

CHAPTER SIX

EXPRESSIONS OF GRATITUDE IN THE TURKISH NATIONAL CORPUS

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6.1. Introduction

This chapter investigates the occurrence and lexico-grammatical patterns of two common gratitude expressions, the Arabic borrowing *teşekkür et-* (lit. ‘I do my gratitude, thank you’ and the native *sağol-* (lit. ‘be alive/well, thanks’ in a subcorpus of the Turkish National Corpus (TNC) (Aksan et al., 2012). It focuses on the strategies employed by Turkish speakers to verbalize gratitude and argues that corpus-driven analyses of thanking strategies together with lexico-grammatical pattern analyses of *teşekkür et-* ‘thank you’ and *sağol-* ‘thanks’ formulae reveal manifestations of rapport management strategies (Spencer-Oatey, 2008) in a systematic fashion. The corpus methodology applied in this study may shed light on empirical issues of politeness research by uncovering frequencies and regularities of co-occurrence between expressions of gratitude and a range of interactional domains and text types.

The study begins with a review of previous research on thanking expressions conducted in English and in Turkish. Section 6.3 describes the data and method of the study. Quantitative findings on the distribution of *teşekkür et-* ‘thank you’ and *sağol-* ‘thanks’ formulae across mediums and domains of interaction along with the different text types will be explored in Section 6.4. Section 6.5 investigates thanking strategies and responders to gratitude expressions identified in the corpus data with reference to the rapport management orientations of the speakers. Lexico-grammatical pattern analyses of the two thanking formulae and their implications on relational management sensitivities in interactions among interlocutors will be discussed in Section 6.6. Section 6.7 summarizes and concludes the paper.

6.2. Studies on expressions of gratitude

Much research has been done to explore formal and functional properties of expressions of gratitude in the field of pragmatics. Among them, speech act theoretical studies describe these expressions as expressive acts conveying the speaker's psychological state towards some state of affairs (Searle, 1969). According to Searle's (1969) rules regarding *thank (for)* as an illocutionary force indicating device, the act for which the speaker (or beneficiary) gives thanks must have been realized in the past by the addressee (or benefactor), and must benefit the speaker; the speaker sincerely feels grateful or appreciative for the act; and the utterance counts as an expression of gratitude and appreciation. It is also maintained that thanking belongs to attitudinal illocutions and supports the addressee (Edmondson, 1981).

Thanking formulae are also treated as politeness markers on the basis of their affective value. Holmes (1984) considers thanking as a positively affective speech act that can be boosted. Similarly, Leech (1983, p. 104) classifies thanking as a member of the convivial category of speech acts, expressing intrinsically courteous or polite social function. To that effect, thanking satisfies the needs of the positive face of the addressee. Brown and Levinson (1978), on the other hand, regard thanking as a face-threatening act because by thanking someone, the speaker expresses his/her indebtedness to the addressee. Among the models explaining politeness as a relation work, i.e., part of a social interaction, Watts (2003), for instance, considers formulaic, semi-formulaic, or ritualized expressions such as *thanks*, *please*, etc. not as intrinsically polite, but instead interprets them as "expressions of procedural meaning and part of the political behavior of different forms of linguistic practice (p. 182)." Their existence in required situations is perceived as politeness and likewise, their absence is easily interpreted as impoliteness. In Spencer-Oatey's rapport management model (2007, 2008), where rapport is defined as "(dis)harmony or smoothness-turbulence in relationships" (Spencer-Oatey, 2007, p. 647) she (2008, p. 14) proposes a three-dimensional model of rapport management in exploring the grounds on which social judgments are made in interpersonal relations: (i) the management of face, (ii) the management of sociality rights and obligations, and (iii) the management of interactional goals, that is, the situation-specific relational and transactional goals in interaction. Spencer-Oatey also explains in detail the possible strategies to follow in rapport management, such as choice of speech act sets, directness versus indirectness, use of upgraders versus downgraders, and the motivations behind the utilized strategies in interactions, such as

rapport orientation and contextual variables. In this respect, Spencer-Oatey (2008) suggests four rapport orientations:

1. Rapport enhancement orientation: a desire to strengthen or enhance harmonious relations between the interlocutors;
2. Rapport maintenance orientation: a desire to maintain or protect harmonious relations between the interlocutors;
3. Rapport neglect orientation: a lack of concern or interest in the quality of relations between the interlocutors;
4. Rapport challenge orientation: a desire to challenge or impair harmonious relations between the interlocutors. (p. 32)

Furthermore, the contextual factors that have an impact on management of rapport between interlocutors are determined as power and distance relations among interlocutors, the number of participants in conversations, cost-benefit considerations, and social and interactional roles. Considering all these features of the rapport management model, we maintain that gratitude expressions in this model would be treated as acts employed either to enhance or to maintain positive rapport among interlocutors whenever the situational context requires them. If an expression of gratitude is not uttered when it is expected, it may cause damage to the face sensitivities or sociality rights of the addressee and this leads to a disharmony between interlocutors (see Karakaş [2010] for a similar explanation).

Functional properties of thanking expressions are also underscored. In this respect, it is argued that an expression of gratitude may serve different purposes and expressing gratitude is one of them. Norrick (1978) maintains that there are a number of social functions of gratitude expressions (depending on the aim of the speaker) expressed by means of thanking. Eisenstein and Bodman (1996) note that “thank you” can be used ironically, that it can have the illocutionary force of accepting or rejecting an offer, and that it indicates closure of an exchange. The discourse organizing function of thanking has been found particularly common in phone calls (Aijmer, 1996; Schneider, 2007), radio phone-ins, and broadcast interviews (Jautz, 2013).

Moreover, research on thanking formulae focuses on the pragmatic aspects of their usage. Although there are many factors determining the conditions of the use of thanking routines, the object of gratitude—whether material or immaterial goods—is especially important (Coulmas, 1981). The size of the favor (Aijmer, 1996), and the degree of imposition

it causes (Okamoto & Robinson, 1997), and the relative social status/power of the interlocutors (Coulmas, 1981; Jautz, 2013) are some of the other factors scrutinized in studies focusing on the use of thanking expressions.

As for the corpus-based studies conducted on English gratitude expressions, Aijmer (1996) is the first detailed study undertaken on the stems of “thanks/thank you” in a variety of discourse settings. The study investigates the data derived from the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (LLC) (Greenbaum & Svartvik, 1990). Aijmer describes the variations of thanking expressions that can be formed by modification, expansion, intensification, and compounds. Corpus instances are categorized and analyzed according to whether they are thanks for material favors (e.g., a letter) or for immaterial favors (e.g., a compliment). Taking into account the object of gratitude and the speaker’s perception of the size of the favor, Aijmer suggests some situational parameters and their values for the employment of thanking routines. In a very recent variational pragmatics study, Jautz (2013) explores the use of thanking formulae quantitatively and qualitatively across different varieties and genres of English. Data are obtained from the spoken part of the British National Corpus (2007) and from the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English (Holmes, Vine & Johnson, 1998). By employing a form-to-function mapping, the study displays similarities and differences of thanking formulae between British and New Zealand English and it also underscores the genre-specific characteristics of radio phone-ins or interviews in this respect. In addition to this, Jautz analyzes the status of thanking formulae in the most prominent models of politeness and the impact of social status among the interlocutors in the use of thanking formulae. Investigating another variety of English, Wong (2010) examines the thanking and responder strategies utilized by Hong Kong speakers of English by relying on data from the Hong Kong component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-HK) (Nelson, 2006). Results show that Hong Kong speakers of English use a limited number of thanking strategies, such as thanking as closing signals and thanking as a single expression to complete a turn. In line with this finding, response strategies to an act of thanking are also found to be infrequent in the corpus.

In Turkish there are few studies revealing some pragmatic aspects of thanking expressions. Ruhi (2006), using a corpus of Turkish compliment responses gathered through the ethnographic method, describes two thanking formulae *teşekkür et*-AOR-SG/PL (‘I do my gratitude’) and *sağol*- (‘be alive/well’) uttered as compliment responses in Turkish. Noting the differences between them from a socio-pragmatic aspect, she asserts that

while the first formula is a more respectful form of thanking, used rarely among intimates, the second one is employed as a token of appreciation, indicating a stronger indebtedness felt by the speaker. Additionally, Ruhi (2006) states that in a compliment and compliment-response sequence, gratitude is expressed “as a way of balancing the payment of the C(ompliment) (p. 66).” In another study, Hatipoğlu (2010) examines 375 “thank you” e-mails in Turkish to determine the effect of participant structure and the level of closeness among the interlocutors in the characteristics of the expressions of gratitude used in such e-mails. A recent study by Zeyrek (2012) analyzes the linguistic realizations and functions of Turkish thanking expressions on the basis of a written corpus, the METU Turkish Corpus (Say et al., 2004). Adopting a socio-semiotic perspective, interactions involving thanking are investigated with respect to the linguistic code and social and socio-cultural practices. The study shows that modifiers used along with thanking are utilized in a positive sense to maximize the illocutionary force of the act, and thus there is no clear basis that such modifications are associated with the need of the speaker to redress his/her gratitude expression ascribed as a face-threatening act in Brown and Levinson’s (1987) face-management approach.

6.3. Data and method

Individual expressions of gratitude and responders are searched for within a 3 million-word subcorpus derived from the data sets of the Turkish National Corpus (TNC). The TNC is designed to be a balanced, large scale (50 million words), general-purpose corpus for contemporary Turkish. It consists of samples of textual data (98%) across a wide variety of genres covering a period of 20 years (1990-2009). 2% of the corpus consists of orthographically transcribed spoken data (Aksan et al., 2012). The subcorpus, constructed for this study, contains samples from both written and spoken Turkish with the design criteria in mind to cover as much variety as possible in terms of medium, domain, and text type of communications as the external variables of the subcorpus. Accordingly, the 1.5 million-word written part of the subcorpus comprises samples from imaginative prose and drama. The 1.5 million-word spoken part consists of face-to-face conversations which took place between friends and family members representing private domain interactions. It also contains samples from public domain interactions compiled from broadcast discussions, news, interviews, talk shows, and seminars/conferences. Data extraction and sorting were done via AntConc (Anthony, 2014) and CQPweb (Hardie,

2012). Wildcard symbols were used to retrieve the inflected and orthographically different instances of thanking stems. In AntConc, *teşekkür**|*teşküir** and *sağol**|*sağ ol**|*saol** were the basic units of the queries. After generating concordance results, irrelevant outputs were filtered out manually. In this regard, the concordance lines including *teşekkür* ‘thank’ and *sağol* ‘thanks’ as part of a noun phrase or an infinitive clause were omitted. Moreover, ironic uses of thanking expressions were ignored. Consequently, out of approximately 1,900 hits, 1,406 concordance outputs with thanking expressions were obtained for the quantitative and qualitative analysis.

While the tools of AntConc and CQPweb generate concordance results on the basis of wildcard or proximity searches of thanking stems and responders automatically, the utterance sequences containing gratitude expressions and thanking responders are analyzed manually using the schemes developed in recent studies (Aijmer, 1996; Schauer & Adolphs, 2006; Wong, 2010). In this respect, the functional coding scheme for thanking strategies proposed by Schauer and Adolphs (2006) and developed by Wong (2010) is followed. For thanking responders, Aijmer’s (1996) categories are used. The corpus-driven nature of the study calls for necessary adjustments to these schemes. To this end, we proposed new functional categories to describe interlocutors’ emerging thanking strategies and thanking responders employed in various situational contexts (see section 6.5). The data were scrutinized in order to classify thanking expressions and responders in terms of relevant strategies and to determine whether these expressions signal a single strategy or combinations of them. The strategy coding was devised and done by two raters. Inter-rater reliability was measured by a simple percentage agreement index according to which 100% agreement was achieved between the raters.

The methodology adopted in this study combines a corpus and a discourse perspective in the sense that “the analysis of concordance data and discourse phenomena can be fully integrated” (Adolphs & Knight, 2010, p. 48). We start to explore concordance outputs and frequency information to describe the data quantitatively and to identify typical lexico-grammatical patterns in line with Sinclair (1991) and Hunston (2002). After that, we analyze the data at the discourse level with insights from the rapport management model (Spencer-Oatey, 2008) taking into consideration domain and text type-specific properties of the exchanges.

6.4. Quantitative findings

This section summarizes the findings about the relation between the external criteria of the subcorpus (i.e., medium, domain, and text type) and the occurrences of expressions of gratitude containing the stems *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-*. The first distribution of the two thanking formulae over written and spoken parts of the TNC subcorpus is presented. Then, the frequency of occurrence of the two thanking formulae in the public and private domains of the spoken part of the corpus is examined. Finally, the distribution of corpus instances containing *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* formulae over different text types is presented.

Table 6-1 Distribution of thanking formulae in the TNC subcorpus

		Formula		Total
		Teşekkür et-	Sağol-	
Corpus	Count	315	182	497
	% within	63.4%	36.6%	100.0%
	Written corpus			
	% within	29.3%	54.5%	35.3%
	formula			
	Count	760	152	912
	% within	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
	Spoken corpus			
	% within	70.7%	45.5%	64.7%
	formula			
Total	Count	1075	334	1409
	% within	76.3%	23.7%	100.0%
	corpus			
	% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	formula			

Table 6-1 displays the distribution of the two thanking formulae over the written and spoken parts of the TNC subcorpus. According to the figures in the table, while *teşekkür et-* is utilized in 315 instances (29.3%) in the written part and 760 instances (70.7%) in the spoken part of the corpus, the formula *sağol-* is utilized in 182 instances (54.5%) in the written part of the corpus and in 152 instances in the spoken part (45.5%). In the spoken and written parts of the corpus, the total number of thanking formulae with the stem *teşekkür et-* is 1,075, and the ones with *sağol-* are 334. Among them, the total number of thanking formulae investigated in the written corpus is 497 (35.3%), and in the spoken corpus it is 912 (64.7%). These findings, together with the above-mentioned figures, reveal that the expressions of gratitude formed by the stem *teşekkür et-* are used more frequently at 76.3% when compared to the native thanking formula *sağol-* (23.7%). Out of 497 thanking formulae analyzed in the written part of the corpus, while 315 (63.4%) of them contain the stem *teşekkür et-*, 182 of them (36.6%) comprise *sağol-*. In the spoken part of the corpus, out of 912 thanking formulae, 760 of them (83.3%) comprise *teşekkür et-* while 152 of them (16.7 %) consist of *sağol-*.

The frequency of the two thanking formulae in the written and spoken parts of the corpus is found to be statistically significant ($\chi^2=70.815$, $p<0.05$). Based on this finding, we can say that there is a difference between the observed frequencies of the two formulae in the two media of the corpus. The results of the proportion test (Minitab 16) conducted on the data give further support to this generalization.

1. The difference between the frequencies of occurrence of thanking formulae formed with *teşekkür et-* in the spoken and written parts of the corpus is statistically significant ($z=-21.09$, $p<0.05$). *Teşekkür et-* is observed more in the spoken part of the corpus.
2. The difference between the frequencies of occurrence of the thanking formula consisting of *sağol-* in the spoken and written parts of the corpus is not found to be statistically significant ($z=-2.33$, $p>0.05$).
3. In the written part of the corpus, the difference between the frequencies of occurrence of the two thanking formulae is statistically significant ($z=8.76$, $p<0.05$). This indicates that gratitude expressions with *teşekkür et-* are used more in the written part of the corpus.
4. In the spoken part of the corpus, the difference between the frequencies of occurrence of the two thanking formulae is also statistically significant. ($z=38.20$, $p<0.05$). As such, expressions of gratitude formed with *teşekkür et-* are utilized more in the spoken part of the corpus.

In short, on the basis of the above-mentioned statistical analysis, it can be said that between the two thanking formulae in Turkish, the one containing the stem *teşekkür et-* is by far the most frequently used in spoken and written Turkish.

Table 6-2 Distribution of thanking formulae in the spoken part of the TNC subcorpus

		Domain		Total
		Private	Public	
Formula	Count	25	735	760
	Teşekkür % within formula	3.3%	96.7%	100.0%
	et- % within domain	36.8%	87.1%	83.3%
	% of Total	2.7%	80.6%	83.3%
	Count	43	109	152
	Sağol- % within formula	28.3%	71.7%	100.0%
	% within domain	63.2%	12.9%	16.7%
	% of Total	4.7%	12.0%	16.7%
	Total	Count	68	844
% within formula	7.5%	92.5%	100.0%	
% within domain	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
% of Total	7.5%	92.5%	100.0%	

As for the distribution of thanking formulae in the private and public domains of the spoken part of the TNC subcorpus, the figures in Table 6-2 demonstrate the findings. In accordance with the numbers in the table, in private domain interactions, 25 instances (36.8%) are formed with the stem *teşekkür et-*, while 43 of the attested instances (63.2%) consist of the *sağol-* formula. In public domain interactions, 735 (87.1%) of the examples contain the *teşekkür et-* formula, and 109 (12.9%) of the examples are constructed with *sağol-*. In the private domain of the corpus, the total number of occurrences of the two thanking formulae is 68 (7.5%), while in the public domain, the number of occurrences of both formulae is 844 (92.5%). The total number of instances with *teşekkür et-* analyzed in

the private and public domain interactions of the corpus is 760 (83.3%), and the instances composed with *sağol-* are 152 (16.7%). These findings reveal that the thanking formulae *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* are utilized more frequently in public domain interactions (92.5%) when the total number of occurrences of both formulae is compared to the private domain interactions (7.5%).

A statistically significant difference has been found in the frequency of occurrence of the two thanking formulae in the public and private domains of the spoken part of the corpus ($\chi^2=99.659$, $p<0.05$). This finding signals that there is a difference in the observed frequencies of the two thanking formulae in their distribution over private and public domain interactions.

The above-mentioned difference is further analyzed through a proportion test, and it is found that the observed frequencies of the two thanking formulae in the two domains of the corpus are also statistically significant. According to the results of the proportion test:

1. Thanking formulae with *teşekkür et-* are used more frequently (97.7%) in the public domain ($z=-102.10$, $p<0.05$);
2. Thanking formulae with *sağol-* are utilized more frequently (71.7%) in the public domain ($z=-8.40$, $p<0.05$);
3. In the public domain of the spoken corpus, gratitude expressions consisting of *teşekkür et-* are utilized more frequently (87.1%) ($z=45.43$, $p<0.05$);
4. In the private domain of the spoken corpus, gratitude expressions constructed with *sağol-* are used more frequently (63.2%) ($z=-3.20$, $p<0.05$).

All in all, the statistically significant distribution of *sağol-* and *teşekkür et-* over private and public interactional domains of the corpus point to the evidence that there is an intrinsic relationship between the choice of thanking formulae and the formality level of the situational context. In other words, on the one hand, there is a link between informal contexts (i.e., warm and close expressions of thanking) and the employment of *sağol-* while on the other hand, a link exists between formal contexts (i.e., distant and deferent expressions of thanking) and the use of stem *teşekkür et-* (see Ruhi [2006] for a similar observation based on qualitative data analysis).

Table 6-3 Distribution of thanking formulae across text types in the TNC subcorpus¹

Medium-Text Type	Frequency <i>Teşekkür et-</i>	Frequency pmw <i>Teşekkür et-</i>	Frequency <i>Sağol-</i>	Frequency pmw <i>Sağol-</i>
Written				
Written-Fiction	56	35.05	30	18.78
Written-Drama	259	162.12	152	95.14
Spoken				
Private	25	18.10	43	31.12
Public-Broadcast Discussions	20	14.48	2	1.45
Public-Broadcast News	30	21.72	3	2.17
Public-Interviews	58	41.98	21	15.20
Public-Seminars & Conferences	349	252.62	26	18.82
Public-Broadcast Talk Shows	50	36.19	11	7.96
Public-Political Speeches	120	86.86	4	2.90
Public- Printed ² Talk Shows	108	78.17	42	30.40

Table 6-3 shows the distribution of the corpus instances containing *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* formulae across text types. Thanking formulae with *teşekkür et-* are relatively frequent in the public domain interactions of seminars and conferences with 252.62 examples per million words. Instances from drama texts follow seminars and conferences (162.12 examples per million words), texts representing political leaders' speeches (86.86 examples per million words) are in third place, and printed talk

¹ The counts of text types are normalized to a basis of per million words.

² The TNC data for "Printed Talk Shows" come from written transcripts of television talk shows.

shows with 78.14 examples per million words come afterwards. The number of occurrences of *teşekkür et-* formulae in seminars and conferences, political speeches, and printed talk shows are noticeable. This distribution may indicate the relatively fixed and also rigidly prescribed speech style of these text types, which pave the way to recurrent and mandatory use of the thanking formula *teşekkür et-* by interlocutors (see section 6.5). The number of examples containing the *teşekkür et-* formula in per million words decreases gradually in interviews (41.98 examples per million words), talk shows (36.19 examples per million words), fiction texts (35.05 examples per million words), broadcast news (21.72 examples per million words), private speeches (18.10 examples per million words), and broadcast discussions (14.48 examples per million words). In regard to the occurrences of the *sağol-* formula over text types, instances from drama are in first place (95.4 examples per million words), followed by private speeches (31.12 examples per million words), and printed talk shows (30.40 examples per million words). The distribution of *sağol-* over these text types is aligned with the interlocutors' preference for employing *sağol-*, particularly in informal situational contexts. Additionally, the fact that the frequent occurrence of the *sağol-* formula in private domain interactions (the ideal samples of informal contexts) as well as their recurrent occurrence in drama texts (which might be considered fingerprints of everyday conversations) and printed talk shows, all of which took place among interlocutors with close relationships in our corpus data, fulfill the requirement of having the informal and intimate situational context for the utilization of *sağol-*.

Before ending this section, we also note that statistical analyses made across the sub-categories of the public domain of the spoken corpus validates the above distribution. It is found out that there is a significant difference in the use of *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* formulae over various text types of public domain interactions ($X^2= 67.887$, $p<0.05$). The observed frequencies of *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* across the seven text types are different.

6.5. Thanking strategies in the TNC subcorpus

Expressions of gratitude can range from “simple, phatic utterances to lengthy communicative events mutually developed by both the giver and the recipient of a gift, favor, reward, or service,” say Eisenstein and Bodman (1993, p. 64). This description, known also as “speech act sets” (Olshtain & Cohen, 1989), finds itself a place in more recent studies of

thanking expressions. Schauer and Adolphs (2006) in their study underscore that “... expressions of gratitude take the form of gratitude clusters. Sequences and lexical items of gratitude are linked and often repeated in a single turn as well as across turns” (p. 126). In line with this view, Wong (2010) names gratitude clusters as thanking strategies, and categorizes them under three main groups, such as compound thanks, single occurrences, and extended turns. This study follows the same structural categorization of thanking strategies and proposes three new strategies under compound thanks (i.e., strategy E and F) and under single occurrences (i.e., strategy J) categories. It also adds a new strategy (i.e., R4) to the thanking responders group.

Table 6-4 Classification system of thanking strategies and thanking responders (adapted from Wong, 2010)

Thanking strategies
I. Compound Thanks
A. Thanking + alerters B. Thanking + complimenting interlocutor C. Thanking + stating reason D. Thanking + refusing E. Thanking + wishing wellness F. Thanking + congratulating
II. Single occurrences
G. Thanking as a responder to an expression of gratitude H. Thanking as a single expression I. Thanking as a closing signal J. Thanking as a floor-taking signal
III. Extended turn
K. Thanking as an extended turn
Thanking responders
R1. Minimizing the favor R2. Expressing pleasure R3. Expressing appreciation of the addressee R4. Acknowledging gratitude

Compound thanks are constructed around an explicit expression of the thanking formulae stems *teşekkür et-* and/or *sağol-*. Thanking formulae are followed or preceded by other utterances, which can be considered as “supportive moves” (Farenkia, 2012) in the act of thanking. This group contains strategies A to F as explained below.

- A. Thanking + alerters contains utterances addressing the speaker by using a name, the title of the recipient, and/or terms of endearment; it also contains utterances addressing institutions and the general public.
- B. Thanking + complimenting interlocutors consists of utterances which express the gratitude of the speaker along with his/her appreciation directed to an act or the personality of the addressee.
- C. Thanking + stating reason contains utterances which specify the reason of the thanking act.
- D. Thanking + refusing consists of utterances which reject the offers of addressee along with thanking.
- E. Thanking + wishing wellness contains formulaic wishes which display the speaker's comity and benevolence through well-wishes to the addressee next to the thanking formula.
- F. Thanking + congratulating is composed of utterances involving a formulaic expression of congratulation contiguous to the thanking formula.

The categories of compound thanking strategies are not mutually exclusive (Wong, 2010). In our corpus data, we have instances in which domain-specific and situation-specific needs engender speakers to utilize more than one thanking strategy at the same time. Table 6-5 shows these co-occurrences.

Table 6-5 Compound thanks containing two or more categories of thanking strategies

	Thanking Strategy	Strategy Codes	Frequency	%
1	Thanking + alerters + stating reason	(A+C)	22	40.74
2	Thanking + alerters + complimenting interlocutor	(A+B)	12	22.22
3	Thanking + alerters + congratulating	(A+F)	8	14.81
4	Thanking + alerters + wishing wellness	(A+E)	7	12.96
5	Thanking + complimenting interlocutor + stating reason	(B+C)	2	3.70
6	Thanking + alerters + refusing	(A+D)	2	3.70
7	Thanking + alerters + stating reason + wishing wellness	(A+C+E)	1	1.85
TOTAL			54	100.00

Within cultures of politeness, forms of address mirror the social status and relationship of interlocutors (e.g., Bayyurt & Bayraktaroğlu, 2001; Ruhi, 2002). This explains the 52 instances in which the thanking + alerters (strategy A) is combined with almost all the other compound thanking strategies except for (F). Using strategy (A) with other thanking strategies simultaneously, the interlocutor displays his/her (in)formal tone of gratitude in accordance with the speech event more explicitly. In line with this observation, it is also noteworthy that thanking + alerters is by far the most frequent strategy among all the other thanking strategies (see table 6-6 in section 6.5.1).

A single occurrence of the thanking formula constitutes the category in which a thanking formula should occur by itself without any supportive move(s). It is composed of the (G), (H), (I) and (J) strategies.

- G. Thanking as a response to an expression of gratitude: speakers utilize thanking formulae as a response to an expression of gratitude in a previous turn.
- H. Thanking as a single expression strategy: contains a thanking formula which expresses only the gratitude of a speaker. A thanking expression in this strategy does not serve any discourse organization functions, such as the ones depicted in strategies (I) and (J).
- I. Thanking as a closing signal: the speaker uses formulaic expressions as a signal to terminate the conversation.
- J. Thanking as a floor-taking signal: speakers deploy thanking formulae to initiate a turn and to show that the speaking floor belongs to him/her.

In thanking as an extended turn (strategy K), there is more than one occurrence of the thanking formulae. The thanking act is accomplished by means of several turns rather than just a single turn used in the first and second groups. In this category, usually two or more thanking strategies are used in an extended turn (Wong, 2010).

6.5.1. Distribution of thanking strategies

This section deals with the quantitative and partially qualitative findings concerning the distribution of thanking strategies across the subcorpus of the TNC. Rank-ordered distribution of thanking strategies over the two thanking formulae is the first set of quantitative findings. Incorporation of compound thanks and single occurrences constitutes the second group that we discuss. Finally, figures in the distribution of

structural types of thanking strategies in the TNC subcorpus encapsulate Turkish speakers' choices in expressing gratitude.

Table 6-6 Distribution of thanking strategies over thanking formulae

Rank	Strategy	Frequency <i>Teşekkür et-</i>	%	Strategy	Frequency <i>Sağol-</i>	%
1	A	345	27.82	A	120	33.15
2	H	324	26.12	H	117	32.32
3	C	195	15.72	I	32	8.84
4	I	150	12.09	E	23	6.35
5	B	59	4.75	D	20	5.52
6	G	49	3.95	B	18	4.97
7	E	46	3.70	C	16	4.42
8	D	25	2.01	G	16	4.42
9	J	17	1.37	J	0	0.00
10	F	16	1.29	F	0	0.00
11	K	14	1.12	K	0	0.00
		1,240	100.00		362	100.00

As is evident in both Table 6-6 and in Figure 6-1, the most common strategy type for both formulae is thanking + alerters, while the second most dominant strategy realized by the *teşekkür et-* (26.12%) and *sağol-* (32.32%) formulae is thanking as a single turn. While thanking + stating reason comes third at 15.72% with the *teşekkür et-* formula, thanking as a closing signal strategy ranks third in the *sağol-* formula. Thanking as a closing signal is realized through the *teşekkür et-* formula (12.09%) as the

fourth most common strategy. The thanking + wishing wellness strategy appeared in 23 instances (6.35%) and is the fourth most common strategy realized by the *sağol-* formula, while the same strategy with the *teşekkür et-* formula is in the seventh position. The ranking differences in choosing a thanking formula along with wishing wellness is probably motivated by the close and distant tones conveyed by each formula. Well-wishing by a speaker in strategy (E) would call for a semantically warm and close expression of gratitude. The thanking + complimenting interlocutor strategy appears 59 times (4.75%) in the fifth place with the *teşekkür et-* formula, and it occurs 18 times (4.97%), in the sixth place with the *sağol-* formula. While thanking + refusing is the fifth most common strategy (5.52%) verbalized by the *sağol-* formula, the same strategy ranks 8th with *teşekkür et-* (2.01%). Based on this finding, it can be said that the expression of gratitude constructed with *sağol-* stating “a semantically stronger sense of gratitude” (Ruhi, 2006, p. 52) when compared to the ones formed with that of *teşekkür et-* seems to be required in a situational context involving a refusing act, which may engender a threat to positive rapport (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). Thanking as a responder to an expression of gratitude is the sixth most frequent strategy at 3.95% with the *teşekkür et-* formula. Thanking + stating reason (4.42%) and thanking as responder to an expression of gratitude (4.42%) are the strategies equally distributed in the *sağol-* formula. Thanking + floor-taking (1.37%), thanking + congratulating (1.29%) and extended turns (1.12%) are the least-employed strategies and realized only by the use of *teşekkür et-*.

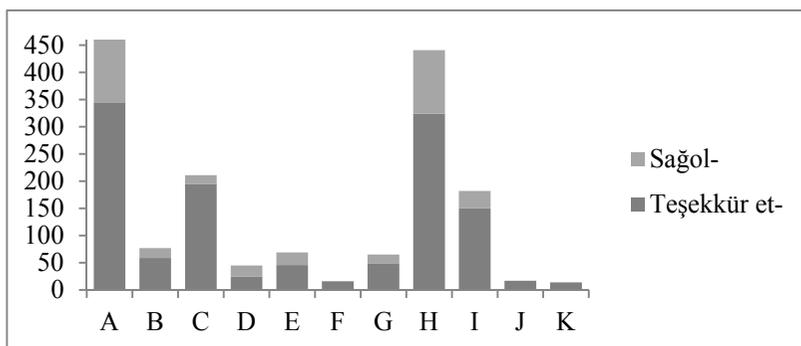


Fig. 6-1 Counts of thanking formulae in TNC subcorpus by strategies

Compound thanks and single occurrences of thanks are, by definition, mutually exclusive categories. Yet, our subcorpus contains a limited number of instances in which an interlocutor's act of thanking appears to incorporate a range of sub-categories of compound and single-occurrence thanks. Table 6-7 shows numbers of this intertwined thanking strategy use.

Table 6-7 Intertwined thanking strategies in the TNC subcorpus

Strategy Incorporation	Strategy Codes	Frequency	%
Thanking + alerters + wishing wellness & Thanking as a closing signal	([A+E]+I)	32	47.76
Thanking + alerters & Thanking as a closing signal	(A+I)	9	13.43
Thanking + stating reason & Thanking as a closing signal	(C+I)	9	13.43
Thanking + wishing wellness & Thanking as a closing signal	(E+I)	5	7.46
Thanking + alerters & Thanking as a responder to an expression of gratitude	(A+G)	3	4.48
Thanking + wishing wellness & Thanking as a responder to an expression of gratitude	(E+G)	3	4.48
Thanking + alerters + stating reason & Thanking as a closing signal	([A+C]+I)	2	2.99
Thanking + alerters + congratulating & Thanking as a closing signal	([A+F]+I)	1	1.49
Thanking + alerters & Thanking as a floor-taking signal	(A+J)	1	1.49
Thanking + stating reason & Thanking as a responder to an expression of gratitude	(C+G)	1	1.49
Thanking as a responder to an expression of gratitude & Thanking as a closing signal	(G+I)	1	1.49
Total		67	100.00

It is noticeable that 30 instances of the most frequent (47.76%) intertwined strategy ([A+E]+I) come from public domain-political speech texts, which can be considered as a text type or register-specific choice of an interlocutor. It may not be surprising to see in the table that a multitude of compound thanking strategies are most frequently intertwined with thanking as a closing signal (I) subsumed under the single occurrences category. Since strategy (I) serves primarily as a discourse organization function (see Hymes, 1971; Aston, 1995; Aijmer, 1996; Jautz, 2013, among others), the compound thank in a particular speech event is deployed as a sequence not only containing categories of its own class, but also carries the discourse organization function of strategy (I), as illustrated in (1) below. The example is taken from the closing statement of the main opposition leader's parliamentary group meeting speech. While the party leader expresses his gratitude, which terminates the speech (strategy I), at the same time he refers to the general public by either particularizing their identities (*CHP'li arkadaşlarıma* 'my friends from Republican People's Party') or addressing to the audience with a generic pronoun (*hepinize* 'you all') (strategy A), and he states his best wishes as well (*başarılar diliyorum* 'I wish success') (strategy E).

(1)

D: Bugünkü Meclis toplantısında da, *Cumhuriyet Halk Partili arkadaşlarıma, hepinize başarılar diliyorum*, teşekkür ediyorum.

D: At today's Parliamentary Meeting, I wish success to my friends from the Republican People's Party and you all, thank you. **Public-Political Speeches**

An overall distribution of structural types of thanking strategies is recapitulated in Table 6-8. Compound thanks at 52.32 % is by far the most preferred means of expressing gratitude among Turkish speakers. Single occurrences of thanking expressions with a percent of 42.55% are the second most common structural type employed to verbalize thanking. Of all the structural types of thanking strategies, only 4.16% consisted of intertwined thanking strategies. The extended turn category constitutes the smallest group in thanking strategies with 0.97% of occurrences.

Table 6-8 Distribution of structural types of thanking strategies in the TNC subcorpus

Structural types in thanking strategy	Freq <i>Teşekkür et-</i>	(%) <i>Teşekkür et-</i>	Freq <i>Sağol-</i>	(%) <i>Sağol-</i>	Freq Total	(%) Total
Compound Thanks	670	52.18	197	53.10	867	52.32
Single Occurrences	540	42.06	165	44.47	705	42.55
Extended Turn	16	1.25	0	0.00	16	0.97
Combination of structural types	60	4.67	9	2.43	69	4.16
TOTAL	1,286	100.00	371	100.00	1,657	100.00

6.5.2. Compound thanks

A. Thanking + Alerters: In this category, a speaker simply names a benefactor by choosing the appropriate form of address, considering participant roles and relations with the benefactor in a speech event. In the TNC subcorpus, first name (+surname), surname only, title only, and title + name as indicators of status are frequent in public domain interactions such as seminars-conferences, broadcast discussions, and news. These speech situations are status-marked where “the form of address of each person is derived from his social identity” (Ervin-Tripp, 1969/1972, p. 227). Looking at the corpus data in detail, we have identified other forms used in status-marked situations to name the benefactor along with a thanking formula (*teşekkür et-*, *kendisi/kendileri* ‘him/her/them’ *şahsında/nızda* ‘in person of someone,’ *efendim* ‘sir/madam’) that indicate a rather formal context and a deferential tone. Apart from its reflexive function, *kendisi* ‘him/her’ and *kendileri* ‘them, honorific him/her’ can be used as personal pronouns corresponding to *he* or *she* and *they* (or their forms in other functions e.g. *him* or *her* and *them*). These forms are more polite than the personal pronoun *o* ‘he or she’ and *onlar* ‘they’ (see Göksel & Kerslake, 2011). In (2), the organizer of conference reads the

congratulatory messages of mayors and names them as *kendilerine* ‘to them’ in expressing the conference organizers’ respectfully polite gratitude.

(2)

Belediye başkanları kutlama mesajını gönderen diğer isimler arasında yer alıyor. *Kendilerine* teşekkür ediyoruz.

‘Mayors are among the other names sending congratulation messages. We thank them.’ **Public-Seminars & Conferences**

Institutions are also addressed when they support or sponsor an event. In (3), the name of the institution is uttered and its president is also emphasized along with a thanking formula to acknowledge the association’s contribution to the conference.

(3)

Ağız sağlığı uzmanları derneğine ve özellikle başkanına çok çok teşekkür ediyoruz.

‘We thank the association of mouth care specialists and especially its president very, very much.’ **Public-Seminars & Conferences**

Expressions of gratitude may also address “other people such as the general public” (Jautz, 2013, p. 66). In this case, an unspecified group of people or a wider audience is named. Pronouns *herkes* ‘everybody,’ *herbiri(niz)* ‘each one of you’ or general nouns such as *konuşmacılar* ‘speakers’ or *izleyiciler* ‘audience’ are the frequent forms of address in the corpus. Sometimes a pronoun referring to an unspecified group of people is modified by a relative clause to specify these people’s contribution to the realization of an event. The thanking routines in (4) through (6) illustrate such usages.

(4)

Sizler de çok güzel çok anlamlı bu konuyla ilgili mesajlar atıyorsunuz *her birinize* çok teşekkür ediyorum.

‘You too are sending rather good and meaningful messages on that topic; I thank each one of you very much.’ **Public-Broadcast Discussions**

(5)

Bugünkü panelimiz burada sona erdi *konuşmacılara ve izleyicilere* teşekkür ederiz.

‘Our panel for today is over now and we thank all the speakers and the audience.’ **Public-Seminars & Conferences**

(6)

Bu kongrenin gerçekleştirilmesinde emeği geçen herkese teşekkürlerimi ve saygılarımı sunuyorum.

'I express my thanks and respect to everybody who has contributed to this congress taking place.' **Public-Seminars & Conferences**

On the other hand, addressing terms generated from kinship relations (*abla* 'elder sister,' *amca* 'paternal uncle,' *yavrum* 'my child') and terms of endearment (*canım* 'my soul/dear,' *kanka* 'buddy') are found in the corpus when there is a warm and close relation between the speaker and addressee. Contrary to the above-mentioned forms of alerters, such forms clearly signal an informal context. Moreover, they serve to establish a solidarity framework among interlocutors. The present example (7), taken from the public domain of the corpus, depicts the closing part of an interview conducted by two students (B and E) with a drama artist (N), whom they are acquainted with. The close relationship among speakers, and thereby the informal tone of the conversation, is evident in B's thanking formula (*çok teşekkür ediyorum* 'I thank very much') associated with a kinship term used for non-relatives marked with diminutive and possessive suffixes (*abla-cı-m* 'my dear elder sister'). These are the markers of warmth attached to person names and kinship terms used as forms of address. The speaker's thanking + alerters strategy, formed with *teşekkür et-*, is also combined with a *sağol-* formula (*çok saol* 'may you be very much alive/well'), which emphasizes the interlocutors' intimate relationship once again.

(7)

B: Yine konuşuruz *ablacım*.

B: We will talk again my dear sister.

N: Konuşuruz tabi. Takıldığınız bi yer varsa ben buradayım.

N: Sure we will. If there is something you don't understand, I'm here.

E: *Çok teşekkür ederiz*.

E: Thank you very much.

N: Rica ederim.

N: You're welcome.

B: *Çok teşekkür ediyorum ablacım. Çok saol. Görüşürüz ablacım.*

B: Thank you very much my dear (elder) sister. Thanks very much. See you my dear (elder) sister. **Public-Interviews**

It is important to note that *teşekkür et-* precedes or follows forms of address, but *sağol-* in our data almost always precedes them. Compared to

the *teşekkür et-* formula with respect to the use of different types of forms of address, not much variety is observed in naming the benefactor along with a *sağol* formula. Addressing terms derived from kinship relations (*sağolasın amca* ‘may you be alive/well uncle), name + kinship term (*sağol Yusuf abi* ‘may you be alive/well brother Yusuf), and terms of endearment (*sağol yavrum* ‘may you be alive/well my child’), are commonly identified instances. As such, the speaker’s choice of these forms complies with the informal sense of *sağol-*.

In sum, naming an institute, using informal forms of address, or adding the addressee’s name or title makes an expression of “gratitude more personal, alerts the addressee’s attention and conveys solidarity” (Jautz, 2013, p. 99).

B. Thanking + (alerters) + complimenting interlocutors: Thanking expressions accompanied by an appreciation token directed to an act or the personality of a speaker constitute a small part of our data. *Teşekkür et-* (4.75%) and *sağol-* (4.95%) formulae are distributed almost equally in this strategy. Mostly lexically and structurally routine compliments (see Manes & Wolfson, 1981; Ruhi & Doğan, 2001) co-occur with the expressions of gratitude to illustrate the liking and positive remarks of a speaker. These commonplace expressions of admiration along with thanking formulae are mainly obtained from the written medium-drama text type of the corpus. In (8), as a response to the compliment of speaker Z, referring to N’s appearance (a newly bought item of clothing that suits him), along with a formulaic good wish (*güle güle giy* ‘lit. wear it laughingly’), speaker N thanks and praises the polite behavior of Z with the complimenting formula *çok nazıksiniz* ‘you are very kind.’ In (9), a fixed expression used to emphasize the positive impact of an act in general *değdi doğrusu* ‘it was well worth it’ serves as a complimenting remark in the gratitude cluster of the 2nd worker who appreciates the generosity and perfect timing of the 1st worker’s cigarette offer.

(8)

Z: Yakışmış da... Güle güle giyin.

Z: It really suits you. Enjoy it.

N: *Çok teşekkür ederim. Çok nazıksiniz hanımefendi.*

N: Thank you so much. You’re very kind Madam. **Written-Drama**

(9)

2. işçi: Yanık sesin varmış kardeşlik. İyi de türkü söylüyorsun. Burnumun direği sızladı valla. Köyümü hatırladım. Dertlerim depreşti yine. Al bir sigara yak benden.

2nd worker: You have a poignant voice. You also sing well. My nostrils were tingling. I remembered my village. My sorrows recurred. Have a cigarette on me.

1. işçi: Sağol kardeşlik. *Değdi doğrusu.*’

1st worker: Be alive bro! It was well worth it! **Written-Drama**

C. Thanking + (alterers) + stating reason: Expressions of gratitude in this category are expanded by means of several structural devices to display a speaker’s specification of the reason for his/her gratitude. The most frequent structures in such sequences are postpositional phrases constructed by *için* ‘for,’ *dolayı* ‘owing to,’ *sebebiyle* ‘because of,’ and dative-marked noun phrases. A number of different reasons are specified to underscore “situation-specific expressions of one’s personal gratitude” (Jautz, 2013, p. 102). Here, in the public domain interactions of our corpus, such as seminars and conferences, broadcast news, interviews, or talk shows the speaker thanks the addressee (e.g., discussant, reporter) for his/her attention and contribution to the event or program. The audience/listeners are also thanked for listening, watching, and contributing to the ongoing event (10). Likewise, the addressee thanks the speaker (e.g., host) for giving him/her the chance to share his/her ideas in front of the public (11). Written corpus data, on the other hand, consist of instances in which a speaker associates affective features to an addressee concerning the nature and size of a favor as reasons for his/her gratitude. Emphasizing an addressee’s concern, kindness or appreciation is among the attested examples in the corpus, as in (12). *İlgi* ‘concern,’ *anlayış* ‘understanding,’ *zahmet* ‘trouble,’ *incelik* ‘kindness,’ *teselli* ‘consolation,’ and *teveccüh* ‘appreciation’ are the other examples obtained in the corpus for this strategy.

(10)

SG: Benim anlatmak istediklerim bunlar ııı *herkese tekrardan katıldıkları için çok teşekkürler ediyorum.*

SG: These are what I want to tell erm many thanks to all again for their attendance. **Public-Seminars & Conferences**

(11)

BÖ: (...) Güneş Sigorta'nın güneşle ilgili bir çalışması var.

BÖ: (...) Güneş Insurance has a project about the sun.

İA: Evet.

İA: Yes.

BÖ: O çalışmayla ilgili kısa bir değerlendirme alıp kapatacaz, süremizin sonuna doğru geliyoruz.

BÖ: We would like to make a short assessment of this project and then we will end. We are coming to the end of our time.

İA: *Teşekkür ederim B. hanım bu konuya değindiğiniz için.*

İA: Thank you Mrs. B for touching on this topic. **Public-Broadcast News**

(12)

[Upon finishing her song, an audience member asks for one more song. The singer responds to this persistent request by thanking the audience member for his courtesy.]

O: Bir tane yetmez. İsteriz, isteriz.

O: One is not enough. We want more.

Ş: *Teveccühlerinze teşekkür ederim efendim.*

Ş: Thank you for your courtesy, sir. **Written-Drama**

D. Thanking + (alerters) + refusing: Under this category, a speaker, by means of a thanking act, acknowledges that the addressee has made an offer but this offer is rejected. As Jautz (2013) insightfully points out “when the speaker wants to make sure that the present or future relationship with the offerer is not disturbed by the rejection, an expression of gratitude used along with *no* may well serve this purpose” (p. 146). In the present data, the thanking + refusing sequence is used to decline offers for material things, such as food, drink, or a seat. Upon rejecting an addressee’s offer, a speaker explains the reason why s/he cannot accept the offer, as illustrated in examples (13) to (16). The thanking formula follows or precedes the reason for the refusal and in the vicinity of it, the negative marker *yo/yok* ‘no’ (13), or a sentence with negative marked verb (14) is utilized as a signal of the explicit refusal token. In examples lacking the refusal token ‘no’ or a negative marked verb, the declarative sentence following the thanking formula serves as a co-text for the speaker to infer that the addressee is refusing the offer (see Zeyrek [2012] for a similar explanation). In such cases, speakers underline that their present state relating to the object of the offer is satisfactory so they do not need it, as in (15). Combining different categories of compound thanking strategies (16), thanking + alerters + wishing wellness, (*sağolun* + *beyim*, + *size afiyet*

olsun ‘be alive/well + sir + enjoy your breakfast’), makes the implicit refusal of the speaker apparent, and it may also soften the negative tone of the refusing act. In other words, this long gratitude cluster would further serve as a rapport maintenance device among interlocutors. (see Jautz [2013] and Aijmer [1996] for length of an utterance as an index of politeness).

(13)

Sorgucu: Ne alırsın? Sana bir meşrubat ikram edelim? Gazoz? Kola?
 Questioner: What do you want? Let us offer you a drink? Soda? Coke?
 Hatice: *Yok... Sağ olun, miğdemi ağrıtıyor...*
 Hatice: *No, thanks. It hurts my stomach...* **Written-Drama**

(14)

Cevriye: Ne içerdiniz efendim?
 Cevriye: What would you like to drink sir/madam?
 Muhasebeci: *İçmeyeyim, işim var, sağ olun*
 Accountant: I had better not drink. I have things to do. Thanks. **Written-Drama**

(15)

Garson: Çay almaz mısınız?
 Waiter: Won't you have some tea?
 N: Ha, saolun teşekkür ederim. *Yeterli.*
 N: Ah, may you be alive/well, thank you. It is enough. **Private**³

(16)

Hasan: Buyur Halil Efendi, kahvaltayı bizde edelim.
 Hasan: Here you are Halil Efendi, let's have breakfast at our home.
 Bekçi: *Sağ olun beyim, size afiyet olsun. Ben şu camı kırımı bulmalıyım.*
 Guardian: May you be alive/well sir, enjoy your breakfast. I have to find the person who broke this window. **Written-Drama**

E. Thanking + (alerters) + wishing wellness: This category contains sequences of gratitude expressions constituted by a combination of a thanking formula with a formulaic expression of a good wish. Among a set of formulaic wishes in Turkish, a speaker selects the most appropriate one

³ Although this interaction takes place between a customer and waiter, it is marked “Private” because the interaction occurs in the garden of a hostel during a casual conversation between the two interlocutors.

for the situational context depending on his/her style or the requirements of social interaction. *Eksik olma* ‘may you not be absent,’ *sofranız bereketli olsun* ‘plenty to your dinning table,’ and *ne zahmet ettiniz?* ‘why do you go to the trouble?’ are the samples of situation-specific formulae identified once in the data. On the other hand, psycho-ostensive formulae, “showing the speaker’s attitude towards what s/he has said” (Tannen & Özpetek, 1977, p. 520) are used frequently, and most of them are formed via metonymies. As such, a speaker wishes health to the mouth (*ağzına sağlık* ‘health to your mouth’), foot (*ayağına sağlık* ‘health to your foot’), or even heart (*yüreğine sağlık* ‘health to your heart’) of the addressee due to the kind end result of addressee’s action. In (17), the presenter of the broadcast news both thanks the guest and wishes health to her foot since she has come to the program. The guest accepts this good wish by thanking in return.

(17)

B: *Ayağımıza sağlık*, sağolun

B: Health to your foot (Thanks for coming), may you be alive/well.

E: Çok teşekkür ederim.

E: Thank you very much. **Public-Broadcast News**

Example (18) incorporates the multiple uses of formulaic wishes and a thanking formula. Here, Hodja reads an ode on Karbala. The program host expresses his gratitude and wishes health to his heart and mouth to show his deep appreciation owing to his heartfelt and moving style of ode reading.

(18)

Y: Kербela'yla ilgili bir kaside dinleyelim. Sevgili izleyiciler şimdi İzmir Şile Merkez Camii Müezzın Kayyımı VÖ Hoca'mızdan bir kaside dinliyoruz. Buy run.

Y: Let’s listen to an ode about Karbala. Dear audience, we are now listening to an ode from VÖ Hodja, the muezzin curator in İzmir Şile Centre Mosque. Here you are.

VÖ: [Reading of the ode]

Y: Hocam *yüreğimize sağlık*, *ağzımıza sağlık*, çok teşekkür ediyoruz. Sağ olun var olun, sizleri uğurluyoruz.

Y: My dear Hodja, health to your heart, health to your mouth, we thank you very much. Thank you, may you be alive/well, we bid you farewell.

Public-Interviews

Formulae with religious overtones are also observed in the data. A speaker to that effect expresses his/her indebtedness in return for an act of the addressee by wishing wellness for him/her from God. In (19), speaker Ş reads G's fortune in coffee grounds and makes positive predictions about G's daughter's prospective career plans. G thanks Ş in turn and expresses good wishes for her health (*Allah canına sağlık versin* 'May God give health to your core of life') and for her family (*Allah çocuklarını, kocanı başıslasın* 'May God save your children and husband') from God to manifest how deeply she is impressed by Ş's words.

(19)

G: İnşallah bu kızım bu sene atanır, kazanır.

G: I hope (If God lets) my daughter is appointed this year, I hope she passes.

Ş: İnşallah, inşallah dilediği neyse bi yerlere gidecek. Allahın izniyle sizi sevindirecek sizi güldürecek.

Ş: I hope so, I hope she will be at the point of whatever her wish is. God willing, she will make you pleased and happy.

G: İnşallah!

G: I hope so. (God willing!)

(...)

Ş: Burda çıkmış.

Ş: It is seen here. (Looking at the coffee cup)

G: Sağolasın. *Allah canına sağlık versin. Allah çocuklarını, kocanı başıslasın.*

G: May you be alive/well. May God provide you with health. God bless your children and husband. **Private**

The closing part of an interview in (20) displays the reciprocal utilization of the thanking + (alerters) + wishing wellness strategy. M, an old woman, narrates her experiences about getting married at a very young age and answers questions of a student interviewer. At the end of the interview, the interviewer does not simply thank her but wishes health to her mouth, a formula used in Turkish when someone says something very much to the point. M responds to this warm, sincere, and intimate gratitude with another thanking formula combined with a formulaic wish addressing God (*Allah razı olsun* 'May God be approving') to show her benevolence and sincere gratitude to the interviewer.

(20)

S: Sağol Müzeyyen Teyze *ağzına sağlık*.

S: Thank you Aunt Müzeyyen, health to your mouth.

M: Hı sağol, *Allah razı olsun*.M: Ah, thank you, may God bless you. **Public-Interviews**

Overall, situation-specific and psycho-ostensive formulae "... serve the felicitous purpose of furnishing the 'right' thing to say in a situation in which it is felt that something should be said. The net effect is a very pleasant feeling of harmony" (Tannen & Özpetek, 1977, p. 542). Additionally, these formulaic wishes index "inner politeness" (Ruhi & Işık-Güler, 2007) of the interlocutors. In line with this sincere, close, and convivial atmosphere created by formulaic wishes valuing long life, good health, and good living, Turkish speakers predominantly choose the thanking formula *sağol-* in this strategy, and thus they enhance and/or maintain positive rapport in interaction.

F. Thanking + congratulating: In seminars-conferences and in speeches of politicians, speakers occasionally end their speeches by thanking and congratulating the addressee for his/her accomplishments. Such cases may be interpreted as particular social contexts in public domain interactions that necessitate the expression of congratulations accompanied by a thanking act. In these cases, it is worth noting that due to the structural constraint created by the person inflection (see section 5.6), only the expression of gratitude with the stem *teşekkür et-* is likely to be found in the realization of this strategy.

(21)

[The Republican People's Party leader's party assembly is being addressed]

DB: Buna katkı yapan iş adamlarımızı, sivil kuruluşlarımızı, buna öncülük yapan Kadıköy, Beşiktaş, Bakırköy, ve Avcılar Belediye Başkanlarımızı *yürekten kutluyorum, kendilerine teşekkür ediyorum*.DB: I wholeheartedly congratulate and thank you all, the businessmen contributing this project, non-governmental organizations, and the mayors of Kadıköy, Beşiktaş, Bakırköy, and Avcılar leading this project. **Public-Political Speeches**

6.5.3. Single occurrence of thanking

G. Thanking as a responder to an expression of gratitude: In this category, a speaker returns the thanks to an addressee and responds to the preceding thanking act to that effect. Out of 1,602 thanking acts, strategy G is found only in 65 instances (4.42% with *sağol-* and 3.95% with *teşekkür et-* formulae) in the corpus. It most often occurs in public domain interactions, especially in the closing part of exchanges as displayed in (22) and (23). In example (22), the host of the broadcast news thanks the guest for his contribution and for the information he provided. With the response, the guest returns the thanks to the host. Here, the use of the personal pronoun *ben* ‘I’ as the subject of the utterance is significant. Turkish, being a pro-drop language, does not frequently employ a subject pronoun in a sentence since person inflection on the verb is sufficient to mark the person(s) involved. The subject pronoun is only used to fulfill several pragmatic functions, and emphasizing the subject is one of them (Göksel & Kerslake, 2011). In the present example, KS accentuates himself as the agent of thanking as a responder to BÖ’s gratitude expression. As such, KS achieves the mutuality needed to satisfy both himself and the addressee in expressing gratitude, by which means he manages his interactional goals smoothly.

(22)

BÖ: Çok teşekkür ediyoruz KS katıldığımız için yayınımıza, verdiğiniz bilgiler için (...) Ekonomi Ekranı’nın şimdilik sonuna geldik.

BÖ: Thank you very much KS for participating our broadcast and the information that you have provided. (...) We have come to the end of our program, “Ekonomi Ekranı.”

KS: *Ben* teşekkür ederim.

KS: I thank you. **Public-Broadcast News**

The example (23) illustrates a similar situational context as that depicted in (22). The speaker NS reciprocates the addressee PS with a thanking expression *sağol-*, which has a totally different orientation point rather than that of *teşekkür et-*. The second person subject pronoun *sen* should be used pertaining to the inflectional constraint of *sağol-* (see 6.6.1). Hence, the utterance *sen de sağol* ‘you too be well/alive’ is the manifestation of an addressee-oriented thanking act as a response to the gratitude expression constituted with *sağol-*.

(23)

NS: (...) Size teşekkür ediyoruz katıldığınız için.

NS: (...) I thank you all for your participation to the program.

PS: Nedim çok teşekkür ederim. Sağol.

PS: Nedim thank you very much. May you be alive/well.

NS: *Sen* de sağol.

NS: May you to be alive/well too. **Public- Printed Talk Shows**

The frequent occurrence of subject pronouns (i.e., 64 examples out of 115 pronoun instances) in strategy (G) allows us to speculate that subject pronouns as a part of thanking expressions as a respond token to an expression of gratitude seem to index strategy (G). In this regard, subject pronoun use is typical of this particular case.

H. Thanking as a single expression: Single expressions of gratitude (*teşekkürler* ‘thanks,’ *teşekkür ederim* ‘thank you,’ *sağol* ‘may you be alive/well’) and intensified forms of them (*çok teşekkür ederim* ‘thank you very much’) are predominant in our corpus data (441 instances or 27.52%). Interlocutors tend to use the single and intensified forms of this thanking formula to complete speech turns and to realize a broad range of functions, such as expressing gratitude in response to material things (example 24) or producing phatic, ritualized responses in the contexts of greetings (25), compliments (26), offers (27), and the like. As emphasized in a number of studies (see Coulmas [1981], Aijmer [1996], and Jautz [2013], among others), the expression of gratitude in phatic communication is almost automatic, it appears to be a “social amenity” (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1993, p. 66), employed to establish or maintain a positive and harmonious rapport between conversational partners.

(24)

[Service encounter concerning the submission of documents to participate in a national test]

G: Ben buraya mı adımı soyadı mı imzam?

G: Am I going to sign my name, last name here?

T: Hı-hı imzan yeterli. <D 15> Üç lira da senden alıcaz G., işlemimiz biticek.

T: Yeah your signature is enough. <D 15> We will take 3 lira from you G., our process will end.

G: Tamaaam... Buyrun. <D 5>

G: Okay. Here you are. <D 5>

T: Senin şifren de burda.

T: Your password is here.

G: *Teşekkür ederim.*

G: Thank you. **Public**

(25)

[Greeting]

C: D. abi napıyon?

C: What's up brother D.?

D: İyiyim *saol*. Sen nasılsın?

D: I'm fine, thanks. How are you? **Private**

(26)

[Compliment]

YM: Şimdi karşımda ben hakketen çok güzel muhteşem güzellikte bir hanım efendi görüyorum.

YM: Now I'm seeing in front of me a really very beautiful and adorable lady.

TŞ: *Çok teşekkür ediyorum.*

TŞ: Thank you very much. **Public-Broadcast Talk Shows**

(27)

[Offer-Invitation]

MA: Gel bak yazın iki ay ev boş. Verim anahtarını git otur.

MA: Come, our place is empty for two months in the summer. I'll give you the keys. Go and stay.

N: <gülme> *saol* <gülme>

N: <laugh> may you be alive/well / thanks <laugh> **Private**

I. Thanking as a closing signal: In the cases included in this category, the thanking act is motivated primarily by concerns of conversational management, where a speaker relies on thanking to actually bring the encounter to a close. In our data, whereas thanking as a closing signal is very rare in private domain interactions, it is predominant in particular public domain interactions such as seminars-lecturers, broadcast news, and discussions (see Table 6-3). The sequential pattern observed in such activities may have an impact on the widespread use of thanking as a closing signal and a speaker generates the most harmonious interactional management strategies accordingly. As for structural organization, a typical organization unit in seminars-lectures and in some broadcast discussions consists of an initiate-respond-feedback sequence (see Sinclair & Coulthard [1975], who proposed this to depict classroom interaction). The speaker (i.e., host / moderator/ chairperson) initiates by inviting the

addressee onstage and asking him/her to deliver his/her speech, or the speaker poses a question as a topic of conversation for the addressee. The addressee (i.e., presenter in a seminar/ guest in a discussion program) often responds by thanking and then delivering a speech or giving the required information according to the discussion topic. The addressee, especially in seminars and conferences, mostly ends his/her speech by thanking, which serves the function of indicating that the addressee's turn is completed and s/he may receive feedback. The feedback move is optional in broadcast news or discussions, but in seminars and conferences, the chairperson first verbalizes his/her gratitude to the presenter, and then s/he allows the audience to direct questions to the addressee. In most cases, the audience also employs thanking expressions as an indicator of turn-closure. We should also note that time constraints are a defining property of these speech events, which calls for speakers to signal the end of their contributions and give the floor back to another interlocutor. The sequential pattern explained above is demonstrated in excerpt (28) taken from a conference held at a university with the theme of philosophy.

(28)

[DÖ: Chair-person, SS: 1st speaker, HT: 2nd speaker, YY: audience]

DÖ: Felsefe günlerinin 2. gün oturumlarına hoş geldiniz. Bugünkü oturumların ilkini açıyorum. Bu oturumda iki konuşmacımız var. (...). Sözü uzatmadan konuşmasını konuşmayı yapmak üzere sözü S. Hanım'a veriyorum. Buyrun.

(Initiation) DÖ: Welcome to the second day of Philosophy Days. I am starting the first session of the day. In this session, we have two speakers. (...) Without taking too much time, I'm giving floor to Miss S. to deliver her speech. Here you are.

SS: *Teşekkür ederim* (Strategy J). Değerli meslektaşlarım, sevgili öğrenciler etkinliğimizin ikinci günü oturumlarına hoş geldiniz. (...) Yani Fuko'nun bu önerisi tam bir çözüm mü? Bunu tabi sizler de düşünebilirsiniz. *Teşekkür ederim* (Strategy I).

(Respond) SS: Thank you (Strategy J). My precious colleagues, dear students... Welcome to the second-day of sessions of our event (...) I mean, is the suggestion by Fuko a complete solution? You can of course think about that, as well. Thank you (Strategy I).

DÖ: ı S. Hanım'a *biz de teşekkür ederiz* (Strategy A). zaman kalmadı farkındayım. Ve soru cevap bölümünde H. devam edebilirsiniz.

(*Feedback*) DÖ: Erm we thank Miss S., too. (Strategy A) <I> I'm aware there is no time left. And in the question-answer part, H. <I> you can continue.

(...)

DÖ: Buyrun.

DÖ: Here you are.

YY: Ee, ama Bauman'ın dediği de bireysel sorumluluk olduğu zaman kişi kendi kendini rahatsız eder. Yani ee hatta kendi bir cümlesi vardı. Biz içeri girdiğimizde üzerimizdeki iş kıyafetini olduğu gibi dışarıya fırlatıyoruz. Yani ee bunu soracaktım. Bunun hakkında ne diyorsunuz? *Teşekkür ederim* (Strategy I).

(*Feedback*) YY: Well, but what Bauma said is that one dissatisfies oneself when individual responsibility is due. That is, erm he had a saying of his own as well. We throw the uniform away as it is by the time we get inside. That is, erm, I was going to ask that. What do you say about that? Thank you (Strategy I).

HT: Ben *teşekkür ediyorum* öncelikle yani bunu bana hatırlattığın için bu örneği (Strategies G & C).

HT: I thank you first, that is, for reminding me of this, this example (Strategies G & C). **Public-Seminars & Conferences**

A closer examination of corpus data shows the co-occurrence of thanking formulae with pre-closing markers and farewells. In such cases, while interactional markers *tamam*, *peki* 'okay' indicate that speaker is preparing for the end of a conversation, farewells, such as *güle güle* 'bye bye', *iyi geceler* 'good night' signal that the end of conversation is realized. In line with Ruhi (2013), *tamam* enables the addressee to maintain comity and to index politeness in a more neutral way by choosing an equal relational management strategy with the speaker, as seen in (29). The use of *peki* in (30), on the other hand, underscores the program host's discursive power and "the interactional imbalance in relational management" (Ruhi, 2013, p. 29) emerging from the distant and hierarchical social relation marking public domain interaction. Use of both *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* formulae within one turn of the host can be interpreted as an attempt to lessen the interactional imbalance and to create a more causal and close atmosphere via *sağol-*.

(29)

[B: Clerk at a bank, E: Customer at bank. End of a service encounter.]

B: Buyrun efendim,

B: Here it is, Madame.

E: *Tamam*, teşekkür ederim.

E: Okay, thank you.

B: Güle güle.

B: Bye bye. **Public**

(30)

[End of a talk show program]

İzleyici: Ben fazla zamanınızı almayayım, ben saygılar sunuyorum ve başarılar diliyorum.

Viewer: I won't take much of your time. I offer my respect and I wish you success.

HÇ: *Peki, çok teşekkürler, sağ olun, iyi geceler.*

HÇ (Host): *Okay*, thanks a lot, may you be well/alive, good night. **Public-Printed Talk Shows**

J. Thanking as a floor-taking signal: A speaker utilizes thanking formulae to initiate a turn and to confirm that s/he holds the speaking floor. This relatively situation-specific strategy constitutes a small part of our corpus data with 17 (1.06%) instances, which come from seminars and conferences text types. When the chairperson DÖ invites SS on stage, the addressee first thanks him/her and then starts giving her talk, which is apparent in the initiation and respond sequences of the interlocutors in example (28) above.

6.5.4. Thanking in an extended turn

In naturally-occurring data, interlocutors can thank each other repeatedly and thereby expressions of gratitude can appear several times in a succession. In such cases, as is displayed below, usually categories of compound thanks and single-occurrence thanking strategies appear individually or in combination over several turns. Thanking in an extended turn are most often observed in the closing part of exchanges.

The following excerpt comes from the closing part of a TV talk show. The host of the talk show refers to the addressee by her first name, thanks her for participating in the program (strategy C), and wishes her wellness and happiness all through her life [1st turn]. The addressee offers thanks in return by speaking to the host using her first name (intertwined strategies

G + A) [2nd turn]. The host reciprocates this thanking immediately (strategy G) and gives a present to the addressee [3rd turn]. In response to this gift-giving, the addressee chooses a term of endearment marking the warm and close relationship between her and the host and combines it with her thanking formula. Her gratitude cluster is expanded with her appreciation act emphasizing her liking of the gift (strategies A + B) [4th turn]. With a response, the host repeats her gratitude and brings the show to a close at the same time (intertwined strategies G + I). She enhances her closing move by extending her gratitude to the other guest in the studio by addressing the guest with his name and title and specifying the reason of her thanking him (intertwined strategies [A + C] + I) [5th turn]. The addressee of the expression of gratitude feels an urgent need to reciprocate it right away, as in *mersi, sağolun*. ‘Merci, thanks’ [6th turn]. Briefly, expressing gratitude is seen to be a mutually developed complex act with lengthier structures extending to six turns in this multi-party speech event.

(31)

[YB: the host, PS: 1st guest, MA: 2nd guest]

1.YB: Sevenler ayrılmasın, elleriniz ayrılmasın diyelim, P. programımızın sonuna geldik *sana teşekkür ediyorum programımıza katıldığın için hayatının kilometre taşlarında minik minik örnekler vermeye çalıştık.*

(...)

1.YB: Let’s say lovers never break up, nor let your hands move apart, P., we are at the end of our program. Thank you for attending our program. We have tried to give little examples of the milestones of your life. (...)

2. PS: *Çok teşekkür ediyorum Y.*

2. PS: Thank you very much, Y.

3.YB: *Ben teşekkür ediyorum ve sana bir nazarlık armağan etmek istiyorum firuze bir nazarlık.*

3.YB: I thank you and I want to give a lucky charm (amulet) as a gift, a turquoise lucky charm.

4.PS: *Canım çok teşekkür ediyorum. Çok güzel bir şey bu.*

4.PS: My dear, thank you very much. This is something rather fine.

5.YB *Ben teşekkür ediyorum, size de teşekkür ediyorum M. Bey katıldığımız için.*

5.YB I thank you, thank you too Mr. M. for your participation.

6. MA: *Mersi sağolun.*

6. MA: Merci, thanks. **Public-Printed Talk Shows**

6.5.5. Responding to gratitude expressions

An expression of gratitude can be followed by a responder, which is classified in terms of speaker strategies and an inventory of linguistic forms (see Aijmer [1996] on the LLC; Schneider [2005] on Irish and American English; Wong [2010] on the ICE-HK corpus; Farenika [2012] on Canadian English). In the TNC subcorpus, thanking responder strategies, employed to lessen the indebtedness of the thanker, are the same as the ones stated in the above-mentioned studies. In strategy (R1), the addressee reestablishes the imbalance with the speaker “by minimizing the debt of gratitude incurred” (Aijmer, 1996, p. 40). In (R2) the speaker expresses appreciation of the addressee via linguistic forms such as *rica ederim* ‘you’re welcome.’ Norrick (1978, p. 288) notes that “*you’re welcome* has essentially the social function of signaling that one is aware of having been thanked.” (R3) being a thanking responder emphasizes the benefactor’s pleasure in doing the other a favor. In responder (R4), the thankee shows that s/he recognizes the gratitude. That Turkish speakers deploy situation-specific formulaic wishes (32) appears to be a language specific, fixed continuation of the thanking act observed in strategy (R4).

(32)

Odacı: Kahveniz efendim.

Servant: Your coffee, sir.

Müdür: Teşekkür ederim.

Director: Thank you.

Odacı: Afiyet olsun.

Servant: May it do good for your health. **Written-Drama**

While Table 6-9 displays the distribution of single responder strategies along with samples of realization forms, table 6-10 comprises compound responder strategies. Considering the total number of strategies in the tables below and the frequency of thanking strategy (G), we should note that out of 1,602 expressions of gratitude just 108 (6.7%) of them are responded to. This result allows us to state that it is not common for Turkish speakers to respond the thanking act as a continuation of the turn (see Aijmer [1996] and Wong [2010] for similar results stated for English). As can be seen in table 6-9, the most common responder strategy is “minimizing the favor” at 56.25% and the second most frequent strategy is “expressing appreciation of the addressee” at 31.25%. Expressing pleasure and acknowledging gratitude are the least employed strategies by Turkish speakers. These findings comply with the speaker preferences reported in

the studies conducted with American, Irish, British, and Canadian speakers (Aijmer, 1996; Schneider, 2005; Farenika, 2012).

Table 6-9 Single thanking responder strategies

Strategy types and realization forms	Frequency	%
R1 Minimizing the favor <i>Teşekkürle gerek yok</i> ‘no need for thanking,’ <i>birşey değil</i> ‘you’re welcome,’ <i>önemli değil</i> ‘not important,’ <i>değmez</i> ‘it isn’t worthwhile,’ <i>lafı bile olmaz</i> ‘don’t mention it’	18	56.25
R2 Expressing appreciation of the addressee <i>Rica ederim</i> ‘you’re welcome,’ <i>estağfurullah</i> ‘not at all’	10	31.25
R3 Expressing pleasure <i>Ne şeref benim için</i> ‘what an honor for me’	2	6.25
R4 Acknowledging gratitude <i>Afiyet olsun</i> ‘Bon appétit’/ ‘may it do good for your health’	2	6.25
TOTAL	32	100.00

Even though the figures in the table below are few, it seems that speakers have tendency to combine different thanking responder strategies (1, 8, 9), to employ responders along with terms of address (2, 3, 4), to combine two different formulae of the same strategy (6, 7) or to repeat the responder formula (4, 5).

Table 6-10 Compound thanking responder strategies

	Strategy types and realization forms	Frequency	%
1	R1 + R2 <i>Rica ederim, lafı mı olur</i> ‘you’re welcome, don’t mention it’	2	18.18
2	R1 + Alerters <i>(i) Birşey değil başkan</i> ‘you’re welcome, President,’ <i>(ii) önemi yok A</i> ‘it’s not important, A’	2	18.18
3	R4 + Alerters <i>Bin bereket versin abla</i> ‘plenty to your wallet, elder sister’	1	9.09

4	R2 + Alerters + R2 <i>Etağfurullah efendim etağfurullah</i> 'not at all, sir, not at all'	1	9.09
5	R2 + R2 <i>Rica ederim, rica ederim</i> 'you're welcome, you're welcome'	1	9.09
6	R1 + R1 <i>Önemli değil, teşekkürle değmez</i> 'it's not important, it isn't worthwhile for thanking'	1	9.09
7	R1 + R1 <i>Vazifemizi yapıyoruz, teşekkürle hacet yok</i> 'we are doing our job, no need for thanking'	1	9.09
8	R2 + G <i>Rica ederim, ben teşekkür ederim, sağolun</i> 'you're welcome, I thank you, may you be alive/well'	1	9.09
9	R1 + Alerters + G <i>Önemli mi canım, sen de sağol</i> 'is it important dear, may you too be alive/well'	1	9.09
	TOTAL	11	100.00

6.6. Lexico-grammatical patterns of *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-*

This section accounts for the lexical and grammatical co-text of the *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* formulae and shows the effect of the morphological restriction and typical combination patterns of the thanking expressions on the rapport management strategies of the interlocutors. To achieve this end, first the realization of person inflection on the stems *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* and its pragmatic implications are discussed. Then, pairings of thanking formulae and adverbials serving to reinforce the effect of gratitude expression are explored.

6.6.1. Inflected forms of *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* formulae

Turkish is an agglutinative language with a rich morphology. Inflectional suffixes attached to a root word indicate the relation among the constituents of a sentence and express functional relations such as person and tense. Looking at the distribution of inflected forms of *teşekkür et-* in Table 6-11, it can be seen that the first person singular inflection of *teşekkür et-* is by far the most frequently employed inflected form with 53.14 % in the aorist and with 26.98% in the progressive aspect. This form is followed in frequency by the first person plural inflection at 10.93% in

the progressive aspect and at 6.95% in the aorist. Grammatically, all person markers can be attached to the stem *teşekkür et-*, yet our data contain instances of *teşekkür et-* inflected merely for first person singular and plural and third person singular.

Table 6-11 Frequency of the top 5 inflected forms of stem *teşekkür et-*

Inflected forms	Gloss	Frequency	%
teşekkür ed-er-im 'thank you'	thank do-AOR-1SG	516	53.14
teşekkür ed-iyor-um 'thank you'	thank do-PROG-1SG	262	26.98
teşekkür ed-iyor-uz 'we thank you'	thank do-PROG-1PL	110	11.32
teşekkür ed-er-iz 'we thank you'	thank do-AOR-1PL	70	7.20
teşekkür et-ti 's/he thanked'	thank do-PF-3SG	13	1.33
Total		971	100.00

Table 6-12 (below) displays the frequency distribution of all the inflected forms of *sağol-* in the corpus. The figures reveal that *sağol-* is predominantly inflected for second person singular (in the sense of *tu*) (40%) and for second person plural (in the sense of *vous*) (34.48%). What is apparent in the table below is the grammatical restriction on the person marking of *sağol-* formula. It can only be inflected for 2nd and 3rd person singular or plural.

Table 6-12 Frequency of the inflected forms of *sağol-*

Inflected forms	Gloss	Frequency	%
sağ-ol-Ø 'may you be alive/well'	alive/well be-2SG	174	40.00
sağ-ol-un 'may you be alive/well'	alive/well be-2PL	150	34.48
sağ-ol-sun 'may s/he be alive/well'	alive/well be- 3SG	80	18.39
sağ-ol-a-sın 'may you be alive/well'	alive/well be- OPT-2SG	14	3.22

sağ-ol-unuz 'may you be alive/well'	alive/well be- 2PL	9	2.07
sağ-ol-sunlar 'may they be alive/well'	alive/well be- 3PL	5	1.15
sağ ol-a-sınız 'may you be alive/well'	alive/well be- OPT-2PL	3	0.69
Total		435	100.00

Based on the person inflection behaviors of the *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* formulae, we posit that these two thanking expressions provide two different orientation points to a speaker in verbalizing thanks. An expression of gratitude with *teşekkür et-* as a stem is predominantly inflected for first person singular and plural, so it foregrounds the speaker and his/her explicit statement of thanking, and thereby it can be described as “speaker-oriented.” Thanking expressions with *sağol-* can only be inflected for second and third person singular or plural. As such, the speaker places the hearer into the center of the gratitude expression and emphasizes the well-being of the hearer along with conveying his/her greater degree of indebtedness. This points to the fact that *sağol-* bears an “addressee-oriented” sense. The two orientation points conveyed by the two thanking formulae required the choice of gratitude expressions to comply with the rapport management strategy use of the interlocutors in terms of participant roles, message content, and activity type. As accounted for in section 6.4 in describing the distribution of formulae across situational contexts, and in 6.5 in explaining thanking strategies, the fact that *teşekkür et-* occurs in formal situational contexts and *sağol-* is preferred in informal ones also aligns with these two orientation points maintained by the two formulae. Moreover, the effect of the speaker-oriented and addressee-oriented nature of *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* on the relational management sensitivities of the interlocutor is observed in the pairing of the formulae.

6.6.2. Combination of *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-*

Of all the expressions of gratitude, 2.69% (38/1,409) of them contain the combination of two thanking formulae. In two-thirds of these combinations, *teşekkür et-* is the first unit and *sağol-* follows it in the following pattern: (alerters) (intensifier) *teşekkür et-* ‘thank you’ + (intensifier) *sağol-* ‘may you be well/alive’ (alerters). Formula pairings are particularly evident when a topic or an exchange is being closed down. Out of 38 instances of the combination of *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-*, 24

(63.15%) of them are from closing parts of public domain interactions, such as seminars-conferences, broadcast interviews, or talk shows (33). In the rest of the data (i.e., 36.85%) pairing of the formulae is observed mostly in contexts where thanking expressions are deployed as a part of phatic communication, such as accepting an offer by thanking (34).

(33)

[S: program presenter, M: minister]

S: Sayın Bakan çok teşekkür ediyoruz. Bize ayrılan süre burada doldu. Tekrar birlikte olmak dileğiyle. Hoşça kalın.

S: Thank you very much Mr. Minister. The time allocated for us is up. Hope to see you again. Goodbye.

M: Ben teşekkür ederim bu imkanı verdiğiniz için.

M: I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

S: Sağ olarsınız. Teşekkür ederiz.

S: May you be well/alive. (We) thank you. **Public-Broadcast News**

(34)

[K3: waitress, N: guest in a hostel]

K3: Çay alır mısınız?

K3: Would you like to have some tea?

N: Teşekkür ederim. Saolun.

N: Thank you. May you be alive/well. **Private**⁴

The two orientation points inherent in *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* index the sensitivity of Turkish speakers in managing relational work as posited by Ruhi and Işık-Güler's (2007) study. They underscore that there is a difference between outer (*yüz* 'face'—the perceived social image) and inner (*gönül* 'heart/mind/desire'—the self-in-interaction) politeness in Turkish. Both affective and transactional aspects of interpersonal communication are equally important. "The foreground concern in relational work in the Turkish context is the attention given to the well-being and expectations of interlocutors. Reaching out to people's inner selves and displaying genuine concern for others may have become a strategy for relational work (Ruhi & Işık-Güler, 2007, p. 708)." When speaker-oriented *teşekkür et-* pairs up with addressee-oriented *sağol-*, the combination mirrors heartfelt, sincere gratitude of the self/speaker through showing genuine, warm concern to the other/addressee, and to that effect it complies with the relational work strategy identified by Ruhi and Işık-

⁴ See Footnote 11.

Güler (2007). It is worth noting that a contiguous occurrence of *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* brings simultaneously a distant-formal and an intimate-informal tone into private or public domain interactions without being influenced by a symmetrical or asymmetrical relationship between the interlocutors. This specific relational style of the interlocutors corroborates the idea of inner politeness.

6.6.3. Adverbials and thanking formulae

Adverbials of quantity/degree, place, time, manner, and modal adverbials collocate with thanking expressions formed particularly by *teşekkür et-* (see Table 6-13). It appears that except for *çok* ‘very,’ adverbial modification is peculiar to the stem *teşekkür et-*. One reason for this constraint is the different orientation points of the two formulae. It yields ungrammatical tokens when *sağol-* is modified by certain quantity/degree adverbials (**ayrı ayrı sağol* ‘be alive/well each one of you’), manner (**içten sağol* ‘sincerely be alive/well’), place (**buradan sağol* ‘hereby be alive/well’) and temporal (**şimdiden sağol* ‘already be alive/well’), all of which express modification from a speaker’s perspective. Another reason may be the stylistic preferences of speakers. Although co-occurrence of *sağol-* with certain quantity/degree adverbials and modal adverbials (*gerçekten sağol* ‘really be alive/well’) produces acceptable utterances, the corpus evidence hasn’t attested any collocations as such.

“Thanking is generally the most formulaic and least ‘heartfelt’ of expressive speech acts (Norrick, 1978, p. 285).” Interlocutors manifest their heartfelt, genuine, and sincere intentions through the intensification of thanking formulae. Moreover, intensification creates “more polite” (Aijmer, 1996, p. 46) and “even more credible” (Jautz, 2013, p. 90) gratitude expressions. It strengthens “the positive impact associated with the (thanking) speech act” (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 25). Here, quantity/degree, modal, and manner adverbials intensify the illocutionary force of the thanking act. Among the multitude of adverbials, quantity/degree adverbials are the most salient ones (356 instances, or 92.45 %), and *çok* ‘very’ is by far the most frequent adverb in this category, just as it is the most prevalent intensifier in the modification of thanking expressions in different varieties of English (see Aijmer, 1996; Wong, 2010; Jautz, 2013).

Table 6-13 Adverbial collocates of *teşekkür (et-)* and *sağol-*

Types of Adverbial	Examples	Frequency	%
Quantity/Degree	<i>çok</i> ‘very’ < <i>teşekkür et-</i> ‘thank you,’ <i>teşekkürler</i> ‘thanks’>	295	82.86
	<i>çok</i> ‘very’ < <i>sağol-</i> ‘be alive/well’>	13	3.65
	<i>tekrar</i> ‘again’	21	5.89
	<i>sonsuz</i> ‘endless’	7	1.96
	<i>bir kez daha</i> ‘once again,’ <i>tekrar tekrar</i> ‘again and again,’ <i>ayrı ayrı</i> ‘(each one) individually,’ <i>ne kadar</i> ‘how much,’ <i>binlerce</i> ‘thousand,’ <i>bi kere daha</i> ‘once again’	20	3.36
Place	<i>huzurlarınızda</i> ‘in the presence of you,’ <i>buradan</i> ‘from here,’ <i>burada</i> ‘hereby’	12	3.11
Modal	<i>gerçekten</i> ‘really’	6	1.55
Temporal	<i>şimdiden</i> ‘already’	6	1.55
Manner	<i>içten</i> ‘sincere,’ <i>bütün kalbimle</i> ‘with all my heart,’ <i>yürekten</i> ‘heartfelt’	5	1,30
Total		385	100.00

6.7. Conclusion

In this study, the use of two common thanking formulae *teşekkür et-* ‘thank you’ and *sağol-* ‘be alive/well, thanks’ is examined across different mediums, interactional domains and text types. Data are obtained from a 3- million-word subcorpus derived from the TNC. Combining a form-based approach of corpus methodology with a function-based analysis of discourse, thanking formulae are examined both quantitatively and qualitatively, accounting for contextual variables and text types.

To briefly sum up some of the quantitative findings of the study, firstly, it was shown that *teşekkür et-* is by far the most frequently used formula in the spoken and written media of Turkish. Secondly, a statistically significant distribution of the *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* formulae over public

and private interactional domains (respectively) validates the socio-pragmatic observation concerning the preference of thanking expressions in terms of the formality level of social context. To that effect, it was empirically shown that there is a link between informal contexts and the use of *sağol-*, and formal contexts and the use of *teşekkür et-*. Thirdly, text-type specific occurrences of gratitude expressions were revealed. The pervasive use of the *teşekkür et-* formula in public domain texts, particularly seminars-conferences and talk shows, is analyzed as the discourse organization function of thanking expressions. Lastly, the distribution of gratitude clusters forming a range of thanking strategies demonstrated that compound thanks is by far the most preferred way of verbalizing gratitude. Additionally, it was found out that Turkish speakers' acts of thanking are predominantly accompanied by terms of address (i.e., thanking + alerters), with thanking as a single expression strategy as the second most common, and thanking along with specifying the reason of gratitude ranks in the third position out of the eleven thanking strategies identified in the study.

Functions of thanking expressions are explored comprehensively via functional categories representing the thanking strategies of Turkish speakers. Given the structural categorization of thanking strategies used in previous studies (e.g., Wong, 2010), we propose new thanking strategies, such as thanking + wishing wellness or thanking + congratulating, all of which comply with the assertive illocutionary force of the thanking act. Through pertinent qualitative analyses of the corpus data, we expose the positive rapport handling orientations of interlocutors in expressing gratitude.

What appears to transpire from the data is that the lexical and grammatical co-texts of the thanking routines of *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* have strong pragmatic implications. As such, the person inflection restriction observed in both formulae and the pairing of them inform the rapport management strategies of the interlocutors. Since *teşekkür et-* is predominantly inflected for first person singular and plural, it accentuates the speaker as the agent of the explicit statement of thanking and therefore, *teşekkür et-* is described as "speaker-oriented." *Sağol-*, on the other hand, can only be inflected for second and third person singular or plural to the effect that the speaker places the addressee into the center of the gratitude expression by foregrounding the addressee's well-being along with conveying his/her indebtedness. And thus, *sağol-* is described as an "addressee-oriented" thanking formula. The combination of *teşekkür et-* and *sağol-* brings simultaneously a distant-formal and an intimate-informal

tone into private or public interactional domains without being influenced by social status or a symmetrical or asymmetrical relationship between interlocutors. This peculiar relational style of interlocutors lends support to the rapport management sensitivities of Turkish speakers, which underscore the significance of “inner politeness” as posited by Ruhi and Işık-Güler (2007).

Abbreviations

AOR = aorist

ICE-HK = International Corpus of English-Hong Kong Component

Lit. = Literal

LLC = London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English

OPT = optative

PF = perfective

PROG = progressive

TNC = Turkish National Corpus

1SG = 1st person singular

2SG = 2nd person singular

3SG = 3rd person singular

1PL = 1st person plural

2PL = 2nd person plural

3PL = 3rd person plural

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