

Pragmatic Features of Tag Questions in Turkish

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(Received 15 February 2018; accepted 21 December 2018)

ABSTRACT: Tag Questions are considerably multifunctional in terms of their pragmatic meanings. This study, adopting a descriptive framework, aims to identify and categorize the pragmatic functions of tag questions in Turkish, based on naturally occurring data. It is a corpus based study and draws upon a comprehensive data, driven from spontaneous speech. METU spoken corpus and 20 hours of natural conversation are used as data. Kappa is used for data analysis in order to find out inter-rater agreement for the taxonomy of Turkish tag questions. The resulting typology for Turkish tag questions is mainly similar to those suggested by Holmes' (1995) and Tottie and Hoffmann's (2006) typology. However, there are also different pragmatic functions of Turkish tag questions other than those proposed in the literature. Whereas mocking and justification tags are observed in Turkish, these functions have not been proposed in languages such as English and Italian.

Keywords: Tag questions; Pragmatics; Spoken Language

Türkçede Eklenti Sorularının Edimbilimsel Özellikleri

ÖZ: Eklenti soruları edimbilimsel anlamları açısından çok işlevlidir. Doğal konuşma verisine dayalı yapılan bu çalışma Türkçe eklenti sorularını betimlemeyi ve sınıflamayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanın bütüncesini oluşturan veri METU sözlü bütünce ve toplam 20 saatlik günlük konuşmaya dayalı veriden elde edilmiştir. Veri incelenirken Türkçe eklenti soruları sınıflanmış ve bu sınıflamayı yapılırken anadil konuşucularının değerlendirmeleri için Kappa testi uygulanmıştır. Türkçe eklenti soruları için elde edilen sınıflamada belirlenen işlevler genel olarak Holmes ve Axelson tarafından belirlenen işlevlerle bezerlik göstermekle birlikte bazı işlevler, daha önce alanyazında diğer dillerde ortaya çıkarılan eklenti sorularından farklılık göstermektedir. Alay etme ve haklılık gösteren eklenti soruları Türkçede gözlemlenirken, bu işlevler İngilizce ve İtalyanca gibi diğer dillerde gözlemlenmemiştir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Eklenti soruları, Edimbilim, Konuşma dili

1 Introduction

Tag Questions (hereafter TQ) are utterances which consist of a sentence to which a tag is appended (Roesle, 2001). The part which precedes TQ is called the anchor. Although different terms have been adopted for the preceding part such as host clause (Cattell, 1973), matrix clause (Quirk et al., 1985), stem clause (Mc Gregor, 1995), the most prevalent term is anchor suggested by Huddleston and Pullum (2002). TQs are considered to be two kinds; variant and invariant TQs. In variant TQs, the TQ part has certain grammatical dependency on the anchor. This grammatical dependency can be about polarity, number and nominalization. On the other hand, in invariant TQs, certain words or phrases are added to the anchor to form TQs. In this sense, Turkish falls under the category of invariant TQs. A canonical TQ is constructed with 'deęil mi?' and 'öyle mi?' in Turkish (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005) following an anchor like in most of the languages. The first phrase 'deęil mi?' is a combination of negative particle (deęil) and the question marker (mI). The second way to form TQ is 'öyle mi', a combination of demonstrative adverbial (öyle) and question marker (mI). Both forms can be tagged to affirmative or negative predicates both verbal or nominal (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005.) as shown in examples (1) and (2) from Göksel and Kerslake (2005):

- (1) Tiyatro-ya git-me-den önce yer ayır-t-ma-mış-tı-n,
 Theatre-DAT go-SUB-CONV before reserve-CAUS-NEG-EV/PF-P.COP-2SG
 deęil mi?
 not Q
 "You hadn't reserved seats before going to the theatre, had you?"
- (2) Esra Handan-ın abla-sı-ymış, öyle mi?
 Esra Handan-GEN elder.sister-3SG.POSS-EV.COP thus Q
 "So Esra is Handan's elder sister, is that right?"

The number of phrases used to form TQs is not specified in detail in Turkish. According to Göksel and Kerslake (2005), two constructions are mainly used as TQs. However, there is another construction 'tamam mı' (meaning is it okay?), which is often used by Turkish speakers to form a TQ

TQs are substantially versatile in terms of their pragmatic functions. Bublitz (1979) states that 'only a grammatical theory which either includes a pragmatic component or is completed by a pragmatic theory has the explanatory power in order to explain the role of pragmatics in the interpretation of TQs.' In the literature, there are various studies on the pragmatic functions of TQs in English (Holmes, 1995; Roesle, 2001; Algeo, 2006; Tottie and Hoffmann, 2006). In these studies, different functions of TQs have been identified. In pragmatic analysis of TQs, there are three traditions in the literature (Tomaselli and Gatt, 2015). These traditions can be named as grammar-based, pragmatic analysis and functional

grammar perspective. Grammar-based approach (Quirk et al., 1985; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002; Kimps et al., 2014) involves the analysis of formal and grammatical features of TQs and puts emphasis on lexical, syntactic and phonological aspects. Pragmatic analysis (Holmes, 1995; Roesle, 2002; Algeo, 2005; Tottie and Hoffmann, 2006) is based on conversational data and focuses on the speakers' use of TQs to express different meanings. The last one is functional grammar perspective (Brazil, 1984; Axelsson, 2011, Kimps et al., 2014) and this approach assumes that the knowledge states of the interlocutors are important to specify the functions of TQs.

In terms of discourse functions, it is difficult to determine the range of functions TQs display. This assumption is shared by Roesle (2001) claiming that TQs can be multifunctional and pragmatic meanings of TQs are very subtle. Holmes (1995) commented that specifying the pragmatic functions of TQs turns out to be difficult; for this reason, context should be taken into account. Moreover, they should be studied cross-linguistically in order to examine the generalizability of the functions of TQs. In the literature, empirical data has focused on English TQs and their pragmatic classifications. Therefore, examining the invariant TQs in Turkish and arriving at a classification that is comparable with other languages are needed.

The aim of the present study is to identify and categorize the pragmatic functions of TQs in Turkish based on naturally-occurring data. The pragmatic functions of TQs have not received much attention in Turkish, so determining the features of TQs and their pragmatic functions is expected to contribute the literature. In the literature, there is an approach aims at drawing upon optimal semantic and pragmatic classification of various uses of TQs (Miller and Brown, 1997; Nelsson, 1984; Algeo, 1990; Holmes, 1995; Roesle, 2006; Tottie and Hoffman, 2006). These studies are mainly corpus based and aimed to summarize the main typologies of English TQS. Adopting a similar approach, this study aims to develop a comprehensive data driven description of the various pragmatic functions of Turkish TQs. Data is driven from spontaneous speech and natural context because TQs are associated with dialogue and richly exploited in spontaneous speech.

One of the major practical implications of this study is to outline a descriptive framework, with the relevant semantic pragmatic features, to capture the speech functions fulfilled by TQs in Turkish.

The significant contribution of this study to the field is to identify and typify the wide range of pragmatic functions that TQs can realize in Turkish. The resulting typology in the current study is mainly similar to Holmes' (1995) and Tottie and Hoffmann's (2006) typology. However, different speech functions of Turkish TQs are defined in this study than the ones that have been proposed in the literature so far.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 deals with the previous studies with regard to pragmatic functions of TQs in English and Turkish. Section 3 describes the data collection, method and the analysis used in this study. Section 4 gives discussion of TQs in Turkish and presents the conclusion

2 Previous Studies on TQs in the Literature

2.1 Pragmatic Functions of TQs in English

There is a rich literature on TQs with regard to their syntax, phonology and pragmatic functions (Huddleston, 1970; Cattell, 1973; Ladd, 1981; Quirk et al., 1985; Algeo, 1988, 2006; Culicover, 1992; Roesle, 2001; Tottie and Hoffmann, 2006; Kimps, 2007; Brasoveanu et al., 2014; Tomaselli and Gatt, 2015). Although the analysis of pragmatic functions of TQs is relatively new, it has gained considerable importance especially in the last two decades, especially in English (Holmes, 1995; Roesle, 2001; Algeo, 2006; Tottie and Hoffman, 2006.)

Holmes (1995) divides TQs into epistemic and affective types. She approached TQs in the frame of the politeness theory. Holmes has compared women and men to find out which one is more polite. She asserts that by analysing some particular linguistic forms, one can come to the conclusion that one side is more polite. One aspect of speech she analysed is TQs. New Zealand corpus, which includes 60,000 words from both formal and informal settings, is analysed by Holmes to specify the use of TQs by women and men. She also emphasized that functions of TQs can only be described by paying close attention to the context in which the conversations take place. From her corpus, she could identify four main functions of TQs: epistemic modal, challenging tags, facilitative tags and softening tags. Epistemic modal function pertains to the speaker's uncertainty, rather than speaker's feelings. In this sense, the primary function of epistemic modal TQs is referential rather than affective. Epistemic modal TQs focus on the accuracy of the information. That is, the speaker requires information or confirmation about the proposition. The speaker using this tag is not totally confident about the validity of the facts in the proposition. Holmes states that this type of TQs is mostly used by men in their speech. Challenging tags are affective tags as they are directly related to the feelings of the addressee. They are used as confrontational strategies because of the fact that they may put pressure on a reluctant addressee to reply. They are used in unequal power situations such as courtroom cross-examination or teacher-pupil conversation. In such situations, the speakers who use challenging tags have a higher status. Challenging tags are considered to be impoliteness devices of impoliteness since they aggressively boost the force of a negative speech act. Facilitative tags invite the addressee to contribute to the discourse and used as positive politeness

devices by the speakers. Facilitative tags indicate concern for the needs of others. Hence, women tend to use facilitative tags more than men. They also indicate encouragement for the addressees to join an ongoing conversation. Softening tags are negative politeness devices which are used to attenuate the force of negatively affective utterances such as directives and imperatives. Softening tags are preferred by men in conversations according to Holmes. By analyzing TQs from a large corpus, Holmes paved the way for future pragmatic and functional TQ analyses. All researchers who have studied pragmatic features of TQs following Holmes, preserved the main two categories provided by her. Epistemic and affective functions of TQs are considered as macro categories in TQ studies. The other classifications based on them follow the same two distinction. What is different is that new functions have been specified in these two macro categories or Holmes' terms have been changed by other researchers.

Roesle (2001), like Holmes (1995), analysed TQs in British and American English by comparing the use of TQs in two different corpora. She has specified eight pragmatic functions along with some formal features of TQs. She did not change the category of Holmes' epistemic modal tags but she divided this category into two functions as informational tags and confirmatory tags. In Roesle's analysis, informational tags serve as a genuine request for information. Therefore, the speaker expects a direct response from the addressee to learn information about his/her proposition. Her informational tag resembles Holmes' epistemic tags in that they both ask for real information from addressee. In Holmes' classification, confirmatory tags are not distinguished from information tags. In contrast, Roesle has confirmatory tags as a separate function. According to her classification, confirmatory tags are used when the speaker is not totally sure of the proposition s/he is putting forward and thus seeks for confirmation. Setting boundaries between information and confirmatory tags is a laborious task due to the fact that understanding whether the speaker is sure or not totally sure about the proposition is difficult. At this point, interpreting the context is crucial. When the context is understood well enough, it is easier to determine which tag is used in conversation. Informational and confirmatory tags form the epistemic category in Roesle's study. The first affective tag is the involving tag in her category. Involving tags are used for utterances where the speaker is sure of the truth of his proposition. The speaker using an involving tag is not asking for confirmation unlike confirmatory tags. It is a means of drawing the addressee into the discourse, of giving the speaker the floor. Roesle's involving tag is similar to Holmes' facilitative tags. By dividing confirmatory tag into two, Roesle named facilitative tags as involving tags. Punctuational tags are types of affective tags in her study. A punctuational tag is a means of underlining what the speaker has said so it is a sort of emphasis. When the speaker feels that he has said something important, s/he may use punctuational tag to signal what s/he has just said is really important and that the addressee should pay attention to

that proposition. This tag is not found in Holmes' classification. Roesle has also specified peremptory tags. Peremptory tags can be regarded as the opposite of involving tags and merely used to close off a debate. It leaves no room for the addressee to comment or respond since this tag follows obvious or universal truth. Holmes' challenging tag is renamed by Roesle as simply an aggressive tag. As Holmes stated about confrontational tags, Roesle's aggressive tags are found in unequal power contexts and they function as an insult or provocation. They are the same in terms of their function. Roesle identified hoping & fearing tags, which was not specified in other classifications. Hoping & fearing tags either hope or fear that the proposition may be true and speakers use them to express their hope or fear in particular contexts. The last tag identified by Roesle is conspiratory tags. In this function, tag is addressed to another person and is often used by the speaker to appear more convincing to a third party. Roesle's classification includes eight tags whose names are informational, confirmatory, involving, punctuational, peremptory, aggressive, hoping & fearing, conspiratory respectively. Informational and confirmatory tags are separated by Roesle and they appear as two distinct categories in this classification. Another important difference is that Roesle named Holmes' facilitative tags as involving and confrontational tags as aggressive tags. In addition to that, she has provided two new categories: hoping & fearing and conspiratory tags.

Algeo (2006), whose main aim was to compare British and American English, examined pragmatic features of TQs in these two national varieties. He has identified five main functions of TQs: informational tags, confirmatory (conversational) tags, punctuational tags, peremptory tags and antagonistic tags. His epistemic tag only involves informational tag whose purpose is genuinely to ask for information. It is used when the speakers seek information from the addressee. Algeo's confirmatory tag is quite different from Roesle's. Algeo considers confirmatory tags as involving the addressed person as a participant in the discourse. The person who uses a confirmatory tag is actually sure of his/her proposition so s/he just invites a confirmatory reply from other people in the conversation. Roesle divided confirmatory tags into two; her confirmatory tags seek for information when the speakers are not sure of their proposition. However, when they are sure and want the addressee to join the conversation, this confirmatory tag becomes involving tags. Therefore, while Algeo has confirmatory tag under the affective category, Roesle places it under epistemic category. For these reasons, Algeo named the confirmatory tag as conversational tag in his study. Another function, which falls under affective category, is a punctuational tag. It is similar to Roesle's punctuational tag since it is used as emphasis of what the speaker says. Algeo asserts that a punctuational tag is recognizable by its use in a soliloquy. That is to say, by using this tag, the speaker is talking to himself/herself. As a result, speaker does not wait for a response or interaction. A peremptory tag closes off discussion following a universal truth.

When it is used, it discourages the addressee and s/he prefers not to talk any more. An antagonistic tag is similar to Holmes' challenging tag and Roesle's aggressive tag. Algeo would rather use the term antagonistic for this type of tag. Algeo states that an antagonistic tag resembles a peremptory tag but its pitch is low falling. An antagonistic tag is reprimanding, hostile and aggressive.

Tottie and Hoffmann (2006) compares the use of TQs in British English and American English like Algeo, who did not quantify his findings. Tottie and Hoffmann both identified functions and quantify their findings based on large corpora. They used the spoken component of the British National Corpus and the Longman Spoken American Corpus. Tottie and Hoffmann identified six pragmatic functions of TQs. They first present their two epistemic tags; informational and confirmatory tags. An informational tag is used for genuine request for information as in Holmes, Roesle and Algeo. Their confirmatory tag is similar to Roesle's because the speaker is not sure of what s/he says and wants confirmation. Therefore, its main purpose is epistemic rather than affective. They list attitudinal, facilitating, peremptory and aggressive tags under the affective category. An attitudinal tag emphasizes what the speaker says and does not expect involvement or a reply. They use another terminology for Roesle and Algeo's punctuational tags. In facilitating tags, the speaker wants to involve the listener in conversation. It is also similar to Holmes' facilitative, Roesle's involving and Algeo's conversational/confirmatory tag. Peremptory tag follows statement of generally acknowledged truth and is intended to close off debate. Roesle and Algeo have specified the same function with the same name in their classification. Tottie and Hoffmann's aggressive tag functions as insult or provocation and comes fairly close to Holmes' challenging, Roesle's aggressive and Algeo's antagonistic tag.

There is a partial overlap of the suggested categories, but some differences are also observable. This may stem from the fact that researchers approached TQs from different perspectives and their goals and methodologies were different.

Table 1. Pragmatic Functions of TQs in English

Macro Category	Holmes (1995)	Roesle (2001)	Algeo (2006)	Tottie and Hoffmann (2006)
Epistemic	Modal	Informational	Informational	Informational
Modal		Confirmatory		Confirmatory
Affective	Facilitative	Involving	Confirmatory	Facilitating
	Challenging	Aggressive	Antagonistic	Aggressive
	Softening	Punctuational	Punctiational	Attitudinal
		Peremptory	Peremprtory	Peremptory
		Hoping & Fearing		
		Conspiratory		

2.2 Pragmatic Functions of TQs in Turkish

In Turkish, two pragmatic functions of TQs (*deęil mi* and *öyle mi*) are identified by Kornfilt (1997) and Göksel and Kerslake (2005). Göksel and Kerslake (2005) consider '*deęil mi*' as unmarked questions which correspond to 'isn't it' or 'can you' in English. This type is merely used by the speakers to seek confirmation of a statement that they believe to be true. This function proposed by Göksel and Kerslake (2005) is different from the confirmatory function of TQs, which has been found by Holmes (1995), Algeo (2006) and Tottie and Hoffmann (2006). In the literature, confirmatory function is used when the speaker is not totally sure of his/her proposition and asks for verification. However, Göksel and Kerslake (2005) state that speakers are aware of the truth of their proposition but they still ask for confirmation. It serves as a kind of involving tag, which involves another speaker in the conversation. This confirmatory function which has been specified by Göksel and Kerslake (2005) is similar to Roesle's (2001) confirmatory tag. Roesle (2001) divides confirmatory tags into two parts. Speakers can use confirmatory tags when they are not totally sure of their proposition and they seek for confirmation. Yet, speakers can also use a confirmatory tag when they are sure of what they say. In this case, rather than seeking for confirmation, speakers want other speakers to involve in the ongoing conversation. Hence, Göksel and Kerslake's (2005) confirmatory function is similar to the second function of Roesle's (2001) confirmatory tag.

Another pragmatic function of TQs in Turkish is the inference of speakers according to Göksel and Kerslake (2005). This specific function is attributed to '*öyle mi*'. Turkish speakers use '*öyle mi*' with a discourse connective '*demek*' which means 'so'. When the speaker learns something new which contradicts his/her previous assumption, s/he uses '*öyle mi*' with '*demek*' to make an inference. With this '*öyle mi*' and '*demek*' combination, the speakers voice their surprise at something they newly acquire.

- (3) (Demek) Cemal bugün okul-a git-me-di, **öyle mi?**
 So Cemal today school-DAT go-NEG-PAST thus Q
 "So Cemal didn't go to school today then?"

Confirmatory function of TQs in Turkish is also specified by Kornfilt (1997) in the literature. Later, Göksel and Kerslake (2005) have presented the same function in their book. In addition to these functions, Göksel and Kerslake (2005) propose an additional function which is used to make inference. Therefore, confirmatory and inference tags are two main pragmatic functions which have been determined in the literature in regard to Turkish. (Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005).

The present analysis seeks to find out pragmatic features of TQs and compare these functions to those covered and uncovered in the literature on TQs in other languages.

3 Method

This study approaches TQs from the perspective of pragmatic analysis. Like other pragmatic studies of TQs, the present study analyses naturally-occurring data and comes up with a classification for Turkish. In the classification, for the overlapping functions Roesle's (2002) and Tottie and Hoffmann's (2006) terminology has been used. However, for the functions specific to Turkish, new terminology is suggested.

3.1 Data Collection

For pragmatic features to be determined mainly two sources have been used. For natural speech in Turkish, METU Spoken Corpus and recordings of the natural speech by the researchers have been used. METU Spoken Corpus consists of a wide range of domains from conversations among family to brief encounters. The natural speech in Turkish is observed in these domains so a general classification of TQs is based on the speech in these domains.

Additional recordings have been made by the researchers in order to provide more data for the study. (For detailed information about corpus see Appendix 1.) The researcher was an observer in the conversation during the collection process with the recorder situated in a place where the participants can see. The recordings have been done at home or in informal settings (e.g. speech between two friends, work place). Collecting the data from these settings helps to determine the use of pragmatic functions.

Table 2. Distribution of TQs in Data

Natural Speech	
Length	20
Word	25.525
TQ Frequency	672

3.2 Data Analysis and Discussion

The data, which consists of natural conversations, is coded by the researcher with the help of Jefferson's (2004) transcription conventions. The data is analysed by using Kappa in order to find out inter-rater agreement for the taxonomy of TQs. The test intends to eliminate the agreement occurring by chance. SPSS (IBM SPSS for Windows, ver. 24) is used for Kappa test. In a Kappa test, if P-Value is $p < 0.05$, it means the agreement is statistically significant. In this study, P-Value for inter-rater reliability is $p < 0.05$.

Table 3. Overall Pragmatic Functions, Instances, and Frequency of TQs in Turkish (n: 672)

	Number of utterances in the study	Pragmatic Functions/ Instances	Frequency in the data
Epistemic Functions	190	Informational (100) Confirmatory (90)	% 15 % 13
Affective Functions	482	Attitudinal (140) Conspiratory (25) Fearing (40) Mocking (80) Aggressive (110) Justification (87)	% 21 % 4 % 6 % 12 % 16 % 13

Overall in the daily speech, two main functions, epistemological and affective functions have been found in the frame of this study. Two epistemological functions show a parallelism with other studies for English. However, affective functions, as expected, show some deviations. The two major categories have been preserved in the present study. The number of utterances and their frequency are also given. By taking a closer look at Table 2, it can be claimed that the percentages of TQs are more or less evenly distributed in Turkish natural speech. There is not a significant difference among the use of TQs. The highest percentage belongs to attitudinal tags with 21 percent. Turkish speakers resort to attitudinal tags more to show the importance of their utterances. Aggressive tags account for 16 % in the corpus. Therefore, Turkish speakers use aggressive tags

in their daily lives. Just after aggressive tags, with the percent of 15, informational tags come. The first three tags are attitudinal, aggressive and informational tags. Turkish speakers use affective tags in their conversations more than epistemic tags. Confirmatory and justification tags share the same percentage with 13. It should be noted that conspiratory and fearing tags are not plentiful in the data, which means that in Turkish they are not used much by Turkish speakers.

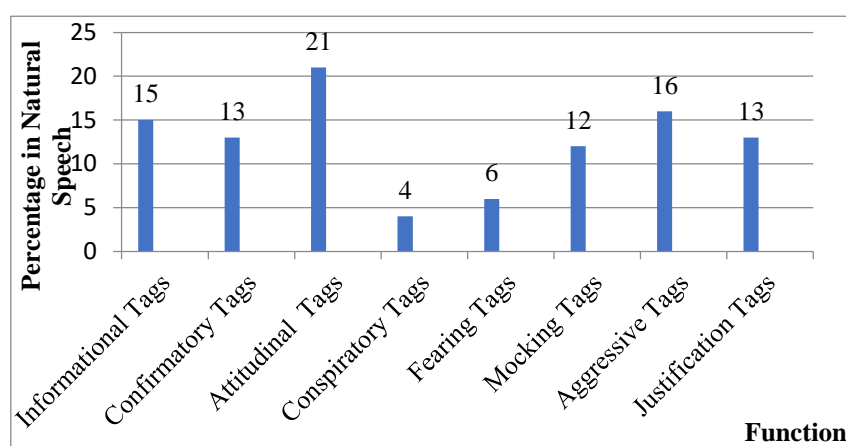


Figure 1. Percentages of Distribution of TQ Functions in Turkish Natural Speech.

Figure 1 shows that attitudinal tags are used by the speakers implying that the speakers feel the necessity to continue their sentences by thinking that their remarks are important. Aggressive and informational tags follow attitudinal tags.

3.2.1 Epistemic functions

Informational and confirmatory tags which form epistemic category in the literature are also specified in the corpus of the present work.

3.2.1.1 Informational tags

Conversation 1

- 1 A: .hhh- Ben de epeyden beri Nisa diyorum kıza. (.)
(I have been calling her Nisa for a long time.)
- 2 gerçi son zamanda ben de sıkılmaya başladım.
(I have begun to get bored lately though.)

- 3 Ondan sonra ře:y kısa isim istiyordum ben.
(Then I wanted a short name.)
- 4 Kısa. Öyle uzunsa, beř harfli bile (.) istemiyorum.
(Short, I didn't even want a name over five letters.)
- 5 Sevmi:yorum.=
(I don't like it.)
- 6 (0.4)
- 7 B: =Hımmm:
- 8 A: O ilk halleri ((looking at the photo))
(this was her earlier state.)
- 9 Bak bu da benim doğum.Hastanede daha doğurmadan
10 resmim. (-)
(Look this is my birthing in the hospital before delivery.)
- 11 B: [Ayy! Bir adı var sadece ↑*di mi*?
(She has only one name, doesn't she?)
- 12 (0.3)
- 13 A: İki adı va::r. Biri de (.) Gül.
(She has two names. The other one is Gül.)

In this conversation, two neighbors are talking about speaker A's new-born baby. Speaker B wonders whether or not the baby has two names. Naturally, she has no idea. Hence, so as to be informed, she asks a question with TQ 'di mi'. Here, TQ demonstrates itself as an informational tag as the sole aim of the speaker is to find out information that she doesn't know before.

3.2.1.2 Confirmatory tags

Conversation 2

- 1 A: ↑ Ne zaman geldin se:n?
(When did you come?)
- 2 (0.4)
- 3 B: Ankara'dan Cuma sabahı burdaydım da hani gezdik. (.)
(I came on Friday from Ankara. I was here in the morning.
We toured.)
- 4 Topkapı Sarayı'nı filan gezdik [hep beraber.
(We visited Topkapı Palace altogether.)
- 5 A: [Ha:: ben de gidemedim daha.=
(Yes, I haven't had the chance to visit it yet.)
- 6 B: = Ha ha. (Laughing remark)
- 7 A: İstanbuldayım. (0.3) İki yıldır İstanbul'dayım daha
8 gidemedim. (.)
(I am in İstanbul. I have been living in here for two years.Yet

- I haven't visited yet.
- 9 Kardeşimi görmüştün ↑*di mi*?
(You have seen my brother, haven't you?)
- 10 B: hhh- Görmüştüm.
(Yes I have.)

Speaker B is visiting his friend who has been living in İstanbul for two years. They are talking about İstanbul and Topkapı Palace. At some point in the dialogue, speaker A uses a TQ. Since they have been friends, he thinks that his friend may have seen his brother but he is not totally sure. To ensure, he asks a question with the help of TQ. Upon this question, speaker B confirms that he has seen his brother. Between informational and confirmatory tags there is a major difference. In the former, the speaker does not have any idea about something while in the latter the speaker has some ideas but still he is not sure. In this conversation, the speaker assumes that his friend may have seen his brother due to the fact that they are friend but still, since he is not sure, he asks a further question by using a confirmatory tag.

3.2.2 Affective functions

Apart from epistemic functions, which can be observed in almost every language, there is another category called as affective functions. As its name implies, these functions are directly related to the relation and interaction among the speakers.. It should also be noted that this function is variable and it tends to change more from language to language. Whereas epistemic functions can be considered as universal to almost every language, affective functions considerably change. As for English, as noted above, the functions of TQ are established, but in Turkish such an attempt has not been tried. Judging on this study, it can be put forward that English and Turkish have some overlapping affective functions such as attitudinal, conspiratory, fearing, and aggressive tags. However, affective functions in Turkish are various and a few functions are added to the list like mocking and justification tags whose examples have been provided below.

3.2.2.1 Attitudinal tags

Conversation 3

- 1 A: Kimse bana sahip olamaz (.) O yüzde:n de sevgilim yok
2 işte.=
(No one can possess me. That's why I don't have a boyfriend.)
- 3 0.3
- 4 B: = Kendine sahip çıkıyorsun [yani. (-)
(So you are protecting yourself.)

- 5 A: [Ba:k kendine sahip ıkmak
6 demek bařka biřey
7 **tamam mı?** Kendine sahip ıkmak davranıřlarını kontrol
8 etmekle ilgili bir Őey
9 **tamam mı?** (.) >Ayrıca hi komik deęilsi:n.<
(Look! What you are saying is completely different okay? Looking after
oneself is about controlling your behaviour okay? By the way, you are not
funny at all.)

In this conversation, two friends are talking about relationships and speaker A asserts that she does not want to have a boyfriend because she doesn't want to be controlled by just one person. Her friend, in a rather sarcastic way, makes a comment. That makes her angry and she is trying to defend herself. By doing this, she uses TQ 'tamam mı' in Turkish. As noticed, she is not waiting for a response, she just continues her sentence. She emphasizes what she thinks. So attitudinal function of TQ is at work in this conversation.

3.2.2.2 *Conspiratory tags*

Conversation 4

((in a school bus))

- 1 A: Kız Hasanla ilgilenmeyince Hasan nasıl bozuldu ama.
(When the girl wasn't interested in Hasan, he became so
despondent.)
2 B: Evet ya.
(Indeed.)
3 ((Speaker C approaches them.))
4 A: ↑ Aa:: (0.5) biz: de tam sınavlardan bahsediyorduk Hasan,
5 **↑*di mi*** Ayře?
(We were just speaking of exams, weren't we Ayře?)
6 (0.6)
7 B: Evet ya: (.) ok (0.3) zor dersler var bu sene.
(Yes, there are very difficult lessons this year.)

In a school bus, two friends are gossiping about someone. Just before the bus leaves, the person about whom they are talking gets on. Maybe out of panic, speaker A feels the necessity to show Hasan that they are talking about the exams. By using 'di mi', she asks a question but this is not a real question. The main aim is to appear convincing to the third party and hiding the details of their conversation.

3.2.2.3 Fearing tags

Conversation 5

((in the kitchen))

- 1 A: † Kızım (0.3) bu makarnanın hali ne soğuk suya koymadım
- 2 † inşallah **di mi**?=
(What is wrong with this pasta, I hope you didn't put it in cold water, did you?)
- 3 B: = Su >ılık anne ılık. <
(The water is warm, mum!)

The conversation is taking place between mother and daughter in the kitchen. The daughter is cooking and her mother steps into the kitchen to check if everything is alright. Then, she fears that her daughter may have put pasta in cold water, which is undesirable in the process. With fear, the mother directs her question by using TQ. She hopes that her daughter hadn't put the pasta into the cold water.

3.2.2.4 Mocking tags

Conversation 6

((two high school students are talking in the classroom))

- 1 A: .hhh Şimdi: (0.3) sen bu testi bir günde bitireceksin, **öyle mi**?
(Now, you will finish this test in a day, will you?)
- 2 (0.4)
- 3 B: † Evet [no::lmuş?] (.) Yapamam mı?
(Yes, so what? Can't I?)
- 4 A: [Kesin yaparsın.] ((laughs))
(Yeah, sure you will.)

Two students are having a conversation about the lessons. Speaker B claims that he can finish a long test in a day and he is one of the weakest student in the class. Because of this, speaker A does not believe that he can finish the test in just one day. In a rather sarcastic way, he asks the question with TQ to express his disbelief and tease.

3.2.2.5 Aggressive tags

Conversation 7

- 1 A: Yarın benimle eteği almaya gelecek misin?
(Will you come with me to buy skirt?)
- 2 (0.4)

- 3 B: Hı hı
(Yes.)
- 4 A: Sence hangisini alıyım?
(Which one do you think I should buy?)
- 5 B: Sen bilirsin.
(It's up to you.)
- 6 A: Kaçta gideriz?
(When will we go?)
- 7 B: Okuduğumu anlamıyorum, susacaksın *di mi?*
(I don't understand what I am reading, shut up, will you?)

Speaker A is studying at the time of the speaking and her sister asks some questions. Because of the fact that she is trying to concentrate on her lesson, she is frustrated with her sister's question. Out of anger, she shouts at her sister and uses a TQ to express her anger.

3.2.2.6 Justification tags

Conversation 8

- 1 A: ↑ Harbi Brad Pitt'in kötü bi (.) filmi yok.
2 Şö:yle bir düşünüyorum. (.) Türk filmleri...
3 Ben Koe Black'tan ↑ tut Snatch'e kadar hepsi.
(There is no bad movie of Brad Pitt. I think of Turkish movies.
From Koe Black to Snatch, all of them.)
- 4 (0.4)
- 5 B: Babil'i çok beğenmişim. =
(I really liked Babil.)
- 6 A: = Babil de iyi evet.
(Yes, Babil is good too.)
- 7 (0.3)
- 8 B: .hhh Kate Blenchet'i çok beğeniyorum [ben.
(I personally like Kate Blenchet a lot.)
- 9 A: [Güzel.
(Good.)
- 10 B: Mesela orda (0.3) şey çok güzeldi *di mi?* (.)Hani üç tane
11 farklı hi[kayeyi] sonda kesiřtirmesi.
(For example it was very good, wasn't it? All three story merge at
the end.)
- 12 A: [Evet evet.]
(Yes yes.)

Two speakers are exchanging ideas about movies. They are listing the movies they like. Speaker B talks about a part she enjoyed, she is sure that this part of the movie was excellent and she waits for agreement from the other speaker.

3.3 Discussion

Before the analysis, it has been stressed that TQs in Turkish need to be analysed since it has not been studied thoroughly before. Examining to TQs and categorizing them according to pragmatic features contribute to cross-linguistic studies. By this, it is meant that functions in Turkish and any other language can be compared to show differences and similarities.

Previous studies have revealed that almost in every language TQs hold the same epistemic functions. Two epistemic functions of question tags have also been observed in Turkish. The speakers of Turkish exploit these two epistemic functions in their conversations; informational and confirmatory tags. Turkish shows no deviation in this sense.

The common tag question phrase is 'di mi', 'değil mi', 'öyle mi and 'tamam mı'. As spoken language is informal and the conversations are taking place between people, whose status is almost equal to each other, it is not surprising to witness that an informal version 'di mi' is used.

Whereas epistemic functions are used in Turkish, the same situation is not valid for affective functions. Affective functions embrace a number of functions. Different societies can reflect their emotional state in different ways (Mithun, 2012). Mithun proposes that most of the TQs used by Mohawk speakers serve a social function. This social function reflects the emotional state of Mohawk speakers in the form of TQs. That is why affective functions vary. Even for the same language, because of different data, various functions can be observed. Some functions such as attitudinal and fearing have been observed in Turkish. However, some different functions have also been observed. Mocking and justification tags are striking examples to show these different functions.

In Turkish, eight pragmatic functions, two of which are epistemological have been found. These eight functions have been exploited in different settings by the speakers.

4 Conclusions

This study has presented an analysis of the pragmatic functions of TQs in Turkish natural speech. The analysis relied on corpora which represent Turkish natural speech from different settings (home, workplace, cafe).

After an extensive analysis from METU Spoken Corpus and researcher's recordings, eight functions of TQs have been identified in the frame of this study. These functions are; Informational Tags, Confirmatory Tags, Attitudinal Tags,

Conspiratory Tags, Fearing Tags, Mocking Tags, Aggressive Tags, and Justification Tags. Informational and Confirmatory Tags fall under the category of epistemic functions while the others fall under affective functions.

The results that emerge from this analysis have revealed that the pragmatic functions, which have been identified in this study, have a degree of overlap with those identified in previous literature. Holmes (1995) has identified modal function, which seeks for information in her study. This modal function serves as informational tag. In the present study, this modal function is also observed in Turkish natural speech. Roesle (2001), Algeo (2006) and Tottie and Hoffmann (2006) expanded Holmes's (1995) modal function in informational and confirmatory tags. These two epistemic functions are used by Turkish speakers to demand verification of an assumption. This shows that epistemic functions, which have been identified in English, are also specified in Turkish. The same epistemic functions have also been found in Italian (Bazzanella: 1994, Tomaselli and Gatt: 2015). It can be proposed that since informational and confirmatory tags are observed in Turkish, Turkish shows a similarity in this respect. The studies on TQs from pragmatic perspective indicate that there is not a conformity in affective functions of TQs. (Holmes, 1995; Roesle, 2001; Algeo, 2006; Tottie and Hoffmann, 2006; Tomaselli and Gatt, 2015). The present study has identified six affective functions of TQs. Among these functions, attitudinal, conspiratory, fearing and aggressive tags overlap with the functions, which are already identified in English. Attitudinal tags have been found by Roesle (2001). Roesle (2001) named this function as punctuational tags. Algeo (2006) also found the same function in his study and he adopted Roesle's term and decided not to change the name of punctuational tags. Having found punctuational tags in their study, Tottie and Hoffmann (2006) changed its name, which emphasises what the speaker says, as attitudinal tags. As they highlight the attitude of the speakers, the term, attitudinal tag, is used in the frame of this study. Moreover, Holmes (1995) identified challenging tag, whose name was changed by Roesle (2001), Algeo (2001), Tottie and Hoffmann (2006) as aggressive tags. It is found in this study that aggressive tags are also used by Turkish speakers to express their anger in some situations. Other overlapping tags with the functions in the literature are fearing and conspiratory tags in this study. It is notable that only Roesle (2001) has identified these two tags in her study. Unlike her, Holmes (1995), Algeo (2006) and Tottie and Hoffmann (2006) have not observed fearing and conspiratory tags in their study. Roesle (2001) specified hoping and fearing tags, but in the data of this study, only fearing tags have been identified. Fearing and conspiratory tags are used by Turkish speakers in the same way British speakers use in Roesle's study. As can be seen tags differ from one nation to another as well as from one group to another. This is because the meaning of tag questions is strongly pragmatic because as Algeo (2002) states their function is to signal relationships between the participants in a language event.

In spite of the overlapping functions, there are also functions, which have not been proposed in English. Tomaselli and Gatt (2015) and Marianne Mithun (2012) also demonstrated that in Italian and Mohawk, different functions have been identified than English. Tomaselli and Gatt (2015) have identified 'check hearer understanding', 'prompt agreement', and 'request permission' as different functions from English. These functions have not been specified in English by Holmes (1995), Roesle (2001), Algeo (2006) and Tottie and Hoffmann (2006). Likewise, Mithun (2012) has identified in Mohawk that TQs are used to indicate the function of 'joint plans', which is not observed in English. These findings suggest that if more research is done in different languages other than English, the more diversity can appear in the literature. In the present study, there are two TQ functions which have not been found in English, Italian and Mohawk. These two functions are mocking and justification functions. Mocking tags are mainly used to tease other participants in a sarcastic way in a conversation. Justification tags are used to indicate the expectation that other participants should agree with what has been said by the speaker. These two functions have been observed in Turkish natural speech. The difference of TQ functions between Turkish and other languages is not only about the different TQ functions, which have been found in the frame of this study. The functions determined in English are not observed in Turkish. Holmes' (1995) facilitative and softening tags, Roesle's (2001) involving, peremptory and hoping tags, Tottie and Hoffmann's (2006) facilitating tags have not been specified in the current study.

Within the framework of TQ classifications, the present study claims that although there are some overlaps between English and Turkish TQs, there are two TQ functions identified in Turkish, which do not seem to have been observed in other languages in the literature. It should be noted that mocking and justification tags, which account for 25 % of the dataset, have been observed as affective TQ functions in Turkish. These functions can be added to the taxonomies, proposed in the previous studies. That is, the resulting taxonomy in the current study includes two different affective tags (mocking and justification). As a result of that the current work can be viewed as a contribution toward a broader understanding of TQs which is supported by cross-linguistic data. This study suggests that the functions of TQs do not necessarily overlap on one-on-one basis, but rather may vary cross-linguistically. In this sense, the current study highlights that the theory about pragmatic classifications of TQs varies across languages. The difference among functions across languages implies that every language has different interactional and pragmatic features. Generally it is possible to say that the different affective functions, specified in this study, reflect the speakers' attitudes and social relations. The differences reflect a deeper characteristic common to speakers of all languages and the propensity to exploit available linguistic resources for creative acts of communication (Mithun, 2012). Hence, in this study, the difference also

highlights linguistic performance of Turkish speakers and culturally-specific styles of interaction and creative aspects of communication.

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Appendix 1

Information about METU Spoken Corpus and Researcher's Recordings

METU Spoken Corpus includes a selection from radio archive recordings done by volunteers in 2009 in various locations such as Erzurum, Çanakkale, Ankara, Mersin, Afyonkarahisar and Hatay in Turkey. Communication durations of this corpus is shown below:

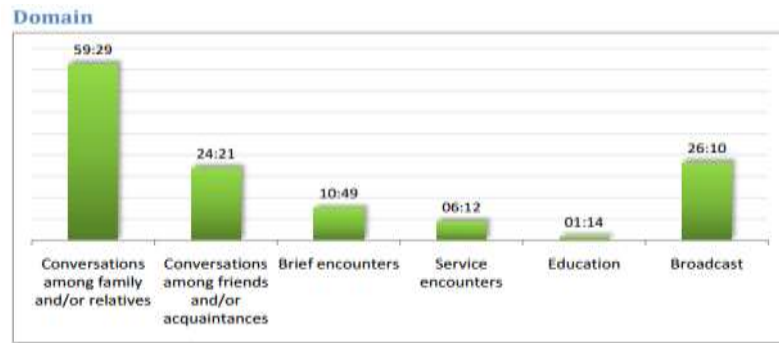


Figure 2. Distribution of communication durations to different domains (in minutes:seconds)

The corpus includes different range of speech types. The genre of the corpus is provided:



Figure 3. Distribution of the total duration of communications from different domains (mins:secs)

The speakers' age also differs. There are 48 male and 26 female speakers in the corpus.

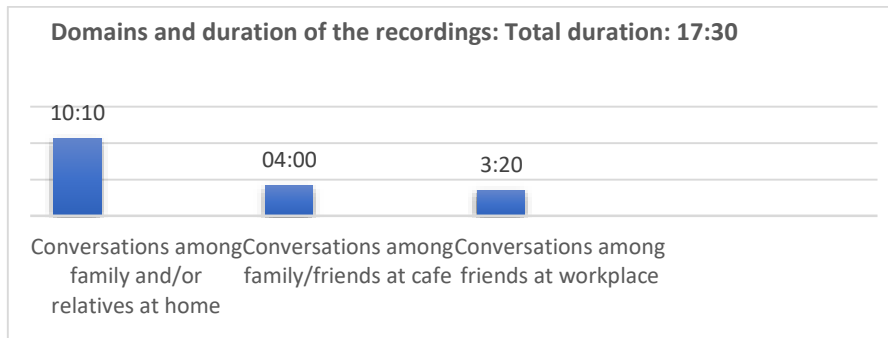


Figure 4. Distribution of the total duration of conversations from different domains in the recordings.

Appendix 2

Transcription Conventions Used in the Study

hhh-	Audible breath out
.hhh.	breath in
.	a short pause
(0.0)	The length of silence
(())	transcriber's description.
[two people talking at the same time
=	latching which means that is someone starts speaking immediately another has finished

:	the lengthened sound
↓	A falling tone in intonation
↑	a rising tone

Appendix 3

Abbreviations

DAT	Dative
SUB	Subjunctive
CONV	Converb Marker
CAUS	Causative
NEG	Negation
EV/PF	Evidential Perfective
P. CON	Present Continuous
GEN	Genitive Case
POSS	Possessive
EV	Evidential Copula
COP	Copula
P. COP	Past Copula
2SG	Second Person Singular
3SG	Third Person Singular