

EXTRACTING AND ANALYZING IMPOLITENESS IN CORPORA:  
A STUDY BASED ON THE BRITISH NATIONAL CORPUS  
AND  
THE SPOKEN TURKISH CORPUS

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

BY

HATİCE ÇELEBİ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN  
THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

DECEMBER 2012

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **EXTRACTING AND ANALYZING IMPOLITENESS IN CORPORA A STUDY BASED ON THE BRITISH NATIONAL CORPUS AND THE SPOKEN TURKISH CORPUS**

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December 2012, 274 pages

This study aims to focus on extracting and analyzing impoliteness in corpora in British English and Turkish retrieved from two different corpora British National Corpus (BNC) and Spoken Turkish Corpus (STC), which is under construction. It focuses on conversation as genre in spoken interaction and discusses issues related to impoliteness in a corpus driven linguistics (CDL) approach. It proposes two levels; extraction and analysis. Within the CDL framework, the theory or model of impoliteness behind the analysis will be forced by the findings gathered from the extraction of impoliteness.

At the extraction level, among the spoken texts in both in BNC and the databases of STC, for the purposes of this study, dialogues that include a conflict or an offending event will be selected. In order to select such dialogues, various methods will be applied. First, spoken texts will be scanned through an initial word query, collocation query, question sentences and tags query, query for imperatives and possible queries that allow for searching for prosodic nuances, as well as interruptions and overlaps to the extent the corpora and the focus of the study allow. Second, metapragmatics comments, conventionalized impoliteness formulae, cues for non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness,

conversational patterns, and other cues such as semantic prosody coming into play in the co-text and context are taken into consideration.

Once the selection is completed, the insights gathered from the extracted instances of impoliteness will be applied to analyze the data. Impoliteness in both languages will be examined in regards to how impoliteness is triggered, how the progression of impolite exchanges takes place, and how those instances of impoliteness are resolved. Other considerations such as context-determined impoliteness, intentionality of the speaker, and perception of the hearer will be discussed.

Key words: Impoliteness, BNC, STC, Corpus Linguistics

## ÖZ

### DERLEM ÇALIŞMALARINDA KABALIĞI TESPİT ETMEK VE İNCELEMEK: İNGİLİZ ULUSAL DERLEMİ VE SÖZLÜ TÜRKÇE DERLEMİ ÜZERİNE BİR İNCELEME

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Aralık 2012, 274 sayfa

Bu çalışmanın amacı kabalığı iki ayrı dilde, İngiliz Ulusal Derlemi ve henüz derleme süreci devam etmekte olan Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi içerisinde tespit etmek ve incelemektir. Çalışma tür olarak sözlü günlük konuşmaları (diyalog) ele almaktadır ve

kabalık ile ilgili kavramları derlem-yönelmeli bir yöntemle incelemektedir. Çalışma, kabalığı araştırma yönteminin iki seviye de yapılması gerektiğini öngörür: tespit etmek ve incelemek. Bunun nedeni derlem-yönelmeli çalışmalarda, inceleme seviyesinde başvurulacak ve bahsedilecek kabalık kuram ve modellerin seçme seviyesinde ortaya çıkan bulgular tarafından yönlendiriliyor olmasıdır.

Tespit seviyesinde her iki derlemde de günlük konuşmalarda zıtlasma ve hakaret içeren olaylar ayrıştırılacaktır. Bu tür olaylara ulaşabilmek için farklı yöntemler kullanılacaktır. Öncelikle günlük konuşma diyaloglarında kelime, deyim, tümcecik, soru cümlesi taraması yapılacak ve ses ve vurgular, söz kesmeler ve aynı anda konuşmalar taranacaktır. Ayrıca meta-edimbilimsel yorumlamalar, kalıplaşmış kabalık kullanımları ve kalıplaşmamış ima yoluyla ifade edilen kabalık söylemleri,

söylemsel kalıplar, anlambilimsel inceliklerle ilgili bağlamsal ve metinsel ipuçları göz önünde bulundurulacaktır.

Kabalık içeren diyaloglar, seçme aşamasında da ortaya çıkan bilgiler ışığında, kabalığın nasıl tetiklendiği, nasıl devam ettirildiği ve nasıl sonuçlandırıldığı sorularıyla tartışılacaktır. Ayrıca konuşmacının kasıtlı kabalık amaçlamayıp amaçlamadığı ve dinleyicinin algılaması gibi noktalar diyaloglarla ilintilendirilip kuramsal anlamda çıkan yeni boyutlar ele alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kabalık, İUD, STD, Derlem Çalışmaları

To My Mother  
and  
to the women who are struggling and unconditionally supporting each other



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I look back and consider the circumstances under which I had decided to undertake the commitment of a PhD, I realize that I thought I could do it only because I did not know what it would require. Completing this study was a challenge for me but the feeling of achievement I have now is incomparable. I do not consider this achievement my own though. Without the support I have had from my supervisors, my friends, my family and my colleagues, the challenge would have been infinitely greater. I am so grateful to those who shared my journey and would like to thank for their limitless support.

First, I wish to express my gratitude and admiration to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Şükriye Ruhi, who has been the intellectual force behind this dissertation. I feel privileged to have been her student and having had the opportunity to work with her in a project like this. It was her guidance and for having had the opportunity to work with her on a project like this. It was her inspirational attitude that made me continue at times I felt disheartened with all the challenges of life.

I would like to thank to my supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Hale Işık-Güler for her feedback and guidance. I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to my past and present jury members, Prof. Dr. Nalan Büyükkantarcıoğlu, Assist. Prof. Betil Eröz-Tuğa, Dr Prof. Yeşim Aksan, Prof. Dr. Işıl Özyıldırım, for their valuable feedback they have provided for me at different stages of my dissertation.

Although they have not been involved with the actual process of writing my dissertation, Prof. Dr. Donaldso Macedo and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Joshua Bear have been inspirational in many ways from the very outset of this study.

I wish to express my deepest thanks to the people who made me feel special and gave me the confidence that I could achieve anything if I believed. Ayşe

Çelikkıran, my mother, has been the driving force behind every step I take in life. I know I am luckier than her with the opportunities I have had and they are a result of the hard work and sacrifice of my family, Ayşe- Vahap, Leyla, Mesut and Mehmet Çelikkıran. I will be forever thankful to Abdullah Çelebi, my husband, for being everything he has been and for his infinite support, to the Çelebi family and to my little daughter Ayşegül for every second she filled me with joy and hope. Ahmet Çolak, my true friend, deserves an equal acknowledgment. He has been patient and understanding. Only he could make the long journeys something I looked forward to.

I would like to express my deepest, heartfelt thanks to Gaele Morag Macfarlane. Throughout this study, I have always felt her encouragement through her support and feedback. Yıldız Altuntaş, Hatice Bayındır Karaaslan, Serpil Demir Vegter have always been there for me to share the happiness and frustration. Their friendship made this journey less painful and more rewarding. I am glad I undertook this study while I had them in my life.

I also would like to thank to my friends Hatice Yurttaş, John Houge, Nihal Gökgöz Gördeslioğlu and Zeynep Ölçü for the support they have given me.

Lastly, I would like to thank to Christopher Blake Shedd and all my colleagues at Koc University for being supportive of me during this study.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASA	Advertising Standards Authority
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BNC	British National Corpus
BSC	Broadcasting Standards Commission
CA	Conversation Analysis
CBL	Corpus Based Linguistics
CDL	Corpus Driven Approach
COLT	Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language
CP	Cooperative Principle
FTA	Face Threatening Act
IR	Interpersonal Rhetoric
MCD	Membership Categorization Device
METU	Middle East Technical University
PP	Politeness Principle
RTF	Rich Text Formatting
SIP	Socio Interactional Principles
STC	Spoken Turkish corpus
STR	Speaker Rights Theory
TEI	Text Encoding Initiative
XML	Extensible Markup Language

# **CHAPTER I**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Presentation**

This introductory chapter very briefly presents the study by first giving a background and then discussing the problem that triggered it. After that, it explains the purpose and scope and the significance of the study. Lastly, it discusses the limitations, which might have arisen due to various factors, some of which are related to the nature of the issues studied, the corpora the data are extracted from, and the methodology of the analysis.

### **1.1 Background to the study**

As the world becomes closely knit, owing to the rapid progress in transportation and communication systems, we are now confronted by the need to engage in situations in which we have to communicate with people from different backgrounds and with different communicative styles. We use language to transmit information; however, we cannot say that we are always successful. Language is more often used in a manner that will not cause friction between the participants than not, which is the reason why there is a growing interest in linguistic politeness research. The language use associated with smooth communication or appropriate speech is what is referred to as linguistic politeness (Lakoff, 1973; Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987). However, appropriateness differs from culture to culture and sub-culture to sub-culture because of competing differences. Therefore, studies regarding language provide valuable insights into locating the cultural ideologies underlying discourses as they reflect the choices speakers make and express the speakers' understanding of the situation and the interaction. Through this kind of relationship we also project the identity that we construct in the culture of the community to which we belong. It is for this reason



that the diversity of languages should be acknowledged and studies carrying languages into an arena where such diversity will be acknowledged deserve special interest.

The topic of the proposed study, however, is not linguistic politeness but its twin: impoliteness. Through this study entitled “Extracting and Analyzing Impoliteness in Corpora: A study Based on the British National Corpus and the Spoken Turkish Corpus,” I aim at extracting and analyzing impoliteness in corpora in British English and Turkish retrieved from two different corpora the British National Corpus and the Spoken Turkish Corpus (BNC and STC henceforth, respectively). This study takes a genre approach (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, Lorenzo-Dus and Bou-Franch, 2010; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2010) ; that is, it focuses on conversation as genre or discourse type in spoken interaction and discusses issues related to impoliteness as in a corpus driven approach (Römer, 2005).

The concept of impoliteness has been largely neglected in linguistic studies until only very recently since pragmatic and sociolinguistic studies mainly focused on politeness and its strategies. A further reason why impoliteness has not received much attention is the assumption that impoliteness is “rather marginal to human linguistic behavior in normal circumstances” (Leech, 1983). However, such a “conceptual bias” (Eelen, 2001) has been deconstructed by several researchers. It was argued that an adequate discussion of the dynamics of interpersonal communication should include hostile as well as harmonious communication. If politeness is related to “face”, an image of self formed in terms of approved social attributes (Brown & Levinson, 1987), and involves the idea that we like other people to have positive thoughts about us, it is essential to understand the motivations behind impoliteness. If self-esteem is dependent on how others feel about you and when you lose face you feel bad about how you are seen in other people's eyes, an investigation of the contexts of impoliteness is important as such situations threaten the positive value we have of ourselves. Although among different theories of politeness, Brown and Levinson's (1987) treatment of facework has been applied most widely, approaches emphasizing that impoliteness is not only related to the ‘face’ and that other factors should be taken into account

have been developed (Culpeper, 1996; Spencer-Oatey, 2000, Watts, 2003; Arundale 2006; Ruhi & Işık-Güler, 2007). This study presents an approach that takes the concept of face and discusses its role in impoliteness in relation to the context and the co-text in spoken interaction. Since the study is a contrastive analysis of two languages English and Turkish looking into spoken conversations extracted from two different corpora – the British national Corpus and the Spoken Turkish Corpus-, it has strong implications on how corpus studies can be expanded to study factors such as context and co-text.

What lies in the centre of Brown and Levinson (1987)'s politeness theory is face as the public self-image that individuals want to claim for themselves and it consists of two aspects; negative and positive face. Arundale (2006) points out that Brown and Levinson made a critique of their own theory by stating that their models were not well equipped for the emergent character of social interaction and that interaction is the field where new conceptualizations of politeness are likely to emerge (p.195). He claims that Brown and Levinson's theory is based on Grice's pragmatics and Searle's speech act to which one can add Goffman's account of the interaction order (p.195). Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) makes a re-examination of face related to politeness and argues that "cultural conceptualizations, the social self and its relationship to others as an alternative and possibly more fruitful way of studying relevance, and dynamics of 'face' and 'facework' in interpersonal contacts" (p. 1463). This approach emphasizes that 'face' is not an individual phenomenon; rather it is relational and interactional. Arundale (2006) argues that the models based on Brown and Levinson's face theory frame language use or communication as encoding and decoding meanings. In this model, a speaker has a meaning that he or she intends the hearer to get, encodes it with the knowledge of language, transmits that meaning through an utterance and in turn the hearer decodes the utterance by using the knowledge of language. Sperber and Wilson (1995) are also two scholars who had added to this model the planning and reconstruction of the hearer's inferences and the speaker's intentions.

Culpeper (1996) proposes a complementary model of face related to politeness by his emphasis on discourse type and activity type. By doing so, Culpeper adopts a

more contextually and culturally sensitive model of face. He suggests that conclusions arising from a model of impoliteness based on the hearer's perception would be unreliable. Işık-Güler (2008) takes a similar approach for her study investigating the metapragmatics of (im)politeness in Turkish. By bringing an emic dimension to her study, she aims at laying out the conceptualizations of 15 (im)politeness lexemes in Turkish by getting the native speakers to talk about the anecdotes that they found to be (im)polite and why they evaluated these anecdotes (im)polite. Other scholars further expanded on understanding of the context and culture. For instance, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, Lorenzo-Dus & Bou-Franch (2010) narrowed their study by taking a genre approach. They focused on Spanish TV talk shows and collected data from a variety of sources such as corpus, questionnaires and focus groups. Additionally, the role conversational patterns and phenomena related to impoliteness and interaction played in the context were explored and previous arguments were revisited. Angouri and Locher (2012) discussed the tendency to theorize disagreement as an instrument generating impoliteness since it is perceived as an attack to positive face. They pointed out that in different cultural contexts, disagreement could as well be used to address positive face.

Given the complexity of factors such as face, context and culture that generate impoliteness in interaction, a contrastive study of impoliteness demands a depth of theorizing both at the level of extracting and at the level of analyzing impoliteness. This study aims to point out to the necessity of such theorizing both for extraction and analysis and to demonstrate how corpus linguistics could be made use of for a contrastive study of two languages regarding how impoliteness is generated.

## **1.2 The problem**

Modern politeness theory was initially shaped by Robin Lakoff (1973, 1989), who related politeness to Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP), which is based on the maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner. In the CP framework, the interactants follow these maxims and reach an interpretation of utterances. However, since these maxims are almost never followed strictly in informal conversations, Lakoff (1973) complemented the clarity maxims of Grice with a

politeness rule. She argued that when the hearers realize that the speakers are not following the Gricean maxims, they search for a logical explanation in the politeness rule which are: 1) do not impose 2) give options 3) make A [addressee] feel good- be friendly. She further developed her theory and explained that, since different cultures have different understandings of politeness, cultures tend to abide by the rules of distance, deference and camaraderie. Distance refers to the strategy of impersonality, deference is related to hesitancy, and camaraderie is about informality.

Similar to Lakoff, Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) define politeness in a conflict avoidance frame but what lies in the center of their theory are the concepts of face and rationality. According to these scholars, face consists of two opposing wants, which can be threatened by face threatening acts (FTAs hereafter). To address politeness, they use superstrategies. The superstrategies that they propose are:

1. Bald on record politeness- The FTA is performed in the most clear and concise way possible and is maximally in line with Grice's maxims.
2. Positive politeness: The FTA is performed towards redressing the positive face threat to the hearer by claiming common ground (e.g. noticing, attending to hearer's needs, exaggerating approval, sympathy with the hearer, seeking agreement), conveying that speaker and hearer are co-operators (e.g. being optimistic, offering, promising, assuming reciprocity), fulfilling hearer's want for something (e.g. giving gifts to hearer)
3. Negative Politeness: The FTA is performed towards redressing the negative face threat to the hearer by being indirect, not presuming (e.g. question, hedge), not coercing hearer, communicating speaker's want to not to impinge on hearer, and redressing other wants of hearer.
4. Off-record: the FTA is performed through an indirect illocutionary act it allows the deniability of the utterance if the recipient takes offense. Output strategies are inviting conversational implicatures (e.g. giving hints, giving association rules, presupposing) and being vague or ambiguous by violating Manner maxim.
5. Do not perform the FTA.

Brown and Levinson (1987) point out that, since their theory is based on social harmony, the lower face threat in the FTA utterance to the hearer is, the lower the superstrategy used by the speaker. In other words for the lowest threat in the FTA performed to the hearer, 1. bald on record superstrategy would be used. Negative

face is the want that others do not impede one's actions, and positive face is the wants of the member to be at least desirable to the others. They claim that when speech acts threaten face wants, speakers apply politeness strategies to redress their face wants, which are positive, negative and off-record politeness, and do-not-do the FTA. Moreover, these three politeness strategies can be regarded as rational deviations from CP that supposedly underlies all human interactions. With the introduction of FTA, they propose that depending on the calculation of the weightiness of the speech act, which is determined by certain social values, speakers tend to choose a strategy. Although there is the concept of a Model Person, a universal speaker/hearer, "who is a willful fluent speaker of a natural language, further endowed with two special properties- rationality and face" (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p.58), their theory explains the management of social relationships as attendance to face. It is only as a result of this that certain politeness strategies are preferred or disregarded. Therefore, despite the criticisms the theory receives, context is assumed to play a major role and as such this is noteworthy.

Leech's theory of politeness is expanded along with an emphasis on interpersonal rhetoric and bridges semantics and pragmatics by arguing that messages are conveyed through a form of sound mapping; "message transmission", a text, "textual transaction", and a discourse, "interpersonal transaction" (Leech, 1980). While the interpersonal transaction provides clues to shape the judgments about the text in terms of language internal factors such as clarity, interpersonal rhetoric ensures that the utterance adheres to the situational demands of the conversation, one of which is politeness (Leech, 1980). He develops his theory further by adding another principle to the Gricean cooperative principle, the Politeness Principle (PP), the maxims of which are tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement and sympathy. The PP model was to receive criticisms later for the arbitrary number of the maxims arguing that, for the PP model to be reliable, the unrestricted number of PP maxims had to be restricted (Jucker 1988, Thomas, 1995).

Over time, as discussed in detail in Section 2.1, the validity of the models proposed by Brown and Levinson, Lakoff and Leech was questioned and the need for new approaches was emphasized. This study proposes a new methodological approach to impoliteness studies consisting of two levels: extraction and analysis. The two levels require methods and tools that facilitate impoliteness to be retrieved in different corpora, in English and Turkish. It presents a corpus driven approach to conversation analysis (CA hereafter).

### **1.3 Purpose and scope**

The main purpose of this study is to devise a methodological framework to extracting and analyzing impoliteness from corpora. Within this methodological framework, the discussion on the epistemological issues which have governed the politeness and impoliteness models and theories are detailed and conferred further to bring out new implications. Some major concerns are touched upon briefly in this section in order to explain why it is important to devise such a methodological framework and how two approaches, namely discursive and cue-based, can be combined for that purpose.

Bousfield & Locher (2008) were first to present a collected volume with a thorough discussion of impoliteness and power. Their aim was to demonstrate a massive imbalance in terms of the academic interest between the studies of politeness and impoliteness. The notions of conflict and aggression came into the discussion of impoliteness theory and inspired further studies on impoliteness. Bousfield (2008) focused on an analysis of impoliteness in face-to-face spoken interaction, in which politeness -perceived to be the governing principle- allows exploration of how impoliteness comes into play. His study was followed by Culpeper's (2011b) publication which also used naturally-occurring language data and combined both a discussion of lay person's views and a theoretical discussion of what shapes the lay person views. In addition, he brings linguistic pragmatics and social psychology into the discussion of impoliteness, and by doing so, expands the boundaries to a level where researchers of impoliteness should

consider the use of naturally occurring data and how a lay person's views of impoliteness are shaped by the linguistic impoliteness and vice versa.

As mentioned in Section 2.1, during the 1990s, as a result of the move from theoretical to societal norms that informs the theory of politeness, a distinction between how the sociolinguists defined politeness and how the lay people, the individuals in a society, defined politeness was made. In other words, scholars found it essential to discuss how theoretical stances about whether or not ordinary speakers' views and evaluations of politeness, *first order politeness*, and so the social norms, informed and affected the researchers theoretical views of politeness, *second order politeness*. Watts, Ide & Ehlich (1992) argued that a distinction between *first order* and *second order* politeness requires different interpretations, the first referring to a commonsense notion that we use and understand in our daily lives and thus is a layman's concept, and the latter referring to a linguistic and scientific concept that is used as a theoretical construct to explain social behavior and language use (Watts, 1992). The acknowledgement of this distinction generated attention to take a critical eye on the theoretical underpinning of politeness theory.

Eelen (2001), for example, pointed out that the unquestioning incorporation of the first order or politeness1 concepts into scientific theory, second order politeness or politeness2, confounds politeness1 with politeness2. He added that the opposite move is also possible with the danger of transferring politeness2 concepts into everyday life and as such methodological and epistemological issues in politeness studies occur (p. 31). On the other hand, he emphasized that these concepts are inseparably interconnected and salient in all politeness studies for the reason that the basic characteristics of politeness1 inevitably will provide a researcher with the aspects of a social phenomenon to lay out a scientific description. The features of politeness1-evaluativity (the judgment that a social behavior is polite or impolite), argumentativity (the immediate action that other's behavior is approved or condemned), normativity (the association of politeness with appropriateness evaluated against a standard), modality and reflexivity (despite the social norms

the optionality that speakers have to choose to be evaluated as polite or impolite) - gives an *emic* analysis for an *etic* analysis for politeness2.

By incorporating the terms *emic* and *etic* into the discussion of politeness1 and politeness2, Eelen (2001) aims to bridge the informants' conscious statements about their notion of politeness and spontaneous evaluations made during the course of interaction, that is an *emic* approach, which is related to politeness1, and the outsiders, researchers', accounts of insiders behavior, involving distinctions not relevant to those insiders, - an *etic* approach, which is related to politeness2 (p.78). It seems that studies of politeness have to include an emic analysis and incorporate politeness1 to reach politeness2 although the main aim of politeness2 is to arrive at a theoretical analysis. In other words, it is a must that studies seeking an understanding of politeness2 include an emic analysis since-

scientific accounts always intend to have some kind of surplus value over lay accounts. At the very least, a description of human behavior involves making explicit the actor's unconscious distinctive practices, which in itself already entails a description in analytical as opposed to folk categories (Eelen 2001, p.78).

However, Eelen (2001) cautions the researchers against creating a theoretical ambiguity for using politeness1 and politeness2 without a conscious discussion of the position of their study about how these two concepts are related for their particular study:

At each point in the analysis one must remain thoroughly aware of the position of one's concepts in relation to the distinction, or the possible conclusions or next steps this position warrants. If this is not properly done, one runs the risk of arbitrarily jumping from one side to the other without taking the necessary precautions, which ultimately results in confusion regarding the status of the concepts. *In practice, such awareness thus takes on the form of making explicit what in most current approaches is left implicit* (p.76, emphasis mine).

Along the same line, Mills (2009) cautions us against mixing politeness1 and politeness2 and argues that, the folklinguistic beliefs, "...should be examined in their own right; these beliefs may have an effect on interactants' performance, but we need to keep these beliefs separate from our analysis at the level of politeness2"



(p. 1058). This study, for the very reason of “making explicit what in most current approaches is left implicit”, acknowledges that the theory of (im)politeness has to integrate first order and second order politeness into the discussion without mixing the two. Mills (2009) suggests a Foucauldian move to integrate the two without mixing them:

what needs to be developed in a more Foucauldian move, is an analysis of the means by which these supposed norms are held in place, or are asserted to be norms in the first place; that is, we analyse the discursive mechanisms by which cultural stereotypes about language are developed and circulated (Foucault, 1969, 1972 cited in Mills, 2009, p. 1048).

The features of politeness<sup>1</sup>, evaluativity, argumentativity, normativity, modality and reflexivity, are taken into account both at the extraction and at the analysis level of naturally occurring data, and are interpreted to the extent the cues in the conversation allow. These features are taken to be the discursive mechanisms Mills (2009) is referring to and attended to by taking the metapragmatic comments (e.g. “You are rude!”), reactive responses, language or paralinguistic indicating interpersonal conflict in verbal and non-verbal forms (e.g. change in structural patterns such as turn taking, topic change, repetition, seeking of disagreement) into account for the interpretation. In addition, both the implications of the co- text, by examining conventionalized impoliteness formulae (Culpeper 2010; 2011b) and the context, by attending to non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness (2011b), are taken into consideration. In this sense, this study illustrates a Foucauldian move: how the discussion of what the discursive mechanisms offer can be combined with a cue-based approach to reach the theory behind and that is how second order politeness is developed.

#### **1.4 Significance of the study**

There are a number of studies which have been conducted investigating politeness in Turkish, focusing on various dimensions such as speech acts, power relations, gender issues and identity which were explored within the Turkish language or with contrastive studies of Turkish with other languages. For instance, Martı (2006)

focused on the realization of politeness through requests and compared Turkish monolingual speakers and Turkish-German bilingual returnees. She tested the possibility that these two groups differed since Turkish-German returnees might be affected by pragmatic transfer from German. Doğançay-Aktuna and Kamışlı (In Bayraktaroğlu & Sifianou, 2001, pp. 75-104) investigated the norms and behavior of native speakers of Turkish expressing disagreement and correcting status of unequals. In the situations they examined, they found that professors' sociolinguistic behavior differed from the workplace management, which can be related to the pedagogic roles they assumed. Zeyrek (In Bayraktaroğlu & Sifianou, 2001, pp. 43-74) examined the influence of socio-cultural phenomena on language. She explored the key concepts such as family organization and cordiality to provide a background about how appropriate and polite behavior can be understood. She then discussed the issues of power and gender and how these issues influenced deference terms and forms of address. In another study, Bayraktaroğlu (In Bayraktaroğlu & Sifianou, 2001, pp. 177-208) demonstrated the differences existing between American/British English and Turkish through case studies in regard to the speech act of advice-giving. Hatipoğlu (2007) focused on nationality identity composed in 'calls for papers for international conferences and discussed how different politeness strategies were applied.

There are also studies bridging theoretical pinnings of politeness to speech acts. For example, Ruhi (2006) analyzed a corpus of compliment responses in Turkish with the aim of re-analyzing of Maxim approach (Leech 1983) and the face-management approach by Brown and Levinson (1987). Other studies bring a socio-pragmatic dimension to the concept of politeness and, in doing so, discuss how impoliteness is perceived in relation to politeness. For instance, Ruhi and Işık-Güler (2007), explored the conceptualization of face, how it is related to the social person and self-presentation in Turkish, and the implications of their findings for relational work in (im) politeness in Turkish. They did a discourse-analytic investigation on two key concepts: *yüz*, "face" and *gönül*, roughly "heart/mind/desire" and examined metonymic and metaphorical expressions in the METU Turkish corpus. Based on their analysis they maintain that relational work in the Turkish setting is not only conceptualized around the perceived social image

and communicative goals but it is also conceptualized around the inner self. One of the implications their study suggested was that the concept of impoliteness is strongly motivated by self-concerns,

In a later study, Işık-Güler (2008) further investigated the metapragmatics of (im) politeness in Turkish as mentioned above. She (2008) found that most frequently lexical items associated with the concept, IMPOLITE, *KABA* in Turkish are: inconsiderate, *düşüncesiz* ; disrespectful, *saygısız*; tactless, *nezaketsiz*; arrogance *küstahlık*; indiscretion, *patavatsızlık*; offending *kırıcı*; selfish, *bencil*; ugly, *çirkin*; ignorant, *cahil*, cannot empathize, *empati kuramayan*. These lexemes were given special attention at the extraction level as explained in Chapter Three.

As the literature presented above suggests, the line of study carried out focusing on politeness has moved towards a more inclusive dimension, as sociopragmatic and metapragmatic aspects of politeness were discussed in depth. Along with this, impoliteness has started to get attention among scholars. However, while, with time, studies of politeness have started to take all aspects into consideration, studies on impoliteness, just as it was in the beginning for politeness studies, attempted to lay out a theoretical framework. Two of the most recognized frameworks of politeness are Leech (1983)'s and Brown & Levinson (1987)'s approaches. Leech (1983) proposed a Politeness Principle Theory consisting of six maxims which are tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement and sympathy. Brown & Levinson (1987) continued along the same line proposing a framework of Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) and four superstrategies; bald-on record, positive, negative politeness and off- record.

A similar approach was followed for impoliteness: Culpeper (1996), taking Brown & Levinson's (1987) model for politeness as his underlying departure point for his framework for impoliteness, proposed that impoliteness can be theorized under four superstrategies in relation to FTAs : which he then developed into five point model; bald, on record impoliteness, positive impoliteness, negative impoliteness, off-record impoliteness, withhold politeness (Culpeper 2005). The modification Culpeper (2005) made to the model with the addition of *bald, on record impoliteness*, came as a result of the discussions about the degree to which face is

at stake when the speaker's intention is to attack the face of the hearer and /or where the speaker does not have the power to reply with an impolite utterance and not suffer from the consequences. Therefore, as it has been for politeness, the concept of face and sociological aspects such as power relations and culture has been at the centre of impoliteness frameworks.

In addition to face and culture, the issue of intention emerged together with the question whether it is possible to determine a speaker's intention given the fact the hearer's interpretation could as well be different from what the speaker intended to say. For example, Culpeper (2005) claimed that impoliteness came about when "(1) the speaker communicates face-attack intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behavior as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2)" (p. 38) although later he revised his definition of impoliteness and claimed that impoliteness may occur when "[s]ituated behaviors are viewed negatively-considered impolite-when they conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be and/or how one thinks they ought to be" (2011b, p.23). For Bousfield (2008), impoliteness constituted the communication of intentionally gratuitous and conflictive verbal FTAs, which were purposefully delivered:

- i. unmitigated in contexts where mitigation is required, and/or
- ii. with deliberate aggression that is with the face threat exacerbated, 'boosted' or maximized in some way to heighten the face damage inflicted (p.72).

Terkourafi (2008) made a distinction between rudeness and impoliteness:

[...] marked rudeness or rudeness proper occurs when the expression used is not conventionalised relative to the context of occurrence; following recognition of the speaker's face-threatening intention by the hearer, marked rudeness threatens the addressee's face ...impoliteness occurs when the expression used is not conventionalised relative to the context of occurrence; it threatens the addressee's face... but no face-threatening intention is attributed to the speaker by the hearer (p. 70).

Such subtleties brought out methodological concerns and the theoretical validity and applicability of such models were questioned as broader theories such as Spencer-Oatey's (2002) approach, which consists of two components, face (quality face and social identity face) and sociality rights (equity rights and association

rights) emerged. Still, some scholars have continued to propose models aiming to account for the discussion on the issues mentioned above. Bousfield (2008) summarized Culpeper's (1996, 2005) emergent model of impoliteness under two over-reaching "tactics": 1) on-record impoliteness, 2) off-record impoliteness which consists of a) sarcasm and b) withhold politeness.

Impoliteness studies applying models of impoliteness proposed by Culpeper (1996, 2005) and Bousfield (2008) in fact demonstrate and confirm the need for separating the extraction level from the analysis level to overcome a circular way of developing a theory of impoliteness. What comes about in these studies is that the extraction of impoliteness is incorporated into analysis level and results in the following fallacy: utterances that function to *ignore, snub, fail to attend to hearer's interests, wants, needs and goods, etc*, which is a substrategy listed under the superstrategy positive impoliteness (Culpeper 1996), are impolite because "*ignore, snub, fail to attend to hearer's interests, wants, needs and goods, etc*" is a substrategy of the superstrategy positive impoliteness. In fact, this issue has been taken up later on; perhaps with the same line of logic, by Culpeper (2010) himself. He carried out an intensive study on "conventionalized formulaic expressions" which signaled potential for impoliteness since these formulaic expressions accompanied with matching context and co-text could be interpreted as insults, personalized negative assertions, challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions, condescension, message enforcers, dismissals, silencers, threats, negative expressives (e.g. curses, ill-wishes). Culpeper (2011b) further developed a theoretical approach to go beyond the conventionalized formulaic expressions to be able to define impoliteness when it is implied without necessarily making use of the conventionalized formulaic expressions, which he refers to as "non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness". Culpeper (2010, 2011b) hints at the methodological shift of impoliteness studies from the analysis to extraction: from frameworks of super and substrategies to expressions and co-text and the context that make an utterance impolite.

Overall, the study at hand does not constitute the first study about impoliteness in the field of linguistics in Turkish or in English but it is significant in that it aims to

investigate impoliteness in two layers, both in extraction and analysis. In addition, the interaction type for this study is spoken interaction through a contrastive analysis for British English by using a fairly well-acknowledged corpus, BNC for its representativeness for its spoken component, and STC. Throughout the study the theoretical approach to data supplied by the corpora is corpus driven as opposed to many studies in corpus linguistics and it will be argued that the corpus driven approach changes the nature of research and that it should be the preferred choice over a corpus-based approach (Römer, 2005). Natural data findings do not always fit into the existing theories; therefore, the researcher theorizes from scratch to generate new ideas and to move a step further, which is the main aim of scientific research.

### **1.5 Limitations**

There are some limitations regarding the data extraction and analysis, and the methodological approach developed in the study. In Chapter Three, it is explained that in extracting and at times simultaneously analyzing impoliteness events in conversation, metapragmatic comments, conventionalized impoliteness formulae (Culpeper, 2010; 2011b) and cues for non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011b) present in the co-text and context are taken into consideration. Non-verbal forms such as structural patterns and a change in the pattern in conversation (e.g. turn taking, overlaps, topic retention, repetition signaling a potential for impoliteness, continuous disagreements ) or paralinguistic forms such as the relationship of speakers, prosodic aspects (e.g. pauses and rise in intonation or pitch) or annotations describing the utterance ( e.g. speaker laughing, yawning) played a major role in interpreting the data as far as the corpora BNC and STC allowed. However, not all the data the corpora offered were used due to some limitations.

First, since data encoding and transcription schemes are different for BNC and STC, non-verbal and paralinguistic forms existing in data retrieved differed depending on the corpus. The interpretation of certain forms was not attempted at the levels of extraction or analysis. For BNC paralinguistic phenomena such as

pauses, speech management phenomena (e.g. truncation, false starts, correction), and overlaps in the data were disregarded due to the complexity of the data retrieval and instead the conventional script was used. The BNC offers two different formats to retrieve data; Extensible Markup Language (XML henceforth) and the “fancy” format which is closer to a conventional script. XML is the format through which alignment in speech is given in the BNC with the “align with” mark followed up with the speaker whose utterance is overlapping followed up with the utterance it is overlapping with (see Figure 8, in Section 3.5).

If a researcher wants to include alignment of speech into his/her discussion of overlaps as potential for impoliteness, he/she must find a systematic way of putting together all the “align with” marks on the XML format in a conversation and a way of presenting both the data about the speakers and the utterances overlapping to the readers of the study. However, the focus of that intent would be then transcribing corpus data. Therefore, although XML format supplies information about alignment of speech, which may give important clues about overlaps and interruptions signaling a potential for impoliteness, due to the complex process, “fancy” format was preferred. This limited the study especially at the analysis level as paralinguistic data such as speech alignment was lost and the discussion which would have been broader was relatively restricted.

Similarly, STC supplies different formats (e.g. [TEI], [Praat], [Folker], RTF), which provide different nuances for different purposes. For this study, the data in the Rich Text Formatting (hereafter RTF) file were used. For all the excerpts that are discussed from STC, the musical score written in RTF file, were used for the reasons that it allowed a detailed discussion of conversational conventions, co-text and context by providing details of overlaps, turn-taking, and clues provided by the annotations in the script. Additional analyses were included through the use of the software [Praat] for acoustic descriptions and a discussion of prosodic nuances such as pitch and intonation, change in voice and speed of speech. Referring to Crystal and Davy (1969) and Arndt and Janney (1987), Culpeper (2011a) points out that all prosodic cues are gradient and relative. He continues to argue that “[i]t is precisely the gradience and relativity of prosody that makes it crucial to account

for the pragmatic inferencing that underpins its role in communication” (p.63). The key point for acoustic descriptions is then is to decide “what counts as fast or slow, high pitch or low pitch” since:

[i]t could be relative to the local context, for example, the rest of speaker’s utterance or the immediately preceding speaker’s utterance. It could be relative to the general context, for example, what is usual for that type of speaker (e.g. a man or woman, young or old person). It could also be relative to an aspect of the context somewhere between global and local, such as what is usual for that speech activity or event e.g. increased loudness addressing a public meeting (Culpeper 2011a, p. 62).

All the acoustic descriptions of prosodic nuances that are analyzed with the extracts from the STC in [Praat] are checked against the local context. Although such analysis offers a limited view of the complex ways prosody may play a role in communication in interaction, it gives important indications about how it may aggravate impoliteness combined with other contextual and co-textual clues.

Second, this study focused mostly on linguistic and certain paralinguistic nuances, especially at the extraction level, and did not have an equal discussion of sociolinguistic factors such as power, age, social relations, gender, culture and sub-cultures despite their important roles in how impoliteness occurs. It acknowledges the role sociolinguistic factors play but, to increase the explanatory power of the study, greater attention was given to determinants such as conventionalized and non-conventional implicational impoliteness, which generated a method to search for and extract data from different corpora.

Third, there is about twelve years of time gap between today and the year BNC spoken corpus was collected and completed. Although written texts were selected from roughly the same period, some texts date back to 1964. The intention was not to include texts further back than 1975 but that criterion was not followed very strictly with especially imaginative works which continued to be popular among readers and influential on language over time. However, the spoken corpus used in this study does not go as far back. The building of the corpus had started in 1991 and was completed in 1994. The British Market Research Bureau hired 124



volunteers who recorded all their conversations over two or three days. Revisions were made and new editions were released without adding new texts. In terms of sampling and its scale, the BNC offers a good degree of representativeness as the data source; however, the time difference can be viewed as a limitation because language changes over time.

Fourth, only naturally occurring data from the corpora was used. Other triangulation instruments such as diary or field notes, where information about how informants perceive or report incidents of impoliteness were not referred to. Since data were extracted from corpora already recorded from anonymous interactants in the past, the researcher was not a participant in collecting the data. In other words, it was not possible to ask interactants to provide, for instance, a report explaining whether they perceived the incidence extracted as impolite. Spencer-Oatey (2007) calls these documents post-interview reports and highlights their importance. Ruhi (2010) suggests that alternative documents should be used to bring a different dimension to the analysis of face as discussed in Chapter Five. Although the need for such alternative methods are acknowledged, the study in general looked at interaction in the “ordinary sense” (Haugh and Bargiela-Chiappini, 2010) but confirmed that additional documents would have brought a depth to the issues such as membership organization and related background assumptions and brought out valuable findings. However, considering the nature of the corpora used for the study and the purpose of proposing a methodological perspective to extraction and analysis for corpus studies on naturally occurring data about impoliteness, such analytical documents had to be discounted.

Fifth, although the data were collected from rich databanks, the BNC and the STC, which allowed a large set of impoliteness incidences at the extraction level, the number of examples discussed in the analysis level were limited to seven and five. Conversation analysis combined with a focus on impoliteness requires a tremendous effort. With various purposes set for the study, the number of the discussion level examples could not be extended despite the desire to reach conclusive generalizations on impoliteness by looking at large-scale co-occurrences of impoliteness data. Therefore, the contrastive aspect of the analysis

between British English and Turkish did not go far beyond suggestions for further studies although it offered originality to the study.

## **1.6 Organization of the dissertation**

This dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter One briefly lays out the background, the problem, the purpose and scope and the significance of the study. Chapter Two, firstly, reviews the literature on politeness and impoliteness and related concepts such as face. Secondly, it gives details of why conversation, which is the genre used for the study, is regarded as a discourse type and its features. Thirdly, background on the conversation analysis, corpus linguistics and corpus driven linguistics are discussed since they shaped the methodological research orientation of the study. Lastly, the approach to the annotations is briefly summarized. In Chapter Three, methodological perspective, research design, data sources and related issues are detailed and extraction methods are explained. In Chapter Four, extracted incidences of impoliteness, first from the BNC and second from the STC, are analyzed and findings are presented. In Chapter Five, research questions are revisited and further theorized.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

#### **2.0 Presentation**

This chapter reviews the literature on the key concepts for this study. Firstly, the perspectives on politeness, a notion which is closely related to impoliteness, are discussed briefly. Secondly, perspectives on impoliteness are dwelled upon with an emphasis on the critical views they have received and how the implications are taken into account during the course of the study. Next, conversation, which is the discourse type selected for the study, is defined and explained why it was selected instead of other specific discourses and genres. After that, the background on conversation analysis is given. Later, in this section, how strongly corpus driven linguistics adopted for this study to analyze the data extracted from the BNC and the STC is linked to conversation analysis is described. In addition, how the methodological tools of conversation analysis, such as turn-taking, are central for analyzing context and co-text to extract and interpret data are elaborated on. Then, the literature on the corpus driven linguistics is reviewed. Lastly, the cyclic research pattern and its link to corpus driven linguistics are summarized.

#### **2.1. Perspectives on Politeness**

Among the politeness theories, Brown and Levinson's (1987) view has been the most influential and investigated view and thus has been commented on and criticized for various aspects. One of the criticisms is that bold on record superstrategy functions like a threat to the negative face since it impedes the actions of the hearer and as such "bold, on record im/politeness does not and cannot exist when we take into account (a) context, and more importantly here (b) the fact that there is no communication without face" (Bousfield, 2008, p. 64). Another criticism for the Brown and Levinson' view is that it deals with single

acts of politeness within single utterances rather than on a discursual exchange and this creates a single, universal Model Person.

Leech's theory of politeness is expanded with an emphasis on interpersonal rhetoric and bridges semantics and pragmatics by arguing that messages are conveyed through a version of sound mapping; "message transmission", a text, "textual transaction", and a discourse, "interpersonal transaction" (Leech, 1980). While the interpersonal transaction provides clues to shape the judgments about the text in terms of language internal factors such as clarity, interpersonal rhetoric allows ensuring that the utterance adheres to the situational demands of the conversation, one of which is politeness (Leech, 1980). He develops his theory further by adding another principle, Politeness Principle (PP) to the Gricean CP, the maxims of which are tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement and sympathy. The PP model was to receive criticisms later for the arbitrary number of the maxims arguing that, for the PP model to be reliable, the unrestricted number of PP maxims should be restricted (Jucker, 1988; Thomas, 1995).

Following the mentioned approaches, in the 1990s, more emphasis started to be given as to how societal aspects shaped the theory of politeness. For instance, Watts (1992) aimed at making a distinction between polite and politic behavior. He explained that politeness is "marked forms of elaborated speech codes in open groups" (p.134), whereas politic behavior is unmarked in the sense that it is intended to establish and/or maintain social equilibrium. Therefore, his theory also attempted to cover both politeness and societal norms that informed the theoretical aspect. Some other scholars based their theory of politeness on societal norms. For instance, Gu's (1990) concept of politeness is derived from Chinese while Ide (1993) discussed the concept of politeness in the Japanese context, and Blum-Kulka (1992) based the discussion on Israeli-Jewish context. During the 1990s, a huge amount of empirical research was carried out within the existing models of linguistic politeness and the data were mostly collected by the use and analysis of Discourse Completion Tests including formal and informal situations. However, Watts (2003) broke away from the current trend by including data of real-life speech situations, and argued that the object of the study of politeness theory must

be commonsense notions of what politeness and impoliteness are and that they should be investigated through the discursive approach. He further argued that a more appropriate model would be based on Bourdieu's (1991) social practice, in which the struggle for power dimension is central.

In line with the new focus of politeness theory that societal norms, cultural issues, the subtleties of power struggle and commonsense, or lay persons views, should inform the theory of politeness, Lakoff & Ide (2005) presented a collection of studies mostly conducted in non- Western languages such as Japanese, Thai, Chinese as well as Greek, Swedish and Spanish offering new dimensions. These studies went beyond semantics and incorporated the non-language insights to the linguistic work and covered various theoretical topics such as face *wakimae*, social levels and gender related differences in language use, directness and indirectness. Watts, Ide & Ehlich (1992, 2005) published another collection of papers bringing a theoretical discussion of the existing politeness models. They presented the problems in developing a theory of linguistic politeness, which must deal with the crucial differences between lay notions in different cultures and the term 'politeness' as a concept within a theory of linguistic politeness. The validity of the models proposed by Brown and Levinson, Lakoff and Leech was questioned and the need for new approaches was emphasized.

Bousfield & Locher (2008) were first to present a collected volume with a thorough discussion of impoliteness and power. Their aim was to demonstrate a massive imbalance in terms of the academic interest between the studies of politeness and impoliteness. The notions of conflict and aggression came into the discussion of impoliteness theory and inspired further studies on impoliteness. Bousfield (2008) focused on an analysis of impoliteness in face-to face spoken interaction, in which politeness was perceived to be the governing principle, exploring how impoliteness comes into play. His study was followed by Culpeper's (2011b) publication which also used naturally-occurring language data and combined both a discussion of lay person views and a theoretical discussion of what shapes the lay person views were. He brought linguistic pragmatics and social psychology into the discussion of impoliteness, and by doing so, expanded

the boundaries to a level where researchers of impoliteness should consider the use of naturally occurring data and how a lay person's views of impoliteness are shaped by the linguistic impoliteness and vice versa.

## **2.2 Perspectives on Impoliteness**

Watts (2003, p.9) points out that impoliteness is a complex notion that is difficult to define: "It is a term that is struggled over at present, has been struggled over in the past and will, in all probability, continue to be struggled in the future". Eelen (2001) discusses how the impoliteness theory has been defined by the politeness theories and thus, due to this the conceptual bias, failed to account for a comprehensive view of impoliteness. Bousfield (2008) summarizes politeness theories under three main headings and extensively critiques how each of them deals with the concept of impoliteness.

The first view is the social norm or lay person's view of impoliteness. With the acknowledgment that politeness studies have to deal with social norms to differing degrees and that both first order and second order politeness are essential, Bousfield (2008) suggests that the distinction should be taken into consideration for further understanding of impoliteness. The second view is the conversational maxim approach to politeness. As mentioned above, Leech (1983, 2005) comes under this heading. Leech (1983, 2005) complements Grice's CP by a term Interpersonal Rhetoric (IR) and proposes that IR consists of PP and CP. His theory has been criticized for not attempting to explain how IR, which is based on a social goal sharing principle, could explain impoliteness that occurs in conflictive and aggressive communication (Bousfield, 2008 ; Eelen, 2001). Leech (2005) argues that his position is that "... a theory of politeness is inevitably a theory of impoliteness, since impoliteness is a non-observance or violation of the constraints of politeness" (p.18). This approach creates a tendency for giving priority to politeness and seeing impoliteness "as always socially aberrant" and while "not 'normal' in a lay sense", overlooks the fact that it is "ubiquitous across and within virtually all modes of human communication" (Bousfield, 2008, p.50).

The third view is the face management view, which was typified by Brown and Levinson (1987). As mentioned above, Brown and Levinson (1987) subdivide face into two, positive and negative face, and claim that members of the society subscribe to the needs of the two faces and as such adhere to politeness for social harmony. This idea of face management was adapted to impoliteness models. For example, in line with Brown & Levinson's (1987) superstrategies, Culpeper (1996) proposed a model that views impoliteness as an attack to the addressee's positive or negative face wants (pp. 349-350) and defined the following five superstrategies:

1. Bald on record impoliteness
2. Positive impoliteness
3. Negative impoliteness
4. Sarcasm or mock politeness
5. Withhold politeness

Under positive impoliteness, which is defined as the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's positive face wants, he lists the following output strategies:

- 1-Ignore, snub, fail to attend H's interests, wants, needs, goods, etc.
- 2-Exclude the other from the activity.
- 3-Disassociate from the other. Deny common ground, or association.
- 4-Be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic.
- 5-Use inappropriate identity markers.
- 6- Use obscure or secretive language.
- 7-Seek disagreement.-sensitive topics or just disagree outright (act as 'Devil's advocate').
- 8-Avoid agreement.-avoid agreeing with H's position (whether S actually does or not).
- 9- Make the other feel uncomfortable.
- 10-Use taboo language-swear, be abusive, express strong views opposed to H's.
- 11-Call H names- use derogatory nominations.,
- 12-Etc...

Under negative impoliteness, which is defined as the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's negative face wants, the following output strategies are listed:

- 1- Frighten-instill a belief that action detrimental to other will occur.

- 2-Condescend, scorn or ridicule-emphasize own power, use diminutives to other (or other's position), be contemptuous, belittle, do not take H seriously.
- 3-Invalidate the other's space-literally (positioning closer than relationship permits) or metaphorically ask for intimate information given the relationship)...
- 4-Explicitly associate H with negative aspect- personalize, use pronouns, *I* and *you*.
- 5-Put H's indebtedness on record.
- 6-Hinder – physically (block passage), conversationally 8deny turn, interrupt)
- 7-Etc...

Culpeper (1996) claimed that this model of impoliteness is both taking Brown and Levinson (1987) into account and departing from their model. Although he used similar superstrategies, he explained that impoliteness causes disharmony and social disruption since it is defined as the use of utterances that are designed to attack the interlocutors' face. Later, Culpeper et al. (2003), following Eelen (2001), point out that all theories of politeness theories mention impoliteness but they all fall short in explaining the intricacies of impoliteness since they cannot be "straightforwardly applied to impoliteness [...] to fully account for the confrontational interaction in impolite discourses" (Bousfield, 2008, p.71). Therefore, later, Culpeper (2005) revised the five superstrategies and replaced his "Sarcasm or mock politeness" with "Off-record impoliteness". Culpeper's (1996) modification of his model into Culpeper (2005), the replacement of sarcasm or mock politeness by off-record impoliteness superstrategy, is a result of the shift in his focus of intentional, impolite face-attack to a more contextually and culturally sensitive model (Culpeper, 2005, p.40).

The model Culpeper (2005) revised suggests that Spencer-Oatey's (2002) approach, Rapport Management consisting of two distinct features, Face and Sociality Rights, should be integrated into the impoliteness theory. Face consists of quality face and social identity face and sociality rights are divided into equity rights and association rights. Still, Bousfield (2008, p.92) criticizes Culpeper's new model (2005):



In doing so his approach remains sympathetic and complementary to the work done previously on this model. However, simply relating Brown and Levinson's Positive/Negative approach to face Spencer-Oatey's (2002) approach to Rapport Management (including 'Face' and 'Sociality Rights'); by , in short, linking the two together, simply does not solve the issue of the, more often than multi-face directedness of the linguistic impoliteness strategies. Indeed, when we consider that Spencer-Oatey (2007: 16) argues that face is a multi-faceted phenomenon, then it is obvious that the linguistic impoliteness strategies identified by Culpeper (1996), Culpeper et al. (2003) and Cashman (2006) don't purely indict one type of face, or one type of sociality right, over another. I would therefore suggest though that the evolutionary steps that Culpeper (2005: 41-42) makes have not *yet* gone far enough to solve such issues facing the model.

Despite Bousfield's (2008) criticism, Culpeper's (1996, 2005) face management view and models of impoliteness model have been applied to various discourses and real data. It was claimed that Culpeper's (1996, 2005) model provides adequate analysis power as it works both at the application and analysis level with some modifications. For example, Lauer (1996) analyzed complaint letters, and Cashman (2006) applied the model to impolite interactions taking place between Spanish and English bilingual children. However, his model proposes an open-ended list of superstrategies and this open-endedness of the list of positive and negative face damage strategies could be argued as the weakness of the model, similar to Thomas's (1995) criticisms for Leech 's (1983) PP model that it "makes the theory at best inelegant, at worst virtually unfalsifiable" (p.167). Bousfield (2008) also acknowledges this claim and postulates, "[i]f we are to simply invent a new strategy for every new regularity in language then the model could soon become impervious to counterexamples" (p.91).

Bousfield (2008) also applies Culpeper's (1996, 2005) model with some modifications, as he believes:

research into impoliteness should not unduly concern itself with the discovery of additional linguistic output strategies but should now be concentrated upon how the discourse 'builds up', how context affects the generation of impoliteness and how dynamism of impolite illocutions is dealt with" (p.91)

In his analysis, Bousfield (2008) takes a more inclusive approach to these superstrategies and summarizes the superstrategies under two titles as the following:

1. On record impoliteness
2. Off record impoliteness
  - a) Sarcasm
  - b) Withhold politeness

He explains on record impoliteness as the use of strategies designed “*explicitly* a) attack the face of an interactant, b) construct the face of an interactant in a non-harmonious or outright conflictive way, c) deny the expected face wants, needs, or rights of the interactant , or some combination thereof” (p.95, emphasis in the original). Off record impoliteness, on the other hand, is the use of strategies “where the the threat or damage to interactant’s face is conveyed indirectly by way of implicature following Grice (1989) and can be canceled (e.g. denied, or an account/post-modification/ elaboration offered, etc.)” (p.95).

This study proposes a model that breaks away from the summarized criticisms that are 1) the superstrategies are open-ended and thus the theory is impervious to counterexamples and 2) the theory of face does not constitute the main defining tool for the theory of impoliteness. In order to address these issues, this study adds a layer to the model, namely, extraction which is based on the notions of the conventionalized impoliteness formulae (Culpeper, 2010; 2011b), and non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011b), instead of the superstrategies existing in the current model. This additional layer is then followed by an analysis level. The discussion at this level originates from existing theories but is developed more in the light of the findings the natural data at the extraction level supply.

Two further central issues of impoliteness research so far have been around the following two questions: 1) Where does the meaning lie? In other words, what, speech acts or linguistic expressions, define what is impolite? and 2) How is the notion of face related to the concept of impoliteness?

In terms of the first question, the literature vacillates between two opposing views which are whether meaning is inherent in the speech act and whether meaning is inherent in forms (Culpeper, 2010). Brown and Levinson (1987; pp. 65-68) imply that FTAs can be intrinsic to speech acts, as they define FTAs as “what is intended to be done by a verbal or non-verbal communication, just as one or more ‘speech acts’ can be assigned to an utterance”. Their view has been criticized for being deterministic for the reason that some speech acts such as orders which are beneficial to the hearer can be interpreted differently in different cultures. Thus, generalizations about FTAs being inherent in speech acts could only be specific to cultures. It has also been pointed out that speech acts do not have a degree of determinacy and stability (Leech: 1983, pp. 23-24). Therefore, the view that meanings are inherent in speech acts has been claimed as a “theoretical non-starter” (Culpeper, 2010, p. 3234). The other view that meaning is inherent in linguistic expressions has received different responses which can be underlined under three positions. The first one takes a positive stance and makes the line between semantic and pragmatic meaning more visible: meaning is “more a matter of truth conditions than felicity conditions, more conventional than non-conventional and more non-contextual (and thus non-relative) than contextual” (Culpeper, 2010, p. 3234).

Although, scholars have not argued explicitly whether politeness or impoliteness is inherent in linguistic expressions, the focus on linguistic expressions implied that context was less important. The other view takes a relatively negative stance. Fraser and Nolen (1981) claim that, “[...] no sentence is inherently polite or impolite. We often take certain expressions to be impolite, but it is not the expressions themselves but the conditions under which they are used that determines the judgment of politeness” (p. 96). Locher and Watts (2008) argue that “[t]here is [...] no linguistic behavior that is inherently polite or impolite” (p.78). Nevertheless, even within the “no” camp, there is a recognition that in determining the interpretation of politeness, expressions play a role that they “lend themselves to individual interpretation” (Watts, 2003, p.168) and that they constrain the interpretation. The third stance is the “discursive” approach. Culpeper (2010) explains that “[t]he focus of the discursive approach is on the

micro level, that is, on participants' situated and dynamic evaluations of politeness, not shared conventionalized politeness forms or strategies". He adds that discursive studies emphasize the meanings are unstable, negotiable, and fuzzy and that shared conventions of meaning enforces stability and certainty to communication. In this respect, discursive studies to politeness received critical reactions such that if everything is relative, descriptions of individual encounters cannot account for explanatory theory of politeness and thus they do not have predictive power (Watts, 2003; Terkourafi, 2005a). Culpeper (2010) defines his own approach as the dual view to argue that impoliteness is partly inherent in linguistic expressions:

My own position is dual in the sense that I see semantic (im)politeness and pragmatic (im)politeness as inter-dependent opposites on a scale. (Im)politeness can be more inherent in a linguistic expression or can be more determined by context , but neither the expression nor the context guarantee an interpretation of (im)politeness. What is different about semantic (im)politeness from, say the semantics of the noun "table" is that it is the relationship between the expression and its interpersonal contextual effects that must be the central semanticized component for it to exist (p. 3237).

He relates "the dual view" to conventionalization. Terkourafi (2005b) defines conventionalization as "a relationship between utterances and context, which is a correlate of the (statistical) frequency with which an expression is used in one's experience of a particular context" (p. 213). Similar to Terkourafi (2005b), Culpeper (2010) argues that there is big difference between conventional and conventionalized inferences: for example, although *cunt* was viewed the most offensive in British English in the year 2000, an undergraduate student reported in a diary that a friend used this word to mean "guy" or "dude" (Culpeper, 2010, p. 3237). Culpeper (2011b, p. 22) touches upon the level of subjectiveness and evaluative aspects of the notion of impoliteness by stating that "[i]mpoliteness is very much in the eye of the beholder, that is, the mind's eye. It depends on how you perceive what is said and done and how that relates to the situation". Eelen (2001), Watts (2003) Spencer-Oatey (2005), Ruhi (2008), Terkourafi (2001), Haugh (2007) and Fraser and Nolen (1981) are among the scholar who discussed the same idea in relation to different emphasis. For instance, Ruhi (2008) argues

that the reason why utterances that are perceived to be polite can as well be perceived impolitely depending on their meta-representation of verbal and /or non-verbal acts, and on “conceptualizing interpretation of acts relative to actions and relative to the perceptions that interlocutors have of each other” (p.305). She proposes that “politeness is an (optional) metarepresentation of (non-)verbal acts, which concerns people’s representations of others’ words, attitudes, beliefs, actions and relational and/or transactional goals” (p.305). In further discussing how metarepresentations are formed, Ruhi (2008) states:

the belief that it is polite to say “thank you” when one receives a gift would be generated through a causal chain of repeated public productions of the act and would stabilize both as a public and a mental representation. The act would thus gain the status of a socially institutionalized category and become part of one’s encyclopedic knowledge of expectations in social interaction. The act could then be triggered in production and comprehension in the context of its associated action schema. (p.305)

In this respect, not all conventional utterances are conventionalized formulae and the conventionalized impoliteness formulae is closely linked to the idea of co-occurrence regularities, casual chain of productions of an act referred to in the quotation above, between language forms and specific contexts. Following this line of thought, Culpeper (2010, 2011b) carried out an inclusive study to identify conventionalized impoliteness formulae and studied specific contexts and metadiscourse to reveal the linguistic behavior governing impoliteness. He used video recordings and written texts, 100 informant reports containing a description of impoliteness event, corpus data particularly, Oxford English Corpus and an impoliteness perception questionnaire to arrive the conventionalized impoliteness formulae. The table below displays his findings.

Table 1: Conventionalized Impoliteness Formulae (Culpeper, 2010)

1. Insults	<p>1. Personalized negative vocatives</p> <p>-[you][fucking/rotten/dirty/fat/little/etc.]</p> <p>[moron/fuck/plonker/dickhead/berk/pig/shit/bastard/loser/liar/minx/brat/slut/squirt/sod/bugger, etc.] [you]</p> <p>2. Personalized negative assertions</p> <p>-[you][are][so/sucha]</p> <p>[shit/stink/thick/stupid/bitchy/bitch/hypocrite/disappointment/gay/nuts/nuttier than a fruit cake/hopeless/pathetic/fussy/terrible/fat/ugly/etc.]</p> <p>- [you] [can't do] [anything right/basic arithmetic/etc.]</p> <p>- [you] [disgust me/make me] [sick/etc.]</p> <p>3. Personalized negative references</p> <p>-[your]</p> <p>[stinking/little] [mouth/act/arse/body/corpse/hands/guts/trap/breath/etc.]</p> <p>4. Personalized third-person negative references (in the hearing of the target)</p> <p>- [the] [daft] [bimbo]</p> <p>- [she] ['s] [nutzo]</p>
2. Pointed criticisms/complaints	<p>-[ that/this /it]</p> <p>[is/was][absolutely/ extraordinarily/unspeakably/etc.]</p> <p>[bad/rubbish/crap/terrible/horrible/etc.]</p>

Table 1 continued.

3.Challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- why do you make my life impossible?</li> <li>- which lie are you telling me?</li> <li>- what's gone wrong now?</li> <li>- you want to argue with me or you want to go to jail?</li> </ul>
4.Condescensions	- [that] ['s/is being] [babyish/childish/etc.]
5.Message enforcers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- listen here (preface)</li> <li>- you got [it/that]? (tag)</li> <li>- do you understand [me]? (tag)</li> </ul>
6.Dismissals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- [go] [away]</li> <li>- [get] [lost/out]</li> <li>- [fuck/piss/shove] [off]</li> </ul>
7.Silencers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- [shut] [it]/[your] [stinking/fucking/etc.] [mouth/face/trap/etc.]</li> <li>- shut [the fuck] up</li> </ul>
8.Threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- [I'll/I'm/we're] [gonna] [smash your face in/beat the shit out of you/box your ears/bust your fucking head off/straighten</li> <li>- you out/etc.] [if you don't] [X]</li> <li>- [X] [before I] [hit you/strangle you]</li> </ul>
9.Negative expressives (e.g.curses,ill-wishes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- [go] [to hell/hang yourself/fuck yourself]</li> <li>- [damn/fuck] [you]</li> </ul>

The dual view Culpeper (2010) describes has various implications for this study. The conventionalized impoliteness formulae together with the non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness, as opposed to speech acts associated with impoliteness will be the driving forces at the extraction level in regard to the debates whether what is impolite can be defined through speech acts or linguistic expressions. Still, not at the extraction but at the analysis level, some speech acts

will inevitably be touched upon through the discussion of co-text and context again for the reason that no linguistic expression is inherently polite or impolite; context is the determining factor.

Disagreement, for instance, is one of the speech acts referred to in the analysis level. It is a speech act which has been theorized traditionally in relation to identity construction and impoliteness research (Angouri and Locher, 2012, p.1); “it is typically related to confrontation and conflict” and “evaluated as having negative effects” (p.2) “ in CA terms” ( Sifianou, 2012, p.1). Levinson (1983) argued that agreement is generally the preferred act; that is why, seeking disagreement and avoiding agreements have been associated with damaging speakers’ positive face wants. Likewise, Leech’s (1983) Politeness Principle included Maxim of Agreement; minimize disagreement between *self* and *other* and maximize agreement between *self* and *other*. Pomerantz (1984) and Heritage (1984) characterized disagreement as creating a conflict and a threat to social solidarity. However, research ensued indicating opposing findings: disagreement can be preferred to ensure sociability and intimacy (Tannen, 1984; Kakavá, 1993a, 2002, Locher, 2004). Angouri & Locher (2012), along similar lines with Gumperz (1992), argue that any view on disagreeing would be incomplete unless an analysis of “how it is embedded in speech activity and how this speech activity is part of wider discourses” (p.2). Sifianou (2012) states that disagreements are both multidirectional and multifunctional. They can affect both positive and negative faces of both interlocutors and serve a variety of functions; hostility or affiliation (p. 6) If disagreement is studied in context through the lens of relational work (Locher and Watts, 2005), it would be more useful for studies on interpersonal interaction:

as linguists we are not only interested in the presence or absence of disagreement but in observing how disagreement is enacted and achieved and what the effects of different renditions might be. Ultimately we study whether the linguistic form we observe (for example direct or mitigated disagreement) will contribute to face-aggravating, face-maintaining or face-enhancing *effects*” (Angouri and Locher, 2012, p.2, emphasis in the original)

The direction Angouri and Locher (2012) are suggesting towards studies of disagreements in relation to face can be observed in various studies. For example,



studies focusing on how the presence of other participants influences the interpretations of disagreement in interaction taking the effects of different renditions into account. Watanabe (2011, pp. 316–317) points out that our actions and thoughts are influenced by the presence of others even if they do not actively participate in interaction. These bystanders or third parties can be the determining factor in escalation or solution of a dispute: “The presence of third parties may influence the construction, interpretation and outcome of a disagreement” (Sifianou, 2012, p. 5). Sifianou (2012) gives Kangasharju’s (2002) study as an example for her point. Kangasharju (2002) compared multiparty to dyadic interactions in Finnish committee meetings and the impact they had on arguments and forming alliances. It bears in mind the complexities mentioned that disagreements among participants in conversations are analyzed in this study. If the disagreement as a speech act is used as a tool to extract impoliteness, it would be a major methodological drawback. However, since disagreement is both multidirectional and multifunctional, discussing it in relation to how it contributes to “face-aggravating, face-maintaining or face-enhancing *effects*” (Angouri and Locher, 2012, p.2, emphasis in the original) strengthens the study. In this sense it brings a new breadth to how it has been presented in CA studies; “a ‘dispreferred’ second” (Sacks, 1973/1987; Pomerantz, 1984 quoted in Sifianou, 2012, p.1).

Discussion of disagreements as speech acts in relation to the impoliteness studies brought out another dimension, which is the notion of adjacency pairs. Kakavá (1993, p.36) states that:

Since disagreement can lead to a form of confrontation that may develop into an argument or dispute, disagreement can be seen as a potential generator of conflict. Not only can disagreement create conflict but it can also constitute conflict, since an argument is composed of a series of disputable opinions or disagreements” (p. 36).

That is why Locher (2004, p. 95) explains that disagreements naturally require a first part and a second part, or an adjacency pair. Based on Schegloff (1972) and Schegloff and Sacks (1973), Schrifin (1994, p. 236) elucidates adjacency pairs as “a sequence of two utterances, which are adjacent, produced by different speakers, ordered as a first part and a second part, and typed so that the first part requires a

particular second part or range of second parts” (quoted in Locher, 2004, p. 95). Going back to the idea of different renditions disagreement may be present in and their various effects (Angouri and Locher, 2012, p.2): whether the sequence of adjacency pair for disagreement was followed, whether there were pauses in between the first part and the second part, how many times the pair was repeated and whether these issues triggered face-aggravation become very important for impoliteness studies. That is one of the reasons why CA offers valuable tools for impoliteness studies if the CA approach is wide enough to take the complexities context and co-text put forward.

Culpeper (2011b) states that impoliteness is “very much about signaling behaviors that are attitudinally extreme or understanding them to be so” (p.139). He maintains that impoliteness formulae do not necessarily signal impoliteness unless they are intensified; that is, they are used in ways that make them less ambiguous and equivocal. Modifiers, taboo words, certain prosodies and some non-verbal features are among examples of ways that they are intensified. Quoting from McEwen and Greenberg (1970, p. 340), Culpeper (2011b) explains message intensity as “the strength or degree of emphasis with which a source states his attitudinal position towards a topic” (p.140). He draws attention to the fact that all conventionalized impoliteness formulae naturally have a degree of intensity but certain features are added which increase their level of offensiveness. Message intensity can be increased through use of lexis, grammar, prosody and non-verbal ways. For instance, ‘you’re so stupid’ compared to ‘you’re stupid’ have different effects as the former one is intensified through a modifier. Lexical choices may also function as intensifiers. Culpeper (2011b) uses Leech’s ([1974] 1981, p.15) ‘affective meaning’ to explain why a variation of lexical items (e.g. ‘bad/rubbish/horrendous/crap/shit’) in a frame ‘that’s X’ would give different degrees of negative attitude to what is referred with X. Affective meaning is about “how language reflects the personal feelings of the speaker, including his [sic] attitude to the listener, or his attitude to something he is talking about” (Leech, 1981, p.15) and adjectives of taboo words in conventionalized impoliteness formulae act towards giving an affective meaning since they ‘intensify descriptions’ (Jay, 1992, p.63 quoted in Culpeper, 2011b, p 141).

Culpeper (2010)'s findings of taboo words acting as intensifiers in the conventionalized impoliteness formulae are strongly confirmed by another study, Millwood-Hargrave (2000), carried out jointly by Advertising Standards Authority (ASA), The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the Broadcasting Standards Commission (BSC) and the Independent Television Commission. The project was designed to test people's attitudes towards swearing and offensive language and to examine the role of context. Firstly, a qualitative study using group discussions together with interviews were carried out with the prompts from television programs and advertisement clips and then a quantitative study through analyzing an in-home questionnaire given to 1.033 adults was conducted. The figure below summarizes the findings of a questionnaire about the most offensive words in Britain in 2000.

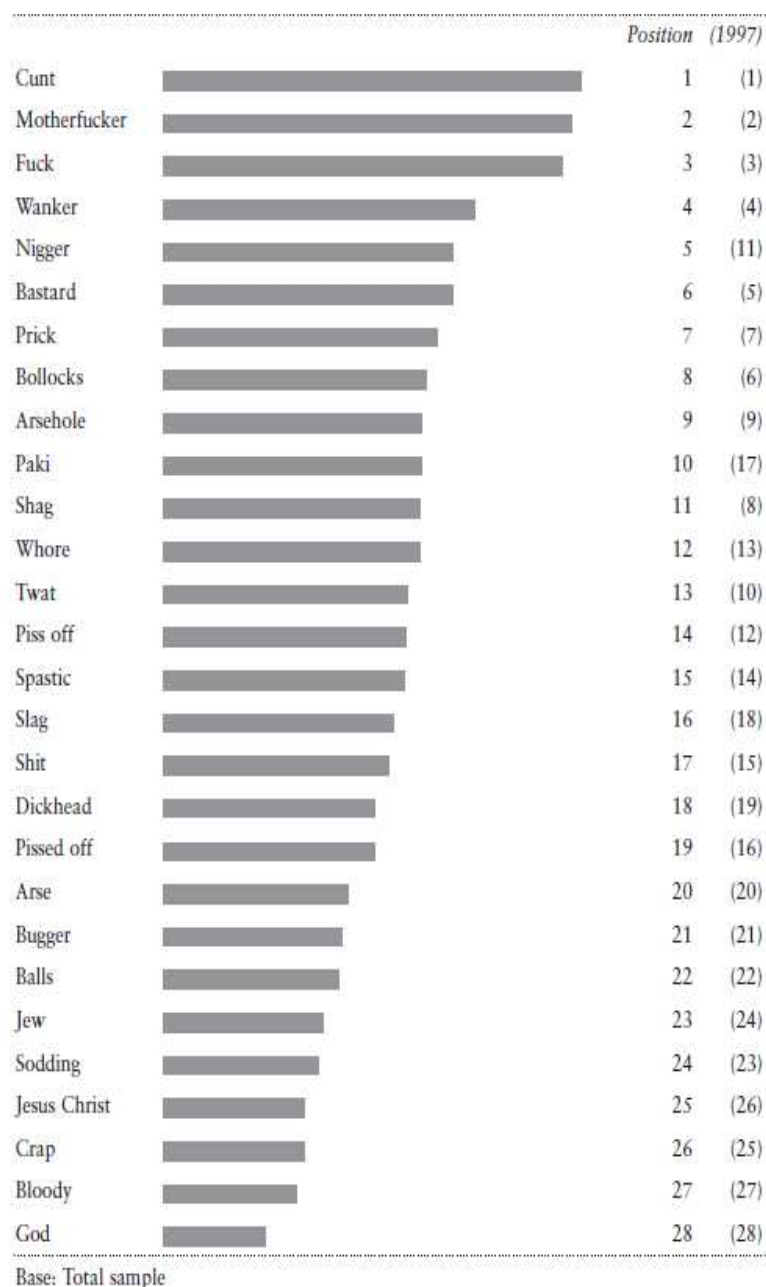


Figure 1. Ranking of 'very severe' words

Source: Milwood-Hargrave, 2000, p. 9

The taboo words above, which signal a negative affective meaning and act as an intensifier, were used for word queries in the BNC as explained in detail in Chapter Three.

Prosody and kinesic features have been neglected despite the major role they might play in impoliteness incidences (Culpeper, 2011b, p.146). Arndt and Janney (1987, p.275 quoted in Culpeper, 2011b, p.147) argue that prosody and kinesic features interact with words and structures and create meaning. According to them, attitudinally marked prosody, which is not clearly motivated by syntactic considerations, triggers further interpretations in different ways:

- 1) *rising pitch* together with declarative, imperative or wh-interrogative utterance types would be considered attitudinally marked
- 2) *falling pitch* together with all other interrogative utterance types would be considered attitudinally marked
- 3) *falling-rising pitch*, as a mixed contour, would be considered attitudinally relevant regardless of the utterance type with which it is combined;
- 4) *all remaining combinations* of pitch direction and utterance type-i.e the so-called normal ones, grammatically speaking, would be considered attitudinally relevant only in conjunction with other types of cues or cue combinations. (Arnd and Janney 1987, pp.275 quoted in Culpeper, 2011b, p. 147).

In this study, discussion of prosody was limited to the annotations present in the BNC and the STC. Further analysis such as what [Praat] - a software used to analyze prosodical speech events (e.g. pitch, intonation etc.) - would offer were followed only to a limited extent with the STC. This is acknowledged in Section 1.5.

Conventionalized impoliteness formulae offer a frame for impoliteness co-occurrences for British English, which was applied to extract data for Turkish in this study. Conventionalized impoliteness is only one aspect of impoliteness and is noticed in more obvious ways compared to non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness. Culpeper (2011b) classifies implicational impoliteness in 3 categories: form-driven, convention-driven: internal, external; and context-driven: unmarked behavior and absence of behavior. By form-driven, Culpeper (2011b) is referring to the “implicit messages which are triggered by formal surface or semantic aspects of a behavior and which have negative consequences for certain individuals” (p.157). He explains that form-driven implicational impoliteness may look similar to off-record politeness super strategy; however, there are two major differences. One, this notion is not linked to politeness, and two, with the

incidences of impoliteness, an alternative interpretation of politeness is impossible to make (p.157). Intensifying techniques as well as prosody provides an evaluation of impoliteness in context. With the form-driven category, Culpeper (2011b) proposes the Gricean cooperative principles and the echoic mention view (e.g. Sperber and Wilson 1981, 1995 [1986]). Culpeper (2011b) explains that mimicry and echoic mention is another type of implicational impoliteness. He defines mimicry as “a caricatured re-presentation” (p.161). Referring to Goffman (1974, p. 539), he points out that quoting is part of mimicry. When someone quotes “too much”, for instance all the prosodic features of the speaker, the quoter becomes “suspect” (p.161). He further discusses inferential steps taken when quoting is inferred as too much. For Sperber and Wilson (1986), echo, in their term echoic irony, is more than verbal utterances or thoughts. It is of someone’s behavior, which is usually a characteristic behavior pattern and depends on the following condition to be inferred as echoic irony: “first, on a recognition of the utterance as an echo; second, on an identification of the source of the opinion echoed; and third, on a recognition that the speaker’s attitude to the opinion echoed is one of rejection or disapproval” (p.240). Culpeper (2011b) proposes an adjustment to broaden this condition:

first, on a recognition of the behaviour as an echo; second, on an identification of the source of the behavior echoed, third, the recognition that the source behavior is a characteristic of the identity of the speaker who gave rise to it, and fourthly, on a recognition that the speaker’s attitude to the behavior echoed is one of rejection or disapproval. (p.161)

He summarizes impolite mimicry, caricatured (re-)presentation, with five points:

An echoed behavior. A behavior referenced by an echo.

An echo. A behavior which is recognised as an earlier behavior.

A marked echo and the implied echoed behavior. The echo is marked (usually involving distortion or exaggeration), thus signaling the need for further inferencing. Moreover, the marked echo implies that the behavior it echoes is also marked, that is, abnormal in some way. This is the implied echoed behavior.

An implied echoed behavior and the echoer. The implied echoed behavior is attributed to the person who gave rise to it; more specifically, it is typically attributed to an identity characteristic of that person.

The echoer and the echoed. The recognition that the discrepancy between the echoed behavior and the implied echoed behavior reflects the negative attitude of the echoer towards the echoed person. (p. 165)

The following excerpt is extracted from the BNC as an example of impoliteness since how it unfolds exemplifies both conventionalized impoliteness formulae and implicational impoliteness.

(GU) She knew a lot of telly.  
(GU) Neighbours  
(GM) Oh!  
(GU) and bloody Coronation Street and all that crap!  
(GM) Ooh!  
(GT) Ooh!  
(GU) You'd hear all that!  
(GV) And don't say crap, that's a very good programme!  
(GM) What is?I  
(GV) Coronation  
(GU) Coronation  
(GV) Str  
(GM) Oh what a load of dip!  
(GV) I lo, I've recorded whatever's on tonight, is it Eastenders?  
(GV) K Y T V I've got on tonight recorded that.  
(GU) S H I T more like!  
*GT laughs*  
(GM) Yeah.  
(GV) K Y T V is very good, K Y T V.  
(GT) Hang on ! (*laughing*)  
(GT) K Y T V, what's that?  
(GM) I didn't think you'd be a Coronation Street addict.  
(GT) No, I wouldn't!  
(GV) The best people are.  
(GV) Princess Anne.

In this conversation when GU says that “she knew a lot of telly” she is criticizing the person which is why she gives the names of two programs and ends her comments with “ and all that crap” which functions as an intensifier for her dislike of the programs. When GV disagrees “And don't say crap, that's a very good programme!” she uses another intensifier *very good* to express how much she likes the program. The acronym for the name of the channel, KYTV, is mimicked by GU and echoed as SHIT in an offensive word *shit*. This is how impoliteness comes to the surface. However, GV replies “K Y T V is very good, K Y T V” repeating the channel, reinforcing the acknowledgement, and echoing the mimicry SHIT back to its place. When the third speaker GT joins in and says “No, I wouldn't!” be a Coronation street addict, GV replies “The best people are. Princess Anne.” GV is

violating the maxim of Relation and produces the implication that GU and GV are not one of the best people, and thus, GV is impolite.

With this explanation in mind, the facts that in this conversation SHIT is spelled in letters s, h, i, t, just like the proper name for the TV channel, KYTV, and is written in capital letters in the script indicate that it is uttered to echo KYTV as SHIT TV and is uttered to reject the comment that the channel is good. It is an echoic mention and is an example of implicational impoliteness for taking the clues discussed into the consideration. In this example, extracted from the BNC, which is a written corpus as opposed to the STC which is a bimodal, both with its written and audio components, the way the utterance SHIT is scripted provides enough context for the conclusion that the example reflects implicational impoliteness. However, with incidences of impoliteness extracted from the STC, the context will provide richer data since prosodic aspects, and interruptions will also be available in the corpus.

The reason why Culpeper (2011b) takes Grice's cooperative principle into discussing impoliteness while cooperative principles are associated with politeness is that when the Grice's maxims are flouted, the utterance can be interpreted differently from what it literally means since it acts as indirect speech and so is implicational. Indirect speech acts are closely related those principles proposed by Grice:

- 1- Indirect speech acts violate at least one maxim of the cooperative principle.
- 2- The literal meaning of the locution of an indirect speech act differs from its intended meaning.
- 3- Hearers and readers identify indirect speech acts by noticing that an utterance has characteristic 1 and by assuming that the interlocutor is following the cooperative principle.
- 4- As soon as they have identified an indirect speech act, hearers and readers identify its intended meaning with the help of knowledge of the context and of the world around them. (Finnegan, 1999, p. 305)

People need to cooperate in communicating with each other since they need to "honor the conventions" (Finnegan: 1999, p. 301) of speech. Hearers assume that



the speakers take the “conventions of interpretation” into account while constructing their utterances; speakers on the other hand, assume that the hearers trust the speakers and that they value the conventions of speech. In short, speakers rely on this cooperation to make their speech meaningful. The maxims are: maxim of quantity, which requires being appropriately informative; maxim of quality, which requires being orderly and clear; maxim of manner, which requires being truthful and maxim of relevance, which requires being relevant. An example Culpeper (2011b) gives for non-conventionalized form-driven implicational impoliteness that occurs through violation of Gricean maxims is as follows.

Sitting with housemates in the lounge and one comes in after finishing making her tea. She sits close to me and my other housemate ie within close earshot and says “See I made a curry that doesn’t come out of a jar” knowing full well that I eat food like that which she clearly looks down upon (p.159).

In this incidence of implicational impoliteness, Culpeper (2011b) suggests that “the offender supplies more information about the curry than seems to be necessary, thus flouting the maxim of quantity. The context that ensures this interpretation is the context that the informant eats “food like that”. It is this kind of contextual clues which will be sought after for the purposes of extraction and analysis of impoliteness in this study. In this example, and with Culpeper’s (2011b) data collection approach, giving questionnaires and asking informants to describe impoliteness events, gives more clues about the violation of maxims. Here, the informant points out the comment, “knowing full well that I eat food like that”. However, since the data in the present study consists of spoken interaction only, unless the (one of the) speakers makes an explicit confrontational comment, contextual clues have to be searched for explicitly.

The essential feature of convention-driven impoliteness, which can be internal or external, is that it occurs when “there is a mismatch the context projected by or associated with the conventionalized formula and either some other aspect of behavior performed or the wider context” (Culpeper, 2011b, p.166). For instance, “Could you just fuck off?” is an example of convention-driven implicational impoliteness since it “mixes conventionalized politeness formula with

conventionalized impoliteness formula through uses of *could you* and *fuck off*. Such a mixed use of formula assures interpretation of the utterance as impolite since it provides “a measure of extreme distance” between conventionalized politeness formula and conventionalized impoliteness formula (p.168).

With context-driven implicational impoliteness Culpeper (2011b) refers to cases where there is no mismatch between the conventionalized politeness formula since the “trigger is not marked” (p. 180). Instead, impoliteness interpretation comes out with the strong expectations in a context. For instance the example below, he discusses, occurs because it is driven by what is triggered with the context even when there is no marked behavior of impoliteness:

TO SHOP ASSISTANT: You’ve not given me the pound.  
SHOP ASISTANT: I think I did [Abruptly]  
TO SHOP ASISTANT: Well it’s not there. Look. (opened wallet to show him)  
SHOP ASISTANT: Go like that. [Implied I was trying to con him](he pointed to his sleeves, gesturing to loosen them)  
TO SHOP ASISTANT: See. [Raised volume] (opened sleeve to him) (He handed me a pound)  
TO SHOP ASISTANT: Thank you.

In this example the utterance “go like that” seems to be a cooperative utterance by Gricean maxims but Culpeper (2011b) explains that it triggers impolite implications since “our knowledge about hiding things in sleeves, or magicians or pickpockets is triggered”. It is the context that brings out the implication and so is impolite especially when it was clear the person did not put the pound in sleeves and that the shop assistant did not apologize afterwards.

Further discussion of conventionalized and non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness will be provided at the extraction level of this study in the following chapter. The next section summarizes the history of how the concept of face has changed in politeness studies in time briefly and how the notion of face is linked to the concept of impoliteness.

## 2.3 Perspectives on the Concept of Face

In her article, *Face and Politeness: new (insights) for old (concepts)* (2003), Francesca Bargiela-Chiappini gives a very detailed historical analysis of how the concept of face and facework came to be used and how it has acquired different meanings from what it originally had. China is commonly known to be the place where the concept of 'face' originated, and Goffman, who first used the concept face or facework in his collected volume of essays *Interactional Ritual, Essays on face-to face behavior* (1967), acknowledges this (Bargiela-Chiappini; 2003, p.1454). In her article, Bargiela-Chiappini (2003, p.1456) explains that, in footnote 1, Goffman (1967) mentions the sources his thinking was most influenced by. Emile Durkheim is one of the most influential scholars for him as his references to Durkheim's *The Early Forms of Religious Life* (1924) indicate. This, as Bargiela-Chiappini (2003, p.1456) points out, also explains why Goffman's (1967, p. 45) notion of facework has some religious resonances (e.g moral rules, ritual equilibrium). In fact, many other aspects of Durkheim's model of society are echoed in Goffman's discussion of how individuals behave in relation to the others. For instance, rights and duties come out of collective thinking; ritual is maintained by the fulfillment of these duties in Durkheim's society and the idea of interdependence of individuals in society is emphasized. Similarly, Goffman's discussion of interactant's maintenance of face focuses on the idea of interdependence with its emphasis on other interactant's reactions and feelings:

an awareness of other interactants's reactions and feelings is famously expressed in Goffman's face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" where a "line" is the interactants' own evaluation of the interaction and all of its participants, which includes self-evaluation (Goffman 1967, p.5 quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini 2003, p.1458).

This is significant to note since Goffman's notion of face has been frequently referred to and claimed to be adopted by scholars but the nuance that the concept is very much related to the interdependence of the individual on the society and to

self-evaluation of the interaction has been missed. This, in return, brought out a criticism that the notion of face is ethnocentric, which will be discussed shortly.

Twenty years later than Goffman's work, Brown and Levinson published their revised essay *Politeness. Some Universals In Language Use* (1987) which begins with a remark that their notion of face is "highly abstracted" and requires "cultural elaboration" (quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003, p. 1460). Their use of negative politeness which generated the notion of negative face is significantly different from Goffman's face and facework and Durkheim's positive and negative rituals. Firstly, for Goffman facework was to be about "not the individual and his psychology, but rather syntactical relations among the acts of *different persons mutually present to one another*" (1967, p. 2, quoted in and emphasis added by Bargiela-Chiappini 2003, p. 1460), which certainly does not ground face on culture-relativistic terms. Secondly, as Bargiela-Chiappini 2003, p. 1460) points out Brown and Levinson's concept of negative face and negative politeness, inspired from "avoidance rituals" corresponding to Durkheim's work and Goffman's discussion of "avoidance", is radically different since there is a clear-cut distinction between 'freedom of action and freedom from imposition' characterizing the negative face which does not exist in the notion of "avoidance".

Brown and Levinson (1987), therefore, only seem to define face through a Durkheimian line (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003; Bousfield, 2008) by subdividing face into positive and negative face. They treat face as basic *wants* every member of society has and knows the other members also desires on some level. In addition, they argued that where urgent co-operation is necessary, face can be ignored at the cost of social breakdown for efficiency. Their definition of face is different from the face defined as norms or values that the members of society subscribed to as echoed in Goffman's (1967) definition. For Goffman (1967) face is: "...is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes-albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself" (Goffman 1967, p. 5).

For the reasons touched upon and the assumption that face is universally applicable to all cultures, and that it is discussed in highly individualistic sense with an emphasis on how face acts like a public self-image, Brown and Levinson's (1987) concept of face has received criticisms. Locher (2004), for instance, argued that there are layers of face; that face can be internal or external and these layers get lost in Brown & Levinson's discussion (Locher, 2004, p. 55). Bousfield (2008, pp. 34-35) agreed on the argument quoting from O'Driscoll (1996) who explains the confusion as the following:

Goffman (1967: 5) refers to the origin of face in "the line others assume [a person] has taken". It is "an image". Thus it is bestowed from the outside and post- factum (note the perfective aspect here). B[rown] & L[evinson], on the other hand, stress that face consists of "wants" (1987:62). Thus it is bestowed from the inside, and pre-facto. B[rown] & L[evinson], however, confuse the issue somewhat by also referring to face as "something that ... can be lost, maintained or enhanced" (1987. 61), thus also using the term in Goffman's sense ( O'Driscoll, 1996, p.6).

Although Bousfield (2008) acknowledges O'Driscoll's (1996) criticism of Brown and Levinson's (1987) face, he argues that there is still confusion: face is treated as consisting of semantic opposites, positive negative or internal-external, and that there is "dualism" rather than dichotomy and so face is scalar (p.35). In his attempt for a re-conceptualization of face, Bousfield (2008) mentions some problematic areas in literature. His first argument is that there is confusion as what negative face actually is, especially in the research discussing the concept of negative face outside the so-called "western" setting as pointed out in Matsumoto (1988) and Gu (1990). For instance, as opposed to Gu's argument that ill-fame and reputation is part of negative face, Bousfield (2008) claims "with positive face being the want to be approved of by others in one's society, then in my view, ill fame and reputation must be considered aspects of positive face, not aspects of negative face as Gu seems to claim. This 'confusion' may actually be the result of the fact that there appears to be no sharply defined line between positive and negative face" (p.37).

However, Bousfield (2008) further clarifies a second issue that his view on the confusion of positive and negative face in the research on the non-western cultures

does not imply that negative face or the aspects of the desire to be free from restriction do not exist in other cultures. In fact he argues that “the type, quantity, strength, and salience of different aspects of face will vary from culture-to-culture, discourse-to-discourse, and, of course, context-to-context.” (p.37). He concludes that the remarks coming from researchers who argue for a different notion of negative and positive face for non-western cultures are in fact neglecting the core of the issue which is that the notion of face is not and cannot be dichotomous; rather it is and can only be “dual”.

In this sense, Bousfield (2008) suggests a return to Goffman (1967) since Goffman’s idea of face is that it is a public property and as such it is something which can only be realized in social interaction (p.38). Therefore, he agrees with De Kadt (1998) in that face is mutually constructed and with Terkourafi (2007) in that there is no faceless communication. However, he further argues that Terkourafi’s notion of face (2007) is always constituted or damaged and therefore is always external (Bousfield, 2008, p. 39), whereas his notion of face is also internal as suggested by the *duality* of face. Bousfield (2008) claims that when individuals interact with each other, they expect that the interlocutors recognize about how they want their faces to be constituted and act accordingly. This expectation is internal since how they want the interlocutors to act in constituting their face is closely related to one’s feeling of self-worth and understanding of previous, similar encounters (p.39).

Bousfield (2008, pp.110-11) attempts to illustrate the argument that the boundaries of positive and negative face become superfluous through an example from the excerpt taken from *The Clampers*, Extract 12 below:

[14] **Context:** It is 7.30 in the morning. Bailiff S1 is making his first call of the day to a female driver S2 who has repeatedly ignored parking ticket payment requests. Her husband S3 is also present. S1 has just knocked on S2’s door and S3 has answered it.

1. S1: Court bailiffs is she in
- S2:
- S3: yeah yeah at the moment why what’s the

2. S1: we've got a court order been issued sir for non payment of  
S2:  
S3: problem
3. S1: fines on this vehicle...Harrow council have authorized removal  
of  
S2:  
S3:
4. S1: the vehicle for non-payment of fines if you can manage to get  
that sir  
S2:  
S3:
5. S1: she's now got a sum payable of three hundred and twenty one  
pounds  
S2:  
S3:
6. S1: twenty five and the vehicle will be going into court storage.  
once  
S2:  
S3:
7. S1: she's paid the fine she can go and collect her vehicle from the  
court  
S2:  
S3:
- <S2 pushes then hits S1>
8. S1: storage faci facility alright  
S2: what the fuck you doing excuse me.  
S3:
9. S1: the car is going he has a court order  
S2: what are you *fucking* doing  
S3:
- <S2 hits S1 in mouth- S1 starts dialing on the phone>
10. S1: police please yeah  
S2: really you want some *fucking* money right  
S3:
11. S1: <indistinct >  
S2: all you have to do is ask for the money you don't  
S3: all you have to do is ask for the *fucking* money right
12. S1: you can't get in the car madam  
S2: have to *fucking* take the car  
S3:
13. S1:  
S2: *piss off* <indistinct >  
S3: Jackie come here come here  
[...]

With this example, Bousfield (2008, pp.111-12) explains that with the use of, *piss off*, unlike other taboo words she used, S2 aims directly at S1 and comments that it

was to offend, on record, the face of S1, *purposefully* and *gratuitously* (emphasis in the original).

Note as with the vast majority of impoliteness strategies, the overall *effect* is that the utterances of S2 are both in Culpeper's original (1996) terms, positively and negatively impolite. She is negatively impolite because the overall command she is making throughout her utterances is for S1 to 'go away'-an impingement on his freedom of action (including his power, his right, and indeed his obligation to remove the vehicle). In the context in which such a command is delivered, note, the lexical choices she makes (not to mention the physical violence she inflicts on S1) adds a clear dimension positive face attack in that she is showing extreme disapproval. As such this 'combined positive and negative face' strategy of impoliteness (a) creates the overall evaluation of the fact of command to 'go away' as being one of impoliteness and (b) further strengthens the argument that a division between the two types of is superfluous.

Although Bousfield (2008) relates his discussion of duality of face to O'Driscoll (1996)'s criticism of Brown and Levinson's (1987) face quoted above, his formulation of face which is phrased as "duality of face" is different from O'Driscoll (2007)'s formulation of face. O'Driscoll (2007) argues that Brown and Levinson's (1987) positive and negative face strongly suggest an opposition and there is asymmetry between positive and negative politeness: "positive is too large and negative is apparently too small" (p. 474). Moreover, he points out that positive face(work) includes both the desire to belong and desire to be approved but dividing it into subcategories will overlook the connection between the positive and the negative. Therefore, he proposes a new look at the face(work), which he claims is similar to Lim & Bower's (1991) fellowship face :

Just as negative face(work) pertains to separation and individuation, so positive face(work) should pertain solely to connection and belonging (something akin to Lim & Bower's fellowship face). In terms of interaction, it should describe only those moves which can be interpreted as 'moves toward', as predications or implications of togetherness, as opposed to negative's 'moves away'. (O'Driscoll, 2007, p.474)

In other words, O'Driscoll embraces the polarity of positive and negative in face(work) with the caution that they lie on a "a uni-dimensional spectrum, which necessitates that the meanings of the two faces, especially positive, be constrained"



(p.465) and that not all aspects of face is at play at once during interaction. It is also noteworthy that O'Driscoll uses the phrase face(work) to refer to affective aspects of moves in interaction as opposed to 'face' within the frame of politeness as Brown & Levinson (1987) framed it. Brown & Levinson (1987)'s theory which is built around "scientific predictability", which is more in line with second-order politeness or Politeness2 and ignores first-order politeness or Politeness1. To put it differently, constructed this way, if the scientific findings confirm the data on how interactants conceptualize what is (im)polite, it is only coincidental. This is one of the reasons why Locher & Watts (2005) argue that Brown and Levinson (1987)'s theory is a theory of facework, not a theory of politeness and O'Driscoll (2007) follows a similar theorization.

Both O'Driscoll (2007) and Bousfield (2008) have expanded on the traditionally accepted "dichotomy" of face and argued for different perspectives more recently but early scholars also theorized on the notions of positive and negative face. For instance, Haugh (2005, p.44) argued that positive and negative face could be considered as one undifferentiated notion that can be "lost" or "saved", which is more in line with Bousfield (2008)'s expansion. Spencer-Oatey (2007, p.645.) also exemplified with an authentic example that the distinction between Brown and Levinson's (1978/1987) positive and negative face is "no help in unpacking the complex face claims that people make in real-life situations, and which others need to be sensitive to if they are to address people's concerns in suitable ways" (p. 646):

A group of Chinese businessmen, at the end of a visit to a British company with which they had been doing business, got embroiled in a protracted argument with their British hosts over money. One of the Chinese became concerned about the impression they were conveying, and said privately to the others: one thing is that we should not let people say we are stingy; secondly, we should not give the impression of being too weak; thirdly, we should not negotiate in a friendly manner. (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p.115)

Through this example, Spencer-Oatey discusses the complexity of the face issue and explains that what is potentially face threatening in this example is the mismatch between what the speaker values as positive attributes and negative attributes: not stingy, not weak, and friendly versus stingy, weak and unfriendly.

In other words, the discussion of face cannot be carried out with a limited understanding of face consisting of positive and negative face.

Yet other scholars discussed some other aspects of face. In her re-examination of the face, Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) proposes an alternative to the conceptualization of face as “social self”, which focuses more on the dynamics of facework in interpersonal communication (p.1463). Arundale (2006) argues further along the same lines and proposes that face or facework is relational and interactional. He starts his argument through a critical look at decoding/encoding models of communication, which explain “communication as an output of one system that serves as an input to a separate, independent system” (p. 196) as opposed to how he views the communication: interactional. Quoting from Heritage (1984), he points out that “communicative action is both relationship-shaped and relationship- renewing (1984: 242), and like context, relationship is endogenously generated within talk, rather than exogenous to it (1984: 280)” (quoted in Arundale, 2006, p.201). This has strong implications for how face or facework is conceptualized:

In the alternative ontology, face is not a matter of the individual actor’s public self-image. Instead, because social selves emerge in relationships with other social selves, face is an emergent property of relationships, and therefore a relational phenomenon, as opposed to a social psychological one. Importantly, framing face as relational rests directly on framing it as interactional (Arundale, 2006, p.201)

Some implications of such conceptualization are as follows. Face is both an interactional and a relational phenomenon and as such is not bound to individualistic framings of wants. Since it does not only reflect individualistic characteristics of wants and desires, it is not an equivalent of identity (Arundale, 2006, p.202). Moreover, since it is “interactional”, face is “conjointly co-constituted” (Arundale, 2004; 2006) and analyzing face requires a change in the methodological approaches for the researchers. This change “foregrounds interpretative methods that examine resources and practices for facework in specific instances of verbal and visible contact” (Arundale, 2006, p.209) or in

interaction. The present study examines interaction taking this conceptual change into consideration.

Later, Spencer-Oatey (2007) drew attention to the relationship between face and identity, face in interaction and the cognitive side of the face concept. She starts off by pointing out it is necessary to discuss the relationship between face and identity. There have been debates on whether face is an individual or social, private or public, situation-specific or context independent, and identity has always been a strand of discussion but has not been explicitly discussed so far (p.640). Referring to Hecht et. al (2005), Arundale (2005), for instance, treats identity situated within an individual and face as relational or social phenomenon: “Both relationships and identity arise and sustained in communication, but a relationship, and hence face, is a dyadic phenomenon , whereas identity is an individual (and much broader) phenomenon” (p. 202). However, Spencer-Oatey (2007) proposes that identity and face are similar in the sense that they are both about self-aspects and attributes and consisted of individual, relational and collective constructions of self. She then goes on to discuss the role of attributes, analytic frames and the dynamic unfolding of face in interaction. She claims that different attributes depending on their connotations gain different meanings and become face-sensitive during interactions. In terms of the role of the analytic frames, individual, relational or collective, through which face is situated, she discusses an example from Spencer-Oatey and Xing, (2004, p.207). The background information to the example is: a group of Chinese businessmen are guests to British businessmen and during the initial meeting British chairman gives a welcome speech to the Chinese but does not invite them to give a return speech. The comment below is what the Chinese delegation, Sun, took place in a follow-up interview translated from original Chinese to English (Spencer-Oatey, 2007, p.646):

Sun: According to our home customs and protocol, speech is delivered on the basis of reciprocity. He has made his speech and I am expected to say something....In fact, I was reluctant to speak, and I had nothing to say. But I had to, to say a few words. Right for the occasion, right? But he had finished his speech, and he didn't give me the opportunity, and they each introduced themselves, wasn't this clearly implied that they do look down upon us Chinese.

This example illustrates that both relational and collective frames are required for the analysis since relational attributes, “the relative status of business partners and rights and obligations associated with their relationship” and collective face emerging through the speaker’s phrase “us Chinese” are at stake (Spencer-Oatey 2007, p.646).

Although both Arundale (2005, 2006) and Spencer-Oatey (2007) describe face as relational, their approach is different. For Arundale (2006), face is relational because it is “an emergent property of relationship” (see quotation above). For Spencer-Oatey, face is relational because relational “refers to the relationships between participants (e.g. distance-closeness, equality-inequality, perceptions of role rights and obligations) and the ways in which this relationship is managed or negotiated” (p. 647). This is highly important since it sets how rapport, which has become quite an important concept with Spencer-Oatey’s Rapport Management model for (im)politeness is different from ‘relational’:

I thus take it [relational] to be narrower in scope than rapport, which I define as (dis)harmony or smoothness-turbulence in relationships. Of course, rapport is partly dependent on relational (mis)management, but the latter is not the only factor that can influence it; for example, people’s transactional “wants” and the ways they are handled can also affect the rapport between the interlocutors (Spencer-Oatey 2005). My interpretation of rapport is thus close to Holmes and Schnurr’s concept of ‘relational practice’, but since this meaning is significantly different from that of ‘relational’, as used by Locher and Watts (2005) and Arundale (2005), I use the term ‘rapport’ for the former and relational for the latter. (Spencer-Oatey, 2007, p.647).

The third aspect of face in interaction Spencer-Oatey (2007) elaborates on is the ‘dynamic unfolding’. In addition to the range of strategies participants use to manage a relationship, in on-going relationships, attributes existing at individual, relational, or collective levels and other participants’ attributions and anticipations of face at each level have a big role. Yet, since an interactional analysis looking into how interpretations on face-sensitive issues will not suffice; “cognitive underpinnings” of face should also be brought in for a better analysis of face in interaction. Under the heading of cognitive underpinnings, Spencer-Oatey (2007) discusses values and obligations and how they are related to the concept of face referring to the social psychologist Shalom Schwartz and his value constructs

(Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz et al., 2001). She refers to the figure below to point out the complexity of the value constructs playing a role in face sensitive issues.

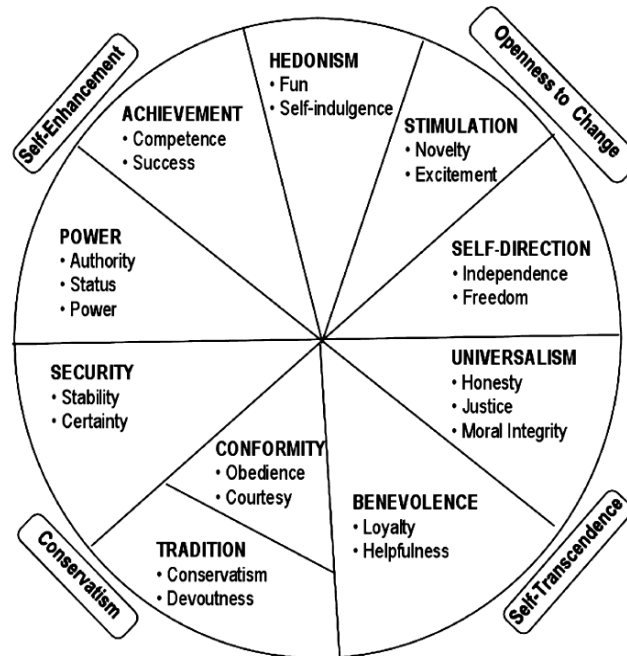


Figure. 2 Schwartz's value constructs and their structured relationship

Source: quoted in Spencer-Oatey (2007, p.650) from Schwartz (1992, p. 44).

She further argues that negative and positive face described by Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) fall short in taking all these constructs which may change from culture to culture into account. Spencer-Oatey (2007, pp. 650-51) explains that the figure illustrates only values that can be considered "negative face" according to Brown and Levinson's model would be self-direction, stimulation and hedonism in as they represent self-seeking. All the other values would be "positive face". However, that is not the case. Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) limits the positive face and excludes, for instance "Conformity" and "Tradition" through which Sun, the Chinese delegation member? in the example above, defines his positive face.

Through these discussions, Spencer Oatey (2007) aims to raise two crucial questions: 1) To what extent is face always an interactional phenomenon? and 2)

What kind of data is needed for research into face? In discussing first question, she gives an example of a case: in some cultures, if a journalist publishes a story describing a certain person in negative terms, that certain person may argue to have lost face although the readers of the story are unknown to that person. Therefore, she suggests that interaction should be defined very broadly if it is argued that face is always interactionally constituted. For the second question, she argues that post-event comments offer valuable information on people's evaluative reactions or attributions which may vary from person to person and culture to culture. Post-event comments were not used for data collection for this study since it is assumed that it would create a different type of interaction.

## **2.4 Conversation as Discourse Type**

Garcés-Conejos Blitvich *et.al* (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, Lorenzo-Dus & Bou-Franch, 2010) carried out a study focusing on Spanish television talk shows. They explain that their aim was to “examine the bases underlying Peninsular Spanish speakers’ *situated* (emphasis mine) assessments of im-politeness 1.” and their analysis was “grounded in a genre approach” (p.690). Mills (2009) cautions us against mixing politeness1 and politeness2 analysis and creating cultural stereotypes:

There is a tendency to draw on beliefs more recognisable as politeness1 than those from politeness2. What is needed is to analyse the linguistic behaviours of cultures in their own terms and not to elide stereotypical beliefs which may well derive from politeness1 beliefs with those of politeness2. The folklinguistic beliefs about a particular culture's usage of politeness are very interesting and should be examined in their own right; these beliefs may have an effect on interactants' performance, but we need to keep these beliefs separate from our analysis at the level of politeness2.(p. 1058)

Garcés-Conejos Blitvich *et.al* (2010) argue that a genre approach is a way of maintaining the fine balance between politeness1 and politeness2 and avoiding the pitfalls Mills (2009) draws attention to: “[Genre approach] provides a contextualized frame of analysis fit for inter/intra-cultural studies. However, because of their hybridity and fluidity, genre conventions will be permeated by societal norms. Genres thus bridge the individual and the societal” (p.694).

Elsewhere, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2010) summarizes the reasons for this argument under seven items and includes a detailed discussion of the role of the issues such as face, dyadic communication, predictive power of top-down and bottom up approaches to support her argument. For similar reasons that Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2010) and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich *et.al* (2010) outline and discuss, a genre approach is adopted for this study.

Fairclough (2003) distinguishes between pre-genres, using Swales's (1990) suggestion for the term, disembedded genres and situated genres. He defines conversation as pre-genre since it is on a high level of abstraction. There are categories which transcend particular networks or social practices and hence the terms pre-genre is preferred (Fairclough 2003, p. 68). The mentioned level of abstraction makes conversation particularly interesting for impoliteness studies. Other reasons which will be discussed in this section also has played a role in the selection of conversation as the discourse type in this study.

As a response to Terkourafi (2005b), Culpeper (2010) states that the frequency correlations between impoliteness formulae may not be as strong as the correlations between forms and particular contexts when politeness is concerned. One of the reasons he points out is that impolite formulae are less frequent than the politeness formulae and one cannot find many examples during "everyday" interactions. For this reason he explains that he collected his data from particular discourses to study impoliteness formulae; 'impoliteness plays a central role army recruit training, interactions between car owners and traffic wardens, exploitative TV' (p. 3238). His argument is that for impoliteness formulae these "abnormal circumstances are indeed such specific contexts". In fact, although Culpeper (2010) puts forward the reason for his selection of army training, interactions between car owners and traffic wardens as specific contexts that impoliteness formulae "can and do develop" (*emphasis mine*), and that 'in "everyday" interactions (e.g. interacting with my family, buying a ticket for the bus, talking to colleagues at work), examples of impoliteness are relatively rare' (p. 3238), a selection of what Warren (2006) names as specialized discourse reinforces the assumption that impoliteness is "rather marginal to human linguistic behavior in normal

circumstances” (Leech, 1983), which has been argued as “conceptual bias” (Eelen, 2001) in impoliteness studies. In fact, most recent studies on (im)politeness (Bousfield, 2008; Culpeper, 1996) focused on data collected from the interactions which would likely contain conflictive, impolite illocutions. For instance, Bousfield (2008) used 101 example extracts from the video-taped television series representing the discourse types of driver-clamper encounters; military training discourse; police-public encounters, employer- to-employee discourse and person to person encounters.

Bousfield (2008), while explaining the nature of the data set he used, points out that the following discourse types were specifically selected: driver-clamper encounters, BBC’s *The Clampers* ITV’s *Parking Wars*; person-to-person-encounters, *The Clampers*, *Soldiers To Be*, *Parking Wars*, military discourse: *Soldiers To Be*, *Red Caps*; police- public encounters: stop and enquiry, arrest; employer-employee discourse since it is more likely with these discourse types that confrontational and impolite linguistic behavior occurs. For instance, *Soldiers to be* and *Redcaps*, serial television programmes dealing with military training discourse, illustrate “extreme inequality of power which is rigidly enforced”. Moreover, with “the particular training philosophy”, which, Culpeper (1996) postulates, “aims to depersonalize recruits in order that they may be remolded as model soldiers” (p.11), and so, he discusses, the discourse type offers a lot of potential for impolite linguistic behavior to occur. However, this discourse type does not represent the kind of interaction this study aims to analyze.

To further explain why the types of discourse which Bousfield (2008) and Culpeper (1996) studied would not suffice and create shortcomings for this study, extract 28, from *Soldiers to Be* will be discussed below.

### **Soldiers To Be, Extract 28:**

(9) **Context:** Recruit rifleman Parry has, for the second time, been fighting with his fellow recruits while under the influence of alcohol. This second time he beat a recruit so badly that the other recruit was sent for medical treatment. The attack was relatively unprovoked and is primarily due to Parry’s inability to conduct



himself in an appropriate manner while under the influence of alcohol. As the second offence of this nature, Parry's punishment cannot be dealt with by either his platoon commander or his company commander. He is to be referred to the OC-Officer commanding- the training regiment. In the meantime (S1) the CSM- Company sergeant major-a very senior an experienced N.C.O. has called Parry (S2) into his office. The reasons for this are unclear. It may be because the CSM is angry with Parry and wishes this to be known by him, or it may be in order for the CSM to be able to make a recommendation to the Commanding Officer when Parry's case comes up based on

how he reacts to the line of questioning. (Bousfield 2008, p.104)

1. S1: right come in...*right my young fellow* explain your fucking actions  
S2:
2. S1: to me because I am not a happy ted.  
S2: [...]
6. S1: you know something *my young feller* I.it's a good job you was not in  
S2:
7. S1: the army ten years ago when I was at a rank where I could actually  
S2:
8. S1: beat the living daylights out of you  
S2:[...]
12. S1: me Parry you have got a drink problem *my friend* do you  
S2: yes sir
13. S1: understand that  
S2. yes sir

Bousfield carries out his analysis by applying Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness strategies retrived above in the Perspectives on Impoliteness section in this chapter and explains that the interaction presents an example of impoliteness since the CSM is using one of Culpeper's strategies (1996) "Use inappropriate identity markers- for example, use title and surname when a close relationship pertains, or a nickname when a distant relationship pertains.

Bousfield's (2008) discussion of the Extract 28 above is as follows:

In no less than three instances does S1 appear to use insincere and inappropriate identity markers. The use of the first two – *my young fellow* (stave 1) and *my young feller* (stave 6) appear to be overtly patronizing and insincere. The third instance of an inappropriate identity marker is perhaps the clearer example with the use of the phrase *my friend* (stave 12). Clearly the relationship pertaining between these two; the CSM and the sometimes –violent when drunk recruit; is not so close as to permit either to consider themselves friends of the other and so the use is somewhat sarcastically inappropriate.

Another example he analyzes occurs through staves 10, 11, 12 during the same interaction between the CSM and Parry:

- [...]
10. S1: I'm hoping the OC recommends you to be discharged from the army  
S2:
11. S1: I don't want you. Because you are a pathetic individual do you  
S2:
12. S1: understand  
S2:
- [...]

The strategy Bousfield (2008) analyzes this example with is Culpeper's (1996) Call h names – use derogatory nominations:

Here we see S1 disassociate himself on a personal level from S2 by saying *I don't want you* and indirectly disassociating S2 from the army in general when he says *I'm hoping the OC recommends you to be discharged from the army*. Of course discharge need not, necessarily be a matter of impolite disassociation. The clause *you are a pathetic individual* is crucial to our understating here as, through the traditional use of the insulting *pathetic individual* (captured in Culpeper's (1996) Call h names – use derogatory nominations, S1, in the role of sergeant major, is disassociating recruit Parry from himself.

Both of these examples would be considered impolite because they follow the conventionalized impoliteness formulae (Culpeper, 2010, 2011). For instance, for the *it's a good job you was not in the army ten years ago when I was at a rank where I could actually beat the living daylight out of you* is a threat, *do you understand that* is a silencer and in between, there is a dismissal *I don't want you*,

an insult in the form of personalized negative assertion *you are a pathetic individual* and another message enforcer *do you understand*. However, the data in the interaction are not rich enough for a discussion of how impoliteness unfolds or how impoliteness is encountered in interaction since these examples illustrate the hearer in this case does not have equal power as the speaker. If the hearer decides to reply impoliteness with anything other than saying *yes sir* which is what is most probably expected as part of the military discourse from a recruit rifleman in a situation like this, it is likely that he will suffer from the consequences. To put it differently, this type of discourse can be defined as specialized discourse type (Warren, 2006) and specialized discourse types do not have the *naturalness* of unspecialized discourse types such as the conversation (Warren, 2006). For the reasons mentioned, the discourse type this study requires to look at should be defined and discussed for its advantages and disadvantages.

Warren (2006) cites from various studies and gives examples of specialized discourse types: bureaucratic encounters, interviews, business transactions, business meetings, telephone conversations, courtroom discourse, service encounters, workplace discourse, classroom talk, news interviews, academic discourse, university oral research presentations, academic seminars, public speaking, genetic counseling, nurse/patient discourse, doctor/ patient discourse consultations. He argues that there is a risk in concentrating too much on a specialized discourse: the findings and generalizations may not fully apply to the matrix of communicative practices and procedures which are socially organized since specialized discourse events are “subset” of conversation (p.4). The issue then is to define conversation as a speech event.

The analysts should take informed decisions about the type of discourse since the inherent characteristics of a discourse can have different effects both at the extraction and the analysis level. For example, Cameron (2001, p. 10) argues that one distinctive component of conversation is that the spoken interactions in conversation is not prototypical. For example, when an employer calls an employee, who has been late to work, to “have a conversation”, the employee would not expect to chat as in having a conversation but would perceive the irony.

The analysts who work with such subtleties cannot ignore the effect and take the characteristics of discourse type for granted.

The definitions of conversation vary greatly; however, as Warren (2006) points out it ranges from “casual talk in everyday settings, to being equivalent to any form of spoken interaction” (p.6). For example, Beattie (1983, p. 49) examines conversation through “university supervisions, tutorials and seminars, telephone calls, and televised practical interviews”; Black (1988, p. 433) analyzes conversation through “a televised political interview, friends chatting, and telephone calls to a radio talk show”, whereas Aijmer (1996, p. 5) does it through face to face conversation, interviews, public speeches and new broadcasts. Such a broad definition of conversation may as well indicate a common approach to not to define conversation as distinct from other discourse types. Pomerantz and Fehr (1997, pp. 64-65) claim that while there are those who make a distinction between conversation as informal talk and talk occurring in formal talk, for conversation analyst who focuses on “conduct and action in both contexts, a priori distinction between the two is regarded as analytically unnecessary”. Having said this, however, Warren (2006, p.7) cautions against classifying conversation as a particular genre or register, citing Fillmore (1981):

I would argue that the most straightforward principles of pragmatics or contextualization are to be found in the nature of conversational language, the language of people who are looking at each other or who are otherwise sharing some current experience and in which the hearer processes instantaneously what the speaker says. I believe that once the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of these basic types of discourse have been mastered, other types of discourse can be usefully described in terms of their deviation from such a base. (Fillmore, 1981, p. 65)

Since defining conversation is a difficult task, Warren (2006) undertakes the task of describing its components in detail. The first component is whether or not a conversation should include ritualized exchanges, e.g. “how are you?/ fine thanks” and, what would be the length and the content of it. Both Goffman (1971) and Donaldson (1979) claim that a conversation should go beyond a ritualized exchange and that it must involve some exchange of information. As implied from the exchange of information, at least two participants taking turns should be involved.

Wilson (1987, 1989) argues that a conversation can only be defined through an “equal distribution of speaker rights” (1987, p. 96). This claim is different than participants taking equal turns: “It is rather recognition of the fact that in conversation, speakers have equal rights in terms of initiating talk, interrupting, responding, deciding not to do any of these” (Warren, 2006, p.8). Wilson (1989) claims that the “speaker rights theory” (STR) is what distinguishes conversation from other types of discourse. This theory describes best the type of discourse used and therefore the speech events discussed and analyzed in this study will be named conversation for in this type of discourse there are not designated speakers controlling to a greater or a lesser extent the speaker rights of other participants. With this view in mind, the analysis of impoliteness in this study carried out is not similar to Bousfield's study (2008) since his data come from specialized discourse such as the army training, where the participants do not have equal rights in the discourse.

Warren (2006) explains that:

When it is claimed that the participants in conversation are of equal status, this does not mean that one can never converse with one's employer, for example. What is meant is that for the duration of a conversation, the external status set aside, and for the purposes of conducting the conversation, the participants are deemed to be of equal status. In this way the participants perceive themselves to be of equal status or the purposes of holding a conversation. This distinguishes conversation from specialized discourse types in which the status of participants is unequal, which in turn has consequences for the resulting discourse. ...Even if in reality a particular conversation is dominated verbally by one or more of the participants, the responsibility for the discourse remains shared. Moreover, the participants in a conversation can only share responsibility for it if they perceive themselves to be of equal status. This is not the case in specialized discourse types in which it is the speaker(s) who is designated as dominant and who has the ultimate responsibility for the discourse (p.9).

Another component in defining the conversation is open-endedness. Crystal and Davy (1969) point out the inexplicitness, randomness and lack of planning; Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Cheepen and Monaghan (1990), and Tsui (1994) emphasize topic shifts, reciprocity and thus of spontaneity of conversation as opposed to other types of discourse. Cameron (2001, p. 10) also argues that one

distinctive component of conversation is that the spoken interactions in conversation is not prototypical and thus, when an employee wants to have a conversation with an employer who has been late to work is perceived as ironic. Biber (1988, p. 71) states that in conversation especially in face to face conversation “the interactional focus is primary, usually overshadowing the informational focus” and that a high degree of interaction and goal negotiability, a considerable effort at maintaining a relationship characterizes a conversation. Since the focuses of this study are impoliteness in spoken interaction, the dynamism of spoken interaction with the mentioned features of conversation, the inexplicitness, randomness and lack of planning, reciprocity and spontaneity, is best captured with “conversation” as the discourse type. Therefore, “conversation” was selected as the discourse type for this study rather than other specialized discourse types.

## **2. 5 Conversation Analysis**

Wooffitt (2005) gives a detailed a detailed review of how Conversation Analysis started and how it is different from discourse analysis. The relevant parts are summarized below.

Conversation analysis (CA) started with a pioneering research carried out by Harvey Sacks (Schegloff, 1992a). The research started with a puzzle. Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Center had observed that if the callers gave their name to the staff speaking to on the phone at the prevention center, they were more likely to identify themselves and disclose their identity information. This in turn helped the staff take necessary actions immediately. The puzzle for them, then, was to get the callers to give their name and that is how the research looking into the conversations was initiated. However, for Sacks, as Schegloff notes, the main issue became how to decide the point in the discourse that somebody was not telling their name. He had to listen to the recordings of the telephone calls made to the organization and since he was working with real data, he had to develop analytical tools. He observed that there are norms concerning where in conversation certain kinds of activities should happen, and that there are slots in interaction in which specific actions are expected. Therefore, he decided to analyze the structure which

is generated by these norms and utterances and actions utterances perform. Utterance activities that happen in pairs, for instance, were good examples to analyze. He realized that greeting, question-answer, invitation-response utterances mostly followed each other. In addition, if an inappropriate sequence followed, such as a question being asked and no answer is offered, then a breakdown was likely to happen in the expectations that underpinned the interpersonal interaction.

Sacks was not the only researcher who was interested in the actions utterances perform, Austin was developing his theory of Speech Acts (1962). However, they departed greatly in their selection of data: Austin focused on specific types of sentences and so constructed examples whereas Sacks worked on recordings of real-life interaction. Moreover, by arguing that intuition by itself should not lead the researcher to anticipate the sequence of utterances, he maintained that even what appears to be accidental, ungrammatical, or irrelevant might be of interactional importance. This in return meant an unfiltered transcription of spoken words and non-lexical components. A system was devised for the transcription conventions including properties of turn taking, such as simultaneous speech events or gaps within and between turns and properties of production of talk such as emphasis, volume, speed of delivery and sound stretching. However, it does not mean that every transcription follows the conventions to the same degree, but a CA transcript captures details that would be missed by a more conventional transcript. Wooffitt (2005, p.12) gives the following as an example of a CA transcript:

- 1 E: hh something re:d. ehm :: i-looks like it might be a  
2 porcupines with lots of spines standing hhh standing up  
3 S: yeah ·hh  
4 E: and then a frog= a frog's face peering over something  
5 (0.8)  
6 E: hh a ghost? Coming out of a door:or a chai:r (0.5) like a mirror. (.)  
7 in a funny house  
8 S: yeah=  
9 E: =hh shapes (0.3) ahr:: are in this funny house

10 and shapes look like ehm ↑bunny rabbits with weird ears  
 11 S: yeah (ch) hhuh huh ·hhh  
 12 E: then you said sheep lots of sheep  
 13 S: ·hhhh (g)oads of sheep (pf)ah didn't know what  
 14 it was (hi-) ·h hhh (k) huh uh ((*smiley voice*))  
 15 E: Ok(h)a(h)y ((*smiley voice*))  
 16 (0.5)  
 17 E: huh  
 18 (3.5)  
 19E: okay ·hh something in the ceiling  
 20 ((continues))

In this transcription, for example, the subject's turns in lines 3, 8 and 11 are included because "even a minimal turn consisting only of one word can signal the speaker's understanding of the on-going interaction, and thereby facilitate or constrain the range of possible next turns other speakers may produce" (Wooffitt, 2005 p.12). The non-lexical items such as 'er', 'erm' were claimed by various studies to perform delicate interactional tasks such as, by indicating that the current turn might still be going on, establishing continued speakership rights (cited in Wooffitt, 2005 p.12 from Jefferson 1984a; Schegloff, 1981). Still, Wooffitt (2005) warns the researchers against committing a fallacy: although a careful transcription of what takes place in a conversation is very important as a methodological procedure, CA goes beyond the study of transcripts: "it seeks to make sense of those events of which the transcription is a representation. The transcript is merely an aid (albeit a valuable one) in the analysis of the events recorded on tape" (p.13).

At this point, it becomes crucial to look at the approach CA takes towards interpreting the *representation* mentioned above. It is closely linked to the empirical orientation of the discursive psychology which looks into the relationship between language and the mind or, "the instances of language in which cognitive states or mental processes seem to have an importance for the participants" (Wooffitt, 2005, p.113). Wooffitt (2005), by citing other scholars,



describes discursive psychology as “reflecting the concerns of Wittgensteinian philosophy (Wittgenstein, 1953) and ethnomethodological sociology (Coulter, 1979, 1989)”, and seeking to “analyze reports of mental states, and discourse in which mental states become relevant, as social actions oriented to interactional and inferential concerns” (p.113). In other words, in its simplest, discursive psychology tries to answer the question: what are the ways references to and descriptions of mental states, and a cognitivist vocabulary, used to perform social actions?

Let us consider the state of thinking. Wooffitt (2005, p.117) gives the following extract from Atkinson and Drew (1979, p.58) :

- 1 B: Uh if you'd care to come over and
- 2 visit a little while this morning
- 3 I'll give you a cup of cofffe
- 4 A: hehh Well that's awfully sweet of you,
- 5 I don't think I can make it this morning
- 6 hh uhmI am running an ad in the paper and and uh I
- 7 have to stay near the phone.

To the invitation for coffee coming from B, A's reply is “I don't think I can make it this morning”. By using the “I don't think (X)” structure, A refuses B's offer. However, A does it in such a way that adjusts strong impact of a blunt refusal, which would sound insensitive, and by displaying an uncertain or a tentative condition of the action, manages concerns such as face.

Talk in interaction is complex to analyze and so CA could not escape from being criticized for its methodological, analytical approach in interpreting the representation displayed by the transcript. The two major criticisms can be summarized as follows: 1) it does not contribute to the sociological queries such as the relationship between power and inequality, disadvantage and gender, ethnicity or class; and 2) by focusing on the technical or sequential orientation of everyday communication, it disregards wider issues such as historical, cultural and political contexts that words are invoked by. These criticisms appeared in the late 1990s in

the published debates between Emanuel Schegloff, Margaret Wetherell and Micheal Billig (Wooffitt, 2005, p.158). For example, Billig (1999a, 1999b) analyzes CA rhetoric and argues that what CA does is contrary to what it claims it does: CA claims to begin the analysis of data without any prior assumptions and to analyze the talk-in-interaction in its own terms; however, by offering an explanation through the technical tools such as “paired action sequences” or “repairs”, it imposes its own interpretation. Moreover, Billig argues that CA is politically naive since, CA refers to the people who talk as members or participants and this assumes people have equal status in interactions. With this assumption, CA masks the asymmetries in terms of power and social injustices in social interactions. The example Billig (1999a) gives to support his argument is the “talk” at the context of a rape, between the rapist and the victim: “One might imagine that the talk, in the course of a rape... had been recorded and transcribed. One can imagine the rapist threatening and verbally abusing the victim, who in turn pleads... how should their talk be analyzed?” (pp. 554-55).

In fact this example was prompted by the writing of Schegloff (1997), where he analyzed a telephone conversation between a man and a woman. In this conversation, there were instances of the man starting to speak while the woman was speaking. With the use of this example, Schegloff warned against simplifying the matter to interruptions that reflect the inequality of power and status between the man and the woman. He proposed that these interruptive instances in fact had a function: to carry on the sequential implications of a particular type of socially organized activity: offering and responding to assessments. An interpretation based on gendered discourse would have been misleading in this case.

Billig’s (1999a) criticism illustrated by the example of rape was replied by Schegloff (1999) in detail; however, in summary Schegloff pointed out that CA explores “the way turn-taking system permits of biases in the way rights, obligations and opportunities to talk are differentially allocated amongst participants” and that CA does not *presume* a society where people are equal rather it *allows* for such a society:

Rape, abuse, battering etc., do not exist in some other world, or some special sector of this world. They are intricate into the texture of everyday life for those who live with them. How else are we to understand their explosive emergence where they happen if not by examining ordinary interaction with tools appropriate to it, and seeing how they can lead to such outcomes...If interaction is produced within a matrix of turns organized into sequences, etc., and if it is from those that motives and intentions are inferred, identities made relevant, stances embodied and interpreted, etc, how else-when confronted by the record of singular episodes –are we to understand their genesis and course, how else try to understand what an unwilling participant can do to manage that course to safer outcomes, how else try to understand how others might intervene to detoxify those settings? (Schegloff, 1999, pp. 561-2)

Although Billig (1999a, 1999b) criticized CA for its theoretical orientation, elsewhere, he tends to agree with its analytical approach to transcription to explore talk in interaction: “the transcripts should contain as much accurate information as possible about the talk. Care should also be taken over the transcripts, because for most practical purposes, the transcripts provide the material for the analysis” (Billig, 1997, pp. 46-7). However, as was pointed out by Wooffitt (2005, p.164), he departs significantly from CA in terms of his interpretation of transcribing when “he says that he uses three dots ‘...’ to indicate *interruption* (Billig, 1997, p.46). Wooffitt (2005) puts it beautifully:

[Billig’s] his claim that three dots-or indeed any symbol-can indicate ‘interruption’ is problematic. CA tries to avoid characterizing interactional events with ‘common sense’ or ‘vernacular’ terms which impute motive, intent or significance to the participants. This is because broadly, CA embodies the ethnomethodological claim that it’s the participants’ understanding of what is happening is important, not what the analyst think is happening. Consequently, value-laden terms like ‘interruption’ are avoided. (p. 164)

When it comes to transcribing talk-in interaction and developing a database with these transcriptions, a corpus is eventually generated. Similar to what CA deals with, which is real language, corpus linguistics deals with real world texts. Corpus linguistics can be described as the study of language expressed in samples (corpora) or "real world" text. The approach runs counter to Noam Chomsky's view that real language is full of performance-related errors. According to this perspective, language studies require careful analysis of small speech samples obtained in a

highly controlled laboratory setting. Corpus linguistics, on the other hand, relies on real language with its so-called performance errors to produce reliable conclusions.

Corpus linguistics studies was started by Henry Kucera and Nelson Francis in 1967, who analyzed the Brown Corpus, which was a carefully compiled selection of American English totaling approximately a million words extracted from a wide variety of sources. This analysis was followed by the publication of the American Heritage Dictionary, the first dictionary compiled according to the tenets of corpus linguistics. Following this, a number of similarly structured corpora began to be compiled: the LOB Corpus of 1960s British English, the Kolhapur of Indian English, the Wellington of New Zealand English, the ACE of Australian English, the Frown Corpus of early 1990s American English, and the FLOB Corpus of 1990s British English. Scholars who are interested in contrastive analysis of languages have begun using corpora for various reasons, two of which are: it is easy to access real-language samples; and, such samples can readily be obtained from any language which constitutes the object of study. What is more important is that with the development of technology, computer-mediated corpora made a various forms and genres of language, such as talk-in interaction, political speech, business meetings categorized and accessible in transcribed and annotated material.

CA, with its procedural method of data collection, transcription and its aim, is closely related to corpus linguistics. CA aims at developing “a new form of naturalistic observational sociology that could handle in formal ways the details of actual conduct” (see Wooffitt, 2005, p. 165). In principle, it seeks to make the data available to the other researchers who want to study it again to see what they could make of it and agree or disagree with the interpretation. Sacks put it as the following in one of his lectures:

It was not from any large interest or from some theoretical formulation of what should be studied that I started with tape-recorded conversation, but simply because I could get my hands on it and I could study it again and again , and also consequentially, because others could look at what I had studied and make of it what they could, if, for example, they wanted to be able to disagree with me. (Sacks, 1984, p.26)

Despite similarities, corpus linguistics has been associated with various different methods and as a result some of the practices carried out through corpora analysis depart hugely from the theoretical orientation of CA. Still, corpus linguistics recently has been discussed in terms of its theoretical underpinnings towards the data it deals with. As explained in the following section, CA and Corpus-driven linguistics are parallel and they are both of fundamental importance for this study for the reasons discussed below.

## **2.6 Corpus Driven Linguistics**

Römer (2005) explains that “ corpus linguistics is usually referred to as a methodology or as one of the possible data gathering options a linguist can chose from when she or he needs evidence (alongside with informant asking or relying her or his institution)”. However, she refers to corpus driven linguistics (CDL) as “a new theory emerging from corpus linguistics” (p.20) and puts forward her reasons for why it is possible to refer to corpus driven linguistics (CDL) as an emerging *theory*. She starts with pointing out that this claim goes against the articles and introductory textbooks. They describe corpus linguistics as not a separate branch of linguistics such as morphology or syntax. It is not even described as one of “hyphenated branches of linguistics” such as sociolinguistics or text linguistics. Leech (1992, p.105) and Kennedy (1998, p. 7), for example, deem it “misleading” to suggest that corpus linguistics is a theory of language similar to other theories of language such as transformational grammar or even that “it is a new and separate branch of linguistics”.

Römer (2005) lays out what has been the result of some corpus studies: the researcher is left with surprising findings which did not fit in existing frameworks. For instance, Mindt carried out studies on future expressions in English (1985, 1987, 1991, and 1992) and claimed that corpus linguistics brings out findings that require linguists to redefine linguistic classes, regroup cases or reclassify them (Mindt, 1991, p. 194). As a study presenting a good example of the same situation, Römer (2005, p.7) gives the COBUILD project at the University of Birmingham. The researchers, who studied natural data in a corpus, came to the understanding

that the findings of their research clashed with the existing theory they started their study with. The natural data necessitated a reconsideration of the traditional division of the language system into grammar and lexis. For instance, with *want* which is always followed by *to* infinitive, the division of the language system into grammar and lexis proved rather inadequate since the structure *want to* could occur both for the system of grammar or lexis and that in fact, lexis and grammatical structures are closely related to each other. Römer (2005) explains that the authors, Hunston & Francis (2000), came to the conclusion that the language patterns within their pattern grammar approach were used “with a restricted set of lexical items, and each lexical item occur[ed] with a restricted set of patterns” (p.3). Römer (2005), then, adds that the fact that these researchers were able to form new insights was due to the fact that they took the data by heart and rather than verifying theoretical framework that was pre-formulated, they followed the data to formulate a thesis.

It is the the researchers’ approach to the data that distinguishes CDL from CBL: whether the data are used to verify, through statistical significance, a pre-formulated framework or theory or to reach new findings in light of the findings of the natural data corpus linguistics supply. Römer (2005) in her chapter, “The theoretical basis of the study: corpora, contexts and didactics”, points out that the researchers should explicitly clarify their approach to data analysis since there is usually “an interrelation between object, method and theory in any field of study which ought to be critically reflected by any researcher (cf.,e.g. Bald 1995, p. 104), changes on the object and method side are likely to result in changes on the theoretical side too (cf. Hunston & Francis 2000, p. 2509; Stubbs, 1996, p. 232)”. It is with this aim in mind that for this study a distinction between CDL and CBL is made, and it is maintained that for this study CDL is the underlying theoretical approach to impoliteness and corpus linguistics.

Römer (2005) is only one of the scholars who distinguish between CDL and CBL, although the term CDL might not have been used explicitly by all researchers who followed a CDL. CBL has been used as a general term to refer to any study that deals with corpus data regardless of whether the study is corpus -informed or

corpus-inspired (Römer 2005, p.9). Due to the lack of the distinction, it is difficult to give examples of the studies within CDL or CBL framework since researchers do not explicitly present their approach. Tognini-Bonelli (1996, p. 54) postulates that “[a ] corpus can be used in different ways in order to validate, exemplify or build-up a language theory”. Tognini-Bonelli (1996) explains corpus-based approach as “a type of methodology where the commitment to the data as a whole is not ultimately very strict or systematic” (p. 65) by explaining that researchers make use of the corpus to prove a certain hypothesis or to “exemplify existing theories” which are usually pre-formulated or driven by fixed categories in mind (p.55). The implication of the corpus-based approach is then that the researchers do not consider altering the pre-formulated theory despite significant differences the data may offer towards a reformulation of the thesis. This implication also gives a hint why corpus linguistics has been associated with “frequency data, attested illustrative examples, or with answers to questions of grammaticality or acceptability” and why the researchers who study corpus linguistics are regarded as “instrumentalist” who use “corpora as instruments alongside other research strategies and other types of data” (Römer, 2005, p.9). Despite the methodological perspective adopted, the design of the data has a big influence in the analysis and interpretation of data.

Römer (2005, pp.22-3) asserts that CDL and CBL can be regarded as two different opposing disciplines within corpus linguistics, as their stance towards the following three questions differ fundamentally and how they respond makes it more obvious why CDL is “more theory-prone” than CBL:

1. What is the status of the data and how and when (i.e. which stage in the research) is the corpus approached?
2. Does corpus annotational material, i.e. any kind of information which can be added to the plain text (e.g. part-of-speech tags) have positive or negative effects?
3. Do we as researchers have to allow alterations of how the [the language] system [is theorized to be] and should we be prepared to change existing theories in the light of corpus evidence?

In relation to the first question concerning the status of the data, within the understanding of CDL, the analyst has to look into the data very closely and the data is at the heart of formulating a framework given that the data may signal a revision of existing theory, which is less likely to happen in CBL studies. This is similar to CA's orientation towards the data,: CA works with the conversation very carefully not to skip any detail such as overlaps, pauses, since even what appears to be accidental, ungrammatical, or irrelevant might be of interactional importance. Also, as Wooffitt (2005) points out "[CA] it seeks to make sense of those events of which the transcription is a representation. The transcript is merely an aid (albeit a valuable one) in the analysis of the events recorded on tape" (p.13). That is why; CA takes precautionary steps to transcribe the data in a way that it represents the actual conversation without imposing any interpretations. Similarly, CDL is cautionary against annotations because they may have an effect on the analysis. Both deal with real language data with the implication that theories should be based on real data findings and be revised according to the findings.

In terms of the second question concerning the effect of annotational material on the analysis of the data, for studies carried out within the scope of CBL, the analysts usually "favor" the annotation (Römer 2005, p. 9). In other words, since they do the research to verify their theory and usually look for quantification, categorized, or annotated material in a corpus, CBL works well for their aim. In fact, annotation, which is any kind of information that is added to the plain text, can be a very useful tool for all corpus studies, as was argued by McEnery and Wilson (2001, p. 32): "the utility of the corpus is considerably increased by the provision of annotation" (cited in Römer 2005:9). Still, the analysts have to be alert whether the annotated material has a positive or negative effect on the study as Römer (2008) explains:

the annotation of text means an abstraction of the data to certain categories (e.g. word classes). These categories seem to be more important than the actual data and the actual meaning of a lexical item may be obscured in this annotational process. Corpus based linguists are thus further away from their data than corpus driven linguists (p.10).

The essential point with annotated material studies driven by CDL, then, is that the researcher, at every stage of the study from extraction to the analysis, should have



the awareness that making use of annotated material. It requires a conscious theorizing as to foresee how annotations would expand or limit the study. A researcher, who has adopted CDL, does not take for granted what a corpus offers in terms annotation. On the contrary, she/he is prepared to sort out the necessary annotated information, making use of which would enrich the study, from other annotated information, which in some cases may cause predisposition and interfere with how the stages of research unfold. This approach to annotation is very similar to what CA tries to avoid as mentioned earlier: “CA embodies the ethnomethodological claim that it’s the participants’ understanding of what is happening is important, not what the analyst think is happening. Consequently, value-laden terms like ‘interruption’ are avoided” (Wooffit (2005, p. 164).

## **CHAPTER III**

### **METHOD OF RESEARCH**

#### **3.0 Presentation**

This study aims at extracting and analyzing impoliteness in corpora in British English and Turkish and a comparing the findings to reach implications about impoliteness and face theory. It examines “conversation” in spoken interaction and presents a methodological framework to impoliteness studies within the CDL approach with its two layers, namely, extraction and analysis. The third layer of the study is a contrastive analysis. The CDL requires a cyclic research design since the natural data could bring forth new findings to the existing models and theories. Once the extraction is completed, the analysis is carried out in the light of the insights the data provide. Taking methodological concerns to the impoliteness studies into consideration, the study lays out a framework of a combination of extraction tools to increase the interpretative power of impoliteness studies. This chapter gives the background to the methodological perspective adopted in carrying out the research. Initially, information on the research design, data sources and research levels are discussed then, the extraction methods are detailed.

#### **3.1. The Methodological Perspective**

Corpus linguistics is used as a method for analyzing lexicography and speech traditionally. It is also used for pragmatics, as much as the corpus used lent itself to do an analysis of language. Since investigating the pragmatic aspects of language requires spontaneity and authenticity in data, a corpus of transcribed spoken interaction can be ideal for the researcher. However, a study linking corpus linguistics with pragmatics has to go beyond “traditional” corpus linguistics (Schmidt and Wörner; 2009, p. 2) for the following reasons. Firstly, spontaneous interaction is a “multi-party interaction” which brings along unpredictable changes

between the roles of the participants and therefore, the data in the corpus must be able to represent both the sequential and the simultaneous actions produced by the participants. Secondly, pragmatic analysis has to go beyond analyzing syntactic and lexical properties of speech since it is an “integrative enterprise” and so paralinguistic phenomena (like laughing or pauses) and suprasegmental features (like intonation and voice quality) are important. For pragmatics, context plays an especially important role as well and is a complex notion as it has a number of levels. The first level is the interactional, with which one can analyze the context of a certain utterance, who it was uttered by, which turn it preceded and followed, and what other behavioral data do, such as a gesture, accompanying it. The second level is the situational context which refers to more general circumstances such as time and location, spatial arrangements of participants and the topic and occasion of the interaction. The third level is ethnographic meta-data that is any kind of biographic information, such as age or social status, about the participants and the broader cultural setting of the communication. Therefore, a study of pragmatics, for instance an impoliteness study, for which data comes from a corpus, has to go beyond frequency analysis which is customary in traditional corpus linguistics.

The constructionist approach, which is in line with what studies of pragmatics requires from corpus linguistics researchers as discussed above, maintains that meaning is negotiated, and indeed “co-constituted” in interaction (Arundale 2006, p. 196). This acknowledgement in turn leads to an adoption of a certain kind of analytic methodology when analyzing spoken corpora. What should lie at the heart of this analytical approach is that the methodology should be in line with conversation analysis in utterance interpretation (Jurafsky, 2004), and with an epistemological approach that recognizes that it is the researcher who hypothesizes that a particular linguistic variable is a marker of a certain type of interaction and linguistic performance based on findings in the literature, but that it is ultimately texts that throw up what variables actually emerge in the discourse (see Teubert, 2005). This point of view in corpus studies is essential, given the fact that the analyst is not a participant or a participant observer of the interaction.

In line with this corpus driven approach to investigating language use (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001), this study illustrates that a corpus approach to impoliteness is exploratory and data-driven. They further argue that the steps in research are not linear but cyclic, even when the analyst makes generalizations by looking at statistical significance. In addition to employing standard procedures such as collocations and frequencies in identifying impoliteness in spoken corpora, other notions such as discourse prosody (Stubbs, 2001) or semantic prosody (Sinclair, 1998; Stubbs 2002, Louw, 2000) can be employed to accomplish both emic and etic analyses.

### **3.2 Research Design**

As stated before in Chapter Two, any study which aims at analyzing impoliteness in corpora has to have two layers: the extraction level and the analysis level. The reason why impoliteness studies should have these two levels is to minimize the degree of subjectivity in extracting the impoliteness and thus preventing the epistemological fallacies in the analysis. Watts (2003, p.9) points out that impoliteness is a complex notion that is difficult to define: “It is a term that is struggled over at present, has been struggled over in the past and will, in all probability, continue to be struggled in the future”. It is essential to clarify the method for extracting incidences of impoliteness since the interpretations of impoliteness vary from person-to person, and context-to context. The other reason why a clear method must be applied for extracting impoliteness is that, since it is a broad concept, the method for the extraction will eventually guide the researcher to develop an operational construct of impoliteness.

In the present study, for the extraction of impoliteness both for spoken British English and Turkish, the method is to search for metapragmatic comments, for Culpeper’s (2010, 2011b) conventionalized impoliteness formulae (see Table 1) and non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011b) in conversations. Ruhi (2008) states:

human communication is “intentional” in the wide sense—in our (mental) acts of attributing properties to people and their acts. Viewed from this

perspective, politeness phenomena may be better investigated as attributions directed toward (linguistic) behavior. (p. 290)

Along with this line of thought that attributions directed toward (linguistic) behavior reflect politeness phenomena, it is assumed that conventionalized impoliteness formulae (Culpeper 2010; 2011b) and non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011b) will give significant clues leading to impoliteness.

Other linguistic and paralinguistic forms are taken into consideration since impoliteness is very much linked to context and co-text and linguistic expressions per se do not warrant an interpretation that an incidence is impolite. Reactive responses, patterns signaling interpersonal conflict (e.g., change in structural patterns such as turn taking, topic change, repetition, seeking for disagreement) and conversation analysis tools (e.g. turn-taking, pauses, etc) are among the linguistic and paralinguistic forms. Since the notion of face is closely related to the studies of politeness and impoliteness phenomena, considerations of how the notion of face might be at a play at the extraction level, especially with incidences of non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness, were made. Ruhi (2010) points out that an alternative research method, which seeks to bring the 'background' events into discussion, is required:

Face and facework have been described as permeating interaction such that interlocutors cannot but attend to face (see, e.g., Spencer-Oatey, 2007; Terkourafi, 2007). However, accounting for face in a manner that corresponds to participant interpretations is a complex task, as face and self-presentational concerns are very often 'background' events (Ruhi, 2008; Schlenker and Pontari, 2000; Spencer-Oatey, 2007). Furthermore, short and/or long-term interactional goals and understandings of the social interaction order, which interact with the interpersonal dimension of talk, may not be easily discernible in talk-in-interaction (Hak, 1995). It thus behooves researchers to render analyses accountable in a manner that does justice to the multi-faceted nature of face and participant interpretations. Enhancing theory and research methodology research in this regard in studies on face is crucial, as understanding how people construe the interaction underway is as important as how such interaction is constructed (Hammersley, 2003).

The clues the background events in context and co-text supply about what might have generated impoliteness were also taken consideration. For example, Extract 1

from BNC discussed in Chapter Four presents a situation where membership categorization (Sacks, 1989; Ruhi, 2010), which is a background event, played a role in generating a conflict which is perceived as impolite.

Metapragmatic comments and reactive responses come under the heading *discursive approach* and conventionalized impoliteness formulae, non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness and verbal and non-verbal forms signaling interpersonal conflict come under the heading cue-based approach. The discursive approach is characterized by its emphasis on how participants in interaction perceive politeness. With this emphasis, this school of researchers ((Eeelen 2001; Mills 2003; Watts 2003, 2005; Locher 2004; Locher and Watts 2005) attempt to criticize the essentialist view that the notion of politeness is the same across cultures, which has been reinforced with Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. Since metapragmatic comments and reactive responses open a window as to how interactants perceive the politeness phenomena, they are listed under the discursive approach. The discursive approach has been criticized for its emphasis on politeness<sup>1</sup> and it was argued that it created questions about the validity of researchers' analysis (Haugh, 2007). Therefore, an adoption of an analytical approach that complements the discursive approach for what it is lacking is a necessity. The cue-based approach is what is proposed in this study to complement the discursive approach.

It is assumed that the conventionalized impoliteness formulae , non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness, conversation analysis tools (e.g. turn-taking, pauses, etc), verbal and non-verbal forms signaling interpersonal conflict (e.g. change in structural patterns such as turn taking, topic change, repetition, seeking for disagreement.) and semantic prosody could create an inclusive model to compensate for what might be neglected by the discursive approach. However, the boundary between the discursive and cue-based approaches is not clear-cut. In conversation, which has a dynamic nature, metapragmatic comments can function as the co-text for creating a context for non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness. In other words, what metapragmatic comments supply in co-text, which is characterized by the discursive approach, may signal interpersonal

conflict through the change in structural patterns and so be used as cues to interpret context-driven implicational impoliteness. Further discussion on these approaches was given in Chapter Two.

Once again, because of the fact that impoliteness is difficult to extract and define, it is foreseen that a large and a representative bank of data is needed to be able to reach conclusive findings. Therefore, the BNC, which is a fairly large, representative corpus, and the STC, which is representative in terms of variety of interactions and demographic sampling but relatively limited in size, are selected. CDL and CBL approaches to data influence the research stages (Tognini-Bonelli, 1996; Römer, 2005; Schmidt and Wörner, 2009); that is why, implications of corpus-driven and corpus based approaches are discussed and evaluated for the research purposes of this study and the corpus driven approach has been preferred.

Römer (2005) refers to CDL as “a new theory emerging from corpus linguistics” (p.7) and puts forward her reasons for why it is possible to refer to CDL as an emerging *theory* (emphasis mine). As part of the endeavor of avoiding epistemological fallacies, rather than forming a theory in the beginning of the analysis and verifying a (pre-formulated) theory, the researcher, who approaches the data within the framework of a corpus driven approach, once the extraction level is completed, will end up with having informed insights as to what research questions and theory or framework she/he should analyze the data with.

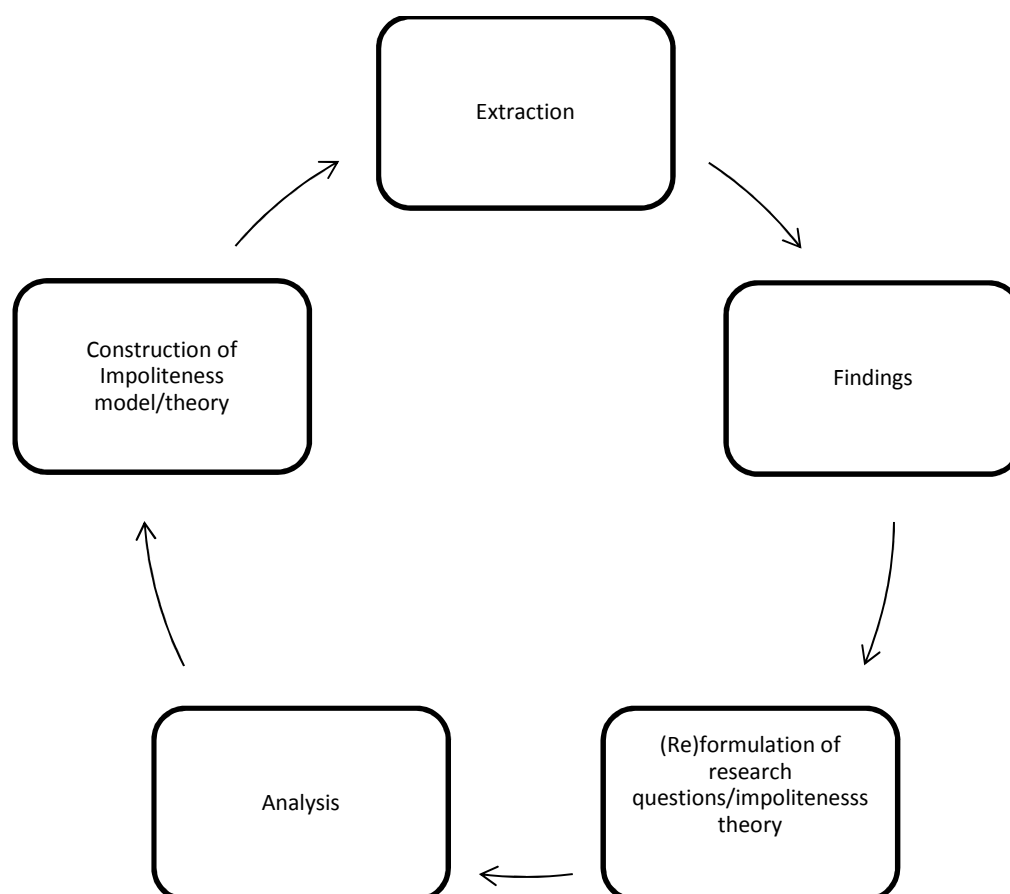


Figure 3. Cyclic research pattern

This cyclic process, i.e. going backwards from collated data to develop the theory or the framework of the analysis level should be applied with, is of fundamental importance for impoliteness research carried out in corpus linguistics since the natural data a corpus offers will always offer new findings that do not fit the pre-formulated assumptions. The findings will inevitably bring out issues that have not been closely linked or discussed in detail in the literature. Therefore, the cyclic process of going backwards from collated data to develop a theory requires *tentativeness* in terms of the research questions the analyst starts the study with. Perceiving the research questions tentative, means that the researcher is willing to revise the questions later as the study unfolds. It is fundamental in the corpus driven approach applied in studies with natural data, since if/when the findings from the data do not fit any existing theories, they will in fact be bringing new



dimensions to be explored and reveal answers to questions which the analysts did not have in mind in the beginning.

The research stages then are as follows: the data are extracted and the methodology of extraction is described in detail. Since a corpus driven approach is adopted for this study, in light of the findings gathered from the extraction level, existing theories of impoliteness have been revisited and new theoretical dimensions are theorized. The analysis level has been carried out within this new theoretical framework and contrastive analysis of impoliteness in two languages will be offered.

### **3.3. Research Questions**

The research questions, which are still tentative at this stage since they could be revised depending on what the data will bring out, are as the following categorized under the relevant study levels.

#### **Layer 1: Extraction:**

- 1- What methodology can be devised for impoliteness to be extracted in conversation across languages, which in the case of this study are British English and Turkish for this study?
- 2- What do findings at this level of the study provide the researcher about what impoliteness is?

#### **Layer 2: Analysis**

##### **A) For Spoken British English in Conversation:**

- a) What triggers impoliteness in interaction among the speakers of British English?
- b) What impoliteness strategies are employed in interaction by speakers of British English?

- c) How is impoliteness countered in interaction by speakers of British English?
- d) What is the role of countering strategies in relation to face in interaction employed by speakers of British English?

**B) For Spoken Turkish in Conversation:**

- a) What triggers impoliteness in interaction among speakers of Turkish?
- b) What impoliteness strategies are employed by speakers of Turkish?
- c) How is impoliteness countered in interaction carried out by speakers of Turkish?
- d) What is the role of countering strategies in relation to face in interaction employed by speakers of Turkish?

**C) For the contrastive analysis of British English and Turkish:**

- a) What are the implications of the study for impoliteness and face theory?

The figure below gives a visual illustration of the layers and the research questions.

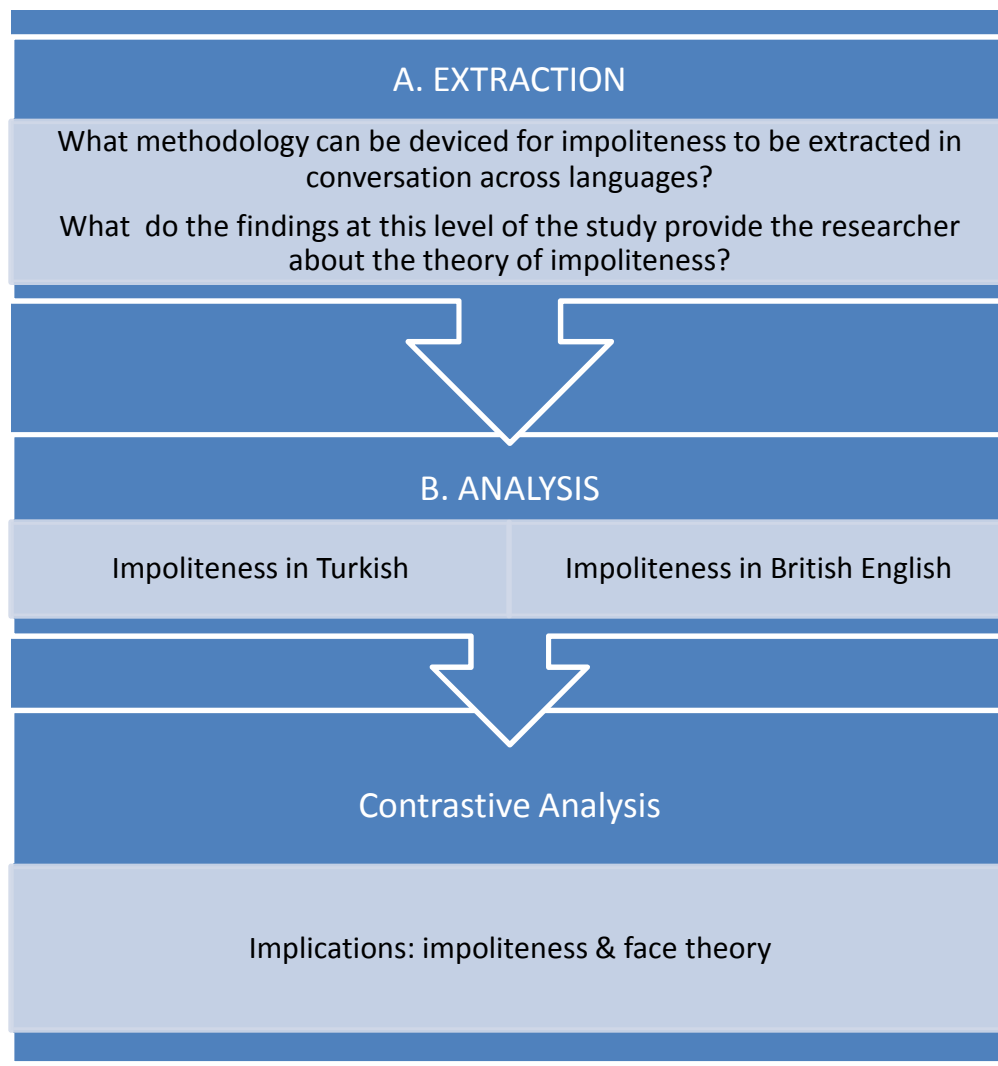


Figure 4. Research questions and layers

### 3.4 Data Sources

This study analyzes impoliteness in spoken conversation for English and Turkish in corpora. The data sources are BNC for English and STC for Turkish. There are various reasons why these corpora have been decided upon although other corpora were available both for English and Turkish. Fraser and Nolen (1981) claim that, “[...] no sentence is inherently polite or impolite. We often take certain expressions to be impolite, but it is not the expressions themselves but the conditions under which they are used that determines the judgment of politeness”

(p. 96). Terkourafi (2005a) puts forward that, in order not to be left with “the minute descriptions of individual encounters” that “do not add up to an explanatory theory of the phenomena under study” (p. 245), the analyst attempts to arrive at generalizations by looking into relatively large-scale data. The acknowledgement that it is difficult to judge what is impolite (and so the analyst needs a large-scale data to increase the predictive value of the study) requires taking an informed decision about the selection of the data sources. The reason for selecting BNC was mainly because the corpus provides a large data source and is representative of British English. This is also true of the spoken-sub corpus, which is the main focus in the present study. Douglas Biber (1992) defines representativeness as “the extent to which a sample includes the full range of variability in population” (p.174). For researchers, it has been the sample size, sampling theory and transcription considered to be the most important issue for representativeness of a corpus. Biber (1992), on the other hand, claims that a corpus design can be evaluated to be representative of a language in terms of two points: 1) the range of text types in a population and 2) the range of linguistic distribution in the population. The section below on the BNC and the spoken sub-corpus lay out an overview of why the BNC is considered a representative corpus.

The reason for selecting STC as the corpus is rather straightforward: it is the only spoken corpus in Turkish. Until 2009, when METU published the Turkish Corpus of two million words of post-1990 written Turkish samples, no corpus was available for the Turkish language. The words of the Turkish Corpus were taken from ten different genres. At most two samples from each source were used. It should not be surprising that the scholars undertook the mission of expanding the Turkish corpora by creating a spoken Turkish corpus, which to date has not been fully published. The STC has been in process since 2008, and the purpose is to collate interactions of present-day Turkish of one million words of face-to face or mediated interactions that are linguistically analyzed. This study will be one of the first carried out on this spoken corpus. Only a small portion of it has been published yet and access to the unpublished data has been provided by Şükriye Ruhi. Although STC is not comparable with BNC in terms of the size, it is

representative of the language as the information given below on STC demonstrates.

### **3.4.1 British National Corpus (BNC)**

The BNC XML Edition, which is the full BNC and the edition used for this study, is a 100-million word collection of samples of both written and spoken language of British English of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. There are two subset products of the BNC XML Edition, namely the BNC Baby and the BNC Sampler. The full BNC XML Edition can be defined as monolingual, synchronic, general corpus. The written part consists of 90% and the spoken is 10%. The Spoken part includes transcriptions of both scripted speech and unscripted informal conversations. Biber (1992) has pointed out that constructing a spoken corpus that represents a language is more complicated. There are no catalogues or bibliographies of spoken texts. Since speakers all constantly add to the number of spoken texts in everyday conversations, identifying an adequate sampling frame is difficult. However, without a prior analysis of parameters of speech within a language such task is impossible. Therefore, it is not wrong to say with spoken language there are no obvious objective measures that can be used to define the target population or construct a sampling frame. In order to address this issue, in the construction of the spoken corpus of BNC, an alternative approach, for approximately half of the spoken part of the corpus, was adopted: demographic sampling (Burnard, 2007). The sampling frame was defined in terms of the language production of the population of British English speakers in the United Kingdom. In other words, the issue of representativeness was addressed by sampling a spread of language producers in terms of age, gender, social group, and region, and recording their language output over a set period of time. The details of demographic sampling are as the follows: through random location sampling, individuals from across United Kingdom were asked for a personal interview and 124 people above the age of fifteen were recruited (Burnard, 2007). They were given a portable recorder to record their conversations over a period of a week. Priority was given to recruiting an equal number of men and women, from each of 6 age groups, from all social classes. Additional recordings were gathered by a project from the University of

Bergen COLT Teenager Language Project for the BNC by respondents below 16. An initial pilot study was carried out to predict future problems about data gathering and transcriptions and some problems were addressed before the actual projects started. Since the placement day of the recruits varied, recordings were made on different days including weekends, which added to the variety of conversations. Furthermore, recruits were given a log to take notes of the participants for each conversation as well as date, time, and setting. A range of subjects from different age-groups, social class and sex and region were selected to assure better sampling.

In order to make the data as close as possible to natural and spontaneous speech, there was an attempt to record the conversations unobtrusively (Burnard, 2007). Since, in many cases the parties involved in speech were aware that they were being recorded; some initial unnaturalness was noted but found to fade away by the experts who were in charge of constructing the corpus. All the names of the participants were removed from the log to ensure confidentiality. If the participants learned that they were being recorded after being recorded and if they were unhappy about their conversation, the conversations were erased. Overall, 700 recordings were gathered and the number of speakers was about 1000. A complementary context-governed approach was adopted and before the conversations were recorded a priori linguistically motivated division was made and a typology was created of four categories: educational, business public/institutional and leisure. The context and text types are outlined below.

Table 2. The BNC context category

Context Category	Text type
Educational and informative	Lectures, talks, educational demonstrations, news commentaries, classroom interaction
Business	Company talks and interviews, trade union talks, sales demonstration, business meetings, consultations

Table 2 continued.

Public or institutional	Political speeches, Sermons, Public/government talks, council and religious meetings, parliamentary and legal proceedings
Leisure	Speeches, sports commentaries, talks to clubs, broadcast shows and phone-ins, club meetings.

The table below gives percentages of the context categories. Leisure with its types of speech is assumed to give the closest discourse type or genre defined to be the focus of this study as conversation. Leisure is 25 % of the of the spoken context, which indicates a fairly good size as databank, is noteworthy.

Table 3. The BNC Spoken context

	<b>texts</b>	<b>w-units</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>s-units</b>	<b>%</b>
Educational/Informative	169	1646380	26.65	118987	27.83
Business	129	1282416	20.76	107366	25.11
Public/Institutional	262	1672658	27.08	96500	22.57
Leisure	195	1574442	25.49	104670	24.48

Another point of interest is that almost 85% of the spoken context is dialogue, which adds to the richness of the databank.

Table 4. The BNC spoken sub-corpus interaction type

	<b>texts</b>	<b>w-units</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>s-units</b>	<b>%</b>
Monologue	207	1562017	15.00	92619	8.92
Dialogue	701	8847834	84.99	945461	91.07

The richer the databank is of dialogues, the better the chances are to arrive at conversations fulfilling the purpose of this study. Conversation can be defined differently; however, as Warren (2006) points out it ranges from “casual talk in

everyday settings, to being equivalent to any form of spoken interaction” (p.6). Both Goffman (1971) and Donaldson (1979) claim that a conversation should go beyond a ritualized exchange and that it must involve some exchange of information. For an exchange of information, at least two participants taking turns should be involved in conversation. Table 7 on “interaction type” gives an estimation of dialogue as 757 texts, and w-units, 8847834 and s-units 945461, which is a fairly large sample of corpus to arrive at conclusions on impoliteness in conversation.

Until very recently, 17 July, 2012, the BNC spoken sub corpus has been monomodal. It offered only the transcriptions of the sound recordings, although it was possible to reach the original tapes deposited at the National Sound Archives of British Library and from the University of Bergen for the Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Corpus, which is a part of the BNC. However, using the sound files was still problematic since the library catalogue was not informative enough and the quality of the recordings did not allow the researchers to do a sound analysis. British Library Sound Archive and Oxford University Phonetics Laboratory worked on digitizing all the tapes in 2009-10 and released a sampler of the BNC spoken sub corpus at <http://www.phon.ox.ac.uk/SpokenBNC>, by John Coleman, Ladan Baghai-Ravary, John Pybus, and Sergio Grau (2012). On the sampler, the conversations were encoded as Praat Textgrid files, so now, the sub corpus lends itself to a more in-depth analysis especially if the sample conversations on the sampler web site are of interest to the researchers. Some sound files are also made available through COLT: the Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language on a CD-ROM in mp3 format and Longman distributed as audio cassettes, Cassette Sleeve images, during the collection process. However, for this study only the transcriptions of the conversations were used mainly for two reasons. First, the released audio files on the sampler conversations website are not necessarily the extracted conversations for the analysis. Two, since the audio files have been released only recently, they could not be included in the extraction level of the study.



Since it is only transcriptions of conversations used for the study, another component of the BNC that is referred to in Section 1.5 briefly and needs to be clarified further now is the transcription conventions and to what extent they were looked into for the extraction and discussion of the analysis. According to The Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), a spoken text may contain:

utterances, pauses, vocalized but non-lexical phenomena such as coughs, kinesic (non-verbal, non-lexical) phenomena such as gestures, entirely non-linguistic incidents occurring during and possibly influencing the course of speech, writing, regarded as a special class of incident in that it can be transcribed, for example captions or overheads displayed during a lecture, shifts or changes in vocal quality (TEI retrieved at <http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml>)

TEI is a consortium aiming at developing and maintaining a standard for the representation of texts in digital form. It designs a set of guidelines which specify encoding methods for machine-readable texts, mainly in the field of the humanities, social sciences and linguistics. Since 1994, the TEI Guidelines have been widely used both by institutions such as libraries, museums and publishers, and individual scholars to present texts for online research.

In the speech representation below written by the TEI guidelines, we understand that the utterance “this is just delicious”, indicated by `<u who="#jan">This is just delicious</u>`, belongs to Jan. just as he says it, the telephone rings indicated by `<incident> <desc>telephone rings</desc> </incident>`, and the other speaker Ann says, “I ‘ll get it” indicated by `<u who="#ann">I’ll get it</u>`. Tom, the other speaker says “I used to smoke a lot” but between the utterances “I used to” and “smoke a lot”, he coughs indicated by `<u who="#tom">I used to <vocal> <desc> cough</desc></vocal> smoke a lot</u>`:

```
<u who="#jan">This is just delicious</u>
<incident>
  <desc>telephone rings</desc>
</incident>
<u who="#ann">I’ll get it</u>
<u who="#tom">I used to <vocal>
  <desc>cough</desc>
</vocal> smoke a lot</u>
```

The BNC has also used the TEI guidelines to represent speech phenomena both with the speech phenomena they encoded in the corpus and the elements they used to mark the speech phenomena. In the texts transcribed for the BNC, encoders marked the following phenomena:

voice quality (e.g. whispering, laughing, etc., both as discrete events and as changes in voice quality affecting passages within an utterance)  
 non-verbal but vocalised sounds (e. g. coughs, humming noises, etc.)  
 non-verbal and non-vocal events (e.g. passing lorries, animal noises, and other matters considered worthy of note.)  
 significant pauses (e.g. silence, within or between utterances, longer than was judged normal for the speaker or speakers.)  
 unclear passages (inaudible or incomprehensible utterances or passages)  
 speech management phenomena (e.g. truncation, false starts, and correction.)  
 overlap (points at which more than one speaker was active)  
 (Burnard, 2000, p.33)

The elements used to mark these phenomena are listed below in alphabetical order:

<event> any non-verbal and non-vocal event (such as a door slamming) occurring during a conversation and regarded as worthy of note.  
 Attributes include:  
     **desc** description of the event.  
     **dur** duration of the event in seconds.  
 <pause> a marked pause during or between utterances. Attributes include:  
     **dur** duration of the pause in seconds.  
 <shift> a marked change in voice quality for any one speaker. Attributes include:  
     **new** description of the voice quality after the shift.  
 <trunc> a word or phrase which has been truncated during speech.  
 <unclear> a point in a spoken text at which it is unclear what is happening, e.g.  
     who is speaking or what is being said. Attributes include:  
     **dur** the duration of the passage in seconds.  
     **who** the person or group responsible for the unclear piece of speech.  
 <vocal> a non-linguistic but communicative sound made by one of the participants in a spoken text. Attributes include:  
     **desc** the kind of sound made  
     **dur** duration of the sound in seconds.  
 (Burnard, 2000, p.33)

The value of the **dur** attribute is normally specified only if it is greater than 5 seconds, and its accuracy is only approximate. All of these elements may appear anywhere within transcription, except for the <trunc> element.

The following example shows an event, several pauses and a patch of unclear speech:

```
<u who=d00011>
<s n=00011>
<event desc="radio on"><w PNP><pause dur=34>You
<w VVD>got<w TO0>ta <unclear><w NN1>Radio
<w CRD>Two <w PRP>with <w DT0>that <c PUN>.
<s n=00012>
<pause dur=6><w AJ0>Bloody <w NN1>pirate
<w NN1>station <w VM0>would<w XX0>n't
<w PNP>you <c PUN>?
</u>
```

Alignment of overlapping speech is also among the speech phenomena the BNC marks. The elements used to mark alignment of speech are:

<align> defines an alignment map used to synchronise points within a spoken

text.

<loc> a synchronisation point within an alignment map to which other elements may refer.

<ptr> an empty tag pointing from one part of a text to some other element.

Attributes include:

**target** supplies the identifier of some other element in a text; for alignment, specifically, a <loc> element within an alignment.

For example, in the following conventional script, while two speakers are speaking, speaker W0014's attempt to take the floor has not been successful:

```
W0001: Poor old Luxembourg's beaten. You, you've, you've absolutely
just
gone straight over it --
W0014: (interrupting) I haven't.
W0001: (at the same time) and forgotten the poor little country
```

The transcription below demonstrates how the mechanisms used to indicate what is happening in the speech event:

```
<u who=w0014>
<s n=00011>
<w AJ0>Poor <w AJ0>old <w NP0>Luxembourg' <w VBZ>s <w AJ0-
VVN>beaten<c PUN>.
<s n=00012>
```

<w PNP>You <w PNP>you<w VHB>'ve <w PNP>you<w VHB>'ve <w  
 AV0>absolutely <w AV0>just  
 <w VVN>gone <w AV0>straight <ptr target=P1> <w PRP>over <w  
 PNP>it <ptr target=P2>  
 </u>  
 <u who=w0001>  
 <s n=00013>  
 <ptr target=P1> <w PNP>I <w VHB>haven<w XX0>'t<c PUN>. <ptr  
 target=P2/>  
 </u>  
 <u who=w0014>  
 <s n=00014>  
 <w CJC>and <w VVN>forgotten <w AT0>the <w AJ0>poor <w  
 AJ0>little  
 <w NN1>country<c PUN>.  
 </u>

Burnard (2000) explains the procedure they followed to transcribe the example above :

[f]or each point of synchrony, i.e. at each place where the number of simultaneous utterances, events, vocals etc. increases or decreases, a <loc> element is defined within an <align> element, which appears at the start of the enclosing <div>, if any. At each place to be synchronised within the text, a <ptr> element is inserted. The target (target) attributes of these <ptr> elements are then used to specify the identifier of the <loc> with which each is to be synchronized (pp.35-6)

Overall, the BNC offers a variety of opportunities to study conversation with a thorough representation the speech phenomena conventions in transcription as well as a conventional script, in which the speech phenomena is not indicated except for a couple of nuances such as capitalization of letters in script, laughter in parentheses. Despite the thorough representation of speech phenomena in the BNC, the conventional script is used for the purpose of this study. During different stages of the study, relevant information supplied by the BNC, such as age group, social class and sex and information in the form of annotated material, are referred to and made use of as cues when they signaled a further interpretation, which in line with the CA methodology. The restrictive impact of not using the transcribed speech through conventions explained above on the analysis level, is discussed in detail in Section 1.5.

### 3.4.2 Turkish Spoken Corpus (STC)

All conversations on STC were transcribed according to the conventions of HIAT (Halbinterpretative Arbeitstranskriptionen- “semi-interpretative working transcriptions”). HIAT is a transcription conversion tool which uses EXMARaLDA Partitur-Editor ([http://annotation.exmaralda.org/index.php/HIAT-DOS\\_\(Review\)](http://annotation.exmaralda.org/index.php/HIAT-DOS_(Review))). Below is a screenshot of a sample conversation from STC transcribed with EXMARaLDA Partitur-Editor.

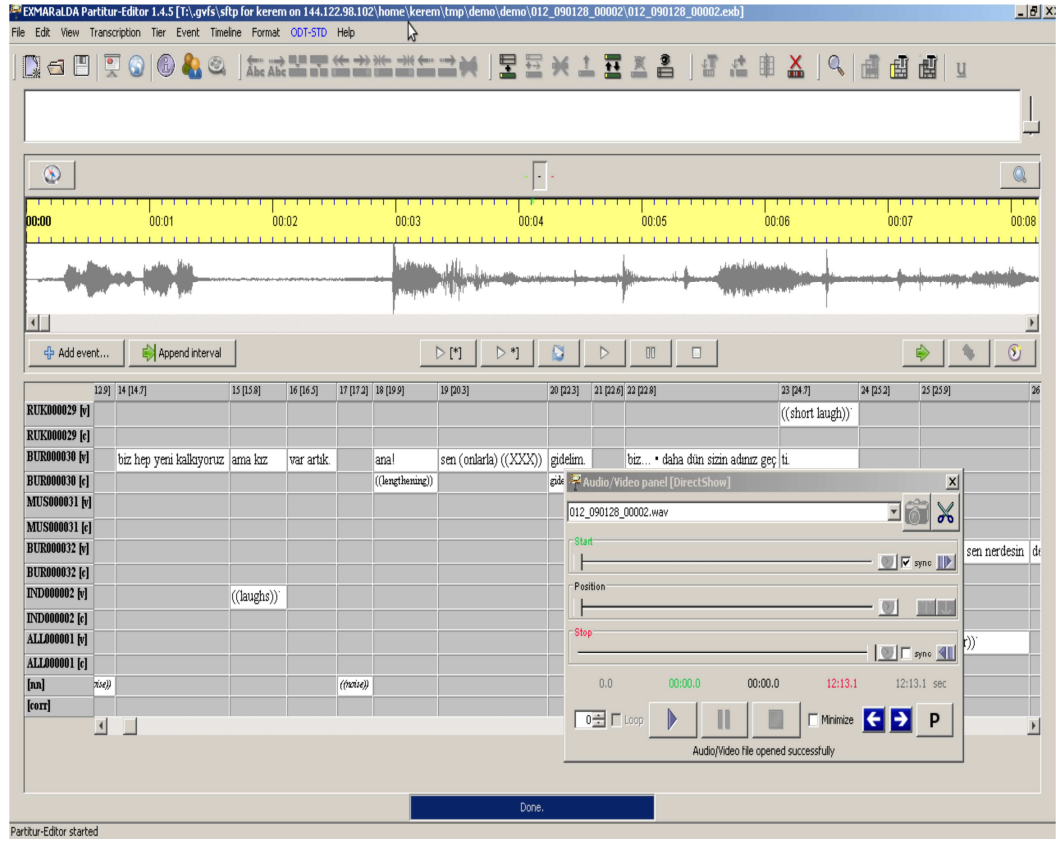


Figure 5. The STC Partitur Editor

Source: STC User Manual

The STC [EXMARaLDA](http://annotation.exmaralda.org/index.php/HIAT-DOS_(Review)) Partitur-Editor provides a variety of functions (Ruhi, Ş., Hatipoğlu, Ç., Eröz-Tuğa, B., Işık-Güler, H., 2010 ). EXMARaLDA Partitur Editor enables transcribing language in the layout of a musical score. In other

words; different lines mark different speakers on a sheet showing their utterances time-aligned all at once. It represents the overlaps with utterances marked from their start to the end horizontally, aligned with vertical boxes of turn-taking and annotation. The corpus supplies different formats (e.g. [TEI], [Praat], [Folker], RTF), which provide different nuances for different purposes. For this study, data is used is in RTF file. For all the excerpts that will be discussed from STC, the musical score, written in RTF file, is used. RTF allows a detailed discussion conversational conventions, co-text and context by providing details of overlaps, turn-taking, and other clues provided by the annotations. An example discussed in the analysis chapter as Extract 1, of the format retrieved from RTF file, is given below. The translation is provided in a translation row below utterances indicated with Trans..

Table 5. The RTF format used for the STC extracts

ASI000037 [v]		((0.6)) ben iki...			son sınıfta almıştım.
Trans.	I bought it... when I was my final year at the university.				
IND000002 [v]				hayır.	
Trans.	no.				

The described musical score that the STC offers provides a visual layout for alignment of speech or overlaps and more clues for issues such as interruption and turn-taking patterns, the analysis of which was not possible in the BNC because conventional script format is used for the study.

While transcribing speech, focus was given to the representation of orthography, interjections and utterance initialisers, fillers, variation in lexemes and pronunciation, mispronunciation and slips of the tongue, pauses and silences and utterance boundaries. Utterance boundary signs used are given in the table below:

Table 6. The STC Symbols and their explanations

Symbols	Uses
Full stop (.)	The full stop is used to indicate declarative utterances and other utterances that have falling intonation.
Question Mark (?)	Question mark is used for all types of questions, including utterances that are syntactically declarative but functionally a question.  The question mark is used for backchannels that are interrogative.
Exclamation Mark (!)	Excluding all forms of questions, the exclamation mark is used to mark utterances that have an exclamatory function, utterances that have a rising intonation, and greetings and vocatives uttered loudly.
Cut-off Sign (...)	The cut-off sign is used for utterances that are not completed by the speaker or where the speaker's turn is interrupted.
Repair (/)	Repairs occur in utterances where a speaker corrects, changes a word, or restarts an utterance, without changing the syntactic structure of the utterance.
Ligature sign for latching (◌)	The ligature sign (◌) is used for latching. It shows that the speaker did not leave an audible pause between two utterances.
Hyphen (-)	The hyphen (-) is used for multi-syllable non-lexicalised interjections and other types of semi-lexicalized units such as agreement markers (e.g., o-oo-oh!; a-a!; hi-hi).
Superscript dot (•)	The superscript dot is used for non-lexicalised backchannels (e.g., hi-hi, haa, hm, etc.) and paralinguistic features that form a distinct intonation contour (e.g., ((laughs)) •).

The table below gives the interjections used in STC transcription conventions.

Table 7. Sample interjections in the STC

Interjections/Ünlemler
a!/aa!
a-a!/a-ah!
abo!/aboo!
aman!/ amaan!
ay!/ayy!
ay!
eh!/eeh!/ehh!
o/oo!
şş/şşt!
(saçmalama) yaa!

Similar to the BNC, the STC supplies metadata files on the bibliographic information such as when the conversation was recorded, what context category or genre it falls into, relations between the speakers, the location that the conversation was recorded. Below is an example of a conversation reached in STC (see Spoken Turkish Corpus demo version user guide):



075_090622_00003 (5 Speakers, 1 Transcription) <a href="#">Browse online</a>	
Date recorded	2009-06-22T13:00:00
Domain	Conversations among family and/or relatives
Duration	59
Genre	Conversation between family and/or relatives
Physical space	Airport car park
project-name	ODT-STD
Relations	NEV000033 is wife of IHS000034.
Speech acts	Requests
Topics	Hastane, Hastalık, İlişki düzenlemesi
transcription-convention	ODT-STD-HIAT
transcription-name	075_090622_00003
Speakers: NEV000033; IHS000034; ALL000001; IND000002; ESR000043;	
<b>Location: Erzurum, Türkiye</b> Municipality Town	
<b>Recordings (0 minutes 59 seconds):</b> 075_090622_00003.wav Recording device model Olympus LS10 type Audio	
<b>Transcription 075_090622_00003</b> EXMARaLDA: <a href="#">[Transcription]</a> Visualisation: <a href="#">[Partiture]</a> <a href="#">[RTF]</a> <a href="#">[PDF]</a> <a href="#">[Utterances]</a> <a href="#">[Words]</a> Export: <a href="#">[TEI]</a> <a href="#">[AG]</a> <a href="#">[EAF]</a> <a href="#">[Praat]</a> <a href="#">[FOLKER]</a>	

Figure 6. The STC metadata

Source: STC User Manual

The dialogues, both listed in terms of speech acts and the context they take place, indicate that STC, similar to BNC spoken sub corpus, supplies data in the discourse type, conversation (Warren 2006), and chosen as the type for this study.

In terms of the representativeness of Turkish spoken interaction, STC offers a detailed analysis of sampling in terms of the context of the conversations (e.g. shopping, meeting with friends, family meetings); demographic sampling (e.g.

gender, age, city the speakers are from) (Ruhi, Ş., Işık-Güler, H., Hatipoğlu, C., Eröz-Tuğa, B., Çokal Karadaş, D, 2010) . The domain and genre distribution the project is aiming at publishing can be retrieved from <http://std.metu.edu.tr/tanitim-surumunun-temel-ozellikleri/>: (family/relative gatherings, 25%; work, 20%; education, 15%; Radio/TV broadcast, 15%; friend/acquaintances gathering, 12%; getting service, 5%; conversations with friends and family; 4%, other, 4%) :

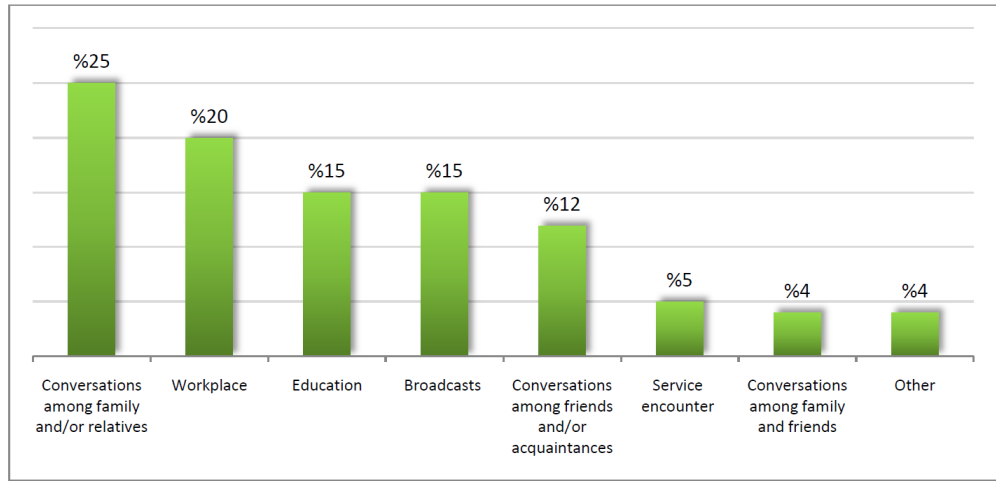


Figure 7. Planned Topic Distribution in the STC

Source: STC main features

Further information is given on the STC and its features are discussed in relation to the methodological perspective and study levels in this chapter and in Section 1.5. During the different stages of the study, relevant information supplied by the STC, relations between the speakers, overlapping speech and annotations, are referred to and made use of in interpreting data, which is in line with the CA methodology.

### 3. 5 Methodological Perspective to the Use of Annotations in the Data

Annotation can be described as the practice of adding a note to text in a general sense. These notes can take a variety of forms such as comments, footnotes, tags or links. In designing a corpus, a system needs to be decided upon as to what to add to the actual words interlocutors are uttering. In transcribing conversations, annotating material can be a relatively simple act if more discernible aspects (e.g. who an utterance belongs to, what the duration of a pause is between two utterances). It can also be very complex especially when annotation comes as a commentary (e.g. in cases if a participant has a humorous tone, or is shouting angrily) from the transcriber. Similar to the transcriber, a researcher who is working with transcribed and annotated texts need to be alert to present nuances. Römer (2005, pp.22-3) cautions us against being unaware of the effect of annotated material if we are aiming at studying data within the CBL approach. A detailed review was given in Chapter Two. This section gives a discussion of how annotations in the STC and the BNC are approached to and how they were used or disregarded purposefully.

In order to illustrate and better explain the stance taken to the use of annotations, a discussion of an extracted conversation from the STC, 113\_090404\_00004 is given below in a text format, which is different from how the STC extracts are given in the analysis section. In the analysis section, musical scores of the extracts are used but for the sheer purpose of illustrating the role of annotations in this section, the text format organized in a table to make it easier to follow the Turkish with English translation, is preferred. In this conversation, there are five participants: ASI00003, BAD000036, IND000002, OZG000035, DER000038 (henceforth; ASI, BAD, IND, OZG, and DER). In the table, the first column indicates the speaker taking turn, the second column is the Turkish utterance and the last column on the right gives the English translation. The annotations that will be discussed are in italicized.

Table. 8. The STC annotations and impoliteness in Extract 1

ASI	<i>son sınıfta almıştım.</i>	I bought it in my final year at university.
BAD	<i>Bu o zaman bayağı para ver ya o zaman o almıştı yaa.</i>	she had spent a lot of money at the time really
ASI	<i>sene iki bin/</i>	the year two thousand/
ASI	<i>sene iki bin altı.</i>	the year two thousand six.
BAD	<i>di mi? seni öyle hatırlıyorum ben.</i>	Right? I remember you (doing) that.
ASI	<i>evet. üç yüz on milyona almıştım kısaca. ((short laugh))</i>	yes. I had bought it for three hundred million in short . ((short laugh))
IND	<i>konuşuyorlar.</i>	chatting.
BAD	<i>((0.8)) ben de üç yüze aldım.</i>	<i>((0.8))</i> I bought it for three hundred as well.
OZG	<i>ben de çalışmaya başlayınca alacağım.</i>	I am going to buy one when I start working.
DER	<i>çok hava atmaya gerek yok.</i>	you don't need to show off so much.
ASI	<i>((1.5)) sizi çekelim biz de arkadaşlar.</i>	<i>((1.5))</i> let's take photographs of you, friends.
DER	<i>yo beni çekmeyin.</i>	no, don't include me.
ASI	<i>çekebiliriz.</i>	we can.
BAD	<i>((0.1)) bişey diyeceğim.</i>	<i>((0.1))</i> I am going to say something.
OZG	<i>niye sen çekme. sen bi yeme. sen bi içme.</i>	why, don't take. just don't eat. just don't drink.
BAD	<i>sana bi geçireceğim zaten ((XXX)).</i>	I am going to slap/hit you now (XXX).
OZG	<i>ne oluyor ya Allah Allah. ((0.3)) marjinal.</i>	what is happening, Gosh . ((0.3)) marjinal.

In this conversation, the annotations in italics were used to interpret the meaning of the utterances. The impoliteness is triggered when DER said to ASI, “you don’t have to show off so much”, *çok hava atmana gerek yok*, which is a pointed criticism and personalized negative assertion. The reason why DER thinks ASI is showing off is because ASI has taken too much time to give details about the camera. First, she says “I bought it in my final year at university”, then encouraged by the BAD’s comment, “she had spent a lot of money at the time really. right? I remember you (doing) that”, she gives the exact year and the amount of money she had spent for the camera taking her time, as the repetition of the phrase the year indicates, in the conversation: “The year two thousand”, trying to remember exactly,” the year two thousand six”, “Yes. I bought it for three hundred million in short.” followed by a “((short laugh))”. The fact that she completes her turn by saying “in short” she is signaling that she is aware that her turn on the details of when she bought the camera and how much she paid for it had taken too much time from the conversation. She then gives a short laugh as she might be thinking of what she had just said, “in short”, and might have found it contradicting since she is aware she has flouted the Maxim of Quantity in two ways both by giving the exact year and the exact price. At this point the annotation *((short laugh))* is of high importance as it expands the interpretation by providing a cue which would not be available to the analyst otherwise, if not supplied by the annotations. In this case not making use of the annotation would take away from the soundness of the interpretation.

Below, there is a table summarizing frequently used annotations in the STC. Annotations of this kind which is beyond the level of certain fixed categories such as word classes offers an indispensable asset for the researchers as they give rich clues at a glance for the potential of a variety of study focuses, which would otherwise take a long time for the researchers to come to see those clues themselves, probably an equal amount of time that the corpus designers spend for with the annotation.

Table 9. Frequently used annotations in the STC

(c) Comment tier	(v) Verbal tier	(nn) nn-tier
loudly	laughs	noise
slowly	short laugh	traffic noise
softly	laughter	TV/radio noise
stuttering	clears throat	clatter of tableware
syllabifying	sighs	voices in the background
whispers	coughs	footsteps
fast	sneezes	microphone noise
lengthening	hiccups	silence
laughing	kissing	
coughing	inhales	
eating	exhales	
shouting	sings	
humorous tone	sniffs	
list intonation		
pro		

Regardless of the rich material, an analyst, who does not consciously evaluate her/his approach to the annotated material and decide on what annotations would be helpful and what would be misleading may start with a predisposition to the data and follow the framework of the CBL. For instance, another type of annotated material the STC provides is the speech acts found in conversations.

Table 10. Speech acts in the STC

Advising
Apology
Asking about well being
Asking for advice
Asking for opinion
Asking for permission
Compliance (as a response to a request)
Criticizing
Declarative
Greetings
Insults
Inviting
Leaves taking
Offering
Other expressives
Promising
Refusals (as a response to a request)
Representative
Requests
Thanking
Well wishes/Congratulations

The window below shows how recordings are annotated in relation to speech acts and categorized in STC.

Table 11. Speech acts and conversation categories in the STC

Speech act	In Communication(s)
Advising	069_090610_00015 • 061_090622_00020 • 116_090206_00018
Apology	012_090128_00002 • 117_090310_00019
Asking about well being	072_090913_00006 • 012_090128_00002 • 024_091113_00031
Asking for advice	024_091113_00031
Asking for opinion	072_090913_00006 • 021_090501_00013 • 116_090206_00018 • 119_090123_00029 • 119_090501_00026
Asking for permission	012_090128_00002
Compliance (as a response to a request)	115_090323_00017
Criticizing	012_090128_00002 • 117_090310_00019 • 072_090618_00005 • 061_090622_00020 • 118_090321_00021
Greetings	012_090128_00002 • 075_090629_00023 • 116_090206_00018 • 119_090531_00075
Insults	117_090310_00019
Inviting	012_090128_00002
Leaves taking	117_090310_00019 • 118_090321_00021 • 072_090913_00006 • 069_090610_00015 • 024_091113_00031 • 061_090622_00020 • 119_090123_00029 • 119_090501_00026 • 119_090531_00075
Offering	118_090321_00021 • 075_090629_00023 • 021_090501_00013 • 061_090622_00020 • 012_090128_00002 • 116_090206_00018 • 072_090913_00006 • 075_090627_00035



Table 11 continued.

Refusals (as a response to a request)	117_090310_00019 • 024_091113_00031 • 061_090622_00020
Representative	072_090618_00005 • 069_090610_00015 • 119_090531_00075
Requests	075_090622_00003 • 012_090128_00002 • 117_090310_00019 • 069_090610_00015 • 021_090501_00013 • 072_090618_00005 • 061_090622_00020 • 116_090206_00018 • 115_090323_00017
Thanking	117_090310_00019 • 118_090321_00021 • 061_090622_00020 • 116_090206_00018 • 115_090323_00017
Well wishes/congratulations	072_090913_00006 • 061_090622_00020 • 116_090206_00018 • 118_090321_00021

If the analysts take for granted the annotations regarding speech acts, theorizing that certain speech acts are potentially more viable to extract impoliteness, it is given that he/ she should focus on conversations listed below criticizing, insults, refusals and perhaps apologies. However, by following a more cautionary step towards extraction as suggested by the CDL, the analyst is able to reach more insightful and inclusive data which does not come under the presupposed headings such as criticizing, insults, refusals, and apology but can be found under a variety of speech acts. Still, it is not always the analyst making a decision whether or not to use an annotation. Data encoding and transcription schemes can be determining in how accessible annotations are. Especially if reaching the material requires a complex task due to encoding, the focus of a study may not allow for a discussion of annotations, which was the case with certain points for this study.

Since data encoding and transcription schemes are different for the BNC and the STC, annotations that indicate non-verbal, paralinguistic forms existing in data retrieved from the corpora differed depending on the corpus. Non-verbal forms such as structural patterns and a change in the pattern in conversation (e.g. turn taking, overlaps, topic retention, repetition signaling a potential for impoliteness, continuous disagreements ) or paralinguistic forms such as the relationship of

speakers, prosodic aspects (e.g. pauses and rise in intonation or pitch) or annotations describing the utterance ( e.g. speaker laughing, yawning) played a major role in interpreting the data as far as the corpora the BNC and the STC allowed. However, not all the data the corpora offered were used to the same extent due to some limitations.

For the BNC paralinguistic phenomena such as pauses, speech management phenomena (e.g. truncation, false starts, correction), and overlaps in the data were disregarded due to the complexity of data retrieval. BNC offers two different formats to retrieve data; one, Extensible Markup Language (XML henceforth) and two, the “fancy” format which is closer to a conventional script. Below is a screenshot from the corpus the BNC of a hit in XML for the conversation discussed as Extract 1 in Chapter Four. XML is the format through which alignment in speech is given in the BNC and the circled instances show how speech events aligning appear on the screenshot.

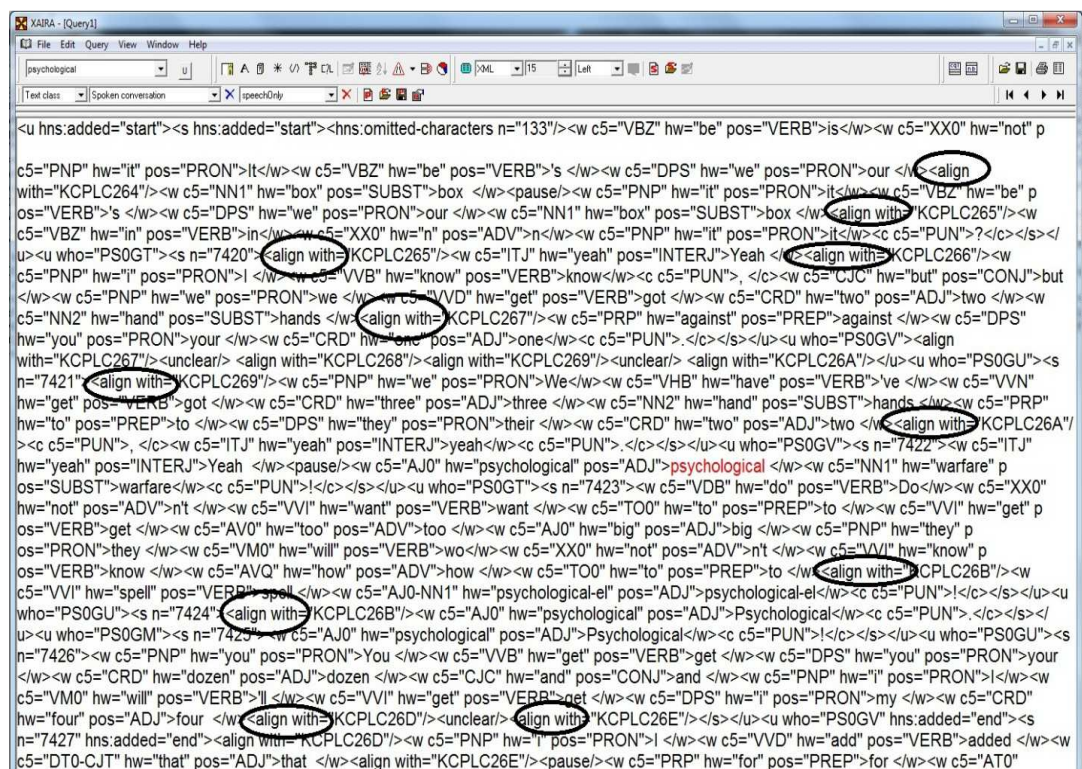


Figure 8. Alignment of speech in the BNC

Source: XAIRa (BNC-XML)

If a researcher wants to include alignment of speech into his/her discussion of overlaps for their potential for impoliteness, he/she must find a systematic way of making sense of numerous “align with” marks circled in Figure 8. Besides, he/she must come up with a way of presenting that to the readers. The focus of that intent would be then re-encoding the corpus data. Therefore, although XML format supplies information about the alignment of speech, which may give important clues about overlaps and interruptions signaling a potential for impoliteness, due to the complex process data comprehension required, “fancy”, format being preferred. Below, is the screenshot of the fancy format for the same conversation given in Figure 8.

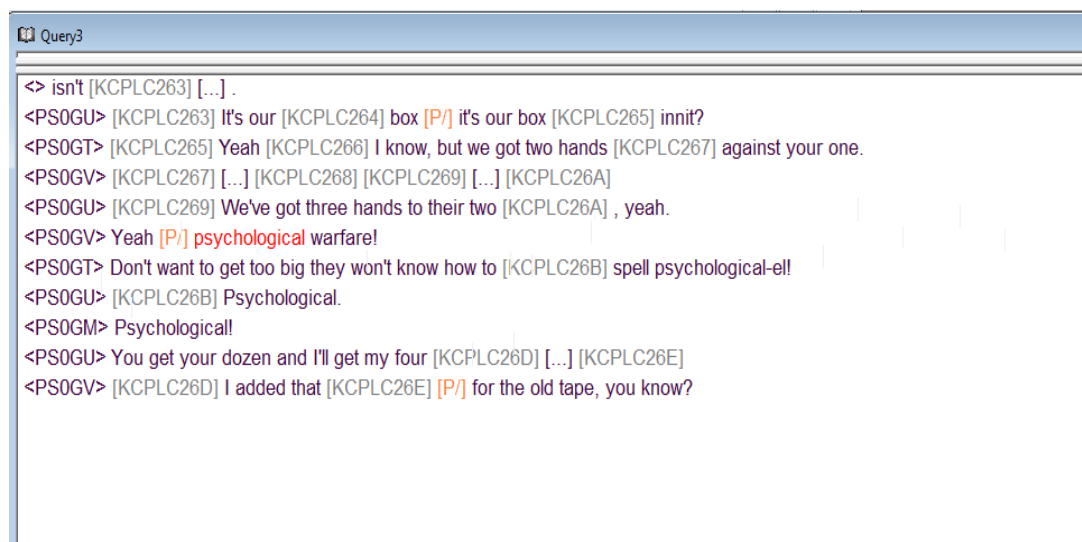


Figure 9: “Fancy” format in the BNC

Source: XAira (BNC-XML)

In order not to work from screenshot, what appeared in the screen above transcribed once more as below to use paper space economically. When paralinguistic information was present in the “fancy” format as annotations (e.g. laughing, yawning), they were taken into consideration in interpretation.

(PS0GU) We've got three hands to their two, yeah.

(PS0GV) Yeah psychological warfare!

(PS0GT) Don't want to get too big they won't know how to spell psychological-el!

(PS0G) Psychological.

(PSOGM) Psychological!  
 (PSOGU) You get your dozen and I'll get my four  
 (PSOGV) I added that for the old tape, you know?

### 3.6 Extraction Methods

This section gives detailed information about various extraction methods tried by the BNC and the STC. Initially, a variety of queries had to be run for both corpora to detect metapragmatic comments and conventionalized impoliteness formulae and non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness. In order to collect conversations that involve impoliteness from the BNC, a variety of query methods were used. Initially, word and collocation queries were run for a list of taboo words such as *sodding*, *fucking*, *shit* and conventionalized phrases such as *bugger off*, *shut up* in *spoken* subcorpus with the text type selected as spoken conversation. Most words for queries came from a study from Millwood-Hargrave (2000) cited by Culpeper (2011b). Below is the table.

Table 12. Words and offensiveness in Britain in the year 2000

Rank-ordered 1-15	Rank ordered 15-28
1. Cunt	15. Spastic
2. Motherfucker	16. Slag
3. Fuck	17. Shit
4. Wanker	18. Dickhead
5. Nigger	19. Pissed off
6. Bastard	20. Arse
7. Prick	21. Bugger
8. Bollocks	22. Balls
9. Arsehole	23. Jew
10. Paki	24. Sodding
11. Shag	25. Jesus Christ
12. Whore	26. Crap
13. Twat	27. Bloody
14. Piss off	28. God

However, through such queries, it was found that occurrences that signal impoliteness in conversation were displayed as separate hits, not contextualized in the conversation they took place. Bearing in mind not all conventional utterances are conventionalized formulae and conventionalized impoliteness formulae is closely linked to the idea of co-occurrence regularities between language forms and specific contexts as explained above through the illustration of what *cunt* meant for a student, it was apparent that individual hits on the display menu did not serve the purpose of extracting the incidences of impoliteness. The display in the window below illustrates the hits the corpus gives after running a query for *bugger off*.

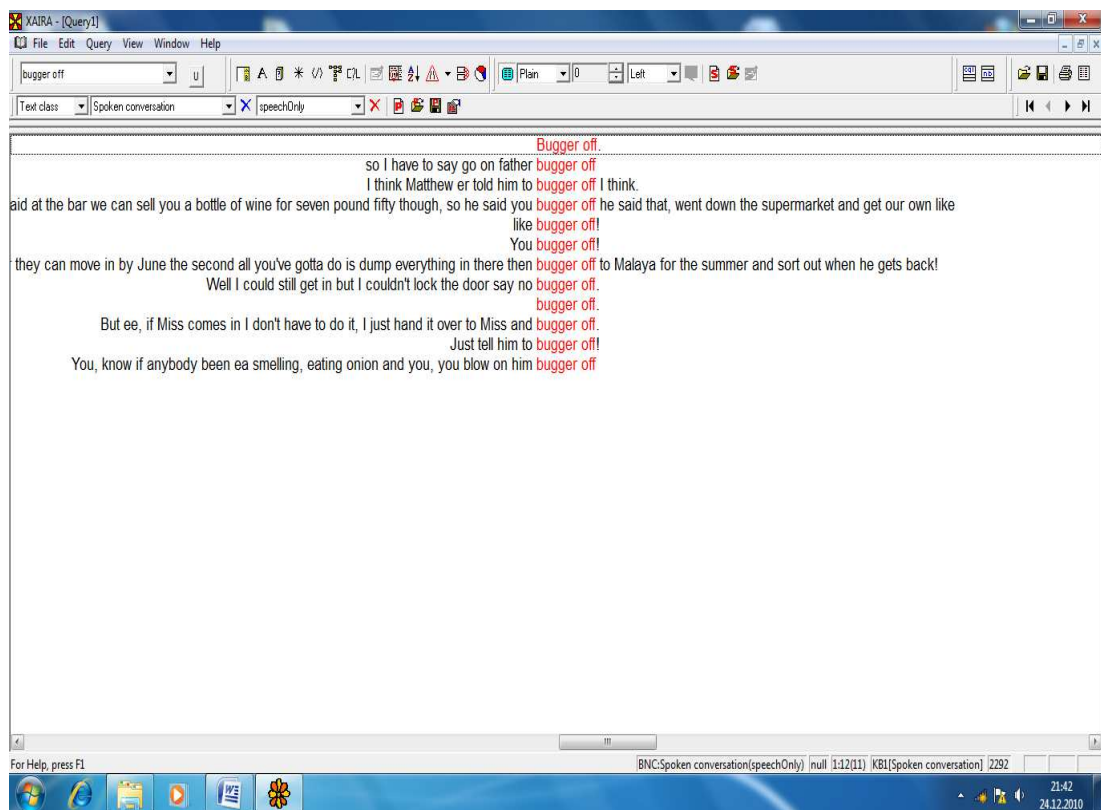


Figure 10. Display window of hits in the BNC

Source: Xaira (BNC-XML)

Although each hit can be analyzed in terms of the source, bibliographic data and non-verbal clues in XML query, the word and phrase query did not serve the purpose of the study for the reason explained above. The scope of this study

demanding a different type of query for the reason that the research questions required an analysis of the whole conversation the occurrences took place in since how the conversation evolved determined the impoliteness strategies preferred by the speakers and hearers.

In order to reach the whole conversation where an occurrence took place, the following search method has been used. On the BNC main query window, there are two columns that list all the texts and information about these texts such as its type; whether it is spoken or written. In these columns, the texts are titled with a 3 digit alpha-numerical codes. Spoken conversations are listed between KBX to KEX. Each text given a three-digit name was recorded by a different person and varies in terms of the duration it was recorded for and the number of the conversations it included. From the list, each spoken text recorded by a different person is selected, one by one, and using the bibliographic data and browse option, the conversations were downloaded to a Word document. Approximately 500 hundred conversations were downloaded. Among these conversations, the ones which could include instances of impoliteness were gathered through word query in Word by the use of 'find in the document' option and occurrences were highlighted. Then the conversations were printed and were extensively read to get a sense of the context. At this stage, the data looked as the following:

### **Conversation Extract 1**

We've got three hands to their two , yeah.  
Yeah psychological warfare!  
Don't want to get too big they won't know how to spell psychological-el!  
Psychological.  
Psychological!  
You get your dozen and I'll get my four  
I added that for the old tape, you know?  
Did you?  
Mm rather than being monosyllabic.  
Monosyllabic oh!  
Oh God, not .  
Right let's keep this under control!  
This is stupid!  
Yeah, it is a bit!  
Well ain't you nothing?  
What if I have!

Excuse me!  
I got my er you know  
Outside , two minutes!  
No problem .

Parts indicating a potential for impoliteness were highlighted and focused upon while extensively reading. Through the extensive reading, additional clues were taken into consideration to be able to pick the signals for impoliteness. For instance, imperatives, repetitive instructions, confrontational language (e.g. excuse me!), language to disagree were taken into consideration. It is noteworthy to explain the series of steps taken to identify the speaker and reach the utterances that come before and after the utterance of that speaker. In order to get the necessary additional the information about which utterances belonged to which speaker, in the BNC, a word or a phrase from the text is put into the query box and from the number of hits the one that came within the larger phrase it existed in was selected. For instance from the Conversation Extract1, the phrase selected is “psychological warfare” (which is italicized above in the Conversation Extract 1) is run in the BNC and the findings are displayed in the screen shot below. In the hit screen below, the fourth hit, “Yeah psychological warfare!”, is the phrase that needs to be tracked down to reach the speakers.

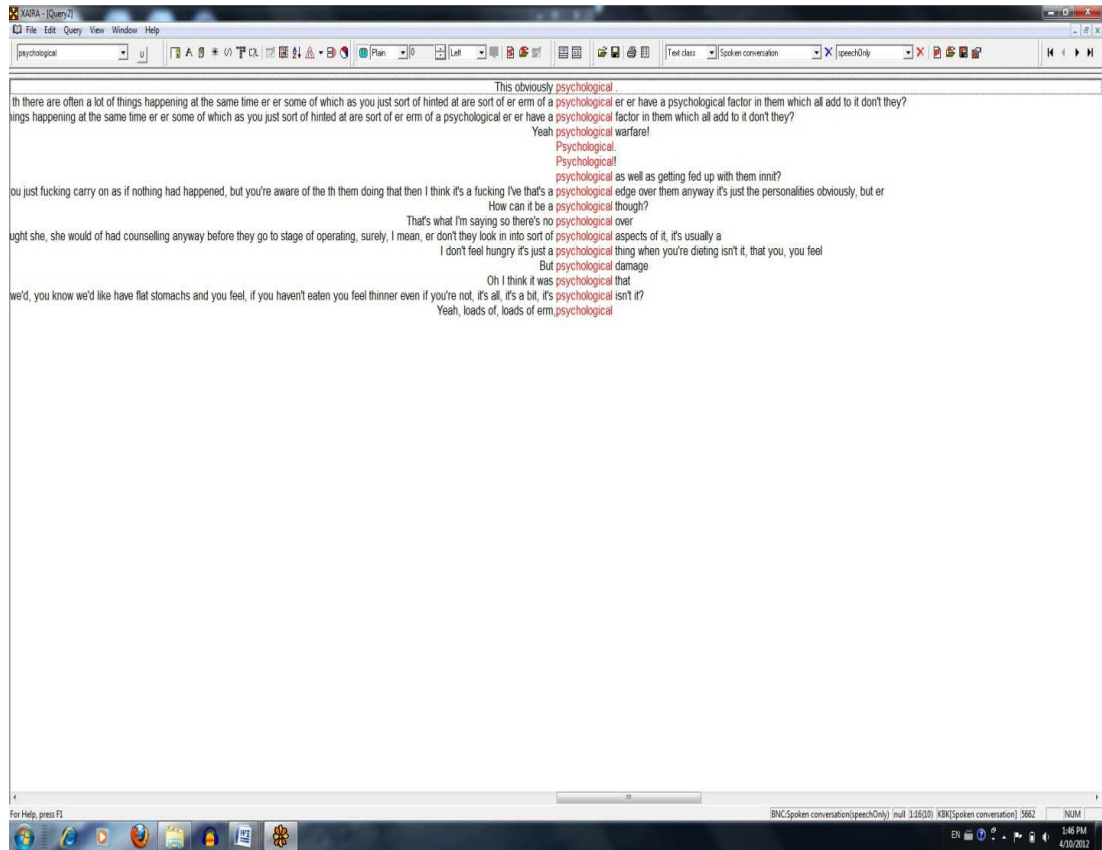


Figure 11: The BNC hits for “psychological warfare”

Source: XAIRa (BNC-XML)

When this hit is selected on the screen, the format box is set to “fancy1” and the scope box is increased to as high as it gives the conversation, which in this case is 20 as the screen shot shows below.



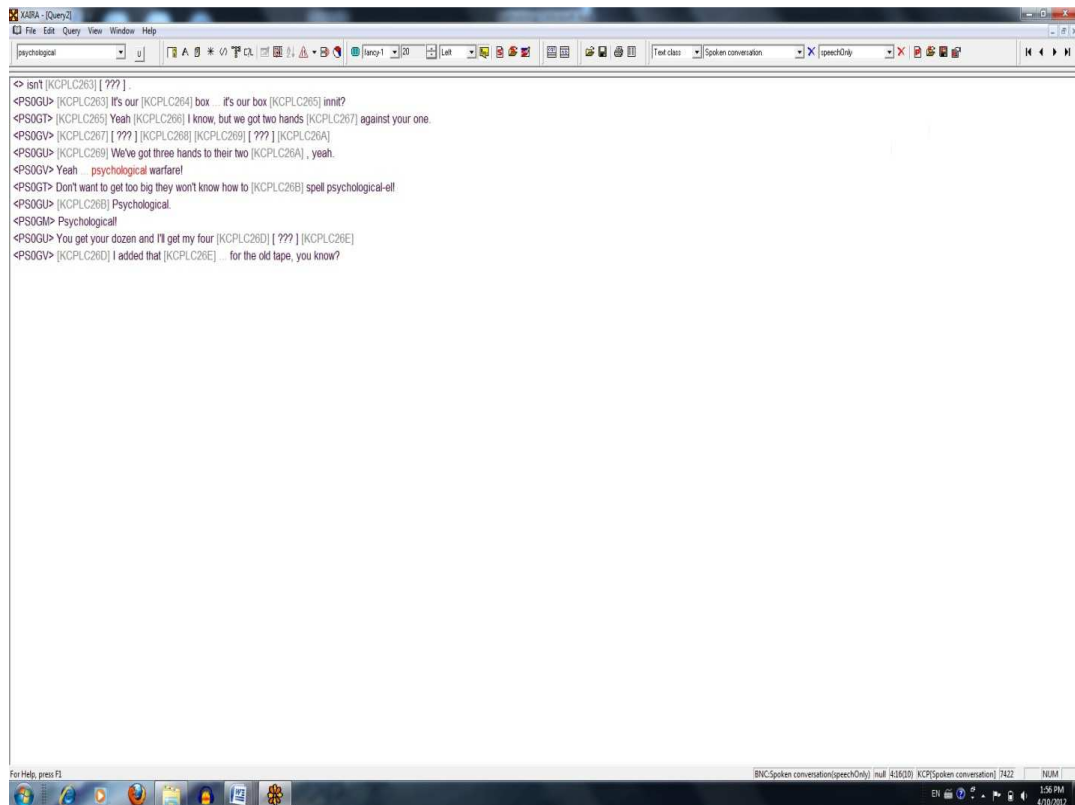


Figure 12: The BNC Format Used for Extracts

Source: Xaira (BNC-XML)

When “the highest scope” did not show the necessary part of the conversation on the screen for the analysis, another phrase on the screen from the bottom or top depending on whether the beginning or the end of the conversation is being tracked, is selected and the same series of steps were followed. Each time, the screen shots were saved in Jpeg format since BNC software did not allow Word copy/paste function. Then parts were put in order and for practicality purposes, rather than putting Jpeg files together one after other, a text is created, as in the following for further discussion.

(PSOGU) We've got three hands to their two , yeah.  
 (PSOGV) Yeah psychological warfare!  
 (PSOGT) Don't want to get too big they won't know how to spell psychological-el!  
 (PSOG) Psychological.  
 (PSOGM) Psychological!  
 (PSOGU) You get your dozen and I'll get my four  
 (PSOGV) I added that for the old tape, you know?

Once the conventionalized linguistic expressions were picked, the incidences of impoliteness were categorized under the types (Culpeper 2010, 2011b); insult, personalized negative assertions, challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions, condescension, message enforcers, dismissals, silencers, threats, negative expressives (e.g. curses, ill-wishes). An advantage of categorizing the impoliteness incidences as such is that while comparing British English and Turkish, the types, not the linguistic expressions, provided a framework for the contrastive analysis. The linguistic expressions were focused on with the consideration that semantic analysis was necessary so as not to ignore subtleties such as discourse or semantic prosody, which is discussed more in detail in Chapter Four.

For extracting incidences of impoliteness in the STC, a similar method was followed. The recorded data were listened to in order to pick similar linguistic expressions in British English brought out by Millwood-Hargrave (2000) with the acknowledgement that expressions could differ in two languages. There has been a number of studies in Turkish on the function of slang and swear words. For instance, Aydın (2006) studied the humoristic function of slang and swear-words in the Turkish movie entitled G.O.R.A. She maintained that despite the fact that the slang and swear-words and expressions used in the movie are generally associated with negative meanings and perceived as insults during real interactions if uttered, in the movie they are perceived as highly entertaining. Below is a list of the slang and swear-words and expressions she mentioned from the movie:

*ibneler, pezevenk, yalama, darbeli matkap (erkek cinsel organı kastedilerek), grup indirimi (grup seks kastedilerek), girdi mi?, yavşa kıza, sende olanı sana koyucaz, hepinizi yapıcam, her yerden alıyo musun?, ben onu götürcem ama, arıza çıkarmak, gırtlığa dayanmak, uzatmak, alayını yemek, yavşamak, kafası iyi olmak, götünden uydurmak, köpek gibi çalışmak, kafa yapmak, çişe gitmek, ne mal olduğunu göstermek, mızıtmak, ulan, lan, kafana sıcıyım, amına koyim, siktir, ananı sikim, oha, gerzek, pislik, hayvan, aptal, maymun, geri zekâlı, dingil, dandik, eşşoğlu eşşek , bunak*

Another study, carried out by Güneş (2009) examined the spelling of slang and swearing words and expressions in cartoon magazines and various Internet sites.

She pointed out that although in general, in written language, spelling rules are applied in writing these words, alterations are made to the spelling of such words in cartoon magazines and Internet sites due to censoring factors. Some examples she gave from the cartoon magazines and sites for the slang and swearing words are: *pezemenk*, *ipne*, *anani!*, *orsbu*, *orrspu çocu*, *hastir*, *eşşeoğlueşşek*, *amuğaa goduumun*, *bok satıyor*, *sıçtık*, *puştmuşsun lan*. Most words and expressions in Aydın's (2006) and Güneş's (2009) studies are overlapping indicating that they are commonly used and accepted as slang and swearing words in Turkish. Although it is not possible to arrive at conclusions about the rank of offensives of these words, it is assumed that a list of these words would function well for carrying out the word query for extraction in Turkish as Millwood-Hargrave (2000)'s list used for word query in British English.

In cases where linguistic expressions differed from slang and swearing words and expressions, the incidences were checked against the types (Culpeper 2010, 2011b), which are insult, pointed criticisms/complaints, challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions, condescension, message enforcers, dismissals, silencers, threats, negative expressives (e.g. curses, ill-wishes). For instance, the linguistic expressions *hadi len yok artık* or *pes yani* in a conversation in Turkish may function as a silencer although one might argue that these expressions do not have equivalences in Culpeper's conventionalized impoliteness formulae as actual linguistic expressions. Nevertheless, the types of conventionalized formulae; insult, personalized negative assertions, challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions, condescension, message enforcers, dismissals, silencers, threats, and negative expressives (e.g. curses, ill-wishes), are assumed to be cross-linguistically applicable for extracting impoliteness. In addition, the dialogues were scanned through an initial word query, collocation query and question sentences and tags query, query for imperatives and possible queries that allow for searching for prosodic nuances. For the word query, Işık-Güler's (2008) dissertation findings about concepts strongly associated concepts with KABA in Turkish were used, with the acknowledgement that concepts strongly associated with IMPOLITE in British English do not necessarily match the concepts with KABA in Turkish. Among the lexical items that she finds to be strongly

associated with KABA and will be used for the word query for this study are: *düşüncesiz*, ‘inconsiderate’, *saygısız*, ‘disrespectful’, *nezaketsiz*, ‘tactless’, *küstahlık*; ‘arrogance’, *patavatsızlık*; ‘indiscretion’, *kırıcı*; ‘offending’, *bencil*; ‘selfish’, *çirkin*; ‘ugly’, *cahil*, ‘ignorant’, *empati kuramayan*; ‘cannot empathize’. Furthermore, taboo words (e.g. fucking) were regarded as cues that may indicate a metapragmatic comment or an utterance that may turn out to be a conventionalized impoliteness formulae or non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness.

Studies attempting to bring out the semantic mapping of politeness related terms were conducted by other scholars. Pizziconi (2007) used lexeme analysis as an explorative technique to describe structured representations of politeness. Her lexeme analysis findings indicate that “the resources -the conceptual constraints and possibilities- afforded to language users by their repertoires are fairly similar (in the basic sense of fundamental judgments 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 English, and ‘reserved’, ‘modest’ nuances in Japanese”(ibid). It is in line with this finding that the lexical items that Işık-Güler (2008) proposes to be strongly associated with impoliteness in Turkish is used for this study for the word query to extract impoliteness.

Special attention was given to the discourse prosody or semantic prosody. In order to illustrate how discourse prosody is different from metapragmatic comments and conventionalized and non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness further explanation is provided in Chapter Two. In this section, an example from the STC, with the conversation number 113\_090404\_00004, will be given in the following. In the extract, the first column from right marks the speaker (ex. OZG000035), [v] referring to the verbal tier, and [c] referring to the comment tier. Unless the row gives comment tier, after each row, a new row was inserted below to provide the translation. In the discussion of the excerpt, pragmatic or semantic nuances are given especially when they play a role for semantic prosody and are crucial for the discussion of extracted impoliteness.

**Extract 1. 113\_090404\_00004**

<b>ASI000037 [v]</b>		((0.6)) ben iki...			son sınıfta almıştım.
<b>Trans.</b>	I bought it... when I was in my final year at university.				
<b>IND000002 [v]</b>				hayır.	
<b>Trans.</b>	No.				

<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	((1.0)) ha evet. bu o zaman bayağı para ver				ya o zaman o
<b>Trans.</b>	Yeah, right. she had spent a lot of money at the time				
<b>ASI000037 [v]</b>					sene iki bin/
<b>Trans.</b>	the year two thousand/				

<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	almıştı yaa.		di mi? • seni öyle hatırlıyorum
<b>Trans.</b>	(she)bought it, yeah . Right? . I remember you (doing) that.		
<b>ASI000037 [v]</b>		sene iki bin altı.	
<b>Trans.</b>	year two thousand six.		

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>		((1.4)) e ben son sınıfım. hala yok.	((0.1)) ki o zo/ o
<b>Trans.</b>	I am at the final year (of the university). Still I don't have (one). And the last		
<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	ben .		
<b>Trans.</b>	I .		

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>	son sınıfla bu son sınıf arasında fark var. artık her yer		
<b>Trans.</b>	year of the university of the time and now are different. now, (there is)		

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>	fotoğraf makinesi yani.	((0.2)) eskiden çok yoktu.	
<b>Trans.</b>	a camera everywhere, I mean. Didn't use to be many in the past.		

ASI000037 [v]			evet . üç
Trans.	Yes. I		

BAD000036 [v]			((0.8)) ben
Trans.	I		
ASI000037 [v]	yüz on milyona almıştım kısaca.	((short laugh))	
Trans.	bought it for three hundred millions, in short.		

OZG000035 [v]		ben	de çalışmaya başlayınca	alacağım.	
Trans.	I will buy (one) too when I start working.				
BAD000036 [v]	de üç yüze aldım.				
Trans.	bought it for three hundred as well.				
DER000038 [v]					çok
Trans.					

ASI000037 [v]		((1.5)) sizi çekelim biz de
Trans.	let's take (a photo) of you	
DER000038 [v]	hava atmama gerek yok.	
Trans.	(you) don't have to show off so much.	

OZG000035 [v]						niye sen
Trans.	why, you					
BAD000036 [v]				((0.1))	bişey	
Trans.	s	o	m	e	t	h i n g
ASI000037 [v]	arkadaşlar.		çeke	biliriz.		
Trans.	f r i e n d s . w e c a n					
DER000038 [v]		yo beni çek	meyin.			

<b>Trans.</b>	no, don't include me.
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<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>		çekme. sen bi yeme. sen bi içme.	ne	oluyor
<b>Trans.</b>	don't take. just don't eat. just don't drink. what's happening			
<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	diyeceğim.		sana bi	
<b>Trans.</b>	I'll say (something). (you) now			

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>		ya Allah Allah.	((0.3)) marjinal.	
<b>Trans.</b>	Oh, Gosh. marjinal.			
<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	geçireceğim	zaten ((XXX)).		((0.8)) flaşım
<b>Trans.</b>	I will hit/slap you. (t h e flash)			

<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	açalım mı?		
<b>Trans.</b>	s h o u l d w e s w i t c h o n t h e f l a s h ?		
<b>DER000038 [v]</b>			((0.5)) tamam çekin ya
<b>Trans.</b>	ok, take (a picture)		

In this extract, the utterance from BAD000036 “*sana bi geçireceğim zaten ((XXX))*” is translated as “I am going to hit/slap you right now (XXX)” because the semantic prosody required it. The verb *geçir-* has the following denotative meanings in Turkish: to migrate, to impose, to enter, to pass, to cover, to fit , to fix , to screw to gear, to pass through , to squeeze, to penetrate , to undergo, to convey , to pass over. So the question then is, what, in the discourse, triggers this negative evaluation of the utterance “*sana bi geçireceğim zaten ((XXX))*”, which is then considered a threat, a conventionalized impoliteness formulae (Culpeper, 2010). In order to find whether there is a relationship between the node, which in this case taken as “*bir*” based on intuitive knowledge, and the collocate, which in this case taken as “*(sana) bi gecireceğim*” and see if the collocational meaning or semantic prosody comes from the interaction between the node and the collocate, a corpus analysis is run on a written corpus of Turkish, METU Turkish Corpus.

After carrying out a detailed dictionary analysis and a corpus analysis, it is concluded that (see Section 4.2), *bi*, which is listed as the second entry of *bir* in Büyük Türkçe Sözlük (<http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts/>), triggers a negative evaluation of the collocation and creates a semantic prosody.

However, the discourse prosody of the utterance, the contextual meaning, necessitates the translation to take the meaning to slap or to hit because the context it is used is with a personal pronoun *sana* and adverb *bi* that gives a negative affective meaning (see Section 4.2). One final point then for the extraction method is that, as well as conventionalized impoliteness formulae, cues for implicational impoliteness such as semantic prosody were tracked down for both British English and Turkish to compensate for the incidences of impoliteness which could have been missed otherwise because they did not fall into what might have been named as conventionalized impoliteness formulae.

### **3.7 Methodological Issues: The Discursive, Cue-Based and Cyclic Approaches**

The previous sections on impoliteness theories and CDL suggest the following analytical procedures. These are touched upon briefly in Chapter Two but are detailed in this section.

In extracting and at times simultaneously analyzing impoliteness events in conversation, metapragmatic comments, conventionalized impoliteness formulae and cues for non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness present in the co-text and context together with other nuances such as semantic prosody are taken into consideration. This means that bearing in mind that ‘neither the expression nor the context guarantee an interpretation of (im)politeness’ (Culpeper 2010, p. 3237), the conversations which are selected as containing impoliteness were examined discursively, for metapragmatic comments existing in the co-text, as well as having been looked at through the cues existing both in the co-text and context to detect conventionalized impoliteness formulae and non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness. This cycle of looking at conversations to extract impoliteness events have two steps:




1. Study the co-text, what linguistic expressions come before and after utterances, for *metapragmatic comments* (e.g. “you’re rude”, “what she did was rude”).
2. Study the co-text, for *conventionalized impoliteness formulae*, (e.g. “you are such a hypocrite”, “Shut up!”) and context, what is beyond the linguistic expressions for *non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness* (e.g. the relationship of speakers such as parent-child, prosodic aspects such as pauses and rise in intonation and pitch.)

Step 1 characterizes the discursive approach and step 2, the cue-based approach. In the table below what is taken under consideration in terms of the two approaches are visually illustrated.

Table 13. The research levels of the study

1. EXTRACTION	Discursive Approach	Cue-based Approach
	Metapragmatic comments	Conventionalized impoliteness formulae (Culpeper 2010; 2011b)
	Reactive Response	Non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness (2011b)
		Conversation Analysis tools (e.g. turn-taking, pauses, etc)
		Verbal and non-verbal forms signaling interpersonal conflict (e.g. change in structural patterns such as turn taking, topic change, repetition, seeking for disagreement.)
		Semantic Prosody

Table 13 continued.

2. ANALYSIS		
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The reason why two approaches are applied together at the extraction level is because the methodological issues brought up about discursive approach made it necessary to complement it with another approach that is considered to be more fine-grained. Distinction of politeness1, first-order, and politeness2, second- order politeness, is a cornerstone of the discursive approach (Haugh, 2007). After making this distinction, the researchers following the discursive approach, for instance Watts (2003), argued that the politeness research should focus on what people perceived politeness to be, first-order politeness, and that a focus on politeness2 lacked utility since scientific notions of politeness would be normative. The discursive approach has been suggested by researchers who follow a postmodern paradigm (Eeelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003, 2005; Locher, 2004; Locher and Watts, 2005). The point these researchers agree is that there needs to be shift on the emphasis of the attempt to construct a model of politeness to predict when politeness is expected to the emphasis of how participants in interaction perceive politeness. With this emphasis, this school of researchers is attempting to defy the essentialist view that the notion of politeness is the same across cultures, which has been reinforced with Brown and Levinson's politeness theory.

However, the discursive approach also has received criticisms. For example, Haugh (2007) argues that while the attempt to shift the emphasis may look valid, there are some consequences of adopting the discursive approach: it does not only abandon the pursuit of a priori predictive theory of politeness but it also objects to any attempts of developing a universal, cross-culturally valid theory of politeness.

He then raises a question: if a theory of politeness is neither necessary nor desirable, what is the role of politeness research as a field of study given that it cannot be carried out within the research traditions. Therefore, he discusses in detail the discursive approach and its epistemological and ontological challenges. As for the ontological challenges discursive approach holds, Haugh (2007) argues that “the discursive approach places a considerable burden on the validity of the analyst’s interpreting of the interaction” (p. 302). If the analyst’s role is not to impose a theoretical view of politeness as suggested by the discursive approach, but rather to explicate the participants’ understandings or perceptions of politeness, then it raises questions regarding the status of the researcher in relation to the participants (p.303). In other words, if the analyst is to avoid making generalizations for the aim of not being normative, then the analysts’ job purely becomes a report of participants’ evaluation of impoliteness occurring within a particular context at a particular time. Therefore, these studies, since generalizations are not to be made, would be reporting *potential* instances of (im) politeness. To put it differently, with the discursive approach, the analyst’s should not make an interpretation about what is impolite since its validity is questionable. Then, as Haugh (2007) argues, what might have been accomplished by a study carried out by discursive approach, which questions validity of analyst’s interpretation is questionable.

Despite these criticisms, discursive approach plays an important role for this study as discussed in Section 1.3 in relation to the Foucauldian move Mills (2009) is suggesting. The discursive approach is emphasizes emic analysis, which is referred as politeness<sup>1</sup> or the lay person’s view. It is fundamental for the extraction level as explained in step 1: study the co-text, what linguistic expressions come before and after utterances, for *metapragmatic comments* (e.g. “you’re rude”, “what she did was rude”) which falls into the discursive approach of analyzing impoliteness and its focus is impoliteness<sup>1</sup>. It provides “an analysis of the means by which these supposed norms are held in place, or are asserted to be norms in the first place; that is, we analyse the discursive mechanisms by which cultural stereotypes about language are developed and circulated (Foucault, 1969, 1972 cited in Mills, 2009, p. 1048). However, adresssing the same criticisms Haugh

(2007) points out, this study is not categorized under the discursive approach. Studying the co-text (for *conventionalized impoliteness formulae* for expressions such as “you are such a hypocrite” or “shut up!”) and the context (for *non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness* with the clues such as the relationship of speakers such as parent-child, prosodic aspects such as pauses and rise in intonation and pitch to go beyond the linguistic expressions) is what is aimed at with step 2 in the present study. This approach with step 2 will facilitate reaching at generalizations to explain impoliteness theoretically. The second step then offers an etic analysis and leads to politeness<sup>2</sup> with the utmost attention given to the cues so as not to impose the researchers’ interpretation to the data.

Despite the fact that step 1 and step 2, are numbered linearly, it is impossible for the researcher to analyze the data linearly. Owing to the dynamic nature of conversation, metapragmatic comments can function as the co-text for creating a context for non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness. Examining what metapragmatic comments supply in co-text (as is characteristic of the discursive approach) may signal interpersonal conflict through the change in structural patterns and so be used as cues to interpret context-driven implicational impoliteness. It is impossible to decide where the boundaries of discursive approach end and cue-based approach starts for the theoretical discussion. A study of impoliteness is only possible where these two approaches are taken into consideration together and applied simultaneously.

This study presents an example of such methodology in a dataset consisting of both Turkish and British English in conversation. As Culpeper (2010) points out, the focus of discursive approach is on the *micro*: the focus is on “participants’ situated and dynamic evaluations of politeness, not shared conventionalized politeness forms of politeness” (p.3235). In addition, to address the issue Terkourafi (2005a) puts forward (that is, not to be left with “the minute descriptions of individual encounters” that “do not add up to an explanatory theory of the phenomena under study” (p. 245)), the analyst attempts to arrive at generalizations by looking into relatively large-scale data. Moreover, the analysts apply the cue-based- approach, in which the listener is also assumed to have used different cues in the input to help decide how to build an interpretation (Jurafsky,

2004) and look for co-occurrence regularities to reach conclusions. It is in this way that the discursive and cue-based approaches are combined to address politeness<sup>1</sup> and politeness<sup>2</sup>.

Furthermore, this study follows the corpus-driven approach, which demands that the approach to impoliteness is exploratory and data-driven. Therefore, it aims to present how the linear steps of research should be replaced by a cyclic pattern. As discussed in Chapter Three, the cyclic approach to research requires exploration rather than verification. The researcher, who approaches the data within the framework of CDL approach, will take a different route from forming a theory in the beginning of the analysis and verifying that (pre-formulated and existing) theory. She/he will start with tentative questions and review of existing theories but once the extraction level is completed, she/he will revise the research questions and reconsider the existing theory in the light of the new insights. The insights may answer different research questions from what the research started with and may bring out new theoretical models and implications. Therefore, the research questions need to be revisited and theoretical issues the insights bring forward should be included in the discussion of existing theories. This cyclic process, i.e. going backwards from collated data to develop the theory or the framework of the analysis level should be applied with, is of fundamental importance for impoliteness research carried out in corpus linguistics since the natural data a corpus offers will always bring out new findings that do not fit the pre-formulated assumptions. The cyclic process of going backwards from collated data to develop a theory requires *tentativeness* in terms of the research questions the analyst starts the study with. Considering the research questions tentative means that the researcher is willing to revise the questions later as the study unfolds. It is fundamental in corpus-driven approach applied in studies with natural data since if/when the findings from the data do not fit any existing theories, they will in fact be bringing new dimensions to be explored and reveal answers to questions which the analysts did not have in mind in the beginning. Therefore the research questions are revisited at in Chapter Four and discussed further in the light of insights the data provided.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **ANALYSIS**

#### **4.0. Presentation**

This chapter analyzes the data of and about impoliteness extracted from the BNC and the STC. The extracts were selected through the method explained in detail in Chapter Three. Since this study is corpus-driven, while analyzing the extracts, not one singular theory or model is adopted. The data are discussed in the light of extant concepts and theories on impoliteness and notions and concepts raised by the data analysis in relation to the existing theories are examined as the data required. Additional analytical methods, such as corpus and semantic analysis are employed where a further exploration is necessary. For instance, the discussion of *bi* in Turkish in an extract pulled from the STC required a frequency analysis of the context from a different corpus. Since the BNC and the STC are different types of corpora (see Chapter Three), the format of the extracts are different. Therefore, the extracts are discussed as much as the corpora allowed (see Section 1.5).

#### **4.1 Impoliteness in the BNC**

In this section, the examples that are extracted from the BNC will be discussed and analyzed. The analysis which is corpus driven will be related to the discussion of impoliteness in the field and, later in the following chapter, will be compared to the data collated from the STC to theorize over what impoliteness models should take into consideration.

In the extract below, the participants are playing cards and they are aware that they are being recorded. Considering the procedure with which the BNC data were collected and that participants were informed either in the beginning or after being recorded that their speech would be transcribed, the utterance “I added that for the old tape, you know?” , makes it obvious that in the context above, the participants

already knew they were being recorded. This piece of information is noteworthy as it serves an important function for PSOGV to save face later in the conversation. When the background information supplied by the co-text is analyzed, it is clear that PSOGU and PSOGT are playing as partners against PSOGV and PSOGM.

### **Extract 1.**

**(Text ID: KCP, conversations recorded by PSOGM)**

(PSOGU) We've got three hands to their two, yeah.  
(PSOGV) Yeah psychological warfare!  
(PSOGT) Don't want to get too big they won't know how to spell psychological-el!  
(PSOGU) Psychological.  
(PSOGM) Psychological!  
(PSOGU) You get your dozen and I'll get my four  
(PSOGV) I added that for the old tape, you know?  
(PSOGT) Did you?  
(PSOGV) Mm rather than being monosyllabic.  
(PSOGT) Monosyllabic... oh!... Oh God, not [???]  
(PSOGM) [laugh]  
(PSOGV) Right let's keep this under control!

An interesting conversation takes place as PSOGV likens the competition in the game to psychological warfare. PSOGT, who is a member of the other team, returns the comment with “Don't want to get too big they won't know how to spell psychological-el”, which sounds to the other two players as if it was meant to refer to the PSOGU and PSOGM since they both respond with the “psychological”. What has been described above is illustrated below with a visual schema in a sequence (1, 2, 3). PSOGU, PSOGT PSOGV, PSOGM are represented by U, T, V, M respectively in the bubbles of the two teams and the speech bubbles filled in with the participants' utterances.

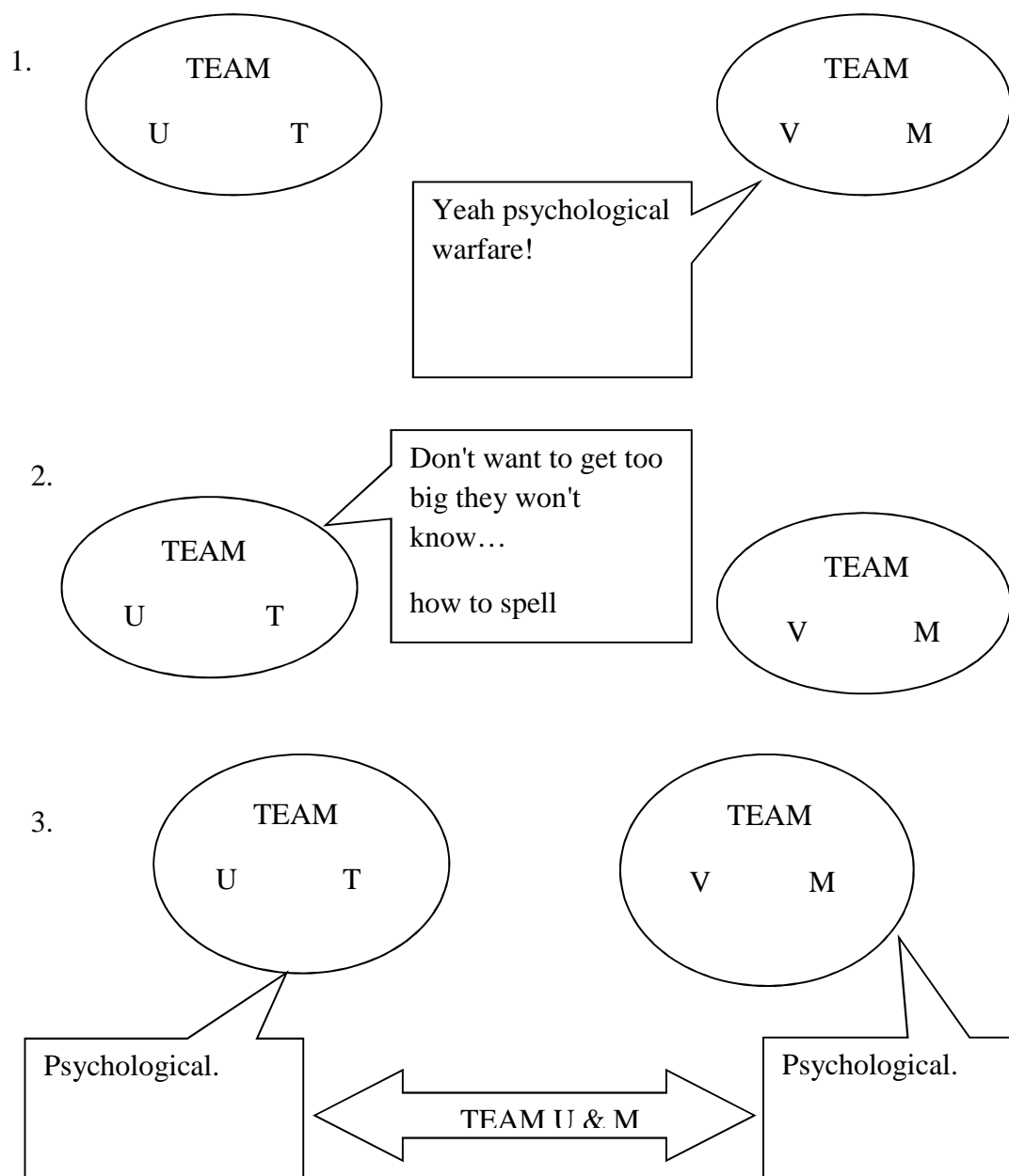


Figure 13. Membership categorization and face unfolding in interaction

What is noteworthy here is V and T are members of different teams and are expected to behave in accordance with their team partners. However, V's comment in 1 triggers a comment from T, which in turn is interpreted that T and V have made an alignment and have formed an alliance. Therefore, when U replied in 3 with the utterance "psychological", it confirms that T's comment with pronoun



“they” was perceived to have been addressed to U and M. M joins in with U and forms another alliance against team V and T. In other words, the expected behaviour shaped by commitment of the membership of a team in the beginning is re-defined and re-constituted as the interaction unfolded and the turning point was 2, in the sequence illustrated above. PSOGV is the first speaker to mention the word psychological, “Yeah psychological warfare!”. When PSOGT replies, “Don't want to get too big they won't know how to spell psychological-el!”, the utterance is ambiguous as “they” could refer to “the people who are recording and will later be transcribing” or to the other two participants, who are most probably in the other group playing cards, PSOGU and PSOGM. “Getting too big” implies that the subject of the utterance is already very big, in an idiomatic sense, compared with what it is directed at and creates a scalar relationship. With the intensifier “too”, the utterance widens the distance but this distance is not flat but scalar and hierarchical. That is why indicating that spelling the word psychological would be too hard for “them” is an insult. PSOGU and PSOGM’s rejoinder the comment “they won't know how to spell psychological-el!” by repeating the word psychological (most probably spelling the word) is to prove that they know how to spell it. The fact that they wanted to prove they can spell the word indicates that for them, in the utterance, “they won't know how to spell psychological-el!”, the pronoun “they” refers to PSOGU and PSOGM themselves not the BNC transcribers. When PSOGV realizes how PSOGU and PSOGM took the comment, she/he attempts to clarify why she/he used the word psychological, which is apparently not expected to be used in this context, by saying “I added that for the old tape, you know”, which is meant to clarify the ambiguity of what “they” referred to, that is, to the transcribers.

The misunderstanding with the pronoun “they” creates a different frame for indexicality and creates a different membership organization which in turn pushes PSOGV to point out what “they” in fact meant to refer to: “the old tape”. This correction offered in fact functions as a metapragmatic comment to repair the face attack PSOGV encountered after having performed, 1) violation of membership organization through an utterance which creates a different indexicality and 2) an insult directed at two other members, which in turn damages his/her own face and

so triggers an implicit apology “I added that for the old tape, you know”. This comment of PSOGV also serves the purpose of easing the tension present. At this point, PSOGT feels obliged to save his own face by saying “Did you” implying that he did not realize it and thus he said, “they won't know how to spell psychological-el”.

The discussion on the membership about this extract brings out two related concepts; indexicality and membership categorization, discussed in the literature in relation to face and impoliteness theories. Ruhi (2010) discusses the constitutive role of face in interaction and the role of indexicality. She (2010) argues that:

face is a Janus-like indexical concept which categorizes the self-in-interaction, as it indexes and is indexed by (linguistic) acts, and features of underlying conceptualizations of social practices relevant to the interaction. According to this understanding of face, affective responses, such as pride, liking, solidarity, disassociation, embarrassment or resentment, and other orientations to face derive from (perceived) categorizations emerging in the unfolding interaction (p.2131).

Her argument is informed by Garfinkel (1967) and Sacks (1986, 1989)’s proposals of indexicality and membership categorization. In her article, “Face as indexical category in interaction”, Ruhi (2010) explains how Sacks (1989) describes membership categorization. It is “a very central machinery of social organization” and that a person can be categorized in an indefinite number of ways (Sacks quoted in Ruhi 2010, p. 2134). The example Ruhi (2010) gives from Sacks (1989, p.330, 335) to explain membership categorization further is a story produced by a two year-old baby: “The baby cried. The mommy picked it up”. Here, ‘crying’ categorizes ‘baby’ as a ‘stage in life’, but the category baby is also a categorization device in the notion of ‘family’ so that the ‘mommy’ is inferred to be “the mommy of the baby” and this dynamic interpretation is a “membership categorization device” (MCD) (see, Sacks, 1986). Ruhi (2010) examines photographs taken at a wedding ceremony together with the video recording as “parallel documents”, illustrating background events for membership categorization and proposes that “face is inherently indexical concept that categorizes the social self in terms of its attributes vis à vis categorizing(s) of others” (p.2144).

With the same line of thought in mind, Ruhi (2010) gives a further example from the field notes on face and (im)politeness in Turkish discourse before discussing how photographs show “underlying social practices and participants’ (linguistic) acts co-index each other, thereby rendering an accounting of face that is entrenched in features of situated interaction” (p.2133). The example is a reconstructed dialogue between two participants, Aynur and Canan, names used as pseudonyms. Aynur and Canan are close friends and Canan, who has applied for a scholarship, breaks the good news to Aynur that she has won the scholarship. Aynur congratulates her by saying *Senin adına çok sevindim*, “I am so happy for you”. Later at an interview, to a question prompted by Ruhi (2010), Aynur talks about her negative evaluations of Canan’s reply, two of which are “Canan wasn’t really so happy” and “Canan lacked warmth”. Ruhi (2010) points that:

For Aynur, the expression indexes Canan’s assessment of Aynur’s accomplishment, her affective response to this accomplishment, and her relationship to Aynur. Taking face to provisionally be related to self, Aynur’s comments suggest that her face was not constituted in the interaction in accordance with her understanding of what is appropriate in this setting. Given the fact that Aynur’s comments crucially rely on her expectations, face becomes not only co-constituted but also constitutive of interaction. (pp. 2132- 33).

Also based on Schlenker and Pontari (2000)’s understanding of self-presentation, like Ruhi (2008), Spencer- Oatey (2007) pointed out this understanding has fundamental implications for studies on face and (im)politeness mainly for; 1) “accounting for face in a manner that corresponds to participant interpretations is a complex task, as face and self-presentational concerns are very often background events” (Ruhi, 2010), 2 ) face is an indexical, categorial concept pointing to the self-in-interaction (Ruhi, 2005; Ruhi and Işık-Güler 2007, Ruhi, 2010), and 3) indexing features influence how participants make evaluations of face phenomena in interaction (Ruhi, 2010).

This example is also closely related to Spencer-Oatey’s (2000) Equity and Association rights in her Rapport Management Model. Rapport management consists of three interconnected aspects: the management of face, the management of sociality rights and obligations and the management of interactional goals. For

Spencer-Oatey, face is similar to how Goffman (1967, p.5) defines it; ‘the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself [*sic*] by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact’ (qtd. in Spencer-Oatey, 2000, p.13). The management of sociality rights and obligations are about social expectancies, meaning that they reflect people’s concerns about fairness and appropriateness of behavior. Interactional goals are the tasks people have when they interact with each other (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, p.14). What is important about perceived sociality rights and obligations is that people develop a sense of behavioral expectations and in cases where these expectations are met differently or not met at all, interpersonal relationship are influenced. She summarizes the bases of perceived sociality rights and obligations under three headings: 1) contractual/legal agreements and requirements, 2) explicit and implicit conceptualizations of roles and positions, 3) behavioral conventions, styles and protocols. She expands the last heading by giving an example: work groups, for instance, usually develop conventions for managing team meetings on issues such as who sits where; whether where they sit should depending on their status or role or not. Although the first base, contractual/legal agreements and requirements are more rigid, it is possible that they were generated as a result of partial normative behaviour. Not surprisingly, the normative behaviour is what frequently or typically takes place in a context but these norms may not be arbitrary:

They may reflect efficient strategies for handling practical demands, and they may also be manifestations of more deeply held values. For example, conventions in relation to *turn-taking and rights to talk* (emphasis mine) at business meetings are partly a reflection of the need to deal effectively with the matters at hand, but they are also likely to reflect more deeply held beliefs about hierarchy and what is socially appropriate behavior for given role-relationship. In other words, people typically hold value-laden beliefs about the principles that should underpin interaction (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, p.16)

Spencer-Oatey and Jiang (2003) call these beliefs Sociopragmatic Interactional principles (SIPs), two of which are equity and association. These two principles are fundamental to expand on since they are the principles that link both Culpeper’s and Bousfield’s models to Spencer-Oatey’s Rapport Management model.

Spencer-Oatey (2000) describes equity as the fundamental belief that we expect to be treated fairly because we believe that “we are all entitled to personal consideration from others”, “we are not unduly imposed upon, that we are not unfairly ordered about and that we are not taken advantage of or exploited” (p.16). Two components of the equity principle are: cost-benefit, and autonomy-imposition. They reflect the extent to which we perceive the relationships as costly or imposing, with the basic assumption that costs and benefits and autonomy should be in balance. While equity is about the concept of fairness, association is about social involvement. There are two aspects of this principle: interactional involvement-detachment and affective involvement-detachment. The former is the belief that we are entitled to have an appropriate amount of conversational interaction with the others and the latter is the belief that we share an appropriate amount of concerns, feelings and interests.

In the extract when PSOGT replies, “don't want to get too big, they won't know how to spell psychological-el!”, the utterance “don't want to get too big” reminds one of the idiomatic expressions “too big for your boots”. If someone is too big for their boots it means they are conceited and have exaggerated sense of their self-importance. As discussed above, “getting too big” implies that the subject of the utterance is already full of himself/herself, in an idiomatic sense, compared with what it is directed at and creates a scalar relationship. With the intensifier “too”, the utterance widens the distance but this distance is not flat but scalar and hierarchical. Therefore, indicating that spelling the word psychological would be too hard for “them” is an insult for the people who are referred to. It is the reason why this utterance with its implications indicates a violation of the Equity Rights of the other members of the group because it is costly to their face in interaction. Another interesting point about the reply “Don't want to get too big, they won't know how to spell psychological-el!”, is that it also forms a violation of the association rights as it detaches the people “they” refer to and prevents their social involvement to the group. It is more than possible that the PSOGT becomes aware of the misunderstandings and makes the comment “I added that for the old tape, you know?” to restore the membership organization and the repair the friction in interaction.

Overall, in this extract what is observed in terms of the research questions, (i.e. what triggers impoliteness, what strategy is used, how is impoliteness countered, the role of the countering strategy) is as follows. It seems that PSOGV and PSOGT, despite being in different teams while playing cards, form a new alliance against membership organization background assumptions, which triggers impoliteness together with the utterance “don’t want to get too big they won’t know how to spell psychological-ei”, which functions as an insult strategy. As a result of being insulted, PSOGU and PSOGM form a new alliance to protect themselves from the face attack and attempt to disprove the inadequacy implied by the insult while they both reply “psychological”. This countering strategy in turns brings out an outcome as a repair strategy: PSOOGV says “I added that for the old tape, you know?” and tries to repair the impoliteness perceived.

## **Extract 2.**

### **(Text ID: KCP, conversations recorded by PSOGM)**

This extract is a short piece of family conversation and the speakers are exchanging opinions on TV programmes, which later turns into a discussion. Eventually the tension generates implicational impoliteness.

(GU) She knew a lot of telly.

(GU) Neighbours

(GM) Oh!

(GU) and bloody Coronation Street and all that crap!

(GM) Ooh!

(GT) Ooh!

(GU) You'd hear all that!

(GV) And don't say crap, that's a very good programme!

(GM) What is?I

(GV) Coronation

(GU) Coronation

(GV) Str

(GM) Oh what a load of dip!

(GV) I lo, I've recorded whatever's on tonight, is it Eastenders?

(GV) K Y T V I've got on tonight recorded that.

(GU) S H I T more like!

*GT laughs*

(GM) Yeah.

(GV) K Y T V is very good, K Y T V.

(GT) Hang on ! (*laughing*)

(GT) K Y T V, what's that?  
 (GM) I didn't think you'd be a Coronation Street addict.  
 (GT) No, I wouldn't!  
 (GV) The best people are.  
 (GV) Princess Anne.  
 (GT) Well it is the biggest load of rubbish, people don't really live  
 (GV) No, very good acting  
 (GT) like that  
 (GM) hmm  
 (GV) No one said they did  
 (GT) Well it isn't even good acting  
 (GM) That's enough  
 (GV) It's very good  
 (GM) When we are on the

In this conversation when GU says that “she knew a lot of telly” she is criticizing the person which is why she gives the names of two programs and ends her comments with “and all that crap” which functions as an intensifier for her dislike of the programs. When GV disagrees “And don't say crap, that's a very good programme!” she uses another modifier “very good” *to* express how much she likes the program. The acronym for the name of the channel, KYTV, is mimicked by GU and echoed as SHIT in an offensive word “shit”. This is how impoliteness comes to surface. However, GV replies “K Y T V is very good, K Y T V” repeating the channel, reinforcing the acknowledgement, and echoing the mimicry SHIT back to its place. When the third speaker GT joins in and says “No, I wouldn't!” be a Coronation street addict, GV replies “The best people are. Princess Anne.” GV implies that GU and GV are not among those best people, and thus, GV is impolite in return.

This example illustrates Culpeper's (2011b) second form-driven strategy for non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness: mimicry and echoic mention. He defines mimicry as “a caricatured re-presentation” (p.161). Referring to Goffman (1974:539) he points out that quoting is part of mimicry. When someone quotes “too much”, for instance all the prosodic features of the speaker, the quoter becomes “suspect” (p.161). Culpeper (2011b) broadens Sperber and Wilson's (1986) mimicry and echoic mention and explains the tuning mimicry as such:

First, on a recognition of the behavior as an echo; second, on an identification of the source of the behavior echoed, third, the recognition

that the source of behavior is a characteristic of the identity of the speaker who gave rise to it, and fourthly on a recognition that the speaker's attitude to the behavior echoed is one of rejection or disapproval (p. 161).

With this explanation in mind, the facts that in this conversation SHIT is spelled in letters s, h, i, t, just like the proper name for the TV channel, KYTV, and is written in capital letters in the script indicate that it is uttered to echo KYTV as SHIT TV and is uttered to reject the comment that the channel is good. It is an echoic mention and is an example of implicational impoliteness for taking the clues discussed into the consideration. In this example, extracted from the BNC, which is a written corpus as opposed to the STC which is bimodal, both with its written and audio components, the way the utterance SHIT is scripted provides enough context for the conclusion that the example reflects implicational impoliteness. This extract also exemplifies a case for face as an indexical concept (Ruhi, 2010a). When the participant GU indexes the viewers of the programme Coronation Street and the KYTV watchers under the same negative membership, GV adopts the tactic and indexes herself together with other viewers under a positive membership by saying the best people and Princess Anne are Coronation Street addicts.

However, this strategy does not seem to be effective to end the discussion since GT continues showing dislike to GV's taste repeatedly with "people don't really live like that" and "it isn't even good acting". GV, in return tries to protect her face that has been attacked a couple of times so far in front of other parties too, responds "no one said they did" and "no very good acting" by offering counterarguments that did not really get GT to stop impoliteness. Interestingly, in the end, a third party, GM, who has agreed with GT that the program is bad by saying "I didn't think you would be a Coronation Street addict", decides to end the impoliteness first very directly through a silencer "that is enough" then by a topic change "when we are on the (...)". This indicates that in interaction, participants try to protect their own faces when they encounter impoliteness however other participants who are witnessing the impoliteness may also want to stop impoliteness since they feel it is their face as well being attacked. A plausible explanation for this is that people want others to have a positive opinion of



themselves and not stopping impoliteness in cases when they are witnessing other people suffer from impoliteness gives an opposite impression.

Overall, in this extract, impoliteness is triggered by showing strong dislike to someone's taste by the utterance "SHIT TV more like", which is a face attack. The strategy is insult, echoed and implied with the offensive word "shit". In return, GV who is insulted, to protect her face, follows the counter strategy of excluding herself from the members of the group by saying "the best people are (Coronation Street addicts)" and indexes herself with a new group of people, for example "Princess Anne" and two more counter arguments. However, the impoliteness is brought to an end by a third party who uses a silencer and offers a topic change followed by it.

### **Extract 3.**

**(Text ID: KBB, conversations recorded by PSO35)**

In this extract, a husband (PSO3S), and a wife (PSO3T) are having a daily conversation which gradually becomes tense and ends with impoliteness. In the end, PSO3T changes the topic by starting to talk about what Jackie bought: a walkman. The rest of the conversation, which is not given here as part of the extraction discussed, gives away this information.

(PSO3T) I shouldn't miss the pigeons all that much, I don't mind the blackbird and the thrush and the robin but and a few starlings but I don't like many pigeons about the garden.

(PSO3S) They're too dirty.

(PSO3T) They're not.

(PSO3S) Yes they are.

(PSO3T) Are you very bread hungry, toast hungry?

(PSO3S) Oh no I'm not hungry at all

(PSO3T) Well you should be.

(PSO3S) [???

(PSO3T) Well you didn't have much after your dinner yesterday did you?

(PSO3S) I don't know why you always have so many procedures [???] remain in [???] does it?

(PSO3T) Don't be silly.

(PSO3S) We're not going to go out at all then today?

(PSO3T) Not in this fog. And I think it's freezing, the pantry was like an ice box....I know there's no frost on the cars but it must still be cold.  
 (PSO3S) What was like an ice box?  
 (PSO3T) The pantry...I mean I  
 (PSO3S) Well that's because the garage  
 (PSO3T) I know I know but er  
 (PSO3S) You must have had the window open.  
 (PSO3T) I didn't. It's just ever so cold.  
 (PSO3S) Quite cold is the phrase.  
 (PSO3T) What did you say?  
 (PSO3S) I said quite cold is the phrase, not ever so cold.  
 (PSO3T) Is it? Oh. I stand corrected.  
 (PSO3S) You'll have to go back to the nursery.  
 (PSO3T) You, you'd like to go back to school. At your age.  
 (PSO3S) I'd show the kids a thing or two.  
 (PSO3T) You might... Apparently Jackie's got...  
 (PSO3S) What?

This conversation is interesting in that when the adjacency pairs are analyzed, a very tense sequence comes up. Below is the chart that presents the pattern of the turns and the tension the sequence creates.

Table 14. The analysis of adjacency pairs in the BNC Extract 3

Opinion (1)	I don't like many pigeons about the garden
Strong Opposite opinion (2)	They're <i>too</i> dirty.
Disagreement (3)	They're not.
Strong Disagreement (4)	<i>Yes</i> they are.
Change in topic, Strong assumption (5)	Are you <i>very</i> bread hungry, toast hungry?
Definite negative answer (6)	I'm not hungry <i>at all</i> .
Directive based on the strong assumption (7)	Well you should be.
Conventionalized impoliteness (8) (Culpeper2010,2011b) <i>Unpallatable question</i>	<i>I don't know why you always have so many</i> procedures [???] remain in [???] does it?
Conventionalized impoliteness (9) (Culpeper 2010, 2011b) <i>Dismissal</i>	Don't be silly.
Change in topic (10)	We're not going to go out at all then today?
Opinion (11)	I think it's freezing, the pantry was like an ice box
Directive based on a strong assumption (12)	You must have had the window open.

Table 14 continued.

Disagreement (13)	I didn't. It's just ever so cold.
Change in topic (language correction to previous utterance)	Quite cold is the phrase.
Question	What did you say?
Answer	I said quite cold is the phrase, not ever so cold.
Opinion	Is it? Oh. I stand corrected.
opinion	You'll have to go back to the nursery.
Disagreement (with partial repeat)	You, you'd like to go back to school. At your age.
Agreement-	I'd show the kids a thing or two.
Agreement/change in topic	You might...Apparently Jackie's got...
Question	What?

The pattern in the sequence shows how the tension in the conversation raises. Opinions are met by disagreements (see numbers 3, 4 in the chart); strong assumptions that the couple makes, directed at each other (see numbers 5, 7, 12) are dismissed with definite negative answers (6, 13) or impoliteness (8); and impoliteness is confronted with impoliteness (13) in return. The chart also presents, in italics, the words, such as “too”, “very”, “not... at all”, “always” and “so many”, which modify the message and increase the tension by adding emphasis to utterances. For instance, the fact that PSO3S disagrees by using “too” in the utterance “They are too dirty” makes the disagreement a strong one. When PSO3S replies “I'm not hungry at all”, “at all” adds an intense definiteness to the negativity of the answer. The question “Are you very bread hungry, toast hungry?” is in fact already formulated based on a strong assumption with modifier “very” and presupposes that the person is at least hungry if not very hungry. The strong assumption that PSO3T is making with “very” is replied by a strong negative answer with “not at all”, which reminds us of impoliteness in mimicry and the echoic mention in implicational impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011b, see Chapter Two for discussion). The extremity of “very” is echoed back in “not at all”. In this example, PSO3T's assumption that PSO3S is hungry and expressing that with the adverb qualifier “very” indicating a high degree to the assumption is

the echoed behaviour. PSO3S's reply that he is not hungry and expressing that with the adverb qualifier "not (hungry) at all" indicating a very high degree of negative response to the assumption made by PSO3T is the echo. Markedness of the echo lies in the exaggeration on the expression "not ...at all" but it is not at this point in interaction further inferencing comes into play. The implied echoed behaviour is that PSO3T always has so many procedures expressed in "I don't know why you always have so many procedures" and it becomes clear when this utterance takes place. With "always" in this utterance, we see that the echoer, PSO3S, thinks of the implied echoed behavior as a characteristic of the echoed, PSO3T. Clearly, PSO3T recognizes the negative attitude and replies, "Don't be silly".

The tension increases even more with the instances of impoliteness which are realized through conventionalized impoliteness in 8 and 9 in the form of an unpalatable question, "I don't know why you always have so many procedures [??] remain in [??] does it?", and a dismissal functioning as a silencer as well, "Don't be silly". After this point in the conversation, a more complex level of impoliteness takes place:

(PSO3T) I didn't. It's just ever so cold.  
(PSO3S) Quite cold is the phrase.  
(PSO3T) What did you say?  
(PSO3S) I said quite cold is the phrase, not ever so cold.  
(PSO3T) Is it? Oh. I stand corrected.  
(PSO3S) You'll have to go back to the nursery.  
(PSO3T) You, you'd like to go back to school. At your age.  
(PSO3S) I'd show the kids a thing or two.  
(PSO3T) You might...Apparently Jackie's got...  
(PSO3S) What?

PSO3S corrects PSO3T by pointing out that the expression she uses is not the "correct" expression by saying "Quite cold is the phrase". When PSO3S asks "What did you say?", we understand that there is a break-down in communication. The reasons for the break-down could be various: PSO3S might not have heard what PSO3T just said; she might not have understood what he was referring to; she might be challenging him to say what he just said one more time. Since the

context does not provide any clues to the issue, it is not possible to make an interpretation here. However, the following lines supply enough information on how she perceives what PSO3T said later. When PSO3T says “I said quite cold is the phrase, not ever so cold”, PSO3S replies “Is it? Oh. I stand corrected.”. PSO3T is very direct in the way he repeats the correction and PSO3S replies, with a very formal expression surprised “Is it? Oh.”, “I stand corrected”.

“I stand corrected” is an expression used in the meaning of “to be set right as after an error in a statement of fact; to admit having been in error” or “used to admit that something you have said or done was wrong”. PSO3T’s manner is quite direct and PSO3S’s manner is quite formal in return. Both of the speakers manner of speech, one being very direct in his correction and other being very formal in her reply, obscures the context and creates a mismatch between the pragmatic context of speech, between a husband and a wife at home, and the manner. Therefore, it creates a case for convention-driven implicational impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011b). PSO3S carries on his pointed criticism by saying, “You’ll have to go back to the nursery”, in a directive. In fact, how PSO3S replies to that directive “You’ll have to go back to the nursery”, proves that implicational impoliteness has reached the target as PSO3T replies “You, you’d like to go back to school. At your age.”. PSO3T meets the impoliteness by being impolite by pointing out her husband’s age, which is 82, as the bibliographic data analysis gives at the BNC. 82 is not a common age to go to school and in fact PSO3T is reminding him the impossibility of it by pointing out, by implication, he is too old. Again because age 82 is generally considered not to be the age of attending a school, giving this information is not relevant to the point she is making by, “You, you’d like to go back to school.” On the contrary, this piece of information points to the opposite idea that he cannot go to the school. Therefore, it flouts the maxim of Relation. Moreover, both speakers already know have this information so PSO3T also flouts the Maxim of Quantity. That is the reason, interpreting the exchange requires a complex web of inferencing and poses a strong case for sarcasm, tease and implicational impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011b).

In this extract, disagreement, verbalized in different forms, has a large impact on how the conversation unfolds and ends. While discussing what a disagreement is, Locher (2004) quotes Waldron and Applegate (1994, p. 4): disagreement is “a form of conflict, because verbal disagreements are taxing communication events, characterized by incompatible goals, negotiation and the need to coordinate self and other actions”. She continued by explaining how disagreements are noteworthy for face issues: since a disagreement indicates a conflict on a content level, it has the potential to create face concerns because it is difficult “to get one’s point across without seeming self-righteous” (p.94). However, the discussion on the function of disagreements took a different direction over time. Locher and Watts (2005), Angouri & Locher (2012), and Sifianou (2012) drew attention to the fact that disagreements can serve a variety of functions including ensuring sociability and intimacy. Disagreements may “contribute to face-aggravating, face-maintaining or face-enhancing *effects*” and examining “how disagreement is enacted and achieved and what the effects of different renditions might be” (Angouri and Locher, 2012, p. 2) is the suggested way of approaching the discussion of disagreement in impoliteness studies. As summarized in Chapter Two, disagreement was also discussed as an adjacency pair (Locher 2004, p. 95), requiring a first and a second part and a sequence of offering opinions. The adjacency pairs may not be completed in two turns: Kothoff (1993, p.195 cited in Sifianou, 2012, p.4) points out that disagreements are not simply accepted or rejected. They are likely to create longer sequences. Usually speakers of the disagreement in an interaction follow the disagreement up with a further contribution; “These change specifications of context so that ensuing disagreements may become more and more explicit without mitigation”.

The pattern of adjacency pairs observed in the conversation is:

Opinion-opposition-disagreement  
 Change in topic  
 Question-answer-opinion  
 Change in topic  
 (Unpalatable) question- answer (dismissal)  
 Change in topic:  
 Opinion-opinion-disagreement  
 Change in topic

Question-answer- opinion -opinion- disagreement-(sarcastic) agreement- (sarcastic) agreement

Change in topic

Question....

In this pattern, we observe that the disagreements end up with a change in the topic except after the last change of topic, where sarcasm and implicational impoliteness may be creating more reaction. In this conversation, turns are not followed up further by speakers; therefore, disagreements do not initiate longer sequences. On the contrary, since they are not accompanied by initiators such as hesitations, request for clarification, partial repeats, etc., the sequences are cut short. This in return gives an intense feeling to the conversation. Short sequences in the extract aggravate face, not so much due to the conflict in the content but due to the limited length managed by the speakers' initiation of topic change. The topic change here acts like a silencer and is used as a way of stopping further communication. Locher (2004) points out that disagreements may have restrictive power on the "addressee's action-environment" due to their "sequential position" (p.95). This extract brings a new dimension to this insight. It is not only disagreements' sequential position that has a restrictive power; it is also whether they open up the stage for further communication by being accompanied by the mentioned devices to initiate further communication. Pomerantz (1984, pp. 70, 74) distinguished between 'strong' and 'weak' disagreements. She explained that when disagreements are used in a position to react to what has taken place previously "weak disagreement can be accompanied by a delay of dispreferred messages through hesitations, "no talk", requests for clarification, partial repeats, other repair initiators, turn prefaces" etc. while strong disagreement usually occurs without these devices" (quoted in Locher, 2004, p.95). This distinction is noteworthy for an argument: what Pomerantz (1984) characterizes as "strong" disagreement followed up a change in topic, ending in short sequences, aggravates face more. The argument that no linguistic expression is inherently polite or impolite (Fraser and Nolen, 1981; Eelen, 2001; Terkourafi, 2001; Watts, 2003; Spencer-Oatey, 2005; Haugh, 2007; Ruhi, 2008; Culpeper, 2010) is also valid for speech acts. Speech acts are not inherently polite or impolite. As Angouri and Locher (2012, p.2) point out that what we are interested in in the study of

disagreement is the context and the effect of that context even from a CA point of view, rather than its mere existence.

Overall, in this Extract impoliteness is triggered by being critical to and showing dislike to one's use of language "quite cold is the phrase". However, it is aggravated by the tension created by disagreement followed by sudden topic changes and unpalatable question preceding the criticism. The impoliteness strategy is an insult since "quite cold is the phrase" implies an inadequacy in using language. The counter strategy is an ironical acknowledgement "I stand corrected" followed by irony "you might show kids a couple of things at your age" first and then offering a topic change.

#### **Extract 4.**

(Text ID: KBE, conversations recorded by PSO4B)

The following excerpt is not an instance of impoliteness but a discussion of why it is not is fundamental for the further discussion of impoliteness. In this excerpt, what would normally be considered as the conventionalized impoliteness formula (Culpeper, 2010, 2011b) is not perceived as impolite as it does not cause any friction in the communication. In fact, it functions for an opposite purpose, which is to show warmth and friendliness, and therefore politeness.

In a gathering at home, where PSODM, 29, is the host and the wife, PSODN is the cousin, 29 and a housewife, and PSODP is a friend, 32 and a housewife. PSODM asks the cousin PSODN if she is going out on Friday night. PSODN explains that a friend of hers whose son she looks after until her friend comes home from work suggested going out to Cardiff, with two other girls, Sandra and Alison. She says she is not sure if she wants to go out to Cardiff with Alison and Sandra being "like that". We understand from the excerpt that her reservation to go out with the girls comes from her uneasiness about her weight.

(PSODM) You going out tomorrow are you?

(PSODN) Oh I don't know



(PSODM) Do you go out on a Saturday now?  
 (PSODN) No I don't do I? It's not that I t I my friend come[...] cos I do have her little boy now  
 straight from school, she pays for him to have a taxi from Endrodenny down to my house and I do have him until she finishes work and she said oh coming out tomorrow? I said oh yeah! I mean I wouldn't've minded if she said come up the house like and she mentioned Cardiff but I've gone so fat I don't wanna go!  
 (PSODP) [yawning] Oh don't be so stupid woman .  
 (PSODN) Honestly that's what I think, I just don't wanna  
 (PSODM) You always look smart  
 (PSODP) Yes she does.  
 (PSODN) I, yeah but I d I no I, I'm fat and I don't wanna go. And that's how I feel. Cos then she said oh Sandra are you coming? I thought no there's Alison like that, there's Sandra like that I thought oh no. Can't handle it.  
 (PSODM) I've got to find my keys now to get in.  
 (PSODN) I don't know, I'll see how I feel.  
 (PSODM) Oh well  
 The exchange sequence I would like to discuss in this excerpt is the following:  
 (PSOND).... I've gone so fat I don't wanna go!  
 (PSODP) [yawning] Oh don't be so stupid woman .  
 (PSOND) Honestly that's what I think, I just don't wanna  
 (PSODM) You always look smart  
 (PSODP) Yes she does.  
 (PSOND) I, yeah but I d I no I, I'm fat and I don't wanna go.

When the exchange is taken at the surface level, one can say that because PSOND's comment "... I've gone so fat I don't wanna go!" is returned with by PSODP "[yawning] Oh don't be so stupid woman.", PSODP is being impolite. PSODP's utterance can be considered as conventionalized impoliteness formula which fits into condescension (Culpeper, 2011b) as in: "- [that] ['s/is being] [babyish/childish/etc.]". However, as how the conversation unfolds indicate, "[yawning] Oh don't be so stupid woman.", is not perceived to be impolite by PSOND. The reply coming from PSOND is an elaboration on the comment PSOND had just made about herself: "Honestly that's what I think, I just don't wanna". There are at least two reasons why "[yawning] Oh don't be so stupid woman.", might not have been perceived as impolite: 1) the negative assertion PSOND makes about herself is replied with PSODP's condescension and so it implies a positive meaning and does not function as an insult 2) PSODP is following the politeness rules as in a way she is expected to say something to make PSOND feel better; the absence of such behavior will be perceived as impolite (Culpeper, 2011b) that fits into context-driven implicational impoliteness. What is

also interesting here is that, of all the options PSODP could choose from (e.g. don't be stupid), he chooses to say "don't be so stupid woman", where both "so" and "woman" have important functions.

"So" increases the intensity of the message similar to the words "too, very, not... at all, always, so many", which added to the tension in Excerpt 3 (see the discussion above). If the utterance "don't be so stupid woman" had been perceived as impolite by PSOND, "so" would have created the same impact as the words in Excerpt 3 and increased tension. However, within the very context, the absence of "so" could have created tension. PSOND's utterance "... I've gone so fat I don't wanna go!", which comes after a long explanation suggests that this is a sensitive issue for her and she is very emotional about her appearance at least for the time being. This intensity of how she feels about her looks right now requires a similarly intense answer which has to emphasize and stress that her behavior is unreasonable. To put it in other words, in order not to respond with a lack of warmth and friendliness to such an intense way of expressing emotions, PSODP exaggerates her reply with "so" to PSOND. Not using "so" would be a mismatch of the context and create an absence of expected behavior and be impolite.

The other lexical item mentioned above to have a very important function is "...woman". "Woman"<sup>1</sup> creates an effect: the comment is not directed at the person and not personalized; that is why, "don't be so stupid woman" does not fit into the insult; personalized negative vocative or assertion as conventionalized impoliteness formula Culpeper (2010, 2011b) identified. "Woman" in the utterance "Oh don't be so stupid woman" puts a distance between the speaker and the hearer and in this way secures a perception from the hearer that the comment "stupid" is not an insult because it is not personalized as it would be in "don't be so stupid" addressed to the hearer directly through the implication of "you". The act of yawning accompanies the utterance and despite its importance, its pragmatic effect is hard to be interpreted. Selting (2012) examined complaint stories and examined various ways storytellers employed to mitigate their complaints, annoyance and anger or indignation. She found that different gestures even

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<sup>1</sup> The effect of "woman" can be different in different contexts for the very reason that it depersonalizes the person it addresses.

laughter and smiling are used “to make interpretable ‘helplessness’ or ‘cheekiness’ (p.412). Perhaps if the conversation had a visual recording, further interpretations about the yawning, whether it is genuine or mimicked and to what effect it is used could have been offered.

While discussing genuine versus mock impoliteness, Culpeper (2011b) focuses on “conventionalized impoliteness formulae used in contexts where contextual expectations of politeness are very strong” (p.207). He gives an example to illustrate such a case:

*[Lawrence Dallaglio, former England Rugby captain, describing the very close family in which he grew up].*

As Francesca and John left the house, she came back to give Mum a kiss and they said goodbye in the way they often did. ‘Bye, you bitch,’ Francesca said. ‘get out of here, go on, you bitch,’ replied Mum.

*It’s in the blood: My life* (2007), from an extract given in *The Week*, 10/11/07

Culpeper (2011b, p.207) points out that in this example both a conventionalized insulting vocative, ‘you bitch’, and a conventionalized dismissal, ‘get out of here’ are used. However, this describes a loving family relationship as opposed to a hate situation and nevertheless this is at odds with the context. He explains that “[t]he recontextualisation of impoliteness in socially opposite contexts reinforces opposite effects, namely, affectionate, intimate bonds amongst individuals and the identity of that group” and that the example illustrates the use of mock impoliteness. This acknowledgement demands a discussion of contexts where impoliteness normalized, legitimized or neutralized. In discussing these three different processes, Culpeper (2011b) states that normalization and legitimizing are similar in the sense that for both of them impoliteness is of a positive value. However, for legitimizing, an institutional structure is required such as in army training, interrogations (p.216). Neutralization, on the other hand, is rather different from the others as in the case of mock impoliteness discussed earlier.

Watts (2003) discussed the neutralization process in relation to “sanctioned aggressive face work” and states that certain types of interaction, such as the one between family members, close friends or in competitive forms of interaction as in

political debates or in hierarchical structures such as in the military services, are sanctioned and so “neutralise face-threatening or face-damaging acts” (pp.131-132). Culpeper (2011b) considers “sanctioned” closely related to legitimising but fundamentally different than neutralizing. He argues that in the military service for instance, in army training, impoliteness is legitimized but is not neutralized because natural data indicate that recruits still take offense, and contestants in *The Weakest Link*, which Culpeper (2011b) studied to collect data for impoliteness report embarrassment and humiliation. The use of “woman” in the extract above could as well be reflective of the awareness that even at a context where an impoliteness formulae would be neutralized, the speaker of the utterance prefers to de-personalize the conventionalized impoliteness formulae against the risk of being perceived as impolite with the comment. The extract below illustrates a case where a conventionalized impoliteness formula does not become neutralized and generates impoliteness.

### **Extract 5**

(Text ID: KBM, conversations recorded by PS1BL)

In extract 5, the conversation takes place among three friends who are students. They are talking about a deadline and the length of an assignment. It is understood from the co-text that the assignment is due after Easter but if it is to be handed in before, the paper will be marked and checked for the students to work on more and to submit with revisions after Easter. It should apparently cover six items and as one of the participants’ comments below, each item should be expanded upon with approximately five hundred words. One of the participants, PS1BR has decided to hand the assignment in the next day and get feedback before he submits its final version. When PS1BR says he/she has written one thousand words, PS1BL points out that it will not be enough and says “You have to write about five hundred words just to cover each point. You have to give loads and loads like”. PS1BR’s reply to this is a conventionalized impoliteness formula; “Fuck off!”. PS1BL channels it back the speaker PS1BR and directly addresses the speaker with the same conventionalized formula in the utterance “You do!” with a more intense tone as in “You do!” by implication “you fuck off” is more personalized than

“Fuck off”. To this reply PS1BR’s response “Sod that!” is noteworthy since the response still includes another offensive word “sod”, which is 23<sup>rd</sup> on the list of offensive words in the year 2000 (see Section 3.6 for list of offensive words from Millwood-Hargrave, 2000), but phrased in very depersonalized and distancing language as framed in pronoun “that”, in “Sod that!”.

(PS1BN) Did we have to hand it in?  
(PS1BL) No. You hand it in before Easter if you want it marked and checked. But after Easter you just wanna hand it in and just sod it. I don't care.  
(PS1BN) I'll bring it after Easter. Just hand it in on time.  
(PS1BR) I'm gonna hand mine in tomorrow.  
(PS1BL) What the first? Bollocks!  
(PS1BR) Good as it'll ever be.  
(PS1BL) Six hundred words is nowhere near enough. Six thousand'll be about close enough. You should see what he says.  
(PS1BR) But I'm gonna one thousand  
(PS1BL) You a  
(PS1BR) words, but that's all I'm  
(PS1BL) yo  
(PS1BR) gonna do.  
(PS1BL) You have wi write about five hundred words just to cover each point. You have to give loads and loads like .  
(PS1BR) Fuck off!  
(PS1BL) You do!  
(PS1BR) Sod that!  
(PS1BL) have you do-  
(PS1BN) What meat?  
(PS1BL) [laugh]  
(PS1BR) yeah well  
(PS1BN) [laughing] [??] [??] put meat for one of his answers !  
(PS1BL) [laugh]  
(PS1BR) what?  
(PS1BL) [laugh]  
(PS1BN) about five points, he's just put meat.

Culpeper (2011b) elaborates on neutralizing and comments that even in situations where impoliteness is meant to function as mock impoliteness and is neutralized there is no guarantee that the target will not take offence. Culpeper (2011b, p.218) argues that neutralized impoliteness may still cause offence as impoliteness is difficult to see in context, which is what essentially neutralizes the negativity of impoliteness. He explains that a possible reason could be that people usually do not pay attention to the context since people have a tendency to pay more attention

to negative stimuli, which in this case is the conventionalized impoliteness formulae “fuck off!”. Culpeper (2011b, p.218) cites Pratto and John (2005 [1991]) and reports that, “[they] argue that negative stimuli attract greater attention because of the inherent threat they pose, a prediction they label the ‘automatic vigilance hypothesis’:

[People] assign relatively more value, importance, and weight to events that have negative, rather than positive, implications for them. In decision-making, potential costs are more influential than potential gains (e.g. Kahneman and Tversky, 1979). In impression formation, negative formation is weighted more heavily than positive information (e.g. Anderson, 1974; Fiske, 1980; Hamilton and Zanna, 1972). In non-verbal communication, perceivers are more responsive to negatively toned messages than positive ones (Ford, Lamb, Leavitt, and Donovan, 1978). Quite generally, then, ‘losses loom larger than gains’ (Kahneman and Tversky, 1984:348) (quoted in Culpeper, 2011b, p.218 from Pratto and John, (2005 [1995])).

In other words, for mock impoliteness to occur, the context and the effects of what is included in the context (e.g. closeness of the participants, the poetic effect, etc.) compete with the impoliteness signal and neutralize it. However, at times, as is illustrated in the extract, the context and the effects of what is included fail to the task.

Overall, in this extract, what triggers impoliteness is use of offensive language, “fuck off”, which is itself impolite because it functions as an insult. The counter strategy is impoliteness in the same phrase “you do (fuck off)” in a more personalized form since it starts with “you”. This strategy works and PS1BR depersonalizes the insult “fuck off” with “sod that” where “that” adds a new direction to the insult and the impoliteness comes to a closure. The participants then start talking about the same topic in a jocular manner indicated by the laughs in the following turns the speakers take.

### **Extract 6**

(Text ID: KPW, conversations recorded by PS58H)

Extract 5 illustrates a case where “fuck off!” is interpreted as impolite and does not become neutralized. The reasons are firstly, that there are grounds to believe

people have a tendency to pay much more attention to negative stimuli (Pratto and John, 2005 [1991]) and secondly, that the context and the effects included did not allow for a contrary interpretation (Culpeper, 2011b). Another point, in addition to what is mentioned above for the discussion of what might have created a context that the expression “fuck off!” does not go as neutralized, is the frequency of the context the expression is normally used with.

The idea of the frequency of the context is closely related to schema theory and to the related concepts such as frames, scripts, scenarios. Culpeper (2011b) summarizes a schema as, “a structured cluster of concepts containing relatively generic information derived from experience, and is stored in semantic long-term memory” (p.14). Levinson’s (1992 [1979a]) “activity type”, his notion of (1992, p. 97) “inferential schemata”, and Schank and Abelson (1977, p. 41)’s script echoes a similar argument. Schank and Abelson (1977, p. 41) define script as “A structure that describes appropriate sequences of events in a particular context... Scripts handle stylised everyday situations. Thus, a script is a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that defines a well-known situation” (quoted in Culpeper, 2011b, p. 196). When Terkourafi (2005b) characterizes conventionalization as “a relationship between utterances and context, which is a correlate of the (statistical) frequency with which an expression is used in one’s experience of a particular context” (p.213), her focus is also on the frequency of the expression and the frame it creates in a person’s memory.

The extract below is a conversation exemplifying a situation where an expression such as “shut up!” creates tension due to the frequency with which it is usually used.

(PS58J) [laugh] What was I saying? I said, yeah, it's me, er my sister said that erm she feels [laughs] a man in Olympus Sports, I said erm, on a poster playing basket ball and he looked like you. Are you sure it's not you? I said, are you sure it's not you? What are you doing there? He goes [...] oh shut up, like that. And er, he yeah, yeah [...] he told me he could play basket ball [...] it must be right cos he's got a nice chest and he went what? Like that and he started laughing [laugh] He said yeah, cos he said he'd got, I, I don't know what I said [...] don't say shut up like that and I [...] [laugh] don't tell me to shut up like that!

(PS6SM) Do I say that?

(PS58J) You always talk to people like that, what are you talking about? You're just high and mighty

(PS6SM) Don't talk to me like that! I don't, I don't appreciate the way you're talking to me!  
 (PS58J) Okay [...] don't you know when I'm joking?  
 (PS6SM) No, I don't when you're joking because you don't say shut up to me [...] for you to say shut up.  
 (PS58J) [...] I wa you mean you don't know when I'm joking or being serious. I'm being serious now, anyway [...]  
 (KPWPSUNK) [...]  
 (PS58J) Who could that've been?  
 (PS6SM) I haven't got a clue.

Culpeper (2011b) indicates the expression “shut up” as a conventionalized impoliteness formulae functioning as a silencer at the end of his exhaustive corpus analysis carried out in the Oxford English Corpus (see Chapter Three). In fact, the tension is reinforced and intensified by a couple of more linguistic mismatches with the context and in the end, one of the participants retaliates and the other one has to restore the interaction by saying he/she was joking. The following is the description of what took place.

One of the participants, PS58J, reports a past event and what she/he had said to another person at the time. While reporting what he/she said, PS58J, criticizing that person, says, “I, I don't know what I said [...] don't say shut up like that and I [...] [laugh] don't tell me to shut up like that” which immediately gets PS6SM to react and she/he asks, “Do I say that?”. Apparently, the reply, “You always talk to people like that, what are you talking about? You're just high and mighty”, PS6SM receives from PS58J is not what is expected because it is responded with disapproval by PS6SM: “Don't talk to me like that! I don't, I don't appreciate the way you're talking to me!”.

In the utterance “You always talk to people like that, what are you talking about? You're just high and mighty”, there are certain face attacking strategies used. Firstly, the utterance is personalized as it is addressed as in second person pronoun “you”. Secondly, the booster “always” placed in a generalization in a pointed criticism implied by “like that”, which has a negative meaning retrieved from the co-text. Thirdly, this pointed criticism comes in an unpalatable question; “what are you talking about?”. All of these uses of strategies block the inference that PS58J claims to have intended; “Okay [...] don't you know when I'm joking”.



PS6SM eventually reminds PS58J that “shut up” is not used in a context like this and cannot function as a joke. In layman’s terms, when PS6SM says, “No, I don’t when you’re joking because you don’t say shut up to me [...] for you to say shut up”, he/she confirms Culpeper’s (2010, 2011b) finding that “shut up” is a silencer and dismissal. The metapragmatic comment coming from PS6SM indicates that the boundary between politeness<sup>1</sup> and politeness<sup>2</sup> is not as precise as it is argued. PS6SM’s reminder that “shut up” is not appropriate falls both under politeness<sup>1</sup> as it is the speaker’s evaluation and under politeness<sup>2</sup> as it brings a theoretical dimension to the evaluation. This example suggests that there is parallelism between layman’s concept and current theoretical model of impoliteness that it is the context (Culpeper, 2011) that determines whether it is the linguistic expressions that generate impoliteness.

Overall, in this extract, impoliteness is triggered with showing dislike of someone’s behavior. When PS6SM points out that what PS58J is criticizing is a characteristic of PS58J as well, “you always talk to people like that, what are you talking about? You’re just high and mighty”, PS58J perceives this to be impolite and reacts to this insult. The counter strategy PS58J follows is implied warning “don’t talk to me like that! I don’t, I don’t appreciate the way you’re talking to me!”. The warning has been effective on PS6SM because she/he says “okay [...] don’t you know when I’m joking?”, which is a denial to change the topic. Then PS58J brings the impoliteness to an end by taking the theme to another direction—probably to a sound in the situation, “who could that’ve been?”

### **Extract 7**

(Text ID: KPH, conversations recorded by PS55T)

The extract below, is a good example of the emotions generated by being exposed to impoliteness. It illustrates the psychology of the person attacked especially when coercive power is executed. The extract is a conversation between two participants, one of whom, KPHPSUNK, reports an incident of impoliteness: one of the professors of the school calls her slut because she was chewing, apparently

not a gum but sweets, giving the reason that it is rude to eat in public and such behavior gives a bad reputation to the school as she looks like a slut. KPHPSUNK tells of the event to her parents and the parents ask her to go and tell it to the professor's wife. The wife calls her and asks her to go see the professor and the professor apologizes. The way he apologizes sounds odd to KPHPSUNK as he says he did not mean to insult her; he used the word slut as in slovenly woman, which to KPHPSUNK does not sound any better than slut anyway. Later, she continues to report that her father, having seen him, swore at him by saying "that's that fucking asshole that called you a slut isn't it?" and sounded funny.

(PS55T) Yeah . He's such an asshole. But I can't believe when he s called you a slut .

(KPHLC) What!

((KPHPSUNK) Oh my God at swimming!

(KPHLC) Called you a slut?

(PS55T) She was chewing, okay, and

(KPHPSUNK)I wasn't chewing gum though, I was eating sweets

(PS55T) no you were like eating or something mm

(KPHPSUNK) yeah.

(PS55T) and he goes God you're such a slut or something, got really aggressive.

(KPHPSUNK) He goes don't you know it's rude to eat in public. You girls lower the school down, you look like a slut, yeah? And I was standing there going .Oh God, I would've crawled into a hole for the rest of my life.

(PS55T) I, I was standing next to her, I was going Jesus Christ!

(KPHPSUNK)I know, everyone was just going then erm I told my m my er parents and my parents said to me go and tell your house master so I told . What a shit. told his wife and his wife went and had a go at him. I would, yeah. and then, and then [gap name ] came up to me and said erm

(KPHPSUNK) He didn't . if you if you go and see this afternoon erm he would like to speak to you and I was like he should come and speak to me . Yeah! Yeah. and erm

(PS55T) So you went and saw him?

(KPHPSUNK) so I went and saw him and he goes I didn't mean it as a slut as, as in a promiscuous woman

(KPHPSUNK) [laugh]

(KPHPSUNK) so he goes, no he goes I, I mean it as a slovenly woman, like you're

(KPHPSUNK) [scream]

(KPHPSUNK) so much better!

(KPHPSUNK) He goes I didn't mean to insult you, oh no sir, right, yeah!

(PS55T) slovenly from time to time, yeah.

(KPHPSUNK) And then he goes, he goes erm it's, it gets erm it really gets to me when I think people are chewing around school, I don't know what to do to stop people and I wasn't chewing, yes well it looked like chewing, but I wasn't chewing!

(KPHPSUNK) Oh God it was so pathetic. But just to call anyone a slut is just so rude.

(PS55T) It's just so rude, I know.

(KPHPSUNK) I know you don't, especially an adult in this school calling someone

I know.

(PS55T) They're not adults in this school, don't worry.

(KPHPSUNK) Oh yeah,

(KPHPSUNK) My dad, do you know what my dad said? My dad was, my dad walked straight, just past him, was like where you are and my dad was where my feet are

(PS55T) Yeah?

(KPHPSUNK) and he goes that's that fucking asshole that called you a slut isn't it?

(KPHPSUNK) [laugh]

(KPHPSUNK) And I was like

(KPHPSUNK) [laugh] [laughing] can you say it any louder dad [laugh]

(KPHPSUNK) as well like er [laughing] he sounds so funny .

This extract illustrates what Culpeper (2011b) defines as coercive impoliteness. In order to explain the type of politeness, he first refers to Tedeschi and Felson (1994)'s definition of coercive action, which is closely related to the notion of coercive impoliteness. According to them coercive action is:

an action taken with the intention of imposing harm on another person or forcing compliance. Actors engaged in coercive actions expect that their behavior will either harm the target or lead to compliance, and they value one of these proximate outcomes. They value they attach to compliance or harm the target arises from their belief about the causal relationship between compliance or harm and terminal values. There are many values that might be pursued through coercive means. For example, actors might value harm to the target because they believe it will result in justice, or they might value the target's compliance because they believe it will lead to tangible benefits (Tedeschi and Felson, 1994, p. 168)

What is of interest about the concept of the coercive actions is that, Tedeschi and Felson (1994) categorize them into three: threats, punishments and bodily force. The meaning of threat is wider than its common understanding: a threat can be contingent or noncontingent. If it is contingent, the statement of the source clearly states to impose harm on the target in case of nonconformity. A noncontingent threat, on the other hand, includes anything that the source believes the target does not want as in the statement of "If you don't do what I want, then I will do X". In other words, that X in the threat is a harm that is "usually intended to frighten or

humiliate the target person” as in “If you don’t do what I want I will harm you in some way” (p. 170). They also point out that threat can be tacit and implied, and multiple strategies such as facial expressions, bodily posture, the phrasing of a sentence can be used as a threat. Once the tacit threat is perceived, it is likely to achieve the same outcome as an explicit or contingent threat. Culpeper (2011b) does not elaborate on the definition of threat in his study of conventionalized impoliteness formulae and does not make a distinction between contingent and noncontingent threats. However, an acknowledgement of the distinction requires a deeper analysis of threats as a category of conventionalized impoliteness formulae as a wider pool of linguistic and non-linguistic items retrieved from the context could bring out essential information about what people perceive as impolite and what impoliteness is. In the extract above, we only have the participant’s report and her friend’s agreement on how it happened:

(PS55T) She was chewing, okay, and  
(KPHPSUNK) I wasn't chewing gum though, I was eating sweets  
(PS55T) no you were like eating or something mm  
(KPHPSUNK) yeah.  
(PS55T) and he goes God you're such a slut or something, got really aggressive.  
(KPHPSUNK) He goes don't you know it's rude to eat in public. You girls lower the school down, you look like a slut, yeah? And I was standing there going .Oh God, I would've crawled into a hole for the rest of my life.

The conventionalized impoliteness formulae, “God you're such a slut” reported to have been uttered by the professor, falls into the category of insult as a negative vocative (Culpeper, 2010, 2011b). Combined with aggressiveness, it could also be perceived as a noncontingent threat if the distinction drawn by Tedeschi and Felson (1994) is acknowledged. This point adds to the complexity of the methodological approach to extract impoliteness from a corpus as formulaic expressions with all their variety may still fail to point out an instance of impoliteness in a corpus unless the whole co-text and the context is taken into consideration.

The close relationship between insults, in any form such as a negative vocative in the extract, and notions of punishment and harm are important for understanding

what is taking place in this extract. Tedeschi and Felson (1994) define punishment similarly to how Kleining (1973) does: punishment is an action performed with the intention of imposing harm on another person. For Tedeschi (1970), there are different types of harm; physical harm, such as punching, stabbing; deprivation of sources such as in robbery and social harm. Social harm damages the social identity of a person by lowering their status. It can be executed through insults, reproaches, sarcasm and impolite behaviour and impoliteness. Negative evaluations, mild reproaches and disagreements may be perceived as identity attacks even when they are not intended to be (Tedeschi and Felson, 1994, p. 171). In the extract above, the target of the impoliteness KPHPSUNK comments on how she felt after the moment she was likened to a slut by the professor: “Oh God, I would've crawled into a hole for the rest of my life”. The emotion she feels is the embarrassment; her social identity face is being attacked and as a result social harm is being imposed.

The insult in the form of a negative vocative functioned as punishment and generated social harm by attacking KPHPSUNK's social identity face. Spencer-Oatey (2002) defines social identity face as the following:

We have a fundamental desire for people to acknowledge and uphold our social identities or roles, e.g. as group leader, valued customer, close friend. Social identity face is concerned with the value that we effectively claim for ourselves in terms of social or group roles, and is closely associated with our sense of public worth (p.540)

Social identity face is also closely related to the beliefs about socially appropriate behavior, which are also related to two principles of interaction: equity and association. KPHPSUNK thinks that the teacher is violating both her equity and association rights because he is socially punishing and harming her. This creates an imbalance in the cost-benefit principle and brings out a costly result for her. She feels so embarrassed that she wants to delay her interactional and affective involvement with the society (see the utterance “Oh God, I would've crawled into a hole for the rest of my life”). She wants to detach herself from the society but this is not a voluntary action; she has it imposed on her to behave that way. Her freedom to choose is taken away from her and her actions are restricted. It is worth

noting that she expresses this complex chain of the violation of her rights through the emotion embarrassment.

Spencer-Oatey (2011) pointed out that although the role of emotions have always been implicitly discussed in relation to politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987; Lakoff, 1989; Ide, 1989; Leech, 1983; Goffman, 1967), there has been little research on the role of emotions as Culpeper (2011b) and Ruhi (2009) called attention. In her study (2011), she addressed this issue and took a deeper look into emotion and impoliteness through explicit metapragmatic emotion labels in interview data she collected as a project manager of four groups of teachers of different backgrounds and nationalities, namely British and Chinese. She used Shaver et al.'s (1987) 5 basic emotion prototypes, love, joy, anger, sadness and fear, to group emotions expressed during interviews under politeness and impoliteness categories. She found that the prototype emotion sadness had the largest number of references. There were 13 emotion labels used under this prototype: disappointed, embarrassing, pity, unhappy, demotivated, uncomfortable, depressed, distant, aimless, ashamed, offended, hurt, and sorry. This extract also illustrates a case for the need to study the role of emotions and confirms Spencer-Oatey's (2011) finding that embarrassment is closely related to impoliteness. A similar argument came earlier from Goffman (1967, pp. 6-8): there are feelings, such as feeling good, bad, hurt, embarrassed and chagrined, attached to face (qtd. in Spencer-Oatey, 2011, p.3568). However, there is one important methodological differences between the points made here with the extract and Spencer-Oatey's (2011). As part of her analytical procedure, Spencer-Oatey (2011) only used "explicit metapragmatic emotion labels" to avoid imposing the analyst's point of view to the data interpretation:

Clearly, the interviewees could express their emotion in ways other than selecting an emotion label (e.g. through intonation or through recounting an incident that implied, but did not explicitly state, an emotional reaction), but since that entails more subjective analyst interpretation and my aim was to take a first order approach (Eelen, 2001; Watts et al., 1992), I focused only on instances of use of explicit metapragmatic emotion labels.

The comment in the extract "Oh God, I would've crawled into a hole for the rest of my life" is not of the kind of metapragmatic label she had in mind for the

analytical procedure. Nonetheless, if it is agreed that this comment is highly reflective of the emotion label embarrassment, the comment would be very valuable for the researcher. This example indicates that in studying naturally occurring conversations, metapragmatic comments on emotions may not appear in the form of emotion labels but in the form of idioms, multi-word expressions and conventional or creative metaphors and metonymies.

Analyzing conventional and creative metaphors and metonymies has been taken up as a method for analysis by scholars for different purposes in relation to (im)politeness. Ruhi and Işık-Güler (2007) investigated *yüz*, face and *gönül*, heart/roughly “heart/mind/desire” and examined metonymic and metaphorical expressions in the METU Turkish corpus to investigate how conceptualization of face is related to the social person and self-presentation in Turkish setting. Through the study on metonymic and metaphorical expressions and idioms, quoting Song (1998, pp.102-03), they explain that they aimed at reaching “cases of interpretive language use—that is, cases of metonymic and metaphorical metarepresentings of self that focus on ‘some property or value’ and guide the ‘directions in which interpretation may proceed’” (Ruhi & Işık-Güler, 2007, p.7). Ruhi and Kádár (2011) compared the concept of face in Turkish and Chinese culture in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century looking into five semantic/pragmatic domains: interpersonal, emotions, personality, situational, and as body organ that an earlier studies detailed (Ruhi, 2009a; Ruhi, 2009b, Ruhi & Işık-Güler, 2007). At the emotions level, for instance, for Turkish, they looked at the frequency of idiomatic uses of face such as *yüzü gülmek* (lit. ‘to smile’, i.e. ‘to become happy, be contented, satisfied’), *yüzünü ekşitmek* (lit. ‘for one’s face to become sour’, i.e. ‘to show distaste, disgust on one’s face’), *yüzü donmak* (lit. ‘for one’s face to freeze’, i.e. ‘to be stunned’). In one recent study, Langlotz and Locher (2012) looked into how emotional stance was communicated in online disagreements. They analyzed 120 English postings from the *Mailonline* both qualitatively and quantitatively examining how emotional stances were presented through conceptual implication, explicit expression and emotional description. They summarized their findings of the frequency of implied indexing of emotions,

the direct expression of emotions and the description of emotions in the corpus according to argumentative moves in the table below:

	Total	Ratio per post overall (n = 120)	In disagreement	Ratio per disagreement post (n = 104)	In agreement	Ratio per agreement post (n = 19)	In extension	Ratio per extension post (n = 28)
<i>Means of implying emotions</i>								
Conceptual implications	90	0.8	63	0.6	11	0.6	16	0.6
Lexical connotations	75	0.6	49	0.5	9	0.5	17	0.6
Metaphors and their stylistic implications	30	0.3	23	0.2	4	0.2	3	0.1
Sarcasm	13	0.1	9	0.1	0	0	4	0.1
Irony	12	0.1	9	0.1	0	0	3	0.1
Word play	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Total	223	1.9	156	1.5	24	1.3	43	1.5
<i>Means of expressing emotions</i>								
Exclamations	41	0.3	28	0.3	8	0.4	5	0.2
Intensification	35	0.3	24	0.2	6	0.3	5	0.2
Name calling	17	0.1	13	0.1	1	0.1	3	0.1
Verbalization of emotional reaction	17	0.1	11	0.1	5	0.3	1	0
Smileys	2	0	2	0		0	0	0
Interjections	2	0	1	0	1	0.1	0	0
Emotional construction	1	0	1	0		0	0	0
Total	115	1	80	0.8	21	1.1	14	0.5
<i>Means of describing emotions</i>								
Verbal descriptions/ascriptions of emotional states	30	0.3	20	0.2	3	0.2	7	0.3
Emotion words	10	0.1	8	0.1	1	0.1	1	0
Total	40	0.3	28	0.3	4	0.2	8	0.3
Overall total and ratio	378	3.2	264	2.5	49	2.6	65	2.2

Figure 14. The implied indexing of emotions, the direct expression of emotions and the description of emotions in the corpus according to argumentative moves.

Source: Langlotz, A and Locher, M:A. 2012, p.12

In this table, we see that *describing* emotions totaled to 40 comments; *implying* emotions totaled to 223 and *expressing* emotions totaled to 115. *Describing* emotions was 5 and three times lower. For instance, metaphors and their stylistic implications came in at 0.3 while emotion words came in at 0.1 per post overall, which indicates there is a strong possibility that conflict talk, which has the potential to signal impoliteness, will include metaphors, metonymies and other forms of idiomatic multi-word expressions. One of the insights Spencer-Oatey (2011) reaches, if it is not “simply a reflection of this form of data collection” (p. 3576), is:



The much larger number of metapragmatic emotion comments than (im)politeness comments could suggest that people's personal emotional reactions are more primary and critical than their evaluative judgments of others' (im)politeness, at least when reflecting on workplace teams (p. 3576).

She then suggests for further research to explore other possible explanations. However, further research focusing only on emotion labels would disregard the emotional reactions expressed through metaphors and metonymies. This means that CDL or indeed any methodological approach, when investigating (im)politeness needs to develop ways of extracting such expressions.

#### 4.2. Impoliteness in the STC

In this section, the examples that are extracted from the STC will be discussed and analyzed. The analysis, which is corpus-driven, will be related to the discussion of impoliteness in the field and, later in the following chapter, will be compared with the data collated from BNC in the section above be used to theorize what impoliteness models should take into consideration.

##### Extract 1:

The conversation, 113\_090404\_00004, takes place when the interactants are at a café taking photographs. There are 4 speakers ASI000037, BAD000036, IND000002, OZG000035, and DER000038 (ASI, BAD, IND, OZG and DER henceforth). ASI is the speaker who triggers impoliteness coming from OZG and BAD due to her irritating behavior. The extract is a part of the conversation from 113\_090404\_00004 lasting for 8 minutes and 12 seconds.

##### Extract 1. 113\_090404\_00004

ASI000037 [v]		((0.6)) ben iki...			son sınıfta almıştım.
Trans.	I bought it... when I was in my final year at university.				
IND000002 [v]				hayır.	
Trans.	No.				

<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	((1.0)) ha evet. �bu o zaman bayağı para ver	ya o zaman o
<b>Trans.</b>	Yeah, right. she had spent a lot of money	at the time
<b>ASI000037 [v]</b>		sene iki bin/
<b>Trans.</b>		the year two thousand/

<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	almıştı yaa.		di mi? • seni öyle hatırlıyorum
<b>Trans.</b>	(she)bought it, yeah .		Right? . I remember you (doing) that.
<b>ASI000037 [v]</b>		sene iki bin altı.	
<b>Trans.</b>		year two thousand six.	

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>		((1.4)) e ben son sınıfım. hala yok.	((0.1)) ki o zo/ o
<b>Trans.</b>		I am at the final year (of the university). Still I don't have (one). And the last	
<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	ben.		
<b>Trans.</b>	I		.

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>	son sınıfla bu son sınıf arasında fark var. �artık her yer
<b>Trans.</b>	year of the university of the time and now are different. now, (there is)

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>	fotoğraf makinesi yani.	((0.2)) eskiden �ok yoktu.	
<b>Trans.</b>	a camera everywhere, I mean. Didn't use to be many in the past.		
<b>ASI000037 [v]</b>			evet. ���
<b>Trans.</b>			Yes. I

<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>			((0.8)) ben
<b>Trans.</b>	I		
<b>ASI000037 [v]</b>	yüz on milyona almıştım kısaca.	((short laugh))	
<b>Trans.</b>	bought it for three hundred millions, in short.		

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>		ben	de çalışmaya başlayınca	alacağım.	
<b>Trans.</b>	I will buy (one) too when I start working.				
<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	de üç yüze al	dım.			
<b>Trans.</b>	bought it for three hundred as well.				
<b>DER000038 [v]</b>					çok
<b>Trans.</b>					

<b>ASI000037 [v]</b>		((1.5)) sizi çekelim biz de
<b>Trans.</b>	let's take (a photo) of you	
<b>DER000038 [v]</b>	hava atmana gerek yok.	
<b>Trans.</b>	(you) don't have to show off so much.	

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>							niye sen
<b>Trans.</b>	why, you						
<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>					((0.1)) bişey		
<b>Trans.</b>	s o m e t h i n g						
<b>ASI000037 [v]</b>	arkadaşlar.		çeke	biliriz.			
<b>Trans.</b>	f r i e n d s .                      w e c a n						
<b>DER000038 [v]</b>		yo beni çekmeyin.					
<b>Trans.</b>	no, don't include me.						

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>		çekme. sen bi yeme. sen bi içme.	ne	oluyor
<b>Trans.</b>	don't take. just don't eat. just don't drink. what's happening			
<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	diyeceğim.		sana bi	
<b>Trans.</b>	I'll say (something). (you) now			

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>		ya Allah Allah.	((0.3)) marjinal.	
<b>Trans.</b>	Oh, Gosh. marjinal.			
<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	geçireceğim	zaten ((XXX)).		((0.8)) flaşımı
<b>Trans.</b>	I will hit/slap you. (t he flash)			

<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	açalım mı?		
<b>Trans.</b>	should we switch on the flash?		
<b>DER000038 [v]</b>			((0.5)) tamam çekin ya
<b>Trans.</b>	ok, take (a picture)		

The interactants are taking photographs and at the same time talking about the topic “camera”; when they bought their first, how much it cost and when they are planning to have one if they do not have one already. One of the speakers ASI encounters conventionalized impoliteness which is triggered due to her repeated violations of maxims of conversation.

ASI first flouts the Maxim of Quantity by giving too many details about when she bought the camera and how much she paid for it. First, she says “I bought it when I was in my final year at university”, then encouraged by the BAD’s comment, “she had spent a lot of money at the time really. right? I remember you (doing) that”, she gives the exact year and the amount of money she had spent for the camera taking her time to speak, as the repetition of the phrase the year indicates, in the conversation: “the year two thousand”, trying to remember exactly, “year two thousand six”, “yes. I bought it for 300.000 TL. in short.” followed by a short

laugh. The fact that she completes her turn by saying “in short”, she is signaling that she is aware that her turn on the details of when she bought the camera and how much she paid for it had taken too much time from the conversation. She then gives a short laugh as she might be thinking of what she had just said “in short” and might have found it contradicting since she is aware she has flouted the Maxim of Quantity in two ways both with the exact year and the exact price. The exact the year and the price is not asked for or not a noteworthy piece of information for the conversation at that point. Therefore, the information ASI gives is both irrelevant and superfluous.

What follows ASI’s violation of Maxim of Quantity is an example of impoliteness. The impoliteness takes form gradually in stages. It starts to take place with DER’s comment: “you don’t have to show off so much”, *çok hava atmana gerek yok*, which is in fact a pointed criticism and personalized negative assertion, followed by OZG’s comment “I am going to buy one myself when I start working”. Right after DER’s comment “you don’t have to show off so much”, there is a long pause, 1.5, the longest compared to 0.8, 0.1 and 0.3 in the conversation. Although ASI does not respond to DER’s assertion, explicitly, the fact that she takes this pause of 1.5 implicates that the message had an effect on her. ASI’s next turn is, “let’s take your photographs, friends”, *sizi çekelim bizde arkadaşlar*. Friend is term of endearment in Turkish which could have been replaced with “girls”, *kızlar* in this context. However, it is “friends” ASI prefers to use and it signals her attempt to repair the comment that she is showing off. Still, DER replies as “no, don’t include me”. ASI is insisting: “we can”, with her insistence, she is imposing what she wants to do upon the others. This point in the conversation is critical: ASI has violated the Maxim of Quantity; her violation of it is interpreted as show off by her friend and her friend has verbalized this as a criticism and negative assertion directed at ASI. However, the other participants OZG and BAD do not align with DER; on the contrary, they align with ASI. OZG disapproval of DER comes with the utterance “why, you. don’t take. just don’t eat. just don’t drink. what is happening, Gosh? ((0.3)) marginal”, *niye, sen. çekme. sen bi yeme. sen bi içme, ne oluyor ya Allah Allah, marjinal*. There is a strong dismissal by repeated silencers in the form of negative imperative, “why, you. don’t take. just don’t eat. just don’t

drink”, *niye, sen. çekme. sen bi yeme. sen bi içme*, and a message enforcer in the form of question ending with an interjection “what is happening, Gosh!”, *ne oluyor ya Allah Allah* . Especially, with *ne oluyor ya Allah Allah*, OZG stresses her confusion and disapproval of DER’s comment “you don’t have to show off much”, *çok hava atmana gerek yok*, and behaviour that she does not want to appear in the photograph. OZG dismisses DER one more time with a personalized negative assertion “marjinal”, *marjinal* meaning ASI does not fit in. Moreover, the pause of (0.3) indicates the possibility that whatever impact the comment *marjinal* is to achieve: the speaker, OZG, takes a pause, which signals face-sensitive issue.

Overlapping with OZG utterance “why, you. don’t take”, *niye, sen. çekme*, BAD has also taken a turn by the utterance, “((0.1)) I’ll say something”, *bişey diyeceğim*, which has the function of preparing the stage for something negative that will follow. *Bişey*, something, is both euphemistic of what she is going to say and is a hedge for the impact her utterance is going to make. The pause 0.1 is noteworthy; it is not long nevertheless the presence of it signals that again a face-sensitive issue is about to arise. BAD then says, “I’ll to hit/slap you right now”, *sana bi geçireceğim zaten*, which is a form of a threat. In this utterance, the word *zaten*, which includes the meanings of *anyway* and *in fact*, is translated as *right now* as opposed to *now* due to the impact of “bi”, which signals anger, as discussed below, and increases the intensity of the threat.

While Ruhi (2010) discusses how important it is to go beyond the discussion of interaction with other documents to examine the indexicality of face, following the ethnomethodological approach proposed by Garfinkel (1967) and Hak (1995), she studies photographs taken at a wedding ceremony as parallel documents showing how closely membership categorization is related to the face issue. Quoting from Sudnow (1972, p. 264), Ruhi emphasizes the symbolic action of taking photographs: “Persons regard the photograph to be produced ...as a document of their appearances, actions, movements, relationships, aspects, moods, etc.” (Ruhi, 2010, p. 2135). This extract is coincidentally a case of a photograph taking. When DER announces that she does not want to appear in the photograph, after the comment she made to ASI, “you don’t have to show off much”, *çok hava atmana gerek yok*, she is jeopardizing the friendly atmosphere by indexing herself out of

the membership in the group and acting against social expectations. Implying being part of the group through verbal and behavioral channels is not a desirable act, she is attacking the positive face of the group. This is responded by a strong reaction from OZG and BAD, with impoliteness. The scale of impoliteness is surprisingly high, a strong dismissal utterance “why, you. don’t take. just don’t eat. just don’t drink. what is happening, Gosh? ((0.3)) marginal”, *niye, sen. çekme. sen bi yeme. sen bi içme, ne oluyor ya Allah Allah, marjinal*, and a threat of physical harm “I’ll to hit/slap you right now”, *sana bi geçireceğim zaten*, for a friendly gathering in the extract. One possible reason for the high scale of impoliteness is that DER is not attacking positive face of one individual but the sum of positive faces of all the participants who are willing to appear in the picture.

In her attempt to arrive at universal properties of face<sup>2</sup>, Terkourafi (2007) also refers to the notion of the multiplicity of face:

[...] the intentionality (or directedness ) of Face toward an Other means that Self will have several faces concurrently, as many as there are Others involved in a situation. Putting this somewhat schematically, if I am interacting with an interlocutor in front of an audience, I make (and am aware of making) a bid for face not only in the eyes of my interlocutor, but also in the eyes of each of the members of that audience taken separately and as a group. And the same applies to each of them.

Following Terkourafi (2007), Bousfield (2008) points out:

With two interactants (a dyad) there are two salient types of face being constituted and shaped as the interaction proceeds. With three interactants there are six salient types of face constituted and shaped as the interaction proceeds (3 interactants multiplied by 2 types of face constituted for each individual (p.41).

In other words, there is the group face which is constructed by the sum of faces constituted in the interaction, which is inevitably dependent on factors such as previous interactions (p.42). This confirms that the number of participants in interaction, especially if they align and present a joint stance, can aggravate face more as the face here is the group face and in turn generate high degree impoliteness regardless of the context, which is a friendly gathering in this example. The joint action and alignment pushes DER to repair her behavior and she accepts to be in the picture; “ok, take (a picture)”, *tamam çekin ya*.

As mentioned earlier, Culpeper (2011b) classifies implicational impoliteness in 3 categories: form-driven, convention-driven: internal, external; and context-driven: unmarked behavior and absence of behavior. By form-driven, Culpeper (2011b) is referring to the “implicit messages which are triggered by formal surface or semantic aspects of a behavior and which have negative consequences for certain individuals” (p.157). He explains that form-driven implicational impoliteness may look similar to off-record politeness super strategy; however, there are two major differences. One, this notion is not linked to politeness and two, with the incidences of impoliteness, an alternative interpretation of politeness is impossible to make (p.157). With form-driven category, Culpeper (2011b) proposes the Gricean cooperative principles and the echoic mention view (e.g. Sperber and Wilson 1981, 1995 [1986]). The reason why Culpeper (2011b) takes Grice’s cooperative principle, which is usually associated with politeness, into the discussion of impoliteness is that when Grice’s maxims are flouted, the utterance can be interpreted differently from what it literally means since it acts like an indirect speech (see Chapter Two) and is implicational. What this implies then for the extract is that taking too much time to speak or too many turns in conversation leads to violation of Gricean Maxims and generates implicational impoliteness. In the extract, ASI flouts the Maxim of Quantity by giving too many details about when she bought and how much she paid for the camera by taking too many turns. This explains why she encounters the negative assertions “you don’t need to show off so much”, *çok hava atmana gerek yok* and “why, you. don’t take. just don’t eat. just don’t drink. what is happening, Gosh? ((0.3)) marginal”, *niye sen çekme sen bi yeme. sen bi içme ne oluyor ya Allah Allah, marjinal* and a threat I ‘ll hit you right now, *sana bi geçireceğim zaten*.

Figure 15 below displays the speech analysis for the utterances “why, you. don’t take. just don’t eat. just don’t drink. what is happening, Gosh? ((0.3)) marginal”, *niye, sen. çekme. sen bi yeme. sen bi içme, ne oluyor ya Allah Allah, marjinal*, and “I’ll to hit/slap you right now”, *sana bi geçireceğim zaten*. The analysis was effectuated by PRAAT, the speech analyzer developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink, University of Amsterdam (cf. <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>) and its application Spectrograme, which the vaweform or the spectral energy of a sound



over time. Although Praat offers applications that lend themselves for in-depth analysis of speech such as pitch **F0 / Pitch** or pitch range, a simpler analysis through Spectrograme was preferred to provide a visual display of the intensity and the high- accent pitch of the speakers OZG and BAD while they are being impolite to DER.

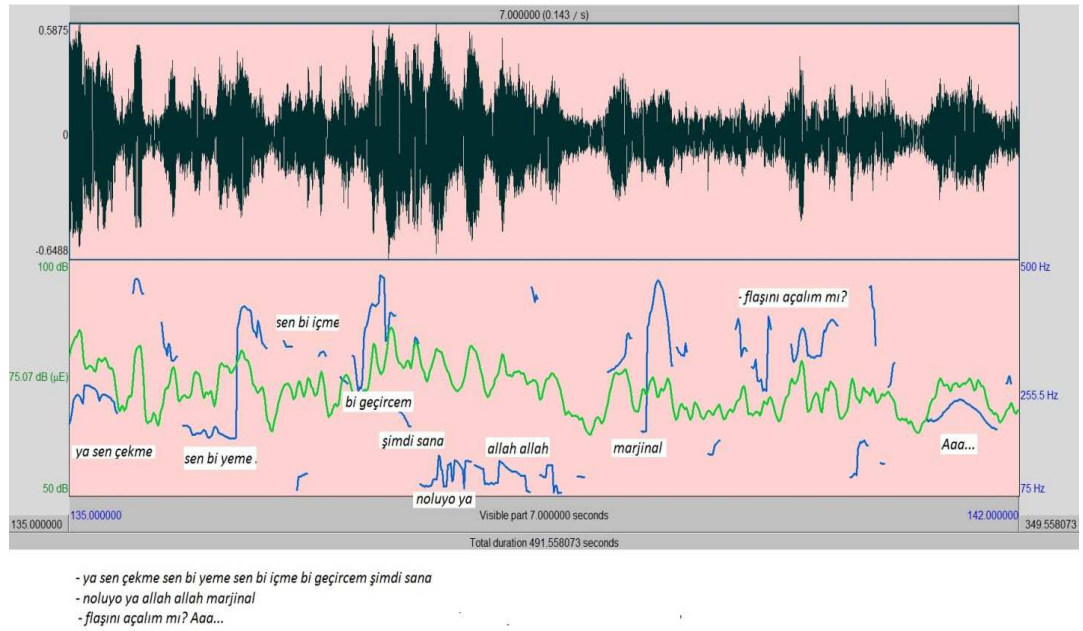


Figure 15. Praat display for the STC Extract 1

Intensity is the amount of energy a sound has over an area. If a sound is more intense you hear it in a smaller area and sounds with higher intensity is louder. Pitch shows the length of a sound, whether the soundwave is long or short. Pitch depends on the frequency, the number of wavelengths that fit into one unit of time, of a soundwave. In Figure 15, the blue line (the lower line of the two lines in the figure) represents the speakers' pitch and the green line (the lower line of two lines in the figure) represent the speakers' sound intensity. The increased pitch and intensity coincides with the utterances for threat and dismissal. The utterances fit into vocal characteristics of emotions anger and frustration, which come in slightly faster tempo and tense articulation (Culpeper, 2011b, p.170; Murray and Arnott, 1993, pp.1103-4).

In this extract, the utterance from BAD “*sana bi geçireceğim zaten ((XXX))*” is translated as “I am going to hit/slap you right now (XXX)” because the semantic prosody (Sinclair, 1998) required it. Sinclair (2004) reviews the basic distinctions in semantics and points out the denotative/connotative, literal/figurative (or metaphorical or idiomatic) distinctions. He argues that although the literal/denotative meaning is considered to be the central and obligatory of a word as opposed to the others which are “unpredictable variants”, “a lexical item is characteristically phrasal, although it can be realized in a single word” (p.122). The terminology he proposes for this status of meaning is semantic prosody (Sinclair, 1998), which is the only obligatory element apart from the core word or words:

It is called a prosody because, like prosodies in phonology, there are often uncertainties about its exact realization, and it ranges over the whole lexical item, in that all the other elements are interpreted within the framework it provides, including classifying aspects of meaning. The important matter is the effect, i.e. what communicative job the lexical item performs, and that is expressed or pointed up by the semantic prosody (p. 122)

Morley and Partington (2009) summarize the importance of Sinclair’s work as the following:

Sinclair’s work has helped demolish the old “mail order” concept of discourse production, which saw discourse as built up one word at a time, each word delivering its separate parcel of meaning. Semantic prosody instead is the mechanism which shows how one elemental type of meaning-evaluative meaning- is frequently shared across units in discourse and by ensuring consistency of evaluation or evaluative harmony, plays a vital role in keeping the discourse in its cohesion (p. 139)

Other scholars (Partington, 2004; Bednarek, 2008) discussed whether there is a distinction between collocational meaning and evaluative meaning, respectively between semantic preference and semantic prosody. For instance, Partington (2004) suggested that semantic preferences are more or less automatically “build up” or “form” (pp. 150-51) which is in line with the argument in corpus linguistics: “lexical item x occurs with negative items (i.e. it has negative semantic preference); ergo, it has evaluative meaning (i.e. a negative semantic prosody)” (Bednarek, 2008, p.131). However, for Bednarek (2008) for example such an

argument does not always hold because the analysis of semantic prosody is much more subjective and problematic than the analysis of semantic preference (p. 131). The example “*sana bi geçireceğim zaten ((XXX))*” “I am going to hit/slap you right now (XXX)” which will be discussed shortly here also shows how complex it is to look into the role of semantic prosody for lexical items which are inevitably interpreted in the framework and discourse (Sinclair 1998, 2004; Morley and Partington, 2009; Bednarek, 2008) they appear in.

The verb *geçir* has a number of denotative meanings in Turkish. However, in this context it has acquired an idiomatic, metaphorical meaning which matches with hit or slap. In order to answer the question of what might have triggered the negative evaluation of the utterance *sana bi geçireceğim zaten*, which is a threat and a conventionalized impoliteness formulae (Culpeper, 2010), the relationship between the nodes in the collocate is investigated. The nodes *geçireceğim* and *bi* are looked into with the consideration that *sana*, (to) you, and *zaten*, right now, are already increasing the intensity of the threat through making the threat personalized and adding immediacy and urgency to the motion of hitting. Both a semantic and a corpus analysis are carried out. The corpus analysis was run on a written corpus of Turkish, METU Turkish Corpus, from a collection of 2 million words of written text including the years from 1990 to 2000, taken from 10 different genres.

In order to find out what triggered the semantic prosody to come into play and created a negative meaning in the utterance *sana bi geçireceğim zaten*, first of all, a dictionary analysis was carried out for the verb – *geçir* to see if the verb has that denotative meaning. The following entries are extracted from TDK, Büyük Türkçe Sözlük ( <http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts/>):

geçirmek

(-i) 1. Geçme işini yaptırmak, geçmesini sağlamak. 2. (-e) Bir şeyi bir yandan öbür yana götürmek: “*Kalanımızı peşine takarak Murat suyunun karşı kıyısına geçirdi.*” -K. Bilbaşar. 3. (-i, -e) Bir şeyi bir yerden başka yere taşımak, nakletmek: *Odanın eşyasını öbür odaya geçirmek.* 4. (-i, -e) Tespit etmek, yazmak, kaydetmek: “*Merkez, kadının dosyasına vefat kaydını geçirdi.*” -R. H. Karay. 5. (-i, -e) Bir şeyi kendisine ayrılmış

olan yere yerleřtirmek, takmak: “*Yem torbalarını hayvanların boyunlarına geçirdikten sonra arkadaşına sordu.*” -O. C. Kaygılı. 6. (-i, -e) Yola çıkan birini uğurlamaya gitmek, selametlemek, teřyi etmek: *Arkadařımı geçirmeye gittim.* 7. (-i, -de) Bir süre yaşamak, oturmak, kalmak: “*Oralarda geçirdiğim günleri daima bir endiře, bir nevi hüznün ile derhatır ediyorum.*” -H. S. Tanrıöver. 8. (-e, nsz) Giymek, giyinmek: “*Sırtına pembe, kolları tamamen çıplak bir bluz geçirmiřti.*” -S. F. Abasıyanık. 9. (-den) Bir iři birden çok kiři üzerinde uygulamak: *Kılıçtan geçirmek. Dayaktan geçirmek.* 10. (-i, -den) Herhangi bir durumu yaşamıř olmak: “*Ne yapar ne eder, günde iki üç saatini at üstünde geçirirdi.*” -N. Cumalı. 11. Etmek, yapmak. 12. (-i, -e) Hastalık bulařtırmak: *Nezleyi bana geçirdin.* 13. Zaman harcamak: *Benim bu iřlerle geçirecek vaktim yok.* 14. Bir gereksinimi eldeki imkânla karřılamak. 15. (-e) Vurmak. 16. *mec.* Alıřveriřte aldatmak, kötü mal satmak, kazıklamak. 17. (-e) *argo* Birine kötü söz söylemek.  
*Güncel Türkçe Sözlük*

The entries are translated in the same order of the entries above as:

1. to get through 2. to pass 3.to transfer 4.to notch 5.to insert, 6. to see someone off 7. to pass through 8. to put sth. over 9. to run sth. over more than one person 10. to undergo 11.to engage 12. to get over (a disease) 13. to pass time doing sth. 14. to permeate 15. to hit 16.(idiomatic) to rip off 17. (slang) to insult

The entry number 15 shows that *-geçir* is also listed as “to hit”; however, the additional information the entries give point to an interesting aspect of the entry number 15. The entries give information about the usage of the verb in regards to whether it is used with direct object indicated as (-i) above or with indirect object (-e) in Turkish. The entries number 15, to hit, and 17, to insult, are the two entries specified as only to be used with indirect object (-e). If the reason for the semantic prosody to come into play here is that the verb *-geçir* acquires a negative meaning when it is used with indirect object, then why is it that it does not acquire a negative meaning in other entries that are also used with indirect object (-e) such as entry number 2, to pass? Since this question cannot be answered at this stage, further analysis needs to be carried out. However, since the main purpose of the further analysis is to find out the subtlety of the semantic prosody, looking at the real language data to see how the verb collocates and in what context it is used

with negative meaning is necessary. In order to look at real language data, a corpus analysis was run.

A query of the verb *–geçir* and the possible derivatives in the verb form (e.g. *geçirdim, geçirdi, etc...*) was run in the METU Turkish corpus. All the years, from 1990 to 2000, all types of genres and the writers the corpus provides were scanned and 58 hits were obtained. The list below gives all the hits. Many of the hits of the verb were repeated without any difference in the form or meaning in the results, which is the reason why the lists consist of only 18 items.

Table 15. Hits for *–geçir*

hayata geçirmek	To implement
ele geçirmek	To conquer
deneme den geçirmek	To try out
vakit geçirmek	To pass time
gözden geçirmek	To look through
gereklerini yerine getirerek geçirmek	To reckon over
geceyi birlikte geçirmek	To pass the night
gözlerinin önünden geçirmek	To pass one's life in review
vakit geçirmek	To pass time doing sth.
değerleri yaşama geçirmek	To act on a thought
aklımdan geçirmek	To cross one's mind
Kızının Fethi ' yi geçirmek üzere	To show the way to somebody
onaydan geçirmek	To hang out with someone
sözünü geçirmek	To assert one's authority
harekete geçirmek	To put in action
belleğine geçirmek	To put in one's memory
balayını geçirmek	To honeymoon

The analysis was significant in that *-geçir* has never been used in the meaning TDK gives with its entry number 15. Although it could as well be coincidental and that the verb has a negative denotative meaning just to see if the semantic prosody comes into play within the collocate the verb is used in the utterance “I’ll to hit/slap you right now”, *sana bi geçireceğim zaten*, a further analysis is followed with *bi*. The steps were the same as what was followed for the verb *-geçir*: first a semantic analysis, and then a corpus analysis were carried out to see whether the results matched; confirmed each other or brought out conflicting findings requiring further theorization.

*Bi* is considered as a spoken variety of the word *bir*, therefore the semantic analysis was first carried out to see if this was the case. According to the entries in TDK ( <http://tdkterim.gov.tr/bts/>), it is true that “bi” is the spoken variety of *bir*:

#### **bir**

a. 1. Sayıların ilki. 2. Bu sayıyı gösteren 1 ve I rakamlarının adı. 3. sf. Aynı, benzer: *Beni daim şen gören safdiller öyle sansın / Ne bilsinler ki onlar bence birdir elem, haz* 4. sf. Beraber: *Hep biriz, ayrılmayız*. 5. sf. Bu sayı kadar olan: *Bir kalem*. 6. sf. Herhangi bir varlığı belirsiz olarak gösteren (sayı): “*Aydınlık bir odada, iki duvarın kesiştiği köşede zayıf, yaşlı bir adam yatıyordu.*” -A. Kutlu. 7. sf. Tek: “*Allah tektir ve birdir, amenna!*” -A. Kabaklı. 8. sf. Eş, aynı, bir boyda: *Bu kalemlerin ikisi birdir, hangisini isterseniz alınız*. 9. sf. Ortaklaşa olan, birleşik, müşterek: *Bizim kesemiz birdir*. 10. sf. Değer, önem bakımlarından birbirinden farksız, birbirine eşit, birbirine benzer. 11. zf. Bir kez: *Bir ona, bir sana, bir de bana baktı*. 12. zf. Sadece: *Her şey bitti, bir bu kaldı*. 13. zf. Ancak, yalnız: *Bunu bir sen yapabilirsin*.  
*Güncel Türkçe Sözlük*

#### **bir**

Bir (bk. bi)  
*Türkiye Türkçesi Ağzları Sözlüğü*

#### **bir**

Bir; hemen; öyle. || ber || bi || bir arada: birlikte || bir baş: bir kere || bir bişey: herhangi bir şey. bk. ayrıca bişey || bir boyun: bir çift (koşum hayvanları hakkında). bir boyun öküz: bir çift öküz || bir da: bir daha || bir de: ayrıca || bir de bahardın: birdenbire || bir de bir: ayrıca || bir denesi, bk. bir tenesi || bir ey şey: çok iyi , çok sevimli bir şey || bir gaş: bir kaç bir gaşsay: birkaç ay || bir gün: bir gün; biyün: bir gün || bir günün birisinde: günlerden bir gün || bir hal: biraz || bir işler: herhangi bir iş || bir o ki: ne iyi oldu ki || bir oyun: bir kere; bir keresinde || bir parça: biraz || bir şe(y): herhangi bir şey || bir tahım: bazı || bir tenesi: birisi; bir

denesi, bir tanesi || bir terefe: herhangi bir yere || bir türlü: ne şekilde olursa olsun || bir ufâh: şöyle bir || birimiz birimiz: birbirimizi || ondan bir: sonra  
*Türkiye Türkçesi Ağzları Sözlüğü*

**bir**

**(Herhangi) bir, bk. bi**

*Türkiye Türkçesi Ağzları Sözlüğü*

**bir**

1. Bir kere, bir defa. 2. Öbür.

*Tarama Sözlüğü* 1963

In the bolded entry above, it is explained that *bi* is used as *bir* in dialects of Turkey according to *Türkiye Türkçesi Ağzları Sözlüğü*. Taking the consideration that *bi* in the utterance *sana bi geçireceğim zaten* might have been used as in the meaning of *bir*, a semantic analysis for *bir* was run and the flowing results were found. Table 17 illustrates the dictionary entries of *bir* with examples given in English and Turkish.

Table 16. TDK dictionary entries for *bir*

Dictionary Entry	Examples English/ Turkish Translation
1. First of numbers	She is number <b>one</b> on the list. Liste de <b>bir</b> numara.
2. The word to express the number 1	There was just <b>one</b> car parked on the street. Cadde de sadece park etmiş <b>bir</b> araba vardı.
3. The same, similar, identical	Sorrow or happiness, they feel <b>the same</b> . Elem de <b>bir</b> sevinçte.
4. Together, united	Together, we are one. Hep beraber <b>biriz</b> .
5. A, an,	I bought a pencil. <b>Bir</b> kalem aldım.
6. Some	I spoke to some teacher at the school. <b>Bir</b> öğretmenle konuştum okulda.
7. Unique , single, sole	God is one. Allah <b>birdir</b> .
8. Shared, owned in common	We have one aim as a team, which is to win. Takımımızın <b>bir</b> hedefi var; kazanmak.

Table 16 continued.

9. Equal in importance, indifferent	Public or private, they are the same. Devlet de <b>bir</b> özel de.
10. Any	I am going to buy one T-shirt. <b>Bir</b> T-sirt alacağım.
11. Once	She looked at me once. Bana <b>bir</b> kez baktı.
12. But, except	All is taken care of <b>but</b> this! Herşey bitti, <b>bir</b> bu kaldı!
13. only	Only you can do this! Bunu <b>bir</b> sen yapabilirsin!

The table above indicates that the entries for *bir* does not give any clues as to why in the utterance *sana bi geçireceğim zaten*, *-geçir* is interpreted as to slap/hit. This brings us back to investigating *bi* instead of *bir*. It is important to note that as mentioned before here the fact that *-geçir* is used with indirect object (*-e*) especially with the personal object pronoun *sen* (*-e*), *sana*, the utterance *sana bi geçireceğim zaten* generates a threat and an impoliteness. As a complementary second step, a corpus analysis in the METU Turkish corpus was carried out to see the context *bi* is used and reach an insight on whether it is associated with negativity in usage. 164 hits were retrieved from a corpus of 1990-2000, from all genres and all writers. Almost all samples were from spoken Turkish; speakers seemed to take turns to speak or sounded like they were having a conversation with themselves or talking to themselves. Below are some examples with *bi* from the hits:

1. Ona , bu sopayla bi vururum !
2. Bak bi de elin itini koruyo . . . Benim kitabımda arada yüzük olmadan kızkardeşime zırt pırt telefon edilmesi yazmıyo kızım . .
3. Bakma sen , baban beni döverken ses etmiyorum . . . Beyimdir , döver de sever de . . . Ama elin adamı fazla oldu artık . . . Ben gidip şu herifi bi parçalıyım . .
4. Bak hâlâ konuşuyo . . . İskicem belanı , kapa lan şu telefonu , bi daha da Sıdika ' ya takıldığını duyarsam , yersin bıçağı . . . Duydun mu lale ?
5. Galdırdım mı elimin tersiyle şap diye vuruverürün cadaloz . . . İki dakika diziye seyredicez şurda car car etme, bi sus bakayın bi kere . .



Out of 164 hits 46 hits were used in a negative context, which equals to 28.04 %. Despite relatively high frequency of use of *bi* in negative contexts such as threats, there were also cases where *bi* was used for polite requests with imperatives:

1. Nazan Şoray ' in kasedi vardı torpidoda bi onu bul bakiim , teybe şeedelim . . . Bu , morfin dediğin şey sıvı mı ? Nası bişey şimdi . . .
2. Alo , Sıdika , Elifsu ben . . . Banabak , senden bi ricam olucak .

This observation indicates that *bi* functions as a diminutive in Turkish. Diminutive is an affix added to a word to convey the meaning of small. Although its use is associated with smallness and refers to physical phenomena, its contradictory pragmatic functions, made it quite interesting to study. Jurafsky (1996) points out that diminutives may signal both a positive emotional attitude and a pejorative meaning, with both intensifying and attenuating force effect. Badarneh (1996) drew attention to the contradictory use of diminutives showing that they can be used for contempt as well as glorification. He also studied its effect in negative politeness contexts:

The diminutive in CJA [colloquial Jordanian Arabic] is thus used both as a positive politeness strategy, oriented toward expressing affection and endearment and establishing a friendly context for the interaction, and as a negative politeness strategy aimed at minimizing imposition and softening negative statements (Badarneh, 2009, p.153).

The recognition that *bi* can have both a positively and negatively associated meanings requires a conscious look at the context to see what verb it is used with and how it changes the interpretation for politeness. This confirms how context sensitive semantic prosody is and how important it is to be aware of the concept while extracting or analyzing impoliteness. This above lengthy undertaking of semantic analysis combined with corpus analysis illustrates the subtlety that semantic prosody adds to utterances. The fact that it triggers a negative evaluation of the utterance confirms once more that impoliteness studies require a wider understanding of methodological concerns for extraction and for theorization at the analysis level.

Overall, in this extract, the impoliteness with the utterance “I will hit/slap you right now, *sana bi geçireceğim zaten*, is triggered by first DER’s comment “you don’t

need to show off so much”, *çok hava atmana gerek yok*, and then her act of excluding herself from the rest of the group by not wanting to appear on the photo as she says “no, don’t include me”, *yo beni çekmeyin*. The impoliteness strategy is a threat, which is responded by DER by a change in her behavior as she says “ok, take (a picture)”, *tamam çekin ya*. This change in behavior is also an attempt to repair the impoliteness DER has generated in the beginning by acting according to membership organization assumptions in the group. By giving up and saying “ok, take (a picture)”, *tamam çekin ya*, she is protecting both her face and impair the face-attack she has committed against the others in the group.

## Extract 2:

In this extract, which is taken from the same conversation 113\_090404\_00004 as Extract 1, the participants ASI000037, BAD000036, OZG000035, and DER000038 (ASI, BAD, OZG and DER henceforth) are talking about going online and chatting on the MSN. BAD is the focus of impoliteness because when she is online on the MSN, she does not chat with the girls. The reason she has given for that, apparently, is that when she is online, she watches TV series on the computer and so by implication she cannot chat. This behavior and the excuse given for that trigger impoliteness in the form of sarcasm and irony.

## Extract 2. 113\_090404\_00004

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>		msn olan bu • di mi?		
<b>Trans.</b>	this is the msn			
<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>	(onay)...		h1-h1 sende var zaten.	
<b>Trans.</b>	(approval)	h1-h1 you have (it )anyway.		
<b>ASI000037 [v]</b>				((0.4))

ASI000037 [v]	var var.	((0.6)) blockladım	ama	olsun.	
Trans.	yeah, yeah (I have it). but I blocked it, anyway...				
ASI000037 [c]		eng: engelledim		((laughing))	
DER000038 [v]					((0.8)) ya bende de
Trans.	well, on my (msn)(she)				

DER000038 [v]	giriyor.	hatun meşgul. selam bile vermiyor.	((0.3))
Trans.	goes online. the lady is busy. (she) doesn't even say hello.		
DER000038 [c]	((lengthening))	((humorous tone))	((change in

OZG000035 [v]		e o artık	bi iş kadını.		bak
Trans.	of course, she is a business woman now. aha,				
ASI000037 [v]				dizi izliyormuş	ve dizi
Trans.	she watches TV series and because of watching				
DER000038 [v]	büyümüş.	dizi izliyor.			
Trans.	(she) has grown up.(she) watches sequels.				
DER000038 [c]	tone of voice))				

OZG000035 [v]	bak!		
Trans.	l o o k a t t h a t !		
ASI000037 [v]		izlemekten...	((0.9)) ama dizi izlemek ((0.3)) önemli
Trans.	TV series.... but watching TV series is an important		

<b>OZG000035 [v]</b>	hangi dizi?					
<b>Trans.</b>	w h i c h o n e ?					
<b>BAD000036 [v]</b>			evet önemli bi sanat.			evet.
<b>Trans.</b>	(that is) right, it is an important art. yes.					
<b>BAD000036 [c]</b>						
<b>ASI000037 [v]</b>	bi sanat.	((1.7))	e e'	Desperate	Housewives.	
<b>Trans.</b>	art for example, Desperate Housewives					

BAD goes online and watches TV series on the computer and this behavior is not acceptable for the girls participating in the conversation. Both ASI and DER have BAD added to their MSN but have also blocked her, which is already a form of dismissal to BAD. Just after ASI says “I have it. but I blocked it, anyway” overlapping with DER’s alignment “yes, I did too”. DER continues her turn and her alignment and offers an explanation to why she has blocked BAD: “(she) goes online. the lady is busy. (she) does not even say hello”. ASI shows her reaction to BAD, who does not “even” say hello by blocking her. DER has also done that because she thinks saying hello on the MSN is simple and easy, which is indicated by her use of “even”, and mocks BAD’s excuse that she is busy by saying “the lady is busy”. She continues her sarcastic comment by saying “she has grown up. (she) watches TV series” while OZG comments “of course, she is a business woman now”.

DER shows her disapproval to BAD quite sarcastically in three different ways: firstly with calling BAD “the lady”, *hatun*<sup>2</sup>, which is usually used in a negative meaning to distance the speaker from the person who she is talking. Secondly, having put a distance between her and BAD, DER emphasizes, with the use of “even” that what they expect from BAD is such a small thing to do “she does not even say hello”. She then pauses for 0.3 seconds; takes a hypocoristic tone and says “she has grown up” as if she is talking to a child. This again adds to the

<sup>2</sup> “The lady”, *hatun*, is used to depersonalize the person it refers to and creates a negative meaning opposite to “woman” in the BNC Extract 4.

distance DER is putting between BAD and herself by implying BAD is does not belong to the group. OZG agrees by saying “she is a business woman now”. “Now” in this utterance is important as it reinforces the impact of DER’s comment “she has grown up”.

It is also noteworthy that the expression “the lady”, *hatun*, in Figure 16 below indicates that it is uttered by a high-pitch accent with the blue line making a high peak. It is possible that that the irony created by the expression shows itself in the prosody in this way. Contradiction in the tone of voice between the utterances “(she) goes online. the lady is busy. (she) does not even say hello”, *ya ben de de giriyor hatun, meşgul selam bile vermiyor*, and “she is a business woman now”, *ee o artık bi iş kadını*, is also noticeable in the sound file. “([S]he) goes online. the lady is busy. (she) does not even say hello”, *ya ben de de giriyor hatun, meşgul selam bile vermiyor*, is uttered in a hypocoristic, humorous tone but “she is a business woman now”, *ee o artık bi iş kadını*, is uttered in a serious tone. Although it is only impressionistically, the Praat sound analysis demonstrates the change in the tone of voice with the blue line *ya ben de de giriyor hatun, meşgul selam bile vermiyor* following a higher pitch then the utterance *ee o artık bi iş kadını*. With the mismatch of the prosodical nuances- humorous versus serious- the two speakers DER and OZG adopt, the intensity of the irony is increased.

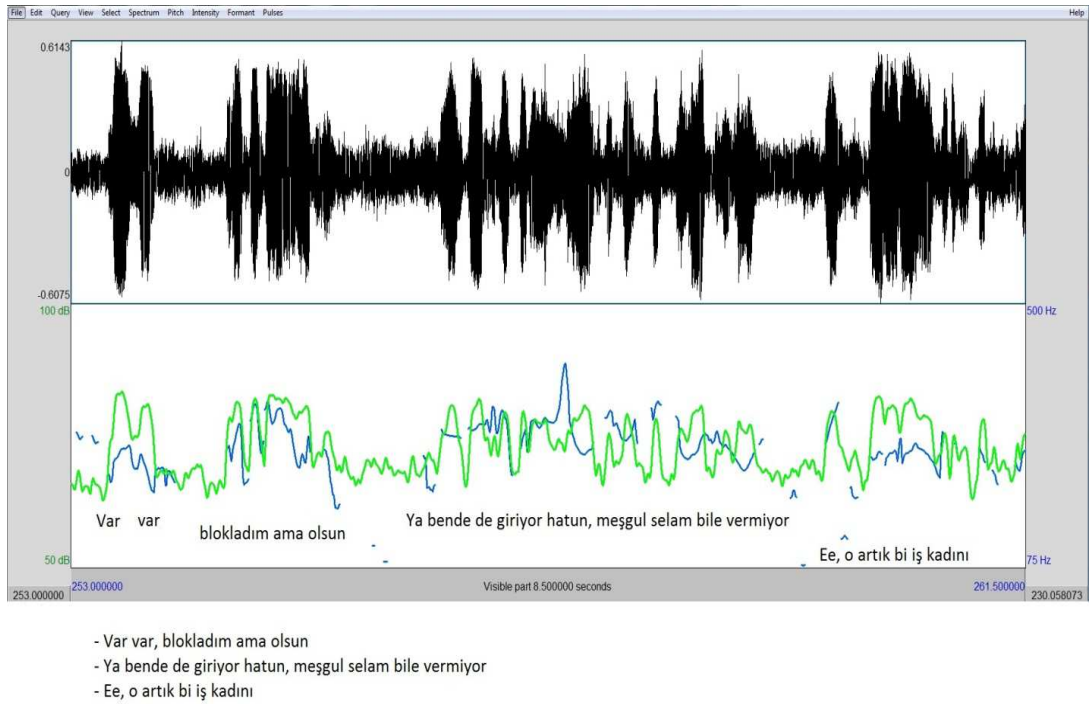


Figure 16. Praat display for the change of voice in the STC Extract 2

ASI also joins to mock with an echo “she has been watching TV series and because she watches TV series...” and violates the Maxim of Quantity in two ways: she is repeating the information with the first half of her utterance “she has been watching TV series” and links her utterance with “and” as if she is going to give some more information but does not complete her utterance “and because she is watching TV series...”; which leads to the interpretation that she implying something. The co-text gives the clue that what could follow her utterance is that “she is busy watching TV series and so she cannot say hello to us” which again emphasizes their disapproval of BAD’s behavior. OZG takes this as an opportunity to ironically mock by saying “aha look at that!” *bak bak!*. It is at this critical point ASI is impolite“((0.9)) but watching TV series... ((0.3)) is an important art.”, ((0.9)) *ama dizi izlemek* ((0.3)) *önemli bi sanat*.

Culpeper (2011b, pp. 165-66) discusses convention-driven implicational impoliteness as follows: “[T]hey very often involve mixed messages in some way. More specifically, they mix features that point towards a polite interpretation and features that point towards an impolite interpretation”. In explaining verbal

formula mismatches, under the title of convention-driven implicational impoliteness, Culpeper (2011b, p. 174), points out that he looks into the “mismatches created out of conventionalized politeness formula in the context of either conventionalized impoliteness formula or a behavior that otherwise expresses impoliteness”. One example he gives is; “Could you just fuck off?”, with the mismatch could and fuck off present. The other examples below come from British talent shows, *X Factor* and *Britain’s Got Talent*, from Simon Cowell, the judge of these talent shows, quoted by Cowell in his book *I hate to be rude, but...Simon Cowell’s book of nasty comments* (2006):

She was amazing and, but she is completely and utterly barking mad. (p.41)

I admire Paula for admiring me. (p.60)

You are gorgeous, but your voice isn’t. (p.67)

I think you are amazing: amazingly dreadful. (p.73)

That was extraordinary. Unfortunately, extraordinarily bad. (p.73)

Culpeper further discusses the strategy by focusing on how mismatch of conventionalized politeness utterance can create impoliteness through the contrast or the mismatch with the context predictable from the co-text. Repetition and pauses are central to this interpretation:

Again, they mix conventionalized politeness with conventionalized impoliteness: the contrast is with contexts projected by the co-texts and not the situation. In some cases, the contrast is formalized by *but*, a word that gives rise to the conventional implicature that there is a contrast between its conjuncts. In other cases, the two parts are held together by repetition. The fact that there are two halves is something that Cowell exploits. By beginning with conventionalized politeness these utterances construct a ‘garden path’ pragmatic strategy: the listener is led towards an understanding that Cowell thinks positively of them, and Cowell invariably pauses to allow understanding to linger. He completes the rhetorical strategy by violently derailing the polite interpretation.” (p.174).

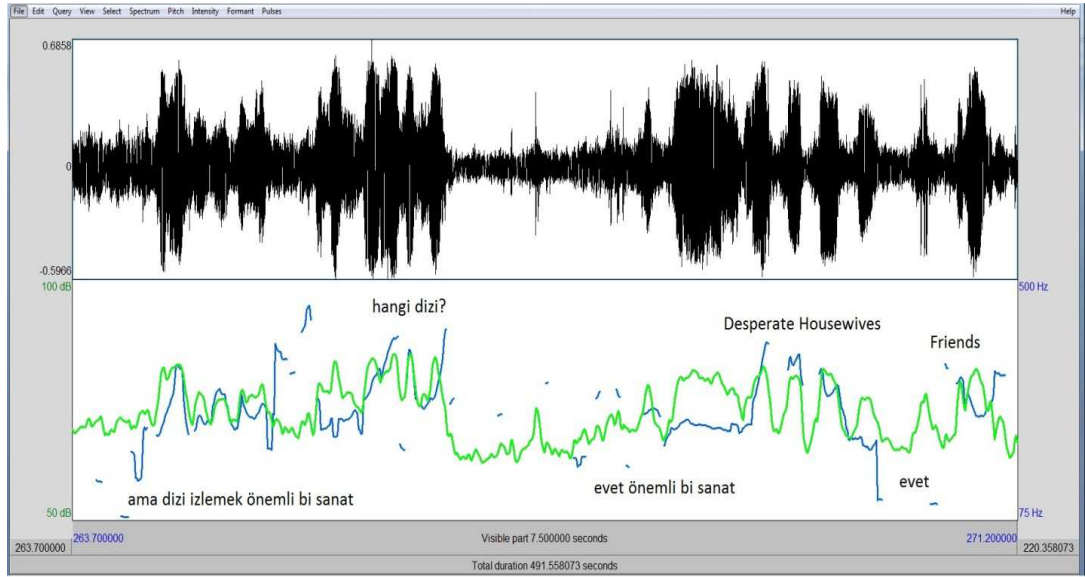
Similarly, with ASI’s utterance “(0.9) but watching TV series... (0.3) is an important art.”, (0.9) *ama dizi izlemek* (0.3) *önemli bi sanat*, can be taken as a complement and conventionalized politeness formula as at the point it occurs in the conversation: all the three speakers ASI, OZG and DER, have informed BAD of their disapproval of not saying hello for the excuse of watching TV series, and politely, they want to end the tension and establish a friendlier interaction.

However, other clues lead to a contradictory interpretation, so *ama dizi izlemek* (0.3) *önemli bi sanat*, is a sarcastic comment and a criticism pointed at BAD.

Firstly, there is a mismatch between the object, watching TV series, and the reference to the object, being an art and in fact, an important art, intensified with the adjective important. It is against common knowledge that watching TV series is an art and hence further interpretation whether the comment is sarcastic is required. Secondly, the pauses are quite striking as, not only in this utterance but in all utterances that proceed. As quoted above, Culpeper (2011b, p. 174) points out that pausing is a part of the strategy that Simon Cowell, the judge of British talent shows, *X Factor* and *Britain's Got Talent*, uses: “By beginning with conventionalized politeness these utterances construct a ‘garden path’ pragmatic strategy: the listener is led towards an understanding that Cowell thinks positively of them, and Cowell invariably *pauses to allow understanding to linger* (emphasis mine).”. Thirdly, given the co-textual clues discussed above indicated by utterances “but I blocked it”, *hatun*, “she has grown up”, by the message enforcers such as “even”, “now”, by the violations of Maxim of Quantity, and the pauses and the contextual clues that the girls are disapproving BAD’s behavior of not saying hello for she is watching TV series, the utterance “but watching TV series... ((0.3)) is an important art”, *ama dizi izlemek* ((0.3)) *önemli bi sanat*, creates a mismatch or contrast to the co-text and the context. Therefore, it is sarcastic and functions as a pointed criticism, which is a conventionalized impoliteness formula (Culpeper, 2010, 2011b).

BAD responds to the irony by “(that is) right. (it is) an important art”, *evet önemli bi sanat*. Her tone of voice to contrary of ASI’s *ama dizi izlemek* (0.3) *önemli bi sanat* high-pitch accent is a considerably low pitch accent as the Figure 17 below illustrates:





- ama dizi izlemek önemli bi sanat
- hangi dizi?
- evet önemli bi sanat
- Desperate Housewives
- evet
- Friends

Figure 17. Praat display for irony in the STC Extract 2

This observation that BAD's response is uttered in a very different tone of voice can be interpreted as BAD's acknowledging the irony and in return taking a serious tone to agree. With this serious tone and agreement, she is in fact twisting the irony to the direct propositional meaning of ASI's comment, that is, watching TV series actually is an important art, and counters the impoliteness.

This extract is also an example of how dynamically in interaction participants index themselves and create different membership categorizations. As soon as ASI says "“I have it. but I blocked it, anyway”, DER aligns with her and joins in with a melodic, humorous tone illustrated in Figure 16 and says, “(she) goes online. the lady is busy. (she) does not even say hello”, *ya ben de de giriyor hatun, meşgul selam bile vermiyor*. The irony then is carried on between the two speakers even after a third participant, OZG, brings a related but different theme to the topic with her question “which one (TV series)?”, *hangi dizi?*, since ASI takes a long pause for 1.7 seconds and pretends like she is taking her time to say something significant with a filled pause, *ee*. Then she gives an example of TV series,

Desperate Housewives, in almost the same high pitch she has said “((0.9)) but watching TV series... ((0.3)) is an important art.”, *ama dizi izlemek ((0.3)) önemli bi sanat*. This indicates that she is still being ironic and because BAD replies “yes”, *evet*, with almost the same serious low-pitch accent she has said “(that is) right. (it is) an important art”, *evet önemli bi sanat*.

Overall, in this extract, showing dislike to one’s taste in an ironical tone, “but watching TV series... ((0.3)) is an important art.”, *ama dizi izlemek ((0.3)) önemli bi sanat*, preceded by irony “(she) goes online. the lady is busy. (she) does not even say hello”, *ya ben de de giriyor hatun, meşgul selam bile vermiyor* triggers impoliteness. By implication it is a criticism and insult. This incidence of impoliteness is countered by irony again by BAD by the response “(that is) right. (it is) an important art”, *evet önemli bi sanat*, which seems like an acknowledgement of the comment, but the irony implies otherwise. The impoliteness is resolved as a result of topic change motivated by a third party OZG’s question “which one?”, *hangi dizi*, after ASI’s last turn.

### Extract 3:

In this extract, four participants, PER000040, RAM00080, SER000081 and GUL000082, (PER, RAM, SER and GUL hereafter) are involved in a conversation where they are comparing giving birth naturally to having a cesarean.

### Extract 3. 072\_090820\_00022

PER000040 [v]	—çocuğuna bakıyorsun.			nor	mal
Trans.	(you) look after your baby. with natural birth				
SER000081 [v]		((0.2)) hm-hm			
SER000081 [c]		((fast))			
Trans.	mhm mhm.				
GUL000082 [v]			o n	d a n ...	
Trans.	It is...				

<b>PER000040 [v]</b>	doğumda hemen ayaklanıyorsun.	((1.1)) Allah kurtarsın
<b>Trans.</b>	you start walking soon.	may God be with you <sup>3</sup> .

<b>PER000040 [v]</b>	inşallah.				
<b>Trans.</b>	hopefully				
<b>RAM000080 [v]</b>			olur.	(iyi oluruz).	sen e e kendin
<b>Trans.</b>	(we) will be fine. Well, you yourself				
<b>SER000081 [v]</b>				gidebilecek misin?	
<b>SER000081 [c]</b>				gidebilen	
<b>Trans.</b>	Will you be able to go?				
<b>GUL000082 [v]</b>	amin.	hadi gidelim.			
<b>Trans.</b>	Amen. Let's go.				

<b>RAM000080 [v]</b>	genişsin	ya.	
<b>Trans.</b>	are big		
<b>GUL000082 [v]</b>	h a		((inhales)) hah! ((inhales)) ((short laugh))

<b>RAM000080 [v]</b>	var mı?			
<b>Trans.</b>	Is there/he?			
<b>RAM000080 [c]</b>				((calling
<b>GUL000082 [v]</b>		teessüf ederim. bana şişman mı	demek istedin?	
<b>Trans.</b>	excuse me. Did you mean I am fat?			
<b>GUL000082 [c]</b>			((laughing))	

<sup>3</sup> “May God be with you”, *allah kurtarsın*, is a formulaic expression similar in meaning to ‘May God deliver you’. It is used in hard times and difficult situations.

PER000040 [v]			yok. ٧o Őekilde demedi herhalde. ٧e
Trans.	No. She did not mean like that, probably. Well,		
RAM000080 [v]	(Yusuf)!		
RAM000080 [c]	another person in the context))		
SER000081 [v]			((laughs))'
GUL000082 [v]		٧((short laugh))'	((laughs))'
GUL000082 [c]			

PER000040 [v]	e • ne denir böyle?	٧((XXX)) de	ġil anlamında. o anlamda		
Trans.	How is it expressed? Not in the meaning of ((XXX)).that				
RAM000080 [v]		vüc	ut.		
Trans.	Body.				
GUL000082 [v]			haa'	yok.	٧şaka
Trans.	Oh,I see. No. I was joking.				
GUL000082 [c]			((lengthening))		

PER000040 [v]	(dedi) ((XXX))			
Trans.	she meant ((XXX))			
RAM000080 [v]		• vücut yapısı.		
Trans.				
SER000081 [v]			amanın!	
SER000081 [c]			((softly))	
Trans.				
GUL000082 [v]	dedim ben. şaka dedim.			
Trans.	I was joking			
[nn]				((music,
[nn]	footsteps))			

PER, from firsthand experience, explains that giving a natural birth is not easy either but at least, one is able to look after the baby after a normal birth, which is not the case with cesarean. The reason for having such a comparison is that GUL is pregnant and other speakers are offering their thoughts on the issue. When GUL is about to leave, they wish her an easy time with the birth. As GUL suggests going, “Let’s go”, SER asks “will you be able to go?” which is immediately followed by RAM’s comment “well, you yourself are big”, *sen e e kendin genişsin ya*, As can be seen from the musical score, this comment “well, you yourself are big” comes immediately after RAM’s comment and could be offered as an explanation why SER is asking if GUL is able to go by herself. In the meantime, RAM continues her turn by, apparently looking for another person, and asking “Is (there/ he)?”, *var mı?.* Then, she calls out to a person with his name *Yusuf*. The fact that RAM calls for this person just after the question if GUL is able to go by herself being “big”, *geniş*, brings out the interpretation that RAM wants Yusuf to accompany her. However, GUL reacts to “big”, with a non-lexical backchannel, *ha*,

which precedes RAM's attempt to call the person in the context. Inhaling, and uttering an interjection, *hah!* loudly, and inhaling again with a short laugh, GUL expresses her surprise at the comment and reflects her disapproval of the comment with first the reply "excuse me", *teessüf ederim*, and a confrontation with a direct question to RAM, "Did you imply I am fat?", *bana şişman mı demek istedin?*, in jocular manner. However, with a direct question, one interjection and the utterance *teessüf ederim* in which the lexeme *teessüf* is semantically related to *esef*, meaning contempt, sorrow, regret, sadness, feeling sadness about something, the text itself gives away that the jocular manner GUL seems to take does not match with the present tension of the moment and so is just a cover. In fact, GUL's reaction and response *teessüf ederim. bana şişman mı demek istedin*, indicate that GUL took the comment *Sen e e kendin genişsin ya* as an insult, which fits Culpeper's (2010, 2011b) conventionalized impoliteness formulae under insult as personalized negative vocatives with the exception that *geniş*, "big", does not necessarily have to be related to *şişman*, "fat".

*Geniş* is semantically related to spatial aspect as big, spacious, large as opposed to fat which is related to weight and has a negative value judgment as in overweight. It is obvious that GUL attaches a connotative meaning to *geniş* and semantic prosody comes into play with her interpretation of *geniş* as fat. She expresses that she feels insulted with the rejoinder *teessüf ederim*. An important question arises here: why is it at this point the semantic prosody comes into play and GUL interprets big as fat? In other words what triggers in the context her interpretation that RAM was implying that she was fat and hence was being impolite?

There are two important cues in the context that bring out GUL's perception of implicational impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011b). The first one is an overlap: when SER asks "Will you be able to go?" (*fast*), *gidebilen*, , RAM was saying "will be fine" (*iyi oluruz*), which could have hindered GUL from hearing *gidebilen* which was uttered *fast* anyway. The significance of the overlap is that if GUL has not heard the question due to the overlap, it is not possible for her to realize "well, you yourself are big, *sen e e kendin genişsin ya*, was an explanation offered to the

question “will you be able to go by yourself?” If that is the case, the utterance *sen e e kendin genişsin ya* violates the maxim of quantity as it is physically obvious from her stomach that she is pregnant and so is *big*, and the maxim of relation, be relevant and manner, be orderly, since it does not have any relation to the previous utterance. As a result, GUL attributes impoliteness to RAM’s comment. Culpeper (2011b) defines this implicational impoliteness as non-conventionalized implicational form-driven impoliteness. As this excerpt indicates, conversational conventions, an overlap and the turn-taking pattern, play a crucial role in GUL’s attribution of impoliteness to RAM’s comment since they trigger a perception of implied impoliteness by violating maxims of Quantity, Relation and Manner.

The rest of the conversation is also interesting to analyze in terms of how the other participants attempt to restore the perceived impoliteness. PER recognizes what has happened and so tries to offer an explanation “No. she did not mean like that, probably. Well, how is it expressed?”, *yok. o şekile demedi, herhalde. e e ne denir böyle?*, carefully by both hedging by using “probably” and distancing herself by using a passive structure with “Well, how is it expressed?”. After softening and distancing herself, she clarifies the misunderstanding by saying not in as the meaning of ((XXX))”, ((XXX)) *değil anlamında*. “. While PER is struggling to come up with a good expression RAM explains herself by saying “body”, *vücut*, followed by more explanation “body structure” , *vücut yapısı*, relating it to anatomy. GUL realizes what has been meant as she utters, *haa*, a non-lexical interjection used to express realization as in “Oh, I see” in a lengthening manner. She then withdraws her expression of contempt *teessüf ederim*, by saying *yok. şaka dedim ben. — şaka dedim.*, “No. I was joking. I was joking”.

Overall, in this extract, impoliteness is attributed by GUL’s perception that RAM is being critical of how she looks with her comment “well, you yourself are big”, *sen e e kendin genişsin ya*. This is an insult and GUL’s counter strategy to it is an ironical acknowledgement of the insult. GUL verbalizes her acknowledgement of RAM’s insult with “excuse me”, *teessüf ederim*, “did you imply I am fat?”, *bana şişman mı demek istedin?*. A third party PER attempts to repair GUL’s

impoliteness and protect RAM's face and possibly GUL's and her won face as well. GUL, in the end, after realizing inappropriacy of her behavior indicated by the interjection *haa!* meaning “Oh, I see”, denies the face attack and says “no, I was joking”, *yo, şaka dedim*.

#### Extract 4:

In this conversation speakers MUS000518, NIL000520, HUM000467 (MUS, NIL and HUM hereafter) are talking about a past event, in which one of the participants, professor Yalçın, apologized for his behavior.

#### Extract 4. 023\_100304\_00181

MUS000518 [v]		Yalçın Hoca şimdi kapıdan girdi
Trans.	look, Professor Yalçın entered from the door.	
HUM000467 [v]	hoca çok komik ya.	
Trans.	He is so funny.	
HUM000467 [c]		

MUS000518 [v]	biz de böyle Nilüfer'le ((0.1)) şey konuşuyoruz.	((0.2)) şöyle
Trans.	We were talking with Nilüfer.	He looked

MUS000518 [v]	bi baktı. ((0.3)) sonra ne yaptım ben?	bişey demedi	sonra.
Trans.	a while.	What did I do then?	He didn't say anything
HUM000467 [v]			se
Trans.	You had said that		



MUS000518 [v]	ha! • e ne yapıyorsun...			ha-ha	
Trans.	Right! so how is it going... yeah, right				
HUM000467 [v]	n şey de demişsin/ hocam	bu Nilüfer değil	demiş	in.	
Trans.	You said this is not Nilüfer .				
NIL000520 [v]	o dedi ki bize	ne yapıyorsunuz	dedi.		
Trans.	He said how is it going				

HUM000467 [v]	• ama o i/ o sen şaka yapıyorsun sanmış. sonra geldi.				
Trans.	But he thought you were joking. then he came back.				

HUM000467 [v]	((inhales)) ama suratı	direkt	kızardı.	((0.7)) falandı beni de	
Trans.	But blushed immediately. when he saw me.				
HUM000467 [c]		direk			

HUM000467 [v]	görünce. hocam dedim ordaki kardeşim diyorum.				
Trans.	I said that is my sister				
NIL000520 [v]				ben	
Trans.	I				

MUS000518 [v]		bilmiyor mu	senin ikizin olduğunu onun?		
Trans.	He does not know you have a twin?				
HUM000467 [v]				o	hiç
Trans.	H e n e v e r				
NIL000520 [v]	böyle çaba	lıyorum.			
Trans.	so I am struggling				
NIL000520 [c]	((laughing))				

MUS000518 [v]		ha'		dedi ki ne yapıyorsunuz bakayım
Trans.	Yeah, he said so what are you doing .			
HUM000467 [v]	görmemiş yemekhanede.			
Trans.	saw in the cafeteria.			
NIL000520 [v]				belki duymadı (bile).
Trans.	even never heard.			

MUS000518 [v]	dedi böyle bi.	((0.2)) ((inhalation))	ben de şey dedim.	((0.3)) e
Trans.	I said well What			

MUS000518 [v]	ne dedim?		şey de...		çalışma yapıyoruz
Trans.	Did I say? In the... we were studying				
NIL000520 [v]		((0.5)) ee		çalışma	yapıyoruz de... sonra
Trans.	Ihm, we are studying...then				

MUS000518 [v]	dedim.		ben dedi...	sonra o da böyle (şey) bi
Trans.	I said. He said... then something like			
NIL000520 [v]		sen de dedin ki		Hümeýra'nın
Trans.	And then you said Hümeýra's			

MUS000518 [v]	(bakın yaa)	filan dedi böyle. □ hep seni/ seni ee	sandığını
Trans.	look at this or something like that. He thought it was you all along		
MUS000518 [c]		((change in tone of voice))	
NIL000520 [v]	karde...		sonra ne
Trans.	sis.. then		

<b>MUS000518 [v]</b>	ben anladım.		• hah!		Hümeýra
<b>Trans.</b>	I realized . I thought he thought you were				
<b>NIL000520 [v]</b>	dedi? fa/ • fabrikasyon...			hı' evet.	((laughs))'
<b>Trans.</b>	What did he say? fabrication....yeah, right.				
<b>NIL000520 [c]</b>				((laughing))	

<b>MUS000518 [v]</b>	olduğunu	düşündüğünü düşündüm. hocam Hümeýra değil
<b>Trans.</b>	Hümeýra.	I said to him but she is not Hümeýra

<b>MUS000518 [v]</b>	yalnız o dedim.		sonra	çıktı. hı
<b>Trans.</b>	And he left. yeah			
<b>HUM000467 [v]</b>		((0.1)) işte o	espri yapıyorsun (sandı).	
<b>Trans.</b>	right, he thought you were joking.			

<b>MUS000518 [v]</b>	fabrikasyon değil mi dedi.		öyle bişey
<b>Trans.</b>	she is a fabrication isn't she? Something like that		
<b>DID000521 [v]</b>		((knocks on the door))	

<b>MUS000518 [v]</b>	dedi.		gel.		
<b>Trans.</b>	He said . come in				
<b>HUM000467 [v]</b>		((laughs))'			
<b>NIL000520 [v]</b>		öyle bişey dedi. ((laughs))'	((short laugh))'		ge
<b>Trans.</b>	Something like that. Come in.				
<b>DID000521 [v]</b>			gelebil	ir miyim?	
<b>Trans.</b>	Can I come in?				

MUS000518 [v]		sonra	da gitti. arkasından geldi.	((0.2)) ay çok
Trans.	Then he left. Then he came back afterwards. Oh, I am			
MUS000518 [c]			((laughing))	((laughing, reporting
NIL000520 [v]	I Didem.	gel.		
Trans.	D i d e m , c o m e i n .			

MUS000518 [v]	özür dilerim.		
Trans.	s o s o r r y		
MUS000518 [c]	Yalçın's words))		
ALL000001 [v]		((laughter))	
[nn]			((silence))

In this conversation “ Oh, I am so sorry”, *ay çok özür dilerim*, is a metapragmatic comment signaling an impoliteness event that has apparently been perceived to have occurred. The summary of the event is as follows. NIL and HUM are twins. Prof. Yalçın is a professor of HUM and MUS and does not know HUM has a twin, who is a student at the same school. MUS is also a student and a friend of both HUM and NIL. One day at school, when MUS and NIL are studying, Prof. Yalçın comes across them and greets them, “so how is it going?” *e ne yapıyorsun*. MUS realizes that the professor thinks MUS is talking with HUM and so he points that out to the professor: “I said to him but she is not Hümeysra” (Hümeysra being the real name of HUM), *hocam Hümeysra değil yalnız o dedim*. The professor, not having a clue what MUS has meant, thinks MUS is just joking and he replies “she is a fabrication, isn’t she?”, *fabrikasyon değil mi*. Then as HUM explains, he walks away; sees HUM and comes back: “but (he) blushed immediately. when he saw me. I said that is my sister”, *ama suratı direk kızardı. beni de görünce. Hocam dedim ordaki kardeşim diyorum*. Realizing what MUS has meant, professor Yalçın comes back and apologizes to MUS.

MUS is providing genuine and true information with his utterance “...but she is not Hümeýra”, *hocam Hümeýra değil yalnız o*. With other words, MUS is adhering to the Maxim of Quality which requires two premises: 1) do not say what you believe to be false, 2) do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence (Grice, 1975). However, Yalçın thinks that MUS is joking because the information he provides does not conform to the reality Yalçın knows of and creates an inconsistency. Realizing later that he failed to follow the real content of the utterance and the misunderstanding, he comes back and apologizes. What needs to be discussed here is this: what brings Prof. Yalçın to apologize. What makes him perceive his behavior was impolite?

Prof. Yalçın failed to see the truthfulness of MUS’s utterance “but she is not Hümeýra”, *Hümeýra değil yalnız o*, and misunderstands MUS. Therefore, he responds in an unexpected way. If he had attended to the truthfulness of MUS’s utterance, he would have responded differently: perhaps, with a question inquiring why who he was looking at was not HUM. Instead of the conversational sequence in the form of (perceived) joke -“but she is not Hümeýra”, *Hümeýra değil yalnız o*, replied by a joke -“she is a fabrication, isn’t she?”, *fabrikasyon değil mi*, a different conversational sequence would have taken place including a question-answer adjacency pair. A probable guess would be MUS’s utterance followed by a question from the professor, which would be followed by an answer from MUS. Adjacency pairs help with the cohesion of the conversation since they ensure the connection between utterances articulated during conversational exchange. For instance a series of a sequence of statement-disagreement, statement-modification, and statement-question would probably cause a break in the flow just as a sequence of command-question. This explains why adjacency pairs function as a tool of negotiating power, an odd selection and use of adjacency pairs may cause friction and function as a silencer which is identified as a category for conventionalized impoliteness formulae (Culpeper, 2010; 2011b).

In the case above, Yalçın’s utterance “she is a fabrication, isn’t she?”, *fabrikasyon değil mi?*, functions as a silencer although it is meant to be a joke. Since MUS’ utterance, which adheres to the maxim of Quality, is confronted with a joke that

overlooks the truthfulness of it, the professor's joke creates an odd use of response. Yalçın comes back to apologize because he realizes that his failure in understanding the conversational subtleties silenced MUS, which in fact created an unequal power of distribution in the conversation. This brings us to an important but a neglected aspect of impoliteness: impoliteness can be perceived to have occurred not only by formulaic use of linguistic expressions or because of failing to attend the propositional content or the truthfulness of utterances, which is related to Maxim of Quality.

Overall, in this extract, impoliteness is triggered by a misunderstanding. There is no impoliteness strategy since misunderstanding occurs as a result of professor's lack of information. The counter strategy coming from MUS is silence and the impoliteness is repaired through an apology when professor Yalçın has realized the misunderstanding and apologizes.

#### Extract 5:

In this extract, ZEY000073, ISA000058, MEH000126 (ZEY, ISA, MEH hereafter) are talking about earthquakes. ZEY is enquiring about the city they are living about whether it is in the most dangerous earthquake zone in the world or in Turkey, the country the city is in. ISA responds to ZEY's questions and says the city is not in the most dangerous zone in the world but in Turkey. MEH joins in when ZEY asks "why don't they pass a law here?". At this point MEH joins in.

#### Extract 5. 061\_0900712\_0045

ZEY000073 [v]	madem burası... dünyanın birinci deprem bölgesi mi burası
Trans.	if it is.... Is it the most dangerous earthquake zone in the world?

ISA000058 [v]		((0.4)) dünyanın değil. yok.	((0.3)) yani...
Trans.		not the most dangerous. No.	well...
ISA000058 [c]		((softly))	
ZEY000073 [v]	Türkiye'nin mi?		((0.3)) Türk

Trans.	in Turkey?	in Turkey.
--------	------------	------------

ISA000058 [v]		tamam.	((0.1)) h1-h1		
Trans.					
ISA000058 [c]		((change in tone of voice))	((fast))		
ZEY000073 [v]	iye'nin.			ha h!	((0.1)) Türkiye'
Trans.	hah ! in Turkey.				

ZEY000073 [v]	nin.	((inhales)) niye burda bir yasa getirilmiyor da...	
Trans.	W h y d o n ' t t h e y d o n ' t p a s s a l a w ?		
MEH000126 [v]			((0.2))
MEH000126 [c]			ara:

MEH000126 [v]	ulek!	orospu çocuğu kendilerine çimentodan çalıp
Trans.	son of a bitch they steal from the cement and make (constructions)	
MEH000126 [c]	interjection	

ISA000058 [v]				ço ğ u ŝ e y ...			
Trans.	most of them.....						
ISA000058 [c]				((softly))			
ZEY000073 [v]						o	lur mu yan
Trans.	Is it fair?						
MEH000126 [v]	yapıyorlar.	hallak	ne yasak	ne de bir bok yarar.			
Trans.	for themselves. (interjection). No prohibition no shit would work.						
MEH000126 [c]		ara: now				is	

<b>ZEY000073 [v]</b>	i? senin	halkın ölüyor.	ya o senin	çocuğun da o...	
<b>Trans.</b>	your people die. they are your own children too...				
<b>MEH000126 [v]</b>	yav!		yav s...	çok	sikinde onun
<b>Trans.</b>	Hah!	Like he gives a f..		he gives load of fuck	
<b>MEH000126 [c]</b>			((lengthening))	((emphatically))	((fast))

<b>ISA000058 [v]</b>		((1.7)) e niye	şeyde/
<b>Trans.</b>	why in		
<b>ISA000058 [c]</b>			
<b>MEH000126 [v]</b>	senin halkın ölmüşse. çok affedersin.		
<b>Trans.</b>	your people die. excuse me please.		

MEH's response, starting with an interjection *ulek!*, to ZEY's question includes swear words: "son of a bitch they steal from the cement and make (constructions) for themselves", *orospu çocuğu kendilerine çimentodan çalıp yapıyorlar*. ISA has a limited part in the conversation; he has a soft tone and as MEH is speaking, he says "most of them". He does not continue since ZEY directs another question after MEH's comment, "is it fair?", *olur mu yani?*. MEH, who has not completed his turn yet, completes it with another interjection, *hallak*, and comments "no prohibition no shit would work", *ne yasak ne de bir bok yarar*. ZEY is emotional with her next comment "your people die", *senin halkın ölüyor*, "he is your own child too", *ya o senin çocuğun da o*. In her utterances, the possessive determiner "your" and subject pronoun "you" is used to refer to third person determiner "their" and third person pronoun "they". She is taking this emotional stance and expressing her difficulty to understand why those people cannot empathize with the people dying. MEH's response to ZEY's emotional reaction with "your people die", *senin halkın ölüyor*, "he is your own child too", *ya o senin çocuğun da o*, again starts with an interjection *yav*. MEH comments, "like he gives a f(uck)", *yav s(ikinde)*, "he gives load of fuck your people die", *çok sikinde onun senin halkın ölmüşse*. In the comment tier, notice how he plays with his tone of voice to



emphasize his point: first, he uses a lengthening tone, and then accompanying the word “load”, *çok*, an ironically emphatic tone, and with the swear word “fuck”, *sikinde*, a fast tone. Immediately after that comment, MEH apologizes “excuse me please”, *çok affedersin*. In this extract, MEH obviously thinks that he has been impolite. However, he himself does not explain or give clues as to why he thinks he has been impolite and what in the conversation he evaluates to be impolite.

One explanation is that MEH apologizes because he has used swear or taboo words, with gradually increased level of offensives (i.e. “son of a bitch”, *orospu çocuğu*, “no shit”, *ne bok*, gives a f(uck), *yav s(ikinde)*, load of fuck, *çok sikinde*), one after the other. The taboo words in the expressions he uses are associated with offensiveness and have negative connotations. Having gone against the “norms” and conventions of the conversation by using bad language, MEH apologizes.

However, different theoretical models would propose different explanations to why MEH apologizes in this extract. While discussing examples that did not quite fit the bulk of his data, Culpeper (2011b, p.42) explains that taboo words create cases where it is difficult to decide what makes these cases perceived to be impolite: whether the taboo words themselves having negative connotations threaten the positive face of the participants or their sociality rights, which are not directly about face issues. The example he gives is as follows:

On the beach in the South of England with my family. My dad has bought me a snorkel set but the sea is freezing and I don’t use it.  
‘Come on son, be brave’ <said quite jokingly>  
‘I am’.  
‘your not gonna do much snorkeling there’. <said quite jokingly>  
(after attempting to get in the sea).  
‘Dad its freezing...I don’t want to!’ <being stubborn>  
‘oh don’t be a wimp’.  
‘No dad I’m not going in’. <being stubborn> (said as I walked up the beach).  
‘Well we might as well throw it in the f\*\*king sea then’! <stress on f\*\*king>

Quoting Brown and Levinson (1987, p.67), Culpeper (2011b, p.42) explains that they treat ‘irreverence’ and ‘mention of taboos’ as a positive face issue on the

basis that ‘S indicates that he doesn’t value H’s values and doesn’t fear H’s fears’. He, on the other hand, maintains that because “taboos are less a matter of mediating an individuals self and more a matter of social conventions”, they are primarily related to sociality rights not to face issues. He adds that “[a]lthough not explicitly accommodated within equity rights, one can construct an argument that the producer of something shows lack of consideration for the perceiver by introducing something with strong negative emotions (i.e. it causes them emotional cost).” (p.42).

If we consider Brown and Levinson’ s (1987) treatment of mention of taboo words as a positive face issue (with the explanation that ‘S indicates that he doesn’t value H’s values and doesn’t fear H’s fears’) , maintaining that MEH apologizes because he does not value what ZEY values would not be a valid comment. In fact, with his comments, MEH shows his agreement with ZEY about the inconsiderateness of the people who do not care about people’s lives and shares her feelings strongly.

If we consider MEH’s apology on the basis that “the producer shows lack of consideration for the perceiver by introducing something with strong negative emotions” (Culpeper, 2011b, p.42), and causes emotional cost, maintaining MEH has caused an emotional cost to ZEY would not be valid either. By implication, through the utterances “hah! like he gives a f... he gives load of fuck your people die”, *yav!*, *yav s...*, *çok sikinde onun senin halkın ölmüşse*, MEH means ZEY’s expectations that those people should empathize and behave more humanely are irrational and unreasonable. However, arguing that his implication causes an emotional cost to ZEY would not be well-grounded because the context or the co-text does not give any cues in that respect.

Overall, in this extract, MEH seems to be attributing impoliteness to his own use of language on the basis of common understanding that people avoid using bad language because it brings out strong negative connotations. It is important to note that MEH, the speaker and generator of impoliteness (at least from his own point of view), is the only participant in the conversation making judgments about his

behavior. Therefore, although he insults a third party and does not get reactions from the overhearing participants we do not see a counter strategy.

In Section 1.2, how politeness theory was initially shaped by Lakoff (1973, 1989) and later by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), was discussed and how the hearer was perceived in their framework was explained. For instance, what is proposed for the positive politeness superstrategy (Brown and Levinson, 1987) is that the speaker performs the FTA towards redressing the positive face threat to the hearer (i.e. by claiming common ground, attending to the hearer's needs, etc.). For this framework, the speaker had a more central role in the analysis of face in politeness theories. However, in time, with increasing emphasis on the discursive approach, the focus was given to participants' or hearers' perception, which has also been criticized later for its focus (Haugh, 2007). In the extract being discussed, the speaker MEH is the performer of impoliteness and is the only participant who draws attention to it by an apology "excuse me", *çok afedersin*. Therefore, this extract highlights the importance of taking speakers' evaluations of their own utterances back into the discussion of politeness and impoliteness theories. Perhaps, an emphasis on how speakers' form judgments on their impolite behavior and how they evaluate the impact of their behavior on their own faces in interaction would bring about new dimensions to impoliteness studies.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **5.0 Presentation**

This study has two research levels: extraction and analysis, followed by a contrastive analysis. It has different research questions for each level and the contrastive analysis. In this chapter, the research questions will be revisited and the findings will be discussed and summarized. Implications of the methodological framework the study is designed with, namely the CDL approach and cyclic research pattern will be linked to the discussion and suggestions for further studies will be offered.

#### **5.1. Revisiting Research Questions: Extraction Level**

There are two questions at this level. The first question is: How can impoliteness be extracted in conversation across languages, which are British English and Turkish for this study?

This research question has a number of aspects to be conferred. The first aspect is the methodological approaches adopted at the extraction level. The method of extraction consisted of a combination of two approaches: the discursive and the cue-based. The discursive approach applied in (im)politeness studies has been borrowed from discursive psychology. It has three main strands:

- (i) respecification and critique of psychological topics and explanations; (ii) investigations of how everyday psychological categories are used in discourse; (iii) studies of how psychological business (motives and intentions, prejudices, reliability of memory and perception, etc.) is handled and managed in talk and text, without having to be overtly labeled as such (Edwards, 2005, p. 259) .

These explain the close relationship between discursive psychology and conversation, that is, talk that reflects our everyday business without necessarily being discussed.

The discursive approach is characterized by its emphasis on how participants in interaction perceive politeness. With this emphasis, this school of researchers ((Eelen 2001; Mills 2003; Watts 2003, 2005; Locher 2004; Locher and Watts 2005)) contest the essentialist view that the notion of politeness is the same across cultures, which has been reinforced with Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. Since metapragmatic comments and reactive responses open a window to how interactants perceive politeness phenomena, they are listed as the two points taken into consideration under the discursive approach for the present study.

The discursive approach has been criticized for its emphasis on participants' perception and it has been argued that it created questions concerning the validity of researchers' analyses (Haugh, 2007). An approach that complements the discursive approach for the criticisms it received is a necessity and the cue-based approach is what is proposed in this study as a complement

The cue-based approach has not been used as a term to refer to an approach before in the literature. Conventionalized impoliteness formulae, non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness, verbal and non-verbal forms signaling interpersonal conflict and semantic prosody come under the heading cue-based approach. It is assumed that conventionalized impoliteness formulae, non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness, conversation analysis tools (e.g. turn-taking, pauses, etc), verbal and non-verbal forms signaling interpersonal conflict (e.g. change in structural patterns such as turn taking, topic change, repetition, seeking for disagreement.) and semantic prosody create an inclusive model to compensate for what might be neglected by the discursive approach.

Examples of impoliteness extracted from the corpora show that the combination of the two approaches with the tools they provide are as effective as they were assumed to be. For instance, some examples would not have been extracted from

the BNC and the STC if the cue-based approach had not been included in the extraction. The BNC Extract 5 exemplifies how a conventionalized impoliteness formula “fuck off” creates tension. Extract 2 shows how non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness is generated through an echo of offensive word “shit” in “SHIT TV”. Extract 3 is an example of how conversation analytic tools can be applied to reach conclusions about verbal and non-verbal conflicts aggravating impoliteness. With immediate topic change after question-answer adjacency pairs, participants in interaction silence each other and create interpersonal conflict. The STC Extract 1 is a good example of how semantic prosody comes into play in generating impoliteness through the use of *bi*, functioning in the text as a diminutive and the verb *-geçir* and how context sensitive both semantic prosody and non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness are.

Overall, the effectiveness of these tools combined with the discursive and cue-based approaches proved to provide a wide enough window to look at impoliteness. In fact, if they were not combined, the subtle ways with which impoliteness is generated with would have gone unnoticed in the analysis stage. It is important that further studies are carried out within a similar methodological approach to find out what other tools can be added under the two approaches.

Another aspect of the question is about whether the query methods used with the corpora were effective. In order to arrive at conventionalized impoliteness formulae in the corpora to collect conversations that involve impoliteness, a variety of query methods were used. For instance in the BNC, word and collocation queries were initially, run for a list of taboo words such as *sodding*, *fucking*, *shit* and conventionalized phrases such as *bugger off*, *shut up* in spoken subcorpus with the text type selected as spoken conversation. Most words for queries came from a study from Millwood-Hargrave (2000) cited by Culpeper (2011b). For extracting incidences of impoliteness in the STC, a similar method was followed. A list of swearing words and expressions was formed. Most words and expressions came from Aydın (2006)’s and Güneş (2009)’s studies. It was assumed that a list of these words would function well for carrying out the word query for extraction in Turkish as Millwood-Hargrave (2000)’s list used for word

query in British English. Examples of impoliteness arrived at as a result of such word and collocation queries (e.g. The BNC Extracts 1, 2, 3, 7, the STC Extract 5) retrieved from the two corpora indicate that looking for conventionalized impoliteness formulae lends itself well for extraction.

For the word query in the STC, Işık-Güler's (2008) dissertation findings about concepts strongly associated with KABA in Turkish was also used. The lexical items that she found to be strongly associated with KABA in metapragmatic talk on impoliteness, *düşüncesiz*, *saygısız*, *nezaketsiz*, *küstahlık*, *patavatsızlık*, *kırıcı*, *bencil*, *çirkin*, *cahil*, *empati kuramayan*, were not encountered in conversations extracted. There are three possible reasons for this. First, despite being fairly representative in terms of demographic sampling, the STC is still limited in size. When the STC is expanded, further studies could bring about different findings. Second, people may prefer not to respond to impoliteness (Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann, 2003) or even if they do, they may not report it to other people later. For instance, in the STC Extract 4, which is reported impoliteness, we do not have access to the actual interaction that took place between the student and the professor. If the professor had not come back to apologize, and if the student had not reported it fully with the fact that the professor did apologize, this example of impoliteness would have not been available to the researcher. Third, and indeed more plausible reason could be that there is a mismatch between how people conceptualize impoliteness and verbalize that conceptualization and how they use the language to generate and react to impoliteness. While they evaluate a behavior as impolite, people could verbalize their judgment with the lexeme *nezaketsiz*, but they could as well use other expressions such as the metapragmatic comment (e.g. *teessüf ederim*, 'excuse me', in the STC Extract 3).

Eelen (2001) suggests that first-order politeness should be distinguished in three categories: expressive politeness, classificatory politeness and metapragmatics politeness. He describes them as follows:

Expressive politeness<sup>1</sup> [i.e. first-order politeness] refers to politeness encoded in speech, to instances where the speaker aims at 'polite'

behaviour: the use of honorifics or terms of address in general, conventional formulaic expressions ('thank you', 'excuse me', ...), different request formats, apologies, etc. ..., i.e. the usual objects of investigation in most politeness research. Classificatory politeness<sup>1</sup> refers to politeness used as a categorizational tool: it covers hearers' judgments (in actual interaction) of other people's interactional behavior as 'polite' or 'impolite'. Finally, metapragmatic politeness<sup>1</sup> covers instances of talk about politeness as a concept, about what people perceive politeness to be all about (Eelen, 2001, p 35).

As mentioned above with the example of the STC Extract 3, in this study, comments such as *teessüf ederim*, 'excuse me', are regarded as a metapragmatic comments indicating classificatory politeness<sup>1</sup>. The reason for this is because the study examines impoliteness in interaction and such comments are metapragmatic and classificatory since they show interactants evaluation of other participants' interactional behavior as polite or impolite.

Another point that needs to be reminded here about the STC Extract 3 and the metapragmatic comment *teessüf ederim*, 'excuse me' is that *teessüf ederim* is uttered to express disapproval on what the speaker has heard from another speaker in interaction. In other words, it expresses that the person who says *teessüf ederim* has taken offense for the violation of her rights and she asking that the other speaker acknowledges what she has done. Unlike *teessüf ederim*, "excuse me" in general can fill two functions: first is the same as *teessüf ederim* and the second is as an act of apology. Going back to the argument whether impoliteness is inherent in linguistic expressions or speech acts (see Section 2.2 for discussion), it seems that Culpeper's (2010) dual view that (im)politeness and pragmatic (im)politeness are inter-dependent is plausible: "[i]m)politeness can be more inherent in a linguistic expression or can be more determined by context , but neither the expression nor the context guarantee an interpretation of (im)politeness" (p.3237). In discussing mimicry and echoic mention as implicational impoliteness (see Section 2.2), Culpeper (2011b) refers to Sperber and Wilson's (1986) Relevance Theory and echoic irony. Culpeper summarizes that according to Sperber and Wilson (1986, p. 240) the relevant implicatures are formed only when:

first, on a recognition of the utterance as an echo; second, on an identification of the source of the opinion echoed; and third, on a



recognition that the speaker's attitude to the opinion echoed is one of rejection or disapproval.

In the case of the STC Extract 3, 'excuse me', in the meaning of *teessiif ederim*, fulfills these three conditions of echoic use. This again confirms that word query by itself is not adequate method for extraction of impoliteness unless contextual clues are taken into consideration. However, they can signal contexts that impoliteness might take place.

Related to what has been discussed regarding 'excuse me', another complexity that was taken into consideration in extraction was the role of semantic prosody. As mentioned before in Section 2.6, semantic prosody is closely related to the notion of collocations. The primary function of semantic prosody is to express speaker/writer attitude or evaluation (Louw 2000, p. 58). Semantic prosodies are typically negative; however, it is also possible that a speaker violates a semantic prosody condition to create an impact such as irony, insincerity, or humour in the hearer (Louw 1993, p. 173). Findings confirm that the nuances semantic prosody brings to the interpretation of impoliteness play a fundamental role in extraction. The examples discussed in relation to semantic prosody with the extracts in this study strongly indicate that a consideration of semantic prosody is a must for research studies focusing on impoliteness.

One other fundamental notion applied in the extraction was Culpeper (2011b)'s non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness. As discussed in Section 2.2, Culpeper (2011b) classifies implicational impoliteness in 3 categories: form-driven, convention-driven: internal, external; and context-driven: unmarked behavior and absence of behavior. Below is an example Culpeper (2011b, p. 158) gives to demonstrate form-driven impoliteness.

'Uh, Im always tidying this fucking room'-person X  
Implied I never tidy the living room (which isn't true!)  
Said in the living room, semi-angry, emphasizing 'always'.  
Said by a housemate. No one else was there.  
My response- silent annoyance

This example illustrates how flouting a Gricean maxim creates implicational impoliteness. From the perspective of the hearer, the offender violates Maxim of Quality because it is false to say that he is always tidying the room. This example falls into the classificatory politeness<sup>1</sup> verbalized later in this way since the behavior and evaluation of the behaviour take place in actual interaction.

Through another example, Culpeper (2011b, p. 168) illustrates convention-driven impoliteness.

A friend that I used to work with came to visit me with his partner (who used to work for me last year). She is pregnant and before she even said hello to me she walked into my house and said ‘Yeah Mate-I’m 5 months now and I’m nowhere near as big as you were- you were a monster (laughs) wasn’t she Daz’ So I replied with ‘Oh, hello, come in-very nice to see you again too!’

After saying this in a sarcastic tone, I looked at my friend Darren (the pregnant girls partner) who cringed + mouthed silently ‘sorry’ to me and then said ‘who’s for a nice cup of tea’ in a smiley voice.

This is an example of external, convention driven impoliteness because ‘Oh, hello, come in-very nice to see you again too!’ is a conventionalized politeness greeting. However, it does not match the context especially since what it is preceded with (i.e. ‘you are a monster’) is more likely to be associated with impoliteness. This is a case for external mismatch. Again, taking Eelen’s (2001) categories into consideration, one might suggest that ‘Oh, hello, come in-very nice to see you again too!’ indirectly falls into the metapragmatic politeness<sup>1</sup> category, although it is a reaction to impoliteness taking place in an actual interaction as in classificatory politeness<sup>1</sup> category. Similar to the case in the STC Extract 3, the three categories, expressive, classificatory and metapragmatics, Eelen (2001) suggests become intertwined with each other in interaction. The insight that has been gleaned from this observation is that extracting implicational impoliteness from corpora required more in-depth awareness of in what forms and what cues impoliteness might present it with.

With this in mind, in extraction, as well as conventionalized impoliteness formulae, cues for different categories of implicational impoliteness were tracked down for

both British English and Turkish to compensate for the incidences of impoliteness which could have been missed otherwise because they did not fall into what might be named as conventionalized impoliteness formulae. Although looking for non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness sets out a solid frame for other aspects impoliteness that is closely linked to the form, conventions and context, the concept of non-conventionalized impoliteness is not broad enough to include the category for implicational impoliteness that is generated by metaphorical, metonymic and idiomatic expressions. The BNC extracts 1, with the idiomatic expression “getting too big with their boots”, and 7 with the metaphor of “crawling into a hole” signal the potential for implicational impoliteness in the sense that they are used to express affective meaning and emotional effect of what is being experienced. As argued before in Section 4.1, with the BNC Extract 7, in which the emotional effect of having encountered impoliteness is expressed with “Oh God, I would've crawled into a hole for the rest of my life” by a speaker, we see that in studying naturally occurring conversations, metapragmatic comments on emotions may not appear in the form of emotion labels but in the form of idioms, multi-word expressions and conventional or creative metaphors and metonymies.

The second question is: What do findings at this level of the study provide the researcher about what impoliteness is? In order to answer to this question, within the CDL framework, scholars evaluate the insights they have gathered from the extracted instances of impoliteness for the reformulation of the research questions or the theory that will be applied to analyze the data. Current studies also indicate a tendency towards that practice. For instance, Bousfield (2008) allocates a chapter, Chapter 7, “The Dynamics of Impoliteness”, and discusses “just what exactly is ‘context’ and more importantly for us here, how does it relate to, and shape, the creation and perceptions of impoliteness?” (p.169). In this chapter, he introduces the theory of activity type. Thomas (1995:189-190) gives 6 features of activity type as the following: 1) The goals of the participants, 2) Allowable contributions, 3) The degree to which Gricean maxims are adhered to or are suspended 4) Turn-taking and topic control 5) The manipulation of pragmatic parameters. In terms of turn-taking and topic control, for example, Bousfield (2008) explains that “the degree to which an individual can exploit turn-taking norms in order to control the

interaction, to establish his, or her, own agenda, to successfully manage the activity type and achieve their goals is an important and significant area for impoliteness” (p. 173). Through applying the “activity type” to the analysis of impoliteness especially with the discussions of allowable contributions, Gricean maxims and turn-taking and topic control, Bousfield (2008), though with implication, addresses what is explicitly proposed with this study: the theory of impoliteness in spoken interaction should be explained through both the concept of Face and conversational conventions in spoken interaction.

So far, the findings from the extraction level support an integration of theoretical discussion of conversational conventions to the model of impoliteness and require that the face model has to be enriched. It is with this awareness that the data will be examined. The research questions and existing theories will be revisited and reformulated before the analysis level starts.

## **5.2 Revisiting Research Questions: Analysis Level**

At the analysis level, 7 extracts are discussed from the BNC. Extract 4 is given as an example to a conversation in which, despite a use the use of “don’t be a so stupid woman”, the participant who is being addressed does not evaluate it as impolite. Extract 7 is reported impoliteness (i.e. metapragmatic impoliteness). One of the participants tells about the impoliteness she has encountered for chewing gum at school when a teacher seeing her comments that she looks like a slut. All the other extracts are incidences of impoliteness taking place during interaction. From the STC, 5 extracts are analyzed, all of which are examples of impoliteness happening during interaction except Extract 4, which is reported impoliteness. Table 18 below gives a summary of the findings arrived at the end of detailed analysis in Chapter Four. Although the chart abridges the details of the analysis, it provides a visual tool to arrive at discerning conclusions, within the limits of the number of conversations analyzed, about impoliteness in the British English and Turkish.

Table 17. Research Questions and the BNC and STC

The BNC					
Research Questions	Extract 1	Extract 2	Extract 3	Extract 5	Extract 6
What triggers impoliteness in interaction among the speakers of British English?	Forming alliance against background assumptions	Showing dislike to one' taste	Showing dislike to one's use of language	Offensive language	Showing dislike to one's behaviour
What impoliteness strategies are employed in interaction by speakers of British English?	Insult	Insult	Insult	Insult	Insult
How is impoliteness countered in interaction by speakers of British English?	Attempt to prove adequacy	Excluding oneself from the group and indexing oneself with a different group	Ironical acknowledgement of the insult	Direct reponse with the same phrase	Warning
What is the role of countering strategies in relation to face in interaction employed by speakers of British English?	Attempt to repair impoliteness	Closure by a silencer and topic change by a third	Closure by topic change	Closure	Denial Closure by topic change
The STC					
Research Questions	Extract 1	Extract 2	Extract 3	Extract 4	Extract 5
What triggers impoliteness in interaction among the speakers of Turkish?	Excluding oneself from the group and indexing oneself with a different group	Showing dislike to one' taste	Showing dislike to one's appearance	Misunderstanding	Offensive language directed to a third party
What impoliteness strategies are employed in interaction by speakers of Turkish?	Threat	Insult	Insult		Insult
How is impoliteness countered in interaction by speakers of Turkish?	Change in behavior	Ironical acknowledgement of the patronizing behavior	Ironical acknowledgement of the insult	No reply	No reply
What is the role of countering strategies in relation to face in interaction employed by speakers of Turkish?	Attempt to repair impoliteness	Topic change	Denial	Apology	Apology

It seems that both in British English and Turkish, showing dislike of a feature of someone, which is a form of face attack, commonly triggers impoliteness. As Extracts 1 in both the BNC and STC exemplify, acting against pre-formed membership organizations and assumptions and expectations related to membership categorization bring out the potential for impoliteness. In the BNC Extract 1, two of the card players are assumed to have formed new alliances ( Figure 13), which in turn prompts reaction from other two members. Similarly, in the STC Extract 1, one of the participants excludes her from the group who are taking photograph together as a reaction to one of the members who has been irritating. However, her behavior of excluding herself from the group and the implication that she is indexing herself differently is responded with impoliteness by two members in the group. Use of offensive language and misunderstanding are the two other issues that have triggered impoliteness. In Extract 5 in the BNC, “fuck off” is uttered as a reaction to what the other speaker was saying: the teacher has asked them to write about 6000 words for the paper due soon. However, “fuck

off” is not neutralized and in return triggers counter impoliteness from the other participant “you do”. In the STC in Extract 5, offensive language is used again to react but verbalized in a way that it is obviously targeted at to an outsider or a third party. After saying “son of a bitch” *orospu çocuğu*, and “he gives fucking load of shit”, *çok sikinde onun*, the speaker apologizes to the present participants for being impolite. In the STC Extract 4, a misunderstanding occurs between a professor and students on the propositional content of what the student is saying. Based on his own understanding, the professor makes a joke but later, when he realizes there was a misunderstanding, he comes and apologizes for the joke. Looking at what triggers impoliteness in interaction, especially the BNC Extract 5 and the STC Extract 4 and 5, the debate on whether intention is a determining factor in generating impoliteness and whether an intentional face attack is attributed to the impoliteness seem extraneous. Culpeper’s (2011b, p.23) current definition of what impoliteness seems to be in line with the data:

Impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviors occurring in specific contexts. It is sustained by expectations, desires and/or beliefs about social organization, including, in particular, how one person’s or a group’s identities are mediated by others in interaction. Situated behaviors are viewed negatively - considered ‘impolite’ - when they conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be and/or how one thinks they ought to be. Such behaviors always have or are presumed to have emotional consequences for at least one participant, that is, they cause or are presumed to cause offense. Various factors can exacerbate how offensive an impolite behavior is taken to be, including for example whether one understands a behavior to be strongly intentional or not.

Then, regardless of whether the impoliteness events encountered in the extracts are performed intentionally or not, looking at the chart, insult seems to be applied or perceived to be applied the most as a strategy with one exception in the STC Extract 1, which is a threat. The close relationship between insults, notions of punishment and harm have been discussed before in Chapter Four. There are different types of harm: physical harm, such as punching, stabbing; deprivation of sources such as in robbery and social harm (Tedeschi, 1970). Social harm is an important type for impoliteness since it damages the social identity of a person by lowering their status. It can be executed through insults, reproaches, sarcasm and impolite behaviour and linguistic impoliteness. Negative evaluations, mild reproaches and disagreements may be perceived as identity attacks even when they

are not intended to be (Tedeschi and Felson, 1994, p. 171). In Extract 7 in the BNC, while reporting the impoliteness she experienced, the participant talks about how she felt. The emotion she describes is embarrassment because her social identity face is being attacked and as a result social harm is being inflicted. This extract also illustrates a case for the need to study the role of emotions in impoliteness. Although as Spencer-Oatey (2011) pointed out that the role of emotions has always been an implicit thread of discussion in relation to politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987; Lakoff, 1989; Ide, 1989; Leech, 1983; Goffman, 1967), there has been little research on it in politeness studies (Spencer-Oatey, 2011; Culpeper, 2011b and Ruhi, 2009).

The STC Extract 1, in which threat, *sana bi geçircem zaten*, “I’ll hit/slap you right now” was identified as impoliteness category. It was identified as a threat and in it is the semantic prosody that came into play through *bi*, which is functioning in the text as a diminutive, and *-geçir*. Semantic prosody is context sensitive in the sense that the same combination of the diminutive and verb as in the utterance *sana bi geçircem bu bereyi*, “I’ll put this (beret) on you now” would not be interpreted as impolite under normal circumstances. When the contextual sensitivity of semantic prosody is taken into consideration, one could argue that what is considered as conventionalized impoliteness formula could as well turn out to be a neutral expression as it is the case in the beret example. This acknowledgement demands an informed approach to extraction and analysis for studies similar to the present study. Otherwise, it is possible to miss incidences of impoliteness triggered or verbalized through non-conventionalized expressions that are impolite due to the effect of semantic prosody.

In terms of how impoliteness is countered in interaction the extracts show that a variety of strategies are employed in British English and Turkish. An attempt to prove adequacy when inadequacy is implied through insults (e.g. “psychological”), excluding oneself from the group and indexing oneself with a different group (e.g. “the best people are”), responding directly with the same phrase perceived to be impolite to the performer of impoliteness (e.g. “you do (fuck off) ”), warning (e.g. “don’t talk to me like that. I don’t appreciate the way you’re talking to me”),

ironical acknowledgement of the insult (e.g. “I stand corrected”, *evet önemli bi sanat*, “yes an important art”), change of behaviour (e.g. *tamam çekin ya*, “ok, take (a photograph) it”, and no reply are used as strategies to counter impoliteness. For the last question about the role of countering strategies, it would not be wrong to say that in both languages when a participant responds to impoliteness in some way there is somewhat a change in the behaviour. The performer of the impolite behaviour may try to repair the act, either the performer of the act or another participant may change the topic, or either the performer or another participant denies that an impolite act was performed and closes the incident. Overall, reaching conclusive remarks about the speakers of British English or Turkish is optimistic given that the number of impoliteness extracts analyzed in the study is not big enough to make generalizations. However, this is not necessarily a drawback. The aim of contrastive studies should not be to make generalizations about speakers of languages at the cultural level. Kádár and Culpeper (2010) verbalize the importance of contrastive studies as follows:

comparative analysis is an important task, because comparing politeness practices and their contexts, should enable [one] to gain insights into the general mechanism of the interactional function of linguistic (im) politeness (p. 14).

Ruhi and Kádár (2011), for instance carried out a contrastive analysis of how face was conceptualized during the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Turkish and Chinese to through the use of word “face”. Although their study is an example of one in historical impoliteness, their aim, which is to take a step towards generating cross-cultural research, is closely linked to what is aimed at with this study.

### **5.3 Revisiting Research Questions: Contrastive Level**

The the question at this level is: What are the implications of the study for impoliteness and face theory? The suggestion that CA tools should be integrated into the discussion of what impoliteness is has been confirmed to be useful for discussions of debated issues such as the role of disagreement. In Chapter Four, in the BNC Extract 3, the notion of disagreement has emerged as a topic that needs to



be discussed further. As mentioned, early in the field there was conceptual a tendency (Locher, 2004; Waldron and Applegate, 199; Kakavá, 1993,) to regard disagreement as a form of conflict. When disagreement was linked to CA studies, the same line of thought that disagreement indicated conflict (Hutchby, 1996) ruled the discussions. It was within this dominant perspective that disagreement was linked to the issue of face and it had been maintained that disagreement proposed a threat to face (Brown and Levinson 1987; Leech 1983). However, over time that tendency took a different direction and scholars argued that as an adjacency pair disagreements produced longer turn-taking sequences (Kothoff, 1993; Sifianou, 2012) and therefore they had face-maintaining or face-enhancing effects as well (Angouri and Locher, 2012). In the BNC Extract 3, disagreement is analyzed in relation to CA and is treated as an adjacency pair. It was observed that disagreement in the extract did not produce longer sequences although its effect seemed to open a new sequence of opinion-disagreement. It was then observed that the immediate topic change after disagreement created an effect of silencing. Therefore it was theorized that the pattern disagreement followed by immediate topic change functions as an impoliteness strategy. It was through CA analysis tools this conclusion was arrived at. This claim has implications about what impoliteness is and whether face theory should be central for the theory, and if yes what other ways face can be analyzed.

With the three strands of discursive approach, one of which is studying how psychological business (motives and intentions, prejudices, reliability of memory and perception, etc.) is handled and managed in talk and text (Edwards, 2005), the discussion on face dominantly look into interaction. However, as Haugh and Bargiela-Chiappini (2010, p. 2074) pointed out what we mean by interaction may differ:

In its most fundamental sense, interaction refers to situations in which two or more people communicate. Face is uncontroversially interactional in this sense in that face necessarily involves evaluation by others, which in turn presupposes that interaction has indeed taken place (Arundale, 1999; Haugh and Hinze, 2003; Ho, 1976). The move in pragmatics – albeit not always accepted – towards examining samples of real-life interaction is thus largely consistent with a conceptualisation of face as interactional in this ordinary sense. However, interaction can also be understood in a more

technical sense, namely, as the reciprocal influence two or more persons have on each other in communicating, through which fundamentally non-summative outcomes emerge (that is, meanings which are not necessarily synonymous with what the speaker might have intended nor with what the recipient might have understood) (Arundale, 2006:196).

Different orientations towards looking into face in interaction have been taken up by scholars. For instance, Ruhi (2010) proposes that face should be analyzed not only through an examination of interaction in the ordinary sense but also through parallel documents, as suggested by Garfinkel (1967) and Hak (1995) suggest in reaching an understanding of how background assumptions and categorizations affect face in interaction in the “technical” sense. Ruhi and Kádár’s (2011) comparative study of folk concepts of face in Chinese and Turkish is another example for grounding analysis of face in “the first-order emic concepts” (Haugh, 2012, pp.128-9).

Arundale (2005, p.212) also grounds face in ethnography of interaction in a general sense:

The alternative, more culture-general conceptualization of face developed here is grounded in an observation considerably more general than Goffman’s: all humans engage in communication within a matrix of relationships with other human beings. From the perspective of theory in human communication, interaction in relationships is basic to explaining human sociality. But given this particular observational and theoretical framing, one needs to ask if the alternative view of face as relational and interactional is a culturally bounded conceptualization. Of course it is. No human construction can be otherwise.

Spencer Oatey (2007) is another scholar who aims to bring a broader analysis to face in interaction. As mentioned in Chapter Two, in discussing the question what kind of data is needed for research into face, she argues that post-event comments offer valuable information on people’s evaluative reactions or attributions which may vary from person to person and culture to culture. Chang and Haugh (2011) use a different term for post-interviews: ethnographic interviews. Although they applied this method in their study together with recordings of naturally occurring interactional data, they acknowledge that doing an ethnographic interview could as well be face threatening by itself (p.2952) since it creates a new interaction. Mills (2009, p.1049) argues that a distinction between impoliteness at an individual level

and societal level should be made and analytical frameworks should be developed to analyze impoliteness at a societal level. This can be achieved through an analysis of “Communities of Practice” norms. In conclusion, the analysis of face in interaction in the ordinary sense (Haugh and Bragiela-Chiappini, 2010) falls short for impoliteness studies and different analytical approaches should be developed to go beyond. This is implied as well with this study which examined the interaction in the ordinary sense but went relatively further by integrating CA approach and tapping upon issues such as membership organization assumptions in the context the interaction took place.

#### **5.4 Revisiting Existing Theories of Face and Impoliteness**

The BNC Extract 1 and the STC Extract 1, 3 and 4 are examples of impoliteness in which violation of Gricean conversational maxims directly or indirectly trigger impoliteness. This indicates that the Gricean maxims need to be taken into consideration in interaction. With repeated violation of the maxims in spoken conversation, speakers are perceived to be impolite and they encounter impoliteness (e.g. the STC Extract 1). This brings the notion of “speaker rights theory” (Wilson 1987, 1989) and related notions such as Spencer-Oatey and Jiang’s (2003) sociopragmatic interactional principles (SIPs) closer to the stage in addition the notion of face, which has been at the centre of impoliteness theory so far.

Wilson (1987, 1989) argues that a conversation can only be defined through an “equal distribution of speaker rights” (1987, p. 96). This argument is different than participants taking equal turns: “It is rather recognition of the fact that in conversation, speakers have equal rights in terms of initiating talk, interrupting, responding, deciding not to do any of these” (Warren, 2006, p. 8). Wilson (1989) claims that the “speaker rights theory” (STR) is what distinguishes conversation from other types of discourse.

Warren (2006, p. 8) explains that:

When it is claimed that the participants in conversation are of equal status, this does not mean that one can never converse with one's employer, for example. What is meant is that for the duration of a conversation, the external status set aside, and for the purposes of conducting the conversation, the participants are deemed to be of equal status. In this way the participants perceive themselves to be of equal status or the purposes of holding a conversation. This distinguishes conversation from specialized discourse types in which the status of participants is unequal, which in turn has consequences for the resulting discourse. ...Even if in reality a particular conversation is dominated verbally by one or more of the participants, the responsibility for the discourse remains shared. Moreover, the participants in a conversation can only share responsibility for it if they perceive themselves to be of equal status. This is not the case in specialized discourse types in which it is the speaker(s) who is designated as dominant and who has the ultimate responsibility for the discourse.

STR can also be related to Spencer-Oatey's (2000) Rapport Management Model. It consists of three interconnected aspects: the management of face, the management of sociality rights and obligations and the management of interactional goals. For Spencer-Oatey face is similar to how Goffman (1967, p.5) defines it; 'the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself [*sic*] by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact' (qtd. in Spencer-Oatey, 2000, p.13). The management of sociality rights and obligations are about social expectancies meaning that they reflect people's concerns about fairness and appropriateness of behavior. Interactional goals are the tasks people have when they interact with each other (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, p.14). What is important about perceived sociality rights and obligations is that people develop a sense of behavioral expectations and in cases where these expectations are met differently or not met at all, interpersonal relationship is influenced. She summarizes the bases of perceived sociality rights and obligations under three headings: 1) contractual/legal agreements and requirements, 2) Explicit and implicit conceptualizations of roles and positions, 3) Behavioral conventions, styles and protocols. She expands the last heading by giving an example: work groups, for instance, usually develop conventions for managing team meetings on issues such as who sits where; whether where they sit should depend on their status or role or not. Although the first base, contractual/legal agreements and requirements are more rigid, it is possible that they were generated as a result of some normative behavior. Not

surprisingly, the normative behavior is what frequently or typically takes place in a context but these norms may not be arbitrary:

They may reflect efficient strategies for handling practical demands, and they may also be manifestations of more deeply held values. For example, conventions in relation to *turn-taking and rights to talk* (emphasis mine) at business meetings are partly a reflection of the need to deal effectively with the matters at hand, but they are also likely to reflect more deeply held beliefs about hierarchy and what is socially appropriate behavior for given role-relationship. In other words, people typically hold value-laden beliefs about the principles that should underpin interaction (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, p.16)

Spencer-Oatey and Jiang (2003) call these beliefs sociopragmatic interactional principles (SIPs), two of which are equity and association. It is essential to expand on these two principles since they are the principles that link both Culpeper's (2011b) and Bousfield's (2008) models to Spencer-Oatey's Rapport Management model.

The dimension Spencer-Oatey brings to the model of impoliteness with the theory of Rapport management is of fundamental importance, as it pinpoints the relationship between impoliteness and conversation, which is the main focus of this study. In fact, with the example of turn-taking and rights to talk, in relation to the SIPs, especially with equity and interactional involvement, the model Rapport Management brings us back to the basics of conversational analysis. This is very important to acknowledge as what has been at the heart of the impoliteness model so far is the concept of the face. This study, confirms that impoliteness theory should link the two, face and conversation analysis, together at least as far as spoken interaction is concerned.

## **5.5 The Cyclic Approach: Issues and Perspectives that Emerge**

As explained in Section 3.2 with the Figure 3, this study follows a cyclic research pattern. The cyclic process demands going backwards: after taking the insights from collated data into consideration, the theory or the framework that the analysis level will be discussed with is formed. It is assumed that since the main focus of the study is on natural data in interaction, data will require a theorization that does

not necessarily fit the pre-formulated assumptions and existing theories. The cyclic process of going backwards from collated data to develop a theory requires *tentativeness* in terms of the research questions the analyst starts the study with. Perceiving the research questions tentative, means that the researcher is willing to revise the questions or discuss emerging issues later as the study unfolds.

During the course of the study certain issues emerged and insights gathered about these issues are summarized in this section. The issues will be formed as research questions followed up by the findings and perspectives. These questions are different from the research questions the researcher started the study with in the beginning and treated as tentative to be revised later in the light of new findings. Although these new questions have not necessarily replaced the earlier ones, they have come out as the study proceeded. Therefore, they are considered as part of the cyclic approach: the progression of the study has brought out new questions and perspectives.

The first question is related to corpus linguistics and contrastive studies with corpora: to what extent is the extraction of impoliteness possible when the corpora used for a study, the BNC and the STC in the case of this study, are not fully comparable? To what extent such semi-comparable corpora can be used for contrastive studies, which in this case is the present study?

Although scholars have not reached an agreement on the terminology they are using for different types of corpora, generally, three types of corpora involving more than one language are referred to. If the original texts in one language are translated into another, this type of corpora is referred to as translation corpus (Aijmer and Altenberg, 1996). If two monolingual corpora are designed using the same sampling frame, they are referred as comparable corpora (McEnery and Wilson, 1996, p. 57; Hunston, 2002, p.15). If the corpora are a combination of the types mentioned, it is referred to as parallel corpora (Johansson and Hofland 1994; Johansson, 1998).

BNC and STC can be considered as comparable corpora, despite their differences such as size because the principles governing the issue of representativeness are similar. However, due to certain differences, it would not be right to claim these two corpora are fully comparable. The BNC spoken sub-corpus is general since it contains as many text types (e.g. public speeches, sport commentaries, etc.) as possible, whereas STC is specialized since it contains only conversations despite its focus on the variety of the topic distribution in speech contexts. Another difference which has affected directly both the extraction and the analysis levels of the present study is that the BNC and the STC encoding systems are different. BNC provides opportunities for a detailed analysis of both linguistic and paralinguistic data. Carrying out frequency analysis both at the word and phrase and reaching demographic data about the population these words and phrases are used by are among the analyses which can be done quite easily in the corpus. Paralinguistic data are provided in the XML format which enables the researchers to do an analysis but not in a visually accessible way due to the reasons explained in Section 1.4. STC provides both linguistic and paralinguistic data in a visually more accessible format through the RTF and allows for a frequency or demographic analysis similar to the BNC. Both BNC and STC supply whole transcriptions of conversations recorded; however, reaching a whole conversation in the BNC requires a complex series of steps as explained in Chapter Two where extraction methods are described. Moreover, despite a recent publication of some sound files, the BNC is a monomodal and the STC is multi-modal that it has the transcriptions and sound files of conversations and video recordings of some conversations.

Despite all the differences, the present study proved that it is possible to do a contrastive analysis with even semi-comparable corpora. The BNC provided a larger pool of data to extract from and the STC provided features that enabled the researcher to do a more in-depth analysis with the RTF files and sound files, which then were analyzed in Praat software.

The second question is related to the prosody and impoliteness: to what extent can prosody be used as a cue to impoliteness despite its being gradient and relative?

Culpeper (2011a) argues that prosody plays a key role in triggering evaluations about an utterance, about whether it is impolite, and shows in what ways prosody functions in this respect to do it. In discussing the difference between paralinguistic and prosody, he defines prosody as “local dynamic vocal effects, variations in loudness, pitch, tempo and so on” and paralinguistic as more general vocal characteristics such as “voice setting, voice quality, characteristics such as whining, laughing, whispering, etc., as well as vocalizations such as “uh-huh” or “mhm”” (p. 60). He treats paralinguistic as a superordinate term and focuses on more specific aspects that fall into prosody. In this study, prosody is treated with the same focus. Three parts from the STC extracts were analyzed by Praat to show how prosody is illustrative of impoliteness. In Extract 1, a threat “*sana bi geçireceğim zaten ((XXX))*”, “I am going to hit/slap you right now (XXX)” comes with a higher-pitch accent in the local context (see Figure 15). In Extract 2, the irony in non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness generated by the utterances, “(she) goes online. the lady is busy. (she) does not even say hello”, *ya ben de de giriyor hatun, meşgul selam bile vermiyor*, and “she is a business woman now”, *ee o artık bi iş kadını*, is demonstrated with the mismatch between a lengthening humorous tone and a serious tone (see Figure 16). How this irony in the implicational impoliteness is being acknowledged ironically as a counter strategy is illustrated in Figure 17, again through the discussion of change of voice and mismatches between the vocal effects.

One of the issues Culpeper (2011a) demonstrates is that the lay person’s views on prosody show the important role it has in evaluations of impolite behaviour. He gives examples of comments people put on weblogs and convincingly maintains that “it [impoliteness] is not what you said, it’s how you said it”. He emphasizes that prosody in impoliteness studies have been neglected and although prosody is gradient and relative to some degree, it can provide insights as long as context is taken into consideration and linked to the discussion (p.79). This study is also a small step towards taking the suggestion to broaden the research on prosody and impoliteness and how that can be linked to at least to the local context.



## 5.6 Final Word

The present study proposes a methodological approach to extracting and analyzing impoliteness in spoken interaction. The methodological perspective it proposes takes long debated issues into consideration and addresses them with applicable and analytical suggestions. The progression of study itself confirms that the proposed framework has been effective. There are a number of questions that have come out during the extraction and analysis levels that further future studies could focus on. The questions are as follows:

1. What other categorical methods other than conventionalized impoliteness formulae and non-conventionalized implicational impoliteness can we apply while extracting impoliteness?
2. What is the role of alignment (Goffman, 1974, 1981) in aggravating impoliteness? What motivates the participants to form or disrupt alliances with the other participants they do during interaction?
3. What is the role of metaphorical and metonymic words and expressions verbalizing impoliteness?
4. What is the role of semantic prosody in impoliteness? How can it be used as an extraction method for impoliteness?

These questions will bring valuable insights for impoliteness theories and supply further implications for future studies.

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## APPENDICES

### CURRICULUM VITAE

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Education	2007 – 2012	Middle East Technical UniversityAnkara/Turkey <b>PhD Degree. in English Language Teaching/ELT</b>
	2003 – 2005	University of Massachusetts Boston/MA/USA <b>M.A. Degree in Applied Linguistics/TEFL</b>
	2000 –2003	Middle East Technical UniversityAnkara/Turkey <b>M.A. Degree in English Literature/ELIT</b>
	1996 – 2000	Middle East Technical UniversityAnkara/Turkey <b>B.A. Degree in English Language Teaching/ELT</b>
Certificates	April 2003 – May 2003	University of Cambridge Boston/MA/USA <b>CELTA (Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults)</b>
	April 2003 – May 2003	School for International Training Boston/USA <b>TESOL Certificate (Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages)</b>



Professional Experience	2010-present	Koç University	İstanbul/Turkey
	<b>Instructor at Preparatory School of English (ELC)</b>		
	2008-2010	T.C. Kadir Has University	Istanbul/Turkey
	<b>Instructor at Academic English Department</b>		
	2007- 2008	Istanbul Bilgi University	Istanbul/Turkey
	<b>Instructor at Preparatory School of English</b>		
	2005 – 2007	Istanbul Bilgi University	Istanbul/Turkey
	<b>Instructor at Foundation Year English</b>		
	2004 – 2005	University of Massachusetts	Boston/MA/USA
	<b>Teaching Assistant in Department of Applied Linguistics</b>		
	Spring 2005	Quincy College	Boston/MA/USA
	<b>Intern Teacher</b>		
	2000 – 2003	Middle East Technical University	Ankara/Turkey
	<b>Instructor in Department of Foreign Language Education</b>		
Conference & Publication	Sept. 200	EARLI SIG Writing Conference	Antwerp/Belgium
	<b>Presentation:</b>		
	<i>Deconstructing the new paradigm: Feedback in writing</i>		
	March, 2008	IATEFL Voices Newsletter	
	<b>Published Article:</b>		
	<i>Strategy-based Listening in Non-collaborative situations</i>		
	May, 2008	ELT Conference	Istanbul Bilgi University/Turkey
	<b>Presentation:</b>		
	<i>Hatice Çelebi, Sezen Kalyoncuoglu</i>		

***A case Study: Effectiveness of a Standardization System***

May, 2009 1<sup>st</sup> International ELT Conference Arel University/Turkey

**Presentation:**

*Hatice Çelebi, Gaele Morag Macfarlane, Seda Gurdere*

***Do our students know the difference between “profosyonel” and “professional”?***

May, 2009 1<sup>st</sup> International ELT Conference Proceedings

Arel University/Turkey

**Published Article:**

*Hatice Çelebi, Gaele Morag Macfarlane, Seda Gurdere*

***Do our students know the difference between “profosyonel” and “professional”?***

April, 2010 44<sup>th</sup> IATEFL ELT Conference Harrogate/UK

**Presentation:**

***NESTs and Non-NEST classrooms: Practice and Input opportunities***

May, 2010 6<sup>th</sup> International ELT Research Conference İzmir/Turkey

**Presentation:**

*Hatice Çelebi, Gaele Morag Macfarlane, Seda Gurdere*

***What aperitif does one offer to a tea-total friend?***

May, 2010 Çankaya Üniversitesi 2nd Foreign Language Teaching Symposium, Ankara/Turkey

**Presentation:**

*Hatice Çelebi, Gaele Morag Macfarlane*

***Reflection in Turkish (Teacher) Education: Voices from Insiders***

June, 2010 Language, Culture and Mind IV Turku/Finland

**Presentation:**

*Hatice Çelebi, Hatice Bayındır*

***A Contrastive Analysis of English “friend” and Turkish “arkadaş”***

April, 2011 45th IATEFL ELT Conference

Brighton/UK

**Presentation:**

*Hatice Çelebi, Gaele Morag Macfarlane*

***“If it’s not fun, you are not doing it right”***

July, 2011 6<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Politeness: Corpus Approaches , Ankara/Turkey

**Presentation:**

*Şükriye Ruhi, Hatice Çelebi*

***Identifying Impoliteness in Spoken Corpora: A Methodological Perspective***

November, 2011 Doğuş University 1<sup>st</sup> International ELT Conference  
İstanbul/Turkey

**Presentation:**

*Hatice Çelebi, Gaele Macfarlane, Guy Boudreau*

***Getting A Grip On The Abstract: Listening to Authentic Discourse***

March, 2012 TESOL Greece 33<sup>rd</sup> Annual Convention Athens/Greece

**Presentation:**

*Hatice Çelebi, Gaele Macfarlane*

***Can I speak to YOU in my essay teacher?***

Professional IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign  
Membership Language)

Awards University of Massachusetts, Luise H. Bronner Scholarship  
& (Boston, 2003-05)  
Scholarships

Koc University Innovative Teaching Grant,  
(İstanbul, Fall/ 2011)  
*with Gaele Morag Macfarlane and Ozan varlı*

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*with Gaele Morag Macfarlane and Sarah Kılınç*

## TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışmanın amacı sözlü iletişimde kabalığın nasıl ortaya çıktığını, nasıl devam ettirildiğini ve nasıl çözümlendiğini incelemektir. Kabalık kavramı kısa bir süre öncesine kadar dilbilimi çalışmalarında daha çok kabalık kavramı üzerinde durulduğu için çalışılmamıştır. Bunun bir nedeni kabalığın, normal şartlar altında iletişimdeki yerinin kısıtlı olduğunu düşünülmesidir (Leech, 1983). Fakat böyle bir kavramsal önyargı (Eelen, 2001) birçok araştırmacı tarafından eleştirilmiştir. Bireyler arasındaki iletişimin uyum açısından incelendiği kadar saldırganlığın da incelenmesi gerektiği yönünde tartışmalar ortaya çıkmıştır. Eğer kibarlık “yüz” ile alakalandırılıyor ve bireyin toplumca kabul gören değerlerle kendi ile ilgili oluşturduğu imaj ise (Brown ve Levinson, 1987) ve diğer bireylerin bizimle ilgili olumlu düşüncelerini de içeriyorsa, kabalığın arkasında yatan nedenleri araştırmak önem kazanır.

Her ne kadar Brown ve Levinson’un (1987) “yüz” kavramı konusunda geliştirdikleri kuram kibarlık ile ilgili çalışmalar da en çok uygulanmış kuram olsa da, kabalığın yalnızca “yüz” le ilgili olmadığını ve etkili başka faktörlerin de göz önünde bulundurulmasının gerektiği ile ilgili farklı yaklaşımlar geliştirilmiştir (Culpeper, 1996; Spencer-Oatey, 2000; Watts, 2003; Arundale, 2006; Ruhi ve Işık-Güler, 2007). Bu çalışma “yüz” kavramını ele alan ve bu kavramın sözlü diyaloglarda bağlamsal ve metinsel anlamda ki rolünü tartışan bir yaklaşım izlemektedir. Ulusal İngiliz Derlemi ve Sözlü Türkçe derleminden toplanmış iki ayrı dildeki (Britanya İngilizce’si ve Türkçe) verilerin karşılaştırılmalı olarak incelenmesi sebebiyle, çalışmanın derlem incelemelerinde bağlamsal ve metinsel anlamda ne tür faktörlere bakılması gerektiği yönünde güçlü göstergeleri bulunmaktadır.

Bu çalışma kabalığı iki ayrı dilde, İngiliz Ulusal Derlemi ve henüz derleme süreci devam etmekte olan Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi içerisinden seçmeyi ve incelemeyi

hedefler. Tür olarak sözlü günlük konuşmaları (diyalog) ele almaktadır ve kabalık ile ilgili kavramları derlem-yönelmeli bir yöntemle incelemektedir. Kabalığı araştırma yönteminin iki katmanlı yapılması gerektiğini öngörür: tespit etmek ve incelemek. Bunun nedeni derlem-yönelmeli (Römer, 2005) çalışmalarda, inceleme seviyesinde başvurulacak ve bahsedilecek kabalık kuram ve modellerin seçme seviyesinde ortaya çıkan bulgular tarafından yönlendiriliyor olmasıdır.

Tespit seviyesinde her iki derlemde de günlük konuşmalarda zıtlasma ve hakaret içeren olaylar ayrıştırılır. Bu tür olaylara ulaşabilmek için farklı yöntemler kullanılır. Öncelikle günlük konuşma diyaloglarında kelime, deyim, tümcecik, soru cümlesi taraması yapılır ve ses ve vurgular, söz kesmeler ve aynı anda konuşmalar taranır. Ayrıca meta-edimbilimsel yorumlamalar, kalıplaşmış kabalık kullanımları ve kalıplaşmamış ima yoluyla ifade edilen kabalık söylemleri, söylemsel kalıplar, anlambilimsel inceliklerle ilgili bağlamsal ve metinsel ipuçları göz önünde bulundurulur.

Çalışmada kabalık içeren diyaloglar, seçme aşamasında da ortaya çıkan bilgiler ışığında, kabalığın nasıl tetiklendiği, nasıl devam ettirildiği ve nasıl sonuçlandırıldığı sorularıyla tartışılmıştır. Ayrıca, verinin gerektirdiği durumlarda, konuşmacının kasıtlı kabalık amaçlamayıp amaçlamadığı ve dinleyicinin algılaması gibi noktalar diyaloglarla ilintilendirilip kuramsal anlamda çıkan yeni boyutlar değerlendirilmiştir.

Araştırma sonuncunda cevaplandırılması hedeflenen araştırma soruları şöyledir:

### **Katman 1: Tespit etmek**

- 1) Kabalık farklı diller için oluşturulmuş (bu çalışmada Britanya İngilizcesi ve Türkçe) derlemlerden nasıl seçilir?
- 2) Bu katmanda ortaya çıkan bulgular araştırmaya kabalığın tanımıyla ilgili ne tür bulgular verir?

### **Katman 2: İncelemek**

#### **A) Britanya İngilizcesi İçin**

- 1) Britanya İngilizcesi konuşmacıları arasında kabalığı sözlü iletişimde ne tetikler?

- 2) Britanya İngilizcesi konuşmacıları sözlü iletişimde ne tür kabalık stratejileri kullanırlar?
- 3) Britanya İngilizcesi konuşmacıları sözlü iletişimde ne tür stratejilerle kabalığa karşılık verirler?
- 4) Britanya İngilizcesi konuşmacılarının kabalığa karşılık vermek üzere kullandıkları stratejilerin “yüz” kavramı açısından önemi nedir?

B) Türkçe için

- 1) Türkçe konuşmacıları arasında kabalığı sözlü iletişimde ne tetikler?
- 2) Türkçe konuşmacıları sözlü iletişimde ne tür kabalık stratejileri kullanırlar?
- 3) Türkçe konuşmacıları sözlü iletişimde ne tür stratejilerle kabalığa karşılık verirler?
- 4) Türkçe konuşmacılarının kabalığa karşılık vermek üzere kullandıkları stratejilerin “yüz” kavramı açısından önemi nedir?

C) Britanya İngilizcesi ve Türkçe’nin karşılaştırmalı analizi

- 1) Yukarıda ki sorular göz önünde bulundurulduğunda kabalık kuramıyla ilgili ne tür bulgular ortaya çıkar?

Çalışmada veri toplamak üzere kullanılan İngiliz Ulusal Derlemi (İUD) ve Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi (STD)’nin derleme açısından farklı özellikleri bulunmaktadır. Bu özelliklerin kısaca anlatılması çalışmanın metodolojik yaklaşımının anlaşılması için gereklidir.

İUD daha çok 20.yüzyılın son dönemini temsilen hazırlanmış yazılı ve sözlü metinlerden oluşan 100 milyon kelimelik bir derlemidir. Yazılı metinler derlemin %90 ını, sözlü metinler ise %10 unu oluşturur. Sözlü metinler, sunulmak üzere hazırlanmış konuşmalardan olduğu gibi, günlük konuşmalardan da oluşur. Günlük konuşmalar Büyük Britanya’nın tamamını kapsayan, rastlantısal örnek yoluyla seçilmiş değişik yaş gruplarından oluşan, kadın ve erkek sayısının eşit olduğu, 124 kişinin kayıtlarından oluşmuştur. Kayıtlar, ya kayıt yapılacak ortamdaki kişilerden önceden izin alınarak ya da kayıttan sonra kaydedilen kişilerin kayıdın derlem için kullanılması yönünde onaylarının alınmasıyla derleme eklenmiştir. Kişilerin onay vermek istemediği durumlardaki kayıtlar silinmiştir. Bu kayıtlarla günlük doğal konuşmayı örneklemek hedeflenmiştir. Yapılan gözlemler kayıtların haberli

yapılmış olma durumunda dahi kayıt başladıktan kısa bir süre konuşmacıların kaydedildiklerini unutarak doğal konuşma eğiliminde bulunduklarını göstermiştir.

STD, 2008 den bu güne yapım aşamasında olan bir derlemidir ve henüz küçük çaplı bir deneme ürünü kullanıma sunulmuştur. STD nin amacı yüz yüze sözlü iletişim iletişimi esas alan bir milyon kelimelik günümüz Türkçe'sini yansıtan bir derlem sunmaktır. Bu çalışmada, tamamı henüz kullanıma açılmamış veri bankasına ulaşım ve bu bankayı kullanım izni Prof. Dr. Şükriye Ruhi'den alınmıştır. STD de diyaloglar konuşma alanları, alan dağılımları ve konuşma türleri açısından bu çalışma ile hedeflenen sözlü diyalog türü için gerekli şartları sağlamıştır. Her ne kadar İUD ve STD büyüklük olarak farklı olsalarda, Britanya İngilizcesi ve Türkçe yi karşılaştırmalı olarak çalışma amacına uygun veriyi sağlamaktadırlar. İUD ve STD de kodlama aşamalarında kullanılmış olan yazılım programları verilerin analiz aşamasında incelenmesinde kısıtlamalara yol açmış ya da daha ayrıntılı tartışmalara fırsat vermiştir. Mesela İUD de çalışma için kullanılmış olan diyaloglar metinsel bir formatta ele alınmış, STD den kullanılan veriler ise EXMARaLDA programları yardımıyla yazılmış olduğu için konuşmacıların hangi söylemlerde birbirleriyle örtüştükleri gibi incelikler inceleme aşamasında tartışmalara dahil edilebilmiştir.

### **Bulgular:**

#### **Araştırma Sorularını Tekrar Gözden Geçirme: Veri Toplama Aşaması**

Bu aşamada iki soru bulunmaktadır. İlk soru: kabalık farklı dillerdeki, İngiliz İngilizcesi ve Türkçe deki, karşılıklı konuşmalarda nasıl ortaya çıkarılabilir?

Bu araştırma sorusu tartışılması gereken farklı boyuttan oluşur. İlk boyut veri çıkarma aşamasında benimsenen metodolojik yaklaşımlarla ilgilidir. Ortaya çıkarma aşaması iki yaklaşımın birleşiminden oluşmuştur: dönüşlü ve ipuçlarına bağlı. Kibarlık/kabalık çalışmalarında kullanılan dönüşlü yaklaşım dönüşlü psikoloji alanından ödünç alınmıştır. Üç ana aşaması bulunmaktadır: Bu, dönüşlü



psikoloji ile karşılıklı konuşma arasındaki ilişkiyi açıklamaktadır; yani tam olarak tartışılmadan bizim günlük işlerimizi yansıtan konuşma.

Dönüşlü yaklaşım, katılımcıların kibarlığı nasıl anladıklarına verdiği önem anlamında diğer yaklaşımlardan ayrılır. Bu önemle, bu alandaki araştırmacılar (Eelen 2001; Mills 2003; Watts 2003, 2005; Locher 2004; Locher and Watts 2005) kibarlık kavramının farklı kültürlerde aynı şekilde görüldüğünü ileri süren ve Brown ve Levinson'un kibarlık teoremleriyle güçlenen varoloşçu görüşe karşı çıkarlar. Meta edimsel ve tepkisel karşılıklar, katılımcıların kibarlık kavramını nasıl algıladıkları konusunda bir pencere açtıklarından, bu iki nokta bu çalışma içinde dönüşlü yaklaşım altında göz önüne alınan iki nokta olarak sıralanmışlardır.

Dönüşlü yaklaşım katılımcıların algılamalarına verdiği önem yüzünden eleştirilmiştir ve bu yaklaşımın araştırmacıların analizlerin güvenilirliğine dair soru işaretleri yarattığı ileri sürülmüştür (Haugh, 2007). Bu eleştiriler yüzünden dönüşlü yaklaşımı tamamlayacak başka bir yaklaşıma daha ihtiyaç bulunmaktadır ve bu çalışmada önerilen ipuçlarına bağlı yaklaşım bu anlamda bir tamamlayıcı niteliğindedir.

İpuçlarına bağlı yaklaşım literatürde daha önce bir yaklaşım için kullanılan bir terim olmamıştır. Geleneksel kibarlık formülü, geleneksel olmayan sezdirimsel kabalık, sözlü ve sözlü olmayan kişiler arası anlaşmazlığı gösteren formlar ve anlambilimsel prosodi ipuçlarına bağlı yaklaşım başlığı altında ele alınmaktadır. Geleneksel kibarlık formülü, geleneksel olmayan sezdirimsel kabalık, karşılıklı konuşma analiz araçları (konuşma sırası, duraklamalar gibi), sözlü olmayan kişiler arası anlaşmazlığı gösteren formlar (konuşma sırası, konu değişikliği, tekrarlama, anlaşmazlık arama gibi yapısal modellerdeki değişiklik) ve anlambilimsel prosodi bütününe dönüşlü yaklaşım tarafından ihmal edilen noktaları da içine alacak kapsamlı bir yaklaşım oluşturacağı var sayılmaktadır.

Derlemlerden alınan örnekler bu iki yaklaşımın kombinasyonunun ve sağladıkları araçların tahmin edildiği kadar etkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Örneğin, İUD ve STD 'den alınan bazı örnekler ipuçlarına bağlı yaklaşım kullanılmadan ortaya

çıkarılamazlardı. İUD'den alınan Alıntı 1, geleneksel bir kabalık formülü olan “fuck off” (*defol git*) ifadesinin nasıl bir gerginlik yarattığını göstermektedir. Alıntı 2, hakaret edici bir kelime olan “shit” kelimesinin yansıması olan “SHIT TV” yoluyla nasıl geleneksel olmayan bir sezdirimsel kabalık yaratıldığını ortaya koymaktadır. Alıntı 3 karşılıklı konuşma analiz araçlarının, kabalığı artıran sözlü ve sözlü olmayan tartışmalarla ilgili sonuçlara varmak için nasıl kullanılabileceğinin bir örneğidir. Soru-cevap bitişken sözcelerinin hemen ardından konuyu değiştirerek karşılıklı konuşmada bulunan katılımcılar birbirlerini susturup kişiler arası anlaşmazlık yaratmaktadırlar. STD Alıntı 1, metninde küçültme eki olarak kullanılan *bi* nin ve *-geçir* in kullanılması yoluyla kabalık yaratılmasında anlamsal prosodinın nasıl bir yol oynadığının ve anlamsal prosodinın ve geleneksel olmayan sezdirimsel kabalığın içinde bulunulan duruma ne kadar bağlı olduğunun güzel bir örneğidir.

Genel olarak bu araçların dönüşlü ve ipuçlarına bağlı yaklaşımlarla birlikte etkililiği kabalık kavramına bakış için yeterince geniş bir pencere sağlamıştır. Gerçekte, eğer bu metotlar birlikte kullanılmamış olsalardı, analiz aşamasında kabalığın yaratıldığı üstü kapalı yolların farkına varılamayabilirdi. Bundan sonraki çalışmaların da bu iki yaklaşıma başka hangi araçların eklenebileceğini ortaya çıkarmak için buna benzer metodik bir yöntem izlemeleri çok önemlidir.

Sorunun diğer bir yönü de derlemlerde kullanılan araştırma metotlarının etkili olup olmadığıdır. Derlemler içerisinde kabalık içeren karşılıklı konuşma örnekleri toplayabilmek için gerekli geleneksel kabalık formülleri bulabilmek için pek çok farklı araştırma metodu kullanılmıştır. Örneğin, İUD'nin konuşma alt derleminde, metin çeşidi olarak sözlü karşılıklı konuşma seçilerek öncelikle *sodding*, *fucking*, *shit* gibi tabu kelimeler ve *bugger off*, *shut up* gibi geleneksel kelime grupları için kelime ve birlikte kullanılan kalıp sorgulamaları yapılmıştır. Bu sorgulamalardaki kelimelerin çoğu Culpeper (2011b)'de bahsedilen Millwood-Hargrave (2000)'den alınmıştır. STD'den kabalık örnekleri bulmak için de benzer bir yöntem izlenmiştir. Küfür sözcüklerinin ve ifadelerinin bir listesi yapılmıştır. Bu listedeki kelimelerin ve ifadelerin çoğu Aydın (2006)'ın ve Güneş (2009)'in çalışmalarından alınmıştır. Bu listedeki kelimelerin Türkçe'de kelime sorgulaması yapılırken etkili olacağı

varsayılmıştır; tıpkı Millwood-Hargrave (2000)'den alınan kelime listesinin İngilizce sorgulama yapılırken etkili olacağı varsayıldığı gibi. Bu kelime ve ifadelerin sorgulaması sonucunda her iki derlemde alınan kabalık örnekleri (İUD Alıntıları 1, 2, 3, 7 ve STD Alıntı 5) geleneksel kabalık formüllerinin kabalık örneklerine ulaşılmasında etkili olduğunu göstermiştir.

STD'de kelime sorgulaması için Işık-Güler (2008)'in doktora tezindeki Türkçe'de KABA ile yakından ilişkili kavramlarla ilgili bulgular da kullanılmıştır. Kabalık hakkında meta edimsel konuşmalarda KABA ile yakından alakalı olduğu bulunan *düşüncesiz, saygısız, nezaketsiz, küstahlık, patavatsızlık, kırıcı, bencil, çirkin, cahil, empati kuramayan* gibi kelimelere bulunan konuşmalarda rastlanmamıştır. Bunun üç nedeni olabilir. İlk neden, demografik örnekleme anlamında oldukça temsil edici özellikte olmasına rağmen STD'nin yine de büyüklük anlamında sınırlı olmasıdır. İkinci neden, insanlar kabalığa karşılık vermemeyi tercih edebilirler (Culpeper, Bousfield ve Wichmann, 2003) ya da karşılık verdiklerinde bunu daha sonra üçüncü şahıslara aktarmayabilirler. Örneğin, başka birinin aktarılan kabalık örneği olan STD Alıntı 4'de öğrenci ve profesör arasında geçen gerçek konuşma bilgilerine sahip değiliz. Eğer profesör özür dilemek için geri dönmemiş olsaydı ve öğrenci profesörün özür dilediği bilgisinden bu konuşmayı başkalarına aktarırken bahsetmemiş olsaydı, bu kabalık örneğine araştırmacı tarafından ulaşılması mümkün olmayacaktı. Üçüncü ve belki de en olası neden, insanların kabalık anlayışları ile bunu sözle ifade edişleri arasında ve kabalık yapmak ya da kabalığa karşılık vermek için kullandıkları dil arasında bir uyumsuzluk olması ihtimalidir. Bir davranışı kaba bulduklarında insanlar bu yargılarını *nezaketsiz* kelimesini kullanarak dile getirebilirler ancak başka meta edimsel ifadeler de kullanabilirler (örneğin STD Alıntı 3'deki *teessüf ederim* gibi).

Eelen (2001'e göre birinci derece kibarlık üç kategoriye ayrılabilir: anlatımsal kibarlık, sınıflandırıcı kibarlık ve meta edimsel kibarlık. Yukarıda bahsedilen STD Alıntı 3 örneğindeki *teessüf ederim* gibi yorumlar meta edimsel yorumlar bu çalışmada sınıflandırıcı kibarlık 1'i gösteren örnekler olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bunun nedeni bu çalışmanın kabalığı karşılıklı konuşma ortamlarında incelemesi ve bu tür yorumların katılımcıların, diğer katılımcıların bu karşılıklı konuşma

ortamındaki davranışlarını kibar ya da kaba olarak değerlendirmelerini göstermesi nedeniyle meta edimsel ve sınıflandırıcı olmasıdır.

STD Alıntı 3 ile ve meta edimsel yorum *teessüf ederim*, “excuse me”, ile ilgili hatırlatılması gereken diğer bir nokta da *teessüf ederim* ifadesinin konuşmacının diğer bir konuşmacıdan duyduğunu onaylamadığını ifade etmek için kullanılmış olmasıdır. Diğer bir deyişle, bu alıntı *teessüf ederim* diyen kişinin hakları ihlal edilmesinden dolayı gücenmiş olduğunu ifade etmektedir ve diğer konuşmacının yaptığına farkına varmasını istemektedir. *Teessüf ederim*’in tersine “excuse me” genel olarak iki amaçla kullanılır: ilki *teessüf ederim* ile aynıdır ikincisi ise özür dilemek amaçlıdır. Kabalığın dilsel ifadelerde mi yoksa sözeylemlerde mi bulunduğu tartışmasına geri dönecek olursak Culpeper’in (2010) kabalık/kibarlık ve edimsel kabalık/kibarlığın birbirlerine bağlı olduğunu ileri süren ikili görüşü olası görünmektedir.

STD Alıntı 3’deki *teessüf ederim* yansımali kullanıştaki üç şartı da yerine getirmektedir. Bu da yine, konuşma ortamıyla ilgili ipuçları dikkate alınmadan kabalık örnekleri bulmakta kelime sorgulamasının tek başına yeterli olmadığını göstermektedir. Ancak, bunlar kabalığın gerçekleşebileceği ortamları gösterebilirler. *Teessüf ederim* ile ilgili yukarıda tartışılanlarla alakalı olarak göz önünde bulundurulacak diğer bir zorluk da anlamsal prosodinın rolüdür. Anlamsal prosodi birlikte kullanılan kalıplar kavramı ile yakından ilgilidir. Anlamsal prosodinın birincil fonksiyonu konuşmacının/yazarın tutumunu ve değerlendirmesini ifade etmektir (Louw 2000, sayfa 58). Anlamsal prosodiler genellikle negatiftir, ancak, bir konuşmacının bir anlamsal prosodi şartını dinleyici de ironi, samimiyezsizlik ya da şaka etkisi yaratmak için ihlal etmesi mümkündür (Louw 1993, sayfa 173). Bulgular, anlamsal prosodinın kabalığın yorumlanılmasına kattığı ufak ayrıntıların data çıkarma aşamasında çok önemli bir rol oynadığını göstermiştir. Bu çalışmada, anlamsal prosodi ile ilgili tartışılan örnekler, kabalık ile ilgili araştırma çalışmalarında anlamsal prosodinın mutlaka düşünülmesi gerektiğini göstermiştir.

Veri toplama aşamasında kullanılan diğer önemli bir kavram da Culpeper'in (2011b) geleneksel olmayan sezdirimsel kabalık kavramıdır. Culpeper (2011b) sezdirimsel kabalığı üç kategoriye ayırır: forma bağlı, uzlaşmaya bağlı: dahili, harici; ve ortama bağlı: belirtisiz davranış ve davranışsızlık. Aşağıda forma bağlı kabalık için Culpeper'in (2011b, sayfa 158) verdiği örnek bulunmaktadır. Yukarıdaki örnek Grice'in ilkelerine uymamanın nasıl sezdirimsel kabalık yarattığını göstermektedir. Dinleyicinin bakış açısından, konuşmacı Kalite İlkesini ihlal etmektedir çünkü her zaman odayı temizlediğini söylemek yanlıştır. Bu örnek sınıflandırıcı kibarlık1 kategorisine girmektedir ve bu şekilde sonradan ifade edilmiştir çünkü davranış ve davranışın değerlendirilmesi asıl konuşma içerisinde gerçekleşmiştir.

Diğer bir örnekle Culpeper (2011b, sayfa 168) uzlaşmaya bağlı kabalık kavramını açıklamaktadır. Bu örnek, harici uzlaşmaya bağlı bir kabalık örneğidir çünkü 'Oh, merhaba, içeri gel, seni tekrar görmek de çok güzel!' geleneksel bir kibarlık selamlaşmasıdır. Ancak, bulunulan ortama uymamaktadır çünkü bundan önce gelen ifade ('sen bir canavarsın') kabalıkla daha alakalı bir ifadedir. Bu harici bir uyumsuzluk örneğidir. Eelen'nin (2001) kategorilerini tekrar göz önüne alarak, 'Oh, merhaba, içeri gel, seni tekrar görmek de çok güzel!' ifadesinin, asıl konuşmada gerçekleşen bir kabalığa reaksiyon olarak söylendiği için sınıflandırıcı kibarlık1 kategorisinde olmasına rağmen, dolaylı olarak meta edimsel kibarlık1 kategorisine girdiği iddia edilebilir. STD Alıntı 3'e benzer olarak, üç kategori, anlatımsal, sınıflandırıcı ve meta edimsel, karşılıklı konuşma esnasında Eelen'in (2001) de öne sürdüğü gibi bir birlerine karışır. Bu gözlemden çıkarılan anlayış göstermiştir ki korporadan sezdirimsel kabalık örnekleri çıkarmak için kabalığın hangi formlar ve hangi ipuçları ile kendini göstereceği ile ilgili daha derin bir farkındalık gerekmektedir.

Bu düşünceyle, data çıkarma aşamasında hem İngiliz İngilizcesi hem de Türkçe için, geleneksel kabalık formülleri olarak adlandırılacak grubun içine girmedikleri için gözden kaçırılacak kabalık örneklerini telafi edebilmek için, geleneksel kabalık formülünün yanı sıra, farklı sezdirimsel kabalık kategorileri için de ipuçları araştırılmıştır. Geleneksel olmayan sezdirimsel kabalığın araştırılması, forma, uzlaşmaya ve duruma bağlı kabalığın diğer boyutları ile ilgili

sağlam bir çerçeve oluştursa da, geleneksel olmayan kabalık kavramı sezdirimsel kabalığın mecazi, kinayeli ve deyimsel ifadelerden kaynaklandığı durumları içine alabilecek kadar geniş değildir. İUD de Alıntı 1’deki deyimsel ifade “kendini dev aynasında görüyorsun”, ve Alıntı 7’deki mecazi ifade “bir deliğe girmek” duygusal bir anlam taşıdıkları ve hissedilen şeylerin duygusal etkilerinden bahsettikleri için sezdirimsel kabalık potansiyeli gösterirler. Kabalığın duygusal etkisi “Aman Allahım, hayatımın geri kalanı boyunca bir deliğe girerdim” ifadesi ile belirtilen BNC Alıntı 7 örneğinde, doğal karşılıklı konuşmaları incelerken duygularla ilgili meta edimsel yorumların duygu adları şeklinde değil, deyim, çok sözcüklü ifade ve geleneksel ve yaratıcı mecazi ve kinayeli ifadeler yoluyla karşımıza çıkabileceğini görüyoruz.

İkinci soru: Çalışmanın bu aşamasındaki sonuçlar araştırmacıya kabalığın ne olduğu ile ilgili ne tür bilgiler verir? Bu soruya cevap vermek için, CDL çerçevesi içinde, araştırmacılar, bulunan kabalık örneklerinden edindikleri bilgileri değerlendirip, araştırma sorularını ya da verileri incelemek için kullanılacak teorileri yeniden şekillendirirler. Güncel çalışmalar bu tür bir uygulama eğilimi göstermektedirler. Örneğin, Bousfield (2008) ”Kabalık Dinamikleri” başlıklı bölümde konuşma ortamı kavramının tam olarak ne olduğunu ve daha da önemlisi bu kavramın kabalık yaratmakta ve kabalığı algılamakta ne tür bir etkisi olduğunu tartışmaktadır. Kitabının bu bölümünde aktivite çeşidi teorisini tanıtmaktadır. Thomas (1995, sayfa 189-190) 6 farklı aktivite çeşidinden bahsetmektedir: 1) Katılımcıların amaçları, 2) İzin verilen katılımlar, 3) Grice ilkelerine ne derece bağlı kalındığı ya da bu ilkelerin ne derece ihmal edildiği, 4) Konuşma sırası ve konu değişikliği, 5) Edimsel parametrelerin değiştirilmesi. Aktivite çeşidi teorisinin, özellikle izin verilen katılımlar, Grice ilkeleri ve konuşma sırası ve konu değişikliği konularında kabalık analizlerine uygulanmasıyla, Bousfield (2008) bu çalışmada açıkça ileri sürülen konuya değinmektedir: karşılıklı konuşma ortamlarıyla ilgili kabalık teorisi hem Yüz kavramı hem de karşılıklı konuşmada iletişimsel uzlaşmalar kavramları kullanılarak açıklanmalıdır.

Şu ana kadar, veri analizi aşamasından çıkarılan sonuçlar iletişimsel uzlaşmalar teorisinin kabalık modeline entegre edilmesinin ve Yüz modelinin

zenginleştirilmesinin gerektiğini göstermektedir. Veriler bu farkındalıkla incelenecektir. Analiz aşamasına başlanmadan önce araştırma soruları ve mevcut teoriler tekrar gözden geçirilecek ve yeniden formüle edileceklerdir.

### **Araştırma Sorularını Tekrar Gözden Geçirme: Analiz Aşaması**

Analiz aşamasında İUD'den alınan 7 Alıntı incelenmiştir. Alıntı 4, “aptal bir kadın olma” ifadesinin kullanılmasına rağmen, hitap edilen konuşmacının bunu kaba olarak değerlendirmedeği bir örnek olarak verilmiştir. Alıntı 7 aktarılan bir kabalık örneğidir (meta edimsel kabalık). Diğer alıntılarının hepsi iletişim sırasında gerçekleşen kabalık örnekleridir. STD içinden 5 alıntı incelenmiştir ve bunların hepsi, aktarılan bir kabalık örneği olan Alıntı 4 hariç, iletişim sırasında gerçekleşen kabalık örnekleridir. Tablo 18, Bölüm 4'deki detaylı analiz sonrasında ulaşılan bulguların bir özetini vermektedir.

Bulguların gösterdiği kadarıyla, hem İngiliz İngilizcesinde hem de Türkçe de, bir çeşit yüz saldırısı olan birisinin bir özelliğini beğenmeme, genelde kabalığı tetiklemektedir. Hem İUD'den hem de STD'den alınan Alıntı 1, daha önceden belirlenmiş üyelik organizasyonlarının ve üyelik kategorileriyle ilgili varsayımların ve beklentilerin kabalık potansiyelini ortaya çıkardığını göstermektedir. İUD den Alıntı 1'de kağıt oyunu oynayan iki kişi yeni bir ittifak oluşturmuş gibi görünmektedirler (Figür 13) bu da diğer iki üyenin reaksiyon göstermesine neden olmuştur. Benzer bir şekilde, STD Alıntı 1'de, katılımcılardan biri kendisini birlikte fotoğraf çeken gruptan diğer bir katılımcının sinir bozucu davranışları yüzünden soyutlamıştır. Ancak, bu kendisini gruptan soyutlaması ve kendisini farklı olarak göstermesi grubun iki üyesi tarafından kabalıkla karşılanmıştır. Saldırgan dil kullanımı ve yanlış anlaşmalar kabalığı tetikleyen diğer iki husustur. İUD Alıntı 1'de “fuck off”, “defol git” diğer konuşmacının söylediği şeye bir reaksiyon olarak söylenmiştir: öğretmen onlardan teslim tarihi çok yakın olan bir ödev için 6000 kelimelik bir makale istemiştir. Ancak, “fuck off”, “defol git” etkisiz hale getirilmemiş, karşılığında diğer konuşmacıdan karşıt kabalığa neden olmuştur “you do”, “sen defol”. STD Alıntı 5'de de saldırgan bir dil kullanılmıştır ama söyleniş şekliyle dışarıdan üçüncü birini hedeflediği açıkça ifade edilmiştir.

“Son of a bitch” *orospu çocuğu* ve “he gives fucking load of shit”, *çok sikinde onun* dedikten sonra konuşmacı orda bulunan diğer konuşmacıdan kabalığı için özür dilemektedir. STD Alıntı 4’de profesör ile öğrenci arasında öğrencinin söylediği şeyin içeriği ile ilgili bir yanlış anlaşma oluşmuştur. Kendi anladığı anlama dayanarak profesör bir espri yapar ancak yanlış anlaşmayı fark ettiğinde öğrenciden esprisiyle ilgili özür diler. İletişimde kabalığın neyin tetiklediğine bakarak, özellikle İUD Alıntı 5 ve STD Alıntı 4 ve 5 göz önüne alındığında, niyetin kabalığın ortaya çıkmasında belirleyici bir faktör olup olmadığı ve kasıtlı Yüz saldırısının kabalığa bağlanıp bağlanmayacağı tartışması konu dışı görünmektedir.

Alıntılardaki kabalık örneklerinin kasıtlı gerçekleştirilip gerçekleştirilmediğine bakmadan, hakaret en çok kullanılan bir strateji olarak görünmektedir, STC Alıntı 1’deki tehdit örneği hariç. Hakaretler, ceza fikri ve zarar kavramı daha önce Bölüm Dörtte tartışılmıştır. Farklı çeşit zararlardan bahsedilebilir: yumruklamak, bıçaklamak gibi fiziksel zararlar; soygun gibi kaynaklardan mahrum bırakmak ve sosyal zarar (Tedeschi, 1970). Kabalık için sosyal zarar önemli bir çeşittir çünkü sosyal zarar kişinin statüsünü düşürerek onların sosyal kimliğine zarar verir. Sosyal zarar, hakaret, ayıplama, alay etme ve kaba davranışlar ve sözel kabalık yoluyla gerçekleştirilebilir. Olumsuz değerlendirmeler, hafif ayıplamalar ve fikir ayrılıkları kişinin kimliğine saldırı olarak algılanabilir, bu amaçla kullanılmamış olsalar bile (Tedeschi ve Felson, 1994, sayfa 171). İUD Alıntı 7’de kendisine yapılan kabalığı anlatırken nasıl hissettiğinden bahsetmektedir. Bahsettiği duygu utançtır çünkü sosyal kimlik yüzüne saldırıda bulunulmuştur ve bunun sonucunda sosyal zarar verilmiştir. Bu alıntı aynı zamanda kabalık çalışmalarında duyguların öneminin de incelenmesi gerektiğini göstermiştir. Spencer-Oatey (2012) kibarlık/kabalık teorileriyle ilgili tartışmalarda duyguların rolünün her zaman önemli bir konu olduğunu ileri sürmüştür (Brown ve Levinson 1987; Lakoff, 1989; Ide, 1989; Leech, 1983; Goffman, 1967), ancak bu konuya kibarlık/kabalık alanında çok az çalışma yer vermiştir (Spencer-Oatey, 2011; Culpeper, 2011b ; Ruhi, 2009).



STD Alıntı 1'deki tehdit *sana bi geçircem zaten* kabalık kategorisi olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu alıntıda, metinde küçültme eki olarak kullanılan *bi* nin ve *-geçir in* kullanımıyla yaratılan anlamsal prosodi bulunmaktadır. Anlamsal prosodi içinde bulunulan duruma bağlıdır çünkü aynı küçültme eki ve fiil kombinasyonu *sana bi geçircem bu bereyi* ifadesinde normal şartlar altında kaba olarak değerlendirilmez. Anlamsal prosodinin içinde bulunulan duruma bağlılığı düşünüldüğünde, geleneksel kabalık formülü olarak düşünülen bir ifade, yukarıdaki *bere* örneğinde olduğu gibi, normal bir ifade olabilir. Bu farkındalık, bu çalışmaya benzer diğer çalışmaların, veri bulunması ve analiz edilmesi aşamalarında daha bilinçli bir yaklaşıma sahip olmalarını gerektirmektedir. Aksi takdirde, geleneksel olmayan ifadelerle anlamsal prosodinin etkisiyle ortaya çıkan kabalık örneklerini gözden kaçırmak mümkün olabilir.

Alıntılar, hem İngiliz İngilizcesinde hem de Türkçe de pek çok farklı strateji kullanıldığını göstermiştir. Hakaret yoluyla yetersizlik kastedildiğinde yeterliliği ispata çalışmak (örneğin “psikolojik”), kendini gruptan soyutlayıp başka bir gruba bağlanmak (örneğin “en iyi insanlar...”), kabalık eden konuşmacının kaba olduğu düşünülen ifadenin aynısıyla konuşmacıya yanıt vermek (örneğin “sen defol”, uyarı (örneğin “benimle böyle konuşma. Benimle böyle konuşman hoşuma gitmiyor”), hakaretin alalı bir ifadeyle farkına varıldığını göstermek (örneğin “yanıldığımı kabul ediyorum”, *evet önemli bi sanat*), davranış değişikliği (örneğin *tamam çekin ya*), ya da cevap vermemek kabalığa karşı kullanılan stratejilerdir. Karşılık stratejileriyle ilgili son soru için dinleyici kabalığa herhangi bir şekilde karşılık verdiğinde bir çeşit davranış değişikliği olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Kaba davranışın sahibi bu davranışı düzeltmeyi deneyebilir, kaba davranışın sahibi ya da diğer bir katılımcı konuyu değiştirmeye çalışabilir, ya da davranışın sahibi ya da diğer bir katılımcı kaba bir davranışın gerçekleştiğini reddedip konuyu kapatabilir. Genelde, İngiliz İngilizcesi ya da Türkçe konuşan insanlarla ilgili kesin sonuçlara varmak çok iyimser bir yaklaşım olur çünkü incelenen kabalık örnekleri bu tür bir genellemeye imkan verecek kadar kapsamlı değildir. Ancak bu durum mutlaka bir dezavantaj olarak görülmemelidir. Karşılaştırmalı çalışmaların amacı kültürel anlamda bir dili kullanan konuşmacılarla ilgili genellemeler yapmak olmamalıdır.

Ruhi ve Kádár (2011),örneğin, on dokuzuncu yılların sonunda ve yirminci yüzyılın başında Türkçe ve Çince “yüz” kelimesi kullanılarak yüz kavramının nasıl anlaşıldığına dair bir karşılaştırmalı analiz yürütmüşlerdir. Bu örnek tarihi kabalık araştırmasıyla ilgili olsa da çalışmanın genel amacı olan kültürlerarası araştırmalara doğru yeni bir adım atmak bu çalışmanın amacıyla da yakından ilgilidir.

### **Araştırma Sorularını Tekrar Gözden Geçirme: Karşılaştırma Aşaması**

Bu aşamadaki soru şudur: Bu çalışmanın kabalık ve yüz teorilerine etkileri nelerdir?

İngilizce si “conversation analysis” (CA) olan Konuşma Çözümlemesi (KÇ) araçlarının kabalığın ne olduğuna dair tartışmalara entegre edilmesi önerisinin, fikir ayrılığının kabalıktaki rolü gibi tartışılan konularda yararlı olduğu kanıtlanmıştır. İUD Alıntı 3’de ortaya çıkan fikir ayrılığı kavramının daha ayrıntılı ele alınması gereklidir. Bu alanda fikir ayrılığını bir çeşit anlaşmazlık olarak görme eğilimi bulunmaktadır (Locher, 2004; Waldron ve Applegate, 199; Kakavá, 1993). Fikir ayrılığı KÇ çalışmalarıyla bağlantılı olduğu zamanlarda, fikir ayrılığının anlaşmazlığa yol açtığı görüşü (Hutchby, 1996) geçerli olan görüştü. Bu baskın perspektif içerisinde fikir ayrılığı kavramı yüz kavramıyla ilişkiliydi ve fikir ayrılığının yüz kavramına tehdit oluşturduğuna inanılmaktaydı (Brown ve Levinson 1987; Leech 1983). Ancak, zaman içerisinde bu eğilim farklı bir yöne doğru ilerledi ve araştırmacılar bitişik sözceler olarak fikir ayrılıklarının daha uzun konuşma sıraları yarattığına (Kothoff, 1993; Sifianou, 2012) ve bu yüzden bunların yüzü koruma ve yüzü geliştirme etkileri de olduğunu ileri sürmüşlerdir (Angouri ve Locher, 2012). İUD Alıntı 3’de fikir ayrılığı KÇ ile bağlantılı olarak incelenmiş ve bitişik sözceler olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu alıntıdaki fikir ayrılığının sonucunda yeni bir fikir ayrılığı dizisi başlatmış olmasına rağmen daha uzun konuşma sıralarına neden olmadığı görülmüştür. Bunun sonucunda fikir ayrılığından hemen sonra konu değişikliğinin bir sessizleştirme etkisi yarattığı görülmüştür. Bu yüzden, fikir ayrılığı ve arkasından gelen konu değişikliği kalıbının bir kabalık stratejisi olarak çalıştığı teorisine ulaşılmıştır. Bu sonuca KÇ analiz araçları yoluyla varılmıştır. Bu iddianın kabalığın ne olduğu ve yüz

teorisinin kabalık teorisinin merkezinde bulunup bulunmaması gerektiği konularında önemli etkileri vardır.

Dönüşlü yaklaşımın üç kolu bulunmaktadır ve bunlardan biri olan psikolojik konuların (güdüler ve niyetler, önyargılar, hafıza ve algının güvenilirliği v.s.) konuşma ve metin içerisinde nasıl ele alındığı ve idare edildiği (Edwards, 2005) konusunda yüz kavramını incelerken iletişime bakılır.

Uzmanlar iletişimde yüz kavramını incelerken farklı alanlara yönelmişlerdir. Örneğin, Ruhi (2010), yüz kavramının iletişimin yalnızca normal anlamda incelenmesi yoluyla değil aynı zamanda paralel dökümanlar yoluyla da incelenmesi gerektiğini ileri sürmüştür. Aynı yaklaşım Garfinkel (1967) ve Hak (1995) tarafından da arka plandaki varsayımların ve sınıflandırmaların “teknik” anlamda iletişim içerisinde yüz kavramını nasıl etkilediğini anlamak için de ileri sürülmüştür. Ruhi ve Kádár’ın (2011) ‘Çince ve Türkçe’ de yüzle ilgili halk kavramlarını karşılaştırdıkları çalışmaları yüzün “birinci derece işlev kavramı” içinde temel analizine başka bir örnektir.

Spencer Oatey (2007) iletişimde yüz kavramına daha geniş bir analiz getirmek isteyen araştırmacılardan biridir. Olay sonrası yorumların, kültürden kültür ya da insandan insana farklılık gösterse de, insanların değerlendirici tepkileri ile ilgili önemli bilgiler verdiğini ileri sürmüştür. Chang ve Haugh (2011) olay sonrası görüşme için başka bir terim kullanmışlardır: etnografik görüşme. Bu metodu çalışmalarında doğal iletişim verileriyle birlikte kullanmış olmalarına rağmen, etnografik görüşme yapmanın da kendi başına yüzü tehdit edici olabileceğini kabul etmişlerdir. Mills (2009, sayfa 1049) bireysel seviyedeki kabalık ile sosyal seviyedeki kabalığın arasındaki farkların belirlenmesi gerektiğini ve sosyal seviyedeki kabalığın incelenmesi için analitik sistemlerin hazırlanması gerektiğini ileri sürmüştür. Bu, “Uygulayıcı Topluluklar” kurallarının analiz edilmesiyle başarılabilir. Sonuç olarak, yüz kavramının iletişimde normal anlamda incelenmesi (Haugh ve Bragiela-Chiappini, 2010) kabalık çalışmalarında yetersiz olmaktadır ve bunun ötesine geçebilmek için farklı analitik yaklaşımların geliştirilmesi gerekmektedir. Bu çalışma iletişimleri hem normal anlamda incelemiş hem de KÇ

yaklaşımlarını kullanarak ve iletişimin gerçekleştiği ortamda üyelik organizasyon varsayımları gibi noktalara değinerek biraz daha öteye geçmeyi hedeflemiştir.

### **Mevcut Yüz ve Kabalık Teorilerini Yeniden Gözden Geçirme**

İUD Alıntı 1 ve STD Alıntı 1, 3 ve 4, Grice'ın ilkelerinin direkt ya da dolaylı olarak ihlal edilmesinin kabalığı tetiklediği örneklerdir. Bu, iletişim esnasında Grice ilkelerinin göz önünde bulundurulması gerektiğini göstermektedir. Sözel iletişimde bu ilkelerin tekrar tekrar ihlal edilmesi sonucunda konuşmacılar kaba olarak değerlendirilirler ve kabalıkla karşılaşırlar (örneğin STD Alıntı 1). Bu “konuşmacı hakları teorisi” (KHT) (Wilson 1987, 1989) ve bununla ilgili Spencer-Oatey ve Jiang'ın (2003) sosyal edimsel iletişim prensipleri (SEPler) kavramlarını ve şu ana kadar kabalık analizlerinin merkezinde olan yüz kavramını gündeme getirir.

Wilson (1987, 1989) karşılıklı bir konuşmanın yalnızca “konuşmacı haklarının eşit dağılımı” yoluyla tanımlanabileceğini ileri sürer. Bu düşünce katılımcıların eşit sıralarla konuşmaları fikrinden farklıdır. Wilson'a göre (1989) “konuşmacı hakları teorisi” karşılıklı konuşmayı diğer çeşit konuşmalardan ayıran en önemli özelliktir.

KHT aynı zamanda Spencer-Oatey'in (2000) Yakınlık Yönetimi Modeli ile de ilgilidir. Bu model birbirlerine bağlı üç boyuttan oluşur: yüz kavramının yönetimi, sosyallik haklarının yönetimi ve zorunluluklar ve iletişimsel amaçların yönetimi. Sosyallik haklarının yönetimi ve zorunluluklar sosyal beklentilerle ilgilidir ve insanların davranışların tarafsızlığı ve uygunluğu ile ilgili düşüncelerini yansıtır. İletişimsel amaçlar, insanlar birbirleriyle iletişim kurarlarken üstlendikleri vazifelerdir (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, sayfa 14). Algılanan sosyallik hakları ve zorunluluklarla ilgili önemli olan şey insanların davranış beklentileri ile ilgili bir duygu geliştirmeleri ve bu beklentiler farklı şekillerde karşılandığında ya da hiç karşılanmadığında kişiler arası ilişkilerin bundan etkilenmesidir. Spencer-Oatey algılanan sosyallik hakları ve zorunlulukların temelini üç başlık altında özetler: 1) sözleşme/yasal anlaşmalar ve gereklilikler, 2) rollerin ve pozisyonların açık ya da kapalı olarak kavramsallaştırılması, 3) Davranış gelenekleri, stilleri ve protokolleri.

Sonuncu başlık için şu örneği vermiştir: iş grupları, örneğin, ekip toplantılarında kimin nereye oturacağı, insanların nereye oturacağının konumlarına bağlı olup olmayacağı ile ilgili konuların idare edilmesi için bir takım kurallar geliştirmiştir. İlk temel, sözleşme/yasal anlaşmalar ve gereklilikler, daha katı olsa da bunların da bazı kuralcı davranışlardan kaynaklanmış olması mümkündür.

Spencer-Oatey'in Yakınlık Yönetimi Modeli ile kabalık teorisine kattığı boyutlar çok önemlidir çünkü kabalık ve karşılıklı konuşma arasındaki ilişkiyi vurgular ki bu da bu çalışmanın en önemli odak noktasıdır. Aslında, konuşma sırası ve konuşma hakkı örnekleriyle, SEPlar ve özellikle eşitlik ve iletişimsel katılım ile Yakınlık Yönetimi Modeli bizi karşılıklı konuşma analizinin temeline geri götürür. Bunun farkında olunması çok önemli bir noktadır çünkü şu ana kadar kabalık modelinin kalbinde yüz kavramı bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, kabalık teorisinin hem yüz kavramını hem de karşılıklı konuşma analizini birleştirmesi gerektiğini göstermiştir.

### **Dönüslü Yaklaşım: Ortaya Çıkan Sorunlar ve Bakış Açıları**

Bu çalışmanın dönüslü bir yaklaşım izlediğinden daha önce bahsedilmişti. Dönüslü yaklaşım geriye dönmeyi gerektirir: toplanılan verilerden bilgiler edindikten sonra analiz aşamasındaki tartışmalarda kullanılacak teori veya sistem şekillendirilir. Bu çalışmanın ana odak noktası doğal iletişim verileri olduğundan, toplanılan verinin mevcut teorilere ya da önceden belirlenmiş varsayımlara uymayacak bir kuramsallaştırma gerektirebilir. Araştırma sorularını değişken olarak görmek araştırmacının soruları değiştirmeye ya da ortaya çıkan konuları çalışmanın ileriki aşamalarında tartışmaya istekli olduğunu gösterir.

Çalışma boyunca ortaya çıkan sorunlar ve bu sorunlardan edinilen ilgiler bu bölümde özetlenmiştir. Bu konular araştırma soruları şeklinde düzenlenecek ve bulgular ve perspektifler bu soruların arkasından tartışılacaktır. Bu sorular araştırmacının çalışmaya başlarken oluşturduğu ve daha sonra yeni bulguların ışığı altında değiştirilebilecek geçici araştırma sorularından farklıdır. Bu yeni sorular daha önceki soruların yerini almasa bile, çalışma ilerledikçe ortaya çıkmış

sorulardır. Bu yüzden, dönüşlü yaklaşımın bir parçası olarak görülmektedirler: çalışma ilerledikçe yeni sorular ve perspektifler ortaya çıkarmıştır. İlk soru derlem dil bilimi ve derlemlerde kullanan karşılaştırmalı araştırmalar ile ilgilidir: Kullanılan derlemler, bu çalışma için İUD ve STD, tamamen kıyaslanabilir değillerse kabalık örneklerine ulaşmak ne derece mümkün olabilir? Bu tür yarı benzer derlemler karşılaştırmalı çalışmalarda ne derece kullanılabilir?

Uzmanlar henüz farklı çeşit derlemler için kullandıkları terminoloji konusunda fikir birliğine varamamış olsalar da, genellikle, bir de fazla dili içeren üç çeşit derlem bulunur. Eğer bir dildeki orijinal tekst diğer bir dile çevrilmişse, bu çeşit derleme çeviri derlemi adı verilir (Aijmer ve Altenberg, 1996). Eğer iki tane tek dilli derlem aynı örnekleme yapısını kullanıyorsa, bu tür derlemlere kıyaslanabilir derlem adı verilir (McEnery ve Wilson, 1996, sayfa 57; Hunston, 2002, sayfa 15). Eğer korpora bahsedilen çeşitlerin bir karışımı ise bunlara paralel derlem denir (Johansson ve Hofland 1994; Johansson, 1998).

Büyükliklerindeki farklılıklara rağmen İUD ve STD kıyaslanabilir derlemler olarak değerlendirilebilir çünkü temsil edebilirlik konusunu ilgilendiren prensipler benzerdir. Ancak, birtakım farklılıklar yüzünden, bu iki derlemin tamamen benzer olduklarını iddia etmek doğru olmaz. İUD'nin sözel alt derlemi daha geneldir çünkü pek çok farklı tekst çeşidini içinde barındırır (örneğin genel konuşmalar, spor yotumları, v.s.), ancak STD daha belirli bir derlemdir çünkü her ne kadar farklı konu dağılımı ve ortamı içerse de yalnızca karşılıklı konuşmalardan oluşur. Bu çalışmanın hem veri çıkarımı hem de analiz aşamalarını direk olarak etkileyen diğer bir farkta İUD ve STD kodlama sistemleri arasındaki farktır. İUD hem dilsel hem de dil ötesi verilerin detaylı analizine imkan vermektedir. Derlem içerisinde kelime ve sözcük grupları için sıklık analizleri ve bu kelime ve kelime grubunu kullanan insanlarla ilgili demografik veriler kolaylıkla yapılabilecek analizlerdendir. Dil üstü veriler XML formatında verilmiştir ve bu da araştırmacının analiz yapmasına izin verir ancak bu analiz yazım kodlama şeklinden dolayı görsel olarak erişilebilir şekilde değildir. STD hem dilsel hem de dil üstü verileri RTF formatını kullanarak görsel olarak daha erişilebilir bir formatta verir. Demografik analiz ya da sıklık analizi İUD ye benzer şekilde

gerçekleştirilir. Hem İUD hem de STD kaydedilen karşılıklı konuşmaların bütün çevriyazılarını vermektedir, ancak, İUD’de bütün bir karşılıklı konuşma metnine ulaşmak için Bölüm İki de anlatılan karmaşık bir takım adımların takip edilmesi gerekir. Ayrıca, en son yayınlanan bir takım ses dosyalarının haricinde, İUD tek modelli, STD ise hem çevriyazıları hem de konuşmaların ses dosyalarını ve bazı konuşmaların görsel dosyalarını içeren çok modelli bir korpustur.

Bütün bu farklılıklara rağmen, bu çalışma göstermiştir ki yarı benzer iki korpora kullanarak karşılaştırmalı bir araştırma yapmak mümkündür. İUD daha geniş bir veri havuzu sağlamıştır ve STD de araştırmacının RTF dosyaları ve Praat programıyla analiz edilen ses dosyalarıyla daha detaylı analizler yapabilmesine imkan tanımıştır.

İkinci soru prosodi ve kabalıkla ilgilidir: değişken ve göreceli olmasına rağmen prosodi kabalık araştırmasında ne derece kullanılabilir? Culpeper (2011a) prosodinin bir ifade ile ilgili değerlendirmeleri tetiklemekte önemli bir rol oynadığını ileri sürmektedir ve prosodinin bunu nasıl yaptığını göstermektedir. Dil üstü öğeleri üst anlamlı bir terim olarak görür ve prosodinin içinde yer alan daha belirli taraflara yönelir. Bu çalışmada prosodi aynı önemle ele alınmıştır. STD’den alınan üç bölüm Praat programı kullanılarak prosodinin kabalığı nasıl gösterdiğini örneklendirmek için analiz edilmiştir. Alıntı 1’de, bir tehdit “*sana bi geçireceğim zaten ((XXX))*” yüksek bir ses vurgusuyla söylenmektedir (Figür 1’e bakın). Alıntı 2’de geleneksek olmayan sezdirimsel kabalıktaki alaycılık *ya ben de de giriyor hatun, meşgul selam bile vermiyor* ve *ya ben de de giriyor hatun, meşgul selam bile vermiyor*, ve *ee o artık bi iş kadını* uzatılan şakacı ton ile ciddi ton arasındaki uyumsuzluk ile gösterilmiştir (Figür 16’ya bakın). Bu sezdirimsel kabalıktaki alayın nasıl bir karşı strateji olarak alaycı bir şekilde karşılandığını Figür 17’de gösterilmiştir. Bu etki de yine sesteki değişiklik ve ses etkilerindeki uyumsuzluklardan kaynaklanır.

Culpeper’in (2011a) belirttiği diğer bir nokta da normal bir insanın prosodi ile ilgili görüşün kaba davranışın değerlendirilmesinde prosodinin oynadığı önemli rolün de göstergesi olmasıdır. Culpeper (2011a) prosodinin kabalık çalışmalarında

ihmal edildiğini ve her ne kadar prosodi değişken ve göreceli olsa da içinde bulunulan durum dikkate alındığında ve tartışmaya eklendiğinde önemli bilgiler sağlayacağını ileri sürmektedir. Bu çalışma, araştırmanın prosodi ve kabalık ve bu ikisinin nasıl birbirleriyle ilişkilendirilmesi alanlarında araştırmanın genişletilmesi önerilerini dikkate alan ufak bir adım olarak görülebilir.

### **Son Söz**

Bu çalışma, sözel iletişimde kabalık örneklerini bulmakta ve analiz etmekte kullanacak metodolojik bir yaklaşım ileri sürer. İleri sürülen metodolojik yaklaşım uzun süredir tartışılan konuları göz önüne alır ve bu konulara uygulanabilir ve analitik öneriler getirir. Çalışmanın ilerleyişi önerilen sistemin etkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Veri toplama ve analiz aşamalarında bir takım sorular ortaya çıkmıştır ve gelecekte yapılacak çalışmalar bu soruları ele alabilir. Bu sorular şunlardır:

1. Geleneksel kabalık ve geleneksel olmayan sezdirimsel kabalık formüllerinden başka hangi kategorik metotlar kabalık örnekleri araştırılırken kullanılabilir?
2. Uzlaşmanın (Goffman, 1974, 1981) kabalığı artırmadaki rolü nedir? Katılımcıların diğer katılımcılarla ittifak kurma ya da ittifakı bozmaya yönelten nedenler nelerdir?
3. Mecazi ve kinayeli kelimelerin ve ifadelerin kabalığı ifade etmekteki rolü nedir?
4. Anlamsal prosodinin kabalıktaki rolü nedir? Kabalık örnekleri bulmakta nasıl bir metot olarak kullanılabilir?

Bu sorular kabalık teorilerine önemli katkılarda bulunacak ve gelecek çalışmalarda önemli rol oynayacaktır.



## TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☐

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

### YAZARIN

Soyadı :  
Adı :  
Bölümü :

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) :

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**