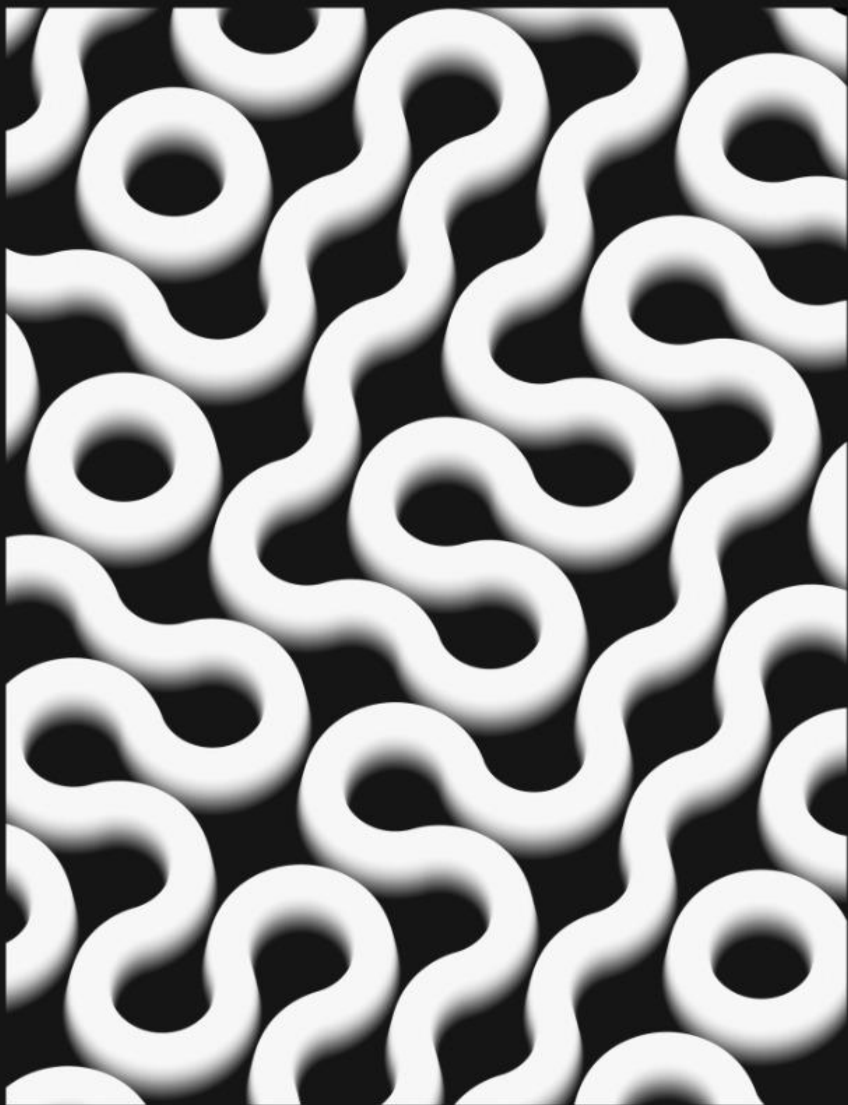
FATMA YUVAYAPAN
ILYAS YAKUT

PRAGMATICS

THE BASICS FOR ABSOLUTE BEGINNERS



ÇİZGİ e-Kitap

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THE BASICS FOR ABSOLUTE BEGINNERS

Fatma YUVAYAPAN

Ilyas YAKUT

çizgi
KİTABEVİ

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Sahibiata Mah.
M. Muzaffer Cad. No:41/1
Meram/**Konya**

Alemdar Mah.
Çatalçeşme Sk. No:42/2
Cağaloğlu/**İstanbul**

(0332) 353 62 65 - 66 - (0212) 514 82 93
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When a diplomat says yes, he means 'perhaps';
When he says perhaps, he means 'no';
When he says no, he is not a diplomat.
—Voltaire (quoted in Escandell 1993, p. 15.)

These lines refer to the fact that utterances carry implied meaning beyond the conventional meaning of the words or sentences. Same utterances can carry different meanings in different contexts. The main questions arise here are how it is possible to imply meaning and what the relationship is between meaning and context. These are some basic questions that pragmatics is concerned with. The term pragmatics was first coined by Charles Morris in 1938. Since then, pragmatics as a new branch of linguistics that emerged from the desire to understand how we convey and imply meaning has been developing. Jucker (2012) states that till 1970s, the field had received scant attention. O'Keeffe et al. (2020) explain how pragmatics emerged as a field. In 1977 and 1991, Journal of Pragmatics and Pragmatics were founded and in 1985, International Pragmatics Association was founded. As Jucker (2012) puts, in the 20th century, pragmatics is no longer a subfield of linguistics but a new branch in its own right with its own theories and methodologies. He also mentions the scholars who contributed to the development of pragmatics as a field. Distinguishing three branches of semiotics: syntax, semantic and pragmatics, Charles Morris first introduced pragmatics as a new field but his definition of pragmatics was broad including psychological, biological, and sociological elements that help functioning of signs. Rudolf Carnap narrowed the scope of definition of the field proposed by Morris. For him, the field is concerned with the user of the language rather than audience and context. Levinson claimed that this definition was very restricted. At the same time, analyzing the ordinary language, Austin, Searle and Grice influenced the early development of pragmatics. Austin and Searle became influential with the theories of speech act. Grice was best known for the Cooperative Principles Theory. It is the works of these three philosophers that shape the content of many books about pragmatics today.

Several definitions of the field have been proposed. Pragmatics is "the study of the relations of signs to interpreters" (Morris, 1938, p. 84) and "the study of deixis, implicature, presupposition, speech acts, and aspects of discourse structure" (Levinson, 1983, p. 27). Pragmatics is defined by Yule (1996, p. 3) as "the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker (or writer) and interpreted by a listener (or reader)." For Griffth (2006, p. 1) "pragmatics is about the interaction of semantic knowledge with our knowledge of the world, taking into accounts of context use".

After mentioning how pragmatics has become a field in linguistics, it would be better to make distinction between syntax, semantic and pragmatics. Yule (1996, p. 4) gives the definitions of three fields of linguistics as: Syntax is the study of the relationships between linguistic forms, how they are arranged in sequence and which sequences are well-formed. Semantics is the study of relationship between linguistic forms and entities in the world. Pragmatics is the study of relationships between linguistic forms and the users of those forms.

Cutting (2002) explains this distinction with a famous quote of Queen Victoria "We are not amused". If we make a syntactic analysis we can say that "we" is positioned as the subject of sentence and followed by the main verb "are". "Not" is a negative marker and "amused" is an adjective. Syntax is the study of words and phrases and their grammatical arrangement order to form sentences. When we look at our example from a semantic perspective, "we" shows the person speaking, "are" displays a command of an action, and "amused" is a synonym of "entertained. Semantics is the study of word meaning out of context. Regarding pragmatics, it is the study of getting the meaning from contextual clues. The pragmatic context of the example is, Queen Victoria was in depression due to the loss of her husband, Albert, and her sentence was a response to a joke done by her courtiers. She implied that she wanted to live her sorrow. She also warned them to stop make her laugh.

Griffth (2006) emphasizes the relationship between utterances and contexts. In linguistics, utterances are the raw data. Having been produced by a particular speaker for a particular hearer in a particular context, they are unique. Since they are tied to a specific context and interlocutors, they cannot be repeated. It is possible to utter the same sentence two or more times but they are still not a repetition due to certain contexts.

> Not so loud! (something said to student who was speaking loudly in Room 420)
>
> Not so loud! (something said because of the noise of our TV, which might disturb our neighbor)

As seen in the above examples, pragmatics is the study of interpretations of utterances by individuals. What may be implied in a particular context and how the context affects the interpretation is in the scope of pragmatics, which is "the study of contextual meaning" (Yule, 1996, p. 3). Studying language from a pragmatic perspective enables us to delve into intended meanings, their assumptions and purposes and the speech actions (inviting, apologizing, etc.).

A wide of range of topics falls in the scope of pragmatics since 1970s. This book covers the basic issues in the field. A starting point for the issues in pragmatics is the concentration of the Cooperative Principles of Grice and speech act theories suggested by Austin and Searle. Theories of politeness also need to be explained in detail. Cross-cultural, intercultural and corpus pragmatics as sub-branches of the field deserve attention. Data in pragmatic research is another central issue in the field. The basics of pragmatics is very complicated and hard to grasp. This book is an attempt to make the basic theories of the field easy to follow for the readers. Each chapter ends with some activities that combine the theories with daily contexts. There is also a guidance chapter to assist you to comment on pragmatic studies. The quick questions and answer chapter will help you to find practical answers to challenging issues in pragmatics.

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CHAPTER 2

THE COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE

You can't say anything without meaning something (Wharton, 2002, p. 208).

Read the following quotations and answer the questions.

- *How do we cooperate in a conversation?*
- *What kinds of contributions do we make during a conversation?*
- *Our talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks and would be rational if they did. They are characteristically, to some degree at least, cooperative efforts; each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction (Grice, 1989, p.26).*
- *Make your conversation contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice, 1989, p. 26)*

In pragmatics, exchanging information in communication is a prominent area of research. People usually cooperate in the flow of communication to present their intentions and to comprehend the hearer's intentions. Therefore, communication can be considered as a cooperative attempt between or among interlocutors to fulfill their intentions rested on specific communicative purposes. These cooperative attempts are defined as Cooperative Principles which were introduced by Grice in a seminal paper called "Logic and Conversation" in 1975. This work led to the development of pragmatics as a new separate field from linguistics. Before moving on the Cooperative Principles, we wish to represent what is beneath these principles. To comprehend Grice's Cooperative Principles, we first need to have a general knowledge of **meaning** and **implicatures**.

Meaning

The word "meaning" conveys many meanings. Hence, linguists have tried to give an account of the nature of meaning. In other words, in the field of linguistics, there has been a demand of a theory that explains the features of meaning. Herbert Paul Grice, whose works exerted a powerful influence on linguists, made a substantial contribution to linguistics by proposing a novel theory of meaning which centered on speakers' intentions. He made a distinction between saying and meaning. In his 1957 article "Meaning" – his first attempt to explain meaning- Grice suggests a theory of *meaning as use* and categorizes it as sentence meaning and utterer's (or speaker's) meaning.

In his seminal "Utterer's meaning and intention" in 1969, Grice asks us a central question: What is meaning? He answers the question by putting speakers' intentions on the ground. Grice's (1969) first move was to make a distinction between natural and non-natural meaning. Natural meaning is natural and has a reliable sign, or symptom, or evidence of something. The claim below could be true only if the underlined sub-sentence is true.

Those spots on your face mean *you have measles*.

Non-natural meaning which Grice was more concerned with is the kind of meaning that reflects the speaker's meaning. It is not factive. The speaker may be deceitful or mistaken. In the second example, the claim would be true even if the underlined sub-sentence was false. You may not have measles, but the claim may still be correct.

The symbols in the arrangement below mean *you have measles*.

YOU HAVE MEASLES

Grice develops his theory by paying more attention to non-natural meaning ('meaning$_{nn}$') and since then no linguists have come up with a good theory of meaning$_{nn}$. Grice also makes a distinction within the category of non-natural meaning.

1. The timeless meaning of an expression is idiomatic. Used in different contexts with the same meaning, as a standard practice of a language, timeless meaning is bound to the meaning of the words and sentences used in making it.

2. The meaning of an individual utterance is the use of an expression on a specific occasion by different individuals, which reflects the psychology of the speaker.

The latter one is associated with speakers' intentions. For Zufferey et al. (2019, p. 6), Grice's nonconventional meaning has two certain intentions:

1. the speaker's primary intention to produce a given effect on their audience.

2. the speaker's secondary intention to produce this effect via the audience's recognition of her primary intention. It cannot be recognized without understanding the first intention in the cases of non-natural meaning.

Recanati (2019, p. 1) explains what Grice means with intention:

> The Indian guide's insistent gesturing toward the sky means that it will rain, in the non-natural sense, just in case what the Indian guide (the person) means by this gesture is that it will rain. In such a case, the gesture can be reported as meaning 'It will rain', and it does not follow that it will actually rain.

Individuals find ways to convey their communicative intentions by a gesture or by an utterance and expect audiences to recognize them. Therefore, non-natural meaning relies on intended effects of an utterance.

In "utterer's meaning, sentence meaning and word meaning", Grice (1968), proposes a new distinction between what the speaker has said and what he has implicated. He further divides the latter category into two sub-categories: what he has conventionally implicated and what he has non-conventionally implicated, as illustrated in the figure below.

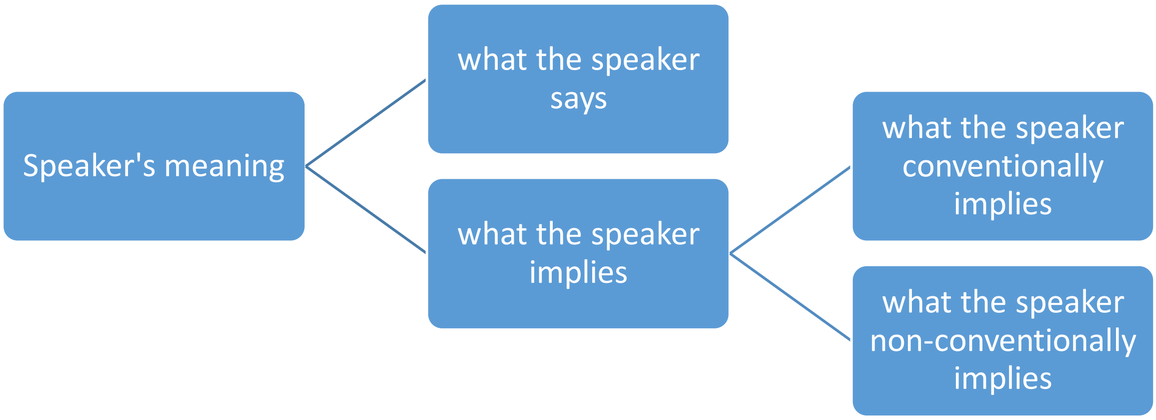

Figure 1: Grice theory of meaning (1968)

As we will see in the following section, Grice (1968) is especially interesented in what the speaker implies non-conventionally which he calls **conversational implicatures**. Apparently, his interest in meaning is an attempt to distinguish between semantic and pragmatic nature of meaning.

Implicatures

Ashley: Are you coming with us?
Monica: I have an exam tomorrow.

In this example, Monica means that she is not going out because she must study. She does not say she is not going out and the sentence uttered does not convey it. She **implicates** that she is not going out and that she is not going out was her **implicature.** She expects Ashley to interpret the intended meaning as "No".

The notion of implicatures was first coined by Grice (1975) in his "Logic and Conversation". He first focuses on the meaning of logical words (*even, and, but* etc.) in natural language, which is different from their uses in logic. He explains this difference with conventional and non-conventional meaning. Linguistic meaning may be limited to conventional meaning, but non-conventional meaning does not reflect the properties of linguistic meaning. There exists a discrepancy between these two meanings. For him, the discrepancy can be solved by making a distinction between the speaker meaning and the implied meaning. The notion of implicature comes from this distinction.

Grice (1975) divides implicatures into two main categories: conventional and conversational. He also identifies two types of conversational implicatures, as displayed in the Figure 2.

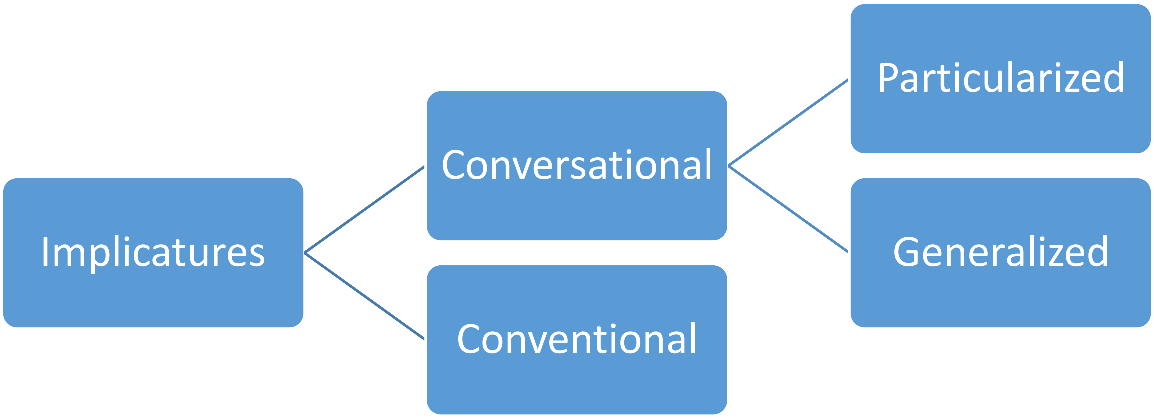

Figure 2: Types of implicatures (Grice, 1975)

What is said is closely pertinent to semantic meaning and conventional implicatures are identified by semantic meaning. Going beyond conventional implicatures, non-conventional implicatures convey speaker meaning. In conversation, we imply more than we say and expect the listener to understand them even though we do not explicitly tell them. Grice (1975) refers these implicatures as conversational implicatures.

Zufferey et al. (2019, p. 9) explains how implicatures work with two examples:

> Former President Sarkozy is French, *but* he is a poor cook.
>
> A: Where will the meeting take place?
>
> B: Somewhere in this building.

In the first case, conventional implicature that French people are generally good cook is conveyed by the conjunction "but". In the second example, the conversational implicature that the speaker does not know the place of the meeting is not triggered by a linguistic item but a presumption of the speaker's cooperativeness (she is trying to help).

Conventional Implicatures

As Grice (1975) explains, conventional implicatures are rooted from the conventional use of language. They are not concerned with either speakers' intentions or the specific context. In the following examples, we see how the underlined words – the conventional implicatures (CI)- change the meaning of the sentences. Here, we see how the conjunctions imply different meanings.

> a. He is an Englishman; he is, *therefore*, brave.
>
> b. He is an Englishman, *and* he is brave.
>
> c. He is brave *because* he is an Englishman.
>
> d. He is an Englishman, *but* he is brave.

Developing the theory of conventional implicatures, Potts (2005) gives the examples of a variety of these implicatures, as seen below.

> a. Ames was, *as the press reported*, a successful spy. (As-parenthetical)
>
> b. Ames, *who stole from the FBI*, is now behind bars. (supplementary relative)
>
> c. Ames, *the former spy*, is now behind bars. (nominal appositive)
>
> d. {*Unfortunately/Luckily*}, Beck survived the descent. (speaker-oriented adverbs)

e. *Confidentially*, is Al having an affair? (I promise to keep the answer to Is Al having an affair? a secret)

As seen from these examples, it is sometimes hard to understand whether something is directly or implied in the case of conventional implicatures (CI). They are different from the semantic meaning, but they do not seem to imply the speaker's intentions. However, they have some properties that make them a prominent issue in pragmatics. Potts (2005, p. 11) lists the properties of conventional implicatures:

1. CIs are part of the conventional meaning of words.

2. CIs are commitments, and thus give rise to entailments.

3. These commitments are made by the speaker of the utterance 'by virtue of the meaning of' the words he chooses.

4. CIs are logically and compositionally independent of what is 'said (in the favored sense)', i.e., independent of the at-issue entailments.

Conversational Implicatures

In everyday conversations, most of what we mean goes beyond what we explicitly say. Consider the following examples taken from Grice (1975).

A: I am out of petrol.
B: There is a garage round the corner.
(A can get petrol at the garage around the corner.)

A: Smith doesn't seem to have a girlfriend these days.
B: He has been paying a lot of visits to New York lately.
(Smith may have a girlfriend who lives in New York.)

A: Where does C live?
B: Somewhere in the South of France.
(B does not know exactly where C lives.)

In each example, B's utterance conveys an implicature – the one expressed by the italicized sentences – that is not bound to what B says.

The examples above are the illustration of conversational implicatures - the pragmatic inferences derived from particular contexts. It is also understood that they are not limited to semantic meaning of an utterance but decided by the properties of the context of an utterance. Grice provides a detailed account of conversational implicatures in 1975. Considering a proposition what they want the hearer to conclude, the speaker utters a sentence, and the hearer recognizes the intention (implicature) based on the contextual clues.

Grice (1975) mentions two types of conversational implicatures: particularized conversational implicature and generalized conversational implicature. **Particularized conversational implicature** is concerned with contexts - not having the same effect again in another context.

A: Will you be at the party tonight?
B: My car broke down. (I won't be at the party tonight.)

Proficient speakers of the same language share some linguistic conventions. **Generalized conversational implicatures** are the ones conveyed by these shared linguistic conventions rather than depending on a context.

> Some of our neighbors moved to other cities. *(Not all of our neighbors moved.)*
> The weather is warm today. *(It is not hot today.)*

So far, we see that conversations do not consist of unrelated utterances but serve some particular purposes – sometimes triggered by implicatures. To understand and respond the implicatures, interlocutors involve in cooperation – the cooperative principles, as Grice (1975) puts.

The Cooperative Principles

Individuals communicate to maintain a specific purpose or an intention. In other words, they are engaged in a mutual interaction governed by certain conversational principles to make sure that the interaction reaches its purpose. Relying on these principles is a prerequisite of interactions. Grice (1975, p. 45) formulates these principles as Cooperative Principles (CPs), which he defines as follows:

> "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged."

The essence of CPs is that both interlocutors have to be cooperative to fulfill their intentions and to be comprehensible for each other. They decide when and how to apply these maxims during the interaction. Thomas (1997) explains that in setting the CPs with the submaxims, Grice (1975) intends to clarify the principles governing the implicatures. Without the assumption that the speaker is following the CPs, it would be hard for the hearer to interpret the speaker's intentions.

Grice (1975) divides CPs into four maxims of conversation: Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner (p. 45-46). Suffice that CP maxims do not present certain rules to be obeyed but suggestions to be followed although they are in the form of imperatives. They provide detailed information about exchanges in communication.

Maxim of Quantity:

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purpose of the exchange.

2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Maxim of Quality:

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.

2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Maxim of Relation: Be relevant.

Maxim of Manner: Be perspicuous.

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.

2. Avoid ambiguity.

3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).

4. Be orderly.

Lindblom (2006, p. 169) demonstrates the four maxims in an example:

A: Do you know where I can buy some petrol?

B: You can buy petrol at the garage right around the corner.

Assuming that B is sincere, and A finds the petrol at the garage where B tells. In this case, B's response follows the four maxims: giving the right amount of information (quantity), true information (quality), information that is related to A's question (relevance) and information given briefly and efficiently (manner). Let us now consider each sub-maxim in detail.

Maxim of Quantity

This maxim is associated with the quantity of information to be yielded. The amount of information should be proper to the needs and the purpose of the interaction. Providing too little information or too much information may damage the flow of the interaction.

Bill: Do you know where Louvre Museum is?

Sam: It's in Paris.

(Sam gives appropriate amount of information asked by Bill)

Maxim of Quality

Maxim of quality refers to the interlocutors' contribution to the truth-condition of the interaction. Speakers should only express a proportion of a justifiable reason to make hearers believe the truthiness of the utterance.

A: Do you have the time?

B: It's 9.00.

(Speaker B gives true information.)

Maxim of Relation

The interlocutors tend to progress one content to another in a conversation. In some cases, the content may be irrelevant, and some problems arise when the hearer thinks that the speaker does not supply relevant information.

Emma: Let's go out tonight!

Sophia: Great idea!

(The answer is relevant with the question asked.)

Maxim of Manner

Maxim of manner refers to the linguistics or rhetorical means of the contribution.

Husband: Where are the keys?

Wife: On the table in the kitchen.

(The wife answered the question briefly and clearly.)

Breaking the maxims

Grice (1975) states that individuals do not always follow the maxims in communication. They can fail to fulfill the maxims in many ways. However, if an utterance does not conform the CPs, it does not mean that it is nonsense. It means that a maxim may be flouted. For Grice (1975), there five ways of breaking the maxims:

Flouting the maxims

We can break the maxims so that it is obvious that the maxim is broken. Let's examine how the maxim of **relevance** is flouted in a conversation taken from *"The Bing Bang Theory"* –a famous American series.

Sheldon Cooper: "I've been giving the matter some thought, and I think I'd be willing to be a house pet to a race of superintelligent aliens." Leonard Hofstadter: "Interesting." Sheldon Cooper: *"Ask me why?"* Leonard Hofstadter: *"Do I have to?"* **Sheldon Cooper:** "Of course. That's how you move a conversation forward." (From an exchange between Jim Parsons and Johnny Galecki, "The Financial Permeability" episode of The Big Bang Theory, 2009) Nordquist, 2019.

Violating the maxims

We can break the maxims in an implicit way so that the hearer may not understand the violation. For instance, if we violate the maxim of quality, it means we are lying because we do not want to tell the truth. If we violate the maxim of quantity, it means that we do not want to give sufficient information.

Liz: Can I have Eric's phone number?
Mia: Yes.
(Mia violates the maxim of quantity by giving less information than required.)

Emma: Let's go out tonight!
Sophia: I have to finish the report.
(Sophia violates the maxim of relevance. The question is not about the report.)

Opting out the maxims

The process of breaking the maxims reflects an unwillingness to cooperate as the maxim requires.

Sally: Did you know that she is dating with Bill?
Liz: I can't tell you anything.

Infringing the maxims

In some cases, speakers may not be able to observe the maxim unintentionally, so they may mislead the hearer.

Someone learning English as a second language has a conversation with a native speaker.
Native speaker: Would you like still or sparkling?
Nonnative speaker: Yes.

Suspending the maxims

Due to cultural conventions, a maxim may be suspended. What the speakers says may not be completely true or may be expressed by certain cultural expressions.

He is no longer with us. (instead of saying *he died*)

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Further Reading

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Exercises

1. Discuss Grice's contribution to pragmatics.
2. Why are the implicatures and the CPs important for communication?
3. Read the extracts taken the two American series – The Bing Bang Theory and Friends - and explain how the maxims are violated.

Dining at the Cheesecake Factory Raj: Hold on Sheldon is there ketchup in that table Sheldon: Yes, there is oh here's a fun fact (LTP) ketchup started out as a general term for sauce typically made of mushrooms or fish brine with herbs and spices (.) some popular main ingredients included blueberry anchovy oyster kidney bean and grape (LTP Raj: No that's okay I'll get it.

Penny is in the living room of Sheldon and Leonard's apartment. The latter is in the middle of getting to know the former. Leonard: That's probably enough about us so tell us about you Penny: Um me (.) okay I'm a Sagittarius which probably tells you way more than you need to know Sheldon: Yes, it tells us that you participate in the mass cultural delusion that the suns position relative to arbitrary defined constellations at the time of your birth somehow affects your personality. Penny: Participate in the what?

Chandler: You okay, Phoebe? Phoebe: Yeah, no, it's not even worth… It's my bank. Monica: What did they do to you? Phoebe: It's nothing, it's just… Okay. I'm going through my mail, and I open up their monthly "statement." (Raising her pitch)

Monica: So how was Joan? Chandler: Broke up with her. Ross: Oh, why? Don't tell me. Because of the big nostril thing? Chandler: They were huge. When she sneezed, bats flew out of them. Rachel: Come on, they were not that huge. Chandler: I'm telling you; she leaned back, I could see her brain.

Joey: Know what was great? The way his smile was kind of crooked.
Phoebe: Yes, yes. Like the man in the shoe.
Ross: What shoe?
Phoebe: From the nursery rhyme. "There was a crooked man who had a crooked smile… who lived in a shoe for a while…"
Ross: So, I think Alan… will become the yardstick against which all future boyfriends will be measured.

4. Find examples of following or breaking the maxims from a TV show, a film or TV series.
5. The following extracts are adapted from an analysis conducted by İlhan (2019). Read the extracts taken from "Dede Korkut Hikayeleri" and discuss the employment of the maxims.

Beyrek: "Bre ozan nereye gidiyorsun"
Ozan: "Bey yiğit düğüne gidiyorum."
Beyrek: "Düğün kimin"
Ozan: "Yalancı oğlu Yaltacuğun."
Beyrek: "Bre kimin nesini alıyor."
Ozan: "Han Beyreğin adaklısını alıyor."

Deli Dumrul: "Bre, al kanatlı Azrail sen misin"
Azrail: "Evet benim"
Deli Dumrul: "Bu güzel yiğitlerin canını sen mi alıyorsun"
Azrail: "Evet ben alıyorum"
Deli Dumrul: "Bre Azrail, ben seni geniş yerde istiyordum, dar yerde iyi elime girdin değil mi (...) Ben seni öldüreyim, güzel yiğidin canını kurtarayım"

Bir kişi: "Sen Han Kazan'ın oğlu değil misin"
Uruz: "Bre kavat benim babam Bayındır Han değil midir"
Bir kişi: "Yok, o ananın babasıdır, senin dedendir."
Uruz: "Bre ya benim babam ölü müdür diri midir"
Bir kişi: "Diridir, Toman'ın Kalesinde esirdir"

6. Find examples of the maxims in a Turkish film or series.

CHAPTER 3

SPEECH ACTS

Read the following sentences and explain what the speakers mean.

- *Who will help me?*
- *It's cold in here.*
- *I'll be there at 3 pm.*
- *I love chocolates!*

Generally, utterances may not express a proposition that describes a state of affairs. The speaker of (1) could make a request rather than asking a question. An affirmative sentence (2) may be a request to close the window or get a blanket. The speaker of (3) may make a promise to the hearer. The speaker in (4) may thank someone for the chocolate. Apparently, the interpretations of utterances cannot be simply discussed in terms of a proposition conveying a description of the state of an affair. The fact that language is not only used to describe the world is the starting point of the speech acts, which we will restrict our attention to in this chapter.

While expressing themselves in conversations, people are not only attuned to the grammatical structures and words of utterances but the speech acts performed via those utterances. The speech acts such as order, request, greeting, promise, compliment, etc., convey the speaker's communicative intentions which are expected to be recognized by the hearer. The acts can be a compliment (1), an apology (2), or a greeting (3).

1. Hey, I like your new hairstyle.
2. Sorry!
3. Hello Sam. Long time no see!

Depending on the contexts in which the speech acts are formed, a sentence may perform different acts. As Yule (1996) explains, the sentence below may convey a complaint. The speaker takes a cup of coffee believing that it is freshly made and utters this sentence. On a summer day, the speaker takes a glass of iced tea and produces the sentence below, it is interpreted as praise.

4. This tea is really cold!

J. L. Austin's Speech Act Theory

For many linguists, the Speech Act Theory is one of the central concepts in pragmatics. This theory was first coined by J. L. Austin (1962) in *How to Do Things with Words*, including lecture notes, and developed by John Searle (1969). Austin (1962) starts his theory by making a distinction between constatives and performatives. The first one refers to linguistic expressions used to describe facts that are either true or false and state of affairs. The constatives are decided by the values of truth and falsity. If they clearly indicate what is intended, they are considered to be true or vice versa. If we utter a sentence like "It is raining" and it is actually raining, our constative is true.

Performatives, on the other hand, are neither true nor false. They only imply whether something is true or not. They are bound to the circumstances of an utterance and the intention of the speaker. In an utterance, the speaker with a predetermined intention performs a linguistic act to the hearer. An act is always performed by a speaker "I promise you" or by a group of people like "You are requested to shut the door". Contrary to constatives which describe the truth or falsity of a circumstance, performative acts belong to somebody. An utterance is performative if used in an appropriate circumstance. Performativity is an essential element of communication and is reflected in a variety of verbs. The speakers of a language may apply different linguistic features to perform the same act. For instance, the first sentence is an imperative in English performing the act of a request while the second sentence performs the same act with the use of a question form in Turkish.

Pass me the salt, please.

Şu tuzu uzatır mısın? (Can you pass me the salt?)

For Austin (1962), constatives and performatives are closely interrelated. The conditions of success of constatives depend on the conditions of success of performatives, which he defines as *felicity conditions*. He uses the terms *happiness* and *unhappiness* to cover the success or failure of these two acts. If a performative is said under the appropriate conditions, it is thought happy. The falsity of constatives is concerned with the unhappiness of performatives. When a performative is unhappy, it explains the reasons for the falsity of a constative.

Yule (1996) explains the felicity conditions in everyday situations. These conditions enable us to recognize a speech act:

1. general conditions can be understood from the language used.

Only a judge can sentence a person.

2. content conditions are about future events.

I will take you to the shopping mall at the weekend. (I promise)

3. preparatory conditions are fulfilled by the authority of the speakers and appropriate circumstances necessary for an act to be performed.

Could you give me some tea?

4. sincerity conditions are genuine intentions of a speaker to carry out a future event.

I will help you to finish your report. (I intend)

I would like you to give some water.

5. essential conditions are the speakers' intentions to be acted upon by the addressee.

I will help you to do house chores. (I promise)

Every sentence we say mostly includes an intention to perform a certain act. Hence, Austin abandons focusing on the discrimination between constatives and performatives and introduces three related acts performed in uttering performatives:

1. locutionary acts

2. illocutionary acts

3. perlocutionary acts

Yule (1996) explains these three acts in detail. As the basis of an utterance, *the locutionary acts* are the acts of producing meaningful linguistic expressions. If you are a non-native speaker of a language, you may fail to form some sounds and sentences and to produce locutionary acts. Utterances, which simply convey meaningful statements of circumstances, are examples of locutionary acts.

It is raining.

He loves me.

The illocutionary act emphasizes the act that is being done in uttering a performative. In uttering a performative, a speaker may perform the illocutionary acts of making a promise, requesting, etc., which are examples of the communicative force of utterances.

While performing *the perlocutionary act*, the speaker elicits a certain response from the hearer or makes an effect on the hearer. The speaker wants the hearer to be convinced, persuaded, delighted, etc.

In the following examples, the three acts are illustrated:

I promise to be there (locution)

want my friend to believe me (illocution)

my friend believes me (perlocution)

I have just made some tea (locution)

an offer to my guest (illocution)

my guest asks for some tea (perlocution)

Austin (1962, p. 150) further classifies speech acts into five categories:

1. Verdictives are acts in which a verdict or appraisal is indicated, usually by someone in a position of power to give that appraisal (hold, reckon , assess, make it, take it…).

2. Exercitives involve the decision in favor or against an act (appoint, order, dismiss, announce…).

3. Commissives commit speakers to particular acts. (promise, propose, guarantee, intend…)

4. Behabitives express the reactions to other people's acts (For apologies we have 'apologize'; for thanks we have 'thank'.).

5. Expositives explain views and arguments (affirm, deny, state, swear, inform…).

J. Searle's Speech Act Theory

With his influential study, "What is Speech Act?", John Searle (1965) contributed to the theory of speech acts. His theory of speech acts is an attempt to focus on illocutionary acts. In a typical utterance, a speaker performs some acts like informing, asking questions, boring others, etc.

These speech acts can also be defined as linguistic acts or language acts and every individual is involved in a linguistic act in a linguistic communication. The production of the token in the performance of the speech act forms the illocutionary act which is the basic unit of linguistic communication.

Performing illocutionary acts requires the engagement of a rule-governed form of behavior. Therefore, the performance of an illocutionary act depends on "a set of necessary and sufficient conditions" rather than "a set of semantical rules for the use of the expression (or syntactic device) which marks the utterance as an illocutionary act of that kind" (Searle, 1965, p. 2).

Searle emphasizes the relationship between an illocutionary act and its propositional content. Different illocutionary acts reflect common features with each other. In certain propositional contexts, each utterance below may perform different illocutionary acts. However, the speaker refers to a particular person John, and performs some different acts of leaving the room of that person but in a common propositional content.

(1) Will John leave the room? (a question)
(2) John will leave the room. (an assertion about the future)
(3) John, leave the room! (an order)
(4) Would that John leave the room. (a wish)
(5) If John leaves the room, I will leave also. (hypothetical expression of intention)

Apparently, the propositional content gives us clues in interpreting the illocutionary act. What is added to this act to make the same propositional content convey different acts is the *illocutionary force*. For example, in the sentence "I promise to help you", the phrase "I promise" is the *illocutionary force* indicator whereas the phrase "to help you" is the propositional indicator. In 1968, Searle explains the illocutionary force in detail. The locutionary meaning of sentences has the potential of an illocutionary force in addition to determining the illocutionary force of utterances.

In his book "Expression and Meaning", Searle (1979) develops five categories of speech acts different form Austin's taxonomy. He comes up with five new categories as Yule (1996) summarizes:

1. Assertives: enable the speakers to assert an idea or an opinion.

Ankara is the capital of Türkiye.
I am the best teacher in this school.

2. Directives make the hearers perform a particular action.

Could you please give me a cup of coffee?
Don't eat too much.

3. Commissives are those kind of speech acts that commit the speakers to doing something in the future.

I am going on a long journey.
I will see you next week.

4. Expressives refer to the feelings of a speaker in a certain propositional content.

I am sorry that I wasn't with you.
I really appreciate your advice.

5. Declarations immediately change the state of affairs.

You are fired!
Referee: You are out!

Direct and Indirect Speech Acts

So far, we have seen that communication does not include a set of syntactic and lexical structures but also requires the performance of some acts. Therefore, speech act theory, developed by Austin and Searle, is not only concerned with what is said but what is performed. For Holtgraves (1986), there does not exist a fixed correspondence between what is said and what is accomplished. For instance, the following examples are the acts of requesting to open the window. The first one is a direct request while the other two are acts of indirect requests. Different syntactic constructions can be used to maintain the same act as seen in the examples.

Open the window!
Can you open the window?
It is hot in here.

In 1975, Searle introduced another way of categorizing speech acts: *direct* and *indirect speech acts*. In some cases, the speaker means what he literally says. In such cases, the speaker intends to convey a certain illocutionary act that can be easily recognized by the hearer. Here the sentence meaning, and the utterer's meaning are consistent with each other, and this is what Searle calls a *direct speech* act. However, the production of an illocutionary act is not always simple. In some cases, such as irony and metaphor, the speakers' utterance meaning and sentence meaning do not possess the same illocutionary act. When the sentence's meaning and the utterer's meaning are different, the speech act is performed indirectly.

Can you reach the salt? (a question or a request)
I want you to do it. (a request or an order)
Oh, I love flowers! (thanking)

In this chapter, we have covered the Speech Act Theory, which is an important concept in pragmatics. The theory denotes the fact that utterances are not only combinations of linguistic units but shape the performance of some acts like apologizing, thanking, requesting, and so on. Austin (1962) is credited with the first developed theory of speech acts and Searle (1965) is the scholar who influentially systematizes the theory proposed by Austin.

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Exercises

1. Here is a phone conversation from the days of fixed landlines. Read it and identify any perlocutionary utterances.

> But on the seventh ring she answered the phone and the operator asked her to accept a collect call from Pamela. "Will you accept?" she said.
>
> "Yes, I will," my mother said.
>
> Why it was just as if I had been wandering some Yorkshire moors for many days, through gorse and snow and sleet, even though it was practically ninety degrees outside! "Ma!" I said.
>
> "Where are you?" she said.
> "I'm at a pay phone," I said, "in the middle of a store."
> "So you can't talk?" she said.
> "Not really," I hissed, blinking over at the man. Now that my eyes had adjusted, I saw what a mockery of humanity this guy was. Gaunt, dressed in overalls with a soiled bib, swollen nose, and greasy red-blond hair and beard – he was playing some type of board game, alone, and there was something vaguely familiar about him. "Are you at your father's?" she said.
>
> "Near," I said.
> "And how is he?" she said.
> "Uh-huh," I said.
> "Deceased?" she said.
> "Uh-huh," I said.
>
> There was a pause. "But otherwise, are you having a good time?"
> "I can't hear you very well," I said. "There's a fly in my ear."
> "Do you want me to drive there?" she said. "If I can find a substitute to teach my classes?"
> "No!" I said. "That would only make things worse." Much as I loved my mother, I knew that very quickly after I saw her I would revert to adolescent behavior, due to the fact that during my adolescence I had never rebelled, and some part of me was making up for that now.
> "Are you depressed?" she said.
> "A little," I said.
> "Maybe you're getting your period," she said.
>
> There was something strangely unsatisfying about the conversation. Maybe too much time had gone by since we had last spoken and she had changed. "Well, this isn't much of a conversation," she said. "I guess you can't talk."

"That's right," I said.
"Something remarkable has happened here," she said.
"What?" I said.
"One of my students put her blue jeans in the washing machine and when she opened it she discovered a British Revolutionary War uniform. It's in excellent condition, practically new, and we're going to take it to the costume and clothing department of the Metropolitan Museum."
"Aw, Ma," I said. "She probably had one lying around or made it."
"I don't think so," she said. It would be impossible to fake it; they can do tests to determine its age through the fabric."
"So what do you think happened?" I said.
"I believe the washing machine was temporarily attached to some conduit opening onto the past. Now somebody in the Revolutionary War has a pair of new Levi's."
"If only something like that would happen to me!" I said.
"I know," my mother said.
"I would give anything for just one experience like that. Or if aliens landed and took me in their spacecraft and injected me with some painful substance and then deposited me on the highway!"
"Have you seen any spacecraft out there?" my mother said.
"No," I said.
"Why don't you and Abdhul go out at night and look?" she said.
"Mm," I said, keeping one eye on Silas Marner. He was really rank, too, just my luck. Didn't it offend him to live with his own odor, or did he enjoy it? It reminded me of a man I had once found through an ad in the local paper to type some of my essays and my thesis in college. He had smelled, too. Human beings were very odd, I had forgotten this after being away from them in the woods.

"You really should keep your eyes out," my mother said. "I was just reading, how recently the CIA captured an alien, and apparently, he's escaped. I'd send you the clipping, if you had a mailing address."

"Does the alien – have a strong scent?" I said in a hiss.
"What are you saying?" my mother said. "Does somebody there smell?
"Yes!" I said triumphantly. That was all the proof I needed just now that my mother and I were still attuned to one another.

Retrieved from https://www.english.cam.ac.uk/elor/lo/speech-acts/index.html

2. Describe the speech acts performed in the poem.

Whispering
Honey, I have something to tell you,
And it's worthwhile listening to;
Put your little head on my shoulder,
So that I can whisper to you:
Whispering while you cuddle near me,
Whispering so no one can hear me,
Each little whisper seems to cheer me,
I know it's true, there's no one, dear but you;
You're whispering why you'll never leave me,
Whispering why you'll never grieve me;
Whisper and say that you believe me,
Whispering that I love you.

Whispering, by John Schonberger (music) and Malvin Schonberger (lyrics), 1920

CHAPTER 4

POLITENESS THEORY

Answer the following questions.

- *What is politeness?*
- *How do you use language to be polite?*
- *What factors influence the degree of politeness in social interactions?*

How we behave and what we say is determined by the linguistic and non-linguistic behavior of the communities as well as the audience of utterances. Politeness principles are considered to be one of the major determinants of linguistic behavior. In this chapter, we will appeal to the notion of politeness theory and strategies as a means of encoding social distance between the interlocutors in an interaction.

Broadly speaking, politeness principles can be regarded as culturally oriented polite behavior. Grundy (2000) explains that, as a pragmatic notion, politeness principles are the manifestations of appropriate etiquette. The problem in the below sentence results from inappropriate linguistic etiquette. "It costs" is better adapted to this specific context (more polite) whereas "I pay you" is not in accordance with the linguistic conventions in this context. As can be concluded from this example, politeness principles are context-based predictable principles.

Now if I buy a ticket from you then it costs … I pay you € 100.

Politeness principles are also closely associated with speakers' preferences for more elaborate linguistic (polite) strategies. Although the second example is more economical, the first sentence clearly exhibits a more polite strategy.

Could I just borrow a tiny piece of paper?
Give me a sheet of paper.

Of course, there will be specific situations where these examples can be uttered and considered to be pragmatically appropriate. If we are in a lecture and someone whom we do not know is sitting next to us, we may say "Could I just borrow a tiny piece of paper?" In a different context, we may talk to someone whom we know well – an older brother – and we may prefer a more direct strategy and say, "Give me a sheet of paper." Apparently, the politeness phenomena encode the speaker-addressee relationship on the basis of social distance.

Theories of Politeness

Several scholars proposed theories about linguistic politeness. In this chapter, we will review the theories proposed by Lakoff (1973), Brown and Levinson (1987), and Leech (2007), as they are more widely used. The chapter will also gloss over the basic concepts of politeness theories.

Lakoff's Theory of Politeness

In 1973, Lakoff presented the first detailed theory of politeness. Her theory of politeness is quite relevant to Grice's conversational maxims. To expand Grice's views, she constructs two basic rules: "Be clear" and "Be polite". To communicate a message more directly, individuals tend to be clear. If they navigate the respective status of the participants, they intend to employ polite expressions rather than the ones used for clarity. The first rule, "be clear", covers Grice's maxims since they are mainly pertinent to the intention of making speech clear and avoidance of ambiguity. The second rule "be polite" focuses on the social features that govern the interaction among interlocutors in a particular context. Maintaining politeness has three main rules:

- **don't impose:** This rule is about the distance and formality that enables the participants of the same or different societies to engage in a certain act of communication. In a sentence like "Dinner is served", one can feel the distance between the interlocutors. Additionally, this sentence is considered to be more polite than a sentence like "Would you like to eat?"
- **give options:** The rule accounts for the deference when addressing others. A sentence like "I guess, it's time to leave", clearly allows the addressee to give their opinion.
- **make a feel-good and be friendly:** The last rule concerns the interlocutors' feelings through interaction and being friendly. Hearing a sentence like "Shut the window", the addressee may feel bad and has no other option.

Lakoff's theory ends with four universal principles of politeness:

- We follow pragmatic rules in speaking, just as we follow semantic and syntactic rules, and all must be a part of our linguistic rules.
- There are rules of politeness and rules of clarity (conversation), the latter a subcase of the former: rules of conversation are a subtype of RI.
- The rules of politeness may differ dialectally in applicability, but their basic form remains the same universally.
- These are not merely linguistic but applicable to all cooperative human transactions (p. 305).

Lakoff's politeness theory adheres to cultural conventions. Therefore, interlocutors share similar conventions, which can be summarized in a diagram suggested by Watts (2003).

Table 1. Rules of Politeness (Watts, 2003, p. 60)

Pragmatic Competence (PC) Rules of Politeness	
Be Clear	**Be Polite**
Rules of conversation **R1:** Quantity Be as informative as required. Be no more informative than required. **R2:** Quality Only say what you believe to be true **R3:** Relevance Be relevant. **R4:** Manner Be perspicuous. Don't be ambiguous. Don't be obscure. Be succinct.	Rules of politeness: (Grice's CP) **R1:** Don't impose. **R2:** Give option. **R3:** Make A (Addressee) feel good- be friendly.

Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness

One of the most prominent works in this particular context was the theory of politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). They see politeness as a deviation from Grice's maxims which are socially neutral in universal communication. However, politeness is operative and mitigated by speakers. When communication has the risk of threatening the face, a departure from Grice's maxims can be observed in all interactions. Face is a universal feature of politeness taken into account by speakers and hearers.

The theory mainly concerns the notion of **face** which they define as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (p. 311). During the interaction, people cooperate based on the mutual vulnerability of the face. Individuals defend their faces during interaction and when they feel their face is threatened, they defend their face by threatening others. They identify two means of portraying the notion of face.

- **negative face:** the want of every "competent adult member" that his actions be unimpeded by others.
- **positive face:** the want of every member that his wants are desirable to at least some others (p. 312).

If you are the president of a country, you hope that the citizens in your country will support your positive face. You are tired and lying on your couch to have a rest, but your neighbor makes a lot of noise. They are interfering with your effort to rest and have privacy – a negative face. Seemingly, negative does not mean "bad" in the theory but refers merely to the opposite of positive.

Brown and Levinson (1987) extend the notion of **face** into politeness which they categorize as **positive** and **negative politeness. Positive politeness** refers to the acts to satisfy the expectations of the positive face so that the hearers can feel good.

> Your report is great. It's so clear and smooth, but I'm not sure about this paragraph.
> I really like the way you deal with crises.
> You're smart.

Appealing to a person's negative face, **negative politeness**, on the other hand, is an attempt to make the hearer feel like they have the freedom of action, and they are not imposed upon or taken advantage of.

> Can you pick something up from the store for me?
> It is a small thing, but I need your help.
> I hate to ask this. My car is broken again. Can you pick me up from work?

Yule (1996) explains two types of acts concerning negative and positive faces. If a person says something that may be considered a threatening act to another person's face, it is defined as **a face-threatening act.** If a speaker says something to reduce the potential threat to a person's face, it is described as **a face-saving act**. In some cases, a face-saving act includes the person's negative face and puts an emphasis on other's time and concern, which is called **negative politeness.** The cases where the face-saving acts show solidarity by emphasizing the same wants of the interlocutors are defined as **positive politeness.**

> How about letting me use your pen? (positive politeness)
> Could you lend me your pen? (negative politeness)

Brown and Levinson (1987) label the face acts that threaten the negative face of individuals – orders and requests, suggestions, reminding, threats, warnings, compliments, etc.

> Please, go out! (The hearer's freedom of choice is restricted.)
> I promise I'll be there tonight. (The speaker states a future action in which the hearer should be involved.)
> I like you! (The hearer is expected to respond positively.)

Some face-threatening acts – apology, acceptance of compliments, criticism, mentioning of taboo issues, contradictions, disagreements, and emotional weakness - threaten the positive face wants.

> This thesis is pathetic! (The hearer's positive face is threatened because s/he is criticized badly.)
> Are you feeling sad because you have lost your job? (The speaker addresses a state of emotional weakness on the part of the hearer.)

Speakers deploy some strategies to avoid a violation of the hearer's face (Yule, 1996);

- off-record strategies
- on-record strategies

By addressing the hearers indirectly, **off-record** strategies have implications. Here, the speaker implies something and relies upon the hearer's ability to decipher the implied message and take action. If a person goes off-record, they may not be considered to have committed a certain action. Regarding the hearer, they may not be able to interpret the intended message.

What do you think of my new hairstyle?
I can't go to the party because I don't have a suitable dress for it.
I think we should leave at 5 p.m. to catch the plane.
Uh, I forgot my pen.
I'm exhausted. A cup of coffee would help.

It is also possible to address the hearer directly to communicate the intended message, which is identified as **on-record** strategies. The most direct strategy is called **bald on record** and is achieved by the use of imperatives. In some cases, **mitigating devices** - linguistic expressions like "please" and "would you" - can be employed with this strategy to soften the demand.

Give me a pen.
Would you lend me a pen?

Bald on record strategy is maintained between the interlocutors who have close relationships such as mother and daughter and husband and wife. A distinct social distance between the interlocutors is another reason for using this strategy. For example, a supervisor has the authority to command their students without appealing to their negative or positive faces. Yule (1996, p. 66) provides a figure to summarize all these acts.

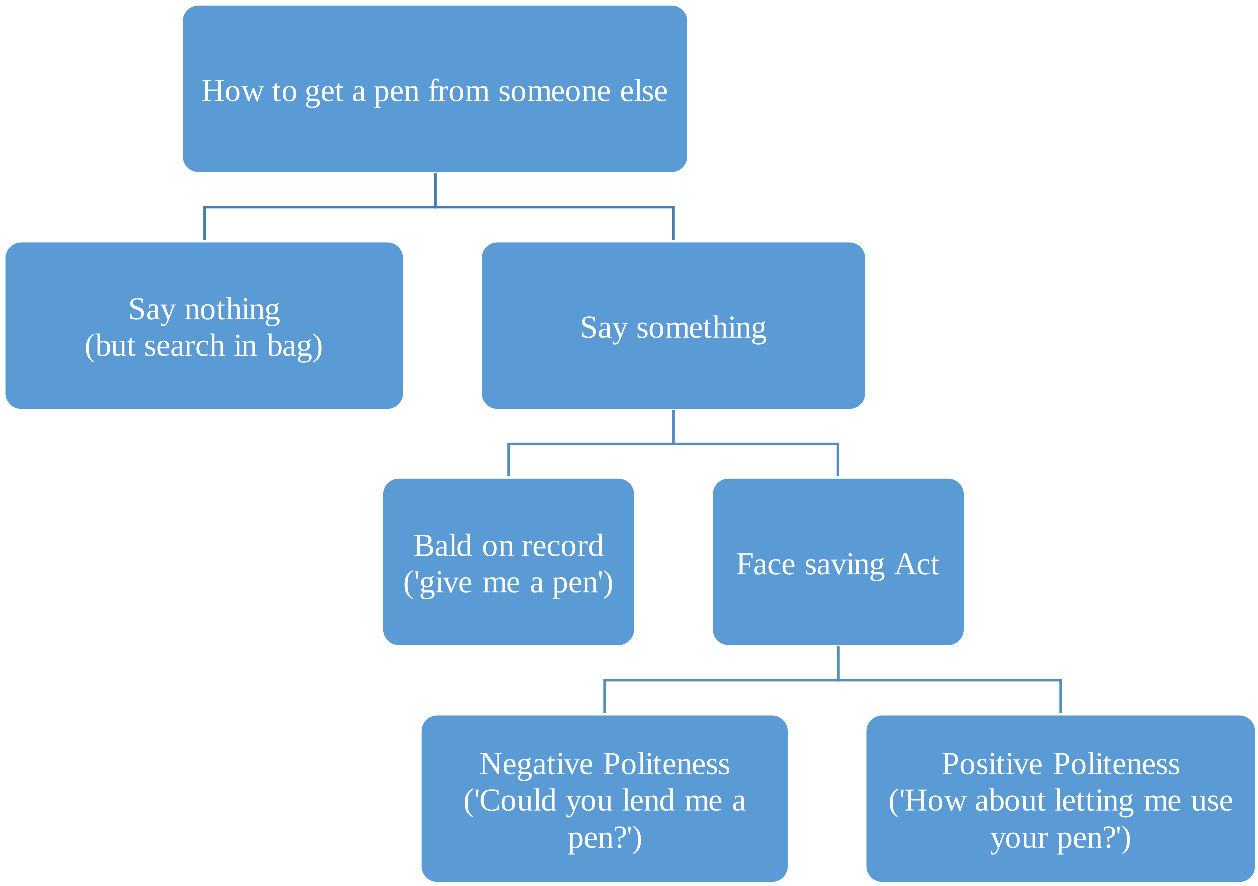

Figure 3. How to Get a Pen from Someone (Yule, 1996, p. 66).

Yule (1996) also emphasizes three strategies to reduce the possibility of face-threatening acts. **Solidarity strategies** that show closeness between speaker and hearer usually include the use of nicknames, dialects, or slang.

Come on dude, let's go to the party tonight!

As a form of negative politeness, the **deference strategy** is a means of respecting the hearer's freedom of choice. It is impersonal and refers to neither the hearer nor the speaker.

There is going to be a party if you can make it. It will be fun.
Everyone has a sports car nowadays, darling.

Pre-sequences also pave the way for politeness in conversations. They refer to opening sequences of utterances in conversations that come before the main utterances. For instance, in the below conversation "Can I say something?" is a pre-sequence of an apology.

Liz: Can I say something?
Sam: Sure. Go ahead.
Liz: I am sorry.

Pre-sequences can be a beginning utterance of a conversation and project a specific speech act. As Yule (1996) puts it, the basic assumption of politeness theory is to avoid the risks of putting the face in difficult positions, as can be clearly seen in the following examples. The pre-request gives the hearer the opportunity to continue the conversation with a go-ahead response (1) or with a stop response (2), which prevents the speaker from making an invitation. Understanding that it is a pre-sequence of invitation, the hearer says sorry for not being able to respond positively. Recall that, making a room for the hearer to give their choice is the primary principle of negative politeness.

(1) Her: Are you busy?	(pre-request)
Him: Not really.	(go-ahead)
Her: Check over this memo.	(request)
Him: Okay.	(accept)
(2) Her: Are you busy?	(pre-request)
Him: Oh, sorry.	(stop)

In most of the daily conversations, a short-cut process of going from a pre-request to allowance of a request occurs.

Her: Do you have a spare pen?
Him: Here.

Leech's Theory of Politeness

Leech (2014) states that many children are encouraged to say "thank you" and "please" as a part of the process of socialization. Hence, politeness is a social phenomenon maintained through the use of certain linguistic expressions. Leech (2007) draws our attention to the cultural properties of politeness. He criticizes Brown and Levinson for their focus on politeness. The politeness of Eastern cultures (collective and group culture) is quite different from the Western cultures (individualist and egalitarian culture). The politeness principles position on two scales:

1. Semantic politeness scale: Some expressions of politeness are uttered out of context. "Can you help me?" and "Could you possibly help me?" seem more polite than "Help me!". Intensifying an expression of gratitude "Thank you very much" is more polite than "Thanks".

2. Pragmatic politeness scale: Sensitive to context, this politeness is related to the norms of groups or societies. "Could I possibly interrupt?" can be considered too polite if used in a family conversation. Thus, politeness must be appropriate to situations.

The theory concentrates on understanding and producing politeness concerning language and culturally based norms. Politeness involves a cost-benefit scale: minimizing the cost or maximizing the benefit to the hearer. Leech (2007) reformulates six maxims of politeness which he first proposed in 2005.

1. The tact maxim minimizes the speaker's imposition on the hearer. To illustrate, the sentence "Won't you come with us?" is uttered to ask the hearer to go to that place, which is beneficial to the hearer.

2. Generosity: Some speech acts such as offers, invitations, and promises emphasize generosity in nature by maximizing cost to self like tact maxim.

You <u>must</u> come and stay with us next time. I <u>won't</u> take "no" for an answer!
<u>Come</u> on! <u>Sit</u> down and <u>have</u> a nice cup of coffee.

3. Approbation requires maximization of praise of others rather than minimizing dispraise of others. The maxim prevents the speaker from saying unpleasant things about the hearer and focuses on the qualities of the hearer or an object.

Your garden looks so lovely!
What a pretty dress!

4. Modesty places a low value on the speaker's qualities and minimizes the praise of self.

'I'm so dumb. I can't believe it has taken me so long to figure out such a simple question!

5. Agreement: The speaker tends to maximize agreement between self and other people to minimize disagreement between self and others.

A: It's a beautiful view, isn't it?
B: Yeah, absolutely gorgeous.

6. Sympathy puts a high value on others' feelings and maximizes the sympathy between the self and others.

Warmest congratulations!
I was so terribly sorry to hear about …
I do hope she's feeling much better …

Three scales of delicacy operate in each of these maxims:

1. cost/benefit
2. optionality
3. indirectness

The cost/benefit scale is associated with the way a speaker weights the amount of cost to them and the amount of benefit that this cost brings the hearer. The optionality scale evaluates the degree of illocutions and the degree of choice. The indirectness scale assesses the amount of work done by the hearer to decipher the intended message of the speaker.

As a universal feature of all languages, politeness has occupied a central place in the studies of pragmatics. The detailed examinations of the phenomena in many cultures have led to theories of politeness. In this chapter, we have covered three influential theories of politeness suggested by Lakoff (1973), Brown and Levinson (1987), and Leech (2005).

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Exercises

1. Which strategies of politeness are used in the following examples: Positive politeness, negative politeness, on-record, and off-record?

a) Hey mate, can I borrow 10 pounds?

b) I love your shoes, but I am not sure about the hair.

c) I don't suppose you know where Susan is.

d) Could you pick me up from the airport tomorrow?

e) I have a headache.

f) Is there a free seat over there?

g) Stop talking.

h) I was wondering whether you could have a dinner with me tonight.

2. In which situations, face-threating acts are great? Why?

- **a)** Making some critical comments to (a) your friend's presentation; (b) your professor's presentation.
- **b)** Asking a friend to (a) lie to somebody; (b) keep a secret.
- **c)** Requesting a favour from (a) a stranger you just met on the street; (b) your neighbor.

3. Rewrite the given sentence based on the given strategies of politeness.

a) on-record: Hey, lend me 100 euros.

1. off-record:

2. negative politeness:

3. positive politeness:

4. solidarity strategy:

b) off-record: "I wish there was a way to check my email right now.

5. on-record:

6. negative politeness:

7. positive politeness:

8. solidarity strategy:

4. Read the following dialogue focusing on A's attempts to request a beer from B. Which strategies of politeness does A use?

A: "It's so hot today, isn't it?"

B: "You bet."

A: "I'm getting thirsty, you know."

B: "Everybody gets thirsty when it's so hot."

A: "Would you mind getting me a beer from the fridge?"

B: "Why don't you get it yourself?"

A: "Come on, buddy, would you please hand me a beer?"

B: "Listen, I'm not your slave, okay?"

A: "Alright, sorry! I thought we could share a beer together like in the old times, you know."

B: "Oh, that's so sweet of you… No."

A: "Please."

B: "I said no."

A: "Bring me the damn beer, now!"

B: "There's no beer left, buddy. Why you keep asking for it?"

5. The following sentences are taken from the series of "Friends" – an American TV series. Read them and decide which maxims of Leech's theory are used.

(1) Monica: Do you all promise?

All: Yeah! We promise! We'll be good!

(2) Rachel : Okay, uh about last night, um, Chandler … you didn't tell (Joey shakes his head) okay, 'cause I'm thinking- we don't need to tell Chandler, I mean, it was just a kiss, right? One kiss? No big deal? Right?

Joey: Right. No big deal

(3) Monica: Wendy is bailed. I have no waitress.

Rachel: Ohh that's too bad. Bye bye!

Monica: ten dollars/hour

Rachel: No.

Monica: You, know Rachel, when you ran out of your wedding, I was there for you. I put a roof over your head and if that means nothing to you. ten dollar/hour

Rachel: Done.

CHAPTER 5

DATA IN PRAGMATICS RESEARCH

"In pragmatics, we are dealing with a double layer of variability: (a) variability that reflects the social proper- ties of the speech event, and the strategic, actional, and linguistic choices by which interlocutors attempt to reach their communicative goals; and (b) the variability induced by different instruments of data collect" (Kasper & Dahl, 1991, p. 215).

Answer the following questions.

- *What subjects can be explored in the field of pragmatics?*
- *Do you think the conversations in TV series can be used when conducting pragmatics research?*

Pragmatics deals with language in use, and the researchers in this field generally focus on the functional side of the language. Hence, data collection and data analysis procedures in pragmatics research need to be known so that the data can be collected and analyzed appropriately. In this chapter, you will be introduced to the basics of methods used in pragmatics and data types used in pragmatics studies.

Before we begin, you need to have clear answers to the following questions to conduct pragmatics research.

1. What are you going to explore?

2. Why do you want to explore it?

3. What kind of data are you planning to collect?

4. How are you planning to deal with the dichotomy between 'observer's paradox' and 'ethical issues'?

Data Types

Broadly speaking, we can mention two types of data that pragmatists use in their pragmatics research. Pragmatics research can be conducted through collections of spoken or written language or both. The researcher needs to decide on data type depending on their purposes, i.e. what does the researcher want to explore, why does the researcher want to explore it? Following that, they need to decide how the data will be collected in accordance with the objectives of the research. The data type can be elicited data, which is specifically collected for research purposes, or authentic data, which is not created for research purposes.

Elicited Data

Elicited data is "brought into being for research purposes" (Kasper, 1999, p. 72). For House (2018, p. 5), elicited data pave the way for "controlled comparisons of different contrastive and learner data sets". She illustrates the advantage with one of her project conducted in 1984. The German project 'Communicative Competence' included three controlled and comparable data sets: Original German conversations, Learner conversations in English, and Original English conversations elicited via role plays. The data sets not only revealed insightful cross-linguistic comparisons but also contributed to the 'discovery' of categories in a model for the analysis of spoken discourse.

A pragmatist exploring a pragmatic aspect of a language needs to set an artificial setting to get language samples from participants. Collecting elicited data is more practical as the participants give specific responses to the situations created by the researcher. However, this does not mean that elicited data is the ideal one in pragmatics research as the elicited responses may not represent what people would say or do in a real communication setting (Archer et. al., 2012). Despite its drawbacks, we cannot say that elicited data is not useful. Elicited data might say a lot about language users' tendencies regarding the pragmatics side of language, and might be a useful starting point for exploring pragmatics in use.

Ways of Collecting Elicited Data

a. Pragmatic Judgment Test

The purpose of this test is to explore participants' ability to measure the use of pragmatic rules of language. In a pragmatic judgment test (PJT), participants are given communicative situations and possible responses to the related situations so that they can judge the appropriateness of language use concerning pragmatics. Using this test, a researcher can find out how a group of participants, evaluate different responses to a communicative situation. This type of test measures participants' pragmatic competence and their perceptions of pragmatic phenomena, but not the pragmatic performance. An example of this test can be observed in a study about indirectness conducted by Holtgraves (1997).

> Dale ran into his friend Marty. He knew Marty was on the job market and he was curious as to whether Marty had gotten a job.
> Dale: How's the job hunt going?
> Marty: I need to improve my interview skills.
> How would you interpret Marty's reply?
>
> **a. Direct:** He believes he needs to improve his interview skills.
>
> **b. Conventional indirect:** He is telling Dale that he hasn't gotten a job yet.
>
> **c. Nonconventional indirect:** He wishes he had trained for a different occupation.

b. Discourse Completion Task

Contrary to PJT, a discourse completion task (DCT) aims at measuring participants' language performance in a specific communicative situation. Beebe & Cummings (1985, p. 13) identify the advantages of using DCTs in pragmatics research as:

1. gathering a large amount of data quickly,

2. creating an initial classification of semantic formulas and strategies that will occur in natural speech,

3. studying the stereotypical, perceived requirements for socially appropriate (though not always polite) responses,

4. gaining insight into social and psychological factors that are likely to affect speech and performance; and ascertaining the canonical shape of refusals, apologies, partings, etc., in the minds of the speaker of that language.

Depending on the researcher's purposes, a DCT can be written or oral. If a written DCT is to be used in a study, written communicative situations should be given to the participants, which ask them to write what they would say in those situations. An oral DCT, however, asks participants to listen or watch a situation and requires them to verbalize what they would say in those situations. In an oral DCT, verbal cues such as intonation and stress need to be taken into consideration while transcribing the oral data as they may be important in making more detailed pragmatic explanations. DCTs can be in the form of an open questionnaire, which asks "participants to respond to a scenario", or a dialogue completion task, which "gives at least one conversational turn and may also give a scenario" (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993, pp. 143-144). Following are examples of a written DCT. While the first one is an open questionnaire, the second one is a dialogue completion task extracted from Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993, pp. 144).

Open Questionnaire: Your advisor suggests that you take a course during the summer. You prefer not to take classes during the summer.

You say: ____

____

____.

Dialogue Completion: Your advisor suggests that you take a course during the summer. You prefer not to take classes during the summer.

Advisor: What about taking Testing in the summer?

You say: ____

____

____.

Compared to oral DCTs, written DCTs are more convenient as data can be collected faster using technology, such as Google Forms. However, oral DCTs might give more insight regarding participants' language performance as responses need to be spontaneous which may reflect participants' more natural reactions. In addition, if communicative situations are given using video, which helps participants better understand the communicative situation thanks to the multimodality, they might give better responses to the situations. To illustrate, a scene that requires a compliment from a well-known TV series can be clipped and the participants will be asked to give a compliment in that specific communicative situation. Here we need to note that if a researcher plans to use a video assisted DCT in their research, they need to familiarize the participants with the characters and explain the relationship between the characters, e.g. power, status and age, in each communicative situation.

c. Role-play

According to Felix-Brasdefer (2008) "role plays provide oral data, enable simulations of real-life interactions, and are used for experimental purposes under controlled conditions" (p. 305). Using this method, participants are expected to put themselves in the place of the person defined for the role and form the most appropriate response in a context. Crookall and Saunders (1989) define role-play as "a social or human activity in which participants 'take on' and 'act out' specified 'roles', often within a predefined social framework or situational blueprint (a 'scenario')" (pp. 15-16).

Role-plays appear in two types: closed role-plays and open role-plays (Kasper & Dahl, 1991). Closed role-plays are oral discourse completion tests, which "elicit one-turn responses in reaction to a situational prompt with an initiating or reacting speech act" (Felix-Brasdefer, 2008, p. 307). Open role-plays, however, are "discourse role play tasks" (Brown, 2008, p. 232) that assign roles to the participants and allow for a natural flow of conversation without determining its course or outcome. In an open role-play, participants are given a specific context, and they are expected to respond orally as they would in a real-life face-to-face communication (Felix-Brasdefer, 2008).

> Description of a closed role-play:
> You are female. You are 20 years old. You are studying at a university. Your best friend, who is also female, is wearing a wonderful new pair of high heel shoes. What do you say?
>
> Description of an open role-play (Scarcella, 1979, p. 277):
> You are planning an office party. You invite your boss, the clerk who works under you, and your good friend, a fellow employee. You request that each of your guest come unaccompanied by his wife.

For Scarcella (1979), role plays

1. obtain complete conversational interactions, containing both conversational openings and closings,

2. allow the researcher to control the conversation to a certain extent,

3. provide comparable samples of speech,

4. facilitate videotaping, important when examining paralinguistic features of discourse (p. 277).

Authentic Data

Authentic data encompasses both oral and written discourse types that are not specifically designed for pragmatic research. According to Kasper (1999), authentic data "is motivated and structured by participants' rather than the researcher's goals" (p. 72). House (2018, p. 5) labels classical authentic data as:

1. Field notes known from anthropology which reflect a particular researcher's interest, aims and focus.

2. Audio- and video-taped data of 'naturally' occurring discourse. Access to these more 'reliable', more 'objective' data are often problematic, especially in the case of institutions.

Authentic data can be obtained from a wide range of sources, e.g. TV series, newspaper articles, medicine leaflets, literary works etc. However, we can divide authentic data into two main categories: written and spoken.

Authentic Data Types

a. Written Authentic Data

Authentic written data encompasses a great variety of written texts, from newspaper articles to official reports – and even literary works. Depending on researcher's purposes, printed or online written documents can be considered as authentic datasets.

b. Spoken Authentic Data

'Verba volant scripta manent' which means that *'the palest ink is stronger than the sharpest memory'*. Unlike written authentic data, collecting spoken data is more challenging for the researchers. For this reason, if researchers need natural data, they are required to take notes or record spoken language to collect spoken data for pragmatics research. In addition, they can use broadcast data for pragmatics research.

Ways of Collecting Authentic Spoken Data

a. Field Notes

Because of their interest in language use, linguists, or more specifically in our case pragmatists, observe and take notes on every linguistic phenomenon that catches their attention in their environment. Although field notes are "a valuable source for providing contextual information" (Kasper, 1999, p. 74), they are generally considered as casual observations that might indicate interesting language use, and "hence become the start of a wider project" (Archer et al., 2012, p. 13). Since field notes consist of researcher's observations in a natural environment, Kasper points out that "there is thus a real danger that memorization and taking fieldnotes will result in recording salient and expected (or particularly unexpected) facets of the interaction, at the expense of less salient but perhaps crucial (often indexical) material" (Kasper, 1999, p. 74). Field notes can be useful for starting research, but researchers generally rely on recorded data while exploring a pragmatic phenomenon.

b. Electronic Recordings

Electronic records, which are a type of oral data, provide researchers with the opportunity to carry out pragmatics studies in a wide context because they are natural data. According to the research subject of the researcher, all kinds of communication in daily life can be recorded and used in pragmatics studies. Since the data is collected in its natural environment, the language used by the speakers in the real communication environment can be analyzed. For example, a researcher who wants to investigate the refusal speech act can obtain data by using audio or video recording methods in the natural communication environment. After the recordings are completed, transcripts of the conversations need to be made. Thus, oral data can be converted into written data which will be ready for pragmatic analysis.

Although natural data focusses on the use of real language because it is collected in its natural environment, electronic records have many challenges. These challenges are:

- **Observer's paradox:** When people recognize that they are recorded or observed, they may not use language as they use it in daily life. According to Labov (1970), linguistic research in society should aim to discover how people speak when not under systematic observation. However, systematic observation is necessary to obtain this data (p. 32). Labov's statement indicates that linguists generally face a paradox when they collect systematic data for their study. On the one hand, if participants are informed in advance that they are being recorded, they may change their behavior. On the other hand, if participants are not informed in advance that they are being recorded, this may pose ethical problems.

  No matter what the researcher does, the effects of the observer paradox cannot be eliminated if the participants know that they are being recorded. However, its effects can be minimized in various ways. Although the speaker knows that they are being recorded, after a while they begin to forget that they are being recorded. Therefore, researchers may prefer to analyze the later stages of the conversation rather than focusing on the beginning of the recording. Another method is to focus on topics that will affect the speaker emotionally. By focusing on the emotional intensity, the speaker will forget that they are being recorded and will behave more naturally. Finally, although it does not fully resolve the ethical issue, the method of first recording and then requesting the explicit consent of the participant can be used. Once the recording is complete, the explicit consent of each participant is obtained and the conversations of those participants who agree to have their conversations included in the dataset are analyzed. Finally, although it does not fully solve the ethical issues, the method of "record first" and "then request the explicit consent of the participant" can be used. In this method, the recording process is completed first, and then the explicit consent of each participant is obtained. Only the conversations of the participants who agree to the use of their conversations in the research are included in the dataset and the other recordings are completely deleted.
- **Background noises:** Background noises such as the clatter of cutlery when recording at the dinner table, may prevent conversations from being heard clearly.
- **Inaudible voice:** People may move around while having a conversation and their speech may become inaudible if they move away from the recorder.

In addition to recording natural conversations, researchers may also use radio, television, and web-based broadcasting as spoken data. Although they provide a huge amount of spoken data, researchers need to keep in mind that although these sources provide a large amount of spoken data, the presence of an audience in this data type may cause an observer paradox for the speaker. Furthermore, movies or TV series also provide a huge amount of spoken data. However, since the conversations that occur in movies and TV series are controlled by the script and the film crew, some language uses that occur in daily life, e.g., self-repetitions, disfluencies, and overlaps, may not be observed.

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Exercises

1. Compare the advantages and disadvantages of "elicited data" and "natural data" used in pragmatics research.
2. Compare the advantages and disadvantages of "discourse completion tasks" and "oral discourse completion tasks (open role-plays)" used in pragmatics research.
3. You would like to explore refusals in Turkish and American TV series. Which television series would you create your database from? Why?
    a. Imagine that you cannot find the scenarios of the movies or TV series you chose. How would you transcribe the spoken data? Do you think technology would help you?
    b. Which pragmatics phenomenon (e.g. a speech act type) would you research using the data you obtained from the movies?
4. Please look at the extracts below. Which can be an example of spoken data, and which can be an example of written data? Why?

a. Bahsettiğin konuyu araştırdım. Benim hocanızla bu konuyu konuşmam doğru olmaz.

b. Bence Ahmet'in bizimle gelmesi doğru değil.

c. I can't eat this orange because it is sour.

d. Kardeşim bak. İşte biliyorsun yaa! Ne diyeyim ben adama (pause) şey yani hocamıza.

e. No, I can't accept your offer.

f. Well (pause), I mean, I can't accept your request erm (pause) sorry your offer.

g. Yani, demek istiyorum ki Ahmet'in bizimle gelmesi sanki doğru değil gibi geliyor bana, bilemiyorum.

h. Yuck, this lemon erm orange is sour. I mean it is is is not sweet.

5. Please answer the questions after you apply each data collection method given below. Depending on the data collection method, what differences do you observe? Which method do you think is the most useful? Which method do you think is the most convenient one? Which method requires more workload?

Scenario: You moved to a new neighborhood, and you don't know your neighbor living next door very well. However, you have an urgent job, so you need to borrow his car. You knocked on the door and your neighbor opened the door. What do you say?

- You are exploring "requests" in your own culture. You decided to collect data using a discourse completion task. Find at least ten people and ask them to write their responses to the given situation above on a piece of paper, and then collect the papers.
- You are exploring "requests" in your own culture. You decided to collect data using an oral discourse completion task. Find at least ten people and ask them to give their responses to the given situation above and record their responses. After you collect the data, transcribe the recordings.
- You are exploring "requests" in your own culture. You decided to collect data using recordings in natural settings. Observe people around you and take notes or record

their voices when they request something from other people. If you prefer recording people's speech, transcribe your oral data after you complete the data collection.

6. What would you say to someone from whom you borrowed their computer two weeks ago and have not brought it back? Do you think your relationship with that person will determine what you say? When deciding what to say, how does your relationship with this person determine the expression you use?

CHAPTER 6

CORPUS PRAGMATICS

Corpus pragmatic approaches search for patterns and generalizations across large amounts of data (Jucker, 2018, p. 458).

Read the following quotation and answer the questions.

The reason why pragmatic annotation is not yet widely used is simple: the form-function mismatch of most pragmatic phenomena means that automatic assignment of tags will often lack precision, and manual implementation of tags (which is time –and resource– intensive) is unavoidable (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 11).

- *Scholars generally tag data automatically in corpus-based research. Do you think automatic annotation of corpora will perfectly work while exploring pragmatic phenomena?*
- *Why do you think scholars explore pragmatic phenomena using corpora?*

The sine qua non of successful communication is the correct perception of the speaker's intended meaning by the addressee. Although supporters of traditional approaches generally believe that grammar rules, which are thought to form the backbone of the language, are very important in communication, it should not be ignored that the most important points in the communication process are the functions and meanings attributed to the utterances. For this reason, exploring the functional side of the language has gained popularity, especially after Hymes' (1972) communicative competence.

Pragmatics, known as the sub-field of linguistics dealing with intended speaker meaning, has been on the research scene for a long time. Corpus linguistics, which is a relatively new sub-field of linguistics compared to pragmatics, "encompasses the compilation and analysis of collections of spoken and written texts as the source of evidence for describing the nature, structure, and use of languages" (Kennedy, 2001). Although pragmatics and corpus linguistics used to be seen as "parallel but often mutually exclusive" (Romero-Trillo, 2008, p. 2), researchers working on corpus linguistics and pragmatics have now started to have a common opinion that pragmatics studies can be carried out using corpora.

As corpus-based pragmatics research is gaining popularity, this chapter will discuss the relationship between pragmatics and corpus linguistics and how they feed each other. In the first part of this chapter, we will discuss the basics of pragmatics and corpus linguistics. Then, the importance of the partnership between corpus linguistics and pragmatics in understanding pragmatics issues will be discussed in the section entitled "corpus pragmatics".

Pragmatics

The birth of contemporary pragmatics is typically linked to Morris' (1938) sign theory, which categorizes semiotics into three distinct branches: syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Pragmatics, according to Morris (1938), refers to "the relation of the signs to interpreters" (p.6). The theory proposed by Morris distinguishes between semantics, which deals with the direct meaning of signs, and pragmatics, which emphasizes the contextual effects on the meaning of signs and their intended audience and situation of use. Morris' definition of pragmatics extends beyond linguistic signs to encompass other types of signs. Consequently, scholars have frequently revised the definition of pragmatics since the 1980s to define the boundaries of "linguistic pragmatics" (Archer, Aijmer & Wichmann, 2012).

Communication is a multifaceted process, and the primary concern of pragmatics is how language is utilized by interlocutors in a given setting (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015). Similarly, Bublitz and Norrick (2011) note that the main concern of pragmatics is to explore "language use and language users in interaction" (p. 4). Considering that pragmatics focuses on the effects of language users on language use, we can postulate that the meaning of a word or utterance can vary depending on the social relationship and background of the interlocutors. To emphasize the significance of social context when elucidating meaning, Mey (1993) asserts that pragmatics is "the study of the conditions of language usage by individuals as established by society within its context" (p. 42).

Interlocutors should make relevant inferences and interpretations based on context cues to grasp the intended meaning since pragmatics investigates the "analysis of the unsaid" (Mey, 1993: p. 245). As such, Fasold (1990) posits that pragmatics is "the study of context used to infer meaning" (p. 119). Jaszczolt (2002) notes that pragmatics is concerned with how hearers incorporate context into the semantic structure and make inferences from language.

Crystal (1985) defines pragmatics as the investigation of language from the standpoint of users, focusing on their decisions, restrictions in utilizing language during social interaction, and the impact language usage has on others involved in the communication process (p. 240). Crystal's definition highlights the contextual specificity of meaning and stresses the importance of understanding the social roles of interlocutors. The relationship between interlocutors fundamentally shapes the way in which meaning is conveyed. Hence, we can say that pragmatics requires contextual information to explain meaning.

Contextual factors, having a direct impact on the intended meaning in a communication setting, pose a significant challenge to researchers during the process of pragmatic analysis. If a researcher explores the pragmatic side of language, they need to have clear answers to the following questions:

1. What are the relevant contextual features, i.e., the features which are activated in the communication situation?

2. How do the contextual parameters differ depending on the communication situation? (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015: 3)

Corpus Linguistics

Finegan (2008) explains that corpus linguistics refers to creating text collections to examine language use objectively. However, this definition does not address the methodology for collecting and utilizing language samples in linguistic research. To address this, Adolphs and Lin's (2011) definition emphasizes the significance of assembling language samples in a predetermined and principled manner. The significance of methodical text collection is underscored by numerous scholars. Therefore, corpus linguistics involves gathering language samples in a systematic manner and scrutinizing the data to determine the validity of a linguistic theory or hypothesis. It may also be the source of hypotheses about language. McEnery and Hardie (2012) note that the corpus linguist's approach to the corpora determines if the study is corpus-based or corpus-driven. McEnery et al. define corpus-based studies as those that aim to validate or reject theories or hypotheses found in current literature. Thus, proponents of corpus-based linguistics emphasize that the corpus serves as a methodology for accepting or rejecting language theories or hypotheses rather than constituting a distinct paradigm within linguistics.

A corpus is essential for corpus linguists and researchers investigating language use in a particular area. According to Sinclair (2004), a corpus is a collection of electronic language texts chosen on the basis of external criteria to provide the best possible representation of a language or language variety as a source of data for linguistic research (p. 19).

The definition reveals multiple facets of a corpus. First, it is important for the corpus to provide a comprehensive representation with a limited number of texts as a corpus is finite while the number of texts in a given domain may be infinite. Sampling is a crucial consideration for corpus compilers. Additionally, a corpus should be created with a specific purpose in mind, which requires researchers to have a clear understanding of what they intend to do with the collected data. Furthermore, electronic format is essential given the volume of data, making it almost impossible to manage without technological assistance. Lastly, a corpus should serve as a linguistic study. As stated earlier, it is impossible to create a corpus that encompasses all aspects of language and all types of texts without focusing on specific areas.

According to Leech (1991), a corpus is representative of the intended language variety if the results derived from its content can be extended to that variety (p. 27). Additionally, Biber (1993) underscores the significance of representativeness by emphasizing the inclusion of language use samples that exemplify the complete range of variables in a population. With the aid of metadata, one can assess whether the corpus is representative. The metadata provides comprehensive information about the corpus' genres, and thus helps determine the balance of the corpus.

Corpus Pragmatics

In pragmatics research, scholars must analyze occurrences of pragmatic phenomena in authentic language as idealized language samples cannot fully explain the real uses and functions of pragmatic elements. Corpora provide a systematic representation of a large variety of language samples collected from different individuals and different social contexts, thus corpora provide the required contextual variety and depth for pragmatics-based studies.

Rühlemann and Aijmer (2015) define corpus pragmatics as a novel field that merges the techniques of corpus linguistics and pragmatics (p. 9). While corpus linguistics involves quantitatively analyzing linguistic phenomena, pragmatics focuses on qualitatively analyzing pragmatic phenomena given their high sensitivity to context.

Corpus linguistics aims to analyze conventional language, enabling automatic data annotation. On the other hand, pragmatics deals with analyzing non-conventional language and requires manual or semi-automatic annotation in specific contexts. Therefore, it can be inferred that automatic annotation is possible with conventionalized language analysis while non-conventionalized language analysis necessitates manual annotation. Corpus pragmatics, however, straddles the two fields and benefits almost equally from both corpus linguistics and pragmatics applications.

To demonstrate the workings of the corpus pragmatics system, Rühlemann and Aijmer (2015) explain that the scholar selects a particular topic to investigate and then identifies a pragmatic element in the form of a phrase or lexicon. By conducting a KWIC analysis, occurrences of this element are automatically detected. Vertical reading can then be employed to eliminate any undesired occurrences by listing the keyword vertically in the corpus. The designation of meanings or functions of occurrences requires manual horizontal reading, which involves contextual analysis to determine the meaning or function of a pragmatic element manually (form to function). Although time-consuming, this technique produces better results as a direct relationship between form and function cannot always be assumed during pragmatic analysis. To uncover inconsistencies between form and function in pragmatic phenomena, it is necessary to conduct a horizontal reading subsequent to the vertical reading process in corpus pragmatics. This methodology is known as integrated reading.

To make corpus pragmatics research more comprehensible, we will try to explain what is going on behind the scenes by searching a pragmatic marker, i.e., "well" in LOCNEC, which is a spoken corpus compiled from L1 speakers of English. As the marker "well" is the keyword in our analysis, we need to search the occurrences of this marker using AntConc. The KWIC analysis indicates that "well" emerges more than 1000 times in the corpus. Through a vertical reading, we can easily see all the usages of "well". However, a closer inspection easily reveals that "well" can be used as a marker or an adverb since we did not annotate the data before starting corpus search using AntConc. At this point, we need to examine the usages of "well" in context to eliminate unwanted uses and to focus on the functions of "well" as a pragmatic marker in the concordance lines. This can be done only through a horizontal reading of the data. Such type of analysis we mentioned above is known as form to function analysis as we started from a predefined form and continued with the analysis of its possible functions in the context.

As shown in Figure 4., the KWIC analysis yielded 1159 occurrences "well". However, the usage in line 65, for example, must be weeded out because "well" is an adverb. In addition, "well" in line 47 is not a pragmatic marker as the form is part of "as well" functioning as an adverb. After eliminating the "well" usages that do not function as a pragmatic marker, we need to decide on the possible functions of each occurrence using the clues we get from the context.

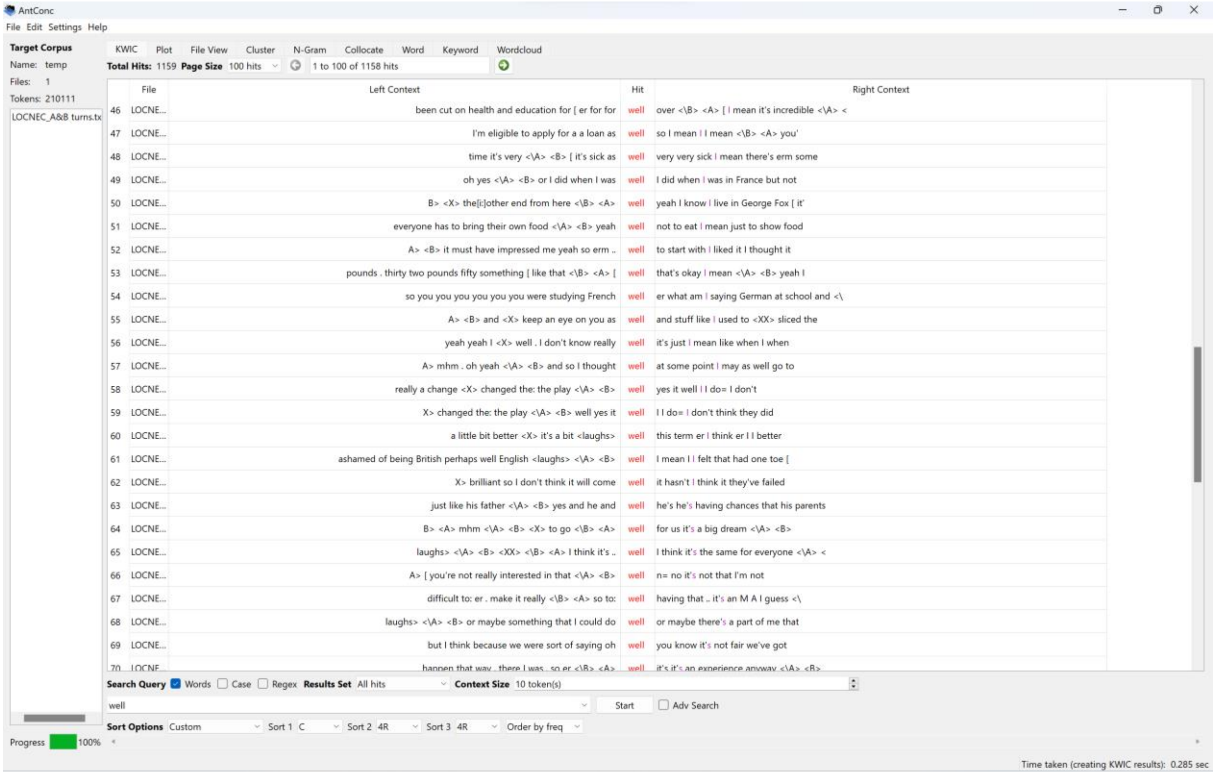

Figure 4. KWIC analysis of 'well'

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Exercises

1. Please search “I mean” in the “Corpus of Contemporary American English”.
    - **a.** How many “I mean” usages did you find?
    - **b.** Focus on the first 100 occurrences and try to identify “I mean” usages as a pragmatic marker.
    - **c.** Please explain how you decided whether a specific usage of “I mean” was a marker or not.
2. Find the scripts of ten episodes of a series, for example "How I met your mother". Convert the scripts to .txt format and create a small corpus.
    - **a.** Find the uses of "Sorry" in your corpus using AntConc.
    - **b.** How many times is “sorry” used in your corpus?
    - **c.** What are the functions of “sorry” as a speech act in your corpus?
    - **d.** Is “sorry” used only as a refusal speech act in your corpus?
    - **e.** Find the uses of "thank*" in your corpus using AntConc?
    - **f.** How many times is “thank*” used in your corpus?
    - **g.** What are the functions of “thank*” as a speech act in your corpus?
    - **h.** Is “thank*” used only as a thanking speech act in your corpus?
    - **i.** Can you extract the compliment expressions in your raw data using AntConc? Why or why not?

CHAPTER 7

CROSS-CULTURAL AND INTERCULTURAL PRAGMATICS

"People in different cultures speak differently because they think differently, feel differently, and relate differently to other people" (Goddart, 2006, p. 2).

Answer the following questions.

- *What are the gestures and facial expressions that are considered polite and impolite in your culture?*
- *Do you think saying direct "No" in your culture is considered polite or impolite?*

Although theories in pragmatics can be applied to any language, we cannot explain universals of human language only by studying one language. In other words, by focusing on a pragmatic phenomenon, e.g., speech acts, in English, we cannot assume that a specific usage of a speech act occurring in English is used in the same way in Turkish. This is because cultural norms may have a direct impact on the language we use. To illustrate, while giving a compliment to women is considered normal in one culture, it may be perceived as rude behavior in another culture. When speaking a language, we not only obey the grammatical rules of that language, but we are also expected to speak by paying attention to the cultural codes in which the language has developed, so that the expressions we use do not make us seem rude.

To gain a profound understanding of pragmatics and culture, Leech (1983) differentiated between sociopragmatics and pragmalinguistics. Sociopragmatics, as defined by Leech (1983), represents the sociological connection of pragmatics. In sociopragmatics, the influence of sociolinguistic factors such as gender, social distance, power, and cultural differences, holds significant importance in the decoding, interpreting, and inference of meaning in a communication context. Pragmalinguistics is concerned with the grammatical resources and options that interlocutors use to achieve communicative acts within a specific context. According to Kecskes (2013), pragmalinguistics covers pragmatic strategies, such as the choice between direct and indirect communication (p. 16). Additionally, the use of pragmatic resources may vary across different communities or cultures. For this reason, scholars have adopted two main approaches to explain how pragmatic resources are exploited in various communities and cultures to convey an intended meaning in specific contexts: cross-cultural communication and intercultural communication. Cross-cultural communication approach in pragmatics focuses on exploring pragmatics in different cultures to be able to compare similarities and differences between the cultures which enable pragmatists to reveal possible misunderstandings. To illustrate, when we explore how Americans and Turkish people employ refusal strategies in their own culture, we adopt cross-cultural approach to pragmatics. Intercultural communication approach in pragmatics dwells on how representatives of different cultures interact with each other and how they negotiate meaning and find solutions to differences appearing in their interactions. If we explore how American and Turkish people employ refusal strategies when they interact with each other, we need to adopt intercultural communication approach to pragmatics.

According to Goddart (2006), people in various cultures think, feel, and react to others differently, which is why they talk differently (p. 2). The language of interlocutors in cross- and inter-cultural communication contexts need to be investigated to prove how variations impact the effectiveness of communication. According to Archer et al. (2012), intercultural communication works with "representatives of different groups in the process of interacting with each other to see how differences are negotiated," whereas cross-cultural communication studies "pragmatic phenomena in different cultures in order to be able to set up comparisons and thus to predict possible misunderstandings" (p. 110).

In reference to the pragmatics of these two kinds of communication environments, Kecskes (2017) cautions that although the terms intercultural and cross-cultural pragmatics are frequently used synonymously, they refer to two entirely distinct methods of elucidating how cultural variations impact communication (p. 400). In reference to the pragmatics of these two kinds of communication environments, Kecskes (2017) cautions that although the terms intercultural and cross-cultural pragmatics are frequently used synonymously, they actually refer to two entirely distinct methods of elucidating how cultural variations impact communication (p. 400). In contrast to intercultural pragmatics, which is interested in how people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds interact with each other and use a common language, cross-cultural pragmatics compares two different cultures by focusing on specific language uses, language behaviors, and their patterns within their own culture. This means that people from different cultures do not interact with one another; rather, their use of language(s) in their respective communities is compared to each other. Determining the similarities and differences between individuals and their languages and cultures is the primary goal of researching how culture influences language use in cross-cultural or intercultural contexts. By examining the parallels and divergences, the pragmatics gap could be identified, leading to a more comprehensive understanding of how language is used in different cultures.

The relationship between language and culture has been emphasized, so variations among speakers of various languages and cultures may have an impact on cross-cultural and intercultural communication. To avoid creating misunderstandings during communication, Goodwin (1979) suggests that interlocutors must be flexible. Interlocutors often struggle to overcome the obstacles they face, particularly in intercultural communication. Cultural differences also affect how people view the world, which is why there may be overlaps in language and ideas. When people of different status levels interact, these cultural differences may manifest and lead to issues. People from different cultures may encounter some difficulties because they may not be aware of how others communicate in those cultures. For example, in Turkey, a person of lower status is expected not to share their opinion directly with someone of a higher status directly as cultural norms force Turkish speakers to express their ideas in an indirect way while speaking to a higher status person. Therefore, one of the most important ways to avoid communication failure is to have some understanding of the interlocutor's culture. When they use speech acts like requests, offers, or refusals, it is easy to identify this.

People may use language efficiently within their own culture. However, when they interact with people from different cultures, pragmatic failures can be observed unless the interlocutors know each other's culture. We need to highlight that discourse cues used by interlocutors from different cultures may mean different things, which yields communication breakdowns. Hence, we can say that discourse cues, e.g., backchannels, silence, and overlaps, exist in all languages but their functions are not universal.

Heinz (2003) examined the use of backchannels by Germans, Americans, and German American bilinguals. In this study, both cross-cultural and intercultural communication approaches were adopted. The findings indicated that Germans utilize fewer backchannels compared to Americans. The findings also revealed that fluent German English speakers create more backchannels than Germans who only speak one language. This may be due to the fact that learning a second language directly exposes one to the culture of the language being learned.

Silence and its length in conversation might also indicate cultural codes as different values might be placed on silence. To illustrate, Eades (2008, p. 219) describes how silence works in Aboriginal culture and western cultures:

> Research with Aboriginal English speakers has found that silence is an important and positively valued part of many Aboriginal conversations (see e.g., Eades 1988, 1991, 2007; Ngarritjin-Kessaris 1997). Silence often indicates a participant's desire to think, or simply to enjoy the presence of others in a non-verbal way. This is a difficult matter for most non-Aboriginal people to recognise and learn, because in western societies silence is so often negatively evaluated in conversations. For example, between people who are not close friends or family, silence in conversations, or interviews, is frequently an indication of some kind of communication breakdown.

Since Australian Aboriginals attach importance to silence in their conversation while people in western cultures perceive silence awkward and even problematic, "this difference has serious implications for police, lawyer, and courtroom interviews of Aboriginal people. Aboriginal silence in these settings can easily be interpreted as evasion, ignorance, confusion, insolence, or even guilt" (Eades, 2008, p. 220). Although it is not as dramatic as being found guilty, silence can also cause interruptions as the other speaker might think that silence indicates a turn relevance place. Therefore, before the speaker has finished their speech, the other speaker may start speaking, thinking that it is their turn to speak.

Cross-cultural communication and speech acts

A common issue that develops in interactions between people from various cultures is that one participant or group is seen as impolite by the others. The way speech acts are employed in different cultures might cause communication breakdowns when interlocutors from different cultures communicate. This can be due to the fact that speakers generally try to maintain communication by being influenced by their own culture when speaking in a foreign language. Strategies that are employed while producing a speech act, e.g., compliments or refusals, can be directly affected by several factors such as age, gender, and status.

In a study exploring directness of speech acts in Turkish and Finnish, Huls (1989) observed and documented the interactions within a working-class or lower-class Turkish immigrant household in the Netherlands. Her findings are contrasted with those of an "upper class" and "lower class" Dutch household (Huls, 1989:154). The results indicate that imperative forms were employed more frequently by the Turkish family than by the Dutch households. Put differently, Huls (1989) claimed that people thought Turkish speakers were more straightforward than Dutch speakers.

Marti (2005) explored how Turkish monolingual speakers and Turkish German speakers realize and perceive requests with respect to politeness. While the overall results did not support pragmatic transfer, bilinguals' preference for indirectness in specific situations outperformed that of Turkish monolinguals', which indicates that they were somewhat influenced by German. When it came to indirectness in requests, a cross-cultural analysis showed that monolingual Turkish speakers tended to choose more direct approaches over German speakers. The data also showed that whereas Turkish German bilinguals opted out less frequently yet favored indirectness strategies while requesting, Turkish monolinguals tended to avoid making requests in some circumstances.

To reveal cross-cultural differences and similarities between American-English and Turkish, Yakut (2019) investigated refusals in American and Turkish TV series. Using the refusal taxonomy of Beebe et. al. (1990), she identified refusal strategies appearing in the American and Turkish TV series. Overall comparisons of refusal strategies in American and Turkish TV series yielded significant differences. In addition, independent variables of interlocutors’ status and gender had an impact on the use of refusal strategies. According to Yakut (2019), direct refusal strategies, i.e., non-performatives, were common in the American TV series while indirect refusal strategies, i.e., excuse-reason-explanation, were the most frequently used refusal types in the Turkish TV series.

As shown in the studies mentioned above, culture-specific norms have an impact on the employment of speech acts. For this reason, raising awareness with respect to differences and similarities among languages can help people interact smoothly when they need to communicate with people from different cultural backgrounds. At this point, we need to identify the importance of interlanguage and interlanguage pragmatics so that we can understand why people from different cultures face difficulties when speaking in a foreign language with people coming from different language and cultural backgrounds.

Interlanguage Pragmatics

Interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) is the study of nonnative speakers' perception and application of pragmatic information in the target language (TL) (Kasper, 1997). Furthermore, according to Cai and Wang (2013), the primary goals of ILP are the acquisition of TL pragmatic knowledge and the ways in which language learners understand and generate linguistic acts in TL that fall within the parameters of TL pragmatic appropriateness. In a similar vein, Allami and Montazeri (2012) state that ILP addresses learners' pragmatic acquisition and use of L2 pragmatic information. As the name suggests, interlanguage pragmatics focuses primarily on the elements and appropriateness of the self-language that TL learners develop throughout the process of learning the language. Interlanguage incorporates knowledge from both the target language and the first language; hence it frequently has incorrect forms because native speakers of the target language are unable to utilize the proper linguistic forms or appropriate usage (Bada 2010; Yakut, 2013).

Many studies have reported that even advanced learners of a TL may struggle with pragmatic understanding and/or production, even though learners of a TL are generally able to use correct linguistic forms once they have a higher level of proficiency in the TL (Bongaerts, Kellerman & Bentlage, 1987; Dobao, 2001). Learners typically transfer both linguistic elements and pragmatic information of the target language (Corder, 1971) as a result of their struggles comprehending and generating language that native speakers of the target language deem appropriate. Transfer from first language (L1) to target language (TL) occurs because of both the TL's and the first language's distinctions and similarities, as suggested by Odlin (1989). Therefore, avoiding transfers while learning or acquiring a language is nearly inevitable.

Transfers from L1, however, may result in peculiarities in the TL, as noted by Corder (1971). Furthermore, even when language generated by a transfer from L1 may be grammatically correct, this does not guarantee that the statement would make sense pragmatically. When learners of a target language lack sufficient pragmatic competence in the target language, they may experience such failures, also referred to as pragmatic failures. Being able to match the statements with the proper context is what Bardovi Harlig (1992) defines as pragmatic competence. Therefore, there will be a failure in the production of TL if the learner's understanding of how to use TL appropriately differs from that of the speakers of the NL. Holmes and Brown (1987) believe that a deficiency in pragmatic competence in the target language (TL) can lead to mismatches between the speaker and the hearer due to lacking comprehensive knowledge of acceptable language use. This mismatch can be embarrassing for the interlocutors.

NNS often experience pragmatic failures in the TL because NS and NNS of a TL might not see contextually suitable language in the same way when it comes to understanding and generating the language. Wolfson (1983) points out that because of this, when examining learners' pragmatic awareness and appropriate language production in a situation, researchers often concentrate on speech actions including requests, apologies, rejections, praises, and answers to compliments.

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Exercises

1. Please define what cross-cultural and intercultural communication refers to?

2. Observe your friends and take notes when they give compliments to each other. Do you think gender of the speaker and the listener has an impact on the use of compliments in your society?

3. Find 25 different refusals in the TV series "Avrupa Yakası" and "Modern Family". Then decide whether refusals in Turkish and American English are similar or different.

4. What does "interlanguage pragmatics" refer to?

a. Do you think "grammar" or "function" is more important in second language speech?

CHAPTER 8

HOW TO SUMMARIZE RESEARCH ARTICLES IN PRAGMATICS

In this chapter, we tried to exemplify how to summarize research articles in pragmatics which we might use in our future studies. We will share the summaries of two articles:

Enfield, N. J. (2003). The definition of what-d'you-call-it: semantics and pragmatics of recognitional deixis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *35*(1), 101-117. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(02)00066-8

Culpeper, J., Bousfield, D., & Wichmann, A. (2003). Impoliteness revisited: With special reference to dynamic and prosodic aspects. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *35*(10-11), 1545-1579. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(02)00118-2

Summary of Enfield, N.J. (2003) 'The Definition of WHAT-d' you-call-it: semantics and pragmatics of recognitional deixis', Journal of Pragmatics 35: 101-17

1. **Introduction**

Words like WHAT-d' you-call-it are used when interlocutors rely on knowledge that is assumed to be shared. Thus, such expressions can be very interesting since they depend on interlocutors' common ground (what interlocutors assume that we each assume that we both know) to make correct references. Also, these expressions have semantic specifications that account for the hearer's interpretations. As such expressions have meaning and they are not vacuous utterances, they can be explained from pragmatics and semantics perspective.

In this study, there are two main sections. First part deals with pragmatic and semantic properties of expressions WHAT-d' you-call-it and you-know-WHAT. In this section explicit meanings of these expressions are given. In the second part of the study several theoretical and methodological issues are discussed.

2. **Semantics and Pragmatics of WHAT-d' you-call-it and you-know-WHAT**

   1.1. WHAT-d' you-call-it

Ex 1. Mary: John, where's the WHAT-d' you-call-it?
John: I put it back in the toolbox.

In this example Mary is power-drilling and John is nearby. Mary cannot find chuck key while changing drill-bits. Even though she says 'WHAT-d' you-call-it' instead of chuck key, the exchange of the information is successful. WHAT-d' you-call-it is a very non-specific expression for a specific referent, yet this expression was not only in Mary's mind but she expected John to understand that she was talking about chuck key. Although this expression is a semantically general term, thanks to the power-drilling scene that they know in detail the exchange was a success.

However, according to Enfield (2003) the success of communication in that example cannot depend only on shared non-linguistic knowledge/assumptions in the given context (p. 103). Although WHAT-d' you-call-it seems to be a non-descriptive expression, it still gives concrete clues about the object she is talking about. As this expression is to some extend conventionalized and it has a relatively stable meaning, the hearer can be led to right interpretation.

According to Goddard (1998: p. 18), WHAT-d' you-call-it can be defined as:

- Something
- I can't say the word for this thing now
- By saying WHAT-d' you-call-it I think you'll know what I'm thinking of.

The details of this expression show that there are restrictions on the usage of the expression. According to this definition Mary should be talking about an object that she may need or use in that context.

The expression WHAT-d' you-call-it worked in this context since John was there and he knew what Mary was doing. However, if John were somewhere else and did not know what she was doing, Mary's utterance without contextual set-up would end up with a failure of the communication.

In the example given above, Mary and John were talking about an object that Mary did not utter explicitly, and Mary used WHAT-d' you-call-it in order to refer to chuck keys. This expression can also be applied to people by making necessary changes on the expression. For instance: WHAT's-his/her-name.

1.2. You-know-WHAT?

Despite the semantic generality and context-reliance of expressions like WHAT-d' you-call-it, they contrast with similar expressions in predictable ways.

Ex 2. Mary: John, where's the you-know-WHAT?

Instead of using WHAT-d' you-call-it, if Mary prefers the expression you-know-WHAT?, the intended meaning will be different. Even though these two expressions are used when it is assumed that the hearer knows what the speaker is talking about, they do not carry the same meaning. Thus, when Mary uses you-know-WHAT? instead of WHAT-d' you-call-it, it cannot be assumed that Mary has the same communicative intention as John will receive different clues for inferring what Mary is talking about. According to Enfield (2003) the clues are in the semantic meanings of the lexical items (p. 106). However, the biggest difference between these two expressions is the reason for not saying the word for the thing in mind.

When Mary uses you-know-WHAT? in the situation given above, this may not be because of her not being able to say chuck key but because of the fact that she knows that she does not have to. In addition to this, using you-know-WHAT in that context may mean that:

9. John always loses the chuck key and Mary deliberately does not say the exact word as it is clear to John what she is talking about. So, Mary uses this expression to underscore the point and accuse him.

This expression may also have 'avoidance' and 'conspiratorial' functions, if a speaker deliberately avoids saying a certain word.

Ex 3. I think it's time to serve the you-know-WHATS.

If this sentence is said by one of the hosts after dinner, the guests will wonder what the hosts will serve. As the hosts know what you-know-WHATS refers to, the hearer (host) will understand that there is a deliberate avoidance. However, the same effect cannot be achieved by using WHAT-d' you-call-it as it will provide different clues for inference about what has been intended to mean. Most probably, the guests will interpret that the host has forgotten the name of the dessert that is going to be served as it has a fancy name. As Enfield highlights (2003: p. 107):

> […] the reference of you-know-what is crucially dependent on both the situation and the speakers' common ground, and each of the uses may have a rather different implication and/or connotation in different contexts. But despite the lack of descriptive information about the referent itself, the interpretations are not entirely unconstrained. They remain anchored by semantic specifications of you-know-what.

From the examples given above the definition of you-know-WHAT is given as:

- Something
- I don't want to say the word for this thing now.
- I don't say it now because I know I don't have to.
- By saying you-know-WHAT I think you'll know what I'm thinking of.

1.3. Cross-linguistic contrast – Lao qan-non 'that thing'

Expressions like WHAT-d'you-call-it do not have the same kinds of form and function across languages. When the use of qan-non is observed, it was found that:

- People may use qan-non when they want to avoid labeling what they have in their minds.
- It can be used to say "yes" indirectly. It is preferred especially when they talk about politics.
- People use it when they do not know how to put into words what they want to say.

2. Discussion (Semantics or Pragmatics)

According to the writer, the meanings proposed in various paraphrase definitions are part of semantics because it is assumed that semantic meaning refers to what is communicated by a linguistic sign context-independently and non-defeasibly. Also, the writer claims that expressions like WHAT'd-you-call-it are conventionalized expressions, thus they are semantic.

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Summary of Culpeper, J., Bousfield, D., Wichmann, A. (2003). Impoliteness revisited: with special reference to dynamic and prosodic aspects. Journal of Pragmatics 35: 1545 – 1579.

1. Introduction

1.1. Focus of the study

As highlight in the introduction of the study, this paper focuses on the notion of impoliteness, communicative strategies designed to attack face, and thereby cause social conflict and disharmony. It is highlighted that the scholars are mainly concerned with what other researchers referred to as 'strategic as 'strategic' (Lakoff, 1989) or 'instrumental' (Beebe, 1995) impoliteness. In addition, they focus on 'genuine' impoliteness, as opposed to 'mock' or 'ritual' impoliteness. Finally, they highlight that the purpose of this paper is to build on the impoliteness framework mapped out in Culpeper (1996).

1.2. The purpose of the study

Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann (2003) highlight that in this study they will discuss the relationship between politeness and impoliteness, investigate how impoliteness pans out in discourse, and probe the role of prosody in communicating impoliteness.

1.3. What other studies do not focus on?

In practice other studies all focus solidly on politeness, with the result that their comments on impoliteness are descriptively inadequate and often conceptually biased and it is assumed that the concepts used to explain politeness can straightforwardly be applied to impoliteness. Thus, they neglect the impoliteness perspective.

2. The data

The data for this study was taken from the documentary TV series The Clampers (1998). This series filmed the day-to-day activities of the London Councils' privatized traffic wardens, including the 'clampers', those traffic wardens whose task it is to apply clamps to illegally parked cars and to tow them away.

3. The relationship with politeness theory

2.1. Why do we need an impoliteness framework? We've already got bald on record.

Culpeper (1996) has been criticized as scholars think that impoliteness theory is unnecessary. They claim that Brown and Levinson (1987) have bald on record category under their politeness framework, and bald on record accommodates impoliteness phenomena. However, Culpeper at al. emphasize that bald on record is problematic since it is in a particular context is a very complex issue. Also, they point out that bald on record is associated with a specific context, namely, one where the face threat is very small and so minimal politeness work is required.

2.2. Politeness, impoliteness, and directness

Leech (1983) highlights that there is a relationship between politeness and indirectness. It is also emphasized by Leech (1983) that indirectness may increase impoliteness. Culpeper et al. (2003) accept that Leech would be the first to admit that the bi-directional correlation between indirectness and politeness/impoliteness does not apply in all contexts, and that other factors, aside from indirectness, affect politeness/impoliteness. They also assert that indirectness-politeness scale is sensitive to cross-cultural variation.

2.3. Notions of politeness and notions of impoliteness

In this part, it is highlighted that Goffman (1967) suggests that there are three types of action which constitute a threat to face. They are:

- the offending person may appear to have acted maliciously and spitefully, with the intention of causing open insult.
- incidental offences: these arise as an unplanned but sometimes anticipated by-product of action—action the offender performs despite its offensive consequences, though not out of spite.
- the offending person may appear to have acted innocently; his offence seems to be unintended and unwitting.

2.4. Impoliteness work inspired by Brown and Levinson (1987)

It is highlighted in this part that Austin (1990) and Culpeper (1996) are inspired by Brown and Levinson (1987), and superficially, they seem to have a lot in common. However, it is stated that Austin (1990) is a hearer-based account of how utterances can be interpreted as offensive. Also, her paper is not about the communication of impoliteness, but the interpretation and perception of it. Thus, her examples include cases which may simply have involved the miscommunication of politeness.

Culpeper (1996) considers not just an extension to Brown and Levinson (1987), but explores the possibility of a parallel structure. In his study, he emphasized the existence of five super-strategies of impoliteness. They are;

- Bald on record impoliteness
- Positive impoliteness
- Negative impoliteness
- Sarcasm or mock politeness
- Withhold politeness

4. Impoliteness in discourse

In this part it is pointed out that they briefly discuss how individual impoliteness strategies co-occur in and across a particular participant's turns and they also look at patterns of impoliteness and reactions to it across exchanges.

4.1. Impoliteness and responses to it

The scholars mainly focus on whether basic pairs, OFFENSIVE – DEFENSIVE and OFFENSIVE – OFFENSIVE can be found in their data. They also add that they argue that there is, in fact, a more complex set of strategies for managing face attack than these pairs suggest. To clarify response options to an impoliteness act, a summary is also given.

In Fig. 1., it can be recognized that interlocutor(s) may respond to an impolite act or they may

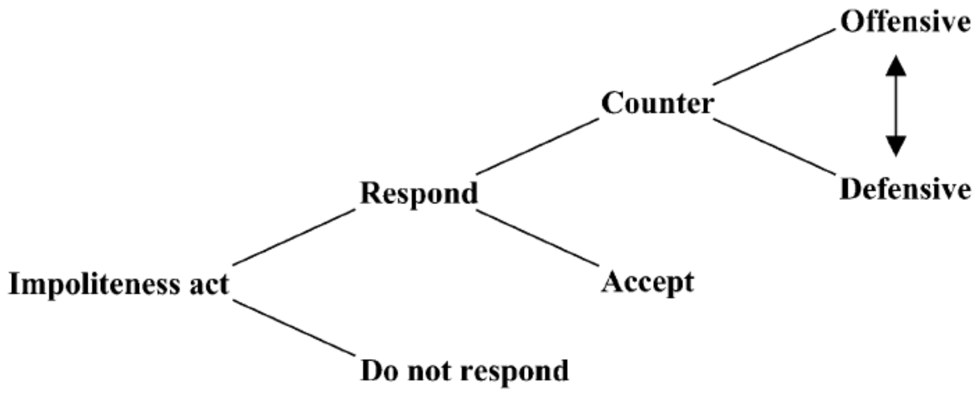

Fig. 1. A summary of response options.

just choose not responding. When they respond they either accept the face attack or counter it. When they counter it they may be offensive or defensive. According to Culpeper et al. (2003) offensive strategies primarily counter face attack with face attack while defensive strategies primarily counter face attack by defending one's own face.

They state that there was no clear example of OFFENSIVE – OFFENSIVE pair in their study since whilst a clamper has the power to ticket, clamp or even tow away an owner's illegally parked vehicle, they do not in their socio-discoursal role have the legitimate power to respond to the impoliteness of car owners with clear, unambiguous impoliteness.

Regarding OFFENSIVE – DEFENSIVE pair, they also note that no clear examples of direct contradiction emerged in the data, perhaps because it is a relatively unsophisticated strategy and one which is unlikely (as the above example illustrates) to bring a swift end to the altercation.

One specific defence strategy was identified in the data was 'abrogation': the abrogation of personal responsibility for the action(s) or event that caused the interlocutor to issue a face damaging utterance in the first place. In Labov's (1972) terms, this is a type of denial. It works by deflecting the FTA. Abrogation by social role switching is like saying 'I'm not to blame, I'm just following orders!', whilst abrogation by discoursal role switching is like saying 'Don't shoot the messenger!'.

Another type that was frequently observed was opt out on record strategy. This strategy attempts to 'seal off' the FTA.

A further type of defensive strategy is insincere agreement, which manages the impoliteness act by allowing its speaker to 'let off steam'. A variant of this strategy is to express surface agreement with the face attack.

Yet another defensive strategy, though one which has some similarities with the previous strategy, is to ignore the implied face attack. This is particularly clear in cases of sarcasm, where the surface meaning of the utterance is accepted, rather than the implied sarcastic barb. In one of the conversations in the data, a van owner, who has just been clamped, says have a good day, to which the clamper replies I will do. Clearly, the clamper complies only with the surface meaning of the van owner's sarcastic utterance. This defensive counter strategy may also be offensive at the same time, given that it is such a blatant misunderstanding of the van owner's meaning.

In the final example in this section, it was aimed to show a much more complex case than those they have discussed hitherto. S1's car has been towed to the car pound, after it was clamped for being illegally parked. Previously, S1 refused to pay the release fee, stating that he preferred to spend his money on a new vehicle. He has returned to the pound to take his belongings out of the car. As he leaves, he strongly threatens S2 (a clamper):

S1: touch my fucking new car and I'll bust your fucking head off yeah
S2: jackanory yeah

S1: yeah you fucking shit just cos you've got a fat belly anyway
S2: yeah full of it aren't you eh

S1:
S2: eh it'd fit in your mouth quite easily wouldn't it

This section was concluded with two brief points. First, it should be remembered that in other discourses other impoliteness patterns may emerge, as well as other defensive strategies. Second, one area that has been neglected, but would obviously benefit from research, is how these confrontational encounters are resolved (see Vuchinich, 1990 and Hutchby, 1996: chapter 6, for some first steps).

5. Prosody and impoliteness

In this section, the writers discussed the components and functions of prosody, and then they introduced prosodic strategies for impoliteness. They gave examples of different prosodic strategies for impoliteness which can be summarized as

- Negative impoliteness
- Hinder linguistically
- Threaten
- Invade auditory space
- Positive impoliteness
- Deny common ground or disassociate from the other

6. Conclusion

Thomas (1995: 179) concludes that the claim for politeness theories is that 'people employ certain strategies [. . .] for reasons of expediency—experience has taught us that particular strategies are likely to succeed in given circumstances, so we use them'. This, in our view, is also true of impoliteness. In some circumstances, such as the car parking disputes discussed here, people choose to use impoliteness to expedite their goals. In so doing, they orientate to the hearer's face in a fundamentally different way from politeness: rather than supporting it, they attack it. Our starting point for this paper has been that politeness theory (even bald on record politeness) does not adequately describe communicative strategies designed to attack face. We have argued that most of the impoliteness strategies identified in Culpeper (1996) also occur in car parking disputes: there are regular ways in which people attack face. Of course, this is not to say that even a frequent impoliteness strategy will be impolite in all contexts.

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Impoliteness strategies employed by Turkish speakers in various contexts

1. **Abrogation:** This kind of strategy can be labeled easily. The interlocutor defends him/herself saying that s/he is not the person that should be blamed. S/he just does his/her job. As abrogation is explicit, we can easily recognize that strategy.

   Ex:
   S1: Allahtan korkun benim evimi nasıl yıkarsınız. Utanmaz arlanmazlar.
   S2: Teyzecim biz de emir kuluyuz. İşimizi yapmak zorundayız.
   S1: Benim evimin burada durmasının sana ne zararı var söyle bana.
   S2: Ne diyeyim ki teyze.
   As can be seen from the example, the woman uses offensive impoliteness strategy, but the municipality officer defend himself emphasizing that he is just doing his job.

2. **Opt out on-record:** This strategy attempts to seal off the FTA. Here, power plays an important role. As the person using opt out on record strategy has the power, s/he can utter what he means clearly, thus this strategy can be found easily. Yet, context is very crucial here.

   Ex:
   S1: Benim bu dersten kalmama göz yumacaksınız yani!
   S2: …
   S1: Hocam neden yardımcı olmuyorsunuz, sonuçta siz isterseniz ben geçebilirim.
   S2: Bu konuda konuşmak sadece zaman kaybı. Kağıt okumam gerekiyor.
   S1: Hocam…
   S2: Teşekkür ederim.
   As illustrated in the example, the student tries to say that she deserves to pass but the instructor refuses her and finishes the conversation.

3. **Insincere Agreement:** This kind of defensive strategy manages the impoliteness act by allowing its speaker to let off steam. A variant of this strategy is to express surface agreement with the face attack. If the context is not clear, it will be hard to identify this strategy.

   Ex:
   S1: Ne anlıyorsunuz ceza yazmaktan bilmiyorum ki.
   S2: …
   S1: Ne var yani kemer takmadıysak!
   S2: …
   S1: Bize birşey olmaz dikkatli sürüyoruz zaten arabayı
   S2: Tabii
   S1: Ben ömrümde kaza yapmış adam değilim, bu yüzden kemer takmasam kime ne zararı var?
   S2: Haklısınız beyfendi.

Here the police officer does not agree with the driver but in order to let off steam he seems to agree with the driver on the surface level.

4. **Ignoring/deflection via sarcasm:** This strategy is used when we want to ignore someone's face attack.

   Ex:
   S1: (Ben yaz okuluna kalmışken siz tatile gidin) İyi tatiller hocam.
   S2: Sağol öğrenci!
   As can be seen from the example, speaker one implies a face attack and the speaker two ignores it saying "sağol öğrenci" which implies that I ignore the face attack. This strategy can be observed quite frequently but marking it as ignoring via sarcasm might be very hard because intended meaning is not very clear.
   We think that opt out on record is more offensive than others because when we use this strategy, we actually want the other interlocutor to leave the place and stop talking. Power is very important here; thus, the responder can easily finish the conversation by implying that I do not care what you say.

CHAPTER 9

A QUICK REVISION OF PRAGMATICS WITH QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

1. When pragmatics and semantics are compared, what might be the main differences between them?
Even though they are both interested in meaning basically, semantics is concerned with the type of meaning which involves truth-conditional content of utterances while pragmatics is interested in inferences that can be made from what is produced. Also, pragmatics takes speaker's attitudes, social roles and situation into account so as to make inferences. Furthermore, even hearer's perspective (utterance meaning) is important in pragmatics.

2. According to Leech (1983), what is the difference between sociopragmatics and pragmalinguistics?
Sociopragmatics can be explained as the "sociological aspect of pragmatics". Thus, sociolinguistic variables, such as age, gender, cultural background etc. have great influence on sociopragmatics. However, pragmalinguistics is mainly interested in linguistic resources used for a particular function.

3. Do you think pragmatics is interdisciplinary? If so, why?
Yes, it is. To make correct inferences, scholars of pragmatics have to get help from different fields such as sociolinguistics, anthropology and discourse.

4. Why is context important in pragmatics? What would happen if scholars of pragmatics did not take context into consideration while analyzing data?
As pragmatics deals with meaning that is inferred from the literal and structural meaning, context is needed to make correct inferences. The purpose of using specific words, phrases, clauses and sentences can only be explained by analyzing the context. To explain 'how' and 'why' questions regarding a specific utterance, scholars need to take context (situation, speakers, purpose) into account. Otherwise, the analysis and comments would not be reliable. All the comments would come of scholars' instincts and as pragmatics is a field of social sciences, a study conducted through instincts will not be valid.

5. In pragmatics, inferences drawn from the structural and literal meaning constitute an important part of interpretation of the data. What might be the shortcomings of relying

on inferences in pragmatics? How could scholars make sure that their inferences are correct?
Social, cultural, socio-economic and even individual differences between the researcher and the participants may cause misunderstandings in interpreting the data. Therefore, use of retrospective approach to data collection may help the researcher reach more reliable results. Otherwise, the study itself would be open to criticism.

6. How can the effects of observer's paradox be minimized while recording the data?
Participants generally tend to become less aware of the recording as time passes. Thus, it might be plausible to focus the analysis later parts of the recordings. In addition, if participants emotionally involved in the talk, they might forget that they are being recorded. Hence, the effects of observer's paradox will be minimized.

7. Why should broadcast data be used sensitively in pragmatics studies?
Broadcast data should be used cautiously since it has been prepared for entertainment purposes and it has been edited by others. In addition, observer's paradox should be taken into account as it is not known whether people are behaving exactly as they would if they were not recorded. Furthermore, disfluency features that we observe in real communication setting will not be present in broadcast dialogues.

8. What types of evidence should be used if research focuses on speech acts?
Four types of evidence can be used. Perlocutionary effect (subsequent events that happen after or because of a given utterance or utterance sequence); subsequent discourse triggered by utterance; explicit comment by the speaker; and explicit comment by another participant.

9. How does the purpose of study affect transcription process?
According to intend of the researcher, transcription type will be chosen. If the researcher wants to make a record of what was said rather than how it was said, s/he may filter out some parts of the recording such as repetitions and filled pauses etc. However, if the researcher focus on what is said and how it is said, disfluency features will also be transcribed. In addition, depending on what is of interest to the analyst, extra details such as non-speech sounds or prosodic annotation.

10. What are the problems of pragmatic annotation?
The first problem that researcher(s) will face is how to delimit fragments of the text. Some of the decisions such as deciding what constitutes an utterance or a complete turn at speaking can only be made by listening the actual recordings as the necessary information is in the prosody not in the words themselves. The second problem is to find a means of ensuring the accuracy or the applicability of any pragmatic labels we may use.

11. Relevance theorists suggest explicatures work in one of two ways: saturation or free enrichment. What is the difference between 'saturation' and 'free enrichment'?

Saturation involves finding the intended content (or value) for some linguistically indicated variable or slot. Free enrichment, however, involves the pragmatic enrichment of the decoded linguistic meaning in the absence of any indication within linguistic form.

12. What is the relationship between use of "this-these" or "that-those" and emphatic deixis?
That and those are used to highlight psychological distance from a given entity. People use these demonstratives when they talk about things that they do not like or they hate. However, this and these are used to show psychological closeness to the entity. Also, these four demonstratives can be used to identify the attitude or viewpoint of the addressee.

13. What are the characteristics of presuppositions?
They are propositions whose truth is taken for granted as opposed to being explicitly stated. Also, they remain constant under negation. In addition to these characteristics, they are defeasible in certain contexts.

14. How can we make a distinction between conversational implicatures and conventional implicatures?
Conversational implicatures are context-based while conventional implicatures are generally generated by words whose meaning is fixed over many contexts.

15. "Why did you beat him with a stick?" Imagine that this question is being asked to a suspect caught after the event. What kinds of presuppositions can we identify?
WHY DID YOU BEAT THE DOG WITH A STICK?

a. Structural type: Its assumed that the suspect beat the dog.
b. Existential: The dog, the stick and the suspect exist.
c. Factive: Someone beat the dog with a stick.
d. Lexical: As the dog was beaten, it was <u>injured.</u>

16. According to Searle (1979), how can speech acts be classified?
Speech acts can be classified under two main categories: direct and indirect speech acts. However, these two types are classified according to their functions. They are: declarations, representatives, expressives, directives and commissives.

a. Declarations: judges sentencing offenders or priests baptizing a child are examples of declarations. As can be drawn from the examples, the speaker has to have a special institutional role so as to perform a declaration appropriately. The function of a declaration is to change the world with words.
b. Representatives: They express the speaker's belief that something is true. Stating, suggesting, boasting, claiming are examples of representatives. The purpose of using representatives is to make words fit the world.
c. Expressives: Those kinds of speech acts are used to state what the speaker feels. They express psychological state of the speaker towards the hearer. Some examples are thanking, apologizing and welcoming.

d. *Directives: They are used to get someone to do something. They express desires of the speaker. Commands, suggestions, and orders are examples of directives. In using a directive, the speaker tries to make the world fit the words via the hearer.*
e. *Commissives: Speakers commit themselves to do some future action. The intent of the speaker is expressed by using commissives. Promises, threats, refusal and vows are examples of commissives.*

17. What are the differences between perfomatives and constatives?
According to Austin (1962), performatives include a clause with a verb that identifies the speech act. The utterance does not describe an event but constitute a position of the speaker. Performatives can be implicit or explicit. However, constatives are utterances assert or state something that can be judged as true or false. Thus, they do not denote an action.

18. What is the difference between direct and indirect speech acts? What factors affect preferring direct or indirect speech acts?
According to Yule (1996) "If there is a direct relationship between a structure and a function, we have a direct speech act" (p. 55). However, if the relationship is indirect, there is an indirect speech act. So, a declarative used to make a statement is a direct speech act while a declarative used to make a request is an indirect speech act. There are many factors affecting preference of direct/indirect speech acts. They can be listed as: social features, social roles of the speakers, interpersonal relations, age, gender, power, culture etc.

19. It is suggested that using "could you" and "would you mind" is more polite than using imperatives or being direct. Referring to that, can we make a generalization that it is always true?
This condition is not true of all languages and cultures or of all times in history. The variables may have a big impact on politeness or indirectness.

20. It is known that an utterance may have different illocutionary forces. How can we (speakers) assume that the intended illocutionary force will be recognized by the hearer?
As Yule (1996) suggests Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFID) and Felicity conditions help us understand whether the intended illocutionary force will be recognized by the hearer or not. IFID refers to indication in the speaker's utterance of the communicative force of that utterance. Performative verbs could be very clear IFIDs. In addition to performative verbs, word order, stress, and intonations can be accepted as other IFIDs. Felicity conditions are the appropriate conditions for a speech act to be recognized as intended.

21. What do we need to focus on when discussing implicatures?
When discussing implicatures, we need to focus on speaker's generation of some meaning beyond the semantic meaning of the word or words (by hinting or suggesting), and on hearer's understanding of these hints/suggestions.

22. What is Grice's main focus on conversational implicatures?

Grice's main focus is to explain how interlocutors work out meaning$_{nn}$ *when this meaning is not part of what is explicitly said/ entailed/ conventionally implicated.*

23. What kind of implicature is used in this excerpt?

A: Do you like ice-cream?

B: Is the Pope Catholic?

According to Yule (1996) "most of the time, our conversations take place in very specific contexts in which locally recognized inferences are assumed. Such inferences are required to work out the conveyed meanings which result from ***particularized conversational implicatures****" (p. 42).*

In this excerpt, the answer can be interpreted as 'absolutely yes', but the speaker B prefers a response which appears to be flouting. As Grice highlights, speakers may deliberately break or fail maxims so as to prompt hearer(s) to look for a meaning which is different from the expressed meaning. As the answer is so clear, B wants to emphasize that there is no need to ask that question.

24. What is adjacency? How do Schegloff and Sacks (1973) characterize an adjacency pair?

Adjacency refers to coupled turns where the first part of the pair predicts what will come in the next part.

Schegloff and Sacks (1973) characterize these pairs as sequences of two utterances that are:

- *Adjacent*
- *Produced by different speakers*
- *Ordered as a first part and a second part*
- *Typed, so that a particular first part requires a particular second part.*

25. When a natural conversation is observed, what can be found in addition to smooth take-over of the turn?

When a natural conversation is observed, overlaps and interruptions can also be recognized in addition to smooth take-over of the turn.

26. What do pragmatic markers refer to?

According to Biber et al. (1999), pragmatic markers refer to a type of insert, that is, they are 'stand-alone words which are characterized in general by their inability to enter into syntactic relations with other structures. It is also highlighted that pragmatic markers can also overlap with speech act routines.

27. What is the difference between pragmatic markers and discourse markers?

Pragmatic markers are considered to be an umbrella term encompassing a large number of related pragmatic phenomena with an insert function. However, discourse markers is a terms expressing a relation between utterances such as elaboration, contrast or inference.

28. What are the typical features of pragmatic markers?

They can be listed as;

a. *Phonological and lexical features*
b. *Syntactic features*
c. *Semantic features*
d. *Functional features*
e. *Sociolinguistic and stylistic features*

29. How do pragmatics markers get their full meaning?
Pragmatic markers only get their full meaning in a social and cultural context. They must be described with regard to sociolinguistic features such as social situation, speaker identity and power relations.

30. Should interjections be studied under the scope of pragmatic markers?
Whether their being discourse or pragmatic markers has been a controversial issue. Some scholars claim that interjections are discourse markers while some others assert that they are part of pragmatic markers. However, according to Norrick (2008), interjections in everyday talk routinely function as pragmatic markers, initiating utterances and relating them to the foregoing interaction. Interjections represent a large, potentially infinitely extendable class of items, unlike the relatively circumscribed, closed classes of other pragmatic markers, and their pragmatic marker functions follow from their general status as expressions of shifts in cognitive states of various kinds. He also added that the most frequent markers in his corpus to be (interjections) "yeah, oh, and, well, okay, so, but, mhm, y'know, mm, um, uh, (be)cause, I mean, like, huh, or, hey, hm, uh-huh, wow, ah, ooh, anyway".

31. According to House (1989, 1996), why do English speakers find German speakers impolite when they make a request to move further inside a bus? How would English people find a request to move further inside a bus inTurkish?
English speakers find German speakers impolite because of directness and explicitness. People in Turkey, however, may use different request forms when they want people to move further inside a bus. They may use imperatives such as "ilerleyin", they may use polite request forms such as "ilerleyebilir misiniz?", or they can even prefer using expressions which might be insulting "kapının önüne yığılmış ne bekliyorsunuz be, ilerleyin işte otobüsün arkası da aynı yere gidiyor". Even though in all cases the speaker wants other people to move further inside the bus, the way of saying can be very polite, impolite and even rude. In normal cases, however, in my opinion people in Turkey will be perceived as being impolite because of being direct.

32. From cross-cultural pragmatics perspective, how can we explain pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure?
Pragmalinguistic failure refers to misunderstaings that are the result of inappropriate use of apparently synonymous structures. However, sociopragmatic failure refers to misunderstandings that arise because of culturally different perceptions of sociological variables.

33. It is stated that for speakers of T/V languages different forms are an important grammatical way of expressing degrees of intimacy. However, some languages such as English are deprived of this distinction. What might be the other ways of expressing intimacy?

Tone of voice, modality, use of diminutives and choice of first name, surname, nickname etc may help speakers of such languages express their intimacy.

34. Even though professors coming from countries such as the USA or the UK want their students to call them "Sir", "Madam" or "Mr. Mrs. etc.", Turkish students insist on calling them "teacher". What might be the reason?

As in Turkish culture professors are called "hocam" as a way of expressing respect, students may think that calling their professors as "teacher" might be effective enough to express how respectful they are. Also, people in Turkey do not use surnames in order to call people. Even though they use Mr. or Mrs. When they call their professors, they would prefer to use first name which will also be weird for professors.

35. What do old people in Turkey generally expect young people to do when they speak (especially if they are angry)?

Old people generally expect young people to be silent when they talk. Being silent when an old person speaks is a sign of respect. When the older person (grandfather for example) is angry, the young person (grandson in this situation) has to be silent. Otherwise, the old person may get angrier as young person's talking might be a sign of being disrespectful.

CHAPTER 10

MAIN DISCUSSIONS IN PRAGMATICS

In the final chapter, you are expected to discuss the following questions concerning the main issues in pragmatics. For each question, an article was provided to guide you.

1. **What are the main distinctions between pragmatics and semantics?**

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2. **Is pragmatics an interdisciplinary field?**

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