CHAPTER SEVEN

RETRIEVING AND ANALYZING REQUESTIVE FORMS: EVIDENCE FROM THE TURKISH NATIONAL CORPUS

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> While I cannot envisage a time when pragmatic analysis of corpora will provide all the answers, I believe that corpora will continue to be useful for investigating the meaning and frequency of particular pragmatic strategies. Other methods of data collection, such as DCTs, role-plays, and the like, although they have the advantage of eliciting precise responses to given stimuli, all suffer in large measure from lack of spontaneity and authenticity. These qualities are an important 'plus' for corpus pragmatics.
>
> —Geoffrey Leech, Interview,
> *Perspectives on Corpus Linguistics*

7.1. Introduction

The research on universals in pragmatic functions and their potential variations across different languages called for special data collection practices. The research questions in the study of universals demanded gathering data from various languages and for practical reasons, Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs) have been introduced and used extensively in speech act research (Beebe & Cummings, 1996). It was argued that the best practice is to collect samples of naturally-occurring, spontaneous speech in ordinary contexts of communication, that is to say, "all data should come from 'natural' conditions" (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989, p.12). A review of current studies, however, indicates that the debate about so-called *natural* data versus *elicited* data in pragmatic research is still very much alive today (Hardford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992; Franch & Lorenzo-Dus, 2008 among others).

The use of corpus data in pragmatic research is recent and has already brought forth new arguments about data collection methods and the nature of speech act research. The expansion of data storage capacities, the introduction of new and enriched data sets, and automated access to digitalized and annotated data have made it possible for researchers to analyze larger data sets relatively quickly and easily. However, despite the ease of access and the fact that corpus data represent language in use, the relationship between corpus linguistics and pragmatics has been a problematic one, as very few corpus linguists have tried to tackle pragmatic issues and even fewer pragmatic researchers have used corpus data in pursuing answers to questions in their analyses.

This study will present a corpus-based analysis of requestive expressions in Turkish. A selection of requestive forms are compiled from (i) Turkish counterparts of request expressions (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984) that are discussed in previous studies (Martı, 2006; Huls, 1988; Ruhi, 2011a) and (ii) forms that are listed in grammars (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 1997) as encoding requests in Turkish. In the first section of the paper, we will briefly review the role of corpus data in speech act research. We will then survey requestive forms and their categories in Turkish. After presenting the specially-constructed corpus of the study and the query processes of lexico-grammatical structures, we will concentrate on the most direct request strategies commonly used in requests. In the final section, the study will present distributional properties of retrieved requestive forms. These include lexical forms (request verbs, formulaic modifiers, mood derivables, and scope elements) and morpho-syntactic forms (imperative, optative, obligation, and ability, among others). In an agglutinative language like Turkish, complex concatenations of morphemes as well as certain individual morphemes function as forms that express requests (and many other speech acts as well). Like other strings in a corpus, morphological forms and their multiple concatenations are retrievable as long as they are properly tagged for their respective categories. Thus, we will provide sample concordances retrieved from the corpus and illustrate cases where a variety of samples of actual language use come to express requests. Here, we will argue that certain cases of use can be accessed and analyzed for their distinct roles in fulfilling their pragmatic function, which then become visible through corpus analytic tools. Collocations of these forms and the emerging patterns in which they occur bring to attention those aspects of data in Turkish that have previously gone unnoticed in encoding request speech acts. Since we will be accessing and retrieving predetermined forms in a

corpus, the data of current analysis will be confined to formal representations of direct and conventionally indirect strategies, excluding non-conventionally indirect strategies (e.g., *Hints*). As for the categories in conventionally indirect strategies, we will simply provide quantificational properties from their corpus representations.

In the confines of this study, while all proposed forms of request speech acts are retrieved from the corpus and the relevant quantificational information is provided, only imperatives and optatives will be discussed in the corpus analysis. Ultimately, the primary aim of this chapter will be to check the availability of these forms in the corpus data and their functions in encoding request speech acts.

7.2. Corpus data and speech act research

A simple definition suggests that a corpus is a "collection of texts." The texts that make up the corpus are collected from a variety of contexts, carefully selected to represent real language, attentively organized, and meticulously tagged to retrieve relevant samples of actual language use. The aim of corpus construction, which is to capture and represent real language, implies a very close relationship between corpus linguistics and pragmatics, as both disciplines favor empirical methodologies and focus on language use in concrete settings. However, this is a "troubled relationship" (Romero-Trillo, 2008), and "mutualistic, though sometimes excluded and excluding" (Romero-Trillo, 2013, p. 1).

The lack of interest in corpus data for pragmatic research is generally attributed to the nature of corpus data. It has been argued that there are a number of ontological differences between these two types of study that pertain to characteristics of naturally-occurring data and their representation. As Archer, Culpeper, and Davies (2008) observe, while corpus-based studies are commonly large-scale, quantitative analyses of written texts, the majority of pragmatic studies are small-scale, qualitative analyses of spoken language data. Apart from matters of size, some researchers maintain that pragmatic research focuses on language use in context; however, corpora only capture relationships between forms, excluding the dynamics of context, and most salient features of communication such as vague uses, politeness strategies, hedges, and indirect speech acts (among others) cannot be retrieved automatically from a corpus. In Rühlemann's (2010) terms, many pragmaticists conclude:

> Thus, in written corpora, while the textual record is good, the record of contextual features is, to an extent, impoverished. Spoken corpora, conversely, are impoverished not only contextually but also textually. (p. 289)

The common understanding is that corpus research is confined to form-function matches and when there is no such matching, which is commonly the case, corpus data are inadequate for pragmatic studies.

Recent developments in (pre-) processing tools and advances in corpus construction and annotation, on the other hand, have minimized the qualitative-quantitative distinction in the study of language use and enriched the representation of contextual features in corpus data. The increasing number of studies, along with new and enriched data sets, suggest that many issues raised against the adequacy of corpus data for the study of major topics in pragmatics can no longer be maintained.

As for the situation before the advance of spoken corpora, Adolphs (2008) notes that in the early days of pragmatic theories of language, in the absence of large spoken data, researchers lacked the tools to capture the recurrent links between linguistic forms and their systematic uses and thus they focused on external aspects of text and discourse. However, she notes that:

> With the development of spoken corpora of naturally occurring discourse and the accompanying tools required to represent and search this kind of data, it has become possible to re-examine the possible relationship between lexico-grammar, utterance function and discourse context, and to explore possible patterns in this relationship which are not external to the discourse, but which can be described through recurrence of choices at these three levels. (2008, p. 1)

In recent years, following the works of Sinclair (1996, 2004), Stubbs (1995), and others who have contributed to the advance of corpus methodologies, we now have accurate descriptions of formal expressions of utterances and a more detailed understanding of the relationship between such forms and their functions. The developments in corpus annotation further help to retrieve proper data sets and also contribute to the ability to scrutinize the associations between lexico-grammatical forms and pragmatic function. Significant characteristics of pragmatic functions that were not available to study by using a corpus data are now obtainable:

> Explorations of corpora have nevertheless been fruitful in pragmatics, as

> evidenced by a series of studies which investigate how interaction is sequentially and interactionally organized, how the attitudes and perspectives of speakers and hearers are manifested in spoken discourse, how texts are coherently structured beyond the sentence level, etc. Among the topics studied are turn-taking phenomena, pauses and repairs, discourse markers, hedging and vague language, small talk, speaker attitudes and so on. (Anderson, 2011, p. 587)

Furthermore, corpus-based studies proved that beyond retrieving concordances for predetermined search forms, corpus data may bring to attention such uses that have gone unnoticed before or new functions for well-studied forms. An even more important contribution of corpus data is observed in defining characteristics:

> What a corpus can do even in those cases where the form-function mismatch of a phenomenon prevents exhaustive searches, is provide the analyst with illustrative examples that are not only attested and, in this sense, authentic but also embedded in their co-texts, thus giving some evidence of the context in which they were used. Such corpus illustrations can usefully complement, or even replace, the invented and often completely decontextualized examples that have formed the basis of much pragmatic enquiry. (Rühlemann, 2010, p. 290)

In using corpus data in pragmatic analyses, work on speech acts predates others, probably because so-called "Head Acts" are lexical forms and they can become a corpus query item comparatively easily. In a pioneering work, Aijmer (1996) takes the lead in displaying how the speech act expressions of thanking, apologizing, requesting, and offering can be analyzed in a corpus-based study. In this work, Aijmer derives comprehensive lists of expressions that realize the speech act in question and she accounts for subtle differences between the forms used in realizing the act. Similarly, Adolphs (2008) points out that by concentrating on suggestions, she can develop functional profiles of speech act expressions from their distributional and collocational patterns in the corpus data. The contributions of these and many other corpus-based pragmatics studies are not limited to deriving actual lists of expressions nor to identification of patterns of use. Corpus-based studies on speech act realizations analyze the citations of actual data and highlight patterns in which speech act expressions co-occur with other forms in their immediate context, providing a distributional and quantificational understanding of language use in context along with new methodological implications for the study of forms in context. Consequently, with the help of corpus analysis, researchers now focus more on recurrent and systematic patterns of actual

use rather than form-function matching in various manifestations of speech acts.

In a corpus-based study, Rayson (2008) defines five "core" steps:

> The methodology used by corpus linguistics researchers typically proceeds along the following lines: it begins with the identification of a research question, continues with building and annotating a corpus with which to investigate the topic, and finishes with the retrieval, extraction and interpretation of information from the corpus which may help the researcher to answer the research question or confirm the parameters of the model. (p. 519)

When this methodology is applied to a corpus-based speech act study, the analysis of utterance function refers to four "key areas" (Adolphs, 2008, p. 4). The tools of *corpus linguistics* provide concordance outputs and means of analysis; *pragmatic analysis* concentrates on utterance function and levels of directness; *discourse analysis* focuses on emerging patterns and their sequences in discourse, and *context analysis* targets the relationship between patterns and contextual variables.

In this current study, as we have indicated before, the research question will focus on the availability of previously determined requestive expressions in a corpus. A specialized spoken subcorpus is thus extracted from the TNC Turkish National Corpus (TNC) (Aksan et al., 2012) and tagged for POS and morphological units. In the following sections, we will present our conclusions from the retrieved and extracted expressions that encode request speech acts in Turkish.

7.3. The request speech act

Request speech act research points to difficulties in identifying the forms used in performing the act. In the majority of cases, there is no straightforward connection between form and function and there is no reliable way to predict the association properly. Aijmer (1996), for example, uses "request" as an umbrella term to cover a set of functions and sub-functions and their link with the forms that are used in their manifestations in different contexts.

In order to develop a more comprehensive classification of speech acts, Searle (1975, p. 344) attempts to develop "a reasoned classification of

illocutionary acts into certain basic categories or types." In this classification, directives (including requests) are identified:

> The illocutionary point of these consists in the fact that they are attempts (of varying degrees, and hence more precisely, they are determinates of the determinable which includes attempting) by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. They may be very modest "attempts," as when I invite you to do it or suggest that you do it, or they may be very fierce attempts as when I insist that you do it. (Searle, 1975, p. 355)

The following studies propose different classifications or same classifications that include or exclude same or different sets of class members primarily based on the "force" implied in Searle's definition above. Huang (2006) includes advice, commands, orders, questions, and requests in the directives category while Aijmer (1996) notes that orders or commands "… have not been included unless they are used as strategies to make polite requests or offers" (p.130). She further points out that:

> It is much more difficult to pick out the strategies which are conventionally used to make requests since there are so many ways in which a request can be carried out and it is difficult to define what we mean by request. The speaker may make a request by asking a question, making an order, suggesting something, etc. (Aijmer, 1996, p.130)

From a different perspective, Tsui (1994) also distinguishes between the members of the class:

> … requestives subsume utterances which have been referred to in the speech act literature as *request*, *invite*, *ask for permission*, and *offer*. They do not subsume those which have been referred to as *order*, *command*, and *instruct*. The latter are subsumed under a different subclass: *directives*. (p. 91)

It seems that it is possible to distinguish between the members of the directive class and to pursue more detailed analyses of their defining characteristics, as is already done in large number of studies. There is however, a somewhat straightforward property of the request speech act in the sense that, while it is possible for some speech act verbs not to perform, it is always the case for a request to work since:

> Requesting works well as a performative verb because requesting requires only that the agent has made an attempt, and need not have succeeded in

> getting the hearer to do the requested action, or even to form the right beliefs. (Cohen & Levesque, 1990, p. 87)

On the formal side of the matter, Sadock & Zwicky (1985) note, "… most languages are similar in presenting three basic sentence types with similar functions and often strikingly similar forms" (p. 160). These three basic sentence types are the *declarative*, the *interrogative*, and the *imperative*. Roughly, they can be described as follows: the declarative is used for making announcements or declarations, stating conclusions, making claims, telling stories, and so on. The interrogative is used to gain information; it asks for a verbal response from the addressee. The imperative is used for making requests, giving orders or advice, making suggestions, and the like; its use is meant to influence the course of (future) events.

Table 7-1 Relationship between form and function of speech acts

Syntactic form	Illocutionary act	Illocutionary force
Declarative	Statement	Speaker commits to content
Interrogative	Question	Request for information
Imperative	Command	Attempt to get listener to do something

(Degand, 2006, p. 1012)

The above table is a simple way of expressing the form-function relation and is a very rough summary. A true pragmatic analysis of lexico-grammatical forms and patterns that express a request speech act directly or indirectly requires a fine-grained search for formal manifestations.

Blum-Kulka et al. (1984, 1989) is the first large-scale attempt to define cross-linguistic speech act patterns (CCSARP). The research gathers data with a "controlled elicitation procedure" and defines an "utterance or sequence of utterances" as the unit of analysis. This unit is then analyzed into segments of (a) address term(s); (b) Head Acts; (c) adjuncts to a Head Act.

The identification of request patterns in CCSARP starts by determining the major components of a request sequence in utterances. These include (i) *alerters*, (ii) proposed *supportive moves,* (iii) the *request proper,* or Head Act, and (iv) *downgraders or upgraders*, plus postposed supportive moves which are optional and serve to elaborate the request expression in question.

Central to the request sequence is the Head Act that realizes the act independently of other components in the sequence. There are two dimensions to the Head Act: (i) strategy type, and (ii) perspective. On a scale of indirectness, the nine strategies include the following types:

1. mood derivable
2. performatives
3. hedged performatives
4. obligation statements
5. want statements
6. suggestory formulae
7. query preparatory
8. strong hints
9. mild hints

The scale of indirectness is defined over three levels, each of which includes different sets of strategies given above: (i) *direct strategies* (1 to 5), (ii) *conventionally indirect* (6 and 7), and (iii) *nonconventionally indirect* (8 and 9). Perspective in a request expression is formally realized in four types depending on the emphasis on different participants: (i) speaker-oriented, (ii) hearer-oriented, (iii) inclusive, and (iv) impersonal. Optionally, a request utterance may be internally modified via various downgraders and upgraders. These are not essential components of a request act where the act is performed without any loss in their absence (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989).

The most direct request strategy is expressed by the grammatical mood of the verb that indicates the illocutionary force of the utterance. The basic form encoding the most direct request strategy is the imperative. The direct strategy also includes performatives, hedged performatives, obligation statements, and want statements.

The level of directness defined as conventionally indirect includes strategies of suggestory formulae and query preparatory, again following an order in terms of the degree of directness they encode. Since we are excluding an analysis of conventionally indirect strategies, such an analysis poses serious difficulties for corpus-based research, so we will be discussing the forms that are customarily used to encode these seven strategy types. The *nonconventional indirect* level and its linguistic manifestations will not be discussed in this study.

7.4. Requestives in Turkish

In an earlier study, Huls (1988) provides a comprehensive list of request forms in Turkish. Huls adopts an interactive sociolinguistic framework and through participation in actual communicative contexts (a case study), the study gathers data. The resulting list of forms that represent request speech acts was derived from a Turkish family settled in the Netherlands. The detailed analysis of this data reveals nine categories of these forms, both morphological and lexical. These include (1) the imperative (simple and complex forms), (2) the explicit performative, (3) the subjunctive, (4) ellipsis, (5) embedded constructions concerning felicity conditions, (6) embedded constructions not concerning felicity conditions, (7) permission directive, (8) question directive, and (9) hints.

The imperative category includes the infinitive verb form with person agreement affixes, covering polite forms as well as forms of 2nd persons of optative-imperative and the converb structures with *V-iver* 'just (do) V' and V-*adur* 'keep (doing) V' together with light verb *yapmak* 'to do.' The explicit performative refers to the basic request verb in Turkish *rica etmek* 'to request, to demand' and the subjunctive category covers the forms from the optative paradigm that will be given in the next section. While the ellipsis category includes simple single nominals (e.g. "Door!"), signaling that they are the only remaining items from a fully inflected clause, embedding categories contain future and progressive alongside modals (e.g. affixal and lexical necessity markers, the abilitative) and requesting questions. The permission-directive represents a combination of the optative and a question particle. The remaining part is question the directive and it seems to dismiss any particular form that is systematically associated with a request speech act.

The method of data collection (participant observation and recording on-site) clearly confines the ultimate list of requestive forms, as noted by Huls (1988):

> Some types are noticeably absent from the table: the explicit performative type, 'sincerity' and 'objective necessity.' Although these types belong to the formal possibilities of the language, they are not represented in our material. Further, the frequency of all embedded types (…) is not very high. Apparently, the types of greatest interest to pragmalinguistics are not very frequent in natural family interaction. (p. 248)

On the other hand, the imperative and hints are cited as the most frequent. Furthermore, Huls (1988) reports that the majority of imperatives in the data were simple stems (83%). Similar conclusions on both the high frequency of imperatives (or direct requests) and preference of non-canonical 2nd person (i.e., simple imperative) over other persons can be found in other studies on Turkish requests. The preference towards more direct request strategies in Turkish is commonly considered a characteristic of a collectivist culture.

In a relatively recent study, Martı (2006) develops another list of forms encoding request speech acts in Turkish based on Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). Following the coding schema developed in CCSARP, Martı sets out to determine potential differences between bilingual and monolingual Turkish speakers in using request strategies. The study analyzes a set of forms in Turkish that may be used to encode different request strategies that would define the relationship between indirectness and politeness.

On the formal side, the most direct strategy in the data gathered via DCT reveals mood derivables that include various forms of imperative and *-iver* converbs, as in Huls' data, and additionally, the conditional (V-*sA*) among the forms in this category. The explicit performatives in the DCT data include the basic verb of request, *rica etmek*, 'to request.' The locution derivable forms used to express a different level of directness include the lexical predicate *gerek* 'necessity' and the affixal form of obligation (*V-malı*) together with the aorist *V-ar*. The final forms in the direct strategies categories express *want*-statements, including the verbs *beklemek* (*…yardımınızı bekliyorum* 'I'm waiting for/expecting your help'), and *istemek* (… *vermenizi istiyorum* 'I want you to give…') and the optative form …*verelim* 'Let's give.'(Martı 2006, p. 1841).

When we move down the scale of directness, conventionally indirect strategies in Turkish are encoded by utterances in which predicates embedding a conditional are preceded by an aorist. The sample for the use of the suggestory formula strategy in Martı (2006) is "… *verirseniz memnun olurum/iyi olur* 'I'd be glad /It would be good if you give…'" (p. 1841). The other strategy, defined as conventionally indirect, cites various usages of questions combined with the ability suffix *V-ebil/abil*. The forms provided in Martı (2006), "…*verebilir misin/iz* 'Can/Could you give' ... *yardım etmeniz mümkün mü*? 'Is it possible for you to help?'" (p.1841) are encoding requests in a preparatory or conventional indirect strategy.

By far the most comprehensive list of request forms is proposed in Ruhi (2011), both in major categories and their subcategories. The annotation catalogue includes all other previously identified forms with further additions in each class. It should be noted that Huls' (1988) study is restrained by the communicative contexts available in a family context. Similarly, Martı (2006) is also constrained by the available categories listed in CCSARP and the possible DTC data that can be gathered from participants. Ruhi, however, has the benefit of working relatively unimpeded neither by a theoretical framework nor a specialized data collection method. The forms identified in Ruhi (2011a) are gathered in ten different categories and the aim is to provide a comprehensive list for the corpus developers as a manual in annotating requests in a Spoken Corpus of Turkish.[1]

In the final section of the paper, we will access and retrieve these proposed formal manifestations of the request speech act. We will present their quantificational representations and provide concordances that illustrate the functions associated with these forms as noted in the studies mentioned earlier.

7.5. The annotated TNC spoken subcorpus

The corpus of the present study is extracted from a larger corpus, namely the Turkish National Corpus (TNC) (Aksan et al., 2012). The TNC is a representative, balanced, general reference corpus of contemporary Turkish, consisting of sample texts from a wide range of genres and covering a period of 20 years (1990-2009). The size of the TNC is 50 million words with 2% of the corpus containing transcribed spoken data (Aksan et al., 2012).

The Spoken TNC subcorpus consists of 670,464 word forms in total. The two major data sources include manually transcribed private conversations (203,976 words) and broadcast news/discussions/interviews, as well as transcriptions of lectures/conferences (466,488 words in total).

The TNC subcorpus is morphologically annotated by using NooJ (Silberztein, 2003). The NooJ_TR module (Aksan & Mersinli, 2011) is used in order to reduce the amount of noisy data that may otherwise be

[1] We will not discuss these since most of the forms this study is concerned with are already discussed in detail in other works.

retrieved by using regular expressions in unannotated transcriptions. Working with an annotated corpus allowed the researchers to retrieve the searched lexical and morpho-syntactic realizations of requestive expressions. Obviously, access and retrieval of pragmatic functions require proper pragmatic annotation. At this point, we can argue that the analysis presented in this study may be considered as an initial step for further discourse-related or multi-modal annotations for agglutinative languages like Turkish.

A sample annotation from the TNC subcorpora is given below. The highlighted sentence is analyzed into words and each word is tagged for its respective part-of-speech class and suffix information by using the NooJ_TR tagset (Demirhan & Aksan, 2012).

(1)

Speaker D: *Oraya da ben gitmek istemedim. Uzak diye. Hastalığımdan dolayı.*
This time, I didn't want to go there. Since it is too far away. Because of my illness.

Speaker E: *Sağlık sorunlarını biraz bize anlatabilir misin? Eğer özel değilse yani*.
Could you tell us about your health problems a little? If it's not personal of course.

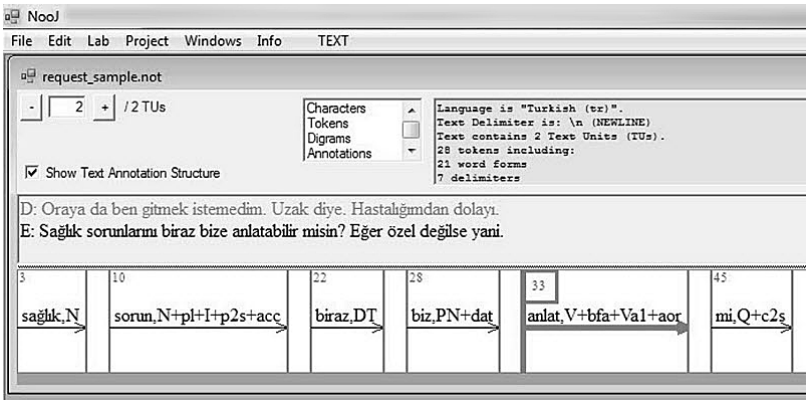

Fig. 7-1 A sample annotation of the lexico-grammatical forms in Turkish

The accessible (searchable string of letters) linguistic forms of requests in the corpus are defined in two major categories: (i) affixes and affix combinations; and (ii) lexical forms, including simple lexical items as well as phraseological units.

The agglutinative nature of Turkish provides its users with various affixes and their multiple combinations for encoding requests in general, and the finer distinction in the expression of different levels of directness in particular. The use of affixes in this respect is not limited only to grammatical forms, but also in their ordering on different lexical items that function to signal the Head Act or many modifiers of the request speech act.

Accessing or retrieving lexical forms (i.e. strings) is relatively easy using corpus tools. The query item and its concordances are retrieved from the corpus simply by typing the correct form and then further queries can be conducted over the extracted data. For example, when *rica* 'request' is searched as the query item, the concordance lines that include the lexical form are accessed as below:

Query forms	**Grammatical Form**	**Sample**
rica <et,VB+imprf+1s>	imperfective 1st person singular inflection of the verb "*rica et*"	*rica ediyorum*
arzu <et,VB>	all inflections of the verb "*arzu et*"	*arzu ederseniz* *arzu ederim*

Before	Seq.	After
Açık. <D 1544> Ben dolduruyum. Serpil: Yeşim: Aa,	rica	ederim: Çok açık koy ama
<D 8> B: Anladım. Çok saol ablacım. N:	Rica	ederim. B: Bayağı da yorduk
geliyorum biliyorsunuz. E: Çok teşekkür ederiz. N:	Rica	ederim. B: Çok teşekkür ediyorum
teşekkür ediyorum. Bir şeyi de hafife almamalarını	rica	ediyorum. Bu iki nükleer kazadan
soru soracak arkadaşlarımızın eee kendilerini tanıtmalarını da	rica	ediyoruz. Evet bu arada sorular
sivil toplum kuruluşu üyesi olarak cevap vermesini	rica	ettiğim 2 tane alıntı okuyacam. Bu
orda 3 cümle okuyacam. Ee bunun da açıklamasını	rica	ediyorum. Diyorlar ki bu arkadaşların
diyebilirim. Bunu sizden samimi olarak cevap vermenizi	rica	ediyorum. CG: Teşekkürler. Buyrun. SB
Bakanların öyle yeğenleri, akrabaları oldu mu birine	rica	edip ya da yazı yazıp

Fig. 7-2 A sample keyword search for query term <rica>

Since the majority of requestive expressions are morpho-syntactic forms rather than simple lexical items, a corpus-based speech act research in Turkish requires a "pattern" search. In the particular form below, a pattern of combined forms of ability, aorist, and second person singular question particles are accessed (roughly meaning 'would you be able to do X'):

Before	Seq.	After
baktığın zaman Mersin için böle bi şey	düşünebilir misin	? Mümkün diil. Ama burada bile
kalır mı sana? Ondan kazandığını ağız tadıyla	yiyebilir misin	? Mümkün mü? Onun için vakıf
dersin, karstik arazidendir dersin. Ama iklim	diyebilir misin	? Diyemezsin. Şimdi bakın Marmara Bölgesi
civarı nüfus seyrek. Şimdi buraya yer şekilleri	diyebilir misin	? Ne dersin? Kuraklık. <B> Hakkari
,Eİ, 0 S: Merhaba Ö: Merhaba S: Kendini	tanıtabilir misin	? Ö: Ben, ismim Özlem, 22 yaşındayım
İlk evliliğin nasıl oldu peki, nasıl evlendin	anlatabilir misin	? Ö: İlk evliliğim ya... babamın
için. Peki ilk evlendin, onun biraz zorluklarını	anlatabilir misin	küçük yaşta bi evlilik. Ö
nıyorum işte. E: Sağlık sorunlarını biraz bize	anlatabilir misin	? Eğer özel değilse yani. D

Fig. 7-3 A sample pattern search for query term <V+Va1+aor> <Q+c1s>

7.6. Requests and manifestations in the TNC spoken subcorpus

In line with Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), we started introducing forms into the corpus search with a sample request sequence retrieved from the spoken subcorpus of the TNC. The sequence in (2) below incorporates a preparatory condition (*zahmet olacak ama…* 'it will be an inconvenience but, …'), a Head Act (performative *rica etsem,* 'if I may request'), an external modifier interrogative (the question preceded by the ability marker, *söyleyebilir misiniz* 'could you tell'), and a mitigating device *please* 'lütfen' :

(2) [Zahmet olacak ama], [rica et-se-m], [ne kadar süremiz kaldığını söyle-yebil-ir mi-siniz] [lütfen?]

It will be an inconvenience, but if I kindly request, could you please tell us how much time we have?

The above sample request utterance shows that the major formal means of encoding a request speech act in Turkish are manifested in morphosyntax: the conditional on performative (*-se*), the ability modal marker on a matrix verb (*-ebil*), and the question particle (*-mi*) followed by a second person plural affix (*-siniz*) which, in this particular case, is the

polite form. In the preceding section, we have listed forms of requests in Turkish as they have been defined in previous studies. For expository purposes, we will not refer to uses of tense markers and their role in encoding requests here.

The corpus data on internal modifications (downgraders and upgraders) are mostly lexical forms and formulaic expressions that are relatively easier to access in the corpus. In this case, the simple lexical forms or various combinations of lexemes become query items.

The search and retrieval categories for the purposes of this study cover the formal means of most direct and conventionally indirect strategies in Turkish, leaving out the forms of final category non-conventional indirect, since it is by no means possible to predict matching forms to meanings.

The most direct strategy, the mood derivable, will be confined to imperatives and optatives in our corpus search. Concordances retrieved from the corpus encoding the imperative are based on different person markings in their respective paradigms, as in the following:

Table 7-2 Query forms for imperative paradigm

Query Form	Gram. Form	Concordance
<VB+imp2>	V-stem	V-
<VB+imp2>	V-imp-2nd. pl.	V-yun
<VB+imp2>	V-imp-3rd. sg.	V-sun
<VB+imp2>	V-imp-2nd. pl.	V-yunuz
<VB+imp2>	V-imp-3rd. pl.	V-sunlar
<VB+imp2>	V-cond-2nd. sg-voc.	V-sana
<VB+imp2>	V-cond -2nd. pl-voc.	V-sanıza

The root forms may be simple lexical verbs or a small number of light verbs (*olmak* 'to be,' *yapmak* 'to make,' *etmek* 'to do') together with converbs (V-*iver* and V-*adur*) that rarely occur in the concordance data.[2]

We have included the optative form in the mood derivable category.

[2] The query forms for the aorist, the progressive, and the future will not be listed here. The format of query forms already illustrates the case; simple replacement of respective affixal exponents will derive the form.

Table 7-3 Query forms for optative paradigm

Query Form	Gram. Form	Concordance
<VB+imp2>	V-opt-1st. sg.	V-ya-yım
<VB+imp2>	V-opt-2nd sg.	V-ya-sın
<VB+imp2>	V-opt-1st. pl.	V-a-lım
<VB+imp2>	V-opt-2nd pl.	V-ya-sınız

Even the search of the request performative verb *rica etmek* 'to request' is not exempt from a search of different morphological realizations exhibiting tense and person inflections with different light verbs because *rica* is not a native nominal and thus requires a light verb to verbalize it. Additionally, there are different case markings with the nominal itself; for example:

(3) *rica etmek,* 'to request,' *ricası olmak,* 'having a request for,' *ricada bulunmak,* 'having requested'

The third category, hedging expressions like *memnun olmak* 'be/make happy' and *güzel olmak* 'be good/fine' and their various inflected forms, with different tense and modals, are lexical forms. Additionally, we considered the subjunctive to be in the category of hedges in the expression of requests in Turkish. For the sake of clarity, we will just give the paradigm for the subjunctive here in 7-4.

Table 7-4 Query forms for subjective paradigm

Query Form	Gram. Form	Concordance
<V+cond+1s>	V-cond-1st sg.	V-sa-m
<V+cond+2s>	V-cond -2nd sg.	V-sa-n
<V+cond+3s>	V-cond -3rd sg.	V-sa
<V+cond+1p>	V-cond -1st pl.	V-sa-k
<V+cond+2p>	V-cond -2nd pl.	V-sa-nız
<V+cond+3p>	V-cond -3rd pl	V-sa-lar

As in the previous strategy of hedges, in the final category of direct strategies, obligation statements include lexical and morphological forms as well. The lexemes that serve to function as obligation or necessity predicates include *gerek* 'necessity,' *lazım* 'needed,' *zorunda* 'have to/must,' and *mecbur* 'have to;' the morphological exponent is the obligation affix *-malı* that may attach to lexical and light verbs relatively

freely. The following is the query forms for the morphological obligation:

Table 7-5 Query forms for obligation paradigm

Query Form	Gram. Form	Output form
<V+cond+1s>	V-nec-1st sg.	V-malı-yım
<V+cond+2s>	V- nec -2nd sg.	V-malı-sın
<V+cond+3s>	V- nec -3rd sg.	V-malı
<V+cond+1p>	V- nec -1st pl.	V-malı-yız
<V+cond+2p>	V- nec -2nd pl.	V-malı-sınız
<V+cond+3p>	V- nec -3rd pl	V-malı-lar

The final category in the direct strategies group comprises lexical forms like, *istemek*, 'to want,' *arzu etmek* 'to desire,' *dilemek* 'to wish,' *yalvarmak* 'to entreat,' *tercih etmek* 'to prefer,' and all members of *want*-statements as encoding requests along the directness scale. Since we have already accounted for our corpus query means for lexical structures, we will continue with conventionally direct strategies without further exemplifying retrieval of the members of this final strategy.

The last two categories that we will search and retrieve from the spoken subcorpus of the TNC will consist of the forms from suggestory formulae and query preparatory. The former is basically the Turkish equivalent of *wh*-questions corresponding to *ne*-questions in Turkish (e.g. *nasıl olur* 'how would that be,' *ne dersin* 'what do/would you say,' *niye V-neg-iyoruz* 'why not V,' *neden X* 'why X'), which serve the purpose of expressing suggestions rather than interrogation. The query preparatory strategy is mainly realized by a formal combination of yes-no questions with the ability marker. Occasionally, the aorist may appear in the same slot as the ability marker to express suggestions. A sample representation of query preparatory forms is given below:

Table 7-6 Query forms for query preparatory

Query Form	Gram. Form	Citation form
VB+Va1+aor Q+2s	V-abilitative-Q-2nd. sg.	V-yabilir misin
VB+Va1+aor Q+2p	V-abilitative-Q-2nd. pl.	V-yabilir misiniz
VB+aor Q+2s	V-aor-Q-2nd. sg.	V-r musun
VB+aor Q+3p	V-aor-Q-3rd pl.	V-r musunuz

Other preparatory devices in Turkish include formulaic expressions like: *Pardon* 'excuse me,' *bir saniye* 'just a second,' *Zahmet olacak ama…* 'It will be an inconvenience, but…'*, isterseniz* 'If you want/wish' ... *sakıncası yoksa* '… if it's no trouble,' *(bir) mahsuru yoksa* 'if it doesn't cause (any) a problem,' *sizce de uygunsa* 'if applicable,' and phrase-initial *lütfen* 'please.'

The corpus data on internal modifications (downgraders and upgraders) include mostly lexical forms and formulaic expressions that are relatively easier to access in the corpus. In this case, the lexical form becomes a query item.

The distribution of request forms cited in the corpus and their categories are given in Figure (7-4) below.

Once again, we observe that the direct request strategies are the most common in the Turkish context, as previously noted in the studies reviewed earlier. Thus, we underline the same assertion for Turkish; the forms that are identified as encoding requests in Turkish are found in the corpus data and they serve the functions they are expected to serve.

7.7. Mood derivables

We have presented the typology of forms that encode request speech acts in Turkish as they are listed in a number of previous studies. Below we will concentrate on formal manifestations of imperatives and optatives in Turkish and their functions in expressing direct requests. It will become clear that most of the other forms, especially those with various tense inflections, are requestive expressions insofar as they are imperatives in disguise. In other words, present, progressive, or future marked utterances can encode request speech acts as long as they are construed as directives. Otherwise, they assume their own temporal reference interpretation regarding the particular form in question.

Turkish person agreement affixes on predicates, depending on the preceding verbal category, are distributed into four different paradigms (Kornfilt, 1997) or groups (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005). The preceding verbal categories (modality, voice, negation etc.) also occur in their specific slots in a verbal complex. The following table represents person agreement affixes and the groups they belong to:

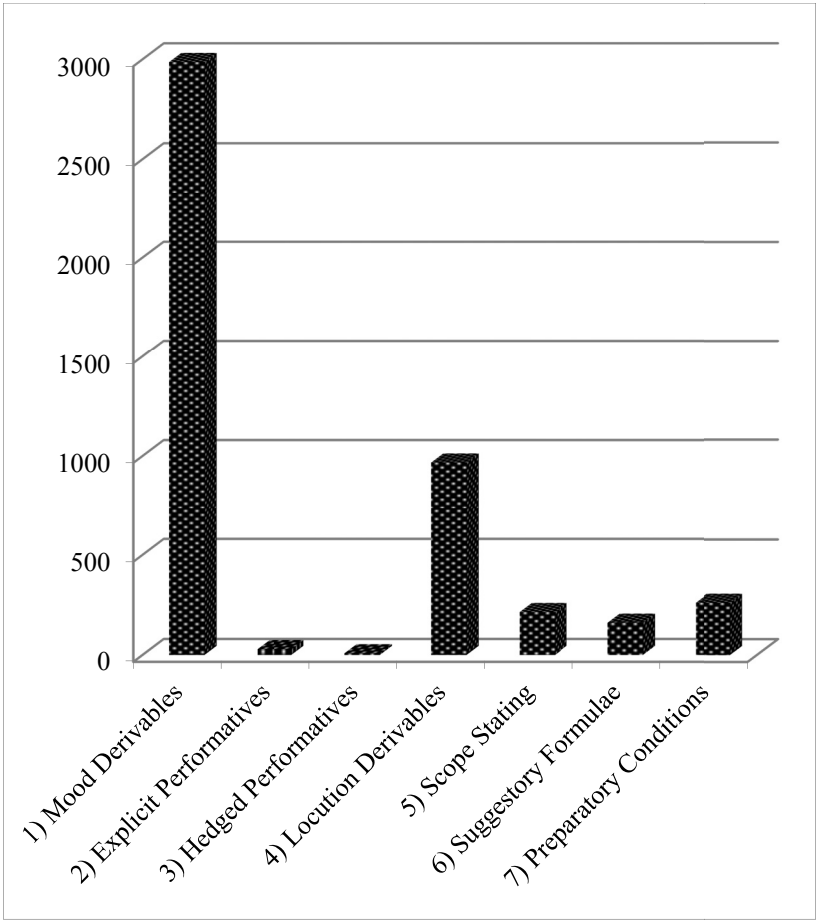

Fig. 7-4 Frequency of request strategies

Table 7-7 Person agreement paradigms in Turkish

Person	Paradigm I	Paradigm II	Paradigm III	Paradigm IV
1sg.	-Im	-m	-(y)AyIm	—
2sg.	-sIn	-n	-(y)AsIn	-In
3sg.	Ø	Ø	-(y)A (-sIn)	-sIn
1pl.	-Iz	-k	-(y)AlIm	—
2pl.	-sInIz	-nIz	-(y)AsInIz	-(y)In(Iz)
3pl.	-lAr	-lAr	-(y)AlAr / -sInlAr	-sInlAr

(Kornfilt, 1997, p. 382)

The affixes in the first two of the person agreement paradigms follow mainly tense and modality affixes on a predicate and the last two mark the optative and the imperative, respectively. The table above clearly sets the optative and the imperative apart from the other two in that they mark the 3rd person singular with an overt affix.[3] The canonical imperative forms (2nd persons) and non-canonical forms (3rd persons) together with their polite uses and the addition of the special imperative form (*-sana*) are given together below:

Table 7-8 Imperative person markings

Person	Form
2nd sg.	V- (stem); V-*yun*, V-*yunuz*, V-*sana*, V-*sanıza*
3rd sg	V-*sun*
2nd pl.	V-*yun*; V-*yunuz*; V-*sanıza*
3rd pl.	V-*sunlar*

Query forms incorporating special tags for each and every morphological form enables us to retrieve concordances in which the searched form is used. We are able to account for their citations quantificationally and derive rank frequencies as in the following:

[3] In the table above, some of the cells include functionally different but formally identical forms. Such forms pose extra problems in accessing their concordances in corpus data.

Table 7-9 The rank frequencies: Canonical 2nd persons

person	form	Citations
2nd sg. (stem)	V-	1730
2nd pl.	V-*yın*	1240
2nd pl.	V-*yınız* (polite)	57
2nd sg.	V-*sana* (informal)	111
2nd pl.	V-*sanıza* (informal)	9

Table 7-10 The rank frequencies: Non-canonical 3rd persons

person	form	citations
3rd sg.	V-*sın*	1301
3rd pl.	V-*sınlar*	149

As expected, 2nd person canonical forms are used more frequently in the spoken corpus data than non-canonical forms. The distribution of these forms and their relative frequencies require closer inspection. We must note that the above figures are simply raw frequencies: the imperatives should be analyzed in terms of their realization of the particular speech act, namely, order, command, request, suggestion, wish, etc. as a member of the directive class. Furthermore, the citations of the plural forms should also be counted separately for their actual number of uses as well as their politeness markings.

The missing persons, the 1st person singular and 1st person plural forms are supplemented by the optative paradigm (Kornfilt, 1997). The affinity between the optative and the imperative has been noted in grammars and in works on politeness in Turkish. There is even the use of the term *optative-imperative*.

Table 7-11 The optative forms

person	form	citations
1st sg.	V-*ya-yım*	401
2nd sg.	V-*ya-sın*	7
3rd sg.	V-*sın*	1259
1st pl.	V-*ya-lım*	1268
2nd pl.	V-*ya-sınız*	6
3rd pl.	V-*sınlar*	(cf. 7-10)

The study of imperatives, despite their formal simplicity, proves to be very difficult given the diversity of form-function relationships observed cross-linguistically. The linking of the imperative mood to its canonical imperative form may even be complicated, as discussed in Vanderveken (2001).

> Just as the successful performance (or satisfaction) of certain illocutionary acts implies the successful performance (or satisfaction) of others, certain sentences illocutionarily (or truth conditionally) entail other sentences. For example, the performative sentence "I request your help" illocutionarily entails the imperative "Please, help me!" It is not possible to make a successful utterance of that performative sentence without making the request expressed by the imperative sentence in the context of that utterance. Moreover, the imperative sentence "Please, help me!" truth conditionally entails the declarative sentence "You can help me." A speaker cannot grant the request that the sentence expresses in a context unless the assertion expressed by the declarative sentence is true in that very same context. (p. 48)

From a typologist perspective, all languages have means of asking someone to perform a certain act; however not all languages have dedicated imperative forms. In the absence of imperative forms, languages tend to use other forms to encode the relevant speech act. Most often, (i) present tense forms of the verb or forms unmarked for tense; (ii) future forms; (iii) potential and intentional modalities; or (iv) irrealis [4] are used to encode the directive function (Aikhenvald, 2010, p.32). Nasilov et al. (2001) report that in Turkic languages, indicative, optative, conditional verbs, and modals are used to express imperative meanings. Hence, requestive expressions may involve non-imperative forms to encode the request function and one can find imperative forms that are not directive, let alone requestive. The studies that list the different uses of imperatives include their request function among others, and similarly, studies that list (morpho-)syntactic forms that encode request speech acts include imperatives in their taxonomies. Their functional definitions point to commonalities; both directive speech acts and imperatives have future orientation, direct an addressee to act, impose or exhort, and are irrealis, among others. In simpler terms, Jary and Kissine (2014) capture the role of the imperative in encoding request: " … when we want to identify an

[4] We have retrieved relevant forms of these verb forms from the corpus; however we have not performed a fine-grained analysis of their speech act interpretation. Thus, the figures given do not distinguish between request or non-request temporal meanings.

imperative form in a particular language, we look for a form that typically has the function of getting someone to do something" (p. 2).

In our review of studies on Turkish requestive forms, we have noted that imperatives are already defined as the most direct strategy of expressing a request speech act. Furthermore, as noted in these studies, the most direct strategy is also the most frequently employed strategy by Turkish language users, who have provided the corpus evidence that supports earlier conclusions. Below we will illustrate the case of non-imperative uses of verbs as listed above in encoding request speech acts on concordances retrieved from the corpus.

Cross-linguistically, the second person imperative forms tend to be the shortest and simplest forms, due to functional motivation because they call for immediate reaction and they do so in a less polite manner. Typologists use the term "iconic motivation" to account for the correlation between form and function and in the case at hand, longer forms are customarily used to encode more polite expressions. The Turkish 2nd person singular *V*-(stem) is the simplest form of the imperative, as predicted by the universal iconic motivation. The second plural form *V-ın* functions as the polite form for the 2nd person singular as well, and is defined as the standard plural to contrast with the longer polite plural form *V-ınız* (an expansion of the *V-ın* form), which is used for public warnings or commands and in official, formal styles (Kornfilt, 1997). It is a fact that, as with many languages, the use of the Turkish canonical imperative is not confined to encoding order or command speech acts only.

The remaining other two 2nd person forms are called "persuasive commands" by Göksel and Kerslake (2005, p.84). Both the simple *-sana* and the polite form *-sanıza* are composite forms; morphologically they include the conditional suffix *-sa*, person markers, and a harmonized interjection *-a* in their respective order. Göksel and Kerslake (2005) indicate that these two forms are expressing suggestions more than orders. Furthermore, according to Bayyurt and Bayraktaroğlu (2001), these imperatives represent a "special conditional tense which underlines encouragement to the addressee or impatience on the part of the speaker" (p. 230). The form is confined to 2nd persons only and occurs more often in spoken language. Huls (1988) and Martı (2006) give evidence for similar functions with this special marker.

The use of a subject with the 2nd person imperative is for emphasis to underscore the force of the command as in other languages. Furthermore, the overt subject is more likely to occur in cases of list or succession of orders.

The imperatives with 3rd persons (jussive) in Turkish are less varied and formally more transparent in that the ordinary plural marker is attached to the singular form, *V-sın* and *V-sınlar*, respectively. It is interesting to note that in Turkish, there is no other verb form than the imperative and the optative where we find overt 3rd person singular marking. In the Turkic family, Nasilov et al. (2001) observe that "the pan-Turkic 3rd person marker -*sın*" (p.182) can be found in all languages with a relatively stable form. They also note that the plural -*sınlar* form can be used to express singular meaning as well. Göksel and Kerslake (2005) define the function of the 3rd plural imperative *V-sınlar* as instruction.

In Turkish, there are no 1st person imperative forms, though in some Turkic languages, Nasilov et al. (2001) assert that there are such forms with distinctive functions.

We have indicated earlier the distinct status of imperative and optative paradigms in Turkish and underlined affinities between the two. The paradigm for the optative is "defective" since it has no 3rd person forms which, according to Kornfilt (1997), are obsolete. To complete the paradigm, these forms are borrowed from the imperative paradigm.

Göksel and Kerslake (2005) also refer to the distinct status of 3rd person markings in the optative paradigm, indicating that it occurs mostly in the 1st person markings and the 3rd person forms -*sın* and -*sınlar* which conjoin the stem directly, and where the ultimate form will be missing the optative. In the emerging scene, then, one has to rely on contextual clues to decide whether the requestive form one is dealing with is imperative or optative. For the corpus query of these forms, the formal similarity has other implications.

The use of the optative in encoding requests as a mood derivable is noticed in studies on Turkish forms. The main function of the 1st person forms in the optative paradigm is to encode suggestions (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005). -(y)*ayım* expresses an action that the speaker proposes to perform; -(y)*alım* expresses action that the speaker offers to perform jointly. The latter use is generally called the inclusive use and it seems that

this function is observed cross-linguistically. Note also that the relationship between the 1st person forms in the optative is not transparent as in other 1st person forms in the other paradigms.

The function of the optative forms in general is to express wishes or suggestions. Volutional utterances commonly involve optative forms and different modalized utterances make use of the optative frequently. In the next section, we will discuss how a request speech act is encoded by the use of imperatives and optatives by presenting concordances that will exemplify the contrasts emerging in actual language use.

7.8. Corpus representation of mood derivables in Turkish

We will start our analysis of requestive expressions in the spoken subcorpora of the TNC by identifying the verb tokens that occur in the corpus. The rank frequencies of the verb tokens in the corpus are given below (Table 7-12).

Table 7-12 Most frequent verbs in spoken subcorpus

Rank	Search Result	No. of occurrences	Percent
1	*olarak* [_VB~AV02]	2048	2.07%
2	*olan* [_VB~pc3]	1117	1.13%
3	*diyor* [_VB~imprf~3s]	1107	1.12%
4	*oldu* [_VB~past~3s]	960	0.97%
5	*dedim* [_VB~past~1s]	885	0.9%
6	*olduğu* [_VB~pc2~p3s]	748	0.76%
7	*bak* [_VB~imp2]	689	0.7%
8	*olur* [_VB~aor~3s]	682	0.69%
9	*olsun* [_VB~imp3]	603	0.61%
10	*geldi* [_VB~past~3s]	527	0.53%

This list of the most frequent verb tokens in the corpus gives us a general view of the spoken language. The light verb *olmak* 'to be, to become' and the quotative verb *demek* 'to say' dominate the list with their citations as the top ten verb tokens. *Olmak* tokens (6158) and *demek* tokens (1992) collectively (9366/8150) constitute 87.02 % of all tokens (*bak* 'look' and *geldi* 'he/she/it came'"). *Olmak*, meanwhile, is also the top-ranking verb in the frequency list of the TNC.

This is not unexpected because they are cited in a spoken corpus. The only two lexical content verbs, *bakmak* 'to look' and *gelmek* 'to come,' deserve special attention. In their corpus citations, they lack their primary semantic meanings but are rather functioning as *vocative* expressions in the case of "look" and a light verb in the case of "come." The situation is not specific to Turkish spoken discourse in the sense that these two verbs are cross-linguistically marked to undergo semantic bleaching more often than other verbs with similar contents. The case of "look" in Turkish spoken discourse is analyzed in Ruhi (2011b), which we will return to when we analyze the concordance data.

In short, we observe that the most frequent verbs in the spoken subcorpus reveal little about the ways in which request speech acts are encoded in Turkish. They are either light verbs with no semantic contribution or verbs that are too bleached to offer any semantically significant interpretation to the understanding of the utterances. Yet, we can say that both *bak-* 'look' and *ol-sun* 'let it be' are formally imperative and thus most likely to encode a directive function.

At this point, to illustrate the functional differences between the imperative verb forms with different person markings, we give the following concordance data. Keeping the head "act" verb identical in all citations may contribute to better understanding of the illocutionary force in each citation:

(4) *canonical 2nd person singular*

N: Yaa ne alakası var, ha bugun ha bugün? Ç: Çok alakası var.	**Ver**	*bana* **ver** *sen*, *beceremiceksin*.
N: Does it matter if it's "bugun" or "bugün"? Ç: It matters a lot	***Give***	*it to me, give it, you'll mess it up.*

(5) *canonical 2nd plural (polite)*

O: Nerde telefonu? Nerde? Telefonunu	**ver-*in!***	E: <gülme> O: Arada aramaz mısın sevgilim beni seyrediyor musun?
O: Where is his phone? Where?	***give***	*(me his phone) E: <laughing> O: Won't you call me sometimes my love, are you watching me?*

(6) *non-canonical 3rd person singular*

Doğum borçlanması sosyal güvenlik kurumuna dilekçe	**ver-*sin.***	Her bir doğum için iki defa iki yıl olmak.
Birth insurance should	***give***	*(petition to the national insurance office). Twice for two years for each birth.*

(7) *non-canonical 3rd person plural*

S: Ne kadar yeterli olurdu? C: Ya hani tüm gün zaman	**ver-*sinler***	demiyorum ama insanların tatmin olacağı bir zaman dilimi gerekli idi
S: How much will be enough? C: I don't mean, say,	***Give***	*me all day but a sufficient amount of time for the people was necessary*

(8) *colloquial 2nd person singular*

Önder diyo, ateşini ver bakam diyo. <B> çakmağı yokmuş ateşi	**ver-*sene***	oğlum diyo. C: Abini biliyorlar mı?
Önder says 'let me look at your light' <B> why don't you	***give***	*me the light, bro, he says. C: They know your brother?*

The missing forms of the same paradigm, namely, the 2nd person polite form *-iniz,* and the plural of the colloquial 2nd person *-senize* are not cited in the corpus with the verb *ver-* 'give,' but instead are given with other verb stems in their concordance outputs:

(9)

S: Kilitlendim. <gülme> O: Olur kilitlenme. Peki ***siz***	**al-*ınız***	mikrofonunuzu siz hangi eserle başlar-sınız.
S: I'm locked <laughing> O: It's normal to be locked. Then, you	***take***	*the microphone please. Which piece will you start with?*

(10)

E: bunda başkası bana yardım edemez. <B> F: bana da	**öğret-*senize***	N: ben nerden biliorum bilion mu onun güzel saç yaptını.
E: nothing can help me except for this. <B> F: will you also	**teach**	me. N: do you know how I know he arranges hair so well?

The canonical 2nd person singular form in (4) encodes the most direct request in an informal communicative setting as the addressor makes use of the subject. The use of the 2nd person plural is also issuing an order in (5); however, in a television studio the order is addressed to anyone in close proximity or holding the telephone. The request is directed not to a specific listener but to anyone who is available at the moment. The non-canonical 3rd person singular expresses a recommendation or an instruction rather than a command. The request in the 3rd person plural in (7) is negated in the following verbal quotative expression and the colloquial 2nd singular in (8) is followed by an informal addressing term oğlum '(my) son,' as observed before, which expresses impatience on the part of the addressor who is searching for a cigarette lighter. The longer plural form -*senize* in the concordance output in (10), on the other hand, has no implication of impatience or urgency of the requested action, but rather is an expression of an entreaty directed to a group of people who have the skills that the addressor wishes to acquire, master, and pass on to his prospective apprentice. The polite form in (9) exemplifies the standard use of the request as following the verbal form with the same person marking and repetitive use of the polite addressing term *siz* 'you' (vous) in Turkish.

The concordance outputs above illustrate the actual citations of the requestive forms in the corpus. The contribution of corpus data, however, is not limited to these natural yet expected manifestations. When we look at the frequency data of the imperative forms and their collocates, we will derive special uses of these forms that could not be accessed by any other data collection method.

The canonical imperative, the 2nd person singular, is represented as the bare verb stem form. The following table clearly highlights the special status of the verb *bak* 'look' in encoding requests. The most frequent ten verbs that occur in simple stem form and which indicate the canonical imperative in the 2nd person singular are given in Table (7-13).

At least seven times more frequent than the next verb, the use of *bak* 'look' in spoken Turkish is well-observed in a study based on spoken corpus data. Ruhi (2011b) is the first to notice that the verb in its imperative and 1st person singular and plural forms of optative have undergone semantic bleaching. In this analysis, the imperative functions as an attention catcher as well as an interjection, combined with other interjections and discourse markers. With optative forms, its combination with other forms in the utterance, functioning as marker of joint attention,

signal a new discourse topic or completion of a conversation. At this point, it is worth noting that such functions would hardly be determined in the absence of spoken corpus analysis. None of the previous work on directives in Turkish has been able to catch such real usages or highlight emerging functions in the encoding of speech act expressions.

Table 7-13 Most frequent verbs in 2nd person singular imperative

Rank	Verb	Number of citations
1	*bak* 'look'	689
2	*git* 'go'	110
3	*gel* 'go'	102
4	*ver* 'ver'	90
5	*yap* 'do'	89
6	*söyle* 'say'	81
7	*dur* 'stop'	80
8	*ol* 'be'	73
9	*bırak* 'leave, drop'	57
10	*tak* 'attach'	42

The list of frequent verbs in canonical 2nd person includes the light verbs *yapmak* 'to do' and *olmak* 'to be.' The imperative commonly occurs with the verbs that express dynamic processes; the use a non-dynamic verb *olmak* is thus confined in the corpus citations to expressions of thanking *sağ ol* 'be healthy,' *var ol* 'exist at all times,' or friendly warnings for potential hazards *dikkatli ol* 'be careful,' *sakin ol* 'be calm,' or *rahat ol* 'be comfortable/calm.' *Yapmak* 'to do' most often does not collocate with its nominal argument but is cited frequently in non-dynamic usages as in *şöyle yap*, 'do it in this manner' *şey yap* 'do a thing', *şunu yap* 'do this' *onu yap* 'do that' are mostly advice or recommendations concerning the manner in which something is done (or done better).

In a corpus-based study of English imperatives, Takahashi (2012) finds *let's, tell, let,* and *look* as the four most frequent verbs in the corpus which are followed by *come*, *get*, *take*, *be*, *go*, *give*, *do*, *forget*, *listen*, *wait*, and *make.* Takahashi (2012) also indicates that some imperative verbs or verb phrases are not manifestations of directives but are developed into discourse-organizational markers or interjections, as in *let's say*, *let's see*, *let me see*, *let me guess*, *believe me*, and *trust me*, as well as *look*, *listen*, and *come on*. We will note that semantic bleaching of frequent verbs in Turkish also function as discourse organizational markers and usages like

let's see or *let me see* have their Turkish counterparts with the verb *look*.

Already exemplified in (2) above, in spoken Turkish, various forms of reduplications are used very frequently and mainly serve the function of modification or emphasis. In this particular citation, the verb form recurs immediately after the pronominal referring to the addressor. The corpus data concordances give us similar reduplicated verb forms as well as special uses of serial verb constructions:

(11)

Ş: Nohut? Hee, he vallah! **Ver**	**ver**	he he! Ş: Fasulye de var? ŞÜ :
Ş: Chickpeas? Yes, god! Give	***give***	*yes! Ş: Are there also beans? ŞÜ:*

(12)

Abi dedi votka karıştırcaz biz dedi. Bi bidona koy da	**ver**	unut dedi. İyi dedim.
Bro, he said, we'll mix up some vodka. Go put it in a cup and	***give***	*it to me and forget it, he said. Fine, I said.*

In (10), the repetitive use of the identical verbal form expresses a request with an additional sense of continuity added. In (11), on the other hand, the successive imperative verb forms do not express two different requests simultaneously but rather they are referring to two different actions to take place almost simultaneously. A number of verb forms in such serial verb patterns are said to be contributing to the discourse as organizers rather than with their imperative meanings, among which we have frequent uses of *kalk gel* 'get up come,' *çevir getir* 'turn around and bring it,' *gel gör* (ki) 'come and see,' *çık git* 'get out and go.' Formally, such uses are composed of 2nd person imperative forms and they are asking the addressee to perform two actions almost simultaneously or with no delay in between. These are special forms in the sense that most of them do not receive the same interpretation when they are combined with ordinary conjunctions.

Turkish is an OV language and the consequence of this basic word order on collocates of query items is obvious. In the context of this study, in particularly in the context of collocation data, this means that the verb in the imperative and its various tokens will occur at the very end of the sentence. Thus, the right collocates in most cases will be the punctuations that mark the end of the sentence. What follows will be the lexeme that

initiates the following sentence, or a linguistic unit that will become part of another speech act expression that is different than the one the verb in the collocation data belongs. Hence, in functional terms, the right collocates will be post-verbal elements, occupying a sentence position most commonly reserved for after-thought units in Turkish. A quick look at the list below illustrates very clearly the function of this sentential position and the elements that are expected to occupy this slot.

Table 7-14 1-Right collocates - 2nd person singular imperative

Rank	Word	Total in corpus	Observed collocate freq.
1	*dedi* 'said'	1110	46
2	*şimdi* 'now'	2244	36
3	*ben* 'I'	4351	35
4	*bak* 'look'	689	31
5	*bi* 'a, one'	5057	31
6	*bakalım* 'let's see'	167	30
7	*sen* 'you'	1209	30
8	*ya* 'voc.'	3429	30
9	*o* 'he/she/it/that'	6385	25
10	*diyor* 'says'	1107	22

Bakalım in most contexts is 'let's see.' *Dedi* and *diyor* are quotatives, quoting the imperative rather than expressing a request by the immediate speaker in the context. The 3rd person plural inclusive imperative of *bakalım* 'let's see/look,' as noted above functions as formulaic directive:

(13)

sen *yazsana* hepsini. Sora ben baka baka arkasına yazarım. F: tamam,	**ver**	*bakalım*. <D4> F: bundan yazıo işte
You better write all of them. Then, I'll copy it on the other side. F: OK. Go	***give***	*it, then. <D4> F: from this*

Right collocates, thus, do not provide very much information concerning the requestive use of imperatives in Turkish. Quantificationally, the statistical difference between items in the top ten is rather small.

Table 7-15 1-Left collocates - 2nd person singular imperative

Rank	Collocate	Total in corpus	Observed collocate freq.
1	*sen* 'you'	1209	33
2	*da* 'additive'	6319	27
3	*de* 'additive'	5838	27
4	*hadi* 'come on, let's'	273	26
5	*bak* 'look, see'	689	24
6	*şimdi* 'now'	2244	20
7	*şey* 'thing'	3142	19
8	*ya* 'vocative'	3429	19
9	*bi* 'a, one'	5057	18
10	*gel* 'come'	192	17

The left collocates appear to be well in place when the imperatives in Turkish are considered. The most frequent, *sen* 'you,' is encoding the addressee, the only form that is not inflected for the person. The overt representation of the 2nd person singular subject in imperatives when it is optional or is easily understood in the context is generally attributed to the directive force of the utterance cross-linguistically.

Bi 'just, simply,' the spoken form for 'a/one,' functions as a mitigating device, rendering the imperative as less important or making it more of a demand than a command. Common in both collocation positions of right and left contexts are *sen*, *şimdi*, *bak*, and *bi*.

The 2nd person plural non-canonical imperatives V-*ın* verb form is also used as the polite form. The most frequently cited *V-ın* forms in the corpus are given below.

Table 7-16 Most frequent verbs in 2nd person plural imperative

Rank	Search result	Observed Freq.	Percent
1	*bakın* 'look'	304	38.29%
2	*buyrun/buyurun* 'come in'	154	12.85%
3	*edin* 'do'	50	6.3%
4	*düşünün* 'think'	47	5.92%
5	*gidin* 'go'	29	3.65%

6	*bırakın* ‘leave’	20	2.52%
7	*inanın* ‘believe’	20	2.52%
8	*oturun* ‘have a seat’	10	1.26%
9	*görün* ‘see, notice’	7	0.88%
10	*getirin* ‘bring’	7	0.88%

Since the form is also the polite form for the 2nd person singular, unless the plural subject reading is otherwise available, the verbs in the above table all express polite requests rather than commands. *Bakın* ‘look, see’ is more often an attention seeking expression in a discourse context, not specifically expressing its primary sense of asking someone to look at something in the immediate environment of the conversation context. Similarly, *inanın* ‘believe (me)’ is also a formulaic expression whereby the addressor tries to convince the hearer on the truth or validity of the proposition that has just been introduced in the context. *Düşünün* ‘just think/imagine’ is also a non-dynamic verb that cannot felicitously occur in imperative as encoding a command and as such the basic meaning of the form translates as ‘just think/imagine,’ calling for the addressor to exercise his or her mental powers to visualize the case in point. *Buyurun* or *buyrun* is nothing but a verbal expression of *please* with no imperative or requestive meaning; in use, the form basically expresses the readiness of the speaker to receive requests from other participants in the discourse. Given its basic meaning, the verb itself, ‘you order,’ cannot be imperative. *Oturun* is also a way of giving permission, meaning simply ‘have a seat.’ This leaves only the stems that express dynamic or self-controllable acts to encode the request speech act with 2nd person plural imperative forms, such as *bırakın* ‘(you) leave’ and *getirin* ‘(you) bring.’

Table 7-17 1-Left collocates - 2nd person plural imperative

Rank	Collocate	No. of occurrences	Percent
1	*dikkat* ‘attention’	22	2.77%
2	*şimdi* ‘right now’	19	2.39%
3	*bir* ‘one, a/an’	13	1.64%
4	*iyi* ‘fine, well’	11	1.39%
5	*devam* ‘go on’	8	1.01%
6	*ki* ‘that (relativizer)’	8	1.01%
7	*evet* ‘yes’	8	1.01%
8	*siz* ‘you (plural)’	6	0.76%
9	*şöyle* ‘as, this way’	6	0.76%
10	*de* ‘additive’	5	0.63%

Two of the left collocates with 2nd person plural imperatives are parts of light verb contractions like *dikkat edin*, 'be careful,' *devam edin* 'go on,' which are expressions of polite requests in the context. Other than the two conjunctives *ki* and *de* and the overt representation of 2nd person plural *siz* 'you,' the remaining forms are modifiers to the Head Act, which is the imperative verb form. The use of *şimdi* 'now' is almost exclusively represented as the collocate of *bakın* 'look:'

(14) Ülke yaşlanıyor. *Şimdi bakın* nüfus sayımları neden yapılır?
The country is getting older. Now, look, why are population censuses carried out?

The combined form above is a formulaic expression to serve the function of an attention seeker on the part of the speaker, calling participants to engage attentively to the topic about to be introduced.

Table 7-18 1-Right collocates - 2nd person plural imperative

Rank	Collocate	Number of occurrences	Percent
1	*bu* 'this'	20	2.52%
2	*efendim* 'sir/madam'	12	1.51%
3	*diyor* 'says'	11	1.39%
4	*ben* 'I, me'	10	1.26%
5	*çok* 'a lot, much, many'	10	1.26%
6	*bir* 'one, a/an'	9	1.13%
7	*şimdi* 'right now'	8	1.01%
8	*hocam* 'professor'	8	1.01%
9	*biz* 'we, us'	8	1.01%
10	*o* 'he, she, it, that'	8	1.01%

Right collocates are post modifiers to the Head Act, including addressing terms in the possessive as in *hocam* 'my (dear) teacher,' or *efendim* 'my (dear) sir/madam.' *Ben*, *biz*, and *o* are personal pronouns referring to persons that are the subjects of the proceeding clause rather than items related to the preceding imperative verb form.

The third 2nd person we have accessed in the corpus is the most polite form of imperatives. The V-*ınız* forms are quite rare and their collocates do not reveal anything significant in terms of usage. However, a quick look at the concordances indicates that this particular form is used almost

exclusively in religious contexts, encoding an exhortation and in the particular citation below this function is used repetitively:

(15) birisinin emrini ***geçirme-yiniz***. Allah'ın ve Resulullah'ın emridir sizin için önemli olan. <Kur'an'dan ayet okur> Böyle yapmaktan ***sakın-ınız***. Allah'tan ***kork-unuz***. Sakın böyle ***yapma-yınız***. Böyle bir emir veriyor Cenab-ı Hak.
don't pay attention to some other people's orders. The orders of Allah and the prophet Muhammad are the ones that you should obey. < reads a verse from the Quran> Avoid doing the reverse. Fear from Allah. Don't do anything else. Thus, speaks the God Almighty.

As in this citation, the majority of corpus manifestations are in the negative, requesting the hearer to avoid wrong deeds or harmful actions. Rütten (2009) observes that "Its ultimate aim is to make the individual believer conform to the doctrine (with varying degrees of imposition of this regulation upon him/her, ranging from direct commands to rather polite requests or suggestions)" (p. 65). It is interesting to witness that while religious texts are in fact imposing regulations on the daily conduct of people and with severe ramifications, they express such impositions by the use of the most polite form a language has in its repertoire.

The final 2nd person forms *-sana* and *-sanıza* represent the informal use. V-*sana* forms occur in the corpus in small numbers and attach only to 13 different verb roots. Their special case has been well observed in other studies in that they express a sense of impatience on the part of the addressor, where it is used in informal contexts and demand immediate or urgent response. The *bak-sana* form is the most frequent (23/90); in most cases however, it is a formulaic expression calling the listener to re-evaluate his previous remarks and apparently do not hold under current circumstances. Similarly, *düşünsene* (9/90), the second most frequent evaluation, 'just think' is utilized more like a discourse marker expressing causality. It is more like requesting, as in *çalsana* 'why don't you play,' a rare citation in the corpus.

The longer *-sanıza*, an informal yet more polite form, is even more restricted in its cited uses in the corpora. Out of the 9 total citations, 7 are *düşünsenize* 'Just think, imagine:'

(16)

fabrikalar ve hapishaneler şehir içinde kalır. Hatta çöp yerleri bile şehir içinde kalmakta bazen. Başka alt yapı düzenlemeleri yetersiz kalır.	**Düşün*senize***	arkadaşlarım nüfus bir arttı alt yapı, kanalizasyonlar patlıyor. Allah korusun. Olmaz mı? Olur. Oluyo da. Yetmiyor. Başka. Trafik sıkıntısı yaşanır
factories and jails remain in the city. Even the garbage dump remains inside. All the other infrastructure will fail.	***Think***	*on it, friends. In any population explosion, the sewage system gets broken. God save us. Doesn't it? It does. It is getting broken. Not only sewage. What else? Traffic problems occur.*

The non-canonical imperatives are the 3rd person markings on the imperative in Turkish. The singular form of 3rd person imperative is *V-sın* and its regular plural form is *V-sınlar*.

Table 7-19 Most frequent verbs in 3rd singular imperative

Rank	Verb	Citations
1	*ol-sun 'let her be'*	605
2	*ol-ma-sın 'don't let her be'*	66
3	*gel-sin 'may she come'*	51
4	*ver-sin 'may she give'*	35
5	*der-sin 'may you say'*	31
6	*kal-sın 'may she keep still'*	26
7	*yap-sın 'may she make'*	24
8	*et-sin 'let her do…'*	23
9	*git-sin 'may she go'*	19
10	*koru-sun 'may she save'*	16
11	*eyle-sin 'may she do'*	15

As expected, 3rd person forms come to express more varied meanings and encode different speech acts as represented in their corpus citations.

The most frequent forms above are with *olmak* 'to be' and its negated form, *ol-ma-mak* 'not to be,' which cover almost all of the citations in the data. Since it is not a dynamic verb, none of these forms in the imperative

are orders or commands, but rather wishes and suggestions (*hayırlı olsun, helal olsun*, etc.). The stative predicates are also noted to be acceptable in the imperative when they are negated, which is also confirmed in the Turkish corpus data (*ayıp olmasın, yazık olmasın*, etc).

Expressions of wishes and suggestions rather than orders or commands are further approved by the data of other verbs in the above list. The formulaic expression *kolay gelsin*, which wishes ease in performing hard and meticulous tasks appears in *V-sın* form; the *versin* form combines with equally distributed formulaic expressions of good wishes (*uzun ömür versin* 'may God give long life') or curses and condemnations (*allah belasını versin* 'may God give troubles'). In both cases, the wishes are directed to god as a request for an event to happen. Hence, it results in a special case of an expression of a request that cannot be encoded in the 2nd person imperative verb forms.

Left collocates of the *V-sın* imperative further explicate the function manifested in the corpus data. The majority of the most frequent collocates are either part of the light verb *olmak* or modifiers to the imperative verb form. The most frequent in the list, the conditional form *olur-sa*, combines with *olsun* meaning 'whatever happens,' again a formulaic expression strongly emphasizing things to happen under all circumstances.

Table 7-20 1-Left collocates - 3rd person imperative

Rank	Word	Total number of occurrences	Observed collocate frequency
1	*olursa* 'if it happens'	192	55
2	*hayırlı* 'fair'	63	17
3	*Allah* 'God'	347	20
4	*Helal* 'Halal'	25	11
5	*uğurlu* 'Lucky'	11	9

Table 7-21 1-Right collocates - 3rd person imperative

Rank	Word	Total no. in corpus	Observed collocate frequency
1	*diye* 'as'	1,375	45
2	*dedim* 'I said'	885	8
3	*dedi* 'she said'	1,110	6

4	*dedik* 'we said'	108	4
5	*abi* 'bro'	301	4

The right collocates are exclusively quotative expressions, quoting the wishes expressed.

The final form in the 3rd person plural *V-sınlar* is practically expressing meanings that can be expressed by the verb *let* in English, where the subject is plural as in 'let them X.' As such, while formally the verb is the plural of the 3rd person imperative, the encoded meaning expresses permission rather than a command or order.

The top ten verbs with *V-sınlar* again include light verbs as the most frequent forms and the remaining verb forms in the plural imperative are not dynamic verbs either. Thus they do not make a request by the use of an imperative, but instead issue permissions.

Table 7-22 Most frequent verbs in 3rd person plural imperative

Rank	Verb	Citations	Freq.
1	*yapsınlar* 'let them make'	13	14.13%
2	*etsinler* 'let them do'	10	10.87%
3	*gelsinler* 'may they come'	8	8.7%
4	*koysunlar* 'may they put'	5	5.43%
5	*öğrensinler* 'may they learn'	4	4.35%
6	*versinler* 'may they give'	3	3.26%
7	*buyursunlar* 'may they/you come in'	3	3.26%
8	*geçsinler* 'may they pass'	3	3.26%
9	*inansınlar* 'may they believe'	2	2.17%
10	*gitsinler* 'may they go'	2	2.17%

Both the number of right and left collocates are very small, so they provide very little for their functional profiles and are thus excluded from the discussions here.

In sum, the canonical imperative verb forms encode the request speech act function in the most unambiguous manner compared to the other forms. The non-canonical forms are more varied formally and functionally, an observation that holds cross-linguistically.

The verb forms in the optative, as indicated before, provide the missing persons for the imperative paradigm.

To start with the 1st person optative, we find that the most frequent form in the corpus data is the formulaic expression *ne yap-ayım* 'what will I do, what am I supposed to do,' which is not asking a question as the form suggests (the *wh*-question equivalent of Turkish *ne-* form) but rather it is requesting advice in the face of uncertainty or indecision. The addressor is in fact requesting permission to act in the manner he is proposing to act:

(17) olarak gidip yerinde yapmak apayrı bi şey. Ve örnek ***ver-eyim*** mesela: Gün günümüzde matematik bütün matematiklerin matematikçilerin söylemiş olduğu ortak
as a ....., doing it there in its own place is something else. And let me give an example. For instance, today, nowadays, what all mathematics, mathematicians commonly say is ...

Optative in the 1st person singular in Turkish expresses the inclusive imperative in general. In the corpus citations and collocations, the *V-alım* optative form encodes requests in which the speakers call other participants to join in performing the act.

Table 7-23 Most frequent verbs in 1st singular optative

Rank	Type	Freq
1	*bakalım* 'we shall look'	167
2	*diyelim* 'we shall say'	160
3	*yapalım* 'we shall make'	81
4	*gidelim* 'we shall go'	65
5	*edelim* 'we shall do'	63
6	*verelim* 'we shall give'	56
7	*alalım* 'we shall take'	35
8	*geçelim* 'we shall pass'	27
9	*gelelim* 'we shall come'	25
10	*konuşalım* 'we shall speak'	25

The most frequent verbs in the list above are again forming formulaic expressions: *bakalım* meaning simply 'let's look/see' and *diyelim* 'let's say/call' are verbs of perception and communication and thus do not refer to actions that can be performed optionally.

(18)

Var mı başka? Sıra başındaki arkadaşımıza	**ver-elim**	mikrofonu.
Is there anything else? Let's	**give**	*the microphone to our next friend in the queue.*

Table 7-24 1-Left collocates - plural optative

Rank	Collocate	Freq
1	*devam* 'continue, go on'	26
2	*şöyle* 'as, this way'	15
3	*hadi* 'come on'	13
4	*bi* 'one, a/an'	13
5	*da* 'too, also'	25

The top most frequent *devam* 'continue' is part of the light verb construction, *devam edelim* 'let's continue;' the addressor is urging the listener or listeners to continue with what they were doing prior to the production of the utterance. This hortative (or exhortative) function of imperative forms with a 3rd person addressee is evident from the other frequently collocating modifiers to the Head Act in the above table. Ranking second, *şöyle V-elim* 'let's do it this way/manner, it is better to do it in this manner,' not only incorporates the addressor into the action to be performed but also underlines a sense of counseling, and *haydi V-elim* 'let's do X' is urging or encouraging the participants, while *bi V-elim*, 'let us just do X' as the fourth most frequent functions as a mitigating device in which the prospective action that will possibly be conducted collectively is relatively unimportant.

Table 7-25 1-Right collocates - plural optative

Rank	Collocate	Freq
1	*ki* 'that (relativizer)'	52
2	*mı* 'interrogative'	32
3	*dedi* 'she said'	15
4	*ve* 'and, besides'	13
5	*dedik* 'we said'	11

Once again, the right collocates do not bring to light any significant aspect of the optative use in requests. They are quotatives (dedi, dedik),

the subordinator *ki*, the ordinary conjunctive *ve* 'and,' and the question particle *mı*. They collectively mark the end of the utterance, either acting as the last element in the utterance or marking the beginning of a new one.

As for the lexical forms that are cited in the corpus data, we have formed a list of such expressions, including addressing terms, conjunctives, and various formulas. Again, the items in the following list, as before, are derived from works on formal expressions of request speech acts in Turkish. Depending on their position in the utterance and their basic semantics, these forms contribute to the pragmatic function of the utterance in which it appears in a different manner.

The corpus citations and their quantificational data need further and more detailed analysis, yet we can say that the addressing terms and mitigating devices populate the total forms retrieved from the corpus. The table also illustrates a gap between what is expected and what is actually realized in requestive forms in Turkish. It has been argued that Turkish speakers rely heavily on the use of internal and external modifiers to the Head Act. The quantificational representation in the table below suggests that this conclusion should be supported by further data and an even more fine-grained distributional analysis. It is interesting to observe that most of the preparatory modifiers that one may expect naturally to appear in requests and indeed have been identified for this function in grammars and research articles do in fact occur in very small numbers or are totally missing in the corpus data.

Table 7-26 Frequency of lexical forms

Form	Gloss	No of citations
bi	'one/a, just'	5053
o zaman	'then'	636
özellikle	'especially'	434
oğlum	'my/hey son'	274
bence	'for me'	260
canım	'my dear'	230
lan	'dude'	153
be	'hey'	137
lütfen	'please'	77
kızım	'daughter'	75

pardon	'pardon'	67
bari	'then'	52
öyleyse	'in that case'	42
kardeşim	'brother'	40
n'olur	'please'	39
madem	'since'	32
haydi	'go'	17
bakayım	'let me see'	14
bir sakıncası yoksa	'if you don't mind'	10
mümkünse	'if possible'	9
zahmet olmazsa	'if it doesn't cause any inconvenience'	9
affedersiniz	'sorry'	3
hemşerim	'fellow'	3
sizce de uygunsa	'if applicable'	2
doğrusunu isterseniz	'to be honest'	2
bi zahmet	'if it's not a bother (ironic)'	1

It is interesting to find that while the native Turkish forms have ten citations, the borrowed form, *bi mahsuru yoksa,* has no citations in the corpus. The lexical forms above function as modifiers in the requestive expressions and call for a more thorough analysis of their contexts of use together with their contribution to the illocutionary force of the utterance.

7.9. Conclusion

The contributions of corpus data to the study of pragmatic analysis of speech acts are becoming more and more apparent as a number of studies give corpus data and corpus analytic tools a central position in their research. As for agglutinative languages like Turkish, such corpus-based studies bring further benefit in the sense that most of the pragmatically significant formal properties of speech act expressions are encoded not just in lexical forms, but also in rich morphological paradigms. In the current study, we have displayed how such items can be retrieved from an annotated corpus of spoken language.

Our search for the corpus citations of requestive forms in Turkish provided enough data for us to display a quantificational distribution of

such forms across different paradigms of morphological categories. Data from the pragmalinguistic study of these forms in a corpus further provide support for conclusions drawn in previous studies on requestives in Turkish, which is that direct strategies are the most commonly preferred in Turkish requests. The raw frequencies of inflected verbs forms also demonstrated the fact that they undergo semantic bleaching to function more as formulaic expressions, contributing to the major illocutionary force of the utterance.

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