

IMPOLITENESS IN TURKISH COMPUTER MEDIATED COMMUNICATION

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In this study, the nature of linguistic (im)politeness is examined in Turkish Computer Mediated Communication (henceforth CMC) based on data collected at an internet discussion forum. The aim of my study is to investigate the features and functions of impolite utterances within an interactional framework. In the study, impoliteness has been defined as being the opposite of politeness, in that, rather than seeking to mitigate Face Threatening Act (FTA), it constitutes the issuing of intentionally conflictive verbal FTA.

The data are collected from a forum conversation in which users post and reply to other postings, articles and news. Accordingly, the type of CMC here is asynchronous and text-based as opposed to other modalities such as instant messaging or video chat. I selected the corpus from one thread of topic in which 19 members participate in the discussion of the headscarf issue in 134 posts. In these posts, 193 impolite speech acts are identified and analyzed.

The impoliteness models offered by Culpeper (1996) and Bousfield (2007) based on face-to-face conversation are applied to the data. The results indicate that impoliteness in Turkish CMC present a different picture than that of face-to-face conversation in English in terms of both impoliteness strategies and the dynamics of impoliteness:

- 1) The impoliteness strategies used to attack the positive face of the hearer significantly outnumbers the negative impoliteness strategies. Furthermore, impoliteness is by definition on-record.
- 2) The most common strategy in the data is challenging through rhetorical questions. However, we should also note that impoliteness strategies are not used individually; instead a combination of different impoliteness strategies seems to be the norm in the data.
- 3) In a similar way, impoliteness is recursive. In other words, one impolite speech act triggers more impoliteness in response. One way of avoiding this would be to use defense strategies. However this is not found in the data. Moreover in impolite sequences in face-to-face interaction, the sequences typically come to an end with a resolution. However in our data, of the nine conflict threads, only two come to a resolution point.

In conclusion, it is difficult to claim that CMC is more or less polite than face to face interaction because it is the accepted norms of the community, but not the medium of interaction that determines the politeness of behavior.

Tez Özeti

Ayşegül Can, “İnternet Üzerinden İletişimde Nezaketsizlik”

Bu çalışmada Türkçede nezaketsizliğin internet ortamında nasıl ifade edildiği bir internet tartışma forumundan toplanılan veri üzerinden incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın amacı iletişimde nezaketsizliğin özelliklerini ve işlevlerini incelemektir. Nezaketsizlik burada nezaketin tam tersi olarak yani herhangi bir yüz tehdit edici eylemi (FTA) yumuşatmak yerine tam tersine kasıtlı ve hatta sözlü saldırı derecesinde yüz tehdit edici eylemin uygulanması olarak tanımlanmıştır.

Veri üyelerin birbirleriyle yazıştıkları, makale ve haberler üzerine yorum yapabildikleri bir internet forumundan toplanmıştır. Bu nedenle bahsi geçen internet iletişim modeli video ya da internet messenger’den farklı olarak artzamanlı ve metin temellidir. Dizi 19 üyenin türban konusunu tartıştıkları 134 mesajdan oluşmaktadır. Bu mesajlarda 193 nezaketsiz söz eylemi belirlenmiş ve incelenmiştir.

Culpeper (1996) ve Bousfield (2007) tarafından önerilen yüz yüze iletişime dayalı nezaketsizlik modeli veriye uygulandığında, sonuçlar Türkçede internet üzerinden iletişimdeki nezaketsizlik ile İngilizcede yüz yüze konuşmada nezaketsizliğin, nezaketsizlik stratejileri ve dinamikleri açısından birbirinden farklı olduğunu göstermiştir. Çıkan sonuçlar ana hatlarıyla şu şekilde özetlenebilir.

1) Dinleyicinin pozitif yüzüne saldırmak için kullanılan nezaketsizlik stratejileri negatif yüzüne saldırmak için kullanılan nezaketsizlik stratejilerinden sayıca oldukça fazladır. Ayrıca nezaketsizlik tanımı itibarı ile kayıtlıdır (on-record).

2) Veride en fazla uygulanan nezaketsizlik stratejisi retorik sorular yoluyla karşı tarafa meydan okumak olarak gözlemlenmiştir. Bununla birlikte altı çizilmesi gereken bir diğer nokta da nezaketsizlik stratejilerin tek başına kullanılmadığı; birden fazla nezaketsizlik stratejisinin birlikte kullanımıyla sıkça karşılaşıldığıdır.

3) Veride nezaketsizliğin özyinelemeli olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bir söz eylem nezaketsizliği tetiklediğinde karşılık olarak yine başka bir nezaketsiz söz eylem gerçekleşmiş; savunma stratejilerine başvurulmamıştır. Ayrıca yüz yüze konuşmada nezaketsizliğin çoğunlukla çözümlendiği gözlemlenirken; buradaki veride dokuz konu başlığından sadece bir tanesi çözüm noktasına varabilmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, internet üzerinden iletişimin yüz yüze iletişimden daha nazik ya da daha nezaketsiz olduğunu iddia etmek mümkün görünmemektedir; belirleyici olan iletişimin hangi araçla gerçekleştiği değil toplulukta kabul gören iletişim normlarıdır.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1.Theoretical Framework	1
1.2 The Aim and Scope of the Thesis	2
1.3. Organization of the Thesis	2
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	4
2.1. Politeness	4
2.2. Impoliteness	12
2.3. Computer-Mediated Communication	16
CHAPTER III. IMPOLITENESS STRATEGIES IN TURKISH CMC	22
3.1.Overview of the Data	22
3.2. Realisations of Impoliteness	24
3.3. Strategies not Found in the Data	43
CHAPTER IV. THE DYNAMICS OF THE IMPOLITE INTERACTIONS	50
4.1Triggering Event	51
4.2 Development	53
4.3. Resolution	56
CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS	63
5.1 Impoliteness Strategies	63
5.2. The Dynamics of Impoliteness	69
5.3. Theoretical Issues Regarding Impoliteness in CMC	71
CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION	74
REFERENCES	77

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Theoretical Framework

Politeness is a challenging field of research. It has been the source of much debate within the recent linguistic research. Several theories have been posited to offer a comprehensive analysis of politeness. In the literature politeness research has focused more on the expression and communication of politeness. Impoliteness, on the other hand, has been largely ignored, being presented more as a marginal human linguistic phenomenon than an area of rigorous study. Leech (1983) claimed “Conflictive illocutions tend, thankfully, to be rather marginal to human linguistic behaviour in normal circumstances” (Leech, 1983, 105). However, as Culpeper et al (2003) also point out, in some discourses conflictive illocutions are at the heart of the ongoing interaction. Among such discourses to be listed are army training discourse (Culpeper, 1996), courtroom discourse (Lakoff 1989; Penman 1990), family discourse (Vuchinich 1990), adolescent discourse (Mehan 1990), therapeutic discourse (Labev and Fanshell 1977), everyday conversation (Beebe 1995), and fictional texts (Culpeper 1998; Liu 1986; Tannen 1990).

Obviously, impoliteness is not a marginal linguistic phenomenon and any comprehensive account of interpersonal communication should consider hostile as well as cooperative communication. In connection with the need to address impoliteness, different definitions of impoliteness have been suggested in different studies. The common point in all of them is that impoliteness is a behavior or a speech act that is face-threatening in the interaction. One of the main differences in the definitions of impoliteness is the role assigned to the recognition of intentions. Kienpointner (1997) describes two types of impoliteness which are cooperative and non-cooperative. In the case of cooperative rudeness, the hearer is aware of the fact that the speaker’s intention is not to attack his/her face. Culpeper (2003,

2008) and Bousfield (2007) define impoliteness as a communicative behavior intending to cause the face-loss of a target and the target perceives it so. In this study, Culpeper and Bousfield's definition of impoliteness is taken as a base and their impoliteness model is applied to the data.

1.2 The Aim and Scope of the Thesis

This study is an attempt at advancing the study of impoliteness along two lines: first, investigating the features and functions of impolite utterances in Turkish, a language that has remained unexplored heretofore; and second, studying impoliteness in Computer Mediated Communication (henceforth CMC), a modality that has received little attention so far in this respect compared to face-to-face interaction.

The specific research questions are:

- 1) What are the impoliteness strategies applied in Turkish CMC?
- 2) What are the dynamics of impolite interactions? What triggers the impolite face attack? What are the communicative options available to interactants when faced with impoliteness? How is impoliteness resolved?
- 3) What are the differences, if any, between the impoliteness strategies observed in face-to-face interaction and CMC?
- 4) What are the cross-cultural /cross-linguistic differences, if any, between Turkish and English impoliteness strategies as reported in the literature?
- 5) What might be the reasons for these differences?
- 6) Is CMC more or less polite than face-to-face interaction?

1.3. Organization of the Thesis

The organization of the rest of the thesis is as follows. Chapter II presents a literature review covering various theoretical approaches to politeness, impoliteness and CMC. Chapter II also includes the politeness theories in CMC, their basic assumptions and gives a brief literature review of the politeness studies in CMC.

Chapter III summarizes the impoliteness strategies proposed by Bousfield (2007), introduces and discusses the impoliteness strategies found in the Turkish data with specific examples. In this chapter I also discuss the strategies mentioned in the literature but not found in the Turkish data.

Chapter IV approaches impoliteness from an interactional perspective investigating how impolite exchanges are triggered, developed and resolved. Again the differences between CMC and face-to-face communication regarding how impolite sequences unfold are observed and discussed.

In Chapter V, I focus on the most noteworthy findings in the last two chapters in relation to the wider interactional context and theoretical implications of these findings. In this chapter the issues of negative face in Turkish society, off-record impoliteness, challenging strategy, the concept of face and the politeness in CMC are given special attention.

Chapter VI is the conclusion where the findings are summarized and where we consider the relation between the Community of Practice and Impoliteness.

CHAPTER II. Theoretical Background

2.1. Politeness

2.1.1. Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975)

Grice's (1975) principle of cooperation is a starting point for many politeness theories. His cooperative principle (CP) is stated as "make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice, 1975, p. 45).

Grice claims that CP might be violated but its violation leads to conversational implicature. As his principles put forward, in conversation the only aim is the brief and clear transmission of information. At this point, the question arises; if CP dictates that the only aim is the clear and brief transmission of information why do we apply extra strategies to be polite? There is an inherent contradiction in Grice's theory. Grice explains polite utterances as one way of achieving mutual cooperation or contributing towards the establishment and maintenance of mutual face. At the same time polite utterances appear to violate one or more of the Gricean maxims. Polite language is a form of cooperative behavior but does not seem to abide by Grice's Cooperative Principle (Watts, 2003). The theories of politeness have tried to solve this dilemma by presenting different accounts.

2.1.2 The Conversational Maxim View by Robin Lakoff and Geoffrey Leech (1973 & 1983)

Lakoff (1973) posited conversational maxim view to explain why illocutors deviate from CP and her view was inherited and expanded by Leech (1983). Leech's (1983) starting point is the difference between "sense" and "force" when interpreting a sentence. He gives example of "I'll pay you back tomorrow" and he questions why this sentence is taken as a promise. He claims that "sense is conventional, in that it is deducible from the rules of grammar (among

which I include lexical definitions); but the force is arrived at by means of motivated principles such as CP” (p. 24). CP predicts that S[peaker] is following the Maxim of Quality that he will carry out the action and S also follows the Maxim of Relevance that S’s utterance is relevant to the situation. Thus, he answers the question of why we need CP by claiming that CP is necessary to explain the relation between sense and force. Then the questions of why CP is not always valid and why there are indirect utterances appear. Leech (1983) suggests that indirectness is also one of the politeness strategies “indirect illocutions tend to be more polite (a) because they increase the degree of optionality and, (b) because the more indirect an illocution is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be” (p. 108).

He gives an example which violates CP (p.80):

A: We’ll all miss Bill and Agatha, wont we?

B: Well, we’ll all miss BILL

He points out that B’s utterance obviously violates the Maxim of Quantity as B only confirms a part of A’s utterance; however we infer from this sentence that they will not miss Agatha. How can we make this inference? At this point Leech (1983) introduces the concept of “interpersonal rhetoric (interpersonal function)” by which he means the effective use of language which includes both everyday conversation and public usage. He recognizes two systems of rhetoric: 1) Textual Rhetoric, which consists of the following set of principles: the Processibility Principle, the Clarity Principle, the Economy Principle and the Expressivity Principle. 2) Interpersonal Rhetoric, which among others, consist of the following set of principles: the Cooperative Principle, the Politeness Principle and the Irony Principle. His PP consists of six maxims: (p.32)

TACT MAXIM (in impositives and commissives)

(a) Minimize cost to other

(b) Maximize benefit to other

GENEROSITY MAXIM (in impositives and commissives)

(a) Minimize benefit to self

(b) Maximize praise of other

APPROBATION MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)

- (c) Minimize dispraise of other
- (d) Maximize praise of other
- MODESTY MAXIM
 - (e) Minimize praise of self
 - (f) Maximize dispraise of self
- AGREEMENT MAXIM (in assertives)
 - (g) Minimize disagreement between self and other
 - (h) Maximize agreement between self and other
- SYMPATHY MAXIM (in assertives)
 - (i) Minimize antipathy between self and other
 - (j) Maximize sympathy between self and other

He formulates PP in a very simple manner “minimize the expression of impolite beliefs, Maximize the expression of polite beliefs” which is complementary to CP and deviations from CP are in fact following PP principles” (p. 81). So in the “Well, we’ll all miss BILL” utterance the impolite belief is oppressed in accordance with PP. PP is thus on a par with the Gricean CP. The two are related in that when the latter is violated, this can be explained by the reference to the former. So, when the maxim of quantity is flouted, this will trigger an additional interpretive process in the hearer, leading him or her to infer that this is done for the sake of Politeness Principle.

However, as Watts (2003) claims, formulating politeness as a bunch of rules still does not give us a theoretical model of politeness. Another drawback of this theory is that as it places emphasis on the speaker as a rational individual who is primarily concerned with conveying his / her message efficiently, i.e. with saying what has to be said, at the time it has to be said and in the manner in which it has to be said, it fails to explain the concept of politeness in cultures in which the welfare, prestige and solidarity of the group is much more important than individual’s self goals (Bharuthram, 2003).

2.1.3. Brown and Levinson’s Face Saving View (1987)

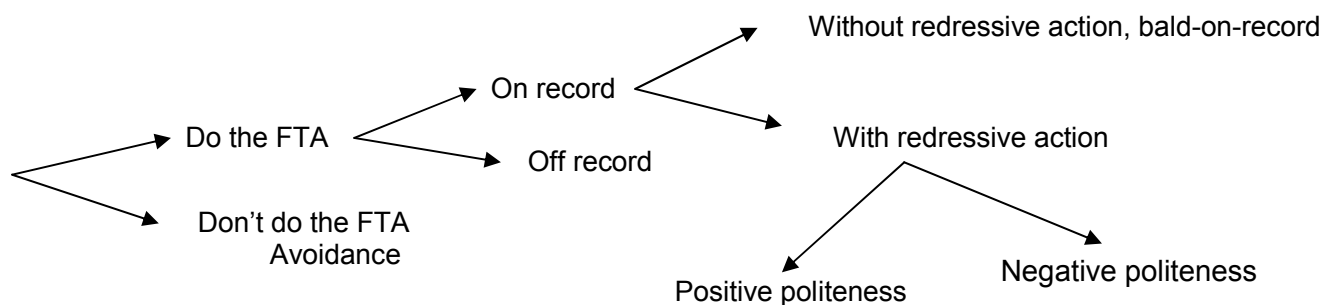
Politeness was presented as a theoretical construct by Brown and Levinson (1987) based on the earlier work on ‘face’ by Erving Goffman (1967). Brown and Levinson (1987) define

face as “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself”, consisting of two related aspects:

- a) Negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction - i.e., freedom of action and freedom from imposition.
- b) Positive face: the positive consistent self-image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants (p. 61).

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that we apply politeness to be approved of, to be desirable and be connected to others (positive face) and to remain independent, to be unimpeded by others (negative face). Brown and Levinson (1987) also claim that in order to maintain one’s own positive and negative face, one must support the face needs of others. However, during social interaction, individuals still need to make requests, criticize, explain their disagreement, and Brown and Levinson (1987) call these kinds of acts as Face Threatening Acts (FTA). Brown and Levinson’s (1987) model defines the function of polite behavior as to minimize the face threat.

Brown and Levinson (1987) present five different strategies for performing FTA



- 1) Bald-on record: FTA is performed bald-on-record, in a direct and concise way without redressive action.
- 2) Positive politeness: FTA is performed with redressive action. Strategies directed to the positive face of the hearer.
- 3) Negative politeness: FTA is performed with redressive action. Strategies directed to the negative face of the hearer.

- 4) Off-record: FTA is performed off-record. Strategies that allow more than one interpretation.
- 5) Avoidance: FTA is not performed (p. 327).

Brown and Levinson (1987) see politeness in terms of conflict avoidance and the central themes in their model are rationality and face which are both claimed to be universal features.

Brown and Levinson (1987) also relate their model to the Gricean framework, in the sense that politeness strategies are seen as rational deviations from CP. However politeness has a different status than CP; CP is unmarked and socially neutral, PP is marked, it is principled reasons for deviations so it is employed consciously and intentionally when the speaker is about to threaten the face of the hearer.

The speaker chooses the politeness strategy on the basis of the weightiness of the certain speech act. This weightiness is calculated according to three variables: P (the perceived power difference between the speaker and the hearer), D (the perceived social difference between the speaker and the hearer) and R (the ranking of the speech act; how threatening or dangerous it is). The formula is: $W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R(x)$.

Brown and Levinson's claim that their theory to be universal and is realized by the universal speaker/hearer or model person has been discussed and criticized a lot in politeness literature (Pizziconi, 2003; Yu, 2003, Bharuthram, 2003; Ide, 2005).

2.1.4 The Conversational Contract View By Bruce Fraser (1990)

Fraser's (1990) social norm view of politeness assumes that each society has a particular set of social norms that prescribe a certain behavior, a state of affairs, or a way of thinking in a context; and by following these social norms, by "abiding ... Conversational Contract (CC) [the behaviour] goes unnoticed" (p. 220). It is only when one of the participants violates the rights and obligations of CC that her/his behavior is classified as impolite. So, when each party enters into a conversation they bring "some initial set of rights and obligations that will

determine, at least for preliminary stages, what the participants can expect from the others” (Brarutham, 2003, p. 1537). The conversational contract is entered into the conversation by interlocutors and is determined by external and internal factors. Staying within the terms of the CC is said to be the norm, and is related with rationality. It is what every rational participant is expected to do. As normal interaction proceeds within the terms of CC, politeness mostly passes by unnoticed, while impoliteness is marked. The terms and conditions of CC are dynamic and can be adjusted and readjusted determined during the conversation. However, Braruthram (2003) claims that it is difficult to apply this approach to cultures in which politeness is defined according to predetermined, fixed social norms.

2.1.5. Spencer-Oatey’s Quality and Social Identity Faces (2002)

Spencer-Oatey (2002), on the other hand, suggests that Leech’s (1983), Brown and Levinson’s (1987) and Fraser’s (1990) perspectives of politeness are in fact complementary to each other by suggesting that Leech’s (1983) politeness maxims can be best seen as pragmatic constraint that help manage the potentially conflicting face wants and sociality rights of different interlocutors. So, in her framework politeness maxims, face concerns and sociality rights are at issue.

Spencer-Oatey (2002) asserts that any utterance cannot be inherently polite or impolite, rather politeness is a social judgment; thus politeness cannot be divorced from social context. Her model is based on a study that she gathered information from participants about rapport sensitive incidents that they had experienced. As a result of her study she found out that rapport management involves two components: the management of face and the management of sociality rights. So, she suggests that face has two interrelated aspects:

- 1) Quality Face: We have a fundamental desire for people to evaluate us positively in terms of our personal qualities... Quality face is concerned with the value that we claim for ourselves and it is closely associated with our sense of personal esteem.

- 2) Social Identity Face: It is concerned with the value that we effectively claim for ourselves in terms of social or group roles as leader, valued customer, close friend, and is closely associated with our sense of public worth (p. 529).

As for sociality rights; it also has two interrelated aspects:

- 1) Equity Rights: We have a fundamental belief that we are entitled to personal consideration from others, so that we are treated fairly, that we are not taken advantage of or exploited.
- 2) Association Rights: We have a fundamental belief that we are entitled to association with others. (p. 528, 529).

So, politeness is required for both quality and social identity face concerns and to maintain sociality rights for a smooth relation. Spencer-Oatey makes it clear that sociality rights should not be confused with face issues, as violation of sociality rights leads to annoyance or irritation rather than face-loss but she also emphasizes that how much they are related with face should also be studied. For a comprehensive model; however, there is a need to examine the language differences: the strategies available in a given language for conveying rapport should be investigated. Cultural differences might also play a role in rapport management as some cultures might be particularly concerned with personal rights while in other cultures social identity face has a primary importance. It is also necessary to consider the other factors such as the relation between the interactants, the content of the message and paralinguistic cues.

2.1.6 Watt's First and Second Order Politeness and Polite Behaviour (2003)

Watts (2003) mentions two kinds of politeness. He takes first order politeness to correspond to the various ways in which polite behavior is perceived and talked about by members of a socio-cultural group; it is defined by Watts (2003) as the commonsense notion of politeness. Second-order politeness, on the other hand, is a theoretical construct term within a theory of social behaviour and language use. Watts regards first order politeness as a "lay"

understanding and he claims that by only investigating first order politeness it is possible to develop a social theory of politeness.

Watts (2003) makes a differentiation between ‘politic’ and ‘polite’ behavior as well. In polite behavior the speaker makes a conscious choice, performs the behavior that is appropriate for the ongoing social interaction whereas politic behavior is not a conscious choice and it goes unnoticed, it is “beyond what is perceived to be appropriate to the ongoing social interaction, which says nothing about how members evaluate it” (p. 21). So, he calls unmarked, appropriate behavior not polite but politic behavior. He defines linguistic politeness as a marked extension or enhancement of politic verbal behavior which is conscious, non-altruistic and beyond what is expectable (Watts, 2003).

However, his concepts of first and second order politeness might be problematic as he does not explain how these concepts are different from each other clearly and how would it be possible to define a theoretical concept of politeness without considering lay understanding of politeness. Watts’s (2003) notion of politic behavior may also be controversial as in the literature the expected behavior is equated with polite behavior (Pizziconi, 2003; Yu, 2003, Bharuthram, 2003; Ide, 2005).

As the overview of politeness research presents, studying politeness is a challenging work that requires a deep analysis of language, culture, the concept of face and human motives behind the polite behavior. A closer look at the literature might not solve the “Theory of Linguistics Politeness”, as the field still lacks a definition of what politeness is; is it rational, a face saving act (Brown and Levinson, 1987), following certain conversational maxims (Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983), an unmarked way of speaking in a community (Bharuthram, 2003; Ide, 2005) or a conscious choice motivated egocentrically rather than to mitigate face-threatening act or to ensure social and conversational harmony (Watts, 2003).

2.2. Impoliteness

As can be seen, the theories of politeness have focused far more on polite behavior than on impolite behavior. Fraser (1990) claims that when conversational interlocutors follow Conversational Contract, the conversation is smooth; it is only when one of the interlocutors violates these principles that the behavior is called impolite. According to Grice's Cooperative Principle, all interaction should be cooperative and the transactions should continue in an appropriate style unless both parties agree that it should terminate. Grice claims that speakers' aim may be to express the conflictive views but the important thing is using language in such a way that the hearer can detect what the speaker means, even if the message is not good-intended. As Bousfield (2007) suggests that Grice's CP should be taken only as linguistic cooperation, that the only aim of a given communication is the transmission of the information and this goal might be cooperative or uncooperative, polite or impolite, harmonious or conflictive. So, in order to have an adequate account of an interpersonal communication not just cooperative but conflictive or even hostile communication should be explained.

It is not possible to describe impoliteness simply as a deviation from or violation of the rules and maxims of communication. Although it has been argued that all the leading politeness theories at least mention the notion of impoliteness, the problem is that in practice they focus solidly on politeness; with the result that their comments on impoliteness are descriptively inadequate and often conceptually biased.

When impolite behavior is mentioned, it is always associated with lack of politeness, inappropriateness, unfavourableness, so it has been claimed that impoliteness results from not redressing FTA, not applying the rules of politeness, not abiding by Politeness Principle. This study is an attempt to clarify the nature and definition of impoliteness, mostly based on the suggestions made by Bousfield (2003, 2007) and Culpeper (1996, 2003, 2005).

Culpeper et. al. (2003) underline that the theory of impoliteness is regarded as unnecessary in the literature as Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Theory also posits a bald on record strategy to account for impoliteness. They suggest that bald on record strategy is used when: (1) the speaker and the hearer recognize that face wants are suspended in the interest of some emergency, (2) the face threat is very small, and (3) the speaker is much more powerful than the hearer (1987, p. 69). However, Culpeper et al. (2003) argue that impoliteness is not a bald-on-record strategy since a key difference between politeness and impoliteness is the *intention*: whether it is the speaker's intention to support face (politeness) or to attack it (impoliteness). To be clearer, Culpeper et. al. (2003) resort to Goffman's (1967) concept of face-threatening acts. Goffman (1967) identifies three types of face-threatening acts. First type includes the deliberate insults which are realized when the offending person act maliciously and spitefully, with the intention of causing an open insult. Second one is incidental offences which arise as an unplanned but sometimes anticipated by-product of action the offender performs in spite of its offensive consequences, though not out of spite. Third type appears when the offending person act innocently; his offence is unintended and unwitting. Culpeper et al. (2003) regard Goffman's first type of face threatening act as the impolite act; as it is performed deliberately, with the intention of causing face damage. Accordingly, they define impoliteness as "the use of communicative strategies designed to attack face, and thereby cause social conflict and disharmony" (p. 1545).

However Kienpointner (1997) describes two types of rudeness that he uses as a cover term for all sorts of impolite behavior, which are cooperative and non-cooperative rudeness. His point is that rudeness does not have to be always non-cooperative and politeness does not have to be always cooperative. His cooperative rudeness types are:

- 1) Simulated Rudeness: a) Mock Impoliteness, b) Ritual Insults c) Ironic Rudeness
- 2) Common Interest Rudeness: a) Reactive Rudeness b) Sociable Rudeness (p. 261).

He claims that mock impoliteness can be used as a technique for creating a relaxed atmosphere, ritual insults can be used to enhance group identity, ironic rudeness to make fun of the hearer to create mutual entertainment in a conversation, reactive rudeness to make oneself clear and sociable rudeness is applied by a speech community that has a tolerability to rudeness. However, in all of these cases the speaker does not intend to damage the face of the hearer and the hearer knows this, thus in parallel with Culpeper (2003) and Bousfield (2007), I do not take these kinds of speech acts as impolite.

Bousfield (2007) also takes the concept of face as the best way of explaining the concept of impoliteness. He conveys that impoliteness is deliberately performed: “(i) unmitigated, in contexts where mitigation is required, (ii) with deliberate aggression, that is, with the face threat intentionally exacerbated, ‘boosted’, or maximized in some way to heighten the face damage inflicted (p. 2187). As for the criticism of the difficulty of interpreting the real intention of the interlocutors as “interlocutors do not wear their intentions on their sleeves”, Culpeper et. al (2003) claim that with adequate evidence it is possible to “reconstruct” the intention (p. 1552).

From this point, extending Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory of politeness to an impoliteness model, Culpeper (1996) posits a parallel structure and offers super-strategies for impoliteness:

- 1) Bald-on-record impoliteness: It is employed when the speaker’s intention is to attack the face of the hearer. As Culpeper et. al (2003) emphasize that distinction from Brown and Levinson’s (1987) bald on record politeness, bald-on-record politeness is used when there is little face at stake; however bald on record impoliteness is applied when there is much face at stake.
- 2) Positive impoliteness: It is employed to attack the addressee’s positive face, that is to say to “‘ignore’, ‘snub the other’, ‘exclude the other from the activity’, disassociate from the other’,

‘be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic’, ‘use inappropriate identity markers’, ‘seek disagreement’, ‘make the other feel uncomfortable’ (e.g. do not avoid silence, joke, or use small talk), ‘use taboo words’, ‘call the other names’, etc.)” (p. 1555).

3) Negative impoliteness: It is applied to attack the addressee’s negative face, such as to “‘frighten’, ‘condescend, scorn or ridicule’, ‘invade the other’s space’, explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect’...” (p. 1555).

4) Sarcasm or mock politeness: To use politeness strategies insincerely.

5) Withhold politeness: Not to apply politeness when politeness is required.

Culpeper (2005) adds another super-strategy to these five strategies which he calls off-record impoliteness: the FTA is performed by means of an implicature but in such a way that one attributable intention clearly out-weighs any others. He differentiates off-record impoliteness from sarcasm or mock politeness by claiming that off-record impoliteness does not have to be seemingly polite.

As opposed to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness strategies, these five strategies can be applied at the same time, Culpeper et. al (2003)’s data also proves that these strategies are generally juxtaposed in the interaction.

Later, Bousfield (2007) combines Culpeper’s five strategies into two “overarching” super-strategies:

1) On Record Impoliteness: in which he combines what Culpeper calls positive and negative impoliteness that attack face unambiguous in a direct way.

2) Off Record Impoliteness: The attack is made indirectly by means of implicature. He categorizes sarcasm and withhold politeness under this heading.

So, as all these theories regarding impoliteness present, the nature and role of impoliteness is a worthy issue to study. Impoliteness is not just the opposite of politeness. As a speech act, it is more dynamic, it evolves step by step, and the triggering event and

responses to the impolite act should also be carefully investigated. Hence, we cannot explain impoliteness by just relying on politeness theories.

A more in depth examination of the nature of impoliteness will lead to the discussion of other conceptual issues, such as the theoretical roles associated with the speaker and the hearer, and the associated conceptual importance of language production and language reception. As Eelen (2001) claims there is a speaker behavior bias in all politeness theories. All politeness models describe what speakers have to do in order to be polite. So, the main focus is on the speaker who uses politeness as a tool to achieve certain ends. “Politeness is primarily conceptualized as a productive activity – an aspect of speech production- instead of an evaluative activity- an aspect of speech perception” (Eelen, 2001, p. 98).

Another drawback of all the existing politeness theories is that, by focusing on the speaker and leaving the hearer nearly out of the picture, they become predictive; that is to say they predict the hearer’s evaluations (Eelen, 2001). However in impoliteness the hearer’s evaluation is also in the picture, as Culpeper (1996) claims impoliteness occurs not solely as a speaker’s speech act, but rather it becomes impolite when the hearer evaluates that speech act as impolite. So, current theories of politeness posit three biases; towards the polite side of the interaction, towards the speaker and towards the production of the speech act rather than its study impoliteness.

2.3. Computer-Mediated Communication

Originally computer mediated communication was defined as a form of electronic written communication. Today, with the advance of software, it is used to refer to a wide range of technologies including e-mail, discussion groups, newsgroups, chat, instant messages and web pages. Individuals exchange messages and share information through Internet in a variety of ways. They can send e-mail messages, engage in real-time conversations through chat and

participating discussion lists, play games and send instant messages to their friends through messenger. Barnes (2003) lists CMC genres as:

- 1) Simple E-mail exchange: Two or more people exchange messages through e-mails. It allows for one-to-one or one-to-many communication. It can be used for interpersonal, small group and mass communication.
- 2) Discussion Lists: A consistent, multiple-user interaction that occurs over a long period of time. It refers to asynchronous communication that allows participants to read messages at different times. Three common types of discussion groups are listservs, web forums and newsgroups. Core group members may remain the same as others join and leave the list. Over time, members can begin to bond as they share a sense of communal space. Lists are either moderated or unmoderated. In moderated discussion lists, moderator, usually the owner of the list, reserves the right to make all decisions about the posting of the messages and the content of the messages. However as it is extremely time-consuming most lists are not highly moderated or unmoderated.
- 3) Chat Rooms: Here people meet online. Conversations are more fluid and overlapping because they occur in real time. A sense of being in the same room with other people is created. The “room” metaphor is used to create a sense of space.
- 4) Instant Messenger: Short conversations that occur between people who generally know each other through face-to-face situations such as family members and friends. People engage in synchronous conversation here.
- 5) Multiplayer Games: They are online games. They use software programs that accept multiple player connections over the network. The software gives each player access to a shared database of rooms, exits and objects. The use of characters and the structure of these games foster complex group dynamics.

6) Web Pages: In contrast to other genres that are text-only interactions, Web pages add pictures, graphics, sounds and movies to the Internet experience. They are mostly designed to present rather than exchange information but discussion and chat features can be incorporated into the page designs.

Another CMC genre which is not covered by Barnes (2003) is weblog. Weblogs appear as one of the newest venues for exploration in CMC. Weblog has been defined as a reversed-chronological online journal, which is used in a variety of ways, but often as a personal journal or ongoing commentary about oneself (Stefanone & Yung 2007). So, blogs can be described as personal diary, or personal journal; however, it also allows two-way communication as they allow visitors the opportunity to post comments and the owner of the blog can respond to these comments (Herring, 2003). The owner of the blog is aware of the intended recipient, and expects comments to his/her post, here the conversation is asynchronous and one-to-many.

As all these genres present, used as a communication medium, internet supports one-to-one (e-mail, instant messenger), one-to-many (web pages, weblogs, e-mail), and many-to-many exchanges of messages (discussion lists, multiplayer lists, chat rooms). Consequently, internet can be used for both individual and mass communication.

When the topic is impoliteness in CMC, the hybrid nature of internet makes it difficult to study precisely impoliteness in all of these genres. So, here I have limited the discussion to (im)politeness in discussion lists and presented the review of literature in this genre. The data here was also collected from a forum which allows asynchronous, text-based and many-to-many communication.

2.3.1 Politeness in Computer Mediated Communication

Politeness theory has primarily been investigated in face-to-face situations. With the advance of internet and the creation of a new speech community through cyberspace, the comparison of (im)politeness in face-to-face situations and CMC has become inevitable. How communication is dealt within CMC, how cyberspace is used as a social space, how anarchy and dissent in cyber-society are dealt with have been investigated in the literature. Cyber-communities have also become an arena of power where people break their silence on every issue as in real life itself with ideological conflicts, social hierarchies, power relations and ideologies reflected by means of language. As for CMC, it was first investigated in electronic mails and it was claimed by Herring (2006) and Walther (1996) that as electronic mail allows more control over planning, composing, editing than face to face communication it helps communicators to create more polite speech than face-to-face communication.

There are two basic theories regarding politeness in CMC. Hyper-personal Communication Model presupposes that CMC allows the communicator to plan, compose, edit, review the messages and these messages can be very formal and linguistically complex. Research has found that communicators are more fluent in better preserving the face needs of others when they could plan, rehearse, and then speak compared to those who had to construct and produce such messages immediately (Green&Lindsay, 1989; Walther, 1996). Hyper-personal Model also predicts more polite conversation patterns in CMC, as CMC eliminates “potentially undesirable dynamic verbal behaviors such as interruptions, and other distracting vocalizations, unconventional gaze patterns and unattractive physical appearance characteristics” (Walther, 2006, p.465). So, it is argued that CMC creates more polite and appropriate speech as it allows more intentional messages and avoids the effect of unintentional cues.

In contrast to Hyper-personal Communication Model, Social Identity and De-individuation (SIDE) theory emphasizes the importance of social context in CMC and predicts that because of lack of social cues in CMC interaction, people enjoy anonymity and isolation which leads to impolite, improper speech acts, as people are divorced from the human consequences of their actions (Ng & Detenber, 2005).

There have been various studies on politeness in CMC. Krisadawan and Soraj Hongladarum (1999) studied politeness in Thai computer-mediated communication by looking at a Thai Internet community called pantip.com. Their data were collected from discussions tables, on one discussion topic in which one member expresses his opinions about Buddhism as an “irrational philosophy”. They focused on other members’ responses to his view.

Results indicate that participants perform various kinds of face balancing acts to restore the state of equilibrium in the course of a heated discussion. These face balancing acts on CMC aim to establish solidarity among the participants despite the fact that they do not know each other personally which is similar to face-to-face interaction. Therefore, Krisadawan and Soraj Hongladarum (1999) concluded that politeness norms in every day conversation are transgressed to CMC in Thai.

Duthler (2006) studied requests by email and voicemail. He asked undergraduate students to create a request message to their professor either by e-mail or voicemail on the basis of a given scenario. The results suggest that although the degree of imposition affects politeness of the request, communicators using e-mail requests varied in the number of adjunct phrases, number of words, and the formality of address terms according to the imposition, on the other hand voicemail requests were stable and static across these variables.

Graham (2007) examined politeness phenomena in a Church-list Community. He focused on one discussion which began with an impolite response to a “Pray for Me” message

from a homosexual. The respondent was regarded as impolite by the other members as her behavior violated the norms that the computer-mediated environment imposes on expectations of politeness. Graham claims that e-politeness has its own set of norms and constraints and deviations from these norms result in impolite behavior and conflict.

It seems that online community members adapt to online community's norms as interactional norms and follow these norms during the interaction. Although the members typically do not use real names, thus hiding their identities, they act as if the forum itself is a kind of community to which they belong. The face balancing-acts illustrated by the data are not merely performed because the participants want to avoid confrontations or understate their differences but because they follow the norms of the online group. Although they do not know each other personally and that they may not have an opportunity for face-to-face interaction, they follow the norms of the society closely and apply politeness strategies according to the norms of the society.

However; the virtual community is not a mythical land of peace, but neither is it any more dangerous, hostile, or unwelcoming than real life, and as impoliteness exists in real life conversation, it must be applied in CMC as well.

CHAPTER III

IMPOLITENESS STRATEGIES IN TURKISH CMC

3.1. Overview of the Data

My data is collected from discussion tables at www.turkish-media.com/forum which raises a number of discussion topics. I selected the corpus from one topic in which 19 members discuss the headscarf issue in Turkey. 193 impolite speech acts are identified and analyzed in 134 posts. Culpeper's (1996, 2003, 2005) and Bousfield's (2007) models were applied to the data. Strategies in these existing models also occur in the data; however, additional strategies seem to be necessary. For my first categorization I will adopt Bousfield's (2007) two overarching strategies:

- 1) On Record Impoliteness: On Record Impoliteness strategies are designed to attack the face of the hearer and to refuse the expected face needs. Face attack is made in an unambiguous, explicit and concise way. It is important to distinguish this strategy from Brown and Levinson's Bald on Record Politeness strategy. In Brown and Levinson's Bald on Record Politeness, face concerns are suspended in an emergency situation or the speaker is much more powerful than the hearer, so little face is at stake, however in Bald on Record Impoliteness strategy is applied when much face is at stake.
- 2) Off-Record Impoliteness. These strategies, on the other hand, attack the face of the interactant indirectly, by means of implication. The FTA is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere and thus remain surface realizations.

In the data 193 FTAs occur in total, only one of them is realized as Off-Record Impoliteness and the rest, 192 are On-Record Impoliteness Strategies. Among On-Record

Politeness Strategies 168 are applied to attack positive face and only 24 to attack the negative face.

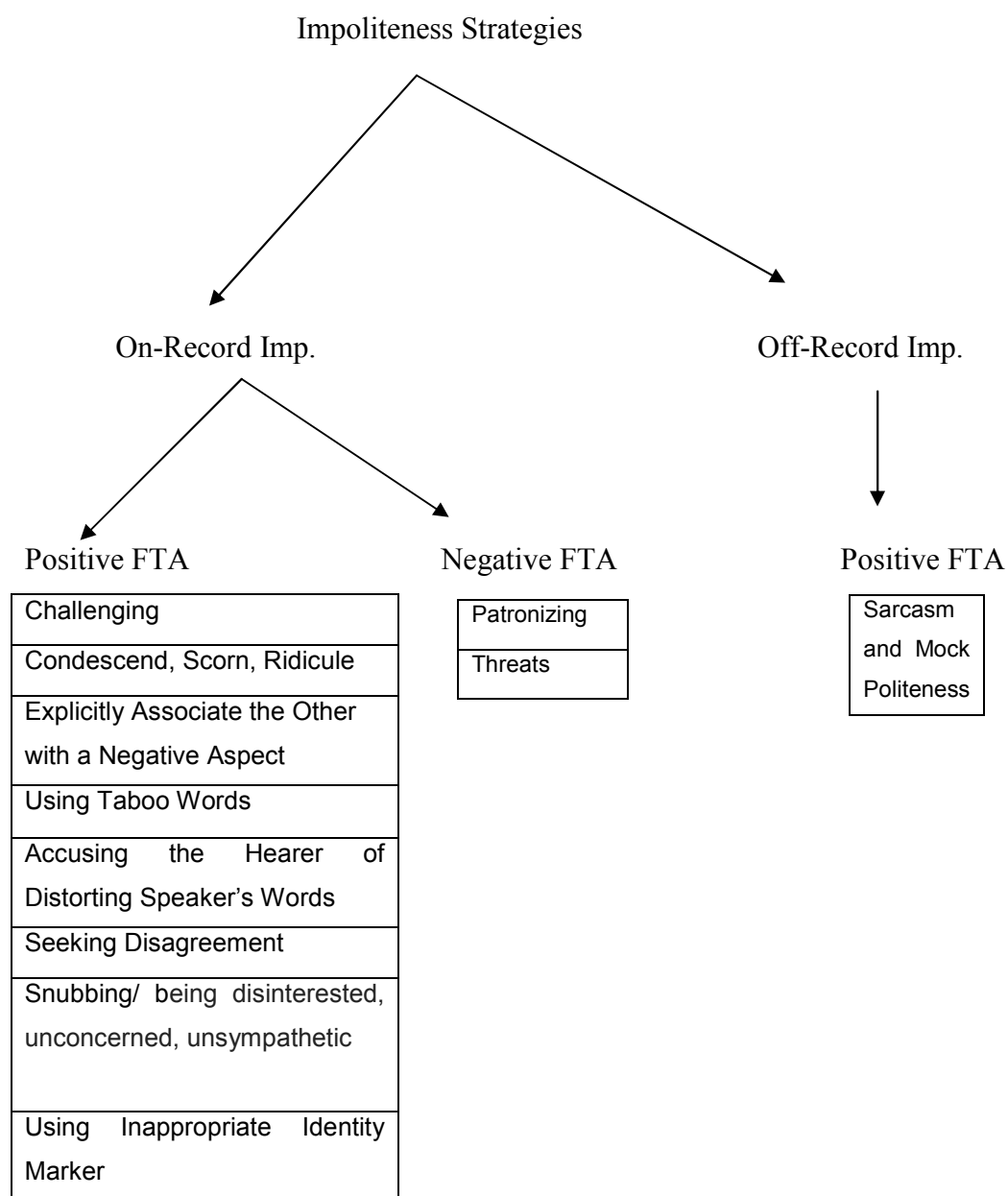
Table1. The distribution of the FTAs in the data

FTA	On-Record	Off-Record
Positive FTA	168	1
Negative FTA	24	0
Total	192	1

I also categorized Face Threatening Acts as Positive and Negative FTAs under On-Record and Off-Record Impoliteness strategies. In the data both Positive and Negative FTAs are used as On Record Impoliteness Strategies, however, the only instance of Off-Record Impoliteness involves a Positive FTA.

There are two overarching strategies, on-record and off-record impoliteness, 10 of the strategies applied in the data are realized as on-record and one of them is off-record. Among these 10 on-record strategies eight are used to attack the positive face of the hearer and two to attack the negative face of the hearer (Figure 1).

Figure 1.



3.2. Realisations of Impoliteness

The model developed by Culpeper (1996, 2003) and Bousfield (2007) will be adopted here and I will suggest some new strategies and try to develop the existing model. As it has already been mentioned, instances of impoliteness are many and varied. Below I will define and illustrate each strategy.

3.2.1. Challenging

Challenging is the most frequently applied strategy in my data (74 instances). Challenging is realized in the form of both rhetorical and response seeking questions. It is defined by Bousfield (2007) as “Challenge- ask h[earer] a question, question h[earer]’s position, stance, beliefs, assumed power, rights, obligations, ethics, etc” (p. 132). Bousfield (2007) claims that challenges can be evaluated as both positive and negative face threatening acts. They attack the positive face as they imply a criticism and they attack the negative face as they “are equivalent to strong assertions that attempt to force the intended recipient to respond in a highly restricting and self-damaging way” (p. 1329). According to my data, the interlocutor who is challenging the recipient through questions does not expect an answer. All questions are rhetorical questions and they carry overt and harsh criticism to the intended recipient. Thus, I categorized challenging as positive face threatening act. Consider the following example:

[1] NİZAMOĞLU: *Burada değinmek istediğim bir iki nokta var. İnsanların başlarını örtmeleri onların sığındıkları bir ideoloji, umut bağlanacak bir materyal değildir. Başörtüsü insanların inançları gereği, benimsemiş oldukları giyim biçimidir. Bu başörtüsünü benim hanımım takınca bu Cumhuriyet onun ve benim Cumhuriyetim olmuyor da, senin mi Cumhuriyetin oluyor?*

I would like to emphasize two points here. Wearing a headscarf is not an ideology that people take refuge in, nor a material that offers hope. Does this mean that when my wife wears headscarf this republic becomes your republic but not mine and hers?

DİPNOT: *Sizin laiklik anlayışınız ne peki... İnsanların üniversite gibi bir misyon yüklenilen bir yerde çarşaf, türban, burka, sıkımbaş, çembersakal giyinmek ile tekke ve zeviyelerde eğitim görüp cihat ile etmekmi... Askeri kurumlarda çarık giyip, çenber sakalla dolaşmak, tam savaşın ortasında namaz durmak mı...*

What is your understanding of secularism then... Is it wearing headscarf, turban, burkha, jilbab in an institution like the university which has a mission, being educated in dervish lodges and making jihad, fighting for religion....

Roaming in a military institution with beards and sandals, performing the prayers in the middle of war....

The member Nizamoğlu challenges the other member Dipnot *Bu başörtüsünü benim hanımım takınca bu Cumhuriyet onun ve benim Cumhuriyetim olmuyor da, senin mi Cumhuriyetin oluyor* ‘Does this mean that when my wife wears headscarf this republic becomes your republic but not mine and hers?’ and as a response the member Dipnot issues no less than six challenges through questions again.

The following are the linguistic strategies in the last sentence of Nizamoğlu’s challenging entry: the use of emphatic possessive pronouns such as *benim* ‘my’, *onun* ‘her’ and *senin* ‘your’ which are not otherwise required because of the agreement suffixes on the nouns contribute to the challenging effect. Moreover, the question particle *mi* is not in the canonical sentence final position where it would have the whole proposition in its scope, but instead focuses on the possessor of the noun *cumhuriyet* ‘republic’. The overall effect of these marked usages is a rather strong rhetorical challenge.

In Dipnot’s response, again we observe a series of rhetorical questions to challenge the addressee’s position. The first question sets the theme of the following questions which are in fact anticipated answers to the first question about the addressee’s notion of secularism. However, the lexical items used by Dipnot such as ‘chador’, ‘full beard’, ‘jihad’ are all completely incongruent with the semantic concept of secularism. Furthermore, in each question, the questioned act portrays the negative stereotype of a fundamentalist. Through this elaborate semantic incongruence, the writer challenges the presupposed stance of the addressee.

It is obvious that these are all rhetorical questions and are used to express serious criticism of the recipient’s ideas. These questions cannot be evaluated as information seeking questions because of their position; they occur in an already established environment of disagreement, where challenging instead of looking for new information is the appropriate

next response. They are used as challenges because they convey the strong epistemic stance of the questioner, specifically negative assertions.

Bousfield's (2007) suggestion that challenges are negative face damaging at the same time as they force the addressee to respond in self-damaging way, does not seem to be valid here. All these questions convey explicit criticism, and the interlocutor does not seem to expect an answer. The addressee does not feel forced to answer either, as he does not take these as response seeking questions but as direct criticisms. In the data, as the example illustrates, these kinds of challenges are generally responded by new challenges, both parties put the other party's weakness on record through these rhetorical questions. Thus, this strategy is regarded as a positive face threatening act through questions.

3.2.2. Condescend, Scorn or ridicule

It is the second common strategy in the data (34 instances). Condescension, scorn or ridicule can be used as threatening the Positive Face of the hearer as the following examples indicate.

- [2] DİPNOT: *Arkadaşım bakıyorum yazılarına..
Sanıyorum bir sistem takıntısı var sizde tutturmuşsunuz sizin sizteminiz
vs... Soruyorum... Siz hangi alternatif sistem özlemi içindisiniz... Lütfen
söylermisiniz...*

My friend I am looking at your messages
I think you have a regime obsession. You keep on saying your system
etc...
I want to ask which alternative system you are yearning for. Can
you please tell me/us?

Here, in DİPNOT's response *sanıyorum bir sistem takıntısı var sizde* 'I think you have a regime obsession', the member explicitly scorns the interlocutor and his idea. He thus, attacks the interlocutor's positive face by describing his ideas about the regime as 'regime obsession' and also the way he expresses his ideas as obsessive behavior. He thus implies that interlocutor's thinking is irrational. Although Culpeper (1996) and Bousfield (2007) originally cast this as a negative face directed impoliteness strategy, according to my data this strategy

can also be evaluated as a positive face threatening act as it attacks the interlocutor's desire to be approved by presenting him as irrational.

As can be seen from the example, condescend, scorn or ridicule strategy is realized through the speaker's being contemptuous of the other party and emphasizing his/her own relative superiority. In my data this strategy is mostly applied through metaphorical expressions with negative connotations. When we look at the examples of condescend/scorn/ridicule strategy: *kadınlara karaböcükten bile daha beter muamele yapıyorsunuz* 'treating women worse than cockroaches', *sağ iktidarlar sizi kuzu gibi yaptı* 'right-wing governments turned you into lambs', *Avrupa'ya kendimizi beğendireceğiz diye maymun oluyorsunuz* 'You turn into monkeys in order to sell yourself to Europe' we see that comparisons of people with animals are used to condescend or ridicule the other party. Allan&Burridge, (2006) claim that comparison of people with animals that are conventionally ascribed certain behavior is a typical way of insulting the other party. Being like a lamb means being passive and submissive, being like a monkey means behaving clown-like, funny, and absurd. *Karaböcük* 'cockroach' is used to refer to women who wear black chador describing them as repulsive creatures. The usage of *böcük* by distorting the orthography of the word *böcek* also heightens the degree of scorn. This expression can also be regarded as a case of dysphemism that speakers typically use to talk about people and things that they want to disparage, humiliate and degrade. Political groups commonly use dysphemism when talking about their opponents (Allan&Burridge, 2006).

In another example of the condescend/scorn/ridicule strategy, one of the members says to the other member that he should go on respecting *salya sümük Fettullah* 'spit and snot Fettullah'. Fettullah Gülen is a well-known name among Islamic groups. By using *salya sümük* 'spit and snot', the member insults the referred person here in a typical way with the epithets derived from effluvia (Allan&Burridge, 2006). Describing one's crying with the

metaphoric expression of *salya sümük* underlines the ugliness and repulsiveness of this act instead of showing empathy or compassion to him/her. Moreover, the kind of crying described here is mostly associated with babies and small children. The use of this epithet in effect renders the target less than a competent adult human being. So the member scorns the other party through ridiculing their idol.

In all these cases, metaphors are used either as adjectives or adverbs modifying the other party and/or his/her activity in a contemptuous way. In Bousfield's (2007) data, the condescend, scorn or ridicule strategy is again realized through the metaphorical expression "being babyish". At this point it might be appropriate to claim that metaphorical expressions which have negative connotations and dysphemism presenting the other party funny, absurd or irrational are preferred to realize this strategy.

3.2.3. Explicitly Associate the Other with a Negative Aspect

Culpeper (1996) identifies "'Explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect- personalize, use the pronouns 'I' / 'We' and 'You'" strategy as a negative face directed impoliteness strategy, however Bousfield (2007) suggests that it is also directed at the positive face. There are 21 tokens of this strategy in the corpus.

[3] MUKİ: *Kuşkunuz olmasın, başörtüsüyle tesettürü ayırt etmesini bilen insanlarız. Laikliği dinsizlik olarak algılayanlar ve dini siyasete alet edenler sizlersiniz*

Do not have any doubt that we can differentiate the headscarf from the veil.

You are the ones who consider secularism as atheism and abuse the religion for political gain.

In his responses, Muki employs the oppositional use of the personal pronouns 'we' and 'you' and the association of the other party with negative aspects while presenting 'self' (us) in a positive way. While associating the other party with a negative aspect, not just the pronoun 'you' but also the pronouns 'you and the ones like you'; 'you and your supporters' are used as

well. The usage of the personal pronouns is typical of the strategy. In the sentence *Laikliği dinsizlik olarak algılayanlar ve dini siyasete alet edenler sizlersiniz* the pronoun *siz* is in the predicate position and contrastively focused. The second person pronoun can be typically found in the subject position carrying given information and functioning as topic. However, here it becomes the predicate and conveys new information.

This strategy is also applied through polar expressions ‘friends/enemies’, ‘opponents/supporters’ as in the example of “enemy of Atatürk”, “opponents of Atatürk”. Through these expressions, oppositions are set up directly. In my data this strategy is used to attack the interlocutors’ desire for approval, so I categorize it as Positive Impoliteness Strategy.

3.2.4. Patronizing

Culpeper (1996) and Bousfield (2007) acknowledge that there may be other strategies for conveying impoliteness. In my data, there are impoliteness strategies which are not covered by Culpeper and Bousfield. Patronizing is one of these strategies. It is used when the speaker expresses his disapproval of the opinion of the other party by behaving as if he is superior to the hearer on the subject so much so that the other party does not have the right to speak or express his/her ideas on this issue. Thus the speaker attacks the negative face of the hearer by limiting his/ her freedom of action, his personal territory and freedom from imposition. In the corpus patronizing is realized 21 times through patronizing addressing terms, direct commands and numbering.

- [4] SİYASET: *Arkadaşım sen hangi yazıya bakıyorsun açılan başlığa mı yoksa benim cevap verdiğim yazıya mı? Biraz daha dikkatli bak... Ben dipton'ta değli politikaya cevap verdim....*

My friend which post are you looking at; are you looking at the title or the message that I replied to. Look more carefully. I did not answer dipnot I answered politika.

In the example the addressing term *arkadaşım* ‘my friend’ is used to create a patronizing and belittling effect. Interestingly, the term *arkadaşım* ‘my friend’ is not a preferred way of addressing real friends in Turkish. Although the term by nature implies solidarity, in real-life usage it denotes a didactic, self-righteous attitude. In the corpus *arkadaşım* ‘my friend’ is used 13 times to cast a patronizing effect; and once *sevgili dostum* ‘my dear friend’ which can be regarded as similar to *arkadaşım* ‘my friend’ is used. Another similar address term, *Kardeşim* ‘my brother’ is used twice following the vocative exclamation *be* to create the same effect with *arkadaşım* ‘my friend’. *Kardeşim* ‘my brother’ alone does not always have a patronizing effect in the spoken language; only with marked prosody, and/or with the exclamation *be*, it can acquire a patronizing meaning. Since prosody is unavailable as a contextualization cue, the interjection “*be*” renders the patronizing effect.

Direct commands are also used three times for the patronizing strategy:

- [5] SARIGÖL: *Ülkeye amerikan emperyalizmini ve siyonist israil işbirlikçiliğini getiren kimlermiş bil evvela 1946 senesi İnönü dönemini araştır birde yakın tarih 28 şubat'ta israille yapılan hükümete rağmen askeri işbirliği anlaşmasını bul*

First of all learn who brought American imperialism and Zionist Israeli collaboration to this country, research Inonu era of 1946 of February 28, besides find the recent military pact with Israel, against the will of government.

Here the member issues three direct commands by using the imperative forms *bil* ‘learn’, *araştır* ‘research’ and *bul* ‘find’. All the imperative verbs here are cognitive verbs related to learning activities, the requests likely to be made by a ‘teacher’ who knows more than the addressee. Here too, the implication is ‘I know more than you and you should learn more about this issue before saying anything’ and in this way the member regards himself superior, hence more powerful, to the other thus patronizes the other.

Numbering is used twice in the data for patronizing.

- [6] MİSAFİR_YERSON: *Bilim kimsenin tekelinde değildir biiirrrr
Bu şekilde (ön yargıyla) zaten bilim yapılmaz ikiiii
darwinizm deyip geçtiğiniz kanun hepimizin bir türlü kabullenemediği
gerçekliktir üüüüüçççç
Bu sitede laik ve Atatürkçü kimseler bilim ve akılcılığı seçmiş,
sorgulayan insanlardır dööööörrrrrtttt
Şahsım adına, bilim işinin başındayım ve enternasyonal başarılarım
mevcuttur beeeşşşş
Şimdilik bu kadar olsun altuuuuu*

One, science is not in exclusive possession of anybody.
Two, it is impossible to practice science in this way (biased).
Three, what you call Darwinism is a scientific reality that we find hard to believe.
Four, secular and Kemalist members of this forum believe in science and rationalism and they question.
Five, personally I am a scientist and I have international successes.
Six, that is all for the time being.

Here, in the example the member lists his ideas through numbering. One generally numbers his/her ideas when s/he wants to express that s/he is the authority on this issue and numbering also implies the speaker's anger towards the other party. Through numbering the member here creates an effect of lecturing and at the same time by distorting the orthography of numbers such as spelling the number one *biiirrrr* instead of *bir*; number two *ikiii* instead of *iki*... he emphasizes his annoyance together with a clear sense of superiority stemming from the belief that he knows better and can teach others. Numbering also entails the addressee's implied deficiency. Numbering all related points about an issue, the speaker simplifies his/her argument in order to be clearer as s/he supposes that the addressee does not have enough potential to comprehend all the points when they are not presented item by item.

All the numbered sentences are expressed with the epistemic modality particle –Dİr in Turkish. Tura (1986) claims that –Dİr is used in factive contexts in Turkish to express generic facts, universal truths, permanent generalizations and assertions. Here all the numbered sentences which are inflected with –Dİr are strong assertions at the same time. So, -Dİr particle here increases the patronizing effect as well. Thus, the member Misafir_Yerson

behaves as if he is the angry parent or a teacher who reprimands his/her naughty child or student. He thus patronizes the interlocutor.

3.2.5 Using Taboo Language

This strategy was first introduced by Culpeper (1996) as swearing, using abusive or profane language. As Bousfield (2007) noted, taboo words do not need to be directed at the addressee, but they might have the function of making the addressee feel uncomfortable. Bousfield (2007) named this strategy as “Using Emotive Language vs. strategic impoliteness: The Case of Taboo Language” as he claimed that using taboo words might also be related to the emotional outburst of the speaker and might not be intended to damage the addressee’s face. His examples of the use of emotive language are generally accompanied by shouting and paralinguistic evidences that the speaker is out of control. However; as taboo language directed at members is filtered in this list, in the data “hot” usages of impoliteness which are not considered intentional are non-existent. In the data the taboo words are never directed at any member but at his / her idea or at an entity that he /she has invested face in or they are just used to make the addressee feel uncomfortable, and in all instances the taboo words are starred. This strategy is applied 18 times in the data. Nonetheless, it should be noted that since all cases are starred, the analysis cannot go beyond speculation.

- [7] MİSAFİR_YERSOY: *Sadece şunu sormak ve öğrenmek isterim:
bu hükümetin aldığı oy nereden geldi peki?*

I just want to ask and learn then where did all these votes that the governing party took come from?

MİSAFİR_4MEVSİM: *onu milleti ***** yerine koyup deveyi
hamudıyla götürünlere habire oy kaybedenlere sorun...onlar nerden
geldiğini ve neden geldiğini çok iyi bilirler....*

Ask this question to the ones who put people in ***** place,
rook people and lose votes constantly... they know better where
and why these votes came from.

Here in the example the taboo words are not directed at the addressee; however, they are used to intensify the disturbing effect of the statement for the addressee. In the example the member Misafir_yersoy supports the governing party by claiming that the party has public support; however Misafir_4mevsim responds to this by suggesting that the support does not come from the success of the governing party but from the incompetence of the opposition group that fools people and does not succeed in anything.

Taboo words are generally used to wound the addressee, they are therefore inherently dysphemistic. Taboo words directly debase a person's physical appearance, mental ability, character, views, beliefs, familial and social relations. They are used to compare people with animals that are conventionally ascribed certain behavior (Allan&Burridge, 2006). In the data although the taboo words are starred, from the context it can be inferred that most of them are used in the form of epithets derived from tabooed bodily organs, bodily effluvia and sexual behaviour: *Sen hiç ***** türbanlı gördün mü gördüysen de istisnadır* 'Have you ever seen a woman who is wearing headscarf and *** at the same time, If you did, this was an exception' in this example it can be inferred that the taboo word is 'prostitute' i.e. it is related to promiscuous sexual behavior. In the example ***** *yasaklar olmadık gerekçeler* '*** bans implausible reasons' the taboo word is most probably related to bodily effluvia that is excrement. In most of the examples the taboo words are not directed at the addressee. As Allan&Burridge (2006) claim, the taboo words might be epithets that pick on real physical characteristics that are treated as if they are abnormalities such as fatty, baldy, four-eyes; however, as physical appearance is not available in CMC, these kinds of taboo words are not found in the data. In contrast, as seen in the example [7], in which the starred word is most probably foolish, a few examples of epithets invoking mental sub-normality or derangement occur in the data.

3.2.6. Accusing the Hearer of Distorting the Speaker's Words

Like patronizing, another strategy that is not covered by Culpeper (1996) and Bousfield (2007) is “Accusing the Hearer of Distorting the Speaker's Words”. This strategy is especially used when the speaker accuses the interlocutor of perverting what was said on purpose to justify his/her point and it is realized nine times in the corpus.

- [8] POLİTİKA: *Burada anlatmak istedigimi sanıyorum ki bana cevap yetistirmekte yaris eden birisi anlayamamistir, anlayabilmiş olsa idi bana öyle anlamsız bir elestiri yapmazdi. Tabiiki anlayis önemli bir seydir, herkes okur ama kimi tersinden anlar kimi bilmem neresinden anlar. Bu bir kabiliyet isidir*

Somebody who rushed to answer my comment could not understand what I really meant here, if he could have understood he would not have made such a meaningless criticism. Of course comprehension is an important thing; everybody can read but some misunderstand and some understand I do not know from where. It is related with capacity.

- [9] MİSAFİR_YERSOY: *Arkadaşım o yazıdan bunu nasıl çıkardın ve bir de üstüne böyle bir yorum yapabildin hayret vala...*

My friend I wonder how you deducted what you said from my message and commented on it like this...

Both examples illustrate the use of this strategy to attack the positive face of the interlocutor by both mocking his/her intelligence as he/she did not understand the message and blaming him/her with being manipulative.

As the interlocutor attacks the cognitive ability of the other party, or accuses him/her of being manipulative as he distorts what the interlocutor has meant, the usage of cognitive verbs is typical for this strategy. Eight of nine instances are realized by using cognitive verbs to understand (seven times) and to interpret (one time). Furthermore these cognitive verbs take the modality marker -(y)Abil for indicating (in)ability of the addressee to perform the desired level of cognition.

In only one case the speaker says ‘I did not say what you mean’. In seven instances this strategy is realized in the form of rhetorical questions such as ‘How did you interpret my message like this?’, ‘How did you understand me?’. So, it can be claimed that accusing the hearer of distorting speaker’s word strategy is frequently combined with challenging strategy.

3.2.7. Seeking Disagreement / Avoiding Agreement

This strategy was first presented by Culpeper (1996) and he suggested that this strategy is realized especially by a selection of a sensitive topic by one of the interactants. However Bousfield (2007) extended the scope of the category by adding “Avoid Agreement” to the definition and posited that this strategy can be applied to any case in which one of the interactant avoids agreeing with the other one; it is applied five times in the corpus.

[10] MAVİ OLMAYAN GÖKYÜZÜ: *Sürekli aynı şeyler.Bence artık bunları geçin.Bırakın isteyen istediği gibi giyinsin.İşi siyasete vurmayaalım . Eleştirmek en kolay yoldur...*

The same thing all the time... I think you should leave these. Let people dress as they will. Let’s not make it political. Criticizing is the easiest way.

MİSAFİR_YERSOY: *Eleştirmek, koyun sürüsü gibi bir toplum olmamanın ilk gerekliliğidir. Gerisi zaten kendiliğinden gelir, hele bir eleştirmeye sorgulamaya başlarsanız...*

Criticism is the primary requisite that prevents a society from being a herd of sheep. When you start criticizing and questioning, it will develop automatically.

In the example, the member Mavi Olmayan Gökyüzü tries to arrive at a compromise by suggesting that ‘let everybody dress as they will’ and they should stop criticizing which is not necessary at that point; so he obviously tries to terminate the conflict. However, the member Misafir_Yersoy redefines criticism, which the other party regards as unnecessary, as something that prevents a society from being a herd of sheep so, he prefers to continue the

conflict. Moreover, he heightens the degree of the conflict and the face damage with the sarcastic expression of ‘herd of sheep’. Thus, he attacks the positive face of the hearer by ignoring his effort to find a middle course.

In the data, the strategy is realized through re-definition of the concepts. The interlocutors redefine the concepts offered by the other party with factive statements by using –Dİr particle. In the example above the member redefines criticism by stating *Eleştirmek, koyun sürüsü gibi bir toplum olmamanın ilk gerekliliğidir* ‘Criticism is the primary requisite that prevents a society from being a herd of sheep’ and the other member also seeks disagreement in his reply by stating *eleştirmek anlamaktır, dinlemektir* ‘Criticism is listening, understanding’. In another example when one member tries to find a middle ground by stating that he is a Marxist, the other member ignores his effort and defines Marxism with factive statements by using the –Dİr particle again. With these definition statements, subject maintains the disagreement and the structure of the new statement echoes the previous statement. –Dİr is used in factive statements to express strong assertions (Tura, 1986). Tura (1986) claims that –Dİr is also used to express generic facts. So, the usage of –Dİr particle is typical for this strategy, as here the seeking disagreement is realized in the form of re-definition of concepts and definitions in nature express the generic facts. Thus, - Dİr here conveys both generic facts and strong assertions.

3.2.8. Snubbing/ Being Disinterested, Unconcerned, Unsympathetic

The strategy was first suggested by Culpeper (1996) and explained as preventing the interactant from conversing with the snubber. With this strategy the speaker says “I do not care what you think”, “I do not care what you do” to the interlocutor. So, the snubber behaves condescendingly and is dismissive of the interlocutor’s ideas, actions, stated needs, and his desire to for approval. This strategy is realized four times in the corpus.

[11] DİPNOT: *Yok yaw...* Sen kadını çuvala sokan, ikinci sınıf vatandaş yerine koyan, haklarını kısıtlayan, herşeyi ile baskı altına alıp onu köle gibi kullanan ve 4 kadına kadar izin, veren dinsel yapılanmayı/özlemcilerini yok say, insan haklarına saygısı olmayan, korku ve kompleks duygularıyla ona göz açtırmayan / kapatan anlamsız zihniyeti görmezden gel, Kal burada antidemokratik uygulama konularında bahsetmeye kendine hak gör... *Yok ya...*

Oh yeah... You are the one who is ignoring the religious structure/system and its supporters who cover women with a piece of cloth, treat them as second rate citizens, limit their rights, use them as slaves by oppressing them and by allowing 4 wives to a man. You remain blind to a mentality that does not have any respect for human rights that oppresses and covers women because of its own fears and complexities, at the same time you are the one who thinks that you have the right to talk about antidemocratic executions. .. Yok ya

Yok ya(w) is one of the interjections in Turkish used to finish the conversation by emphasizing that the speaker strongly rejects what the other party has said. In this example, the interjection brackets the strongly worded charges of anti-democratic beliefs and practices and based on those charges, Dipnot asserts that his addressee can make no claims regarding anti-democratic practices. In order to deny the addressee's right to comment, Dipnot, defines the other party's ideology in his own terms: "covering women with a piece of cloth, treat them as second rate citizens, limit their rights, use them as slaves by oppressing them and by allowing four wives to a man". His definition of the other party's ideological position amounts to an aggravated and thus impolite attack against the other party's face needs. In this way he attacks the intended recipient's want to be approved of, as nobody want to tolerate and be sympathetic to an ideology portrayed so negatively. So, he snubs the other party.

[12] POLİTİKA: *Yazarın dediği gibi *ATAM SENİ ANLAYABİLSEYDİK BU HALLERE DÜŞMEZDİK** gibi siz de beni anlayabilseydiniz bugün Avrupa'da bir değeriniz olurdu, ama maalesef siz hala kendi bildiğinizi okumakta ısrar etmektesiniz, fazla kişiselleştirmeden bu konuyu kapatıyorum.

As the author said “If we could understand Atatürk, we would not be in this situation”, if you could understand me, we would be esteemed in Europe today, unfortunately, you insist on what you believe is right. I am ending this conversation before it becomes too personal.

As for *fazla kişiselleştirmeden bu konuyu kapatıyorum* ‘I am ending this conversation before making it too personal’, the member Politika openly blocks all the potential replies from the other side and he does not give the right to other party to defend his position. This is not a typical way to close a conversation. Schegloff & Sacks (1973) claim that closing an interaction is a mutual accomplishment and the conversations do not simply come to an end. First, a pre-closing sequence has to be performed in which the conversationalists ascertain that none of the parties has anything else to say. Once this is done to the satisfaction of all parties, they move on to the closing section to end a conversation. In the example above, by closing the interaction stating that ‘I am ending this conversation before making it too personal’, the member Politika violates the principle that both parties have to agree that they have nothing else to say in order to end an interaction and thus impedes the interactant from conversing with him.

Thus in both examples the expressions seem to be moves to snub the interlocutor by being disinterested in his ideas and face needs, thus attacking his positive face.

3.2.9. Using Inappropriate Identity Markers

Adopted from Culpeper (2006), this strategy is used three times in my data. It is frequently combined with the sarcasm strategy.

- [13] JHONYWALKER: *Türbanlılar belki meydanlarda yok bu siizn söyleminiz Sn.Dipnot Ancak O Türbanlı diye sınıflandırdığınız İnsanların Çocukları Asker Ve PKK'ya karşı sinirlarımızı koruyorlar..Şehit düşüyorlar....Türbanlılar Cumhuriyet düşmanı olsa çocuklarını askere yollar mı?? Sn.Dipnot.. SaygıLar..*

The women who wear the headscarf may not participate in open forums that is what you say Dear/Esteemed Dipnot. However the children of those women are soldiers and protecting our borders against the PKK...They die martyrs... If these people were against our republic would they send their children to serve the army?? Dear/ Esteemed Dipnot. Regards....

Sayın ‘Dear’ which is abbreviated as *Sn* in the example above is used in formal institutional contexts such as courts or parliamentary sessions. The use of *Sn*. instead of *Sayın* ‘Dear’ seems to indicate mocking. *Sn* is generally used in formal correspondences, so here the speaker’s aim might be to intensify the insincerity of the term by using the shortened version instead of the full proper form.

In addition *Sayın* is typically used with the last name or with both first and last name. Here using it with a nickname intensifies the mocking effect.

- [14] SİYASET: *Politika seni anlamak mümkün değil. Yok bıyığı var giyinmesini bilmiyor orta çağdan kalma kıyafetler. Giyinmesini bilen de düşünceleri farklı. Valla ağzımızla kuş tutsan sana yaranamayacağız. Hayır sözüm ona olayları düzgün algılıyor beyfendi.*

It is impossible to understand you Politika. For you the people who have a moustache do not know how to dress and their clothes are medieval and the ones who dress properly have different ideas. Even if we catch a bird with our mouth we still cannot curry your favour. Supposedly, this gentleman / Sir perceives everything correctly.

Though not as formal as *Sayın* ‘Dear’, *bey(e)fendi* ‘gentleman / Sir’ is either used reciprocally among peers or by the subordinates to the superior marking social distance and formality. Conceivably, forum conversation is not a proper speech situation to use these addressing terms. Moreover, these addressing terms are used following a serious criticism so they can be evaluated as inappropriate identity markers.

3.2.10. Threatening/ Frightening

Threatening/ frightening – instilling a belief that action detrimental to the other will occur are observed only three times in my data. Threats attack the negative face of the hearer, that is to say the addressees' face relating to the freedom of action.

- [15] _EFENDİ TURKLER: *sonra Akp ye oy verenler bu ülkenin laiklerine güvenipte? bu ülkeye seriat gelmez nasıl diyebilirler.. nasıl olurda genede laiklerin arkasına sığınirlar anlamis degilim ,,,,yani öcü gelirse babamız bizi korur! evet babanız sizi korur bekleyin?*

How can the ones who voted for AKP claim, trusting lay people, still that religious law will not come to this country. I really do not understand how they can hide behind lay people,,, That is like saying if boogymen comes our father will protect us! Yes your father will protect you, keep on dreaming?

Here the statement *yani öcü gelirse babamız bizi korur! evet babanız sizi korur bekleyin* 'if boogymen comes our father will protect us! Yes your father will protect you, keep on dreaming' expresses the member's warning that if the system of government shifts to Islamic Law then there will be nobody to protect the ones who voted for the governing party. With this remark, the member is instilling a belief that something detrimental to the other will happen. Here the member presents those trusting the governing party (his interlocutor as well as their supporters in general) as naive as a child not realizing AKP's potential threat to the regime. Lexical choices such as *arkasına sığınmak* 'hiding/seeking shelter behind someone', *öcü* 'boogymen', and *baba* 'father' add up to description of childish and naïve behavior.

Also note that the member mentions those people who vote for AKP first in third person plural. Then, in the last sentence he shifts to second person plural when stating the incumbent threat.

The usage of conditionals is typical for verbal threats, as the interactants suggest that if the addressee does not restrict his/her action, the results of her/his will action will damage him/her (Limberg, 2008). Here the threat aims to restrict the addressee's action with the use of conditional sentence give the Turkish expression 'if boogymen comes' because of their

support to the governing party, their action will cause damage on their part. The usage of *evet* ‘yes’ and *bekleyin* ‘keep waiting’ with question mark also intensifies the degree of sarcasm as they underline that when they are victimized they will expect help but there is no possibility for their expectations to be realized.

3.2.11. Sarcasm/ Mock Politeness

Culpeper (1996) and Bousfield (2007) state that sarcasm can also be used to convey impoliteness. Culpeper defines sarcasm as the use of politeness strategies which are obviously insincere and thus remain as surface realizations. He also underlines that his understanding of impoliteness is close to Leech’s concept of irony: “If you must cause offence, at least do so in a way which doesn’t overtly conflict with the PP [Politeness Principle], but allows the hearer to arrive at the offensive point of your remark indirectly, by way of an implicature” (1983, p. 82). Sarcasm as a means of conveying impoliteness is used only once in the corpus.

[16] MAVİ OLMAYAN GÖK: *Ben benim için Laiklik nedir sorusuna yanıt getirdim de dinsizlik demedim.Arkadaşım beni nasıl anladın bilmiyorum ama ben kapalı da değilim.Sadece hak ve hukuk diyorum.Ya laiklik bir din veya doğrudan yönetim şekli değil bana göre...Bu arada biz ne zamandan beri Arap ülkelerini örnek alıyoruz?Merakımı mazur görün.*

I answered the question of what secularism is for my part, but I did not call it atheism. My friend, I do not now how you understand me but I do not wear a headscarf either. I am just asking for justice and equity. For me, secularism is not a religion or a governing system.... By the way since when do we take Arab countries as models? Excuse my curiosity.

When we consider the member’s preceding comments and question, it is safe to claim that his apology for his curiosity is insincere, hence sarcastic. It is hard to believe that after such harsh criticism he would apologize for his question. Instead his question can be interpreted as a rhetorical, challenging question. Therefore, we can only interpret this *Merakımı mazur görün* ‘excuse my curiosity’ as an instance of mock politeness

As predicted, mock politeness is realized through politeness strategies, using polite expressions in inappropriate contexts. In the corpus there is only one instance of mock politeness, hence it is not possible to make any generalizations. On the other hand, in Bousfield (2007) data the usage of politeness strategies insincerely is very common. For example, after a harsh argument between the car clumper and the car owner the owner wishes a good day to the clumper. This is obviously an insincere expression of a polite wish. In Bousfield's data collected from army-training first the Sergeant reprimanded one of the privates as he did not cut his hair. When the private explained that there was a queue at the army barber, the sergeant answers to him "Oh Dear unfortunately you had to queue up". The polite addressing term 'dear' and the phrase 'unfortunately' which conveys sympathy, are used insincerely to express impoliteness. In face-to-face conversation, it is easier to identify mock politeness with the help of non-verbal cues such as gestures, intonation mimics, gaze. However, in CMC, where nonverbal cues are absent, it is an intriguing task to decide whether the speaker really meant to attack the face of the hearer. Thus, the only reliable criterion is the hearer's response to the utterance. Nevertheless in CMC in which we the hearer's response is not always available, the questions of whether politeness is sincerely expressed or mockingly used to express impoliteness cannot be answered easily.

3.3. Strategies Not Found in the Data

There are a number of strategies predicted by Culpeper (1996) and Bousfield (2007) not realized in the data. However, this does not mean that these strategies are not used for conveying impoliteness; they might be also used to attack the face of the interactant in different contexts and speech situations. So, they should be explored in different data sets. There are also some strategies which look very similar to another strategy thus I combined them under one category.

3.3.1 Exclude the Other from an Activity

It was presented by Culpeper (1996). This strategy is not seen in the data set studied here. As the forum is an online community and one can only be excluded by admin if s/he has violated one of the forum's rules, it is not possible for any member to benefit from this strategy in this kind of speech situation. However, this strategy can be used in face to face conversation to attack the positive face of the interactant.

3.3.2 Disassociate from the Other

This strategy was first suggested by Culpeper (1996) and then adopted by Bousfield (2007). With this strategy the speaker denies association, or common ground with the other. The message is "I have got everybody on my side" and "I do not want you here" and the speaker excludes the hearer from the group. It was especially applied in Bousfield's army training data sets as "disassociating the other from a formally organized group of which others may consider themselves to be a part of" (Bousfield, 2007, p. 104). In the data studied here instead of this strategy "explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect" strategy was preferred by the members. This is also related to the fact that a forum member cannot exclude another member from the group and cannot claim that s/he is not a member of the group, so s/he cannot send messages to the forum. Even guests can express their views on the related issue according to the forum rules.

3.3.3. Be Disinterested, Unconcerned, Unsympathetic

This strategy was presented as a positive face threatening strategy by Culpeper (1996) and was adopted by Bousfield (2007). In Bousfield's examples the message of this strategy was "what ever you do it makes no difference to me". This strategy is very similar to "Snub" because by using snub the speaker again gives the message "I do not care what you think or

what you do”. In both strategies the speaker’s message is that s/he is indifferent to the interlocutor’s ideas, actions, stated needs, and his desire to be approved of. So, I combined these two strategies in one heading as “Snubbing/ being disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic”.

3.3.4. Use Obscure or Secretive Language

It was proposed by Culpeper (1996) and explained as “mystify the other with jargon, or use a code known to others in the group, but not the target” (p. 357). This strategy was not seen in Bousfield’s (2007) corpus which was extracted from television shows that included discourse types of driver-clamper encounters, military training discourse, police-public encounters; and employer to employee discourse. It was not realized in my data set either.

This strategy can be a possible device for conveying impoliteness; however, as the definition posits, for the strategy to be used there should be a group of people who are using the same jargon or code which is not accessible to the other, so the speaker can exclude the hearer from the conversation. However, in this kind of speech situation, it is not possible to use it as an impoliteness strategy as the forum members come from different backgrounds and they do not know each other personally. Hence one member cannot mystify the other by associating himself with the other members.

3.3.5. Do not Treat the Other Seriously

Culpeper (1996) posited it as a negative face threatening strategy and defined it as belittling the other especially by using diminutives. Bousfield (2007) did not take it as a separate category. In my categorization I assumed that the category “Condescend, Scorn or Ridicule” includes this strategy as well; so the strategies “Do not treat the other seriously” are analyzed under the “Condescend, Scorn or Ridicule” heading as both strategies are mainly based on

making fun of the other party/his views/his comments on the given issue. Condescending, scorning or ridiculing one automatically means belittling one at the same time. So, there does not seem to be any reason to take “Do not Treat the Other Seriously” as a separate category.

3.3.6. Invade the Other’s Space

Culpeper (1996) explains this strategy as literally invading the other’s space, that is to say positioning oneself closer to the other than the relationship permits; and metaphorically invading the other’s space by asking for or speaking about information which is too intimate given the relationship. In Bousfield’s (2007) data sets these strategies were not realized. In Bousfield’s corpus, similar to my corpus, people did not know each other personally. This strategy, especially invading the other’s space metaphorically, might be realized among people who knew each other beforehand. It is highly improbable for people who do not know each other personally to bring out a subject which is too intimate. Considering that my data is extracted from forum conversations, literal invasion is also out of the question.

3.3.7. Hinder/Block

Similar to Culpeper’s “Invading the Other’s Space” strategy, Bousfield (2007) presented the “Hinder/Block” strategy and defined it as hindering either physically by blocking the interactant’s way/passage or communicatively by denying his turn and interrupting. Bousfield (2007) differentiates this strategy from Culpeper’s “Invading the Other’s Space” by claiming that “Invading the Other’s Space” mainly affects the relationship between the interactants whereas blocking stops the interactant from taking a turn. So blocking primarily affects the flow of the interaction and, hence, threatens the target’s freedom of action as well as their need for approval in that it both stops the target from taking a turn and indicates that their

views are not wanted, welcome, or valued. As it is clear, it is not possible to apply this strategy in computer mediated communication.

3.3.8. Put the Other's Indebtedness on Record

This strategy was also presented by Culpeper (1996) and was regarded as a potential impoliteness strategy by Bousfield (2007). However it was not realized in Bousfield's corpus. This strategy was not observed in my corpus either. This situation is again related with the fact that in both Bousfield's and my corpus people do not know each other very well, they are neither friends nor intimates. In such relationships, it is not probable that one has done a favour or helped the other to use this against the beneficiary in a conflict situation as a face threatening act.

3.3.9. Withholding Politeness

Culpeper (1996) suggests that impoliteness may also be realized as "the absence of politeness work where it would be expected" (p. 357). Bousfield (2007) gives the example in which S[peaker]1 thanks to S2 and S2 replies "I don't thank you at all"; and he claims "in breaking the expectations of the adjacency pair, in refusing to reciprocate thanks, S2's on record withholding of politeness is highly marked" (p. 123). In my data no such marked case is observed.

Unless it is marked, instances of "withholding politeness" are not easy to identify. Especially in forum conversation, it is very difficult to say when one member withholds politeness and whether or not it is meant as impoliteness. There are cases in which one member thanks or shows his/her respect to the other member and the other party does not reply to these messages.

[17] DİPNOT: *Açıklamalarınız ve tespitleriniz için Teşekkürler sevgiliLostsouL... Çok güzel ifade etmişsiniz..*

Thanks for your explanations and detections dear Lostsoul. You expressed it very well.

In the example, the member Dipnot thanks to the member Lostsoul for his explanations and detections, but the member Lostsoul does not send a reply to this message. However it is not safe to take this as an instance of withholding politeness, as this is a forum conversation and not a simultaneous face to face conversation there might be other reasons behind the member Lostsoul's silence to it. As there is no marked case for withholding politeness and due to the uncertainty of the other cases because of the nature of the data, I did not take "Withholding Politeness" as an impoliteness strategy realized in the data.

3.3.10. Criticise- Dispraise H[earer], Some Action or Inaction by H, or Some Entity in which H has Invested Face

Bousfield (2007) suggests this strategy to explain the utterances that are not covered by Culpeper's (1996) strategies. His argumentation depends on Leech's (1983) Politeness Principle. Leech's PP states: Minimize dispraise of other; Maximize praise of other. So, he claims criticism that which maximizes dispraise of the other must be powerfully impolite. Considering the data set studied here and the proposed impoliteness strategies so far, it is worth noting that criticism is either a part of other impolite strategies (Challenging, Explicitly Associate the Other with a Negative Aspect, Condescend/Scorn/Ridicule, Seeking Disagreement) or can underlie other strategies (Accusing the Hearer of Distorting Speaker's Words, Seeking Disagreement, Patronizing, Sarcasm/Mock politeness). So, there does not seem to be any reason to take criticism as a separate impoliteness strategy.

3.3.11. Enforce Role Shift

First presented by Bousfield (2007) as a negative face threatening impoliteness strategy, it works by forcing the target out of his/her social and/or discoursal role into another. It was realized in Bousfield's corpus in the context where a clumper who is clamping an illegally parked car says "I am just doing my job" and the owner of the car replies that as "I am asking you as a person don't you think this is a bit stupid?" So, Bousfeld claims that the owner of the car forces the clumper to shift out of his role as a "representative and mouthpiece for the local council and enforce the role of private citizen" (p. 132). However, it might also be claimed that enforcing role shift does not always lead to impoliteness. It might be interpreted as forcing the interactant to look at the situation from a different angle. What makes the utterance "I am asking you as a person don't you think this is a bit stupid?" impolite seems to be the use of the taboo word "stupid" and also the speaker's challenge to the hearer through the rhetorical question "don't you think this is a bit stupid?". Enforcing role shift is not observed in my data and clearer examples seem to be needed to define this strategy as an impolite speech act.

In this chapter, the impoliteness strategies that function to aggravate, attack, and threaten the face needs of the interlocutors instead of attending to them are described. In the analysis, the model of impoliteness (Culpeper 1996, 2005; Bousfield, 2007) is applied to the forum conversation data and the results are discussed. As it has been presented, Culpeper (1996, 2003, 2005) and Bousfield's (2007) model gives the basic understanding in defining and explaining the impoliteness strategies applied in the data; however some additional strategies are seen to be necessary to explain the data set here and some of the definitions of impoliteness strategies given by Culpeper (1996, 2003, 2005) are reformulated.

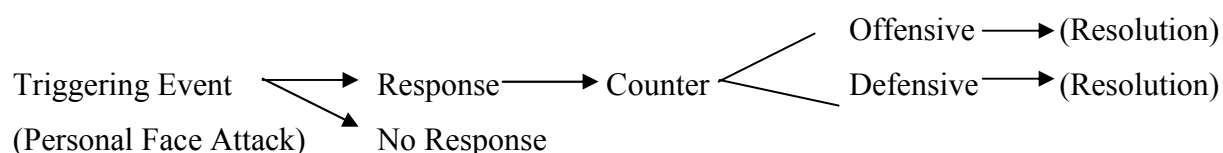
CHAPTER IV. THE DYNAMICS OF THE IMPOLITE INTERACTIONS

In this chapter the dynamics of impoliteness in other words how impolite exchanges are triggered, develop and resolve will be investigated. First, I will examine how impoliteness begins; what kinds of speech acts trigger the impolite sequence, and what precedes this triggering event in computer mediated communication. Secondly, how impoliteness pan out; what kind of reaction options are observed in a conflict situation will be examined. Finally the question of how a conflict situation comes to a resolution will be answered.

In the data set studied here, nine conversational threads are identified. Generally members do not answer impolite speech acts directed at them. This might be related with the fact that the forum conversation is not a simultaneous speech situation. The member might not be available to post an answer to the face threatening act directed at him/her, or they might choose not to respond, since the risk of losing face is relatively lower.

Among nine conversational threads, only two of them sustain more than four turns; others include four or less turns. The general picture can be summarized as members convey their personal views on the headscarf issue followed by a columnist's column in the newspaper. When criticized by another member, they either respond or ignore it. If they respond to this face threatening act, I take these turns as a conversational thread in which impoliteness occurs. I take the first face attack on another member's views as the triggering event, the response to this face threatening event as the development phase and, if they terminate the conflict, I take the conflict termination point as the resolution phase (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Development of Impolite Speech Act



All these phases will be investigated successively.

4.1. Triggering Event

Culpeper (2003) and Bousfield (2007) underline that impoliteness does not happen out of the blue, it has to be triggered by a previous event, the interlocutor that resorts to impoliteness must have been provoked by an antecedent event or a speech act. Impoliteness does not exist in a vacuum, it is context-dependent. What I will discuss in this section is the type of the phenomena that can be seen as the triggering event. Bousfield (2007) lists the most salient elements of the offending events:

- 1) The Offender: (Age, Sex, Status, Ethnic Group, Physical Appearance, Social-Physical Setting, Self as Wrongdoer, Non Human Wrongdoer)
- 2) The Event: (Behaviour, Language, (Perception) of Intentionality, Damage (p. 183).

In my data the parameters are different from Bousfield's (2007) data. As the data here is extracted from written interaction in an internet forum, age, sex, status, ethnic group, physical appearance, behavior of the interlocutors, and social-physical setting are irrelevant. However, here only the language, that is to say, a comment incites a conflict. Intentionality again is not a parameter here as all the comments are literal and intentional. The members can convey their views mockingly or through sarcasm, however, the criticisms are clearly inferred.

In Bousfield's (2007) terms damage can only mean physical damage, either through physical pain or through waste of money, time, and energy. Here the damage can be measured according to what kind of impoliteness strategies are used to attack the face, how personal the attacks are, and how strong the arguments are to refute to other party's claims. So, the picture in the forum conversation seems to be highly different from the picture in face-to-face conversation.

In the data, comments about headscarf and related issues typically function as an antecedent event which leads to a triggering event. A triggering event arises when one of the members attacks the face of another member through criticizing his/her view by applying one of the impoliteness strategies, as in the following example:

[18a.] **POLİTİKA** *Avrupa Avrupa diyoruz hep ama onlar bile Türklere birseyleri yakistiramiyorlar,örneğin adam gibi giyinip tertemiz tras olan birisi ben Türküm dediginde adamlar önce sakamı yapıyorsun diyorlar,yok dediginizde söyle bir bakıyorlar hayatta inanmam diyorlar.Artık kimlik gösterirseniz ancak o zaman inanıyorlar ama bu seferde diyorlarki bravo bize uyum saglamissiniz.*

We keep on envying Europe however Europeans do not deem us worthy, for example when a Turk shaves and dresses properly and says that he is a Turk they ask first whether he is kidding and when he answers no they say they cannot believe this. Only when he shows his ID then they believe him. But then they congratulate him as he is adapted to them.

Here the member Politika expresses his views on how Europeans consider Turks. In his comment we see a general criticism about how Turks misrepresent themselves to Europe because of the headscarf, beard, moustache, beads... In his criticism there is no personal face threatening act to any member in particular. However, the use of *siz* the second person plural pronoun in the description of the behavior of a seemingly ‘atypical’ Turk, nonetheless, sets up an opposition. This comment can be taken as an antecedent to a triggering event, although it is not personal, any member who is happy with the Turkish image that the member Politika depicts negatively might be offended by this comment.

[18b.] **SIYASET** *İyi de be güzel kardeşim senin o yadırgadığın bıyık bizim kültürümüzde olan bir şey 'osmanlı bıyığı' krallar gibi biz avrupalı değiliz. Biz Türk'üz sakalımızla bıyığımızla tespihimizle biz buyuz....*

Well, my dear brother, our moustache that you belittle is in the very heart of our culture “ottoman moustache” royally we are not Europeans. We are Turks with our beard, moustache and bead.

The member Siyaset takes Politika’s comments as a personal criticism as he thinks the beard, bead and so on are part of ‘our’ national identity and ‘we should not give them up as we are Turks and not Europeans’. In contrast to *siz* the second person plural pronoun in the antecedent message, the repetitive use of first person plural in this message picks up and develops the division between ‘you’ and ‘us.’ His comment here operates as the triggering

event which is combined with impoliteness strategy patronizing through the addressing term *be güzel kardeşim*.

The triggering event leads to another response on the other party's side. Impoliteness is recursive, so these responses might bring about counter responses that are either offensive or defensive. The response options to a triggering event will be investigated in the following 'Development' section. In effect, the triggering event is the response of an interlocutor who takes a member's views as personal criticism and responds to them with offending impoliteness strategies aimed to damage the face of the interlocutor.

4.2. Development

Research on politeness strategies has tended to ignore the hearer's response, and this makes the politeness theory inadequate as the response to an utterance can reveal much about the utterance itself. As for the theories regarding impoliteness; the response options are studied in detail. Bousfield (2007, 2008) and Culpeper (2003) investigated in depth response options to a face threatening act. They claimed that when a recipient of an utterance perceives an FTA, they have two options open to them: they can choose either to respond or not to respond. Culpeper (2003) claims that the option of not responding to an FTA is not quite common. However it is worth noting that he was looking solely at data from car-parking disputes and the lack of Do not Respond Strategy might be related with the nature of his data. In Bousfield's (2004) data set which was collected from army training, staying silent was quite common and was especially applied by recruits who were in lower positions. As for my data set, it is very difficult to decide in forum conversation whether staying silent is applied deliberately or just because the recipient is not available or does not prefer to respond to the FTA directed to him/her.

Counter strategies have been classified into two groups: (i) offensive strategies: which counter face attack with another face attack. (ii) defensive strategies: which defend one's own face (Culpeper et al., 2003; Bousfield 2007). It is important to note that these strategies are not mutually exclusive. Culpeper notes "offensive strategies have, to some degree, the secondary goal of defending the face of the responder; defensive strategies have, to some degree, the secondary goal of offending the face of the speaker of the original impoliteness act" (2003, p. 1563). So, an impolite face attack can either be met with an impolite counter attack by using one of the impoliteness strategies or with a defense. There might be also cases in which both offensive and defensive strategies are applied at the same time. Bousfield lists the defense strategies as follows:

- Direct Contradiction a.k.a inversion: It works by providing a simple denial of the propositional content of FTA made by the interlocutor.
- Abrogation (social and/or discoursal role-switching): It works by denying personal responsibility for the offending act either by abrogating the responsibility on a higher authority or underlining that the interlocutor is merely acting in a representative role. In Bousfield's terms "...abrogation by social role switching is just like saying, 'I'm not to blame, I'm just following the orders!'" whilst abrogation by discoursal role switching is like saying 'Don't shoot the messenger!'.
- Dismiss: make light of face damage, joke: It works by dismissing the face attack as trivial and/or non-damaging.
- Ignore the face attack (whether explicit or implied), offer insincere agreement: It works by responding the face attack positively by either submitting to it or by offering an insincere agreement or by completely ignoring it.
- Offer an account / explanation: It works either by introducing mitigating facts concerning the triggering event which has caused one's interlocutor to be impolite in

the first place or retracting or by showing his/her action issued erroneously in the first place.

- Plead: It is a theoretical defense option as it has not been applied by any data set studied for impoliteness so far. By pleading the interactant damages his/her own positive face in order to avoid the greater face damage.
- Opt out on record: The interlocutor may prefer not to join the conversation as a defense strategy.
- Treat the situation as a different ‘activity type’: It works when the interactant shifts the context from one “activity type (in which the linguistic lexemes and structures used could be construed as being impolite) into another activity type (where the selfsame lexemes and structures used are not construed as being impolite).

Of the nine threads identified in the data, only two were resolved and other the seven threads were left unresolved. In all of these nine threads offensive strategies (impoliteness strategies discussed in Chapter III) were preferred.

In the following text, Politika responds to Siyaset’s comments given in the example 18b.

- [19] POLİTİKA: *Bana birisi hemen cevap yetistirmis ve kendisini babasini Türk olarak nitelemis ve biyik sakal tespih Türklerin gelenekleridir demis,kocaman bir palavra. Biyik sakal tespih Türk geleneginde degil bütün dünya uluslarinin geleneginde olan bir seydir.Tesbih gelenek degildir tespih sadece bir sayma makinesidir,aklinda sayilari tutamayanlari hiristiyanlardan kopyalanmis tespih kullanmalarini Türklere mal etmek gercekten bilimden yoksun bir iddiadir. Burada anlatmak istedigimi saniyorum ki bana cevap yetistirmekte yaris eden birisi anlayamamistir,anlayabilmiş olsa idi bana öyle anlamsız bir elestiri yapmazdi.Tabiiki anlayis önemli bir seydir,herkes okur ama kimi tersinden anlar kimi bilmem neresinden anlar. Bu bir kabiliyet isidir. Bizi Avrupada ortacagdan kalma bir toplum olarak kimlerin göstermeye calistigini biz cok iyi bilmekteyiz. Müslümanligi bahane ederek sirk kackinlari gibi ortaliga dökülmek bizim Avrupada yasayan ve Cankaya resepsiyonunda göründükleri gibi giyinmeyi müslümanlik sanan Türklere has bir özelliktir.Kendini caga uydurmus,adam gibi giyinip görünüsü ile adama benzeyenleri yukarida anlatmaya*

calistigim sözüüm ona müslümanlar pek adam yerine koymazlar cünkü kendileri gibi görünmemektedirler.

Somebody rushed to answer my message and called himself and his father as Turks and claimed that moustache, beard and beads are in our culture... crap... Moustache and beard are not only in our culture but in all cultures of the world. Bead is not a tradition it is a counting machine, to claim that Turks took beads from Christians is a non-scientific. Somebody who rushed to answer my comment could not understand what I really meant here, if he could have understood he would not have made such a meaningless criticism. Of course conception is an important thing; everybody can read but some understand wrong and some understand I do not know from where. It is related with capacity. We know very well who wants to portray Turks as a medieval society in Europe. It is special to Turks who live in Europe and think that dressing as they show up at Cankaya Reception is being a Muslim, to dress clown-like by using Islam as an excuse. These so called Muslims do not respect to ones who dress properly and look modern because they look different.

The member Siyaset's face attack in example 18 is met with an impolite offence in the example 19. Here the member Politika employs the strategy 'Condescend, Scorn or Ridicule the other' by regarding the member Siyaset's views as 'nonsense and unscientific'. He explicitly mocks him by stating that the 'capacity to understand what has been said is not bestowed upon everybody'. He also applies the strategy 'Explicitly Associate the Other with a Negative Aspect' as well by accusing the other party of misrepresenting Turks in Europe, of making Turks look ridiculous, "clown-like", and calling this being religious. He also portrays them as 'so called Muslims' who discriminate those dressed in a modern fashion. So, he associates their behavior with discriminatory actions. Here, the example above presents an Offensive-Offensive Pairing.

4.3. Resolution

As for how impoliteness is resolved, Vuchinich (1990) identified five types of conflict terminations which were adopted by Bousfield (2007). These are (1) Submission to Opponent, (2) Dominant Third Party Intervention, (3) Compromise, (4) Stand-Off, (5) Withdrawal.

Vuchinich (1990) explains Submission to Opponent as a resolution in which one participant yields to the other party's position. He suggests that submissions are generally indirect rather than overt. He describes Dominant Third Party Intervention as a resolution in which the conflict is terminated by a third party usually having some power over the participants. In Compromise one of the participants "offers a position that is between the opposing positions that define the dispute" (p. 126). However he also underlines that compromise does not always lead to conflict termination; it rather establishes a middle ground which may still oppose the other's position. Only when the concession offered is accepted by the opponent party can the conflict terminate. So, compromise includes two slots: "(1) concession offering and (2) assent, which accepts the offering" (p. 127). Stand-off happens when the participants change the topic instead of carrying on the conflict which does not seem to go anywhere. With withdrawal one of the participants leaves the conversation or the area. Withdrawal generally happens when one of the participants gets too distressed to continue the conflict. However it can also be used strategically to discredit the other party.

In Vuchinich's (1990) data which was taken from family dinner conversations, "stand-off" was most frequently used as a conflict termination (66 %). He explains this by the fact that in 'stand-off' no participant loses face; hence stand-off is the easiest way to end a conflict since it does not require the level of coordination, consensus, or self-sacrifice associated with compromise or dominance. Withdrawal is, on the other hand, the least applied strategy which is called "disruptive termination format" by Vuchinich as it halts the communication completely (p. 135). As for my data, only two conflict threads come to a resolution point, one by withdrawal" and the other by compromise. The following example illustrates the resolution by compromise.

[20] SIYASET: *Türkiyedeki Feminizm bile anti demokratik yaw*

Even feminism is antidemocratic in Turkey.

DİPNOT: *Yok yaw...Sen kadını çuvala sokan, ikinci sınıf vatandaş yerine koyan, haklarını kısıtlayan, herşeyi ile baskı altına alıp onu köle gibi kullanan ve 4 kadına kadar izin veren dinsel yapılanmayı/özlemcilerini yok say, insan haklarına saygısı olmayan, korku ve kompleks duygularıyla ona göz açtırmayan/kapatan anlamsız zihniyeti görmezden gel, Kal burada antidemokratik uyguluma konularında bahsetmeye kendine hak gör...*
Yok ya...

Yok yaw... You are the one who is ignoring the religious structure/system and its supporters who cover women with a piece of cloth, treat them as second rate citizens, limit their rights, use them as slaves by oppressing them and by allowing 4 wives to a man. You remain blind to a mentality that does not have any respect for human rights that oppresses and covers women because of its own fears and complexities, at the same time you are the one who thinks that you have the right to talk about antidemocratic executions. .. Yok ya

SIYASET: *eee Arkadas bisi dicem sen hic dindar bi aileyle yasadınmi gördünmü yasadıklarını benim kuzenim dindar kapalı ama unv.. mezunu kendi istegiyle kapandı baba baskısı olmadan hem inan istedigini kadar da özgürdü taki unv. atıldığı için türbanlıdır die, Belcikada bitirdi şimdi sana diyorum özgürlüğü kim verdi ya da vermedi söylersin... kim kime özgürlük vermiyor annesimi babasını senin sistemin mi ? Feminizmi bile kendi menfatinize göre yorumluyorsunuz...?*

Well, my friend I would like to say something... have you ever live with a religious family, have you seen what they experience. My cousin is a religious person, she wears headscarf, she is a university graduate and she wears headscarf voluntarily without any family pressure and believe me she was so independent till she was dismissed from the university just because she wore a headscarf. She completed her degree in Belgium. Now I am asking you who limits freedom; is it your system, her mother or her father??? You interpret even feminism according your to own benefits.

DİPNOT: *Arkadaşım bakıyorum yazılarına.. Sanıyorum bir sistem takıntısı var sizde tutturmuşsunuz sizin sisteminiz vs... Soruyorum...*
Siz hangi alternatif sistem özlemi içindisiniz...
Lütfen söylersiniz...

My friend I am looking at your messages

I think you have a regime obsession. You keep on saying your system etc... I want to ask which alternative system you are yearning for. Can you please tell me/us?

SİYASET: Ben ne şeriatticiyim ne de Kemalist... kavramları kendi çıkarlarınıza göre yorumlamalarınız benim canımı sıkıyor ben ne şeriatticiyim ne de Kemalist... benim elestirdiğim budur.... (İslam dinine çok sempati duyorum sonradan inanan ve kalben anne babanın öğrettiği dışında, kendi dogrumu bulduguma inanıyorum ama bu benim sosyalist olmama engel diil sanırım...) budur vaziyetim Marks'ıda okurum İbni Rüşd'ü de....

I am neither a Kemalist nor a follower of Islamic Law. What I am angry at is your tendency to interpret concepts according to your benefits. This is what I criticize. (I feel sympathy for Islam and I have faith to it although I gained this faith later on in my life. I believe that I found what is true myself except what my family taught me and I do not think this prevents me from being a socialist). I can read both Marx and Ibni Rusd.

*DİPNOT: Ne kadar yanılgı içindesin, ne kadar...
Yaşını bilmiyorum ama...
Bu yutturmacaya kaptırmış gibisin..
Maalesef bahsettiğiniz konu Sosyalistlerle, Marksistlerin İttifak arayışı ise hem çok komik hem de geleneğe bir ihanettir...
Son olarak size bir önerim var ve Marks'ın diyalektiğini iyi okumanı tavsiye edebilirim... Haydi kolaylıklar... Saygılar..*

You are totally wrong.
I do not know how old you are but you seem to be fooled.
If you are talking about a collaboration of Socialists with Marxists it is, unfortunately, both ridiculous and a betrayal to the tradition. Finally, I have a suggestion for you. I suggest you read Marx's t Dialectic and read it well. Regards

Example 20 illustrates that the member Dipnot's first FTA to the member Siyaset acts as the triggering event for impoliteness. Then they respond to each other in offensively, using various impoliteness strategies. However, the last response of Siyaset could be evaluated as a concession. Vuchinich (1990) regards concession as a critical move in compromise. "In a concession a participant offers a position that is between the opposing positions that define the conflict. A concession does not give in to the other position but rather establishes a middle ground which moves towards the other position but still opposes it" (p. 126). His statement

that he neither supports the reforms of Ataturk nor Islamic Law and he can read both Marx and Ibn-i Rusd can be regarded as a concession. By this statement the member Siyaset obviously tries to find a middle ground however he does not submit to the other party as he clearly announces that what he is angry at is Dipnot's tendency to interpret the concepts as he likes. According to Vuchinich, (1990), concessions usually function as a pre-closing. Here again his concession acts as a pre-closing which signals that he is ready to end the conflict but is unwilling to submit. His concession is accepted by the member Dipnot as he responds in a somewhat friendlier way; he tries to explain Siyaset's impression is mistaken, however, instead of applying any impoliteness strategy, he makes suggestions to teach and correct his views. Thus, the conflict terminates in a more conciliatory tone.

In example [21] the member Mavi Olmayan Gök withdraws from the discussion with the member Muki after a succession of offensive strategies applied by both parties. In the example the member Mavi Olmayan Gök announces that he is withdrawing from the conflict by expressing that discussing these issues with the other members has been a nice experience for him.

- [21] MAVİ OLMAYAN GÖK: *Bu tanınmış gelenekler nelerdir daha doğrusu neleri kavramsallaştırır.Yeni bir çağ yeni fomatları gerektirdiği su götürmez bir gerçek olmakla birlikte siz de takdir edersiniz ki zaten din genel anlamda bir değişimi barındırmasa dahi,gerekli gördüğü yeni çağa ait yeni formatları kendi iç dinamiklerinde barındırır. Sizlerle bunları tartışmak oldukça güzel ve doyurucuydu.Hepinize saygılar...*

What are these known traditions and what do they conceptualize? It is indisputable that our modern age requires new formats; however as you know even if religion does not hold changes in general sense, it has the new formats in its inner dynamics according to the age. It was a pleasure to discuss these with you. Respects

Following his opinions on the topic, Mavi Olmayan Gök concludes with an evaluative comment on the overall discussion, echoing cliché statements of public debates and closes his entry with a formal leave taking formula. With this statement Mavi Olmayan Gök blocks all

the potential comments that might be directed to him later. By doing so, he also eliminates the possibility of giving in as Vuchinich claims “getting in the last word does not win a conflict but it does show that you haven’t given in or submitted” (p. 133).

As can be seen from the examples discussed above, Vuchinich’s claim that all conflicts come to an end either with resolution, consensus, and joking or with overt hostility, physical violence, or withdrawal from the interaction does not seem to hold for forum conversations. Example [22] illustrates the general pattern of forum discussions in which the conflict is not solved.

In example [22] the member ERBAY’s reply to another member triggers the conflict which does not come to a resolution point.

[22] ERBAY: *dinsiz olduktan sonra 1000 kere hacca gitsen ne olur...*

If you are an atheist, it will not make a difference even if you go on the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1000 times.

DİPNOT: *Dinsizler insan değilmi arkadaşım... Din sahibi olmak sizi çok mu insan yapıyor.. Ayrıcalık mı katıyor...*

Aren’t atheists human? Does having a religion make you more human? Does it give you a privilege?

ERBAY: *dinsizler insan değildir demedik ki. sen bunu sorarsan bende sana türbanlılar insan değilmi diye sorarım ya işte böyle sakız gibi uzar gider sen bana gerici dersin eşime kızıma türbanlı dersin gereken sınıflandırmayı yaparsın elinden geldiği kadar alay edersin benim saygı gösterdiğim şeylere, ondan sonrada niye dinsiz diyosunuz bu size ayrıcalıklımı katıyo falan dersin... çok komik gerçekten...*

We did not say atheists are not human. If you ask this, I will ask you aren’t people wearing headscarf human? And the discussion goes on like this not going anywhere. You call me reactionary, my wife and my daughter turbaned make your categorization, make fun of things that I respect and then ask does being religious make you more privileged. It is really ridiculous.

Here, as opposed to face to face conversation, members might not feel forced to resolve the conflict. Each member conveys their opinions about the related issue and after expressing what they want to say, they might not feel forced to follow or resolve the conflict.

The dynamics of impoliteness in CMC seem to posit a different picture those that of face-to-face conversation. Although in CMC, the triggering event which gives rise to conflictive illocutions should be preceded by an antecedent event as in face to face conversation, the options which appear to be open to interlocutors in a conflict situation and the conflict terminations of the impoliteness in CMC seem to be less varied and less productive.

CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Throughout this study the core research question has been the nature of impoliteness in CMC: how it is realized and how it is triggered, developed and resolved. Impoliteness has been defined as the opposite of politeness, in that, rather than seeking to mitigate FTAs, it constitutes the issuing of intentionally conflictive verbal FTAs which are performed unmitigated and sometimes with deliberate aggression to heighten the face damage inflicted. The data was collected from a forum interaction which consists on an array of topics where users post and reply to other postings, articles and news. In this sense the CMC dealt with here is asynchronous and text-based.

In this study it has been argued that the impoliteness strategies and dynamics of impoliteness in CMC are different from those of face-to-face conversation. In this chapter the questions of how and why impoliteness in CMC is dissimilar will be investigated; and based on these dissimilarities and their explanations, some reformulations of both politeness and impoliteness theories will be suggested.

5.1. Impoliteness Strategies

5.1.1. Negative Face

In the data studied here, 193 FTAs are identified in total, only one of them is realized as off-record impoliteness and the remaining 192 are on-record impoliteness strategies. Among on-record politeness strategies 168 are applied to attack positive face and only 24 attack the negative face. The impoliteness strategies used to attack the positive face of the addressee outnumbers the negative impoliteness strategies significantly. In other words, negative face does not seem to be highly recognized in the data here. The reason for this maybe twofold: the fact that negative face is not credited as much as positive face might be related with the nature of CMC or with the Turkish culture.

Positive face is associated with proximity and belonging whereas negative face is associated with distance and individuation. Cultures vary according to the prominence of these values. In Hoppe's (1998) study, Turkey and Greece have the close level on the scale of individualism. Greece's mean score is 35, and Turkey's mean score is 37, while Great Britain's score is 89 and that of United States is 91. (Bayraktaroglu & Sifianou 2002). This indicates that both Greece and Turkey are more collectivist than individualist cultures. Zeyrek (2002) also claims that relatedness and group consciousness are central aspects of Turkish culture. Likewise, Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) claims that Turkish culture has closely-knit social and familial structure. In a cross-cultural study Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) states that as opposed to what sociologists claim, the modern age has not caused the separation and individuation of family members; instead the family interdependence and a family culture of relatedness prevail in the Turkish society. Bayraktaroğlu (2002), claims that advice giving in Turkish, first and foremost, involves sharing and solidarity (instead of a negative face threat), provided that there is a close relationship between the interlocutors and social distance between the speakers does not act as a deterring factor. The studies cited so far support the idea that Turkish culture is indeed more positive face oriented. However, as the following studies indicate, such a generalization cannot be maintained without making allowances for other factors such as institutional identities and the weight of imposition.

In a comparative study of indirectness and politeness in Turkish-German bilingual and Turkish monolingual requests, Martı (2003) found out that Turkish monolingual speakers seemed to prefer more direct strategies in request compared to German speakers. On the other hand, Turkish monolingual speakers tend to prefer not to make requests at all in some cases (Martı, 2006). Considering that avoidance of an FTA is more indirect than either on-record or off-record strategies, Turkish monolingual speakers seem to prefer the most indirect strategy, hence they can be said to be more negative face oriented in some cases.

Doğançay-Aktuna & Kamışlı (2002) also studied linguistic expression of correction and disagreement which threaten the positive face of the hearer when performed by a super-ordinate to subordinate, in Turkish and found out that professors were quite direct giving corrections to their students and they applied bold-on-record strategies most of the time without any redressive strategies. Doğançay-Aktuna & Kamışlı (2002) claim that this might be related with the pedagogic role the professors assume in the classroom; they duty is to correct to statements so they do not take their corrections as FTAs. However bosses are quite indirect expressing their disagreements or corrections. Then, even in the same culture, there might be different manifestations of politeness appealing either negative or positive face according to the socio-cultural context.

Ide (2005), Yu (2003), Bharuthram (2003), Ukosakul (1999), Pizziconi (2002), among others, have claimed that there are communities in which the respect and the prestige of the community are much more important than freedom of action. Negative face is not much credited in these cultures and even for positive face; the motivation is to avoid the condemnation of the society rather than to be liked by others. In this light, it can be claimed that Brown and Levinson's so called West oriented face might be too individualistic and self-oriented for Turkish culture in which the face seems to be more communal and interpersonal. However, as has been already observed, no culture is exclusively collectivist or individualist; consequently, no culture can be solely positive face oriented or negative face oriented (Bayraktaroğlu & Sifianou, 2002).

Further research on both politeness and impoliteness in face to face and computer interaction in Turkish is needed for the comprehensive analysis of positive and negative face in Turkish.

5.1.2. On Versus Off- Record Impoliteness

In the data, 11 impoliteness strategies are identified; 10 of them are realized as on-record and only one of them is realized as off-record impoliteness in the form of sarcasm strategy. Culpeper (1996) defines sarcasm as “the performance of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realizations” (p. 356). When we consider Culpeper’s criteria that an utterance can only be regarded as impolite when the speaker means to attack the face of the hearer and the hearer evaluates it so, the problem of whether sarcasm is always evaluated as offensive by the hearer emerges. Culpeper suggests that the hearer decides that the sarcastic utterance aims to attack the face by means of implicature. However, how can we be sure that the hearer interprets the sarcastic utterance as impolite, as two levels of interpretations might be possible? As example 16 (repeated here) presents:

- [16] MAVİ OLMAYAN GÖK: *Ben benim için Laiklik nedir sorusuna yanıt getirdim de dinsizlik demedim.Arkadaşım beni nasıl anladın bilmiyorum ama ben kapalı da değilim.Sadece hak ve hukuk diyorum.Ya laiklik bir din veya doğrudan yönetim şekli değil bana göre...Bu arada biz ne zamandan beri Arap ülkelerini örnek alıyoruz?Merakımı mazur görün.*

I answered the question of what secularism is for my part, but I did not call it atheism. My friend, I do not now how you understand me but I do not wear a headscarf either. I am just asking for justice and equity. For me, secularism is not a religion or a governing system.... By the way since when we do take Arab countries as models? Excuse my curiosity.

After such harsh criticism, the member Mavi Olmayan Gök’s apology *merakımı mazur görün* ‘excuse my curiosity’ might be perfectly evaluated as sarcastic. However, it is still possible to assess this apologetic remark as a face enhancement by the member Mavi Olmayan Gök to mitigate his criticism. In face-to-face conversation, it is easier to identify whether the utterance enhances the face attack or saves the face of the hearer with the help of contextualization cues such as gestures, intonation mimics and gaze. However in CMC, where nonverbal cues are absent, it is an intriguing task to decide whether the speaker really meant

to attack the face of the hearer. It is also important to know the relation between the speaker and the hearer to assess the utterance as a sincere impolite face attack or is superficially impolite. Multiple interpretations are an inalienable feature of communication and one interpretation can displace the others in the flow of communication.

Thus, only the flow of the interaction, the speaker's utterance and the hearer's response to this utterance determines whether the utterance is polite or impolite. Both the production of the behavior and the evaluation of it by the hearer are indispensable as they constitute the two sides of the communicative process. Brown and Levinson's (1987) speaker biased face-work view which is realized by the rational speaker who foresees the hearer's reactions and formulates his/her utterance in such a way that any threat to the hearer's face is either removed or mitigated does not seem to hold for the data here. However in the model suggested here, as Culpeper (2003, 2005) and Bousfield (2007) claim as well, there are two sides of (im)politeness: the production and the evaluation; (im)politeness occurs not so much when the speaker produces the behavior but the hearer evaluates it so. Thus, the face-work required here should be different from the one suggested by Brown and Levinson (1987). Here not the participants but the flow of the interaction constructs the face-work. Goffman (1967) suggests that face is more than a speaker's verbal behavior "the person's face is clearly something that is not lodged in or on his body, but rather something that is diffusely located in the flow of events in the encounter..." (p. 7). In this sense, Goffman's face does not allow any mind reading as face here has not been bestowed upon the individual but is performed during the conversation. We can only deduce that the utterance aims to attack the face of the hearer by looking at the interaction, by response of the hearer to this utterance.

5.1.3. The Most Frequently Applied Strategy: Challenging

When we consider the impoliteness strategies in the data; challenging with 74 instances, is the most frequently applied strategy. It is realized as rhetorical questions and the reason why it overwhelmingly outnumbers the other strategies is that challenging is realized through a list of rhetorical questions instead of just one question and each question is counted as one instance. Recall the example [1] repeated below in which the member challenges the view of the addressee by a number of rhetorical questions.

- [1] NİZAMOĞLU: *Burada değinmek istediğim bir iki nokta var. İnsanların başlarını örtmeleri onların sığındıkları bir ideoloji, umut bağlanacak bir materyal değildir. Başörtüsü insanların inançları gereği, benimsemiş oldukları giyim biçimidir. Bu başörtüsünü benim hanımım takınca bu Cumhuriyet onun ve benim Cumhuriyetim olmuyor da, senin mi Cumhuriyetin oluyor?*

I would like to emphasize two points here. Wearing a headscarf is not an ideology that people take refuge in, nor a material that offers hope. Does this mean that when my wife wears headscarf this republic becomes your republic but not mine and hers?

DİPNOT: *Sizin laiklik anlayışınız ne peki... İnsanların üniversite gibi bir misyon yüklenilen bir yerde çarşaf, türban, burka, sıkımbaş, çembersakal giyinmek ile tekke ve zeviyelerde eğitim görüp cihat ile etmekmi... Askeri kurumlarda çarık giyip, çenber sakalla dolaşmak, tam savaşın ortasında namaz durmak mı...*

What is your understanding of secularism then...
Is it wearing headscarf, turban, burkha, jilbab in an institution like the university which has a mission, being educated in dervish lodges and making jihad, fighting for religion....
Roaming in a military institution with beards and sandals, performing the prayers in the middle of war....

Koshik (2003) claims that both wh- and yes/no questions are able to challenge because “rather than asking for new information, they are used to convey a strong epistemic stance of the questioner, a negative assertion” (p. 51). The reason why these kinds of challenging are realized through a list of questions instead of one is that they not only question what the speaker said before but the epistemic stance of the speaker (Koshik, 2003). In the example above the member Dipnot does not answer the member Nizamoğlu’s challenges but rather he

questions what he has envisaged as appropriate to his ideology. The member Nizamoğlu does not claim “wearing headscarf, turban, burkha, jilbab in an institution like the university, roaming in a military institution with beards and sandals, performing the prayers in the middle of war” means secularism; but the member Dipnot questions here all of his ideological stance with these claims that, he presumes were entailed by Nizamoğlu’s beliefs. Challenges in the form of questions do not simply deny the prior claim but the grounds for prior claim, implying that there are no adequate grounds (Koshik, 2003)

These challenges in the form of questions are designed as requests for an account for a prior claim or action, but by conveying a negative assertion, they also suggest that there is no adequate account available. Although these utterances are designed as questions, they are not designed to make the answers relevant because the questions are also irrelevant to prior claim, so there is no need for the speaker to allow for answers to be given. So, the speaker can list his challenges without restraint. Another reason that challenging is applied in rounds might stem from the fact that it enhances the face damage. As they are more than what the speaker has claimed, they are more difficult to refute since the refutation would involve providing the grounds which the questioner implies are unavailable.

5.2. The Dynamics of Impoliteness

5.2.1. Impoliteness is Recursive

When we consider the dynamics of impoliteness, the data indicate several important characteristics of impoliteness. One of them is that impoliteness is recursive. In the data all the triggering events are responded to impolitely. Any given response to an offending situation could itself be seen as a further triggering event, which could, in turn, lead to anger in the other party which could lead to the expression of new impolite utterances. To put it another way, when impoliteness is triggered, the impolite response could trigger another

expression of impoliteness in response and so on. Defense strategies are not observed in the data. In Bousfield (2003) and Culpeper (2004)'s data, defense was more frequently applied as a counter strategy. This can be accounted for by the nature of the data. As the studies regarding CMC have posited, although online community members typically do not use real names, thus hiding their identities, they act as if the forum itself is a kind of community to which they belong. In these communities in which the conversation is many-to-many with wider audience, impoliteness is more threatening than face-to-face conversation which is generally one-to-one. When we consider defense strategies, they aim to save one's own face in order to avoid greater face damage. It can be claimed that in face-to-face conversation, especially when there is no audience, these strategies are more applicable. However, in a forum environment there are multiple audiences to any given post. When a member replies to another comment, s/he is not only addressing the sender of the post but also all the other subscribers to the list (both the core group and also the lurkers). Every member can read the messages and evaluate the other members according to their responses so it is riskier for the member to apply defense strategies.

5.2.2. Combination of Strategies

Another important characteristic of the impolite responses is that most of the time the interlocutors combine more than one impoliteness strategy in their responses to an utterance. In fact, it is safe to claim that a combination of impoliteness strategies seems to be the norm in the data; in only a few cases, did a participant use a single strategy. However there is no clear pattern observed regarding how strategies are combined with one another.

5.2.3. No Resolution

In the data only two conflict threads out of nine came to resolution, one by withdrawal and the other by compromise. Leaving impolite sequences of interaction unresolved is not common in Vuchinich (1990) data, but his data come from family dinner conversation. The interactants were in close relationship, so they had to resolve the conflict somehow in order not to terminate the communication completely. However in forum conversations the obligation to resolve the conflict is not an issue.

5.3. Theoretical Issues Regarding Impoliteness in CMC

5.3.1. Politeness in CMC

As it has already been mentioned there are two theories regarding politeness in CMC; the Hyper-personal Communication Model and the Social Identity and De-individuation Model (SIDE). The Hyper-personal Communication Model presupposes that CMC enables computer users to reflect before they send their messages and to edit their messages; so CMC communicators can carefully craft how they present themselves. The Hyper-personal Model suggests that the conversation in CMC is more polite as the messages are more carefully thought, edited and thus more intentional. As opposed to Hyper-personal Communication Model, the SIDE theory predicts more impolite conversation in CMC because of the anonymity and isolation.

It is not safe to make a general claim that CMC is more or less polite than face to face conversation. The accepted norms of that community play crucial role here. The time provided by CMC to reflect and edit the messages can also be used to increase the face attack and the degree of impoliteness. As for the claim that anonymity and isolation leads to impoliteness, as some SIDE theorists argue, since the communicator is stripped of his / her identity during CMC interaction, it is easier for the interactant to adopt the group identity. As they have anonymity and are de-individuated “they do not see that they differ from one

another idiosyncratically, as would be apparent in FtF, they are more likely to experience their partners and interpret others' behaviours as reflecting group norms, which they value and which they themselves then adhere to" (Walther, 2004, p. 464). The interactant may become more or less polite than in face to face conversation according to the accepted norms in that community.

In the data used here, the members are discussing the headscarf issue which has been a heated debate topic for a long time as it has strong political connotations. Applying impoliteness strategies is not against the norms of this community. If this topic were discussed in another discussion group where, for example, academicians discussed the same topic, the results would be different as the norms of this community would be different. Accordingly, online community members adapt the online community's norms as interactional norms and follow these norms which might or might not be polite. Although the members typically do not use real names, thus hiding their identities, they act as if the forum itself is a kind of community to which they belong.

5.3.2. The Concept of Face

Face is the central theme in the impoliteness model presented here. In Culpeper (1996, 2003, 2005) and Bousfield's (2007) model, impoliteness is realized through deliberate attack of interlocutors' faces. Their concept of face is based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) face which consists of two opposing desires; the desire that one's actions be unimpeded by others; that is to say, negative face, and the desire to be approved of; positive face. However, some problems regarding Brown and Levinson's (1987) concept of face are present in Culpeper (1996, 2003, 2005) and Bousfield's (2007) model too and these problems should be addressed to explain the dissimilarities between impoliteness in face to face communication and impoliteness in CMC.

Cyber-society is a recent speech community which has its own social formations; and the face-work required is conceivably different from face to face interaction. The differences between the model suggested here and Culpeper (1996, 2003, 2005) and Bousfield's (2007) model stem from the differences in how they formulate the concept of face. It seems that the face-work required in CMC is much closer to Goffman's (1967) concept of face. Bargiela-Chiappini (2002) claims that Goffman's (1967) concept of face which is derived from Durkheim is diluted in Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory claims that most speech acts are inherently threaten either the hearer's or the speaker's face wants, and politeness is involved in redressing those face-threats. However, Goffman's (1967) concept of face is constructed through social interaction (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003). As Yu (2003) claims, Goffman's (1967) face is not inherent to the individual, it can be "bestowed" to individual through social interaction; it is a public image and to maintain this public image the individual has to perform "face-work" (p. 1682). So, Goffman's (1967) concept of face-work is interaction and practice dependent; whereas, Brown and Levinson's (1987) concept of face is attached to the individual; it is fixed and predetermined. In this light, Goffman's (1987) concept of face is more applicable to facework in CMC, as we cannot talk about real individuality in CMC, the members of cyber-society construct their identities through interaction, through what they say. Hence, the differences between impoliteness in CMC and impoliteness in face to face conversation listed here might take root from the different concepts of face.

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION

In the present study the nature of impoliteness is investigated in computer mediated communication based on the data collected from an internet discussion forum. The aim is to explore the features and functions of impolite utterances within an interactional framework. The impoliteness models offered by Culpeper (1996, 2003, 2005) and Bousfield (2007) based on face-to-face conversation are applied to the data consisting of written interaction. The results indicate that impoliteness in Turkish CMC presents a slightly different picture than face-to-face conversation in English in terms of both impoliteness strategies and the dynamics of impoliteness. The findings can be summarized as:

- 1) The impoliteness strategies attacking the positive face of the hearer significantly outnumber the negative impoliteness strategies. Furthermore, impoliteness is by definition on-record.
- 2) The most common strategies in the data are a) challenging through rhetorical questions b) condescending/scorning or ridiculing, c) explicitly associating the other with a negative aspect, d) patronizing, using taboo language, e) accusing the hearer of distorting the speaker's words, f) seeking disagreement, g) snubbing, h) using inappropriate identity markers, i) threatening and j) sarcasm respectively.
- 3) Impoliteness is recursive. In other words, one impolite speech act triggers more impoliteness in response. One way of avoiding this would be to use defense strategies. However this is not found in the data. Moreover in impolite sequences in face-to-face interaction, the sequences typically come to an end with a resolution. However in our data, of the nine conflict threads, only two come to a resolution point.

In conclusion, it is difficult to claim that CMC is more or less polite than face to face interaction because it is the accepted norms of the community, but not the medium of interaction that determines the politeness behavior. It may be helpful at this point to discuss

the concept of community of practice. The community of practice (CofP) was defined by Eckert (1992) as:

An aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social construct, a CofP is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which the membership engages (p. 464).

In parallel with this definition a discussion forum can be defined as a CofP. In a forum environment people come together to share information and to express their views. The definition of CofP by Eckert (1993) underlines the concept of practice which emerges during the interaction. As it has already been mentioned, in cyber-societies members construct their identities through interaction, through what they say. So here practice is also utilized by members to construct their identities. The practice here is not homogenous - and does not have to be so - but involves divergent ways of creating a common discourse, however, the practice is shaped by the norms of that community. The process of becoming a member of a certain CofP involves learning the norms of that community, what one should do in order to be a member of the CofP and the language which is appropriate to the discourse of that CofP. Being a part of a CofP involves not only behavioral but also interactional endeavors to follow the norms of the CofP.

In the CofP studied here members can discuss everything fiercely, employing different kinds of impoliteness strategies; however the discussion never turns into a rumble. Conversation might be very informal sometimes and applying impoliteness is not against the norms of that community; however, direct personal face attacks, personal insults and swearing are not allowed according to the forum rules and they are blocked if they occur. Netiquette, a set of online guidelines for online CofP, codifies the expected norm of communication in online CofP. Even the insults which are not directed at any member personally are starred

according to netiquette rules of the community. Thus, the degree of impoliteness and the ways that the impoliteness is realized is determined by the norms and netiquette of that community.

It is worthwhile to investigate the use of impolite utterances in face-to-face interaction especially to explore negative impoliteness and off-record impoliteness and also to answer the question of how non-verbal cues such as mimics, gaze and intonation also express impoliteness. Such a study will obviously bring a wider account of impoliteness in Turkish. Examining the impoliteness in different CMC genres where people engage in synchronous conversation such as chat rooms and also instant messenger in which the conversation occurs between people who know each other through face-to-face situations will also be a new and interesting research outlet in this field. Studying impoliteness on TV Shows for instance might be helpful in terms of how prosody can be used as an instrument to realize impoliteness and how impoliteness can be used as a medium for entertainment as well.

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