

CHAPTER 2

ANALYSIS OF THE PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS Of THE TURKISH DISCOURSE MARKERS HALBUKİ AND OYSA (Kİ)

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INTRODUCTION

Discourse connectives are a subgroup of discourse markers which have subjective, interactive and textual functions (Maschler and Schiffrin, 2015:189). Discourse connectives such as *however, in fact, besides* etc. in English and *halbuki oysa(ki), bilakis, ayrıca* etc. in Turkish primarily fulfil textual functions which concern how they contribute to “coherence and textuality in discourse” (Andersen, 2001:76). Discourse markers “signal a sequential relationship between the current message and the previous discourse” (Fraser, 1990:383). Their meanings are not conceptual, but procedural; they instruct the addressee/analyst about how the following proposition or discourse unit is to be understood. In many cases they are pragmatically essential though syntactically optional (Brinton, 2017:16). In fact, the omission of discourse markers, especially discourse connectives, often causes problems as to how the reader/analyst is to interpret the logical connections between the current and the preceding utterance. In terms of cohesion and coherence of discourse such markers are explicit pragmatic tools that “provide instructions about the way the propositional meaning of sentences is to be treated” (Heine, 2013:1211).

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The interchangeably used Turkish discourse connectives *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)* which seem to roughly correspond to *however*, *on the other hand*, *in fact*, *whereas*, are classified as adversative conjunctions, which “signal a turning of the discourse in a direction contrary to what has been previously established” (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:446). About the functions of these discourse connectives, they state that *halbuki/oysa(ki)* “sometimes merely point to a contrast between two states of affairs”... or more distinctively “signal a contradiction between a *factual* state of affairs and a *belief* or *claim* concerning it” (ibid.p.447). Bell (2010:523) offers a more general term “cancellative” instead of what is a “contrastive” or “adversative” marker. He states that “cancellative markers signal that the relationship between discourse segments is one of cancellation; i.e. an aspect of information derived from P is cancelled in Q.” Therefore, in some descriptions of the pragmatic functions of *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)*, I also adopt the term *cancellative* in addition to *adversative* and *contrastive*. Hence, the main aim of the current study is to shed light on what these discourse connectives *cancel* from the local and global discourse in different contexts.

Discourse markers are pragmatically polysemous; that is, they are polyfunctional (Fischer, 2006; *Dér*, 2010; *Maschler* (2002)). Therefore, the present study, which is corpus-driven, is meant to unearth possible functions of *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)*. A paraphrase approach is adopted in some cases to make clearer and more tangible their “procedural meanings” characteristic of discourse markers in general. Thanks to the corpus data, the words were determined that these markers often co-occur with in the previous and following discourse segments in order to establish any links between a certain function and typical collocates. Thus the present study also indicated whether pragmatic concerns involved in the choice of these markers are reflected in their collocational behaviour. To sum up, the corpus-driven study aims to identify pragmatic functions

of the cancellative discourse connectives *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)*, explicate some functions through paraphrasing and determine any collocates typically pointing to certain functions.

DATA AND METHOD

I referred to the corpus Turkish Web 2012 enTenTen15 on Sketch Engine. About 100 random sample concordance examples were obtained for each of the discourse connectives *halbuki*, *oysa* and *oysaki*. Although totally 300 lines were targeted for the analysis, 17 were omitted because they were unclear; therefore, 283 examples were analysed for the research. After the concordance lines were obtained, the results were annotated and sorted out by hand. Manual analyses were conducted because discourse relationships between different segments before and after *halbuki/oysa(ki)* could not be identified by computer. As McEnery and Hardie (2012:126) state, “the computer’s role ends with supplying the analyst with a set of concordance lines”. All the concordance lines were extended as much as possible to see how prior and following propositions are related. The samples were classified on the basis of the function of the discourse marker in the context of each sample. Also scrutinised was the lexical environment of the discourse markers to see if they co-occur with certain words from certain semantic fields when they fulfil a certain pragmatic function. The collocation analysis was done manually as part of *collocation-via-concordance* technique (McEnery and Hardie, 2012)

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Halbuki and *oysa(ki)* are simply cancellative discourse connectives which signal dissonant relations between two propositions or discourse segments. The incompatibility of ideas, assumptions or arguments ranges from direct contrast to various adversative functions. Below is a discussion of my corpus-driven findings about these discourse markers.

DIRECT CONTRAST

As mentioned by Göksel and Kerslake (2005:447), in some cases *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)* signal a direct contrast between two entities or states of affairs. In such contexts, they function like *whereas*, *while* or *however*, which express a symmetric contrast between what precedes and what follows at the local level in the discourse.

1. Satranç gibi oyunlarda, bir kerede yapılabilecek hamleler hesaplanırken en mantıksız ve yapılmaması gereken hamleler çıkarıldığında geriye oynanması mümkün 5 bilemediniz 10 hareket kalır. **Halbuki** tavlada her seferinde atılan zara bağlı olarak 21 değişik seçenek vardır.

“In games such as chess, when calculating the moves that can be made at once, excluding most illogical moves and those not to be made, you are left with 5 possible moves or a maximum of 10 moves. **However**, in backgammon, there are 21 different options each time depending on the numbers after the dice are rolled. (In games such as chess10 moves, **whereas/while** in backgammon)”²

2. Çimdiklediğiniz kişi hemen tepki olarak elinizi uzaklaştırmaya çalışır. **Oysa** bilinci kapanmış hastalarda beş duyu ile algılama ortadan kalkar.

“(If conscious) A person you pinch immediately tries to push your hand away in response. **However**, in unconscious patients, perception with the five senses disappears.”

3. Yetişme dönemlerimizde teknolojinin harikalarından olan; televizyon, bilgisayar gibi vasıtalar yok idi ve bu teknoloji ile gençlik dönemlerimizde tanıştık, **oysaki** şimdi doğmakta olan çocuklar ise bilgisayarın, televizyon dünyasının içinde bu iki teknolojiye aşına olarak hayata adım atmakta.

² The English rendition of each example is given in quotation marks throughout the paper.

“There were no devices such as television and computers, which are among the wonders of technology, during years when we grew up, but we met this technology in our youth, *whereas* children who are born nowadays are stepping into life, familiar with these two technologies in a world of computers and television.”

In (1) we see a contrast between games like chess and backgammon in terms of the number of possible moves that can be made when it is your turn; in (2) a contrast between comatose and conscious people in terms of their response or lack of response to stimuli and in (3) a contrast is drawn between now and then in terms of people’s access to technological devices.

ADVERSATIVE FUNCTIONS

Halbuki and *oysa(ki)* are simply classified as adversative conjunctions in Göksel and Kerlake (2005). In their adversative functions, they naturally signal the preceding and following propositions express conflicting or contradictory arguments, ideas or assumptions. There are various adversative relations between the first conjunct and the second one. *Halbuki* and *oysa(ki)* often correspond to *however*, *on the other hand* or *but* in English. In each of the following examples something expressed in P is cancelled with something contradictory in Q:

4. Bilinmesi gerekir ki Daltonizm *yalnız* renkli görme anomalilerinin kalıtsal yönünü yansıtır. ***Halbuki***, zaman içinde oluşan renkli görme bozukluğu *da* vardır.

“It should be known that Daltonism *only* reflects the hereditary aspect of color vision anomalies. ***On the other hand/However***, there is *also* a color vision disorder that develops over time.”

5. Yapılacak araştırmalarda teorisini ispatlayacak *sayısız* fosil çıkacağını *ümid ediyordu*. ***Oysa*** bilimsel bulgular, Darwin’in *bu hayalini* tamamen *boşa çıkardı*.

“He *hoped* that there would be *countless* fossils that would prove his theory in research. **However/But** scientific findings completely *disproved* Darwin’s *dream*.”

6. Babası kendisine, sürekli düşünceli olduğu için neyi olduğunu soruyordu. Her seferinde “*bir şey yok baba*” diyordu. **Oysaki** ufaklığımız devesini *düşünmekteydi*.

“His father was asking him what was wrong with him because he was always thoughtful. He always said “*nothing, daddy*”. **However/But actually**, our little one *was thinking* of his camel.”

In (4) with *halbuki*, like *on the other hand*, the speaker adds something different, signalling what is missing in Daltonistic view of colour anomalies. In (5) *oysa* marks “denial of expectation.” In (6) the child’s statement that there is nothing wrong with him is cancelled with *oysaki* and the actual truth is added.

SUPPOSED TRUTH/BELIEF/CLAIM => DM => ACTUAL TRUTH

Another function of *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)* is marking a contradiction between a factual state and a supposed state of affairs. This is the most distinctive use of these discourse markers (Göksel and Kerlake, 2005:447). Something supposed, thought or claimed to be true is expressed in the preceding discourse segment and the discourse connectives signal that the speaker/writer is going to refute it by presenting the actual truth (though it may be subjective). In other words, an erroneous, seemingly factual statement held by others is expressed in P but cancelled in Q adding the speaker/writer’s *more true, more correct* or *more real* argument. In such instances, *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)* give the reader/analyst the pragmatic instruction that the speaker/writer refutes the prior (supposed) assumption as a faulty belief, idea or claim or highlights in the host utterance what is missing or contrary to common knowledge in the picture incompletely drawn in the previous discourse segment. Consider the following examples:

7. Komplo teorilerine inananlar, hesap kitap kullanmadan bir fizik olayını açıkladıkları halde, bu açıklamanın bilimsel olduğunu söylüyorlar. **Halbuki** bu açıklamalar, bilimsel muhakemeye değil, gündelik akıl yürütme yöntemine bir örnektir.

“Those who believe in conspiracy theories say that even though they explain a physical event without any scientific basis, this explanation is scientific. **However/In fact**, these explanations are an example of everyday reasoning, not scientific reasoning.”

8. Burjuvaziyi mülksüzleştirmekle kapitalizmin kökünün kazındığı sanıldı. **Oysa** sorun burjuvaziyi mülksüzleştirmekten çok daha derinde yatıyordu.

“It was thought that capitalism was eradicated by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. The problem, **however/in fact**, lay much deeper than the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.”

9. Çoğu insan fosillerin, Darwin'in hayatın tarihi hakkındaki görüşlerine kanıt olduğunu zanneder. **Oysaki** bu kesinlikle yanlış bir düşüncedir.

“Most people think that fossils are evidence for Darwin's views on the history of life. **However/In fact**, this is definitely a misconception.”

In such examples, the function of these markers is just like that of the English marker *in fact* in its contrastive function. It seems that Mortier and Degand's (2009) findings about French *en fait* (in fact) and Dutch *eigenlijk* (actually) are parallel to my findings about *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)*. To clarify their findings, they point out that:

“while proposition q in itself may be an opinion, it is in fact the speaker who, by using a marker (these markers), qualifies “his” q proposition as more real, more true or more correct than what is stated in P...what is perceived by an objective observant as an opinion is actually originally intended by the speaker to express

something which is more real than the opinion, fact or action previously expressed” (Mortier and Degand, 2009:316).

Then for *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)* as well as *en fait* and *eigenlijk*, on which they studied, we have similar observations in their functions and the following semantic/pragmatic schema can be observed in the discourse:

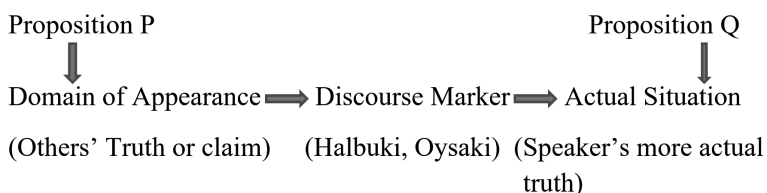


Figure 1. Pragmatic discourse pattern for the in fact function of *halbuki/oysa(ki)*

To put more clearly, in the pragmatically motivated discourse scenario illustrated in Figure 1 above, *Domain of Appearance* in P symbolises *what is supposed/thought/believed/claimed to be true by others* (external viewpoint) and *Actual Situation* denotes *what is perceived by the speaker to be the actual truth* or more objective state of affairs. (speaker's viewpoint). In some cases the more actual truth expressed by the speaker may be totally subjective.

In this most distinctive function of *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)* (98 examples out of the total 283), in which the speaker/writer refutes P and presents (“his”) actual truth in Q, we see that these discourse connectives typically collocate with certain words in the previous proposition(s), which suggest a “supposed” state of affairs (i.e., in example (7) *söylüyorlar* (People say that); in (8) *sanıldı* (It was *mistakenly thought/supposed*); and in (9) *zanneder* (Most people *mistakenly think/suppose*)). At -n position these markers co-occur with cognitive, perceptive, reporting verbs that fit *Domain of Appearance* above. After these discourse markers

the speaker/writer presents “his” actual or more precise truth; therefore, we often observe at +n position that the markers collocate with words that express correction, counterargument or reformulation. We tabulated our findings about the marker’s selection of certain collocates from our corpus data. The pre- and post-node collocational choices that *Halbuki and oysa(ki)* tend to make in their discourse contexts are given in Table 1 below with two semantic domains of Domain of Appearance and Semantic Domain for expressing actual facts.

Table 1. Typical Collocates Before and After Halbuki/Oysa(ki) in the Discourse Pattern Supposed/erroneous Truth/belief/claim => Halbuki/Oysa(ki) => Actual Truth.

Collocates of Halbuki/Oysa(ki)	
-N Position	+N Position
Domain of Appearance	Actual Fact (for the speaker)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cognitive verbs: <i>düşün-</i> (think), <i>san-/zanmet-</i> (suppose, assume), <i>iddia et-</i> (claim, argue), <i>akla gel-</i> (come to mind) • Reporting verbs : <i>de- söyle-</i> (say, tell) • Verbs of evaluation: <i>gibi gör-</i> (consider as, view as), <i>gibi lanse et-</i> (introduce, present as) • Verbs of perception: <i>gözük- görün-</i> (seem, appear, look), <i>algılan-</i> (be perceived), <i>gösteril-</i> (be shown) • Noun forms from the same domain: <i>görüş</i> (view, opinion), <i>düşünce</i> (thought) 	<p>Words that suggest correction, counterargument or reformulation:</p> <p><i>Aslında</i> (actually, in actual fact), <i>gerçekte</i> (in reality), <i>asıl</i> (real, right), <i>esasen</i> (as a matter of fact, in fact), <i>yanılgı</i> (mistake, misconception), <i>lazım/gerek</i> (necessary), <i>tam tersi</i> (quite the opposite)</p>

To sum up, in all such examples as above, *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)* function like contrastive and reformulative *in fact*, the speaker/writer refutes the assumption or mistaken idea, thought, or claim in P with a statement in Q which is more true or more precise.

HALBUKİ/OYSA(Kİ) FUNCTIONING LIKE THIS IS WRONG BECAUSE

In some instances in the corpus data, the preceding proposition does not include anything like “people (mistakenly) think, suppose, assume, say, believe” that an actually erroneous belief, idea, assumption or claim is true. Instead, something thought to be wrong by the speaker/writer is directly stated and after the discourse connective we see the *reason* why he/she disagrees with it. The discourse markers *halbuki / oysa(ki)* can easily be paraphrased as or replaced with “*this is wrong because*” or “*I disagree because.*” In this discourse scenario the speaker/writer presents a factual statement which describes current states of affairs; signals with *halbuki/oysa(ki)* that the statement is wrong; then adds the reason why they disagree. They do not attempt to correct P in Q; they just express the reason why P is wrong, rather than any correction or reformulation. Samples:

10. Güzel bir site hazırlayıp yerinize oturmak eskidendi; artık onun mobil versiyonunu da yapmak şart oldu. Bugün birçok website mobil website geliştirmeyi ihmal ediyor. **Halbuki** bu durum ziyaretçilerinizi kaçırmınıza sebep olabilir.

“Creating a beautiful website and just waiting is a thing of the past; now it has become absolutely necessary to make a mobile version of it. Today, many websites neglect mobile website development. **But (this is wrong because)**, this may cause you to lose the visitors to your site.”

11. Türkiye’de bir insan yapı denetlemesi yapacak firmayı kendisi seçiyor. **Oysaki** mal sahibi ile yapı denetim firması arasında ticari bir ilişki olmaması gerekir.

“In Turkey, a person himself/herself chooses the company that will conduct the building inspection. **But (this is wrong because)**, there should be no commercial relationship between the owner and the building inspection firm.”

As can be seen in (10) and (11), the pragmatic function of *halbuki* and *oysaki* would remain inadequate if simply translated as *however*. In the examples, the speaker/writer presents a reason in q for what he/she thinks to be wrong in p.

MORE PERIPHERAL FUNCTIONS

A function similar to the previous one but more peripheral is to present a reason for something *surprising*, *disappointing* or *unexpected*.

12. Neden bilmiyorum ama acayip acıktım. **Halbuki** daha az önce hiç aç değilim diyordum.

“I don’t know why, but I’m so hungry. **But (it was surprising because)** I just felt that I was definitely not hungry.”

13. Mesleğimle ilgili işi daha rahat bulurum ümidi ile İzmir’e geldim Ne kimsenin makamında gözüm var nede ekmeğinde benim beklediğim sadece bir merhaba idi sanırım İzmir’e gelmem birilerini rahatsız etti; **oysaki** ben bulunduğum camiyı bir aile olarak görmüştüm.

“I came to Izmir hoping that I would find a job that suits my profession more easily. I don’t have any plans to deprive anyone of their position or their livelihood; All I expected was a warm hello. I think my coming to İzmir made some people uncomfortable; **but (it was surprising because)**, I considered the community I was in as a family.”

In our data of 283 examples, in two examples we see a concessive function of *halbuki/oysa(ki)* where *but*, *yet*, *however*, or the phrase “*despite this*” can be substituted for them.

14. Konuya bu açıdan bakıldığında gazozun içerisine katılan etil alkolün etikette yer alması gerekmektedir. **Oysaki** gazoz üreticileri bunu gizleyerek tüketicileri aldattıkları gibi yasaları da ihlal etmektedirler.

“From this point of view, the ethyl alcohol added to the soda should be included in the label. **But/Yet/However** (*despite this*), the soda pop producers are deceiving the consumers by hiding this and also violate the laws”.

Since *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)* are generally classifiable as adversative connectives, those examples in the data outside the functional classifications I covered so far reflect different colours of adversativity that can be expressed in English with *but*, *however*, *on the other hand*.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the corpus data of 283 samples of *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)* point to four functions for these discourse connectives. **First**, they can signal a direct semantic opposition where two things or states of affairs are in a symmetric contrast. This typically corresponds to *whereas* sentences in English (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:447). **Second**, the discourse markers have various adversative functions to combine contradictory arguments, ideas or assumptions which can simply be expressed with *but*, *however*, *on the other hand* or *in fact*. **Third**, we have the most distinctive adversative function that should be evaluated separately. These markers point to a contradiction between a factual state and a supposed state of affairs as mentioned by Göksel and Kerslake (2005:447). *Halbuki* and *oysa(ki)* assertively signal the contradiction between the speaker’s viewpoint that runs counter to an external viewpoint. This use typically constitutes a discourse pattern like SUPPOSED TRUTH, belief, thought, observation held by others + *halbuki/oysa(ki)* + ACTUAL TRUTH according to the speaker/writer. What is mistakenly supposed or believed to be true in the first conjunct is cancelled by the connective and subjectively refuted in the second conjunct. This function totally overlaps with that of French *en fait* (in fact) and Dutch *eigenlijk* (actually), considering the findings

of Mortier and Degand (2009). According to them, in such cases the speaker/writer presents “his” actual truth as opposed to the erroneous thoughts of others. What’s more, in this function these markers collocate in the preceding proposition with cognitive verbs, perceptive verbs and reporting verbs that suggest “people mistakenly think so.” In the second proposition we sometimes see words that strengthen the speaker’s position in expressing the actual truth such as *aslında*, *esasen* (actually, in actual truth etc). The **fourth** main finding is that in some examples *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)* can be paraphrased as THIS IS WRONG BECAUSE + reason or I DISAGREE BECAUSE + reason. What makes this function different from the earlier function is that we do not see “suppose” verbs that suggest other people’s erroneous claims or beliefs. Instead, something wrong or simply an event is stated in P; *halbuki/oysa(ki)* gives the pragmatic instruction that the speaker/writer disagrees with or disapproves of the preceding proposition; and he/she adds the *reason* for that in P. The speaker/writer does not correct or reformulate the preceding proposition; he/she just adds the *reason* why he/she disagrees. The *reason* is added which suggests an indirect cancellation of the previous proposition. Lastly a marginal alternative to this function is the one that can be paraphrased as THIS IS SURPRISING/DISAPPOINTING BECAUSE + reason. A more peripheral function of the markers under focus is their concessive use, which we encountered in just two examples.

To sum up, what Mortier and Degand (2009) conclude about French *en fait* (in fact) and Dutch *eigenlijk* (actually) applies to the pragmatics of *halbuki* and *oysa(ki)*: they are primarily adversative, “at the intersection of “opposition” and “reformulation”” (p.338), and their semantics extend to “causality” in their function of *this is wrong because*. Adversative and contrastive functions can be combined and grouped under the general class *Contrastive*

Markers, which “signal a direct or indirect contrast between S1 and S2” (Fraser, 2009:300). The study also shows the power of corpus data in identifying and describing the polyfunctionality of discourse markers as emphasized by other researchers (Biber, 2009; Tognini-Bonelli, 2001; Schiffrin, 2006, Aijmer, 2013). Thanks to the corpus analysis, this study not only provides a more transparent and detailed interpretation of the functions of *halbuki/oysa(ki)*, briefly mentioned by Göksel and Kerslake (2005:447), but also brings to light a new function not mentioned before.

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