeterliydi aslında ama hatasını insanca telafi etti.

The inference of B’s calculated need by A to *save B time and resources* was the third sub-category identified. These evaluations were based on the premise that B appears to be in ‘shortage’ or them as in (126) or saving B from wasting ‘time’ as in (127). Examples ranged from, giving right of way on the street to a busy pedestrian or when driving, to giving up your line in queue to help the other.

- (126) Bir gün apartman kapısı ile asansör arasında 1 kat olan binamızdan içeri girdiğimde üst kattan asansöre geliyor musunuz?" diye bir ses duydum ve koşa koşa yukarı çıktım. Sesin sahibesi "13. kata çıkacağım beklemenizi istemedim." dedi ve bu bir kibarlık,düşüncelilik örneğiydi. [DSC49]

- (127) [PEI14]  
PEI14: genelde birçok var. Eşim olsun, ailem olsun, çocuğumla ilgili olsun. Bir birçok olay var arkadaşlarımla da. Ama bunlardan en son bir tanesini ıııı söyleyebilirim. Hani ailemin dışında ben anlatacağım.  
*Int: Evet.*  
PEI14: ıııı ..bi tanesi bir.. ııııı.. kahve alma starbucks' ta kahve alırken bir beyefendi acelem olduğunu fark ederek..  
*Int: Kaç yaşlarında?*  
PEI14: yaklaşık 40-45 yaşlarında.  
*Int: Evet*

PEI14: ..olduğunu anlayarak ben de acele ediyomuşum demek ki, ondan sonra şey yaptı, "hanımefendi, eğer aceleniz varsa benim sıramı alabilirsiniz" dedi.

*Int: Siz söylemeden*

PEI14: Söylemeden yaptı bunu evet ve tabii ki bu çok nazik düşünceli ve kibar bir davranıştı.

*Int: Hoş bir davranıştı*

PEI14: Evet bi de kullandığı ses tonu ondan sonra mimikleri de çok kibardı hoşuma gitti.

*Int: Siz sonra birşey yaptınız mı, söylediniz mi?*

PEI14: Ah, çok teşekkürler, çok naziksiniz dediğimi hatırlıyorum yanlış hatırlamıyorsam.

There were also quite an important number of situations in CPL involving people in traffic shared on Turkish confession sites. As in (128) the driver who gave the right of way to the other were evaluated as polite.

- (128) 34 BS ... plakalı Hyundai Coupe'nin yakışıklı ve bir o kadar da, herkese yol veren, kibar sürücüsü, adının Bülent olduğunu öğrendim. Hiç şüphem yok ki sen İstanbul'un en tatlı erkeğisin. Bunu yüzüne söyleyemesem de sana deliler gibi aşığıım!! [CPL66;IT]

TNS believed that time for the other could also be saved by preparing something, submitting something for B (on B's behalf) when B was supposed to prepare it him/herself and thus saving B time and energy by using up your own.

- (129) Bir yerde sıra beklerken mazeretini belirterek sırada öncelik isteyen kişiye sıramı veririm. İhtiyacı olan kişilere daima öncelik tanırım. [NZP50]

- (130) İzinde olduğum süre içerisinde, zaman kısıtı olan benim için önemli olan mesleki bir fırsatı bir arkadaşımın kendisine fazladan bir işyükü getirdiği halde beni arayarak haberdar etmesi. [DSC116]

- (131) Göreve gitmek için resmi elbiseye ihtiyacı olan bir arkadaşıma bulduğum resmi elbiseye takılması gereken tüm aparatları takip ütületmeyi müteakip verdiğim olay. [IN78]

How well A observes B and infers B's need, his degree of attentiveness and how fast and at what caliber he attends to them were supplementary values which had added impact on politeness evaluations. A's self-initiation of the act was mostly an essential property for TNS for acts of 'attentiveness to needs' to be considered as polite. In stranger-to-stranger situations (132), (133) and (134), a stranger rectifying a need of B's was polite+1 as TNS believed strangers help each other out for no intrinsic strategic rapport concern, after all there is high likelihood that the two parties will never see each other again.

(132) şehirlerarası terminalde ağır olan eşyalarımı taşımama yardım eden bir gencin bu davranışı oldukça kibardı. [KIB77]

(133) üniversiteye ilk geldiğimde hiç rica etmememe rağmen tanımadığım bir arkadaş bavulumu yurduma kadar taşımıştı ve büyük kibarlığı benim için [KIB01]

(134) çok tanımadığım birinin bana valizimi tasımamda yardım etmesi [KIB15]

If the need-attentive act was not self-initiated but prompted by B, then expectations were that A immediately abided with a “no questions asked” attitude. As an attached value again, A was to act with no intent for self-gain, that is, with no underlying agenda in attending to B’s needs, not expecting a return, or having no goals attached.

(135) Sadece kendi çıkarını değil, karşısındakini düşünmek. .... karşındaki insanın ihtiyacının farkında olup, maddi manevi karşılık beklemeden onu ihtiyacından kurtarmak. [KIBU39]

(136) Karşısındakine değer verdiğini göstermek kibar, ince gibi kelimeleri çağrıştırıyor. Sadece kendi çıkarlarını düşünmeyen başkalarına karşılıksız bir şeyler yapan söyleyen insana derim. [NZU14]

The need-attentive polite act was to be performed in a manner that did not in any way harm/threaten B’s face or idea of self worth. Data sources all point to the finding that evaluations of polite under this category is based on A performing the verbal or non-verbal act without boasting, by being completely discreet about attending to B’s need as in extract (137) below, and without (during or later) being capricious and reminding B that he has been helped by A (138). This value is the opposite of Culpeper’s (2005) negative impoliteness strategy of “put the other’s indebtedness on record”.

(137) Annemin maddi durumu iyi olmayan komşularımızın çocuklarına, ihtiyaç maddesi alması ve çocuklarına para vermesi. Ancak bunları güzel hareketleri için verdiğini söylemesi [DSC102]

(138) Annem için çok sayıda örnek verebilirim.Örneğin iş olarak yoğun olduğum günlerde yemek yapıp göndermesi ve çocuğuma bir karşılık beklemezsin her gün evime gelerek bakması ve bu konuda bana zerre kadar kapris yapmaması...[DSCP120]

Another sub-theme was *provide psychological support for B*. This category was built around A providing B the emotional and psychological support he needs as

acts of sustaining and regenerating a positive psyche for B, nourishing hope at hard times for B, and other acts of boosting morale as in the three extracts below.

- (139) Çok yakın bir arkadaşımın ailevi problemlerimin olduğu bir dönemde annesiyle birlikte beni evine davet etmesi üzerine onların çok düşünceli ve kibar insanlar olduğunu düşünmüştüm/erkek arkadaşımın moralimin çok bozuk olduğu bir günde ondan öyle birşey talep etmememe rağmen beni neşelendirmek için işlerini bırakıp benimle ilgilenmesi üzerine onun ne kadar nazik olduğunu düşünmüştüm. [DSCU30]
- (140) moralimin bozuk olduğunu bilen bir arkadaşımın sık sık arayıp benimle konuşmak istemesi, dışarıya davet etmesi vs. [DSCU65]
- (141) tatil için eve gittiğimde yapmam gereken pek çok mastır ödevi vardı. gündüz erkek arkadaşım ile buluştuk 3-4 saat ve sonra ben eve döndüm, ödevlerim için. O da eve gidip iş yapacağını söyledi. 2-3 saat sonra aradı beni, tesadüfen ara vermiştim, yetişmeyecek diye korkuyordum diye konuştum... 5-6 dk konuştuk sonra kapı çaldı. açınca karşımdaydı. arkadaşlarıyla bir cafede oyun oynuyorlarmış (aklım kalmasın diye ödev yapacağını söylemiş bana), ama aynı şehirde olup da ayrı ayrı yerlerde bulunmamızdan epey rahatsız olmuş ve benim de üzüldüğümü bildiği için, en sevdiğim abur cuburları, içecekleri bir torbaya doldurup bana molamda eşlik etmek, moral vermek istemiş. bu ince davranışı çok hosuma gitmişti. [IN31]

The last sub-category of attentiveness to needs is on support provided to B in *solving problem(s)* and helping B *finding solutions* to them. In (142) a TNS evaluates an old teacher as someone who is interested in other people's problems and gives an effort in trying to find solutions to them either directly or indirectly.

- (142) Bireyin ailesinin, çevresindeki ve hatta çok uzaklardaki insanların ihtiyaçları, eksikleri, sorunları ve sıkıntıları hakkında bilgi sahibi olması, söz konusu durumu düzeltmek adına elinden geleni yapmaya çalışması, hiçbir şey yapamıyorsa o konuda kafa yorması demektir kibarlık... Lise hazırlık sınıfımda sınıf öğretmenimiz R..... hanım, örneğin çok düşünceli bir insandı. Matematik dersimize giren E..... hanım ve eşi boşanma noktasına gelmişken o onların birbirini anlamalarına ve Evren hocamızın moralini yüksek tutmada elinden geleni yapmıştır. Onda gözlemlediğim en güzel düşüncelilik örneklerinden biri de bayramlarda maddi imkanlarının kısıtlı olmasından dolayı evine gidemeyecek olan arkadaşımız Hakan için onun sınıfta olmadığı bir zamanda en azından yol masraflarını karşılamak için bizi aramızda para toplamaya teşvik etmiş toplanan paranın eksikliğini de kendisi ödeyerek kapatmıştır. Bu hem düşünceli olmaya, hem de kibar olmaya örnektir. [DSC9]

#### 4.3.1.3 Attentiveness to Other's Goal(s) Over Self Goal(s)

Attentiveness to other's goal(s) entails a conflictual goal orientation situation (A's goal departs from B's goals) where A chooses to stay away from attainment of self-goal and follows action that supports B's goal. Conflict from a relational work

perspective here is taken as an expected struggle between at least two interdependent parties who infer/perceive incompatible goals, and may be faced with interference from the other party in achieving these goals. The bases of verbal or non-verbal acts/behaviours as “attentiveness to other’s goal” for TNS are associated with how candidly A seeks favorable judgments/avoids negative judgments and is perceived by B as anti-self-centered.

According to Spencer-Oatey (2005a), sometimes (but not always) people have specific interactional goals when they interact with others, and when this is the case, these ‘wants’ and ‘goals’ can affect rapport management judgements. People’s goals may be transactional and aim at achieving a “concrete” task, such as “obtaining written approval for something, or finishing a meeting on time” (p. 107). Alternatively, their goals may be relational, and aim at effective relationship management, such as “peace-making, promoting friendship, currying favour or exerting control” (ibid.). Very often, the two types of goals may be interconnected, because achieving a transactional goal may depend on successfully managing the relational goal. When this is the case, or when people want to achieve a particular relational goal, then the management of rapport can be very strategic (Kasper, 1990). TNS data shows that if this is noticed and judged to be too strategic, such behaviour is evaluated negatively. It has also been seen that if a transactional goal is perceived to be urgent and important, people may make allowances for any behaviour that would typically be judged inappropriate in different circumstances. Concern for other’s goal over self was expected and acting at the expense of self-goal with an informed choice to meet B’s ‘benefit or profit’ over self judged as polite in a number of domains:

(143) mesela insanlara otobüs sırasında yer veriyim derken otobüse binememek, kendi de biryere yetiyecekken başkalarına öncelik verip onların işinin hallolmasını sağlamak. [IN73]

(144) Bir gece arkadaşlarla dışarda doğumgünümü kutlamıştık sonra da o arkadaşlarımdan birinin evinde kaldık, sabah kalktığımızda annesi çok güzel bir kahvaltı masası hazırlamıştı, haftasonu onun da dinlenme vakti olmasına rağmen bu yaptığı bence bir incelikti. [IN14]

(145) evime gelen misafire, çok yoğun bir gün geçirmiş olmam ve tek yapmak istediğim uyumak olsa da, iyice uykum geldiği halde eşlik edebilmek [NZ52]

In (143) a TNS evaluates a person who does not act on his impulses to get on a bus while others are waiting or get his work done before others when he is in a rush as polite, in (144) it is a friend's mother who forgoes her own want to rest and caters for the over-night guests, and a host in (145) who use his own 'rest-time' to cater for the potential benefit or pleasing of others. Other acts shared by TNS were related to taking an opportunity that exists for non-interfering with/boosting the process of other's goal attainment. The competitive nature of the goals are voiced in Turkish through the expressions "rağmen" in (144), "karşın" in (147), by "halde" in (145) which all correspond to 'in opposition to'. Giving up what you are doing in (e.g. speaking on the phone) when approached by someone who looks like they need to get somewhere (146) is an example from CPL:

(146) 29 Mayıs Pazar günü Levent'in arka sokaklarında kaybolmuşken inip Akmerkez'i sorduğum, cep telefonuyla konuşmasını kesip adres tarif eden, aynı yöne doğru giderken camı açıp eliyle bana döneceğim yönü gösterme inceliğinde bulunan siyah A3'teki kibar, hoş ve alımlı bayan; plakanızı almayı akıl edemedim ama teşekkür ederim. Günümün kalan kısmının güzel geçmesini sağladınız. [CPL82; IT]

The nature of the conflict has also been expressed in a number of ways. A and B may be in need of the same thing, for example both are hungry are in need of time, or on the phone, etc. Here A chooses to help meet B's goals instead if his own. Taking someone to a place (e.g. sightseeing) when you have already been there on a number of occasions, A and B may both be in need of money but A offers what he can find to B instead of covering his own debts. These situations all involve treating B well and sharing his happiness and troubles even if you feel otherwise. A may be ill, tired, bored, have a low morale, have his own competing needs, could be feeling under the weather, or feel dislike for the recipient of the action, etc. However, politeness evaluations lie within how much A can disguise all these and manage B's goal(s).

(147) İki yıl kadar önce komşularımıza misafir gelmişti çok kalabalıklardı. Misafir olan ailelerden bir çift Efes'i görmek istiyordu. Biz de abimle işten Cuma için izin alıp hafta sonu için gitmiştik annemin yanına. Efes'in tamamını gezmesi en az yarım gün alıyor, yazlıktan gidip gelmesi nerden baksan tüm günün gidiyor. Daha önce biz en az beş-altı kere gitmiştik

allecek. Komşumuza yardım etmek için ben ve abim aldık misafirleri gene gittik. Bunu 3 günlük tatilimizin bir gününü yemesine karşın yapmamız çok çok kibar ve ince bir davranıştı. [IN4]

In (147), a brother and sister have already been to a local archeological dig site and have taken a few days off work but still act on the principle of helping others although this will mean (a) they lose time from their own holiday, and (b) they bare with another sightseeing event of a site they have already seen over and over again.

#### **4.3.2 Politeness as “Custom”**

Communication is an interpretive process that is not simply a matter of linguistic encoding and decoding, but rather involves background knowledge (such as world knowledge, pragmatic conventions and norms) and personal goals and concerns (Spencer-Oatey and Xing, 2003). TNS data have been evidence to the fact that rapport management is also considered a social judgement based on cultural knowledge on appropriateness, that is, customs and norms. Mills (2003) resorts to the notion of “hypothesized appropriateness” (p. 73) to explain such judgments. Mills’ notion of hypothesized appropriateness is “the assessment of an act as polite refers to the perceived norms of the situation, the community of practice or the perceived norms of the society as a whole” (p. 110). Xie, He and Lin (2005) claim, however, that politeness and appropriateness are not identical to each other: they are at once related to and different from each other.

The data show that “politeness as custom” is an important aspect that should not be either overstated or understated on its relevance to politeness judgments. Politeness as custom acts operate as individual cultural scripts. As the second principal theme after attentiveness, “Politeness as custom” theme data coding accounted for 23,94% (n=290) of all politeness narratives shared by TNS gathered through QPM. In such narratives A who *abides by general knowledge of social customs* for the Turkish cultural milieu in different interpersonal relationship scripts was evaluated as polite. These evaluations were verbalized as abidance to social norms in general (e.g. “*kabul görmüş esaslarda mutabakat*”), as well as during rapport with parents, rapport with cross-gender (e.g. “*uygun*” in Turkish) or according to context (e.g.

durumda toplumca “hoş karşılanan” davranış) as in (148) below. Other narratives coded within this theme generally consisted of younger to elder interaction, and thus, respect to elders was at center stage, but spouse to spouse, female to male, male to female as well as higher to lower status, lower to higher status in social indexing were also articulated to a considerable degree.

(148) aile büyüklerinin yada yaşça büyük olan kişilerin bulunduğu bir ortamda kendi toplumsal kurallarının belirlediği ölçüde, o kişilere karşı istendik davranışlar sergilemek [GR53]

(149) Karşısındaki insanları veya toplumu rahatsız etmeyecek, onlara rahat hissettirecek, genellikle resmi ortamlarda ve toplum baskısıyla takınılan, aslında her zaman uygulanması gereken davranış kurallarıdır.

The degree to which an individual adjusted himself to social indexing, social alignment and social roles, and thus *show awareness of B's social status* was evaluated. Knowing how to act in front of these parties according to your age and status appropriately given the social and cultural milieu of Turkey, and keeping the expected physical and psychological distance in context was found as important. Lexemes and expressions that came up in such narratives were [HÜRMET], [YER/MEKAN], [ZAMAN], [ÜSLUP], on one end and “*samimiyeti laçkalaşmadan korumak*” on the other. These narratives evaluated A as polite when A showed respect to older B, or to socially higher individual B (e.g. Tr. *memur-amir, patron-çalışan, üst-ast, hoca, öğretmen, anne-baba, büyükler*) by way of conforming to their wishes and valuing their experiences, listening to what they have to say even if it contrasts with ideas of self at any given moment.

When the age differential was great as in a child to an elder B's situation, children were evaluated as polite (and respectful) when they were minding their manners, were not spoiled, did not leave seat for prolonged periods of time unless otherwise told, did not answer back to adult, listened to and obeyed what was told, stopped speaking when spoken to, spoke only when spoken to, did not cause trouble in public, and overall, were obedient to parent(s) and other older individuals in their surroundings (e.g. Tr. “*uslu duran, söz dinleyen, yerinden kalkmama, konuşmama, uslu oturma, nazikçe isteyen*”). Such evaluations were especially tapped by the lexeme TERBİYELİ as in (150) and (151).

(150) Daha çok küçük yaş gurubundakilerin büyüklerin buldukları ortamlara ve onların dunyalarına davranışları ve konuşmaları ile başarılı, iyi uyumu bu sifati hak eder kanaatindeyim. [TR81]

(151) Annesiyle gittiği bir misafirlikte diğer çocuklar koşturup gürültü yapsa da onlara katılmayan, "uslu uslu" oturan çocuk terbiyelidir bizim toplumumuzda. [TR54]

A smaller number of TNS believed that "politeness as custom" was not about paying respect to those higher from you in social standing, but spreading such politeness to everyone as in the three extracts below.

(152) kibarlık kavramına akrabalarımın G..... yengemi örnek verebilirim kendisi konuşurken karşısındaki insanın eğitim ve kültür düzeyi ne olursa olsun sözcük kullanımına ve seçimine çok dikkat eder ve insanların değerlerine ve konularına gayet saygılıdır. [KIB9]

(153) Akrabalarımız olan aile büyüğünün konuşmalarında ve davranışları. Karşısındaki kişinin statü ve maddi durumunu göz önüne almadan herkese aynı davranması. [KIB102]

(154) Çalışma odanıza ofisinize sizinle aynı seviyede veya daha üst biri geldiğinde ve hatta daha alt seviyede biri de geldiğinde görüşmeye koltuğunuzda değil masa önündeki misafir sandalyelerinde yapmak. [KIB33]

In contrast to politeness as customs from higher A to B, evaluations of experiences where A was *-regardless of self and other in interaction-* polite were also worth noting. One can speak of two types of politeness according to direction here: (a) politeness to lower from higher, and (b) politeness to higher from lower. Type (b) politeness, a higher A being polite to lower B was seen "more polite" than some other customary forms of behaviour and was expressed to be "very" polite (Tr. "çok", "fazlasıyla") in contrast to politeness in other situations. In these evaluations the underscored premise was that the higher status individual here was building rapport (relational and transactional) as an end in itself with no future gain, and was found polite as a result of being evaluated as genuine and sincere. In (155) below, the informant finds the higher status individual, the boss in a workplace where he was just a "temporary worker" as polite:

(155) örneğin staj yapmış olduğum kuruluşteki müdürlerden biri her ne kadar geçici olarak orda bulunsam da bana hep iyi davranırdı. her zaman teşekkür eder, temizlikçi ablaya bile iyi davranırdı. Bu insan çok kibar ve nazik olduğu için bana hep çok nazik gelirdi. [IN40]

Although an employee is seen to be obligated to be polite to his superiors, a boss is not. This is why a boss is not expected to maintain a polite attitude to a temporary worker let alone a cleaner lady in the office. This is why he was found KİBAR and NAZİK by the TNS informant. Here the boss' politeness is calculated as polite+1 (i.e. very) because he does not change his attitude whatever the givens about money, status, and age differentials of the other party are.

According to TNS to be evaluated as polite, care also needs to be shown to not making B uncomfortable by sounding and appearing fake or forced; otherwise the politeness value of what you have said or did may be detached.

Politeness as customs also embodied 'ritualized acts in the Turkish culture'. These ritualized acts of etiquette were respect-paying acts such as hand kissing, buttoning one's suit, etc. TNS viewed the traditional Turkish practice of hand-kissing<sup>24</sup> (Tr. "el öpmek") as a gesture of politeness as respect that younger people perform for older relatives and respected authority figures as an act of politeness. In contrast, a number of TNS rather than citing the typical experience where this happens and labeling as the actor A as polite, chose to bring forth a polite receiver elder B who does not allow A to kiss his/her hand and returns the gesture by kissing A's cheeks or if elder man to younger female, the younger female's hand:

(156) Ne zaman 90 yaşındaki E... dedenin elini öpmek istesem elini vermez sonra ona uzatıp elini tutuğum elimi alır o öper sonra da yanaklarımdan öper. Böyle yapıp benim elimi öpmesini beni zaman zaman zor durumda bıraksa da hep çok kibar bulmuşumdur...  
[KIB34]

The returning of B's paying of respect by honoring B and implying "you too are worthy", though it puts B on a difficult situation, was remembered as quite positively eventful.

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<sup>24</sup> The traditional way of hand-kissing in Turkey to demonstrate respect, at the first stage, usually involves the older person putting his hand slightly forward, with the palm facing down. The younger individual may also initiate the act by lifting the hand close to his face during a shake, etc. The younger individual will bend a little if necessary and kiss the hand offered, then still holding the older person's hand, raise it and touch it to his forehead.

If the same event can be evaluated based on reciprocity and non-reciprocity as polite, then, how reciprocity, respect and obligation that inform customary social activities/functions in Turkey contemporarily needs to be studied closer. The TNS informants also underline the fact that in hand-kissing (in the traditional sense as explained in Footnote 24) to women especially more and more in the urban settings, is a tough decision to make, since the age at which a Turkish woman considers herself to be worthy of getting hand-kissed is rather varied and some women may take a slight offense of the act as it means that they are being classified as ‘old(er)’. This has been found to be true also for name calling scenarios where a number of female informants have felt offended that a stranger (male) has called her aunt Tr. “teyze” instead of sister Tr. “abla “(see section 5.4.3 on “expressive impoliteness”).

Many more ritualized routines and expectations (*asgari görgü kuralları, nezaket kuralları*) cited by TNS involved what has been termed as “etiquette”. An abundance of table manner (Tr. “*sofra adabı*”) mentions come up in the data at his point. Sample narratives where a person was seen as polite included scripts where A did not start to eat at the table until (in the majority of the cases) the father figure (i.e. head of the house in Turkish culture) arrived at the table and is served or the eldest in the group is seated and served. A number of experiences also included “everyone was seated” without the mention of a figure of higher status or age and examples where respect was paid to the host of the house: not starting before “the host was seated”.

(157) Bazı ailelerde baba sofraya oturmadan önce yemeğe başlanmaması terbiyeden kaynaklanır. [TR46]

(158) Örneğin, her yaş grubundan ferdin bulunduğu bir yemek sofrasında, en büyük olanlar oturup yemeğe başlamadan gençlerin başlamaması [NZ49].

(159) sofrada yemeğe misafirin başlamasını beklemek... [GR4]

Other table manners included ‘the manner of chewing’, i.e. not chewing/speaking while your mouth is open/closing mouth when chewing gum, and also not making a slurping sound when eating (Tr. “şapırdatmamak”). Yawning with mouth closed,

burping in private, using a knife and fork instead of hands and –especially a guest-host situation– not leaving food in your plate was regarded as polite behaviour:

- (160) yemek için misafirlige gidilen bir yerde tabağında yemek bırakmamak görgülü bir davranıştır. [GR47]
- (161) Yemek sırasında yemek adabına uygun hareket edilerek yemek yemek. Yemek yerken kurallara uygun davranan insan kibarır ağızı doluyken konuşmayan mesela. [KB22]
- (162) kalabalık bir akşam yemeğine davet edilen birinin çatal, bıçak, peçeteyi doğru kullanması;evin sahiplerinden önce yemeğe başlamaması ve onlardan önce yemekten ayrılması [TR58]
- (163) yemek yerken başkalarını rahtsız etmeyecek şekilde yemek; örneğin mümkün olduğunca ses çıkarmadan yemek ya da sofrada başkalarının midesini bulandıracak hareketlerden kaçınmak [GR3]
- (164) patates kızartmasını herkes eliyle yerken çatala yemekte ısrar eden arkadaşım. herkez ay ne kibar bu demişlerdi. [KIB20].

In extract (164) above, a person was judged to be polite not because he was eating with a fork and spoon in a formal gathering but because he insisted to do this even among friends. An element of ‘making fun of B’ may be in place here. B was not going with the status quo, and keeping up the etiquette behaviour even when it was not called for.

Among guest-host schema performance of customs acts were acts of considerateness for guests as in collecting guests from airport/terminal and not waiting for them at home: “*Yoldan geleni karşılamak*” as in (165) and as an ‘Anatolian tradition’, preparing them a meal without (in some cases even) asking them (166) if they are hungry. This is judged as an act which will relieve/free him from the embarrassment/trouble of having to ask for it.

- (165) Beni arkadaşımın yanına gittiğim sefer otogardan almayı teklif edip ben gelirim bulurum dediysem de alması. Yoldan geleni karşılamak çok yerleşmiş bir nezaket, kibarlık örneği bizim kültürümüzde. Adettir gelecek kişi evi bilmeyebilir şehri bilmeyebilir. Almamak ayıp olur beklenir diye düşünülür. [NZ35]
- (166) Anadolu adetlerinden: yoldan gelen bir misafir olduğunda sorulmaksizin yemek ikram edilmek üzere sofraya hazırlanması, ac olduğu takdirde misafiri bunu ifade etme veya sorma sikintisinden kurtarmaktadır. [DSC11]

In (166), there is a clear pattern of interrelatedness between a face-support act (see section 4.3.5) and a politeness as custom act. The judgment of this act has been done on it being based on Anatolian *tradition* which indirectly supports the other's face. This is probably why it has become a tradition in the first place.

Other 'politeness as custom' acts include hanging/holding one's coat, appropriate sitting posture customs in the company of older individuals: (Tr. "oturup kalma", "bacakları kapatarak oturmak", "bacak bacak üstüne atmamak", "ayak uzatmamak"), customs related to what one does initially when in the company of higher and/or older B such as buttoning one's suit (Tr. ceketin önünü ilikleme), standing up (e.g. when someone enters or until another leaves). Not smoking or consuming alcohol in the company of elders and dressing appropriately especially not wearing outfits abhorrent to morality or virtue in the company of elders, and also dressing appropriately in common spaces, i.e. not wearing pajama-like looking clothes, and changing house outfits (Tr. "ev kıyafeti") for guests were among the other acts evaluated as polite. In addition, a number of TNS also regarded exercising control over bodily movements/physical action as customary. A sample evaluation included a situation where a person was judged as "polite" in getting off a minibus because s/he used "small", reserved actions instead of jumping down the minibus in an uncontrolled fashion.

The evaluation of meeting guests from their arrival point as 'polite' ("almamak ayıp olur beklenir diye düşünülür") as in (165) above also shows an inherent connection between politeness as customs and the negative social evaluation concept of AYIP (Eng. disgraceful) has been found in a prominent number of (im)politeness narratives. Evaluations of politeness that fell into the category AYIP(-)/UYGUN(+) were especially related to moral values in Turkish society. Some of them were based on gender role assignments. Gender role related expectations (esp. probed through the prompt TERBİYELİ) were to do with having morals, propriety, decency, chastity, and shame. The intentional avoidance of engaging in the telling of obscene jokes especially in the company of females were seen as polite. Other male-female based politeness evaluations were based on male to female etiquette such as not getting seated until female is seated, holding the

female's chair, and accompanying female to table and to and from the lavatory in a restaurant setting.

The shared narratives under this sub-theme revealed expectancies from the two genders. Expectancies from male figures were that they do not act inappropriately in the company of a lady, think of her comfort and safety, or do not behave indecently. Expectancies from female figures were that in the company of males they act decently and did not engage in acts that may bring shame to their name and their family name.

According to TNS, engaging in politeness as customs acts as described in this section (whether linguistic or behavioural) to a certain degree comes out of "fear" of negative evaluation instead of sincere KİBARLIK.

(167) birinin kişiliğine veya konumuna gösterilen içten gelen veya korkudan kaynaklanan ölçülü davranışlar. mesela babama yakın çevresi tarafından gösterilen davranışlar aklıma geliyor. bazı ölçülü davranışların babamın kişiliğine mi gösterildiğini yoksa korkudan mı kaynaklandığını ayırt edemediğim geliyor. [SY48]

This may be verified by Erdem (2007) who found that for Turkish people "fear-culture" as opposed to "values-culture" (p. 249) was more dominant. He claims that for the Turkish people action initiation on one's part stems not only from within but more so from the fear of an outside external source, i.e. the external source's evaluation of one's behaviour. If this external being is not present, then internal values do not stop you from doing things that are legally not permitted (e.g. Turkish driving behaviours). In cases where an external evaluator is present, one acts in the fear of negative evaluation and abides by certain norms or customs.

Another culturally laden custom evaluated as polite by TNS was reciprocity. The obligation to return a favor or resource is termed the norm of 'reciprocity'. Rodriguez (1996) maintains that individualistic cultures follow a voluntary norm of reciprocity, where as more collectivistic cultures follow an obligatory norm. In the excerpt below (168), we find a narrative of the Turkish custom of food sharing.

This script can be described as ‘not returning a plate sent to you full as empty’ between neighbours and friends and the reciprocity is customary (Tr. “tabağı boş göndermemek”). It involves filling the plate up with something that has been either produced in the household or fruit collected, etc. before it is sent back with the child of the household or in cases where this does not apply, returned personally.

(168) Apartmandan B.... teyze çok tatlı bir insandır. Yıllardır yalnız yaşıyor, ben de birşeyler yaptıkça gönderiyorum. Tabağımı hiç boş göndermez, söylesem de o da mutlaka birşey yapar geri getirir, adetten olduğu üzere. Çok incedir. [IN121]

The sincerity dimension of all these acts discussed under “politeness as customs” have a number of important values-dimensions attached to them. Gu (1990) argues for sincerity as one of the ‘two cardinal principles’ for politeness in Chinese:

Genuine polite behaviour must be enacted sincerely, and sincerely polite behaviour by self calls for similar behaviour in return by other... The principle of sincerity may take the polite use of language for beyond sentential territory. (p. 239)

Similarly, the principle of sincerity has been often mentioned by TNS for acts within the Turkish culture. A’s need to appear to be engaging in a certain (linguistic) behaviour ‘for no apparent future gain’ other than genuine rapport, as and ‘an act of appreciation to B’ in a ‘sincere manner’ evoked ‘as an end in itself’.

Other behaviour related expectations for custom mentioned were *respect* of a ‘higher-nature’ such as respect for Turkey’s national values such as the nation, the anthem, the flag (Tr. “milli değerler, ülke, tarih, bayrak”). For example, the paying of respect during the singing of the national anthem (Tr. “saygı duruşuna geçmek”).

#### **4.3.3 Politeness as “Expression”**

Expressive politeness acts are solely linguistic acts that are selective in nature. Their “selectiveness” comes from the extent the speaker has taken ‘care’, –that is, was careful in putting together words in LINGUISTIC COMMUNICATION to B for social affect. After attentiveness and customs, expressive politeness was found

to be the 3<sup>rd</sup> strongest theme. 208 evaluation occurrences (17,17%) in the QPM data were coded as instances of an evaluation of politeness based on expressive politeness. The sub-themes were:

- i. engage in small talk
- ii. use expected speech acts in conversation
- iii. take care in the choice of words (e.g. address terms, T/V, etc.)
- iv. abide by conversational principles (e.g. preference organization, turns, etc.)
- v. careful use of intonation and volume

*Engaging in small talk* was judged as being polite by a noticeable number of TNS. The polite process of small talk was comprised (a) *greeting* B as the first step. Greeting was acceptable in linguistic forms such as “*Selam*”, “*Merhaba*” or by a simple nod. However, for number of TNS performing a nod was not as polite as actually verbalizing the greeting. TNS believed that it was polite to greet people even if you do not like them, just in respect to B being a human being or even if you have only been introduced to this person previously very casually. Greeting scripts were not evaluated as polite+1 if the second step was left out without a probable cause. This step in Turkish culture is (b) “*hal hatırını sorma*” which basically entails A to engage in a sequence which shows *genuine interest* in how B is, i.e. inquiring about self and family’s well-being. The naturally occurring example from Ruhi (1996) below is a clear case of B giving an excuse for why he cannot perform the second step of the greeting routine (i.e. “*hal hatır sorma*” and possibly more small talk) which he believes to be appropriate and expected by A. In this adjacency pair, A and B’s family are neighbours. A is the mother of the family. B is the daughter of the other family.

A: Merhaba.

B: Merhaba. Özür dilerim çok acelem var.

(example from Ruhi , 1996; underline added)

Each society has particular linguistic behaviour models to perform certain rituals in the different domains of daily life. Greetings and other acts of courtesy are regarded as important communication routines of social life (Hickey and Stewart, 2005) because the initiation of communication between interlocutors are realized with these routines. In (169), the informant vocalized finding the initial greeting sequence on the phone. The greeting here however was not for initiation of

communication but more like acknowledgement of other's existence in your presence (in this case, over the phone).

- (169) [PEI6]  
PEI6: Kibar bulduğum bir olay şöyle...geçen gün..bunu ben hep ööle buluyorum yani telefon çaldı benim sesimi alınca” alo, ay pardon sanıyorum yanlış numara” dedi karşı taraf bazen ööle oluyoki hatta çoğunlukla böyle açan pat diye suratınıza kapıyor çünkü.  
*Int: Neden kibarlık olarak algıladınız sizce bu olayı?*  
PEI6: En azından özür dilemek karşıdakini insan yerine koymak çok önemli sonuçta sen rahatsız etmişsin sen aramışsın karşı tarafı. İşte geçen gün bir bey o çok kibar ses tonuyla böyle dedi ben cep telefonumu açınca.  
*Int: Siz ne dediniz?*  
PEI6: Ben de önemli değil dedim. İyigünler dedim güzel bir ses tonuyla. Memnun oldum yani insan yerine konmaya.Artık bu bile kibar geliyor yani olması gereken. Ne durumdayız yani. (*laughs*)

As for expectations and evaluations related to *speech acts*, TNS mentioned a variety. *Congratulations*, expressing *good wishes* when B has achieved a level of success, after a new-born, prior to travelling, etc. along with asking for *permission* before borrowing something, taking leave, and entering B's space were valued and judged as polite acts by TNS. In the humorous CPL extract (170) below, as a response to another confession, a confessor is sharing her evaluation of a telephone pervert as polite because he always asked if she had any engagements, asked for permission politely. Rather interestingly, the confessor has abstracted away this person's ultimate goal from how careful he is linguistically:

- (170) Canımmirayda'yı okuyunca aklıma geldi. Benim bir telefon sapığım vardı. Telefonu açınca önce müsait misin diye sorardı. Ahhh nerede o eski kibar sapıklar!  
[CPL;IT;Confession title: Kibar sapık]

Although the cultural of tradition of accepting any guest as “tanrı misafiri” (Eng. guest of god) is a long engrained tradition in the Turkish culture, especially for TNS in an urban setting, even among close friends, when visiting B, the request to visit and confirmation, even if invited were seen as polite linguistic realization. In (171) a TNS evaluated her own action towards her friend whom she wants to visit as polite (Tr. *ince*) and expressed that in the aorist to show that this is common linguistic behaviour for her.

(171) Görmek, ziyaret etmek istediklerime yaparım arayıp sorarak. Eğer, bir dostumu görmek, ziyaret etmek istiyorsam, ona bu isteğimi çok önceden bildiririm ki o da düşünse bilsin ve dileğini bildirebilsin. Böyle yapmam bence incelikdir. (IN121)

What was “ince” in this act was that she asked her friend when was appropriate for her, and let her friend know “ahead of time” that she wanted to visit her, giving her time to reply and plan ahead.

In addition, judgements on finding another speech act, *complimenting* as polite behaviour depended on a number of factors. When complimenting B, A’s intentions<sup>25</sup> and motivations were at the heart of the judgements. Related values were whether or not the compliment sounded natural (unforced) and whether or not it contained any characteristics that would get it classified as “sucking up”. If not an example of the latter, responding to compliment of A was also evaluated as polite reciprocity.

(172) yalakalık düzeyine varmamak koşuluyla insanlara iltifat etmek, saygılı ve ölçülü davranmak daha çok ilişkilerde nezaket önemlidir ve tabi ki daha az samimi olduğumuz kişilere karşı.

(173) ..... icinden gelerek sevdiğin bir kişiye iltifat etmek onu onulandıracak güzel sözler söylemek annenle konuşurken cümlelerin arasına onu sevdiğini sıkıştırmak vb.. [IN5]

Moreover, if a *rejection or refusal* to other is going to be made to an offer or suggestion by B, TNS found it polite if A provided a convincing explanation to B as to the reason of the refusal. TNS believed that not uttering a direct decline B, instead hedging and disguising the decline by a linguistic postponing move as in extract (175) such as adding “*inşallah*” (Eng. if god permits) to maintain rapport with B was appropriate.

(174) mesela bir kişinin ricasını geri çevirme gibi bir durumda o kişiye neden geri çevirdiğini açıklayarak bu durumdan dolayı üzgün olduğunu söylemesi. (KIB111)

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<sup>25</sup> cf. Ruhi (2007) on higher-order intentions and self-politeness in evaluations of (im)politeness in relation to compliment responses, and Ruhi (2008) on the relationship between intentionality, communicative intentions and the implication of politeness.

(175) bir insanın birşeyini isterken her zaman lütfen derim, benden bir şey istendiğinde eğer yapamayacağım birseyse mutlaka uygun bir şekilde dile getiririm, *hatta* bazen hakkımın yendiğini düşünsem bile kibar olmak adına alttan aldığım durumlar olmuştur [KIB36]

(176) insanların kesin konuşmadan birseyi yapamayacaklarsa bile yok olmaz gibi değil de, inşallah, olur bakarız, belki gibi kelimeler kullanması genelde kibarlıktan yapılır. (KIB56)

Speech act studies on Turkish speakers' use of refusals in languages other than their native language, i.e. English, show that this pattern is transferred to the foreign language. Sadler and Eröz's (2001) refusals DCT study on Turkish and a number of other languages corroborate this finding. Although writing out the refusals in English, the Turkish group carried over certain characteristics of Turkish in performing refusals to requests, invitations, offers and suggestions. They report an interesting pattern with the statement of "regret". With this refusal formula 95% of the time it was used by the Turkish subjects who participated in their study, it preceded or followed an *explanation, a reason, or an excuse*. Direct refusals were *not* performed even once in their data set for Turkish speakers. Sadler & Eröz (2001) conclude that for Turkish people it is important to give a reason for refusing because a showing lack of enthusiasm, making a joke about the invitation, request or suggestion, or switching the topic is considered rude and may be taken as a personal insult. The study showed that for Turkish speakers, "If they do not give an excuse or reason for refusing someone, the interlocutors may think that the refusers do not want to socialize with them or that they do not like them" (p. 74). In order to refuse without feeling guilty or frustrating others, a good reason, preferably preceded by an introductory statement (an adjunct), is seen as necessary.

*Apologies* performed in recognition to pain/hurt caused to B were also great in number in this sub-theme category of speech acts<sup>26</sup>. The intentions of A were evaluated again on whether or not the apology was really a sincere act to remedy the situation to maintain rapport with B. Apologies were evaluated as manifestly polite even when performed after "the smallest mistake/misconduct" such as interrupting. Even in these situations a verbal apology as "pardon" or "özür

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<sup>26</sup> cf. Eğit (2002) on reflections on apologies in Turkish as a stereotype of politeness, and Hatipoğlu (2003) on apologies in Turkish and British cultures.

dilerim” was due. In extract (178), people who apologize after stepping one one’s foot and in (177), an apology politely sent as a text message to others’ cell phones after an unannounced leave from an online chat was evaluated.

(177) bir arkadaşımın, msnde konuşurken çıkmak durumunda kaldığında ve konuşmakta olduğu kişilere gittiğini haber veremediği için cep telefonundan mesaj atarak özür dilemesi olayı aklıma geliyor. diğer arkadaşlarım onun ne kadar düşünceli ve kibar olduğunu konuşmuşlardı. [DNC48]

(178) kalabalık bi yerde yanlışlıkla birinin ayağına bastığımda, ayağına bastığım kişinin ters ters bakmak yerine, benimle beraber özür dilemesi. [KIB102]

*Thanking B* as in (179) and (180) below for the recognition of deed, help or care, attentiveness to emotions provided to self was found polite by TNS. The magnitude of the event that required thanking was not important, after reciprocal events “teşekkür ederim” was expected and evaluated as polite.

(179) istenmeden yapılan küçük te olsa bir hata sonrasında özür dilemesini akıl edebilen, veya işi hallolduğunda teşekkür etmekten sakınmayan şahsiyet [KIB60]

(180) Teşekkür etmeyi bilen kişi naziktir. Benden yardım isteyen arkadaşımın yardım sonunda teşekkür etmesini böyle buldum, ...(NZK119)

In (181) the informant emphasized thanking for even ‘the smallest thing’, in narrative (182) thanking accompanies the receipt of offerings at a guest situation, and in (184) it is performed in return of a compliment.

(181) insanların birbirlerine en ufak bir şey için bile teşekkür etmesi kibarlığa girer. Bu şekilde konuştuklarından da bir insanın kibar olup olmadığını anlayabiliriz. (KIB53)

(182) gittiğim ev gezmesinde bana ikram edilen bir şeyin ardından teşekkür etmem, ... (NZ59)

(183) Arkadasından gelen bayana kapıyı açan adama kadın teşekkür ederken “çok inceniniz teşekkürler” dedi.”. Lütfen, teşekkür ederim gibi kelimelerin sıkça kullanıldığı, saygı çerçevesindeki her olay örnek olarak verilebilir. (KIBU71)

(184) Bugün “çok güzelsin” diyen arkadaşşıma, benim “teşekkür ederim çok nazıksın” demem karşılıklı nezakettir. (NZ61)

Acts of thanking need not only be in the mode of verbal expression. In (185) from CPL, where there is distance between participants, a non-verbal gesture of thanks, for example, gesture of holding one's hand up is mentioned. During performing the gesture, the confessor hits the car of the driver he was thanking, and thus calls what he did a *polite* crash ("kibar kaza").

(185) Dar bir sokakta ilerlerken karşıdan gelip bana yol veren arabadaki adama teşekkür niyetine elimi kaldırdım. Bu sırada direksiyon hakimiyetimi kaybedip adamın arabasına hafifçe çarptım. Benden daha kibar kaza yapan yoktur herhalde. [CPL64; IT]]

The further examples below, conversely, were all realized within a customer-service provider communicative script. While event (186) occurred in a restaurant the informant was working, event (187) happened outside a "büfe" (Eng. very small shopping kiosk).

(186) part-time çalıştığım cafeye gelen müşterilerden birinin her seferinde getirdiğim siparişler için teşekkür etmesi ve yine teşekkür ederek cafeden ayrılması kibar bi davranış mesela. daha da özelleştirecek olursak, siparişini müsait olduğunda bana çay getirir misin?" gibisinden bi cümle bana çok kibar gelmişti o anda. işi, siparişleri getirmek olan bi çalışanın "müsait olup olmadığını" düşünmek pek kibar bi davranış bana kalırsa. " (KIB51)

(187) büfeden gazete alan adamın büfeciye iyi günler dilemesi teşekkür etmesi onun kibar biri olduğunu gösterir.(KIB66)

In both cases, it was the customer who thanked the service provider and was evaluated as polite for doing so although the service was being paid for. Here the transaction and interactional domains of the communications are shown to be treated separately.

TNS also evaluated more culturally-embedded formulaic expressions such as "ağzından yel aslın" (closest Eng. heaven forbid; lit. wind take it from your mouth), "Allah mufahaza" (Eng. God forbid), "Allah korusun" (Eng. God protect), "mazallah" or "şeytan kulağına kurşun"<sup>27</sup> (closest Eng. touch wood; lit. lead to devil's ear) as verbalizations of polite warnings which are extremely situated in

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<sup>27</sup> Lead as in "kurşun döktürmek" (Eng. getting lead poured) tradition: This is the custom of spilling of lead into a bowl of water held over a person's head which is covered with a cloth. Prayers accompany this custom, which is performed by some Turks to keep the evil eye away.

Turkish culture. Such judgements were probably the result of the formulaicity of these expressions. It gave a sense of indirectness and thus softened the direct effect of a reprimand such as “What are you saying! Don’t say *this!*”. When B utters an unacceptable utterance concerning an idea that should be avoided, usage of these expressions were seen as a “polite” way of avoiding scolding and challenging other’s ideas baldly. Other polite warnings cited by TNS included instances where they were discouraged to do an act ‘softly’ without sounding arrogant:

- (188) maddi durumu epey iyi olan bir arkadaşım, ilkokulda en sevdiği meyve muz olmasına rağmen, hiçbir zaman beslenmesinde muz getirmezdi. bir gün annem benim yanıma koyduğunda ben onu yerken, o arkadaşım gelip, baskalarının da canı çekebilir, herkes alamayabilir o muzı yeme istersen oyle sınıfın ortasında diye beni uyardı. anneme anlattığımda bunu. aklımdan çıkmış kızım, arkadaşın haklı kusuruma bakma demişti. bu olayda arkadaşımın bana beni bu konuda uygun bir dille- küstahlaşmadan uyarması onun görgüsünün ve inceliğinin göstergesiydi. [GR31]

Cases where informants spoke of *directness and indirectness* were clear evidence to the fact that the linguist’s conceptualization of politeness<sup>2</sup> and the laymen’s conceptualization of politeness<sup>1</sup><sup>28</sup> were not always based on the same grounds, the former based on the structural properties of the sentences and amount of redress work, and the latter on appropriacy to context. In (189) the two parties (educated urban and the rural villager) have incompatible views of how a speech act should unfold and while the rural party claims naturalness, the urban party claims politeness. There where, however, instances where TNS also evaluated politeness on the degree of directness (190) for *requests* especially:

- (189) kibarlık sözcüğü; köyde, yemek yerken herkesin “şunu versene, bunu uzat” şeklinde konuştuğu bir ortamda, ablamın “uzatabilir misin?” “lütfen” şeklinde konuşması ve alay konusu olması kişilere göre kibar olanların ve olmayanların ve doğal olanların ve olmayanların ayrıldığı bir olayı bana anımsattı.” [KIB48]
- (190) Küçük bir çocuk annesinden bir şey istiyor annesi de ona kibarca istersen veririm diyor, yani sakince ve mesela “anne su ver” şeklinde değil de “anne su verir misin?” ya da “verebilir misin?” şeklinde isterse kibar oluyor.

TNS believed in the use of directness and indirectness when contextually appropriate. In the CPL extract below (191) an over-polite language of a request

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<sup>28</sup> See section 2.1 (Theorizing about politeness) for a recap of these notions.

use where a direct utterance of asking for help was called for is smocked by the confessor:

- (191) Muğla'nın Sarıgerme köyünde rehberlik yapıyorum. Geçen hafta gittiğim Göcek turundan bir sahne: "Rehber bey, rehber bey boşuluyorum; lütfen yardım eder misiniz?" Türk halkının bu kadar kibar olduğuna mı yanayım yoksa rehberi cankurtaran gibi algılayan zihniyete mi yanayım yoksa hepsini bir kenara bırakıp turda 136 kişi olmasına karşın boşulanın tek insanın Türk olduğuna mı yanayım, şaşkırdım kaldım !!! [CPL11;IT]

There are differences between TNS beliefs on what is contextually appropriate/polite hence sincere. On his personal blog, in extract (192), a TNS expresses how he relates politeness to fakeness in service encounters:

- (192) genelde garsonlar yapar bunu ya, böyle sahte kibarlık anlayışı içinde bulunmalarına sinir oluyorum.....şöyle bir baktım da cümle pek anlaşılır değil, açayım. mesela gidiyorsunuz bir mekana. yaşını başını almış bir garson geliyor. adamın saçlar tamamen beyaz. bizde de sakal çıkıyor ama gözüme baksa anlayacak 20 yaştan büyük olmadığını. ama geliyor garson "buyrun X bey ne alırdınız?", "evet efendim", "hemen getiriyorum efendim" gibi cümleler kuruyor ve bu açıkçası hoşuma gitmiyor. bunu yazmamın sebebi de kaldığım yurttaki bir güvenlik görevlisi. akşamları yoklama için dolaşırken "iyi geceler X bey, şuraya imzanızı alabilir miyim?", "sizi rahatsız ettim ama kusura bakmayın bir imzanızı alabilir miyim şuraya?" gibi cümleler kuruyor. ya abi aramızda 10 yaş fark var, yapma lütfen şöyle şeyler. "X" de bana. ayrıca evet, "gençler hoşgeldiniz ne alırsınız? yanına ayran, yoğurt, cacık? bakın nefis kemalpaşa yaptım bugün getireyim mi?" deyip masayı bile silmeden giden insanların çalıştığı ufacak lokantaları daha çok seviyorum. [CPL; BL3; title: Hizmette.kibarlık]

For expressive politeness, TNS wrote of care in selection of appropriate politeness markers/words when speaking (e.g. "lütfen" when requesting something) for the creation of a social affect and also for avoiding being misunderstood. Moreover, use of endearment terms as terms of address such as *canım*, *sultanım*, and attachment of –CI<sub>m</sub> (diminutive+agreement) and diminutive –CI<sub>k</sub> to names were mentioned between spouses or partners in a romantic relationship as well as from parents to their children.

In the politeness literature, the use of terms of endearment is usually regarded as a positive politeness strategy. It is held that a term of endearment/intimacy, like 'mate' or 'sweetie', shifts the focus of the request away from its imposition on the hearer's negative face (asking someone to do something for you) towards the camaraderie existing between interlocutors. Bayyurt and Bayraktaroğlu (2001) criticize Brown and Levinson, who according to them view "every speaker" as "an

offender (i.e. does not prune the thorns of his or her speech with the strategies of politeness) or a polite speaker (i.e. one who camouflages the threat in his or her utterances behind politeness strategies) or a mute one (i.e. one who opts for silence)” (p. 212). They believe that in such theorizing “no provision is made for *neutral encounters* that we experience everyday in our lives, those which *leave no impact on us as either being polite or rude*, but are recorded *simply as ordinary*, and do not usually *pass beyond our short term-memory*” (ibid.; emphasis added)<sup>29</sup>. The issue, in fact, is not so clear-cut and simple. If this was the case, then there should have been no instances in TNS narratives of terms of address evaluated as polite from a husband to a wife or between friends that occur all the time (such as “canım, güzelim, tatlım”, etc.) without an intention other than being a term of address. The example below from a QPM entry shows otherwise. In (193) the evaluation was based on the use of an endearment term “sultanım” (my sultan) and it was not a one time thing; the grandpa in the narrative reports calling his wife in this way for years. Although it was a part of his idiolect in his conversations to his wife and the granddaughter had seen this repeatedly, her evaluation of her grandfather as polite is still based on this all-time use of endearment, and has not gone unnoticed. The act is regular and thus ordinary, is happening all the time but is still being evaluated as markedly polite.

(193) Dedem çok kibar bir adamdır. Kaç yıldır babaanneme “sultanım” dışında bir şey dediğini görmemişimdir.[KIB11]

(194) Babamın bana hep prencesim diye seslenmesi. Çocukluğumda da böyleydi hala böyle. Yalnız olmamız başkaları olması fark etmez onun için. [KIB46]

The etic methodology of the analyst and the emic conceptualizations are again in conflict. If a conversation analyst was analyzing the father’s speech to her daughter in (193), if metalingual talk was not done with the daughter, this term of endearment, my princess, would be classified as ordinary, happening everyday and of no value to the linguist’s analysis. The emic interpretation of the daughter here tells us otherwise. An ordinary act has again been evaluated as polite. What is ordinary but still polite versus what is out of the ordinary and polite is a purely an

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<sup>29</sup> Bayyurt and Bayraktaroğlu (2001) here base their argument on Watts’ (1992) “polite” versus “politic” behaviour distinction.

individual('s) judgement. Watts' (1992) 'polite' versus 'politic' distinction here does not hold.

Use of titles, address and kinship terms such as *efendim*, *bey(efendi)*, *hanım(efendi)*, *teyze* were found circumstantially polite. "Bey" is usually used as a deference term and is an honorific title in Turkish (Bayyurt and Bayraktaroğlu, 2001). On the other hand, "amca" (Eng. paternal uncle) is common towards non-blood related individuals and is used to express solidarity and/or familiarity with the person being referred to. In (195) an informant mentions the usage of these two terms together in a "bey+amca"<sup>30</sup> sequence. He believes, used together, it connotes respect and discernment as well as sincerity and association. These expressions can be used in circumstances where "amca" will be too embarrassing (as it denotes too much familiarity) and "amca" will create too much formality. A state of equilibrium is reached by using them together to mix intimacy with deference and this has been found polite:

(195) Babama bazıları "bey amca" gibi bir ifade kullanır bana çok ince ve kibar gelir. Böyle demek hem saygı-hürmet, hem ıçtenlik-yakınlık ifadesidir. Bazen insana direk "kerami amca" demeye hicap eder<sup>31</sup>. Fakat sadece "kerami bey" diyerek fazla resmi olmak da istemezler. (KIB110)

The data revealed that the T/V (sen/siz) distinction may be purposefully used in Turkish in a number of situations: those involving (1) lower to higher; (2) between equals; (3) higher to lower, (4) between strangers relationships were cited very frequently. However, the evaluation was not based on a single type of use. A multiplicity of factors affected finding the T/V use as polite. In the first type of situations, the more conventional 'lower status individual calls the higher status and power individual' or total strangers call each other as "siz" because it is expected or because they believe it is deserved as in the first part of (196). In the second type of situations, it was the higher status individual who referred to the lower status individual as "siz" who was found polite. The basis of the evaluation

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<sup>30</sup> Ruhi (personal communication) brought to my attention that "bey ağbi" is used for the same purpose. In the example cited by Ruhi, "G... bey ağbi" was used by her to a younger colleague and family friend of her father.

<sup>31</sup> *Hicap etmek*: to be ashamed; being bashful/shy in saying/doing something.

was that the higher A communicated “I value you” to B, and this was positively eventful (see extract 197 and 198 below). In the third instance, A and B called each other “siz” regardless of their standing to show the other how they wanted to be treated by them expecting that the other would converge<sup>32</sup> to this chosen use of the T/V distinction as in (199). In other cases, the abandonment of “siz” even when the situation may call for it or among equals or familiar parties and the use of “sen” was found polite (cf. Hatipoğlu, 2008 on ‘sen’). In the last group of evaluations related to T/V, the use of “siz” by parties who are equals and/or have a history were found insincere, cold, sarcastic and impolite because it created distance that was previously not there. As can be seen by the four different parameters outlined above, there are a multiplicity of factors that effects TNS evaluations of the use of T/V and this calls for more emic investigations to explain the findings.

- (196) Üst mevkideki kişilerle iletişim esnasında; efendim,saygılarımla,siz'li hitaplar, Kişinin kendinden küçük ancak davranışının örnek olmasını istediği kişilerle iletişimde; evladım, -mısın, -mısınız; ilk kez görüştüğü kişilerle siz'li hitaplar; iş görüşmelerinde siz'li hitaplar
- (197) lisede biyoloji hocamızın bize 'siz' diye hitap etmesi kibar olduğunun bir göstergesiydi.....
- (198) Öğrencilik dönemimde bizlere “siz” diyerek hitap eden ve söylediklerimize kıymet veren fizik öğretmenimiz ”
- (199) Gorevi ve makami ne olursa olsun belirli bir samimiyeti olmayan kişiye ‘siz’ diye hitap eden kişi için kullanılabilir. Karsıdakinin davranışı böylelikle kontrol edilip istedik hale sokulabilir çünkü.

Language use generally without colloquial usage, slang and swear words were judged as polite. In extract (200), a TNS makes a humorous analogy between drinks, the recognized level of ‘cultivatedness’ of the drink, and the effects of the drinks on him in language choice and attitude.

- (200) Yeni fark ettim. Televizyonda maç izlerken şarap içiyorsam gayet beyefendi, kibar bir edayla, en fazla "Hadi arkadaşlar, koş, ofsayt! Atma oraya!" gibi kesinlikle küfür içermeyen tepkiler gösteriyorum. Rakı içiyorsam: "Koçum benim, aslanlarım, yakışmadı!" gibi babacan tepkiler gösteriyorum. Fakat bira içerken lafa argo ve küfür karışmaya başlıyor. Sebebini anlayamadım. Bir dahaki maç yayınında viski deneyeceğim. Bakalım ne olacak. [CPL83;IT]

<sup>32</sup> Here the terms are used in the sense of ‘convergence’ and ‘divergence’ in Accomodation theory.

(201) "Lan oğlum aslında ben çok kibar biriyim" diyen bir erkek arkadaşım var.  
Samimiyetine inanıyorum (!). [CPL14;IT;Title: Samimiyet]]

In (201), a confessor ironically mentions how although a male friend calls himself *kibar*, when expressing this he uses the slang “lan<sup>33</sup> oğlum” (Eng. Bud, You rascal; lit. *lan* my son) within his utterance initially as an attention getter; hence the self-belief of B is challenged by his linguistic choices in the eyes of A.

*Abiding by conversational principles* have also been subsumed under expressive politeness. Always staying online, being available to answer questions when posed a question (when there is a recognized initiation of communication) was important to the evaluation. During the conversation, not interrupting B’s turn (Tr. “gasp etmemek”, “sözünü kesmemek” was seen as central. Not talking when not given permission by higher B was polite in the sense of *terbiyeli* and listening to B with patience even when bored, even if B articulates a different idea to yours and providing the second part of the adjacency pair (preferred or even dispreferred as in Figure 9 below) were valued. If called on phone/received a message, return B’s call (B’s initiation of rapport) was also evaluated as a polite linguistic act.

Preference Organization					
First Pair Parts					
	Request	Offer/Invite	Assessment	Question	Blame
Second Pair Parts					
Preferred	Acceptance	Acceptance	Agreement	Expected Answer	Denial
Dispreferred	Refusal	Refusal	Disagreement	Unexpected Answer	Admission

Figure 9. Correlations of Content and Format in Adjacency Pair Seconds  
Source: Levinson (1983) in Bousfield, 2007, p.10.

<sup>33</sup> “Lan/ulan” in Turkish is an interjection or address between men that is used commonly to support feelings of fraternity, involvement and solidarity; however, it is considered by some to be very vulgar and unconstrained in certain settings.

According to Bousfield (2007) an answer, obviously, cannot simply be anything that followed a question:

Preference organization is not purely a structural phenomenon, but, rather, includes a pragmatic level consisting of the psychological and social factors of the participants. After all, a purely structural understanding, devoid of psychological or social factors, should be completely unaffected by whether an assessment was self-deprecatory or not. (p.32)

If we are to consider 'expectations' to answers, then, clearly, we are emically looking at the psychological and the social considerations –the sociopsychological expectations of the participants within the discursal context in which the question is asked. The evaluation of polite by TNS is the degree to which these expectations are met or if challenged the degree to which rapport maintenance is done.

In extract (202) below, a confessor finds himself polite because he answers a question posed to him ("ayıp olmasın diye"), actually a chain of questions even if it is a burden for him at the moment of interaction ("Kibar adamım ya, sorulan soruyu cevapsız bırakmak olmaz şimdi"). As the confession unfolds, we realize how stupid this principle engraved in his mind made him look at the end. He was trying to be polite but ended up looking like an idiot:

(202) Tatil dönüşü yoldayım. İlk mola yerinde koşarak tuvalete girdim. Boş bulduğum bir kabinde oturuyorum. Yan kabinde bir ses: "Meraba canım, nasılsın?" diye sordu. İlk anın şaşkınlığını üzerimden atınca ayıp olmasın diye cevap verdim. "İyi be, nasıl olayım bildiğin gibi." Ama anlaşılan yan taraftaki tek başına uzun süre oturmaktan sıkılmış olmalı ki hemen ardından ikinci soru geldi: "Nasıl geçti günün?" Bir iç çekip bu sorusuna da cevap verdim. Kibar adamım ya, sorulan soruyu cevapsız bırakmak olmaz şimdi. "Yorucuydu valla. Malum, yol yorgunluğu filan." Bir yandan konuşup bir yandan da bu b.ktan muhabbetin nereye gittiğini merak eden, durumun gittikçe içinden çıkılmaz bir hale dönüştüğünü düşünen bendenizi kendine getiren cümleyi de paylaşayım sizlerle: "Aşkım ben seni sonra ararım, yanda bir salak var, sana ne sorsam cevap veriyor." Allah Allah, hadi ben salağım, bir yandan ... bir yandan aşkım cicim diye sevgiliyle konuşan sana ne demeli?! [CPL; IT;Confession title: Aradığınız kişiye şu an ulaşamıyor]

Other evaluations of expressive politeness were 'being careful about choice of topic'. Polite people made a conscious decision to close delicate, sensitive subject, issue to B in conversation. Expressively, being careful about tone and volume of

voice (e.g. lower your voice; do not sound patronizing) was also valued and has also been discussed under the next section (4.3.4 Self-emotion management for rapport-maintenance). Supplementary values to politeness as expressive were: be informed by context at all times, do not make B uncomfortable by choice of language, and again do not appear fake/insincere in your choice of words or in the manner you conduct verbal communication.

#### 4.3.4 Politeness as “Self-Emotion Management” for Rapport-Maintenance

“Self-emotion management” as a basis for polite evaluations comprised 6,44% of the QPM data with 78 occurrences. Any exhibition of self-control during rapport was coded as “politeness as self-emotion management”. The primary purpose of A to do this was to ‘hold back’ for the smooth continuation of relations. Avoiding conflict by not revealing your true feelings (or at least the extent of your true negative feelings) and/or saying things/acting in a way that will avoid the difficulty of failure of rapport during the conflict episode or forgetting your feelings and later sending a nice message as an act of rapport-maintenance were central scripts to the evaluations.

According to TNS, people were polite if they were capable of managing conflict by being patient with B, staying calm however agitated and angry he may be. They do not under any circumstances get shrewish and/or hurtful in their conversational and physical moves and also preserve volume control. Such an evaluation can be found in the following interviewee’s description of her father:

- (203) [PEI14]  
PEI14: Şimdiiii hmm. (*reads the question aloud to remind herself to plan her thoughts*). Kibar bulduğum insanlardan bir tanesi babam. İıııı ve o yüzden de mesela, ııı, toplumun genelinde ben birçok insanı çok kaba buluyorum.  
*Int: Babanızı önce bir tasvir edebildirmisiniz?..İsterseniz..*  
PEI14: işte onu anlatayım. Babam neden... yani sadece bu tasvir derken?  
*Int: Yani hangi özellikleri ön plana çıkıyor?*  
PEI14: hmm. tamam. Bir, ııı, genelde sakin bir insan. Önce dinleyip sonra olayları, yani kişilere cevap veren, ondan sonra, ıııı, mantığı yani duygusaldır aynı zamanda ama, duygusallığı hemen böyle mesela heyecanlanıp gereksiz tepki vermektense, mantığını işletip ondan sonra hareket etmeyi seviyor ve ne yapıyor? Çok kızgın bile olsa, o anda ıııı sakin olmaya çalışarak hep sakın, karşı tarafı da sakin olmaya yönlendiriyor.

*Int: evet*

PEI14: bir de bir gün olsun sesini yükselttiğini mesela biz küçüktük, hiç yükseltmemiştir. O kadar yaramazlığımıza rağmen. İı daha ziyade olaylar ve örnekler vererek anlatmaya çalışmıştır. Sonra çalışma ortamında bütün çalışanlarına önce insan olduğunu hatırlayarak ve herkesin bir haklı noktası olduğunu düşünerekten, ııı, ortamları öyle hazırlıyor. Mesela bence çok kibar bir insan diye düşünüyorum.

(204) .... ya da birinin evine gittiğim zaman montumu alıp asmak istemesi, her ayrıntıya uyup konuşması ve servis yapması yine kibarlıktır. Bir de düzgün konuşması, çok sinirlense de kızsda da ağzını bozmuyorsa bir kişi yine "kibar"dır diyebilirim. " [KIB76]

In (203), the highlighted aspects of the polite person is his ability to stay calm, does not go with his emotions and act on the spur of the moment but rather calms himself and the other party during face-to-face rapport, never raises his voice, and pays respect to other's views in this manner even if they are different to his own. In (204) a person who under all the anger and frustration does not consort to swearing, saying bad things is "kibar". In the corpus extract (205) below, a confessor reports how 'shocked' ("dumur edici") he was that his "polite" professor 'lost it' said things and acted in a way that did not suit his polite being/appearance in public. His politeness was no longer intact when confronted with a scene of stealing and the title for the confession was "the professor went crazy" (Tr. "profesör delirdi"). Unders the situation, he could no longer control his anger which had actually earned him his polite image and was found over-aggressive for the likes of a polite professor.

(205) Fakültedeyken alanında Türkiye'nin bir numarası olan, kitapları tüm üniversitelerde okutulan, gayet kültürlü, kibar, beyefendi bir hocamız vardı. Hiçbir zaman hiçbir şart altında ses tonunu bile yükseltmeyen bu adamın, sınıfta yaşanan hırsızlık olayına verdiği dumur edici tepkiyi aynen yazıyorum: 'Var ya, yakaladın mı bunları çalarken, ibret-i alem olsun diye sınıfın ortasında bağırta bağırta ...ceksin! Bak bir daha yapıyolar mı!' ...[CPL37; IT; Profesör delirdi!]

Furthemore, people were evaluated as polite very frequently on this premise: "Be 'KİBAR' to B even when B is 'KABA' to self". Even when met with insults, offensive acts and remarks, swearing and shouting, maintain your equilibrium as in (206):

(206) K.....nın annesi çok nazik bir hanfendiymiş, ben bu kadar tutamazdım kendimi, o gun soforun onca kaba saba tavrına rağmen uslubunu hiç bozmadı, ve oyle bı laf ettiki,

nezaketiyle tokat atmıs oldu, adamda utandı dediklerinden. kibar, saygılı ve dusunceli davranan kisiler icin kullanırız, ayrıca gorgu kurallarına uygunlugu da bu sıfatla belirtiriz. [NZ35]

(207) bir insanın birşeyini isterken her zaman lutfen derim, benden bir şey istendiğinde eğer yapamayacağım birşeyse mutlaka uygun bir şekilde dile getiririm, hatta bazen hakkımın yendiğini düşünsem bile kibar olmak adına alttan aldığım durumlar olmuştur [KIB36]

The TNS informant who provided extract (207) shares an act she believes to be “kibar”: even when she thinks people are cheating her of her rights, she assumes a non-conflictual position in order to attain her effort to be polite. Also found polite by a notable number of other TNS are rapport maintainance efforts such as handling a situation justly even when you realize it will not go your way; what you wished will happen will not be realized, and an effort to try and find solutions without jeopardizing your rapport with B.

At all times keeping an open mind, exhibiting impartiality towards others and others’ ideas –thus being fair-minded during arguments– are important values attached to his judgement. As a third party, people who do not ‘cut in’ on a serious discussion or argument between third parties –especially elders of the family (e.g. “büyüklerin sözüne karışmamak”; “her lafa atlamamak”) and who exercise emotion-manegement towards B who is older/an elder, even when you believe B is wrong, unjustified, unfair (“haklı da olsa haksız da olsa”) in ideas or acts are evaluated as polite. In such situations respecting B’s stance and not challenging B are essential to the evaluation.

#### **4.3.5 Politeness as “Face-Support”**

Before the findings for the bases of evaluation as “face-support” will be provided, the notion of *face* will be scrutinized to clarify what is meant by face-support in the analysis. Generally put, face is a phenomenon recognized to function universally that is concerned with peoples sense of worth, dignity and identity and is associated with issues such as respect, honor, status reputation and competence. However, cultures can affect the relative sensitivity of different aspects of people’s face, as

well as the strategies that are most appropriate for maintaining face (Ting-Toomey and Kurogi, 1998). According to Lim (2004) whatever the given culture, the claim for face always relates to positive social values, i.e. “people do not claim face for what we think are negative” (p. 210). In contrast, Spencer-Oatey (2007a) asserts that people may claim socially negatively evaluated self-aspects in a *strategic* manner.

Brown and Levinson (1987) proposed that face consisted of two interrelated aspects: desire for autonomy and desire for approval. The negative face (desire to be unimpeded; to act freely; not be imposed upon) and positive face (want to be appreciated and approved of) distinction was not found to be an efficient one by Spencer-Oatey (2000b) on the grounds that autonomy (as has been argued in many works on Eastern cultures) was not regarded as a *face* concern, but rather a *rights* entitlement.

Spencer-Oatey (2000a, 2002, 2005a) proposes a modified framework for conceptualizing face in the management of harmony-disharmony between people: A desire for positive evaluation in terms of personal qualities such as competence, abilities, etc., and a desire for positive evaluation in terms of social identity such as standing within a group. More specifically:

Quality face: we have a fundamental desire for people to evaluate us positively in terms of our personal qualities, e.g. our competence, abilities, appearance, etc. Quality face is concerned with the value that we effectively claim for ourselves in terms of such personal qualities as these, and so is closely associated with our sense of personal esteem.

Identity face: we have a fundamental desire for people to acknowledge and uphold our social identities and roles, e.g. group leader, values customer, close friend, etc. Identity face is concerned with the value that we effectively claim for ourselves in terms of social and group roles, and is closely associated with our sense of public worth. (p.14)

Spencer-Oatey (2005b)<sup>34</sup> more recently recognizes fact that in some cases, it is not easy to distinguish these face wants and sensitivities.

Ho (1994) identifies a further distinction for *face*: whereas Goffman's (1967) conception of face is situation specific, the Chinese conception of face, for example, is not. Goffman states:

The term *face* may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken *during a particular contact*. ... the person's face clearly is something that is not lodged in or on his body, but rather something that is diffusely located in the flow of events *in the encounter*. Goffman (1967, p. 5, 7; emphases added).

Ho (1994) points out that the Chinese conception of face is not restricted to situational encounters: According to the Chinese conception, "face may be defined in terms of the more enduring, publicly perceived attributes that function to locate a person's position in his/her social network. A person's face is largely consistent over time and across situations, unless there is a significant change in public perceptions of his/her conduct, performance, or social status" (p. 274). For this reason, Spencer-Oatey (2005a) considers the need to draw a distinction between two fundamental types of face: face that is situation-specific and face that is pan-situational. She proposes labeling these *respectability face* and *identity face* respectively. Respectability face refers to the prestige, honor or "good name" that a person or social group holds and claims within a (broader) community<sup>35</sup>. When face management takes place in a specific interactional context, it is identity face (a situation-specific face) rather than respectability face (a pan-situational face, linked to honour and prestige) that is threatened (Spencer-Oatey, 2005a) and vice versa. The table below is a summary of major related propositions as revision to Brown

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<sup>34</sup> This is a written interview given by Istvan Kecskes which was published in Intercultural Pragmatics. Spencer-Oatey (2005b) stated that "it is not easy to distinguish these two categorically, and so ...in order to gain a clearer understanding" (p. 336) has drawn on work by the social psychologist Shalom Schwartz on personal values and applied them to her understanding of face.

<sup>35</sup> Kansu-Yetkiner (2006) associates Turkish face with 'honor' based on conversations emerging in interviews on health and sexuality with Turkish women. Although she does not refer to it as such in her work, what she is discussing is in fact 'respectability face'. Hirschon (1992) found that insults/swearing which are seen to threaten the honour and sexual integrity of the family provoke different demands for physical retaliation as a necessary defense of reputation and prestige in especially Turkey and also Greece.

and Levinson’s concept of face mentioned above or is within the discussion to follow.

Table 12. Propositions in the Literature on Types of Face and Rights Entitlements

Spencer Oatey (2000)	Lim (1994)	O’Driscoll (1996)	Brown and Levinson (1987)
<u>Quality face</u>	Competence face (claim that one is a person of ability)	Culture-specific face	Positive face (desire to be approved of)
<u>(Social) Identity face</u> (claims to social group membership, identity and roles)	-	-	-
<u>Respectability face</u> (Influenced by Ho, 1994) (pan-situational face linked to honor and prestige, “good name”)	-	-	-
(Dis)Association rights	Fellowship face	Positive face (as association)	Positive face (need for association)
Equity rights (fairness in dealings, rights to autonomy, non-imposition)	Autonomy face	Negative face (as disassociation and autonomy)	Negative face (freedom from imposition)

Source: adapted from Ruhi, 2006a.

Ruhi (2006a) supports the claim in O’Driscoll (1996) and Spencer-Oatey (2000b) that the notions of positive and negative face as need for community and autonomy need to be disentangled from the theory’s conceptualisation of face as public self-image. O’Driscoll (1996, p. 13-14) calls the positive attributes that the individual claims in public “culture-specific face”.

Along the same lines, Lim (1994) believes there are three distinct face wants which are addressed by the line of actions called facework: the want not to be imposed upon (autonomy face), the want to be included (fellowship face), and the want that their abilities be respected (competence face). In more detail, *competence face* is the image that one is a person of ability. It is concerned with past accomplishments, good reputations and the capabilities to perform successfully in the future. This type of face claims emphasize such values as knowledgeable, intelligent, and wise, experienced, influential, prosperous, accomplished, attractive, and distinguished. When persons claim these values for themselves, they want other’s to acknowledge

their success and capabilities. Thus competence face refers to the want that one's abilities be respected.

Furthermore, *autonomy face* is a person's image that they are in control of their own fate, that is, they have the virtues of a full-fledged, mature and responsible adult (Lim, 1994). This type of face includes such values as independent, in control of self, initiative, creative, mature, composed, and reliable. When person's claim these values for themselves, they want to be self-governed and free from other's interference, control, or imposition. In this regard, Lim's autonomy face bears strong similarities with Brown and Levinson's negative face.

In contrast, Lim's (1994) *fellowship face* is a person's image that they are worthy companions. It is concerned with the social aspect of the person, that is, how desirable a person is as a member of the group. Fellowship face includes such values as likeable, accepted and loved, friendly, agreeable, cooperative, alike, and affiliated. When persons claim these values for themselves, they want to be thought of as a member of an in-group. Thus fellowship face brings about the want to be included. In this respect, Lim's autonomy face bears strong similarities with Brown and Levinson's positive face.

Spencer-Oatey (2005a) revises her notion of identity face and proposes that people's claims to identity face are based on the positive social values that they associate with their various self-aspects. By doing so, her identity face draws on a wider set of meanings regarding both what she named as quality and social identity face in her earlier writings. Spencer-Oatey states that some of people's self-aspects are more important to their identity<sup>36</sup> than others, and so sensitivities develop around these self-aspects. Referring to Simon's (2004) self-aspect model of identity and Brewer and Gardner's (1996) research into levels of self-representation, she draws attention to three key points: (a) that people's self-concepts comprise beliefs about a wide range of attributes or self-characteristics; (b) that people conceptualise

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<sup>36</sup> cf. Spencer-Oatey (2007) and Spencer-Oatey and Ruhi (2007) for more on the relationship between identity and face.

themselves in individual, relational and collective terms; and (c) that people's self-concepts are both cognitive and social in nature (as cited in Spencer-Oatey and Ruhi, 2007, p.635).

Then, if these self-aspect sensitivities are challenged or undermined, people may perceive a threat to their face; conversely, if their sensitivities are attended to appropriately, people may perceive an enhancement of their identity face. She claims these sensitivities occur across a range of elements, including the following: bodily features (e. g., skin blemishes), possessions and belongings (material and affiliative), performance/skills (e. g., musical performance, math ability), social behaviour (e. g., gift giving, rude gestures), and verbal behaviour (e. g., wording of illocutionary acts, stylistic choice).

In the QPM data, 59 instances of a direct evaluation of politeness based on a face-support act were found. The face support moves mentioned by TNS as polite centered on one value: Care to avoid hurting B emotionally, that is, hurting B's feelings. This was maintained by engaging in thoughtful acts to B's face and avoiding him embarrassment. Avoiding being invidious, harsh, hurtful, offensive, insulting in general and especially when telling them they have done wrong/acted improperly was seen as an act that would maintain rapport with B.

Thinking of B's face and avoiding embarrassment to B was seen possible by also having a reserved attitude of "self-presentation". This was seen as a way to maintain the quality face the person claims for himself and thus protect his self-esteem. A person who was being humble, not considering self as better or different from the rest in money/knowledge/standing was face-support to B. Saving of B's face was maintained by not showing off about one's attributes or possessions especially in circumstances where B does not have them<sup>37</sup>. A was practicing modesty (through keeping silent about self-attributes) and acted on the motivation to have B feel good about himself and his attributes by avoiding a situation where B would be confronted with a comparison that would not result in his favor and

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<sup>37</sup> Haugh and Hinze (2003) call this 'demeanor politeness'.

thus he would lose self-esteem, his sense of self-worth. In this respect, as in extract (208), TNS found such people to be not only “kibar” but also “görgülü”.

(208) Kuaförde saçlarını yaptırırken güzelliğinin de verdiği etkiyle evlerinden arabalarından çocuklarının başarılarından bahseden ve kişilerin onaylamasını kendini övmesini bekleyenlerden olmamak. Zengin olup da koluna çifter çifter altın takıp elalem görsün diye gezinmeye çıkan kadınlar gibi olmamak. Millet kendini dinsiz sanmasın diye gösterimlik namaz kılmamak ve camiye kendini göstermeye gitmemek. Yapamayan, alamayan insanlar olabilir... İnsanların eksikliklerini böyle düşüncesizce yüzlerine vurmaktan kaçınmak görgülü olmaktadır. [GR40]

In other extracts, A was evaluated as polite as s/he was humble about achievements/attributes of self when B might get hurt. In these cases B lacked an achievement such as a pass on a recognized exam, an acceptance to a job or an admission. Other examples were not mentioning physical deficiencies, in comparison to self, other things B misses such as lack of parents or a good relationship with them. Not boasting about one's relationship when B has a lack of a romantic affiliation, did not have a lover, was not married, did not have children, etc. which shows that for the TNS these were also considered 'achievements' and reminding B s/he did not have them would result in face damage.

TNS believe some non-polite people engage in such non-modest self-presentation because they are in need of self-boosting their own quality and identity face: they want to believe they are worth more and also make others believe it. This means that although face is defined in terms of the projection of one's social self in the public domain, that is, aspects of one's self that a person reveals to others, face may also be defined in terms of one's social image that is publically and collectively perceived by others, –an image not necessarily the same as the one revealed to others. Correspondingly, the face that a person expects or claims for himself from others should be distinguished from face accorded him by others.

Another major act that was evaluated as polite by TNS was what may be termed as *deceptive communication* intended to save B's face. If necessary, telling white lies to B about B (i.e. his attributes) was seen as essential.

(209) kendine güzel bir saç kesimi yaptırdığını zanneden ve depresyondan kurtulmak isteyen arkadaşının durumunu bilerek saç kesiminin berbat olduğunu söylememek ve güzel olduğunu söyleyerek yalan söylemek. [KIB19]

(210) Saçları dökülen bir insana daha yeni tanıştıktan sonra kel kalacaksın demek ya da saçlarını yeni kestiren birine tutup da saçların iğrenç olmuş dersem patavatsızlık yapmış olurum. Ya da kilolu bir kadına hamile misiniz? diye sormak da ayıp olabilir. Kendini tutup bunları söylememek kibarlık olur. [KIB40]

How can deceptive communication in this instance be conceptualized? Deceptive communication may be defined as: "message distortion resulting from deliberate falsification or omission of information by a communicator with the intent of stimulating in another, or others, a belief that the communicator himself or herself does not believe" (Miller, 1983, 92-93 cited in Rodriguez, 2006; italics in original). In this sense, deceptive communication strives for persuasive ends; or, stated more precisely, deceptive communication is a general persuasive strategy that aims at influencing the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours of others by means of deliberate message distortion. Thus, deceptive communication is a strategic choice that TNS believe polite people make to secure some social goal. In the case of (209) and (210) above, to restore B's quality face by saving their sensitivities of bodily features was considered polite. Other examples in the data across a range of elements included praising other people's work although they believed it was not worthy of it, or in times of a need of affective-boost, consoling others and making them believe that their possessions and belongings (material and affiliative) are worthy, although they believe it to be the opposite.

Saving B from face damage although this could mean damage to self-face or a loss of self-face was also evaluated as polite. According to TNS this could be viable with what I term "*positive projection*"<sup>38</sup> strategies". This involves taking a negative quality of B and mentioning it as it is a quality of self to free the other from negative evaluation by third parties which would result in face damage for B. This

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<sup>38</sup> Regarding this term, I have been influenced by the defense mechanism of "projection" (Carr, 1999). In the psychology literature, projection is a strategy to save self-face and is the attribution of one's undesired impulses onto another (for example, an angry spouse accuses their partner of hostility). However, in what I call "positive projection strategy", the projection is being done by self to draw the other's negative attribute to self, hence the name positive.

is an act of freeing B from appearing negative. In (211) a colleague does just this to restore B's face:

(211) örneğin bir insana niye şu arkadaşınla görüşmüyorsun diye sorduğumuzda ben onun için sıkıcı biriyim sanırım diye cevaplayıp aslında o insanı sıkıcı bulunduğunu saklaması bir incelik örneğidir. Böyle birşey bana oldu bir süre önce. İşden arkadaşım ...'ye "neden ... ile görüşmüyorsun artık?" diye sordum. "Ben onun için sıkıcı biriyim" diye cevapladı. Aslında o ...'yi sıkıcı bulunduğu için görüşmüyor olmasına rağmen bunu saklayıp bu şekilde sanki sebep kendiymiş gibi cevap vermesi incelikti. (IN41)

In the data, instances of a positive projection strategy's evaluation of polite was found in the creation of excuses. To exemplify, when a couple have been invited by their in-laws (who they had not gotten together for some time) for dinner to a very close restaurant nearby. The wife was reluctant to go as she had 'things to do' and other engagements she wanted to get on with, which she found more important. The wife and husband agreed that they stay home for the night. However, on the phone to them, the husband took on the possible negative evaluation by telling the in-laws that he was responsible for them not being able to make it since he was engaged and was also not feeling well. Building the excuse around the husband's non-compliance with the request saved the wife from face-damage although it could result in the husband losing it instead. Here the husband has engaged in a polite move by employing the positive projection strategy.

Adjusting language, that is, using 'soft' language (expressed through "yumuşak" by TNS) or softening a message to B in order not to hurt B, avoid talking about physical attributes of B that B feels uncomfortable about such as their weight problem, etc. and keeping B's secret(s) to protect him from the embarrassment exposure will bring were among acts of face-support shared.

Trying to remedy B's misconduct/wrong doing instead of pointing it out was also an act of protection towards B's face. In the last part of the extract (212) below, a TNS talks about a guest-host situation where the guest does not point out the rubbish/mess lying around instead, conceals it and gets rid of it without the host knowing about it.

(212) bir hastayı ziyaret ederken küçükte olsa bir hediye götürmek yada çevrenizdeki bir kişiye işinin zor olduğunu söylemek yerine ona yardımda bulunacak bir davranış sergilemek, bir eksikliği farketğinde yapılan ilk hareketin bunu açık etmek değil bunu telafi etmek olması (misafirlikte bile olsan yerde bir çöp gördüğünde çaktırmadan kaldırıp çöpe atmak)

Face-support through rapport-maintenance was also possible according to TNS by being ‘understanding’ [ANLAYIŞLI]<sup>39</sup>. This could avoid possible future trouble in rapport with B. ‘being understanding’ was possible by either being (a) forgiving: in recognition that B might be going through a rough time/event ( i.e. have an attitude as “konuyu unutmama ve unutturma”); and/or by being (b) empathetic/discerning: not making a fuss about what B has not done right<sup>40</sup> ; and by (c) not bringing up reciprocal incompetency, wrong doing, etc. of B(s) (such as in in-laws relationships, e.g. “anlayışlı kayınvalide” scenarios). In (213) a TNS evaluates people who are understanding as polite:

(213) her koşulda her durumda haklı da olsa haksız da olsa nazik davranan anlayışlı olan ince insanlar. genelde mağazalardaki satış elemanları aklıma geliyor. hangi durumda hangi insanla iletişim halinde olurlarsa olsunlar kibar davranıyorlar, belki de işlerinin gereğidir. sonuçta müşteri tekrar gelin isterler. [KIB23]

He adds that this reminds him of sales assistants who always have to be this way –understanding– as it is required by their line of profession and since they want customers to be returning customers.

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<sup>39</sup> Turkish ‘anlayış’ has been translated into English as ‘understanding’. ‘Anlayış’ was found to bear close relations with KİBAR especially in the corpus data.

<sup>40</sup> This may be markedly polite for TNS because such instances are found rather scarcely. Işık (2003) in a SIP study (investigating what respondents say they would do in certain given scenarios) found that especially when there was non-attainment of self goals; for example, not getting what you ordered in a restaurant situation where the waiter is recognizably very very busy and is barely coping, the majority of Turkish participants responded that they would not be understanding, would be critical of the waiter, and demand that their order be changed (although the dish looked quite appetizing). They recognized that this caused a loss of face on part of the waiter and put extra burden on him but still stated that they would act as mentioned. In contrast, the British participants were understanding about the mistake and were content with what they got. Different from the Turkish respondents of the SIP questionnaire, the majority did not ask for a replacement.

#### 4.3.6 Politeness as “Solicitousness to Rights and Obligations”

‘Solicitousness to rights and obligations’ as a basis for polite evaluations comprised 4,45% of the QPM data with 54 occurrences; yet were used overwhelmingly more in number as the bases for impoliteness judgements (see Chapter 5, section 5.4.2) Any exhibition of intentional solicitousness to equity or association rights of individuals during the management of rapport was coded as “politeness as solicitousness to rights and obligations”.

Spencer-Oatey (2005a) asserts that behavioural expectations also result from interactional principles. Her understanding of socio-pragmatic interactional principles (which are referred to as SIPs) are similar in many respects to conversational maxims (Leech, 1983; Gu, 1990), except that they are more closely associated with values and/or beliefs, are scalar in nature and are very contextually dependent (cf. Spencer-Oatey and Jiang, 2003).

Spencer-Oatey (2000a, 2005b, 2007) argues that a portion of such interactional principles function for the management of social expectancies since they are fundamental social/personal entitlements, also termed as ‘sociality rights’. In her model, there are two superordinate principles working under sociality rights. These two interrelated aspects of sociality rights are: (a) Equity rights/ principle, and (b) Association rights/principle. These two principles complement each other, and can be given different importance weightings, depending on the context and/or personal preferences.

According to the *equity principle*, people have a fundamental belief that they are entitled to personal consideration from others and to be treated fairly; in other words, that they are not unduly imposed upon, that they are not unfairly ordered about, and that they are not taken advantage of or exploited. This principle helps to uphold people’s independent construals of self (Markus and Kitayama, 1991 as cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2005a, p. 100), and seems to have three components: *cost-benefit considerations* (the principle that people should not be exploited or

disadvantaged), *fairness and reciprocity* (the belief that costs and benefits should be “fair” and kept roughly in balance), and *autonomy-control* (the belief that people should not be unduly controlled or imposed upon). The equity principle results in behavioural expectations in each of these respects; for example, that a “costly” request should be worded differently from a minor request, that a favour should be reciprocated, and that a superior at work can only make “work-related” demands on an employee. Clearly, the exact nature these expectations will vary between cultural groups and individuals, and also depend on role specifications and behavioural conventions.

TNS mentioned politeness as equity rights maintaining act in the data especially in circumstances where someone was not committing an act of *fait accompli* (Tr.“emrivaki yapmak”). It was found polite to give B freedom in his actions, avoid making B feel obligated to do an action. This corresponds to Schwartz’s value of “self-direction” (see Table 13). For example, in store situations, the sales representative who did not impose the customer to buy the goods/product and set B free for his choice was found polite by TNS.

In light of sociality rights, in the interview excerpt (214) below, an informant shared an experience which was impolite and stated how it could have been ‘polite’ if a long-lost relative from their hometown had not imposed unduly upon her brother.

(214)

[PEI2]

PEI2: ..(*takes a moment to think*) Yıllardır görmediğimiz görüşmediğimiz yakın aslında kan bağı açısından bir akraba sen ara abimi de akşamın bi saati biz yarın geliyoruz oraya bizi alırmısınız gardan. Yahu insanlar bir...çalışıyor, iki oyle bir samimiyetiniz var mi yıllardır ne aramışsın ne sormuşsun daha yeni telefonda gorusmeye başlamışsın boyle de emrivaki yapılır mı?. Zaten açık açık gar işi falan değil, yatılı kalmak istiyor bu belli birşey... gardan alacak kimsesi yoksa, zaten kalacak yeri de yok demektir yani di mi?

*Int: Sizce bu nasıl bir davranış?*

PEI2: Yani, kendi kendini davet ettirmek, ayıp birsey bu. Babamın neden görüşmediğini işte o zaman annadık bunca yıldır. Yani tam problem, kaba,manipüle edici insanlar. Bırak insanlarr seni almayı yatırmayı teklif etsinler evlerinde. Kibar bir insan bunu yapar.

*Int: Abiniz ne yaptı peki? Aldılar mı, kaldılar mı?*

PEI2: Yok canım, işi bahane edip, evde olamayacağız demiş, iyi yollu hayır demiş tabiki. Beni aradı o zaman dedi hazırlıklı ol seni de arayabilir ben de korktum arar diye ama aramadı. Anladılar herhalde.

The equity rights/entitlements the informant claimed for her brother (and possibly herself) were not met by the relative and thus the relative was evaluated as not being polite. In contrast, the relative probably did not think this was an act against their equity rights because his claim to association (rights) with these other relatives were in place. Thus there is a double layer of misfit for sociality rights here. While A (the brother and the sister) think they have a right to *autonomy*, equity and control over what happens, B (the relative) probably thought the matter was not a case concerning equity rights ‘because’ of his association entitlements (i.e. being a relative from their home town) which called for their involvement. The relative was behaving within the norms of the “culture of relatedness” in Turkey (Zeyrek, 2001, p. 44): “relatedness and group consciousness are central aspects of Turkish culture. Social networks provide support for individuals and in return thrive on their loyalty” (ibid.). In contrast, A (the brother and the sister) thought they had a right to *disassociation* because although they were relatives, they had not been in touch for a long while. The understanding of equity and (dis)association rights functioned in different directions and to different degrees in the minds of the two parties in (214).

According to the *association principle*<sup>41</sup>, people have a fundamental belief that they are entitled to an association with others that is in keeping with the type of relationship that they have with them. This principle helps to uphold people’s interdependent construals of self, and seems to have three components: *involvement* (the principle that people should have appropriate amounts and types of “activity” involvement with others), *empathy* (the belief that people should share appropriate concerns, feelings and interests with others), and *respect* (the belief that people

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<sup>41</sup> According to Spencer-Oatey (2005a), the association principle leads to behavioural expectations; for example, that friends should visit or telephone each other on a regular basis, that a teacher should show concern for his/ her students’ personal welfare, and that a young person should show respectfulness towards elderly people. Thus, it needs to be noted that a portion of the data analyzed under “attentiveness” in section 4.3.1 also carry a strong sense of the affective and interactional association value this model suggests.

should show appropriate amounts of respectfulness for others) (Spencer-Oatey, 2005a, *ibid.*). She stresses that the exact nature and outworkings of these responsibilities and the expectations that are associated with them –just as for the equity principle– will vary for the nature of the relationship and specifications attached to the roles, socio-cultural norms for behavioural conventions, and also personal preferences as was seen for the evaluation in (214). TNS developed expectations in respect to each of these elements, and these then formed the bases of their (im)politeness judgments.

The components of *involvement* and *association* within sociality rights were particularly made use of in TNS narratives of politeness evaluation. People were judged on the basis of how comfortable, i.e. not alien, warm and welcome they could make B feel, and how appreciated, valued and wanted B felt in return. The value of empathizing as in (215), the act of putting self in B’s shoes, was found as important for such behaviour to suffice. The informant in the extract below uses the word “duygudaş”<sup>42</sup> to denote this attribute:

- (215) [PEI4]  
*Int: Kibar bulduğunuz ve kaba bulduğunuz iki insane tasvir edebilir misiniz?*  
PEI4: birisi kaba olacak birisi kibar olacak. İki kibar insan empati yeteneğine sahip olan insanların ben kibar davranacağını düşünüyorum çoğunlukla. kendisini karşıdaki insanın yerine koyup, ıı, o davranışla mutlu olur muydu olmaz mıydı, hoşuna gider miydi gitmez miydi, bunu tartabilen insanın kibar olduğunu düşünüyorum. Hatta biraz daha genişletirsek bu olayı ahlaklı insan kibar olabilir, çünkü empati yeteneği vardır ahlaklı insanda. Kendisini sürekli karşısındaki insanın yerine koyar yani kendisine yapılmasını istemiyorsa yapmaz, yapılmasından (*inaudible*) bu anlamda, empati yeteneği olan, yani duygudaş kendisini başkasının yerine koyabilen insanların kibar olabileceğini düşünüyorum.

In (216) the informant has evaluated the act of conversing on topics that is known by everyone in the conversational group as polite. This way the newcomer/outsider does not actually feel as an outsider and is given the chance to blend in. In (217) the informant describes a situation she was in personally. At a social gathering, where she was seated was found as going against her association rights and claims

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<sup>42</sup> “Duygudaş” (emotion-*daş*) has been derived from the word “arkadaş” meaning “friend” in Turkish. *Arkadaş* is semantically related to ‘care and protection’. The root ‘duygu’ has come together with the derivational reciprocal suffix ‘-daş’. “Duygudaş” implies ‘handling of, caring and sharing of each others feelings/emotions’.

to respect by someone in the crowd who offered to change her seat so she was more 'a part of the group'. Although the informant says she was not going to feel this way and was not going to make a fuss about being left far out from the center of the table, she still stressed that she liked that her entitlement to association was cared for and looked out for by this one colleague who she evaluated as polite.

(216) kalabalık ve herkesin birbirini tanıdığı bir arkadaş grubuna o gruptan yalnızca bir kişinin tanıdığı başka bir insan geldiği zaman, o insanın bilmediği ortak anı, yer ve kişilerden konusmak yerine daha genel herkesin sohbet'e dahil olabileceği konuşma konuları seçmek, o insanın kendini yabancı hissetmesini engellemek. [KIB29]

(217) [PEI9]  
PEI9: Bi sefer bi arkadaş kurumumuzdan ayrılmıştı ve onu yemeğe götürmüştük. Ee benden daha küçük olan ııı personel arkadaşlar vardı . Yani çalışma arkadaşları vardı. Ben masaya otururken en sona doğru kaldım. Arkadaşlar yerleşiyodu baylar. Sonra onlar içinde çok düşünceli bulduğum bi arkadaşım işte Aydan hanım böyle işte otursun, siz daha rahat edersiniz kalorifer var diye masanın başına geçirdi beni. Bu benim çok hoşuma giden bir davranıştı , düşünceli ve kibar bi davranıştı. Sonuçta ben dışarda kaldım diye alınmayacaktım ama onun yapılması da hoşuma gitti.  
*Int: Orta yaşlı biri miydi, genç miydi?*  
PEI9: Genç sayılır. Otuziki falan. Yani o aradaydı. Zaten ııı genelde kibar davranışları olan bi arkadaşımdi.

Another way that association could be maintained was seen by TNS as simply smiling. This was a way to be inviting and approachable at all times. In (218) an encounter where the informant believed there was high likelihood of a famous<sup>43</sup> person in Turkey to claim disassociation; however, her not doing so and smiling was found polite:

(218) İki sene önce İstanbul-İzmir seferini yapan THY uçağında Gülben Ergen hemen yanındaki sırada oturuyordu. Aramızda sadece koridor vardı. Korumalarından bir bayan da benim yanıma oturdu. Uçaktan inerken Gülben Ergen'den bir resim rica ettim. O da gayet kibar bir şekilde gülümseyerek çıkarıp verdi. Fotoğrafi hâlâ da saklıyorum. İlginç olansa, arkasında kırmızı kalemle yazılmış bir cep telefonu var! Ve ben de o gün bu gündür bu numarayı aramak istiyorum fakat bir türlü cesaret edemiyorum. [CPL84;IT]

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<sup>43</sup> Other 15 famous figures in the media mentioned in the TNS data as "kibar" people were: Uğur Dündar, Erdal İnönü, Türkan Şoray, Hülya Koçyiğit, Ediz Hun, Tarkan Akan, Can Dündar, Emre Kongar, Candan Erçetin, Kıraç, Ogün Sanlısoy, Ajda Pekkan, Bülent Ecevit, İsmail Cem İpekçi Zülfü Livaneli, and Mehmet Aslantuğ. However, it was not clear as to what properties/attributes of these individuals were found polite. One may speculate that it is because they use the Turkish language successfully, appear to be affectionate and easy-going personalities, and they keep a low profile in view of aggressiveness. These names have not been on the tabloids for an 'open' conflict.

Another related value in this respect was uttered by TNS as “treat other as self wants to be treated”. Moreover, Turkish females believed they had gender-related entitlements. Both female and male TNS thought it was polite to take care of these entitlements in cross-gender encounters.

Other evaluations were based on the extent to which A abided by small-community rules and regulations such as rules for the tenants of an apartment, the rules and regulations at work, norms for sharing other common spaces, protocols in some fields of work, etc. as well as conformed to other’s rights to privacy in individual spaces, rights to one’s democratic rights of being. This was due to the belief that people should show appropriate amounts of respectfulness for others and the system, hence one of the three components of the association principle. Polite peoples’ *respect* for nature was also mentioned: “doğaya saygı, çöp atmama/çöpü çöpe atma, yere tükürmeme” (Eng. Respect for nature, not littering/throwing rubbish on the ground, not spitting on the floor). As can be seen in the table below, this last type of association entitlement corresponded to Schwartz’s value construct of “universalism”, and the component value of “care for the environment”.

Table 13. Schwartz’s Value Constructs and Their Associated Qualities

Value construct	Explanation	Illustrative component values
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources	Social power, authority, wealth, preservation of public image
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards	Success, competence, ambition
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself	Pleasure, self-indulgence, enjoyment of life
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty and challenge in life	Variety, daring, excitement
Self-direction	Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring	Freedom, independent, curiosity, creativity
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature	Equality, harmony, justice, care for the environment, broadmindedness
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact	Helpfulness, loyalty, responsibility, forgiveness, honesty
Tradition	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self	Humility, respect for tradition, devoutness
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms	Obedience, self-discipline, proper behaviour, respect for elders
Security	Safety, harmony and stability of society, relationships, and of self	Health and security for the family and the nation

Source: Schwartz and Bardi (2001) in Spencer-Oatey, 2007, p. 631.

It was also found that the perceived rights and obligations also set the tone for politeness in service encounters in Turkey and many of the evaluations of (im)politeness by customers (who were later informants for the study) involved expectations related to sociality rights. Similarly, Mashiri (2001) found that for the African language of Harare commuter omnibus discourse was built around these principles: “By foregoing their inherent rights and privileges associated with their role as transport managers, the commuter crew strengthens their negotiation power, preserves face, averts altercations with passengers, maintains their clientele and achieve their discourse goal”(p. 94).

In relation to rights and obligations a number of interesting significant cultural service-provider politeness “scripts” and role -related expectation for the Turkish culture were found (cf. Goddard, 2006 for ethnopragmatic cultural scripts). Among prominent service provider-customer scripts recorded in relation to politeness evaluations were were waiter-restaurant/cafe customer, bus driver-commuter, police-citizen and street vendor-buyer.

The TNS stated that the role-related expectations in especially police-citizen, civil servant-citizen, bus driver-commuter encounters was impoliteness by the former by default. Thus, if the officer or the driver did not fit this script of the impolite provider, it was out-of-the-ordinary and were noticeably polite for the informants. For example, at a governmental building (“devlet dairesi”), when a civil servant did not disassociate with the citizen, did not ‘ignore or snub the citizen’<sup>44</sup>, s/he was found polite for not doing so. In (219) below, an extract from CPL taken from a confession website reveals how it is expected that police officers are impolite by default and are polite if they do not act as expected. The informant’ friend was at first very much ‘moved and amazed’ by the politeness of an officer and later discovered that expectation parallel to initial expectations, was in fact impolite.

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<sup>44</sup> Culpeper (2005) calls this strategy positive impoliteness as the use of the strategy is designed to damage the positive face wants of a person.

(219) Bir akşam eğlence dönüşü çevirmeye takılıyor. Yanımıza gelen polis memuru arkadaş oldukça kibar bir şekilde elindeki alkol metreyi uzatıp "Lütfen üfler misiniz beyefendi?" diye soruyor. Memurun kibarlığından etkilenen şoför arkadaş nazıkçe üflüyor. Arkadaşın üflemesi alkolmetre için biraz kibar kalmış olacak ki polis memuru arkadaş rica ediyor: "Tekrar üfler misiniz beyefendi?" Bizim şoför bu kez de üflemeyi beceremiyor ve sabrını zorladığımız kibar memurumuzun "Doğru üflesene lannnn!" nidasıyla Türkiye'de olduğumuzun farkına varıyor, kendimize geliyoruz. [CPL43; IT])

The informant clearly describes this expectancy in Turkey by stating that when he did in fact get impolite, they realized: yes, we are in Turkey!

In (220) a university student shares how amazed she was that the bus driver was "nazık" and "anlayışlı". This was in clash with the image of the Turkish bus driver as worn out, unhappy, tired and edgy.

(220) [PEI5]  
PEI5: (reads the question aloud) ııııı şöyle geçen günkü istanbul gezimde, normalde çok stresli ve sıkıntılı bir yaşamı olduğunu düşündüğüm otobüs şoförü sorularına çok nazık ince bir şekilde cevap verdi benim çok hoşuma gitti.  
*Int: Başka ne hatırlayabiliyorsunuz bu kişi ile ilgili. Örneğin, Kaç yaşlarındaydı kendisi? Nasıl görünüyordu?*  
PEI5: Kendisi 45 yaşlarındaydı. Oldukça sıkıntılı bir oto.. yani otobüs hattındaydı ve ben.. yani kendisini çok daha ters tepki verebileceğini ve kaba davranabileceğini düşünmüskün o çok nazık davrandı ve üstüne kendisi yeni sorular üreterek bana çok daha fazla yardımcı oldu. Bu kadar bir anlayış beklemiyordum açıkçası.

The bus driver answered her numerous questions without getting agitated and was polite for doing so. In (221) below, similarly a bus driver on a specific route which the informant commutes from was polite because he was greeting each and everyone of the passengers (saying hello!) as they were getting on and parting with them politely (saying "have a nice day, goodbye!") at when it was time for them to get off the bus. She felt woven in a shell of love (her confession title: "sevgi topurucuğu") and association.

(221) asoses'atfen: Sen bir de Bahçeşehir-Mecidiyeköy Ekspres hattındaki otobüs şoförünü görmelisin. O kadar kibar ki, her sabah otobüse binen tüm yolculara tek tek 'günaydın efendim, iyi yolculuklar' der. Bu kadar da değil; otobüsten inerken de yine tek tek 'hayırlı işler efendim, iyi günler' der. Kendimi servisle işe gidiyor gibi hissediyorum. Tabii servis şoförümü de çok seviyorum. Adam her sabah 'sizi bana aileleriniz emanet etti, hayırlısıyla sağ salım ulaştırdım' gururunu yaşıyor. Sonuç mu; sabah sabah bir grup sevgi topurucuğu. [CPL28;IT; Confession title: Sevgi topucukları]

Customers, on the other hand, were found polite when although it was their right to be provided with service, they did not act on the ‘first me’ principle and did not bury the service provider’s face in their rights/and the service providers obligation to deliver, hence associating, empathizing with the waiter in (222) was found polite by the informant/waiter:

(222) part-time çalıştığım cafeye gelen müşterilerden birinin her seferinde getirdiğim siparişler için teşekkür etmesi ve yine teşekkür ederek cafeden ayrılması kibar bi davranış mesela. daha da özelleştirecek olursak, siparişini müsait olduğunda bana çay getirir misin?" gibisinden bi cümle bana çok kibar gelmişti o anda. işi, siparişleri getirmek olan bi çalışanın "müsait olup olmadığını" düşünmek pek kibar bi davranış bana kalırsa. (KIB51)

#### 4.4. Interrelatedness of the Bases of Evaluations of Politeness

Coming to the end of this section in the chapter on bases of polite evaluations in Turkish, the interrelated nature of these bases and Spencer-Oatey’s model’s components of rapport management (face and rights domains) needs to be taken up. The pie chart below summarizes the findings from the prior section (i.e. bases of politeness evaluations).

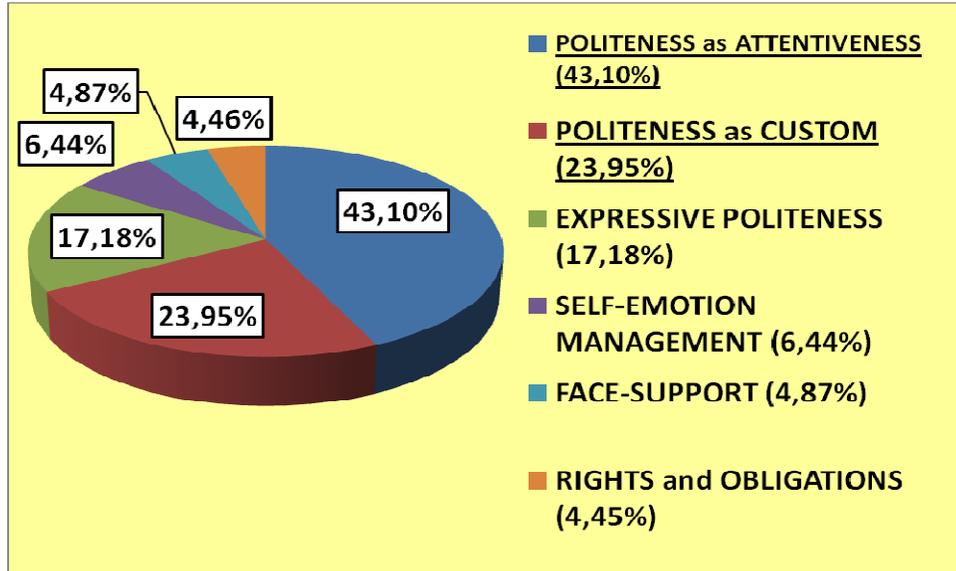


Figure 10. Bases of Politeness Evaluations for TNS

Spencer-Oatey (2005a) also expands on interconnections between face, (im)politeness and wants. Distinctions have been made to the best of the researchers ability to identify traits/themes in the data; however, no claims have been made to the disconnectedness of these bases, they are infact interrelated for a notable number of cases. The rationale behind categorizing the evaluations was to explore what bases of evaluations were possible for Turkish, whether or not any of them were more dominant and also to explore whether or not different lexemes were used to denote the different categories/bases of evaluations identified (see Section 4.6). They are, nonetheless, ultimately connected to differing degrees and levels for each and every evaluation of a polite act by individual evaluators. To exemplify consider the hypothetical act (namely, polite act 1) in Figure 11 below. As suggested, each of the dimensions of an evaluation may have intermittent connections at the surface level or the deep level. Many acts may in fact be borderline cases of one or more of these elements or a total inseperable mixture.

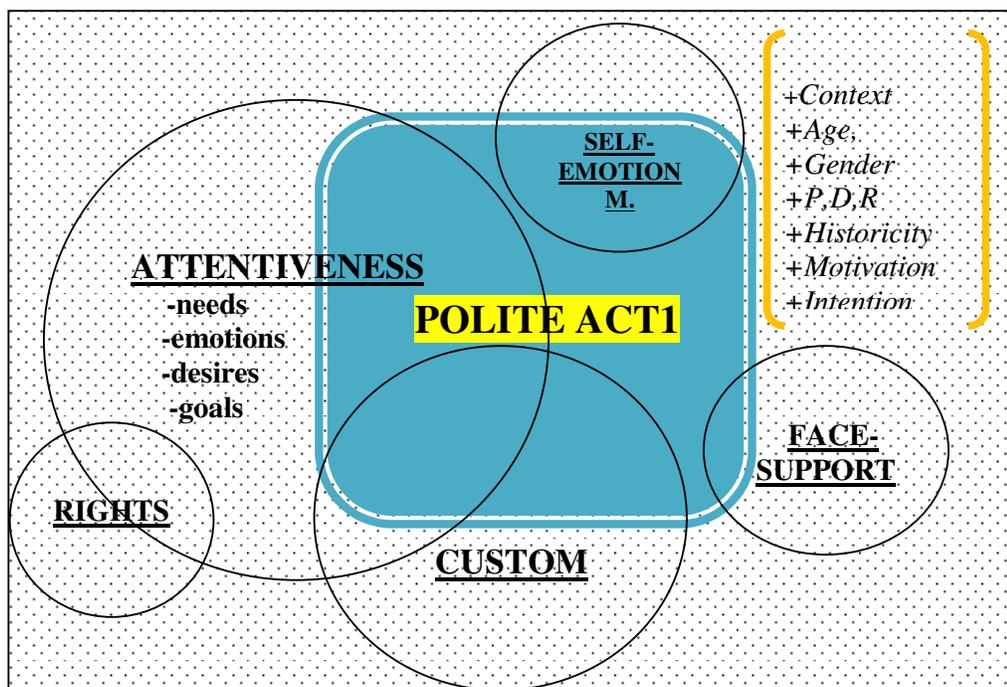


Figure 11. Interrelatedness of Bases of Evaluations for a Polite Act

A hypothetical Polite Act 1 can be polite because it is to a degree judged as attentiveness, which may be judged by an individual to be related to her individual

rights entitlements. The act may also be customary to a degree in the culture and the result of the act may also have positive effects on the actors or the recipient's face. All these will be evaluated in combination. That said, one basis is usually primary. In the case of the act in Figure 11, an act of attentiveness (indicated by being the biggest circle in the interlocked ven diagram) is primary to the evaluation. The bracketed information on the top right hand corner of the figure contains meta-data to the event such as details of the context, age, gender, status, power and distance differentials as well as 'historicity' and 'motivation' or intention (i.e. what the interlocutors think is embedded in the act as a transactional or interactional goal or whether or there is one). These bits of information at the heart of an evaluation are left outside the boxes and circles since they are all mainstream to the evaluation, but may also crucially may be infused to different degrees within each of the components identified as a basis for this specific acts evaluation. For example, the act may not function at the level of 'age' (i.e. have nothing to do with age information) for 'attentiveness' but age may have important bearings for 'customs or 'rights'.

These reflections bring us back to "the importance of the notion of the situatedness" (O'Driscoll, 2007, p. 261) of (im)politeness acts. In order to predict, identify or estimate the positively/negatively eventfulness of an act, we must first determine certain extra aspects with regard to the interactants at the time of the event. Following O'Driscoll (2007), this ultimately requires a consideration of (1) their individual histories (including the values which their socio-cultural backgrounds and temperaments have led them to hold), (2) their interpersonal history prior to the encounter (if there is any), (3) the nature the occasion of which their encounter is part (including the roles which they play in it), but also, and crucially, (4) the progress of the encounter up to the point where the potential (im)polite act is to be uttered/performed and also (5) what goes on/could go on afterwards, to tie this event with the next. Further, it can be seen that these considerations are relevant for all acts which maintain or enhance face and/or rights as well as acts which relate to the other bases of impoliteness. This is why no act can be or should be directly equated with impoliteness, just as no 'seemingly' polite acts can be equated with politeness.

#### 4.5 Scaling of Politeness Terms as Indicating “Language” or “Behaviour”

Descriptive statistics were calculated for the section on the QPM where participants were asked to rate how often they used a specific politeness-lexeme in Turkish to refer to ‘language’ (as in the use of language, solely on linguistic terms) versus ‘behaviour’. Chi-square analysis was conducted on answers to this section on the QPM according to age and gender but significant differences were not found.

Table 14. Use of the Politeness Lexemes to Denote Language versus Behaviour

	Always				Never				T	
	1	2	3	4	5					
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
<b>KİBAR</b>										
language	27	<b>25,96</b>	22	21,15	31	<b>29,81</b>	24	23,08	0	<b>0,00</b>
behaviour	58	<b>50,00</b>	38	32,76	10	8,62	10	8,62	0	<b>0,00</b>
<b>DÜŞÜNCELİ</b>										
language	12	<b>12,00</b>	24	24,00	29	<b>29,00</b>	27	27,00	8	<b>8,00</b>
behaviour	57	<b>50,89</b>	20	17,86	21	18,75	8	7,14	6	<b>5,36</b>
<b>NAZİK</b>										
language	9	<b>9,38</b>	17	17,71	21	21,88	30	<b>31,25</b>	19	<b>19,79</b>
behaviour	60	<b>51,72</b>	28	24,14	12	10,34	14	12,07	2	<b>1,72</b>
<b>SAYGILI</b>										
language	33	<b>31,43</b>	35	<b>33,33</b>	21	20,00	10	9,52	6	<b>5,71</b>
behaviour	75	<b>65,22</b>	22	19,13	7	6,09	8	6,96	3	<b>2,61</b>
<b>İNCE</b>										
language	37	<b>34,91</b>	26	24,53	18	16,98	17	16,04	8	<b>7,55</b>
behaviour	68	<b>61,82</b>	22	20,00	9	8,18	7	6,36	4	<b>3,64</b>
<b>GÖRGÜLÜ</b>										
language	15	<b>15,31</b>	13	13,27	32	<b>32,65</b>	23	23,47	15	<b>15,31</b>
behaviour	61	<b>52,14</b>	27	23,08	12	10,26	14	11,97	3	<b>2,56</b>
<b>TERBİYELİ</b>										
language	19	<b>18,63</b>	13	12,75	26	<b>25,49</b>	22	21,57	22	<b>21,57</b>
behaviour	67	<b>59,82</b>	20	17,86	16	14,29	5	4,46	4	<b>3,57</b>

Although many of the lexemes had both a behaviour-orientation and a language-orientation, out of all the other lexemes, KİBAR and SAYGILI were the two lexemes that were used to denote both language and behaviour strongly. None of the informants indicated that they ‘never’ use KİBAR for language and behaviour,

even once. NAZİK was found to associate more with behaviour than language for the informants. It was indicated as used more as ‘never’ for language and more for ‘always’ for behaviour. All in all, all the lexemes were used for both language and behaviour, but with slight differences in frequency.

#### **4.6 The Metapragmatics of Politeness Lexemes in Turkish**

After the qualitative analysis was carried out on the data sources and the six themes discussed in detail in the previous sections were discovered as bases of evaluations of politeness, a secondary coding was performed for the purpose of cross-referencing lexeme to theme and theme to lexeme weightings. This was done by calculating frequencies and percentages for a total of 1211<sup>45</sup> accounts shared by TNS coded as a theme by the researcher for each of the seven lexemes under analysis. The rationale of converting qualitative codings into quantitative data was to highlight aspects shared and not shared by these lexemes and to draw similarities and differences on the bases that formed politeness judgements verbalized by using one or the other lexeme. It was found that each of the lexemes beared relations to varying sub-components of evaluation to diverse degrees. First, politeness lexeme-to-theme weighting will be presented. Next, politeness evaluation theme-to-lexeme loadings will be provided and discussed

##### **4.6.1 Politeness Lexeme to Theme Weightings**

The results have been summarized in two tables. Table 15, on the next page summarizes *lexeme to theme* loadings in frequencies (n) and percentages (%). To interpret the findings it needs to be noted that each lexeme column (↓) marked with a percent sign followed by the lexeme label calculates to a total of 100% meaning that the intersecting cell between the themes in rows and the lexeme in the column presents the percentage of all judgements bases on a particular evaluation theme.

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<sup>45</sup> Some of the 121 informants for QPM provided more than a single account of a politeness evaluation for the lexemes. This is why (7x121) not 847 but 1211 evaluations were coded. For some of the lexemes, approximately 1 in 3 (30,05%) respondents shared more than one experience.

Table 15. Frequency and Percentages of Politeness Lexeme ↓ to Theme Weightings

			Politeness Lexemes														
<i>n</i>			<u>Bases of Evaluation Themes</u>	KIBAR	% KIBAR	DÜŞÜNCELİ	%DÜŞÜNCELİ	NAZIK	% NAZIK	İNCE	% İNCE	SAYGILI	% SAYGI	TERBIYE	% TERBİYELİ	GÖRGÜ	% GÖRGÜLÜ
<b>1</b>	<b>522</b>	<b>43,10</b>		<b>ATTENTIVENESS</b>	70	<b>33,33</b>	122	<b>76,25</b>	130	<b>61,61</b>	113	<b>73,38</b>	44	<b>23,16</b>	22	<b>16,79</b>	21
<b>Within n=522</b>	91	<b>8</b>	as	7	3	26	16	4	2	15	10	18	9	10	8	11	7
	119	<b>10</b>	CONSIDERATENE SS	4	2	22	14	11	5	79	<b>51</b>	1	1	----	-----	2	1
	255	<b>21</b>	to EMOTIONS	47	22	54	<b>34</b>	106	<b>50</b>	17	11	15	8	8	6	8	5
	57	<b>5</b>	to NEED(S)	12	6	20	13	9	4	2	1	10	5	4	3	-----	---
			to GOAL(S)														
<b>2</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>23,95</b>	<b>CUSTOM</b>	23	<b>10,95</b>	3	<b>1,88</b>	24	<b>11,37</b>	6	<b>3,90</b>	68	<b>35,79</b>	54	<b>41,22</b>	112	<b>72,26</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>17,18</b>	<b>EXPRESSIVE POLITENESS</b>	73	<b>34,76</b>	10	<b>6,25</b>	37	<b>17,54</b>	17	<b>11,04</b>	29	<b>15,26</b>	33	<b>25,19</b>	9	<b>5,81</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>6,44</b>	<b>SELF-EMOTION MANAGEMENT</b>	16	<b>7,62</b>	9	<b>5,63</b>	4	<b>1,90</b>	6	<b>3,90</b>	20	<b>10,53</b>	19	<b>14,50</b>	4	<b>2,58</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>4,87</b>	<b>FACE-SUPPORT</b>	14	<b>6,67</b>	13	<b>8,13</b>	7	<b>3,32</b>	10	<b>6,49</b>	6	<b>3,16</b>	3	<b>2,29</b>	6	<b>3,87</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>4,46</b>	<b>RIGHTS</b>	14	<b>6,67</b>	3	<b>1,88</b>	9	<b>4,27</b>	2	<b>1,30</b>	23	<b>12,11</b>	-----	-----	3	<b>1,94</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1211</b>			<b>210</b>		<b>160</b>		<b>211</b>		<b>154</b>		<b>190</b>		<b>131</b>		<b>155</b>	

Politeness judgements as KİBAR mostly concerned “expressive politeness” and “attentiveness”. Of the 210 examples provided by TNS for a recall of an event they judged as “kibar”, 34,76% (n=73) were acts of expressive politeness where the evaluated act was a verbal, linguistic one. The second theme that correlated highly with KİBAR was “attentiveness” with 33,33% (n=70) of all narrated examples evaluated as polite based on attentiveness. These two strongest themes totalled up to around 70% of all KİBAR evaluations. The rest were customs with 10,95%, self-emotion management with 7,62%, and “face-support” and “rights” both with 6,67% each.

For the second lexeme under analysis, DÜŞÜNCELİ, 160 politeness judgements shared by TNS were based mostly on “attentiveness” (76,25%). Within attentiveness, “attentiveness to needs” was slightly higher than other types of attentiveness; however, the rest of the three types were more or less the same with a calculated percentage average of 25% within the theme. Other theme loadings were more minor for DÜŞÜNCELİ with 8,13% from face-support, 6,25% from expressive politeness and 5,62% from self-emotion management.

From the 211 evaluations received for NAZİK, 130 were coded as attentiveness (61,61%) and notably, 106 of these 130 attentiveness based evaluations were once again “attentiveness to needs”. The second strongest theme was “expressive politeness” with 17,54% and the third, 11,37% with customs. Other theme loadings were calculated for rights (4,27%), apparent cases of face-support (3,32%) and self emotion-management (1,90%).

For İNCE, TNS provided 154 evaluations. 73,38% was based on “attentiveness”. What was interesting was that more than half (n= 79), 51%, were “attentiveness to emotions by generosity”. 11,04% were based on “expressive politeness” a further 6,49% on “face-support”. “Self-emotion management” and “custom” shared 3,90% each and evaluations based on appeal to “rights” were 1,30%.

SAYGI produced 190 evaluations, 35,79% (n=68) of which were based on “Customs”. In second place, with 23,16%, evaluations based on “attentiveness” were found. This was followed by “expressive politeness” with 15,26%, “rights” with 12,11%, “self-emotion management” with 10,53%, and face-support with 3,16% .

For the sixth lexeme under analysis, TERBİYELİ, 131 evaluations were provided. 41,22% were based on “customs”, 25,19% on “expressive politeness” , 16,79% (n=22) on “attentiveness”, 14,50% on self-emotion management and 2,29% on face support. There were no evaluations based either on “rights” entitlements or to “attentiveness to emotions”.

From the 155 politeness judgements as GÖRGÜLÜ, an overwhelming 72,26% (n=112) were based on politeness as “custom”. For the rest, 13,55% were “attentiveness as considerateness”. Appropriate self-presentation and modesty were important in the evaluations referred to as *görgülü* acts. 5,81% of the shared evaluations were based on “expressive politeness”, 3,87% on face-support, 2,58% on “self-emotion management”, and 1,94% on sociality “rights”. Not even a single *görgülü* act could be coded as “considerateness to other’s goal”. Below is a summary table for politeness lexemes to politeness themes weightings.

Table 16. Summary for Politeness Lexemes to Politeness Themes Weightings

<b>Total: 1211</b>	<b>STRONGEST</b>		<b>WEAKEST</b>
<b>KİBAR (210)</b>	1. Expressive politeness (34,7% ) 2. Attentiveness (33,3%)	3. Customs (10,9%), 4. Self-emotion management (7,6%)	5. Face-support (6,7%) 6. Rights recognition (6,7%)
<b>NAZİK (211)</b>	1. Attentiveness (61,61%) -attentiveness to needs 2. Expressive politeness (17,54%)	3. Customs (11,37%)	4. Rights (4,27%), 5. Face-support (3,32%) 6. Felf emotion-management (1,90%)

Table 16 continued

<b>İNCE (154)</b>	1. Attentiveness (73,38%) -attentiveness to emotions by <u>generosity</u>	2. Expressive politeness (11.04%)	3. Face-support (6,49%) 4. Self-emotion management (3,90%) 5. Custom (3,90%) 6. Rights (1,30%)
<b>DÜŞÜNCELİ (160)</b>	1. Attentiveness (76,25%) -attentiveness to needs” slightly higher	2. Face-support (8,13%)	3. Expressive politeness 6,25% 4. Self-emotion management 5,62% 5. Rights (1,88%) 6. Customs (1,88%)
<b>SAYGILI (190)</b>	1. <u>Custom</u> (35,79% ) 2. Attentiveness as Considerateness (23,16%) 3. Expressive politeness (15,26%,)	4. Rights (12,11%) 5. Self-emotion management (10.53%)	6. Face-support (3,16%)
<b>TERBIYELİ (131)</b>	1. <u>Custom</u> (41,22%) 2. Expressive politeness (25,19%) 3. Attentiveness (16,79%) 4. Self-emotion management (14,50%)		5. Face support (2,29%) <i>None: rights; attentiveness to emotions</i>
<b>GÖRGÜLÜ (155)</b>	1. <u>Custom</u> (72,26%) 2. Attentiveness as considerateness (13,55%)		3. Expressive politeness (5.81 %) 4. Face-support (3,87%) 5. Self-emotion management (2,58% 6. Rights (1.94%) <i>None: attentiveness to other’s goal</i>

#### 4.6.2 Politeness Theme to Lexeme Loadings

Table 17 on the next page is a summary of the descriptive statistical findings for *theme to lexeme* loadings. Note that in this table columns will not total 100% and are not meaningful for our purposes. The focus here needs to be on the theme *rows* ( $\Rightarrow$ ) which total 100%. To observe the weighting of theme to lexeme correspondences attention needs to be given to the intersecting cells between columns marked with the initial letter of a lexeme followed by a -TH%. Such cells will show all evaluations coded as a certain theme and what percent of these were collected/prompted by a certain lexeme.

Table 17. Frequency and Percentages of Politeness Theme  $\Rightarrow$  to Lexeme Loadings

<i>n</i>				Politeness Lexemes													
				KIBAR	K-TH%	DÜŞÜNCELİ	D-TH%	NAZIK	N-TH%	İNCE	I-TH%	SAYGILI	S-TH%	TERBİYELİ	T-TH%	GÖRGÜLÜ	G-TH%
1	522	43,10	ATTENTIVENESS	70	13,41	122	23,37	130	24,90	113	21,65	44	8,43	22	4,21	21	4,02
	91	8	as	7	8	26	29	4	4	15	16	18	20	10	11	11	12
	119	10	CONSIDERATENESS	4	3	22	18	11	9	79	66	1	1	-----	-----	2	2
	255	21	to EMOTIONS	47	18	54	21	106	42	17	7	15	6	8	3	8	3
	57	5	to NEED(S)	12	21	20	35	9	16	2	4	10	18	4	7	-----	-----
2	290	23,95	CUSTOM	23	7,93	3	1,03	24	8,28	6	2,07	68	23,45	54	18,62	112	38,62
3	208	17,18	EXPRESSIVE POLITENESS	73	35,10	10	4,81	37	17,79	17	8,17	29	13,94	33	15,87	9	4,33
4	78	6,44	SELF-EMOTION MANAGEMENT	16	20,51	9	11,54	4	5,13	6	7,69	20	25,64	19	24,36	4	5,13
5	59	4,87	FACE-SUPPORT	14	23,73	13	22,03	7	11,86	10	16,95	6	10,17	3	5,08	6	10,17
6	54	4,46	RIGHTS	14	25,93	3	5,56	9	16,67	2	3,70	23	42,59	----	-----	3	5,56
Total	1211			210		160		211		154		190		131		155	

Of the total of 1211 collected QPM politeness evaluations, 522 were based on “attentiveness”. The lexemes with the strongest loadings to “considerateness” as a sub-level of attentiveness were DÜŞÜNCELİ (29%) and SAYGILI (20%). For the component attentiveness to emotions, the prominent lexeme was İNCE (66%) followed by DÜŞÜNCELİ (%18). This finding meant that two out of every three evaluation for İNCE was based on attentiveness to emotion by way of being generous to the other. Attentiveness to needs was more inherent to the denotation of NAZİK (42%; n=102), followed more or less equally by DÜŞÜNCELİ (21%) and KİBAR (18%). Attentiveness to goals were more central to DÜŞÜNCELİ (35%), KİBAR (21%), and SAYGI (18%) than the other lexemes. Thus, with 24,90% (n=130), NAZİK was the most correlated lexeme with overall “attentiveness”, followed by DÜŞÜNCELİ with 23,37% (n=122), whereas GÖRGÜLÜ (4,02%) was the least correlated lexeme.

For the second bases of evaluation, “politeness as *custom*”, of the 290 coded occurrences in the data, 38,62% was found under GÖRGÜLÜ, 23,45% for SAYGILI, 18,62% for TERBİYELİ, 8,22% for NAZİK, 7,93% for KİBAR and the lowest for DÜŞÜNCELİ (1,03%) and İNCE (2,07%). Furthermore, for the 208 recorded evaluations based on “*expressive politeness*”, 35,10% were for KİBAR, 17,79% for NAZİK, 15,87% for TERBİYELİ, 13,94% for SAYGILI and 8,17% for İNCE. Thus the most related word to expressive politeness was KİBAR and the least related word was GÖRGÜLÜ with 4,33%.

“*Self-emotion management*” as politeness was recorded in 78 times in data extracts mostly in SAYGI with 25,64%, then TERBİYE with 24,36%, KİBAR with 20,51%, DÜŞÜNCELİ with 11,54%, and İNCE with 7,69%. With only 5,13% of evaluations of politeness based on self-emotion management under them, NAZİK and GÖRGÜLÜ were least associated with this basis.

Of 59 occurrences of “*face support*” as central to a politeness evaluation, KİBAR (23,73%) came in first place in its strength of correspondence followed by DÜŞÜNCELİ (22,03%), İNCE (16,95%), and NAZİK (11,86%). Lastly, for

socality “rights” with 54 coded acts, the lexeme SAYGI (42,59%) embodied nearly half of all the coding as such. It was followed by KİBAR (25,93%), NAZİK (16,67%), then DÜŞÜNCELİ and GÖRGÜLÜ (5,56%). For both “face-support” and “rights” entitlements, the east associated lexeme was TERBİYELİ with not even a single event coded under it.

It was evident from the analysis that as stated by Bayraktaroğlu and Sifianou (2001, p. 7), there was a distinction of “politeness of the soul” and “politeness of manners” with lexemes like KİBAR, İNCE and NAZİK and DÜŞÜNCELİ at the soul end and TERBİYELİ and GÖRGÜLÜ other end, i.e. manners. KİBAR, SAYGI, TERBİYELİ and GÖRGÜLÜ was found to be denoting more the linguistic, normative and ritualistic politeness acts in Turkish while DÜŞÜNCELİ, NAZİK, İNCE was working more on the interactional style dimension. Below is a summary table for politeness themes to politeness lexemes loadings.

Table 18. Summary for Politeness Themes to Politeness Lexemes Loadings

	STRONGEST	WEAKEST
<b>ATTENTIVENESS</b> to EMOTIONS: to NEEDS: to GOALS:	-NAZİK (24,90); DÜŞÜNCELİ (23,37); İNCE (21,65) -İNCE (66%); DÜŞÜNCELİ (18%) -NAZİK (42%); DÜŞÜNCELİ (21%) -DÜŞÜNCELİ (35%); KİBAR (21%); SAYGILI (18%)	-GÖRGÜLÜ; TERBİYELİ -SAYGILI; GÖRGÜLÜ -TERBİYELİ; GÖRGÜLÜ -GÖRGÜLÜ; İNCE
<b>CUSTOMS</b>	GÖRGÜLÜ (38,62); SAYGILI (23,45)	DÜŞÜNCELİ; İNCE
<b>EXPRESSIVE POLITENESS</b>	KİBAR (35,10); NAZİK (17,79); TERBİYELİ (15,87)	GÖRGÜLÜ; DÜŞÜNCELİ
<b>SELF-EMOTION MANAGEMENT</b>	SAYGILI (25,64); TERBİYELİ (24,36); KİBAR (20,51)	NAZİK; GÖRGÜLÜ
<b>FACE-SUPPORT</b>	KİBAR (23,73); DÜŞÜNCELİ (22,03); İNCE (16,95)	TERBİYELİ
<b>RIGHTS</b>	SAYGILI (42,59); KİBAR (25,93)	İNCE; TERBİYELİ ( <i>none</i> )

#### 4.7 Motivations for Politeness

Up till this point in this chapter, what the Turkish native speaker finds politeness have been presented and discussed. But, what about motivation? What do TNS think the motivation of being polite and impolite is, or is there such an external influence, external to the context and our roles within the boundaries of interaction that is also traceable in evaluations of politeness? Is there in fact long(er) term goals that people try to achieve through politeness? This section explores what TNS think in respect to these questions. Before moving on to the related findings, what politeness researchers currently think about the connection between motivation and (im)polite act will be briefly discussed to lay the foundations of the analysis.

In the current literature, a range of views is expressed regarding the functions of politeness. At one extreme of this continuum there are those who emphasise altruistic aspects of politeness. Thus the phenomenon is described as a way of expressing concern for others, helping to maintain or restore harmony in social interaction. Others take a more neutral stance and claim (as does Meier 1995a, for example) that politeness is simply doing what is socially acceptable. At the other extreme, a more cynical view of politeness is expressed. Here politeness is ultimately seen as a means of enhancing the desires of the 'ego'.

According to Lakoff (1973), politeness consists of forms of behaviour, 'minding your p's and q's', which have been developed in societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction. This view is supported by many other researchers in the field. Leech (1983, p.104) interprets politeness as forms of behaviour aimed at creating and maintaining harmonious interactions, Fraser (1990) postulates that the degree of politeness expressed is a result of a conversational contract made by the interlocutors in order to avoid conflict and disharmony, while Brown & Levinson (1987) maintain that politeness presupposes a potential for aggression "as it seeks to disarm it and makes possible communication between potentially aggressive partners" (p.1). Green (1989, p.145) refers to politeness as "for

whatever means are employed to display consideration for one's addressee's feelings", while Holmes (1995) defines politeness as "behaviour which actively expresses positive concern for others, as well as non-imposing distancing behaviour" (as cited in Deutschmann, 2003, p. 28).

More recently, as motivation related desires on rapport-related concerns, Spencer-Oatey (2000b) suggests four types of rapport orientation: (1) Rapport-enhancement orientation: a desire to strengthen or enhance harmonious relations between the interlocutors; (2) Rapport-maintenance orientation: a desire to maintain or protect harmonious relations between the interlocutors; (3) Rapport-neglect orientation: a lack of concern or interest in the quality of relations between the interlocutors; (4) Rapport-challenge orientation: a desire to challenge or impair harmonious relations between the interlocutors (p. 29-30). She claims that speakers can hold any of these orientations, and that people holding different orientations or different motivations may use different strategies to manage rapport for achieve these different intentions.

Furthermore, some researchers have begun to consider egocentric aspects of politeness with the premise that traditional politeness models are too focused on the hearer's face needs. Watts' (1992, p. 69) view is that linguistic politeness is "an attempt on the part of the *ego* to enhance her/his standing with respect to *alter* – for whatever reason". On a similar note, Jary (1998) claims that, although a person may appear to express politeness out of concern for the addressee's face, the *ultimate motivation* is to ensure his/her own continued well-being in both the long and the short term: in the short term, a communicator's aims will be to get an addressee to do or believe something; in the longer term, her aims will include that of becoming/remaining a liked and respected member of a certain group.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> In their work on self-presentation styles and impression management and thus face management and politeness, Schlenker and Pontari (2000) claim, however, that self-presentation is not necessarily self-serving (p.510-512, as cited in Ruhi, in press).

Showing that you hold a co-member of a group in high esteem will, according to Jary (1998), be beneficial because it will raise your own standing in the eyes of this person. Manifesting one's positive opinion of someone else, however, is not simply a matter of providing evidence for this. The evidence must also be seen as relevant and sincere. If it is not, efforts to show appreciation of another person may have a detrimental effect since the addressee will apprehend your real motive –to raise his or her opinion of yourself. Based on these assumptions, Jary points out that politeness is a balance and struggle between appearing rude and appearing 'too polite' (ibid.). Held (1992) reaffirms the traditional view of politeness functioning as a means of minimising potential conflict, but adds that this is done in order to maximise *personal profit*. Leech (1983) also touches on this aspect of politeness when he quite humorously and shrewdly points out that “unless you are polite to your neighbour, the channel of communication between you will break down, and you will no longer be able to borrow his mower” (p. 82).

What do the data at hand suggest for the Turkish native speaker? What were the TNS motivations to use politeness in interaction?

#### **4.7.1 Strategic Use of Politeness by TNS**

In reference to these questions, in the third section on the QPM, among others, TNS were posed a question related to whether or not they thought they used 'politeness' as a character trait (pan-situationally) versus as a vehicle for the attainment of a long or short term goal. It was apparent from the piloting of the questionnaire that Turkish informants viewed 'goal' in this usage hypocritical and did not want to associate themselves with what they believed could be seen as a negative attribute. Thus in the final version of the QPM, the question prompt was reworded and usage of politeness for a goal was described as a social skill (“sosyal bir beceri olarak”). The prompt on the final questionnaire read:

3. Sizce kendinizi Türkçe ifade ederken kibarlığı karakteriniz gereği mi yoksa sosyal bir beceri olarak iletişimde ulaşmayı amaçladığınız (uzun veya kısa vadeli) sonuca yönelik bir araç olarak mı kullanıyorsunuz?

When the prompt was not impersonalized as in question 3 above, most of the participants replied that it was in their ‘character’ to be polite, and that under only important circumstances could they use it for self gain. In order to outbalance the possible negative effects of how much of themselves they want to reveal through this specific question, following a social-psychological research tactic, impersonalization was used for two follow-up questions. The next set of questions probe their beliefs about the motivations of others:

4. Farklı sosyal durumlarda: (a) iş ortamında ve (b) aile/arkadaş ortamında, ve (c) hiç tanımadığımız insanlarla iletişim esnasında

i. Dil ve davranışta kibarlık hangi amaçlar doğrultusunda kullanılabilir/kullanılması beklenir?

ii. Dil ve davranışta “kabalık” hangi sebepler ile kullanılabilir/kullanılması beklenir?

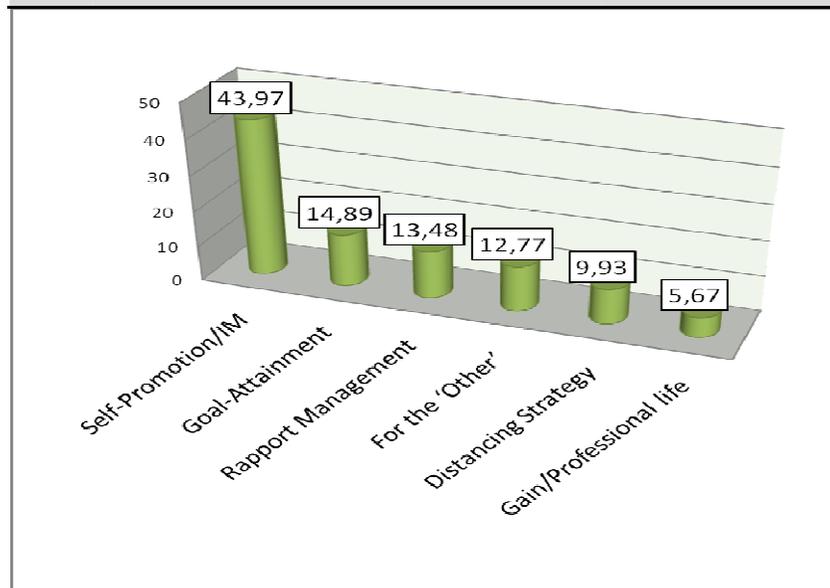
Their answers to question 4.i. revealed six possible sources of motivation for politeness. This was also confirmed by the interviews conducted and the corpus tokens analysed. Table 19 summarizes the findings for QPM. Of the total of 141<sup>47</sup> sources of motivation provided, an overwhelming frequency of occurrence for self-promotion/image management was found.

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<sup>47</sup> Nine respondents took the question evaluatively, although it was not intended as such, and replied negatively. They expressed their belief that there could not be underlying motivations for politeness, -there should not be, they maintained. All politeness was and should be sincere. These responses were kept outside of the analysis presented in Table 19 since the focus of attention was the strategic use of politeness.

Table 19. TNS Sources of Motivation for Politeness

<i>When politeness is intentional, possible motivations are:</i>			
		<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
1.	<u>Self-Promotion/Image Management</u>	62	<b>43,97</b>
2.	<u>Goal-Attainment</u>	21	<b>14,89</b>
3.	<u>Rapport Management</u>	19	<b>13,48</b>
4.	<u>For the 'Other' (i.e. face and rights)</u>	18	<b>12,77</b>
5.	<u>Distancing Strategy</u>	14	<b>9,93</b>
6.	<u>Gain in Professional life</u>	8	<b>5,67</b>
Total coded responses:		<b>141</b>	



43,97% of all motivations provided for being polite intentionally are related to the promotion of one's self image. This confirms recent literature on politeness giving centrality to 'egocentric' aspects of politeness. The findings also verify Yabuuchi (2006) who asserts that Brown and Levinson's dichotomous (i.e., negative vs. positive) politeness system may be valid as a linguistic politeness system, but it is inadequate from a social psychological perspective, because it does not reflect sufficiently fundamental human *desires*, and thus motives. That is, it does not adequately treat the desire for admiration, for example, which many believe to be a major force that has advanced human history (ibid.). In fact, behaviours to

gratify this desire have been endemic and have had the important function of maintaining societies. She believes Brown and Levinson's underrating of this desire may be a reflection of the western tradition of the pursuit of equality and sincerity.

For the TNS, this category includes speaking/acting politely to leave a good impression, to impress others, to be respected, to be liked, to earn a good reputation, a good name (as in 223), to be accepted and not to be seen as impolite, to appear decent, to be seen different than you are, to gain trust as in (226), to be thought of as valuable/worthy, and to appear civilized as in (225) below.

- (223) [PEI7;STR]  
kibarlık da bence toplum içerisinde iyi bir yer edinmek için insanlar daha çok yer alıyorlar. Yani belki o anda içinden gelmese de kibarlık yapan insanlar oluyor çünkü.

In the corpus extract (224) below, a Turk living abroad confesses that he drives more carefully, giving the right of way to others, when he is in his mother's car which has a Turkish flag on its license plate. He states the motivation of being more polite in this care as 'to make others think we are polite'. In (225) another confessor admits to have minded her table manners profoundly at a work dinner (to the extent that she was foolish) to 'appear polite' and gain recognition as such.

- (224) Yaşadığım eyalette arabaların sadece arkasında plaka bulundurma zorunluluğu var. Ön tarafa isteyenler şekilli veya yazılı plakalar takıyorlar. Annemin arabasında Türk ve Amerikan bayraklarının yan yana olduğu bir plaka var. O arabayı kullanırken insanlara  yol vermeye daha çok gayret ediyorum. Hani plakayı görüp kibar olduğumuzu düşünsünler diye! [CIPL72;IT]  
(225) Önemli bir iş yemeği sırasında sırf kibar görünmek için elinden peçeteyi bırakmadan yemek yerken bir an unutup yanlışlıkla elindeki peçeteyi ekmeğe diye ısırın, daha sonra 'acaba gören olmuş mudur' diye masada bakınırken kendi müdürüyle göz göze gelen benden başka bir salak var mı diye soracaktım. Yok, değil mi? Ben de öyle tahmin etmişim... [CIPL31;IT; Title: Kibarlık budalası]

In (226) the corpus token below, a confessor shares how a conman strategically used politeness (i.e. his polite manners) to fool people in giving him money. Appearing polite was motivated by the desire to be found trustworthy by others.

(226) Londra'da olanlar bilir, Oxford Street'te büyük bir HMV Store vardır. Geçen gün oradan DVD alırken yanıma biri yaklaştı. Fransız olduğunu, havaalanından yeni geldiğini ve elinde tuttuğu kitabı almak istediğini söyledi. Kitap £5.99'muş ama 90 pence'yi eksikmiş. Bana verip veremeyeceğimi sordu. Eli yüzü düzgün, elinde çanta olan, Fransız aksanı ile konuşan çok kibar biriydi. Çıkarıp £1 verdim ama İstanbul'dan insanların her türlü duygu sömürüsüne alışkın biri olduğumdan içimde de bir kuşku oluştu. Parayı verdikten sonra çocuğu takip ettim. Alt kata indi, orada da biriyle konuşup £1 aldı. Sonra en üst kata çıktı orada da birileriyle konuşup paralar aldı. Bir ara onu kaybettim, dolaşırken baktım karşıdan yine geliyor. Bütün sevecenliği ile gülümseyip selam verirken kan beynime sıçradı. Yanıma çağırdım, paramı istedim ve ağzıma ne geliyorsa söyledim. Nasıl rengi değişti, nasıl yüzlerce defa özür diledi anlatamam. AB için Fransız kamuoyunun tepkisinden çekinenler; kusura bakmayın, bir kişi daha kaybettik ama değdi doğrusu.[CIPL90;ITL]

The second category, goal attainment, received 14,89% of all cited motivations. Goal attainment included using politeness to get what you want: to get the other to do what you want them to do and to achieve a task. In the interview extracts (227) and (228) below informants talk about how people use politeness to get what they want. In interviews a number of TNS have referred to the Turkish culture and the well-known expression “tatlı dil yılanı deliğinden çıkarır” (Eng. lit.sweet words will get a snake to come out of its hole) as in (228). In (229) the goal mentioned by the informant was getting accepted for a position, and in (230) the motivation concerned getting your jobs taken care of in a speedier fashion.

(227) [PEI14;STR]  
PEI14: (*reads the question aloud*) hmm. Şimdi kibarlık genellikle bir şeyin elde etmek istendiğinde, yani daha kolay o insana ulaşip, istediğiniz davranışa o kişiyi getirmek için kibarlık kullanılıyor.

(228) [PEI16; STR]  
*Int: Yani insanlar belli bir amaç için kullanıyorlar mı kabalığı?*  
PEI16: Kullanıyorlar. Hani türk toplumunda şey vardır, tatlı dil yılanı deliğinden çıkartır. Genelde onları şeyler, kişiler kamu kurumlarında işini yapabilmek için... insanlar ikna etmeye çalışırlar kibarlığı ileyaptırabilmek.... Stratejik olarak da kibarlık ve kabalık nasıl kullanılabilirler?... Stratejik olarak genelde pazarlamada kullanılıyor. Pazarlamada işte direkt marketing de müşteri ilişkilerinde bu..ee de falan, yani çok insanlara kibar gelen bir şekilde iletişim kuruyor insan. Yani bu şekilde yani hedeflerine ulaşmaya çalışıyorlar.

(229) Karşımızdakini olumlu yönde etkileyebilmek için kullanılır. Örneğin bir iş başvurusunda kibar bir dille konuşmak, kaba bir dille konuşana göre işe girme olasılığımızı artıracaktır. [STR4]

(230) Herhangi bir iş yerinde ya da alışveriş yaptığım mağazada çalışan bayan benden çirkin, bakımsız görünüyorsa; "Bluzunuz çok sıkışmış, nereden aldınız?" gibi ufak bir iltifat ediyorum. İşlerim hızla yürüyor. Gülümseyen, kibar bir görevli de cabası. [CİPL56;IT]

Third, motivations for long-term maintenance of rapport and rapport management were calculated at 13,48%. This category included motivations such as: to maintain a 'healthy' relationship, to make communication easier, have an efficient/effective relationship, to have a strong durable relationship, to be understood, to nurture a loving environment, keep the dialogue open, and smooth future relations.

An interesting finding was that the concern for the hearer/recipient (suggested as the center in most prominent politeness theories) was much less (n=18) than motivational concerns related to self-promotion (n=61). Hence, 12,77% of the sources of motivation for politeness concerned the 'other', i.e. to support the other's face claims and rights entitlements. Underlying aspects were to show respect to other, to show you care, concern for rights of the other, because the other is important to you, not to hurt the other, to be 'nice' to other and no to cause discomfort to other.

The fifth most frequent source of motivation found in the TNS data was a communicative strategy, "distancing" (9,93%) , i.e. politeness used to create more distance between self and other sometimes especially because you do not know the person well and want to show how s/he should behave towards you. Lastly, motivation concerning a gain in especially one's professional life (5,67%) such as to get a better rank/get promoted, close a business deal, create an efficient work environment or more generally get a better job, work less, and get better wages were found.

## CHAPTER V

### METAPRAGMATICS of IMPOLITENESS (KABA) in TURKISH

#### 5.0 Presentation

In this chapter, first a critical overview of impoliteness models to date will be provided. Next, the semantics of ‘impoliteness’ for the Turkish population will be outlined consorting to data from the Questionnaire on (Im)Politeness Metalanguage (QPM) in comparison to the definition of the eight politeness lexemes provided by *TDK Sözlüğü* (Eng. Turkish Language Institute Turkish dictionary). Then, lexemes with strong lexical associations with KABA as has been found through QPM will be presented. For KABA and the strongest association bearing lexemes to it (i.e. SAYGISIZ, PATAVATSIZ, DÜŞÜNCESİZ, KÜSTAH, GÖRGÜSÜZ, TERBIYESİZ), the results of the qualitative sociopragmatic content-analysis of lexeme-probed impoliteness event experiences collected via QPM will be presented thorough verification of the themes by tokens from Corpus of KABA (CIPL) and the (Im)Politeness Experiences Interviews (PEI). Later, results of the quantitative analysis for the cross-referencing of impoliteness lexeme to theme and impoliteness theme to lexeme loadings will be discussed. Last, motivations for impoliteness and strategic uses of impoliteness by TNS will be discussed.

## 5.1 Overview of Impoliteness Models

As the previous chapters have tried to delineate, the study of linguistic politeness has been seen as the examination of the maintenance of cooperation and the avoidance of conflict in interaction. Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 1) claim that politeness “makes possible communication between potentially aggressive parties”. Leech (1983, p. 82) views politeness in his ‘Politeness Principle’ as the maintenance of social equilibrium. Equilibrium and harmony, however, do not always win out. Impoliteness, to invert Leech’s definition of politeness, in general terms has been described as the disruption of social equilibrium or the construction of conflict in interaction. Some researchers employ the title ‘rudeness’ instead of ‘impoliteness’, others make a distinction.

Kasper (1990) defines rudeness (i.e. impoliteness) as a “deviation from whatever counts as polite in a given context” (p. 208). She also notes that while conformity to politeness norms often goes unnoticed, impoliteness is remarkable, i. e., often marked by the speaker him or herself or remarked on by interlocutors. Kienpointer (1997, as cited in Cashman, 2006) distinguishes between two types of impoliteness, “motivated and unmotivated”, which are differentiated by the speaker’s intention. Culpeper (1996, p. 350) defines impoliteness as the use of strategies to attack the interlocutor’s face and create social disruption.

Mills (2003, p. 139) suggests that impoliteness is primarily an evaluative phenomenon, relying on the assessment of the behaviour of the speaker and her or his role in the community of practice. Watts (2003, p. 18) defines impoliteness as “a salient form of social behaviour in the sense that it appears to go against the canons of acceptable, appropriate behaviour operative for the ongoing social interaction”. Watts differentiates between two uses of the term impoliteness: the lay usage and the social scientists’ usage, and he advocates the study of the former, arguing that “a scientific theory of a lay term must take that lay term in lay usage as its central focus” (2003, p. 9).

Three major impoliteness models have been postulated to date (Lachenicht, 1980, Austin, 1990 and Culpeper, 1996). They have gained recognition in differing degrees. Lachenicht (1980) was the first to suggest that aggravating language, i.e. a rational attempt to hurt or damage the addressee, is not an impoverished system and that it is possible to study such language from a single consistent viewpoint (as cited in Viejobueno, 2005, p. 20). All of these impoliteness frameworks are based on Brown and Levinson (1987)<sup>48</sup> as their point of departure.

As a “rarely cited but nevertheless meritorious paper” (Turner, 1996 as cited in Culpeper, Bousfeld and Wichmann, 2003), Lachenicht (1980) focuses on ‘aggravating language’, a rational and intentional attempt to ‘hurt’ or damage the addressee. Lachenicht (1980) argues that occasionally the speaker does not wish social interaction to proceed smoothly for the hearer. He views ‘aggravating language’ as an extension to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness framework. The speaker will assess the risk he can take in aggravating his hearer and select an aggravating strategy of the required weight from the four ‘aggravation’ superstrategies below:

- (i) *Off record*: ambiguous insults, insinuations, hints, and irony. This strategy is of much the same kind as the politeness strategy, and is designed to enable the insulter to meet an aggrieved challenge from the injured person with an assertion of innocence.
- (ii) *Bald on Record*: directly produced FTAs and impositions (‘Shut that door’, ‘Do your work’, ‘Don’t talk’, etc.) of the same kind as in the politeness strategy.
- (iii) *Positive aggravation*: an aggravation strategy that is designed to show the addressee that he is not approved of, is not esteemed, does not belong, and will not receive cooperation.
- (iv) *Negative aggravation*: An aggravation strategy that is designed to impose on the addressee, to interfere with his freedom of action, and to attack his social position and the basis of his social action. (Lachenicht, 1980, p. 619 cited in Culpeper et al., 2003).

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<sup>48</sup> See section 2.2.2.2

In order of face threat, Figure 12 shows the system Lachenicht proposes. The chart is adapted from an earlier one by Brown and Levinson on redress strategies for FTA's. The strategies are numbered in order of increasing riskiness to the speaker, from the least risky "silence"<sup>49</sup>, through off-record and various politeness strategies, to aggravation strategies finishing with the most risky "negative aggravation".

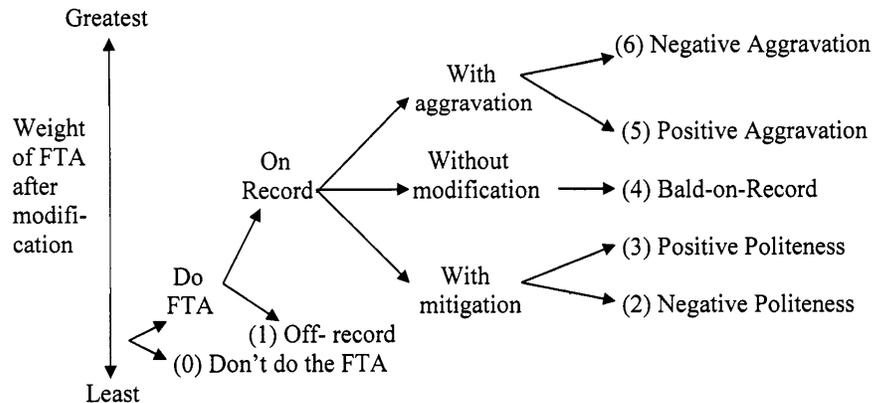


Figure 12. Lachenicht's Politeness-Aggravation System  
Source: Viejobueno, 2005, p. 21.

Without a doubt, the foremost value of Lachenicht's (1980) work lies in the fact that it provides an extensive review of linguistic strategies that may be used to aggravate face; however, there are some problems that lie within this system. First, if Lachenicht claims to have the same kind of bald on record politeness strategy in Brown and Levinson, its use should be limited to the cases described by them, i.e. when face threat is very small and maximum efficiency is needed. But, since the purpose of aggravating language is to hurt the addressee, bald on record<sup>50</sup> impoliteness should be found in situations where considerable face is at

<sup>49</sup> See Ruhi (2006a, p. 25) for an example of silence in Turkish rather than being a manifestation of politeness, regarded as a way of performing impoliteness, and Sifianou (1997) for an evaluation of silence as a form of politeness.

<sup>50</sup> The problems in both Brown and Levinson's and Lachenicht's account of "bald on record" strategy has also been found by Işık (2003, 2005) for Turkish and English. I argue that directness and politeness and impoliteness cannot and should not be equated to each other. An individual may use directness in language in two ways: a message may be direct and impolite as well as direct and polite. The evaluation depends on the content of the message from S to H and S and H's shared knowledge of the event, the context and the line of communication.

stake. The same conclusion can be reached about his off-record strategy. It is not clear that certain off-record impoliteness strategies such as sarcasm are really face-saving. With sarcasm speakers compromise themselves and for some cases, if not for all, there is no room for guessing and doubting; the insulting intention cannot be denied. The two categories call for revision in order to properly accommodate a system of impoliteness. Culpeper (1996) takes the call and tries to modify these shortcomings in his own model of impoliteness.

Second, according to Culpeper et al (2003) Lachenicht claims (1980) that “[p]ositive aggravation informs the hearer that he is not liked, will not be cooperated with, and does not belong, and essentially it attacks his need for freedom of action, for status, and for power” (p. 631). But, as indicated by other references and claims in other parts of Lachenicht (1980), attacks on ‘freedom of action’ concern negative and not positive face. Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 61) point out that positive face is “the desire that an individual’s wants and needs are respected by others”, whereas negative face is the desire for ‘freedom of action’. If positive and negative aggravation are supposed to relate to positive and negative face, as defined by Brown and Levinson (1987), they fundamentally fail to do so.

Another significant issue is that Lachenicht’s (1980) model has also been criticized on the grounds that it has been based upon and describes anecdotal, constructed examples, and written material from a number of dictionaries of insults with no ‘real life’ conversational data, either written or verbal, utilised. The paper was found to be an essay not in analysis but in constructivism and so the specific details are subject to trial and revision by the data that are collected. Indeed, lack of any such trials or revisions of Lachenicht (1980) relegates numerous claims made therein to purely hypothetical ones. One brief example will suffice: ‘Probably swearing is past its prime today, for the decline of religious belief has made it less useful. Today, it is mainly ‘God-damns’ and ‘bloodys’ that are popular’ (1980, p. 641 in Culpeper et al., 2003).

The second model of impoliteness that has been proposed to date is Austin (1990). Her model of face attack differs from Lachenicht' in that it is more hearer-based account of how utterances can be interpreted as offensive. Thus her framework is intended to show what causes utterances to be interpreted "on the dark side" (also the name of her article) is the context in which they are produced. She distinguishes the following impoliteness superstrategies:

- (1) Bald on record
- (2) On-record threats to positive face
- (3) On-record threats to negative face
- (4) On record with inappropriate redress to positive face
- (5) On record with inappropriate redress to negative face
- (6) Off-Record

Apart from the four strategies in Lachenicht, she also includes on-record strategies with inappropriate redress. These consist of examples where redress is used in circumstances that render such redress inappropriate. The redress can be oriented towards the hearer's positive or negative face wants. An example of an on-record strategy with inappropriate redress to positive face that Austin uses is the event where a male executive says to an obviously busy female colleague "Would you mind making tea today while Mrs. B is away Jill? You'd be much quicker than me" (Viejobueno, 2005, p. 23). Austin explains that in this example, although the speaker is aware that the imposition is unjustified, he includes a redressive strategy which is not only inappropriate but reinforces the sexist nature of the original face attack. Austin's model contributes to impoliteness literature in two fundamental ways: by postulating on-record impoliteness strategies with inappropriate redress, and the importance she gives to context and the hearer's evaluation in the interpretation of impoliteness. It does however, still carry the same problems that Lachenicht's model had with bald on record and off-record strategies.

The most recent model that has gained wide acceptance is that of Culpeper (1996), revised in Culpeper et al. (2003) and Culpeper (2005). Culpeper et al. (2003) accept that Culpeper's model appears to have a lot in common with Austin (1990) at a superficial level. Both talk about 'face attack' and both derive a framework from Brown and Levinson (1987). The fundamental difference between these views is that while Austin (1990) is a hearer-based account of how utterances can be interpreted as offensive, Culpeper proposes, yet again, a speaker based account. Culpeper et al. (2003) criticize Austin rather harshly that "whilst her paper is useful reminder that Brown and Levinson (1987) underestimate the role of the hearer and of the context, Austin steadfastly overlooks the role of the speaker".

Culpeper also believes that Austin's examples include cases which may simply have involved the miscommunication of politeness (e.g. too little or too much politeness work in a particular context). Austin's discussion of how apparent compliments like "You have been a capable and decorative chairman" could, even if it may have been intended as a straightforward compliment, have offensive implications for the hearer in a particular context are refuted by Culpeper on the grounds that "her interpretations of offence are untested". Culpeper claim that Austin's paper is "not about the communication of impoliteness, but the interpretation and perception of it" is unwarranted (Culpeper et al., 2003, p. 1554). Culpeper has later realized that limiting his notion of impoliteness research to the speaker would be entering a dangerous zone<sup>51</sup>. A model of impoliteness would be undeniably weak in developing arguments and severely incomplete if the hearer's perception and interpretation is not taken into account. Communication (and politeness in rapport), afterall, is not a one-way endeavour.

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<sup>51</sup> Culpeper (2005) recently revised his definition of impoliteness to include the role of the hearer, acknowledging the imminent role of the hearer in assessing impoliteness: "[i]mpoliteness comes about when: (1) the speaker communicates a face attack intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behaviour as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2)" (Culpeper 2005, p.38).

Culpeper (1996), unlike Lachenicht, considers not just an extension to Brown and Levinson (1987), but explores the possibility of a parallel structure (Culpeper et al., 2003, p. 1554). The bald-on-record strategy, they argue, is not sufficient to encompass the variety of strategies that interactants use to attack the face of others (ibid.). Impoliteness superstrategies for Culpeper are ‘opposite’ in terms of orientation to face (i.e. instead of maintaining or enhancing face, they are designed to attack face), but not necessarily opposite in other pragmatic ways (e.g. from a Gricean point of view, the opposite of bald on record is off-record). The following superstrategies are proposed:

- 1) Bald on record impoliteness. This is distinct from Brown and Levinson’s bald on record strategy which is deployed for polite purposes in fairly specific circumstances, namely, where there is little face at stake, an emergency situation, or no intention of damaging the face of the hearer. In contrast, bald on record impoliteness is typically deployed where there is much face at stake, and where there is an intention on the part of the speaker to attack the face of the hearer.
- 2) Positive impoliteness. The use of strategies designed to damage the addressee’s positive face wants [ignore, snub the other’, ‘exclude the other from the activity’, ‘disassociate from the other’, ‘be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic’, ‘use inappropriate identity markers’, ‘use obscure or secretive language’, ‘seek disagreement’, ‘make the other feel uncomfortable (e.g. do not avoid silence, joke, or use small talk)’, ‘use taboo words’, ‘call the other names’, etc. ].
- 3) Negative impoliteness. The use of strategies designed to damage the addressee’s negative face wants [‘frighten’, ‘condescend, scorn, or ridicule’, ‘invade the other’s space’, ‘explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect’, ‘put the other’s indebtedness on record’, ‘hinder or block the other—physically or linguistically’, etc.].
- 4) Sarcasm<sup>52</sup> or mock politeness. The use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realizations. Sarcasm (mock politeness for social disharmony) is the opposite of banter (mock impoliteness for social harmony).
- 5) Withhold politeness. Keep silent or fail to act where politeness work is expected.

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<sup>52</sup> Culpeper’s understanding of sarcasm is close to Leech’s conception of irony (1983, p.142).

Culpeper's model has a lot to offer with his bald on record and off-record being constructed as truly impoliteness strategies within the intention of attacking the interlocutor and causing social disharmony. However, claiming to be based on Brown and Levinson, all three models present the problem that they only indicate that a face attack can be directed towards the hearer's negative or positive face within the on-record strategy but fail to make this distinction for the off-record strategy. Most of the examples given in the literature involve sarcastic attacks oriented to the hearer's positive face, such as in "You are mature!" (said to a person behaving in a very childish way); however, we can also find sarcastic (indirect) attacks oriented to negative faces as in "No, no-go ahead! White carpet is boring and the red spots really improve it!" (where the carpet is new and the hearer has just spilled red wine on it) (Austin, 1990; Viejobueno, 2005).

Viejobueno (2005) suggests a modification of Culpeper's framework for impoliteness to include attacks directed the hearer's positive and negative face within the off-record impoliteness strategy (called sarcasm strategy by Culpeper). This means that there will be two ways of performing a face attack: on record and off-record (or sarcastically). Within the on-record superstrategy, a speaker can direct his/her attack to the hearer's positive face (positive impoliteness) or the the hearer's negative face (negative impoliteness).

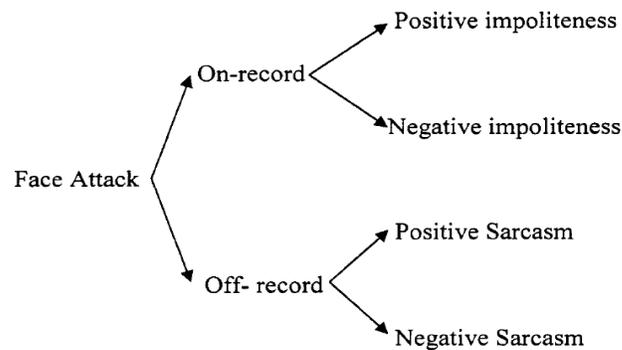


Figure 13. Viejobueno's Revised Superstrategies for Performing a Face Attack  
Source: Viejobueno, 2005, p.27.

Similarly, when a speaker performs a face attack off-record, he/she can also direct the face attack to either aspects of face. Off-record attacks to the hearer's positive

face will be “positive sarcasm” and off-record attack oriented to the hearer’s negative face will be “negative sarcasm”. Viejobueno does recognize that sarcasm is not the only indirect way to attack a person’s face, but maintains that it is probably the most common way of making criticism indirectly. Other indirect uses of language may include understatement, hyperbole, rhetorical questions, etc.

Culpeper, et al. (2003) in discussing their own work also admit that the underlying *dimensions* of their impoliteness strategies are *little* understood. What is clear for them is that an impoliteness framework is not simply a mirror image of a politeness framework, such as Brown and Levinson’s (1987). How one orders strategies for degree of impoliteness is not known. As with politeness, there appears to be no simple correlation with directness. Tabooeness, for example, relies on conventionalisation, which may short-circuit indirectness.

A particular problem their model has inherited from Brown and Levinson (1987), and one that is becoming increasingly well-known, is the distinction between positive and negative face. For example, it is clear that a negative impoliteness strategy (e.g. blocking their conversational path) might work primarily by impeding the hearer’s freedom (an issue of negative face), but also has secondary implications for positive face (e.g. the speaker is not interested in the hearer’s views). And it is possible that those ‘secondary’ positive face implications may, in some contexts, cause more face damage than that done to negative face. They admit: “clearly, much research remains to be done” (Culpeper et al. 2003, p. 1576). As for developing a theory which can encompass both politeness and impoliteness, they suggest that the recent work by Spencer-Oatey (2000a, 2002) on ‘rapport management’ is taken up as it “offers the *most promising way forward*, since it has sufficient sophistication to accommodate both, yet is also supported by solid empirical work” (ibid; emphasis added).

In his latest publication Culpeper (2005) refines his definition of impoliteness, taking into account the role of the hearer in determining impoliteness and

complicating the notion of intention. This definition important in that it takes into consideration the agency of the hearer in co-constructing, not just responding to, impoliteness. Second, he emphasizes the importance of context, adopting Levinson's (1992) definition of "activity type" and discussing his analysis in light of the specific context of exploitative quiz show (i. e., impoliteness as entertainment; constraints on the "activity type"; whether impoliteness is neutralized because it is expected and sanctioned). Culpeper claims that communicative resources for impoliteness go well beyond lexical and grammatical aspects. Third, in the light of his data (i.e. The Weakest Link episodes), he proposes a new superstrategy of "off-record impoliteness"<sup>53</sup> and a definition of "mimicry"<sup>54</sup>.

Finally, Culpeper moves away from Brown and Levinson's positive/negative face dichotomy, adopting instead Spencer-Oatey's (2002) concept of "rapport management", a more nuanced approach to the management of social relations. Culpeper analyzes instances of impoliteness in terms of Spencer-Oatey's sub-classification of Goffman's notion of "face", that is, "quality face" and "social identity face" and "sociality rights", "equity rights" and "association rights" (Culpeper 2005, p. 40). While he adopts Spencer-Oatey's terminology, Culpeper does not revise his model in terms of "rapport management"; in other words, although he recognizes that "the superstrategies of positive and negative impoliteness should be revised to fit Spencer-Oatey's categorization of face or "rapport management", giving quality face impoliteness, social identity face impoliteness, equity rights impoliteness and association rights impoliteness"

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<sup>53</sup> *Off-record impoliteness*: the FTA is performed by means of an implicature but in such a way that one attributable intention clearly outweighs any others.

<sup>54</sup> *Mimicry*: works by attributing a behaviour to the target, regardless of how apparent or real that behaviour is. Culpeper states that impolite mimicry involves the following elements:  
*The echo*. The production and recognition of a behaviour as not only an echo, but also a distortion of the echoed behaviour.  
*The echoed behaviour*. An identification (or attribution to the target) of the behaviour which was echoed (typically, an identity characteristic of the person who gave rise to it).  
*The echoer*. A recognition that the attitude of the person who produced the echo is one of ridicule towards the person identified as (or attributed with being) the source of the echoed behaviour.

(Culpeper, 2005, p. 42); however, he does not explicitly carry out this re-mapping task.

As can be seen from the discussion on previous models of impoliteness presented up to this point, the abundance of Brown and Levinsonian notions of positive and negative face prevail. Nonetheless, new applications are emerging such as in Ruhi (2006a). Ruhi in her study on politeness in compliment responses proposes three super-strategies to account for self-face enhancement and self-face protection: 'display confidence,' 'display individuality,' and 'display impoliteness'.

### III. Display impoliteness with/by

Self-politeness 6: FT (Face-threatening)/other

Self-politeness 7: AT (Association-threatening)/other

Self-politeness 8: ET (Equity-threatening )/other

Self-politeness 9: Withholding a response

This last super-strategy on impoliteness is a novel application and bringing together of Culpeper (as inspired by Brown and Levinson) and Spencer-Oatey's dichotomy between face and sociality rights.

Influenced by Spencer-Oatey's novel categorization of face wants, Cashman (2006) also presents a fresh point of view. She attempts to bring together Culpeper (1996) and Spencer-Oatey (2002) as was written on but actually carried out in Culpeper (2005). In the figure below, Cashman's summary of what she believes to be the provisional alignment of impoliteness strategies identified in Culpeper (1996), Culpeper et al. (2003) with that of Spencer- Oatey's (2002) rapport management is presented. She maintains that this listing is not intended to be exhaustive, but summarizes the analysis she presents in her work on impoliteness in children's interactions in a Spanish/English in a bilingual setting.

<b>Attacks on Face</b>	<b>Definition of desire/belief</b>	<b>Impoliteness Strategies</b>
Quality Face	desire to be evaluated positively in terms or personal qualities	attack the other's appearance; attack the other's ability/work
Social Identity Face	desire for acknowledgement of our social identities or roles	condescend, scorn or ridicule
<b>Attack on Sociality Rights</b>		
Equity Rights	belief that we are entitled to be treated fairly by others	frighten/threaten hinder or block the other – physically or linguistically challenge the other impose on the other
Association Rights	belief that we are entitled to associate with others in accordance with the type of relationship	ignore or snub the other disassociate from the other

Figure 14. Summary of the Provisional Alignment of Culpeper's Impoliteness Strategies with Spencer-Oatey's Rapport Management  
Source: Cashman, 2006, p.241.

Cashman (2006) also discusses what she believes to be valid critical on several additional aspects of Culpeper's (1996) model and proposes innovative resolutions by Blas Arroyo (2001) who writes in Spanish. Her translated account of Blas Arroyo (2001, cited in Cashman, 2006) supports her own claims that bald-on-record impoliteness is described minimally and not exemplified at all in Culpeper. Blas Arroyo attributes this gap in the model to an inability to distinguish it from an attack on either positive or negative politeness. As Blas Arroyo also points out, there is a difficulty in determining whether certain strategies are attacks on positive or negative impoliteness. For example, the strategy "condescend, scorn or ridicule", in addition to having close affinity to other strategies, would clearly be more of a threat to positive rather than negative face. In addition, Blas Arroyo notes that, of the strategies identified by Brown and Levinson and therefore also by Culpeper, some are clearly physical and interactional while others are strictly linguistic or discourse-related. In his analysis of impoliteness in face-to-face political debate in Spain, Blas Arroyo resolves the above problems by (1) discarding the negative/positive (im)politeness distinction,

and (2) distinguishing between what he terms *strategies* which are “attitudinal and behavioural tactics that are used by the participants” (2001, translated and cited by Cashman, 2006, p. 223-224) and *verbal resources* which are linguistic and paralinguistic resources used to carry out the strategies. An attempt to differentiate between strategies and verbal resources is indeed an insightful critique. The distinction is critical for especially discourse analysis, because various verbal resources can be used to carry out a number of different strategies, which in turn respond to attacks on different aspects of speakers’ face and sociality rights.

All in all, not without its certain shortcomings, Culpeper’s development of his model to incorporate the role of the hearer in co-constructing impoliteness and to include Spencer-Oatey’s (2002) more nuanced concept of “rapport management”, as well as its seeming ability to account for impoliteness in a variety of discourse types means that Culpeper’s model in conjunction to Spencer-Oatey’s work is a promising framework for the examination of impoliteness in interaction<sup>55</sup>.

## **5.2 Semantics of Impoliteness in Turkish**

In this first section, a brief analysis for the ‘semantics’ of the eight chosen impoliteness terms (KABA, NEZAKETSİZ, SAYGISIZ, PATAVATSIZ, DÜŞÜNCE SİZ, KÜSTA H, GÖRGÜSÜZ, TERBIYESİZ) will be provided. Comparative analyses of the findings with TDK (Türk Dil Kurumu) dictionary (2005) entries for these lexemes in Turkish again will be made in order to capture the basic “semantics” of the chosen impoliteness lexemes for the TNS. Turkish informants’ views on the meanings of each of these lexemes were tapped by asking them to write about (QPM) and verbalize (for the interviews) what the words meant for them. The Turkish instruction on the questionnaire read:

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<sup>55</sup> It is once again noted that, the present study explores the concept of (im)politeness<sup>1</sup> within a larger emic outlook and does not limit itself with linguistic (im)politeness. Although these frameworks have been utilized, they have not limited the study. The nature of the study is data-driven and exploratory instead of confirmatory.

“... kelimesinin size ifade etiği anlam:...” (see Appendix A for the visual appearance of the prompt).

Parallel to what has been found for politeness lexemes the definitions for these lexical entries in TDK dictionaries are quite narrow, inadequate and very circular in nature in comparison to TNS data. KABA, a loan word from Arabic, is described in TDK dictionary as “terbiyesiz, görgüsü kıt, nezaketsiz”.

**KABA: (adj; Arabic)**

- 1 . Özensiz, gelişigüzel yapılmış, zevksiz, sakil, ince karşıtı:  
"Cebinden kaba fil dişi saplı bir de çakı çıkardı."- Ö. Seyfettin.
- 3 . Terbiyesiz, görgüsü kıt, nezaketsiz (kimse):  
"Kaba, hantal, şivesiz bir sürü adamlar kafesinin önüne toplanırlar."- R. H. Karay.
- 6 . mecaz Terbiyeye, inceliğe aykırı, çirkin, kötü:  
"Çocuklardan biri ağzından çok fena, çok kaba bir şey kaçırdı."- O. C. Kaygılı.

*Related entries:*kaba saba, kaba kuvvet, kabadayı

**Kabarlık/-ğil/: (noun)**

- 1 . Kaba olma durumu.
- 2 . Kaba davranış, nezaketsizlik, huşunet:  
"Bu kabalığımlı şimdiki vaziyetime bağışlayınız."- P. Safa. (p.1017)

Although a small number of TNS definitions were also circular in nature, the majority of the semantic definition data show that there are three components to KABA: non-abidance to social norms for conduct, using hurtful act and language, and causing discomfort to others:

Sample entries involving disobeying social customs:

- (231) kişinin bulunduğu toplumun hoşuna gitmeyecek tarzda davranması.(KA28)
- (232) etraftan görülenler neticesinde kibarlığı öğrenememişlik, toplum içerisinde yadırganacak yaş ve cinsiyetine yakışmayan saygısızlıklar gösteren kimseler. (KA31)
- (233) toplumun benimsemediği, insan ilişkilerinde istenmeyen davranışlar bütünü (KA72)
- (234) Davranışlarında karşısındakini yok sayarak görgü ve genel terbiyenin dışında hareket edilmesi 'kabalık', bu davranışların gösteren 'kaba'dır. (KA95)

Sample entries disproportionate acts and hurtful verbalizations

- (235) davranışlarda ve sözlerde ölçüyü kaçırmak (KA2)
- (236) kibar olmama durumu, kalp kırma. düşünmeden hareket edip başkalarını kırıcı söz ve davranışlarda bulunan (KA3)

- (237) Düşüncesiz davranışlarda, söylemlerde bulunarak beklenen inceliği göstermemek. (KA7)
- (238) insanı kıran kendisine yakışmayan davranışlarda bulunan insanlar için kullanılır (KA6)
- (239) konuşmadan ve davranışlarda özen, dikkat ve incelikten yoksun olma durumu (KA9)
- (240) karşıdakinin nasıl etkileneceğini düşünmeden saldırgan davranışta bulunma. (KA45)
- Sample entries on the causation of discomfort for other
- (241) çevredekilere rahatsızlık verici davranışlar (KA4)
- (242) hareket ve davranışlarıyla farkında olmadan yada bilinçli bir şekilde insanları rahatsız eden insane (KA5)
- (243) etrafındakileri umursamadan davranan, nazik, ince olmayan kimse (KA12)
- (244) Sadece kendini düşünen ve bu nedenle çevresine maddi manevi zarar veren insan modeli. (KA85)

For NEZAKETSİZ, TDK (2005) gives a very non-explanatory definition “nazik olmayan” and defines NEZAKETSİZLİK as “ince ve nazik olmama durumu, kabalık” (p.1472).

**NEZAKETSİZ (adj.)**

Nazik olmayan:

"Birdenbire tavırlarını değiştirmişler, nezaketsiz diyemeyeceğim ama oldukça soğuk bir eda takınmışlardı."- Y. K. Karaosmanoğlu.

**nezaketsizlik –ği:** (noun)

İnce ve nazik olmama durumu, kabalık:

"Bir iki kere aklıma geldi, nezaketsizlik olmasın diye sordum."- A. İlhan. (p.1472)

TNS definitions of NEZAKETSİZ involved concerned customs of courtesy, being inconsiderate/inattentive to other by engaging in activity that suggests you do not value other, and displaying lack of respect for the other. The data show that TNS do not view *respect* as absolute and that it is interpreted as “rights” in support of Spencer-Oatey’s framework:

Sample entries on respect

- (245) Başkalarına hak ettikleri saygıyı göstermeyen. (NSZ110)
- (246) Başkalarına karşı saygısız ve kaba davranan veya kaba davranma durumu (NSZ120)

Sample entries on being inconsiderate

- (247) Kibar olmayaniyani karşıdakine değer vermediğini gösteren insana nezaketsiz diyebiliriz (NSZ14)
- (248) Karşıdakine değer verip onun hoşuna gidebilecek tarzda eylemlerde bulunmamak (NSZ36)
- (249) karşıdakine, egosunun beslenmesi için uğraşılması gerektiği, yani değer verilen bir insan olmadığı hissini uyandırma biçimi. (NSZ67)

- (250) anlayış ve hoşgöründen uzak diğerlerini rahatsız edecek şekilde düşünme ve öyle davranabilme (NSZ52)  
(251) kabaca kendi menfaatini ve kendini öne koyarak yapılan her davranış. (NSZ45)  
(252) düşüncesiz olmak yüzeysel düşünmek (NSZ56)

Sample entries on related to general accepted customs of courtesy

- (253) Görgü kurallarına riayet edilmemesidir. (NSZ100)  
(254) Toplumda kabul gören davranışların dışına çıkan ve düşüncesizce davranan kişi. (NSZ105)  
(255) Kabul görmüş davranış kurallarına riayet etmeme. (NSZ114)  
(256) ilişkilerinde nasıl davranacağını bilmeyen ve toplumda genel kabul görmüş davranışlar dışı hareket sergileyenler. (NSZ72)

As depicted in (252), impoliteness, as in the case of NEZAKETSİZ, is also seen in opposition to ‘putting the other in first place’. Some other definition samples, e.g. (254) combine inconsiderateness and customs.

For TERBİYESİZ, the description provided by the TDK dictionary was “Terbiyesi olmayan; Topluluk kurallarına aykırı davranan”.

**TERBİYESİZ: (adj.)**

- 1 . Terbiyesi olmayan.
- 2 . Topluluk kurallarına aykırı davranan:  
"Böyle bir terbiyesiz, misafir diye çağrılır mı? Misafir böyle şey yapar mı?"- R. N. Güntekin.

**terbiyesizlik –ği (noun)**

- 1 . Terbiyesiz olma durumu.
- 2 . Terbiyesizce davranış.

*Related entries:* terbiyesizlik etmek (veya yapmak) (p.1958)

For TNS, three components to TERBİYESİZ were related to (a) upbringing: the education provided from the ‘family’ on moral values and social traditions, (b) the obeying of and abidance to social norms, and (c) not acting within the expected frame according to one’s status, age, education, etc.

Sample entries on the ‘family’ component:

- (257) ailesinden gerekli ahlaki değerleri alamamış insan [TR5]  
(258) aile içinde eğitimle elde edilebilecek bir karakter. ailesinden kazandığı görgü ve terbiyeyi günlük hayatta uygulamayan kişilerdir [TR47]  
(259) yıllardır süre gelen ve deneyimlerle sabitlenmiş ailede verilen davranış ve söylemleri uygulamayan insan / uygulamama davranışı [TR73]

(260) Aile içinden başlayarak sosyal çevresinde de davranışlarında gözetmesi gereken genel kurallara (ahlaki olanlar da dahil) uyulmaması hali terbiyesizlik, bu tür davranışları sergileyen kişi terbiyesizdir. [TR95]

Sample entries on social norms:

(261) Topluluk kurallarına aykırı davranmak [TR5]

(262) toplum içinde nasıl davranması ve konuşması gerektiğinden fikri olmayan, toplum içinde olmanın sorumluluğunu taşımayan. toplumun değerlerine ve normlarına aykırı [TR9]

(263) özellikle toplum içerisinde hal ve hareketlerde seviyeyi koruyamamak [TR2]

(264) kendi yaşadığı toplumun çizdiği sınırların aksine hoş karşılanmayacak hareket ve davranışlarda bulunma [TR52]

Sample entry on the expected frame component:

(265) Terbiyeli ifadesinin zit anlamlisinden ziyade, gorgusuz kavramına biraz daha yakın bir davranış nitelendiricisi. Cogunlukla, terbiyeli olması beklentisi içerisinde olunan yas ve statu grubundakilerin. gruplarından beklenen davranış kalıpları dışındaki hareketleri. [TR81]

For SAYGISIZ, the dictionary definition reads: “Gereken saygıyı göstermeyen, saygısı olmayan, hürmetsiz”.

**SAYGISIZ: (adj.)**

Gereken saygıyı göstermeyen, saygısı olmayan, hürmetsiz:  
"Kimdir bilir misin? Vatanın ... Şimdi saygısız / Bir göz bu nazlı çehreye -Allah esirgesin- / Kem bir nazarla baksa tahammül eder misin?"- T. Fikret.

**saygısızlık -ğı: (noun)**

Saygısız olma durumu veya saygısızca davranış, hürmetsizlik, münasebetsizlik:  
"Gelgelelim, dil saygısızlığına aklım ermiyor."- N. Uygur.

*Related entries:* saygısızlık etmek (p.1714)

TNS not only related SAYGISIZ to comparative respect one holds to self and other in view of “rights and freedoms”, putting self over other on every occasion with no considerateness for other but also as respect shown to higher B as custom.

Sample entries on values and rights:

(266) insana değer vermeme, başkalarına karşı bencilce davranma, onları hiçe sayma, insan haklarına, başkalarının haklarına, özelliklerine ve düşüncelerine karşı sorumsuzca ve duyarsızca davranma [SSZ3]

(267) kendisine yapılmasından büyük rahatsızlık duyacağı davranışları başkalarına yapan, diğer insanların haklarına önem vermeyen [SSZ5]

(268) Kendi özgürlüklerini hat safhada yaşayan bu nedenle hareket ve davranışlarıyla başkalarının alanına giren ve bu nedenle rahatsızlık veren kişilerdir saygısızlar. [SSZ14]

(269) Başkalarının haklarına değer vermeyen, onları ihlal eden, düşüncesizce davranan kişi. [SSZ54]

Sample entries on respect and social indexing:

- (270) söz ve davranışlarda seviyesiz olmak, büyüklere gerektiği şekilde davranmamak [SSZ2]  
(271) insanlara ve onların değerlerine ve toplum özellikle içindeki pozisyonlarına uygun davranmama, hürmetsizlik, büyüklere karşı davranışlarda eksik kusur.

Sample entries on putting self over other:

- (272) sadece kendini düşünen diğer insanları umursamayan, başkalarını davranışlarına saygı duymayan ve onların düşüncelerini hiçe sayan kişilerdir [SSZ118]  
(273) karşıdaki bireyin düşüncelerini hiçe sayarak, kişinin yalnızca kendi istediği şekilde davranışlar sergilemesi [SSZ119]  
(274) Karşısındaki insanın değerli olduğunu bilmeyen/bilmezlikten gelen insan modeli [SSZ49]  
(275) kendi istek ve arzularını merkez alarak karşıdaki kişilerin isteklerini gözardı etmek [SSZ52]

PATAVATSIZ was defined by TDK dictionary as one who gives little consideration to the other and speaks and acts in a way that is careless:“Sözlerinin nereye varacağını düşünmeden saygısızca konuşan, davranışlarına dikkat etmeyen” (p.1583).

**PATAVATSIZ:(adj.)**

Sözlerinin nereye varacağını düşünmeden saygısızca konuşan, davranışlarına dikkat etmeyen (kimse):

"Münire'nin bazı patavatsız cümlelerini dudaklarını sıkarak bir dinleyişi vardı."- H. E. Adivar.

**patavatsızlık -ğı**

Patavatsızca davranış. (p.1583)

As the first three sample entries below show, the ‘carelessness’ aspect was also brought to the forefront by TNS. In addition, TNS also highlighted the ‘wrong time, wrong place, wrong person’ aspect of *patavatsızlık*. The aspect of emotional hurt caused by the act as in (279) and (283), however, was not mentioned to the degree found in TNS politeness encounter narratives on the QPM.

Sample entries on carelessness and lack of consideration on what is said

- (276) konuşurken söylediklerinin insanlar üzerinde ne gibi sonuçlar yaratacağını düşünmeden konuşan, sır tutamayan insan [PSZ5]  
(277) düşünmeden bişeyler yapmak ya da söylemek [PSZ10]  
(278) Ağızından çıkan kulağının duymaması, kişinin söyleyeceği sözün nereye gideceğini ve sonuçlarını kestirememesi. [PSZ78]

Sample entries on ‘wrong time, wrong person and wrong place’

- (279) kesinlikle ne zaman ne diyeceğini bilmemek, sır saklayamamak, ağızda bakla ıslanmamak, kişilerin içinde bulunduğu durumu kestiremeden lafi söyleyivermek, diline hakim olamamak, insanları üzme, kırmak. [PSZ39]

- (280) neyi nerede nasıl söyleyeceği bilmeden konuşma, uygun yerde uygun şeyi söylememek, söylenmemesi gereken bir şeyi söylenmemesi gereken bir zamanda söylemek [PSZ3]
- (281) nerede nasıl davranacağını ya da konuşacağını bilmeyen, aklına geleni olduğu gibi hemen söyleyen kimse [PSZ18]
- (282) Bulunduğu ortamın gerektirdiği davranış kalıplarının dışına çıkan, düşünmeden konuşan ve zaman zaman kabalık ölçüsünde davranan kişi. [PSZ105]
- (283) olmadık bir yerde söylenmemesi gereken bir şeyi söyleyip belki de etrafındakileri kıran kimse. [PSZ12]

As for KÜSTAH, the TDK dictionary definition was once again quite narrow: “Saygısız, kaba, terbiyesiz” (p. 1287). TNS described KÜSTAH as composed of two components: assertive/offensive self-presentation and not being able to maintain the distance called for, thus being disrespectful.

**KÜSTAH: (adj); Persian**

Saygısız, kaba, terbiyesiz (kimse):

"Babasının koltuğuna küstah bir tarzda oturmuş, bacaklarını, yatar gibi uzatmış ve laubali şeyler söylüyor."- R. N. Güntekin.

**küstahlık -ğı** (noun)

Küstah olma durumu veya küstahça davranış:

"Bu ne kadar küstahlık anana karşı?"- H. R. Gürpınar.

*Related entries:* küstahlık etmek (p. 1287)

The assertive/offensive self-representation component was described as expressing the belief that self is better than other, to brag and show off about attributes of self, and to insult and belittle the other. The respect component related to the distance between self and other and not upholding the appropriate level of hierarchical distance.

**Sample entries on assertive/offensive self-presentation**

- (284) kişinin kendini çok üstün görmesi-olmadığı halde- karşısındakinden çok biliyomuşcasına davranmak ve onu bozmak [KST2]
- (285) kendi haddini aşan davranışlarda bulunup bu doğrultuda konuşmalar yapan, diğer insanları aşağılayan kişi [KST5]
- (286) kendisini diğer insanlardan üstün görüp onları küçümseyen kimse, bildiği şeyler için aşırı övünen ve karşısındaki insanları aşağılayan insane [KST13]
- (287) Konuşurken karşısındakini aşağılayıp kendini olduğundan daha fazla gösteren kişiye denir. haketmediği halde istediği muameleyi görmeye çalışan, göremeyince üste çıkmaya çabalayan. [KST120]
- (288) kendini bir şey zannetme ve kendinden düşük durumda olanları sırf bu özelliği yüzünden ezme, küçükleri horlama ve büyükleri saymama, kibirli olma durumu [KST39]

Sample entries on 'respect' not being able to distance and being 'spolit'

- (289) saygısızca, kaba ve terbiyesiz bir şekilde konuşma ve davranma, bazen de sımarıklık boyutuna ulaşma [KST9]  
(290) Saygı sınırlarını ve mesafeyi aşan insana küstah derim. Konumunu bilmeden konuşan ya da davranan insana da küstah denir. [KST14]  
(291) Kendi konumu ve karşısındakinin konumunu gözetmeden cahilce bir cesaretle davranmak veya konuşmak. [KST101]

The TDK entry for DÜŞÜNCESİZ was “Düşüncesi olmayan” and “düşüncesiz davranan”, i.e. *anlayışsız* (p. 592). The TNS definitions highlighted two aspects.

**DÜŞÜNCESİZ:** (adj)

- 1 . Düşüncesi olmayan.
- 2 . Düşünmeden davranan, *anlayışsız*.
- 3 . mecaz Tasasız, kaygısız.

**düşüncesizlik –ği :**(noun)

Düşüncesizce davranma durumu.

*Related entries:* düşüncesizlik etmek (p. 592)

The first aspect of DÜŞÜNCESİZ was related to thinking of self and not other, putting self gain, goals, and desires before the other, i.e. being egoistical. The second aspect involved not having the ability and desire to empathize with the other and inappropriateness in handling other’s emotions.

Sample entries on think of self/not other

- (292) gerekeni değil de istediğini, işine geleni düşünmek, yapmak, karşısındakini düşünmeden, sadece kendi varmış gibi hareket etmek, insanlar hakkında ilgisiz olmak [DSZ1]  
(293) hep kendini önemseyen, bencilce davranan. karşısındakini düşünmeden hareket etmek [DSZ41]  
(294) sadece kendini düşünen, etrafındakilere değer ve önem vermeyen, düşünme yetisi zayıf kimse [DSZ37]  
(295) karşısındaki insana değer verse bile bunu göstereyemeyen, kendini diğerlerinden daha çok düşünen kimsedir. [DSZ16]

Sample entries on 'empathy' and inappropriateness in handling other’s emotions

- (296) empati kuramamak bencil ve tek yönlü olmak. karşısındaki insanın durumunu anlayıp ona göre hareket etmeme [DSZ6]  
(297) başkalarının durumlarını, eksiklerini, problemlerini ya da özel sınırlarını dikkate almadan bilinçsizce ve duyarsızca ve sorumsuzca hareket etme veya konuşma [DSZ9]  
(298) empati kuramayan, karşısındakinin hislerini, duygularını ya da düşüncelerini gözardı eden hareketler. insanların hoşlanmayacağı şeyleri yüzlerine karşı söyleyebilen veya yapabilen insan [DSZ25]  
(299) Karşısındakilerin duygusal, düşünsel veya sosyal durumunu gözardı ederek, onu rahatsız edecek tarzda davranmak [DSZ106]

Lastly for the lexeme GÖRGÜSÜZ, the TDK dictionary entry was again not helpful.

**GÖRGÜSÜZ :** (adj)

Görgüsü olmayan:

"Mağazalar, görgüsüz yeni zenginlerin zevklerine uygun, yemek odası takımları ile doldurmuşlardır vitrinlerini."- N. Cumalı.

**görgüsüzlük –ğü** (noun)

Görgüsüz olma durumu veya görgüsüzce davranış:

"Kitabı bir süs kabul etmek, kültür görgüsüzlüğünün en somut örneğini oluşturur."- T. Dursun K. (p.780)

According to TNS, the lexeme could be used to describe disregard for custom, projecting an assertive/offensive self-presentation, acting inappropriately for place and time, and not having received ample amount of 'education' social manners of conduct.

Sample entries on custom:

(300) kültürsüz, toplum içinde temel normlara ve değerlere uygun olarak davranmayan, adab-ı muâşeret kurallarını hiçe sayan, aykırı [GSZ9]

(301) içinde bulunulan toplumun getirdiği kuralların dışında, hoş karşılanmayacak şekilde davranmak, oturup kalkmasını nasıl davranılması gerektiğini bilmeyen insan/ doğru davranamama şekli [GSZ52]

Sample entries on assertive/offensive self-presentation:

(302) Elindekileri her fırsatta ortalıkta söyleyen kişiye görgüsüz derim. Çünkü bu sadece onu ilgilendirir ve kimse bunları dinlemek, ya da duymak zorunda değildir. Ayrıca insanlar maddi olanaklarıyla değerlendirilmez [GSZ14]

(303) sahip olduğu ayrıcalıkları herkese vurgulama isteği, sahip oldukları için övünen kimse görmemiş olma, abartılı davranışlar, ne oldum delisi olma, önceden nerden geldiğini unutmama, herkesi küçümseme durumu [GSZ39]

Sample entries on 'appropriate place and time'

(304) nerde nasıl davranılması gerektiğini bilmeme [GSZ35]

(305) ortama uygun olmayan düşüncesiz davranışlarda bulunup, sosyal çevreye rahatsızlık vermek. [GSZ31]

(306) insanlara nasıl davranması gerektiğini nerede ne sözler sarfetmesi gerektiğini bilmeyen [GSZ20]

Sample entries on 'education'

(307) yontulmamış hareket, toplum kurallarından sosyal anlamda ve eğitim anlamında nasibini almamış olmak [GSZ64]

(308) toplumda zaman içinde oluşmuş birlikte yaşamak için önemli olan kurallar bütünü hakkında eğitilmemiş kişi [GSZ53]

### 5.3 Word Associations of Impoliteness Lexemes with KABA

In order to uncover word associations of politeness lexemes with KABA, which the present study takes to be the emic umbrella term for impoliteness, TNS were again prompted by a multiple-response free association task. Just as for the politeness word association task, the related prompt in the open-ended QPM question for each of the lexemes read:

“.....one of the seven impoliteness lexeme(s).....”  
kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı diğer Türkçe kelime(ler) ve duygular:

Data were again analyzed with “TextSTAT 2.7” initially and also “Simple Concordance Program 4.09” to verify the results obtained. A total of 121 respondents produced 284 words which they believed to be associated with KABA. These 284 associations provided originated from 88 words/concepts/lexemes. Of the total of 411 words/expressions by TNS, 139 were word forms of the impoliteness-lexemes QPM was based on, namely *düşünceli*, *görgüsüz*, *saygısız*, *terbiyesiz*, *nezaketsiz*, *küstah* and *patavatsız*. Table 20 presents the descriptive statistics for the weight of these lexemes individually among other politeness-lexemes also tapped on by QPM. Close frequency associations were found for four lexemes, i.e. *düşüncesiz*, *görgüsüz*, *saygısız*, and *terbiyesiz*. Among other QPM politeness lexemes, DÜŞÜNCESİZ was the most frequently cited word with 23.19% followed by GÖRGÜSÜZ (n=28; %20,29).

Table 20. Association Strength of KABA within QPM lexemes

Lexemes	Eng.	N	%
<b>DÜŞÜNCESİZ</b>	<i>INCONSIDERATE/THOUGHTLESS</i>	32	<b>23,19</b>
<b>GÖRGÜSÜZ</b>	<i>ILL-MANNERED/VIOLATION OF ETIQUETTE</i>	28	<b>20,29</b>
<b>SAYGISIZ</b>	<i>DISRESTPECTFUL</i>	24	<b>17,39</b>
<b>TERBİYESİZ</b>	<i>COARSENESS/ DISORDERLINESS/VULGARITY</i>	23	<b>16,67</b>
<b>NEZAKETSİZ</b>	<i>TACTLESS</i>	12	<b>8,70</b>
<b>KÜSTAHLIK</b>	<i>ARROGANCE ARROGANT ACTS</i>	11	<b>7,97</b>
<b>PATAVATSIZLIK</b>	<i>ILL-WILL/WRONG-DOING/EVIL</i>	9	<b>6,52</b>
		<b>139</b>	

In the table below, the top 20 ‘cultural primaries’, that is, the most frequent responses bearing the most strong associations with KABA are reported. Different from the table above where descriptive statistics were computed only among QPM lexemes, in Table 21 below, the frequency and percentages have been calculated for the whole data set (all 284 associations written by TNS).

DÜŞÜNCELİ is the word that is most frequently associated with KABA. DÜŞÜNCELİ, in order of strength is followed by GÖRGÜSÜZ, SAYGISIZ and TERBİYESİZ and NEZAKETSİZ, and KÜSTAHLIK. Although not chosen as QPM lexemes, motive depicting words KÖTÜ NİYET/KÖTÜLÜK was a term of reference cited 9 times by the respondents. İNCELİKSİZ, KIRICI and ÖZENSİZ were cited but not included in QPM according to the pilot study results.

Table 21. Twenty Strongest Associated Concepts with “KABA”

<i>Lexical Items:</i>	<u>Eng.</u>	N	%	<i>item on QPM</i>	
<b><i>‘cultural primaries’</i></b>					
1	<b>DÜŞÜNCESİZ</b>	<i>INCONSIDERATE</i>	<b>32</b>	<b>11,76</b>	<b>Q</b>
2	<b>GÖRGÜSÜZ</b>	<i>ILL-MANNERED</i>	<b>28</b>	<b>10,29</b>	<b>Q</b>
3	<b>SAYGISIZ</b>	<i>DISRESTPECTFUL</i>	<b>24</b>	<b>8,82</b>	<b>Q</b>
4	<b>TERBİYESİZLİK</b>	<i>COARSENESS/ VULGARITY</i>	<b>23</b>	<b>8,46</b>	<b>Q</b>
5	<b>NEZAKETSİZ</b>	<i>TACTLESS</i>	<b>12</b>	<b>4,41</b>	<b>Q</b>
6	<b>KÜSTAHLIK</b>	<i>ARROGANCE</i>	<b>11</b>	<b>4,04</b>	<b>Q</b>
7	<b>KÖTÜLÜK/ KÖTÜ NİYET</b>	<i>ILL-WILL/WRONG- DOING/EVIL</i>	<b>9</b>	<b>3,31</b>	
8	<b>PATAVATSIZLIK</b>	<i>INDISCRETION</i>	<b>9</b>	<b>3,31</b>	<b>Q</b>
9	<b>İNCELİKSİZ</b>	<i>CRUDE/INDELICATELY</i>	<b>8</b>	<b>2,94</b>	<b>Q</b>
10	<b>KIRICI</b>	<i>HURTFUL/OFFENDING</i>	<b>6</b>	<b>2,21</b>	
11	<b>ÖZENSİZ</b>	<i>CARELESSNESS</i>	<b>5</b>	<b>1,84</b>	
12	<b>KİBAR KARŞITI</b>	<i>CONTRARY TO POLITENESS</i>	<b>4</b>	<b>1,47</b>	
13	<b>BENCİL(LİK)</b>	<i>SELFISHNESS</i>	<b>4</b>	<b>1,47</b>	
14	<b>ÇİRKİN</b>	<i>UGLY</i>	<b>4</b>	<b>1,47</b>	
15	<b>KİRO</b>	<i>HICK</i>	<b>4</b>	<b>1,47</b>	
16	<b>AYI(LİK)</b>	<i>BOORISHNESS</i>	<b>4</b>	<b>1,47</b>	
17	<b>HÖDÜK</b>	<i>YAHOO</i>	<b>3</b>	<b>1,10</b>	
18	<b>SERT</b>	<i>ABRUPTNESS</i>	<b>3</b>	<b>1,10</b>	
19	<b>CAHİL(LİK)</b>	<i>IGNORANT/UNEDUCATED</i>	<b>3</b>	<b>1,10</b>	
20	<b>EMPATİ KURAMAYAN</b>	<i>CANNOT EMPATHIZE</i>	<b>2</b>	<b>0,74</b>	

In Table 22, the more ‘idiosyncratic responses’ (n=86) are listed corresponding to items 21 to 88 on the associations list. No more than 2 occurrences have been found for these words in the TNS data set. In total, these ‘idiosyncratic responses’ account for 31,82% of all responses (n=284). In Table 22, the majority of the words listed are colloquial expressions used to describe people with no manners –the uneducated in social behaviour. Also found are words referring to the modes by which impoliteness can be performed/articulated and the effects impolite acts may create on recipients.

Table 22. Other Associations for KABA (items 21 to 88)

<i>‘idiosyncratic responses’</i>			
21	HOYRAT	2	0,74
22	HOŞ DUYGULAR SERGİLEMEYEN/ DUYGULAR UYANDIRMAYAN	2	0,74
23	İRİ/İRİ YARI	2	0,74
24	KİBAR OLMAYAN	2	0,74
25	ODUN	2	0,74
26	SERSERİ	2	0,74
27	SEVİLMİYEN	2	0,74
28	ZORBA	2	0,74
29	ZIT	2	0,74
30	ANLAYIŞSIZ/ANLAYIŞSIZLIK	2	0,74
31	EDEPSİZ(LİK)	2	0,74
32	EĞİTİMSİZ	2	0,74
33	KÜFÜR/KÜFRETME	2	0,74
34	RAHATSIZ(LİK)	2	0,74
35	İNSANI SIKAN/SIKINTI	2	0,74
36	KÜÇÜK YERDE YETİŞME	2	0,74
37	SİNİRLENME/SİNİRLİLİK	2	0,74
38	ŞİDDET/DAYAK	2	0,74
39	ABARTILI	1	0,37
40	ANTİPATİ	1	0,37
41	ARGO	1	0,37
42	BARBAR	1	0,37
43	BECERİKSİZ	1	0,37
44	DOĞULU	1	0,37
45	DUYARSIZ	1	0,37
46	DÜZ	1	0,37
47	GEREKSİZ EL KOL HAREKETLERİ	1	0,37
48	GİCİK	1	0,37
49	HOŞGÖRÜSÜZ	1	0,37
50	HOŞNUTSUZLUK	1	0,37
51	HUZURSUZLUK	1	0,37

Table 22 continued.

52	HİRÇİN	1	0,37
53	İLKEL	1	0,37
54	İNSANLARI KENDİNDEN UZAKLASTIRIR	1	0,37
55	İNSANI SIKAN	1	0,37
56	İRİYARI	1	0,37
57	KÜFRETME İSTEĞİ UYANDIRAN	1	0,37
58	İTİCİ	1	0,37
59	KÜT	1	0,37
60	KIT	1	0,37
61	MAGANDA	1	0,37
62	MAÇO	1	0,37
63	MEDENİYETSİZ	1	0,37
64	MENDEBUR	1	0,37
65	YANLIŞ MİMİK	1	0,37
66	MÜNASEBETSİZ	1	0,37
67	NAZİK OLAMAMAK (istemdişi)	1	0,37
68	NOBRAN	1	0,37
69	RUHEN OLGUNLAŞMAMIŞ	1	0,37
70	ORANTISIZ	1	0,37
71	SAKAR	1	0,37
72	SESLİ KONUŞAN	1	0,37
73	SEVİMSİZ	1	0,37
74	SİĞ	1	0,37
75	TİKSİNTİ	1	0,37
76	UYUMSUZ	1	0,37
77	İNSANLARI KENDİNDEN UZAKLAŞTIRIR	1	0,37
78	UZAKLAŞMA	1	0,37
79	VAHŞİ	1	0,37
80	VURDUMDUYMAZ	1	0,37
81	YERGİ (için)	1	0,37
82	YONTULMAMIŞ	1	0,37
83	KATLANMASI ZOR	1	0,37
84	ÇAĞDIŞILIK	1	0,37
85	ÖKÜZ	1	0,37
86	DAVRANIŞTA ÖLÇÜ(SÜ) OLMAYAN	1	0,37
87	YERGİ (üstüne)	1	0,37
88	YONTULMAMIŞ	1	0,37
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>100,00</b>

#### 5.4 Bases of Evaluation of Impoliteness in Turkish

Evaluations of impoliteness were established in the minds of TNS (as revealed by primarily coding of related portions of QPM data, and also extracts from CIPL

and PEI) on eight major sources of evaluation. As opposed to the bases of politeness judgements which most strongly involved cases of (in)attentiveness, the coding on QPM data data revealed the strongest thematic bases of the evaluation of IMPOLITENESS as “ Face-attacking acts”. Rights offenses were the strongest second basis for evaluation and were named “Insollicitousness to rights and obligations”. The third was “Expressive impoliteness” and mismanagement of discourse. The fourth thematic category was labeled as “Inattentiveness”. This category was broken down into a number of sub-classifications: inattentiveness to other’s emotions/attentiveness to self’s; inattentiveness to other’s need(s)/attentiveness to self need; inattentiveness to other’s goal(s)/ attentiveness to self goal in rapport. The fifth most frequent coding receiving category as a source of evaluation was labeled as “Disregarding Customs” and the sixth was labeled as “Impolite self-presentation“. The seventh thematic category was “Deficient self-emotion management”. The last category was named “Physical Impoliteness”. Below are the overall frequency and percentages of all instances of impoliteness judgements as falling into the themes.

Table 23. Summary for QPM Impoliteness Evaluations-to-Themes Codings

	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
1. <u>FACE ATTACK</u>	318	<b>24,35</b>
2. <u>RIGHTS OFFENSE</u>	272	<b>20,83</b>
3. <u>EXPRESSIVE IMPOLITENESS</u>	209	<b>16,00</b>
4. <u>INATTENTIVENESS</u>	173	<b>13,25</b>
5. <u>DISREGARD to CUSTOMS</u>	148	<b>11,33</b>
6. <u>ASSERTIVE/OFFENSIVE SELF-PRESENTATION</u>	105	<b>8,04</b>
7. <u>SELF-EMOTION MISMANAGEMENT</u>	56	<b>4,29</b>
8. <u>PHYSICAL IMPOLITENESS</u>	25	<b>1,91</b>
Total:	<b>1306</b>	

The strongest theme, (1) FACE-ATTACKING ACTs received 24,35% of all recorded evaluations (n=318) – nearly one thirds of the whole data which was a total of 1306 recorded evaluations by the impoliteness section on the QPM. The category was broken down into two types of face attack: quality face attack impoliteness and social idedntity face attack impoliteness. (2) INSOLICITOUSNESS to RIGHTS came in second place with 272 occurances (20,83%). The category was further brokendown into association rights and equity rights offenses. The next theme (3) EXPRESSIVE IMPOLITENESS accounted for 16,00% (n=209) of the responses. (4) INATTENTIVENESS subsumed 13, 25% (n=173) of the responses collected. For (5) DISREGARDING CUSTOMS, 148 occurances were coded (11,33%) comprising evaluations based on adherence to social rules, traditions, customs about manner of conduct in the Turkish culture. The next most frequent was calculated as (6) ASSSERTIVE/OFFENSIVE SELF-PRESENTATION, which involved impolite ways of placing too much emphasis on one’s attributes, foregrounding oneself, i.e. being a ‘show-off’ embodying 8,04% (n=105) of the total data. 56 (4,29%) occurences of (7) DEFICIENT SELF-EMOTION MANANGEMENT were recorded. Lastly 1,91% (n=25) of all coded impoliteness evaluation on the QPM involved (8) PHYSICAL IMPOLITENESS.

#### **5.4.1 Impoliteness as “Face-Attack”**

The most frequently cited evaluations of impoliteness were based on face-threatening acts. As has been previously discussed in the previous chapter (section 4.3.5), in the analysis Spencer-Oatey’s (2000, 2005) understanding of ‘face’ was primarily made use of. Thus, the section will outline major (a) quality face threatening acts (occur when one is evaluated negatively in terms or his/her personal qualities, appearance, ability/work) and (b) social identity face threatening act (no acknowledgement of our social identities and roles).

In tracing face-threatening acts (n=318; 24,35%) mentioned by TNS in the data, types of face (concerns) were distinguished. When talking about identity and face Spencer-Oatey (2007) brings into the discussion the centrality of the “self” in our judgements. Face-challenge may be brought on by an attack/challenge on a number of different self’s: to the personal self, the relational self or the collective self. Brewer and Gardner (1996, p.84) argue that three different levels of “self-representation” need to be distinguished: “the individual level, the interpersonal level and the group level”. At the individual level, there is the ‘personal self’, which represents the differentiated, individuated concept of self (hence, challenge to *quality* face); at the interpersonal level, there is the ‘relational self’, which represents the self-concept derived from connections and role relationships with significant others (hence, challenge to *relational* face); and at the group level, there is the ‘collective self’ (hence, challenge to *collective* face).

In her work, Spencer-Oatey’s use of ‘relational’ refers to the relationship between the participants (e.g. distance–closeness, equality–inequality, perceptions of role obligations, etc.), and the ways in which this relationship is managed or negotiated. This is to be taken as narrower in scope than rapport, which she defines as (dis)harmony or smoothness–turbulence<sup>56</sup>.

It was seen that the face threatening aspect of verbal activity was dependent on the degree to which words were (to be) taken seriously. This is why the cases of impoliteness are all ‘noticed’, memorable events because they were recognized as serious.

As Spencer-Oatey (2005b) also points out, in some cases it is very difficult to distinguish quality face attack from identity face attack. In some cases making a distinction was very difficult since values people claim for themselves as personal qualities may in fact be a part of the social identity they claim for themselves. An

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. other accounts/uses of ‘relational’ in Locher and Watts (2005) and Arundale (2006). Arundale describes all instances of face as interactional/relational, though his understanding of face is different in that he claims that face emerges through interaction, and by consequence, it is a relational concept (see especially Arundale, 2006).

effort was made to classify attack types by taking the most prominent type of attack in the narrated impolite act as the basis of classification.

#### **5.4.1.1 Quality Face Attack Impoliteness**

In the data, 271 evaluations based on a quality face attack were recorded as opposed to 47 occurrences of a social identity face attack. Attacks on quality face go against our fundamental desire for people to evaluate us positively in terms of our personal qualities, e.g. our competence, abilities, appearance, etc. Quality face is concerned with the value that we effectively claim for ourselves in terms of such personal qualities as these, and so is closely associated with our sense of personal esteem.

Acts indirectly threatening B's quality face such as not noticing B's right to secrecy and sharing information/knowledge that should have been kept confidential was found impolite. Exposure of these bits of information (could) cause B to be evaluated negatively in personal attributes by others. In the narratives evaluated as such, though sworn to secrecy, warned, asked, or cautioned to keep a secret, A exposes B, e.g. "ağzını tutamamak" (Eng. lit. not keeping one's mouth shut); "alenen söylemek" (Eng. lit. say out in public); "ulu orta söylemek" (Eng. say out in public in inappropriate place); "ulu orta ağzından kaçırmak" (Eng. spill the beans in public); "laf taşımak" (Eng. lit. to be a tale bearer); "dedikodusunu yapmak" (Eng. to gossip about someone) and thus being costly to B's quality face.

The first group of impolite face-attacks were related to 'putting down B'. TNS found acts which negatively evaluate people in terms of personal qualities-appearance, ability, work, etc., thus causing humiliation and embarrassment for the recipient of the act as impolite. In the CIPL extract (309) below, a young man labels a group of villagers from his hometown village as "kaba" because they

were making fun of his voice, how high pitched and squeaky it sounded at a certain time in his early puberty.

(309) Ergenlik dönemine girdiğimde sesim kalınlaştı. Küçük vücutmdan inanılmaz kalın, resmen goril gibi bir ses çıkıyordu. Bundan çok utanıyordum. Arkadaşlarımın yanında "yeni" sesimle konuşabiliyordum ancak annem, babamlayken sesimi inceltiyordum. Sesimle dalga geceklerini düşündüğümde içine kapanık bir çocuk imajı veriyordum. Evdekiler, "Neden hiç konuşmuyorsun?" diyordu. Yazın tatile köye gittim. Sesimi inceltme olayı son haddindeydi. Köydeki kaba akrabalar sesimle bayağı dalga geçtiler. Bunun böyle gitmeyeceğini anladım. Tatilden döndüğümde eve yaklaştıkça korku içindeydim. Babam kapıyı açtığında, "Hoşgeldin" dedi. Ben ona ilk "kalın" hoşbulduğu söyledim! Hiçbir tepki göstermedi. Ardından tatili anlatmaya başladım ama hâlâ sesimden dolayı çekiniyordum. Babam olağanüstü hiçbir şey yokmuş gibi benimle konuştu. Allahım, her şey normaldi. Peki ben bunun için mi iki yıl ıstırap çektim? [CIPL34;IT]

He was actually using this squeaky voice to mask his changing, developing manly voice. Already being embarrassed by how unnatural he sounded himself, he found the villagers negative comments and mockery unpleasant and threatening to his personal self, i.e. to his quality face.

Making fun about B's personal attributes such as weight, appearance, handicap, likes/dislikes, things B does not possess, in the company of a third party when it should remain a secret or is outright rude to utter. In (310) the attribute in question is not possessing a car, and in (311) a family is offended by a guest's remark on another guest's son as retarded. Although it is true that the son was mentally handicapped, calling him a retard was found very blunt, as an attack on the family members' guests' quality face and was embarrassing for the owner of the house.

(310) arabası olan birinin hiç arabası olmayan biriyle konuşurken bunu söylemesi ve bunun yanında vah vah arabasız olur mu bu devirde siz de pek bi çapulcuymuşsunuz benim 2 arabam var al birini emaneten kullan" gibi rencide edicek laflar sarfeden insan." [KST73]

(311) bir tanıdığımın zihin özürlü bir oğlu var, bunlar bir gün bize geldiler ve ortamdaki başka misafirimiz ' aa yazık, çocuk gerizekalı mı?' dedi. utandım, utandık, patavatsızlıktı. [PSZ49]

Inconsiderate comments as in the excerpts above were particularly impolite and caused discontent if what was said to B was something which under no

circumstance should be said to B about B (“söylenmemesi gerekeni söylemek”) due to its being inappropriate, the bluntness of the expression or its indiscreetness.

Most of the evaluated acts as such concerned comments about certain features/characteristics internal/unchangeable to B such as his ethnic background, color of hair, eyes, complexion, etc.). Unintentional distress causing comments about weight such as “Hamile misin?” (Eng. Are you pregnant?), “Bebek mi geliyor” (Eng. Are you expecting (a baby?)) to a female who has put on weight were also found impolite. This example is also an example for what has been described by TNS as “pot kırmak” (Eng. a social gaffe), i.e. saying something without giving it much consideration. Another type of face damage was caused when spiteful comments about disagreeable behaviour B engages in, such as smoking, by way of casting disturbingly cold aspersions (Tr.”iğnelemek”) as in (312) below.

(312) Sigara içen ve annesi akciğer kanserinden vefat eden bir kişiye, içersen o kadar sigara olacağı budur gibi iğneleyici cümleler kurmak. (PSZ116]

Calling people denigrating names, nicknaming (Tr. “lakap takmak”) in a way that emphasizes his weakness in qualities possessed was found hurtful for and as an attack against the quality face of the recipient. Condescending, scorning and ridiculing B were also seen as impolite acts. In a genre similar to Anne Robinson in the TV game show ‘The Weakest Link’ (cf. Culpeper, 2006) Okan Bayülgen who is a late-night talk showman was mentioned as an impolite man because he frequently made fun of others. He was evaluated as impolite because he employed sarcasm and mimicry causing callers-in to his program to look like fools –complete idiots.

According to Yetkin (2006) derogatory expressions showing what a low opinion one has of somebody else in terms of, for example, ‘low intellectual capacity’ were used in Turkish political discourse by adversaries in Turkish political discourse to score points by silencing the other, embarrassing or humlilating the

others who hold different views. In addition, Büyükkantarcioglu and Yarar (2006) in their work on Turkish discourse of politics found that value propositions were predominantly related to promotion of self (party), i.e. boosting self-quality face and attack on the opponents's competence, i.e attack on other's quality face to persuade society for ideological purposes. Similarly, in the TNS data *threats to intelligence* such as "Sen anlamazsın", "senin aklın yetmez" (Eng. your brain is not enough, your capacity will fall short), "sen ne anlayacaksın" (Eng. you will not be able to understand, there is no way you can comprehend), "sen ne anlarsın" (Eng. how would you know, no chance you can comprehend) which all were aggressively pointing out that the task at hand was beyond someone's intellectual capacity. Some of the expressions listed were also used to express disbelief and challenge the credibility of someone's experience/knowledge. Others were "hadi ordan", "hadi be" (Eng. lit.come on that is impossible), "yok canım!", "yok artık" (Eng. That cannot be). More direct reference of quality face attack was mentioned by TNS as performed after they had not understood the gist of a joke told by a friend. The linguistic expressions they wrote on the QPM as impolite were "aptal mısın, nesin, annamadın mı?" (Eng. lit. Are stupid, haven't you understood?) and "salaksın zaten anlamazsın" (Eng. You are an idiot, no wonder you didn't get it) as in (313)"

(313) arkadaş ortamında bir espriyi anlamayan birine sen de salaksın zaten anlamazsın demek [KA20]

Another area of self-value under attack was towards something made by B, a *product* B produced as in (314), (315), (316) and (317) below. The inconsiderate comments A used on produced work by B was giving the feeling to B that B was incapable and were humiliating to B as the producer the object. The intention was viewed as devaluating B's capacity to make/produce things adequately.

(314) bi arkadaşının uğraşip yazdığı yazıyı okuyup beğenmeyen ve bunu belli edip onu aşağılayan [KA69]

(315) (*referring to another answer she gave in the questionnaire*) Sözü nü ettiğim bu ağabeyim teyzemin pişirdiği hiçbir şeyi beğenmeyip ona eziyet ediyordu.Hergün ya kahvaltı eder ya

patates kızartması, pilav veya makarna yer. Bu tür yiyecekler bulunmadığında ise sinirlenir ve bağıırıp çağırırđı. [TSZ93]

(316) fedakarlık gösterip birisi için bir şeyler yapmaya çalışan kimseye becerememişsin diyerek onun verdiđi emeđi, yaptıklarını değersizleştirmek [TSZ24]

(317) Türkiye'de genelde sanatçılara karşı genel bir saygısızlık hakim. Antalya' da bir heykelin "müstehcen" olması sebebiyle aşğıılanıp kaldırılmak istenmesi, o heykeli yapan sanatçıya büyük saygısızlıktır. [SY35]

Another way of attacking B's quality face was by expressing ingratitude for work B has done for A. This could be realized through not being grateful for goodness (Tr. "iyilik") done by B(s), not having respect for endeavors of B for self (Tr. "emeđe saygısızlık"; "nankörlük"; "yapılan iyiliđi unutmak"), saying/doing things that will show you do not value and appreciate B's efforts.

#### **5.4.1.2 Social Identity Face Attack Impoliteness**

Social identity face attack impoliteness is closely associated with our sense of public worth and concerns acts which do not fit the desire of people for others to acknowledge and uphold their social identities and roles, such as group leader, valued customer, close friend, parent, etc.

According to Culpeper et al. (2008) the behaviour which counters positive values (a) claimed by all the members of the group of which the individual is part as well as (b) the behaviour which indicates that somebody is not part of a group they wish to be part of or vice versa such that of kinship, gender, ethnic groups, groups comprised of social roles, academics, students, etc. are attacks to social identity face. On the other hand, they call the behaviour which counters positive values claimed about the relations between members of a group (e.g. friends) or between groups (e.g. student-teacher), of which the individual is a part as offences to relational face. Such clear-cut distinctions could not be drawn from the data; thus, all types of behaviour listed above have been categorized as social identity face attack impoliteness.

General statements concerning hurting B's feelings and interpersonal dimensions of the relationship (relational and collective face) with B were shared by a number of TNS. Negative effects were created using language, action, or a hurtful style to B which would break B's heart. As in (318) "kırıcı" and "kalp kırıcı" were very frequently uttered words in this respect. The extracts highlight the relational aspect of the impoliteness effect by mentioning acts you do not expect from close ones, the friend or relative identity is not catered for.

(318) Durmadan başkalarının sözünü kesen birisi için kaba bir insan denilebilir. Ya da yakın ilişki içinde olmasına rağmen karşısındakinin kalbini kıracak davranışlarda bulunan birisi için kaba kelimesi kullanılabilir. İnsanın yakın arkadaşından eşinden beklemediği davranışlar. [KA3]

The degree of impoliteness was mainly attached to whether or not this was done consciously (maliciously and spitefully) or at least without giving it much thought. This dimension and also not caring whether or not the hurt can be remedied was considered for an act to be called impolite.

Another large group of meanings and expressions that were found in close proximity to impoliteness were "hakaret etme" (Eng. insulting) and "aşağılama" (Eng. Belittleing) by members of a group or by people who B associates with kinship, gender, etc. Insults and disparaging words/acts were targeting personal qualities, ideas or produced work and quality face. These acts cause the self to question worth and were seen especially impolite when they were delivered in public since this would also hurt the person's identity face (and worth) in the eyes of the people who s/he has relations in the presence of whom s/he wanted to keep integrity of face. It is one thing to be insulted in person but another to be insulted in public as in (320) where TNS shares, "Bir insanın arkadaşını diğer insanların yanında rencide etmesi büyük bir kabalıktır" (Eng. It is very rude to offend one in the presence of others). This was a recurring theme for the acts evaluated on the basis of a face-threat.

(319) Evliyim. Bir de çocuğum var. Eşim bana karşı kaba ve aşağılayıcı davranıyor. Hep kendi kurallarını koyuyor. Hiçbir zaman benim yaptıklarımı beğenmiyor. Ben de, belki intikam almak, belki de bu baskılardan kurtulmak isteğiyle ondan ayrılmayı düşünüyorum. ....Gerçekten zor durumda olmasam ayrılmayı düşünmezdim. [CIPL61;IT]

(320) mesela bir insanın arkadaşını diğer insanların yanında rencide etmesi büyük bir kabalıktır, bir insanın başka birine karşı kötü, aşağılayıcı sözler kullanması büyük kabalıktır. [KA6]

Cupach and Carson (2002) state that recipients' aversive reactions to complaints are a function of perceived face-threat. Their survey study revealed that dispositional complaints were perceived to be more face-threatening than non-dispositional complaints, and complaints delivered in public were more face-threatening than complaints delivered in private. This may be more so for some cultures than others. The data at hand may also be evidence to the fact that in the case of Turkish culture the perceived face attack is greater and graver when performed in public. The public humiliation as an evaluation of an impolite act in addition to wrong accusation comes together in the narrative provided in the data extracts below.

(321) eski erkek arkadaşımın herkesin içinde düşüncesizce ve kırıcı şekilde söylediği sözler aklıma geliyor. [KA48]

(322) Yapılan bir iyilik veya yardımdan sonra teşekkür etmeme. İnsanların hatalarını toplum içinde yüzüne vurma. Rica etmeden, insalardan bir şeyler istemek, toplulukta konuşurken sözleri kırıcı olan kişi [KA91]

Saying things/acting in a way that will challenge B's authority in public, treating to B as B should not be treated (e.g. in approaching the boss, a teacher, or an someone older than you), objecting/rebelling to elder/higher B under whatever pretense/for whatever reason, answering back, threaping and acting stubbornly, challenging credibility/authority of B when B is higher/older than self such as challenging the credibility of knowledge of a professor in public, thus challenging his social role, and derecognizing one's social role (e.g. "tanımamak") were acts found impolite. Some TNS also mentioned Turkish institutions not giving each other public worth and officials not recognizing each other's social identities ("başkomutanın yemin törenine gitmemek", "verdiği davete gitmemek").

In (323) below a father evaluates his own behaviour as inappropriate. He has sent money to his son's tutor with his son and was politely warned by the teacher not to do this. The giving of money from a 12 year old to a 50 year old was giving power to the young, improperly pushing indexing out of balance against the favor of older/higher B. The teacher thought his role in his relationship with the boy, an older teacher identity, was undermined and threatened.

(323) oğlumun aldığı ilk özel derste ders ücretini kendisi ile öğretmene göndermiştim, ikaz edildim bunu yapmamalıydım. oğlum öğretmene para verir konuma getirmiş oldum. haklı olarak öğretmeni bu durumdan rahatsızlık duydu. ben de daha sonra hatamı telafi ettim. [DSZ78]

In other relationships involving a lower/younger A and a higher/older B (esp. parents, the elderly, bosses, teachers), speaking loudly (“sesini yükseltmek”), increasing volume in conversation were regarded as social identity face threatening. Offenses may also be related to the unsuccessful preservation of distance between people. Another TNS who works as biology teacher at a private-teaching institution expressed the way her students spoke to her (i.e. “ya hoca”) in a way that offended her social identity as the teacher of these students in (324)

(324) Öğrencilerim benimle konuşurken “ya hoca ya sen de bizi hiç erken bırakmıyon..” gibi saygısız, hiçe sayar bir şekilde hitap etmeleri." [SSZ76]

Within a group relationship, not caring about whether B is present at an event; starting/initiating without B (e.g. not waiting for B(s) to arrive before starting a meal, watching movie, etc.) although B has been invited to the event were all evaluated as threats to social identity face.

Accusing or blaming B for act not committed, especially without listening (325), giving a chance to B to explain and saying, for example, “yalan konuşma!” especially for individuals who claim high moral and ethical standards for self was found “kaba”.

(325) Nedenini dinlemeden bir insanı suçlamak, sert ithamlarda bulunmak, insanları incitmek kabalıktır bu olayı gerçekleştiren şahısa kullandığımız sıfat ise kabadır. [KA7]

Accusing someone of lying narratives in the data were impolite for two reasons. If the competence, and ability and knowledge of the person is targeted, it is a threat to one's quality face. However, if the accusation also questions your credibility and authority on the subject matter for which you hold a social role and/or your credibility on the subject as attached to a social, group identity that you claim for yourself, then it is also threatening to one's social identity. For example, one TNS found it very impolite for her mother-in-law to say to her 'You are not a good mother to this child, he always gets sick!' (Tr. "Sen bu çocuğa hiç iyi annelik edemiyorsun, sürekli hastalanıyor!") because her child was constantly getting sick. Her face claims to competence and ability as a person and her role as a mother were severely put under jeopardy. Other types of commenting on someone's wrong-doing in a direct and abrupt manner (Tr. "sert") and criticizing using words in a crude/graceless manner as in (326) were also judged impolite.

(326) Birisinde gördüğün yanlışı sert ve hoş olmayan bir şekilde ortalık yerde söylemek.[KA8]

(327) okuldan yurda doğru yaptığımız ring yolculuklarının birinde makine bölümünde inmek isteyen ama paltosunu giyerken ve kitaplarının çantasına yerleştirirken inmekte geciken bir bayan arkadaşımıza "zamanında neden hazırlanmıyorsunuz" diye herkesin içinde azarlamış ve o bayanı utandırmıştı. [KA9]

(328) devlet dairesinde iş yaptırmaya çalışırken çalışan memurun sizi aşağılayan tarzda, aşağı görür tarzda konuşması. [KSH28]

In (328) the public role claimed by the citizen was being pushed over by the civil servant. In (327) the bus drivers direct criticism of the university student about why she did not get ready to get off on time resulted in the female student's public embarrassment and face loss. The university student expected their roles as the service provider-service receiver to be upheld. In (329) a TNS informant labeled his own act of vocalizing a bald on record warning with no redressive action to his friends telling them not to touch his stuff as impolite and confessed that he has done "ayıp" (Eng. acted disgracefully/shamefully).

(329) Arkadaşımı eşyalarım dokunmaması konusunda uyarırken "sakın bir daha yapma" gibi söylediğimi, kaba sözler kullandığımı düşünüyorum. Ayıp ettim. Sonradan farkına vardım ama iş işten geçmişti. [KA28]

(330)

[ PEI1]

PEI1: Gecen gün Garanti bankasına gittim para çekicem. Bankamatikte...sağdaki bankamatik calisiyor soldaki çalışmıyor. Arkamda böyle iki adam var, bir adam da para çekiyodu, onundeki iki kisten bir tanesi para çekiyor. Hava da sicakti. (pause) II..Kadın..bir tane kadın geldi ve direk (emphasis) yürüdü ve soldaki bankamatiğe gitti yani biz sırada bekliyoruz. Ondan sonra benim önümdeki adam bunu fark etti dedi ki "hanfendi" dedi o arada da kadın şifresini falan girdi "Çalışıyo mu o bankamatik biz burda sırada bak bekliyoruz çalışmadığı için çalışmaya mı başlamış" dedi. Ondan sonra "Evet çalışıyor" dedi devam etti işlemi yapmaya "hanfendi biz burda sırada bekliyoruz yani sıra var burda" dedi. (pause) II..bunun üzerine kadın böyle bir iki dakika sonra sağa doğru yani bıraktı bankamatiği ondan sonra adam dedi ki "Görüyo musunuz biz bu kadar saattir bekliyoruz, hanfendi geldi iki dakikada halletti isini" dedi. Sonra hafif güldü ama kadın da, tam aynı anda kadın da dedi ki "Yani ayıp olmuyor mu beyefendi "dedi".. aaa.. "bu kadar bağırma çağırma" dedi.. ee "para da ben zaten çekmedim zaten" dedi. "Nasıl yani para vemedi mi" dedi adam. "Hayır ben işlemi sonlandırdım siz öyle deyince", "Yy:ok yani, hanfendi yanlış anladınız şaka yapıyodum" dedi falan filan böyle gergin bir ortam oldu. Adamın davranışını çok kaba buldu ve işlemi bıraktı. Arkadan siz geçin dediler ben geçtim paramı çektim öyle bir şey ortam oldu kaba bir durum oldu. Hoş olmadı.  
*Int: Neden kadının..bu kadının adamın davranışını ,sözlerinin kaba bulmuş olacağını düşünüyorsunuz. Neden tepki vermiş olabilir?*  
PEI1: Aa..Önce herkesin önünde azarlandığı için olabilir. Sonuçta orda en az 6 kişi duydu.Yani bi de, bir de fark etmediği halde ona böyle söylenmesine üzülmüş olabilir yani durumu.  
*Int: Size göre peki adamın hali tavrı kaba mıydı gerçekten?*  
PEI1:Evet önce bence de adam kaba bir şekilde soyledi aslında tekrarlaması belki kaba oldu soylediğini. Zaman vermeden kadına cevap falan vermek için.

The informant, who was a bystander during the conflictual communication, expressed her belief that the encounter was evaluated as impolite by the recipient for three reasons: (i) an (unwarranted) criticism of taking other people's place in a queue; (ii) repetition of the offense without giving a chance for the other to explain; (iii) the occurrence of the criticism and offense in public and not in private.

In (330) the criticism was not warranted. In other occurrences of such encounters in the data, this time with a warranted criticism to a recipient who has really done wrong, his taking on the conflict and obstinately fighting back (Tr."inatlaşarak") to save his own public and private face in a "yüzsüzce" (Eng. faceless/shameless) manner followed by inappropriately laughing/smiling during the act was seen as a highly threatening act. The idea that the criticism was unjust put the criticsers

face on the line and was seen as deliberate act to get back at the party who initiated the conflict episode by mirroring the criticism back to the other. This was ‘impolite facework’. This was especially found for conflicts between spouses and shop/product complaint situations.

On the other hand, in service encounters the expressing of dissatisfaction had to be handled carefully so as not to be perceived as impolite. Customers who used strategies such as humiliating, telling off, scolding and shouting at the service provider to get the complaint taken care of were deemed impolite.

(331) Bir mağazada yanlış bulduğu bir durumu tezgahtarını, asağılayarak ve azarlayarak ve bağıırıp çağırarak dile getiren bir insan. [KA54]

For the customers, the offending acts by a service provider when you have not bought his goods (e.g. being treated badly when you do not buy his goods, boxes being pushed around, etc.) usually occurs after you learn the price of a product, try it on but later do not buy it. When the shop clerk recognizes the fact that you will be leaving the store steps over the boundaries that you believe the roles of the seller and the customer provide to you.

(332) [PEI17]

PEI17: mesela bu öğle arası yaşadığımız bişey. Lacoste mağazasına girmiştik. İki kişiydik. Almak için... İşte sordum fiyatlarını filan. Oradaki kasiyer kız da böyle “siz almazsınız, niye fiyatını soruyosunuz” gibi ters bi tavır takındı. Çok kaba olduğunu düşündüm. Yirmibeş otuz arası falandı. Bayandı.

What has been described in (331) and (332) are common conflict situations. It also has bearings on ‘rights and obligations’. TNS mentioned that taxi drivers in Turkey are known<sup>57</sup> not to like and cause discomfort to people who do not go long distances. It is common that people feel they are doing something wrong (i.e.challenging to the taxi driver’s equity rights, on a cost-benefit scale, the taxi driver being taken advantage of and exploited) and try to rectify the situation by

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<sup>57</sup> In big cities, there are usually lines that taxi drivers wait in to get customers. Once they take a customer and after they drop them, they have to return to the long queue to be able to be sent on another job.

either saying ‘you can drop me off here on the other side of the road’ (to save the driver from the burden of making a U-turn) or by leaving a bigger tip.

In (333) the customer believed that he should not be treated this way, he claimed his identity to be a valued customer, no matter what the distance was. The same applies to the interaction between the street flag seller and the lady in (334) who was insulted because she did not agree to buy a flag from the seller. Here not only the identity face of the informant is challenged in public, there is also infringement on her equity rights.

- (333) [PEI15]  
PEI15: bu da uzun bi zaman önce, taksiciyle benim aramda geçen bi olay. İıı İstanbul’da. Acilen taksiye binmem gerekiyordu. Cok uzun mesafe gitmicektim. Hava da baya bi kötü, yağışlı bi havaydı. Kırk yaşlarında taksici. Taksiye bindim, işte, gidiceğim istikameti söyledim. Böyle bi, hareketlerde bi değişiklik oldu. İşte vites değiştirme falan böyle bi oflama puflama. Ben anladım, heralde dedim bu kısa mesafe olduğu için bu şekilde yapıyo. İııı mecburdum yani taksiye binmeye o saatte. Bu şekilde davranışı taksicinin yani memnuniyetsiz bi davranışı müşteriye karşı yapmış olduğu kaba davranış bayaa sinirlendirdi. Biz de tabi biraz bi tartışma yaşadık.

- (334) Sokaka satıcıları işlerine gelmeyince çok kaba olabiliyorlar. Sokakta bayrak satan çocuktan bayrak almayınca bana hakaret etmişti, bence o kişi terbiyesizdi. [TSZ29]

Social identity attacks may also be realized by people who regard themselves as colleagues in a work environment when they overstep the limit and exceed one’s authority. In (335) a teacher criticizes and scolds another fellow teacher overtly for giving her daughter an unjust mark.

- (335) Bir öğretmen arkadaş. Resim öğretmeni arkadaşını kızına verdiği nottan dolayı saygısızca ve haddini aşan bir biçimde yargılaması. [KSH120]

In (336) the rather long extract below, which is a CIPL token from a university academic e-mail list, what a proferssor has done to a fellow professor is evaluated as exceedingly impolite. The colleague has been criticized on the grounds that the

issues she shared as things she is not happy about regarding to how a number of things are being handled at the university are rather unimportant.

(336) Öncelikle yaşadığınız olaydan üzüntü duyduğumu belirtiyim. Hepimiz geçmişte benzer sıkıntılar yaşadık. O yüzden durumunuzla empati kurabiliyorum ve size kolaylıklar diliyorum. Ancak ben sizin yazarken ne tür bir ruh hali içinde olduğunuzu bilemem. Kimse de bir diğerinin ne tür bir ruh halinde olduğunu bilebilir ne de bilmekle yükümlüdür. Herkesin kendisince büyük, küçük türlü türlü sıkıntıları olabilir. Yaşamakta olduğunuz bu sıkıntılardan dolayı benim o gün dile getirmiş olduğum sorun size çok hafif görünmüş olabilir. Bunu da anlayabilirim. Ancak anlayamadığım, bunu neden böyle ifade etmediğiniz ve son derece UYGUNSUZ ve SERT bir CİGLİK olarak değerlendirdiğim bir biçimde "LOJMANDAN CEKIP GITMEMİ" ima edecek cümle yazdığınızdır. İşte böyle bir yolu seçtiğiniz için ben ve diğeri sizin tutumunuzu eleştirdik. Benim ilk mailim o gün sadece 2-3 saat uyumama izin vermiş bu olaydan oturu belki biraz sert veya daha doğrusu sarkastik oldu ama ne kimseye hakaret ettim, ne başka bir hocaya 'beğenmiyorsan çek git, biz burada iyiyiz' diye kabalık ettim. Ben sadece biraz ironik bir not yazdım ve uygulamayı eleştirdim. Bunun karşısında bana küçük bir çocuğa emreder gibi nasıl bir mail yazmam gerektiğini söyleyecek kadar ileri gidenler, uğraştığım alan ile davranışım arasında gayet asagilayıcı bağlantılar kuran ve bu nedenle de terbiye sınırını aştığını düşündüğüm mailler geldi. Bu elestiriyi dile getirmem karşısında birbiri ardına, kusura bakmasınlar ama birazda çocukca bulduğum ve nispet yapmaya çalışan türden, emekçilere teşekkür e-maileri geldi. 'Sizce bunlar karşısında ne yapmalıydım? 'Ay pardon, yönetim ve işçilerimize teşekkür etmeliyimmiş, bunu bana hatırlattığınız için teşekkür ederim' mi demeliydim? Ben de bu ASAGILAYICI ve SERT cıglık olarak bulduğum eleştirilere karşı cevap hakkımı kullandım. Benim biraz sesi yüksek çıkan bir mailim olmuş olabilir ama hiç kimseye TERBİYESİZLİK YAPMADIM, HAKARET ETMEDİM, KİMSEYİ HİC BİR YERDEN KOVMAYA KALKISMADIM, KİMSEYE NASIL BİR MAIL YAZMASI GEREKTİĞİNİ DİKTE ETMEYE KALKISMADIM. Kendinizden özür dilenmesini beklemenizi hayretle karşıladım. Sizden özür dileyecek hiç birsey yazdığım ve size kabalık olarak değerlendirilebilecek birsey yaptığım kanaatinde değilim. Oysa sizin bana lojmanlardan çekip gitmemi ima etmeniz en hafif deyişle son derece uygunsuz olduğunu düşünmekteyim ve eğer siz bu konuda özür dilemeye niyetlenirseniz benim mail adresim geçerlidir. Böyle bir özür sunmazsanız da sözlerinizin amacını aştığını bunun nedeninin de su anda yaşamakta olduğunuz sıkıntılardan kaynaklı ruh haliniz olduğunu düşünmeyi tercih ediyorum. Elestiri kültürünün gelişip yesereceği, her elestirinin en büyük olumsuzluk olarak algılanmadığı bir ....(name of university)'de güzel ve sağlıklı günler diliyorum. [CIPL; OLM2]

Some other fellows implied she could 'leave' if she was unhappy and this violated her sense of public worth. The great amount of criticism coming from fellows in a public e-mail list was found hurtful and unacceptable and threatening to her social identity face as a member of this particular university community.

Adding another dimension to our understanding of social identity face would be to take notice of the groups with which and individual identifies himself. Brewer and

Gardner (1996), in their work on levels of collective identity and self representation, denote that the individual self versus the collective self is apparent in the use of ‘I’ versus ‘we’. Discourses of nationalism are a strong source for a collective self in this respect. Worth or honor of the nation (with regard to the anthem, the flag, the geography, etc.) are values claimed by all the group members who identify themselves with this collective self. Thus, by some TNS offending B by insulting B’s country, religion, national anthem, and flag dear to B were evaluated as impolite.

(337) Kumrular dan geer ken Namık Kemal İlköğretim Okulundan İstiklal Marşı söylenmeye başladı. Hemen durup marşa eşlik ettim. Bu esnada istifini hiç bozmayan ve marşımıza gerekli saygıyı göstermeyen 20 yaşlarında bir gence karşı terbiye sınırlarının dışına çıkarak davrandım. [TSZ78]

(338) Örneğ in Türkiye’deki yabancılar. Yabancı bir ülkede, o ülkenin milli marşı çalınırken o ülkenin bireylerinin gösterdiği tepkiyi göstermeme (durarak saygı duruşunda bulunma), yapılan faaliyete (yürüme, araba kullanma vs) devam etme. [SSZ83]

(339) Kişiler tarafından kutsal olduğu kabul edilen herhangi bir ülkenin bayrağını yakmak yada başka şekillerde kullanmak saygısızlıktır. [SSZ88]

The extracts in (338) and (339) mention threats to a person’s social identity, the worth of the group to which the individual is a part as “saygısız”. In (337), the informant has seen the right to take retroactive action towards the young man whom he saw as not paying the expected respect to the Turkish anthem, one aspect of the identity he claims for himself as a Turk.

#### **5.4.2 Impoliteness as “Insolitousness to Rights”**

Impoliteness evaluations based on a rights offence were found 272 times accounting to 20,83% of the whole evaluations data on the QPM. Following Spencer-Oatey (2000b, 2002, 2005) two types of offense were distinguished. Of all the rights attacks recorded, 187 were equity rights attacks and 57 were association rights attacks.

### 5.4.2.1 Equity Rights Threatening Impoliteness

To recap, the equity principle is based on the premise that people have a fundamental belief that they are entitled to personal consideration from others and to be treated fairly. Fairness is related to cost-benefit considerations, fairness and reciprocity in dealings, as well as rights to autonomy and non-imposition. The evaluations have been usually worded as not having respect for B's personal rights and his rights to good service and A not following fundamental principles of "rights and justice" (Tr. "hak ve adalet prensipleri", "hak çiğnemek").

In the first sub-group under this theme, A unjustly dealt with an issue to her own advantage, totally disregarding B's rights on the subject. Not respecting B's rights/claims to personal space/property/house such as a guest not abiding by the rules of the house. ("misafirin evin kurallarına uymaması"), or for public rights which are violated, for example, when A does not wait for his turn in a queue, taking B's place in a line ("kaynak yapmak", "hakki hiçe saymak") were events mentioned within this sub-group.

In (340) the interviewee shares his impression of where these events usually occur. He believes that these rights violating behaviours occur mostly in daily life in stranger to stranger encounters such as on the minibus or when waiting for the bus, when people are in a queue, and when out shopping:

- (340) [PEI16]  
PEI16: ikinci soruda (reads the question aloud) günlük hayatımda bir çok kez yaşıyorum. O yüzden yani, III adiyattan bir olay haline geldi. İşte minibüste çarşıda, pazarda, markette, markette kasada insanlar sırada dururken, minibüs beklerken yaşadığı birçok olayı çok kaba, çok düşüncesiz görüyorum. Ve de insanların yaptığı davranışlarının, III, bilincinde olmadığını düşünüyorum, yani yaptıkları onlara göre küçük olayın esasında ne kadar büyük bir, III, kabalık içerdiğini bilmiyorlar. Türk insanında bu durum söz konusu.

Below is a narrative provided by another TNS interviewee. The TNS evaluates a couple of events she experienced concerning the contexts outlined in extract (341)

above. She states how people see they have the right to other people's entitlements and take other people for a fool when not waiting for one's turn in a queue, abruptly taking other people's place in a line unfairly. The informant sees herself as exploited and disadvantaged in these situations because these are an infringement on her equity rights and describes such people and acts as "hem kaba, hem düşüncesiz, hem görgüsüz, hem terbiyesiz".

(341) [PEI9]

PEI9: ııı bu sık sık yaşadığım bi olay. Metroya binerken özellikle veya hastanelerde falan da oluyo ama metroda daha çok oluyo. Orta yaşlı bayanlar daha çok ..... ııı kenardan gelip işte sizden önce metroya binmeye çalışıyorlar ya da hastanede bi işlemi yaptırıyosan senden önce sanki yaşı senden büyükmüş de hakkı varmış gibi öne geçiyo kimseyi beklemeden. ben buna çok sinileniyorum. Hem kaba, hem düşüncesiz, hem görgüsüz, hem terbiyesiz buluyorum.

*Int: Bunun peki sence sebebi, neden böyle yapıyorlar?*

PEI9: ııım bilmiyorum bunun .. uyanıklık olarak görüyorlar diye düşünüyorum ben. Bunu kabalık olarak, kabalık yaptıklarını düşünmüyorlar belki ama işimi bitiriyim hemen gidiyim sanki herkesin çok zamanı varmış gibi

*Int: uyanıklık?*

PEI9: uyanıklık yapmaya çalışıyorlar ondan nefret ediyorum.

Other acts mentioned that were against equity rights entitlements were "yer tutmak" (Tr. hold/reserve a place for someone else or self by illegitimately occupying it). This was mentioned especially for places on a first come-first serve basis such as around a pool at a hotel, a bus, an event without seating numbers, a table in a crowded self-service restaurant. Here A held/blocked a space unfairly that B was also entitled to having (Tr. "iş servisinde erken çıkıp yer tutmak"; "şezlonga havlu bırakmak"; "sandalyede/masada kıyafet bırakmak")

Not upholding B's right to making his own decision/ through uninvited intrusion into his life (Tr. "başkasının hayatı hakkında üstüne vazife olmayana, ilgilendirmeyene karışan"). A more specific example provided for this in the data was ordering food on B's behalf when he was not present without consulting them or without being asked by them to do so. Other types of intrusion shared were in another context: traffic. For example, breaching/infringing B's rights in traffic by

not abiding by traffic rules, e.g. “arabayı kaldırıma park etmek”, (Eng.parking the car on the pavement); “güvenlik şeridinde araba kullanmak”, (Eng.driving on the safety lane ); “trafikte sol serit işgali”, (Eng. occupying the left lane in traffic); “telefonla konuşmak”, (Eng. speaking on a mobile phone while driving) “yayaya yol vermemek”, (Eng. not giving a pedestrian the right of way) “kırmızı ışıқта geçmek” (Eng. Passing through a red light).

Since it involves exploitation, making somebody else do your work was also determined as equity rights violations. These acts varied from not respecting B’s right to saving his own work/labour for himself, trying to take advantage of B by not giving recognition to B’s efforts and labor in producing something, asking something from B trying to take advantage of him (e.g. student A who does not take notes in classes asking for B’s notes), to asking for somebody else’s possessions continually in an impertinent manner.

In relation to cost-benefit considerations, being thoughtless –not respecting one’s work/labour and causing someone to do extra work/ labour were shared by a number of TNS. For instance, messing up a newly cleaned space by B and costing B more work and (cleaning) time by being inconsiderate: creating a mess, inviting people round when it is cleaning time/or cleaning has been done. Also, as it concerns an unduly imposition to the host, dropping by at someone’s house without prior notice is referred to TNS as *fait accompli* ( “emrivaki”) and is also seen as not respecting their rights to non-imposition. Another such act was the initiation of the material-offering-exchange by the guest in a Turkish guest-host situation (e.g. “misafirlikte verilmeden ikram istenmesi”; “aşırı istekte bulunmak”) was considered “ayıp”.

Unfairly using up something (e.g. food) that belongs to B without thinking of B or using resources that self shares with B (e.g. bath time) unwisely/unsupportingly and thus inflicting trouble on B (e.g. carelessness in spending B’s resources/money, etc. causing expenses to rise and being financially costly for B)

was also a threat to one's equity rights. Other 'costs' mentioned were related to B's time such as asking B for something when B does not appear to have any time/is having a busy moment/is in a rush/is occupied, not doing what you have promised, keeping B waiting and costing B time without a reasonable explanation, not rsvping on time as in (342) and (343) below.

In (342) TNS writes about a situation where a friend costs time when he informs her that she will not be able to come just 5-10 minutes before the meeting time. In the interview extract (343) the informant states that on the cost-benefit scale B's impoliteness has tilted the scale out of balance considerably. Although he has cancelled another appointment to meet a friend, the friend has inconsiderately showed up unacceptably late.

(342) mesela bir buluşma ayarlanıyor ve arkadaşınız, buluşmaya sadece 5-10 dakika kala gelemeyeceğini, haber vermeyi unuttuğunu söylüyor. [SSZ49b]

(343) [PEI18]

PEI18: Zaman konusunda bazen geç kalırım ben randevularıma sözleştiğimiz zaman çok uymayabilirim ama, ıııı, çoğunlukla sadığımdır verdiğim sözlere. Bir arkadaşım görüşmek istediğini söyledi. Ama benim o dönem için başka bir arkadaşıma sözüm vardı. Ben önceki görüşmemi iptal ettim, o arkadaşıyla görüşebilmek için. Ama o kendisi için randevumu iptal ettiğim arkadaşım yeterince duyarlılık göstermedi yapması gereken duyarlılığı yapmadı ve görüşmemize geç kaldı. Benim o dönemimi o, yani çok fazla görüşemedik çok fazla verimli bir zamanımız olmadı, geç geldiği için. Çok kaba bulmuştum o davranışını çünkü hem benim zamanıma saygısızlık etmiş oldu, hem başka bir arkadaşıma olan sözümü tutmayıp iptal edip onun için yaptığım bu özveri demeyeyim de böyle bu bir şeydir, bir hani,... maliyetidir. Ben onun için başka bir seçenekten vazgeçmişim. O yüzden daha duyarlı olması gerekirdi diye düşünüyorum ama kaba bulmuştum o davranışı.

*Int: Arkadaşınız...*

PEI18: Arkadaşım randevuyu ertelediğim arkadaşım erkekti, randevuya geç kalan diğer arkadaşım bayandı. Benim yaşıtım, evet.

In contrast to the narratives in Chapter 4 concerning the politeness of abiding by Turkish hand-kissing customs in the showing of respect to elders as a basis of politeness evaluations, impoliteness evaluations were based on the equity rights infringements such expectations create for the younger generation, because their rights to non-imposition is violated. This can effectively be explained through the

autonomy-control dimension of the equity principle which concerns the belief that people should not be unduly controlled or imposed upon.

In the CIPL token below (344) the informant expresses how impolite it is and how imposed he feels when old people push their hands up against his face expecting to be hand-kissed. His efforts to try and shake hands are frowned upon.

(344) El öpmek yaşlı teyzelerin karşısındakilere yaptırmaktan sadistçe zevk aldığı eylemdir. burada dikkat çekmek istediğim nokta şudur; birinci dereceden aile büyükleri (anne, baba, anne/babaanne, dede, amca, teyze, dayı, yenge\*) sizin bu konu hakkındaki görüşünüzü bildiği için el öptürme konusunda "ısrarcı" davranmazken abik qubik ev ziyaretlerinde karşınıza çıkan diğer aile büyükleri bu konuda inanılmaz derecede - hatta küstağça - ısrarcı olurlar. siz saygı çerçeveleri içerisinde kendilerini standart yanaktan öpme ile başınızdaki savmak için azami gayret gösterirken bu kişiler ellerini "el öp duruşuna" sokarak burnunuza doğru itelerler. olur da o anda bu hamleyi görmezden gelerek yanağa yönelmişseniz hiç istiflerini bozmadan, alenen elinizi tutar aynı hareketi yinelerler. tüm bu zorlamalar karşısında siz el öpmemek için hala direnirseniz de mutlaka bir laf sokuşturup o eli yine size uzatırlar. işte bu nedenledir ki bu kişiler el öpmeyi haketmeyenlerin en başında gelir benim gözümde. saygı (eğer el öpmek bir saygı eylemiyse) bu yolla kazanılmaz, haketmek gerekir. ( CIPL; ES11)

The last context TNS mentioned they felt imposed upon were in shopping situations in stores around Turkey. In (345) the informant explains the distress he felt when constantly bugged by the sales clerk at a furniture store recently.

(345) [PEI13]  
PEI13:Ya özellikle böyle mesela mağazalarda felan gezdiğimiz zamanlarda işte satış temsilcilerinin, işte tezgahların çok fazla insanı rahatsız etmesi, çok fazla peşinden koşması, işte çok fazla herşeye müdahalede bulunması bence hani kaba davranış olarak adlandırılabilir.  
*Int: Peki böyle bir olay yaşadın mı?*  
PEI13: tabi mesela daha dün hani mobilyacı mobilya bakmak için mağazalarda gezerken ordaki satış temsilcilerinin yani ben hani bakmak istiyorum sadece dediğim halde kendim gezmek istediğim halde işte şu şöyledir bu böyledir gibi çok fazla müdahale yapması bence rahatsız edici bir davranıştır.  
*Int: Peki kaç yaşlarındaydı bunu sana yapan, bayan mıydı, erkek miydi?*  
PEI13: Genelde bayanla rdaha sık yapıyor diyebilirim. Erkekler biraz daha anlayışlı oluyolar. Yaş olarak da yani genelde tecrübeli elemanlar bu tarz şeylerde bulunmuyorlar çünkü onlar biraz daha biliyorlar ama yeni alınmış elemanlar, belkide kendilerini ispatlamak adına, daha genç insanlar daha fazla yapabiliyor diyebiliriz.

As the TNS describes the event, he uses the word “müdahale” meaning interference in its strong sense in Turkish. The sales clerk gives him a hard time and disturbs him by constantly trying to effect his choices acting on the strong motivation to ultimately sell the product. He feels his freedom to choose and to decide is greatly breached, thus his equity right to non-imposition threatened.

#### **5.4.2.2 (Dis)association Rights Threatening Impoliteness**

To remind the reader, (dis)association rights are based on the fundamental belief that people are entitled to an association with others that is in keeping with the type of relationship that they have with them (Spencer-Oatey, 2005a). The principle can work on the sub-principle of *involvement* (i.e. people should have appropriate amounts and types of “activity”), *empathy* (i.e. the belief that people should share appropriate concerns, feelings and interests with others), and also *respectfulness*.

The association parameter works in two distinct ways. In the first group, people expect association from who they believe they have a bond with and in return get a violation of their association rights. In the second group, people seek disassociation with the other because of the distant relationship they believe they have with the individual and in return get violations to their disassociation rights. As an example to the former situation, in the interview extract (346) below the affective disassociation shown by a group of female colleagues is evaluated as impolite. While the informant was pregnant, she was disturbed by the disconcert<sup>58</sup> for her health by colleagues who continued to smoke in her company purposefully to hurt her. Thus, her close association anticipation was not upheld. She felt her health concerns were not shared by the group of people with whom she sought and expected association from.

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<sup>58</sup> This corresponds to Culpeper’s (1996) positive impoliteness strategy “Be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic” (p. 357).

- (346) [PEI10]  
PEI10: evet yine ofiste geçmiş .... Hamileyken yaşadığım yani bunu hiç unutamıyorum zaten benim için çok üzücü bişeydi. Sigara yasağı başlamıştı ve ben ilk dört ay çok sıkıntı çekiyordum, midem bulanıyordu. bu yasağın uygulanmasını istedim. Ama ne idareciler işte ne de arkadaşlarım, kırk kişinin oturduğu bi ofisteydik. Hiçbiri şey yani empati kurup bu şeyde bana anlayış göstermediler ve aksine etrafıma toplanıp falan içmeye başladılar. Yani beni çok üzen,yani içime işleyen bi şeydir.  
*Int: Peki bunu en çok yapan insan mesela nasıl biriydi?*  
PEI10: en çok yapan isan böyle en çok sevdiğimi düşündüğüm yani beni de sevdiğini düşündüğüm bi insandı ve böyle diğer insanları toplayıp, üniversite mezunuydu ama lise mezunu falan o tip insanları da topluyodu başına. Yani daha çok maruz kalıyım diye uğraştı ve beni üzmemek için, o dönemde de çok .. hamileyken insanlar çok daha hassas oluyolar. Ve bebeğimi de düşünüyordum  
*Int: bayan mıydı?*  
PEI10: evet hepi bayandı. Yani erkek arkadaşlarım vardı onlar çıkıp içerlerdi.  
*Int: bayanlar..*  
PEI10: gerçekten öyle oluyo. Herşey de öyle oluyo.

In contrast, as an example to the second group outlined above, the informant in (347) acts on his belief that B may claim her right to dissociation. He believes asking for B's number would be inappropriate and impolite due to the yet non-close relationship they have with B. Instead in order not to be impolite and infringe on B's right to (dis)association, leaves a note on the windshield of her car.

- (347) Odtü İktisat Master'dan M..... Seninle ODTÜ çarşıda ATM'den para çekerken tanıştık. Sesin, lüle lüle saçların, gülen gözlerin aklımda kaldı. Kabalık olur diye telefonunu istemeyemedim. Arabanı park halinde görünce sileceğe not bıraktım. Ben, makinede master yapan çocuk. Lütfen bana ulaş. (CPL81;IT]
- (348) Ah itiraf.com, senin yüzünden neler geldi başıma. Uzun bir süredir bu siteden biriyle yazışıyorum. İkimiz de gırgır takılıyoruz ve sadece onunla yazışıyorum bur'da. Ancak bu arkadaş bir süre önce yurt dışına gitti. Gittiği yer dedelerimin yaşadığı bir yerdi. Oradayken "Buradan bir şey ister misin?" dedi. Ben de merakımdan, "Oranın kartpostallarını, resimlerini falan getir" dedim. Şimdi çocuk geri döndü. Biraz önce mail atmış; resimleri nasıl ulaştırabilirim diye. Cevap yazamadım. Tarayıp gönder desem büyük bir kabalık etmiş olacağımı düşünüyorum. Tanışıp yüzyüze alayım desem, o da olmaz. Yapamam böyle bir şeyi. Aslında kasıntı bir insan değilim ama ne bileyim, tuhaf olur. B., mailine bu yüzden cevap yazamadım, affet. [CIPL85;IT]

Similarly, in (348) the informant above wants to claim her right to disassociation with B but believes it may be impolite to do so. The relationship between the two people are too distant to meet in person. In order to avoid the impolite act, she is

going to commit by exposing this (e.g. saying we cannot meet because we are not at such a level of relationship), she chooses to opt out and not reply his e-mail.

Hence, association and dissassociation claims of interactants may be incompatible. Another situation reported by TNS was when B's right to privacy with chosen party is intruded upon by someone who believes they are also entitled to the close relationship. A TNS mentions this impolite act by writing "iki ikişi özel bir şey konuşurken yanlarına gelen ve gitmek bilmeyen o üçüncüye nezaketsiz derim". (Eng. I would call the third person who approaches two people speaking about a private matter and does not leave as impolite)

The entitlement claim can also be accompanied by expected linguistic exchanges. Consequently, not engaging in small talk as expected: not replying to greetings or not engaging in any greeting activity or waiting for B to initiate the greeting exchange, not doing it if not initiated by B (e.g. "selam vermemek, selam almamak") is impolite. Evaluated in this scope can be instances where expected parties do not inquire about a patient's health (e.g. "Hastanede yatan yakınını ziyaret etmemek", "geçmiş olsuna gitmemek"; "arayıp sormamak") or when TNS cannot find the type and extent of involvement by others such as being careless when answering a question, giving an indecent/uncooperative reply when called upon (e.g. "yol sorma durumunda"). According to the context under scrutiny, these acts may also be considered as "inttentiveness to other's need".

In communication with B, A's seemingly disinterested acts which suggests to B that he is being ignored B by A were found impolite. The basis of evaluation was from people with whom we claim a level of association, appearing disinterested, being uninviting especially in service-provider relationships such as doctor to patient, waiter-customer, driver-commuter, and host-guest), also not maintaining eye-contact with B (Tr. "yüzüne/gözüne bakmadan konuşmak"), when having met B for the first time, not taking an interest in B/ignoring B (e.g. "bir akşam yemeğinde, misafirlikte", Eng. during a dinner attended as a guest) or excluding

other from activity such as not inviting someone somewhere although B sees A and B's association calling for it. This communicated message that B was not wanted in a setting/circle causes great discomfort. The guest-host situations mentioned were: acting inconsiderately to guest B conveying that you wish B(s) were not present, they had not come accompanied by, for example, stretching like you are sleepy –as if telling them 'to leave'–, other types of cold behaviour such as the host not saying hello/greeting guests, not serving anything, not greeting and welcoming guests at door, and not seeing them to the door.

In extract (349) an informant describes how angry he felt when his boss' wife did not take an interest in him to the extent he was expecting: she did not even congratulate him on his new position and also shook his hand rather unwillingly. He did not receive the association behaviour he thought he was entitled to. The informant also states how surprised he was that the wife was so impolite although she appeared so courteous and well-mannered. In (350) the confessor initially evaluates a boy she liked as impolite because although she took interest in the boy and inquired about how well he did in school during a term, it was non-reciprocal, i.e. he does not take an interest in how she did on her report card. Later the boy remedied the association violation by calling her and saying he had forgotten to ask about it.

(349) Yeni bir yerde çalışmaya başladım. Daha ilk görüşmeye gittiğim gün patronuma inanılmaz kanım ısındı. Geçen gün eşi işyerine geldi. Fotoğraflarından edindiğim izlenimle elit bir kadın olduğunu düşünmüştüm ama bana doğru dürüst "hayırlı olsun" bile demedi. Elimi isteksiz bir şekilde sıktı. Sonra da arkasını dönüp kocasının odasına yollandı. Bu hareketine sinir oldum. Böyle nazik bir adamın eşinin nasıl bu kadar kaba olabildiğine çok şaşırdım. [CIPL;IT25]

(350) Hayatımın en sırrını çözemediğim olaydır. Ortaokuldayken bir yaz tatilinin başında, o zamanlar delisi olduğum, sınıftan bir çocuğu görmüştüm. Ayaküstü iki çift laf etmiştik. Karnesinin nasıl olduğunu sormuştum. Yanıtını aldıktan sonra da ayrılmıştık. Arkadaşlarımla eve geldiğimde, tam onun ne kadar kaba olduğunu, ben sorduğum halde onun bana karnemi sormadığını hararetle anlatırken ev telefonu çaldı. Sınıfta benimle doğru dürüst konuşmayan çocuk telefonda, "Ben sana sormayı unuttum. Senin karnen nasıl?" demişti! Neydi o yaaa! Hâlâ da anlamış değilim. [CIPL33]

Another type of a dissasociation offense was the boss not taking an interest in the worker, for instance, a higher ranking individual at work never inquiring about how B and B's family are doing (i.e. not inquiring about wife/husband and children/parents). In excerpt (351), the informant describes how he got into a conversation with an old lady assuming that the old lady might be a fellow worker's relative. It turned out later that she was not. In (352) a confessor describes a threat to 'disassociation-association claims' which he was a part of during a bus commute. Although he did not want to get involved, out of 'politeness' he responded to a fellow commuters desire for chit-chat . He was; however, seeking disassociation while the fellow bus commuter was claiming association (as a commuter who was sitting in close proximity to him).

(351) Eskiden ofisimiz bir apartmanın ikinci katındaydı. Bir gün balkonda otururken, karşı kaldırımdan bir teyzenin bizim balkona doğru bakarak "Napiyorsunuz, iyi misiniz?" diye seslendiğini duydum. "Elemanlardan birinin yakınıdır" diyerek kabalık olmasın diye "İyiyiz teyze sen nasılsın?" diye cevap verdim. Muhabbet ilk başlarda "Ben de iyiyim, sağol" , "Ee, napiyorsunuz?" , "N'apalım teyze, sabahladık dergiyi bitirdik." şeklinde devam ederken, bir süre sonra fark ettim ki benim söylediklerimle teyzenin söyledikleri birbirini tutmamaya başladı. O anda kafamda bir şimşek çaktı, yavaşça başımı kaldırıp üst katlara bakmamla, iki üst komşumuzun teyzeyle muhabbete harlı bir biçimde devam ettiğini gördüm. Eh be komşu, girsene sen evine, ben ne güzel teyzemle monoloğu yakalamışım, tamam akrabalar olabilir, başka gün ederiniz sohbetinizi. Olmaz ki ama... [CIPL78;IT;Title: Teyze gir içeri]

(352) Bir akşam Taksim-Bakırköy hattındaki çift katlı otobüslerden birine bindim. Üst kata çıkıp en öne oturdum. Karşı koltuktaki göbekli bey sürekli bakıp duruyordu. Sonunda dayanamayarak muhabbete başladı. Kabalık olmasın diye kısa cevaplarla geçiştirmeye çalıştım. "Ben tenis hocasıyım" dediğinde ise kendimi tutamayıp gülümsedim. "Göbeğe bakma, o suni" dedi! Hâlâ bu lafın ne demek olduğunu anlamaya çalışıyorum. [CIPL74;IT]

"Terslemek" in Turkish which roughly corresponds to rebuff or brush off B, by for example ingoring or snubbing him (lit. and non-literally turning your back from B or walking away from B)<sup>59</sup> was found to be violating association rights. In (353) A does not call B, or does not return calls intentionally. In (354) a

<sup>59</sup> This corresponds to Culpeper's Positive Impoliteness strategy "Ignore, snub the other" by paying no attention to the other's presence (Culpeper, 1996, p.357). However, the terslemek category suggested above is an expanded/broadened version also including cases where A does not call back B or does not take calls from B. The act is not restricted by being in the presence of the other.

confessor in the CIPL evaluates his own behaviour, not returning messages of other site users in a timely fashion as impolite.

(353) Mesela bir kişi size her gün bugün seni arayacağım deyip, aramayıp, üstüne üstlük sizin aramanıza karşılık telefonunu sürekli meşgule alıp size geri dönmüyorsa, bu saygısızlıktır. [SSZ49b]

(354) Bir sene öncesine kadar her gün dikkatle okuduğum itiraf.com'u ziyaret etmeyi birden kesmiştim. Bugün yeniden girdim. Arayüz değişmiş. Yanlış bir yere gelmişim gibi hissettim bir an. Neden bu kadar vefasız olduğumu çözemedim. Oysa hayatımda önemli değişiklikler de olmamıştı. En acısı da, bana mesaj atan insanlardan habersiz kalıp yanıt veremediğim için çok kaba davrandığımı düşündüm. [CIPL43;IT]

(355) İş isteme bahanesiyle bir arkadaşımı Cumhuriyet'e gönderdim. Can ile görüştü. Çok ilgili davranmış, gazetenin durumunu, çalışmak için hangi koşulları taşımak gerektiğini, neler yapmasını önerdiğini anlatmış. Bu kadar seri konuşan bir insana hiç rastlamadım diyor arkadaşım. Hem çok iyi dinliyor, hem de hiç şaşırmadan hızlı hızlı konuşuyormuş. Sempatik biri ama yapacağını gene yaptı diyor arkadaşım. Tam konuşma ilerleyecekken, artık işinin başına dönmesi gerektiğini söylemiş. Diyorum ya, siz erkekler hepiniz ayınsınız, hepiniz birer kabalık abidesisiniz.[CIPL90;IT]

(356) Dolmuşçu ve topuklu ayakkabı: Dolmuştan tüm ihtişamıyla incekken ani bir frenle alabora olan mini etekli bakımlı kadının, ayakkabısının kırılmış yüksek topuğunu saldırgan bir şekilde 'nolacak şimdi bu?!' diye sallayarak şoföre bağırması beklenilir bir durum. Ancak şoförün koltuğun altından bir çekiç çıkartarak 'abla getir çakayım' şeklindeki çözümcü yaklaşımı alkışlanmaya değer. Kadının bunu kabul etmeyiip söylenerek uzaklaşması çok kaba. Bunu yurdumun hızlı fakat donanımlı şoförlerine yapmayacaktın sayın bayan! [CIPL6; IT]

In addition, as it implies disassociation, not listening to B (not being interested in what B has to say or getting busy with other things while B is speaking) was also found as impolite by a number of TNS. In (355) the man who says he has to get back to work and ends a meeting, where as in (356) the woman who departs the setting abruptly is found impolite. The bases of evaluation in all four excerpts above is violation of association by ignoring or snubbing B.

The last category of responses included cases where one was careful not to draw a distance between self and other. In excerpt (357) and also (358) which was written as a follow-up to (357), the informants express how uncomfortable 'dividers' used in supermarkets make them. Placing the divider is seen as isolating self from other.

(357) Süpermarkette kasada beklerken, bant üstünde benden sonra veya önce eşyaları olanlarla arama ayırıcı çubuklardan koyamıyorum. Sanki kabalık oluyormuş, kendimi onlardan izole ediyormuşum gibi geliyor. [CIPL21;IT]

(358) Ben de süpermarkette ödeme sırasında kasadaki o ayrıca koyarken, arkamdaki ya da önümdeki insana gülümsemek zorundaymışım gibi hissediyorum. Öyle yapmazsam bilgiç, cimri veya kaba görünmekten korkuyorum. [CIPL20;IT]

They both believe that using the divider communicates the message that self is claiming dissassociation from the other customer. Thus, the informant in the last excerpt confesses that she smiles to the other customer behind her when she places the divider as a redressive action in order not to be evaluated as impolite.

#### **5.4.3 Expressive Impoliteness and Mismanagement of Discourse**

Expressive impoliteness acts are solely linguistic acts that are found inappropriate due their being seen as mismanagement of communication. The decision as to whether a linguistic act was a mention of expressive politeness or one of the other seven determined bases of evaluation was judged by the property that was foregrounded in the comments/experiences reported by TNA. If it was considered to be the mode, it being linguistic, it was coded as expressive impoliteness. It was found that if the linguistic expression were found important, then they were usually shared in the form of quoted speech by the informants.

180 evaluation occurrences (14,32%) in the QPM data were coded as instances of an evaluation of expressive impoliteness. The sub-themes were:

- i. inappropriateness in language choice
- ii. using bad language
- iii. not abiding by turn taking conventions

Act that were regarded as being inappropriate in language choices were related to not performing certain necessary/expected speech acts, using directness when indirectness was called for and being sparing with linguistic deference marking acts (Tr. “hürmet esirgemek”).

Among the non-performance of expected speech acts were not apologizing (e.g. saying sorry) when an act of impoliteness has been performed, not asking for permission (e.g. when using something of B's; touching belongings of B) or leaving/entering a space.

Within the linguistic mode of impoliteness, speaking in an impolite manner, such as using impolite words and especially using intonation impolitely were mentioned. The absence of "Pardon" and "Lütfen" when, for instance, on the minibus while asking for someone to pass your fare along to the driver ("dolmista parayı uzatırken öndeki kişinin omzuna sertçe vurup birşey demeden parayı uzatmak", Eng. when passing your fare to the driver on the minibus, forcefully poking/patting the person's shoulder sitting in front of you not accompanied by any words).

Among other examples of expressive impoliteness were: The absence of discernment marking terms of address such as "efendim" required from lower age/status status A to higher B (in relation to "makam", Eng. rank/post), also inappropriate terms of address between equals ("mesafeyi ve sınırı aşmak"), also not adjusting the message's language to the required degree as called by the relationship between A and B, and not keeping within acceptable linguistic boundaries ("söylemek istediğini söyleme şekliyle haddini aşmak"), as well as not later adjusting speech, engaging in repair work to remain within limits acceptable.

The improper use of T/V distinctions (i.e. sen/siz) when called for were also mentioned. TNS referred to not keeping the social distance (expressed through "laubalilik" in Turkish) in the use of address terms, e.g. "hanımefendi yerine abla ya da bayan denmesi", Eng. using 'sister' or 'lady' instead of 'ladyship'; "patrona sen demek", Eng. Calling the boss 'sen'; "iş ortamında direk isimle hitap etmek" Eng. Going straight to a first name basis in the work setting).

Cursing and swearing as a style of speech all the time (“küfürlü konuşma”), using slang, vernacular language (“argo”) and cursing (e.g. “allah belasını versin”, “gebersin”) in the company of others –m ore so in the company of a female– are seen as impolite ways. In (359) below, while playing a common word guessing boardgame, the confessor uses “biraz daha *kaba* söylenişi” to get her friends to produce the slightly more ‘colloquial’ ways of expressing certain words but “daha *kaba*” has been understood by her team mates as taboo counterparts (i.e. swear words) of the guess-word. Thus, expressions “piç kurusu” (Eng. lit. illegitimate child), is uttered in trying to reach “kaba” ways of uttering the guess-word which was “gayrimeşru”.

(359) Arkadaşımla Tabu oynuyoruz; kelime "velet"; ben anlatıyorum "hani yaramaz olur, çocuğun biraz daha kaba söylenişi" cevap: "p.ç kurusuuuu!" Sıra arkadaşına geliyor, "gayrimeşru"yu anlatıyor: "Hani baba kendisinden olduğunu kabul etmez" cevap veriyorum "o.ospu çocuğu" Son olarak "doğurgan"ı anlatmaya çalışıyorum, "Biz ne zaman kadın olacağız?" ve cevap geliyor: "Sevişinceeeeeee" Kabul etmek gerek, Tabu oynamak o kadar da iyi bir fikir değildi. Neyimize bizim öyle oyunlar, otursak ya oturduğumuz yerde! [CIPL;IT7]

Possibly using similar expressions to those above, in (360) below, to the neighbours who were disturbing him, an informant confesses the way he spoke on the phone and how the linguistic choices he made were inappropriate coming from someone of his stature and age.

(360) Her gece ama her gece kavga ediyorlar. Yan apartmanın benim seviyemdeki dairesinde oturan saygısız insanlardan bahsediyorum. Hem de küçük oğullarının yanında! Herbiri aynı anda avazı çıktığı kadar bağırıyor. Geceleri uyku haram oldu. Dün gece hiç üşenmeyip sokağa çıktım. Apartman zilinden adamın adını soyadını öğrendim. İnternet'e girdim. Telekom sayfasından telefon numaralarını bulup aradım. Ne yaşıma ne de statüme uygun olmayan kaba bir dille küfür ve tehditler yağdırdım. Cevap vermelerine fırsat bırakmadan da kapattım. Ama dün gece korkudan uyuyamadım. Umarım arayan numarayı gösteren telefonlardan kullanmıyorlardır. [CPL45;IT]

Other than expressing anger, as in the excerpt above, a TNS admits to using what he calls impolite language to sound more masculine. In (361) the informant decides to use the word “don” (regarded as a more slangish expression to refer to underwear) instead of “çamaşır” though admitting that it sounds more “kaba”.

(361) Kıbarım ya, yağmurda çok ısladığımı belirtmek için, "Çamaşıırma kadar ısladım" dedim. Ama hemen sonra "çamaşır" kelimesinin kendi başına kullanıldığında hiç de 'erkek çamaşırı' gibi durmadığını farkettim. "Düzelتيyorum, donuma kadar ısladım" demek durumunda kaldım. Biraz kaba olmakta sakınca yok. Donsa don demek lazım. [CIPL19]

Swearing especially in the company of a female or to older B for no significant reason or uttering combinations of insults with the f\* word in Turkish targeted at especially B's female family members and their private body parts were linguistic acts regarded exceedingly impolite. Hirshcon (2001) states that Turkish people tend to take insults more seriously, that the sensitivity to take offence is greater in comparison to some other cultures and that certain insults especially those that associate sexually with family members of individuals are found as more impolite and can be met with physical retaliation. An experimental ethnographic study by Cohen, et al. (1996) has revealed interesting biological evidence to the relationship between insult, 'culture of honour' and aggression. In three experiments they examined how norms characteristic of a "culture of honor" manifest themselves in the cognitions, emotions, behaviours, and physiological reactions of people from different sub-cultures (southerner population and northerners living in the US). In the experiments, participants were insulted by a confederate who bumped into the participant and called him an "asshole." While the northerner group as relatively unaffected by the insult, participants from the southerner group were more likely to think their masculine reputation was threatened, more upset (as shown by a rise in cortisol levels), more physiologically primed for aggression (as shown by a rise in testosterone levels), more cognitively primed for aggression, and more likely to engage in aggressive and dominant behaviour. Findings of these studies highlight the insult-aggression cycle in cultures of honor as Turkey in which insults either diminish a man's self-reputation or give their family a bad name. Writing as an insider, insults and swearing of this type are usually not taken lightly and they are not let pass as verbal altercations in Turkish.

The third sub-theme identified was not abiding by turn-taking and communication conventions such as speaking up without asking for permission in a meeting situation where this would be expected, interrupting B while s/he is speaking (“söz kesmek”). In the interview extract (362), a parent evaluated other parents at a PTA meeting as impolite because they were constantly interrupting other people’s speeches together with a number of rights violations.

- (362) [PEI14]  
(On the prompt for a narrative of an impoliteness experience)  
İki (reads the question aloud). Evet. Yine son zamanlarda veli toplantısı vardı. Kızımın okulunun veli toplantısında ıııııııııı bir grup veli kendi istedikleri yönde diğer velileri ııııı yönlendirmek amacıyla ııı böyle yüksek sesle, diğerlerini dinlemeden, mesela biz el kaldırarak konuşmak söz almak istedik. Ve öyle başladığımızda söze, tam sözümüzü kesiyolardı. Bağırarak konuşuyolardı. Ve hatta öyle ki bir ara ayağa kalkıp, ııı bulunduğumuz masaya gelip, suratımıza yukarDAN baktı. Bunu ben, mesela çok terbiyesizce buldum. ııı sözümün kesildiğini de belirttiğim zaman, durmadan devam etti, yani kesmeye devam etti. Ben de dinlemeyip ortamı terk ettim.

In view of relevance, talking about an unrelated subject, getting the conversation/topic to derail and also silence are seen as impolite in situations where a relevant adjacency pair was expected. In terms of preference organization, in (363) an informant shares how impolite he found it that no one was delivering the preferred turn after a minibuss drivers inquiry about whether or not there was anyone who wished to get off.

- (363) İstanbul'a yeni taşınmıştık. Minibüse ilk bindiğim dönemlerde şoför, "İnecek var mı?" diye sorduğu zaman adama kimse cevap vermiyordu. Kendini kötü hissetmesin diye her seferinde ben, "Yok" diyordum! Bir yandan da minibüsteki herkesin ne kadar kaba olduğunu düşünüyordum! Sessiz kalmanın yok anlamına geldiğini anlamam 2-3 ayımı aldı. [CİPL24;IT]

To remedy the situation he constantly produced the preferred turn until realized that in this specific context, a minibuss commute in İstanbul, this was seen as acceptable behaviour. On the phone, people who answer without engaging in the sequence of a telephone conversation script (e.g. “söyle”, “efendim”) or the caller returning your first hello with a question (e.g. “sizi arayan kişinin orası neresi?, sen kimsin? diye sorması”).

Directness as opposed to indirectness was also an issue for TNS in the judgement of impoliteness in linguistic utterances.

(364) (*extract from a mountain climbers blog*)... Yukarı çıkarken karşılaştığım bir rehber “ O kulübe sadece zirveden içenler için orada kalamazsın, yasak, geri dön” dedi. “ben de çadırım var” deyip geçistirdim ama adam çok tersledi nedense. Sonra gelen bir tanesi ise daha kibar konuştu ve yukarıda yatacak yer olmadığını yeterli ekipmanım olup olmadığını sordu. Olduğunu anlayınca iyi şans diledi ve gitti....[CIPL; BL3]

Being too direct when indirectness is called for (or vice versa), being rough when requesting: using the imperative when commanding, ordering and sounding bossy, not using softeners when giving warnings to B (e.g. being direct when warning: “yapma!”, “bir daha yapma”, Eng. Don’t!, Don’t do that again) or “geri dön” (Eng. come back) as in excerpt (4) above, saying ‘shut up’ (“Kes sesini”) instead of a more appropriate way to express you wish to end this conversation with the other, to tell someone that they have committed “ayıp” and have done wrong too directly (e.g. “birine tühh, keşke öyle yapmasaydın, hayallah demek yerine pat diye çok ayıp etmişsin demek”) were among samples of directness as impoliteness instances.

#### **5.4.4 Impoliteness as “Inattentiveness to Other”**

The fourth strongest theme with 173 occurrences (13,25%) as a basis for evaluation was identified as impoliteness as “inattentiveness to other”. This category is related to when A believes it is apparent that he needs attention from B for his needs, emotions or goals; however, B does not deliver and cater to them by providing willing support to these dimensions of the individual’s self. Instead the other carries to self-aspects to the fore usually seeking benefit to self. To detail, this category involves three sub-components:

- i. innattentiveness to other’s emotions/attentiveness to self
- ii. innattentiveness to other’s needs/attentiveness to self needs
- iii. innattentiveness to other/attentiveness to self-goal

#### 5.4.4.1 Inattentiveness to Other's Emotion(s)

Causing B to feel the opposite of joy, surprise, contentment, pleasure is regarded as inattentiveness to other's emotions. There are a number of ways this can be performed. When B is anxious of getting/becoming X or being X, saying you are X to B (e.g. you are getting old and are going to die, you are over-weight) were among such acts. Others were making a comment/taking action/engaging in (linguistic) behaviour by not taking into account B's current state (i.e. feelings, B's sadness/happiness, thoughts/what B lacks, physical/mental condition of B), inconsiderately and carelessly killing the surprise element for B by causing B to find out about a surprise planned for B (e.g. birthday party). In all the acts above A is described by TNS as inconsiderate because B's emotions have not adequately been attended to. An example was when a boss did not give an employee a day off when it was apparent that the employee wanted to be with his/her mother who was ill.

In (365), a granddaughter is displeased by the way her grandmother is treated by a doctor who regardless of how it may make the old lady feel, tells her directly that she is on the way to perdition implying she does not have a lot of time to live and that therefore how she looks is irrelevant.

(365) Büyükannemi göz muayenesi için doktora götürdüm. Kaba ve ukala bir adam çıktı. "Ya sabır" çekerek muayenenin bitmesini beklerken kadının yüzüne, "Sen bu yaştan sonra daha iyi görüp napıcaksın? Nasıl olsa öteki tarafta sana göz lazım olmayacak" demez mi! Adımı ne kadar haşladığımı tahmin edemezsiniz. Şimdi de Tabipler Odası'na şikayet edicem. Böyle doktor olmaz olsun. [CIPL35;IT]

She reports to have later scolded the doctor badly and that she will report him to the chamber of medical doctors to serve himself a notice for his clear impoliteness enacted by the inattentiveness he has showed to an old patient's emotions.

Winding B up (e.g. "arkadaşı kızgınken gelip onu rahatsız ettiğini bildiği şakalar yapmak, üstüne gitmek") or also not caring how B feels when he is indistress and is crying were described as inattentiveness. In (366) a wife finds his husband's often used remark "zırlamayı kes" (Eng. Stop blubbering) when she is weeping

after a regular argument as impolite, instead of apologizing. His remark ineloquently shows he views his wife's crying as blubbering and does not care for her feelings.

(366) Eşimle yaşadığımız sıradan kavgalardan sonra ben duygusal bir şekilde gözyaşlarına boğulmuşken, onun kaba bir şekilde, "Zırlamayı kes" demesine illet oluyorum. Kocacım, sen de diğer erkekler gibi beni ağlattığına pişman olup özür dilesen olmaz mı?!  
[CIPL52;IT]

Parallel to what has been found for politeness evaluations based on attentiveness to other's emotions by generosity, impoliteness evaluations were also based on A not valuing B and being generous him by remembering events and days dear to or important to B. Forgetting or not taking care to celebrate a close one's special day (e.g. birthday) or not calling someone when they have lost a close one are among such instances of evaluation.

#### **5.4.4.2 Inattentiveness to Other's Need and/or Attentiveness to Self-Need(s)**

Inattentiveness to other's need(s) involved cases where B in immediate need (e.g. when B has slipped and fallen to the ground/), when A has not offered his seat to an elderly person or a pregnant lady, or a female with a small child when it apparent that they are having a hard time standing and need to sit down, when B has problems in sitting down, not helping B get seated (e.g. not holding B's chair and sitting down before B), and not thinking of the other person's well being or safety by being reluctant to drive/give someone a ride or walk them home.

Not displaying a genuine attitude to help B (e.g. in work, exams, etc.) such as in (367) when a roommate does not cease using the internet when it is obvious that B needs it more, or an open inattentiveness to pregnant B's need to get on the elevator as in the interview extract (368) below were found in the data.

(367) oda arkadaşım ödev yapmadığı halde interneti meşgul etmişti ve çıkmasını rica ettiğim halde çıkmadı. [DSZ17]

(368)

[PEI7]

PEI7: ona da asansörde yaşadığım bişey anlatabilirim. İııııı bi gün asansöre bindim biraz da geç kalmıştım

*Int: kurum asansöründe?*

PEI7: kurum asansöründe evet. Yani öğle tatilinden biraz geç döndüm eee asansöre son anda bindim ama böyle henüz de tam dolmamıştı hani iki üç kişi vadi içerde. Bir arkadaşım da benimle birlikte geliyordu ama ee şeyden, hamile olduğu için yan taraftan geçmeye çalıştı onu bekledim. Asansörü de açık tutmak için ayağımı koydum. (küçük bir gülme efekti) tamam zaten çok geç kalmıştık ama yine de bir insanı daha alabilirdik, o da yukarı çıkmış olacaktı. Asansördeki bey çok sinirli ve kaba kelimelerle “zaten çok geç kaldık,sizi bekleyemeyiz” şeklinde bir ifadeyle böyle hani herkesin önünde. Ee hoş olmadı bu bence kaba bir hareketti.

Other cases of inattentiveness to needs concerned disregarding B’s right to peace and quiet, disregarding B’s right to silence especially when B is not feeling well, is sick, ill (e.g. by way of disruption, loudness, drinking and causing discomfort for others; singing and listening to music loudly; making noise in a room while someone else is sleeping or in a work environment; leaving phone open/answering phone in cinema/theatre/hospital setting when no disruption is the marked rule; being late to such events and causing discomfort). Narratives involving an impolite person speak loudly with someone in a way that disturbs other(s) in common spaces where B’s non-disturbance (e.g. in face to face communication, on the phone) is not cared for. There was also mention of “hasta ziyaretini uzun tutmak” (Eng. keep a ‘get well soon’ visit long) when B was sick and needed to rest.

Within the category of disturbance, intentionally doing/saying things that B is disturbed by (e.g. B dislikes smell of onion, makes him sick. A takes no notice and eats onions in B’s company; or prepares a meal with onions) were also coded.

In addition, an aspect of this category of evaluations concerned not sharing resources/possessions in inconsiderateness to B. Examples varied from not sharing food when other is/may be hungry, using limited resources (i.e. money) in one’s own favor (e.g. buying one’s favorite foods), using X (e.g. money) which had to go to Y (e.g. rent), not concerning oneself at all with what B would

want/what B thinks –being selfish and egoistical, to being persistent about one one’s own wants and needs (e.g. in guest situation when you are not hungry not considering that your guest may be).

In (369) a wife finds her husband’s behaviour of not caring about others after him and consuming the last piece of everything (e.g. biscuits) or when there is little left without asking B/considering whether or not B may need it or want to consume it.

- (369) [PEI12]  
PEI12: yani işte eşimin ııı atıyorum bişey yerken bizi düşünmeden yani “siz de yer misiniz ?” yani son tabak kalmıştır, paylaşımcı olmaması.  
*Int: Evet, paylaşımcı olmaması. Peki eşini bi tarif etsen, nasıl tarif edersin? kaç yaşında eşin?*  
PEI12: eşim otuz dört yaşında.  
*Int: Eeee tarz olarak nasıldır eşin? Eşini bi tanı//*  
PEI12: aa çok iyidir. Aslında çok iyidir, sorumluluk sahibidir. ııı ama böyle boğaz konusunda çok hassastır.

Other evaluations were bases on not recognizing you have caused discomfort to B; not doing anything to counter-balance the effect on B, his need of reconciliation and reciprocity; not helping B when B is preparing something that both will benefit from (e.g. meal, party, etc); not giving the right of way to B/obstructing B’s way when B is carrying items/needs to save time/energy (esp. when B is female/entering or leaving door first /not holding the door and slamming the door on B’s face); when B is in need of private time, not letting B off the hook and being demanding of B (e.g. in-law who wants/demands her married children to visit each and every weekend: “her hafta gelin, oğlu gelsin isteyen kaynana”) although they have other needs to take care of.

The last category of evaluations within inattentiveness to other’s need relates to circumstances under which B has psychological needs that need to be accommodated. In these scripts, B has a problem and is in need of sharing it with you, however you do not give him the opportunity and go on speaking about self and self worries; or instead of consoling B, increasing/deepening worries of B by

saying that what he fears may happen to him (e.g. saying a relative died from a disease that a neighbour has during troubles talk conversation), or in situations where a needs support, morale, a psych boost, being too frank (not using any hedges) and being too truthful as in “ çok çirkin olmuşsun” (Eng. You look really ugly), “kel kalacaksın” (Eng. You are going to get bald), “o kızla evlenilir mi?” (Eng. lit. Is that girl suitable for marriage?), “hiç yakışmamış” (Eng. She is not a match, does not suit you) were provided by TNS.

#### 5.4.4.3 Inattentiveness to Other/Attentiveness to Self-Goal(s)

There were a number of different types of acts concerning inattentiveness to other by an expression of attentiveness to self goal which formed the basis of the related judgements by TNS.

A clear case of this sub-category can be found in (370) where the TNS finds her mother’s cousin as impolite because she overtly expresses that she has thought of self/self-goal, inheriting the gift later, when she helping out her mother buy/choose a present for the informant.

(370) ilkokula gittiğim yıllarda benden 2 yaş küçük annemin kuzeninin kızı -pek görüşmüyorduk ayrı şehirlerde yaşadığımız için- ile bir gün boyunca vakit geçirmek zorundaydım. oyun oynarken istisnasız gördüğü her oyuncuğuma aaa bu ne güzelmiş, bunu bana verseneee noluur?" diye tepkiler veriyordu. bir iki kullanmadığım oyuncuğımı verdim. ama ben verdikçe habire istiyordu. ve tesekkür bile etmeden. çok yadırgamıştım. aynı gün annesi bana elbise takım hediye getirmişti. bu arada küçülen giysilerim ona gönderilirdi. ben beğendiğimi söyleyip tesekkür ettim annesine, lafımı bitirmemle "ben seçtim bu takımı nasılsa bana vereceksin ya bi kaç yıl içinde" demesi bir oldu. çok kınamıştım, saygısızlık ukalalık görgüsüzlük kabalık karışımı bir şeydi bu." [KA31]

Reflections of this stance were found in not taking any notice of B in realizing self-goal, lying for gaining self-goal, being insincere and calling B only when B will bring goal (“menfaatçi”, Eng. self-seeking), communicating inconsiderateness for B for self gain and not giving much thought/notice to impact of a particular action on B (e.g. “üste çıkabilmek için B’nin zaafını açığa çıkarmak, ipliğini pazara çıkarmak”), seeking disagreement with B by getting into an argument by

putting self-goal over other' feelings/goals/thoughts abruptly, doing as self pleases in achievement of goal without asking other people's opinions (i.e. people for whom the topic will have an impact on). In (371) a TNS shares an uncomfortable event that happened at work.

(371) internetde porno sitede gezen bir erkek arkadaşımız bunu fark eden bayan arkadaş kendini ikaz edip rahatsız olduğunu söylemiş, bu arkadaşımız ise eylemine bayan arkadaşımız karşısında devam etmişti. [KA72]

A male office friend carried on doing what he was doing (looking at porn on his office computer) although he was warned by his female colleague politely not to do so. A total inattentiveness to the other's opinion was practiced through achieving what he desired.

#### **5.4.5 Impoliteness as Assertive/Offensive “Self-Presentation”**

As the most frequent fifth basis of evaluation, 105 occurrences (8,04%) of an impolite self-presentation act was found in TNS impoliteness data. Kansu-Yetkiner (2006) discusses assertive self-presentation as active, but not aggressive efforts to establish positive impressions. Self-presentation styles found impolite by the TNS data covered both exaggerated assertive self-presentation as well as what is called aggressive self-promotion.

Actors performing assertive self-presentation project self-images desirable to them in a given situation. Assertiveness can be claimed either verbally or non-verbally. Assertive behaviour is explicitly contrasted to passive behaviour, which is attributed to people who fail to express their true thoughts and feelings, allowing them to be dominated or humiliated by others, and who comply with the requests or demands of others even when they do not want to (Kansu-Yetkiner, 2006, p. 32). Schütz (1998, p. 614) discusses “Self-promotion” and “Ingratiation” as two types of behaviour that fall into the category of assertive self-presentation. In self-descriptions, for the unit of analysis at hand, the former may be described as tactics related to claiming success or possession of an attribute as a means of

conveying the impression of competency to observers in seeking attributions of competence, and the latter as explicitly presenting oneself in ways designed to create an attractive image.

Such self-presentation styles were evaluated as being mostly GÖRGÜSÜZ and KÜSTAH. While the former lexeme was particularly associated with boasting and exaggerated self-image projection, the latter was used for cases where A implied or overtly claimed more value or worth than B with the implication that s/he was ‘better’ than B in certain respects.

Modest self-description conforms to politeness norms and to normative expectations for social conduct in various situations (Schütz, 1998). According to Kansu-Yetkiner (2006, p.66) “modesty, in Turkish culture, is essential in articulating one’s achievements and positive attributions. After good performances or achievements, people are expected to make modest self-evaluations underlining the other’s contributions as well”<sup>60</sup>. Thus, people who were not modest, quite to the contrary were constantly bragging about self-attributes were regarded as impolite. Descriptions used by TNS were “gözüne sokmak” (Eng. force into one’s eye), boasting about possession/success/worth without being asked (Tr. “sormadan söylemek”) and , “övünmek” (Eng. bragging) in three domains:

- i. about financial state/fortune
- ii. one’s self appearance/body
- ii. bringing to the forefront what B lacks and brag about self-possession of it (e.g. knowledge, intelligence or ability for something)

In (372) a neighbour is being described as constantly bragging about his new car with the intention of getting people to appreciate how rich he is. In (373), someone who spitefully talks about the material possessions he owns, and in (374) a student who is over-confident to the degree of being “küstah” are described:

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<sup>60</sup> This corresponds to Leech’s modesty maxim: minimizing self-praise and maximizing self-dispraise.

(372) zengin olduğunu belli etmek istercesine, yeni aldığı arabadan sürekli bahseden görgüsüz bir komşum vardı [GR68]

(373) nispet yapıp karşısındakinden daha üstün olduğunu kanıtlamak için devamlı sahip olduğu mal varlıklarından söz edip bunların gereç olduğunu, insanlığına ve gelişimine bir katkısı olmadığını henüz farkedememiş kişi ve davranışları. [GR69]

(374) benim bütün derslerim harika, hiçbir zaman kötü not almadım her şeyi çok iyi biliyorum hatta o kadar iyi biliyorum ki hoca bu soruyu kesinlikle yanlış hazırlamış diyen kişi küstahtır. ben hiç kaybetmem, her zaman her koşulda kazanırım diyen kişi küstahtır. [KST27]

On the other hand, another impolite self-presentation strategy is “offensive self-presentation” which the more aggressive way of establishing a desired image (Schütz, 1998, p.613). It basically means ‘A trying to look good by making B look bad’. People employ offensive self-presentation by using domination or insulting others in order to present themselves positively. Attacking others and presenting themselves as superior are the main methods to convey desired impressions (Kansu Yetkiner, 2006, p.66). Seeing self better/higher than B and B as lower than self in a ‘denigrating’ fashion was usually performed in the data by making fun of B. For example, by teasing, an impolite A was attacking the B’s competency or credibility: thus A could manage to look superior.

In (375) a TNS evaluates a former friend who teased him as to his lack of knowledge for computers as impolite. It was not, however, the teasing but the fact that his friend was trying to show his superiority by teasing him that was evaluated negatively.

(375) bilgisayar mühendisi bir arkadaşım bilgisayar hakkında bilmediğim bir şey için bana gülmüştü, kendi üstünlüğünü göstermeye çalışmıştı aklısına. Ben de çok küstah biri olduğunu düşünmüştüm [KST25]

Moreover, for TNS, another group of people who employed negatively eventful self-presentation were those who can be called as ‘nouveau riche’ . These individuals reached a certain level of wealth later in life and were nowholding the

desire to be recognized as ‘high class’. Such people were evaluated by TNS as GÖRGÜSÜZ because they intentionally acted and spoke in a way that made them appear different than what they really are (Tr. “kendini farklı göstermeye çalışmak”). As in the extracts below, expressions they used to describe them were “sonradan görme, “hazımsız”, “ne oldum delisi” , “kendini jet sosyete sanan budalalar...”.

(376) önceden çok fakir bir arkadaşımın ailesine milli piyangodan para çıkmıştı. ondan sonra hep aldığı arabalardan, neye ne kadar harcadığından bahseder oldu. ben de içimden tam bir görgüsüz diyordum. [GR37]

(377) eski fakir hallerini unutup paraya kavuşan ve kendini zengin kasttan zannedip bir anda jet sosyete olduğunu sana erkek/kadın. bir iki marka kıyafeti olan kişinin zenginim havalarına girip konuşmasını tavrını ve kendince hayat stilini değiştirmeye çalışan ergen genç görgüsüzlük abidesidir [GR40]

(378) mesela sırf parasının çok olduğunu göstermek için özellikle beraber alışverişe çıkmamızı isteyen arkadaşlarım vardı. [GR 50]

Other related impolite behaviour was judged as exaggerating attributes/possessions such as the price of something owned, places been, knowledge possessed (e.g. “sürekli ben Amerika’da iken ile başlayan cümleler..”), making it seem that self has more power and knowledge than in reality (e.g. “bir konu üzerinde bilgisizce konuşmaya çalışmak”; “bilgi ve yetkisi olmadan kendisini veya bulunduğu toplumu bağlayıcı vaatlerde bulunmak”.) In some instances ‘advising’ offered by people were seen as another act of impolite self-presentation (e.g. “akıl vemek”). This gave the impression that B’s knowledge was for granted as A thought he was wiser/better than B (“bilip bilmeden, karşıdakinin bilgisini sorgulamadan konuşmak”)

In (379) an interesting example of how a TNS, in order not to appear as impolite and to be referred to as “diploması olduğu için kendini *üstün* gören kaba biri” (Eng. an impolite person who thinks she is better because she has a degree, a diploma) does not ask the older female attendant who does the tea service (the rounds of getting people in the office tea/coffee) to bring her tea and gets her

tea/coffee herself, although this is the attendant's duty. It makes her disturbed to ask her because she believes this could be seen as rubbing in her work related higher status and the fact that she was more educated than tea attendant, hence better than the attendant. The tea attendant is markedly older than her.

(379) İşyerinde çay servisimizi yapan kadın yaş olarak benden bir hayli büyük. Bu yüzden de ona bir şey söyleyemeyip, içeceğim şeyi mutfaktan hep kendim alıyorum. Eğer çok yoğun olursam mecburen ondan istiyorum. Getirdiği zaman gönlünü almak içim de, "Ben senin kadar güzel kahve yapamıyorum" diyorum. Böyle söylemezsem beni, diploması olduğu için kendini üstün gören kaba biri olarak göreceklerini düşünüyorum ve huzursuz oluyorum. Şu itirafı göndereyim yine gidip kendime kahve alacağım. [CPL;IT18]

Moreover, if she is very busy she asks the lady to bring it; however, if this is the case she almost always pays her a compliment her putting down own competency in making coffee.

#### **5.4.6 Impoliteness as “Disregarding Custom”**

“Disregarding customs” was the fifth most frequent (n=148; 11,33%) basis of evaluation for impolite acts. While “politeness as customs” theme data coding accounted for 23,94% (n=290) of all politeness evaluations, for impoliteness evaluations abidance to custom was a much less frequently occurring theme.

TNS impoliteness judgements concerning a disregard for customs mainly dealt with the non-abidance to social conventions and traditions in an expected fashion the Turkish culture. The extent to which one does not abides by social norms and conventions in the general sense (Tr. “toplumsal görgü ve nezaket kuralları”) were communicated for a number of different types of behaviour: inappropriate sitting/relaxing postures (Tr. “bacak uzatmak”, “bacak bacak üstüne atıp, üstüne üstlük ayakkabısının altını size çevirecek şekilde oturması”), pointing towards a person with a finger (esp. with one's middle finger), entering a space without knocking, chewing gum where doing so is inappropriate/in an unacceptable manner (Tr. “sokakta cak cak sakız çiğnemek”) at work or in class, not abiding by

customs concerning whispering in public and whispering a private message in somebody else's ear in the company of others (Tr. "kulaktan kuşağa konuşmak"). Although there were many instances of respect hand-kissing behaviour mentioned as a basis of politeness judgements, not performing the expected respect hand-kissing was not found in the data for impoliteness<sup>61</sup>. Instead, people who forced others to hand-kiss them were found as impolite as discussed earlier in 5.4.2.1 (see example (344) as such an act evaluated as being against equity rights).

Revoltingly impolite behaviour mentioned were bodily functions customary to be held in private, such as cleaning nose in a noisy fashion ("sesli burun silmek", "hünkürmek"), clearing your throat and spitting it out, scratching or handling private parts, nose or ear picking in public, and expelling flatulence in the presence of others ("yellenmek") as in (380):

(380) Geçen gün onunla beraber yürürken karnıma gelen gaz sancısına daha fazla dayanamadım ve hafiften ses etmeden yellendim. Biliyorum bu yaptığım büyük bir kabalık, hatta hayvanlık ama ne bileyim bi verden sonra insan biyolojik yapısının esiri oluyor.  
[CPL101;IT]

Another sub-category to impoliteness as disregarding custom was about behaviour that did not go with etiquette. Acton mentioned in this category were exhibiting impolite eating habits, i.e. not having table manners. More specifically, eating in big chunks; slurping; taking excessive food as in (381) without considering others and ending up eating other people's share ("başkasının hakkına musallat olmak"); taking things by the handfuls at one single time ("görgüsüzce avuçlamak"); chewing with one's mouth open; eating without a knife and fork-with bare hands; leaving the table abruptly; starting to eat before everyone is seated; younger people starting to eat before older ones arrive; eating too fast and finishing speedily before everyone, stuffing oneself as in (383); drinking out of the same cup in circumstances where people are not close and would not want to share; burping after a meal; to give oneself a stretch at the table were all regarded as instances of impoliteness

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<sup>61</sup> This may be a result of a limitation in the study: the average age of the participants (~31,38).

(381) geçen yaz gittiğimiz bir tatilde kaldığımız otel açık büfe hizmet veriyordu. turla gittiğimiz için yolda bir arkadaş edinmişim. yemekte sıraya girdik ben sevdiğim yemeklerden yiyeceğim kadar tabağıma alırken, o kitleden çıkmışçasına yemeklere saldırdı. ve yemeğimiz bittiginde tabağına aldığı yemeklerden yarısından çoğu kalmıştı. bu davranışını çok kınamışım. [GR31]

(382) yıllar önce uzak bir akrabamız bayram ziyaretine gelmiş ve tuttuğumuz bayram sekerlerini avuçlayarak cebine atmıştı. [GR78]

(383) Ne olur bu kadar doğru , gerçekçi , akıllıca konuşma Alyoşa ! Ne olur en pahalı , en nadide içkileri yine musluğa dök . Böyle kibar bir doyunlukla oturma , oburca saldır yemeklere .... [CIPL; K1; METU TC; from Elveda Alyoşa, Oya Baydar, 1993, Can Yayınları ]

Eating in the street during Ramadan for people with religious sensitivities was claimed as a tradition of attentiveness to needs for practicing Muslims. In (384) an informant considers a friend who eats in front of him during this month while he is fasting<sup>62</sup>:

(384) Ramazan ayında ben oruç tutarken karşımda iştahla yiyen ve bana en ufak bir özürde veya uyarıda bulunmayan arkadaşımı hep düşüncesiz olarak algıladım. (DSZ72)

Not acting in an acceptable moral standard that matches the traditional aspects of the Turkish culture were also categorized as a sub-category of “disregard for customs”. Examples of such evaluations were based on the following: being immoral (Tr. “ahlaksız”) by way of language/thought/act in the company of others especially ladies and also older people; using indecent/improper language such as making a sexual/vulgar pass at someone, acting/looking improperly (i.e. to female on the street, e.g. looking under skirts of females); uttering indecent jokes/words (Tr. “belden aşağı”), using sexually-loaded expressions/jokes in the company of especially older people in the community; talking about such immoral and indecent and obscene things (esp. in circumstances where formality and seriousness are called for); doing certain obscene hand movements (Tr. “el hareketi çekmek”, “el hareketi yapmak”) and demonstrating a physical/practical joke –ballyrag (Tr. “el şakası”) to B especially when B is female.

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<sup>62</sup> There may be a clash of disregard for customs for A versus rights entitlements for B. For the friend who is doing the eating action, this may be a matter of equity rights: the right to eat as he pleases in public and cannot be unduly imposed upon to do otherwise.

Certain acts used as attention getters were ‘rude calling’ and were noted as “münasebetsizlik” (Eng. inappropriateness/tactlessness). Not conforming to restaurant etiquette and calling a waiter with a whistle were found impolite. Disregard to male-female etiquette were also common. In (385) a female mentions common female-male calling etiquette and recognizes how impolite it is for a male to use the attention getter “Hişt” (Eng. Hey! Look here!) to a female. However, the corpus extract reveals that although she evaluates it as impolite and calls the performer “öküz” (lit. ox meaning a yahoo, boorish male in this context), she is attracted to him.

(385) Erkeklerden sürekli duyduğum: "Tatlım, güzelim, canım, prenses, vs." gibi sözcüklere sinir olurum. Fakat bugün elektrik aldığım bir erkek bana gavet kaba bir şekilde "Hişt baksana!" dediğinde sevinçten kalbim üç buçuk attı. Bir öküze vurulacağım diye korkuyorum. [CPL9;IT]

#### **5.4.7 Impoliteness as “Deficient Self-Emotion Management”**

The bases of evaluation of impoliteness as “deficient emotion management” was coded 56 times (4,29%) in the QPM data. The category holds the idea that in high emotional states, people can get hijacked by the power of their feelings, and are directed by self-emotions at the expense of others. While some shared narratives involved the evaluation of specific events, some were descriptions of deficient self-emotion management as a person’s personality trait. In high emotional states, individuals who could not remain emotionally composed and could not manage their anger, rage, or aggression without damaging rapport were found as impolite. They did not exhibit the restraint and civility that was expected of them in managing moods, responding effectively to stress in situations of crisis or ambiguity.

Garcia Pastor (2007) analyzes face aggravation as intended rudeness of the ‘strategic’ or ‘systematic’ sort in Spanish. Similar to the category labeled as “deficient self-emotion management” for the Turkish data at hand, apart from

face-attack impoliteness, Garcia Pastor has found a prominent intended self-initiated rudeness motivated by a ‘lack of affect control restraint’ in her Spanish political debate data. She asserts that it is found unlicensed, i.e. rude, in the absence of any public event justifying its expression. Within her ‘lack of affect-restraint’ rudeness, as a sub-type, she follows Beebe (1995) in naming impoliteness originating from the unrestrained expression of feelings or emotions as ‘volcanic rudeness’, i.e. impoliteness motivated by an emotion of anger (as cited in Garcia Pastor, 2007, p. 66, 271.)

‘Volcanic rudeness’, is a notion referring to the venting of feelings like anger, impatience, and contempt in communication. Volcanic rudeness may also be related to someone’s personality and may or may not function at the level of intention; it may be integral to a person’s character. This type of ‘lack of affect-restraint’ rudeness of the volcanic type was also found for Turkish. It has been, however, termed as “deficient self-emotion management”. While politeness as emotion-mangement judgements were based on one staying calm, impoliteness evaluations were based on how and to what degree volcanic anger erupted. In (386) an interviewee explains how unhappy and uncomfortable she felt when a male friend of hers was not able to control his anger and impolitely lashed out to his girlfriend in public. She makes a distinction between his personality and the moment, saying that although he is not an impolite person, he has anger-management issues. What he did at this moment in time, however, was evaluated as impolite.

- (386) [PEI20]  
PEI20: (reads the question) bu da çok yakın bir arkadaşımın kız arkadaşı ile özellikle ben ve benimle birlikte bir kaç arkadaşın yanında çok kaba konuşması beni çok üzmüştü. İıı.. bu o insanın hep kaba olduğu anlamına gelmiyor ancak sinirli bir anında dahi olsa ki yanında başka insanlar bulunurken onun için önemli olan bir insana kaba sözler sarf etmesi ve bu şekilde öfkesine hakim olamaması çok sıkıntı veren bir olaydı, kabalık yaptı.

In most of the cases, again judged on the basis of intentionality, it was seen as more severe if it was perceived as strategic impoliteness, that is, if the recipient knew the actor's intention was to hurt and was not due to his personality.

The TNS data revealed that anger in these cases were seen as the by-product of other self-emotions. Emotional sources for this deficiency in emotion management were mentioned as having links to low self-esteem, frustration, envy, unforgiveness and fear. Impolite people (who couldn't balance especially their anger) were seen as possibly suffering from low self esteem. TNS believed that these individuals no matter what they did thought they would never measure up with external expectations (e.g. success). Together with the feeling of frustration that things did not go the way they planned, i.e. not having things their way, they passed their untamed emotions on in the form of blaming and accusing other people of things, and projected uncontrolled anger as a form of power as in (387).

(387) Eski bir genel müdürümün yaşanan bir başarısızlık sonrası alt çalışanlarını, bizleri suçlamasını çok kaba bulmuştum. Kendi yönetim ve yönlendirme hatalarından ve beceriksizliklerinden dolayı projeyi kaybedip daha sonra herkese patlamış ve sizin yüzünüzden kaybettik diye herkese çıkışıp saatlerce bağırıp çağırmıştı. Kısa bir sonra da ayrıldım ordan zaten. [KA91]

To summarize a group of the data coded as deficient self-emotion management, not being able to apply, utilize, use anger-management, i.e. when “annoyed and angry”, not controlling yourself and acting/speaking in a way that makes you appear “şirret”, being openly aggressive and insensitive/disrespectful towards others, not channelling anger and frustration incorrectly –scolding people for reasons other than the real one and blaming B(s) when self is to blame– were among such impolite acts.

In addition, keeping up aggressiveness throughout a conflict encounter was also seen as impolite. Such acts were being ready to pick a fight, bickering, slamming doors, showing no intention to try to cool people or cool the conflictual subject off (Tr. “yangına körükle gitmek”, “dengesiz konuşarak ortamı germek”).

Another emotion which TNS believed was related to the unsuccessful management of self- emotion was unforgiveness. This generally involved bearing a grudge no matter how 'small' the matter was.

(388) Biriyle bir sorun yaşadığında yapılan hataları affedemeyerek kızgınlıktan vazgeçmemek, insanın kafasına kakmak, konuyu kapatma çabasına girmekten sürekli kaçınmak, sorunları öfkeyle çıkmaza sürüklemek.[KA119]

As described in (388) for KABA above, unforgiveness involved constantly reminding what was done to self, overrating and overestimating an impolite event done to self and not letting it slip (“olayları büyütme”), not being forgiving and making too much out of nothing (e.g. “yapılan küçük bir el şakasına büyük bir darbeyle karşılık veren”, “hata insanlar için diyememek”).

#### **5.4.8 “Physical” Impoliteness**

The exercise of power on B through physical violence and/or mental bullying as the basis of impoliteness was found 25 times (1,91%). The category was called “physical” although mental bullying was also included. The rationale was that all acts of mental bullying were threats to physical abuse, to physical intactness of the individual. Although the mental attacks were verbal they were all directed at frightening someone by threatening to inflict physical pain.

Acts were evaluated as physical impoliteness on a number of different bases. The first group of physical impoliteness evaluations concerned threatening B badly by using one’s own body and power to be physically *violent* to B. Hitting, beating a spouse, a child, parent or older B were given as possible illustrations of such action. This was at its core a power issue or a punishment issue. In its ‘unduly power’ sense, the use of battery was delivered as a way of getting B to obey/conform with A’s wishes and could go to torture. Extracts below provide examples of husband to wife and parent to child physical impoliteness. In (390)

the perpetrator was likened to the husband in an old comedy skit “Sürahi hanım”.<sup>63</sup>

(389) sokağın ortasında karısını döven adam onu ite kaka sürüklüyordu. çok kaba bir adamdı. [KA38]

(390) Bir kocanın karısını sürahi hanımdaki itilmiş ve kakılmış gibi sürekli dövüp sövmesi. [KA35]

(391) çocuğun yaptığı yanlış/hatayı sinirinden hoş görmeyip onu sokak ortasında/arkadaşlarının arasında döven yetişkin saygısızlık örneği teşkil eder [SSZ39]

As in (391), as a source of punishment, the person who utilized the act was also evaluated as someone with a very low threshold of understanding and tolerance. In this category, a number of TNS also mentioned parents who hit their sad or distraught child to get him to stop crying.

The second of physical impoliteness evaluations involved the act of pushing B around physically and use excessive force in public to B. This was in fact a weaker sense of impoliteness as physical exercise of *power*. This generally involved physically pushing B around when the activity was committed to show self has power over B (e.g. hitting back of head, shoulder, etc., more of a tapping/stricking move instead of continual battery). Intentionally inflicting of physical harm/vandalism not to B’ body but to B’s property (e.g. kid throwing stone to window knowingly) were also coded as forms of physical impoliteness.

Another major sub-category within the theme physical impoliteness was the act of *terrorizing* B through acts or words. TNS believed this could take place in a number of ways. A could frighten/threaten into B action by terrorizing B. TNS shared evaluations of events where they witnessed someone threatening to use

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<sup>63</sup> Reference here has been made to comedy characters skits from a 10-15 year-old TV show produced by the Turkish comedian Yasemin Yalçın. Names of the characters and their roles in the show were as follows: ‘*Sürahi* hanım: parody of a wicked mother-in-law; *İtilmiş*, a husband who was abusive and always gave his wife a black eye over nothing; *Kakılmış*: the poor abused wife. For the characters *İtilmiş* and *Kakılmış*, the setting was a “gecekondü” (i.e. squatter’s house built overnight) in a low-socioeconomic neighbourhood in the outskirts of a major city in Turkey. The informant has used the *Sürahi* hanım character as the name of the whole program. They were, in fact, different skits.

physical force (assault/battery) and frightening to inflict bodily harm/damage to B in Turkish by saying things like “*Döverim seni*” (Eng. I will beat you), “*Ağzını burnunu kırarım*” (Eng. break mouth and nose), “*Gebertirim seni*” (Eng. I will kill you) especially to a lady and also to other males.

In particular during an argument with others, certain hand movements of the other party were judged to be impolite. These movements gave TNS the impression that this person was going to harm B such as “el kol hareketi yapmak”<sup>64</sup>. In (392) below, a TNS shares what he believes to be common ‘openers’ in the initial process of verbal duelling in Turkish which typically results in physical fight.

- (392) Bana sesini yükseltme. karşısındaki bağıranı böyle azarlar bazıları. kendisi daha çok bağırır o ayrı. kavgaya sebebiyet veren sözlerdendir. kavganın ilk replikleri arasında yer alır. erkek erkeğe bir kavga ise devamı şöyle gelişir:
- indir lan elini
  - indirmiyom lan
  - olum bak el kol hareketi yapma, indir lan elini
  - indirmiom lan
- sen kim oluyon da bana ne yapacağımı söylüyon lan şeklinde kaba ancak etkili sözlerle devam eden sonrasında yumrukların konuştuğu diyaloglardır. [CIPL; L1]

TNS also mentioned that it was not uncommon especially in more rural settings or city suburbs in Turkey to be met with impoliteness and a ‘beating’ because you do not fit into someone else’s understanding of morality (i.e. as conservative view of sexuality in the sense of chastity, so-called moral decency) other person(s) hold dear to themselves. People who engage in such violent outlashes as narrated in (393) below. The impolite person saw the right in himself to put people right in terms of ‘moral’ values. A young couple who were fondling were physically abused, punched on the head by an ‘impolite’ man who was acting on his own conservative understanding of morality (“ahlak”).

- (393) ...Ümitköy'e giden dolmuştaki bereli iğrenç adam... Sırf erkek arkadaşım kolunu omzuma attı ve yanağıma birkaç öpücük kondurdu diye kafamıza yumruk indirip, "Bağ gardeş, bi daa görmeyim, dolmuştan atarım valla" diye kaba bir şekilde konuştuktan

<sup>64</sup> It is common that confrontation and especially male-male disputes in Turkey escalates when one party determines that the other is doing “el kol hareketi”. In such situations, parties in dispute warn each other by saying “el kol hareketi yapma!” (Eng. lit. do not do hand arm movements!), “elin bacağı oynamasın!” (Eng. prevent your hand leg from moving!).

sonra, aslında aşkı durdurmayıp seni oracıkta öldürmek, sonra da cesedini kurtlara yedirmek isterdim! Aslında daha akla uygun olanı, dolmuştan inmeden önce "Yumruk attığın insanların kim olduğunu ilerde öğreneceksin hayvan herif" deyip, yüzüne tükürmekti ama değmezdi ki... Ben de nefretimi sana bakışlarımla göstermek istedim. Bu tipteki tüm insanları öldürmek istiyorum. Hem de hiç acımadan.[CIPL;IT56]

After he physically abused them, he threatened to throw them of the minibus if he caught them at it again. The correspondence between 'threat', 'power' and 'fear of abuse' and acts of (im)politeness is apparent in (394). According to the extract below posted as a confession on the web, having the reminiscents of what looks as a physical fight mark caused by a sharp edged object (such as cut throat razor) on the face around the cheek bone called "faça" in Turkish prevents other people from approaching you in an impolite way, i.e. they try to be polite to you.

(394) Beş sene önce bir trafik kazası geçirdim. Alnımda ve yanağımda "faça" var. (Yani derin yara izi.) Avantajları: 1- Dilenen veya mendil satmak isteyen çocukların uzaklaşması için gözlerinin içine bakmanız yeterli olur. 2- Sokakta biriyle omuzlarınız çarpıştığında adam ya özür diler ya da hızlı adımlarla uzaklaşır. 3- Hemcinslerinizden kimse size kaba davranmaz. Olabildiğince kibardır. 4- Karşı cinsle ilgili pek probleminiz de olmaz. (Façalı ve karizmasınızdır!) Dezavantajları: 1- Yeni bir ortama girdiğinizde herkes size, "Baba, ağa, psikopat" gibi ifadelerde hitap eder. 2- İlk tanışmalar genelde zordur. Açıklama yapma gereği hissedersiniz ya da hissettirirler. 3- Moraliniz bozuk olduğunda arkadaşlarınız yara izini kafanıza taktığınızı düşünürler. Oysaki sizin hiç de böyle bir derdiniz yoktur. [CIPL;T38]

The mark works the same way as a threat and (though infrequent in comparison to the other bases of impoliteness in Turkish) (394) shows why the category of physical impoliteness is infact a necessary one.

### **5.5 Interrelatedness of the Bases of Evaluations of Impoliteness**

The bases of impoliteness evaluations detailed in the sections above inevitably have an interrelated nature as was discussed for politeness in the previous chapter. The pie chart below summarizes the findings with regard to bases of impoliteness.

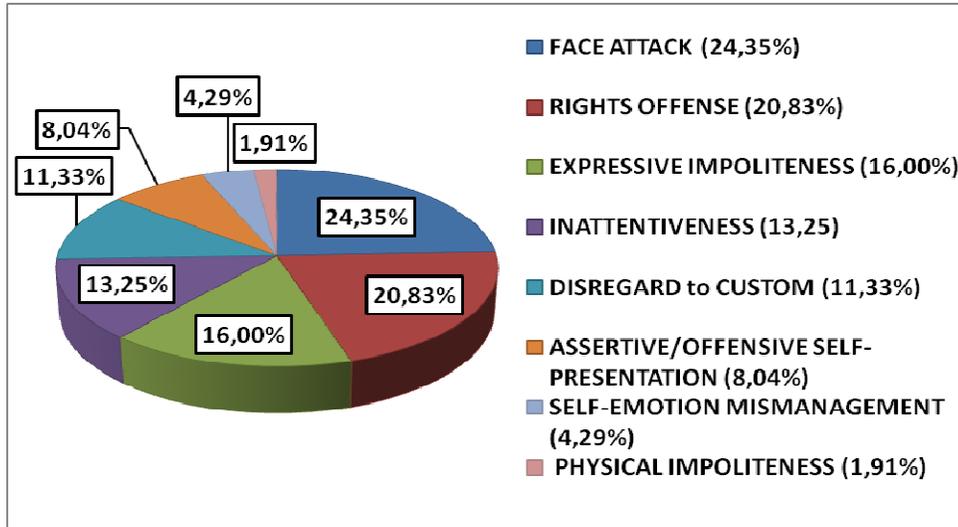


Figure 15. Bases of Impoliteness Evaluations for TNS

Just as with politeness evaluations, for impolite evaluations, more than one of the components in Figure 15 may be at play. In Figure 16 below, how the bases of impoliteness evaluations may be ultimately connected is illustrated in the form of a hypothetical ‘impolite act1’.

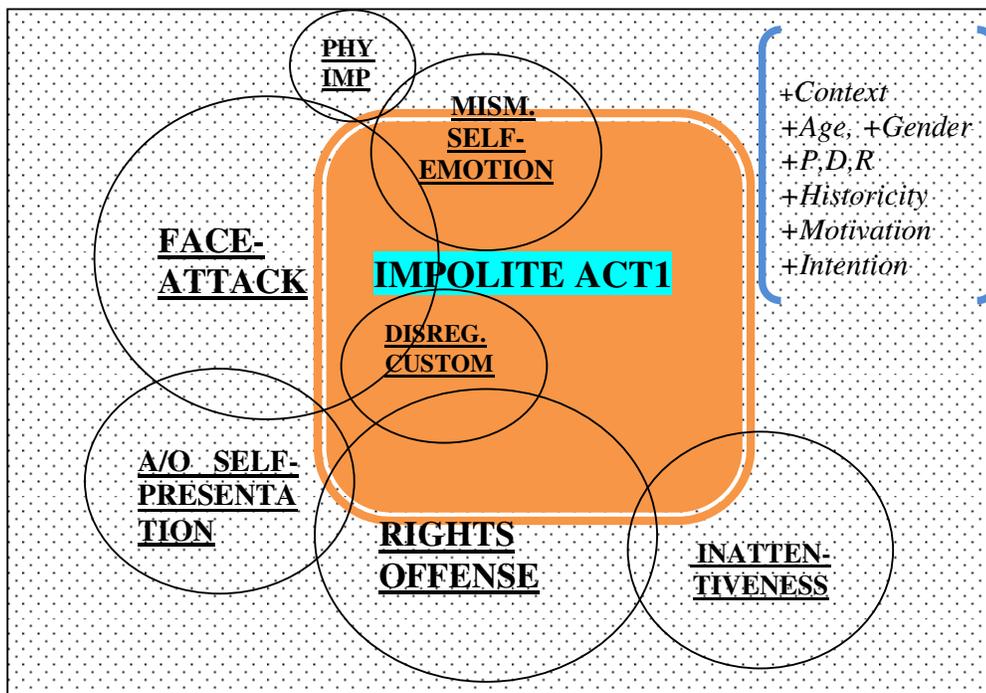


Figure 16. Interrelatedness of Bases of Evaluations for an Impolite Act

There are inherent connections between some of these components which may function together in differing degrees and levels for each and every evaluation of an impolite act by individual evaluators. Many acts may be intermediate cases of one or more of these elements, with connections at the surface level or the deep level, or for some cases, may in fact function as an inseparable mixture. For example, aggressive/offensive self-representation may be evaluated as impolite due to being considered as an attack to one's certain face claims and also his/her rights entitlements, or an impolite act may be evaluated primarily on the basis 'disregard for custom' and for the culture in question the act may be also considered as an association rights offence as well as a social identity face attack. This is inevitably linked to the situatedness of the act in question (see Section 4.4. for a further discussion).

### **5.6 Scaling of Impoliteness Terms as Indicating “Language” or “Behaviour”**

Descriptive statistics were calculated for the section on the QPM where participants were asked to rate how often they used a specific impoliteness-lexeme in Turkish to refer to 'language' (as in the use of language, solely on linguistic terms) versus 'behaviour'. To explore the possibility that the choice could be constrained by other variables such as age, gender and work experience, chi-square analysis was conducted on answers. The results of the chi-square analysis showed no significant differences for these variables.<sup>65</sup> All of the lexemes were used for both language and behaviour, but with slight differences in frequency of orientation.

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<sup>65</sup> Significant difference (through chi-square analysis) between male and female TNS respondent usages were found *only* for NEZAKETSİZ lexeme.

Table 24. Use of the Impoliteness Lexemes to Denote Language or Behaviour

	Always								Never		<i>T</i>
	1		2		3		4		5		
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
<b>KABA</b>											
language	55	<b>47,83</b>	23	20,00	23	20,00	11	9,57	3	<b>2,61</b>	115
behaviour	74	<b>66,67</b>	21	18,92	3	2,70	6	5,41	7	<b>6,31</b>	111
<b>DÜŞÜNCESİZ</b>											
language	23	<b>22,77</b>	28	27,72	19	18,81	24	23,76	7	<b>6,93</b>	101
behaviour	65	<b>58,56</b>	22	19,82	8	7,21	10	9,01	6	<b>5,41</b>	111
<b>NEZAKETSİZ</b>											
language	20	<b>19,61</b>	21	20,59	23	22,55	23	22,55	15	<b>14,71</b>	102
behaviour	67	<b>59,29</b>	19	16,81	11	9,73	7	6,19	9	<b>7,96</b>	113
<b>SAYGISIZ</b>											
language	56	<b>50,45</b>	21	18,92	18	16,22	7	6,31	9	<b>8,11</b>	111
behaviour	58	<b>52,73</b>	20	18,18	14	12,73	11	10,00	7	<b>6,36</b>	110
<b>KÜSTAH</b>											
language	52	<b>49,52</b>	16	15,24	14	13,33	12	11,43	11	<b>10,48</b>	105
behaviour	50	<b>45,45</b>	20	18,18	20	18,18	11	10,00	9	<b>8,18</b>	110
<b>GÖRGÜSÜZ</b>											
language	24	<b>23,53</b>	19	18,63	25	24,51	19	18,63	15	<b>14,71</b>	102
behaviour	53	<b>47,32</b>	24	21,43	7	6,25	15	13,39	13	<b>11,61</b>	112
<b>TERBİYESİZ</b>											
language	35	<b>32,41</b>	31	28,70	27	25,00	8	7,41	7	<b>6,48</b>	108
behaviour	67	<b>59,82</b>	22	19,64	8	7,14	8	7,14	7	<b>6,25</b>	112
<b>PATAVATSIZ</b>											
language	69	<b>62,16</b>	11	9,91	11	9,91	12	10,81	8	<b>7,21</b>	111
behaviour	25	<b>25,00</b>	11	11,00	24	24,00	28	<b>28,00</b>	12	<b>12,00</b>	100

The lexemes for which the orientation towards language or behaviour were more or less quite similar, i.e. less marked in this respect, were KABA, SAYGISIZ and KÜSTAH. The most 'language-oriented' impoliteness evaluating lexeme found was PATAVATSIZ. On the other hand, the 'behaviour-orientation' was found more for the lexemes DÜŞÜNCESİZ, NEZAKETSİZ, TERBİYELİ and GÖRGÜSÜZ.

## 5.7 The Metapragmatics of Impoliteness Lexemes in Turkish

After the qualitative analysis was carried out on the data sources and the six themes discussed in detail in the previous sections were discovered as bases of evaluations of politeness, a secondary coding was performed for the purpose of cross-referencing lexeme to theme and theme to lexeme weightings. This was done by calculating frequencies and percentages for a total of 1306<sup>66</sup> accounts shared by TNS coded as a theme by the researcher for each of the eight lexemes under analysis. The rationale of converting qualitative codings into quantitative data was again to highlight aspects shared and not shared by these lexemes and to draw similarities and differences on the bases that formed impoliteness judgements verbalized by using one or the other lexeme. It was found that each of the lexemes bore relations to a variety of sub-components of evaluation to diverse degrees. As in Chapter 4 on politeness, first, impoliteness lexeme-to-theme weighting will be presented. Next, impoliteness evaluation theme-to-lexeme loadings will be provided and discussed.

### 5.7.1 Impoliteness Lexeme to Theme Weightings

The results have been summarized in two tables. Table 25, on the next page summarizes impoliteness *lexeme to theme* loadings in frequencies (n) and percentages (%). Each lexeme column (↓) marked with a percent sign followed by the lexeme label calculates to a total of 100%, meaning that the intersecting cell between the themes in rows and the lexeme in column presents the percentage of all judgements bases on a particular evaluation theme.

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<sup>66</sup> Some of the 121 informants for QPM provided more than a single account of a politeness evaluation for the lexemes. This is why not (121x8) 968, but 1306 evaluations were coded.

Table 25. Frequency and Percentages of Impoliteness Lexeme ↓ to Theme Weightings

	n	%		KABA	%K	DÜŞÜNÇESİZ	%D	NEZAKETSİZ	%N	SAYGISIZ	%S	KÜSTAH	%KU	TERBİYESİZ	%T	GORGUSUZ	%G	PATAVATSIZ	%P
1	318	24,35	FACE ATTACK	40	20,10	15	12,30	13	9,49	39	20,86	60	32,79	50	30,67	7	4,32	94	61,04
Wahab	271		-Quality face attack	38	19,10	14	11,48	9	6,57	22	11,76	49	26,78	43	26,38	6	3,70	90	58,44
	47		-Social identity FA	2	1,01	1	0,82	4	2,92	17	9,09	11	6,01	7	4,29	1	0,62	4	2,60
2	272	20,83	RIGHTS	51	25,63	43	35,25	55	40,15	54	28,88	11	6,01	31	19,02	25	15,43	2	1,30
Wahab	187		-Equity rights	28	14,07	35	28,69	23	16,79	37	19,79	9	4,92	30	18,40	23	14,20	2	1,30
	85		-Association rights	23	11,56	8	6,56	32	23,36	17	9,09	2	1,09	1	0,61	2	1,23		
3	209	16,00	EXPRESSIVE IMPOLITENESS	34	17,09	5	4,10	21	15,33	51	27,27	32	17,49	32	19,63	10	6,17	24	15,58
4	173	13,25	INATTENTIVENESS	24	12,06	54	44,26	30	21,90	26	13,90	15	8,20	7	4,29	2	1,23	16	10,39
5	148	11,33	CUSTOMS	9	4,52	2	1,64	11	8,03	9	4,81	5	2,73	27	16,56	70	43,21	15	9,74
6	105	8,04	SELF-PRESENTATION	2	1,01	1	0,82					52	28,42			48	29,63	2	1,30
7	56	4,29	SELF-EMOTION MANAGEMENT	25	12,56	2	1,64	7	5,11	2	1,07	7	3,83	12	7,36			1	0,65
8	25	1,91	PHYSICAL IMPOLITENESS	14	7,04					6	3,21	1	0,55	4	2,45				
T	1306		Totals:	199		122		137		187		183		163		162		154	

Politeness judgements as KABA were greatly dispersed between the eight bases. KABA evaluations mostly concerned “insoliticousness to rights” and “face-attack”. Of the 199 examples provided by TNS for a recall of an event they judged as KABA, 25,63% (n=51) were acts of a “rights violation”. Within rights, there were a more or less similar number of equity rights versus association rights attacks. The second theme that correlated highly with KABA was “face-attack” with 20,10% (n=40) of all shared examples evaluated as impolite due to it. Within the classification of face-attack, for KABA, 95% of face attack directed to quality face versus social identity face. Third, evaluations of impoliteness based on solely linguistic choices made, “expressive impoliteness”, accounted to 17,09% (n=34). This was followed by “self-emotion management” with 12,56%, “inattentiveness to other” with 12,06%, physical impoliteness with 7,04% and “disregard for customs” with 4,52%.

For DÜŞÜNCESİZ (n=122), 44,26% of impoliteness evaluations were based on “inattentiveness to other”. The second strongest theme was calculated as “insoliticousness to rights” with 32,25% . Within rights, equity right violations were significantly more, 80%, when compared to association rights violations. 12,30% of the evaluations were baed on “face-attack”. This was followed by weaker correspondances for “customs”, “self-representation”, “self-emotion management”, all under 2%. No a single occurance of physical impoliteness was recorded by DÜŞÜNCESİZ, and NEZAKETSİZ.

NEZAKETSİZ corresponded the most with evaluations of impoliteness based on an “insoliticousness to rights” with 40,15%. Within rights, for NEZAKETSİZ, association rights were recorded more frequently than equity rights violations. The second strongest theme was “inattentiveness”, calculated to be the basis for 21,90% of all evaluations. With 15,33% the third was expressive politeness followed by face-attack with 9,49%, customs with 8,03% and lastly with 5,11%, self-emotion management.

For the lexeme SAYGISIZ, 187 evaluations provided were quite dispersed between themes. The most frequent basis for SAYGISIZ was “insoliticousness to rights” with 28,88%. Very closely second was “expressive politeness” with 27,27%. “Face-attack” was the bases of evaluation for 20,86% of the data for this lexeme. It was followed by “inattentiveness” with 13,90% and customs with a minor 4,81%.

32,79% of all KÜSTAH (n=183) responses were connected with” face-attack”. 28,42% concerned impolite “self-representation “. A further 17,49% was based on “expressive impoliteness”. “Inattentiveness” was the third most frequent basis of evaluation with 8,20%. KÜSTAH did not to correspond to customs, self-emotion management or physical impoliteness noticeably.

From the 183 evaluations received for TERBİYESİZ, 50 were coded as “face-attack” (30,76%) and notably, 43 (86%) of these 50 face-attack based evaluations were quality face attack impoliteness. The second strongest theme was “insoliticousness to rights” with 19,02% of which 99% were equity rights violations. Expressive politeness comprised 19,63% of all TERBİYESİZ evaluations. Other bases recorded were disregarding “customs” with 16,56% and deficient “self-emotion management” with 7,36%.

GÖRGÜSÜZ produced 162 impoliteness evaluations, 43,21% of which were based on a disregard for “customs”. In second place, with 29,63% evaluations based on “self-presentation” were found. This was followed by “rights” violations with 15,43%, within which %92 were equity rights violations. A further 6,17% was based on expressive impoliteness.

For the last lexeme, PATAVATSIZ, TNS produced 154 evaluations. An overwhelming 61,04% were based on “face-attack” within which 95% on quality face attack . Second, with 15,58% evaluations based on “expressive impoliteness” were recorded. This was followed by “inattentiveness to other” with 10,39% and disregard for “customs” with 9,74%. For PATAVATSIZ none or markedly low correspondences were found for “rights violations”, assertive/offensive “self-

presentation”, and deficient “self emotion management”. Below is a summary table for impoliteness themes to impoliteness lexemes loadings.

Table 26. Summary for Impoliteness Lexemes to Impoliteness Themes Weightings

<b>Total: 1306</b>	<b>STRONGEST</b>		<b>WEAKEST</b>
<b>KABA (199)</b>	1. <u>Rights Violations (EQ) (25,63%)</u> 2. <u>Face-Attack (QF) (20,10%)</u> 3. Expressive Impoliteness (17,09%)	4. Self-Emotion MISmanagment (12,56%) 5. Inattentiveness (12,06%)	6. Physical Impoliteness (7,04%) 7. Disregard Custom (4,52%) 8. A/O Self-Presentation (1,01%)
<b>DÜŞÜNCESİZ (122)</b>	1. <u>Inattentiveness (44,26%)</u> 2. <u>Rights Violations (EQ) (35,25%)</u>	3. <u>Face-Attack (QF) (12,30%)</u>	4. Expressive Impoliteness (4,10%) 5. Disregard Custom (1,64%) 6. Self-Emotion MISmanagment (1,64%) 7. A/O Self-Presentation (0,82%) <i>None: Physical Impoliteness</i>
<b>NEZAKETSİZ (137)</b>	1. <u>Rights Violations (AS) (40,15%)</u> 2. <u>Inattentiveness (21,90%)</u> 3. Expressive Impoliteness (15,33%)	4. <u>Face-Attack (QF) (9,49%)</u>	5. Disregard Custom (8,03%) 6. Self-Emotion MISmanagment (5,11%) <i>None: A/O Self-Presentation; Physical Impoliteness</i>
<b>SAYGISIZ (187)</b>	1. <u>Rights Violations (EQ) (28,88%)</u> 2. <u>Expressive Impoliteness (27,27%)</u> 3. <u>Face-Attack (QF) (20,86%)</u>	4. <u>Inattentiveness (13,90%)</u> 5. <u>Disregard Custom (4,81%)</u>	6. Physical Impoliteness (3,21%) 7. Self-Emotion MISmanagment (1,07%) <i>None: A/O Self-Presentation</i>
<b>KÜSTAH (183)</b>	1. <u>Face-Attack (QF) (32,79%)</u> 2. <u>A/O Self-Presentation (28,42%)</u> 3. Expressive Impoliteness (17,49%)	4. <u>Inattentiveness (8,20%)</u> 5. <u>Rights Violations (EQ) (6,01%)</u>	6. Self-Emotion MISmanagment (3,83%) 7. Disregard Custom (2,73%) 8. Physical Impoliteness (0,55%)
<b>TERBIYESİZ (163)</b>	1. <u>Face-Attack (QF) (30,67%)</u> 2. <u>Expressive Impoliteness (19,63%)</u> 3. <u>Rights Violations (EQ) (19,02%)</u> 4. <u>Disregard Custom (16,56%)</u>	5. <u>Self-Emotion MISmanagment (7,36%)</u>	6. <u>Inattentiveness (4,29%)</u> 7. <u>Physical Impoliteness (2,45%)</u> <i>None: A/O Self-Presentation</i>
<b>GÖRGÜSÜZ (162)</b>	1. <u>Disregard Custom (43,21%)</u> 2. <u>A/O Self-Presentation (29,63%)</u> 3. <u>Rights Violations (EQ) (15,43%)</u>	4. <u>Expressive Impoliteness (6,17%)</u>	5. <u>Face-Attack (QF) (4,32%)</u> 6. <u>Inattentiveness (1,23%)</u> <i>None: Self-Emotion MISmanagment; Physical Impoliteness</i>
<b>PATAVATSIZ (154)</b>	1. <u>Face-Attack (QF) (61,04%)</u> 2. <u>Expressive Impoliteness (15,58%)</u>	3. <u>Inattentiveness (10,39%)</u> 4. <u>Disregard Custom (9,74%)</u>	5. <u>Rights Violations (EQ) (%1,30)</u> 6. <u>A/O Self-Presentation (1,30%)</u> 7. <u>Self-Emotion MISmanagment (0,65%)</u> <i>None: Physical Impoliteness</i>

### 5.7.2 Impoliteness Theme to Lexeme Loadings

Table 27 on the next page is a summary of the descriptive statistical findings for impoliteness theme *to lexeme* loadings. Note that in this table columns will not total 100% and are not meaningful for our purposes. The focus here needs to be on the theme *rows* ( $\Rightarrow$ ) which total 100%. To observe the weighting of theme to lexeme correspondences attention needs to be given to the intersecting cells between columns marked with the initial letter of a lexeme followed by a -TH%. Such cells will show of all evaluations coded as a certain theme, what percent of these were collected/prompted by a certain lexeme.

Out of the total 1306 politeness evaluations collected via QPM, 318 were based on "face attack". The lexeme with the strongest loading to "face-attack" was PATAVATSIZ (29,56%) followed by KÜSTAH(LIK) (18,87%). For the sub-components of face attack, the prominent lexeme for the 271 "quality face attack" evaluations was PATAVATSIZ (33,21%) whereas it was SAYGISIZ (36,17%) for the 47 occurrences of "social identity face attack".

The second basis for impoliteness evaluations was "insolitousness to rights" with 272 occurrences. Of these 20,22% were under NEZAKETSİZ, 19,85% under SAYGISIZ, and 18,75% under KABA. With regard to sub-components to rights, of the 187 occurrences of equity rights violations 19,79% were recorded for SAYGISIZ and 18,72% for DÜŞÜNCESİZ. In contrast, for 85 occurrences of association rights violations 37,65% for NEZAKETSİZ, 27,06% for KABA and 20,00% for SAYGISIZ.

Table 27. Frequency and Percentages of Impoliteness Theme  $\Rightarrow$  to Lexeme Loadings

n	%		KABA	K-TH%	DÜŞÜNÇESİZ	D-TH%	NEZAKETSİZ	N-TH%	SAYGISIZ	S-TH%	KÜSTAH	KU-TH%	TERBİYESİZ	T-TH%	GORGUSUZ	G-TH%	PATAVATSIZ	P-TH%	
1	318	24,35	FACE ATTACK	40	12,58	15	4,72	13	4,09	39	12,26	60	18,87	50	15,72	7	2,20	94	29,56
	271		-Quality face attack	38	14,02	14	5,17	9	3,32	22	8,12	49	18,08	43	15,87	6	2,21	90	33,21
	47		-Social identity FA	2	4,26	1	2,13	4	8,51	17	36,17	11	23,40	7	14,89	1	2,13	4	8,51
2	272	20,83	RIGHTS	51	18,75	43	15,81	55	20,22	54	19,85	11	4,04	31	11,40	25	9,19	2	0,74
	187		-Equity rights	28	14,97	35	18,72	23	12,30	37	19,79	9	4,81	30	16,04	23	12,30	2	1,07
	85		-Association rights	23	27,06	8	9,41	32	37,65	17	20,00	2	2,35	1	1,18	2	2,35		
3	209	16,00	EXPRESSIVE IMPOLITENESS	34	16,27	5	2,39	21	10,05	51	24,40	32	15,31	32	15,31	10	4,78	24	11,48
4	173	13,25	INATTENTIVENESS	24	13,87	54	31,21	30	17,34	26	15,03	15	8,67	7	4,05	2	1,16	16	9,25
5	148	11,33	CUSTOMS	9	6,08	2	1,35	11	7,43	9	6,08	5	3,38	27	18,24	70	47,30	15	10,14
6	105	8,04	SELF-PRESENTATION	2	1,90	1	0,95					52	49,52			48	45,71	2	1,90
7	56	4,29	SELF-EMOTION MANAGEMENT	25	44,64	2	3,57	7	12,50	2	3,57	7	12,50	12	21,43			1	1,79
8	25	1,91	PHYSICAL IMPOLITENESS	14	56,00					6	24,00	1	4,00	4	16,00				
T	1306		Totals:	199		122		137		187		183		163		162		154	

The evaluation basis “*expressive impoliteness*” was recorded in 209 times in the TNS data extracts. Among the lexemes, most frequently expressive impoliteness was associated with SAYGISIZ (24,40%), followed by KABA (16,27%). KÜSTAH and TERBİYESİZ were the third and fourth most “expressive impoliteness” related lexeme sharing 15,31% each. With only 2,39% and 4,78% of evaluations of politeness based on expressive impoliteness under them respectively, DÜŞÜNCESİZ and GÖRGÜSÜZ were the least associated lexemes with this basis.

Of 173 occurrences of “*inattentiveness to other*” as central to an impoliteness evaluation, DÜŞÜNCESİZ (31,21%) came in first place in its strength of correspondence followed by NEZAKETSİZ (17,34%), SAYGISIZ (15,03%), and KABA (13,87%). The least related lexemes were TERBİYESİZ (4,05%) and GÖRGÜSÜZ (1,16%).

As for “*disregard for customs*” with 148 coded acts, the lexeme GÖRGÜSÜZ (47,30%) embodied nearly half of all the coding as such. It was followed by TERBİYESİZ (18,24%). For disregard for “customs”, the least associated lexemes was KÜSTAH (3,38%) and DÜŞÜNCESİZ (1,35%).

For the fifth bases of evaluation, assertive/offensive “*self-presentation*”, of the 105 coded occurrences in the data, two very prominent lexemes were determined. These were KÜSTAH (49,52%) and GÖRGÜSÜZ (45,71%). None for recorded for NEZAKETSİZ, SAYGISIZ, and TERBİYESİZ lexemes.

“*Self-emotion management*” as impoliteness was recorded in 56 times in data extracts mostly in KABA (44,64%) and then under TERBİYESİZ (21,43%). NEZAKETSİZ and KÜSTAH came in third and fourth place each with 12,50%. Correspondances of the lexeme GÖRGÜSÜZ was none, and with the lexemes SAYGISIZ (3,57%), DÜŞÜNCESİZ (3,57%) and PATAVATSIZ (1,79%) were pretty insignificant.

For the last basis of evaluation determined, namely “*physical impoliteness*”, of the 25 occurrences found, KABA was the most frequent (56,00%) and was followed by SAYGISIZ (24,00%) and TERBİYESİZ (16,00%). No impoliteness evaluations based on “physical impoliteness” were found for the lexemes DÜŞÜNCESİZ, NEZAKETSİZ and GÖRGÜSÜZ. Below is a summary table for impoliteness themes to impoliteness lexemes loadings.

Table 28. Summary for Impoliteness Themes to Impoliteness Lexemes Loadings

	<b>STRONGEST (%)</b>	<b>WEAKEST (5%-0)</b>
<b>FACE ATTACK</b>	<u>PATAVATSIZ</u> (29,56); <u>KÜSTAH</u> (18,87) -QF- <u>PATAVATSIZ</u> (33,21) -SIF- <u>SAYGISIZ</u> (36,17)	GÖRGÜSÜZ NEZAKETSİZ; GÖRGÜSÜZ GÖRGÜSÜZ; DÜŞÜNCESİZ
<b>RIGHTS</b>	<u>NEZAKETSİZ</u> (20,22); <u>SAYGISIZ</u> (19,85); <u>KABA</u> (18,72) -EQ- <u>SAYGISIZ</u> (19,79); <u>DÜŞÜNCESİZ</u> (18,72) -AR- <u>NEZAKETSİZ</u> (37,65); <u>KABA</u> (27,06); <u>SAYGISIZ</u> (20,00)	<u>PATAVATSIZ</u> ; <u>KÜSTAH</u> - <u>PATAVATSIZ</u> ; <u>KÜSTAH</u> - <u>TERBİYESİZ</u> ; <u>PATAVATSIZ</u> (none)
<b>EXPRESSIVE IMPOLITENESS</b>	<u>SAYGISIZ</u> (24,40); <u>KABA</u> (16,27); <u>KÜSTAH</u> , <u>TERBİYESİZ</u> (15,31)	<u>DÜŞÜNCESİZ</u> ; <u>GÖRGÜSÜZ</u>
<b>INATTENTIVENESS</b>	<u>DÜŞÜNCESİZ</u> (31,21); <u>NEZAKETSİZ</u> (17,34)	<u>GÖRGÜSÜZ</u> ; <u>TERBİYESİZ</u>
<b>CUSTOMS</b>	<u>GÖRGÜSÜZ</u> (47,30); <u>TERBİYESİZ</u> (18,24)	<u>DÜŞÜNCESİZ</u> ; <u>KÜSTAH</u>
<b>SELF-PRESENTATION</b>	<u>KÜSTAH</u> (49,52); <u>GÖRGÜSÜZ</u> (45,71)	(none) <u>NEZAKETSİZ</u> , <u>SAYGISIZ</u> , <u>TERBİYESİZ</u>
<b>SELF-EMOTION MANAGEMENT</b>	<u>KABA</u> (44,64); <u>TERBİYESİZ</u> (21,43)	<u>DÜŞÜNCESİZ</u> , <u>SAYGISIZ</u> ; <u>PATAVATSIZ</u> ; <u>GÖRGÜSÜZ</u> (none)
<b>PHYSICAL IMPOLITENESS</b>	<u>KABA</u> (56,00); <u>SAYGISIZ</u> (24,00); <u>TERBİYESİZ</u> (16,00)	(None) <u>DÜŞÜNCESİZ</u> , <u>NEZAKETSİZ</u> , <u>PATAVATSIZ</u> ; <u>GÖRGÜSÜZ</u> , <u>KÜSTAH</u>

## 5.8 Motivations for Impoliteness

In this last section, motivation for impoliteness will be scrutinized. What can be the sources of motivation to opt for impoliteness in communication? One of the earlier works on the motivational basis of impoliteness was conducted by Kasper (1990). She argues that conflict not only is not only marginal in interaction, but it might also be *functional*. She proposes the term strategic rudeness to describe the use of impoliteness to achieve a specific goal, such as discrediting a witness in court. Beebe (1995, p. 159) concludes that all rudeness is instrumental, or used in order to achieve an interactional goal, such as to gain power or vent negative feelings (as cited in Cashman, 2006). Beebe further explains that rudeness may be used to gain power of different kinds in a variety of situations: to appear superior, to get power over actions (i. e. to get someone to do something or to avoid doing something yourself), and to manage conversation (make another talk or stop talking, gain the floor, or shape an interlocutor's contributions to talk) (ibid.). She emphasizes that most rudeness carried out by native speakers is not 'failed' politeness and calls the strategic rudeness she examines the "neglected side of communicative competence".

Keinpointer (1997) working on this neglected side of communicative competence, provides an account of impoliteness (which he calls rudeness) that does not treat it as the marked, abnormal and irrational counterpart of politeness (p. 251). He argues for the existence of a number of types of rudeness, which he believes should be considered cooperative behaviour. Figure 17 below depicts Keimponiter's continuum of politeness and rudeness.

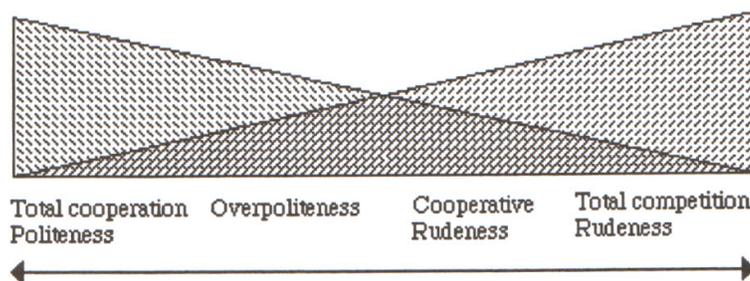


Figure 17. The Continuum of Politeness and Rudeness  
Source: Keinpointer, 1997, p. 258.

He further divides rudeness into cooperative<sup>67</sup> and non-cooperative (im)politeness. According to Keimpointer non-cooperative rudeness can be motivated as well as unmotivated. He takes motivated as “the speaker intends to be heard as rude” and unmotivated as “the violation of the norms of politic behaviour are due to ignorance” (p. 269). He further sub-divides motivated rudeness into three according to the functions which it fulfills for institutions, individuals and social groups, respectively: (a) strategic rudeness in public institutions, (b) competitive rudeness in private conversations and (c) rudeness as political self-defence (see Figure 18).

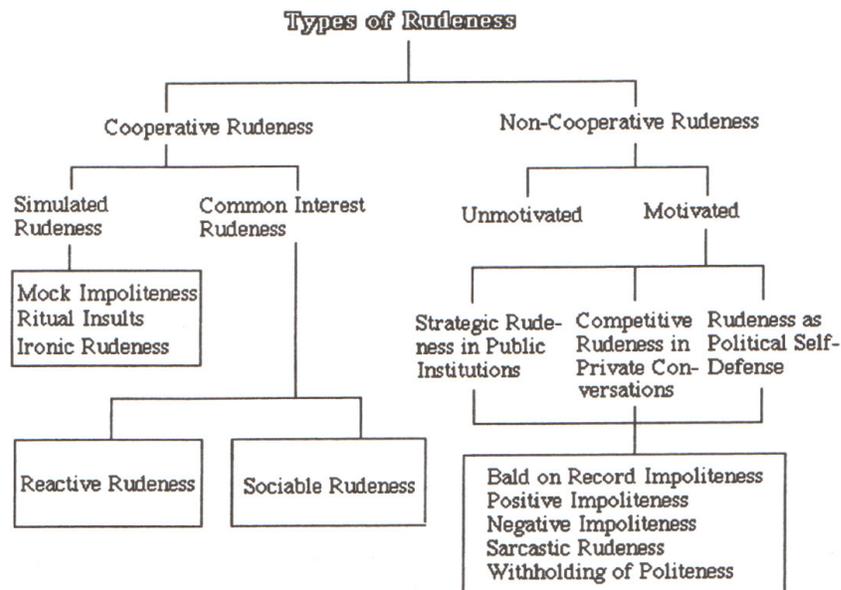


Figure 18. Keimpointer’s Types of Rudeness  
Source: Keimpointer, 1997, p. 261.

In motivational terms, *strategic rudeness in public institutions* is used to serve the interests of public institutions (e.g. the court and legal system; courtroom discourse; army recruit training discourse<sup>68</sup>) by attacking face of individuals who

<sup>67</sup> Keimpointer’s definition of *cooperative interaction* follows Grice (1975) and can be characterized as: “two person’s A and B interact cooperatively if they (1) try to reach a goal G which is mutually accepted, (2) try to do this by fair and efficient means, (3) are equally interested in reaching G or at least share some interest in reaching G” (p.255).

<sup>68</sup> cf. Culpeper (1996), where he points out that conflict is not necessarily marginal or dispreferred in interaction. He explains that impoliteness is common in situations of unequal status, such as army training, when participants have conflicting interests or if participants can gain from threatening an interactant’s face (1996, p. 354). Furthermore, Culpeper et al. (2003, p. 1545-1546) note that the literature indicates that conflictive talk plays a central role in many types of discourse, from the courtroom to the family room to houses of parliament.

have to submit themselves to representatives of the institutions and their processes. *Competitive rudeness in private conversations* is used by individuals (e.g. friends and close relatives) who share a long history of severe conflicts and habitually and systematically use strategies of rudeness to put the opponent down and to emerge victorious during quarrels. Keinpointer (1997) states that while the former can be employed almost without our emotions, the latter is usually connected with the strong feelings which are the outcome of the intimacy typical of spouses and close friends. This does not mean, however, that intimacy automatically leads to a higher degree of rudeness. In addition, even when it is higher it may not be perceived so in comparison to a stranger-stranger setting. Lastly, *rudeness as political self-defence* can be used typically in inter-group conflicts and confrontations, where it is part of the in-group identity and an important means of enhancing the in group-stability so that the respective out-group is systematically treated in a very rude way. Motivated inter-group rudeness occurs when majority and/or powerful social groups often use strategies of rude communication as a means to degrade members of out-groups. This typically occurs in face to face interaction between in-group members and out-group members. On the other hand, taking a more ideological outlook, minorities and/or powerful groups can use rudeness as a means of social self-defense and political criticism.

### **5.8.1 Strategic use of Impoliteness by TNS**

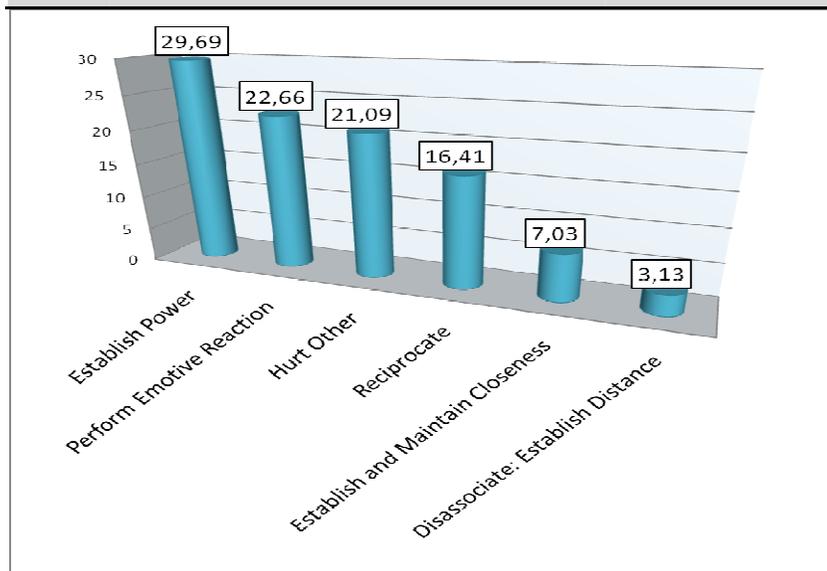
What were the possible strategic uses of impoliteness for TNS? To answer this question, in a parallel fashion to exploring strategic use of impoliteness by TNS, informants on the QPM have been asked to share their views on the reasons and desires behind resorting to impoliteness as a conscious choice in interaction with others. In light of the results gained from the relevant section on QPM (see 4.7.1 for description of the prompts), four factors were found as possible sources of motivation for TNS to be impolite.

The QPM results have been summarized in Table 29 below. A total of 128<sup>69</sup> responses were collected via QPM. The possible motivations below were also verified through CIPL and PEI. A total of six sources of motivation was found. These categories were named: establish power, perform emotive reaction, hurt other, reciprocity, establish and maintain closeness, and disassociate –establish distance.

Table 29. TNS Sources of Motivation For Impoliteness

		<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
1.	<u>Establish Power</u>	38	<b>29,69</b>
2.	<u>Perform Emotive Reaction</u>	29	<b>22,66</b>
3.	<u>Hurt Other</u>	27	<b>21,09</b>
4.	<u>Reciprocate</u>	21	<b>16,41</b>
5.	<u>Establish and Maintain Closeness</u>	9	<b>7,03</b>
6.	<u>Disassociate: Establish Distance</u>	4	<b>3,13</b>

Total coded responses: **128**



<sup>69</sup> 16 respondents took the question evaluatively, and expressed their belief that impoliteness should never be used. A further six respondents linked impoliteness to personality and said politeness may not be intentional but related to a person's character. The focus of attention was the strategic use of impoliteness, thus these responses were kept outside of the analysis presented in Table 29.

29,69% of all instrumental motivations provided for being impolite were related to the promotion of one's self and the display and establishment of relative *power* for the gain of self. This again confirms recent literature on politeness giving centrality to 'egocentric' aspects of politeness. Sub-motivations to "Establish power" was to appear powerful, to show/display oneself, to show who 'the boss' is, to be powerful in order to tilt the balance of power to your advantage, to get other to conform to do as told, to maintain authority/appear strong/feisty in order to make sure people do not walk all over you (i.e. "kendini ezdirmemek"; Eng. not to be domineered, looked down upon). In the interview extracts (395), (396) and (397) below, TNS explain how establishing power as motivation for impoliteness suffices in interaction.

(395) [PEI14;STR]

PEI14: kabalık da, yine bizim toplumumuzda maalesef aynı amaçla kullanılıyor. Yani bir güç gösterisi, bir kendini üstün gösterme, ve bir bakıma karşı taraftakini sindirip, istediği yerde, onun davranışını sergilemesini sağlamak için kullanılıyor. Bir de kabalık genellikle bizde çok kalabalık olduğumuz alanlarda daha fazla sergileniyor. O da şundan oluyor: dikkat çekmenin bir başka, halbuki olumsuz bir şey ne oluyo. Halbuki bizde şu olsa, kibar olan insanı buna güçsüz derler, kılıbık derler, ondan sonra zavallı derler, sinik derler. Halbuki alakası yoktur. Siniklik, kırılganlık ve kibarlık farklı şeylerdir.

(396) [PEI16; STR]

PEI16: kabalık da yine aynı. Yani kaba nerde kabalaşıyor türk insanı? Kendinde güç olduğunu göstermeye çalıştığı zaman. Yani işte genelde minibüste sokakta herhangi bir kavgada insanlar şey yaparken görürsünüz böyle birbirlerini. Orda kendilerinin güçlü olduğunu göstermek isterken kullanılır.

(397) [PEI7;STR]

PEI7: yani kabalık sanırım kendini kabul ettirme, kendini bir adım öne çıkarma, diğerlerini bastırma, ben burdayım deme amacıyla kullanılan bir şey. Ben kabalığın insanların kendi eksiklerini örtmeye çalıştıkları zaman kullandıkları bir araç olduğunu düşünüyorum.

The motivation to show how you feel, to show your emotional reaction to the other came in second place with 22,66%. This category included motivations such as: when you feel you have been treated unjustly/unduly, to show own retroactive emotion, when other makes you angry to show it, to revolt, and to protest by expressing negative emotions as in (398) below.

(398) sinir,kızgınlık, öfke gibi duyguları ifade etmek için bilinçli olarak bu duyguları göstermek için kullanılır.[STR68]

The third motivation, the intentional act of “hurting the other” comprised 21,09% of the responses on the QPM. Hurting the other was performed for/by demoralizing someone, to show other is not valued, to insult, threaten, frighten other, to show you do not like someone or hate someone, to show you do not care about other, to show someone you do not love them. In (399) an informant expresses how impoliteness can be used as a ‘weapon’ to intentionally hurt someone.

(399) [PEI18;STR]

PEI18: kabalık için belki kabalık insan ilişkilerinde mi bilmiyorum hani yaralayıcı bir silah gibi, karşı tarafı üzme kırma için bilinçli olarak yapılabilir. Ya da bilinçli biçimde, kişinin özelliklerinden dolayı, kaba da bir insan, onu düşünmeden yapıyordur, hırslı biçimde yapıyordur.

Furthermore, when people were impolite to you, insulted you, were disrespectful to you the motivation of performing impoliteness was to “Reciprocate”. The category added up to 16,41% of the responses.

(400) Rahatsız olunan durumu yaratan kişilerin de kendilerini rahatsız hissetmelerini sağlamak için kullanılması beklenebilir. Karşındaki sana saygısızlık yaptıysa, kabalık yaptıysa artık kibarlığa gerek yoktur. [STR49]

Lastly, intriguingly, in relation to closeness and distance in rapport, while 7,03% of the responses cited motivation for impoliteness as ‘to establish and maintain closeness and in-group bonds’, 3,13% cited motivation to do the opposite, ‘alienate yourself, disassociate with the other and establish distance’. For the former category “establish and maintain closeness” the sub-motivations were two-fold: to be a part of the group, not to be alienated by in-group members as in (403) and to relax in the company of people you know well as in (401) and (402).

(401) Sizi tanıyan ve bazı yanlış davranışlarınızı hoş karşılayabilecek insanların bulunduğu ortamlarda rahatlamak amacıyla ve düşünmeden dil ve davranışta kabalık olabilir. [STR75]

(402) çok içli dışlı olmaktan, birbirini fazla tanımaktan samimiyet ifadesi olarak, samimiyeti göstermek için [STR70]

(403) toplulukta yer edinmek dışlanmamak için kullanılır [STR66]

In (404) below, a sister expresses her belief that her brother, who is very polite to her when they are alone, practices impoliteness towards her when he is among his friends. She believes his motivation is “kabul görmek” (Eng. to seek acceptance) in order not to be alienated by in-group members. This corresponds to Kienpointer’s (1997) motivated impoliteness category ‘rudeness as political self-defence’ which he states is an important means of enhancing the in group-stability so that the respective out-group is systematically treated in a very rude way.

(404) Erkek kardeşimin bana arkadaşları tarafından kabul görmek için onların yanında acaip kaba davranması, kaba konuşması, hiç yapmadığı şekilde dalga geçmesi. [STR13]

The sixth and last impoliteness motivation was establishing “Distance”. It involved being impolite to show you are not interested in communicating with the other, to intentionally turn people against you, to leave a negative impression especially if you do not care for rapport with the other, and do not expect anything, expect to gain something from the other. This relates to Spencer-Oatey’s ‘rapport-neglect orientation’ which shows a lack of concern or interest in the quality of relations between the interlocutors.

Rodriguez (2006) classifies underlying motivations of (deceptive) communication as three-fold: (a) Instrumental objectives (i.e. focus on securing a particular outcome, attitude, or behaviour change that a communicator wants); (b) Interpersonal objectives (relate to goals associated with the creation and maintenance of personal relationships, e.g. avoid conflict/harmony with relational partners); and (c) Identity objectives (personal image or identity features that a communicator projects, e.g. issues of credibility, power, and status). In sum, the TNS data for the motivational aspects of impoliteness suggest that impoliteness is used more to fulfill identity objectives, i.e. the establishment of power, and also instrumental objectives that relate to the outcome of the interaction in terms of our notion of task achievement (i.e. the outcome, attitude or behaviour change we want from the other).

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **6.0 Presentation**

In this chapter, first the purpose of the study and the major findings will be summarized. Next implications of the study for further (im)politeness research will be set forth. Lastly, implications for research with regard to politeness within pragmatic competence of second/foreign language learners of Turkish and English as a foreign language will be discussed.

#### **6.1 Summary of Findings**

The main aim of this study has been to help broaden the perspective of politeness research with an attempt to provide an emic account of the inner-workings of (im)politeness in Turkish. An emic perspective was utilized because such an approach is primarily an insider approach, that is, the concept of (im)politeness from within the culture in order to reach an understanding of the concept as the people from that culture understand it, bringing to the forefront a speaker's/actor's understandings or evaluations of (im)politeness in its folk sense, i.e. "politeness1" (Eelen, 2001). In justification for this approach, Haugh (2007) states that "an approach centered on how face and (im)politeness is discursively negotiated through interaction surely cannot ignore the participant's understandings or evaluations....if its avowed aim is to focus on the perceptions of participants in social interaction" (p. 302). Such explorations and discoveries are possible through

working with language-specific metalanguage as an operational tool (Haugh and Hinze, 2003).

This dissertation study was titled a “metapragmatic” exploration for this reason, borrowing also from Eelen’s seminal work. According to Eelen (2001), instead of focusing solely on real-time “expressive politeness” (i.e. politeness encoded in speech by way of linguistic devices such as specific terms of address, honorifics, conventional formulaic expressions, etc.), a fruitful –yet neglected– avenue of research is to focus on “metapragmatic politeness” (i.e. how people talk about politeness as a concept in everyday interaction, and what people perceive politeness to be in different interactional practices) and “classificatory politeness” (i.e. the hearer's judgments of other people's polite or impolite behaviour).

Three sources of data were developed, collected and utilized for the purpose of delving into (im)politeness in Turkish. First, a lengthy questionnaire focusing on the metapragmatics of (im)politeness in Turkish providing open-ended qualitative data was developed by the researcher and administered to 121 Turkish native speakers via snowball sampling. The politeness meta-lexemes looked at were KİBAR, NAZİK, İNCE, ZARİF, DÜŞÜNCELİ, SAYGILI, GÖRGÜLÜ, TERBİYELİ and KABA, NEZAKETSİZ, SAYGISIZ, PATAVATSIZ, DÜŞÜNCESİZ, KÜSTAH, GÖRGÜSÜZ, TERBİYESİZ. Second, a small-scale corpus was put together for KİBAR (comprised of 190 tokens, named CPL) and KABA (comprised of 120 tokens, named CIPL) and analyzed with regard to the findings of the questionnaire. Third, interviews focusing on Turkish native speakers’ personal (im)politeness experience narratives and thoughts regarding the use of (im)politeness were conducted with 20 Turkish native speakers via convenience sampling.

All the sources were chosen intentionally to produce secondary-data, i.e. the evaluation of politeness, not real-time politeness use. By doing so, politeness at the level of social cognition was scrutinized. The rationale was to complement recent post-modern approaches to (im)politeness. On this point, Watts (2003) redefines

the goal of politeness research as: “What a theory of politeness should be able to do is to locate possible realization of polite or impolite behaviour and offer a way of assessing how the members themselves may have evaluated that behaviour” (p. 19-20). This dissertation has intended to do just that. In the section to follow, the major findings of the study will be presented in relation to the research questions that have guided the study.

#### Semantic mindmapping and (im)politeness word associations:

The first three aims of the study (as expressed in Section 3.3; correspond to first seven research questions<sup>70</sup>) was to identify what the basic lexical items that comprised the metapragmatics of (im)politeness were in Turkish and the semantic mindmapping of these lexemes within developing an understanding of (im)politeness in Turkish. For this purpose, relevant sections on the QPM were analyzed. Which lexemes and expressions were associated with a general concept of KİBAR and KABA in Turkish was also looked into. The results revealed that the TDK dictionary definitions were exceedingly circular<sup>71</sup>. The findings call for a major revision of some of the TDK definitions for the (im)politeness lexemes in light of TNS provided definitions. To provide an example, the TDK dictionary (2005) definition for NAZİK reads “başkalarına karşı saygılı davranan” (p. 1460) (Eng. one who acts with respect to other); although the component of respect in NAZİK was also mentioned by TNS, other dimensions of the lexeme (none of which were in the TDK definition) such as (a) the emotional appeal –the element of ‘softness’ in order not to agitate hurt or cause discomfort to the other, (b)

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<sup>70</sup> A. SEMANTIC MINDMAPPING: 1. How are the concepts of “politeness” and “impoliteness” constructed in Turkish?

B. METAPRAGMATICS OF POLITENESS: 2. What basic lexical items/emotion words comprise the metapragmatics of politeness in Turkish? 3. Which terms is POLITENESS associated with in Turkish? 4. What strength of associations do these politeness lexemes carry between each other as well with other lexemes/expressions in the language?

C. METAPRAGMATICS OF IMPOLITENESS: 5. What basic lexical items/emotion words comprise the metapragmatics of impoliteness in Turkish? 6. Which terms is IMPOLITENESS associated with in Turkish? 7. What strength of associations do these impoliteness lexemes carry between each other as well with other lexemes/expressions in the language?

<sup>71</sup> This has been also found by Wierzbicka (1997) working in the natural language semantics framework on English, Russian, Polish, German, and Japanese. She criticizes all dictionaries for being circular.

managing one's own emotions by being calm, and (c) the reciprocity dimension of NAZİK (i.e. one is so when they reciprocate a polite act) were frequently cited. Thus, as is for many other of lexemes under study, a revised definition which incorporates these supplementary dimensions for NAZİK is due.

Overall, KİBAR and KABA were seen to work as politeness1 'umbrella terms' for the other lexemes since they carried many of the qualities/shared aspects of the other lexemes, if not all. Although at face value they may be thought of as synonymous and interchangeable, tapping of TNS semantic frames for these lexemes revealed that, for example, KİBAR, NAZİK and İNCE were not at all synonyms for each other, just as SAYGILI, GÖRGÜLÜ, TERBİYELİ were not. The intricate differences between these lexemes have been overlooked in TDK definitions of these words. Even at just this simple native speaker informed "definition" level of analysis carried out for the semantic mind-mapping, the lexemes under observation were found to each carry distinct value dimensions as well as convergence and divergence on some dimensions by certain lexemes. In addition, through the quantitative analysis of word association data collected from TNS via QPM, it was found that between lexeme associations were especially strong for KİBAR-NAZİK and KABA-DÜŞÜNCESİZ-GÖRGÜSÜZ. 'Cultural primaries' (i.e. top 20 concept/lexeme associations) contained all the lexemes chosen for the QPM. However, the total of the 'idiosyncratic responses' (i.e. the less frequently associated words were quite significant, and were to a certain degree within the semantic fields of the other lexemes. Although AYIP had come up during the pilot study as an impoliteness lexeme, interestingly, it did not come up in the word association data collected via QPM (probably because the lexeme is used more to refer to behaviour), but was frequently used in the experience narratives shared by TNS via PEI and QPM as well as within many KABA corpus tokens. This is why, it is claimed that if this study is to be repeated or replicated, AYIP should be taken as another impoliteness lexeme just as ANLAYIŞ(LI) and HÖŞGÖRÜ(LÜ), for the same reason, should be regarded as two other possible metapragmatic politeness lexemes in Turkish.

### Bases of (im)politeness evaluations:

These value dimensions were tapped further in an attempt to answer the ninth to the eleventh research questions<sup>72</sup>. By employing a qualitative thematic-analysis the componential domains and principles politeness and impoliteness evaluations are based upon in Turkish were coded. A total of 1211 politeness experiences/narratives were collected through seven ‘describe an event you evaluated as *-lexeme-* prompts’ in the QPM. The results showed that politeness evaluations were based on six components of politeness: (1) ATTENTIVENESS to OTHER (43,10%), (2) CUSTOMS (23,84%), (3) EXPRESSIVE POLITENESS (17,17%), (4) SELF-EMOTION MANAGEMENT (6,44%), (5) FACE-SUPPORT (4,87%), (6) SOLICITOUSNESS to RIGHTS and OBLIGATIONS (4,45%). The bases were also verified by CPL and PEIs. The first category of basis of evaluation, politeness as *attentiveness*, involved recognition and consideration for others by doing/saying things for the potential benefit of the other. Different dimensions of attentiveness were identified such as acting on other’s (a) [wants/desires]: be thoughtful and considerate to B (Other/ Recipient/Hearer); (b) [emotions]: value B by being generous; (c) [needs]: support and help B, and (d) [interactional/transactional goals]: concern for B’s goal. More than half of all attentiveness narratives, however, concerned attentiveness to sub-category (b) support and help B. The second category, politeness as *custom* related to abidance by general knowledge of social customs, traditions and norms for the Turkish cultural milieu. The third component, *expressive politeness*, embodied all evaluations based primarily on linguistic acts (i.e. use of speech acts, formulaic expressions, terms of address, T/V distinction, etc.). The fourth component, *self-emotion management*, concerned holding emotions of self back for smooth continuation of rapport (e.g. avoiding conflict by not revealing your true feelings,

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<sup>72</sup> D. BASES OF (IM)POLITENESS EVALUATIONS: 8.What are the domains and principles politeness judgements are based upon? 9.Are there certain biases for the cross-mapping of (im)politeness lexemes to bases of evaluations as well as the cross-mapping of the identified bases of evaluations to (im)politeness lexemes?

E. CULTURAL SCRIPTS: 10. What specific linguistic and social acts do these the Turkish native speakers informants consider to be (a) polite and (b) impolite? 11. What types of social interaction are evaluated on the belief that rapport has been enhanced, maintained or damaged?

staying calm, not losing your temper). The fifth category, *face-support*, involved support to one's quality and social identity face. The sixth and last category, *solicitousness to rights and obligations*, involved exhibiting concern for equity rights (i.e. personal consideration from others and to be treated fairly) or association rights (i.e. association with others that is in keeping with the type of relationship).

Conversely, a total of 1306 impoliteness experiences/narratives were collected via QPM. The results showed that impoliteness evaluations were based on eight components of impoliteness: (1) FACE-ATTACK (24,35%), (2) RIGHTS OFFENSE (20,83%), (3) EXPRESSIVE IMPOLITENESS (16,00%), (4) INATTENTIVENESS (13,25%), (5) DISREGARD for CUSTOM (11,33%), (6) AGGRESSIVE/OFFENSIVE SELF-PRESENTATION (8,04%), (7) SELF-EMOTION MISMANAGEMENT (4,29%), (8) PHYSICAL IMPOLITENESS (1,91%). The bases were again also verified by CPL and PEIs. Following Spencer-Oatey (2000b, 2002, 2005a), the first category of basis of evaluation for impoliteness, *face attack*, were broken down into two types: (a) quality face threatening acts (i.e. attacks to personal qualities such as appearance, competence and abilities which concerns our sense of self-esteem) and (b) social identity face threatening act (i.e. attacks to our social identities and roles concerns our sense of public worth). Within the whole data set, 85% of all face threatening acts were quality face attacks. The second impoliteness evaluation category, *rights offenses*, were also broken down into two components: (a) equity rights threatening impoliteness (i.e. violations of personal consideration from others in terms of cost-benefit considerations, fairness and reciprocity in dealings, and rights to autonomy and non-imposition), and (b) (dis)association rights (i.e. violations of entitlements to an association with others that is in keeping with the type of relationship held concerning involvement, empathy and respectfulness). Within rights offenses, 69% were equity rights threatening acts. The third category, *expressive impoliteness* involved solely evaluations regarding inappropriateness in language choices made, use of bad language, and violations of turn-taking conventions. The fourth category, *inattentiveness to other*, involved acts concerning when one is found

impolite due to showing open disconcert to other's emotions/attentiveness to self, innattentiveness to other's needs/attentiveness to self needs and innattentiveness to other/attentiveness to self-goal. The fifth category, *disregard for customs*, related to non-abidance to social conventions and traditions in an expected fashion in Turkish culture. The sixth component, *aggressive/offensive self-presentation*, involved self-presentation of the assertive type (i.e. trying to look project a –too– good favorable image) or the aggressive offensive type (i.e. trying to look good by making others look bad, that is, less favorable). The seventh component, *self-emotion mismanagement*, concerned not being able to hold back feelings like anger, impatience, and contempt in communication and not being able to overlook other people's wrong doings. The last component, *physical impoliteness*, involved practicing physical violence (i.e. from light beating to full battery) and/or mental bullying (i.e. threats to inflict physical pain).

The analysis was carried out by calculating the primary strongest bases of evaluation for each (im)politeness episode reported by Turkish native speakers. However, many (im)polite acts, in fact, may be borderline cases of one or more of these elements determined through the study as bases for (im)politeness evaluations. Especially for some (im)politeness narratives, they may be functioning as an inseparable mixture. It is suggested that for each episode of (im)politeness, each of the dimensions may have connections at the surface level or the deep level, as well as being under the influence of episode external details such as age, gender, status, power and distance differentials, and also less discussed aspects of politeness, such as 'historicity' and 'motivation' or intention (i.e. what the interlocutors think is embedded in the act as a transactional or interactional goal for the self and other).

In terms of the bases of evaluations for (im)politeness, the most prominent bases for 'politeness' were calculated as attentiveness and abidance to custom, whereas it was revealed as face-attack and rights violations for 'impoliteness' judgments. Thus, in light of the data, it can be said that the Brown and Levinsonian premise that 'face is the hardware of politeness' is rejected. To revise, 'face' claims

alongside ‘rights’ entitlements seem to work as the hardware for ‘impoliteness’, whereas the hardware for ‘politeness’, at least for Turkish, is attentiveness to other’s needs, wishes and emotions and following custom. If the bases appear to be different for politeness<sup>1</sup> and impoliteness<sup>1</sup>, this brings up the issue of whether or not we can talk of a unified (im)politeness<sup>2</sup> theory/model which will have equal explanatory power for politeness and impoliteness. I will return to this question in section 6.2.

Cross-mapping of (im)politeness lexemes to (im)politeness themes:

The data-driven exploratory analysis revealed that there were certain biases for the cross-mapping of (im)politeness lexemes to the themes found and named as ‘bases of evaluations’. This has important implications for researchers who wish to pursue research on Turkish (im)politeness using these lexemes as an operational tool. The lexeme choices they make in developing instruments (e.g. questionnaires, interview guides, diary prompts, introspective recall tasks, discourse completion tasks, etc.) as well as for adaptation studies translating lexemes to and from Turkish for cross-cultural research purposes will affect the results attained. The findings of this study may be a starting point for later research in this area.

Within politeness lexeme to theme/component loadings, KİBAR primarily concerned the components expressive politeness and secondly attentiveness. Similarly but in reverse order of strength, NAZİK was related more to attentiveness to needs and expressive politeness. In contrast, İNCE was strongly related to attentiveness to emotions by generosity. The lexeme DÜŞÜNCELİ strongly mapped onto attentiveness to need(s) while SAYGILI primarily to politeness as custom and TERBİYELİ to politeness as custom and expressive politeness. GÖRGÜLÜ evaluations were overwhelmingly based on politeness as custom and attentiveness as considerateness for other (see Table 15 for a complete summary of loadings).

For impoliteness lexeme to theme/component loadings, KABA evaluations were greatly dispersed between the eight bases summarized above. KABA evaluations

mostly concerned insoliticousness to both equity and association rights, then quality face-attack and expressive impoliteness. DÜŞÜNCESİZ mapped onto inattentiveness to other and insoliticousness to equity rights. NEZAKETSİZ corresponded the most with evaluations of impoliteness based on an insoliticousness to association rights, then inattentiveness and expressive impoliteness. Similar to KABA, SAYGISIZ evaluations were quite dispersed between themes. The most frequent basis for SAYGISIZ was insoliticousness to rights, then came expressive impoliteness and face-attack. This was an interesting find as it clearly came against considering SAYGILI and SAYGISIZ as semantic opposites. While SAYGILI is primarily related to abidance to customs, SAYGISIZ maps predominantly on to insoliticousness to equity and association rights, expressive impoliteness and face-attack. Furthermore, KÜSTAH evaluations were connected to quality face-attack, impolite assertive/offensive self-representation and expressive impoliteness. KÜSTAH did not to correspond to disregard to custom, self-emotion mismanagement or physical impoliteness noticeably. As was found for SAYGI-SAYGISIZ, for the pair TERBİYELİ-TERBİYESİZ a discrepancy in bases of evaluation was found. Although the politeness lexeme TERBİYELİ was primarily related to the themes abiding by custom and expressive politeness, the lexeme TERBİYESİZ bore important relations with mainly quality face-attack, then insoliticousness to equity rights. GÖRGÜSÜZ was mostly based on a disregard for custom as well as on assertive/offensive self-presentation and insoliticousness to equity rights. Lastly, PATAVATSIZ, was related to quality face-attack and expressive impoliteness. For PATAVATSIZ none or markedly low correspondences were found for rights violations, aggressive/offensive self-presentation, and deficient self-emotion management (see Table 25 for a complete summary of statistics).

According to the TDK dictionary, five of the lexemes were basic semantic opposites for each other. However, the data revealed that this was not so straightforward and was actually misleading with regard to the components of (im)politeness they highlight. The bases of evaluation for (im)politeness findings showed that each of the lexemes in the lexeme pairs KİBAR-KABA, TERBİYELİ-

TERBİYESİZ, GÖRGÜLÜ-GÖRGÜSÜZ, SAYGILI-SAYGISIZ, NAZİK-NEZAKETSİZ functioned on different components and mapped on the components differently.

Cross-mapping of (im)politeness themes to (im)politeness lexemes:

In regard to theme/component to lexeme loadings for politeness, *attentiveness* as considerateness was biased for being marked by DÜŞÜNCELİ and SAYGILI frequently; attentiveness to emotions primarily by İNCE and also DÜŞÜNCELİ; attentiveness to needs by NAZİK, DÜŞÜNCELİ and KİBAR; and attentiveness to goals were more central to DÜŞÜNCELİ, KİBAR, and SAYGILI. For the theme politeness as customs, associations were notable for GÖRGÜLÜ and SAYGI(LI). For the component *self-emotion management*, theme-lexeme relations were the strongest for SAYGILI, TERBİYE, along with KİBAR, and were the weakest with NAZİK and GÖRGÜLÜ. The theme *face-support* was associated more with KİBAR, DÜŞÜNCELİ, and also İNCE. *Expressive politeness* was more often expressed with the lexemes KİBAR, DÜŞÜNCELİ and TERBİYELİ, and the least related word with expressive politeness was GÖRGÜLÜ. Sociality *rights* maintenance was most often referred to with SAYGILI and also KİBAR, and the lexeme with no associations to this component was TERBİYELİ (see Table 17 for a complete summary of descriptive statistics).

The analysis was evidence to the fact that a distinction of ‘politeness of the soul’ and ‘politeness of manners’ (Bayraktaroğlu and Sifianou, 2001) were in place, with lexemes like KİBAR, İNCE, NAZİK and DÜŞÜNCELİ at the soul end and TERBİYELİ and GÖRGÜLÜ at manners end. Hence, KİBAR, SAYGI, TERBİYELİ and GÖRGÜLÜ was found to be denoting more the linguistic, normative and ritualistic politeness acts in Turkish while DÜŞÜNCELİ, NAZİK and İNCE was working more on the interactional style dimension.

As for impoliteness themes to impoliteness lexeme loadings, *face attack* was most often referred to with PATAVATSIZ and KÜSTAĞ. These lexemes were used more with quality face attack evaluations while for social identity face attack

evaluations SAYGISIZ was used. *Insolicitousness to rights* was expressed more often through NEZAKETSİZ, SAYGISIZ, and KABA. In addition, while equity rights violations were referred to with SAYGISIZ and DÜŞÜNCESİZ, for association rights violations NEZAKETSİZ, KABA and SAYGISIZ were used.

For *expressive impoliteness* theme-lexeme relations were the strongest for primarily SAYGISIZ, KABA and also TERBİYESİZ and KÜSTAH. The least associated lexemes to expressive impoliteness were DÜŞÜNCESİZ and GÖRGÜSÜZ. For the theme *inattentiveness to other*, associations were most notable for DÜŞÜNCESİZ and NEZAKETSİZ, and the least related lexemes to inattentiveness were TERBİYESİZ and GÖRGÜSÜZ. *Disregard for custom* was most often expressed through GÖRGÜSÜZ and TERBİYESİZ, and the least associated lexemes to this theme were KÜSTAH and DÜŞÜNCESİZ. The theme *aggressive self-presentation* was more closely associated with KÜSTAH and GÖRGÜSÜZ. No relationship with self-presentation was recorded for NEZAKETSİZ, SAYGISIZ, and TERBİYESİZ lexemes. As for denoting the theme *self-emotion mismanagement*, mainly KABA and TERBİYESİZ, then NEZAKETSİZ and KÜSTAH were found as marked. Correspondences between *self-emotion management* and GÖRGÜSÜZ were computed as none and insignificant for SAYGISIZ and DÜŞÜNCESİZ. *Physical impoliteness* was most frequent referred to by KABA and also to a lesser degree SAYGISIZ and TERBİYESİZ. The theme physical impoliteness bore no associations to DÜŞÜNCESİZ, NEZAKETSİZ and GÖRGÜSÜZ. (see Table 27 for a complete listing of statistical findings).

#### (Im)politeness lexemes used to refer to linguistic acts versus behavioural acts

Out of all the politeness lexemes, KİBAR was the lexeme that TNS thought had the strongest connections with equal orientations toward language and behaviour. NAZİK was found to associate more with behaviour than language. For the other politeness lexemes, differences for language and behaviour orientation were not significant. Within the impoliteness lexemes, KABA, SAYGISIZ and KÜSTAH were the ones that had more or less equal language and behaviour denoting

orientations. The most language-oriented impoliteness evaluating lexeme was PATAVATSIZ, while for behaviour orientation it was DÜŞÜNCESİZ, NEZAKETSİZ, TERBİYESİZ and GÖRGÜSÜZ.

#### Motivational and strategic uses of (im)politeness

With regard to the motivational and strategic use of (im)politeness, answering the last research question,<sup>73</sup> the findings are confirmatory of recent literature giving centrality to ‘egocentric’ aspects of politeness –that politeness is, for whatever reason, the ego’s attempt to enhance his standing with respect to alter (Jary, 1998; Watts, 1992; Yabuuchi, 2006). The concern for the hearer/recipient in using politeness (suggested as the center for most prominent past politeness theories in literature) was far less than motivational concerns related to self. Nearly half of all TNS responses to prompts on the motivational aspect of politeness use pointed at self promotion and image management. Politeness is used intentionally to promote one’s self image for the purpose of becoming accepted, liked and respected by other(s) more.

Other notable motivations were goal-attainment (i.e. using politeness to get what you want), rapport management concerns (i.e. for long-term maintenance of rapport), boosting face/rights for the other (i.e. to support the other’s face claims and rights entitlements), distancing (i.e. to create more distance between self and other) and for gain in professional life. Concerning the motivations use of impoliteness, impoliteness was predominately used to establish power and project power of self onto other. Other motivations were to perform an emotive reaction to external happenings, to hurt the other, to reciprocate an impolite act received from other, to establish and maintain closeness, or contrarily, to disassociate and establish distance between self and other. Remarkably, both politeness and impoliteness could be motivated by a desire to distance oneself as well as creating closeness. This finding also calls for a re-evaluation of the effects of relative

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<sup>73</sup> F. MOTIVATIONS FOR and STRATEGIC USE OF(IM)POLITENESS:

12. In situations where it is an informed choice, which expectations and factors drive the want to be polite and impolite in Turkish?

power, intentional power and positive and negative distance projection for (im)politeness theories.

In comparison to the distribution of the politeness events narrated by the Turkish native speakers, where the concern for the other (i.e. face claims and rights entitlements) was prominent in evaluations of the events, when motivational aspects were probed, self-aspects (i.e. face claims and rights entitlements of self) were distinctly brought to the fore. This points to a difference of conceptual knowledge in social cognition between what people say metapragmatically about what politeness is versus what people remember doing regarding politeness and evaluating politeness. The difference may be attributed to the desire not to associate oneself with what they believed could be seen as a negative attribute – using politeness for self gain. The events narrated by the informants may have carried fewer instances of evaluation of their own behaviour. They may have been acting on self-impression management in answering the questions. When they did evaluate themselves, however, they were usually acting with sincerity. For the QPM, after the piloting phase, it was only when the question was impersonalized that the informants shared their beliefs on the motivational and strategic uses of (im)politeness.

## **6.2 Implications for Further (Im)politeness Research**

As the recent literature suggests, emic approaches to (im)politeness are critically called for. Why is it important that we not only take an etic approach but use emic methodology as well?

An old Sufi story, I feel is called for here. Reading of the story with an open mind, stretching the boundaries of our understanding by remembering that beating need not be physical, language and other types of social behaviour have also been known to produce similar effects on people, i.e. ‘the iron fist in the velvet glove’ will help answer this question.

It is said that there was a father who beat his son every single day for ten long years. Reaching the age of majority, the son was addressed by the father and told that he would no longer be beaten. 'You have been a good son and have never objected,' said the father. The son lowered his eyes in embarrassment and replied, 'That is not so, father. I was not a good son. After every beating, I went to my room and prayed to God that he would take your life as quickly as possible.' The bewildered father asked, 'But why did you never say a word to me?' The son replied, 'It would have been discourteous to complain. It was my duty to remain polite. (Davetian, n.d., p.15; underline added)

This little story, I believe, is telling for (im)politeness research in this respect: Especially for some cultures where obligations are far more rooted in social cognition, looking at only naturally occurring data or elicited language data to reach an understanding of how (im)politeness functions and thrives within a language/culture is virtually an impossible task unless emic methodologies are also adopted. There is otherwise no possible means of looking into what people actually do, what we (researchers) believe they do, and what they *say* they do.

Undoubtedly, (im)politeness<sup>1</sup> has an evaluative character as it involves social norms, and covers different aspects of the lay notion of politeness and how politeness is intentionally encoded in language and behaviour by the speaker in various communicative practices, as well as how (im)politeness is perceived or evaluated by the hearer. For a new growing trend in politeness research, this is the route to take: analyzing (im)politeness<sup>1</sup> conceptualizations to sketch an (im)politeness<sup>2</sup> theory of cultural politeness (Eelen, 2001; Haugh and Hinze, 2003; Mills, 2001; Watts, 2003; Ruhi, 2007). As has been seen from the findings of this study, there is a considerable amount of rich description an emic approach can offer to (im)politeness theorizing.

This is especially important if we accept that a theory of (im)politeness needs to examine more carefully “how (im)politeness is *interactionally* achieved through the evaluations of self and other (or their respective groups) that emerge in the sequential unfolding of interaction” (Haugh, 2007, p. 295; emphasis added). These evaluations appear to be not only working on the more conventionally examined differentials such as power, distance, roles, gender, age, but also on private versus

public domains, historicity, intentionality, sincere versus strategic uses and perceptions, reciprocity, and motivational uses of (im)politeness. All of these aspects admittedly affect ‘degrees of (im)politeness’ for the recipient/hearer. Especially for impoliteness research, what affects the gravity of a perceived offense and how “the gravity of an offense” (Culpeper, et. al., 2008) functions in the types of evaluations it receives are worth looking into.

The relationship between politeness and sincerity also calls for more research. Theory needs to take notice of the fact that “principles of politeness can be exploited to deceive the hearer” (Eelen, 2001, p. 168). Are these –namely insincere acts then also going to be considered as politeness within the theory? I argue that any possible (im)polite act, whether sincere or insincere, may be considered an (im)polite act as long as either the actor/speaker or the recipient/hearer performed it with the intention to be (im)polite (whether strategically or not) or evaluated it as (im)polite, even if it was performed strategically or perceived to be strategic, i.e. insincere. A theory of (im)politeness needs to take recognition of this question and work on explaining the relationship between perceived (in)sincerity of an act and perceived (im)politeness as much as taking recognition that social interaction is not always based upon cooperation and that everyone is not always truthful.

For a number of researchers in the field, politeness is regarded as something good, sincere, and with no hypocrisy. For example, Bharuthra (2003) asserts “there should be no intent behind one’s polite behaviour, meaning one should not be polite to achieve personal goals (2003, p.1532). This may be true for the understandings of politeness in specific situations for the laymen; however, a model of politeness should be able to explain also (im)politeness that is not the result of sincere intentions and also why a specific act has been found to be insincere. Moreover, the idealized image of polite communication in theory is also reflected in second or foreign language pedagogy (Meier, 2007), which currently tends to deal with the “pleasanter side of foreign language interaction such as making friends, relating experiences, and expressing likes/dislikes while ignoring such everyday communicative realities as rudeness, disrespect, and impoliteness”

(Mugford, 2007). Once politeness is detached from ‘goodness’, pedagogy will have a much better chance to act on delivering learners of a foreign language their communicative rights to express impoliteness as much as politeness, as well as the possible culture given choices to take up when confronted with impoliteness. Following Xie, et. al. (2005) at the level of scientific analysis, there should be “no link between politeness and sincerity: politeness does not necessary entail sincerity” or vice versa. These issues may also be interesting avenues for research.

Moreover, on the basis of the findings of the study, I follow Eelen (2001), who claims that politeness and impoliteness cannot be taken to be polar opposites, since politeness functions in very different and context-specific ways as well as non-contextual specific ways. (Im)politeness is attributed to a speaker on the basis of assessments of intentions and motivations as well as bases of evaluation outlined in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. As has been seen from the analysis, politeness and impoliteness function on the bases of different components of (im)politeness. Thus, more research is required to take a look into if (and how) –though the bases seem to be different– a universal theory of (im)politeness can be or should be developed.

The findings also underscore the fact that impoliteness is not simply a question of omission of formal and formulaic linguistic options, this is only one aspect of what a theory of politeness should be able to explain. (Im)politeness has to be seen as assessment of someone’s behaviour rather than solely a quality intrinsic to an utterance. A theory of social politeness should take the social-psychology informed “rapport management” (Spencer-Oatey, 2000b) as the central core and revolve around the give and take of *emotions* as well as other nitty-gritty aspects of a person and communication at large between self and other. This would be the most beneficial step to take in being conducive to cross-cultural studies in ways previous approaches have not been. Rather than trying to determine a fix set of components with the intention of reaching a universal account of (im)politeness, looking into what different kinds of components/bases are at play in different cultures in any given situation would be a more beneficial path to take.

The resulting discussion in the literature around the fuzzy problem of politeness vs. impoliteness vs. non-politeness, which some have tried to resolve by introducing the concept of politic behaviour (Watts, 1992, 2003) have complicated the matters further. Are there any acts that may fall within a neutral category? Is neutrality possible? Although there are degrees, I argue that all acts take on a category label, i.e. shades of politeness. More work is also necessary in scrutinizing whether ‘non-polite and non-impolite’ is really possible. Again through pursuing an emic analysis, cross-cultural research on acts which have been described as ‘politic’ as opposed to ‘polite’ by academics needs to be taken up.

If a model of (im)politeness is also going to address motivational and strategic aspects, then what is meant by ‘strategic’ needs to be discussed. As a starting point we will need to distinguish ‘strategic for aspects of self’ (the actor/speaker) and strategic for aspects of other (recipient/hearer). Yet another level of analysis could be the way in which the recipient/hearer is using the impolite act or event. Is the act strategic for the actor or the recipient?

To explain, in light of the findings of studies similar to the one at hand, a taxonomy for the relationship between (im)polite intentions and motivated perceptions of (im)politeness should be devised. A theory also should also be able to explain in (im)politeness<sup>1</sup> terms as well as (im)politeness<sup>2</sup> whether or not all (im)politeness acts are strategic/intentional. At this point, sincerity and how it effects the projection as well as the perception of politeness needs to be looked into. As a starting point, I propose the following act-evaluation sequences summarized in Table 30 as types of motivational possibilities for (im)politeness perceptions.

Table 30. Possibilities for Looking at (Im)politeness From a Motivational Basis

	<u>ACT</u>	<u>STRATEGIC FOR WHOM?</u>		<u>EVALUATION</u> (effected by <u>Context and</u> <u>Historicity</u>	
		<u>Intentionality</u> <u>of Actor/</u> <u>Speaker</u>	<u>Uptake by</u> <u>Recipient/</u> <u>Hearer</u>	<u>Evaluated by</u> <u>R/H as</u>	<i>Notes:</i>
TYPE 1	<b>Politeness</b>	Sincere	Noticed	Sincere	
TYPE 2	<b>Politeness</b>	Sincere	Noticed	Strategic (insincere)	<i>Politeness gone wrong</i>
TYPE 3	<b>Politeness</b>	Sincere	Unnoticed (strategically?)		
TYPE 4	<b>Politeness</b>	Strategic	Noticed	As strategic	
TYPE 5	<b>Politeness</b>	Strategic	Noticed	Sincere	<i>A deceived B</i>
TYPE 6	<b>Politeness</b>	Strategic	Unnoticed (strategically?)		
TYPE 7	<b>Impoliteness</b>	Sincere/ Personality	Noticed	Sincere Personality	
TYPE 8	<b>Impoliteness</b>	Sincere/ Personality	Noticed	Strategic (insincere)	<i>Impoliteness gone wrong</i>
TYPE 9	<b>Impoliteness</b>	Sincere	Unnoticed (strategically?)		
TYPE 10	<b>Impoliteness</b>	Strategic	Noticed	Strategic (insincere)	
TYPE 11	<b>Impoliteness</b>	Strategic	Noticed	Sincere Personality	<i>A deceived B*</i>
TYPE 12	<b>Impoliteness</b>	Strategic	Unnoticed (strategically?)		

The metapragmatic (im)politeness lexeme based/prompted exploratory analysis provided an explanation for Turkish native speaker accounts of what (im)politeness<sup>1</sup> means and the purposes for which it is used by for different rapport orientations (enhancement, maintenance, neglect, challenge). It is, however, recognized that people's motives for these various orientations can change within the course of an interaction or in a relationship based on more interaction(s) (Spencer-Oatey, 2000a). Thus, 'historicity' also requires the attention of future research. Every event between an A and B is recorded into the repertoire of interactions as 'AB' (with may be also be a difference of how AB is for A and AB

is for B). Nonetheless, the repertoire works as a filing cabinet storing event files which get pulled out anytime a new interaction between A and B takes place that calls for A and/or B to make perform an act and/or evaluate one produced by the other. The files form the backdrop of the ‘historicity’ of AB. A theory/model of politeness as well as future research on (im)politeness cannot and should not divorce itself from such premises.

More work also needs to look into the metalinguistic differences between languages. This has important consequences for the reliability and validity of both quantitative and qualitative empirical cross-cultural (im)politeness research. To exemplify, what is understood from ‘respect’, i.e. translation of the lexeme in different languages may have different cultures underpinnings. It was seen from the results of the study that even SAYGI and SAYGISIZ viewed as semantic opposites in Turkish were not tapping on the absence or presence of the same value dimensions. To recap, it was found that while SAYGILI is primarily related to ‘abidance to customs’, SAYGISIZ maps predominantly on to ‘insoliticousness to equity and association rights’, ‘expressive impoliteness’ and ‘face-attack’. For Turkish, ‘respect as a value claimed by self’ and ‘respect as an entity/value performed by other to self’ need to be distinguished<sup>74</sup>. Does, for example the English translation RESPECT and DISRESPECT follow the same component loading? Further research needs to scrutinize the equivalence of frequent (im)politeness terms used in research and utilized for data collection purposes preferably via qualitative rapport sensitive incidents research, and further corpus research on (im)politeness lexemes, metapragmatic lexeme studies, and (im)politeness diary studies need to be conducted.

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<sup>74</sup> Cf. Middleton (2006) in his work on types of self-respect argues that self-respect consists of both a self-evaluative and a social reflexive element and considers self-respect as having three dimensions: human recognition, status recognition and appraisal.

### **6.3 Final Word**

Meier (2004) asks “has ‘politeness’ outlived its usefulness?”. She argues that the Brown and Levinsonian understanding of politeness “provide a false sense of simplicity” (p.12). This study has also shown that a renewal of the way in which we approach (im)politeness is called for.

What is needed is a new outlook on politeness as has been suggested by ‘Rapport Management’, one which places language and behaviour within its broader social, cultural and psychological context, delving into situationally and pan-situationally enacted value dimensions, value orientations and beliefs, and thus, one that calls for an ethnographic or emic approach (involving itself more with metapragmatic (im)politeness<sup>1</sup> and classificatory (im)politeness<sup>1</sup>), seeking the meaning assigned by the speaker and hearer (in relation to intentionality, sincerity, historicity and reciprocity) rather than asserting that directness vs. indirectness and politeness are somehow fixed and isolated concepts and forms in use and meaning. This will, undoubtedly, serve the purposes of cross-cultural, intercultural communication and intercultural politeness research to a much greater degree, and will inevitably also shift the basis of the teaching of ‘politeness phenomena’ in foreign and second language pedagogy.

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## APPENDIXES

### APPENDIX A

#### **Gönüllü Katılım Formu**

Bu çalışma, Hale Işık-Güler tarafından ODTÜ’de yürütülen bir araştırmanın bir bölümünü oluşturmaktadır. Çalışma, anadili Türkçe olan kişilerin Türkçe’de “kibarlık/kabalık” ile ilgili bir grup kelimenin anlamlarını nasıl kavramlaştırdıklarını saptamak ve bu konuda bilgi toplamak amacı ile hazırlanmıştır. Ankette, sizden kimlik belirleyici hiçbir bilgi istenmemektedir. Verdiğiniz cevaplar ve kimliğiniz tamimiyle gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir; elde edilecek bilgiler ise bilimsel yayımlarda kullanılacaktır.

Anket, genel olarak kişisel rahatsızlık verecek soruları içermemektedir. Ancak, katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz cevaplama işini yarıda bırakmakta serbestsiniz. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz.

Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Eğitim Fakültesi, Yabancı Diller Eğitimi Bölümü öğretim elemanlarından Hale Işık-Güler (Oda: Z07; Tel: 210 4081; E-posta: [anket.odtu@gmail.com](mailto:anket.odtu@gmail.com)) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

**Bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum ve istediğim zaman yarıda kesip bırakabileceğimi biliyorum. Verdiğim bilgilerin kimliğim gizli tutularak sadece bilimsel amaçlı yayımlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum.**

(Lütfen kutucuğu işaretleyiniz.)

## KELİME ANLAMLARI ÇALIŞMASI ANKETİ

Bu anket Türkçe'deki "kibarlık/kabalık" kavramları ile ilgili bir grup kelimenin ana dili Türkçe olan kişiler tarafından nasıl kavramlaştırıldıklarını saptamak amacı ile hazırlanmıştır. Anketin birinci bölümünde "kibar, nazik, ince, saygılı, görgülü, vb." kelimelerinin sizin için ifade ettiği anlamlar sorulacak, örnek olaylar anlatmanız istenecek ve olası ilişkileri üzerinde durulacaktır. İkinci bölümde ise "kaba, saygısız, terbiyesiz, patavatsız, düşüncesiz, görgsüz, vb." kelimelerinin anlamları sorulacak, örnek olaylar anlatmanız istenecek ve birbiri ile ilişkileri üzerinde durulacaktır. Bu iki bölümde de olabildiğince ayrıntılı/detaylı bilgi vermenizi önemle rica ederiz. Anketin üçüncü bölümünde bu kelimelerin dile (dil kullanımına) ya da davranışlara yönelik olarak kullanılma sıklığını belirtmeniz istenecektir. Son bölümde ise kendiniz hakkında kısa bilgiler vermeniz beklenmektedir. Verdiğiniz tüm bilgiler gizli tutulacaktır. Lütfen anketi bilgisayarınıza kaydettikten sonra bilgisayar ortamında anketi doldurarak [anket.odtu@gmail.com](mailto:anket.odtu@gmail.com) adresine gönderiniz. Katılımınız için çok teşekkür ederiz.

Hale Işık-Güler  
Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi

### I. BÖLÜM:

Lütfen aşağıdaki kelimelerin *elinizden geldiğince ayrıntılı olarak*

- ANLAMlarını,
- ÖRNEKLER vererek ne gibi DURUMLAR/OLAYLAR ve İNSANLAR için kullanıldığını, ve
- size Türkçedeki hangi diğer KELİMEleri, İFADEleri ve DUYGULARı çağrıştırdığını yazınız.

### 1. KİBAR / KİBARLIK:

a) "Kibar/kibarlık" kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, "Kibar/kibarlık" kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da	

<u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Kibar/kibarlık” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

## 2. DÜŞÜNCELİ/ DÜŞÜNCELİLİK:

a) “Düşünceli/düşüncelilik” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “düşünceli/düşüncelilik” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Düşünceli/düşüncelilik” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

## 3. NAZİK / NEZAKET:

a) “Nazik/nezaket” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “nazik/nezaket” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Nazik/nezaket” kelimesinin/kavramının size	

çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	
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#### 4. SAYGILI/ SAYGI :

a) “Saygılı/saygı” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “saygılı/saygı” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Saygılı/saygı” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

#### 5. İNCE /İNCELİK:

a) “İnce/incelik” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “ince/incelik” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “İnce/incelik” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

## 6. GÖRGÜLÜ/ GÖRGÜ:

a) “Görgülü/görgü” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “görgülü/görgü” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Görgülü/görgü” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

## 7. TERBİYELİ/ TERBİYE:

a) “Terbiyeli/terbiye” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “terbiyeli/terbiye” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Terbiyeli/terbiye” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

## 8. ZARİF/ZARAFET:

a) “Zarif/zarafet” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
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b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “zarif/zarafet” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Zarif/zarafet” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

**Anketin I. Bölümündeki kelimelerin (kibar, nazik, ince, zarif, saygılı, görgülü, terbiyeli, düşünceli) arasında sizce ne gibi temel farklar/benzerlikler var? Lütfen yazınız.**

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## II. BÖLÜM:

Lütfen aşağıdaki kelimelerin *elinizden geldiğince ayrıntılı olarak*

- (a) ANLAMlarını,  
(b) ÖRNEKLER vererek ne gibi DURUMLAR/OLAYLAR ve İNSANLAR için kullanıldığını, ve  
(c) size Türkçedeki hangi diğer KELİMEleri, İFADEleri ve DUYGULARı çağrıştırdığını yazınız.

### 1. KABA/ KABALIK

a) “Kaba/kabalık” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “kaba/kabalık” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Kaba/kabalık” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

### 2. TERBİYESİZ /TERBİYESİZLİK

a) “Terbiyesiz/terbiyesizlik” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “terbiyesiz/terbiyesizlik” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Terbiyesiz/terbiyesizlik”	

kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	
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### 3. PATAVATSIZ/ PATAVATSIZLIK

a) “Patavatsız/patavatsızlık” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “patavatsız/patavatsızlık” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Patavatsız/patavatsızlık” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

### 4. DÜŞÜNCESİZ / DÜŞÜNCESİZLİK

a) “Düşüncesiz/düşüncesizlik” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “düşüncesiz/düşüncesizlik” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Düşüncesiz/düşüncesizlik” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

## 5. KÜSTAH / KÜSTAHLIK

a) “Küstah/küstahlık” kelimesinin size ifade ettiđi anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “küstah/küstahlık” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Küstah/küstahlık” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diđer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

## 6. GÖRGÜSÜZ/ GÖRGÜSÜZLÜK:

a) “Görgüsüz/görgüsüzlük” kelimesinin size ifade ettiđi anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “görgüsüz/görgüsüzlük” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Görgüsüz/görgüsüzlük” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diđer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

## 7. SAYGISIZ/ SAYGISIZLIK:

a) “Saygısız/saygısızlık” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “saygısız/saygısızlık” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Saygısız/saygısızlık” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

## 8. NEZAKETSİZ/ NEZAKETSİZLIK:

a) “Nezaketsiz/nezaketsizlik” kelimesinin size ifade ettiği anlam:	
b) Bir iki ayrıntılı örnekle, “nezaketsiz/nezaketsizlik” kelimesini/kavramını geçmişte <u>hangi OLAY</u> larda <u>NE</u> ya da <u>KİM</u> için kullandığınızı veya kullanabileceğinizi anlatınız.	
c) “Nezaketsiz/nezaketsizlik” kelimesinin/kavramının size çağrıştırdığı <u>diğer Türkçe kelime(ler)</u> ve <u>duygular</u> :	

**Anketin II. Bölümündeki kelimelerin (kaba, terbiyesiz, patavatsız, düşüncesiz, küstah, görgüsüz, saygısız, nezaketsiz) arasında sizce ne gibi temel farklar/benzerlikler var? Lütfen yazınız.**

### III. BÖLÜM

İlk iki bölümde geçen kelimeleri daha çok (a) başkalarının **DİL** **KULLANIMLARINI** (konuşmalarını, kullandıkları kelimeleri ve yazılarını) anlatmak için mi, (b) başkalarının **DAVRANIŞLARINI** ve tutumlarını anlatmak için mi, yoksa her ikisi için de mi kullanırsınız?

Lütfen aşağıdaki sözcükleri, **NEYİ** anlatmak için hangi **SIKLIKLA** ( **1: Çok sık; 5: Hiçbir zaman**) kullandığınızı size uyan kutuyu tıklayarak işaretleyiniz.

		Bu kelimeyi <u>NEYİ</u> anlatmak için kullanım:	Çok Sık	←————→			Hiçbir Zaman
1.	<b>KİBAR</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
2.	<b>NAZİK</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
3.	<b>İNCE</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
4.	<b>SAYGILI</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
5.	<b>TERBİYELİ</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
6.	<b>ZARİF</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

7.	<b>GÖRGÜLÜ</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
8.	<b>DÜŞÜNCELİ</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

		Bu kelimeyi <u>NEYİ anlatmak</u> <u>için kullanırım:</u>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <span style="margin-right: 5px;"><b>Çok Sık</b></span> <span style="font-size: 2em; margin: 0 10px;">←→</span> <span><b>Hiçbir Zaman</b></span> </div>				
9.	<b>KABA</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
10.	<b>SAYGISIZ</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
11.	<b>PATAVATSIZ</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
12.	<b>DÜŞÜNCESİZ</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
13.	<b>KÜSTAH</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
14.	<b>NEZAKETSİZ</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
15.	<b>TERBİYESİZ</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
16.	<b>GÖRGÜSÜZ</b>	a) Dil kullanımı	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
		b) Davranış	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

**IV. GÖRÜŞLERİNİZ:** Lütfen bu konuların sosyal yaşamımıza yansımaları ile ilgili aşağıdaki soruları yanıtlayınız.

1. Kibarlık ile ilgili kavramları ve olguları hangi yollardan öğrendiğimizi düşünüyorsunuz? Ağırlıklı olarak bu bilgiler bize (ebeveynlerimiz ve okul eğitimi vasıtası ile) mi ÖĞRETİLİYOR, yoksa biz yaşayarak, TECRÜBE edinerek mi bu bilgileri ediniyoruz?



2. Yetişkin kadınlar ve erkekler; kız ve erkek çocukları arasında dil kullanımı ve davranışta kibarlık/kabalık ile ilgili ne gibi temel benzerlikler/farklılıklar bulunduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?



3. Sizce kendinizi Türkçe ifade ederken kibarlığı karakteriniz gereği mi yoksa sosyal bir beceri olarak iletişimde ulaşmayı amaçladığınız (uzun veya kısa vadeli) sonuca yönelik bir araç olarak mı kullanıyorsunuz?



4. Farklı sosyal durumlarda: (a) iş ortamında ve (b) aile/arkadaş ortamında, ve (c) hiç tanımadığınız insanlarla iletişim esnasında

a. Dil ve davranışta kibarlık hangi amaçlar doğrultusunda kullanılabilir/kullanılması beklenir?



b. Dil ve davranışta “kabalık” hangi sebepler ile kullanılabilir/kullanılması beklenir?



## V. BÖLÜM

Lütfen şimdi kendiniz hakkında kısa bilgiler veriniz.

1.	Uyruğunuz:	<input type="checkbox"/> T.C <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer
2.	Cinsiyetiniz:	<input type="checkbox"/> K <input type="checkbox"/> E
3.	Yaşınız:	■
4.	Medeni durumunuz:	<input type="checkbox"/> Evli <input type="checkbox"/> Bekar
5.	<u>Şu anda hangi şehirde ikamet etmektedirsiniz?</u>	■
6.	<u>Evinizde en çok kullanılan dil:</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> Türkçe <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer
7.	<u>Evinizde kullanılan başka dil varsa, lütfen belirtiniz:</u>	■
	<u>Bu dili kullanma dereceniz:</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> Çok İyi <input type="checkbox"/> İyi <input type="checkbox"/> Orta <input type="checkbox"/> Çok Az
8.	<b>Bildiğiniz diğer yabancı diller ve yeterliliğiniz:</b> (Düzevini aşağıdaki derecelendirmeye göre yapınız.)  Çok iyi =Yabancılarla yazılı ve sözlü olarak <b>çok mükemmel</b> bir şekilde anlaşabilmekteyim; İyi =Yabancılarla yazılı ve sözlü olarak <b>rahat</b> bir şekilde anlaşabilmekteyim; Orta =Yabancılarla yazılı ve sözlü olarak anlaşmakta <b>zaman zaman</b> zorlanmaktayım; Çok Az =Yabancılarla yazılı ve sözlü olarak anlaşmakta <b>çok zorlanmaktayım.</b>	
	1) ■	<input type="checkbox"/> Çok İyi <input type="checkbox"/> İyi <input type="checkbox"/> Orta <input type="checkbox"/> Çok Az
	2) ■	<input type="checkbox"/> Çok İyi <input type="checkbox"/> İyi <input type="checkbox"/> Orta <input type="checkbox"/> Çok Az
	3) ■	<input type="checkbox"/> Çok İyi <input type="checkbox"/> İyi <input type="checkbox"/> Orta <input type="checkbox"/> Çok Az
9.	<b>Mezun olduğunuz okullar: (Lütfen ilgili maddede isim/bölüm/derece belirtiniz)</b>	
	<u>Ortaöğrenim</u>	
	Lise:	■
	<u>Üniversite</u>	
	Ön lisans (2 yıl):	■
	Lisans (4 yıl) :	■
	Yüksek Lisans (Mastır):	■
	Doktora:	■

10.	<b>Ailenizin Eğitim Düzeyi:</b>	
	Anneminizin: <input type="checkbox"/> Okur-Yazar <input type="checkbox"/> İlkokul <input type="checkbox"/> Ortaokul <input type="checkbox"/> Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Üniversite <input type="checkbox"/> Y. Lisans Babanızın: <input type="checkbox"/> Okur-Yazar <input type="checkbox"/> İlkokul <input type="checkbox"/> Ortaokul <input type="checkbox"/> Lise <input type="checkbox"/> Üniversite <input type="checkbox"/> Y. Lisans	
11.	<b><u>ÇALIŞIYOR İSENİZ:</u> (Emekli iseniz bunu belirtiniz ve son çalıştığınız kurumu yazınız)</b>	
	Mesleğiniz:	■
	Çalıştığınız kurum ya da kuruluştaki göreviniz/pozisyonunuz:	■
	Yıl olarak toplam iş tecrübeniz:	■
12.	<b><u>ŞU ANDA ÖĞRENCİ İSENİZ:</u></b>	
	Üniversiteniz:	■
	Bölümünüz:	■
	Yıl olarak sınıfınız:	■
13.	<b><u>Yaklaşık yıllık toplam GELİRİNİZ</u> (Çalışan iseniz kendinizin, öğrenci iseniz ailenizin):</b>	■
14.	<b>Ailece nerelisiniz? (Şehir-İlçe-Köy ismi):</b>	■
15.	<b><u>Türkiye'de en uzun süreyle ikamet ettiğiniz bölge:</u></b>	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Akdeniz <input type="checkbox"/> Doğu Anadolu <input type="checkbox"/> Ege <input type="checkbox"/> Güneydoğu Anadolu <input type="checkbox"/> İç Anadolu <input type="checkbox"/> Karadeniz <input type="checkbox"/> Marmara	
16.	<b><u>Türkiye'de en uzun süreyle ikamet ettiğiniz yerleşim türünü</u> isaretleyiniz:</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Şehir <input type="checkbox"/> İlçe <input type="checkbox"/> Köy
17.	<b><u>Türkiye dışına hiç seyahat ettiniz mi?</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Evet <input type="checkbox"/> Hayır
18.	<b><u>Yurtdışı yerleşik yaşam tecrübeniz var mı?</u></b>	<input type="checkbox"/> Evet <input type="checkbox"/> Hayır
	Cevabınız Evet ise, bulduğunuz <b><u>ülkeyi</u></b> ve <b><u>bulunma sürenizi</u></b> yazınız:	
	a) ■	■
	b) ■	■
	c) ■	■

**Bu arařtırmanın uzantısı olarak, size uygun olan bir saat ve tarihte 20-25 dakikalık SÖZLÜ bir görüşmeye katılmaya gönüllü olur musunuz?**

Evet

Hayır

**Cevabımız Evet ise, iletişim bilgilerinizi paylaşabilir misiniz?  
Sizinle irtibata geçebileceğimiz**

**e-mail adresiniz:**

**Cep/ev/iř telefonunuz:**

**KATILIMINIZ İÇİN ÇOK TEŞEKKÜRLER.**

## APPENDIX B

### KİBARLIK/KABALIK DENEYİMLERİ SÖZLÜ GÖRÜŞME KILAVUZU

Bu görüşmenin amacı Türkçe'deki incelik/kibarlık kavramının Türkler tarafından nasıl algılandığı ile ilgili bir doktora çalışmasına veri sağlamaktır. Paylaşacağınız tüm bilgiler kimliğiniz korunarak saklanacaktır. Katılım tamamen kişisel istek esasına bağlıdır. Görüşmeyi herhangi bir aşamada durdurabilir ve/veya görüşmeyi sonlandırabilirsiniz. Katılımınız için teşekkür ederiz.

Hale Işık-Güler  
Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi

**Yaklaşık 15-20 dakika sürmesi beklenen deneyimleriniz ile görüşmede size aşağıdaki soru grupları yöneltilecektir:**

A. Kişisel bilgileriniz: Yaş, eğitim seviyesi, mesleğiniz, vb.

B. Yaşantı/Deneyim paylaşımı

**En son yaşadığınız, ya da önceden aklınızda kalan bir ya da birkaç:**

**(3) Size mutluluk veren/memnun eden çok**

**KİBAR/İNCE/NAZİK/DÜŞÜNCELİ vb. bir dil**

**kullanımının/konuşmanın/davranışın geçtiği bir OLAYI ayrıntıları ile anlatabilir misiniz?**

**VE**

**(4) Sizi mutsuz eden ya da rahatsızlık veren/sinilendiren çok**

**KABA/DÜŞÜNCE SİZ/GÖRGÜSÜZ/TERBİYESİZ vb bir dil**

**kullanımının/konuşmanın/davranışın geçtiği bir OLAYI ayrıntıları ile anlatabilir misiniz?**

**Lütfen paylaşacağınız olayın/konuşmanın sizce meydana gelme sebebi, nerede geçtiği, ortamın ayrıntıları ve olayda taraf olan/konuşanların özellikleri ve sizinle olan ilişkileri, o an hissettikleriniz vb. hakkında detaylı bilgi veriniz.**

**C. Açık uçlu sorular:**

- 1) Kaba bulduğunuz ve kibar bulduğunuz iki insanı kısaca tasvir edebilir misiniz?
- 2) Bir konuşmayı/davranışı sizin KİBAR bulabilmeniz için söz konusu iletişimin en önemli özelliğinin ne olması gerekir?
- 3) Bir konuşmayı/davranışı sizin KABA bulabilmeniz için söz konusu iletişimin en önemli özelliğinin ne olması gerekir?
- 4) Dil ve davranışta (a) kibarlık ve (b) kabalığın hangi AMAÇLAR doğrultusunda farklı sosyal durumlarda insanlar tarafından kullanıldığını gözlemliyorsunuz? Stratejik olarak (kibarlık ve kabalık) nasıl kullanılabilirler?
- 5) Kibarlık ve kabalık ile ilgili kavramları daha çok hangi yollarla, hayatın hangi aşamalarında öğreniyoruz?
- 6) Farklı sosyal ortamlarda sizinle iletişime geçen insanlardan incelik/kibarlık beklentileriniz nedir?
- 7) Eklemek istediğiniz birşey var mı?

**-----ÇALIŞMAYA KATILDIĞINIZ İÇİN TEŞEKKÜRLER.-----**

## TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışmanın başlıca amacı incelik araştırmalarının perspektifini, kültüre bağımlı (Eng. emic) bir açıklama getirmeye çalışarak genişletmek ve kibarlık/kabalığın Türkçe'deki içsel-işlemlerini ortaya koymaktır. Kültüre bağımlı perspektifin kullanılmasının nedeni, bu yaklaşımın esasen bir kültürün içerisindeki kimseye, kültürün üyesine dayanmasıdır. Kibarlık/kabalığı bir dil ve kültüre ait kişilerin ne şekilde anladıklarına erişmek için konuşanın/yapanın değerlendirmelerini, halkın anladığı anlamda kibarlığın, yani "kibarlık"ın (Eelen, 2001) ele alınması gerekmektedir. Bu yöntemi doğrulayan Haugh (2007), yüzün ve kibarlık/kabalığın söylem içerisinde etkileşim yolu ile iletildiğini, uzlaşıldığını kabul eden yaklaşımın, eğer bu yöntemin odağı katılımcının sosyal etkileşim içerisindeki algısı ise, iletişimde konuşanın/yapanın kibarlığı/kabalığı anlamlandırmasını ve değerlendirmesini görmezden gelebileceğini belirtir. Bu tip incelemeler dile özel meta-edimbilimsel öğelerin araç olarak kullanılmaları ile mümkün olabilir (Haugh and Hinze, 2003).

Bu tezde Türkçe'deki kibarlık/kabalık ile ilgili kültürel-kavram sistemi üç yöntem kullanılarak incelenmiştir. İlk olarak, araştırmacı tarafından geliştirilen ve kartopu örnekleme (Eng. snowball sampling) ile dağıtılan, Türkçe'deki yedi kibarlık (KİBAR, NAZİK, İNCE, ZARIF, DÜŞÜNCELİ, SAYGILI, GÖRGÜLÜ, TERBİYELİ) ve sekiz kabalık (KABA, NEZAKETSİZ, SAYGISIZ, PATAVATSIZ, DÜŞÜNCESİZ, KÜSTAHA, GÖRGÜSÜZ, TERBİYESİZ) belirten sözcüğün temel alındığı anadili Türkçe olan 121 kişi tarafından doldurulan, bu kişilerin kibarlık/kabalık karşılaşmaları anlatımlarını soruşturan uzun bir açık-uçlu meta-edimbilimsel kibarlık/kabalık kavramlaştırması anket verileri kullanılmıştır. İkincil olarak, KİBAR için (190 örneklemden oluşan ve CPL olarak isimlendirilen) ve KABA için (120 örneklemden oluşan ve CIPL olarak isimlendirilen) iki küçük ölçekli derlem bir araya getirilmiştir. Üçüncü olarak, anadili Türkçe olan 20 kişinin kibarlık/kabalık yaşantı anlatı paylaşımları ve kibarlık/kabalığın kullanımı

hakkındaki fikirlerini soruşturan sözlü görüşme verileri kullanılmıştır. Bu üç yöntem ile Türkçe konuşucuların (bundan sonra TNS) neleri kibar/kaba bulduklarını, kibarlığı/kabalığı ne şekilde ifade ettiklerini, ve günlük iletişimde ne şekilde yorumladıklarını, ayrıca, anadili Türkçe kişilerin kibarlığı/kabalığı dildeki kibarlık/kabalık belirten sözcükler ile ne şekilde değerlendirdiklerini ve değerlendirme temellerinin ne olduğunu, ve kibarlığı/kabalığı kullanma motivasyonlarının neler olduğuna dair fikirleri araştırılmıştır.

Bu tez çalışması, bu sebeple “meta-edimbilimsel” bir inceleme olarak nitelendirilmiş olup, Eelen’in kibarlık1 sınıflandırmasını temel olarak almıştır. Eelen’e (2001) göre kibarlık1 üçe ayrılmıştır: (1) “İfadesel kibarlık” (Eng. expressive politeness), yani konuşma içerisinde dilbilimsel araçlarla kodlanan kibarlık, örneğin nitelendirmeler, saygı ifadeleri, geleneksel kalıp ifadeler, vb., verimli ancak çoğunlukla göz ardı edilmiş bir araştırma alanı olan (2) “Meta-edimbilimsel kibarlık” (Eng. metapragmatic politeness), yani kişilerin kavram olarak kibarlık hakkında günlük dilde nasıl konuştukları ve kişilerin kibarlığı farklı iletişim durumlarında ne şekilde algıladıkları, ve (3) “Sınıflandırmasal kibarlık” (Eng. classificatory politeness) yani duyanın/alıcının diğer kişilerin kibar ya da kaba davranışlarını değerlendirmeleri.

Tüm kaynaklar özellikle ikincil veri (gerçek zamanlı kibarlık kullanımı yerine kibarlık değerlendirmeleri) elde edilebilecek biçimde seçilmiştir. Bu yöntem ile kibarlık, sosyal biliş (Eng. social cognition) seviyesinde incelenmiştir. Watts (2003) kibarlık araştırmalarının amacını şu şekilde yeniden tanımlamıştır: “ kibarlık teorisinin yapılabilmesi gereken, kibarlık ve kabalık davranışlarının olası gerçekleşme durumlarını belirlemek ve bu davranışları kültür üyelerinin ne şekilde ölçmüş olabileceklerini değerlendirmektir” (p. 19-20).

Bu tez çalışması da tam olarak bunu araştırmıştır. Takip eden bölümde, çalışmanın ana bulguları araştırmayı yönlendirmiş olan araştırma sorularına paralel olarak sunulacaktır.

Anlambilimsel zihin-haritalama ve kibarlık/kabalık sözcük bağlantıları:

Çalışmanın ilk üç amacı (bölüm 3.3'teki ilk yedi araştırma sorusuna karşılık gelen) Türkçe'de meta-edimbilimsel kibarlık/kabalığın hangi temel sözcüksel öğelerden oluştuğu ve bu öğelerin anlambilimsel zihin haritalamasının belirlenmesidir. Bu amaçla, KPMM'nin ilgili bölümleri analiz edilmiştir. Türkçe'de KİBAR ve KABA kavramları ile hangi sözcük ve ifadelerin bağlantılı olduklarına da bakılmıştır. Sonuçlar, TDK sözlüğündeki tanımların TNS tarafından verilen tanımlar ile karşılaştırıldığında fazlasıyla yuvarlak (Eng. circular) olduğunu, sözcüklerin TNS tarafından ilişkili bulunduğu tüm boyutları kapsamadığı ve bu anlamda eksik kaldığı, ve çoğunun bu bulgular (ve alanda yapılacak diğer çalışmalar) ışığında yeniden yazılmaları gerektiğini göstermiştir.

KİBAR ve KABA'nın diğer sözcüklerin bir çok özelliğini kendi içlerinde barındırdıkları için kibarlık<sup>1</sup>'in şemsiye terimi olarak adlandırılabilceği saptanmıştır. İlk bakışta eş anlamlı ve birbirlerinin yerine kullanılabilir gibi görünseler de TNS'nin sözcükler için dile getirdiği anlambilimsel çerçeveler göstermiştir ki örneğin KİBAR, NAZİK and İNCE, aynı SAYGILI, GÖRGÜLÜ VE TERBİYELİ gibi aslında eş anlamlı değildirler. Yukarıda da bahsedildiği üzere, bu sözcüklerin anlamları arasındaki ince farklılıklar, TDK sözlük tanımlarında gözden kaçırılmıştır. Anadili Türkçe olan kişiler tarafından verilen basit tanımlar üzerinde yapılan bir ön analiz bile, incelenmekte olan sözcüklerin herbirinin farklı değer boyutlarına sahip olduğunu ve bu sözcüklerin belli boyutlarda birleşirken diğer bazı boyutlarda ise ayrıştıklarını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bununla birlikte, TNS'den QPM yoluyla toplanan sözcük ilişkileri verisine uygulanan niceliksel analiz ile sözcükler arası bağlantıların, özellikle KİBAR-NAZİK ve KABA-DÜŞÜNCESİZ-GÖRGÜSÜZ arasında çok güçlü olduğu saptanmıştır. 'Kültürel öncellerin' (Eng. cultural primaries) (bulgularan ilk 20 kavram/sözcük ilişkileri) QPM'nin temelini oluşturan sözcüklerin tamamını kapsadığı gözlemlendi. Ancak, 'şahıslara özel yanıtlar' (Eng. idiosyncratic responses), yani daha az sıklıkla ilişkilendiren kelimelerin sayısı oldukça belirgin düzeyde ve belli ölçüde diğer sözcüklerin anlambilimsel alanlarının içerisinde olduğu saptanmıştır.

Bulgular ışığında ayrıca, ileride bu çalışma temel alınarak yapılacak diğer kibarlık/kabalık sözcükleri çalışmalarında meta-edimbilimsel bir kabalık değerlendirme sözcüğü olarak AYIP ve kibarlık ile ilgili olarak ANLAYIŞ(LI) ve HÖŞGÖRÜ(LÜ) sözcüklerinin de bu kapsamda çalışmalara dahil edilmesi gerektiği önerilmektedir.

#### Kibarlık/Kabalık Değerlendirmelerinin Temelleri:

Bu değer boyutları 9-11'nci araştırma sorularını cevaplamak amacıyla daha ileri seviyede irdelenmiştir. Türkçe'deki kibarlık ve kabalık değerlendirmelerinin üstüne kurulduğu ilkeler ve bileşen alt alanları niteliksel tematik analiz kullanılarak kodlanmıştır. QPM'deki yedi tane '-sözcük- bulduğunuz bir olayı anlatınız' sorusu ile toplamda 1211 kibar yaşantısı/anlatısı toplanmıştır. Sonuçlar, kibarlık değerlendirmelerinin altı temel bileşene dayandığını göstermiştir: (1) Karşısındaki duygu, ihtiyaç ve amaçlarına DİKKATLİLİK (%43,10), (2) TOPLUMSAL KALIPLARA İTAAT (%23,84), (3) İFADESEL KİBARLIK (%17,17), (4) KİŞİSEL DUYGU YÖNETİMİ (%6,44), (5) YÜZ-DESTEĞİ (%4,87), (6) HAK ve ZORUNLULUKLARA RİAYET (% 4,45). Bu temeller, CPL ve PEI verileri ile de doğrulanmıştır. İlk değerlendirme temeli olan *dikkatlilik* olarak kibarlık, başkalarının farkına varma, onları düşünme ve göz önünde tutma ve karşısındaki potansiyel faydası için bir şey yapmak/söylemeyi kapsamaktadır. Dikkatliliğin farklı boyutları ortaya çıkarılmıştır: (a) [istek/arzulara]: B'ye (karşısındaki/alıcı/dinleyici) karşı düşünceli olma ve onu umursama; (b) [duygulara]: B'ye cömert olarak değer verme; (c) [ihtiyaçlara]: B'ye destek olma ve yardım etme, ve (d) [etkileşimsel/alma-verme]: B'nin amacına yönelik ilgi ve destek verme. İkinci değerlendirme temeli olan *toplumsal kalıplara* itaat olarak kibarlık, Türk kültürünün temelini oluşturan çeşitli örf, adet ve geleneklere uyma olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Üçüncü bileşen, *ifadesel kibarlık*, esasen dilbilimsel eylemlere (sözylemlerin kullanımı, kalıpsal ifadeler, hitap şekilleri, sen/siz ayrımı vb.) dayanan tüm değerlendirmeleri kapsamaktadır. Dördüncü bileşen olan *kişisel duygu yönetimi*, ilişkinin sorunsuz devamlılığı için kişinin kendi duygularını geride tutması (kendi gerçek hislerini açığa vurmayarak anlaşmazlıktan kaçınmak, sakın kalmak ve öfkeye kapılmamak). Beşinci değerlendirme temeli olan *yüz-desteği*, karşısındaki kişinin özellik yüzü ve

sosyal kimlik yüzüne desteği içermektedir. Altıncı ve son değerlendirme olan *hak ve zoruluklara riayet*, eşitlik haklarına önem vermek (karşıdakilerden kişisel ilgi ve eşit muamele görme beklentisi) ya da bağlantısal haklar (karşıdaki kişi ile sahip olduğunuz ilişki türüne uygun olarak var olduğu düşünülen).

Diğer taraftan, QPM yoluyla 1306 kabalık yaşantısı/anlatısı elde edilmiştir. CPL ve PEI verileri ile de doğrulanan sonuçlar, kabalık değerlendirmelerinin sekiz temele dayandığını ortaya çıkarmıştır: (1) YÜZ-SALDIRILARI (%24,35), (2) HAK İHLALLERİ (%20,83), (3) İFADESEL KABALIK (%16,00), (4) DİKKATSİZLİK (%13,25), (5) TOPLUMSAL KALIPLARA ALDIRMAZLIK (%11,33), (6) AGRESİF/SALDIRGAN KENDİLİK SUNUMU (%8,04), (7) KİŞİSEL DUYGU HAKİMİYETSİZLİĞİ (%4,29), (8) FİZİKSEL KABALIK (%1,91). Spencer-Oatey (2000b, 2002, 2005a) izlenerek, ilk kabalık değerlendirme temeli olan *yüz saldırıları* ikiye ayrılmıştır: (a) özellik yüzü saldırıları (özbeğeni algımız ile ilgili olan dış görünüş, yeterlilik ve beceriler gibi kişisel özelliklere saldırılar) ve (b) sosyal kimlik yüzü saldırıları (toplumsal değerimiz ile ilgili olan sosyal kimliklerimize ve rollerimize saldırılar). Tüm kabalık veri kümesi içerisindeki yüz saldırılarının %85'ini özellik yüzü saldırıları oluşturmuştur. İkinci kabalık değerlendirme temeli olan *hak ihlalleri* de iki bileşene ayrılmıştır: (a) eşitlik haklarını tehdit edici kabalık (karşıdakilerden maliyet-fayda hususlarında, ilişkilerde eşitlik ve karşılıksallık, otonomi ve yük/zahmet altına girmeme hakkı açısından ilgi ihlalleri) ve (b) bağlantı/ayırışma hakları (karşıdaki kişi ile sahip olduğunuz ilişki türüne uygun olarak beklene(meye)cek alakadarlık, empati, saygı ile ilgili bağlantısal ihlaller). Tüm hak ihallerinin % 69'unu eşitlik hakları tehdit edici eylemler oluşturmuştur. Üçüncü değerlendirme temeli olan *ifadesel kabalık* sadece dilsel seçimlerden kaynaklanan uygunsuzluk, kötü dil (Eng. bad language) kullanımı ve konuşma sırası kural ihlallerini kapsamaktadır. Dördüncü temel, *karşıdakine karşı dikkatsizlik*, kişinin şu sebepler dolayısıyla kaba bulunması durumudur: karşıdakinin duygularına karşı açık umursamazlık göstermesi/kendine duygularına önem vermesi, karşıdakinin ihtiyaçlarına dikkat etmemesi/kişisel ihtiyaçlarını ön plana alması ve karşıdakine kendi kişisel amacına önem verme yolu ile umursamazlık göstermesidir. Beşinci temel, *toplumsal kalıplara aldirmazlık*, Türk kültüründe

beklenen şekillerde sosyal adetlere ve geleneklere riayet etmemek şeklinde ortaya çıkmıştır. Altıncı değerlendirme temeli, agresif/saldırgan kendilik sunumu (Eng. self-presentation), ısrarcı/iddiacı (olduğundan iyi görünmeye, kendini hoşla gidecek, olumlu, uygun göstermeye çalışmak) türde ya da agresif/saldırgan (kendini başkalarını kötü göstererek iyi gösterme yani başkalarını değersizleştirmeye çalışmak) türde kendilik sunumu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Yedinci bileşen, *kişisel duygu hakimiyetsizliği*, kızgınlık, öfke, sabırsızlık ve nefret gibi duyguları içte tutamama ve diğer kişilerin hatalarını görmezden gelememeyi kapsamaktadır. Sekizinci ve son değerlendime temeli olan kabalık bileşeni, *fiziksel kabalık*, kişileri fiziksel şiddete maruz bırakma (dayaktan darp etmeye varan) ve/veya zihinsel/ruhsal şiddet (Eng. mental bullying) (fiziksel acı verme tehditlerini) içerir.

Bu analiz, TNS tarafından paylaşılan her bir kibarlık/kabalık olayındaki en güçlü değerlendirme temeli belirlenerek yapılmıştır. Ancak, birçok kibarlık/kabalık eyleminin bu unsurların birden fazlası ile ilişkisi olan sınırdaki vakalar olması beklenebilir. Özellikle bazı kibarlık/kabalık anlatılarında bu unsurlar ayrıştırılmaz bir karışım halinde işleyişte olabilirler. Herbir kibarlık/kabalık olayı için bu boyutların yüzeysel veya derinde bağlantıları bulunabildiği gibi aynı zamanda olay dışı ayrıntılar (örneğin yaş, cinsiyet, statü, güç ve uzaklık) ve de daha az incelenmiş olan kibarlık ile bağlantılı diğer özelliklerden (örneğin kişilerarası ilişki tarihselliği, motivasyon ya da amaç –kişilerin birbirlerinin karşılıklı etkileşimsel amaçlarının ne olduğunu düşündükleri) etkilendiği gözlemlenmiştir.

Kibarlık/kabalık değerlendirme temelleri açısından en göze çarpan temeller kibarlık için dikkatlilik ve toplumsal kalıplara itaat iken kabalık için değerlendirmelerin daha çok yüz saldırıları ve hak ihlalleri çerçevesinde yapıldığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Böylelikle, Brown ve Levinson'un (1987) temelini oluşturan ve daha sonra alanda yapılan birçok çalışmanın da kabul ettiği 'yüz'ün kibarlığın donanımı/teçhizatı olduğu' (Eng. 'Face is the hardware of politeness') görüşü reddedilmiştir. Bulgulardan yola çıkarak 'yüz' ve 'hak'ların en azından Türk kültürü için kabalığın temeli olduğu, kibarlığın temelinin ise karşdakine kişinin ihtiyaç, istek ve

duygularını (kendinin üstüne koyarak) düşünme ve toplumsal beklentilere riayet olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Eğer, kibarlık ve kabalığın esasları birbirinden bu çalışmada belirlendiği gibi temelde farklı ise, kibarlık ve kabalık için eşit derecede açıklayıcı gücü olan bir kibarlık/kabalık2 teori ya da modelinden söz edilip edilemeyeceği sorgulanması gereken çok önemli bir konu olarak gündeme gelmektedir.

#### Kibarlık/kabalık sözcüklerinin kibarlık/kabalık temalarıyla karşı-eşleştirmesi

Veri tarafından yönlendirilen açınsayıcı veri analizi ile birtakım kibarlık/kabalık sözcüklerinin çalışmada değerlendirime temeli olarak adlandırılan kibarlık/kabalık temalarına meyili olduğu saptanmıştır. Bu bulgunun, Türkçe'deki kibarlık/kabalık üzerine bu sözcükleri araç olarak kullanarak inceleme yapmak isteyen araştırmacılar için önemli yansımaları olacaktır. Veri toplama araçları (anketler, sözlü görüşme kılavuzları, günce rehber soruları, iç gözlemsel anımsama etkinlikleri, söylem tamamlama anketleri vb.) geliştirirken yaptıkları sözcük seçimleri ve adaptasyon tipi çalışmalarda kültürlerarası araştırma yapmak için Türkçe'den yabancı dile ve yabancı dilden Türkçe'ye yapılan sözcük çevirileri sonuçları önemli ölçüde etkileyecektir.

Kibarlık sözcüklerinden tema/bileşen yüklemeleri içerisinde, KİBAR öncelikli olarak ifadesel kibarlık ve ikincil olarak dikkatlilik ile bağlantılı bulunmuştur.. Benzer ancak ters sıralı olarak NAZİK daha çok dikkatlilik ve ikincil olarak ifadesel kibarlık ile ilişkilendirilmiştir. Buna karşın, DÜŞÜNCELİ sözcüğü ağırlıklı olarak ihtiyaçlara dikkatlilik, SAYGILI ise daha çok toplumsal kalıplara itaat ve TERBİYELİ ise toplumsal kalıplara itaatin yanında ifadesel kibarlık ile bağdaştırılmıştır. GÖRGÜLÜ değerlendirmeleri ise çok yüksek oranda toplumsal kalıplara itaat olarak kibarlık ve karşıdakini düşünme olarak dikkatlilik ile ilişkili bulunmuştur (Tüm istatistiksel oranlar için bkz. Tablo 15).

Kabalık sözcüklerinden tema/bileşen yüklemelerinde ise, KABA değerlendirmelerinin yukarıda belirtilmiş olan sekiz temel arasında geniş ölçüde

dağılmış olduğu görülmüştür. KABA değerlendirmeleri daha çok eşitlik ve bağlantısal hak ihlalleri, daha sonra özellik yüz saldırıları ve ifadesel kabalık esaslarıyla ilişkilendirilmiştir. DÜŞÜNCE SİZ ise karşıdakine dikkatsizlik ve eşitlik hakları ihlalleriyle eşleşmiştir. NEZAKETSİZ sıklıkla bağlantısal hak ihlalleri, daha sonra dikkatsizlik/umursamazlık ve ifadesel kabalık esaslarla örtüşmektedir. KABAY'a benzer olarak SAYGISIZ değerlendirmeleri de temalar arasında geniş ölçüde dağılım göstermiştir. SAYGISIZ değerlendirmelerinin temeli olarak en sık görülen esas öncelikle hak ihlalleri, sonra ifadesel kabalık ve yüz saldırıları olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu, SAYGILI ve SAYGISIZ sözcüklerinin anlambilimsel karşıt olarak görülmesine tezat önemli bir bulgu olarak ortaya çıkmasından ötürü dikkat çekici özelliktedir. SAYGILI esas olarak toplumsal kurallara itaat ile ilişkilendirilmişken, SAYGISIZ'ın eşitlik ve bağlantısal hak ihlalleri, yüz saldırıları ile ilişkili olduğu bulunmuştur. Buna ek olarak, KÜSTAH değerlendirmelerinin, özellik yüz saldırıları, agresif/saldırgan kendilik sunumu ve ifadesel kabalık etrafında toplandığı görülmüştür. KÜSTAH'ın toplumsal kalıplara aldırılmazlık, kişisel duygu hakimiyetsizliği ve fiziksel kabalık ile alakalı olmadığı görülmüştür. SAYGI-SAYGISIZ için bulgulara göre TERBİYELİ-TERBİYESİZ sözcük çifti için de değerlendirme temellerinde uyumsuzluk bulunmuştur. Kibarlık sözcüklerinden terbiyeli öncelikli olarak toplumsal kalıplara itaat ve ifadesel kibarlık temalarıyla ilişkilendirilmişken, TERBİYESİZ sözcüğünün öncelikle özellik yüz saldırıları, daha sonra da eşitlik hak ihlalleri ile ilişkide olduğu bulgulanmıştır. GÖRGÜSÜZ genel olarak hem toplumsal kalıplara aldırılmazlık hem de agresif/saldırgan kendilik sunumu ve eşitlik hakları ihlalleri esaslarına işaret etmek için kullanılmıştır. Son olarak, PATAVATSIZ, özellik yüz saldırıları ve ifadesel kabalık bağlantılı bulunmuştur. PATAVATSIZ için hak ihlalleri, agresif/saldırgan kendilik sunumu ve kişisel duygu hakimiyetsizliği esasları ile çok az ya da hiç bağlantılı olmadığı görülmüştür (Tüm istatistiksel oranlar için bkz. Tablo 26).

TDK sözlüğünde, çalışmada kullanılan beş çift sözcük birbirlerinin anlambilimsel karşılığı olarak belirtilmiştir. Fakat, veriler bu kelimeler arasındaki ilişkinin bu kadar açık ve basit olmadığını ortaya koymuştur. Sonuçlar, KİBAR-KABA, TERBİYELİ-TERBİYESİZ, GÖRGÜLÜ-GÖRGÜSÜZ, SAYGILI-SAYGISIZ, NAZİK-

NEZAKETSİZ sözcük çiftlerinin farklı bileşenler için işlev bulduklarını ve bu bileşenlerle farklı şekillerde eşleştiklerini göstermiştir.

Kıbarlık/kabalık temalarının kıbarlık/kabalık sözcükleriyle karşı-eşleştirmesi

Kıbarlık temalarının/bileşenlerinin sözcüklere yüklemelerine gelince, karşıdakini düşünme olarak dikkatlilik DÜŞÜNCELİ ve SAYGILI; duygulara dikkatliliğin öncelikle İNCE ve daha sonra DÜŞÜNCELİ; ihtiyaçlara dikkatliliğin NAZİK, DÜŞÜNCELİ VE KİBAR; karşıdakinin amaçlarına dikkatliliğin ise DÜŞÜNCELİ, KİBAR ve SAYGILI ile işaretlenmeye meyilli bulunmuştur. Kişisel duygu yönetimi teması için tema-sözcük ilişkileri SAYGI, TERBİYE ve KİBAR için en güçlü, NAZİK ve GÖRGÜLÜ için en zayıf olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Yüz desteği teması KİBAR, DÜŞÜNCELİ ve İNCE ile bağlantılı bulunmuştur. İfadesel kıbarlık daha çok KİBAR, DÜŞÜNCELİ ve TERBİYELİ sözcükleri, en az da GÖRGÜLÜ ile ifade edilmiştir. Sosyal hak muhafazası en çok SAYGILI ve KİBAR ile bahsedilmiş ve TERBİYELİ'nin bu bileşen ile ilgisi olmadığı saptanmıştır (geri kalan betimleyici istatistikler için bkz. Tablo 17).

Analiz, 'ruhun kıbarlığı' ve 'davranış biçiminin kıbarlığı' (Bayraktaroğlu and Sifianou, 2001) arasında bir ayrım yapılması gerektiğini doğrulamıştır. KİBAR, İNCE, NAZİK ve DÜŞÜNCELİ gibi sözcüklerin ruh tarafında, TERBİYELİ ve GÖRGÜLÜ sözcüklerinin davranış biçimi tarafında olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu sebeple, Türkçe'de KİBAR, SAYGI, TERBİYELİ and GÖRGÜLÜ sözcükleri daha çok dilbilimsel, kuralcı ve adet edinilmiş kıbarlık eylemleri için kullanılırken, DÜŞÜNCELİ, NAZİK ve İNCE sözcüklerinin daha çok etkileşimsel tarz boyutunu ifade etmek için kullanıldığı tespit edilmiştir.

Kabalık temalarının sözcüklere yüklemelerinde ise, yüz saldırıları en fazla PATAVATSIZ ve KÜSTAHA kullanılarak belirtilmiştir. Bu sözcükler daha fazla özellik yüz saldırıları değerlendirmeleri için kullanılırken, sosyal kimlik yüz saldırı değerlendirmeleri için SAYGISIZ kullanılmıştır. Hak ihlalleri sıklıkla NEZAKETSİZ, SAYGISIZ, ve KABA sözcükleriyle ifade edilmiştir. Bunun yanında, eşitlik hak ihlalleri SAYGISIZ ve DÜŞÜNCESİZ sözcükleri ile

tanımlanmış, bağlantısal hak ihlalleri ise NEZAKETSİZ, KABA ve SAYGISIZ kullanılmıştır.

İfadesel kabalık için en güçlü tema-sözcük ilişkisi SAYGISIZ ve KABA ve de TERBİYESİZ ve KÜSTAH için belirlenmiştir. İfadesel kibarlık ile en az ilişki DÜŞÜNCESİZ ve GÖRGÜSÜZ sözcükleri için bulunmuştur. Karşıdakine dikkatsizlik teması ile en dikkate değer ilişki DÜŞÜNCESİZ ve NEZAKETSİZ sözcükleri arasında çıkarken, TERBİYESİZ ve GÖRGÜSÜZ en az ilintili sözcükler olarak belirlenmiştir. Toplumsal kalıplara aldırılmazlık en çok GÖRGÜSÜZ ve TERBİYESİZ ile en az da KÜSTAH ve DÜŞÜNCESİZ ile ifade edilmiştir. Agresif kendilik sunumu daha çok KÜSTAH ve GÖRGÜSÜZ ile anlatılmıştır. NEZAKETSİZ, SAYGISIZ, and TERBİYESİZ sözcükleriyle kendilik sunumu arasında hiç bir ilişki bulunamamıştır. Kişisel duygu hakimiyetsizliği KABA ve TERBİYESİZ ve daha sonra NEZAKETSİZ ve KÜSTAH ile ilişkilendirilmiştir. SAYGISIZ ve DÜŞÜNCESİZ ile kişisel duygu hakimiyetsizliği arasında ile pek az, GÖRGÜSÜZ ile ise hiç bir ilişki bulunmamıştır. Fiziksel kabalık en fazla KABA ile ve daha az derecede SAYGISIZ ve TERBİYESİZ sözcükleri kullanılarak ifade edilmiştir. Bu tema ile DÜŞÜNCESİZ, NEZAKETSİZ ve GÖRGÜSÜZ arasında hiçbir ilişki gözlenmemiştir (geri kalan betimleyici istatistikler için bkz. Tablo 27).

#### Dilbilimsel ya da davranışsal eylemleri ifade etmek için kibarlık/kabalık sözcük kullanımı

TNS'ye göre, tüm kibarlık sözcükleri içerisinde eşit dil ve davranış yönelimi ile en güçlü bağlantıya sahip sözcüğün KİBAR olduğu tespit edilmiştir. NAZİK sözcüğü dilden daha çok davranış ifade etmek için kullanılmıştır. Diğer kibarlık sözcükleri içinse dil ve davranış yönelimi farklılıklarının kayda değer seviyede olmadığı görülmüştür. Kabalık sözcükleri içerisinde ise KABA, SAYGISIZ ve KÜSTAH az çok eşit derecede dil ve davranış betimleyici yönelimleri olduğu saptanmıştır. Dil kullanımı betimlemek için en fazla kullanılan sözcük PATAVATSIZ, davranış yönelimi için ise DÜŞÜNCESİZ, NEZAKETSİZ, TERBİYESİZ ve GÖRGÜSÜZ sözcükleridir.

### Kıbarlık/kabalıđın motivasyonel ve stratejik kullanımı

Bulgular, kıbarlık/kabalıđın motivasyonel ve stratejik kullanımı ile ilgili ve de son arařtırma sorusuna cevap olarak, kıbarlıđın 'benmerkezci' yönlerine merkezi bir yer veren, kıbarlıđın her ne amaç için olursa olsun kiřinin kendisini karřıdakine göre olan konumunu yükseltme giriřimi olduđunu söyleyen son dönem literatürü dođrular niteliktedir (Jary, 1998; Watts, 1992; Yabuuchi 2006). Birçok geçmiř kıbarlık teorilerinin merkezinde bulunan alıcıya/dinleyiciye ilgi ve dikkat, kiřinin kendi motivasyonel çıkarları ya da amaçları ile karřılařtırıldıđında belirgin derecede az olduđu saptanmıřtır. Kıbarlıđın motivasyonel yanları hakkındaki sorulara verilen TNS cevaplarının yaklaşık yarısı kendini-destekleme/yükseltme ve imaj yönetimine iřaret etmektedir. Kıbarlıđın, kiřiler tarafından kasıtlı olarak kiřisel imajı desteklemek, bařkaları tarafından daha fazla kabul görmek, sevilmek, saygı görmek amacı ile kullanıldıđı saptanmıřtır. Diđer kayda deđer motivasyonlar, amaç eriřimi (kıbarlıđı istediđini elde etmek için kullanmak), iliřki yönetimi kaygıları (iliřkiyi uzun vadede sürdürmek istemek), karřıdakinin yüz ve haklarını desteklemek (kiřinin yüz taleplerini ve hak beklentilerini desteklemek), uzaklařma (kiřilerin kendisi ve karřısındakiler arasında daha fazla mesafe yaratmak) ve profesyonel hayatta kazanç elde etmek olarak ortaya çıkmıřtır.

Kabalıđın motivasyon tabanlı ve stratejik kullanımlarına gelindiđinde, kabalıđın ađırlıklı olarak güç kurmak/pekiřtirmek, ve karřıdakine güç gösterimi yapmak amacı ile kullanıldıđı görölmüřtür. Diđer motivasyonların, dıř olaylara karřı duygusal tepki vermek, karřısındakini kırmak, diđerlerinin yaptıđı kabalıđa karřılık vermek, yakınlık kurmak ve sürdürmek ya da tam tersi olarak uzaklařmak ve mesafeyi korumak olduđu saptanmıřtır. İlginç bir biçimde, hem kıbarlık hem de kabalık kiřinin kendini karřısındakinden uzaklařtırma, bađlarını koparma isteđine yönelik olabileceđi kadar yakınlık kurma için de kullanılabilieceđi tespit edilmiřtir. Bu bulgu da bađıntılı güç (Eng. relative power) etkisi, kasıtlı güç kullanımı ve olumlu ve olumsuz mesafe yansıtma (Eng. projection) etkilerinin kıbarlık teorileri çerçevesinde yeniden deđerlendirmesi geređini ortaya koymuřtur.

Anadili Türkçe kişiler tarafından paylaşılan kibarlık olay anlatılarında karşıdaki kişiye ilgi/alakanın (yüz taleplerini ve hak beklentilerini çerçevesinde) dağılımı olay değerlendirmelerinde belirgin derecede göze çarparken, motivasyonel boyutlar mercek altına alındığında, kendilik-boyutları (kişinin kendisi için talep ettiği yüz değeri ve hak beklentilerini) ön plana çıkmıştır.

Bu, kişilerin meta-edimbilimsel olarak kibarlık hakkında söyledikleri ile kişilerin kibarlığa dair ne yaptıkları hakkında hatırladıkları ve başkaları tarafından gösterilen kibarlık için yaptıkları değerlendirmelerin sosyal bilişte kavramsal bilgi farklılığı olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Bu farklılık, kişilerin kendilerine –kibarlığı kişisel çıkar için kullanma gibi olumsuz algılanabilecek özellikler atfedilmesini istememelerine bağlanabilir. TNS tarafından paylaşılmış olan olaylarda denekler, kendi davranışlarının değerlendirmesini daha az ölçüde örneklemiş olabilirler. Soruları cevaplarırken deneklerin kişisel intiba yönetimi yapmaya çalışmış olabileceği düşünülmüştür. Bununla birlikte kendilerini değerlendirdiklerinde genelde içtenlik ile hareket ettiklerini söyledikleri/yazdıkları görülmüştür. QPM için, pilot çalışma aşamasından sonra, deneklerin kibarlık/kabalığın motivasyonel ve stratejik kullanımı ile ilgili görüşlerini sorular yalnızca kişisel olmayan bir şekilde geliştirildiğinde paylaştıkları tespit edilmiştir.

#### Çalışmanın ileride yapılacak kibarlık/kabalık araştırmalarına yansımaları

Son dönem literatür tarafından da önerildiği üzere, kibarlık/kabalığa kültüre bağımlı yaklaşımlara ciddi derecede ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Kültüre bağımlı yöntemler olmadan sadece doğal ortamda toplanan ya da sağlanan (Eng. elicited) dil verisi ile kibarlık/kabalığın iletişimde ne şekilde işlev kazandığının ortaya çıkarılması sağlıklı değildir. Aksi takdirde, kişilerin gerçekte ne yaptıkları, araştırmacının deneklerin ne yaptığına inandığı ve deneklerin ne yaptıklarını söylediklerine bakmak mümkün olmayacaktır. Kibarlık araştırmalarında son yıllarda büyüyen eğilim kibarlık/kabalık<sup>1</sup> kavramlarının kibarlık/kabalık<sup>2</sup> kültür teorilerinin oluşumuna katkı sağlamak için incelenmesi yönündedir (Eelen, 2001; Haugh and Hinze, 2003; Mills, 2001; Watts, 2003; Ruhi, 2007).

Bu çalışma, kibarlık/kabalık teorisinin iletişime daha kapsamlı açıklamalar getirilmesi amaçlanıyorsa, güç, uzaklık, roller, cinsiyet, yaş gibi daha alışlagelmiş etkenlere olduğu kadar, kibarlık/kabalık kavramı ile içtenlik, amaçlılık, geçmişlilik, karşısallık kavramları arasındaki ilişkilerin ve özel ve umumi alanların etkilerinin de incelenmesi gerektiği açıkça göstermektedir. Yukarıda sayılan tüm bu etkenler, dinleyici/alıcı için kibarlık/kabalık derecesini etkilemektedir. Özellikle kabalık araştırmalarında, saldırı ve ihlalin ağırlığını neyin etkilediği ve “saldırı ağırlığının” (Culpeper, et. al., 2008) değerlendirme türlerine göre ne şekilde işlev kazandığı da üzerinde araştırma yapılması gereken bir alandır. Kibarlık ve içtenlik arasındaki ilişki de daha fazla araştırma gerektirmektedir. Teori, “kibarlık ilkelerinin dinleyiciyi aldatmak için” kullanılabilmesi gerçeğini göz önüne almalıdır (Eelen, 2001, p. 168). Bu aşamada araştırmacı şu soru ile karşılaşacaktır: içten olmayan eylemler (de) teori tarafından kibar olarak mı adlandırılmalıdır? Bu çalışmanın bulgularından yola çıkarak, herhangi bir kibar eylemin içten olsun olmasın, yapan/konuşan eylemi stratejik olarak yapmış ya da dinleyici/alıcı stratejik olarak algılamış (samimiyetsiz) olsa da eylemin kibar eylem olarak algılanması ya da değerlendirilmesi gerektiği düşünülmektedir. Kibarlık/kabalık teorisinin, sosyal etkileşimin her zaman işbirliği üzerine kurulu olmadığını ve herkesin her zaman dürüst olmadığını gerçeğinin farkında olması gerekmektedir. Bu yeni bakış açısının etkileri özellikle dil öğretim pedagojisi açısından önem arz etmektedir. Yabancı dil öğrenenlerin iletişimde işbirliği hakları kadar iletişimde kabalık gösterme hakları ve bir kültürde kabalıkla karşılaştıklarında olası kültürel seçimlerini bilme ve kullanma hakları olduğu gözetilmelidir. Tüm bunlar dilbilimciler ve dil öğretim araştırmacıları için ilgi çekici araştırma alanları olabilir.

Çalışmanın sonuçları ayrıca Eelen’de (2001) de öngörüldüğü üzere kibarlık ve kabalığın iki karşıt kutup olmadığı, değerlendirmelerinin farklı temelere dayandığı ve kibarlığın/kabalığın bağlama özel ve bağlam dışı işlevlerinin olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Kibarlık/kabalığın kişiler tarafından konuşan/yapanın amaç ve motivasyonları ve bu tezin ilgili bölümlerinde tartışılmış olan değerlendirme temelleri ışığında anlamlandırıldığı belirlenmiştir. Bu durumda, geçmiş teorilerin öngördüğü gibi kabalığın sadece bir takım dilsel kalıpsal öğelerin ihmali,

kullanılmaması ya da unutulması ile ilgili olmadığı, bunun teorinin sadece bir boyutu olabileceği açıktır. Sosyal ve kültürel temelli bir kibarlık teorisi, sosyal-psikoloji öğelerini kullanan ve duygular, beklentiler ve amaçlar etrafında toplanmış olan ve kişinin ve iletişimin daha ayrıntılı boyutlarını göz önüne alan “ilişki yönetimi” (Eng. rapport management) (Spencer-Oatey, 2000b) gibi bir model üzerine kurulmalıdır. Bir kibarlık/kabalık modeli kendi içerisinde motivasyonel ve stratejik öğeleri barındıracak ise stratejikten ne anlaşıldığı açıklanmalıdır. Bu çalışmanın başlangıç noktası olarak, yapan/konuşan kişinin kendi boyutları ile ilgili olarak stratejik ve karşıdaki dinleyici/alıcı kişi için stratejik ayrımı yapılmalıdır. Bir diğer analiz seviyesi, alıcı/dinleyicinin söz konusu kaba ya da kibar eylemi ne şekilde kullandığıdır. Eylem, yapan için mi, yoksa etkilenen için mi stratejiktir? Açıklamak gerekirse, bu çalışma benzeri araştırmalar ışığında kasıtlı kibarlık/kabalık eylemleri ve nedenli kibarlık/kabalık algılarının sınıflandırması yapılmalıdır (olası sınıflandırmalar için bkz. Tablo 30). Sınıflandırmaların büyük ölçüde kişilerin ilişki tarihselliğinden (Eng. historicity) de etkilenebileceği ortadadır ve bu da araştırma gerektirmektedir. Tarihsellik ile kastedilen, A ve B kişileri arasında geçen tüm olayların bir AB ilişki repertuarı oluşturduğudur ve AB repertuarının A için B için olduğundan farklı olması mümkündür. Kibarlık/kabalık değerlendirmeleri bu repertuardan etkileniyor ise teori/model bunu göz ardı etmemeli ve bu alanda da araştırmalar yapılmalıdır.

Son olarak, diller arasındaki meta-dilsel farklılıklar daha ayrıntılı incelenmelidir. Bu tip çalışmaların, hem niteliksel hem de niceliksel ve deneysel kültür-karşılaştırmalı kibarlık/kabalık araştırmalarının güvenilirliği ve geçerliliği noktasında önemli yansımaları olacaktır. Örneğin, ‘saygı’dan ne anlaşıldığı ve bu sözcüğün farklı dillerdeki çevirilerinin farklı kültürel unsurlar göz önüne alınarak yapılması. Türkçe için örneğin, SAYGILI ve SAYGISIZ’ın anlambilimsel olarak karşıt kelimeler olmadığı ve Türkçe’de iki tip SAYGI’nın, ‘kişinin kendi değeri olarak talep ettiği saygı’ ve ‘karşıdakinin kişiye bir değer olarak gösterdiği saygı’ ayrımını yapmak gerektiği görülmüştür. Başka çalışmalar, özellikle veri toplama amaçlı olarak niceliksel ilişki hassas olay araştırmaları, kibarlık/kabalık sözcükleri derlem araştırmaları, meta-edibilimsel sözcük incelemeleri ve kibarlık/kabalık günce

kullanımı arařtırmalarında sıklıkla kullanılan kibarlık/kabalık terimlerinin dillerdeki eřitlik ya da farklılıklarının ortaya ıkarılmasını amalamalıdır.

Sonu olarak, bu alıřma daha sonraki karřılařtırmalı kltr arařtırmalarında kullanılmak zere Trke ve Trk kltr iin referans veri nitelięi tařımaktadır ve kibarlık/kabalık1 kavramlařtırmalarının kibarlık/kabalık2'nin teorize edilmesine ne derece katkı saęlayacaęını gstermektedir.

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#### EDUCATION

2003 -2008     PhD Degree in Foreign Language Education,  
Middle East Technical University, Ankara. (CGPA 4.00)

Dissertation Title: Metapragmatics of (Im)Politeness in Turkish Culture: An Exploratory  
Emic Investigation

2000 - 2003     M.A. Degree in Foreign Language Education,  
Middle East Technical University, Ankara. (CGPA: 4.00)

Thesis Title: An Investigation on Customer Interactional Principles and Face-Threatening  
Speech Act Performance in Service Encounters: The Case of Turkish and English

1996 - 2000     B.A degree (*Graduated as Salutatorian*) in English Language Teaching,  
Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey. (1997-2000)  
English Language Teaching, İstanbul University,  
İstanbul, Turkey. (1996-1997)

#### EMPLOYMENT RECORD

2000 - ....     Teaching/Research Assistant  
Department of Foreign Language Education, Faculty of Education,  
*Middle East Technical University*  
Ankara, Turkey

08/2005 -     Fulbright Scholar (for Turkish Language and Culture)  
05/ 2006     Department of World Languages and Cultures,  
*Mercyhurst College*  
Erie, Pennsylvania, US

2006 - .....     IELTS Exam Marker and Invigilator  
*British Council*  
Ankara, Turkey

## ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

- Ruhi, Ş. and Işık-Güler, H. (2007). Conceptualizing face and relational work in (im)politeness: Revelations from politeness lexemes and idioms in Turkish. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(4), pp. 681-711.
- Işık, Hale (2005) İncelik Kuramlarına Yeni Bir Bakış: Hizmet Karsılımlarında Kullanılan Sosyo-Edimbilimsel Etkilesim İlkeleri, *19. Dilbilim Kurultayı: Harran Bildirileri Kitabı*. Harran Üniversitesi, Urfa: Elif Matbaası, p. 196-209.
- Işık, Hale (2004). An investigation on customer interactional principles and face-threatening speech act performance in service encounters: the case of Turkish and English. *Unpublished M.A Thesis*, Middle East Technical University.

## CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS/PUBLISHED PROCEEDING ABSTRACTS

- Işık-Güler, Hale and Kaçar, I. G. (2008). The impact of internet-based plagiarism detection services on learner awareness of academic integrity, *3rd International Santa Barbara Conference on Writing Research: Writing Research Across Borders*, Santa Barbara, USA.
- Işık-Güler, Hale and Kaçar, I. G. (2007) “Plagiarism in EFL writing: Can detection software really help?” *Paper presented at the IATEFL Learning Technologies SIG Conference: New and Emerging Technologies in ELT*, August, 3-5, Chennai, India, p.25
- Işık-Güler, Hale (2007). The learners, the teacher and the observer: contradictory voices from the classroom on perceived participation. *Paper presented at the 52nd Annual International Linguistic Conference*, Hunter College, City University of New York, p. 36-37.
- Ruhi, Şükriye and Işık-Güler, Hale (2005) Face and Facework in (Im)politeness: Revelations from Politeness Lexemes and Idioms in Turkish. Paper presented at the *9th International Pragmatics Conference*, Riva Del Garda, Italy. Antwerp: IPrA, p. 311.
- Işık, Hale (2005). Concerns for the teaching of pragmatic competence in L2: How sure are we that learners can interpret implied meaning in their L1?, *4th International ELT Conference*, Çanakkale.
- Işık, Hale (2004). An investigation on customer interactional principles and face-threatening speech act performance in service encounters: the case of Turkish and English, *2nd International Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics and Language Teaching*, Ankara.
- Işık, Hale (2003). A Comparison of Speech Act Measures: Multiple Choice and Production Questionnaires, *1st International Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics and Language Teaching*, Ankara.

## SEMINARS/WORKSHOPS GIVEN

- 2008 Fulbright Comission, FLTA “Turkish as a Foreign Language Classroom”

- Workshop, Ankara, Turkey, June,12.
- 2007 Fulbright Comission, FLTA “Teaching Turkish Culture”  
Workshop, Ankara, Turkey, June,12.
- 2006 Seminar on “Turkey” (invited speaker),  
ANTH-109 World Geography, Mercyhurst College, PA, USA
- 2005 Seminars on “Understanding of Islam in Turkey”, (invited speaker),  
ANTH-112 World Cultures, Mercyhurst College, PA, USA and  
two local high schools in Erie, PA
- 2001 TED (Türk Eğitim Derneği) In-Service Training Seminar-III, sessions on  
“Project-based learning” (15 hours), Kemer- Antalya, February 4-8, (*jointly with  
Dr. Gölge Seferoğlu*)

#### PROJECTS (worked on as Researcher)

1. 2001-2004 “Culture and Communication: Cross-Cultural Explorations of the Sociocultural Interactional Principles (SIPs) underlying Language Use: A Collaborative International Research Project”  
Project Leader: Helen Spencer-Oatey, UK eUniversities Worldwide and the Centre for Intercultural Training & Research.  
Personal duties: Data collection for the Turkish sample (translations of the tools, developing and maintaining and internet based data collection web site, etc.) (*worked with Prof. Dr. Sükriye Ruhi*)
2. 2002-2005 “Dil-Kültür İlişkisi Bağlamında Türkçe ile Yabancı Dil Olarak İngilizce'nin Kullanımında Etkileşim İlkeleri” METU,  
Project No: BAP -2002.05.03.01  
Project Manager: Prof. Dr. Sükriye Ruhi  
Personal duties: Tool development, data collection and analysis

#### SCHOLARSHIPS and AWARDS

1. 2008 TUBİTAK International Post-doctoral Research Scholarship (Funding for 10 months to work at the Center for Applied Linguistics, University of Warwick, United Kingdom)
2. 2007 METU Publication Award (for International Type-A journal article publication)
3. 2007 TUBİTAK-ULAKBİM International Publication Award
4. 2005 Fulbright Scholarship (FLTA): 9,5 months (15.08.2005 - 30.05.2006)

Institution: Mercyhurst College, Pennsylvania, USA  
Department of World Languages and Cultures  
Position: FLTA for Turkish Language and Culture/ Researcher

Courses taught as a Fulbright FLTA at host institution:  
TURK 101 Turkish Language and Culture I (Fall 2005, in Winter and Spring 2006)  
TURK 102 Turkish Language and Culture II (Spring 2006);

5. 2003 METU Thesis of the Year Award  
Awarded by PROF.DR. MUSTAFA N. PARLAR EĞİTİM VE ARAŞTIRMA  
VAKFI for M.A thesis

#### CERTIFICATES

2004 “Multiple Intelligence Curriculum Design and Lesson Plan Development”  
offered by Dr. Sue Teele, University of California, 60-hour certification program

2004 “Academic Writing”, Summer Institute, organized jointly by the American  
Embassy, USIS, and Bosphorus University.

#### TEACHING EXPERIENCE

##### Linguistics:

1. FLE 146 Introduction to Linguistics I
2. FLE 261 Introduction to Linguistics II

##### Applied Linguistics Research Methodology:

3. FLE 310 Research Skills

##### Language Teaching Methodology:

4. FLE 238 Approaches to English Language Teaching
5. FLE 417 School Experience II
6. FLE 404 Teaching Practicum

##### Language Skills:

7. FLE 142 English Grammar and Composition II
8. FLE 127 Spoken English I; 9. FLE 128 Spoken English II
10. FLE 125 Reading Skills I; 11. FLE 126 Reading Skills II
12. FLE 121 English Grammar I; 13. FLE 122 English Grammar II

#### Other PAST ACADEMIC DUTIES

2008 For the Turkish Fulbright Commission  
Selection Committee member for 2008-2009 Fulbright FLTA Program grantees

2006-2007 For YÖK (The Council of Higher Education of the Republic of Turkey)  
Writing the course definitions for (linguistics and methodology courses) in the revised  
English Language Teacher Education curriculum for YÖK (*supervised by Assoc. Prof. Dr.  
Aysegül Daloğlu*)

#### COMPUTER SKILLS

1. Advanced computer skills in Microsoft Office applications such as Word, Excel, Outlook and PowerPoint;
2. Ability to design and maintain web pages using Microsoft Frontpage and Macromedia Dreamweaver and FTP programs such as SSH Secure Shell;
3. Knowledge of SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences)

#### LANGUAGES

1. TURKISH (Native Speaker)
2. ENGLISH (Near-Native) TOEFL (CBT) Score: 297 /300
3. Spanish (Beginner)