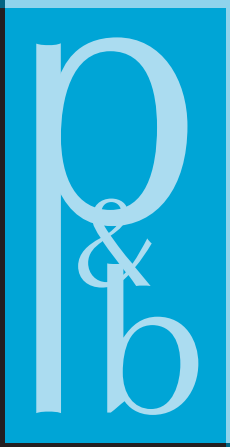
Compliments and Positive Assessments

Susanne Strubel-Burgdorf



John Benjamins Publishing Company

Compliments and Positive Assessments

Pragmatics & Beyond New Series (P&BNS)

ISSN 0922-842X

Pragmatics & Beyond New Series is a continuation of Pragmatics & Beyond and its Companion Series. The New Series offers a selection of high quality work covering the full richness of Pragmatics as an interdisciplinary field, within language sciences.

For an overview of all books published in this series, please see *http://benjamins.com/catalog/pbns*

Volume 289

Compliments and Positive Assessments
Sequential organization in multi-party conversations
by Susanne Strubel-Burgdorf

Compliments and Positive Assessments

Sequential organization in multi-party conversations

Susanne Strubel-Burgdorf
Ruhr-University Bochum

John Benjamins Publishing Company
Amsterdam / Philadelphia

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

This work is based on a doctoral thesis accepted by the Philosophische Fakultät, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn in 2012.

DOI 10.1075/pbns.289

Cataloging-in-Publication Data available from Library of Congress.

ISBN 978 90 272 0077 8 (HB)
ISBN 978 90 272 6401 5 (E-BOOK)

This work is based on a doctoral thesis accepted by the Philosophische Fakultät, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn in 2012.

John Benjamins Publishing Company · https://benjamins.com

Table of contents

List of figures

List of tables

Acknowledgments

Many metaphors could be used to describe the process of working on a text, of revising it and eventually seeing it published. No matter which words one chooses, this work becomes part of the author's life – and the lives of people connected with them. These connections with and contributions of others that lead to the publication of this work are manifold and I am deeply thankful for each and every one of them and I will not be able to list all those that affected me and my work. Yet, some people and their impact must not go unmentioned. First of all, I want to thank Klaus P. Schneider for recognizing and appreciating my idea for a doctoral thesis, for guiding me through some rough decisions, for staying interested and for encouraging me. Thanks a million!

In addition, I want to thank my colleagues in Bochum and Bonn for always being patient with me, especially all my colleagues at BAEL (what a bunch of abnormally enthusiastic linguists we were and always will be), in particular Pawel Sickinger and Elisabeth Hampel along with my friend Rena Tebernum for being my emergency support group back on that special day in December; also Sabine Jautz, Michelle Kühnel, and Verena Minow, for their open ears, eyes and many helpful remarks on the manuscript, as well as Julia Salzinger, Birgit Krüper and many more for the needed moral support.

Above anyone else, though, I want to thank my family: my parents for making all of this possible; my husband Christoph for being the best IT helpdesk I could ever wish for but even more for being my rock in times of turmoil and sharing the joys in revealing interesting things in research and life and, last but not least, my wonderful sons, Felix and Moritz, for being the most wonderful "distraction" one could ever hope for.

Thank you all for believing, throughout these years, that this work would still be published.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Some claim that it is impossible for humans to not communicate. One could also claim that by communicating, we do not only convey information but also evaluate our surroundings. We evaluate the weather, we compliment somebody on a new haircut or some new clothes, we might say something nice about our neighbors or a movie we just saw. We state our opinion, evaluate what we see, and – in doing so – position ourselves in relation to our partners in communication.

By evaluating, we can do many things and the linguistic investigation of how we actually do this is a thriving area of research. The main functions usually attributed to evaluations are

1. to express the speaker's or writer's opinion, and in doing so to reflect the value system of that person and their community;
2. to construct and maintain relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader;
3. to organize discourse. (Thompson/Hunston 2000: 6)

These functions are also claimed to be essential for the act of complimenting: compliments mirror cultural values and beliefs (cf., e.g., Manes 1983), they help to establish and construct as well as maintain relationships between speakers (cf., e.g., Wolfson 1988), and speakers utter them to organize discourse (cf., e.g., Wolfson/Manes 1980). Even though some assign the relationship maintenance and solidarity affirmation as unique to compliments, others assign this function also to general assessments which are also said to reflect cultural values and may also organize discourse (cf., e.g., Goodwin/Goodwin 1987 and 1992a). Thus, compliments and positive assessments – being evaluative in their nature – share many similar features and the question may arise how these utterance types might be distinguished.

Compliments and compliment responses obviously have invoked great interest and induced a vast amount of publications in the past four decades. Along with Knapp/Hopper/Bell (1984), many linguists seem to consider a compliment to be "a speech act worthy of study because it is ubiquitous, valued, and problematic" (1984: 12). Thus, questions addressed in compliment research are, for example, concerned with the frequency of how often compliments are paid and received, usually entailing a comparison either in terms of gender (cf., e.g., Herbert 1990; Rees-Miller 2011) or cultural differences (cf., e.g., Chen 1993; Cheng, D. 2011). The

"problematic" aspect Knapp/Hopper/Bell (1984) mention can be connected to the question of how to react appropriately to a compliment (cf., e.g., Pomerantz 1978; Golato 2002). Speakers are aware of the problematic aspect that an 'inappropriate' or unexpected response may lead to miscommunication or, as pragmaticists call it, to pragmatic failure (cf., e.g., Holmes/Brown 1987: 523; Nelson/Al-Batal/Echols 1996; Padilla Cruz 2014). While compliment research seems to become less thriving in English varieties, aspects of learning and teaching compliments in the foreign language classroom flourish in various international English teaching contexts (cf., e.g., Boroujeni/Domakani/Sheykhi 2016; Khaneshan/Bonyadi 2016; Sucuoğlu/Bahçelerli 2015; Shasavari/Alimohammadi/Eslami Rasekh 2014).

Considering the numerous studies on compliments and compliment responses, one may intuitively expect to also find studies referring to the interdependence of these paired utterances and possibly a paradigm or framework which may be used to analyze the two turns in combination (see Keisanen/Kärkkäinen 2014 for a study on the sequential order). Yet, these two apparently connected turns, which are often considered to be an adjacency pair, are mostly studied and analyzed separately. Even in the rare cases where both turns are addressed in one study, the turns are usually described individually without an elaboration on the connection between them in the speech event (cf., e.g., Herbert 1989; Golato 2005, 2011). The reason for this approach of separate analysis may lie in the two different perspectives and research traditions regarding these turns: while compliments are mainly studied in the sociolinguistic tradition established by Manes/Wolfson (1981), the categorization of the responses follows the tradition of conversation analysis as shaped by the work of Pomerantz (1978; see also Chapter 2 below). In both research traditions, compliments are often named alongside assessments and they are not easily separated from each other (see Chapter 2.1).

Even though the boundaries between compliments and positive assessments seem fuzzy, interlocutors will have to be able to identify the function of these utterances in a conversation to react accordingly and prevent miscommunication. As Golato (2005, 2011) states, the function of the compliment has a bearing on the response given (cf. Golato 2005: 185–186 and 2011: 374). How do the interlocutors decide whether or not to perceive an utterance as a compliment or as any other positive evaluation? Possibly, linguistic cues such as the choice of words, reference terms, or syntax may help conversationalists to code and decode the function of the utterance (cf., e.g., Schegloff 2007: 62; see also Couper-Kuhlen 2014: 635). Can this identification of the utterance be detected in the way conversational partners respond to an evaluative utterance?

For the current study, I hypothesize that interlocutors perceive functional differences in such evaluative utterances and that they will react differently to what they perceive as a (general) assessment or a (personal) compliment. I argue that this

difference in perception can be detected in the way the compliment or assessment is worded by the speaker, especially in respect to the reference terms that are used, and through the Response Strategies chosen by the respondent. Thus, a perceivable difference between compliments and positive assessments can be assumed. For this, I adapt the idea of various action chains in assessing sequences as claimed by Pomerantz (1984) which have been neglected by most of the compliment response researchers (but see Mustapha 2011 for a recent uptake). Keisanen/Kärkkäinen (2014) also include Pomerantz' action chains and in their sequential analysis even work with the compliment formulae of Manes/Wolfson and the assessment formula of Goodwin/Goodwin (1987) (see Chapter 2.1) but focus in their study more on bodily gestures than the exact wording as an influence on the sequential order of compliments and their responses.

To test my claims and to find answers to my research questions (see Chapter 2.3.2), Positive Remarks need to be categorized along with the turns that follow in a conversation. The term Positive Remark, abbreviated with PosR, serves as an umbrella term for compliments and positive assessments in the present study.

The following Chapter 2 provides a research overview with Chapter 2.1 displaying research on compliments and the difficulties of distinguishing these from positive assessments. In Chapter 2.2, the Response Strategies discussed in compliment response research are presented. The formulae Manes/Wolfson (1981) determined for compliments as well as the Response Strategies that are well established in compliment research (from Pomerantz 1975 onwards) are then combined into a working model (cf. Chapter 2.3, Figure 2.1). This model will serve as a basis for the analysis of the distinction of positive assessment and compliment sequences.

Chapter 3 deals with methodological issues and starts out with a brief overview of methods that have been employed in researching compliments, assessments, and responses (cf. Chapter 3.1.1) to then provide a rationale for working with conversational data from a corpus in the present study. A short overview of corpus usage in pragmatics in general (see Chapter 3.1.2) leads to the account of the corpus chosen for the present study, the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English, in Chapter 3.2. After a presentation of general information on the corpus in Chapter 3.2.1, Chapter 3.2.2 displays the conversations selected from the corpus.

An account of how the Positive Remarks and their following turns are coded in the conversational data is given in Chapter 4, where the Positive Remarks and Response Strategies are discussed as single turns (in Chapters 4.1 and 4.2 respectively). How the turn structure of the 'Positive Remark-Response Strategy sequence' is coded is presented in Chapter 4.3, while Chapter 4.4 refers to some additional codings that are of a subordinate nature.

Some general results are presented in Chapter 5 where an overview is given of the totals of the Positive Remarks (in 5.1) and the Response Strategies (in 5.2).

General numbers of the interaction and sequencing of the Positive Remarks with the Response Strategies are provided in Chapter 5.3.

Chapter 6 is structured according to the distinction of the three largest supercategories of Positive Remarks established and found in the data. The subchapters display the subcategories of the Positive Remarks, the sequence organization, as well as the Response Strategies used in these categories. The findings for the subcategories are applied in the working model as established in Chapter 2.3. In the discussion in Chapter 7, attention is drawn to the main findings which are discussed in more detail. Chapter 8 summarizes the results of the present study and addresses the ways in which they may have positive effects on future studies.

With the analysis of the Positive Remark sequences, it may not be possible to "predict what forms language users will choose" (Kohnen 2000: 183) in future conversations, but analyzing the forms in terms of function and sequence might lead to new insights on compliments and positive assessments. These findings may also be used as a basis for new (quantitative) research and might enable the formulation of advanced search strings for corpus searches.

CHAPTER 2

Research on compliments, positive assessments, and their responses

The phenomenon of studying compliments and compliment responses has undoubtedly been one of the most intriguing topics in synchronic linguistics in the last three decades. (Farghal/Al-Khatib 2001: 1486)

Various different branches have grown in what could be subsumed under the label 'compliment research'.[1] Many researchers have been very productive and fruitful in their pursuit over the last 30 years and numerous new studies are being published year after year. Thus, even the sheer number of publications renders a complete account on compliment research impossible (cf. Alfonzetti 2013). The current chapter can merely provide an overview with a further focus on the most prominent fields in research that have an immediate influence on the present study.

As mentioned in the introduction, there are two major traditions that influence the work on compliments, positive assessments, and their responses. The biggest influence on researching compliments stems from the sociolinguistic area and the early studies by Manes and Wolfson (cf., e.g., Wolfson/Manes 1980; Manes/Wolfson 1981; Manes 1983; Wolfson 1981a, 1983, 1984). Positive assessments have been studied along with other assessments mainly in the tradition of conversation analysis (CA) (cf., e.g., Auer/Uhmann 1982; Auer 1984; Goodwin/Goodwin 1987, 1992a). This CA tradition is also the main influence of studies concerning responses to assessments as well as to compliments (considered to be a type of positive assessment), as can be seen in Pomerantz' seminal papers (1975, 1978, and 1984).

Compliments and positive assessments are the first part of the sequence of interest in the present study. These two types of utterance are combined under the term Positive Remark which will serve as a cover term (PosR, see also Chapter 2.1.3).[2] Concerning compliments and Response Strategies, Manes/Wolfson

---

1. In the present study, the wording 'compliment research' is used as a cover term for research on compliments and compliment responses as well as research on positive assessments and responses (such as, e.g., Adamzik 1984), unless stated otherwise.

2. The cover terms used for various utterances such as compliments and positive assessments and various responses (the Response Strategies) are written with initial capital letter to emphasize their specific status as super-categories.

(1981) and Pomerantz (1978) are most influential in compliment and compliment response research and may be considered pioneers in this field. The foundation of compliment research was established by looking at how American English speakers handled the everyday situation of complimenting and responding to compliments, which has been used as a blueprint for several varieties of English and other languages. Researchers often compare two speaker groups that either vary according to their gender or their native languages or varieties. A large number of the studies that compare the realizations in different languages are especially concerned with the processes of learning and teaching a language as well as the culture connected with it, which has been a prominent aspect from the very beginnings (cf. Wolfson 1981b). Thus, learners shall be enabled to compliment and respond to compliments appropriately to cultural norms (on appropriateness and pragmatic norms, see, e.g., Sickinger/Schneider 2014) to lessen the risk of pragmatic failure that may stem from pragmatic transfer.[3] While most compliment research studies have a synchronic perspective, the diachronic perspective and the exploration of compliments in earlier times has gained momentum with the establishment of Historical Pragmatics as a research field (cf. Jucker/Taavitsainen 2007; Jucker et al. 2008; Taavitsainen/Jucker 2008; see also Archer 2010 and for a diachronic perspective on German compliments Beetz 1981; 1990 and 1999).[4]

Most of the previous studies analyze either compliment/positive assessment or response in isolation. Some claim to be investigating both turns – as adjacency pair – and sequences of compliment and response. Yet, these studies usually analyze and interpret the turns in separate chapters and do not elaborate on the connective criteria (see Chapter 2.3). Following this tradition, research on these turns will be presented in separate chapters at first to then focus on their connection.

3. For the concepts of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure in the language learning context, cf. Holmes/Brown (1987). This pragmatic transfer means that learners take rules from their own native language to the target language. For an account of this concept, cf., e.g., Kasper (1992).

4. Table B.2 in the appendix gives an additional overview of studies and their respective main topic/language besides those discussed and mentioned here. A good overview of the various studies in compliment research can also be found in Chen (2010) and Alfonzetti (2013).

2.1 Compliment or positive assessment?

In the compliment research that follows the tradition of Manes/Wolfson (1981), compliments are widely recognized as speech acts. Some researchers claim that compliments are expressives, others say compliments belong to representatives, which is also a classification found for assessments (cf. Adamzik 1984: 240).[5] The boundaries between compliments and assessments are, as those of other speech acts, rather fuzzy (cf., e.g., Archer 2010; see also Jucker/Taavitsainen 2000 on the concept of pragmatic space and the fuzziness of boundaries of speech acts). Some researchers approach the question of a clearer definition of compliments and neighboring speech acts by a meticulous account of the dictionary meaning of the terms which are used in the semantic vicinity of compliments (cf., e.g., Duttlinger 1999). Yet, a distinction between the concepts of (sociolinguistic or pragmatic) compliment and (conversation analytic) assessment, and whether or not they are separable, is usually neglected in research. In the following subchapters, a closer look is taken at the presentation of compliments (Chapter 2.1.1) and assessments (Chapter 2.1.2) along with a working definition for both (Chapter 2.1.3).

2.1.1 Recognizing the form, or: Spotting a compliment when you hear one

No one might have expected that the 686 compliment utterances collected by Manes/Wolfson's (1981) students would become the basis of a seminal study, a milestone in compliment research. Instead of finding the expected creativity in complimenting utterances, Manes/Wolfson discovered recurring compliment formulae: nine syntactico-semantic patterns that were used for complimenting by American English native speakers of that time (cf. Manes/Wolfson 1981). Analyzing the utterances, only a rather small syntactic and semantic inventory for the realization of compliments was detected. Table 2.1 below shows the formulae and examples as defined by Manes/Wolfson along with the percentages of their findings and those of a later study by Rose (2001) that coded compliments along Manes/Wolfson's design.

---

5. Some researchers, as Ruhi (2006), distinguish two possible classifications of compliments: (a) as representatives, since compliments "express the speaker's belief in a proposition" or (b) as expressives when a speaker simply reacts to a situation by uttering a compliment (2006: 47). For a discussion on these points of view cf., e.g., Werthwein (2009: 41–42) and Alfonzetti (2013: 555–556) for an account of various perspectives in pragmatics.

Table 2.1 Compliment formulae (Manes/Wolfson 1981: 120–123; results by Rose 2001)

	Pattern	Examples & results Manes/Wolfson (1981)		Rose (2001)
1	NP is/looks (really) ADJ	*Your hair looks nice* or *That shirt is so nice*	53.6%	50.7%
2	I (really) like/love NP	*I love your hair* or *I really like those shoes*	16.1%	6.6%
3	PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP	*That* [sic] *a nice piece of work* or *This was really a great meal*	14.9%	14%
4	You V (a) (really) ADJ NP	*You did a good job*	3.3%	2.5%
5	You V (NP) (really) ADV	*You really handled that situation well*	2.7%	1%
6	You have (a) (really) ADJ NP	*You have such beautiful hair*	2.4%	3.2%
7	What (a) ADJ NP!	*What a lovely baby you have!* or *What a great idea!*	1.6%	1.2%
8	ADJ NP!	*Nice game!*	1.6%	4.4%
9	Isn't NP ADJ!	*Isn't your ring beautiful!* or *Isn't it pretty!*	1.0%	0.2%
	miscellaneous	*[no special form]*	2.8%	3.9%

Even though 85 percent of all collected utterances are encompassed in three patterns (patterns 1–3), Manes/Wolfson claim that a speaker does not realize compliments to be of a formulaic nature. They claim that a "consideration of the role of compliments in interactions shows that both the existence of a formula and its lack of recognition are, in fact, functional" (cf. Manes/Wolfson 1981: 115) and that "the recognition of this function […] allows us to understand why it is that speakers seem to prefer conventional patterns in compliments" (Manes/Wolfson 1981: 124). The major function attributed to the compliment in conversation is to create or reinforce a feeling of solidarity between the speakers and if a misunderstanding of the function were to occur, "the raison d'être of the compliment may be vitiated. The use of a formula helps to avoid this potential difficulty" (Manes/Wolfson 1981: 124).

Whereas Manes/Wolfson do find only 2.8% of the utterances not fitting any formula, Rose (2001) finds a respectable 16.2% of these utterances to be put into an "other" or "miscellaneous" category. Roughly two decades after Manes/Wolfson study, Rose' study analyzes compliments in American movies from the 1970s to the 1990s, cf. Rose (2001: 321–322). His data thus bridges the time between Manes/Wolfson's study (data collected in 1977–1978) and the data found in the SBCSAE for the present study (data recorded in the early 1990s).[6] In his study, Rose aims to test whether compliments in movies depict those found with the ethnographic method by Manes/Wolfson's students. And indeed, the numbers are remarkably similar for most of the formulae but for formula 2 ("I like/love..") and for the "miscellaneous" category. These differences may be attributes of the differing data collection methods where non-formulaic compliments might have a specific purpose

6. For an inclusion of and comparsion with results from the present study, see Tables 5.1 and 7.1 below.

(e.g., for comic effect) in movies. The otherwise very similar numbers in the formula usage might either be a sign of a very 'realistic' portrayal of American conversations or a sign of a very widespread cultural stereotype.

Studies like Rose (2001) among many others show that although Manes/Wolfson can be accused of taking "a strong 'folklinguistic' view of compliments, relying on naive native-speaker intuition" (Jucker et al. 2008: 276; cf. Manes/Wolfson 1981: 116, 127) the compliment formulae seem to be frequently used across varieties of English. The approach has been adapted in similar methods to collect data 'in the field' as for example by Herbert (1990), Holmes (1988), and Rees-Miller (2011). A point of criticism remains in the bias of the compliment collectors who might have probably only noticed the most obvious compliments and had to write down what they remembered after hearing it, which bears possible sources of inaccurate memory (cf., e.g., Jucker 2009 or Rees-Miller 2011).

A first approach to a more detailed description of the compliment formulae can be seen in the work of Herbert (1990). In his study, Herbert analyzes the compliment behavior of men and women.[7] He takes a closer look at how they formulate compliments and in what way they respond to a given compliment. However, like many other researchers, he does not make a connection between the compliment and its respective response (as, in contrast, is done in the present study, see Chapters 2.3, 5.3, and 6). Herbert takes the Manes/Wolfson (1981) formulae as a basis for his study to which he adds the angle of "personal focus", "that is, whether the compliment subject is expressed with a surface 1st, 2nd, or 3rd (i.e., impersonal) person focus" (Herbert 1990: 203). The pattern most often used, "NP is/looks (really) ADJ" (syntax pattern 1, as defined by Manes/Wolfson, see Table 2.1), though, "masks the distinction between 2nd and 3rd person focus in that both 'That coat is really great' and 'You're really gorgeous today!' exemplify this pattern" (Herbert 1990: 204). These varying realizations of syntax pattern 1 may raise doubts concerning the usefulness of the patterns since these are rather different realizations that fall under the same pattern. The importance of a more fine-grained distinction of the formula wording may also be suspected due to the frequency of occurrences: A recent compliment study based on corpus data by Keisanen/Kärkkäinen (2014) shows that evaluations are either directly addressed at the person being complimented or that the determiner *that* is used very frequently (Keisanen/Kärkkäinen 2014: 653). Even though a distinction in meaning of these reference terms seems self-evident, they fall into the large syntax pattern 1 by Manes/Wolfson. Thus, it is not surprising when Jucker et al. state

7. Gender is, as mentioned above, one of the macro-social variables often considered in the context of compliment events. In the present study, however, it is not discussed further. The present study takes everyday conversations between speakers in close relations as data base where the gender aspect may be neglected due to the close social distance where gender arguably does not have such an impact on language usage (cf., e.g., Lindemann 1990; Schütte 2001).

that while "[t]he formulaic nature of compliments is taken for granted […], a more precise description of the formulae and their historical development […] remains to be done" (Jucker et al. 2008: 274; see also Chapters 4.1.2 and 6 below). Keisanen/Kärkkäinen even go as far as claiming that with "[you] + [are] + [(highly) positive ADJ/NP]" (2014: 653), there is one compliment formula instead of nine.

Along with the ubiquitous formulae, Holmes' definition seems to give "accurate guidelines for the recognition of compliments" (Jucker et al. 2008: 276) throughout research:

> A compliment is a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some 'good' (possession, characteristic, skill, etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer. (Holmes 1986: 485)

Taking a closer look at the wording, the application of this definition is rather difficult since concepts as "some 'good' " are not clear-cut. These 'goods' must be valued positively by all interlocutors and must be linked with the complimentee (cf., e.g., also Holmes/Brown 1987: 530). Some researchers see in this link, as well as in the words "usually the person addressed", the necessity that the compliment "must refer to the addressee, not to a third party not present at the exchange" (Rees-Miller 2011: 2675; see also Jucker 2009: 1612 or the findings in Keisanen/Kärkkäinen 2014). Others place the emphasis on the expression "usually" and discuss whether a positive utterance about people close to the conversational partner, such as their children, can also be seen and understood as a compliment (see, e.g., Roberts 1998). While many researchers share the concept of compliments being used to create solidarity by attributing credit to someone, some also see difficulties on the other hand in that "compliments can create distance between people" (Knapp/Hopper/Bell 1984: 13) since "the act of judgment is often associated with persons of unequal status" (ibid.).

The acknowledged 'good' of compliments mentioned in Holmes' definition might be found in the most frequently identified compliment topics. In American English, compliments are usually given on appearance such as clothes and hair (cf., e.g., Manes 1983: 98) or on what Manes describes as "the quality of something produced through the addressee's skill or effort: a well-done job, a skillfully-played game, a good meal" (Manes 1983: 101; see also Chapter 4.4.3 below). No matter which topic it is, it seems that the addressee/complimentee must have done something they worked (hard) for or changed their appearance to make their efforts 'worthy' of a compliment (cf. also Wolfson 1983: 90; Holmes/Brown 1987: 530).[8] Some

8. Some studies go into more detail concerning topics of compliments. Examples of this are, e.g., Knapp/Hopper/Bell, who distinguish performance, attire, appearance, personality/whole person, possession, helping/service (1984: 19–20) or look at which response is delivered with a specific topic, as Sims does for the topics possession and performance (Sims 1984: 110).

say that compliments as such can be seen as "supportive rituals" (cf., e.g., Pomerantz 1975: 139) or as ritualized assessment of objects that belong to the conversational partner (Adamzik 1984: 269) and as such rather be gestures of polite and friendly behavior than of a positive evaluation of the object itself (Adamzik 1984: 269–270).

Compliments are sometimes described in the literature as "bivalent or plurivalent speech acts, expressing more than one illocutionary or pragmatic force" (Holmes/Brown 1987: 531; cf. also Thomas 1986) and "often accompany or even replace other speech act formulas, such as apologies, thanks, and greetings" (Holmes/Brown 1987: 532; cf. also Wolfson 1983). Alongside the term compliment, the term 'assessment' is also frequently used in research, sometimes as equivalent and synonym, other times as a hyperonym to describe various positive evaluations with compliments and sometimes as triggering a different action chain than compliments (see Chapter 2.3). In most cases, a distinctive definition of compliment and positive assessment is not given. The concept and definition of assessments as found in the research literature needs to be discussed in the next subchapter.

2.1.2 Positive assessments

In uttering a (positive) assessment, conversational partners can show alignment in a conversation (cf., e.g., Goodwin/Goodwin 1987: 27; Snyder Ohta 1999: 1498) or, as Pomerantz puts it, they are "products of participation; with an assessment, a speaker claims knowledge of that which he or she is assessing" (Pomerantz 1984: 57). Assessments are, much like compliments, uttered in an interaction and involve the expressed evaluation of some entity, event or state (cf. Goodwin/Goodwin 1987 and 1992a; see also Strauss 1995). Some claim compliments to be specific types of positive assessments made on things or skills "for which the coparticipant can take credit" (Golato: 2011: 361). In general, a speaker emphasizes positive or negative traits and values of a specific community (cf., e.g., Hunston 2004: 137 on context and value assumptions in evaluations) and form their system of values by assessing something (cf., e.g., Taavitsainen/Jucker 2008: 197; Zillig 1982: 71).

Zillig claims that a positive utterance of opinion ("MEINUNGSÄUSSERUNG (POS)", see 1982: 170ff) carries various characteristic traits and, thus, closely resembles the term 'positive assessments' as it is used in the present study. It is usually uttered in a non-institutional situation and shows that the speaker classifies an object according to its value and that the speaker usually does not intend to utter a strong opinion by this but can rather alter their assessment towards the hearer's opinion (cf. Zillig 1982: 170). There are, thus, also aspects that sound similar to the compliment description (viz. being the mirror of cultural values, non-institutional interaction, etc.).

A further similarity between compliment and assessment can be found in the assessment formula:

> [it] + [copula] + [adverbial intensifier] + [assessment term]
> (Goodwin/Goodwin 1987: 22)

Goodwin/Goodwin state that the typical assessment follows this formula and that the "assessment term" can be anything with the respective value (i.e., an adjective or a noun phrase, see 1987: 22). Thus, even though we find that evaluative "meaning can be made implicitly and allusively as well as by using a vast and open-ended set of lexical items" (Hunston 2004: 186),[9] a formula for assessments is given in the literature that bears great resemblance to Manes/Wolfson's (1981) patterns 1 and 3 ("NP is/looks (really) great" and "PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP", see Table 2.1). The only difference is the explicit use of the impersonal *it* in the assessment form and the more open and variable form in the compliment patterns.

This aspect of a 'non-personal' evaluation does not seem to be the distinguishing feature between (positive) assessments and compliments, though. Among the various types of assessments defined in the literature, there are also those labeled a 'partner assessment', as for example in Adamzik (1984: 252), who distinguishes between three major types of assessments:

1. the object of the assessment is the speaker (self assessment),
2. the object of the assessment is the hearer (partner assessment) or their characteristic traits, their actions, possessions, etc.,
3. the assessment concerns a third person or a thing, process, etc., for which neither speaker nor hearer bear responsibilities or have a closer relationship to.

The 'partner assessment' Adamzik describes sounds very similar to an utterance that can be considered to bear features of a compliment. For her, though, the compliment bears the distinctive feature of being a 'ritualized' utterance as compared to other 'non-ritual partner assessments'. This distinction is a very difficult and discussable one, especially if the form of the compliment is supposed to stand for the 'ritualized' feature of the compliment – while a very similar form can be found for positive assessments and, indeed, also non-ritualized compliments that are indirect and do not subscribe to any formula found. It is not surprising then, that interactants had difficulties in categorizing an utterance as either compliment or non-ritualized partner-assessment (see above and Adamzik 1984: 270).

---

9. The study of evaluations can be seen as the overarching field in research since positive assessments and compliments, as well as other Positive Remarks, give an evaluation of something or someone, where compliments "have been described as social moves that live in the landscape of evaluation" (Taavitsainen/Jucker 2008: 197).

Yet, if the compliment formulae proposed by Manes/Wolfson (1981) had the function to distinguish compliments from other speech acts, one should be able to tell, by the supposedly ritualized syntactico-semantic form used, whether or not a compliment has been uttered and be able to react appropriately to avoid pragmatic failure. And, as quoted above, if the 'raison d'être' of a compliment is that it is understood as such, the overlap of positive assessments and compliments must either be of no further importance for a conversation – and by this making a distinction in the function and illocution of compliments and positive assessments negligible – or it must be possible to distinguish the functions and decide for an appropriate response.

Considering the definition of assessments discussed so far, it seems a reasonable conclusion that positive assessments are very similar to compliments. With both types of utterance, a speaker can evaluate something known to them and their conversational partner and express their positive thoughts and feelings about something. It is not surprising to read that in "CA terminology, a compliment can be described as a positive assessment of affairs, of an object, or of an action" (Huth 2006: 2028). In general, distinguishing various similar speech acts is not easily done (cf., e.g., Jucker/Taavitsainen 2000 and Jucker et al. 2008: 276). Yet, assuming that English "does not bear pure synonyms" (Bousfield 2010), a distinction between compliment and assessment can be expected since "[p]aying appropriate compliments and identifying them accurately is an aspect of communicative competence" (Holmes/Brown 1987: 523).

In the present study, I claim that a differentiation between the two types of Positive Remarks is possible (for a similar approach regarding directive-commissive actions see Couper-Kuhlen 2014). Both types of utterances influence the behavior between the interlocutors in a certain way due to a differing illocution. Participants in a conversation thus need to be able to recognize the function of utterances to choose an appropriate reaction. Besides the importance of context and intonation, I assume that there is a possibility to also distinguish various functions in Positive Remarks, at least roughly, by linguistic cues or to group the remarks concerning their function by looking at the responses given.

The next chapter sheds light on the two utterance types in a direct comparison and tries to draw tentative (fuzzy) boundaries for the present study.

2.1.3 Compliments and assessments: Same but different?

> *[…] any taxonomy that deals with the real world is likely to come up with borderline cases […].* (Searle 1976: 8–9)

As Searle (1976) clearly states in his seminal paper on illocutionary acts: whenever we deal with language that is used in everyday contexts and does not solely stem from the thoughts of a linguist or philosopher, we cannot determine clear distinctions between overlapping concepts. What we can and should try, though, is to consider how – at least theoretically – such overlapping cases could be distinguished, what the possible points of differentiation are alongside those that overlap. As mentioned in previous chapters, Manes/Wolfson claim that the compliment can be distinguished from other utterances by its form. Another attempt to achieve a distinction of utterances can be made by considering the felicity conditions for the umbrella term Positive Remarks (PosR) along with the possible subtypes of compliments (comp), and positive assessments (posA). A summary of what is gathered for these conditions from research is displayed in Table 2.2 below.[10] The conditions for compliments (and some of those for the Positive Remarks) are taken from Jucker (2009: 1619–1620).

Table 2.2 Felicity conditions for Positive Remarks, compliments and positive assessments

Conditions		
Preparatory condition	PosR	positive evaluation, predication P is desirable to Speaker (S) and Hearer (H); possible use of syntactico-semantic formulae
	comp	S and H know each other and are on the same level of power; H is beneficiary; comp may count as ritualized; possible use of syntactico-semantic formulae
	posA	the relationship between S and H is not important; beneficiary may be absent or non-human; does usually not count as ritualized; possible use of syntactico-semantic formulae
Sincerity condition	PosR	S believes P to be positive
Propositional content condition	PosR	mutual background knowledge and same value system
	comp	P is connected to H; H has put effort into P
Essential condition	PosR	counts as an expression of S's positive evaluation of P; to show solidarity
	comp	to make H feel good about themself

10. There are, of course, many more positive evaluations that could be subsumed under PosR and be further distinguished, such as praise, flattery, etc., see Zillig's (1982: 174) attempt to come up with distinguishing features for several types of positive evaluations.

It is obvious that compliments and positive assessments share a bundle of features in their felicity conditions that can be brought together under the umbrella term of Positive Remarks.[11] For some, as for example the sincerity condition that the speaker must believe the predication to be positive, no further distinction between the compliment and positive assessment utterances is assumed. Distinctions are often made along the lines of the interlocutors' relationship (in the preparatory condition) and the speakers' intention of the utterance (essential condition), which would mean for compliments – according to what has been stated in research so far – that the speaker wants to make the hearer "feel good" (cf. Herbert 1986: 80). Some of these criteria are very difficult to operationalize for a differentiation of compliment and assessment, especially in light of the growing corpus linguistic approach. Thus, the possible use of syntactico-semantic formulae ascribed to compliments as well as to positive assessments in the preparatory condition serves as a means to focus on the specific type of evaluative utterance that is investigated in the present study. Both utterance types seem to share common features here, while the claim of compliment distinction through form can be found in research. The present study focuses on these formulae to analyze in how far positive assessments and compliments indeed overlap or contrast, with a special interest in the sequential organization of these Positive Remarks and whether or not their form influences the choice of specific Response Strategies from an array of possible utterances.

Even though these felicity conditions show that a differentiation between positive assessment and compliment must be an approximation, speakers need to know how to handle such fuzzy categories in language use to avoid possible pragmatic failure and communication breakdown. Couper-Kuhlen (2014) argues in a similar approach to directive-commissive acts that

> the linguistic format of an initiating turn in conversation provides what are often distinctive cues to the social action it is implementing. The conversational evidence examined here thus suggests that linguistic forms can be thought of as social action formats (Fox 2007), recurrent and sedimented ways of accomplishing specific social actions in talk-in-interaction. (Couper-Kuhlen 2014: 624)

These distinctive cues may be found in the syntactico-semantic patterns which must lead the analysis of this study to a more refined level of formulae design (see Chapter 4.1.2). Whether or not specific responses can be mapped with the forms to

11. Wherever PosR for Positive Remarks is noted in this table, it means that the explained condition is valid for any Positive Remark, be it compliment, positive assessment or any other Positive Remark that is not considered further in the present study. Whenever there is a further specific entry in the explanation of the conditions for compliment (comp) or positive assessment (posA), it shows the possible (theoretical) point of distinction of this specific speech act.

reveal differences in the interpretation of the utterances is one of the central aims of the present study. The set of Response Strategies discussed in research so far that speakers can draw from to respond appropriately are discussed in the following chapter.

2.2 How to respond to Positive Remarks

> *The claim that a compliment has been paid depends, in every case, on an examination of the indexical circumstances of the utterance and of the responses displayed in subsequent utterances.* (Boyle 2000: 35)

As Boyle (2000) states, responses to an evaluative utterance are crucial to understand how the interlocutors comprehend the Positive Remark, whether it is understood as a compliment or as something else. Interlocutors may wish to answer differently to an impersonal positive assessment, for example, on an object that is not affiliated with them, than to a personal compliment on, for example, an achievement or possession (cf. Valdés/Pino 1981: 54; 2008: 281; see also Chapters 5.1.3 and 5.2.3 below). Choosing the appropriate response is important since an inappropriate reaction may lead to misunderstandings or even communication breakdown.

The following subchapters will summarize research concerning compliment responses and present Response Strategies that are prominently discussed in research.[12]

2.2.1 Pomerantz (1978, 1984) on second assessments

Pomerantz' work on second assessments (cf., e.g., Pomerantz 1975, 1978, and 1984) can be considered to have a lasting influence on the field of compliment response research. Most researchers who investigate compliment responses build their categorization on the Response Strategies she suggested to follow positive assessments. In many studies on compliment responses, the Response Strategies are analyzed solely as responses to compliments while positive assessments are not considered to be part of the original framework. The analysis of the use of Response Strategies and their frequencies is usually accounted for without considering its connection to the preceding utterance. This is rather surprising, since Pomerantz

12. Some more recent studies also discuss embodied action responses to compliments, such as "avoiding or breaking mutual gaze […] with the compliment producer" (Keisanen/Kärkkäinen 2014: 667; for embodiement see also Golato 2011). Such responses cannot be considered for the present study since the analyzed conversations are not distributed with video material.

herself discusses distinctions in considering which response strategy could follow which type of assessing utterance according to their conversational function. She claims that there are two different 'action chains' that comprise either utterances with a complimentary function and their response or those with a rather general positive assessment and their respective response. In such an action chain, a second pair part (i.e. the response) "is not a *should* but a *may* for [the] recipient, that is, an option among several specifiable options" (Pomerantz 1978: 110). This choice in retrospect defines the (perceived) communicative function of the first pair part in the conversational context.

A possible sequence in the action chains is described by Pomerantz as follows: a compliment (as a supportive action) will often be followed by either acceptance or rejection, whereas an assessment will evoke an agreement or disagreement (cf. Pomerantz 1978; also Downes 1998: 285–287).[13] In the tradition of conversation analysis, Pomerantz claims that the action chains follow the rules of preference organization. Thus, a preferred-action turn shape has

> a design that maximizes the occurrences of the actions being performed with them, utilizes minimization of gap between its initiation and prior turn's completion, and contains components that are explicitly stated instances of the action being performed. (Pomerantz 1984: 64)

This leads to the conclusion that action chains should be recognizable and that conversationalists should be able to distinguish the various forms and functions (cf., e.g., Aijmer/Stenström 2004: 4; Arundale 2006: 196; Boyle 2000: 35). In the case of uttering a preferred second part, the conversation should go on smoothly without any noticeable gaps. If a speaker utters a dispreferred response, a delay may occur in the conversation which may even lead to a communication breakdown (Pomerantz 1984: 64; also cf., e.g., Schegloff 2007; Sidnell 2009). Hence, it is vital for a successful conversation that the speaker knows which response strategy is used appropriately.

According to folk notion, *thank you* or *thanks* is considered to be the appropriate response to any compliment in American English (cf., e.g., Aijmer 1996: 70; Herbert 1990: 207; Hinkel 1996: 58; Tran 2007a: 170; Wolfson 1989: 229) and children and learners are taught to use it when receiving a "verbal gift" (cf., e.g., Herbert/Straight 1989: 38). Yet, as shown in research, thanking is not the most frequently used strategy for responding to compliments and other Positive Remarks. The addressee's main concern is, according to Pomerantz, to find the appropriate balance between agreeing with what has been said and avoiding self-praise at the

13. This is a basic summary of Pomerantz' action chains. For a more detailed account cf. Chapter 2.3.1 on sequences as well as Chapter 2.3.2 on the hypothetical working model in Figure 2.1, based on Pomerantz and others.

same time (cf. Pomerantz 1975: 112, 1984; also Herbert 1989: 23). Thus, "most compliment responses lie somewhere in between (not at the polar extremes of) acceptances and agreements on the one hand and rejections and disagreements on the other" (Pomerantz 1978: 81). Pomerantz' original Response Strategies (as discussed in Pomerantz 1978: 82–106) are displayed in Table 2.3.[14]

Table 2.3 Response categories following Pomerantz (1978)

Category	Strategy	Example
Acceptance	appreciation	e.g., *Thank you.*
	agreement	e.g., *I thought it was quite nice.*
Rejection	disagreement or qualification	*Do you really think so? It's just a rag my sister gave me.*
Solution types:		
Praise Downgrades	scaled-down agreements:	(FPP) *That's fantastic.* (SPP) *Isn't that good.*
	disagreements:	*No, it's not really important.*
Referent Shift	reassignment:	(FPP) *You're a good rower, Honey.* (SPP) *These are very easy to row.*
	return:	*Yeah you soun' real good too.*

Pomerantz' study had a large influence on research on compliment responses and her categories have been adopted widely as strategies of compliment responses (see Subchapter 2.2.2) even though some of these strategies were initially said to describe responses to non-complimentary positive assessments.[15] It needs to be borne in mind that Pomerantz' initial distinction on which response strategy is likely to follow which type of assessment keeps the focus solely on the second pair part and does not actually include a detailed analysis of the first pair part in a sequencing model. This approach is basically maintained throughout research, where many authors claim to be looking at the sequence of complimenting but in fact give separate analyses of compliments and compliment responses (cf., e.g., Herbert 1990 or Golato 2005). Many of these studies do not display any numbers of the response type usage and distribution. This goes back to the CA tradition of Pomerantz', yet, it would be interesting to see at least tentative quantitative descriptions and tendencies to confirm or discard the preference structure (cf., e.g., Sims 1984: 12; see

14. The examples are taken from Pomerantz (1978: 82–106). The abbreviation FPP stands for First Pair Part, which is the initial utterance in an adjacency pair, and SPP for Second Pair Part, which is the responsive part of an adjacency pair. These abbreviations are added for reasons of clarity in the examples.

15. Yet, in her 1978 study, Pomerantz herself speaks in general terms about these strategies to be used as responses to compliments and neglects her former distinction of action chains.

also Table 2.6 below) and whether there are possibly "maximize[d] occurrences" (Pomerantz 1984: 64) to be accounted for in frequencies of usage.

2.2.2 Responses in research

The language most often focused on in researching compliments as well as compliment responses is American English. The speakers' dilemma of finding the appropriate response to a compliment, though, is of course not restricted to this language. It rather seems a universal challenge for the speakers while different sets of preferred Response Strategies in various languages may even cause cross-cultural problems (cf., e.g., Tran 2007b: 16/22).

Many studies refer to Pomerantz' strategies and apply or adapt them to a large variety of languages.[16] The studies concerning compliment responses share numerous common features. Some of the classifications of the Response Strategies are used throughout research and across languages, often referring to the tripartite distinction of accepting, rejecting or deflection, and a 'solution', or "evasion/self-praise avoidance" (cf. Spencer-Oatey/Ng/Dong 2000: 99; also Holmes 1986: 492), for circumventing these strategies. This adaptation could bear a chance of comparability of various studies and findings. Yet, the similar names of the categories do not guarantee that each researcher understands the very same type of response by it (cf, e.g., Alfonzetti 2013: 560–564 for an account of various Response Strategies). To illustrate these discrepancies in the classifications, some sample numbers from various studies are shown. Selected as representatives for adapting Pomerantz' strategies are Herbert (1989), who chose a similar naturalistic approach as Pomerantz, as well as Chen (1993) and Schneider (1999). The latter studies derive from Pomerantz in their approach by collecting language data with DCTs. Yet, since Chen and Schneider (partially) use the same DCT situations, their data and categories are well suited for a comparison in categorizing responses.

To list and exemplify numbers of compliment responses in American English, one can start with the possibly most industrious researcher in American compliment responses in the 1980s and 1990s (cf., e.g., Herbert 1986, 1989). Not only did Herbert analyze American English but also investigated cross-cultural differences between American English and other languages (cf., e.g., Herbert/Straight 1989; Herbert 1991 and 1997). He collected "more than a thousand samples of

16. Studies referring to Pomerantz' strategies, often via the adaptation of Herbert (e.g., 1989) or Holmes (e.g., 1986), are, among others, Al Falasi (2007); Baba (1999); Billmeyer (1990); Cedar (2006); Chen (1993); Chen/Yang (2010); Chung-Hye (1992); Gajaseni (1994); Golato (2005); Lorenzo-Dus (2001); Mustapha (2011); Nelson/Al-Batal/Echols (1996); Rose (2001); Schneider/Schneider (2000); Tang/Zhang (2009); Yuan (2002).

compliment responses from American college students in a three years period project" (Al Falasi 2007: 32). In his study from 1989, Herbert presents some percentages of Response Strategies used in American English:

Table 2.4 Herbert's (1989) distribution of compliment Response Strategies

	Supercategory	Percentage
A	Agreement	65%
B	Nonagreement	32%
C	Request information	3%

The result seems obvious: almost two thirds of all possible responses towards a compliment are agreements to these compliments in American English whereas about one third of responses can be counted as nonagreements. This finding of such a high agreement rate towards compliments seems to contradict the hypothesis stated by Pomerantz (1978) that a complimentee needs to avoid self-praise. Yet, one may claim that the utterance realizations of this supercategory have to be considered, not only the summarizing superstrategies. To 'agree' with a compliment means in Herbert's definition that a speaker may also return the compliment or comment on the history of the complimented item (cf. Table B.3 in the appendix). Such Response Strategies supposedly do not foster the impression of praising oneself as might be implied by saying that someone 'agrees' to a compliment.

If we turn to the results presented by Chen (1993) and Schneider (1999) in Table 2.5, a number of differences to Herbert's results are shown.

Table 2.5 Distribution of the Response Strategies used by Americans (Chen 1993 and Schneider 1999)

Supercategory	Chen (1993)	Schneider (1999)
Accepting	40%	36%
Rejecting	13%	19%
Deflecting	29%	23%
Returning	18%	17%
Mocking	–	5%

The naming of the supercategories and the numbers for 'accepting' (a category roughly similar to Herbert's 'agreeing') differ from those in Herbert's study. The results of Chen (1993) and Schneider (1999) seem to portray Pomerantz' idea: according to Chen's and Schneider's classification, around 36 to 40% of the Response Strategies in American English can be categorized as 'accepting' compliments. Looking at the numbers of Chen and Schneider, their categories and results seem

rather similar and the categories – at first glance – may suggest that a comparison is possible. Yet, when we look at the different set up of the supercategories (i.e., which Response Strategies are combined to make up a supercategory, cf. Table B.3 in the appendix), we see that even in this seemingly similar coding, differences occur which leave the results comparable only to a certain degree.

Despite these differences in naming categories or in grouping the various Response Strategies, there seems to be a broad agreement on many of the response categories such as 'acceptance', 'disagreeing', 'returning compliment' and the like. Yet, even here lie some difficulties in the ambiguity of some responses since

> [i]t can be seen that a single response can serve more than one function, presenting a challenge to traditional approaches which classify compliment responses into categories with clear boundaries. (Sharifian 2008: 65)

Consequently, it is obvious that there is no clear and definite solution for categorizing responses to compliments. Pomerantz' categories make up the most prominent classification system, but even in those studies that refer to it, there is no fixed pattern for the classification or categorization of compliment responses. Some researchers come up with their own additions such as the response strategy 'joking', which can be found in Chen's (1993) and Schneider's (1999) but not, for example, in Herbert's (1989) classification (cf. Table B.3 in the appendix). With this category, a phenomenon is accounted for that Lorenzo-Dus also observes in her British and Spanish data where compliments are "at times responded to in a humorous key" (2001: 116). Lorenzo-Dus claims the function of this response strategy as two-fold. If a compliment is "perceived as sincere token […] of appreciation", a jocular response can "minimise imposition on the complimentee by reducing the self-praise element of accepting a [compliment]. They can, hence, contribute to create/reinforce a sense of ingroupness" (2001: 116). Whereas, when compliments are understood to be teasing behavior, "humorous responses to [compliments] serve to put up a good defence against their perceived criticism" (2001, 116). Thus, an appropriate response depends on how the utterance function is understood as well as on the relationship of the speakers and their relationship negotiation.

With terms such as in-group membership, Brown/Levinson's (1987) politeness theory is of course close at hand (cf. also Lorenzo-Dus 2001: 116), which is also displayed in some other response research literature as well, as for example in Baba (1999). She bases her categorization on the concept of politeness and of possible face-threatening potential in superstrategies that she labels, following Brown/Levinson's (1987) FTA strategies, as "Positive Politeness […], Negative Politeness […], Off-Record […], and Do-Not-Do-FTA […]" (Baba 1999: 61). The Response Strategies Baba places under these categories then look familiar again: just as in

other studies, 'accepting', 'agreeing', 'disagreement' and the like are listed here (cf. Baba 1999: 61–73).[17]

Thus, defining Response Strategies seems to lead researchers mainly to similar sounding Response Strategies such as 'accepting' or 'agreeing' – it is just not easy to assign these categories to actual responses due to the inherent "fuzziness of some responses as well as their ambiguity [which] make it impossible to give [a] *fair* clear-cut pattern of frequency counts" (Lewandowska-Tomasczyk 1989: 92).[18] Hence, a continuum might be best suited for analyzing Response Strategies that have no clear boundaries. Tran (e.g., 2006a, 2007a, 2008) pays tribute to this thought and advocates two Compliment Response Continua.

No matter if seen as a continuum, as part of an action chain or in other ways, despite the differences and similarities, obscurities and ambiguities in studies on compliment responses, complimentees need to react, since they perceive

> the need to acknowledge the compliment using various forms of acceptance and/or agreement and to discount the substance of the compliment if an unqualified acceptance/agreement seems to violate sanctions against too much self-praise.
>
> (Knapp/Hopper/Bell 1984: 28)

An analysis of this acknowledgment by the respondent of the compliment itself is surely missing in most studies and only touched upon on a surface level, if at all. A connection between the two utterances, which the speakers obviously have to make in a conversation, is usually not discussed. The few studies that make an exception to this observation are discussed below.

2.3 Sequencing the turns

Traditional speech act theory has looked at isolated, single turns (Austin 1975; Searle 1969) which also had its influence on many speech act studies. Yet, developments in pragmatics and neighboring linguistic disciplines have shown a rise in the interest

---

17. The concept of politeness is closely connected to the entire area of compliment and compliment response research. The present study does not engage in a discussion about politeness matters in the Positive Remark sequences but refers the interested reader for matters of politeness theories and their development to, e.g., Eelen (2001); Fraser (1990); Leech (2014); Locher/Watts (2005); Watts (2003). For a discussion concerning politeness and especially face in compliment research, cf., e.g., Arundale (2006); Cedar (2006); Chen (1993); Farghal/Al-Khatib (2001); He (2012); Henderson (1995); Holmes (1988); Mulo Farenkia (2014); Ruhi (2006); Sifianou (2001); Yu (2003).

18. Lewandowska-Tomasczyk (1989) approaches the problem of categorizing responses in a different way: she assigns figures of speech, such as hyperbole and the like, to the responses. It seems that her attempts went largely unnoticed in compliment response research.

of taking reactions, and thus the perlocutionary effect of a speech act, into account to interpret the meaning of a previous utterance with the unfolding following utterances (cf., e.g., Rühlemann/Aijmer 2015: 2, as well as Mueller Dobs/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013: 126 who present a model for possible responses to impolite utterances). A more global approach is taken on the utterances and the connection with the surrounding discourse playing a larger role than before (cf, e.g., Félix-Brasdefer 2014). Fetzer (2013) for example sees discourse "as a dynamic concept" that

> requires the explicit accommodation of speech act theory, speech acts and their felicity conditions as well as their embeddedness in linguistic context, considering both prior and succeeding contexts […]. This is because the sequencing of discourse makes manifest the perlocutionary effects of speech acts.
>
> (Fetzer 2013: 702)

The idea of a 'speech act sequence' already exists for some time (see van Dijk 1979) to "account for the coherence and function of speech act sequences in conversation" (Félix-Brasdefer 2014: 323). Such an interactional and sequential part "may constitute a minimal two-turn sequence of speech acts by two speakers or a sequence of speech acts that are connected across the interaction" (Félix-Brasdefer 2014: 327). Thus, aiming at analyzing possible differences in the function of Positive Remarks (e.g., compliments and positive assessments) it is indeed more interesting to analyze speech acts "in a larger perspective with regard to their responses" (Aijmer 1996: 35; cf. also Du Bois 2007 on evaluative stance in conversation). Especially with such a possibly "problematic, uncertain, ambiguous or even […] intentionally indeterminate" illocutionary force as that of compliments (Alfonzetti 2013: 559), the function is negotiated in conversation by the addressee "whose uptake, as displayed by his/her reaction, is essential to decide whether a compliment has actually taken place in conversation" (Alfonzetti 2013: 559).

The possible perspectives to study compliments and responses as a conversational sequence are manifold. There is a "range of sociocultural factors which are likely to influence the way a speaker responds to a compliment" (Farghal/Al-Khatib 2001: 1490) along the notions of face and face-threat which need to be accounted for in the speech community of complimenter and respondent. The notions of face and politeness in compliment research are especially important when analyzing cross-cultural language contact or communication behavior of speakers from various differing social groups or a diverging power relationship. Since all of the conversations from the Santa Barbara Corpus that are taken for analysis in the present study are conversations of family and friends, a sociocultural 'in-group', the concepts of politeness and face-threats have a less important status for the current analysis than in cross-cultural encounters and can thus be neglected. Yet, no matter which macro- or micro-social perspective may dominate in conversations, the

hearer must be able to recognize "the meaning and force of a speech act" and construct an "intersubjective reality" (Fetzer 2013: 702). This may be done by "contextualization cues" (Félix-Brasdefer 2014: 336–337) such as prosody and non-verbal signals or by linguistic cues. Copestake/Terkourafi (2010: 126) claim that "the use of a formula in a given context guides the hearer to a particular interpretation" and even helps "disambiguating intentions". This should lead the addressee then to choosing a specific response strategy since next actions are structured "by the action performed with the initial assessment" (Pomerantz 1984: 64). The formulae proposed by Manes/Wolfson (1981) may provide a starting point for an analysis in terms of a form-to-function approach of a recognizable first pair part and the following second pair part.

Thus, after introducing research on compliments, assessments, and responses in Chapters 2.1 and 2.2, this chapter discusses the aim of combining both single turns into a (mainly two-turn) sequence on the grounds of previous research (Chapter 2.3.1) to culminate in a proposal for a working model for the present study (in Chapter 2.3.2) where the Positive Remark is identified with one of the formulae (as in Manes/Wolfson 1981) and responses could be "identified simply as anything that follows an identifiable compliment" (Herbert/Straight 1989: 38) or in this case, anything that follows a Positive Remark.

2.3.1 From single utterance to conversation

> *[…] describing complimenting behavior, one has to look not only at the compliment itself, but also at the way in which the compliment is received.*
>
> (Wieland 1995: 805)

An analysis of both turns – compliment or positive assessment along with the respective response – should not be an insurmountable task. Some researchers claim to be investigating the entire 'speech event' which is seen as an interactional unit incorporating various sequences and their consequences in discourse (cf., e.g., Lewandowska-Tomasczyk 1989: 78). This has supposedly

> been the subject of some careful sociolinguistic investigation [in American English]. This speech event has the structure of an adjacency pair operation (Schegloff/Sacks 1973: 296) or action chain event (Pomerantz 1978: 109–110). That is, the compliment event is a two-unit turn in which Utterance 1 and Utterance 2 are linked by both temporal and relevancy conditions. (Herbert 1990: 201)

Thus, the connection, or link, between the two utterances is undisputed and conditional relevance is one "key concept in the analysis of paired action in sequences" (Huth 2006: 2028). This concept

> describes participants' tacit structural knowledge that enables them to meet any given social action in the form of an utterance with a subsequent action that is relevant in that particular sequential and situational environment (Atkinson and Heritage, 1986[sic! 1984]). (Huth 2006: 2028)

The "tacit structural knowledge" and respective conversational behavior is assumed, and utterances are "obviously linked in crucial ways" (Herbert 1990: 202). Since compliment sequences are seen as adjacency pairs, the

> compliment sequence may thus be described as a minimal sequence in which the compliment itself constitutes the first pair part (FPP) and the compliment-response constitutes the second pair part (SPP). (Huth 2006: 2028)

In an adjacency pair, a response to an utterance is influenced by its preceding first pair part and "compliments occur in harmony with compliment responses and should be studied as a pair part sequence" (Sims 1984: 163). There are only a few studies that actually analyze the form of the compliment formulae connected to the response given (cf. above). In her study from 1999, Baba claims that "[n]o previous study has investigated the correlation between the intensity of a compliment and the choice" of compliment response (Baba 1999: 20).[19]

As mentioned in Chapter 2.2.1, Pomerantz (1978, 1984) distinguishes between two types of action chains according to the function of the utterances as positive assessment or compliment. In the first action chain, she discusses the status of compliments as "supportive actions" where "a recipient may perform an acceptance or rejection of" the supportive action (Pomerantz 1978: 82) since this action chain is in general "organized as having acceptances/rejections as relevant next actions" (Pomerantz 1978: 82). In the second type of action chain, Pomerantz claims that if the first pair part is "the production of a complimentary assertion […], a next speaker may perform an agreement or disagreement with it" (Pomerantz 1978: 82). Compliments then supposedly have "the status of assessments, and as such, they engender recipients' agreements and disagreements" (Pomerantz 1978: 82).

The differentiation of these two action chains is generally not acknowledged in studies on compliment responses, yet, as mentioned before, only few attempts to differentiate the two action chains and their respective responses can be found (see, e.g., in Mustapha 2011), as well as in a theoretical and summarizing overview in Downes (cf. 1998: 286) and in a few empirical studies as, for example, by Farghal/

---

19. With 'intensity', Baba refers to the directness of a compliment, the use of adjectives, intensifiers, interjections, and dislocations (cf. Baba 1999: 21). She claims to analyze the connection of the intensity of compliments and the responses chosen, yet a clear account and display of such analysis is not found in her study.

Al-Khatib (2001) who claim that there are "different classes of reply" (2001: 1487) that are employed in specific sequences according to the preceding utterance (cf. Downes 1998: 286; Farghal/Al-Khatib 2001: 1487).

Yet, an elaborate model of how the conversational function of a first pair part may influence the second pair part exists as early as 1984 in Adamzik's assessment study (cf. Adamzik 1984), but has rarely if ever been taken into account in compliment response research.[20] Adamzik bases her model on what she considers to be a 'compliment' as a first part, and not, as in other CA studies, a positive assessment. Following the tradition of Pomerantz, Adamzik distinguishes two possible ways how the compliment as an initial utterance can influence the response. In case the utterance refers to the compliment illocution (i.e. Pomerantz' "supportive action" and her first action chain), the addressee can either 'accept', 'qualify the illocution' or 'reject' the compliment (cf., e.g., Herbert 1990; see also Chapter 2.2.2 above and Table B.3). In Adamzik's model, the possibilities of either 'accepting' or 'rejecting' the compliment are similar to Pomerantz' first action chain. The third strategy of a 'qualification of the illocution' could be assigned to Pomerantz' solution types (cf. Table 2.3). Pomerantz' second action chain is paralleled in Adamzik's model in the complimentary utterance that refers to the proposition and thus becomes more of a "value judgment" or, in Pomerantz' words, resembles rather an assessment than a compliment (cf. Pomerantz 1978). Again, there are three possible ways to respond to this and a respondent may either 'agree', 'pose a counter assessment' (either by returning a compliment or by a new assessment), or 'disagree' (which can be done by downgrading the value of the complimented object, or by playing down one's own achievement).

At first glance, this model seems to be rather elaborate and may serve as a good starting point to analyze compliments and assessments with their respective Response Strategies. Yet, at a second look, familiar problems emerge: the two types of utterance, or the possible functions of complimenting and assessing, are not separated in the first part. Not only is a separation difficult because of the fuzzy concepts of speech acts in general (cf., e.g., Jucker/Taavitsainen 2000) but in this case, the distinction of the functions seems to be the task that needs to be performed solely by the addressee and as if the speaker's intention could not be transported within the first part. Some claim that the initial speaker may prefer a certain degree of ambiguity and leave the decision about the function of the utterance to the conversational

20. The aforementioned Downes (1998) and Farghal/Al-Khatib (2001) as well as Mustapha (2011, cf. especially page 1342) also make such a distinction concerning first and second pair part. In most studies, though, all Response Strategies mentioned by Pomerantz are transferred 1:1 to be compliment responses without taking into account the likeliness of occurrence according to the function of the Positive Remark.

partner so that both conversationalists can negotiate and co-construct the function of the utterance (cf., e.g., Adamzik 1984; Arundale 2006; Huth 2006). How, then, does the addressee even start to distinguish the functions of utterances and decide which response strategy to use? A possible way to do so linguistically may be found in the speaker's utterance or how an addressee is praised (cf. Kanouse/Gumpert/Canavan-Gumpert 1981). As Pomerantz states,

> [m]embers of compliment response classes, then, are selected in part relative to the directness with which the recipients are praised. The more indirectly recipients are credited, that is, with compliments locating referents which are isolable as external to recipients, the more likely agreements are to occur. (Pomerantz 1978: 97)

Thus, if a person is addressed with an assessing remark about something that has no direct connection with the addressee or other conversational partners present, agreements are likely to occur as a response. These 'unattached' positive evaluations may be perceived as "seemingly timeless" (Knapp/Hopper/Bell 1984: 19) and are not heard as sincere compliments (cf. ibid.).

Sims (1984 and 1989) is one of the few researchers who tries to find out about the connection of compliments and responses for American English. She considers various aspects that might influence the choice of response strategy such as status and gender of the speakers as well as the level of directness of the syntactico-semantic formulae by Manes/Wolfson (1981), see Table 2.6 below.

Table 2.6 Connection of compliment formulae and response distribution (Sims 1984: 99)

Compliment syntax formula	Agreement	Pass	Total
NP is V (intensifier) ADJ NP	1 (1.7%)	4 (4.7%)	5 (3.4%)
That linking V (intensifier) ADJ NP	29 (49.2%)	31 (36%)	60 (41.1%)
Interjection (is V) (intensifier) ADJ	17 (28.8%)	32 (37.2%)	49 (33.6%)
(Interjection) ADJ	7 (11.9%)	11 (12.8%)	18 (12.3%)
other	5 (8.5%)	9 (10.5%)	14 (9.6%)
Total	59 (100%)	87 (100%)	146 (100%)

Instead of nine different formulae, though, Sims only finds examples for four formulae in her data. Manes/Wolfson's (1981) syntax patterns 4 ("You V (a) (really) ADJ NP") and 6 ("You have (a) (really) ADJ NP"; cf. Table 2.1), for example, are combined in Sims' first formula with no further differentiation. Manes/Wolfson's formula 5, in which the ADV carries the positive semantic load (cf. Table 2.1), is not found in Sims' data. Sims introduced a new separate formula for utterances such as *That is a very nice haircut* which can be found in second place in Table 2.6. This formula, which can be subsumed in pattern 3 of Manes/Wolfson's set (cf. Table 2.1), is most often met with an agreement. Following Pomerantz, such a response could

be seen as a sign for perceiving an utterance as close to (general) assessments and maybe further away from being heard as a compliment than others.

The numbers given represent the numbers of responses identified by Sims with a total of 146 responses. The percentages concern the distribution of the response types to the respective formula in the 'agreement' and 'pass' columns (cf. Sims 1984: 88–99 and also 1989: 178) and the distribution of responses to the respective compliment formula in the 'total' column.

According to these numbers, speakers of American English are more likely to use a formula such as represented by "That linking V (intensifier) ADJ NP" (in 60 out of 146 times, i.e., 41.1%) which would be realized as something like *That is really a nice sweater*. 'Agreement' is most likely uttered as a next turn after this formula while the other formulae do not seem to evoke any specific reaction by the addressee, but most complimentees seem to 'pass'. 'Agreement', in Sims' coding, refers to a second assessment uttered by the respondent while 'pass' entails either the addressee ignoring what was said or any other utterance that did not fit into 'agreement', 'acceptance' (similar to 'thanking'), or 'rejection' (covering 'nonacceptance' and 'disagreement') (cf. Sims 1984: 57–58).[21] The Response Strategies are obviously very superficially coded. Other Response Strategies that are often found in research are not accounted for in her study but her focus lies at the link between compliment form and response strategy.

Another connection Sims analyzes is that between the *topic* of compliments and the Response Strategies (see Table 2.7). Sims (1984) only shows the relation of the most frequent topics ('performance' and 'possession') and the most frequent response functions ('agreement' and 'pass') found in her data.

Table 2.7 Frequency of compliment topic and compliment response function (Sims 1984: 110)

Compliment topic	Agreement	Pass	Total
Performance	49 (79%)	57 (64.8%)	106 (70.7%)
Possession	13 (21%)	31 (35.2%)	44 (29.2%)

This coding and analysis is rather basic but what is interesting is that to the topic area of 'performance', which also ranks high among the results in the present study, a second assessment by the addressee is often used as a response. Referring to Pomerantz, this would mean that compliments on 'performance' might be understood more like positive assessments, which rather take agreeing as a preferred

21. Sims does not display numbers for 'acceptance' and 'rejection' in her study, only for the two most frequently used Response Strategies 'agreement' and 'pass'.

second pair part – unlike compliments, which should not be followed by agreements to keep the self-praise effect low. Of all the agreements that were given in Sims' study to what she terms performance and possession compliments, almost 80% were given to performance compliments.[22]

More recent studies that also analyze the connections of topics and Response Strategies are Tang/Zhang (2009) for Australian English and Chinese; Wang (2002) for Taiwanese college students, and Cheng, D. (2011) where Response Strategies by American English native speakers and Chinese learners of English are compared. Cheng, D. looks at the Response Strategies to compliments in the topic area of 'work/ability', 'appearance/clothing', 'possessions', and 'personality'. In her study, compliments on possessions triggered 'appreciation' and 'agreement' strategies as responses from American speakers (Cheng, D. 2011: 2209). When facing compliments on 'performance' (named 'ability/work' in Cheng's study), Cheng's American informants most often use a 'qualifying' and 'appreciation' strategy to respond to the compliment (Cheng, D. 2011: 2208). Thus, Cheng's American English native speakers more often 'agree' with a possession compliment and do not as often opt out of the response in performance compliments as Sims' informants do, but more often 'qualify' the compliment in their response or 'appreciate' what has been said. A direct comparison of results from such studies is of course difficult, since the Response Strategies are usually not much more than interpretations of the researcher.

2.3.2 Combining the turns in a working model

Many researchers understand compliments as well as positive assessments as a possibility to show or negotiate solidarity in a conversation (cf. Chapter 2.1.3) and consider the formulaic nature of compliments to be the feature for addressees to easily recognize its specific function (cf. above and, e.g., Al Falasi 2007: 31 or Herbert 1997: 487). Despite this claim of being easily recognizable, "utterances can be indeterminate and their status as compliments may be negotiable and [the utterance function] may even be left deliberately open by the speaker" (Jucker 2009: 1617; cf. above). An addressee nevertheless has to choose a response to keep the conversation going (cf., e.g., Huth 2006: 2026; Valdés/Pino 1981: 54). Hence,

---

22. Arguably, the table created by Sims and reproduced here is somewhat irritating. Instead of adding the totals of Response Strategies used in performance compliments, she adds all instances of agreements and passes and analyzes where more of these Response Strategies are used. Still, even though this display might have its flaws, it is very interesting to see some possible connections between topic and Response Strategy.

> all participants involved need to be able to anticipate, interpret, and in joint orientation produce relevant next turns underlying a specific sequential arrangement. If two speakers orient to different sequential organizations, speakers are out of synch and interactional trouble may ensue. (Huth 2006: 2038)

I claim that this anticipating, interpreting and orienting is, at least partly, made possible by linguistic cues in the Positive Remarks which lead people to choose their responsive strategy.[23] Thus, along the lines of the action chains propagated by Pomerantz (1978; cf. Chapter 2.2.1) and the model presented by Adamzik (1984: 278), a working model is designed for the present study which combines Manes/Wolfson's (1981) formulae with a set of possible Response Strategies emerging from the tradition of Pomerantz' studies.

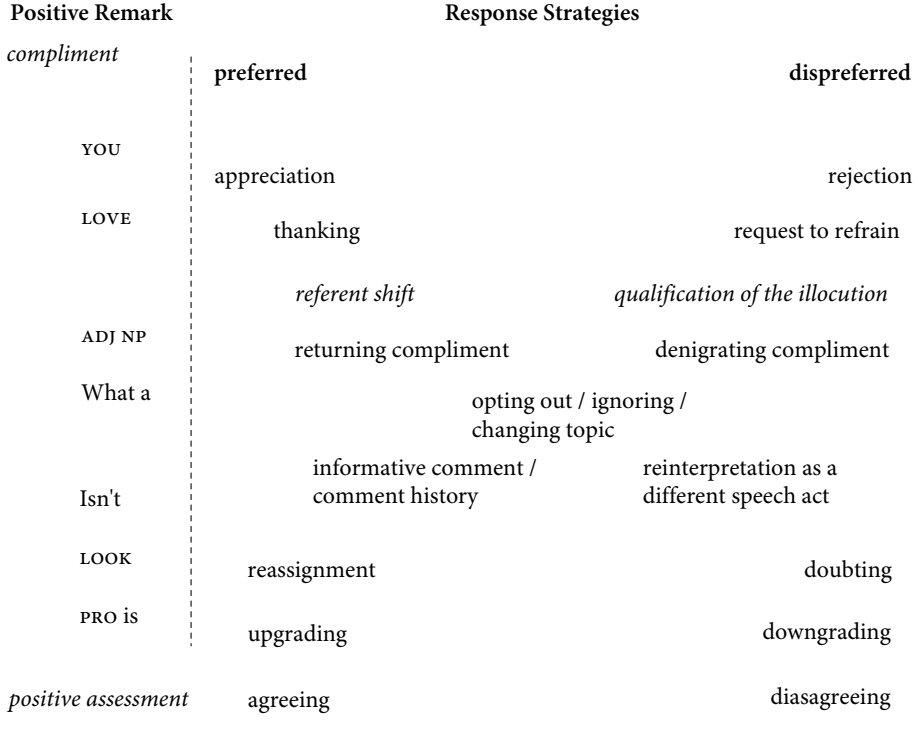


Figure 2.1 Working model: The combination of compliment formulae (based on Manes/Wolfson) and Response Strategies (based on Pomerantz and others)

23. See also Couper-Kuhlen (2014: 635) who sees the "action ascription [to be] partially dependent on linguistic form" and "[p]articipants to deploy specific linguistic forms to frame their […] actions as one type or another and recipients rely on these same linguistic forms in 'recognizing' their interlocutors' actions and responding accordingly." (Couper-Kuhlen 2014: 635).

Taking the formulae and strategies as a starting point, it needs to be clear that neither the formulae nor the Response Strategies are seen as entities with clear-cut boundaries but rather need to be understood as continua, i.e. the boundaries between compliments and positive assessments on the side of the Positive Remarks is permeable and a response strategy may overlap with others as well. These aspects are visualized in Figure 2.1 where the abbreviations on the left-hand side represent the Positive Remark, following the formulae from Manes/Wolfson. An explanation of these abbreviations is provided in Table 2.8 and the text below.[24]

Table 2.8 Positive Remark abbreviations in the working model

Abbreviation	Formula (Manes/Wolfson)	Example
YOU	You V (a) (really) ADJ NP (SP4)	*You did a good job*
	You V (NP) (really) ADV (SP5)	*You really handled that situation well*
	You have (a) (really) ADJ NP (SP6)	*You have such beautiful hair*
LOVE	I (really) like/love NP (SP2)	*I love your hair*
ADJ NP	ADJ NP! (SP8)	*Nice game!*
What a	What (a) ADJ NP! (SP7)	*What a great idea!*
Isn't	Isn't NP ADJ! (SP9)	*Isn't it pretty!*
LOOK	NP is/looks (really) ADJ (SP1)	*That shirt is so nice*
PRO is	PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP (SP3)	*This was really a great meal*

The arrangement of the formulae is supposed to reflect their assumed likeliness to be heard as a compliment (at the upper end) or as an assessment (at the lower end). The terms 'compliment' and 'positive assessment' are displayed in a smaller font size in the figure to symbolize that these are approximations on a possible continuum, not two exactly defined poles on a scale. There is no strict ranking among the formulae, which are arranged in a linear fashion to visually express a hypothetical ranking. For now they are to be seen as an accumulation of formulae that are possibly either heard as compliments or positive assessments. The directness of addressing the hearer is the essential factor for the hypothetical order in this preliminary model.[25] Closest to a compliment interpretation are, thus, the forms represented by YOU which encompasses in this model Manes/Wolfson's (1981) formulae

24. For more information on abbreviations used in this study, see also Table A.1 in the appendix.

25. Cf. above and Pomerantz (1975: 130 and 1978: 97). See also the notion of explicit personal compliments by Jucker (2009: 1612–1613) and the discussion about the personal focus in Herbert (1990: 203–205).

- 4: "You V (a) (really) ADJ NP": e.g., *You did a good job*,
- 5: "You V (NP) (really) ADV": e.g., *You really handled that situation well*, and
- 6: "You have (a) (really) ADJ NP": e.g., *You have such beautiful hair*.

LOVE represents the second formula ("I (really) like/love NP": e.g., *I love your hair* or *I really like those shoes*) that also shows a rather direct involvement of the speaker in addressing the positive traits or valued possessions of the hearer. Formulae that are rather non-personal are placed at the other end of the continuum, and thus closer to an interpretation as a positive assessment, such as 'PRO is' ("PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP": e.g., *This was really a great meal*, pattern 3), "LOOK" ("NP is/looks (really) ADJ": e.g., *That shirt is so nice*, pattern 1), and 'Isn't' ("Isn't NP ADJ!": e.g., *Isn't it pretty!*, pattern 9). These formulae are placed on the 'assessment' end of the continuum since such utterances "containing reference formulations consisting of other-than-you terms, for example, 'it,' 'that,' 'she,' 'he' " (Pomerantz 1978: 97), are usually followed by a (scaled-down) agreement and thus resemble assessments of the second action chain (see above and Pomerantz 1975: 129).

The remaining formulae by Manes/Wolfson (1981) are placed in the middle as rather ambiguous forms with ADJ NP ("ADJ NP!": e.g., *Nice game!*, pattern 8) and 'What a' ("What (a) ADJ NP!": e.g., *What a great idea!*, pattern 7), leaving the interlocutors more space for interpretation as to whether the addressee was complimented or something was assessed. If we take Jucker's (2009, see above) claim into consideration that most people might want their Positive Remark to be ambiguous as to its complimenting function, these formulae should occur quite frequently or, turning to the right-hand side of the model where the Response Strategies are presented, the strategies in this area, viz. 'opting out', 'informative comment', 'reassignment', or 'reinterpretation' should be found frequently as a response to these ambiguous utterances.

Approaching the compliemnt formula in such a way, it seems possible to find a ranking according to the 'directness of addressing the recipient' within the formulae of Manes/Wolfson. However, a closer look at the possible realizations of the patterns reveals their shortcomings (see Chapter 4.1.2 below). Among other things, they obviously lack a more thorough differentiation according to the pronouns used, if we consider that "[e]xplicit personal compliments are the prototypical compliments that say something positive about the addressee" (Jucker 2009: 1612).[26] These explicit personal compliments entail utterances such as *Your hair looks nice* or *You*

26. Such a distinction is obviously lacking in Manes/Wolfson when they state: "another typical feature of compliments [is the] use of certain deictic elements such as second person pronoun and demonstratives" (Manes/Wolfson 1981: 119) which suggests that they do not differentiate between an utterance as ***Your*** *sweater is nice* and ***That*** *sweater is nice*.

are great. Both of these utterances would belong to pattern 1 ("NP is/looks (really) ADJ") where utterances such as *This book is wonderful* would also be placed with that pattern. This shows that working on and with these formulae is a very important (starting) point for research on Positive Remarks since

- researchers claim in various studies that compliments are of formulaic nature and that these formulae are a distinctive feature of the compliment from other, very similar, utterances,
- these formulae are as of today not provided with enough detail for reasonable corpus searches,
- which makes them again very difficult to distinguish from other positively evaluating utterances which would then negate the distinctive feature of a compliment formula.

Considering that Positive Remarks are uttered in conversations and that people need to find a fitting way of reacting to them, the Response Strategies of course also play a role in determining the negotiation and interpretation of meaning. The right hand side of the working model provides space for the Response Strategies and is roughly divided into five spaces. One of them consists of the aforementioned responses to ambiguous Positive Remarks and is placed at the center of the response field. On the left-hand side of it, the preferred Response Strategies are placed according to whether or not they are likely to be the preferred response to a complimentary utterance (upper end = 'appreciation') or an assessment (lower end = 'agreeing'). On the right-hand side of the response field, the dispreferred Response Strategies can be found according to their use following a compliment or an assessment: 'rejection', 'request to refrain' etc. can be found as a dispreferred response to a Positive Remark with a compliment function (upper right corner) whereas the dispreferred strategy to respond to a positive assessment function can be found in the strategy 'disagreeing' (lower right corner). Of course, as Pomerantz puts it, these responses are "an option among several specifiable options" (Pomerantz 1978: 110). The arrangement of the Response Strategies in the working model illustrates the notion of the closeness of the strategies' function. These Response Strategies could be seen as forming 'regions' in a continuum (on continua in Response Strategies and regions cf., e.g., Chen/Yang 2010). Either of the strategies from any such 'region' might be chosen in response to any Positive Remark with a respective combination of formula and response strategy being considered to be more likely to occur in a smoothly running conversation.

Considering the above-mentioned hypotheses about the interconnectedness of the form of the Positive Remark, its function, and the Response Strategy chosen, the following questions arise:

- Are there linguistic cues in Positive Remarks that indicate (functional) differences between a positive assessment and a compliment that possibly guide the interlocutors in their interpretation? Can such cues be found within the Manes/Wolfson (1981) compliment formulae which are used by many researchers?
- Is there a specific set of Response Strategies that is assigned to particular evaluative utterance forms? Is there a choice for an interlocutor from a range of response possibilities that are more or less preferred with a specific (first pair part) form? And can the distinction of Response Strategies according to their preceding utterance then help in (re)defining the speech event and assigning a compliment or assessment function to it?
- These two questions can be brought together in the question: Can a difference be observed in Positive Remark sequences that can be linked to the form of the Positive Remark and indicate a compliment/positive assessment distinction?

A new design and a more detailed account of the compliment form is necessary for the task at hand: analyzing whether or not there is a connection between the form of the Positive Remark – with the assumed recognition of the compliment – and the chosen response strategy. For this, the working model is developed (see Figure 2.1) which serves as a hypothetical basis in the attempt to analyze the sequence of Positive Remarks in American English. Being a hypothetical working model, it has, of course, its shortcomings which might be criticized: it does not take into account (a) the exact location of the Positive Remark in discourse, (b) other conversational forms than dyadic conversations,[27] and (c) it does not reflect the possible "range of sociocultural factors which are likely to influence the way a speaker responds to a compliment" (Farghal/Al-Khatib 2001: 1490). Yet, this combination of the formulae and the Response Strategies in a working model is a theoretical construct of previous research which may serve as a basis for the first sequential analysis of naturally occurring data of American English Positive Remark speech events and might help to find out whether or not the linguistic "design of the turn embodying the first pair part" (Schegloff 2007: 62) influences the choice of the response strategy.

27. Thus, in this model, the problems of multi-party conversations is not inherently addressed, cf. Chapter 4.3.1.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology
The data base

All methods of research have associated problems which need to be addressed and are also limited in terms of what they can and can not [sic!] achieve. (Baker 2006: 7)

This chapter briefly describes and summarizes the methodological development in compliment and compliment response research, as the focus of this study lies in differentiating compliments from other positive assessments by considering the respective responses given in interaction. It will provide a brief overview of the data used so far (Chapter 3.1.1) with the main focus on the use of corpora as a data base for speech act studies (Chapter 3.1.2). Why this is also the suitable data base for the present study will be discussed in Chapter 3.2. After this general discussion, the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE), which is used in the present study, will be presented in Chapter 3.2.1 and the choice of conversations which form the sub-corpus used in the present study will be described in Chapter 3.2.2. Chapter 4 then gives an account on how the Positive Remark sequences are gathered from the corpus used in the present study.

3.1 Collecting assessments, compliments, and their responses

The ideal research method for the investigation of speech acts, and in particular for the investigation of compliments, does not exist. (Jucker 2009: 1633)

Jucker's (2009) statement points to the diversity of methods and instruments applied in researching speech acts, especially in the area of compliments (and compliment responses), as well as to the discussion accompanying the respective approaches. Different methods and instruments were used over time, each of them showing "the researcher different facets of the topic at hand" (Golato 2002: 548).[1] Today, researching speech acts to a growing extent means looking at language as it is used by speakers, surpassing examples from the early days of speech act theory which were fabricated by the researchers themselves – also referred to as the "armchair method" (cf., e.g., Jucker 2009) – to now mirroring actual conversations.

1. Detailed accounts of the methods used in compliment research are given by, e.g., Golato (2002, 2003); Jucker (2009); Tran (2006b).

3.1.1 From field notes to corpus search

A large variety of instruments for data gathering can be found in compliment and compliment response research. Next to exploring the speech acts with the help of observational field-notes (e.g., Manes/Wolfson 1981; Herbert/Straight 1989; Holmes 1986; Rees-Miller 2011; Ruhi 2006), questionnaires (e.g., Chen 1993; Chen/Yang 2010; Golato 2003), role-plays (e.g., Tran 2006a, 2006b; Ylänne-McEwen 1993), naturally occurring conversational (e.g., Golato 2002, 2005) or elicited conversational data (e.g., Sims 1989), sociolinguistic interviews (Werthwein 2009), fictional data (e.g., Rose 2001; Schneider 2011; Taavitsainen/Jucker 2008), large scale corpora (e.g., Jucker et al. 2008; Taavitsainen/Jucker 2008), or social network (Facebook) data (Maíz-Arévalo/Garcia-Gómez 2013; Placencia/Lower 2013) have been chosen as data base for investigations.

In some pragmatics studies, singular methods such as a Discourse Completion Tasks (DCT) have either "been praised as the only useful method or criticized as being completely unsuitable" (Jucker 2009: 1611) even though today "[i]t is generally accepted that methods need to be chosen so that they optimally answer the research questions" (Kasper 2008: 280). Not everything a researcher wants to find out can be investigated with any instrument. Kasper/Dahl (1991: 217) present a continuum of a variety of research methods and the fields of interest in linguistic research they are usually applied in. In their model, two major fields of interest in linguistics are arranged around the terms "perception/comprehension" on the one side and "production" on the other where they position data collection procedures according to their usefulness to gather the respective kind of data. The largest amount of control by the researcher can be applied with elicited data which gradually decreases to where the observational data is located and "where no deliberate constraints are imposed on the informants, although there may be unintentional observer effects" (Kasper/Dahl 1991: 217).

The continua of elicited and observational data in Kasper/Dahl's figure can be partly aligned with the notions of different types of methods used in pragmatics research: namely with the 'field' and the 'laboratory' methods (cf. Clark/Bangerter 2004: 25; see also Jucker 2009: 1615). The 'observational' data corresponds to the notion of 'field' research, which would include not only the ethnographic method, also called 'notebook method' by Jucker (2009), but also searching corpora as authentic discourse (cf., e.g., Jucker 2009). Kasper/Dahl's 'elicited' data can be associated with what Jucker calls the 'laboratory' method (cf. Jucker 2009). A third type of data elicitation that is mentioned in pragmatics research is that of the 'armchair' method which can be described as a philosophical, introspective approach as conducted by, e.g., Austin (1975). This introspective and intuitive way of collecting data is not displayed in Kasper/Dahl's figure since it does not generate language data as such but rather a researcher's intuitions about it.

A large spectrum of methods can be found in compliment and compliment response research (cf., e.g., Jucker/Taavitsainen 2014), while assessments are mainly investigated in the field of conversation analysis along with their focus on naturally occurring data (conversations) from Pomerantz (1975) to the more recent field of evaluation research, which is also widely carried out with corpora, viz. naturally occurring data (cf., e.g., Du Bois 2007; Hunston 2011). In compliment and compliment response research, we can find a preference of specific instruments for each turn with field notes being particularly often used in compliment and questionnaires in compliment response research. The advantage of a questionnaire lies mainly in a highly controllable and thus comparable way of collecting data which is especially valuable in cross-cultural or interlanguage pragmatics (cf., e.g., Jucker et al. 2008: 274; Kasper 2008: 279) as is the case in numerous studies on compliment responses (cf., e.g., Chen 1993; Schneider 1999). Collecting compliments in the sociolinguistic tradition of ethnographic field notes may be favored up to this day with the argument that compliments occur rather frequently in everyday situations in a formulaic way and are thus supposedly easily recognized. Yet, this way of gathering data may bear a strong influence of the researcher and their mnemonic abilities on the data they actually collect (cf., e.g., Golato 2005; Jucker 2009). When this method is used, researchers often collect large amounts of data with the help of student researchers taking part in linguistics courses (cf. Rees-Miller 2011), which could also imply some caveats in the reliability of collected samples since the researcher cannot fully control the data collection.

The development of methods used in compliment research mirrors the progress in method use across pragmatics where "the analysis of authentic data […] has been gaining ground, and new genres and media as habitats for pragmatic phenomena have entered the literature" (Kasper 2008: 279) along with corpus-based investigations in pragmatics (cf., e.g., the introductory student pragmatics book with a focus on corpus use by O'Keeffe/Adolphs/Clancy 2011, edited volumes on corpora and pragmatics by Romero-Trillo for 2013, 2014, 2015 and 2016, as well as Taavitsainen/Jucker/Tuominen's 2014 edited volume on diachronic corpus pragmatics and Aijmer/Rühlemann 2015 on corpus pragmatics, see also Chapter 3.1.2 below). One can consider this trend in using authentic corpus data to be a movement in all areas of linguistics to "concern itself not with idealized constructs but with the reality of language as people actually experience it" (Widdowson 2000: 4–5). Using corpora of spontaneous spoken language, researchers analyze production data in observing naturally occurring conversations where the spoken form is fixed in transcription and not accidentally tainted by the observer as it may happen in field notes. Jucker deems transcribed conversational data ideal for pragmaticists since it "is untampered by the researcher, and it is language that was used in real communicative situations" (Jucker 2009: 1624).

Yet, next to the positive effects and advantages of using naturally occurring data, there are also disadvantages since the advantage of lesser influence of the researcher on their data bears the disadvantage of having no influence on the production context of specific speech acts (Yuan 2001: 275). This may mean that "the sample of the speech act under investigation is likely to be relatively small" (Wieland 1995: 797) or the speech act may even not occur at all, especially in specific genres of authentic discourse (cf., e.g., Kasper 2000 and 2008; see also Pulaczewska 2013, a study on directives that contrasts elicited and spontaneous language data.) This cannot be remedied by sheer masses of language data but makes it important for the researcher to choose a discourse genre that fits the research question and ensures, as far as possible, occurrences of the speech act under investigation (see Chapter 3.2). This can be done by either selecting specific corpora or several texts from a corpus that are chosen in terms of several extralinguistic variables that are known to influence speech act production.

The present study wants to investigate the differences in sequences of Positive Remarks. More specifically, it wants to analyze the positive assessing utterances that fit into the formulae by Manes/Wolfson (1981) in connection with the Response Strategies employed to respond to them in a conversational context. There are various possibilities to gather conversational language production data for the analysis of a sequence. An open role-play, for example, could provide data in a turn-taking fashion and would empower the researcher to control certain aspects of context while keeping the conversation as real as possible (cf., e.g., Tran 2006b). Yet, the researcher might influence the outcome because of the situational cues provided to the informants and the setup of the situations. Of course, objectivity cannot be guaranteed with any data due to the personal perspective of mostly individual researchers and their own view on the world (cf., e.g., Baker 2006: 10), but using a corpus could "at least […] place a number of restrictions on our cognitive biases" (Baker 2006: 12). The main question driving a linguist then must be about the 'right kind of corpus' for doing research.

3.1.2 Speech acts and sequences in corpora

> *[T]he time has come to consider new options for retrieving material for pragmatic research tasks.* (Jucker et al. 2008: 293)

Many consider the increasing usage of corpora in linguistics a "corpus revolution" (cf., e.g., Mukherjee 2009: 26; Rühlemann 2007: 1), which can partly be attributed to the progress in computer technologies, "where any PC user can, with relative ease, exploit corpora running into millions of words" (McEnery 2003: 452; cf. also

Jucker et al. 2008: 293; Mukherjee 2009: 14–20; Partington 2004: 13).[2] Even though "early Corpus Linguistics did not envisage the use of corpora for studying discourse" (Partington 2004: 11), corpora can be said to have left the 'inner circle' of syntax and lexicon, where they were used in computerized form already since the late 1940s (cf. McEnery 2003: 452), and by now "proved to be excellent testing beds for sociolinguistic theories and discourse models" (Mair/Hundt 2000: 1).

In terms of Kasper/Dahl (1991), a corpus can be considered 'authentic discourse' since a corpus (in the traditional sense of corpus linguistics) usually is "a collection of naturally occurring language data" (McEnery 2003: 449) that is not specifically created for a single research purpose and is thus seen as a record "of 'real' text in […] co-text and context" (Rühlemann 2007: 15; cf. also Beeching 2006: 52). Some researchers question the context a corpus can provide since the "multidimensional reality of the discourse situation is lost in its representation as text" (Adolphs/Knight/Carter 2011: 307). Therefore, some claim the context information of corpora to be too scarce for pragmatics and discourse analysis (cf., e.g., Hunston 2002: 22–23; Partington 2004: 11; Rühlemann 2011: 629). Other researchers, though, see the advantage of using naturally occurring corpus texts – especially when compared to 'armchair linguistics' – and plead to "rather than adopting a negative perspective and speaking of 'semi-*decontextualized*' language we might decide to take a positive perspective and speak of corpora as semi-*contextualized* language" (Rühlemann 2007: 15, emphasis in original). Basing research on corpora rather than on intuition also "frequently forces the analyst to take account of facts, and to become aware of problems which [otherwise] may be conveniently overlooked" (Holmes 1984: 364). Findings drawn from a corpus then can, as Rühlemann puts it, "usefully complement, or even replace, the invented and often completely decontextualized examples that have formed the basis of much pragmatic enquiry" (Rühlemann 2011: 630). Many researchers agree, though, that "simply employing a corpus in one's research does not necessarily make it a study in Corpus Linguistics" (Partington 2004: 12). In many studies in pragmatics or discourse analysis, one could rather say that the "corpus assists but does not drive" the method (Hunston 2002: 34) and that a 'qualitative-textlinguistic method' (cf. Mair 1991) is being adopted in such cases.

---

2. The discussion is still going on in linguistics "whether corpus linguistics is a methodology or a theory of language" (Baker 2010: 6) or even "a collection of methods" (Baker 2010: 19). The present study considers the Santa Barbara Corpus as a data base (see Chapter 3.2) and thus sees the corpus as means to an end and does not claim to be 'a corpus linguistic study' in the strict sense.

The largest impact and innovation of corpus use is, in fact, seen in discourse and conversation analysis (cf., e.g., Biber/Connor/Upton 2007; Mair/Hundt 2000: 2; Rühlemann 2007: 1). In pragmatics, the trend to make use of corpora was detected as early as 1995 by Monaghan (1995, 63). Yet, corpora and pragmatics or discourse studies did not have "a great deal to do with each other" (Baker 2006: 1) and "only a handful of pragmaticists […] have applied corpora as a tool of analysis" (Jucker/Schreier/Hundt 2009: 5) for several more years (cf., e.g., Jucker/Taavitsainen 2014 for an overview of methods of corpus based studies in pragmatics as well as Andersen 2011 and Rühlemann/Aijmer 2015). This has changed drastically in recent years (see this chapter below for literature). The use of corpora for speech act analysis becomes ever more frequent and is no longer a rare exotic event as many published journal articles, studies, and edited volumes of the past few years prove (cf., e.g., Jautz 2013; Garcia McAllister 2015; Keel 2015; Romero-Trillo 2014; Tsuchiya/Handford 2014 to name but a few, see also Chapter 3.1.1). Yet, even though corpora are considered by many as the 'data base of the hour' for pragmatics research for some time now, Cermák sought to lower the expectations of corpus use already in the early days of this development:

> It should, however, be made quite clear that, despite being now the very best information resource available, corpora must not be offered as a cure-all. There will always be other resources to be tapped whenever complex information is needed. It is not true that one can find everything in corpora only. (Cermák 2002: 270)

While corpus-linguistic methods originally "rely on processing large quantities of authentic data using statistical methods" (Jucker et al. 2008: 274), they influence pragmatic analysis in shifting its emphasis "to frequently occurring linguistic features and made comparisons with earlier assumptions of frequently occurring patterns possible" (Jucker et al. 2008: 274). To draw conclusions regarding linguistic features, not only a certain size of a corpus is demanded by many researches but some also claim that

> [t]he term corpus should properly only be applied to a well-organized collection of data, collected within the boundaries of a sampling frame designed to allow the exploration of a certain linguistic feature (or sets of features) via the data collected. (McEnery 2003: 449)

Such a corpus design is especially important for "the quantitative-statistical method" as opposed to "the qualitative-textlinguistic method" (Mair 1991: 67). While in early corpus studies, quantitative analysis was the main goal and key to analyzing the language system, an analysis in terms of discourse or pragmatics will need to take the context into account and the "functional (qualitative) interpretation is […] an essential step" (Biber 1988: 4; also Baker 2006: 2; or Vaughan/Clancy 2013: 57).

Quantitative and qualitative approaches cannot be treated as strictly separable. Just as some instances of quantitative text analysis is needed in qualitative approaches,

> quantitative methods are not irrelevant to discourse studies, in the sense that recurring instances of a phenomenon are noted, the explication of a single instance normally implies that a pattern has been identified, and the explanation would hold true for other similar instances. (Hunston 2007: 28)

Yet, studies in the area of pragmatics as well as "research in the area of discourse will never be wholly quantitative. In fact, the numbers themselves are derived from close examination of many or all of the specific instances of the targeted phenomenon" (Hunston 2007: 28). For such studies, as for the present one, using a corpus can be described by the term 'corpus-based' (as opposed to 'corpus-driven') which was coined by Tognini-Bonelli (2001).[3] In her definition, "the term corpus-based is used to refer to a methodology that avails itself of the corpus mainly to expound, test, or exemplify theories and descriptions" (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 65). The "commitment to the data as a whole is not ultimately very strict or systematic" (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 81) and frequencies or the absence of certain patterns, "although noted, may not be determining in the formulation of a theoretical statement about the system" (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 81). In corpus-driven studies, on the other hand, "the corpus itself is the data and the patterns in it are noted as a way of expressing regularities (and exceptions) in language" (cf. Baker 2006: 16). This distinction is considered to be useful and is, in fact, widely used in pragmatics these days (cf., e.g., Baker 2006: 16; Huang 2012: 18). Up to this day, many studies in pragmatics that use corpora are considered to be corpus-based studies or, by some, 'corpus-assisted' studies (Partington 2004: 19). Some researchers discuss, though, whether the distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven is too strict (cf., e.g., Baker 2010: 8) and argue to rather place these two terms and concepts as endpoints on a descriptive continuum (cf., e.g., McEnery/Xiao/Tono 2006: 8).

Corpus-based pragmatics studies often take as a starting point "a fixed form that can easily be retrieved from a large corpus" (Jucker/Schreier/Hundt 2009: 4), whether this means discourse particles (cf., e.g., Aijmer 2002; Andersen 2001; Stenström/Andersen/Hasund 2002) or "a speech function that is generally realized in a small number of variant patterns" (Jucker/Schreier/Hundt 2009: 4). Researching speech acts, either their function or their form can be focused on (for the caveats and challenges of the form-to-function approach, see below). The

3. The terms 'text-driven' and 'text-based', that are also often found in research, are used in a similar way and are mainly differentiated by basing research on "the manual (and more 'qualitative') analysis of small-scale text corpora [i.e. text-based] rather than on automated quantitative large-scale corpus analyses [i.e. text-driven]" (Bednarek 2011: 538).

first can be called a function-to-form mapping and the second a form-to-function mapping (cf., e.g., Barron/Schneider 2009; Kohnen 2002; Schneider/Barron 2008).[4] This can either mean a search for (i) IFIDs (Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices) (Jucker/Taavitsainen 2014: 258), or for (ii) typical elements or patterns, which is only relatively precise but very labor intensive (Jucker/Taavitsainen 2014: 259), or (iii) a metacommunicative approach in searching for expressions such as 'compliment' (Jucker/Taavitsainen 2014: 260). Most pragmaticists traditionally approach speech acts in the function-to-form way, since they are considered as, "by and large, functional entities" (Jucker/Taavitsainen 2014: 257), and are not considered to be "very obvious candidates for corpus-based investigations" (Jucker/Taavitsainen 2014: 257). Compliments are considered to be "even less obvious candidates for corpus-based investigations because they do not rely on regular illocutionary force indicating devices and because their status is often uncertain" (Jucker/Taavitsainen 2014: 257–258). Yet, the form-to-function mapping is preferred when using (large) corpora "since corpora are not (yet) tagged for [functional aspects of] speech acts" (Jautz 2008: 147). Yet, "a range of functions may be associated with one form" (Vine 2000: 373) and this form of an utterance may have several meanings in various contexts. These context-dependent "speech functions do not lend themselves to easy searches in large computerized corpora […], since they have to be identified in a one-by-one fashion by the analyst" (Jucker/Schreier/Hundt 2009: 4). This makes a corpus-based study of speech acts – especially of conversational implicature (see Rühlemann 2011: 630) – in large corpora rather difficult and explains why some pragmaticists advocate for the usage of smaller copora, like the one used in the present study, and a more thorough knowledge of the context by the researcher (cf. Vaughan/Clancy 2013; Jucker/Taavitsainen 2014).

Since "the relationship between form and function in speech acts is hardly fixed, and different manifestations are unpredictable" (Kohnen 2009: 21), Kohnen argues that the researcher will either have to employ "illustrative eclecticism", i.e. collecting "typical illustrative realisations" (Kohnen 2009: 21; see also Kohnen 2015), or will have to decide for "structural eclecticism" which means that the researcher starts "with a selection of typical patterns which are traced by way of a corpus-based analysis" (Kohnen 2009: 21). A further problem Kohnen discusses is that not all manifestations of a specific speech act can be discovered in a corpus search since

4. An incomplete list of speech acts researched in corpus-based studies so far include apologies (cf., e.g., Aijmer 1996; Deutschmann 2003), directives (cf., e.g., Flöck 2011a; Flöck/Geluykens 2015; Garcia McAllister 2015; Kohnen 2000, 2004, 2008; Pulaczewska 2013; Vine 2000, 2004), requests (cf., e.g., Aijmer 1996; Wichmann 2004), thanking (cf., e.g., Aijmer 1996; Jautz 2008, 2009, 2013), promises (cf., e.g., Valkonen 2008), suggestions (cf., e.g., Flöck 2009), and compliments (cf. Jucker et al. 2008 and Taavitsainen/Jucker 2011).

some indirect realizations may be impossible to detect for the researcher due to the lack of information on the conversationalists' co-text. "[T]here is always a residue of 'hidden manifestations' " (Kohnen 2009: 21) and the picture gained of a speech act by analyzing corpus data remains fragmentary. As the third major problem, Kohnen names the risk "of mixing genres and registers in the analysis" (Kohnen 2009: 21) since these can have a large contextual effect on the language used (see also below, Chapter 3.2.2). Thus, not only the nature of the speech acts (the non-definite correlation between form and function) may make it difficult to draw conclusions from corpus data but also the nature of the corpus itself is of importance. This especially holds true considering the importance of context and co-text in pragmatics since "[i]nevitably, the composition of the corpus influences the findings which may be made" (Beeching 2006: 49).

Generally speaking, by turning to a corpus for language data the researcher can start "(hopefully) from a position whereby the data itself has not been selected in order to confirm existing conscious (or subconscious) biases" (Baker 2006: 12). Some may feel that, to avoid any bias, the "best information comes from direct data" (Cermák 2002: 279) that should be preferred over, e.g., a speech act annotated corpus at any time. With a corpus "devoid of any annotation" (Cermák 2002: 279), the researcher may avoid having to stick to 'outdated' theories and views on annotation (cf. Cermák 2002: 272) since "no reliable and general techniques for handling" (Cermák 2002: 280) larger stretches of talk, as for example would be needed for pragmatics and speech act investigations, are available as of yet (but see Weisser 2015 on automatic speech act annotations in task-oriented conversations). Even though some claim that "[c]orpora increase in value depending on the annotation layers provided" (Guirao et al. 2006: 106), the major problem remains that "there is no universal tag-set" (Cermák 2002: 271) and the researcher will have to closely analyze the corpus data, even in an annotated corpus, to draw their own conclusions. This would be necessary in determining the functions of grammatical forms or lexical entities, but even more so when the researcher aims at finding out about illocutionary forces of utterances that can only become clearer by looking at the context.

No matter which approach is chosen, it needs to be borne in mind, also for the present study, that even a corpus analysis cannot show how language is 'really' used and cannot help to formulate universally valid 'generalizations' but the researcher's attempts to draw data "from a corpus are in fact extrapolations" (Hunston 2002: 23). Hunston further argues that

> [a] statement about evidence in a corpus is a statement about that corpus, not about the language or register of which the corpus is a sample. Thus conclusions about language drawn from a corpus have to be treated as deductions, not as facts.
> (Hunston 2002: 23)

Even if findings cannot be easily generalized, the naturalness of language data is nevertheless seen as an advantage of corpus studies as compared to empirical studies based on elicited data. Language data is usually considered more natural the less control the researcher has over it. With decreasing control on the language production, though, language becomes more erratic and elliptical, which makes it difficult for the researcher to find suitable search strings and language patterns for an automated corpus search (cf., e.g., Jucker et al. 2008; Hunston 2011). Analyzing speech acts with corpus data, the researcher faces even more obstacles. Form-to-function mapping concerning speech acts always poses a difficult task since "illocutionary force […] often cannot be unambiguously determined" (Kasper/Dahl 1991: 229; see also above). Thus, it is not surprising that no (spoken) corpus exists which is tagged in terms of illocutionary acts or forces.[5] Even though software and computer technologies have advanced tremendously in the last few years, it still holds true that there are some things that "only the analyst, and not the machine, can finally decide" (Partington 2004: 16) and assigning illocutionary force surely still is one of these. As Kohnen (2000) states:

> Tagging a corpus in terms of speech acts would be an extremely demanding if not impossible task, since the tagging would entail careful consideration of all available contextual factors for all texts. (Kohnen 2000: 178)

With the focus on speech acts and a corpus as data base, researchers need to define how to search for the specific utterances. Neither illocution nor perlocution of speech acts can easily be searched for with search strings in language data (see Jucker et al. 2008: 273) due to a "fundamental difficulty" (Kohnen 2000: 183) of mapping form and function (see above). Jucker et al. claim that speech acts "can only be found in larger corpora if they appear regularly with standard illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs) or in largely routinized forms" (2008: 273). This leads the researcher to focus on "the patterns representing the most typical and common manifestations of a speech act" (Kohnen 2000: 183) and not to aim at

---

5. There are recent trends of tagging spoken corpora in terms of speech act annotation, cf. Kirk et al. (2007) and Kallen/Kirk (2008) with the special component of ICE Ireland which is called SPICE-Ireland corpus (which stands for "Systems of Pragmatic Annotation in the Spoken Component of ICE-Ireland", see also http://www.johnmkirk.co.uk/cgi-bin/generic?instanceID=11, last accessed November 20th, 2017. In the SPICE corpus, utterances are tagged according to Searle's (1976) speech act categories (see Garcia McAllister 2015 on a possibly necessary reclassification of the speech acts for conversational data). Pragmatic tagging has to be mostly done manually. Automatic tagging of spoken language, especially of speech acts, is still at its beginnings and poses many difficulties (cf., e.g., Weisser 2015). Advances are made in human-machine interaction, especially in an environment with predetermined goals as in telephone flight reservations, cf., e.g., Georgila et al. (2009).

covering "all the possible manifestations of that speech act" (Kohnen 2000: 183) when using a corpus as a data base. Thus, Jucker et al. (2008) also start out with their corpus search for compliments with the formulae from Manes/Wolfson (1981). Jucker et al. take the British National Corpus (BNC), which is annotated and part-of-speech tagged, as a data base. With it, a researcher can look for specific forms and combinations of forms such as a noun phrase (_NN*) followed by specific verbs and verb forms, various intensifiers and predicative adjectives (_AJ0) with a search string as they formulated in their search string for a corpus search of Manes/Wolfson's pattern 1 (see Jucker et al. 2008: 279):

_NN* (is|'re|are|were|look*|seem*)(really|very|such|so)_AJo

Such search strings of course overgeneralize the findings. Not only positive evaluative adjectives, but also any other predicative adjective will be found with such a search string. Thus, Jucker et al. emphasize the importance of the additional qualitative approach their study takes. They claim that a closer look at the context is needed since "seemingly very positive evaluations can be far removed from compliments" (Jucker et al. 2008: 282).

In the present study, a form-to-function approach is chosen with the focus on possible distinctions between the form of various positive evaluative remarks in their sequential use (i.e., the responses uttered). Hence, it seems reasonable to also take the patterns from Manes/Wolfson (1981) as a starting point, which are similar to the pattern found for positive assessments (see Chapter 2.1.2) and proceed in a text-based qualitative approach (see also Chapter 3.1). In the texts from the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English, which are used in this study, the search has to rely on the qualitative text analysis, i.e. close reading by the researcher (for a similar approach for identifying speech acts according to Searle's classification, see Garcia McAllister 2015), due to its make up and the aim of the present study.

3.2 The data base that suits the purpose

For the present study, a corpus-based qualitative analysis of authentic conversation is the best choice, since it reduces the researcher's bias in the data collection procedure and mirrors, even in a small sample, possible constructions in the sequence of utterances in the form of the compliment formulae and a respective Response Strategy, while it also provides the chance to go into the details of the respective context. This leaves one question that needs to be answered: Which corpus material is available for a study on Positive Remark sequences in conversational data of American English?

A suitable corpus is not as easily found as it might be the case for a written genre study. Even though spoken data is available in corpora, time- and money-consuming aspects of transcribing have led to a "relative paucity of spoken material" (Beeching 2006: 49; cf. also Partington 2004: 11) compared to the vast amounts of written texts that can relatively easy be put together as corpora. Thus, working with spoken material often implicates to work with a somewhat smaller corpus than when working with written data.

The first look towards a potential data base turns to the American National Corpus (ANC) which is set out to be a parallel corpus to the British National Corpus (BNC) (cf., e.g., Reppen/Ide 2004). The spoken part will amount to 10% of the targeted 100 million words in the ANC (Reppen/Ide 2004: 107). In the current second release, the spoken part is made up of four parts and contains a total number of 3,863,592 words.[6] In this collection, the Charlotte Narrative and Conversation Collection (CNCC), consisting of face-to-face conversation, could at first glance fit the research aim of the present study, seemingly offering a collection of conversational data. Yet, at a closer look, the conversations available are mostly elicited interviews or interview-like "narratives of personal experience or opinion" (Davis/Russell-Pinson 2007: 146).[7]

Another corpus of spoken American English is the Corpus of Spoken Professional American English (CSPA, see http://www.athel.com/corpdes.html, last accessed November 20th, 2017). As the name suggests, this spoken data is collected in non-private, professional settings. The CSPA is made up of two subcorpora, one "consists mainly of academic discussions" while the other "contains transcripts of White House press conferences, which are almost exclusively question-and-answer sessions" (see http://www.athel.com/corpdes.html, last accessed November 20th, 2017).

Neither of these spoken corpora would, in all likelihood, provide the needed conversational genre to find Positive Remarks that could also entail compliments since these conversations do not comprise face-to-face conversation that could be labeled as 'everyday conversation between friends/family' (see Chapter 3.2.2),

6. This spoken part is a collection of four (sub-)corpora that also have been used individually in corpus studies: Two corpora consist of telephone conversations ("callhome", "switchboard"), one contains academic discourse (MICASE – Michigan Corpus of Academic English, see https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/c/corpus/corpus?page=home;c=micase;cc=micase/, last accessed November 20th, 2017) and face-to-face conversations ("charlotte", CNNC – Charlotte Narrative and Conversation Collection, see http://nsv.uncc.edu/nsv/narratives, last accessed November 20th, 2017). The content and number of files and words can be found on the pages of the ANC at http://www.anc.org/SecondRelease/contents.html, last accessed November 20th, 2017.

7. See http://nsv.uncc.edu/nsv/narratives, accessed last November 20th, 2017, where some extracts of the transcripts as well as information on the speaker can be browsed by the name of the interviewee. Some parts of the audio files can be listened to on the webpage as well.

which is needed for the present study. Since it is the aim of this study to investigate the sequence of a Positive Remark and its response, a conversational genre with at least two speakers in an everyday setting needs to be chosen. A reasonably suitable corpus candidate could also have been the Longman Spoken American Corpus (cf. http://www.pearsonlongman.com/dictionaries/corpus/spoken-american.html, last accessed November 20th, 2017; see also Grimm 2008). This collection of conversations sounds suitable for the purpose of the present study as well, yet due to aspects of easy access at the time of carrying out the present study, the final choice fell on the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English which is the only corpus resource easily available that suits the demands of the present study.

3.2.1 General information on the SBCSAE

The Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE) was collected by and compiled through the University of California in Santa Barbara (see http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/research/santa-barbara-corpus, last accessed November 20th, 2017). User-friendliness was one of the goals in transcribing the SBCSAE (Chafe 1995: 55). The transcripts entail mark-up only up to a certain extent and still remain readable for researchers: the intonation units correspond with the lines in the transcription, brackets mark overlapping speech, "=" marks lengthening and so forth.[8] In the present study, many examples taken from the corpus will be given without many of these annotations for an even simpler and quicker understanding of the example. Only the intonation units, i.e. their correspondence with the lines in the corpus, will be given in each sample in the present study as well.

The publication of the first part of this corpus in 2000 (Du Bois et al. 2000) was "long awaited" (Mair 2003: 343) by the linguistic community. The 60 texts collected in the United States in the late 1980s and in the 1990s (cf. Kaufmann 2002: 1311) were published in four parts (Du Bois et al. 2000, 2003; Du Bois/Englebretson 2004, 2005) containing transcripts and audiofiles.[9] With the word count of about 290,000 words, it is a "small but diverse body of spoken American English data", where it seems "superfluous to even talk about representativeness" (Kaufmann 2002: 1310) of American English in this corpus. In a more recent article on the

8. For a more detailed account on the mark-up, cf., e.g., Chafe (1995) and for a critical observation on its inconsistencies see Kaufmann (2002).

9. The transcripts and audiofiles are freely available for download today at http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/research/santa-barbara-corpus, last accessed November 20th, 2017. Further available is an XML-marked-up version of the transcripts at the Talkbank website, cf. https://talkbank.org/, last accessed November 20th, 2017.

corpus, Englebretson (2007) relativizes the word count and says that the four parts make up ca. 249,000 words:

> The figure of 249,000 words for the four volumes of the SBCSAE was arrived at after excluding non-word tokens such as speaker labels, pauses, and non-vocal noises such as table thumps; this figure also excludes non-lexical vocal noises such as laughter, coughing, and throat-clearing. This word-count is thus an accurate reflection of the number of spoken words (including truncated words and so-called filled pauses) in the SBCSAE to date. (Englebretson 2007: 22)

In general, corpora have become larger and larger over the years so that, even as early as in the 1990s, when "the term corpus is used in modern linguistics it usually designates a fairly large body of text that is available in machine-readable form" (McEnery/Wilson 1996: 21). Some researchers only start using the term 'corpus' once a collection of texts comprises a few billion words – and deem it only then worthwhile to work with (see above, Chapter 3.1.2). Even though for some the "question of corpus size can be a contentious one" (Hunston 2002: 26), size can be considered a minor issue concerning speech act realizations in conversations (see also Garcia McAllister 2015). Of course, a corpus is needed that contains the speech acts in question at all but this is more a question of conversational genre than a matter of size for a successful pragmatic – and especially speech act – analysis (see Chapter 3.1.2 and Kohnen 2009: 21). Hunston (2007: 28) claims that "even when the amount of data collected is relatively small", corpora as data bases work out as long as "statements of the type 'this is a demonstrably typical occurrence' are worth making". Generalizations of this typical occurrence then must be handled carefully and with the respective genre of the data base in mind (cf. Jucker 2009).

Using a relatively small corpus sample will most probably provide only a few samples of the speech act. An analysis of these is of course "open to the charge that the data are narrow and unrepresentative" (Stubbs 2001: 167; cf., also, Carter/McCarthy 1995: 143 and Chapter 3.1.2 above) while a large number of examples can cause difficulties as well since "it is impossible to study the specific context of each one, and the analysis seems superficial" (Stubbs 2001: 167). Some researchers even consider that "[t]he primary benefit of small corpora to the study of pragmatics is a fundamental one: they can enable the researcher to access authentic, naturally occurring language and to maintain a close connection between language and context" (Vaughan/Clancy 2013: 57; see also Jucker/Taavitsainen 2014 and Garcia McAllister 2015). Hence, a small corpus size is not only feasible concerning grammatical features (cf., e.g., Carter/McCarthy 1995: 143; Mair 1991: 72), but also for speech acts such as compliments since Holmes (1986) found highly reliable patterns in collected data of various sizes which leads her to conclude that "patterns of complimenting behaviour in particular contexts or social groups can be investigated

using smaller samples" (Holmes 1986: 505). Thus, even a few samples found in a small corpus might mirror complimenting behavior in that text type. Of course, these "findings are unlikely to be representative of all language use […]. But as long as we bear this in mind, there is no reason why we shouldn't use corpus techniques on smaller texts" (Baker 2010: 7).

Thus, even though the SBCSAE is too small to speak of statistical representativeness concerning the use of American English, it "represents a wide variety of people of different regional origins, ages, occupations, genders, and ethnic and social backgrounds" (http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/research/santa-barbara-corpus, last accessed November 20th, 2017) in the conversations taped all across the United States. A bundle of information is provided for each speaker (e.g., gender, age, dialect region (original and current), level and years of education, occupation, and ethnicity) and thus "includes most of the crucial social factors needed for sociolinguistic research" (Kaufmann 2002: 1311).[10] This makes it "an excellent resource for case studies or qualitative research" (Kaufmann 2002: 1311) while of course a small corpus such as the SBCSAE "cannot be the basis of sweeping generalizations about the spoken language" (Carter/McCarthy 1995: 143). Yet, results from such studies using smaller corpora "can be used as the basis of further research" (Carter/McCarthy 1995: 143). No matter how large or small, for the respective genres in a corpus, this text collection "essentially tells us what language is like, and the main argument in favour of using a corpus is that it is a more reliable guide to language use than native speaker intuition is" (Hunston 2002: 20) and thus it can make results more objective and research replicable (cf., e.g., Aijmer/Stenström 2004: 4).[11]

The SBCSAE has been mentioned in many studies concerning spoken American English, some studies have actually been carried out so far with it as a data base. Most studies are concerned with aspects of lexicality or grammar in interaction. Du Bois (2007) also investigates evaluations uttered in the SBCSAE while he does not take positive evaluations as specific speech acts into account. Other research working with the SBCSAE in terms of speech act analysis includes Flöck's research on directives (cf., e.g., Flöck 2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2016).

---

10. The meta data for the conversations is also freely available on the webpage of the Department of Linguistics at Santa Barbara on http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/research/santa-barbara-corpus, accessed November 20th, 2017.

11. For a discussion of the reliability of sociolinguistic studies based on large corpora, see Brezina/Meyerhoff (2014).

3.2.2 Choice of scenes from the SBCSAE

In the collection of texts, the SBCSAE is designed in line with the spoken part of ICE, the International Corpus of English (see http://ice-corpora.net/ice/, last accessed November 20th, 2017). It "provides the main source of data for the spontaneous spoken portions of the American component" of the ICE America project (see http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/research/santa-barbara-corpus, last accessed November 20th, 2017) and as such needs to follow certain guidelines to ensure a comparability of the various corpora. Each ICE team compiles "a corpus of one million words of their own national or regional variety of English, of which 600,000 words are taken from spoken sources" (Nelson 1995: 220). Of the typical 300 texts for the spoken part of the ICE, there are 60 texts published in the SBCSAE and available as transcripts and audio files (see Chapter 3.2.1).[12] Next to what can be termed 'private conversation', the SBCSAE also entails sermons, classroom talk, presentations and the like. Not all of these conversational types are suitable to find and analyze compliment and positive assessment sequences since, for example, in classroom conversation or sermons, too little to no turn-taking, let alone interaction between friends and family members, is observable.

The texts differ in terms of conversational partners (numbers and relationship towards each other) as well as in the domain (from private to public settings) and type (from monologic sermons to lively polylogues). Most of these texts comprise Positive Remarks of some kind but not all of them show Positive Remark sequences with responses. For a comparison of the expected, assumingly differing, Positive Remark sequences, it is essential to analyze the utterances in a comparable conversational surrounding in a number of texts. This specific choice in conversational type that is analyzed in the present study should avoid differences in Positive Remark sequences that rather belong to a specific text genre than to the form of the Positive Remark or differing conversationalists' relationships. Thus, even though 'conversation' is sometimes seen as an 'archetypical' term, it is "by no means a unified register" (Rühlemann 2007: 9) and

> one can view types of conversation as forming a continuum with mundane talk at one end and carefully pre-planned interviewing or some other strictly role and status dependent form of institutional interaction on the other end.
>
> (Hakulinen 2009: 55)

The most suitable conversations for the present study in the SBCSAE are those that fit the description of everyday-conversation. This type of conversation is best suited since the occurrences of utterances fitting the compliment and positive

12. For a rough outline of the ICE design and the description of the text types, cf. http://ice-corpora.net/ice/design.htm, last accessed November 20th, 2017.

assessment formulae by wording and semantics plus the opportunities for responses are more numerous in these conversations than in other conversation types from the SBCSAE which, in the process of choosing the suitable conversations for the present study, were also looked at briefly. The chosen conversations offer the largest chance of responses to occur while the relationship of the conversationalists is comparable in these various texts.

To count as everyday-conversation, the conversations need to be mundane, interactive, and locally managed by the conversational partners (cf., e.g., Nofsinger 1991; Schütte 2001). They occur in a non-official manner, and are produced spontaneously in a private sphere where social roles and differences between the conversational partners play a minor role (cf., e.g., Lindemann 1990; Schütte 2001). Yet, not all of the conversations in the SBCSAE showing these features can be used for researching compliment and positive assessment sequences since some conversations stand out in terms of the relationship between the speakers. The power differences may not play a major part in everyday-conversation but there is a difference in the (positively) assessing behavior between intimates in a dialog on the one hand and the communicative behavior of a larger group of family and friends on the other. Not only the number of conversationalists may influence the behavior but also their relationship since, according to Wolfson's 'bulge theory', a heightened amount of compliments can be expected when the conversational partners are neither intimates nor strangers (Wolfson 1988).[13] This leaves conversations in the SBCSAE that have only two speakers, who are mainly couples in an intimate relationship, as a less favorable choice. In the conversations with more than two people, the relationship between the speakers is more complex and the intimacy of a possibly present couple is not as defining for the situation which makes these conversations more interesting for the present purpose.

In the SBCSAE, a number of conversations of a domestic or family-and-friends domain that have more than two speakers are of specific interest for the present study. A total of 21 texts are chosen which amount to a word count of approximately 97,000 words and a recorded conversation time of about 8 hours. The 21 texts are listed in Table 3.1, providing the text ID, title, and brief account of the setting. The text identification numbers consist of the abbreviation SBC for Santa Barbara Corpus and a number. These are the same ID tags and titles as assigned to the corpus texts in the published four parts of the corpus. A description of the conversations (which is taken – in slightly altered form – from the webpage of the Santa Barbara Corpus, see http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/research/santa-barbara-corpus, last accessed November 20th, 2017) can be found in the appendix (see Appendix B).

13. For a discussion of the "specific form of attentiveness expected of friends" in conversations, see, e.g., Traverso (2009: 2387).

Table 3.1 Conversations chosen from the Santa Barbara Corpus of spoken American English

ID	Name	Setting
SBC001	Actual Blacksmithing	three women have a conversation, large monologue parts
SBC002	Lambada	lively after-dinner conversation of four friends
SBC003	Conceptual Pesticides	conversation during dinner preparations of three friends
SBC004	Raging Bureaucracy	family conversation with six participants
SBC011	This Retirement Bit	lively conversation among three retired women
SBC013	Appease the Monster	family conversation at a birthday party, five participants
SBC015	Deadly Diseases	three friends have a conversation about various topics
SBC019	Doesn't Work in this Household	family and friends conversation among three adults and two teenagers
SBC031	Tastes Very Special	family conversation at a restaurant (sisters, mother, and waitress)
SBC032	Handshakes All Around	mainly three participants at a neighborhood 'bloc party'
SBC033	Guilt	lively family argument/discussion among eight participants
SBC035	Hold my Breath	lively family conversation among five family members
SBC036	Judgmental on People	conversation among three adults, family and friends
SBC037	Very Good Tamales	conversation during dinner preparations among threee to four family members
SBC042	Stay out of It	family argument among family members with a friend present
SBC048	Mickey Mouse Watch	conversation during Christmas morning gift-exchange among four family members
SBC049	Noise Pollution	conversation at a family birthday party with ten speakers, all related
SBC050	Just Wanna Hang	conversation among four university roommates
SBC051	New Yorkers Anonymous	dinner table conversation among four friends
SBC052	Oh You Need a Breadbox	phone conversation at Christmas with three participants
SBC059	You Baked	conversation at Christmas eve among four related adults

In all these conversations at least three or more conversational partners interact on everyday topics. The number of interactants and the style of their conversation may change during the course of the conversation, but there is always at least one bystander who can be seen as "copresent audience" (cf., e.g., Schütte 2001: 1489; Goffman 1979) and who can turn into a further interactant. The complications or

aspects that have to be borne in mind with this constellation of speakers will be discussed in the chapters on coding (see Chapter 4.3) and the presentation of the data (see Chapters 5 and 6).

In a textual analysis such as in the present study, the corpus is rather used as a collection of conversations, in a way "that would be just as appropriate using paper and pencil as using a computer" (Hunston 2002: 34). Yet, such a textual approach is not only "unavoidable when items with a clear discourse function […] are being studied" (2002: 34; see also Holmes 1986: 498) but also when illocutionary force needs to be assigned. Thus, qualitative content analysis of corpus texts is an acceptable way to work with corpus data but "it may overlook some specific details" (Wilson/Moudraia 2006: 211) for several reasons. First and foremost, the researcher may overlook some utterances that do not fit the description of their search string since it is not automatically searched for.[14] Also, the analyst as an 'eavesdropper' does not have full access to the shared context of the conversation (cf. Rühlemann 2007: 14; Goffman 1979). The analysis thus "remains an act of interpretation" which "defines itself within this framework as an empirical, methodical and controlled approach to the analysis of texts within their context of communication and without precise quantification" (Wilson/Moudraia 2006: 211; see also Chapter 3.1).

The text analysis of the present study was conducted with the help of the qualitative text analysis tool MaxQDA (Kuckartz/Belous 2007).[15] The selected (untagged) text files from the SBCSAE were loaded into this program. In MaxQDA, the categories were created by me and the respective stretches of talk in the conversation were coded, i.e., the Positive Remarks (PosR) that fit the Manes/Wolfson (1981) formulae and the successive utterances, along with other categories as described in Chapter 4. The group of such sequences found with this manual text-based search in the present study entails compliments as well as positively assessing remarks that would usually not be considered a compliment. This entire group is referred to as Positive Remarks (PosR) and combines all positively assessing remarks of the conversations with the only premise that they need to fit Manes/Wolfson's (1981) formulae, no matter which positively assessing illocution can be assigned to them.

14. The pitfalls and drawbacks of a search string to run an automatic search for compliments in a corpus can be found in Jucker et al. (2008), see also Chapter 3.1.2.

15. The version worked with in the present study was MaxQDA 2007. The software program is being updated and revised regularly. Information on the program and developers, cf. http://www.maxqda.de/, last accessed November 20th, 2017.

CHAPTER 4

The coding of the Positive Remark sequences

Theories change and so do views on annotation, but data remains and as a sort of historical record of its time, the data should remain untouchable […].

(Cermák 2002: 272)

The research findings for compliments, (positive) assessments, as well as Response Strategies as presented in Chapter 2 have to be adapted to the data used in the present study. In coding the data from the SBCSAE, a bottom-up-approach was chosen with a close analysis of the texts and the coding of Positive Remarks was carried out according to their form and their immediate context. Facing the spontaneous everyday conversations and their structure, appropriate codings and categories to analyze these sequences are needed also in terms of the utterance's – especially the responses' – place in the conversation.[1]

The start of the coding endeavor was, as mentioned before, to manually, in a bottom-up approach, search for positive evaluations in the conversations that fit the syntactico-semantic formulae described by Manes/Wolfson (1981) and thus also the assessment formula (Goodwin/Goodwin 1987: 22, see Chapter 2.1.2 above). These utterances in combination with the utterances following them in the conversation constitute the Positive Remark sequences in focus. By taking the form of the Positive Remarks as a starting point to define the speech acts in focus, thus drawing conclusions from the form in terms of the function of the speech act, a form-to-function approach is taken in this study (cf. Chapter 3.1.2). The focus of such approaches lies on formal structures used in an utterance and the analysis on such a formal level is "aimed at determining the communicative functions these forms may have in discourse" (Schneider/Barron 2008: 20). In the present chapter, an inventory of the coding and categories that have been employed on the sequences of Positive Remarks in the chosen SBCSAE texts is presented. The results and numbers of occurrences of the introduced categories will be shown in Chapters 5 and 6.

There are also other possible ways to investigate a pragmatic phenomenon and the formal level is only one of several. Table 4.1 shows various levels of pragmatic analysis as introduced by Schneider/Barron (2008: 19–21; see also O'Keeffe/Adolphs/Clancy 2011: 111).

---

1. It is impossible to guarantee reliability of the coding since no other person coded or rated the data but me. The often mentioned inter-rater reliability that is aspired in empirical research could not be aimed at in the present study, due to its original nature as a dissertation thesis.

Table 4.1 Levels of pragmatic analysis (Schneider/Barron 2008: 19–21)

Level	Description
Formal	focus on forms such as, e.g., hedges, discourse markers and the like
Actional	focus on realization and modification of speech acts
Interactional	focus on sequential patterns such as adjacency pairs
Topic	focus on how conversational topics, e.g. in small talk, are selected
Organisational	focus on turn-taking phenomena such as pauses, overlaps, and backchannels

These five levels of pragmatic analysis cannot be seen as distinct approaches. Again, as in so many fields of pragmatics, the boundaries need to be seen as permeable. While the focus of the current study is on Positive Remarks that are chosen due to their form, they will be analyzed in connection with the turn uttered in response. Thus, this study also refers to the interactional level of pragmatic analysis, where Schneider/Barron (2008) see

> the focus of analysis […] on sequential patterns. Questions answered on this level include, for instance, how speech acts combine into such larger units of discourse as, e.g., adjacency pairs, interchanges, interactional exchanges or phases (e.g. conversational openings and closings). (Schneider/Barron 2008: 20)

Since it is claimed for this study that there is a connection between the function of Positive Remarks, their linguistic form, and their organization in a sequence with the responses given, the close connection between the levels of pragmatic analysis needs to be kept in mind: the connection of the Positive Remarks and their following turns, i.e., the nature of such adjacency pairs and the preference organization, is analyzed on the interactional level; the distinction of Positive Remarks from other utterances in the conversations is approached via their form and could be assigned to the formal level; while the function of the speech acts is part of the actional level (cf. Schneider/Barron 2008: 20).

The Positive Remarks focused on in the present study are determined by their form which can take on many functions: they can be compliments, general positive assessments, ambiguous utterances, may mainly structure discourse, and even more (see Chapters 1 and 2). The present study is interested in the possible functions the Positive Remarks can take and approaches this task from the form-to-function level by first narrowing down the form to be considered for analysis, to then take the interactional level into account.

In the following subchapters, I will first describe how the Positive Remark patterns are established for the present study according to previous research on compliments and assessments (Chapter 4.1), then turn to the description of the Response Strategies coded in the data (Chapter 4.2), to – last but not least – an

aspect as of yet disregarded in the research literature: the interactional structure of the Positive Remarks (Chapter 4.3). In the last chapter, some further codings that are not or only partially analyzed in the present study (but that were coded in the SBCSAE sub-corpus) are briefly introduced (Chapter 4.4).

4.1 Coding Positive Remarks

Using a (spoken) corpus for a speech act study confronts the researcher with various problems (cf. also Chapter 3.1.2). Some may claim that finding all fine nuances of (positive) evaluations and aiming at an exhaustive analysis of complimenting and assessing utterances in a conversational corpus may well be an impossible task. Evaluative utterances, such as compliments, can be "made implicitly and allusively" (Hunston 2004: 186) and much depends on the speakers' "assumptions about value" (Hunston 2004: 137). Such shared background knowledge cannot be fully grasped by an 'eavesdropping' researcher and the conversational context becomes vital for deciding how an utterance was meant by speakers (cf. Jucker et al. 2008: 281; Zillig 1982: 129).

For the present study, a manual search and qualitative approach was necessary to gather relevant sequences in the conversations. The manual search was also favored since spontaneous speech is highly elliptical and "flexible in word order" (Guirao et al. 2006: 106). This flexible nature made an automatic word search in a non-annotated corpus as the SBCSAE very difficult if not impossible (see also Chapter 3.2.2). Analyzing clues and determining the function of utterances needed to be a restricted and selective procedure from the start (cf., e.g., Hunston 2004: 186; Vine 2000: 373). Thus, with an interest in sequences of Positive Remarks, one should concentrate on the most typical and known manifestations of these speech acts. In this case, utterances formed like the compliment formulae by Manes/Wolfson (1981) seem suitable for the purpose (see Figure 2.1 and Chapter 2.1.3).

Concerning the difficulties of the form and function mapping of speech acts in corpus data, it is a reasonable way to start the search for compliments by looking for any and all Positive Remarks formed like one of the nine formulae of Manes/Wolfson (1981). Thus, the researcher has a limited set of syntactico-semantic formulae to start out with: specific forms to tag and categorize utterances in the texts that have to be positively assessing remarks. Yet, after a first attempt at keeping the comparability of my results to those of Manes/Wolfson as high as possible (see Chapter 5.1 and Table 5.1), a different approach to the formulae was needed in the present study. This reformulation of the compliment formulae from Manes/Wolfson (1981) to the categories of the Positive Remarks in the present study will be displayed in the following subchapter.

4.1.1 Reference in Positive Remarks

To analyze Positive Remark sequences, it is important to have a closer look at terms of address and reference in the Positive Remarks since Response Strategies "are selected in part relative to the directness with which the recipients are credited and praised" (Pomerantz 1975: 130). The "use of the name personalizes the compliment" (Rees-Miller 2011: 2685) even more. Such utterances may fall under what Jucker (2009) calls "explicit personal compliments" which "are the prototypical compliments that say something positive about the addressee" (Jucker 2009: 1612). A similar thought is observed in Herbert (1990; see also Chapter 2.1.1) who takes the 'personal focus' of an utterance into account, "that is, whether the compliment subject is expressed with a surface 1st, 2nd, or 3rd (i.e., impersonal) person focus" (Herbert 1990: 203). Jucker states that "compliment research is almost exclusively restricted to this type" of explicit personal compliments (Jucker 2009: 1612–1613). Along with the address terms, other forms of references to what is being evaluated positively need to be distinguished. For this, the codings in Table 4.2 were used in the present study. It is rather difficult in some Positive Remark sequences to determine exactly what is being referred to in the utterance. Some groups of referants, e.g., 'thing/object', 'abstract notion' or 'general statement' may overlap. These categories are used here in full awareness of their fuzziness and the fuzziness of spoken everyday interaction and are not supposed to represent a philosophical truth.[2]

Table 4.2 Coding of references in the PosR sequence

Addressee	**Example**
Immediate interlocutor (you/name)	*You look pretty proud of yourself, Wendy!*
Conversation participant/passive bystander	*Isn't he a clothes freak.*
Self-assessing/self-centered	*I'm glad I took it.*
Absent person	*The movie with that really hot tap dancer*
Possessive pronoun	*Your shirt and beads are most becoming.*
Agent avoider/neutral agents	*And … so, anyway … interesting book.*
Thing/object	*This looks yummy.*
Abstract notion	*It's really interesting to do stuff like that*
General statement	*Rubber Maid makes the best spatulas.*
General 'you'	*You can only be good […] at one instrument.*

2. There are also overlaps of the category names for these references used in the Positive Remarks with the names of topic areas defined for the whole sequences, see Table 4.16. These overlaps are tolerated since they are not in the immediate focus of the present study.

Also, in some instances it is difficult to decide whether an 'abstract notion' or the speaker themself is the focus of the utterance, as for example in the following:

(1) *SBC001; 617.98 619.50*[3]
LYNNE: it was just really interesting to me,

In this short sample, Lynne mentions a class she visited in college that she thought was really interesting. She basically states something positive about the class, but also about herself since this shows that she is eager to learn something. The focus could be placed in equal parts on "it" (referring to the course) as well as on "to me".[4] Thus, gray areas and overlaps need to remain in the coding of the data. In other cases, where the speakers talk about themselves, such utterances are often used while telling a story and giving the listener an impression of the emotions and attitudes of the speaker. This kind of utterance, although fitting the formulae by Manes/Wolfson (1981), is most probably not considered by the interactants to bear a complimentary function.

Reference and attitude towards the 'closeness' of something can be expressed via the use of specific determiners and articles. By using these, not only a definite or indefinite reference is made towards an object or person (cf. Carter/McCarthy 2006: § 187), but a speaker also positions themself and their conversational partner in their (shared) conversational world. The use of the definite article *the*, for example, may be "a way of saying 'You know which x I am referring to' " (Carter/McCarthy 2006: § 196a). Using the indefinite article may then be a way to signal distance or uncertainty in a conversation, leaving an object without further specific reference. Article use is tagged in the Positive Remarks in the present study, and the reference via determiners such as *that* and *this* is taken into account as a distinguishing feature in the surface structure of the subcategories (cf. Chapters 6.1.1, 6.2.1, and 6.3.1).

Considering that compliments, as one form of PosR, function as social bonds, a common and shared ground in the conversation can be hypothesized whereas rather general positive assessments may favor indefinite articles and less emphasis on the shared ground or knowledge.

---

3. Examples taken from the SBCSAE are largely given in a simplified version of the transcription of the corpus with the same ID as the texts have in the SBCSAE (see also Chapter 3.2.1). The time marker of the beginning of each intonation unit is provided for the interested reader to find the respective utterance in the corpus.

4. The prosody and pronunciation of this utterance does not point in a clear direction.

4.1.2 From Manes/Wolfson's formulae to a new grammatical descriptive approach

To consider the terms of address and directness in a systematic way throughout the Positive Remark forms found in the corpus, a rearrangement of Manes/Wolfson's (1981) formulae according to the actual realizations found in the data seemed the appropriate choice. For this rearrangement, the 'core' of the PosR is the most important part for the new arrangements of the utterances. This 'core' carries the positive semantic load all positively evaluating utterances need (cf. Manes/Wolfson 1981: 116). In this chapter, the rearrangement of the formulae is displayed and the outcome, the new set of supercategories for the Positive Remarks, is introduced.

4.1.2.1 *Rearranging the attributive adjective patterns*

While coding the spoken data for the present study, the most problematic formal categories of Manes/Wolfson's (1981) patterns are those where the positive evaluative meaning is carried by an attributive adjective and noun, syntax patterns 3, 4, 6, and 8 (see Table 2.1). These are the syntax patterns (SP) presented in the following Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Syntax patterns 3, 4, 6, and 8 (Manes/Wolfson 1981)

		Core of positive semantic load
SP3	PRO IS (INT) (a)	ADJ NP
SP4	You V (a) (really)	ADJ NP
SP6	You have (a) (really)	ADJ NP
SP8	–	ADJ NP!

The syntax patterns SP4 and SP6 are very similar and the only distinction is supposed to be found in the verb used. Considering the small amount of realizations of these two formulae types in the present data (see Table 5.1), the question may arise why these two formulae cannot be merged into one or, on the other hand, why they should not be split up into more formulae considering a larger verb variety. A merged formula of both could be described as "You V (a) (really) ADJ NP" and encompass all verbs. Going one step further, one could substitute the pronoun *you* by a general pronoun – which would mean that SP3 ("PRO IS (INT) (a) ADJ NP") should be subsumed under this formula as well. A combined formula like this could of course only be seen as a supercategory with a variety of realizations if finding out more about a possible differentiation of functions according to linguistic cues is he goal. Among these realizations, one could be an elliptical form that could look like SP8 and exist of only the attributive adjective and its noun phrase (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Combination of syntax patterns 3, 4, 6, and 8 into a supercategory

		Core of positive semantic load
SP3	PRO IS (INT) (a)	ADJ NP
SP4	You V (a) (really)	ADJ NP
SP6	You have (a) (really)	ADJ NP
SP8		ADJ NP!
combined	(PRO) (V) (a) (really)	ADJ NP!

Hence, the patterns SP3, SP4, SP6 and SP8 are very similar to each other and can be combined under a supercategory with a focus on the positive evaluation given in a combination of an attributive adjective + noun.[5] One more SP carries the positive load in such a combination: SP7 with "What (a) ADJ NP!" This formula may also be arranged along with the other attributive adjective + noun forms (see Table 4.6). Thus, Manes/Wolfson's (1981) formulae may be rearranged into supercategories but are, at the same time, analyzed in more detail by paying attention to the actual realization and references (see Chapter 6). With rearrangements of this kind, the aim is to gain a clearer picture and more reliable analysis of the usage of linguistic forms in Positive Remarks.

4.1.2.2 *Rearranging the predicative adjective patterns*

The need for a more detailed approach in coding can be seen when looking at the utterances that can all be subsumed under what Manes/Wolfson (1981) consider to be the most widely used syntax pattern (SP1: "NP BE/LOOK (INT) ADJ").[6] SP1 and SP9 also entail an adjective, just as patterns 3, 4, 6, and 8 (see Tables 4.3 and 4.4) to carry the positive semantic load, yet in this case, it is a predicative adjective (see Table 4.5). Both patterns, SP1 and SP9, are similar to each other and could also be brought together in a supercategory:

Table 4.5 Syntax patterns 1 and 9 with their positive semantic core

		Core of positive semantic load
SP1	NP is/looks (really)	ADJ
SP9	Isn't NP	ADJ

5. A similar observation has been made by Jucker: "Note that Manes and Wolfson's pattern 4 and 6 had to be merged because they are overlapping patterns that proved to be difficult to distinguish systematically" (2009: 1623). Placencia/Lower also find similarities and variations for the formulae 1, 3, and 8 (2013: 631–632).

6. In compliment research, some critique concerning this first syntax pattern and its realizations can be found (cf., e.g., Jucker et al. 2008: 279–280 and Herbert 1990: 204).

The pattern SP1 is hypothetically placed on the stretch of the continuum of Positive Remarks (PosR) that leans more towards the positive assessments (the formula abbreviated with 'LOOK' in Figure 2.1). The possible realizations of the SP1 from the SBCSAE listed below, though, seem to be rather diverse in their possible functions.

(2) *SBC003; 971.45 973.59*
MARILYN: That looks good

(3) *SBC032; 1213.703 1214.547*
TOM_3: he's smart

(4) *SBC052; 1167.174 1168.227*
CINDY: your looks are fine

(5) *SBC050; 439.783 441.157*
KELLY: those cups are so great

(6) *SBC004;19.97 21.02*
CAROLYN: stuff is so good

(7) *SBC031; 182.015 185.667*
SHERRY: looks good

An utterance such as "he's smart" in Example 3 is most probably perceived differently from "your looks are fine" in Example 4. A difference, probably even a large one, is to be seen in the realization of the subject noun phrase. This leads to the conclusion that SP1 as such is most probably designed too broadly to distinguish (functional) realizations based on linguistic cues. These must be accounted for by a rearrangement of the formulae (see Subchapter 6.1).

4.1.2.3 *From formula to supercategory*

The other formulae from Manes/Wolfson (1981) cannot be rearranged or grouped together since they are quite specific: SP2 is the only formula where the positive meaning is mainly carried by a verb (e.g., "I love your sweater") whereas in SP5 the positive meaning is expressed by the use of an adverb (e.g., "You handled this really well"). Thus, in the otherwise new arrangement in Table 4.6, the two categories established for the present study, _VERB_eval (utterances where an evaluative verb carries the positive meaning) and _ADV_, correspond with the respective syntax patterns established by Manes/Wolfson.[7] All supercategories are then arranged according to the basic evaluative elements (their positive semantic 'core') in Manes/Wolfson's formulae:

7. The annotation of the supercategories with the low dash is chosen to differentiate the supercategories from syntactical constituents.

- The basic form of the new supercategory 1 (see Table 4.5) revolves around a (predicative) adjective (_ADJ_),
- supercategory 2 (see Table 4.4) revolves around a noun phrase (_NOUN_) that may carry the positive semantic load, often together with an (attributive) adjective,[8]
- in supercategory 3 the positive semantic load is mainly carried by an evaluative verb (_VERB_eval),
- while in supercategory 4 an adverb (_ADV_) gives the positive semantic clue.

Table 4.6 Rearrangement of the syntax patterns into four supercategories

Superstrategy	**_ADJ_**	**_NOUN_**	**_VERB_eval**	**_ADV_**
Core	pred. ADJ	attr. ADJ + noun	verb	adverb
Syntax patterns	SP1, 9	SP3, 4, 6, 7, 8	SP2	SP5
New formulae				
ADJ	PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ			
NOUN	PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN			
_VERB_eval	PRON VERB_eval PRON/(DET) NOUN			
ADV	PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADV			

In Table 4.6, the rearranged and generalized formulae for these superstrategies are provided. In these formulae, PRON stands for any pronoun. The dash ('/') is used as an 'either/or' marker. Thus in the supercategory _ADJ_ (see Table 4.6), either a pronoun or a noun phrase can be at the beginning of the utterance. Parentheses mark optionality, thus the determiner (DET) may be used, but is not necessarily present in the realization, as is the intensifier (INT). DET stands for any determiner, INT for any intensifier, and the rest of the abbreviations are self-evident and in accordance with common grammatical standards.

With these broad patterns, functional differences of varying Positive Remark forms may not generally be accounted for at this point, yet, it remains to be seen whether the type of the positive semantic load may have an influence on the perceived function of the utterance in conversations. This is one aspect of the questions concerning how linguistic cues in Positive Remarks influence the sequence and yet, a more detailed analysis of positively evaluating utterances and their realizations is needed. As Adolphs says

8. One could argue that this supercategory could 'belong' to the _ADJ_ category since the positive semantic load is carried by the adjective in the noun phrase most of the time. Yet, I argue that a possible distinction from the predicative adjectives needs to be taken into account since it is the whole noun phrase, not only the adjective, that carries the positive semantic load.

> [w]hen studying corpus data, the close relationship between linguistic form and utterance function becomes very obvious to the point where even very minor variations in form can be linked to a particular variable in the function of the utterance. (Adolphs 2008: 2)

Thus, variations of pronoun or article use have been taken into account for each superstrategy. I developed syntactically based codings for each of these possible realizations in MaxQDA and assigned the utterances to their respective supercategory in a subcategory which is structured according to the references used. A detailed account of the distribution of these groups, subgroups, and realizations is given in Chapters 5 and 6.

With the analysis of the rearranged formulae, the aim is to be able to find out whether or not specific linguistic cues induce specific functional content and may influence the whole PosR sequence. If this proves to be the case, the new subcategories could serve as a blueprint for refined search strings which could be administered more easily for bigger corpora to find compliments or positive assessments.

4.1.3 Further codings in the Positive Remarks

Speech acts may be modified internally by using specific lexical or syntactical traits.[9] With these modifications, the speaker can change the illocutionary force (cf., e.g., Holmes 1984) and may even increase or decrease the level of politeness. Many features of internal modification could be interesting for researching Positive Remarks, such as an analysis of the verbal phrase in terms of verb and tense chosen, of the usage of downgraders and intensifiers, of determiners such as *this* or *that*, definite and indefinite article, address terms and references established in the Positive Remarks. In the present study, determiners and reference in the Positive Remark sequence will be focused on (see also the forming and analysis of the subcategories in Chapters 6.1.1, 6.2.1, and 6.3.1) while other internal modification features will be mentioned briefly in passing, such as intensifiers.

4.1.3.1 *Intensifiers and downgraders*

Intensifiers are a typical modifying feature found in compliments (Manes/Wolfson 1981: 118–119). As Jucker et al. (2008: 279) state, there are probably as many compliments with intensifiers as without this modification. This feature is only touched upon briefly in the present study since the focus lies mainly on how address and reference influence the perceived function of a Positive Remark. Many intensifiers

9. Internal modification is the modification that takes place in the syntactical unit of what has been termed a 'head act', i.e., the act that constitutes the minimal unit of the speech act as such (cf. Blum-Kulka/House/Kasper 1989).

are used in the SBCSAE data, with *really* and *real* being among the most frequent ones in the Positive Remarks. Most intensifiers are adverbs, but there are also different degrees of comparison or verbs such as *love* or *admire* instead of the weaker *like* that are used for intensification.[10]

Some more intensifiers are used very rarely as, for example, *fucking*. It is used in only one instance in this sub-corpus even though it is commonly said to be used in everyday language and conversations.[11] These intensifiers may not occur that often in the data due to the fact that the conversations are taped or because the mixed age groups do not foster such expressions. A glimpse of the effect that taping can have on conversationalists can be found in the Jamaican component of the ICE corpora (Mair et al. 2009) where one speaker utters the following:[12]

(8) *ICE Jamaica S1A-003; 102:1:B*
Speaker B: It is a bloody condescension ..
excuse me if I was not taped I would have said it's a fucking condescension

This attitude to using what is perceived taboo language is most likely not limited to Jamaican English. Even though informants get used to being taped and sometimes forget the microphones, the (non-)use of swear words or expletives, even if used as intensifiers, might still be influenced largely by the taping situation in which speakers try to refrain from uttering 'bad language'.

4.1.3.2 *Quotes and irony*

Another coding of the Positive Remarks to be mentioned only in passing is the coding of their function as a 'quote' or as being ironic. This coding is addressed here since there are some instances of sample Positive Remarks further below that display such a quote or ironic remark. These functions are not investigated systematically in the present study. The main group of these 'quoted' utterances is made up of instances where the Positive Remark, and sometimes a responsive turn as well, are part of a story the speaker tells. Jucker (2009) also mentions these "embedded or reported compliments [which] may be fairly frequent, but […] do not seem to have been treated systematically in the relevant research literature" (Jucker 2009: 1613). An example of such a reported compliment in the SBCSAE is:

---

10. For the numbers of intensifier usage in the texts, see Table B.4 in the appendix.

11. A few linguistic research papers focus on this and similar expressions, such as, e.g., Geurts (2007); Hoeksema/Napoli (2008); McEnery/Xiao (2004); Murphy (2009); Thelwall (2008). Hoeksema/Napoli (2008) put strong emphasis on the use of taboo terms as intensifiers.

12. This quote is edited for easier reading and typical ICE markup is left out. The two dots symbolize a short pause.

(9) *SBC011;SBC011; 106.38 110.73*
DORIS: … He said I loved your hum- humor,

In this sample, Doris talks about something that happened to her with her friends and mentions a man who uttered some positive character traits he liked about her. Yet, this kind of repeating another person's words, this 'constructed dialogue' (cf., e.g., Tannen 1989; Trester 2009), is not the only kind of 'quote' in the conversations. Next to the direct speech quotation, the reported speech and demonstration of what happened, the 'inner speech' of a person, their thoughts, can also be added to the category of 'quoted' utterances as well as general statements about the world (cf., e.g., De Vries 2008: 61; cf. also Keizer 2009; Macaulay 1987; Sams 2007; Vandelanotte/Davidse 2009) as, for instance, in the next example:

(10) *SBC035; 194.437–197.415*
PATTY: you feel like,
hey I like this place,
I think I could belong,

When speakers use such utterances as a means of enriching their story, they do so for "rhetorical purposes, and it follows that the form […] is important" (De Vries 2008: 45). Yet, the representation of the exact form which the original speaker in the original conversation uttered cannot be ensured due to either "limited memory capacity or laziness" (De Vries 2008: 47) or maybe some changes to make the narrative more vivid. What these utterances may display – in the same way as general statements in the form of a Positive Remark or the verbalization of thoughts do – is a prototypical form of a Positive Remark how the speaker thinks they 'should be'. This is what makes these utterances interesting to the present study and worth tagging, even though they do not represent the immediate use of language in a conversation and remain a relatively small group.

The other function of a PosR tagged while working with the data is that of 'irony'. It is very difficult to detect irony as a researcher and 'eavesdropper' to a situation. Yet, some utterances in the conversations are clearly not meant in the way their form would imply, as for example in the following short sequence where John, Lucy's father, spilled something on his shirt and his daughter makes a comment:

(11) *SBC049; 28.98–32.1597*
LUCY: … No –
Oh,
that was good Dad.
JOHN: At least it's not a seagull.

Irony as a feature is tagged 20 times in the corpus and is not analyzed in all its detail in the present study. Since the approach is a form-to-function mapping to find out

about the functions of utterances formed as a Positive Remark, these utterances need to be taken into account as well and can be seen as friendly banter, still conveying a positive attitude towards the addressee.

4.2 Sets of Response Strategies

The form of the Positive Remarks alone is not enough to distinguish their conversational function. To see how it is taken up or negotiated by the addressee(s) in the unfolding conversation, the turns following the PosR need to be taken into account. Differences between various utterances will be influenced, even defined, "through their illocutionary force or […] through their perlocutionary effect" (Jucker et al. 2008: 273). Thus, the utterance of a PosR itself is as important as the reaction (i.e., the perlocutionary effect) it evokes to distinguish various types and functions of PosRs.

As described in Chapter 2.3.2, with the help of the newly designed model (cf. Figure 2.1 above) and a close text analysis of the formulae in spoken conversation, this study aims at finding out whether or not linguistic cues can be detected that lead the hearer to make inferences about how the utterances are to be understood in a conversation, i.e., whether they are heard as a compliment or a positive assessment. This difference in interpreting the utterance then, arguably, leads to the use of a specific Response Strategy.

Thus, in line with Figure 2.1, the sequence focused on in this study is a combination of a Positive Remark (PosR), which may – broadly described – be either a compliment (comp), a positive assessment (posA), or an ambiguous (amb) utterance which is followed by, for example, a next turn by another speaker (see Chapter 2.1.3).[13] If a next turn follows by another speaker, this person tends to react to the Positive Remark (PosR) and may choose from different sets of Response Strategies (ReS): from a set of those more suited or preferred to respond to a compliment (set_comp), a positive assessment (set_posA), or an ambiguous utterance (set_amb) which loosely include the respective Response Strategies in Figure 2.1 (see also Table 4.8 on a preliminary grouping of Response Strategies). The following Table 4.7 gives a brief overview on how these sequences can be summarized theoretically (see also Tables 4.8, 4.10, and 4.11 for further information on the Response Strategies).

13. As overarching categories of the first and following turns, PosR and ReS are written with capital letters whereas the possible interpretative categories of compliment, positive assessment, and ambiguous utterances are presented using mainly small letters.

Table 4.7 Formulaic overview of sequence organization

First turn	Following turn: from a set of responses
PosR (comp) – compliment	ReS (set_comp) – most likely to occur with compliments
PosR (posA) – positive assessment	ReS (set_posA) – most likely to occur with positive assessments
PosR (amb) – ambiguous	ReS (set_amb) – most likely to occur with ambiguous utterances

The sequence of a Positive Remark followed by the expected responsive turn will help the conversation to go smoothly and without an increased danger of misunderstanding or communicative breakdown (cf. Chapter 2.3). The formulaic PosR expressions are of course not prescriptive and cannot display any sharp boundaries of specific first pair parts. As with basically all speech acts, we have to consider the fuzzy boundaries of possible illocutionary areas here as well for the whole sequence and its response strategy should be understood as a continuum with no strict boundaries between the various strategies (cf. also Chapter 2.3.2 and Chapter 4.2.1 below).

The preliminary model represents a dyadic conversation which combines the PosRs and the ReS as found in previous research and that the addressee of the PosR would probably use in answering. Since all chosen conversations from the SBCSAE consist of more than two speakers, the addressee of a Positive Remark and the person responding to it may be different conversation participants. For this aspect, research on polylogues and roles of conversationalists has to be considered as well (see Chapter 4.3) after giving a more detailed account of the strategies used for responding.

4.2.1 The strategies in the SBCSAE data

As mentioned in Chapter 2.2, many studies on compliment responses follow Pomerantz' (1978, 1984) analyses. In the seemingly large catalog of possible Response Strategies, one often encounters the claim that there "is virtual unanimity among speakers of English that the prescriptively 'correct' response to a compliment is *thank you*" (Herbert 1990: 207). Yet, even with this single form, a variety of functions can be covered by the speaker. It may be used to accept a compliment but it may also be used simply as a marker of politeness, for example, in a case where disagreement or downgrading is uttered, *thank you* is "considered a marker of politeness, since no other genuine intention was expressed verbally by the speaker" (Cedar 2006: 12; gives "Thank you, I still need a lot of improvement" as an example). It seems more difficult to find a specific formal structure for the utterances when speaking about compliment responses or responses to assessments than it is the case with the Positive Remarks. Thus, the focus in research on responses so far

lies mainly not on the form but their function whilst the strategy names usually bear great resemblance to an interpretation of these functions. An automatic search of a corpus such as the SBCSAE for the function of an utterance is of course impossible and the Response Strategies are manually coded along with the Positive Remarks for the present study.

According to the model presented in Figure 2.1, a number of different strategies can be bundled into groups of Response Strategies that are most likely to occur in a functional setting of a PosR and theoretically form sequences as suggested in Table 4.7. The boundaries of these response sets cannot be considered as representing strict demarcation lines because "the fuzziness of some responses as well as their ambiguity" (Lewandowska-Tomasczyk 1989: 91) rather demand a 'continuum solution' as mentioned above (see Chapter 2.2.2). The grouping of the strategies in sets according to the PosR must then be a generalized and rough one, according to Figure 2.1, as a start for the analysis and discussion of how these utterances are combined and connected with PosR. This grouping is presented in Table 4.8 (see also Table 4.10 and 4.11 for the groupings of the preferred and dispreferred Response Strategies). What is important to point out here is that there is no one-to-one relationship between a specific type of first pair part and one specific response that can or should be given. As Schegloff states:

> In the vast majority of sequence types, there are not only alternative responses which a first pair part makes relevant and a recipient of a first pair part may employ; there are alternative *types* of responses, and these embody different alignments toward the project undertaken in the first pair part.
>
> (Schegloff 2007: 58; emphasis in original)

Table 4.8 Preliminary grouping of Response Strategies according to the function of the Positive Remark

Response set (ReS)	Response Strategies (preferred and dispreferred)
ReS (set_comp)	appreciation (e.g., thanking) and rejection (e.g., request to refrain), referent shift, qualification of the illocution, returning compliment and downgrading
ReS (set_posA)	reassigning, doubting, agreeing (upgrading), disagreeing
ReS (set_amb)	opting out/ignoring/changing topic, informative comment/comment history, reinterpretation as a different speech act

Thus, aligning or disaligning oneself with the speaker of the PosR can be done by choosing from a large array of Response Strategies. Even though there are many of these strategies mentioned in the literature (cf. Chapter 2.2) that sound interpretative and where the difference of various responsive utterances is sometimes not

quite obvious to the reader, the coding of the Response Strategies in the present study was conducted as similarly as possible to these earlier studies to be able to make statements on behalf of the proposed action chains. The risk of overlapping Response Strategies is kept at a minimum by grouping similar strategies together in larger sets of Response Strategies. The groups and list of strategies are displayed in Table 4.9 (see also Table B.5 in the appendix).

Table 4.9 Response Strategies in Positive Remark sequences

Response strategy	Substrategy
APPRECIATION	thanking; accepting & aligning; gustatory sounds (e.g., *mmh*); 'other than thanking'
REFERENT SHIFT	returning compliment; reassignment
REJECTION	request to refrain; other than request to refrain (e.g., *no*)
QUALIFICATION	downgrading; doubting; upgrading
REINTERPRETATION	apologizing; offering (i.e., request interpretation); no offering or rejecting (request interpretation); offer interpretation; thanking interpretation (thanks minimizers follow); offering; advising; encouraging
OPTING OUT	by referring to earlier or parallel topic; opting out by continuing; opting out by new question or topic
EXPLAINING	comment history of item or comment on item; comment history of (absent) person; (general) comment on situation; asking for clarification or explanation or question; question minimal
AGREEMENT	agreement minimal; mutual knowledge; affirmative
DISAGREEMENT	assessment as overrated or denial
Laughter	laughter is the only response
Unclear	no response strategy can be assigned

This table presents the response superstrategies in the left-hand column and their associated substrategies in the right-hand column. These substrategies were tagged manually in the data and their realizations bundled under the superstrategies.

4.2.2 Suggested preference structure in Positive Remark sequences

> *As it turns out, the compliment function has an impact on the compliment response. Put differently, depending on the function of the compliment, the compliment is responded to in different ways.* (Golato 2011: 374)

The structuring of the PosR utterance and their responses in the conversations used for the present study is rather complex since more than two speakers are involved in each conversation (cf., e.g., Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2004: 6; see also Chapter 4.3.1).

Adjacency pairs in their original meaning of first pair part immediately followed by its second pair part are rarely to be found in such conversations. Longer sequences unfold where the researcher is "faced with the intricate issue of identifying an order in a structure that is apparently always 'evolving' " and "one almost never finds a smoothly developed sequence" (Traverso 2009: 2386). To find out about the preference organization in the Positive Remark sequences in the SBCSAE, the model for combining the different strands of research concerning compliments and compliment responses or responses to second assessments (cf. Chapter 2.3.2) should be recollected.

These second assessments have usually been coded according to what the speaker (i.e., the 'complimentee') wants to say or do, as, e.g., 'thanking', 'giving history', 'explaining', etc. Thus, adapting these findings from previous research, the coding of the following turns after a Positive Remark is done by assigning these functions to their next/following turns. Tables 4.10 and 4.11 aim at listing these categories and grouping them according to preference structure with the respective function of the PosR (see also Chapter 2.3).

Table 4.10 Groupings of Response Strategies: preferred strategies

Grouping	Strategy	Coding
comp_pref	APPRECIATION	thanking
		gustatory sounds
		accepting
		other than thanking
amb_pref	REFERENT SHIFT	returning the compliment (also: comp_pref)
		reassignment (also: posA_pref)
	OPTING OUT	topic shift (reference to earlier or parallel topic; new topic)/continuing
	EXPLAINING	history of item
		history of person
posA_pref	QUALIFICATION	upgrading (also: comp_dispref)
	AGREEMENT	mutual knowledge
		second/follow-up PosR (?)
		response repetition (?)
		affirmative
		laughter (?)
		joking (?)

It has to be borne in mind that these tables represent the groupings of the strategy with the preceding PosR group according to previous research and hypotheses formed on their findings. As can be seen in Table 4.10 (see also Figure 2.1), there are

some codings that serve as a preferred (or dispreferred) response strategy to various Positive Remark functions. In these cases, this overlap is indicated in Tables 4.10 and 4.11 by adding this overlapping area in brackets in the 'coding' column (see above: "also: comp_pref"). There are also some codings of strategies that are placed with categories where the group membership is yet debatable (cf., e.g., 'laughter' and 'joking') which is indicated with a question mark (?). These groupings might be adapted if empirical findings present a different picture.[14]

Next to strategies that might be used as preferred next turn in one case and as a dispreferred turn in another, there are also utterances that cannot be taken at face value. For example, not all 'thanking' expressions following a Positive Remark are indeed thanking for a compliment simply because it seems to be the preferred response strategy applied. In the conversations, the utterances following a PosR were coded along the lines of these strategies, as, e.g., in this extract:

(12) *SBC015; 656.945–659.955*
LENORE: (H) it's good for your anemia.
KEN: Thank you.
LENORE: take uh one of those a day on an empty stomach,

In this case, the PosR "it's good for your anemia" is uttered at the same moment where Lenore hands some vitamin pills over to Ken who thanks her for giving him the pills and maybe for the advice. A PosR like this would usually not be understood as a compliment and the appreciation of receiving an actual gift is expressed by thanking here. Thus, the sequence looks as if there were a Positive Remark followed by a token of appreciation and could (on the surface) mean that a compliment and a responsive thanking are uttered which obviously is not the case. This also shows the reason for preferring the text analytic, qualitative approach in coding the data as opposed to a possibly automatic one with a tagged text.

The same caution and preliminary state as in Table 4.10 has to be assumed for Table 4.11. Here, the probably dispreferred strategies of the following turns with their preceding utterances and functions are displayed. With these tables, a listing of the applied response strategy codes and an approximate grouping according to preference structure is given. Yet, as mentioned above, a 'smoothly developed sequence' is rarely found in the data due to the multiple participants and many next turns are not uttered by an addressee of the Positive Remark (see also Chapter 4.3.1).

---

14. As shown above in Chapter 2.2, there are various perspectives of coding categories for the Response Strategies. Baba, for example, considers 'topic change', 'gap', 'laughter' and 'continuing story' all as realizations of the strategy 'opting out' (cf. Baba 1999: 73). In the present study, these are considered to be on slightly different layers in the coding system to find out whether or not they have a varying influence on the PosR sequence.

Table 4.11 Groupings of Response Strategies: dispreferred strategies

Grouping	Strategy	Coding
comp_dispref	REJECTION	request to refrain
		other
	QUALIFICATION	downgrading
		upgrading (also: posA_pref)
amb_dispref	REINTERPRETATION	request interpretation: offering
		request interpretation: no offering
		request interpretation (?): advising and encouraging
		offer interpretation (thanking or rejecting)
		thanking interpretation (thanks minimizers follow)
		asking for clarification (?)
		minimal question (?)
posA_dispref	DISAGREEMENT	disagreement marker
		assessment as overrated/denial
	QUALIFICATION	doubting

As Schegloff (2007) notes concerning preference structure, "[t]he normative weight of the asymmetry of preferred and dispreferred responses is properly borne by both (or all) participants, and not just the recipient of the first pair part" (Schegloff 2007: 70). Thus, in a conversation with more than two people, the preference structures could still remain valid. Still, there might be a difference concerning who utters the Response Strategies. Determining who is speaking after a Positive Remark is the focus of the next chapter.

4.3 Turn structures of PosR sequences

Whereas in compliment response research, a dyadic conversation usually serves as base for categorizing the Response Strategies, the focus of the present study lies on multi-party conversations where more than two speakers are present at the taping of the conversation for most of the time.[15] Analyzing conversations in a CA tradition, turn-taking is considered the 'simplest systematics' that "is applicable to all conversations, no matter how many participants are involved" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni

15. Golato (2005) also adapts the – traditionally dyadic – Response Strategies in her study on compliment responses. Her data is based partly on multi-party conversations but this is not further discussed in her study.

2004: 2; see also, e.g., Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson 1974; Schegloff 1995). The basic exchange structure of any conversation, thus, is claimed to be "that of a dilogue with listeners" (Grosjean 2004: 33; see also Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2004: 2).

Others see a large difference between conversations with two or more people present and "the ways in which turn allocation works" (Hakulinen 2009: 57). Some even consider an "inherent complexity and flexibility of polylogues" (Lorenzo-Dus/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich/Bou-Franch 2011: 2578) which makes this conversation type highly interesting. Yet, not too many linguistic studies have been published on this topic (see Lorenzo-Dus/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich/Bou-Franch 2011: 2578) until, in recent years, this conversational type seems to gain more attention in linguistics as not only a special issue of the *Journal of Pragmatics* on this topic in 2004 shows but also articles considering multi-party conversation in institutional settings (Mondada 2013), in student groups (Björkmann 2014 with a focus on the English as a Lingua Franca situation and Mueller Dobs/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013 taking instances of impoliteness into account), and in CMC settings such as comments on YouTube (cf., e.g., Lorenzo-Dus/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich/Bou-Franch 2011 and Bou-Franch/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2014) to name but a few.

What all these polylogues share as common features, no matter whether on- or offline, is that "when compared with dyadic interaction […] [a polylogue] is complex, flexible, unstable, and unpredictable" (Bou-Franch/Lorenzo-Dus/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2012: 503, cf. also Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2004) – which brings about a number of challenges in categorizing conversations.

4.3.1 Challenges of multi-party discourse

Whereas in a dyad, "speaker and recipient [are] incessantly taking turns, with the recipient always being the addressee as well" (Hakulinen 2009: 57–58), in a multi-party conversation "[w]ith three speakers or more, the issue of who is to speak next is perpetually relevant. A speaker may self-select, steal the turn or be appointed by the current speaker as the addressee" (Hakulinen 2009: 58). Of course, in these multi-party settings, dyadic conversations also occur, where two speakers are (mainly) leading the conversation. As Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004: 7; cf. also Grosjean 2004: 41) states that phases of, e.g., " 'genuine' trilogue (in which all three members are actively engaged)" may

> alternate with phases which seem rather dilogal in character, involving two active speakers and a third participant who can adopt various attitudes and show extremely variable involvement in the interaction in progress.
>
> (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2004: 7)

Even if the main interactants for each utterance remain the speaker and their addressee (cf., e.g., Branigan et al. 2007: 164), within a polylogue, the "common dyadic model of speaker-hearer specifies sometimes too many, sometimes too few, sometimes the wrong participants" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2004: 2; cf. also Hymes 1974: 54). The people present at the conversation need to pay attention to "who among all recipients copresent is/are being addressed in the current utterance(s)" (Holmes, Dick 1984: 311), especially since a speaker may " 'speak to' the others without knowing which of them he is addressing" (Clark/Carlson 1982: 338). Thus, the form of a conversation (whether dialogue or trilogue) along with the conversational role of the people present may change quickly. Participants in a multi-party conversation move along "a continuum between involvement and uninvolvement" (Grosjean 2004: 29; see also Goodwin 1981) where they can take on a multitude of different roles and relations that some consider, "to this day, mostly unexplored" (Mueller Dobs/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013: 112) while several frameworks and terms can be found in the research literature (cf., e.g., Clark/Schaefer 1992; Goffman 1981; Goodwin 1981; Grosjean 2004; Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson 1974; cf., e.g., Clark/Carlson 1982 for an account of conversational roles concerning speech act theory in multi-party conversation; in Mueller Dobs/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013, an account of participant typologies for im-/ politeness can be found; with Bou-Franch/Lorenzo-Dus/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2012 focusing on the discussion of the classification for the CMC context).

The present study does not aim at a thorough overview in this area, but focuses on the different role of addressee and non-addressee in next turns after Positive Remarks. The role of non-addressees can, for example, be described as

- a 'side-participant', "who is recognized as part of the conversation but is not addressed by the speaker at that point" (Branigan et al. 2007: 164, cf. also Clark/Carlson 1982; Goffman 1979),
- a 'bystander', who belongs to "listeners whose presence is recognized but who are not part of the conversation" (Branigan et al. 2007: 166),
- or an 'eavesdropper', who has "access to what is being said but whose presence is not recognized" (Branigan et al. 2007: 166), or who indeed is not present.

These last two are usually seen as 'overhearers' and distinguished from participants, which are the speakers, addressees, and side-participants (cf. Branigan et al. 2007: 166; for a view where all individuals are participants, see, e.g., Bou-Franch/Lorenzo-Dus/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2012: 504–505). Participants "are involved in a joint activity and consider themselves members of an ensemble" and, thus, "have a responsibility for the orderly accumulation of the discourse record" (Branigan et al. 2007: 166; see also Clark/Carlson 1982: 334 on the "Principle of Responsibility").

These roles may change in an instant in spontaneous everyday conversation where "fluctuations in address" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2004: 4) can be observed.

How can this observation be applied and adapted to an analysis of sequences of Positive Remarks in multi-party conversations that also refers back to speech act tradition? Traditional speech act theory (Austin 1975; Searle 1969) sees the illocutionary act as being "directed at addressees" (Clark/Carlson 1982: 332) who then respond to this illocution, e.g., a compliment, in a way that is deemed appropriate and fitting the purpose. In a conversational event where we have more than two people present and the chance of a quickly changing role in the interaction, people who are not addressed and were seen as mere participants can step up and speak *in lieu* of the addressee. A strategy used in such a responsive turn may differ from one that the original addressee would have chosen, possibly due to a distance between speaker and the former participant who is now interactant (cf. Clark/Carlson 1982; Branigan et al. 2007). These instances thus need to be distinguished in the present study from those where the addressee is responding to a PosR. To do so, a structural coding level concerning the role of the speaker who utters a turn after a Positive Remark is established for the present data. A distinction needs to be made whether an addressee or a non-addressee is responding to the PosR in the conversations taken from the SBCSAE. The distinction is made in a binary way here. In some instances of the spontaneous talk, it was rather difficult to even draw such a distinction. It can be assumed that the status of being addressed or not may range on a continuum as well, since a person may also feel to be partly addressed if, for example, the spouse or kids are being addressed (see also various views on this in Chapter 4.4.3). This 'additional' or 'reflected' address is not taken into account here as an extra category since this would open a whole new research area. If a person's spouse or kids are addressed, they are also the addressees themselves since they may feel that "rather than speaking as individual persons, [they] may talk as a member of a social group (such as a couple)" (Nutler/Wilkinson 2013: 37). The responses may occur immediately following the PosR or in a more remote position (see Table 4.12). Next to the possibilities of responses from an addressee or a non-addressee, the speaker who uttered the PosR may also choose to go on speaking, not leaving a chance for a next turn by a different speaker for a while which is usually a multi-unit turn termed 'extended talk' (cf. Goodwin 1986: 206–207). For a possible solution in coding the data in the present study, see Table 4.12 in Chapter 4.3.2 below.

4.3.2 The structure of following turns in Positive Remark sequences

As already mentioned in Chapter 4.3.1, in a conversation with more than two interactants the speaker who utters a next turn following a Positive Remark needs to be accounted for. Intuitively, when speaking of positive assessments or especially compliments, one expects a response by the addressee of the utterance. In transcriptions of multi-party conversations, this (a response as well as the addressee) is not always detectable. Schegloff's view might help in such conversations in going beyond the strict speaker-addressee connection, claiming that a conversation "should be understood as a joint project of both parties to arrive at a sequence – an adjacency pair – whose parts are contiguous and in agreement, or in a preferred relationship" (Schegloff 2007: 70).

Transferring these 'two parties' into a multi-party talk environment and assigning them roughly to the speaker and the responder (who can be either addressee or non-addressee), the aforementioned Response Strategies (see Table 4.8) should be usable in terms of preference structure when a next turn follows the Positive Remark (see also the above-mentioned group identity of a speaker as in Nutler/Wilkinson 2013: 37). The preference structure can possibly remain a valid frame since all participants probably want the conversation to go smoothly even though it needs to be considered that addressee and non-addressee might have different goals in mind for the conversation. To ensure that such a possible influence of difference in conversational goal is not neglected, the turn structure of who speaks next in the Positive Remark sequences is very important and the turns are tagged with that information in the present data as shown in Table 4.12.[16]

Table 4.12 Structural categories of turns following a Positive Remark

Category	Explanation
tusp	a *turn that is continued by the same speaker* of the PosR, usually for a longer period of time (often in narratives in the conversation)
TUOTH	*next/following turn is uttered by another speaker*, who may be either a **non-addressee** (i.e., a participant contributing *in lieu* of the addressee) or the **addressee** (i.e., the intended addressee of the PosR takes the floor)
RERE	*remote response* is a response clearly referring to the PosR but not immediately after a PosR which can be uttered by either **non-addressee** or **addressee**.
difficult	This category has been established for instances of talk that entail (extensive) overlap and makes it thus difficult if not impossible for the researcher to detect a specific order in the response sequence. Many times, these utterances contain parts that were not transcribed in the corpus since they are very difficult to understand. It is also possible that due to missing contextual clues in the transcript, the researcher cannot decide the speaker role for specific turns. These would also be coded as 'difficult'.

16. Further possible turn types for a polylogue can be found, e.g. for YouTube polylogues, in Bou-Franch/Lorenzo-Dus/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2012: 505) as well as for face-to-face im-/ politeness situations in Mueller Dobs/Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2013: 126).

These structural categories are assigned to any conversational utterance following an identified PosR. If the speaker of the Positive Remark continues their turn after their own Positive Remark, this is labeled as 'tusp', which stands for the continued '**tu**rn by the same **sp**eaker'. When a new turn follows after the Positive Remark, this is named TUOTH, which stands for '**tu**rn by **oth**er speaker'. This is written in capital letters whenever it entails the next turns by the addressee as well as the non-addressee. The focus of the present study will lie on these turns that follow a Positive Remark as a next turn.

If there is a '**re**mote **re**sponse' to a Positive Remark in the conversation, it is tagged as RERE (also showing capital letters whenever addressee and non-addressee responses are assigned). This category – as well as the last one which is labeled with 'difficult' – is not analyzed in detail in the present study. The occurrence of stretches of overlapping talk that need to be coded as 'difficult' does not surprise when taking Goodwin/Goodwin's observation into account:

> Indeed it appears that constraints which elsewhere exert quite powerful influence on the sequential organization of talk, for example an orientation to one but only one party speaking at a time, can be relaxed for assessments. It would thus appear that, in a number of different ways, the activity of assessing something provides participants with resources for performing concurrent operations on talk that has not yet come to completion. (Goodwin/Goodwin 1987: 26)

Thus, it should be rather common for assessments to evoke overlaps and parallel conversations which may also be a reason for a delayed, i.e. 'remote', response to a PosR. These response types need to be coded in the present data as well (see Chapter 4.4.1) and two examples should illustrate these rare responses where 'remote' is a rather complex concept which is not defined in terms of a specific time that passed between the Positive Remark and the response. For example, the response by Lea in the following sample is coded as 'remote':

(13) *SBC048; 271.463–281.044*
JUDY: .. These'll be good.
… Oh these are grea = t Mo = m.
… Let me look at the,
LEA: … Well I thought black ones,
you know,
it'd give you a more,
a .. chance to wear em.

Judy utters two Positive Remarks that can both be coded as _ADJ_ strategies to evaluate a Christmas present (a pair of black jeans) she received from her mother. This kind of Positive Remark can have the function of thanking her mother but

also complimenting her on the skill to pick the right present. Yet, Lea, the mother, at first does not react (the dots here mean that some time passes without anyone speaking). Only after the second Positive Remark that has been uttered by Judy ("Oh these are great Mom"; which would count as 'tusp' after the first PosR since Judy keeps on speaking) and even a next start at saying something ("Let me look at the"), Lea reacts and starts with an explanation of what she did and thought to buy this present.

In another example of a 'remote response', a couple (Bernard and Sean) and two friends (Alice and Fran) have dinner together. This sample is a bit less clearly structured compared to Example (13) since there are no pauses, but many overlaps, which are transcribed in the SBCSAE with square brackets and – where necessary – numbers indicating the chronological order. In the following example, the four friends are gathering around the table and just about to start dinner, prepared and cooked by Sean. They are still talking about various things when Alice utters her first Positive Remark on the food.

(14) *SBC051; 1100.607–1110.418*

ALICE: Sean this is [grea = t].
FRAN: [Well it's a good day] for people to [2be indoors lis2]tening to the [3radio3].
BERNARD: [2Buffalo 2] –
SEAN: [3Is that3] where Linda's from?
FRAN: … (H) [4Linda's from Cor4]ning.
BERNARD: [4Or is she up farther4].
.. [5Up farther5].
FRAN: [5which is = 5] uh not too far away.
But it's [6in the s-6] –
BERNARD: [6(THROAT)6]
FRAN: in the same [7general a7][8rea8].
SEAN: [7Mm7].
8.. came8 9out good9.

Alice, in the first line of this excerpt, compliments Sean on the meal he prepared. This utterance entails all ingredients for a compliment on cooking skills: it is a positive evaluation of the food and even addresses the person 'responsible' by his name. Fran, Bernard, and also Sean are still talking about something else. Some time passes before Sean, in the last two lines of this excerpt, reacts to what has been said about the meal he prepared. And it does not sound like a typical *thank you* but more like an agreement on the good taste of the food.

These examples clearly show that in a polylogal conversation the adjacent nature of a Positive Remark and its response need to be understood in a way that also

encompasses utterances that do not follow the Positive Remark immediately but may be delayed in time. These responses still need to be considered in the present study since they also show a specific approach towards the behavior that is deemed appropriate in responding to a PosR.

4.4 Additional coding of the Positive Remarks

Next to the necessary codings of the Positive Remark, the Response Strategies and the turn organization, there are some further codings that need to be taken into account in the data of the present study. These codings and features of Positive Remarks and their sequences deliver additional information and perspectives on the sequence in focus. Some of these codings addressed here will be touched in passing in the analyses of the Positive Remark sequences while others form the basis of describing the Positive Remarks worked with in the present study.

4.4.1 Features of the organizational level

Working with spontaneous conversations, many turn-taking phenomena are encountered, as, e.g., overlaps, interruptions and interjections, backchanneling or pauses. These phenomena are used by the participants to organize their conversation. These turn-taking phenomena can be subsumed under the organizational level (Schneider/Barron 2008: 21). For an analysis of the sequences of Positive Remarks, categories for overlaps and parallel conversations, interjections and listener responses exist in the present study. When looking at sequences of Positive Remarks, it may be helpful to also include codings for these organizational features since there may be differences in the preference organization of various types of PosRs which show an effect on the organizational structure of the sequence while the current study does not aim at an exhaustive analysis of these phenomena.

4.4.1.1 *Overlaps and parallel conversations*

Two features concerning the overall structure of the sequences in conversations stood out while coding the data: overlapping talk and parallel conversations. These features needed to be taken into account since they most likely influence the way of how a PosR is registered by the participants in a conversation and how (and when) they may react to it. To code these instances is thus also of importance for the researcher to be able to grasp the conversational meaning.

Table 4.13 Overlap and parallel conversation coding

Overlap	coded when two or more speakers speak at the same time about the same topic
Parallel conversation	two or more conversational strands happen at the same time; these conversations have little or no topical connection with each other

Even though parallel conversation and overlapping might seem similar at first (in both situations more than one person is speaking at the same time), there are interesting differences and nuances as Table 4.13 briefly introduces. Parallel conversations are usually instances in spontaneous everyday talk in which several individuals – all participants in one conversational event – interact in different side-conversations with differing topics. These stretches of talk are full of overlapping talk that is directed usually at specific hearers, singled out from the rest of the conversational participants that are present.

Whereas at least four people are needed to perform parallel conversations in such a conversational situation, overlapping and simultaneous talk can already occur when two people are engaged in a conversation. Overlapping is "a particular type of participation in the talk of the moment" (Goodwin 1986: 211) and happens in a conversation at moments where more than one person speaks at the same time while usually sticking to the overall topic of the conversational stretch, as in Example (15) (see also Example 14 above):

(15) *SBC002; 235.68–245.49*

JAMIE: the [world's worst] speakers.
MILES: [Where is the other one].
HAROLD: These are the [2shittiest2] .. speakers on earth.
JAMIE: [2Over here2].
PETE: [2XXX2]
JAMIE: … [3besides the ones in the kitchen3].
HAROLD: [3And these are an improvement over my3] [4@last @ones4].
MILES: [4I thought that was the4] real thi = ng.
HAROLD: … You think we have like a [5jazz5] [6band next6] [7door7]?
MILES: [5In fact I5] [6was getting ready6] [7to say7],
PETE: [6@@@6]

The friends in this conversation seem to be speaking all at the same time and some parts, as Pete's utterance in line 5, cannot be understood (represented by 'X'). Still, the situation seems very friendly and relaxed as can be seen by the laughter in the last line of the extract (symbolized by '@').

In formal turn-taking, where the 'single floor' (i.e., only one person is speaking at a time) is common (cf., e.g., DeCapua/Berkowitz/Boxer 2006: 395), overlapping is "sometimes viewed as an intrusion into the talk of the speaker being overlapped, i.e. an 'interruption' " (Goodwin 1986: 211). Yet, overlaps and simultaneous talk can also be seen as

> cooperative mechanisms that serve to emphasize the shared meanings, the shared history, the background knowledge, and degree of intimacy shared by the interlocutors, and to strengthen their bonds of friendship.
>
> (DeCapua/Berkowitz/Boxer 2006: 395)

In their study, DeCapua/Berkowitz/Boxer (2006) focus on female conversations. The "collaborative floor" (DeCapua/Berkowitz/Boxer 2006: 395) they advocate for the non-formal situation is probably transferable to any conversational situation where support is given and common ground is shared. DeCapua/Berkowitz/Boxer also claim that "the greater the intimacy among the interlocutors, the more overlaps function to maintain and reinforce already established personal relations" (2006: 395).

Thus it can be argued that in talk among family and friends (where attributes as giving support and sharing common ground can be applied as well) and even more so with sequences of Positive Remarks where rapport is built and support is given, a lot of overlapping talk can be expected. Overlaps can then be a sign of enhancing the supportive function of Positive Remarks (cf. also Goodwin/Goodwin 1987) since

> positioning of these comments during the talk, rather than after it, seems to enhance rather than detract from the activity being done. What results is a particular type of participation in the talk of the moment, this participation being constructed in part through its occurrence while [the other speaker's] talk is still in progress.
>
> (Goodwin 1986: 211)

4.4.1.2 *Interjections and listener responses*

Alongside overlaps, interjections are also often mentioned when naturally occurring language is analyzed. Both phenomena can be seen as an intrusion on the speaker's floor. Interjections are usually short interruptions in a stretch of talk that can be uttered by any conversational participant. In the conversations analyzed for the present study, interjections which usually do not claim the floor are a kind of 'listener response' with which conversational partners can signal active listening and "express solidarity and commonality with each other" (DeCapua/Berkowitz/Boxer 2006: 407).[17] Such tokens of support can either have the form of "non-word

17. In another definition of interjections, they are considered as "exclamatory words or expressive vocalizations used to express emotional reactions such as surprise, shock, delight" (Carter/McCarthy 2006: "Glossary", p. 908) by which alignment and sympathy can be expressed. Interjections can also be seen as a specific group of pragmatic markers (cf., e.g., Norrick 2009).

vocalizations" (cf., e.g., O'Keeffe/Adolphs 2008) such as *uh huh* or *mm hm* – which at times are also categorized as 'continuers' (cf., e.g., Goodwin 1986: 208) – or the form of Positive Remarks. The present study does not aim at providing a detailed account of interjections but concentrates mainly on the instances where a PosR is used as such an interjection with a supporting function in a responsive turn as in the example below:

(16) *SBC015; 1254.910–1260.045*
JOANNE: and she goes,
so that the fish'll go to heaven.
KEN: < vox Aw = ,
< X was[n't X > that sweet vox >].
JOANNE: [(H) And then],
.. from that point- –
and then she cried,

In lines 3–4, Ken utters a Positive Remark while Joanne keeps on telling her story about a little girl she teaches at school. Their utterances overlap and it is obvious that Ken does not strive to claim the floor here but rather to support Joanne in her story. In such a case, "assessments display an analysis of the particulars of what is being talked about" (Goodwin 1986: 210). Table 4.14 lists the various types of listener responses according to O'Keeffe/Adolphs (2008) which are also used for coding in the SBCSAE data.

Table 4.14 Types of listener responses (O'Keeffe/Adolphs 2008: 74–80)

Minimal responses	
Non-word vocalisation	utterances such as *mhm* or *umhum*
Short utterances	group of short responsive utterances such as *yeah* or *okay*
Non-minimal responses	
Pragmatic markers	mostly adverbs or adjectives such as *good*, *really great*, *absolutely*
Phrases/minimal clauses	phrases provided by O'Keeffe/Adolphs (2008): *you're not serious*, *Is that so?*, *by all means*, *fair enough*, *that's true*, *not at all*; accordingly, listener responses of the form such as *That's right* or *That's okay*

Especially the categories of the non-minimal responses are of interest in the present study since many have the form of a Positive Remark. Thus, it may be interesting to find out whether utterances in the form of *that's good* and *that's right* are mainly restricted to the function of listener responses or whether a speaker can also use these forms to positively assess initially or even to compliment someone (see also Chapter 6.1.1).

Many of these instances are turns with which the speaker reacts (in a responsive manner) to something another speaker says. This positioning in a sequence is interesting concerning compliments. Compliments, being one possible type of PosR, are usually considered to be an initial utterance, the first pair part of an adjacency pair (cf., e.g., Pomerantz 1978) which is also displayed in the working model. It could be hypothesized that utterances of PosRs which are used as an interjection and/or are responsive are not considered a compliment.

4.4.2 Syntactical structure and sentence type

A very basic and general distinction of utterances concerns the sentence types which are usually labeled as 'declaratives', 'interrogatives', 'imperatives' and 'exclamatives'. These basic distinctions are also coded in the present data since different communicative purposes and uses are typically assigned to these sentence types (cf., e.g., Carter/McCarthy 2006). Thus, they might have an effect on the function of the Positive Remark and its following turns. Table 4.15 gives a summary of labels, forms, and functions of these sentence types (based on Carter/McCarthy 2006: § 273 and Greenbaum/Nelson 2009: 105–107).

Table 4.15 Sentence types and functions

Label	Form	Function/communicative use
Declaratives	subject + verb + X	conveying information as statements
Interrogatives	auxiliary/modal verb + subject + verb + X	requesting information
Imperatives	verb + X	requesting action by the addressee
Exclamatives	*what*/*how* + subject + verb + X	expressing strong feeling

The declarative structure is most often used in PosR sequences and examples of it can be found in abundance in the conversations of the present data base. Two such samples are the following:

(17) *SBC001; 260.22 261.37*
LYNNE: (H) this is really funny.

(18) *SBC002; 203.01 204.41*
JAMIE: and they look really goo = d .. in them.

The other structures are less frequent and less straightforward than these (see also the distribution of sentence types in Chapter 5, Figures 5.1 and 5.4). The interrogative structure might seem awkward for an application to PosR sequences at a first glance but it needs to be borne in mind that not only Positive Remarks but also the next turns are coded and that some formal interrogatives with the auxilliary in a

pre-subject position are among the syntax patterns of the PosRs. Typical examples of an interrogative structure of a PosR are:

(19) *SBC003; 453.38 454.28*
ROY: .. Isn't that great.

(20) *SBC003; 931.41 932.41*
MARILYN: Well aren't you neat.

Several subtypes of interrogatives are mentioned in the research literature (cf., e.g., Greenbaum/Nelson 2009: 105). A specific interest in these sentence types concerning Positive Remark sequences could lie in rhetorical and the declarative questions. Rhetorical questions do not demand a reply, thus, they may be interesting in the context of Positive Remarks since a speaker could possibly express a positive evaluation whilst signaling at the same time to the hearer that no response is needed. Declarative questions seem interesting since they are mainly signaled by a rising intonation in speech while the form is that of a declarative sentence. Some claim that with the intonation change, the function changes from conveying information to an interrogative force (cf., e.g., Greenbaum/Nelson 2009). It could be interesting to hear a Positive Remark uttered with such an intonation to see which force dominates. Yet, both specific question types are very rare in the present data. Of the 140 utterances that are coded as 'interrogatives', only one rhetorical question was found and only 17 instances of declarative questions. All of these utterances are placed in the sequences following a Positive Remark or as an echoing repetition of an earlier Positive Remark.

Imperatives and exclamatives are also only rarely found in the PosR sequences. Imperatives usually serve as attention getters right before a person utters a PosR, as for example in:

(21) *SBC033; 0.000–4.427*
LAURA: … Look at this.
Isn't this pretty?

(22) *SBC051; 488.956 490.177*
FRAN: Look at these beautiful homes.

Thus, these sentence structures are rarely found in utterances that are coded as a PosR. They rather serve as an external modification to it or as something said in the unfolding sequence. Exclamatives mirror Manes/Wolfson's (1981) syntax pattern number 7, "What (a) ADJ NP!" (cf., e.g., Table 2.1 and 5.1). Only very few instances of this syntactic structure were found in the present data (cf. Chapter 5.1.2). Next to the typical syntactic structures of the utterances, elliptical, with the speaker of the PosR leaving out parts of a sentence, and interrupted utterances, where the speakers were interrupted by other conversational partners, were also distinguished in the coding (see also Chapter 5.1.2 and Figure 5.1).

4.4.3 The topic level: What do they talk about?

On a further surface level, the topic of the conversation, and in this case especially the topic of the Positive Remarks, is a matter of interest. There has been specific interest in topics in complimenting especially concerning gender (cf., e.g., Roberts 1998; Rees-Miller 2011) or cultural differences (cf., e.g., Lewandowska-Tomasczyk 1989). In discussing topics, the focus usually rests on the single utterance while not considering the context to a wider extent since, even though compliments are often seen to be "directly related to the subject of the conversation" (Wolfson/Manes 1980: 396), they do not need to have any "particular relevance to the topic under discussion" (Wolfson/Manes 1980: 396). While compliment topic and conversational topic can be autonomous from each other (i.e., the topic of the overall discussion might be about building a house, the compliment might be on the good meal that is served during the conversation), it seems that some researchers claim specific topics to be characteristic of a compliment and that this distinguishes it from other forms of positive evaluation. Herbert proposes that

> [i]t is perhaps better to distinguish between compliments and other statements of admiration/praise (of which compliments form a subclass) by restricting compliments to situations in which the topic of admiration bears directly on the addressee or on a quality of person(s) more or less closely related to the addressee […].
>
> (Herbert 1997: 488)

This "more or less closely related to the addressee" captures the whole dilemma of compliment research and the problematic 'topic issue' by trying to draw a boundary between the functions of compliments and assessments on a degree of 'relatedness' to the addressee (cf. also Chapter 2.1). A lot of work has been done to define what the typical topics of compliments supposedly are. Simply referring "to something which is positively valued by the participants and attributed to the addressee" (Holmes 1986: 496) is not distinct enough for a coding scheme since this could entail "an infinite range of possible topics" (Holmes 1986: 496). Many studies name 'appearance', 'performance', or 'possession' as topics, some studies list even more and seemingly more fine-grained topics such as 'attire' or 'helping/service' (cf. Knapp/Hopper/Bell 1984).[18] Others, such as Baba (1999), also distinguish between "external topics" that "refer to the attributes that are detachable from the compliment recipients themselves, such as clothes or possessions" and on the other

18. It needs to be borne in mind that some definitions of what may fall under the category of a topic can differ. In Knapp/Hopper/Bell (1984), for example, 'possession' also entails positive evaluations of people affiliated to the complimentee while in other studies such a category is restricted only to inanimate objects (cf. Rees-Miller 2011).

hand "internal topics", which are supposed to "refer to traits, such as ability and personality, that are intrinsic" (Baba 1999: 29). In this whole discussion about topics, a rudimentary distinction of "four basic categories: appearance, performance, possessions, and personality" (Rees-Miller 2011: 2675; cf. also Holmes 1988: 455) may go without a doubt. Yet, how are utterances assigned to these categories? Are there any clear signs that show distinctively which topic an utterance should belong to?

Taking categories into account that describe rather vague entities such as the topic of a conversational stretch, interpretative coding cannot be ruled out. For the present study, major 'topic-categories' as described above were borne in mind while coding the data in a bottom-up approach, i.e., while reading through the Positive Remarks and deciding whether or not the utterance and its surrounding sequence fit these topic categories or whether a different and new category had to be established. The establishing of new categories was taken into consideration since the categories described above were all topics established in compliment research, yet, in this study, not only compliments but also other Positive Remarks are analyzed.

Stretches of talk are broadly coded according to such basic topics as 'appearance', 'ability/performance', 'possession', 'personality/friendliness', and completed by the categories 'food' (for details on food evaluations, see also Wiggins 2001), 'abstract' (with subgroups of 'abstract + personality', 'idea/thought' and 'place'), 'thing', 'discourse' (for Positive Remarks that are rather used to organize discourse than to make a genuine positive evaluation; with subgroups such as 'own story', 'other's story/listener response'), and, as the last resort, 'misc' for 'miscellaneous', where those instances are subsumed that cannot be assigned to any of the other topics for various reasons.[19] Table 4.16 gives an overview of the categories, a brief description and the names of the subcategories.

The category 'discourse' with its subcategories refers to utterances where the speaker uses a Positive Remark to make their own story more lively and colorful ('own story') or to give feedback on the other speaker's story ('listener response') with utterances such as, for example, "… and this was interesting …". Of course, this category is not a typical 'topic' as the others. Yet, it seemed necessary to establish this category since there were utterances that could not be categorized differently since they simply do not have a specific topic but rather fulfill a discoursive function.

Only one topic category is assigned to each Positive Remark. Some of the subcategories are rather similar to each other. There is, for example, a subcategory 'appearance + possession' as well as 'possession + appearance'. If one of these is assigned to an utterance, the first item is more focused on in the PosR – while this, of course,

19. These reasons may be parallel conversation or that the Positive Remark is uttered at the beginning of the conversational extract provided in the corpus without further indication what the participants were speaking about.

remains an individual interpretation. It is difficult to present some short samples for the topic categories at this point since some are highly context-dependent and in some cases whole stretches of talk are coded as belonging to a certain topic. Nonetheless, a few short samples are provided for the topic categories in Table 4.16 to illustrate the basic coding concept. More details on the numbers and distributions of the topics are displayed in Chapter 5.1, e.g. in Table 5.4.

Table 4.16 Topic categories and samples

Topic	Description and sample	Subcategories
Appearance	looks of a person; health and condition, e.g. *she's in shape like you can't believe.*	*appearance + possession* *appearance + ability*
Ability / Performance	the ability to do/perform sth. willingly, e.g. cooking: *Hey toffee isn't bad to make.*	*performance + food* *performance + possession*
	(no biological attributes)	*performance + personality*
Possession	if sth. positively evaluated clearly belongs to someone and speaker and hearer know this, *You must have good stereo.*	*possession + performance* *possession + gift* *possession + appearance*
Personality	a character trait that is evaluated positively, *You're too nice.*	*personality + performance*
Food	any positive evaluation on sth. to eat, *This is a big fucking fish.*	*food + performance*
Abstract	positive comments such as *Eight o'clock would be fine.*	*abstract + personality* *idea/thought/plans* *place*
Thing object	sth. people speak about that does not belong to a present addressee, *I have a fun present.*	–
Discourse	PosR that does not reflect/entail a topic but rather serves discourse functions, e.g., *Right.* or *That's not bad.*	*other's story/listener response* *own story*
Misc	assigned to PosR that were either (a) at the beginning of the conversational extract and the reader/researcher does not know about the previous topic/talk (b) in parallel conversation with many people speaking at the same time about different topics	–

CHAPTER 5

General overview of Positive Remark sequences

One should never forget that one of the prominent features of the natural language is its imprecise and often vague character. (Cermák 2002: 272)

Chapter 5 presents findings in a top-down approach, starting with general information on the three major parts of the results, viz. the Positive Remarks as an overall category (see Chapter 5.1), the Response Strategies (see Chapter 5.2), and an overview of the interactional turn organization in the sequences (see Chapter 5.3). Each of these subchapters provides an overview of the codings for the respective sequence part of sentence types and topics. A more detailed account of the structure and the sequencing in the supercategories of the Positive Remarks themselves, _ADJ_ (positive semantic core of Positive Remarks: predicative adjectives), _NOUN_ (positive semantic core: noun phrases), and _VERB_eval (positive semantic core: evaluative verbs), will be given in Chapter 6.[1]

Even though numbers, percentages and statistical test results are provided (where applicable) in the results chapters, the qualitative nature of the coding approach and the data is constitutive for the analysis of the findings. Comparing the percentages of occurrences of words, phrases, or strategies and testing their significance serves as a means to be able to draw tentative conclusions regarding the linguistic cues which may induce the utterance function. With the numbers presented here, I do not claim to satisfy every need for a quantitative study since I can only interpret my findings as tendencies in the corpus of American multi-party conversations used for the present study (see Chapter 3.2.2), not as generalizable assumptions on how American English speakers use Positive Remarks.[2]

---

1. The other supercategories, _ADV_ and _SPX_, are not considered in further detail due to their small number of occurrences, see Table 5.3.

2. See (Baker 2006: 18) as well as Jucker (2009: 1625) on the difficulty of statistical conclusions, even with the results gathered in Jucker et al. (2008) with the much larger BNC.

5.1 A general overview of all Positive Remarks in the data

In a first approach of coding the data, the coded Positive Remark utterances are matching the formulae of Manes/Wolfson's (1981) as closely as possible, and Table 5.1 shows preliminary results of this endeavor in comparison to other studies investigating American English (see also Chapter 2.1.1). Table 5.1 displays the patterns already shown above in Table 2.1, with the formulae and the respective percentages that Manes/Wolfson's (1981) and later Rose (2001) published. In the column 'present study', the percentages of formulae found in the SBCSAE for the present study are displayed.

Table 5.1 Comparison of the percentages for AmE compliments

	Syntax pattern (SP)	Manes/Wolfson	Rose	Present study
1	NP is/looks (really) ADJ	53.6%	50.7%	59%
2	I (really) like/love NP	16.1%	6.6%	11.8%
3	PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP	14.9%	14%	15.4%
4	You V (a) (really) ADJ NP	3.3%	2.5%	2.5%
5	You V (NP) (really) ADV	2.7%	1%	1.8%
6	You have (a) (really) ADJ NP	2.4%	3.2%	1.1%
7	What (a) ADJ NP!	1.6%	1.2%	0.3%
8	ADJ NP!	1.6%	4.4%	2.3%
9	Isn't NP ADJ!	1.0%	0.2%	1.9%
	misc	2.8%	16.2%	3.9%

The percentages derive from a total amount of 686 utterances in Manes/Wolfson's study (cf. 1981: 115), 408 in Rose' study (cf. 2001: 314) and 965 Positive Remarks for the present study.[3] Despite the different methods of the studies – the ethnographic 'notebook-method' by Manes/Wolfson, movies as a data base with Rose, and spontaneous everyday conversation from the SBCSAE for the present study – some of the results seem surprisingly similar (cf., e.g., the percentages of SP3, around 14–15%, and SP4, between 2.5–3.3%) except for the group of miscellaneous compliments which cannot be put into any of the formulae. The differences in these numbers may stem from the diverging data sources and the respective coding approach taken. Indirect compliments that are not covered by the syntactic patterns

3. The total for the present study is a preliminary finding. After the reformulation of the syntax patterns in the course of analyzing the data, Manes/Wolfson's (1981) formulae were dropped for the present study and the PosRs found in the sub-corpus after this change are not rated for their exact convergence with Manes/Wolfson's patterns anymore but see Table 7.1 below for a comparison with the results from Manes/Wolfson (1981) and Rose (2001) along the lines of the rearranged categories. Diverging numbers for the toal in PosRs in the present study result from this development.

are probably easier to find in a movie script (see Rose 2001), where they may add humor, than in the present study (see also Chapter 2.1.1). For the present study, the formulae are the starting point to look for Positive Remarks in the conversations and this 'miscellaneous' number must, in consequence, be rather low since only those 'non-formulaic' Positive Remarks were coded that were found in a longer sequence of formulaic utterances. Since some of these utterances should not go unattended, there is also a category for them, named _SPX_ (a 'non-formulaic' syntax pattern with no definite positive semantic core).

The most interesting part about these numbers and their similarities is that for the present study all positively assessing utterances having the form of one of these formulae are counted, no matter whether they could be considered to have a compliment illocution or not. Taking this into account, it is rather surprising that the gap between the results of these three data sets is not larger. The higher percentages of SP1 and SP9 in the present study could be an indication of these forms encompassing more non-compliment utterances (thus possibly functioning as positive assessments or other Positive Remarks) than other formulae.

Manes/Wolfson's (1981) formulae are abandoned in the further analysis of this study since they cannot provide enough information on the reference terms used in the Positive Remarks. Since these reference terms are considered to be possible linguistic cues for an interpretation of the utterance function and sequence structure, the rearrangement of the formulae as shown in Chapter 4.1.2 was carried out. In the present chapter, the numbers and distribution of the supercategories as displayed in Chapter 4.1 are presented. Table 5.2 gives an overview of the general syntax pattern of each supercategory.

Table 5.2 Syntax patterns of the four supercategories

Supercategory	Syntax pattern
ADJ	PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ
NOUN	PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN
_VERB_eval	PRON VERB_eval PRON/(DET) NOUN
ADV	PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADV
(_SPX_)	–

The realization patterns displayed in this table encompass all possible realizations of Positive Remarks in the respective supercategory while only _SPX_ does, of course, not have a specific realization pattern. The more fine-grained details of these supercategories can be found in the respective chapters in Chapter 6. The following subchapters give an overview of the Positive Remarks supercategories in terms of their overall usage and numbers (Chapter 5.1.1), the sentence types of the PosR (Chapter 5.1.2), and the topics in the PosR (Chapter 5.1.3).

5.1.1 The distribution of the Positive Remarks

A total of 1,179 utterances are coded in the present data as instances of Positive Remarks.[4] Table 5.3 gives an overview of the total number and percentages of the Positive Remarks in their respective supercategories. The table displays the clear dominance of the _ADJ_ supercategory. Of all the Positive Remarks found in the conversational data, 70% are positive evaluative remarks with a predicative adjective carrying the positive semantic load and can thus be subsumed in this supercategory. The supercategory _ADJ_ consists of the Manes/Wolfson (1981) formulae 1 and 9 (cf. Table 4.5, as well as Tables 2.1 and 5.1) as well as any other positive evaluation uttered with a predicative adjective.

Table 5.3 Total numbers of PosR supercategories

PosR supercategory	Abbreviation	N	%
PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	_ADJ_	827	70%
PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN	_NOUN_	217	18%
PRON VERB_eval PRON/(DET) NOUN	_VERB_eval	104	9%
PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADV	_ADV_	13	1%
others	_SPX_	18	2%
Total	_ALL_	1179	100%

The large number of utterances in this group is hardly surprising since previous studies that work with Manes/Wolfson's (1981) syntax patterns have found their SP1 – which bears great resemblance to the _ADJ_ category in the present study – to be the most frequently used pattern. Jucker et al. (2008), for example, note that the "results for pattern 1 were overwhelming" (2008: 277) in their corpus search. Yet, this does not mean that these are in fact all compliments. Indeed, only few compliments might remain after a close context analysis (cf. Jucker et al. 2008: 281; see also Chapter 2.1 for the discussion of the assessment formula). Some of the _ADJ_ realizations (see Chapter 6.1.1.2 and Table 6.4 below) share the same structure as the 'assessment-formula' (see Chapter 2.1) which also depicts realizations of Manes/Wolfson's (1981)SP3 which is gathered under _NOUN_ in the present study (cf. Table 6.12). These kinds of utterances could thus be used as a compliment, according to Manes/Wolfson (1981), or as a positive assessment, according to Goodwin/Goodwin (1987).

4. This total deviates from the aforementioned 965 utterances since the coding of the texts was still in progress wheen the coding patterns were being changed.

The second largest group, with only about 18% of all PosR utterances, is the _NOUN_ category. This category entails utterances that express the positive evaluation either by a positively evaluating noun or a noun phrase consisting of an attributive adjective and noun. With only 9%, the category of utterances that use an evaluative verb (_VERB_eval) such as *like* or *love* comes third in terms of frequency. To a large extent, this category is parallel to the *like*/*love* formula of Manes/Wolfson (1981; see also Tables 2.1 and 5.2). In the lay opinion, this seems to be the prototypical compliment form for American English speakers (cf. also Mittmann 2004: 299). Yet, with only 9% in the total of the Positive Remarks, it does not occur too often in the conversations of the SBCSAE. Even fewer utterances occur where the positive semantic meaning is carried by an adverb: only 13 utterances in total, which make up about 1%, were formed that way, such as in

(23) *SBC015; 798.225 799.135*
JOANNE: He's doing real well.

There are also a few utterances that cannot be subsumed under any of the supercategories. Such utterances, grouped under _SPX_, were only coded when they were found in the text analysis of the PosR sequences, but they were not searched for explicitly. Examples of such Positive Remarks that do not fit any of the formulae are the following extracts:

(24) *SBC031; 1164.854-1167.467*
BETH: .. <vox Beth,
.. nothing ever flaps you vox >.

or

(25) *SBC032; 1141.017 1142.680*
TOM_2: She's really got her head screwed on right.

In Example (24), Beth quotes something her husband told her: she supposedly always keeps calm and nothing can throw her off course, no matter how much work she has with their kids, which surely is meant in a positively evaluating way. While in Example (25), Tom_2 (there are three men named Tom in the SBC032 conversation distinguished through numbering) talks about the granddaughter of Tom_1, and about how she will make her way through college and learn a lot there (everyone in the conversation seems to know the girl and think highly of her). This can surely also be interpreted as a non-formulaic positive evaluation of the girl.

These could be interesting samples for compliments that do not fit into Manes/Wolfson's (1981) forms and may serve as examples for indirect compliments while this group of utterances is not in the focus of attention. Since these Positive Remarks

did raise attention in the coding process, though, and since Manes/Wolfson (1981) also had a category for miscellaneous cases (see Table 2.1), these utterances are counted in the total of Positive Remarks. However, in the further analysis, the categories _ADJ_, _NOUN_, and _VERB_eval will be focused on. The other two groups, _ADV_ and _SPX_, will only be taken into consideration when referring to the total of the 1,179 PosR utterances in the sub-corpus.

5.1.2 Positive Remarks and sentence types

To gain insight into the nature of the Positive Remarks (_ADJ_, _NOUN_, and _VERB_ eval), the surface structure is analyzed not only in terms of the syntactic pattern used but also concerning the sentence type. In this subchapter, general numbers for the different sentence types coded in the Positive Remarks are provided.

If we take the communicative use into account that is ascribed to different sentence types (see Chapter 4.4.2) we could expect a number of exclamatives used in PosR utterances with which the speakers could express their feelings towards something (see Greenbaum/Nelson 2009: 105). It is claimed that with an exclamative a speaker may "indicate the extent to which [s/he] is impressed by something" (Greenbaum/Nelson 2009: 108). Thus, this could be a typical syntactic form of a PosRs. Another sentence type that is supposedly "emotionally tainted" (Mittmann 2004: 293) is the interrogative with the structure "Isn't that [+ adjective]" that American speakers (supposedly) use to show how extraordinary the mentioned item is (see Mittmann 2004: 293).

Figure 5.1 shows how the Positive Remarks are coded according to their sentence types and displays the distribution in percentages (for the raw numbers, see also Table B.6 in the appendix). Each bar in the bar chart shows the amount of the respective utterance or sentence types in the supercategory and the total of them in the three main supercategories in focus of the present study.[5] The utterance types that supposedly mirror emotional involvement of the speakers, exclamatives and interrogatives, are used only rarely in the supercategories. The clear majority of the utterances coded in all supercategories have the form of declarative sentences. Even though positive evaluations and PosR may contain emotional aspects, the language used in the Positive Remark sequences appears rather unemotional, judging from the syntactic appearance (on sentence type and function, see also Table 4.15 and Chapter 4.4.2).

5. In full awareness of the different concepts of 'utterances' and 'sentences' and ongoing debates in research about their definitions, these two terms are used nearly synonymously in the present study.

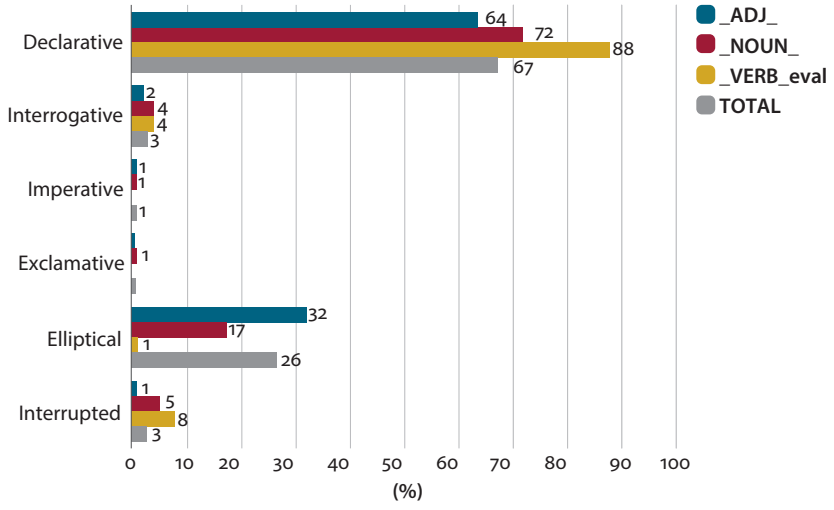


Figure 5.1 The distribution of utterance/sentence types in the main PosR supercategories

It almost seems as if the expressions of strong feelings through syntax were not very common among American English speakers, or at least not with these sentence types in the Positive Remarks. There are hardly any other sentence types used besides the declarative. It is interesting that there are even more interrogatives than exclamatives used. Among the other sentence forms used, the strong dominance of elliptical _ADJ_ use and the very rare _VERB_eval use of this form attract attention. This can be expected since a predicative adjective alone can more easily carry out a positive evaluation than a verb on its own.

The sentence types used across the supercategories offer a picture of similarities and no large differences besides a few diverging percentages in the 'declaratives' and the 'elliptical' utterances in the distribution. Thus, a more detailed account of these sentence types is neglected in the closer analysis of super- and subcategories of the PosR in Chapter 6, while a brief overview of the distribution in the responses/next turns of the PosR sequences will be provided in Chapter 5.2.2.

5.1.3 Topics in Positive Remarks

Another aspect this overview addresses is that of the Positive Remarks' topics. As mentioned in Chapter 4.4.3, the topic has been a point of interest in compliment research. There are differences and divergences in research on how to categorize compliments according to specific topics, but there is agreement on "four basic categories: appearance, performance, possessions, and personality, with a fifth category of 'other' " (Rees-Miller 2011: 2675; cf. also Holmes 1988: 455; see Chapter 4.4.3

above). As already mentioned, the Positive Remarks in the SBCSAE texts do not only show these typical compliment topics, which leads to establishing further categories for the present study to code all possible Positive Remark utterances, not only compliments. Some of these newly established 'topic' categories need to overlap with the functional level of such an utterance namely when they were mainly used to organize discourse (and are thus labeled as 'discourse' in Table 5.4 below) and could not be assigned to any of the other topic categories. Since 'discourse' is rather something attributed to a non-complimentary Positive Remark, such a category will not be found in compliment research. Table 5.4 gives a first overview of the distribution of all topics in the overall Positive Remark sequences in all conversations of the sub-corpus along with the numbers and percentages of the single utterances accounted for in the major Positive Remark supercategories (_ADJ_, _NOUN_, and _VERB_eval). Thus, while the numbers in the first two columns of Table 5.4 are the overall numbers for the entire Positive Remark sequences in the conversations, the next two columns in the table narrow down on the distribution of the topics in the three main supercategories (the single utterances counted) of the Positive Remarks, viz. _ADJ_, _NOUN_, and _VERB_eval.

Table 5.4 Topics of the Positive Remark supercategories in the present data (overall sequences and individual utterances)

Topic	Overall sequence		Individual utterance	
	N	%	N	%
Appearance	31	5%	64	6%
Performance	104	18%	219	19%
Possession	60	10%	138	12%
Personality	43	7%	81	7%
Food	65	11%	163	14%
Abstract	110	19%	110	20%
Thing	22	4%	39	3%
Discourse	147	25%	206	18%
misc	8	1%	12	1%
Total	590	100%	1148	100%

The three largest categories in the overall sequence numbers (see Table 4.16) are 'performance' with about 18%, 'abstract' with 19%, and 'discourse' with even 25%. Judging from the distribution of these topic categories and the typical topics of compliments, this leaves the first impression that probably many Positive Remark sequences are non-compliments. The numbers for the individual PosR utterances differ only slightly. Yet, we can see that 'abstract' is the largest topic category with 20% counting the respective PosR utterances, followed closely by 'performance'

with 19% and 'discourse' with about 18% in the PosR topic codings not playing the same outstanding role as in the overall sequence coding.

Previous findings rank compliments on a specific 'ability' or 'performance' of the addressee as frequently used in American compliment data (cf., e.g., Manes 1983; Wolfson 1983). At first glance, this seems to be confirmed by the present data and suggests the use of many compliments within the Positive Remarks since 18% of the sequences and 19% of the individual utterances are coded as evaluating the performance of another person positively. Those utterances that may determine what a person owns and does ('performance' and 'possession') are – along with comments about food – among the largest topic categories of the PosRs. From the other typical compliment topics ('appearance', 'possessions', and 'personality') those remarks that are connected closely to a person ('appearance' and 'personality') are least frequent in the present study while they are usually considered to be among the most frequently used topics in complimenting (cf., e.g., Barnlund/Araki 1985: 12). Especially 'appearance', which ranges very low in the present data with only 6% in total of the individual utterances in the main supercategories, is seen by many as one of the most frequent topics in (American) compliment data (cf., e.g., Manes 1983; Wolfson 1983; Holmes/Brown 1987). Its low frequency in the present data may have several reasons: (i) it might be assumed that the conversations analyzed do not comprise many compliments but rather other Positive Remarks; (ii) these topic areas might be of low frequency due to a higher rank of imposition in such an utterance, "because [such 'internal topics'] reflect on the addressee as a person" (Baba 1999: 29); (iii) or maybe there are not many compliments made on these topics in the conversations of the present sub-corpus due to the setting of conversations among family and friends;[6] (iv) or the less frequent use may also be explained by a cultural development.[7]

To determine the reason for the topic distribution, further studies would be needed as, for example, a perception study to find out about the higher rank of imposition (as in (ii) above). To find out whether it is the type of conversation that influences the topics (as mentioned in (iii) above) a comparison with similar conversations from another domain would be required. The cultural development (as in (iv)) could also be investigated with perceptional studies or further diachronic

---

6. The mixed age of the family members may also play a role. Cordella/Large/Pardo (1995) found a general trend in their sample sized data that "recipients younger than 30 years [tend] to receive compliments concerning appearance while recipients older than 30 are more likely to receive compliments related to skills" (1995: 245). The factor 'age', however, is not considered in the present study.

7. About two decades lie between the data collected by Manes/Wolfson (1981) and the SBCSAE recordings.

studies like that of Taavitsainen/Jucker (2008) with a more recent diachronic data sample of the last few decades. In the present study, however, only (i) will be followed further by taking other Positive Remarks into account. For this, and for finding out in how far form and topic might be connected, the topic categories are connected with the supercategories in Figure 5.2.

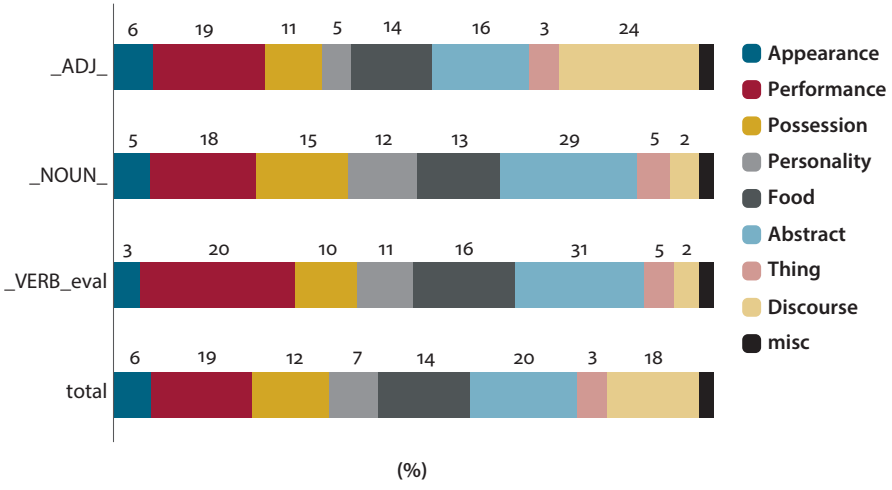


Figure 5.2 The topics of the Positive Remarks: an overview

In this figure, the row 'total' comprises the values of the three supercategories and shows the average distribution of the topics with these PosR forms. A chi-square test for the interdependence of the PosR form and the topic category has shown that the connection between them is significant ($\chi 2$ (Df 14) = 29.88 $p < 0.005$). Of course, carrying out this chi-square test is debatable since the amount of data is relatively small.[8] Yet, it is interesting to see that there seems to be a connection between the evaluative core of a Positive Remark and its topic. In the following, some of the topics will be displayed and briefly presented with examples from the conversations. Not all topics will be discussed but those that seem the most prominent and interesting: the topics labeled as 'discourse', 'abstract', and 'performance'.

8. The chi-square values to determine whether or not the numbers reveal statistical significance were taken from the table at http://people.richland.edu/james/lecture/m170/tbl-chi.html that was last accessed November 20th, 2017. Only in the anonymous review for this book, I learnt about a possibly better suiting method, the Generalized Linear Mixed Models (GLMM) and want to thank the reviewer for this advice. Nonetheless, not having the mathematical expertise and not being able to reach experts in this field in due time for this manuscript, the $\chi 2$ and Fisher exact test have to suffice in this present study for a first hint at possible statistical significance.

5.1.3.1 *Discourse*

It can be seen that almost all forms categorized as 'discourse' can be found in the _ADJ_ supercategory (for more details on this supercategory, see Chapter 6.1). Of the topic categories in the supercategory _ADJ_, 24% are assigned to 'discourse'. A short illustration of this is the following Example (26):

(26) *SBC001; 258.67-265.18*
LYNNE: (H) Well as a matter of fact,
(H) *this is really funny.*
You know,
there isn't .. really .. any girl farriers .. around anywhere.
(italics added by me)

Lynne places the PosR in this example ("this is really funny") in her own story to attract the listener's, Doris', attention to what Lynne thinks is a special and curious part of her story. Thus, this topic category of 'discourse' comprises utterances that fit the formulae as established by Manes/Wolfson (1981) and fulfill the function of organizing either the speaker's own story (as in this example) or of responding to what someone else says (as a kind of listener response; cf., e.g., Gardner 2001, 2007; McCarthy 2002; O'Keeffe/Adolphs 2008; Xudong 2009) as in the following example:

(27) *SBC003; 1356.46-1359.26*
MARILYN: I probably look like … total hell,
PETE: .. *Right*.
MARILYN: and she goes,
(italics added by me)

Pete here does not agree that Marilyn looks "like total hell" but signals his attention to her story with this utterance (see and Chapter 4.4.1). Utterances such as this "right" have been coded as a Positive Remark as well since they reflect an elliptical form of a Positive Remark such as "this is/you are right" (see Chapter 4.4.2).

5.1.3.2 *Abstract*

The largest topic category of _NOUN_ as well as _VERB_eval is the category 'abstract' to which the supercategory _VERB_eval is assigned in 31% and _NOUN_ in 29% of their utterances while _ADJ_ in comparison only holds 16% in this topic category. An example of this topic in the _VERB_eval category is the following:

(28) *SBC002; 865.91 869.93*
JAMIE: … I like this song.

Jamie just says something about a song that plays on the stereo in the background. It is not clear to the researcher as an eavesdropper whether or not someone present

in the conversation chose this music on purpose (and thus this could be a Positive Remark about their taste in music). The other participants in the conversation do not take up her utterance but follow their own topic of Lambada lessons at a dance club. Thus, "this song" remains an abstract entity that cannot be assigned to anybody in this conversation.

An example of this topic category in the _NOUN_ supercategory is this utterance:

(29) *SBC032; 762.830 763.910*
TOM_2: and we had a nice conversation,

A conversation took place prior to this utterance and remains an abstract entity that is described by this Positive Remark. Tom_2 evaluates this conversation that happened in an important phase of his life and he now tells others about this event and positions himself and this experience by evaluating it positively.

5.1.3.3 *Performance*

It is interesting that all three supercategories share their second largest topic group: "performance", with 19% in the _ADJ_, 18% in _NOUN_, and 20% in the _VERB_eval supercategory. Below are examples of the realizations of these topic categories in all three supercategories:

(30) *SBC037; 660.854-662.975*
JULIA: … Yeah.
… That's good.

This is an example of the _ADJ_ category. Julia, the mother, answers her son Shane's question whether or not he did form the tamales they are preparing for dinner, correctly. She evaluates his performance as "good".

The next conversational bit serves as an example of the _NOUN_ category:

(31) *SBC019; 353.385 357.162*
FRANK: … They did a pretty nice job.

Frank evaluates the achievement and performance of the symphony orchestra in his hometown by using the noun phrase "a pretty nice job".

An example of positively evaluating a performance in the _VERB_eval category is:

(32) *SBC031; 601.698 604.153*
BETH: I loved the little bit about .. the potty training.

Beth here evaluates not only something she was told by another person (about how quickly the other person's kid was "potty trained", i.e. could go to the toilet and not need a diaper anymore) but also evaluates the performance of the kid (and the

proud mother's story) with her words. This last example also illustrates that there are of course instances where more than one topic area could be assigned to one PosR. The categorizing of the topics remains an interpretative act, where usually the topic that seems most prominent in the utterance – also according to the information gathered from the context – is chosen.

5.2 The Response Strategies

This subchapter displays general findings of the Response Strategies in the sub-corpus of the Santa Barbara Corpus used in the present study. After presenting the overall numbers for the Response Strategies, sentence type and topic are looked at as two surface features of the responses.

5.2.1 The distribution of the Response Strategies

If the formulae from Manes/Wolfson (1981) were indeed representing (only) compliments and the action chain for complimentary functions of an utterance was combined as suggested by Pomerantz (1978; see Chapter 2.2.1, Tables 4.10 and 4.11), the Response Strategies found in the Positive Remark sequences should be APPRECIATION, REFERENT SHIFT, maybe also REJECTION, QUALIFICATION and REINTERPRETATION (for the preference structure in the PosR sequences, see also Chapter 4.2.2). There are more kinds of Response Strategies found in the Positive Remark sequences in the present data, though, with those actually expected as compliment responses to be of lesser quantity. Figure 5.3 shows the distribution of the Response Strategies used in the Positive Remarks _ADJ_, _NOUN_, and _VERB_eval.[9]

Most of the Positive Remark sequences show one or more Response Strategy that is realized in the utterances following the PosR.[10] Only in those instances for which there is no next turn by another speaker following a PosR, there is of course no Response Strategy tagged: in such instances the speaker who utters the PosR carries on speaking and no Response Strategy can be coded (see Chapters 4.3 and 5.3). The largest group of Response Strategies in the three main Positive Remark

9. The numbers and percentages of the superstrategies that are displayed in the figure can be found in more detail in Table B.7 in the appendix. For details on Response Strategies and their grouping into the main strategy groups, see Table 4.9 above and Table B.5 in the appendix.

10. There may be more strategies used when more people respond at more or less the same time to a specific Positive Remark.

sequences in focus here is the strategy of OPTING OUT with 36% which is followed in second place by AGREEMENT with 23%. These two strategies are expected to be often used with Positive Remarks that are either ambiguous in their conversational function or that are positive assessments (see Chapter 4.2.2, Tables 4.10 and 4.11 and the working model in Figure 2.1). Along with EXPLAINING on third place with 14%, the strategies of the ambiguous and the positive assessment area in the model (see Figure 2.1) are, overall, the largest ones in the present data whereas the strategies assigned to a compliment action chain are very rarely used.

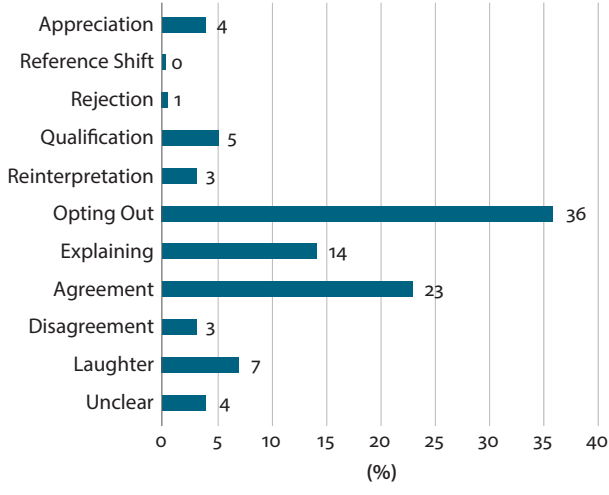


Figure 5.3 The distribution of the Response Strategies

Thus, the main part of the responses belong to a strategy that at first looks like a 'non-response': the OPTING OUT strategy. This group is made up of three substrategies (see Tables 4.9, 7.4, and B.5 in the appendix), namely opting out by (i) referring to an earlier topic, or by (ii) continuing with what the one who opts out was talking about before (this mostly happens when the Positive Remark is used like an interjection or listener response by the other speaker), or by (iii) posing a new question and thus changing the topic.

The largest group in these subgroups is 'opting out by continuing'. This may take various forms in different Positive Remark sequences, such as in overlapping or simultaneous talk, as the following example shows:

(33) *SBC050; 951.875-954.761*
DANA: [4Like butter =4],
KELLY: and the4] [5must5][6ard,
NANCY: [*5Right*5].

DANA: [5and5] [6mayonnai = se,
KELLY: and that stuff that goes in the fridge,
(italics added by me)

In this example, Nancy utters her "right" at the same time as Kelly and Dana speak. Her Positive Remark goes unnoticed and is a form of listener response (cf. Chapter 4.4.1.2 and 6.1.1) and both, Dana as well as Kelly, simply go on with what they were talking about before. This kind of Positive Remark utterance has been taken into account even though it is surely no compliment and may even not be considered a positive assessment by some. Yet, to find out about different functions and contexts of similar forms, these short positive utterances should also be taken into account for means of comparison (see also 4.1), since a compliment or positive assessment could of course be uttered in this elliptical way (cf., e.g., Rees-Miller 2011).

Not only this short form ("right") can be used as a listener response while the other speaker continues their talk, as can be seen in the next example:

(34) *SBC002; 170.59-174.12*
JAMIE: … You did.
You made me get the,
PETE: Mhm,
JAMIE: um,
PETE: that's right.
JAMIE: the green < X scarf X >.
(italics added by me)

Here, Pete only utters "that's right" in an affirmative way. He verifies Jamie's story about their shared shopping experience and Jamie goes on by finishing her story. Thus, in the present data, people often seem to utter a Positive Remark without even expecting a response to it. This seems to be the case since they do not repeat their Positive Remark or claim their conversational ground but just let the conversation take its turns (see also Chapter 6).

As mentioned above, next to OPTING OUT, the strategies AGREEMENT and EXPLAINING can be found quite frequently in the data. These are also Response Strategies usually not considered to be the preferred second pair part to a compliment (cf. 4.2.2). The speakers in the SBCSAE conversations either agree with a Positive Remark by uttering a minimal agreement such as *yeah* or *right*, or by uttering a token of mutual knowledge, as the next two examples show:[11]

11. These utterances were only coded as 'agreement' if they were uttered after a Positive Remark. The utterance *right* would then be coded also as an elliptical Positive Remark of the _ADJ_ supercategory and thus be coded on several layers of its various conversational use.

(35) *SBC003; 1435.17-1436.12*
MARILYN: That would be good.
PETE: .. *Yeah.*
(italics added by me)

While this extract shows the minimal agreement by using "yeah", Lenore in the next example shows mutual knowledge and agreement by saying "I know":

(36) *SBC015; 212.730-219.475*
JOANNE: (H) it's just this bl- beautiful,
beautiful,
blue water,
… What.
LENORE: . *I know.*
(italics added by me)

The subgroup of 'affirmatives' is the largest in the AGREEMENT strategy (see Table B.5 in the appendix). With this, the respondent strengthens the positive evaluation that has been uttered before by the other speaker as in the next example:

(37) *SBC050; 319.994-326.799*
DANA: … Isn't it good bread?
KELLY: … Mm.
DANA: (SNIFF)
KELLY: Yeah it is.
… It's thick.
.. Thick.
… It's not as light?

Thus, the positive evaluation of Dana about the bread her sister made is affirmed by Kelly who agrees that it is good since it is "thick" and "not as light".

Among the least often used Response Strategies is the strategy of APPRECIATION which entails as a substrategy 'thanking'. This is supposed to be the preferred response strategy in American English for compliments (cf., e.g., Chen 1993). Yet, only three out of the 40 instances of APPRECIATION include the words *thank you*. May this already be a sign that compliments rarely occur in the data? Or is this form in fact not the preferred strategy for responding to compliments? Or does it take forms that are not at first sight understood as 'thanking'? Other expressions besides *thank you* are also counted among the appreciation substrategies, as the following example:

(38) *SBC033; 369.775-371.864*
BILL: you're quite right Jennifer.
JENN: @@ (H)
«POUND Ker + chunk POUND».

With this "Kerchunk", Jennifer imitates the sound of a slot machine or a cash register, a sign in American colloquial language that the person has 'won' something, e.g., was right in what they said before. By this, she appreciates what Bill just said about her. She might have understood the utterance thus as a compliment and reacted with appreciation to it.

No matter what these Positive Remarks function as in the conversations – whether they are used as compliments, positive assessments, or other evaluative remarks – the small amount of APPRECIATION strategies used might also have to do with the conversational data and the people (family and friends) involved in these conversations. Differences in response behavior are sometimes found according to the status difference of the speakers. Pomerantz states that "[a]ppreciations are prevalent as seconds to compliments when the parties are asymmetrically related to the referent being complimented" (Pomerantz 1975: 121). In support of this, Lewandowska-Tomasczyk can be quoted, who found that in conversations among peers with equal social status, not appreciation but rather acceptance, upgrading, and agreement were often used as a response to compliments (cf. Lewandowska-Tomasczyk 1989: 93). Thus, as mentioned before, the social status and relationship of the speakers may bear an effect on which Response Strategy an addressee chooses. In the present study, there are no strict hierarchies among the speakers and 'acceptance', 'upgrading', and 'agreement' can be well expected also for responding to compliments then.

The numbers as they are presented above in Figure 5.3 cannot support too many claims on the influence of Response Strategies on identifying the illocutionary force of the initial utterance, since the actual connection is not made yet between the Positive Remark and the Response Strategy type. Also, in these numbers, the responses do not only display immediate response turns to the Positive Remarks. A closer look at this follows in the presentation of the results of the Positive Remarks and the unfolding sequences in Chapter 6 below.

5.2.2 Response Strategies and sentence type

Figure 5.4 displays the sentence types of the responses to the respective superstrategy of the Positive Remarks as well as the overall percentages of sentence types in the responses. It shows that the form of a declarative sentence is not only prominent in the Positive Remarks but also in most of the responses. Nearly half of all

responses uttered in the Positive Remark sequence are constructed this way. A few interrogative, imperative, and interrupted realizations make up about 20% in total. The remaining roughly 30% of following turns are elliptical or short utterances such as *mhm* or *aha*.

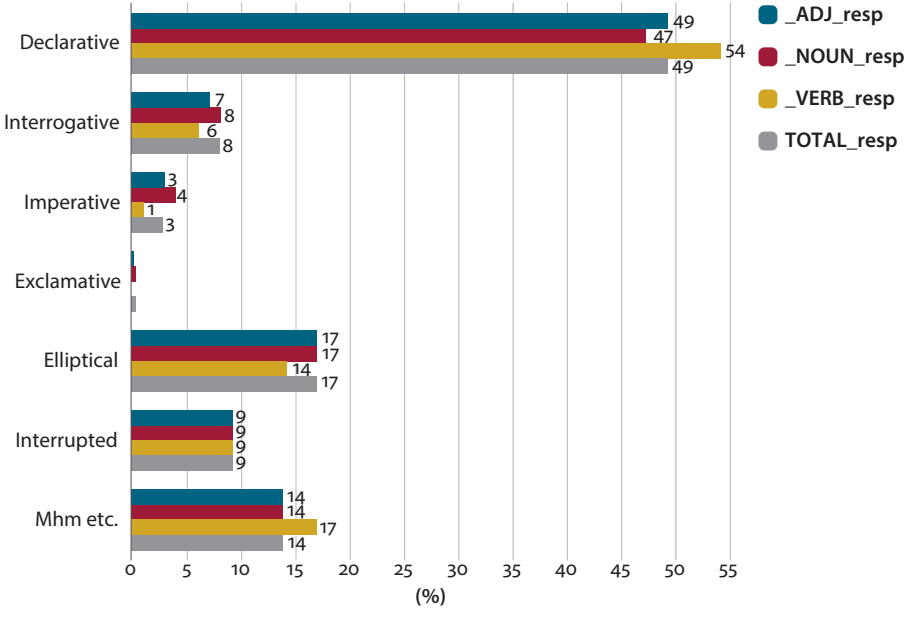


Figure 5.4 The distribution of sentence types in all responses

The rather large frequency of short utterances in a following turn in a Positive Remark sequence might be explainable by the multi-party conversations: when someone utters a Positive Remark, quite often several conversational partners seem to join in at the same time. This happens especially in sequences where overlaps of several speakers occur, as in the following Example (39) where some of the mark-up of the original text is kept to illustrate the overlapping:

(39) *SBC048; 394.180-402.524*

1	**LEA:**	[Oh],
		yeah it fits [2good2].
	TIM:	[2O2][3kay3].
	DAN:	[3X3].
5	**LEA:**	It fits really good.
	TIM:	… Good.
->	**JUDY:**	… [< X Little or X >] –
	LEA:	[Look good in] it,
		too.

10 **JUDY:** [Oh = yeah =][2 = .
LEA: [@ < HI Doesn't he look] [2good in it HI > 2]?
TIM: [2Yeah = 2].
JUDY: .. @2]@[3@3]
TIM: [3Yeah3][4 = 4].

In this example, all the short utterances like *yeah*, *okay*, *oh yeah* and the laughter belong to the category 'mhm etc.' as a special kind of 'sentence type' that could not be put in one of the other categories in the current study. They are similar to the elliptical category, yet it seemed worthwhile to code them in a different way due to their function as listener responses. The "Little or…" in line 7 by Judy is a good example of the 'interrupted/incomplete' category. The category 'interrupted/incomplete' can be distinguished from the elliptical forms rather easily. While the speaker may perform their entire utterance as an elliptical remark, the interrupted or incomplete utterance is lacking some vital part. This happens either due to the speakers themselves (similar to a false start) or by other speakers who interrupt them while they are speaking. The even distribution across all responses in the sequences is remarkable (see Figure 5.4). No matter in which Positive Remark sequence, about 9% of the following turns are 'interrupted' by others or the speaker themselves leave it 'incomplete'.

This distribution could lead to the claim that the conversational partners do not pay too much attention to what another person says or does after the Positive Remark. The interruptions and obviously the awareness of speakers to be able to just pose very short utterances might suggest a rather uncooperative nature of the conversations, just as the overlapping itself does. Yet, as discussed in Chapter 4.4.1.1, overlaps in conversations between close friends or family might also display the cooperation and closeness it might negate in conversations between status unequals and strangers. It is suggested to be a feature that belongs closely to the conversational genre looked at in the present study (cf., e.g., DeCapua/Berkowitz/Boxer 2006) but would need further investigations with a larger data base of everyday conversations with varied speaker constellations. Whether or not this is a sign of aligning and closeness, the use of many elliptical, short, and interrupted turns in the unfolding Positive Remark sequence does show that speakers often do not elaborate on their utterances.

The categories that entail 'interrupted' utterances and those that are subsumed under 'mhm etc.' as short listener responses are both used more often in turns following Positive Remarks than in the such utterances themselves. The difference of the sentence type structure of the PosR compared with that of their following turns is displayed in Figure 5.5.

In this figure, we can see that

- 'interrupted' utterances also occur in Positive Remarks but they more often occur in responsive turns,
- the group of 'mhm etc.' does not occur in the Positive Remarks at all,
- interrogative utterances are used less often in Positive Remarks, more often in the turns following the PosRs,
- the occurrence of elliptical utterances differs strongly in the Positive Remarks of the _ADJ_ supercategory and the _VERB_eval supercategory,
- ellipsis is an overall feature in all kinds of utterances of these conversations.

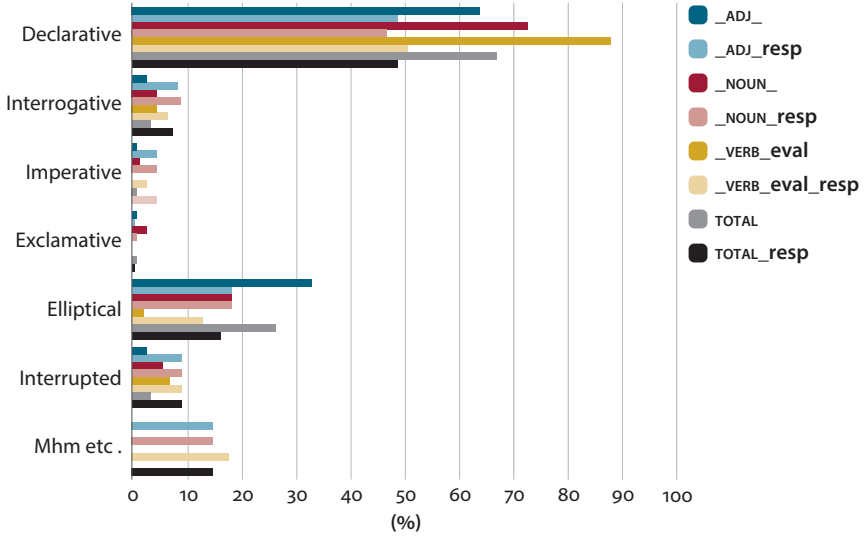


Figure 5.5 The distribution of sentence types in all supercategories and their following responses

It is not possible to detect a distributional feature of the sentence types in the Positive Remark sequences that would obviously be connected specifically to one of the supercategories (_ADJ_, _NOUN_, or _VERB_eval). Overall, the use of Positive Remarks in the present data seems to be preferred in a rather neutral stance, without any emotional expression through sentence types such as exclamatives.

5.2.3 Topic and Response Strategies

Even though topics of compliments as well as strategies used to respond to compliments are areas often discussed and analyzed in research, their combination or their connection has been analyzed only rarely (see Chapter 2.3.1). The results from Sims (1984 and 1989) as well as Cheng (2011) suggest that 'agreeing' to specific

compliment topics is rather frequent. Yet, even though the Response Strategy 'agreement' is found in the data of the present study as well, it might contain utterances not coded as such in other studies since many researchers seem to have more or less slight deviations in their codings (see also Chapter 2.2.2 above; for the description of the Response Strategies as used in the present study, see Table 4.9). Realizations might be grouped differently in various studies, as can be seen in the category that Sims named 'pass': in the present study, this category has realizations in two different categories, namely OPTING OUT as well as the strategy UNCLEAR. Not only the differences in groupings poses a difficulty for comparison, but one also needs to keep in mind that "it is possible for a response to perform more than one action" at the same time (Mustapha 2011: 1339). Yet, most often it is the interpretative decision of the researcher which of the possibly overlapping functions is most important for the Response Strategy in focus. Of course, this is rather interpretative work and needs to be taken as such – also in the present study. The decision in this study to code each responsive turn with only one topic and one Response Strategy (displayed in Figure 5.6) also made it possible to use the chi-square test to find out whether or not these connections are purely by chance. With $\chi 2$ (Df 80) = 219.15 $p < 0.005$, the statistical testing suggests a high significance of the connection between the topic and the Response Strategy used, even though it needs to be borne in mind that with a degree of freedom of 80, chi-square testing becomes unreliable.[12]

Similar to Sims' findings as presented in Table 2.7 above (see Chapter 2.3.1), it can be seen that in the present data, in cases where the Response Strategy AGREEMENT is used, it is used more often in sequences where the topic of the Positive Remark refers to a 'performance' than to a PosR with the topic 'possession', as is the same for the OPTING OUT strategy. It is also interesting to see that nearly all Response Strategies are used for almost any topic (only the topic areas 'misc' and 'personality' are not included in some Response Strategies) but for REFERENT SHIFT and REJECTION, which are only used for the topics 'performance', 'possession', and 'abstract' (plus 'food' for REJECTION). It needs to be borne in mind, of course, that the topics are not evenly distributed in all conversations and some numbers and relations that are depicted in this description of the results might occur because of this differing distribution (for the numbers of Response Strategies in the various topic areas, see Table B.8 in the appendix). The distribution of the Response Strategies in the respective topic areas can also be seen in Figure 5.6 where the perspective of the correlation is changed. This figure shows which kinds of Response Strategies are used in the different topics.

12. Thanking my anonymous reviewer for this information.

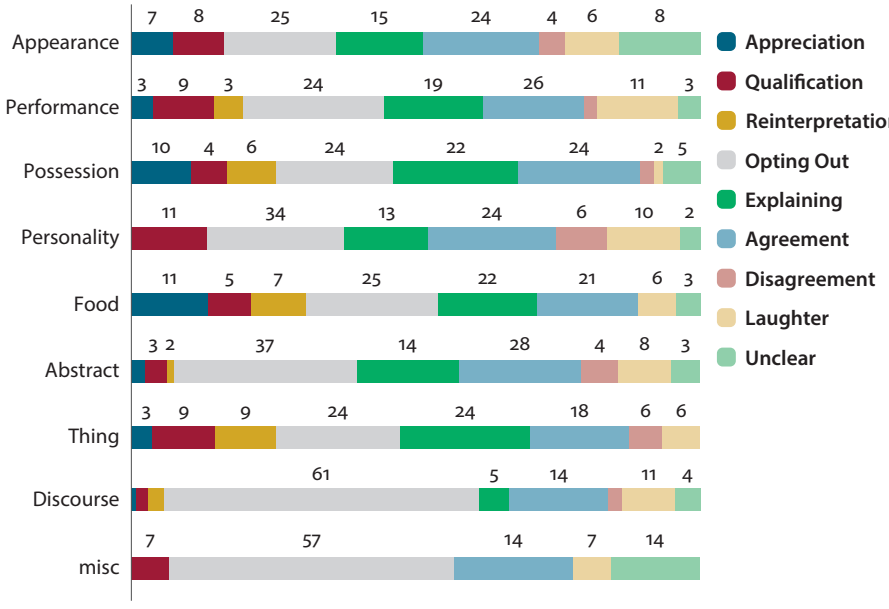


Figure 5.6 The distribution of the Response Strategies in the topic areas

This figure does not have values from 0–1% marked on the bars. The distribution of Response Strategies and topics shows some interesting relationships as for example with conversational stretches marked as belonging to the 'discourse' category, OPTING OUT is by far the most frequent Response Strategy employed. In the following list, some interesting distributions are briefly addressed:

- APPRECIATION as a strategy is most often used in topic areas coded as referring to 'food' or 'possession',
- AGREEMENT is rather evenly distributed in the topic areas 'appearance', 'performance', 'possession', 'personality', 'food', and 'abstract',
- LAUGHTER is used in all topic sequences but least of all in the ones coded with 'possession',
- EXPLAINING occurs most often with topic areas that touch upon 'possession', 'food', and 'thing' and are a bit rarer in 'personality' and 'abstract',
- DISAGREEMENT occurs most often in the topic areas 'personality' and 'thing', least in 'performance' and not at all in 'food'.

Thus, taking the numbers into account, it can be claimed that Response Strategies which usually are connected as preferred second pair part to positive assessments (i.e., AGREEMENT) or as preferred second for ambiguous utterances (i.e., OPTING OUT and EXPLAINING) are used more often in the present data than those that are suggested to be preferred second pair parts for compliments (which are, e.g., APPRECIATION or even REJECTION; see also Chapter 4.2.2). This observation might lead

to a tentative conclusion that there are more positive assessments or other Positive Remarks than compliments in the present data. Yet, it needs again to be borne in mind that these numbers display the entire occurrences of all utterances following a Positive Remark. There is – at this point – no information in these numbers yet as of who utters which kind of response. Thus, non-addressees might utter many 'agreeing' next turns while maybe addressees do not choose this strategy. The differentiation of who utters which strategy is discussed in Chapters 6.1.3, 6.2.3, and 6.3.3 for the respective super- and their subcategories.

5.3 Interaction and sequencing

This chapter will outline the basic and fundamental results concerning the conversational organization of the Positive Remark sequences. In the first Subchapter 5.3.1, this will be shown by a display of the connection between the supercategories of the Positive Remarks and the Response Strategies used (see Figure 5.7). In the second Subchapter (5.3.2), the distribution of the responsive turn categories (such as TUOTH for 'turn by other speaker' or tusp for 'turn by same speaker', see Chapter 4.3.2 and Table 4.12 or for abbreviations Table A.1 in the appendix) is presented. In the third Subchapter (5.3.3) then, the focus will turn to the specific responsive turn categories in focus: the turns that follow a Positive Remark which are uttered by other speakers. These will be displayed in terms of their connection to Response Strategy and Positive Remark (see Figures 5.9, 5.11, and 5.12).

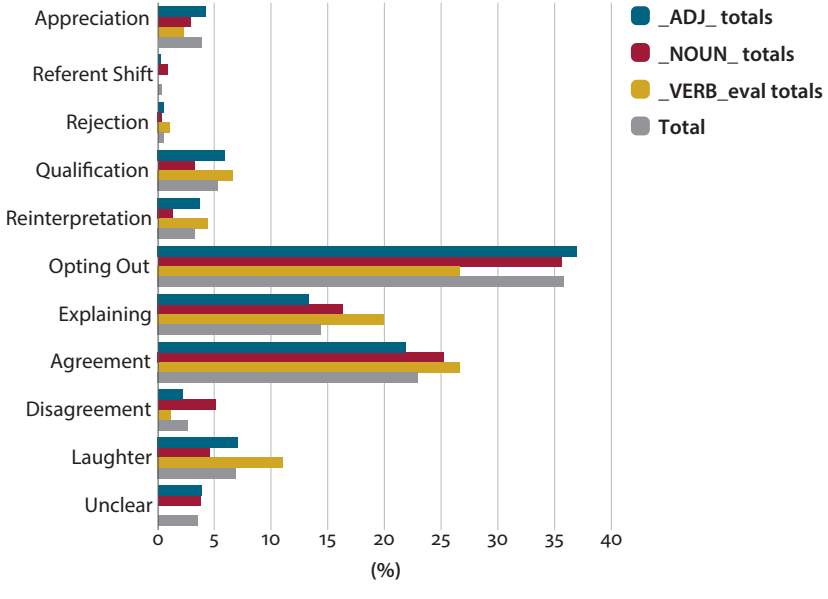


Figure 5.7 Response Strategies used in relation to the Positive Remark supercategories

5.3.1 Response Strategies and their use in the Positive Remark sequences

Whereas the previous chapter on Response Strategies (see Chapter 5.2.3) shows the connection of strategies to the topics of the Positive Remarks, the present chapter will show the connection between the Response Strategy used with the Positive Remarks' supercategories _ADJ_, _NOUN_, and _VERB_eval as depicted in Figure 5.7. To represent a value of each strategy used within all three PosRs, the bar 'total' is also given for all responses provided of the respective strategy.

The strategy that is used most often in the data, no matter which Positive Remark defines the sequence, is OPTING OUT. It might be closely connected to the make-up of the conversations, being multi-party conversations. By OPTING OUT, the conversations are carried on and those Positive Remarks which possibly function as listener responses have no need to be reacted to. Only the _VERB_eval sequences are slightly less 'opted out of' than _ADJ_ and _NOUN_. Even though some of these differences seem remarkable, the chi-square test to find out about whether or not the correlation of the supercategories and the Response Strategies was significant turned out negative ($\chi 2$ (Df 20) = 30.68 $p > 0.05$).

There are slight differences in the distribution of the other Response Strategies in the Positive Remark sequences:

- LAUGHTER is most often used in the responses in _VERB_eval sequences (which might hint at an emotional interaction),
- AGREEMENT and EXPLAINING are used more often in _VERB_eval and _NOUN_ sequences,
- DISAGREEMENT is rarely used, but if it is used, then most often in _NOUN_ and least of all in _VERB_eval sequences (which might hint at its favored usage in more neutral and less emotional contexts),
- APPRECIATION is also very rarely used but in cases of usage, it is mostly found in the _ADJ_ sequences.

These findings suggest claims about the Positive Remark sequences found in the present data:

- considering APPRECIATION 'the typical response' to a compliment, a 'typical compliment' would most probably be found in the _ADJ_ category,
- considering AGREEMENT a 'typical response' to positive assessments, _VERB_eval and _NOUN_ could entail the most positive assessments,
- considering that OPTING OUT and EXPLAINING might be 'typical Response Strategies' for Positive Remarks that leave their function – whether or not they are meant as a compliment – open to discussion and conversational negotiation, it could be argued that most Positive Remarks are, throughout the categories, of an ambiguous nature.

The working model of the interactional connection as presented in Figure 2.1 is used to display the distribution of the Response Strategies in connection with the supercategories _NOUN_, _VERB_eval, and _ADJ_ in Figure 5.8. In this figure, the superstrategies of the Response Strategies are displayed in capital letters while the substrategies are written in small letters. A 'Q' in front of such a substrategy means that it belongs to QUALIFICATION and a 'RS' that it belongs to REFERENT SHIFT. The placement of LAUGHTER as a response strategy is preliminary at this stage of result display.

The figure shows the overall Response Strategies as they are tagged in the Positive Remark sequences and the approximate placement of the supercategories _ADJ_, _NOUN_, and _VERB_eval on the 'compliment-positive assessment continuum'. The percentages of Response Strategies occurring with a specific Positive Remark is depicted right above the Response Strategy's name along with an abbreviation for each PosR utterance (such as A for _ADJ_ etc.). Response Strategies that are not (or only rarely) used are presented in a lighter shade of gray to enhance readability of the figure.

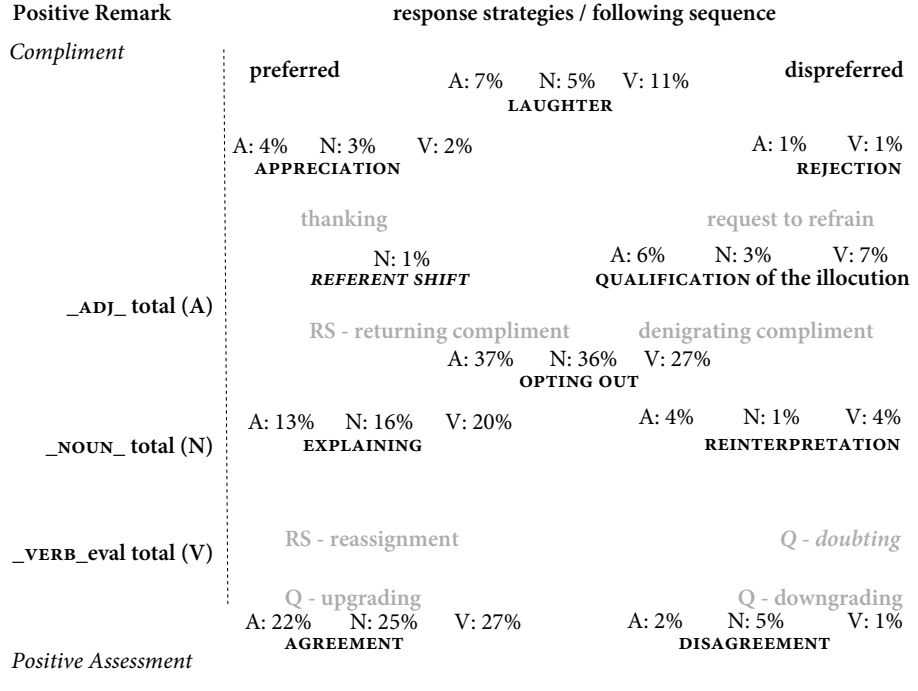


Figure 5.8 The distribution of the Response Strategies as used in all turns following the Positive Remarks

The placing of the PosR categories is done in relation to the Response Strategies used with them. Thus, the category _ADJ_ is placed a bit more towards the 'compliment' side of the continuum since it shows the largest use of APPRECIATION and the least of AGREEMENT compared to the _NOUN_ and _VERB_eval categories. _VERB_eval, on the other hand, is placed nearest to the positive assessment side of the continuum since this category shows the largest use of AGREEMENT and EXPLAINING in the Response Strategies.

The numbers displayed here do not show, however, who utters these responses. Thus, the frequent use of OPTING OUT in all three supercategories might also indicate that non-addressees continue the conversation and that addressees mostly APPRECIATE what has been said. It is, hence, interesting to know who utters which kind of response or next turn after a Positive Remark. For this, the turn sequence needs to be taken into account which is done in the following chapters.

5.3.2 Structure of turns following a Positive Remark

Adapting a dyadic sequence model (see Figure 2.1) to a multi-party conversation context bears its challenges. Not only the person that might be addressed with a Positive Remark may respond to what has been said, but also other participants. To be able to distinguish the different participants in a conversation and what they say, the turns in the sequences of the SBCSAE conversations have also been coded according to who is uttering the turn that follows the Positive Remark (see also Chapter 4.3 for this). Here, 'tusp' stands for a continuing of the turn by the same speaker after the Positive Remark, TUOTH for a next 'turn by other speaker', RERE for a 'remote response' (i.e. one that is not the very next turn in the PosR sequence but follows later in the conversation and still refers to the Positive Remark), and 'difficult' for response sequences that usually show overlap and are difficult to distinguish in terms of who is speaking.[13] For both TUOTH as well as RERE, there is a further distinction to be made: they can be uttered by an addressee of the Positive Remark or by a non-addressee.

All turns following a PosR were coded in terms of Response Strategies since anything that is said can always be seen as "a response to what has been said before and has an effect on what comes afterwards" (Aijmer/Stenström 2004: 4). In Table 5.5, the focus is solely on the sequence structure and the distribution of the various following turns according to the Positive Remark with all supercategories at one glance.[14]

---

13. As described in see Chapter 4.3.2, capital letters are used to indicate that addressee responses as well as those by non-addressees were considered and counted, see also Table 4.12.

14. As mentioned before, the focus in this study is mainly on the _ADJ_, _NOUN_, and _VERB_eval categories. Yet, to give an impression of the turn distribution, the categories _ADV_ and _SPX_ are also displayed in this table.

Table 5.5 PosR categories and distribution of their responsive turn categories

PosR	Total	tusp	tuoth_		rere_		difficult
			non-add	add	non-add	add	
ADJ	827	235 (28%)	145 (18%)	260 (31%)	1 (0%)	7 (1%)	179 (22%)
NOUN	217	65 (30%)	35 (16%)	49 (23%)	2 (1%)	3 (1%)	63 (29%)
VERB eval	104	30 (29%)	19 (18%)	32 (31%)	0	0	23 (22%)
ADV	13	3 (23%)	2 (15%)	5 (39%)	0	0	3 (23%)
SPX	18	3 (17%)	8 (44%)	5 (28%)	0	0	2 (11%)
total	1179	336 (28%)	209 (18%)	351 (30%)	3 (0%)	10 (1%)	270 (23%)

As can be seen in this table, the remote response (RERE) is used very rarely. Only 13 times, an utterance could be identified as a remote response to a PosR. If a RERE is given, in seven out of ten times the addressee responds in a remote turn in an _ADJ_ sequence (for an explanation and a sample of this 'remote' category, see Chapter 4.3.2). Looking over the 13 sequences where these RERE responses are given in the conversations, it can be said that in most Positive Remarks that precede this response, the addressee is referred to explicitly, either by their name or the address pronoun *you* and it seems that in many of these cases the Positive Remark can (also) have a complimenting function – but there is no token of appreciation to be found in these remote responses. They can mainly be coded as EXPLAINING strategies. Yet, even though this sequence structure might be rather interesting for a case study of a smaller scale, they need to be neglected here since they only occur so rarely in the present data and are of no greater use for comparisons.

While there are various turn structures in the multi-party conversations analyzed in this study (see also Chapter 4.3), the focus in this study is on the instances in the conversations where we encounter a next 'turn by other speaker' following the PosR. Looking at Table 5.5 above, we can see that the TUOTH category is with 48% the most frequent turn category (compared to 'tusp' with 28%, RERE with 1% and 'difficult' with 23%). The most frequently used type of turn that follows a Positive Remark is the immediately following turn by the addressee ('tuoth_add' with 30%, see Table 5.5 above), closely followed by the turn uttered by the speaker of the Positive Remark ('tusp' with 28%). The next turns after a Positive Remark where somebody else but the addressee speaks amount to 18% ('tuoth_non-add').

The following subchapters will first provide an overview of all TUOTH instances (Chapter 5.3.3) to then give a more detailed account of the tuoth_non-addressee (Chapter 5.3.3.1) and the tuoth_addressee turns (Chapter 5.3.3.2).

5.3.3 Response Strategies used in specific turns in relation to the supercategories

The focus of the analysis is, as mentioned before, the connection of a specifically formed Positive Remark and the Response Strategies it may trigger. As discussed in the previous chapter, there are many instances in the multi-party conversations where we do not encounter a typical dyadic sequence between speaker and addressee but also instances where the speaker continues after their own PosR ('tusp') or where many other participants start speaking so that it becomes difficult to recognize who is contributing to the conversation ('difficult'). The TUOTH utterances are of course the most interesting ones for the present study since in these instances another speaker promptly reacts to the Positive Remark that was uttered and one of the Response Strategies can be assigned to these reactions. This is the interaction that comes closest to the ideas presented in the working model (see Figure 2.1). Figure 5.9 displays the overall distribution of Response Strategies in TUOTH turns in the three main supercategories.

The different amount of usage of the OPTING OUT Response Strategy catches the eye in the oevrall distribution of all turn types in the supercategories (see Figure 5.7). With over 40% of all Response Strategies used in _ADJ_, it is most prominently used in this Positive Remark category, while it is used only in 31% of the responses to the _NOUN_ PosR and 27% are coded this way in the _VERB_eval category.

The use of the strategy AGREEMENT is also prominently attributable to a specific supercategory, namely to the _NOUN_ category. With 30% in the Response Strategies of the _NOUN_ sequences compared to slightly over 20% with the _VERB_eval and about 17% use in the _ADJ_ sequences, this strategy of AGREEMENT is closely connected to the _NOUN_ sequences. The strategies EXPLAINING and QUALIFICATION are used more often with the _VERB_eval sequences than with the other two. Thus, this closer look at the turn structure in the sequence and how the utterance types of TUOTH (a 'turn by other speaker') are connected to the Response Strategies already reveals a picture different from the overview of the general distribution of the Response Strategies used in total with the PosR supercategories (see Figure 5.7). If these Response Strategies that are used in the next turns by different speakers after the Positive Remark are put into the model – as presented in Figure 2.1 and as already done in Figure 5.8 – a clear tendency in the use of Response Strategies can be observed (see Figure 5.10).

It is interesting to see that, by limiting the focus on the use of Response Strategies in only the TUOTH turns, a slight change in the arrangement of the supercategories in the 'compliment-positive assessment continuum' takes place: with the focus on the TUOTH turns, the _NOUN_ category can be settled closest to the positive assessment side while the _VERB_eval can be placed closer to the ambiguous center of the 'compliment-positive assessment continuum' (compared to Figure 5.8 where all next turns following a PosR are accounted for).

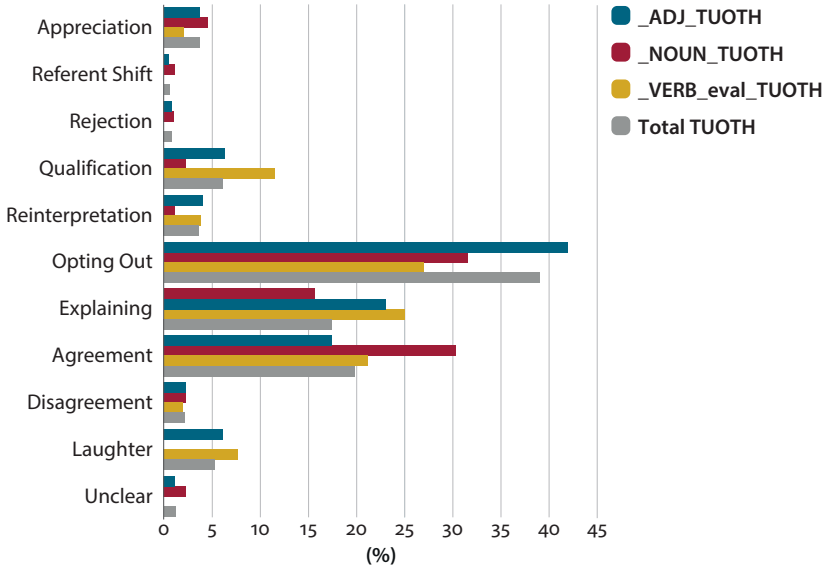


Figure 5.9 Response Strategies used in the tuoth ('next turn by other speaker'): an overview

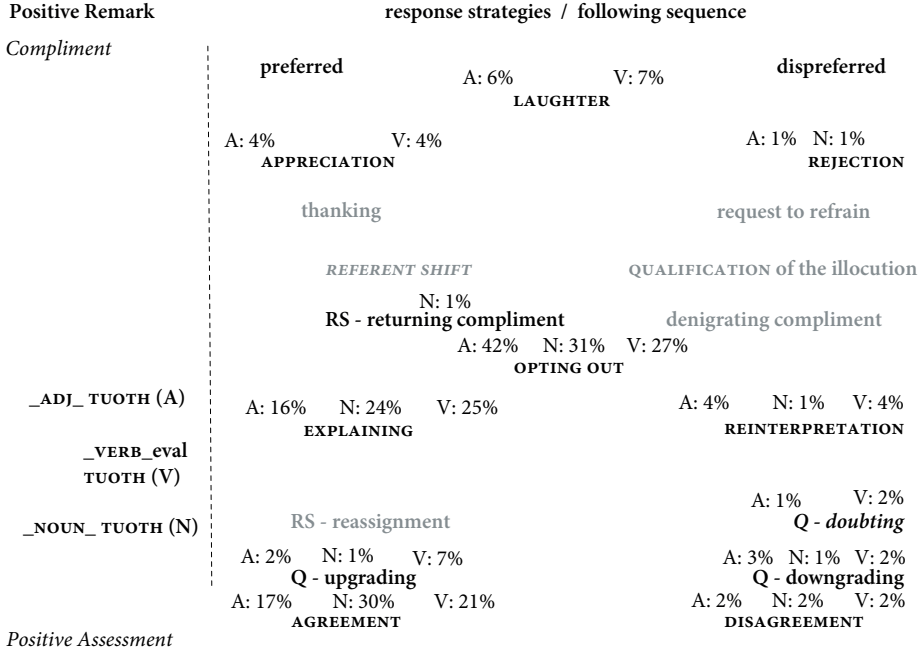


Figure 5.10 General overview of the Response Strategies used in TUOTH turns

Yet, despite the clear preference of specific Response Strategies, these numbers cannot lead to a final definition of the PosR function since at this stage, it is not revealed who, addressee or non-addressee, is uttering the next turn. What is clear, though, is that some strategies are not used at all (even those placed in the 'preferred', i.e., left-hand side of the response field in the model). Yet, the status of 'preferred next part' can be confirmed for the strategies OPTING OUT, EXPLAINING, and AGREEMENT. If one were to draw any tentative conclusions from the distribution as shown in the model, one could either assume that there are almost no Positive Remarks with compliment function in the data (since the Response Strategies claimed to follow compliments are rarely used), or that the action chains as Pomerantz suggested them do not work in (multi-party) conversations between friends since they may respond differently than Pomerantz (cf., e.g., 1978) claimed for the action chains (see also Lewandowska-Tomaszyk 1989: 93 as mentioned above).

Yet, before drawing any conclusions, the sequences have to be focused on even more closely. For this, the next two figures below (5.11 and 5.12) display the use of Response Strategies according to the use by non-addressees and by addressees. The first, Figure 5.11, displays the use of the different Response Strategies in the next turns as uttered by the non-addressee.

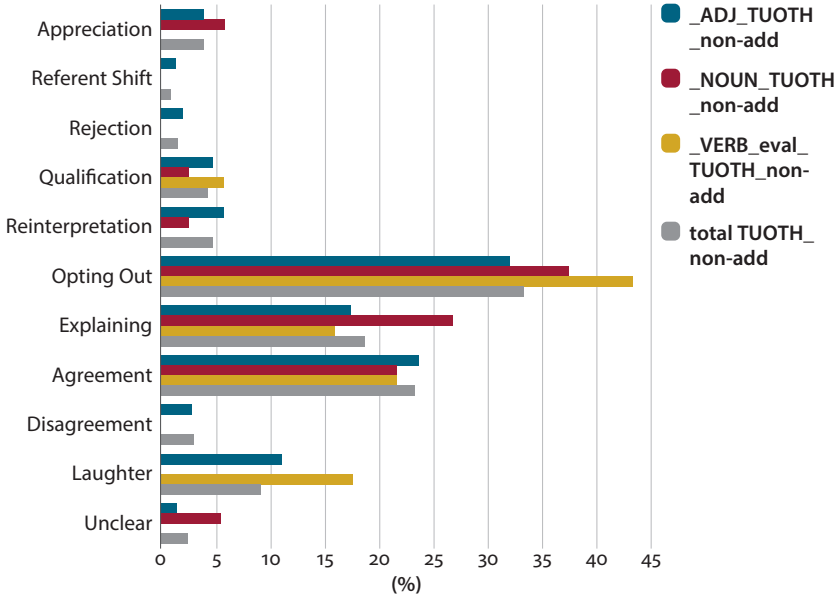


Figure 5.11 Response Strategies used in the tuoth_non-addressee

5.3.3.1 *Response Strategies used in tuoth_non-addressee turns*

There are some remarkable differences in Figure 5.11 compared to the use of Response Strategies of the entire TUOTH ('turn by other speaker') group (see Figure 5.9).

The most salient difference to be seen is the difference in the use of OPTING OUT. Whereas in the whole TUOTH group, this strategy is the one most frequently used in the _ADJ_ supercategory, in the turns uttered by a next speaker who is not the addressee of the Positive Remark, OPTING OUT is the Response Strategy that is used by far most often in the _VERB_eval supercategory while the next turns by non-addressees in the _ADJ_ supercategory is not as frequently marked as OPTING OUT. Indeed, in the _ADJ_ category, it is least frequently used compared to the values of _NOUN_ and _VERB_eval. Table 5.6 reveals the numbers and substrategies for the Response Strategy OPTING OUT that lie behind these bars (see Table 4.9 above and Table B.5 in the appendix).

Table 5.6 Substrategies of OPTING OUT in the tuoth_non-addressee turns

Supercategory	Reference to earlier	Continuing	New topic	Total tuoth_non-add
ADJ	20 (12%)	14 (9%)	18 (11%)	165 (100%)
NOUN	6 (16%)	2 (5%)	6 (16%)	38 (100%)
_VERB_eval	3 (15%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)	20 (100%)

Table 5.6 displays the absolute number of all next turns of somebody else who is not the addressee ('tuoth_non-add') in the 'total' column. These are the 100% of the amount of 'tuoth_non-add' turns for each of the supercategories.

It can be seen that small numbers in the _NOUN_ and the _VERB_eval categories skew the percentages since there are not that many 'tuoth_non-addressee' turns in these supercategories in the first place. These values then have to be judged carefully and no far-reaching conclusion about the distribution of Response Strategies in the 'tuoth_non-addressee' turns can be made, just tendencies can be described here. The 'reference to an earlier topic' or the change to a 'new topic' seem favored over just continuing after a Positive Remark with what was just said.

An example for a non-addressee uttering a next turn after a Positive Remark and referring to an earlier topic can be seen in the next extract:

(40) *SBC004; 33.85-41.78*
CAROLYN: Actu[ally,
SHARON: [um],
CAROLYN: that's not] a bad black and white.
… [2all honesty2].

SHARON: [2(H)2] Is < L2 remanar L2 > … a verb,
or did I just imaginate –
.. imagine it –
… that –

Sharon is practicing her Spanish also before Carolyn utters the Positive Remark about the 'black and white'. She probably talks about a picture that is present at the location of the conversation. It cannot be said with absolute certainty what she is referring to with her remark. However, it seems that she is not addressing Sharon, who just goes on about her business as before.

The tentativeness about conclusions concerning the Response Strategies is not limited to the OPTING OUT strategy, though, but needs to be borne in mind for the other strategies as well. Thus, the observation that AGREEMENT seems to be rather evenly distributed in all Positive Remark sequences and that it is used rather often can also only be seen as a tendency that non-addressees possibly respond to a Positive Remark with AGREEMENT, probably to show alignment with the other speakers in the conversation.

5.3.3.2 *Response Strategies used in tuoth_addressee turns*

The group of utterances that are next turns after a Positive Remark which are uttered by the addressee (tuoth_add) is slightly bigger than that of non-addressees. The distribution of the Response Strategies used is shown in Figure 5.12.

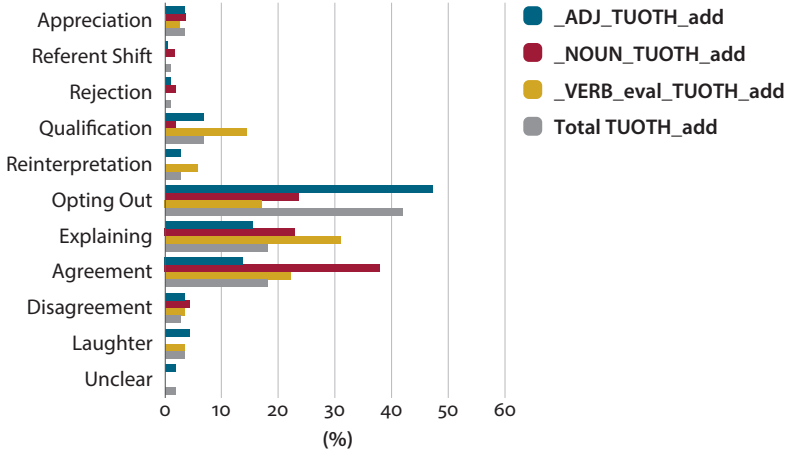


Figure 5.12 Response Strategies used in the tuoth_addressee

In this bar chart, the most prominently used Response Strategy is OPTING OUT in the _ADJ_ supercategory. It is used far more often than any other Response Strategy. In comparison to the distribution in the substrategies of tuoth_non-addressee, the numbers and percentages of the tuoth_addressee turns are displayed in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 Substrategies of OPTING OUT in the tuoth_addressee turns

Supercategory	Reference to earlier	Continuing	New topic	Total tuoth_add
ADJ	11 (4%)	111 (40%)	11 (4%)	276 (100%)
NOUN	4 (8%)	8 (16%)	2 (4%)	51 (100%)
_VERB_eval	0 (-)	4 (11%)	2 (5%)	36 (100%)

Of all the OPTING OUT responses used, the 'continuing' substrategy is used most often. This is usually the tag for instances where a listener response, often in the form of an elliptical _ADJ_ Positive Remark, is uttered in the talk sequence of another person, see Example (41) below:

(41) *SBC031; 737.606-745.570*
BETH: Because y- –
.. (H) The human bod- .. backbone,
SHERRY: … [Oh].
BETH: [not the] body,
but the [2back2]bone,
SHERRY: [2Right2].
BETH: [3is no3]t built,
SHERRY: [3Right3].
BETH: *… for .. an animal … to walk on two feet,*
(italics added by me)

Here, Beth talks about the ability of animals and humans to walk. While she is talking, Sherry shows her interest and attentiveness in uttering the elliptical Positive Remark "right" that can count as a listener response in this case. Sherry addresses Beth with her utterance in so far as she signals 'I am listening to you and I agree with you'. Thus, Beth's following turns are coded as those of an addressee. Since she goes on talking as if nothing happened, her Response Strategy here is coded as 'continuing'.

A second interesting observation is the vast majority of AGREEMENT use of addressees responding to a form of the _NOUN_ supercategory. Almost 40% (which are only 19 utterances in the corpus, though) of the next turns by addressees of a Positive Remark in this category is met with an agreement. In terms of the preference structure and the action chains as introduced by Pomerantz (e.g. 1978), this could suggest that many utterances summed up under the _NOUN_ category could be positive assessments rather than compliments (see further figures in the Appendix B).

The following subchapter will briefly summarize the first tantative findings from this general overview in Chapter 5.

5.4 Summary of general findings

As stated in the research questions in Chapter 2.3.2, this study aims at finding linguistic cues in Positive Remarks that might influence the sequencing and possibly their function. The preceding chapter took an initial and very general approach to this goal. Some of the major first findings are briefly summarized here:

- **General overview of Positive Remarks** (see Chapter 5.1): The compliment formulae by Manes/Wolfson (1981), as at first adapted for the coding of the Positive Remarks in the present study, is unlikely to be usable to analyze further insight into possible differentiation from compliments and the assessment form by Goodwin/Goodwin (1987). All PosR coded reveal a similar distribution in their forms as results in previous studies by Manes/Wolfson (1981) and Rose (2001) (see Table 5.1). This leads to a new arrangement of the fomrulae for further analyses in the present study.
- **Sentence type** (see Chapters 5.1.2 and 5.2.2): Declaratives are mainly used in Positive Remarks as well as in the Response Strategies. Exclamatives and interrogatives, which may count as marking speaker 'involvement' and 'emotion', are only rarely used. The _ADJ_ supercategory is the one that shows most elliptical utterances while _VERB_eval shows least which can both be explained by how the positive semantic meaning is conveyed with these categories.
- **Response Strategies** (see Chapters 5.2.1 and 5.3.1): The Response Strategies typically acclaimed to be the preferred strategies for compliment responding (viz., appreciation, referent shift qualification and reinterpretation, see Chapter 4.2.2) are only found in twelve percent of all responses (see Figure 5.3) while those that are supoosedly preferred for ambiguous or assessing utterances (viz., OPTING OUT and AGREEMENT), are used in almost two thirds of all responses. This may lead to the assumption that either not too many compliments are paid and responded to or that the Response Strategies are chosen in light of the social variables in the context (see discussion in Chapter 5.2.1. Following the thought that APPRECIATION could be the typical response strategy for compliments, the Positive Remark category of _ADJ_ could entail the largest amount of utterances with compliment function. _NOUN_ and _VERB_eval, on the other hand, are more often combined with AGREEMENT which could indicate a more frequent use of these forms as positive assessments. Furthermore could the combination of _VERB_eval with the response of LAUGHTER indicate a higher degree of involvement and emotion in these sequences.
- **Topic** (see Chapters 5.1.3 and 5.2.3): Those topics that count as 'the typical compliment topics' (viz., appearance and personality) are least frequently coded in the present data.This might, again, be either a sign of few compliments or

the conversational social set up (see Chapter 5.1.3). APPRECIATION as a response strategy is mostly used in sequences with the topics food and possession while AGREEMENT is rather evenly distributed throughout all topics (see Chapter 5.2.3). There is no information at this stage who uses these responses to the Positive Remarks which might be of importance. Looking at the _VERB_eval category for example, one can see that it seems to be following the sequencing for typical positive assessments in general (see Chapter 5.3.1) but when looking at the tuoth_addressee turns, relatively more qualifying and explaining strategies are used. Statistical testing of the connection between topic and PosR category and Response Strategies seem to show significance. There might be more potential for further analysis with more data since the numbers in the present study are too small to actually make statistically profound claims.

– **Sequence** (see Chapter 5.3): Almost half of all PosR are followed by a 'turn by other speaker' (TUOTH), the other half mainly concsits of either 'turn by same speaker' (tusp) or 'difficult' (which may be attributed to the multi-party conversations). The tendency can be observed that most TUOTH responses are placed in what is suggested to be the preferred response area for positive assessments or ambiguous utterances.

Following this general overview of the PosR sequences, Chapter 6 will focus on each supercategory (_ADJ_, _NOUN_, _VERB_eval), its actual wording and the Response Strategies used (in tuoth_non-addressee as well as tuoth_addressee turns), to possibly find connections between the forms of references used in the utterances and their respective function.

CHAPTER 6

Positive Remark sequences

Focus on three supercategories

> *[…] because there is no one-to-one correlation between form and function, counting forms is not the same as counting functions. On the other hand, there are relations between form and function, and the relations become closer the more specific the form is taken to be […].* (Hunston 2007: 36)

To analyze whether or not linguistic cues show how interlocutors may understand an utterance, the supercategories as presented in Table 5.3 need to be further analyzed in more detail to find out about their possible connection with a specific function (see Hunston 2007: 36, as quoted above). This is aimed at in the present study by analyzing the realizations of the Positive Remarks in as much detail as possible and as form-oriented as necessary to still have comparable groups of the supercategories _ADJ_, _NOUN_, and _VERB_eval with form-oriented subcategories. These subcategories of the Positive Remarks are numbered from 1 to 5 (with slight deviations in _VERB_eval, see Chapter 6.3), referring to similar referents in the respoective categories. A summary of the main distinctive characteristics of the referents in these subcategories (e.g., _A1_, _V3_, etc.) and what they have in common is given in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 General description of reference in subcategories

Subcategory	Linguistic reference to assessed item/person
Subcategory 1	use of personal pronouns (*I*, *you*, *we*, *he*, *she*, *they*)
Subcategory 2	use of determiners as noun phrase head realization (*this*, *that*, *those*, *these*) and non-personal pronouns (*it*)
Subcategory 3	reference expressed by noun phrases including determiner and noun in a noun phrase (e.g., *this book*, *the picture*, etc.)
Subcategory 4	elliptical utterances
Subcategory 5	alternative realizations that cannot be subsumed under the other subcategories

Each of the supercategories in focus will be analyzed in terms of these subcategories. The display of the results in the following subchapters and their analysis is structured according to the three major supercategories of the Positive Remarks, viz. _ADJ_ (Chapter 6.1), _NOUN_ (Chapter 6.2), and _VERB_eval (Chapter 6.3).

The chapters are organized in a parallel way: in a first part, the PosR will be analyzed according to their form with a focus on the actual realizations of the Positive Remarks and the subgroups they form. In the second section, the interaction and sequence of Positive Remarks and Response Strategies will be shown, which is combined in a third section with a focus on the 'turn by other speaker' (TUOTH) that follows a Positive Remark. This Positive Remark and the Response Strategy of a 'turn by other speaker' are then combined and applied to the working model. A summary Chapter (6.4) provides some statistics on the connection and possible interdependence of the Positive Remark categories and the Response Strategies.

6.1 The _ADJ_ category

The _ADJ_ supercategory encompasses all Positive Remarks in which a predicative adjective carries the positive semantic load. It is by far the largest group of Positive Remarks in the data set. As shown in Table 5.3, with 827 instances, this group is the largest of the PosR and makes up about 70% of all PosR detected in the data. They are mostly formulated as declarative sentences (see Figure 5.5)

6.1.1 _ADJ_ subcategories

The syntax of the _ADJ_ supercategory is defined as "PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ" as displayed in the first row in Tables 5.3 above and 6.2 below. By this generalized formula, all subcategories with a predicative adjective as positive semantic core are mapped. Table 6.2 shows these possible subcategories with their frequency of occurrence.

Table 6.2 Numbers and examples of _ADJ_ realizations

	Form	N	%
ADJ	PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	827	100%
_A1_	Personal PRON VERB (INT) ADJ	133	16%
_A2_	PRON/DET_head VERB (INT) ADJ	360	44%
_A3_	(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	45	5%
_A4_	elliptical_ADJ	257	31%
_A5_	alternatives_ADJ	32	4%

As mentioned before, this _ADJ_ supercategory is based on a combination of some of the Manes/Wolfson (1981) formulae (see Chapter 4), namely all those where the positive evaluation is carried by a predicative adjective. The subcategories

are established for the present study through close text work on the corpus (see Chapter 4.1.2) to summarize and generalize the actual realizations in the texts. This grouping and summarizing also provides the possibility to compare the subgroups of each of the supercategories, since the subcategories of all supercategories are grouped according to the realization of the reference of the person/item which is evaluated (see Table 6.1 above). Thus, for example, _A1_ ("Personal PRON VERB (INT) ADJ") as well as _N1_ ("Personal PRON VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN", see Chapter 6.2) and _V1_ ("Personal PRON VERB_eval PRON", see Chapter 6.3) may contain utterances with either *I*, *you*, *he*, *she* or *they* as the referent of the utterance (see Table 6.3).

The hierarchy of the subcategories (from _A1_ to _A5_) in Table 6.2 is supposed to roughly resemble the assumed involvement the speaker shows by choosing either a personal pronoun (i.e., _A1_: highest involvement) or, as in _A4_, an utterance with no pronoun used, usually just using the adjective and sometimes an intensifier and thus showing least speaker involvement. 'Involvement' here refers to the term as used by Biber/Finegan (1989) who define text types referring to, amongst other features, the degree of involvement. They claim that "conversation has been shown to be the most involved and interactive speech event in English, in terms of its use of such features as first and second person pronouns, contracted forms" and further features (Biber/Finegan 1989: 107). The use of these features may, hence, indicate the involvement of the speaker, which might reflect functional features in the utterance form. This is, at least to a certain extent, captured by grouping the realizations in subcategories according to the reference terms used. This arrangement does not work as smoothly with subcategory _A5_ since this is a mixed category. It has various different forms that occur singly or too rarely in the data to form their own subcategory and could not be placed under any other (see also Table 6.8). Thus, this group does represent a 'miscellaneous' _ADJ_ category, not necessarily the one with the realizations of least involvement.

Assuming that the use of a personal pronoun can say something about the involvement of the speaker, the PosR utterances of the _ADJ_ supercategory in the Santa Barbara Corpus do not seem to display extraordinary involvement. The subcategories _A2_ and _A4_, which seem to be of low involvement, judging by address reference, have the highest frequency of occurrence with 44% and 31% respectively, while subcategory _A1_ only makes up about 16% of all _ADJ_ utterances. The subcategories of the _ADJ_ supercategory are analyzed in the following subsections.

6.1.1.1 *Subcategory _A1_: Personal* PRON VERB (INT) ADJ

A closer look at the realizations of _A1_ in Table 6.3 shows that the third person pronoun is used most often (with 80 utterances, i.e. 62%) in this subcategory. Thus, most Positive Remarks of the _ADJ_ category that use a personal pronoun (_A1_) refer to people either not present or being referred to as a bystander of the conversation.

Table 6.3 Realization patterns of subcategory _A1_

Form	N	%
_A1_ Personal PRON VERB (INT) ADJ	133	100%
I/we VERB (INT) ADJ	24	18%
You VERB (INT) ADJ	27	20%
He/she/they VERB (INT) ADJ	80	62%

It happens rather often in the conversations that people tell something about a friend, neighbor or colleague and utter a PosR just like Sharon in "Raging Bureaucracy" (SBC004) where she says something positive about a substitute teacher:

(42) *SBC004; 529.15 529.99*
SHARON: .. he's real good at it.

In "Appease the Monster" (SBC013), we find an example in which Wendy talks about an acquaintance and her new haircut:

(43) *SBC013; 219.95 221.40*
WENDY: She looked really good.

These kinds of utterances are more frequent than those with first or second person pronouns. In the strict sense of the definition attempts found in the literature, these PosR would usually not count as typical compliments since the person, who is being positively evaluated, is not present. Yet, there is always the aspect of 'being connected to the person complimented' – and being complimented via another person for being friends with them or knowing them. How these utterances are met in interaction and whether they find responsive utterances will be discussed below (see Chapter 6.1.3).

Interestingly, the first and second person reference occurs at an almost equal rate in this subcategory (18% for first and 20% for second person realizations). The PosR that are constructed with the first person pronoun put the speakers themselves into focus. The speakers describe themselves or the state they are in when they say something like:

(44) *SBC050; 134.341–136.586*
KELLY: Like I'm .. perfectly,
… happy up here.

Yet, they do not only focus on themselves but, since each individual is connected to its surroundings, they also say something positive about their respective context, e.g. they make a positive assessment about the place where they live at (as in the preceding example) or about another person. In these latter cases, such PosR utterances could be heard as a compliment as for instance in the following examples:

(45) *SBC013; 682.51 683.48*
KEVIN: I'm impressed.

and

(46) *SBC015; 804.160 805.465*
JOANNE: .. (H) I'm real proud of him.

The speakers refer to what they think or feel about a person or their achievement and by this give a positive evaluation. Since complimenting is often described with the function to make the addressee 'feel good', though, such utterances might not be counted as compliments due to the absence or only indirect address of the evaluated person. The complimentee is directly addressed with realizations of subcategory _A1_ by the second person pronoun *you*. Such utterances sound more like typical compliments, as in the following examples:

(47) *SBC032; 1260.639 1262.033*
TOM_3: You're so very kind.

where Tom_3 positively assesses a character trait of his conversational partner. A similar case can be found in the next example:

(48) *SBC048; 983.413 987.281*
JUDY: … You look good in it.

Here, we find the looks of a person evaluated positively by Judy as well as in the next example of this realization strategy:

(49) *SBC052; 579.871–580.987*
DARLENE: Well,
you look good in blue anyway.

Considering the working model (see Figure 2.1) and the assumption that the personal involvement – and with it the degree of an utterance functioning as a compliment or positive assessment – might be mirrored in the subcategories by their pronoun use, the realizations between the subcategories in the 'compliment-positive assessment continuum' could roughly be placed on the left-hand side of the model as shown in Figure 6.1 below.

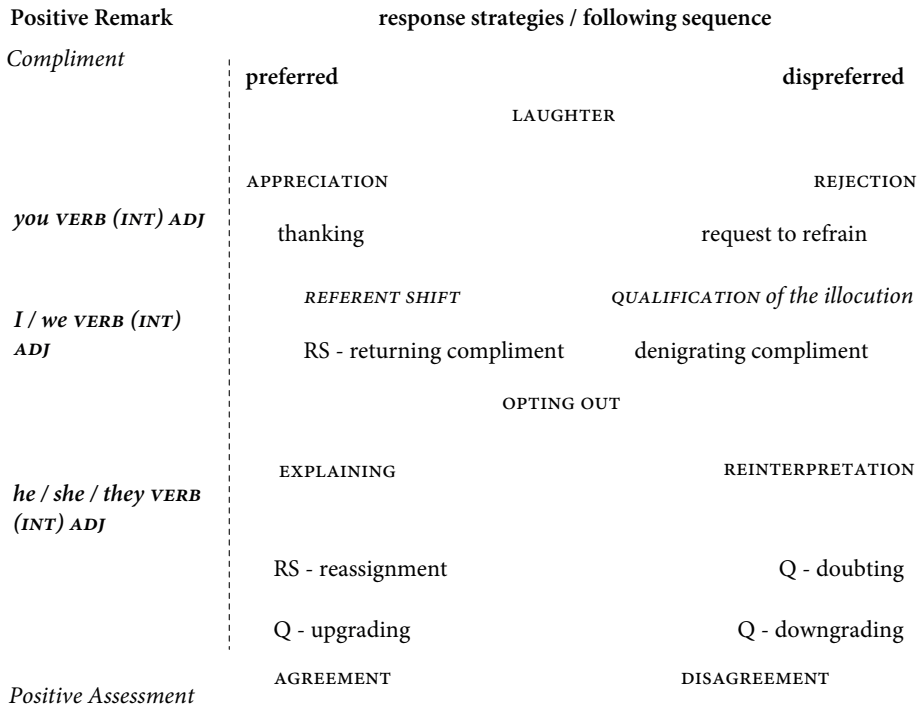


Figure 6.1 The realization strategies of subcategory _A1_ in the working model

According to the hypothetical model and the claims of the action chains, the *you* realizations should mainly evoke APPRECIATION strategies such as 'thanking' as preferred responses (cf. Chapter 2.3.2 and Tables 4.8 and 4.10). Other realizations should probably bring forth Response Strategies of the intermediate area (i.e., REFERENT SHIFTS such as 'compliment returns', or OPTING OUT with, e.g., 'informative comments') since these PosR can be heard as compliments if they show a connection to the conversational partner – but they do not have to be understood as such. The placement of the substrategies on the compliment-positive assessment continuum and their realizations will be taken up where the realizations and the coded Response Strategies are combined and discussed (see Chapter 7). In the following subchapters, the other subcategories and realization strategies of the supercategory _ADJ_ will be further focused on.

6.1.1.2 *Subcategory _A2_: PRON/DET_head VERB (INT) ADJ*

It is assumed in the present study that a PosR with an immediate reference to the addressee might be more likely to have a compliment function than other Positive Remarks without such a reference. Yet, not all compliments need to contain the deictic element *you* and not all PosR without it are necessarily non-compliment Positive Remarks. As Manes/Wolfson put it,

> [t]he purpose of deixis in compliments, then, is to identify clearly the person or object to be complimented. The reason deictic elements are not invariably part of compliments is that identification may be accomplished through other means. (Manes/Wolfson 1981: 119)

In subcategory _A2_, there are no personal pronouns and seemingly no deictic forms that refer to a specific person. This subcategory combines the realizations of either a (non-personal) pronoun such as *it* or an indefinite or relative pronoun as well as the use of the pronominally used determiners *this*/*these* or *that*/*those* (the 'DET_head'). These are uttered without a following noun and thus function as the head of the noun phrase. As can be seen in Table 6.4, the realization pattern "that/those VERB (INT) ADJ/Ø" makes up more than half of all the utterances in this subcategory (52%). The symbol 'Ø' is used here as a sign for a possible ommittance of the adjective. In the conversations with overlap and interruptions, not all Positive Remarks can be fully uttered by the speaker. Yet, some can still be recognized as such an attempted positive utterance since the speakers sometimes repeat what they wanted to say.[1]

Table 6.4 Realization patterns of subcategory _A2_

Form	N	%
_A2_ PRON/DET_head VERB (INT) ADJ	360	100%
This/these VERB (INT) ADJ	30	8%
That/those VERB (INT) ADJ/Ø	185	52%
It VERB (INT) ADJ/Ø	141	39%
PRON VERB (INT) ADJ	4	1%

The realizations, with *this* and *that* are grouped together with their plural forms *these* and *those* respectively. This is based on the system of pronominal usage of these reference forms by Strauss (2002: 132) that she based on Halliday (1985; see also Halliday/Matthiessen 2004).

If the usage of *this* and *these* signals that the evaluated item is close to speaker and hearer, as it has been stated in research on reference (e.g., Halliday 1985), these utterances could be considered to be showing involvement. By uttering something that can be positively attributed to the addressee such a Positive Remark could be a compliment. The following is an example of such an utterance, where Pete, who visits his friends Marilyn and Roy, utters the following about the food they all prepare during the conversation:

1. In cases where the form could not be recognized and identified, i.e. due to too much overlap, but the utterance is still identifiable as a Positive Remark, it is coded as _SPX_, i.e, depicting a form that cannot be put under any of the other supercategories.

(50) *SBC003; 1456.52–1457.61*
PETE: … Oh,
this looks yummy.

With such an utterance, Pete may be complimenting Marilyn on the food (she is the person mainly and mostly involved in the food preparation). However, he could also just evaluate the food they all prepare together, without complimentary intention.

In the case of differentiations between *this* and *that* in terms of reference and display of closeness, could it be concluded then that the pronominal use of *that* and *those* constructs a distance between the speaker and addressee? Would this mean then that a Positive Remark formed with *that* and *those* will usually not be a compliment but rather another positive evaluation, maybe a positive assessment, since the speaker does not assign the positive value directly to the addressee? Looking at the following example, we can see that by using *that*, a PosR can also have compliment values, viz. address the hearer and positively evaluate something connected to them:

(51) *SBC059; 962.451 963.781; Cluster 059;11*
JO: that is good Fre=d.

It is interesting that in this example, with the *that* form, the speaker deemed it necessary to refer to the addressee explicitly by using his name. Of course, without the context or the response given, it seems nearly impossible to clearly state the function of this utterance. However, it is possible that this utterance is a compliment from Jo to Fred since Jo evaluates the fudge that Fred made for Christmas, which could be understood as a compliment on his performance (see Chapter 6.1.3 for an analysis of the Positive Remark and Response Strategies connection of such utterances).

Considering the numbers in Table 6.4 above, the supposedly more remote reference form of *that* and the non-specific *it* are used more often than the 'specific' and 'near' *this*. Can it be concluded then, that the American speakers in the conversations show distance by using these forms? Strauss (2002) came to a different conclusion in her study. She develops a new approach based on interactional data where she leaves this proximal/distal distinction and takes into account the relationships between speaker and hearer (Strauss 2002: 131). She found that in American English conversational data

> higher frequencies of anaphoric 'that' and 'it' can function to index a kind of solidarity among interlocutors, while a higher degree of anaphoric 'this' can serve to index a kind of separateness and independence from the hearer
>
> (Strauss 2002: 143).

She concludes that the function of the anaphoric determiners depends on the text type and even though they might seem to signal distance, they signal solidarity

and common ground in the everyday conversations. It could be argued then, that with such PosR, a high amount of solidarity and alignment is provided in the conversations.

Besides the possible function of the Positive Remarks of subcategory _A2_ as compliment or some other positive assessment, some of these utterances can also function as a listener response or even as some kind of discourse marker. O'Keeffe/Adolphs (2008) define a listener response as a way for the speaker

> to signal that she is listening and that she wants the [speaker] to continue telling her story, but she does not want to take over the speaking turn (or the "floor"). To achieve this, she uses short response tokens that keep the conversation going […].
> (O'Keeffe/Adolphs 2008: 73)

Thus, one of the essential characteristics of the listener responses can be seen in the fact that the person uttering such a response does not aim to take the floor with these utterances, as they would, for example, do with interruptions (cf. O'Keeffe/Adolphs 2008: 74). There are various ways to express these listener responses. The distribution of the various forms in the chosen texts of the SBCSAE is shown in the following table:

Table 6.5 Forms of listener response

Form	N	%
Non-word	152	33%
Short utterance	79	17%
Pragmatic markers	164	36%
Phrases	63	14%
Total	458	100%

The 'pragmatic markers' entail utterances such as *good*, *really great*, *absolutely* whereas the 'phrases' are also formulated as *that's great*, *that's true*, etc. (cf. O'Keeffe/Adolphs 2008: 74). This means that about 50% (i.e., 'pragmatic markers' and 'phrases' combined) of the tagged listener responses occur in a form that can be categorized as realizations of the supercategory _ADJ_, namely as in subcategory _A2_ for the phrases and in _A4_ for the pragmatic markers (see below). These utterances are also coded and taken into account in the present study since they do not only show the reaction of the speaker towards something, but also assess what has been said or done before. Utterances such as *that's right* or *that's fine* serve as a sign that something is assessed as acceptable and with utterances such as *that's true*, the 'correctness' of a preceding utterance can be evaluated (see also Mittmann 2004: 301).

6.1.1.3 *Subcategory _A3_: (DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ*

The determiners *that*, *those*, *this*, and *these* are also used in some realizations of the subcategory _A3_, this time as deictic forms in a noun phrase (see realization pattern "DEM NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ" in Table 6.4).

The use of the demonstrative pronouns in the noun phrase only makes up a small group of nine realizations in this subgroup (see Table 6.6), though. In this small group, no further distinction was made between the usage of *that* and *this* to form realization groups of their own, thus the following examples all belong to this group:

Table 6.6 Realization patterns of subcategory _A3_

Form	N	%
_A3_ (DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	45	100%
Ø NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	19	42%
ART NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	10	22%
POSS NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	7	16%
DEM NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	9	20%

(52) *SBC004; 17.67 18.82*
CAROLYN: That stuff is great.

(53) *SBC013; 20.33 21.40*
MARCI: This stuff is good.

(54) *SBC050; 439.783 441.157*
KELLY: Those cups are so great.

The finer differences in these utterances could be looked at in more detail in a study with more such utterances but for the present study, these nine utterances are too few to be analyzed thoroughly along these variations. It is interesting to see that in _A3_, the utterances referring to something or someone specific – either by a demonstrative plus noun or by using a possessive pronoun plus noun ("POSS NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ") – are the smallest groups in this subcategory (see Table 6.6). Utterances with reference to a specific person's goods or traits in using a possessive pronoun are PosR such as

(55) *SBC011; 375.79 378.43; Cluster 011;06*
DORIS: Your shirt and beads = .. are most becoming.

or

(56) *SBC052; 1166.637–1168.227; Cluster 052;09*
CINDY: You're li- –
Your looks are fine.

These utterances seem to reflect a high involvement and direct address of the conversational partner. Yet, the numbers of the other realizations of _A3_ as shown in Table 6.6 suggest that with _ADJ_-utterances from this subcategory, speakers usually do not refer that clearly to a person or a thing, which rather could be interpreted as a lack of 'involvement' features. Looking at the utterances in the text, we can find a variety of examples such as

(57) *SBC051; 88.385–90.161*
ALICE: Oh,
mythology's so great.

or

(58) *SBC051; 855.926 857.961*
FRAN: … Sean is .. marvelous.

Both utterances can be seen as realizations of "Ø NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ". There is obviously a difference in the possibility to hear these utterances as compliment or general Positive Remark: using the name of a person present at the conversation (and thus complimenting that person by talking positively about them to others) adds a different value than using any other noun phrase, of course. It might be interesting to differentiate such utterances further, with a bigger data base.

6.1.1.4 *Subcategory _A4_: elliptical_ADJ*

One of the bigger subcategories is the elliptical subgroup _A4_ where the speakers either use only the adjective (with or without an intensifier) or simply leave out the subject.

Table 6.7 Realization patterns of subcategory _A4_

Form	N	%
_A4_ elliptical_ADJ	257	100%
Ø VERB (INT) ADJ	21	8%
Ø Ø (INT) ADJ	38	15%
Right	145	56%
Good	31	12%
Great/nice/fine	20	8%
How ADJ	2	1%

The decision whether or not to also code the adjectives *right*, *good*, *great*, *fine* etc. was not easily made. Many of these forms are used as pragmatic markers, as listener responses and discourse structuring items. Especially *right* is used as a discourse organizing marker many times as in the following example:

(59) *SBC002; 110.91–115.92*
HAROLD: Mhm,
uncoordinated and .. unflexible.
PETE: … Right,
HAROLD: … Stiff.

Here, Pete acknowledges what Arnold said, possibly also to show that he paid attention. With such a short utterance, Pete is also signalling Harold that he is actually not trying to take the floor which can be seen in the pause marking with the dots in the transcript. As discussed above, instances of listener responses occur in the PosR sequences as response tokens, as in the following example:

(60) *SBC031; 305.195–309.514*
JAMIE: … Okay I'll run get those,
my name's [Jamie] like I said,
BETH: [Great].
JAMIE: you need anything you let me know.
O[kay]?

Beth's listener response ("great") in line 3 to the waitress Jamie corresponds to the elliptical form of the supercategory _ADJ_, viz. subcategory _A4_, and is also tagged as belonging to 'non-minimal responses' and 'pragmatic markers'. Such tokens

> show that the listener is receiving the message [or paying attention to the story] and is at the same time channelling back support for what the speaker is saying. The response tokens can simultaneously signal boundaries in the discourse and send back signals of sociability. Such markers are a sign of active and cooperative listening.
> (Carter/McCarthy 2006: §110)

Single adjectives can be seen as "episodic marker" (Antaki 2002: 8) which offer "positive feedback to the speaker and often mark the boundaries of topics" (Carter/McCarthy 2006: §95a; see also Carter/McCarthy 2006: §110). Yet, such short utterances can indeed also be used in a complimentary way as in the following example:

(61) *SBC003; 12.96–15.21*
MARILYN: .. (H) Oh,
… fabulous.

With this single adjective utterance, Marilyn positively evaluates a decision of her husband's for the meal preparation, which could be considered a compliment on performance (see also Rees-Miller 2011: 2685 on short forms of compliments in specific situations). Since some researchers also ascribe discourse functions to compliments, these tokens of discourse "monitoring function" (Thompson/Hunston 2000: 11) of course are also accounted for in the Positive Remarks. Thus, these pragmatic markers, as well as the aforementioned phrases (see subcategory _A2_),

not only function to organize discourse, but they also display a positive attitude to the other speakers and the entire conversation.

6.1.1.5 *Subcategory _A5_: alternatives_ADJ*

The smallest of the subcategories in the supercategory _ADJ_ is subcategory _A5_ with alternative realizations of the _ADJ_ form as shown in Table 6.8. These realizations are grouped in this subcategory since they did not fit into any of the others. Since these forms are of such small numbers, it seemed most reasonable to put them together into this 'alternatives' group.

Table 6.8 Realization patterns of subcategory _A5_

Form	N
_A5_ alternatives_ADJ	32
DOES/IS (DET NOUN) VERB (INT) ADJ	2
Doesn't PRON V ADJ	1
Aren't you ADJ	1
Isn't/Weren't PRON (INT) ADJ	1
Isn't DEM (NOUN) ADJ	12
Alternative_syntax	15

What is probably most interesting is that the forms "Aren't you..", "Isn't …" rarely occur in this corpus, but are distinguished by Manes/Wolfson (1981) as one of the nine formulae (cf., e.g., Table 2.1). Even if this form is only accounted for in 1% of their data as well, it seems far too rare in the present data to claim this realization to constitute its own subcategory.

These are the utterances and realizations of the PosR that are in focus in this supercategory _ADJ_. The following sections throw a light on the interactional organisation (which conversational partner speaks after the PosR) and take a closer look at the Response Strategies conversationalists use to react to these _ADJ_ forms in Chapter 6.1.2.

6.1.2 _ADJ_ interaction and turn organization

In this subchapter, the _ADJ_ sequences are in focus. While in the previous Chapter 6.1.1, the subcategories of the Positive Remarks have been presented as single turns, the following will provide the combination of the _ADJ_ realizations with the utterances following them.

As mentioned before (e.g. Chapter 4.3.1 and 5.3), the conversational data from the Santa Barbara Corpus that were chosen for this study contain some special conversational features that need to be included in the analysis. The most important interactional aspect here is that there are more than two speakers involved in

the conversations. This leads to instances where it is not the addressee of a Positive Remark who responds to the utterance but either another conversational participant takes up the turn and reacts to the PosR or the speakers contribute in a way that is not decipherable in terms of speaker, addressee, or non-addressee conversational sequence. Such stretches of conversation are termed 'difficult' (see also Table 4.12 as well as Chapters 4.3 and 4.3.2).

Table 6.9 shows the distribution of the various interactional structures of the _ADJ_ supercategory as well as the subcategories. As mentioned before (see Chapter 4.3.2), 'tusp' is the name for 'turn is continued by same speaker', TUOTH stands for a next 'turn by other speaker' after the PosR and RERE for a 'remote response', i.e., when somebody refers to a specific Positive Remark but does not do so in the adjacent/immediately following turn. The two categories TUOTH and RERE are looked at in this chapter as a combination of the two possible turn types, that of the non-addressee and the addressee. The differentiation between addressee and non-addressee turns for TUOTH is looked at in Chapter 6.1.3 below.

Table 6.9 Interactional structure of _ADJ_ and its subcategories

	Formula	N %	tusp	TUOTH	RERE	Difficult
ADJ	PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	827	235	405	8	179
		100%	28%	49%	1%	22%
_A1_	Personal PRON VERB (INT) ADJ	133	43	64	1	25
		100%	32%	48%	1%	19%
_A2_	PRON/DET_head VERB (INT) ADJ	360	107	162	6	85
		100%	30%	44%	2%	24%
_A3_	(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	45	15	21	0	9
		100%	33%	47%	0%	20%
_A4_	elliptical_ADJ	257	61	142	0	54
		100%	24%	55%	0%	21%
_A5_	alternatives_ADJ	32	9	16	1	6
		100%	29%	53%	0%	18%

In Table 6.9, the interactional structure of supercategory _ADJ_ is depicted in the first row (see also Table 5.5). The numbers given for the supercategory show the total of the turn structure across the subcategories _A1_ to _A5_. As can be seen, the category of TUOTH dominates the interactional structure with 49% in the _ADJ_ sequences. The other half is divided mainly between 'tusp' with 28% and the 'difficult' category with 22%.

The average percentages of the various turn structures in the subcategories are quite similar in their distribution to the percentages of the supercategory. In all subcategories, the TUOTH sequences are most frequently used (ranging from 45%

to 55%), followed by the 'tusp' sequences (ranging from 24% to 33%), then 'difficult' (18%–24%) and RERE (0–2%). To find out whether or not the sequence turn structures show any significance and interdependence, a chi-square test was carried out for these values, yet, no statistical significance can be stated ($\chi 2$ (Df 12) = 14.32 $p > 0.10$). The only subcategories that show significance between the realization and the turn structure are subcategories _A2_ ($\chi 2$ (Df 9) = 24.97 $p < 0.005$) and _A5_ ($\chi 2$ (Df 15) = 45.63 $p < 0.005$).

There are several possibilities of how a turn may continue after a Positive Remark. Frequently, 'tusp' cases such as the next example can be found in the conversations:

(62) *SBC001; 586.16–589.27*
LYNNE: it's really interesting,
to do stuff like tha = t.
(H) .. But,

In such cases, the speaker utters a Positive Remark that can be said to bear mainly the function to organize their own story. When they give these little comments they direct the hearer's attention to what is coming next or they may give a closing evaluation of what they have just spoken about. Yet, these 'tusp' turns do not only occur when speakers evaluate their own stories. They may also occur at instances in conversations where something is uttered that looks very much like a compliment:

(63) *SBC051; 854.175–859.266*
FRAN: sad thing for me,
to lose him but,
… Sean is .. marvelous.
… Looking after him.

In this instance, Fran talks about Sean, who is one of the hosts, to another guest at the dinner party and says how happy she has been that Sean looked after her dying brother. Thus, she makes a positive evaluation about a character trait and performance of a person present at the conversation. Even though she does not direct the PosR directly at Sean, this could be heard as a compliment. Yet, no response follows. Fran even pauses a moment (which is transcribed with the dots at the beginning of the intonation unit) and then goes on talking since no reaction follows.

The next example is one of the 'difficult' structures:

(64) *SBC013; 1042.70–1045.51*
KENDRA: [< X That would be good X >],
WENDY: What].
[2You're gonna get m = arried,
KEVIN: [2Did you notice the room got deathly silent2]?
WENDY: and you'll have2] all [3kind of money3]?

While other examples in the present study mainly do not show a detailed annotation of the conversations to make the extracts easier to read, the mark-up is left in Example (64) to show the overlaps (marked by the square brackets, the numbers show which parts overlap) and the difficulties to work with the notions of 'next turn by other speaker' or 'turn continues by same speaker' in such stretches of talk. In this example, two people speak at the same time, Wendy and Kevin. They both react to something Kendra says before she utters the Positive Remark ("That would be good"). They both then opt out from responding to this Positive Remark by addressing an earlier topic. Yet, it is impossible to say who should be chosen as the one uttering the next turn, since they both speak at the same time. These instances of 'difficult' turn structures were also coded with the Response Strategies. It may well be interesting to conduct a further study to analyze in how far the Response Strategies in such instances overlap or differ between 'difficult' and TUOTH turns. Yet, this aspect will be left out of the present study. Figure 6.2 displays the relation of the Response Strategies with the subcategories in the supercategory _ADJ_. In these numbers, the 'difficult' stretches are included as well as the TUOTH and the RERE turns that use the respective Response Strategies.

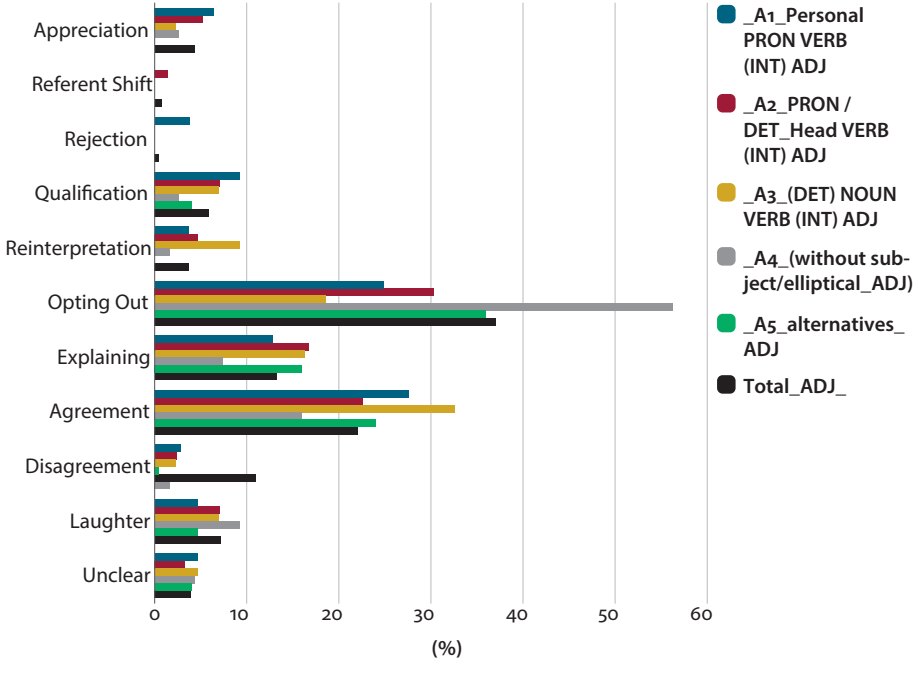


Figure 6.2 Relation of the Response Strategies with the _ADJ_ subcategories

The category termed 'total _ADJ_' in this figure displays the use of the Response Strategies in the sequences of the supercategory in total. The other bars in the figure show the distribution and usage of the Response Strategies in the respective subcategories. Thus, we can see that subcategory _A1_ "Personal PRON VERB (INT) ADJ" takes AGREEMENT as the most frequent Response Strategy and that OPTING OUT is by far the most frequently used strategy in the elliptical adjective forms (see also Chapters 4 and 5 above and Table B.5 in the appendix).

Since the working model and hypothesis of the present study build on the interaction of the speaker and the hearer/participants of the conversation, the following subchapter will concentrate on the structure where an identifiable addressee or non-addressee utters a response to a Positive Remark in a next turn (a TUOTH instance).

6.1.3 Sequences of Positive Remarks and Response Strategies in 'turn by other' sequences in _ADJ_

Narrowing the scope down to Response Strategies that can be assigned to the immediately following turn, the TUOTH, the distribution of the Response Strategies is displayed in Figure 6.3.

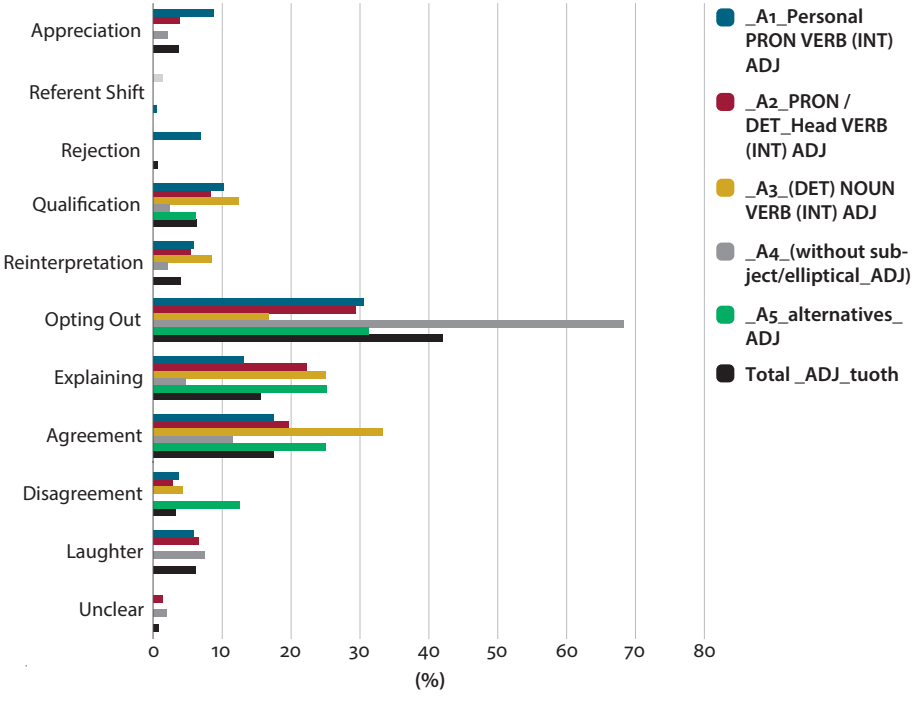


Figure 6.3 Relation of the Response Strategies with the _ADJ_ TUOTH

In comparison to Figure 6.2, we can see some differences here:

- over 40% of the TUOTH turns are coded as OPTING OUT (compared to about 36% in the total of response turns in Figure 6.2) and almost 70% of the responses to the elliptical subcategory _A4_ consist of OPTING OUT strategies,
- the strategy EXPLAINING is used as a response in _ADJ_TUOTH to a larger degree than in the total of the _ADJ_ responses,
- also the strategy APPRECIATION can be found slightly more often in the TUOTH responses of _A1_,
- the unclear instances are rarer here than in the overall Response Strategies used in all turn structures, most probably because the 'difficult' response sequences are not accounted for in these numbers here.

How the usage of Response Strategies differs according to these differing next turns by others (either addressee or non-addressee) is displayed in Figures 6.4 and 6.5. The percentages in both Figures 6.4 and 6.5, need to be understood primarily as tendencies since the utterances in the respective subcategories that are coded this way are rather small (see appendix, Table B.13 and B.14).

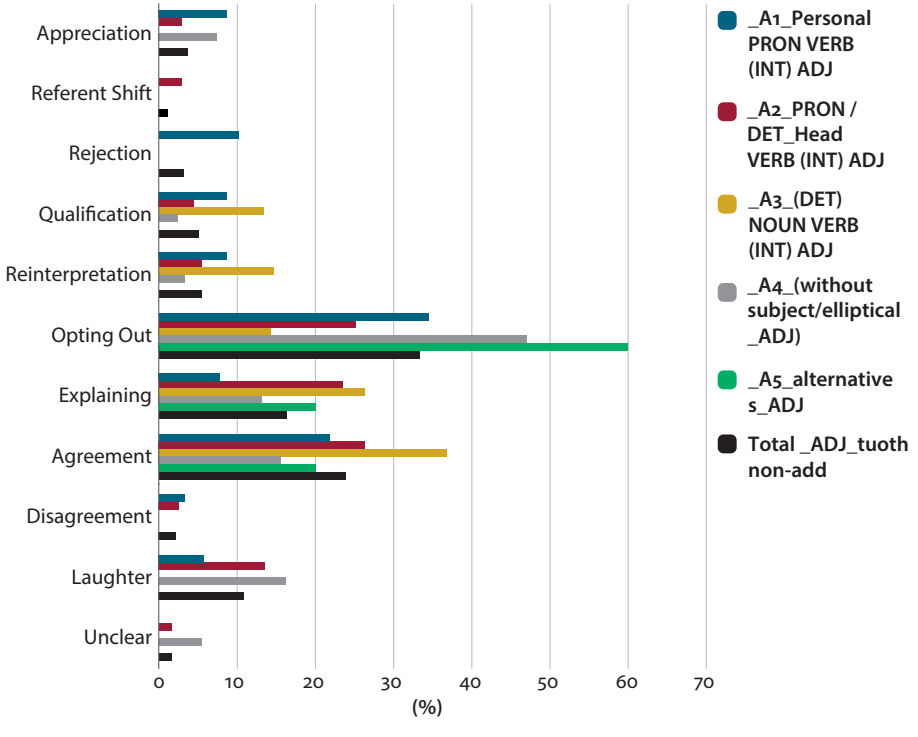


Figure 6.4 Relation of the Response Strategies with the tuoth_non-addressee turns in _ADJ_

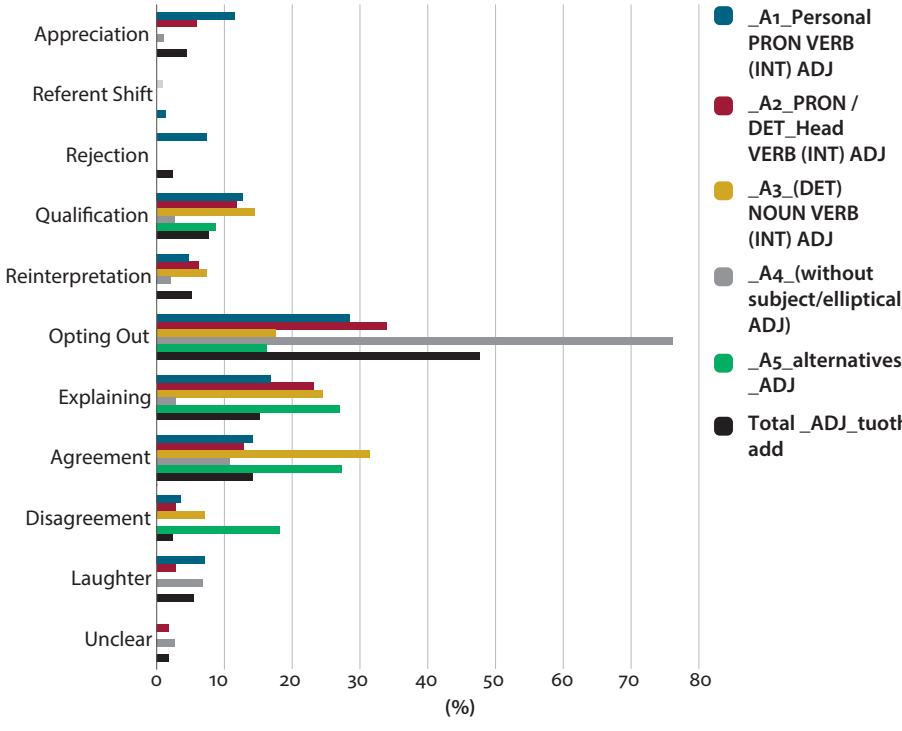


Figure 6.5 Relation of the Response Strategies with the tuoth_addressee turns in _ADJ_

Figure 6.4 shows the distribution of the Response Strategies as they are used by non-addressees in a next turn after an _ADJ_ Positive Remark. There are some differences to the overall TUOTH use in Figure 6.3 that are striking:

- OPTING OUT is used in total in roughly 30% of the sequences in a 'tuoth_non-add' turn, whereas the overall use in TUOTH turns comes up to more than 40%,
- AGREEMENT is used by the non-addressees slightly more often: over 20% in non-addressees to about 17% in overall TUOTH turns, with an outstanding use in substrategy _A3_,
- EXPLAINING is used somewhat less often as a strategy by non-addressees than in the total of TUOTH turns.

Figure 6.5 displays the Response Strategies as used in the tuoth_addressee turns in the respective _ADJ_ subcategory.

There are some differences to the distribution of the total of TUOTH and the tuoth_non-addressee turns in the _ADJ_ categories as well:

- OPTING OUT is clearly the strategy most often used by addressees with an average of about 50%,
- most of these instances of OPTING OUT are observed in the elliptical subcategory (_A4_),
- with over 30%, the strategy AGREEMENT can be found to a large amount in subcategory _A3_,
- if DISAGREEMENT is used by the speaker, it is used in the alternative realizations of the _ADJ_ category (_A5_),
- if APPRECIATION is used by the addressee, this is mostly done in the subcategory _A1_, where the Positive Remark is used with personal pronouns.

The Response Strategies (OPTING OUT, AGREEMENT, DISAGREEMENT and APPRECIATION) are focused on with a few examples in the following.

6.1.3.1 *OPTING OUT*

As can be seen, the Response Strategy OPTING OUT in _A4_, the elliptical realization of the _ADJ_ categories, is the strategy most often chosen by addressees (cf. also Chapter 5.3.3), but there are also other instances, where this strategy is chosen as in the next example of an _A2_ realization:

(65) *SBC033; 278.953–286.858*

JENN:	I'm talking about like set-
	.. Cleaning up after yourself.
	Or doing things,
	that you have clearly defined,
	as rules in this [house,
LISBETH:	[That is correct].
JENN:	as you = r respon]sibility.

Jenn is talking about the rules that exist in the household and while she is speaking, Lisbeth utters a Positive Remark that Jenn does not pay attention to at all. She opts out and does not attend to it in any way in her talk, she just goes on talking. As in most elliptical _ADJ_ utterances (_A4_), a form such as this from subcategory _A2_ can be used as a listener response (see above, Chapter 6.1.1). If a speaker utters such a listener response, they signal that they are listening and that they do not want to claim the speaker's floor. Thus, the previous speaker may go on speaking and no response is expected. The high occurrence of the tuoth_addressees of OPTING OUT (mostly by continuing), thus, shows a great likelihood that such utterances (as in _A2_ and _A4_) are heard as something like a listener response, a token of alignment, to which the addressee does not have to react.

6.1.3.2 *AGREEMENT*

An example of using AGREEMENT in subcategory _A3_ is the following extract:

(66) *SBC015; 835.590–837.925*
JOANNE: I mean the guy is great.
LENORE: I told you.
KEN: (H)
LENORE: I told you.

Joanne talks about her brother and how he became clean and sober. Everybody in this conversation knows the brother and, obviously, Lenore believed in Joanne's brother even before Joanne herself did and agrees now with the Positive Remark "the guy is great" by using an affirmative that also shows mutual background knowledge (or even advanced background knowledge) by stating that she told Joanne her brother would make it. This is a good example of a third party compliment about a person who is not present. It is treated by Lenore in this conversational stretch as it would be expected as a preferred second pair part to a positive assessment, by uttering an AGREEMENT.

6.1.3.3 *DISAGREEMENT*

DISAGREEMENT is not used that often in the conversational data. In the _ADJ_ supercategory, only seven utterances are coded as DISAGREEMENT. One of them is the following example:

(67) *SBC035; 344.687–348.885*
PATTY: There's nothing wrong with that,
STEPHANIE: (H) Well no,
but what they're do- –
PATTY: that's important.
STEPHANIE: But,
but m- Mom,
what I'm saying is,

Patty and Stephanie, mother and daughter, talk about Stephanie's college plans with other members of the family. When Patty utters that "there's nothing wrong" (coded as _A5_) with a moral value community, Stephanie at first seems to agree with her start "well no" but then disagrees in her response and gets back to where she wanted the conversation to go. Thus, even in this disagreeing utterance, we still have an initial sign of alignment with what the mother states before Stephanie disagrees and goes on, which could also be considered a sign of delay for a dispreferred second pair part using the particle *well*. The aforementioned (relatively) high percentage of DISAGREEMENT in _A5_ sequences (see Figure 6.2) might signal that these utterances are recognized as non-compliments. Yet, the Fisher exact test did not reveal a significant P-value (see also Chapter 6.4).

6.1.3.4 *APPRECIATION*

Even though 11% of APPRECIATION responses (see Figure 6.6) seems like quite a reasonable two-digit precentage, it is only a tendency of all _A1_ subcategory responses and indeed is only backed up by two utterances (see Table B.14 in the appendix), one of those can be found in the next example:

(68) *SBC003; 1190.42–1191.76*
MARILYN: I think they're okay.
@@
PETE: Oh,
@fine.

In this conversation, Marilyn and Pete, who are friends, prepare a meal together with Marilyn's husband Roy. In this extract, Marilyn talks about some of the food they have, thus she utters a positive assessment on something. Pete appreciates with his "oh fine" that Marilyn is declaring the food they are going to have as "okay". This is a jocular situation in their conversation (as can also be seen by the laughter that is transcribed with the @ symbol). Yet, we can see that the Response Strategy APPRECIATION is not used very often and indeed, if it is used, it is sometimes used as a joking response.

On the other hand, there is one of the rare occasions of a *thank you* (an APPRECIATION strategy) which is being used in SBC051:

(69) *SBC051; 710.582–715.844*
FRAN: … Sean,
I'm looking at all the paintings around,
it's wonderful .. to see your work,
uh =,
SEAN: Thank you.

Fran's Positive Remark ("it's wonderful") is coded as subcategory _A2_, a structure that is often used for listener response realizations. What we can see here, though, is the additional use of an address by name (Sean) and even referring directly to Sean's work with the possessive pronoun "your work". Thus, Fran makes it quite clear that her remark addresses Sean and is supposed to make him feel good about his work, his art performance and ability. Sean can appreciate this remark with a "thank you".

It is indeed not easy to draw definite conclusions due to the rather low numbers of 'turn by other' sequences. Still, the distribution of the Response Strategies for the subcategories of _ADJ_ and their 'tuoth_non-add' and 'tuoth_add' sequence is presented in the working model in Figure 6.6 and significance is calculated with the Fisher exact test (see Chapter 6.4). On the right-hand side, the field with the Response Strategies only contains the superstrategies of the responses (to keep the

model with all the numbers added still readable). The numbers are put into the model in the following manner: above the Response Strategy, the 'tuoth_non-add' percentages of this strategy are placed from left to right in the order of the subcategories (i.e., subcategory _A1_ is the first number, the 'tuoth_non-add' above and the 'tuoth_add' below the strategy). The percentages are also marked with the abbreviated category names on the left-hand side.

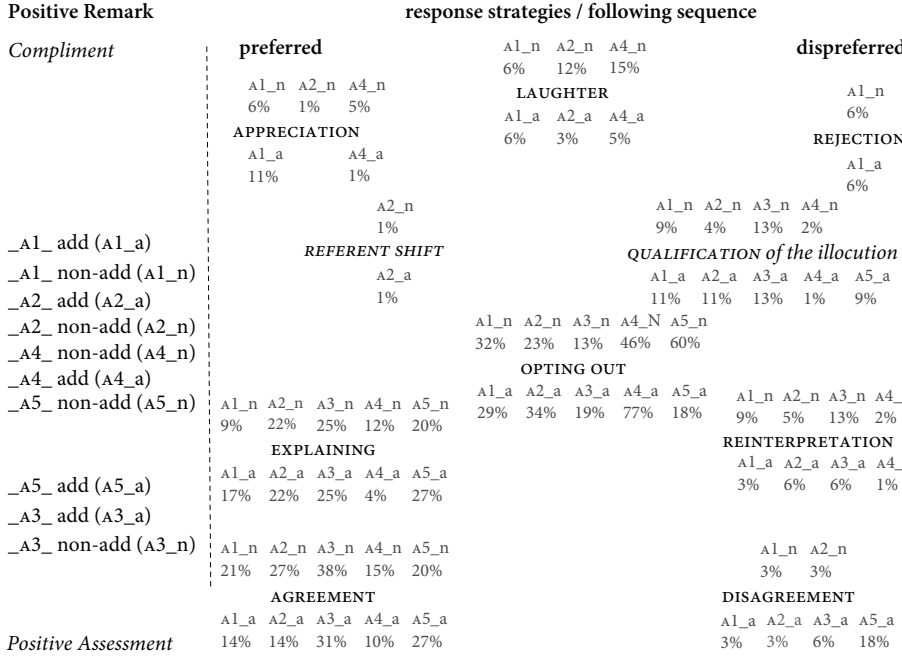


Figure 6.6 The Response Strategies as used in the _ADJ_ subcategories in the working model

On the left-hand side of the model, the subcategories of the _ADJ_ Positive Remarks are placed in an approximate order on the continuum, based roughly on the majority of Response Strategies they take. Thus, the more percentages the Response Strategies have to either top or bottom (compliment and positive assessment function) of the model, the subcategories are placed either further to the top or bottom of the 'compliment-positive assessment continuum'.

As can be seen, most of the _ADJ_ subcategories seem to range, according to the Response Strategies they evoke, around the interim or ambiguous area on the continuum. And as we can see from Example (68) above, APPRECIATION is not necessarily a sign of a complimentary Positive Remark.

6.2 The _NOUN_ category

The second of the three supercategories of the Positive Remarks focused on in this study may also contain adjectives to carry a positive semantic load, similar to the _ADJ_ category. Whereas in the _ADJ_ supercategory it is a predicative adjective that carries the positive semantic load, it is the whole noun phrase that carries the positive semantic load in the _NOUN_ supercategory which may contain an attributive adjective that is integrated in the noun phrase. The various ways in which this is realized are shown below. The subchapters follow the same structure as introduced in Chapter 6.1.

6.2.1 _NOUN_ subcategories

As in the _ADJ_ supercategory, the _NOUN_ supercategory also consists of five subcategories (ee Table 6.1). The surface structure is basically the same as in the _ADJ_ categories, the only difference is that the realizations in this supercategory demand a noun phrase to be carrying the positive semantic load, viz. it mainly contains a positively evaluating attributive adjective and a noun. In interrupted utterances it might be possible of course that this noun is missing in the actual utterance but could still be completed in the structure due to the parts that are realized. The total number of utterances in the _NOUN_ supercategory amounts to 217 utterances which equals about 18% of all Positive Remarks found in the data (see Table 5.3).

The largest subcategory of _NOUN_ is the _N2_ category with 37%, containing realizations such as *This is a very nice house* ("PRON VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN"). The usage of personal pronouns in subcategory _N1_ is also rather frequent with 31%. A comparison of the subcategories of the _ADJ_ and the _NOUN_ supercategories reveals a rather homogeneous distribution of the subcategories. Comparing the percentages of the _ADJ_ categories in Table 6.2 to those of the _NOUN_ categories in Table 6.10, we see the only larger difference in the numbers for subcategory _A1_ and _N1_ and _A4_ and _N4_. The subcategories _A1_ and _N1_, which both contain personal pronouns with which the speakers can position themselves and others, shows a stronger preference in the _NOUN_ category with 31% in _N1_ compared to 16% in _A1_. The elliptical realizations on the other hand show a comparably stronger preference in the _ADJ_ category with 31% in _A4_ compared to 18% in _N4_. As already mentioned in Chapter 5.1, the _ADJ_ category offers a better structure for elliptical realizations since the predicative adjective carries the entire positive semantic load and can also easily be understood as a positive evaluative remark when occurring on its own.

Table 6.10 Numbers and examples of the _NOUN_ realizations

	Form	N	%
NOUN	PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN	217	100%
_N1_	Personal PRON VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN	67	31%
_N2_	PRON VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN	80	37%
_N3_	(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN	18	8%
_N4_	elliptical_NOUN	38	18%
_N5_	alternatives_NOUN	14	6%

6.2.1.1 *Subcategory _N1_: Personal PRON VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN*

The order of the subcategories in _NOUN_, i.e. _N1_ to _N5_, resembles a rough arrangement of these utterances in terms of the 'compliment-positive assessment continuum' of the working model, just as the subcategories of _ADJ_ do (cf. also Chapter 6.1.1). This means that the realizations of subcategory _N1_ can resemble Positive Remarks with a stronger involvement, viz. a possible compliment function, especially those with first and second person pronouns.

Table 6.11 Realization patterns of subcategory _N1_

Form	N	%
_N1_ Personal PRON VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN	67	100%
I/we VERB (INT) (ART) ADJ NOUN	15	22%
I/we VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN	7	10%
I/we VERB (INT) DET Ø NOUN	2	3%
You VERB (INT) DET ADJ NOUN	4	6%
You VERB (INT) DET Ø NOUN	2	3%
He/she/they VERB (INT) DET ADJ NOUN	34	51%
S/he/they VERB (INT) DET Ø NOUN	3	5%

The division of the subcategories in _N1_ stems from the thought that there might be a difference in how a PosR is responded to according to the personal pronoun used, i.e. whether *I*, *we*, *you* is used or the more distant pronouns *he*, *she*, and *they*. Another aspect paid attention to was whether or not the utterance is formulated with or without an adjective in the noun phrase. As can be seen in Table 6.11, those utterances without an attributive adjective are rare. Out of the 67 _N1_ realizations in total, the patterns "I/we VERB (INT) DET NOUN" and "You VERB (INT) DET NOUN" each occur twice, while "S/he/they VERB (INT) DET NOUN" is uttered three times. The noun phrase that carries the positive semantic load in _N1_ is usually formed with the help of an attributive adjective. This noun phrase can either be introduced by the indefinite or definite article as in the following Example (70):

(70) *SBC032; 762.830 763.910*
TOM_2: and we had a nice conversation,

Such an utterance is displayed by the realization form "I/we VERB (INT) (ART) ADJ NOUN". In coding, a difference was made between utterances as in (70) and those as in (71) which take a determiner such as *this* or *that* to specify the noun phrase:

(71) *SBC003; 557.34 558.84*
MARILYN: … We read this great book.

Utterances as in Example (71) fall under the realization strategy form "I/we VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN". It was assumed that there might be a difference in the reactions even according to the use of these different determiners (see also Chapter 6.1.1), yet, in the present study no claim concerning this (possible) difference can be stated since the numbers of realizations of these utterances are very low.

In fact, not only the utterances where the speakers show their own involvement and position by the use of the pronoun *I* are very rare, but even rarer are the utterances with the second person pronoun *you*. In only six utterances, the conversational partner is addressed with *you* as in the following example:

(72) *SBC002; 231.54 232.88*
MILES: You must have good stereo.

By far the biggest number of utterances is found with a reference to another (absent) person by the use of *he* or *she* as in the next example:[2]

(73) *SBC052; 1.180 2.088*
BRENDA: He's a good kid.

Thus, in 55% of all utterances where a personal pronoun is used, a person is referred to that is not present at the conversation or who is a bystander who is not involved in the conversation (yet). Especially in those cases where an absent person is positively evaluated, no compliment in the traditional sense would be expected since the complimentee is expected to be present (to be made 'feel good'). Only in those cases where another person is strongly affiliated with the absent person being evaluated, a complimentary function would be expected. It seems again that in these conversations many positive aspects are mentioned which do not fulfil some of the classic compliment expectations, but may nevertheless create solidarity.

2. The pronoun *they* is often used to refer to people as well, yet some utterances show the use of *they* to refer to objects. These utterances are not displayed in a special group since these numbers are rather marginal.

6.2.1.2 *Subcategory _N2_: PRON/DET_head VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN*
Subcategory _N2_ and _A2_ also share a common feature: the use of the words *this*, *that*, and *it* as pronominal heads of the subject noun phrase in an utterance. This second subcategory makes up the largest one in the _NOUN_ supercategory with about 80 utterances (37%) assigned to these realization forms (see Table 6.10 for the overview; see Table 6.12 for the subcategory).

Table 6.12 Realization patterns of subcategory _N2_

Form	N	%
_N2_ PRON/DET_head VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN	80	100%
This/these VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN/Ø	12	15%
That/those VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN/Ø	27	34%
It VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN/Ø	26	32%
It/that VERB (INT) (DET) Ø NOUN	11	14%
There is a ADJ NOUN (+ complement)	4	5%

The difference between the realization pattern "That/those VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN/Ø" and "It/that VERB (INT) (DET) Ø NOUN" is seen in the use or absence of the adjective in these subcategories. Table 6.12 reveals the preferred use of *that*/*those* and *it* instead of *this*/*these* at the beginning of utterances. Just as in the subcategory _A2_, this use of *that*/*those* may be a sign of solidarity and alignment as mentioned by Strauss (2002; see Chapter 6.1.1 above).

We find more positive utterances in the conversations like these following examples:

(74) *SBC033; 11.087–12.794*
DON: Aw =,
that's a cute garden –

or

(75) *SBC019; 113.674 115.537*
MELISSA: That's actually very good lettering sir.

and

(76) *SBC050; 39.267–42.032*
KELLY: … That is the cutest cutting board.
Isn't it?

These utterances could easily be interpreted as complimentary remarks, along with many realizations formed with *it* as well, as these following examples show:

(77) *SBC013; 1104.35 1105.38*
KENDRA: It's a beautiful cake,

(78) *SBC048; 485.501 487.701*
JUDY: … Oh it's a nice outfit.

Yet, also the instances found with *this* and *these* in the conversations can easily be heard as compliments, as the following example shows:

(79) *SBC050; 210.427 211.714*
DANA: These are such awesome cups,

Some few utterances may have the noun missing due to the conversational structure. Thus, sometimes there are utterances to be found like

(80) *SBC052; 994.718 995.399*
CINDY: that sounds like a good –

These were then also coded as one of the utterances in this subcategory since the noun would have most probably been mentioned if the person was not interrupted. All of the examples above show utterances out of their context and their 'true' function in the conversation can only be guessed in such an isolated state. Yet, they all share the possibility to be heard as a compliment.

6.2.1.3 *Subcategory _N3_: (DET) NOUN VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN*

Subcategory _N3_ shares the "(DET) NOUN" in the subject position of the utterance with subcategory _A3_. Its realization patterns can be found in Table 6.13. In this table, no percentages are given, only the raw numbers, since with subcategories that include a total of less than 20 utterances, the percentages could be rather misleading in the overall picture.

Table 6.13 Realization patterns of subcategory _N3_

Form	N
_N3_ (DET) NOUN VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN	18
NOUN VERB (INT) DET ADJ NOUN	10
NOUN VERB (INT) (DET) Ø NOUN	2
ART NOUN VERB (INT) DET ADJ NOUN	4
DEM NOUN VERB (INT) DET ADJ NOUN	2

Subcategory _N3_, with 18 utterances in total, is a rather small category of the _NOUN_ supercategory (see Table 6.10) which shows parallels to the corresponding subcategory in _ADJ_ (_A3_) which also is the second least realized _ADJ_ form.

The nouns at the beginning of the utterances combined in the first two realization strategies are often names, either of people or things, as in the next examples:

(81) *SBC052; 561.274 562.891*
ANDREW: (H) Cindy got me a nice shirt,

(82) *SBC013; 921.13 923.33*
MARCI: (H) Rubber Maid makes the best spatulas.

None of the realizations fitting this subcategory has any direct reference to a person present, not by addressing them by their name (the names used here in this subcategory refer to people that are not present at the moment of the utterance in the SBCSAE texts) or by using any possessive pronouns with the noun phrases. This subcategory could be expected to be found at the positive assessment end of the 'compliment-positive assessment continuum' of the working model since signs of immediate involvement with conversational partners are not found.

6.2.1.4 *Subcategory _N4_: elliptical_NOUN*

_N4_ is the elliptical subcategory of the _NOUN_ category. This subcategory is not as large within the supercategory _NOUN_ as the elliptical adjective subcategory is in _ADJ_ but larger still than the comparable elliptical verb category (see Table 6.17).

Table 6.14 Realization patterns of subcategory _N4_

Form	N	%
_N4_ elliptical_NOUN	38	100%
Ø (INT) ADJ NOUN	22	58%
Ø VERB (INT) DET ADJ NOUN	6	16%
DET (INT) ADJ NOUN	9	24%
ART Ø NOUN	1	2%

The elliptical form used most often is an utterance that contains simply the noun phrase, usually consisting of adjective and noun, sometimes also an intensifier as in Example (83):

(83) *SBC036; 1587.925 1588.517*
MARIE: Very good answer.

At other times, a determiner is also included as in Example (84)

(84) *SBC051; 537.460 539.451*
SEAN: Oh the best speakers in the world.

Sometimes even a verb is used in the elliptical utterance and the speaker only omits the subject as in Example (85):

(85) *SBC032; 452.702 454.577*
TOM_2: Made the most brilliant move of my life.

These utterances are usually not used as a responsive turn (as many of the _A4_ utterances are) and do not bear the function of a listener response. By uttering a Positive Remark in this way, the speaker withdraws from the evaluation since they avoid saying something like ***I** made the most brilliant move*. On the one hand, this can be claimed to be largely due to the conversational situation. The conversational partners of course know whom the speaker is talking about. On the other hand, by taking themselves out of the utterance, as in something like "very good answer", the speakers also make the Positive Remark sound more like a general statement. They could claim that it is not their own thought or feeling but that, e.g., the answer itself is indeed "very good".

6.2.1.5 *Subcategory _N5_: alternatives_NOUN*

Interestingly, the subcategory of the alternative noun realizations also has something in common with the adjective subcategory _A5_. As in the alternative realizations of the _ADJ_ category, the _NOUN_ category also shows a form that could not be grouped among the other subcategories, but which was listed in Manes/Wolfson's (1981) formulae as a separate formula: "What (a) Noun!" (see Table 2.1).

Table 6.15 Realization patterns of subcategory _N5_

Form	N
_N5_ alternatives_NOUN	14
What (a) ADJ NOUN	2
What a NOUN	3
Alternative_syntax_NOUN	9

The numbers of these utterances in Manes/Wolfson's (1981) data must have been rather small with less than 2% of all compliments collected. Grouped with this realization pattern are also utterances in the present study that start not only with *What a* as displayed in Table 6.15 but also those that start with *such a* or *quite a*. In the present study, only three PosR have this form without an adjective (thus, where the noun carries the positive semantic load on its own) as in:

(86) *SBC031; 1300.763 1301.391*
SHERRY: What a deal.

Only two utterances are formed in this way with an adjective also carrying the positive semantic load of the noun phrase, such as in:

(87) *SBC033; 56.510 57.721*
DON: Such a great statement.

It is interesting to see that there are quite a few parallels between the corresponding subcategories and realization of the _ADJ_ and _NOUN_ Positive Remarks. Whether this also applies to the types of Response Strategies given in the respective sequences will be discussed further below.

6.2.2 _NOUN_ interaction and turn organization

In this subchapter, Table 6.16 focuses on the turn organization in the _NOUN_ sequence. The table corresponds to Table 6.9 for the _ADJ_ category and displays the turn organization of the sequences in the _NOUN_ supercategory. The numbers for the turn organization in the supercategory are given in the first row, followed by a display of the numbers for the subcategories.

Table 6.16 Interactional structure of _NOUN_ and its subcategories

	Formula	N %	tusp	TUOTH	RERE	Difficult
NOUN	PRON/(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) (DET)	217	65	84	5	63
	(ADJ) NOUN	100%	30%	39%	2%	29%
_N1_	Personal PRON VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ)	67	27	22	2	16
	NOUN	100%	40%	33%	3%	24%
_N2_	PRON VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN	80	22	30	2	26
		100%	27%	37%	3%	33%
_N3_	(DET) NOUN VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ)	18	7	6	0	5
	NOUN	100%	39%	33%	0%	28%
_N4_	elliptical_NOUN	38	7	19	1	11
		100%	18%	50%	3%	29%
_N5_	alternatives_NOUN	14	2	7	0	5
		100%	14%	50%	0%	36%

As can be seen in the _NOUN_ supercategory, in 84 out of 217 instances (i.e. in 39% of the sequences), another speaker, either addressee or non-addressee, utters a next turn after a Positve Remark. This is 10% less than for the general _ADJ_ category. The turn structures 'difficult' and the 'next turn by the same speaker' (tusp) who uttered the Positive Remark have slightly higher values than in the _ADJ_ category.

Two of the subcategories in this Positive Remark category tend to be used more often in sequences where the speakers continue after a positive utterance themselves: subcategories _N1_ with 40% of these 'turn by same speaker' (tusp) sequences, and _N3_ where 39% of the sequences are organized in this way. In _N1_, many of these sequences occur with the realization strategies that have first person pronouns, viz. *I* or *we*, such as in the next example:

(88) *SBC003; 1326.85–1333.93*
MARILYN: .. And I'd had this,
… I'd had a particularly stupendous time.
Because I had to .. be a wife most of the time,

In this extract, Marilyn tells Pete, her visiting friend, about an event she went to with her husband Roy (who is also present at the conversation). Thus, this positive evaluation she brings up here is used to describe some past event, used to make the story more interesting and lively. The small pauses in the extract (symbolized by the dots) are most probably signs of suspense and her story telling. At other times, such pauses seem to indicate that the speaker of the Positive Remark is indeed waiting for the conversational partner to say something, as in the next extract:

(89) *SBC052; 483.861–490.144*
DARLENE: .. (H) They made the cutest gingerbread ornaments.
… (H) They
Well,
they uh,
… I guess they're like uh,

Here, Darlene tells Andrew about what some family members did for her for Christmas. It seems like she was waiting for some acknowledgment by Andrew of what she just said since she goes on with "well" and hesitation markers such as "uh". The desire for some verbal or audible feedback in this conversation possibly stems from its nature as a telephone conversation.

In other cases, also when the third person singular is being used in the Positive Remark, an utterance can be understood as a kind of 'story enhancer' as well, where no response is expected as, for example, in the next extract:

(90) *SBC059; 1499.014–1502.367*
JO: She was a nice lady.
I don't know how she ever had Marve.
He's a creep.

After the evaluation of a lady Jo had known many years ago, she does not expect or wait for another person to say anything but goes on talking about this lady's son, who obviously is not quite as nice as his mother in Jo's opinion. There are similar situations in subcategory _N3_ which shows many 'tusp' instances. In some sequences, no next turn seems to be expected by the speaker of the Positive Remark, as in the next example:

(91) *SBC048; 281.950–284.940*
JUDY: well black is such a good color,
you can .. wear it with everything.

Judy received a pair of black jeans from her mother as a Christmas present just before this utterance. Thus, her positive evaluation of the color black can be seen as appreciating the pants, thanking her mother, and making a general statement about the color black. Thus, she does not expect any response after this positive evaluation.

In other cases, as the next example, a turn by the other speaker seems expected which is indicated by the pause before the speaker goes on with his turn:

(92) *SBC052; 560.901–564.445*
ANDREW: Let's see.
(H) Cindy got me a nice shirt,
… Um,

Here, Andrew tells Darlene about a shirt his wife gave him for Christmas. He pauses, but since Darlene does not utter a next turn, he goes on with the hesitation marker "um". Thus, sequences with a 'tusp'-turn organization may show these 'turns by the same speaker' for different reasons. A closer inspection of these instances and what differentiates the Positive Remarks where the speaker obviously does not expect a next turn by the addressee from those where pauses may be signs of communicative problems is certainly worthwhile to study in a future endeavor.

Figure 6.7 shows all the Response Strategies tagged in all _NOUN_ Positive Remarks, the turns by other speakers as well as the sequences where the speaker cannot easily be determined (i.e., the 'difficult' category in turn organization). In the other subcategories, _N2_, _N4_, and _N5_, the next 'turn by other speaker' (TUOTH) is favored over other possible sequence organization (see Table 6.16). In these _NOUN_ subcategories, as in the _ADJ_ subcategories, the small numbers have to be considered which allow only a description of tendencies.

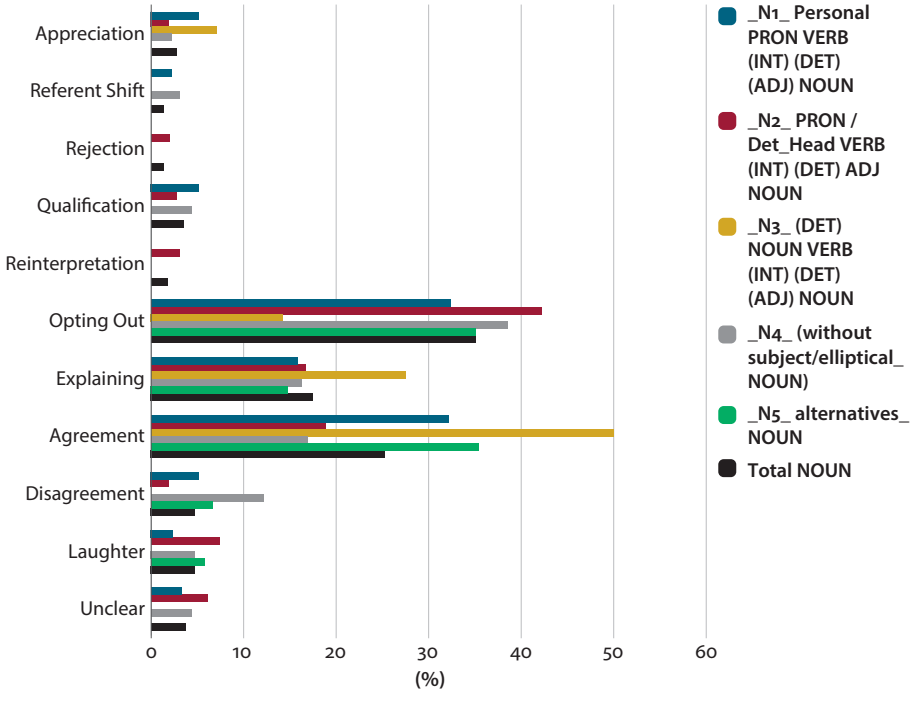


Figure 6.7 Relation of the Response Strategies used in the _NOUN_ subcategories

Comparing this Figure 6.7 for the Response Strategies used in _NOUN_ remarks with those used in the _ADJ_ categories (see Figure 6.2), the most obvious difference is the less frequent use of OPTING OUT and the more frequent use of AGREEMENT in the _NOUN_ categories. The total of the OPTING OUT strategies used in the supercategory _ADJ_ is close to the total in the _NOUN_ supercategory, yet, no subcategory in _NOUN_ has an extreme value difference as _A4_, the elliptical subcategory, has in _ADJ_.

6.2.3 Sequences of Positive Remarks and Response Strategies in 'turn by other' sequences in _NOUN_

In this chapter, the focus turns to the 'turns by other speakers' (the TUOTH turns) and the Response Strategies used in them in the _NOUN_ sequences.

Figure 6.8 displays the Response Strategies used in the TUOTH turns in the _NOUN_ sequences, leaving out the 'difficult' and the 'remote responses' that are accounted for in Figure 6.7. By taking only the turns into account that can be assigned to a next speaker, a few differences to the overall sequence as displayed in

Figure 6.7 become obvious (for the numbers behind these percentages, see appendix, Tables B.15 and B.16). In the TUOTH turns, the distribution of the Response Strategies, as compared to Figure 6.7,

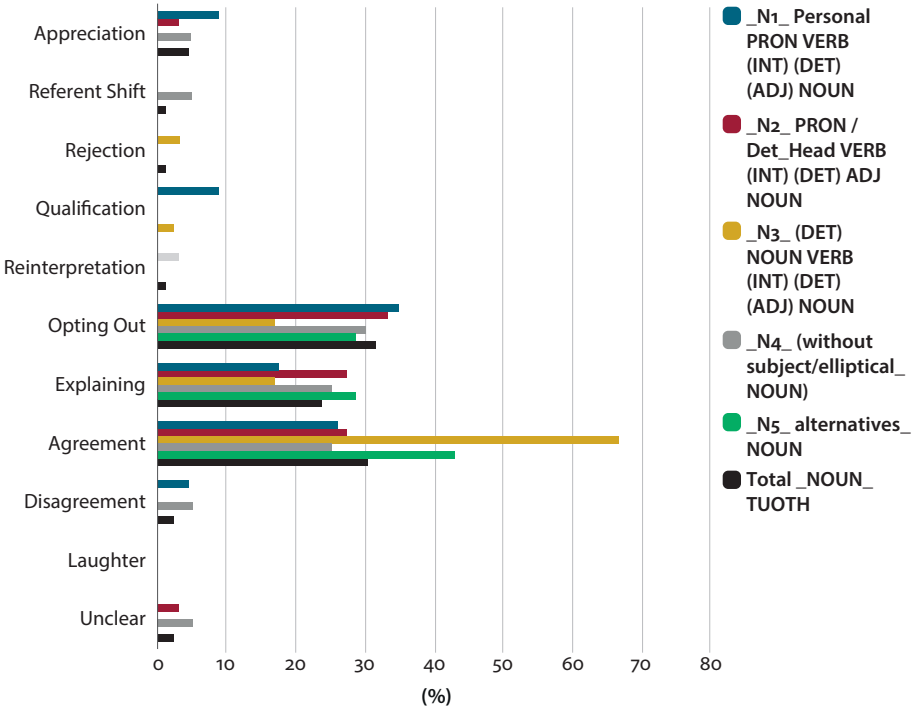


Figure 6.8 Relation of Response Strategies used in the _NOUN_ TUOTH turns

- shifts towards an increased use of the strategies EXPLAINING and AGREEMENT,
- decreases, or is not used, with QUALIFICATION, DISAGREEMENT, and LAUGHTER,
- shows a slightly less frequent usage of OPTING OUT.

The next two Figures 6.9 and 6.10, show the usage of the Response Strategies in a next turn after the Positive Remark by the non-addressee and the addressee of this PosR.

Not only the amount of utterances is smaller in these 'turn by other' groups, but there are also fewer strategies used. In the tuoth_non-addressee (Figure 6.9) we can see that

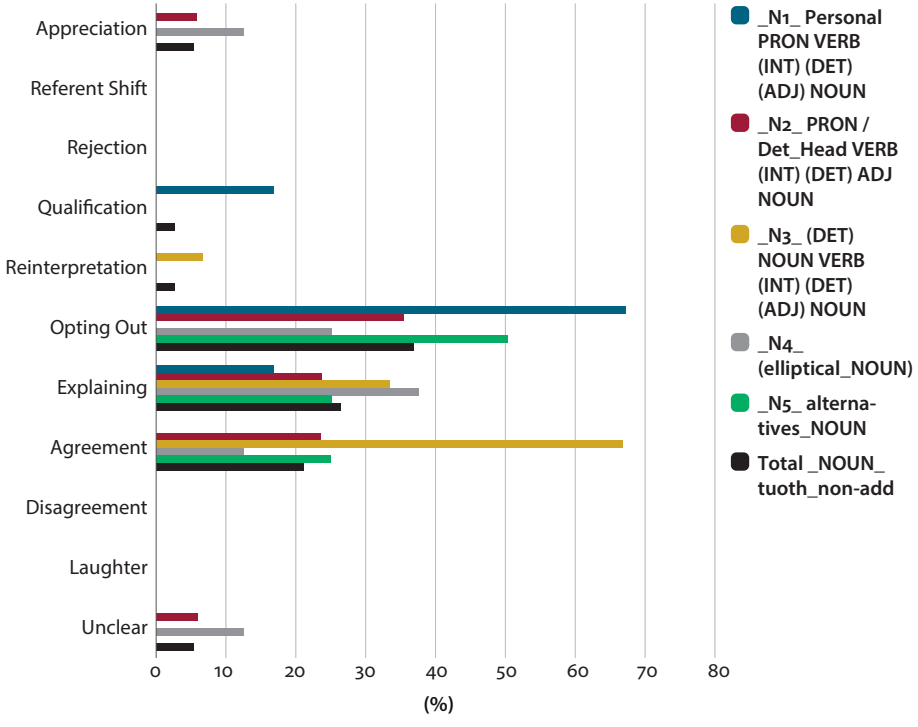


Figure 6.9 Relation of Response Strategies used in the _NOUN_non-addressee turns

- the frequency of using OPTING OUT is higher in some subcategories (_N1_ and _N4_) than it is for these subcategories in the overall distribution (Figures 6.7 and 6.8),
- EXPLAINING by the non-addressees is done about as frequently as in the overall numbers for _NOUN_ sequences,
- AGREEMENT is less often used by the non-addressees in the _NOUN_ categories,[3]
- some Response Strategies are not used by non-addressees in tuoth position at all: REFERENT SHIFT, REJECTION, DISAGREEMENT, and LAUGHTER.

The distribution of the Response Strategies in the tuoth_addressee is displayed in Figure 6.10.

3. This differs from the numbers and distributions observed in _ADJ_ tuoth_non-addressee numbers for AGREEMENT, see Chapter 6.1.3.

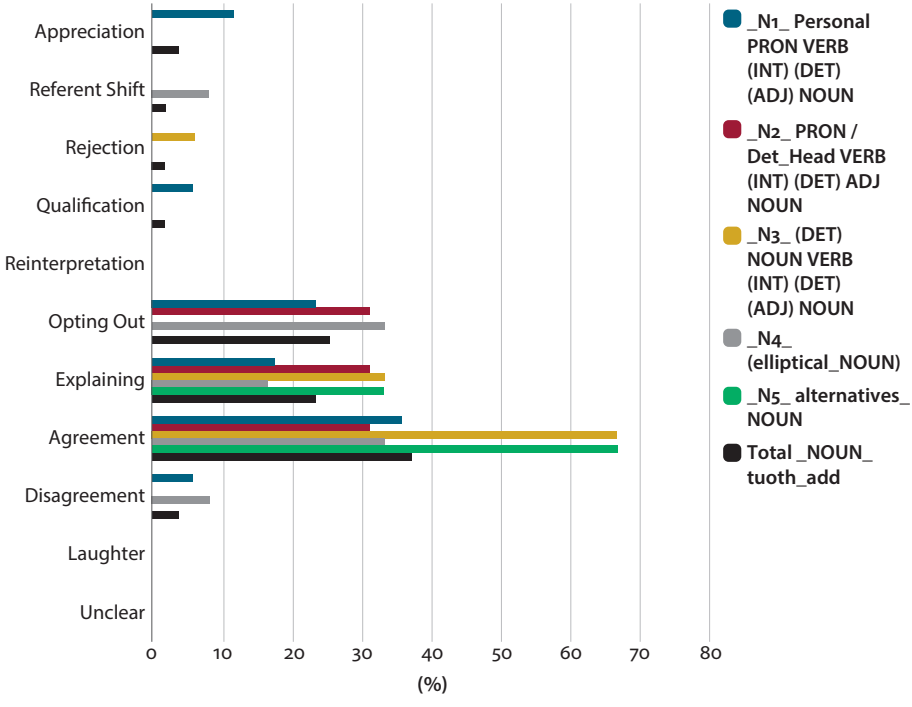


Figure 6.10 Relation of Response Strategies used in the _NOUN_addressee turns

It can be seen in Figure 6.10 that these strategies are used in a slightly larger number of utterances (for the numbers on which these figures are based, see appendix, Tables B.15 and B.16).

In the tuoth_addressee turns

- the strategies REINTERPRETATION and LAUGHTER are not used at all,
- only very few instances of the strategies APPRECIATION and QUALIFICATION (both in _N1_), REFERENT SHIFT (in _N4_), and REJECTION (in _N2_) are used,
- the addressees use EXPLAINING as a strategy approximately as often as non-addressees do and in all subcategories, the strategies that belong to OPTING OUT are used less frequently by the addressees than the non-addressees (and the TUOTH overall use) and do not occur in a next turn in each _NOUN_ subcategory (they are not used in _N3_ and _N5_),
- AGREEMENT is obviously the favored Response Strategy by addressees towards basically any subcategory of _NOUN_ used.

The next two subchapters will provide a more detailed look at AGREEMENT as the favored Response Strategy that is also suggested to be connected with positive assessments. Connected with the presumed 'opposites' on the continuum, viz., the compliment function, are APPRECIATION responses that will also be presented in some more detail below (Chapter 6.2.3.2).

6.2.3.1 *AGREEMENTS*

With these many AGREEMENTS used by the addressee of a Positive Remark, one might suggest at first glance that many of the _NOUN_ remarks are understood as positive assessments rather than as compliments, since agreeing is considered to be preferred response to positive assessments (see also Chapters 2.2 and 2.3). There are several ways to use AGREEMENT with a Positive Remark of the _NOUN_ category as the next examples show. In the following example, the PosR belongs to subcategory _N2_ that includes a (jocular) address term:

(93) *SBC019; 113.674–117.027*
MELISSA: That's actually very good lettering sir.
BRETT: (H) … I know.

Melissa compliments her brother on his writing/drawing task he does while the family sits together. Even though she also engages "sir" as a marker of ironic distance, one can surely claim she wants to compliment her brother's performance. The relationship of siblings is not the typical social environment polite strategies are strongly adhered to, thus Brett may appropriately answer with "I know". With this, he can distance himself from the compliment as well as from his performance and simply agree with an alleged expression of mutual knowledge. Thus, based on Brett's answer, it could also be claimed that the compliment was not successful. Since the conversation takes another turn after this (the mother reminds Melissa that she should be going to bed), the following conversational sequence cannot be considered for showing signs of a successful or unsuccessful outcome of Melissa's aim.

Usually, other Positive Remarks that are responded to with an AGREEMENT state something positive about another person or some objects, as the next extracts show:

(94) *SBC001; 1076.99–1088.66*
LYNNE: (H) = … He's a pretty neat guy.
… I thought.
LENORE: … <@ Yeah,
he spoke Crow okay @>.

In this example, a mutual acquaintance of Lynne's and Lenore's is mentioned by Lynne. No further connection than that of a mutual acquaintance can be deduced from the conversation between this man and either of the women. Lenore can easily

agree with her own assessment of his skills in the Crow language. This Positive Remark and following AGREEMENT is surely not meant as a typical compliment – since no present conversational partner has any further affiliation with the evaluated person and the beneficiary's positive face cannot be anointed by this utterance, not even in a passive way via somebody else. Yet, the positive face wants of Lynne and Lenore are met in this AGREEMENT and with the comments they can establish a stronger in-group feeling and a feeling of alignment.

The same basically applies to the next example:

(95) *SBC013; 1601.95–1604.00*
KEVIN: She does a good job.
MARCI: … Yeah.

Kevin and Marci speak about a mutual acquaintance from church, Edna, who sows for people, also for Kevin and Marci. They both agree on the fact that Edna is skilled at what she does. Another instance of aligning and agreeing, this time on possession, can be found in the next example:

(96) *SBC011; 378.43–385.12*
ANGELA: .. (H) = Well you know,
I think they weigh about a quarter of an ounce.
(H) [And that's] the right kind of beads,
DORIS: [Unhunh].
.. for summer.

After an earlier compliment from Doris on Angela's beads, Angela positively evaluates her own beads and Doris shows AGREEMENT and alignment in finishing Angela's sentence, that these are "the right kind of beads for summer".

6.2.3.2 *APPRECIATION*

It can be seen that AGREEMENT is often used in subcategories _N3_ and _N5_ which are both realization strategies without explicit addressee involvement, whereas subcategory _N1_, the realization category with explicit address (in the personal pronoun) is the only subcategory that shows (a small amount of) usage of APPRECIATION strategies.[4] In the rare cases where the addressee and also the beneficiary of the Positive Remark is directly mentioned, we can find APPRECIATION rather than AGREEMENT, as in the following extract:

4. There are only very few realizations (19 in total for AGREEMENT and only four for APRPECIATION) of the tuoth_addressee turns here, so these observations must be treated carefully and can only be considered as hinting at a possible correlation. The reliability of cautious claims would need to be tested with a larger amount of data.

(97) *SBC052; 1013.872–1018.984*
FRAN: Because you're the s- –
you're- you're the slimmest,
and show the most cu- uh =,
ALICE: [Oh,
chair].
FRAN: [cushion c]left.
ALICE: .. Okay,
[that was] cool.

Fran and Alice are guests at their mutual friends' place (Bernard's and Sean's). Fran gives Alice a compliment and Alice appreciates this in a way that can be understood as an indirect thanking, starting with the agreement marker "okay" and then evaluating what Fran said as "cool". It may also be worth noting that this sequence, that can be understood as a compliment sequence, is uttered by people that do not know each other yet but meet on equal grounds in a private setting. It could be argued that these two women need to still negotiate their relationship and draw on positive evaluations, probably also compliments, for this verbal negotiation.

Thus, even though there are only few utterances that are the base for these numbers, a model as in Figure 6.6 for the _ADJ_ substrategies is introduced for the _NOUN_ subcategories here in Figure 6.11.

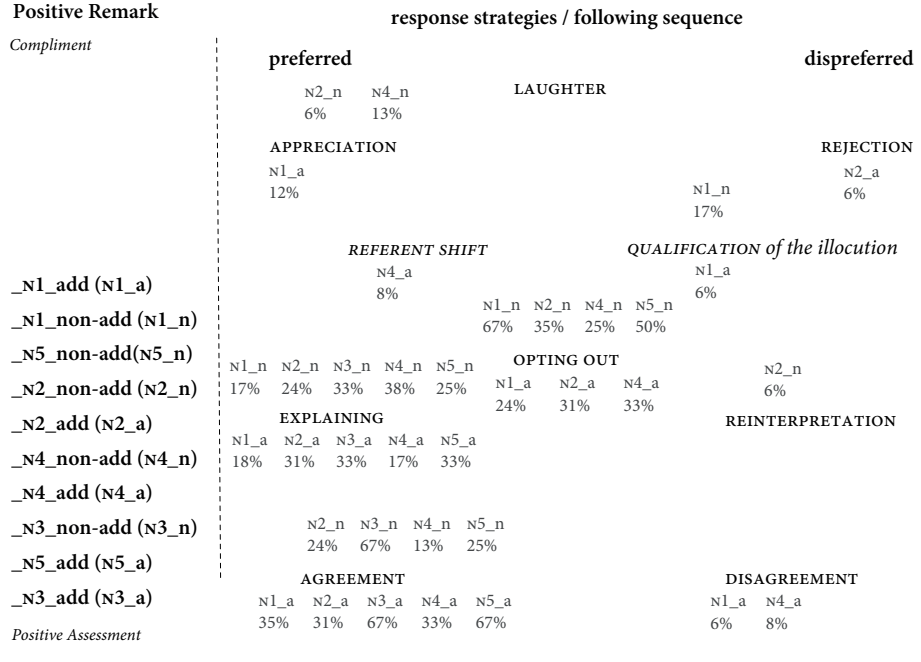


Figure 6.11 The Response Strategies as used in the _NOUN_ subcategories in the working model

Although the underlying raw numbers of these percentages are rather small, it still is remarkable that most of the Response Strategies can be found in the part of the model that has been assigned to the area of preferred positive assessments. Only one subcategory, _N1_, which as realization strategy also includes the personal pronoun and thus a direct address, may rather be placed in the 'compliment part' of the model. Of course, the arrangement of the subcategories is only tentative and this is but a first approach to sorting subcategories of the _NOUN_ category and their respective Response Strategies that would need to be dis-/proven in future studies with a larger sample set.

6.3 The _VERB_eval category

The third supercategory in the focus of the present study is the _VERB_eval category. With 104 utterances assigned to this category, it makes up only about 9% of all Positive Remarks found in the conversations (see Table 5.3) and is the smallest of the categories analyzed here. Jucker et al. (2008), who worked with the British National Corpus (BNC), just as Mittmann (2004) did, found 94 matches for the second Manes/Wolfson (1981) pattern, out of which eleven were annotated as compliments. Thus, "[c]ompared to pattern 1, which delivered far more than a hundred compliments, pattern 2 delivers very few" (2008: 285; see also Table 2.1). A similar relation exists between _VERB_eval and _ADJ_ in the present study. Considering the size of the BNC, which is a 100 million word corpus, compared to the small extract investigated from the SBCSAE for the present study, the present numbers and findings can be relativized: Americans do seem to use this form quite often and maybe more often than speakers of other English varieties, such as the British in the BNC. The following subchapters will shed some light on how this is done in detail, with a parallel structure as Chapters 6.1 and 6.2.

6.3.1 _VERB_eval subcategories

Just as the other supercategories, the _VERB_eval supercategory can be divided into several subcategories. Table 6.17 shows the subcategory formulae and the distribution of them within the _VERB_eval category. All these Positive Remarks are formed with an evaluative verb that carries the positive semantic load and shows the speaker's appreciation for the object or person they refer to.

Table 6.17 Numbers and examples of _VERB_eval realizations

	Form	N	%
_VERB_eval	PRON VERB_eval PRON/(DET) NOUN	104	100%
_V1_	Personal PRON VERB_eval PRON	9	9%
_V2_	Personal PRON VERB_eval DET_pron	28	27%
_V3_	Personal PRON VERB_eval (DET) NOUN	37	35%
_V4_	elliptical_VERB_eval	3	3%
_V5a_	(DET) NOUN (INT) VERB_eval (DET) NOUN/DEM/PRON	8	8%
_V5b_	alternatives_VERBS	6	6%
_V6_	*PRON VERB_eval (TO) V_inf sth.*	13	12%

Even though a comparability between the subcategories was aimed at throughout all the super- and subcategories, _VERB_eval differs slightly from the _ADJ_ or the _NOUN_ categories: Instead of five, there are seven groupings in total. The focus in grouping the utterances lies on the object position in _VERB_eval: what is it that is being evaluated here by the speaker themself or *in lieu* of another speaker (by the use of another personal pronoun in subject position)? Thus, the first subcategory also entails the reference of a (personal) pronoun, just as in _A1_ and _N1_. In _V2_ ("Personal PRON VERB_eval DET_pron"), the speaker evaluates something that is mentioned with either *this*, *that* or the like as in _A2_ and _N2_ while _V3_ ("Personal PRON VERB_eval (DET) NOUN") refers to something expressed by a noun phrase (again as in _A3_ and _N3_). As in the other categories, subcategory 5 covers alternative forms, with a slight divergence from the other supercategories since there are two groupings here: _V5a_ with the pattern "(DET) NOUN (INT) VERB_eval (DET) NOUN/DEM/PRON" and alternative realizations with no overall pattern (_V5b_). Arguably, subcategory _V5a_ could be summarized among the other alternatives and not be shown as a subcategory of its own, yet, that there is a noun phrase instead of a personal pronoun in the subject slot, seemed worthy of note (see Subchapter 6.3.1.4). The subgroup _V6_ ("PRON VERB_eval (TO) V_inf sth.") is a special case of Positive Remarks and is also being discussed in subchapter 6.3.1.4.

6.3.1.1 *Subcategory _V1_: Pronoun*

In the first subcategory, the speaker positions themself or the interlocutor to another person or something that is referred to by a pronoun. As already mentioned in Chapter 6.2.1, no percentages are given in very small groups but the actual number of utterances is presented.

This group is one of the smallest in the supercategory _VERB_eval. The trend that seems to have shown already in the other supercategories, i.e. that utterances showing the most personal involvement are used rarely, seems to hold true for this subcategory _V1_ as well.

Most of the utterances refer to some thing or another person by using the third person (singular or plural) pronoun as in

(98) *SBC050; 214.507 215.731*
KELLY: … I love em though.

Table 6.18 Realization patterns of subcategory _V1_

Form	N
_V1_ Personal PRON VERB_eval PRON	9
I (INT) VERB_eval you	2
I (INT) VERB_eval him/her/them	4
I/we (INT) VERB_eval PRON	1
You (INT) VERB_eval PRON	2

or in

(99) *SBC052; 1508.832 1509.559*
CINDY: I kinda liked her.

It is rather interesting that in the first example Kelly refers to some cups her (absent) flatmate owns while Cindy speaks of an author she likes. So even though we find two utterances here with an evaluative verb which are seemingly personal with the use of the pronoun *I*, both these utterances are not typical compliments but rather a positive assessment and a statement of Kelly's and Cindy's taste and the remarks refer to something or someone that is not related to anybody present at the conversation.

The two utterances that include the pronoun *you* do not seem to be a compliment either. We have here

(100) *SBC011; 111.70 112.78*
DORIS: … and I love you,

and

(101) *SBC032; 106.672–107.989*
TOM_2: I mean,
we just .. gotta love you,

In Doris' case, she quotes what someone told her and in the other example, one of the many Toms in text SBC032 says this "we just .. gotta love you" jokingly to another person present at the barbecue. It is most likely that an utterance like this would not be understood as a compliment. Yet, it fits the form of the Positive

Remark and is an expression of a positive feeling towards the other person, even if it is mixed with friendly banter as in Tom's example. Again, it is interesting to find only these two realizations as a quote and as a joking expression, neither of them seems to sincerely express the feelings of the speaker. This tendency also becomes clear in another example from _V1_:

(102) *SBC032; 53.204 54.783*
TOM_1: I admire somebody who's seventy.

In this small extract, yet another Tom of conversation SBC032 utters that he "admires someone who's seventy" – which he utters after he learned that one of his conversational partners, Tom_2, turns seventy in the following week. Thus, Tom_1 implicitly says that he admires Tom_2 – but uses this construction instead of just uttering *I admire you* and thus creates distance by providing a more general statement. It seems that American speakers are quite cautious about their personal involvement in their evaluations.

6.3.1.2 *Subcategory _V2_: Pronominal determiner*

More frequently used are utterances that refer to something in the form of the pronominally used determiner *this*, *that* or the pronoun *it*. Just as with the usage of these references in the subcategories _A2_ and _N2_, the use of *that* and *it* is more frequent in_V2_ than the use of *this*, which may be a sign of the solidarity showing in these utterances (cf. above and Strauss 2002).

An example for the pattern used most often in realizing the _V2_ subgroup is Example (103):

(103) *SBC042; 1082.675 1083.374*
KITTY: I like it.

Of the 14 instances of this realization pattern ("I (INT) VERB_eval it") mentioned in Table 6.19, eight are formed with the relatively neutral evaluative verb *like*, five with *love* and one utterance seems stronger in force in using *adore*:

Table 6.19 Realization patterns of subcategory _V2_

Form	N	%
_V2_ Personal PRON VERB_eval DET_pron	28	100%
I (INT) VERB_eval this/these	1	4%
I (INT) VERB_eval that/those	8	28%
I (INT) VERB_eval it	14	50%
S/he (INT) VERB_eval it/that	5	18%

(104) *SBC051; 1054.419 1054.987*
FRAN: I adore it.

By uttering this, Fran answers a question of her conversational partner Alice whether she likes a specific area and piece of land (they are talking about where they live and how Fran and her husband had been searching for the right place to live for a while). So again, a strongly expressed emotion is attached to something rather abstract, not to a person, neither directly nor indirectly.

Such strong utterances are rare in the entire subcategory _V2_ where *like* is clearly preferred. Only few utterances are formed with *love*, such as:

(105) *SBC051; 782.517 783.295*
ALICE: I love that.

For this example, it is interesting to also look at the preceding turns where the conversation is about some of Bernard's (one of the hosts') sculptures. We can see that Alice first utters "I love this", yet, this utterance occurs in overlap with other utterances. Fran, the other guest, also says that the sculptures are "wonderful" and Alice repeats her utterance but in a slight variation:

(106) *SBC051; 781.241–783.295*
ALICE: [3I love this3].
FRAN: .. Y3]es,
They're won[4derful4].
ALICE: [4 < X I love4] that X >.

In this case, it could be discussed whether "that" in the repeated utterance signals an intensification of the (unnoticed) first utterance of Alice or not and thus shows how *that* indeed represents a closer and more direct and involved reference as discussed above.

It should also be borne in mind that these utterances with "adore" and "love that" stem from the same conversation. They do not appear in the same stretch of talk, but still: there are four people here that all know each other – but for the two women. They are both friends of the hosts but seem to be meeting each other for the first time. A larger amount of compliments (even if not to each other but on the hosts) may indeed serve the function of negotiating solidarity and alignment.

6.3.1.3 *Subcategory _V3_: (Determiner) Noun*

The largest subgroup in the _VERB_eval category is subgroup _V3_ ("Personal PRON VERB_eval (DET) NOUN"), where the reference is made explicitly to something by using either the name or a noun phrase.

Table 6.20 Realization patterns of subcategory _V3_

Form	N	%
_V3_ Personal PRON VERB_eval (DET) NOUN	37	100%
I (INT) VERB_eval (DET) NOUN	28	76%
You (INT) VERB_eval (DET) NOUN	2	5%
S/he (INT) VERB_eval (DET) NOUN	7	19%

The largest realization group in the subcategory here is the one involving the speaker by their use of the first person pronoun *I*. Here, the use of *like* and *love* is almost evenly distributed. In 13 utterances, the speakers use *love* while *like* as the evaluative verb is used in 15 utterances. No other evaluative verb is used here.

When using the verb *love*, the utterances are structured in a straightforward manner, without further intensifiers as in the following Examples 107 and 108:

(107) *SBC050; 821.718 823.541*
DANA: … I love bread.

or

(108) *SBC042; 291.290 292.698*
MARLENA: .. I .. love your jeans.

Marlena's utterance sounds like a compliment. Yet, it cannot be analyzed in a sequential way since it is uttered in the recording as no part of the main conversation. Neither is the addressee identifiable, nor is any reaction audible to this. It stands as an isolated utterance with no context available to the researcher.

A direct address is used only once more in this subcategory. The other time it is used (as a possessive pronoun) is in a quote where Doris (Example 109) talks about something that happened to her:

(109) *SBC011; 106.38 110.73*
DORIS: … He said I loved your hum- .. humor,

This is not uttered directly in the conversation that takes place but as a quote from Doris' memory. We cannot judge whether it really was uttered this way or whether Doris just remembers it like this. Thus, again, the expression of strong emotions is not found many times connected with someone directly present.

In the light of this finding, it is interesting to see that the realizations with *like* often (in six times out of the 15 utterances that are formed with *like*) entail a form of intensification such as in the following examples:

(110) *SBC051; 1227.722 1229.156*
FRAN: I liked Seattle a lot.

(111) *SBC035; 1026.254 1027.730*
PATTY: this is the one I really like the best.

Thus, even though expressions of very strong emotions towards a person seem to be avoided in the utterances, the expressions with *like* seem to be too weak in their force and speakers often use an intensifier with them. This only happens, though, when the speakers speak for themselves. If they speak on behalf of someone else who is not present (as in the realization pattern "S/he (INT) VERB_eval (DET) NOUN"), intensifiers are not used and utterances look like the following:

(112) *SBC032; 1075.111 1076.750*
TOM_3: But she likes her classes

There is only one exception in the present data base:

(113) *SBC001; 1301.07 1303.42*
LYNNE: she loved horses so much,

With this utterance, Lynne explains why an acquaintance of hers could not quit riding even though she had been hospitalized many times due to a horse hair allergy. However, this statement about someone else is the only co-occurrence of *love* and an intensifier in this subcategory.

6.3.1.4 *Subcategories _V4_, _V5a_, _V5b_, and _V6_*

In this last subsection, the remaining subcategories, that only consist of few realizations, are described. The first look will be on the alternative subcategory that is divided into _V5a_ and _V5b_ in this supercategory. Even though there are only very few realizations of _V5a_, it is interesting to see a tendency for the more frequent use of forms with *those* and *it* in object position here. An example of this strategy ("(DET) NOUN (INT) VERB_eval that/those/it") is:

(114) *SBC015; 1230.460–1233.005*
JOANNE: (H) And um,
… the kids loved it.

With the eight realizations in _V5a_ that are concerned with giving an account of what other people (might) like and the seven instances of _V3_ where this is done with the use of the personal pronoun in subject position ("S/he (INT) VERB_eval (DET) NOUN"), we can see that only few instances exist in total where a speaker utters something positive on behalf of someone else. These utterances are mostly used to explain some event in the stories the speakers are telling.

Table 6.21 Realization patterns and numbers of subcategories _V5a_ and _V5b_

Form	N
_V5**a**_(DET) NOUN (INT) VERB_eval (DET) NOUN/DEM/PRON	8
NOUN/(Name) VERB_eval NOUN/(Name)	1
NOUN (INT) VERB_eval DET NOUN	1
(DET) NOUN (INT) VERB_eval Ø	1
(DET) NOUN (INT) VERB_eval him/her/them/you/me?	2
(DET) NOUN (INT) VERB_eval that/those/it	3
_V5**b**_ alternatives_VERBS	6

An even smaller group can be found in the elliptical subcategory (_V4_) which covers only three occurrences. That this is a very small amount becomes especially evident when comparing these 3% of all _VERB_eval utterances (see Table 6.17) with the 31% of elliptical forms in the _ADJ_ (see Table 6.2) and the 18% in the _NOUN_ supercategory (see Table 6.10). This small amount probably results from the fact that an elliptical utterance with an evaluative verb has the need for a more specific context. Usually, utterances with an evaluative verb need a subject as well as object for listeners to understand what the speaker may refer to and evaluate. This is not the case with the _ADJ_ or _NOUN_ supercategories since the evaluation is carried by the adjective or the noun phrase that are more easily assignable.

The major difference between the set of utterances coded in the _VERB_eval category in the present study and other studies is the inclusion of utterances such as "I would like to (do something)" as in subcategory _V6_. These utterances are typically seen as utterances of volition (cf. Wierzbicka 1988; De Smet/Cuyckens 2005) and considered to be a form usually displaying suggestions or requests. These forms are typically not seen as compliments. Yet, I included these utterances since they also show the speaker's positive stance towards something that is talked about in the conversation (cf. Schegloff 2007) and this study is about analyzing the differences between compliments and other forms of positive assessments with the focus on forms as those established by Manes/Wolfson (1981). Thus, this kind of utterance and realization pattern is also taken into account here and its connection with the Response Strategies is also accounted for in the present study.

Table 6.22 Realization patterns and numbers of subcategories _V4_ and _V6_

Form	N
_V4_ elliptical_VERB	3
s/he/they VERB_eval Ø	1
I/we VERB_eval Ø	1
Ø VERB_eval PRON	1
_V6_*PRON VERB_eval (TO) V_inf sth.*	13

Table 6.22 lists the numbers for subcategory _V6_. With this special form of evaluation (cf., e.g., De Smet/Cuyckens 2005), a speaker cannot only utter a wish but can also position themself and express what they like and would like to do as in the following example:

(115) *SBC003; 1035.73 1037.08*
MARILYN: I'd love to do gray water,

Marilyn speaks of how she would like "to do gray water" (i.e., use rain water and water from the dishes etc.). This clearly is no compliment and the distinction can be easily made. Yet, it is an utterance that shows the positive evaluation of what she wants to do. If she did not consider 'doing gray water' as positive, she would not wish to do this.

In using such a form of 'evaluative verb + to infinitive' while talking about somebody else, the speaker may evaluate that person or a character trait as in this example:

(116) *SBC035; 436.452 437.657*
PATTY: and she loves to talk to people,

Patty says this about her daughter, who is also present at the conversation. This is meant as a positive evaluation of Stephanie's (the daughter's) skills and which job she should or could choose. It can be seen as some sort of indirect compliment since Patty does not utter this directly addressed to Stephanie but still believes this to be a good thing and character trait – which Stephanie can of course hear.

Thus, even if these forms "PRON VERB_eval (TO) V_inf sth." seem to differ and fulfill further functions such as suggestions or requests, they can be considered as Positive Remarks and in some cases even of a complimentary function.

6.3.2 _VERB_eval interaction and turn organization

After displaying the _VERB_eval subcategories and realizations, this chapter turns to the sequential organization of this supercategory. Table 6.23 shows the distribution of the various possible turns that follow a Positive Remark of the _VERB_eval form. As in the respective tables for the other supercategories (for _ADJ_ see Table 6.9, for _NOUN_ see Table 6.16), this table entails the numbers (and in subcategories _V1_ to _V3_ the percentages) of the amount of turns that were either continued by the same speaker who uttered the Positive Remark ('turn by same speaker' = tusp) or followed by 'turn by other speaker' (TUOTH) and instances where it was difficult to decide who uttered a next turn and whether there is a next turn at all.

Table 6.23 Interactional structure of _VERB_eval and its subcategories

	Formula	N %	tusp	TUOTH	RERE	Difficult
_VERB_eval	PRON VERB_eval PRON/(DET)	104	30	51	0	23
	NOUN	100%	29%	49%	0%	22%
_V1_	Personal PRON VERB_eval PRON	9	3	4	0	2
		100%	33%	45%	0%	22%
_V2_	Personal PRON VERB_eval DET_pron	28	9	17	0	2
		100%	32%	61%	0%	7%
_V3_	Personal PRON VERB_eval (DET)	37	7	16	0	14
	NOUN	100%	19%	43%	0%	38%
_V4_	elliptical_VERB_eval	3	2	0	0	1
_V5a_	(DET) NOUN (INT) VERB_ eval(DET) NOUN/DEM/PRON	8	0	5	0	3
_V5b_	alternatives_VERBS	6	3	3	0	0
_V6_	PRON VERB_eval (TO) V_inf sth.	13	6	6	0	1

The _VERB_eval categories show no utterance with a remote response (RERE) assigned as a response turn. In 29% of the cases, _VERB_eval utterances are followed by continued talk by the same speaker who uttered the Positive Remark, whereas in 22% of all utterances the following utterances, no definite coding of the following turn was possible and the stretch of talk after the PosR is coded as 'difficult'. In the largest amount of _VERB_eval sequences, namely in 49% of all utterances, a _VERB_ eval PosR is met with a next turn by someone else than the speaker (TUOTH). With this distribution of the turn following the Positive Remark, the turn organization of the _VERB_eval category is very similar to that of the _ADJ_ supercategory and somewhat similar to that of _NOUN_ (see Table 6.24). Overall, the distribution of whether other participants react to a Positive Remark or whether the speakers of the Positive Remark themselves continue speaking is relatively similar through all supercategories, leading to the assumption that also the few numbers of the _VERB_eval sequences would not show significance in their connection.

Table 6.24 Turn organization of the supercategories

	tusp	TUOTH	RERE	Difficult
ADJ	28%	49%	1%	22%
NOUN	30%	39%	2%	29%
_VERB_eval	29%	49%	0%	22%

Only on the subcategorial level, some larger differences can be found, e.g. with _V2_ ("Personal PRON VERB_eval DET_pron") accumulating the largest amount of next turn by other speakers (with 61%) of the _VERB_eval subcategories. Yet, since numbers in _VERB_eval are rather small, the conclusions that could or could not be drawn from such observations (compared to the subcategories in the other Positive Remarks categories, for example) are not very far-reaching.

A focus is placed on the 'otherness' of these _VERB_eval forms as opposed to the _ADJ_ and _NOUN_ categories, since these might also have an influence on the Response Strategies chosen. In their early work on the 'semantics of praise', Kanouse/Gumpert/Canavan-Gumpert (1981) see this way of uttering some Positive Remark with an evaluative verb as "primarily affective rather than evaluative in nature" (1981: 98). They claim that by uttering something like "I really like the way you have decorated your home", a "person who reports such a positive affective response 'appreciates' rather than 'praises' the other. Unlike the praiser, the appreciator does not assume the validity of standards of evaluation" (Kanouse/Gumpert/Canavan-Gumpert 1981: 114). Thus, what has been stated as a propositional condition for Positive Remarks, namely that speaker and hearer should have the same background of cultural values (see Table 2.2), does not need to hold true for this kind of utterance. Different usage of responsive categories could be expected in these sequences then as such a "statement suggests that [the speaker] has no superior knowledge and invites the other to join him in contemplating what he has seen and liked" which in the end means that these utterances "have different connotations and are likely to be responded to differently as well" (Kanouse/Gumpert/Canavan-Gumpert 1981: 114). Figure 6.12 shows in a comparison the overall distribution and use of Response Strategies in all three supercategories. It can be seen that _VERB_eval has an overall slightly higher percentage in QUALIFICATION, EXPLAINING, AGREEMENT, and LAUGHTER while the sequences show a less frequent use of APPRECIATION, OPTING OUT, and DISAGREEMENT.

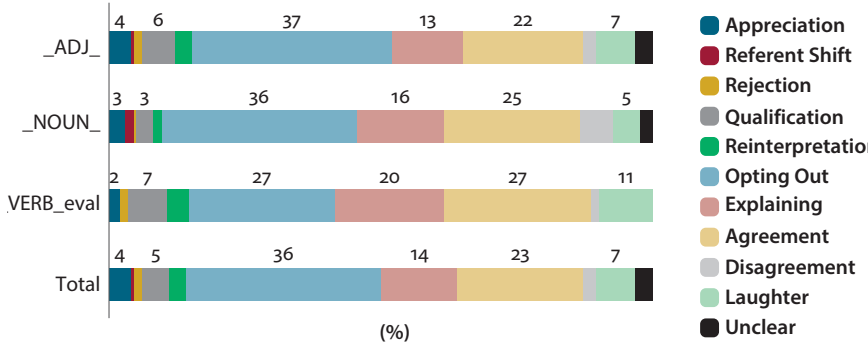


Figure 6.12 Comparison of the Response Strategies used in all Positive Remark supercategories

Whether or not these differences of the used Response Strategies can actually be assigned to the supercategory of the Positive Remarks cannot be concluded for sure due to the small numbers of occurrences. The _VERB_eval category will thus mainly be treated as as an evaluative utterance that evokes basically the same Response Strategies as the other Positive Remarks. The major difference is the comparatively small number. Thus, as in Chapters 6.1.2 and 6.2.2, the distribution of the Response Strategies used in the subcategories of _VERB_eval will be displayed (see Figure 6.13) with the reminder that these numbers and percentages have to be treated carefully.

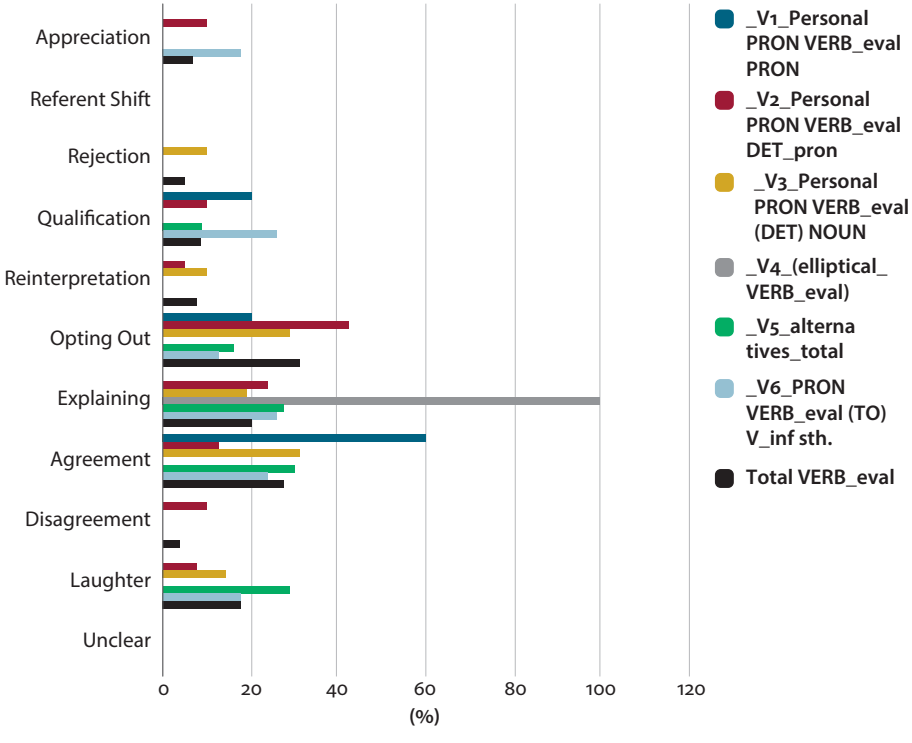


Figure 6.13 Relation of the Response Strategies used with the _VERB_eval subcategories

In comparison to the equivalents of this figure in the other categories (see Figures 6.2 and 6.7), the less frequent use of differing Response Strategies catches the eye immediately (also in Figure 6.12). In the overall distribution, AGREEMENT, QUALIFICATION, and EXPLAINING stand out as strategies used comparatively more often in this category than in others. The strategy REFERENT SHIFT or UNCLEAR cases did not appear in these sequences.

It seems that, looking at the distribution in Figure 6.13, the first subcategory, _V1_, is most likely to be agreed with. It would come in handy to say now that such an utterance of course needs to be agreed with if it displays the affection of a speaker and if another speaker wants to build a relationship, they should align by agreeing – yet, this statement would only be based on 24 utterances in total, counting those that were uttered in a stretch of talk tagged as 'difficult' and not assigned to addressee or non-addressee. This data thus cannot provide too many grounds for solid conclusions, only for tentative and indicatory observations. These need to be focused further on the 'turn by other speaker' (TUOTH) in the following subchapter.

6.3.3 Sequences of Positive Remarks and Response Strategies in 'turn by other' sequences in _VERB_eval

This chapter shows the distribution of the Response Strategies used in the 'turns by other speaker' (TUOTH) for the category _VERB_eval in the same fashion as in Chapters 6.1.3 for _ADJ_ and 6.2.3 for _NOUN_. Figure 6.14 shows the ditribution of all Response Strategies of the TUOTH responses for the various _VERB_eval subcategories. The elliptical form (_V4_) is not listed in Figure 6.14 since there is no realization with TUOTH turns following this kind of utterance. Also _V1_ ("Personal PRON VERB_eval PRON") is left out since it only has one realization in the TUOTH sequences in total.

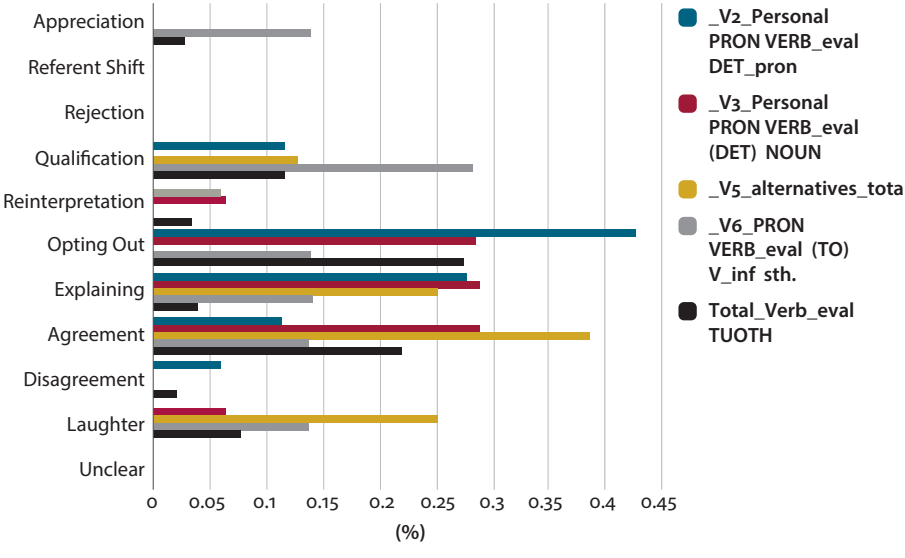


Figure 6.14 Response Strategies in relation with the _VERB_eval_ TUOTH turns

In comparison with the use of the overall Response Strategies in the sequences (Figure 6.13) the following observations can be made:

- AGREEMENT occurs less often in the TUOTH sequences in total since it is one of the most prominently used strategies to utter as a next turn of subcategory _V1_ (see Figure 6.13) which is left out in the TUOTH sequences due to lacking numbers of this combination of Positive Remark and response,
- EXPLAINING and OPTING OUT are the two strategies that are used most often as a TUOTH turn (in the total of the subcategories) whereas in the overall numbers for the _VERB_eval category, EXPLAINING only ranks on third place (see Figure 6.12),
- REJECTION is not assigned as a strategy to any TUOTH sequence,
- APPRECIATION only occurs as a TUOTH turn in the subcategory _V6_ ("*PRON VERB_eval (TO) V_inf sth.*"),
- DISAGREEMENT is only used in _V2_ ("Personal PRON VERB_eval DET_pron").

Turning to those utterances in a next turn that are assigned to the non-addressee, we can see the distribution of Response Strategies in Figure 6.15.

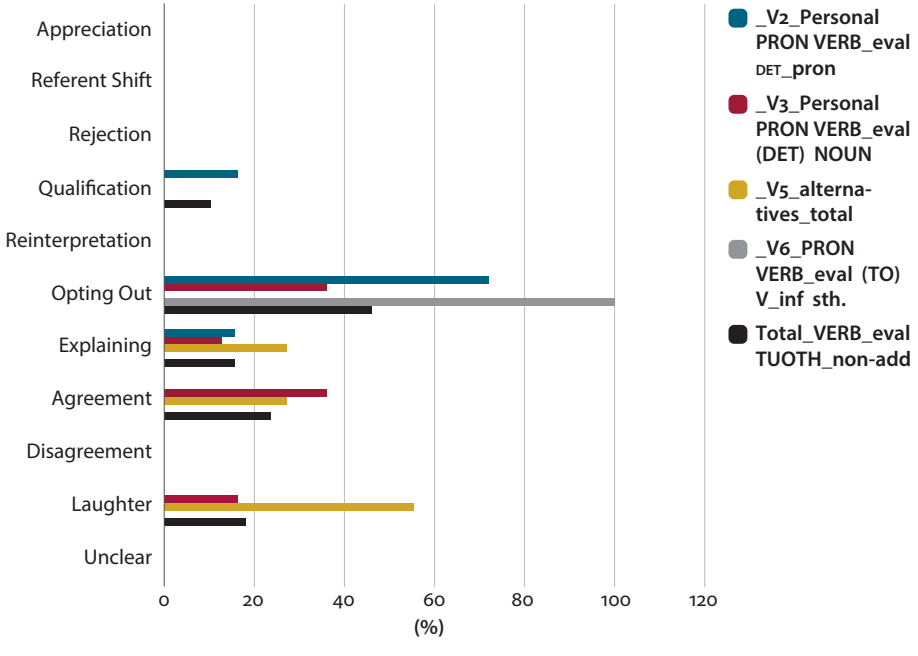


Figure 6.15 Response Strategies in relation with the _VERB_eval_non-add turns

These utterances amount to a total of only 19 'turns by other speaker' and the chart is expectably empty. Some more strategies are missing now in this figure and it can be observed that:

- APPRECIATION and REINTERPRETATION are not assigned to any tuoth_non-addressee turns,
- QUALIFICATION is only used by non-addressees in subcategory _V2_ ("Personal PRON VERB_eval DET_pron"),
- all of the non-addressees that utter a next turn after a _V6_ ("PRON VERB_eval (TO) V_inf sth.") utterance OPT OUT, i.e., they change the topic or refer to something else that has been said, and due to this the percentage of OPTING OUT is very high,
- LAUGHTER and AGREEMENT are only uttered in a next turn by non-addressees to alternative category and _V3_ ("Personal PRON VERB_eval (DET) NOUN"),
- EXPLAINING is used very rarely by non-addressees (especially when comparing this value to the value of EXPLAINING in the overall TUOTH context, see Figure 6.14).

It seems that non-addressees utter next turns different to these kinds of evaluations than addressees. The results of the addressees' 'turns by other speaker' (tuoth_add) are displayed in Figure 6.16.

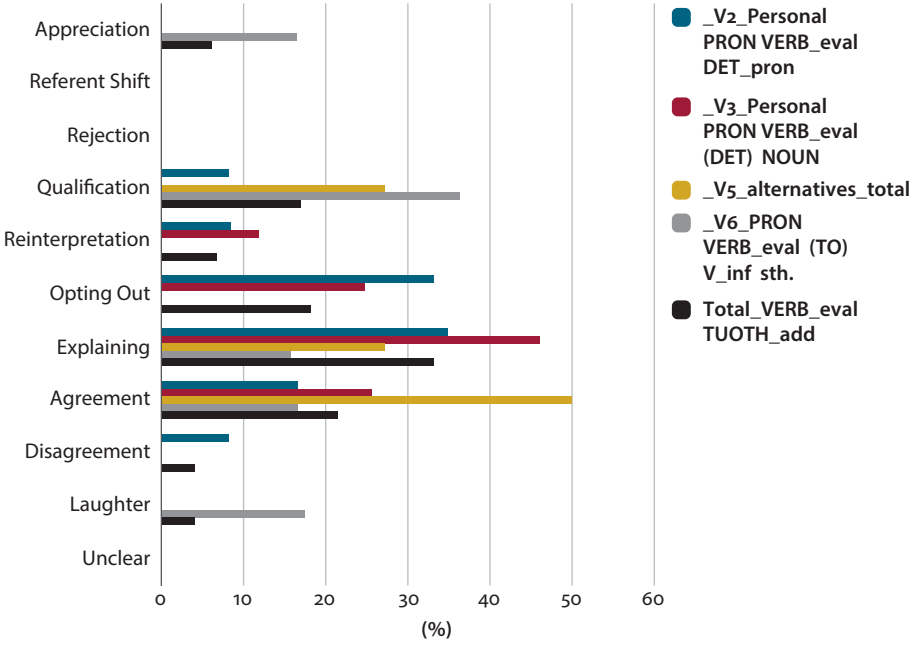


Figure 6.16 Response Strategies in relation with the _VERB_eval_add turns

The total of all tuoth_addressee turns amounts to 33 utterances. This is indeed not much but still more than the 19 tuoth_non-addressee utterances. In these cases, EXPLAINING is the major strategy (N=10; see also table B.18 in the appendix) that is used by the addressees in a next turn after the _VERB_eval remark as Example (117) shows:

(117) *SBC011; 402.66 424.36*
DORIS: Right.
.. (H) And I like –
I like that b- .. shirt.
ANGELA: … (H) You know what I had to do.
… (H)[This] –
DORIS: [What did you] –
ANGELA: … this –
.. (H) See where I sewed right down the middle of that.
DORIS: .. Yeah?
ANGELA: … Otherwise it would balloon out?
… (H) And so I s-,
(H) .. put it on the machine,
and sewed right down through the middle of it.

Doris compliments Angela on her shirt. This is one of the few times where the researcher as an outsider and eavesdropper dares to say that this is a compliment of the classical type. Doris utters a positive evaluation about "that shirt" that Angela is wearing. So it is an immediate reference and attribution to Angela. According to Pomerantz (1978), Angela now has to deal with the constraints of either thanking or rejecting this compliment – while Angela actually chooses a third possibility, which entails explaining what made this shirt look so nice (and Angela's explanation even goes beyond this short extract here).

Considering the other responses, it can be observed that:

- EXPLANINING is the favorite Response Strategy of the _VERB_eval category,
- APPRECIATION and LAUGHTER only occur in _V6_,
- DISAGREEMENT is only assigned to a tuoth_add in _V2_,
- REINTERPRETATION and OPTING OUT occur rarely and only in _V2_ and _V3_.

Even though the instances are so few, a tentative distribution of subcategories and Response Strategies is displayed in the working model (Figure 6.17) for the _VERB_ eval subcategories as well, where the subcategories _V1_ and _V4_ are again left out for the above-mentioned reasons.

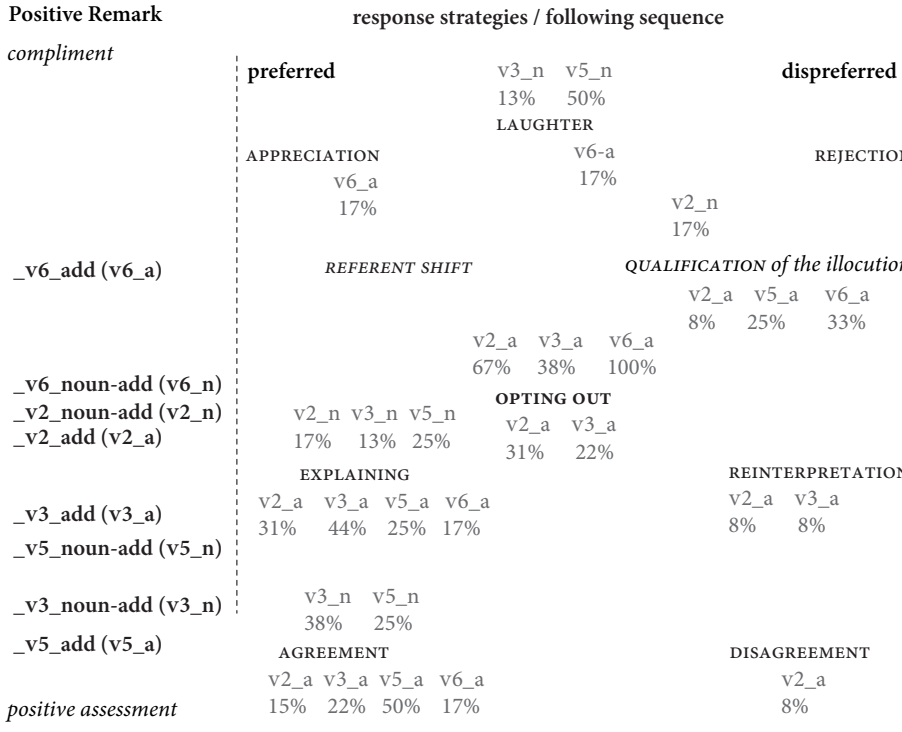


Figure 6.17 The Response Strategies in the _VERB_eval subcategories

Of course, these numbers, as, for example, the 100% OPTING OUT for _V6_ non-addressee turns, have to be seen in relation to the actual utterance numbers that are behind these percentages. Yet, it does reveal interesting tendencies, such as that the form that is usally seen as suggestion or request (the very same _V6_) is answered in a next turn by an addressee also with APPRECIATION – and makes _V6_ the only subcategory where this Response Strategy is assigned to a next turn. The other next turns of the subcategories cluster around the area of interim and ambiguous utterances as well as on the positive assessment end.

6.4 Summary and statistical testing of the sequences

Some comparisons of the nature of the Positive Remarks and their sequencing can be found in the previous chapters already. In this subchapter, some brief summarized and statistical results are presented.

Throughout the subcategories, some similarities can be observed:

- The subcategory _s1_, for example, which possibly shows most speaker involvement and is least often realized in all three categories.
- Another similarity found in all categories is the sequence organization of who utters a (next) turn.
- There seems to be a tendency in all supercategories to prefer Response Strategies that are rather in an ambiguous or positive assessment area in the response field.
- Looking at the different conversational partners, there is a slight difference of Response Strategy chosen in all categories if the next turn is uttered by the addressee or the non-addressee. Thus, even though maybe all conversational partners are responsible for the overall outcome of a conversation, there is obviously a difference in what is deemed appropriate or preferred.

For a testing of the significance of these PosR and response sequences, the Fisher exact test (instead of the chi-square test) was carried out for the subcategories and the response sets (set_comp, set_amb, and set_posA, see Table 4.8), due to the small number of findings. Since the Fisher exact test is always calculated with a two-by-two table, only two PosR subcategories could be calculated for the dependency of two response sets (i.e., _A1_ and _A2_ were for example calculated for their dependency with set_comp and set_posA etc.). This was done with all subcategories of the three supercategories for all TUOTH turns. With the _NOUN_ subcategories, no significant values could be attested. Even though it seems nicely fitting that a possible connection can be observed between Response Strategy AGREEMENT with the less involved _NOUN_ Positive Remarks and APPRECIATION with the more involved ones in that supercategory, statistical testing could not reveal significance.

It looks different for the _ADJ_ supercategory: While for non-addressee tuoth significance was only found for a comparison for subcategories _A2_ and _A4_ and responses with the response sets for ambiguous and positive assessment responses (P-value 0.02), for the addressee turns some more significant P-values could be calculated:

- for _A1_ compared with _A3_ in response sets compliments (set_comp) and assessments (set_posA) (P-value 0.08),
- for _A1_ compared with _A4_ in response sets compliments (set_comp) and assessments (set_posA) (P-value 0.015), in compliment preferred and ambiguous (set_amb) (P-value 0.00071), compliment dispreferred and ambiguous (P-value 0.00012);
- for _A2_ and _A4_ in set_comp and set_amb (P-value 0.00003), set_comp and set_posA (P-value 0.047), set_amb and set_posA (P-value 0.07), compliment preferred and ambiguous (P-value 0.002), compliment dispreferred and

ambiguous (P-value 0.00002), ambiguous and assessment preferred (P-value 0.012), ambiguous and assessment dispreferred (P-value 0.032)
– for _A3_ and _A4_ in set_comp and set_amb (P-value 0.05), set_amb and set_posA (P-value 0.007) with significance only showing in the comparison of these adjective substrategies as well with compliment dispreferred and ambiguous (P-value 0.007) and ambiguous with assessment preferred (P-value 0.002) and asssessment dispreferred (P-value 0.047).

The Fisher exact test was also calculated for the _VERB_eval categories. The calculations and the dependencies are only carried out with the entire sets of all TUOTH responses due to the small numbers in this Positive Remark category. Some significant P-values were found but not as many as with the _ADJ_ subcategories:

– in a comparison between the response sets for compliments (set_comp) with those for positive assessments (set_posA), only subcategories _V3_ and _V6_ (see Table 6.17) showed with a P-value of 0.048 a possible significant distribution,
– in a calculation of each subcategories dependency in the response sets set_comp and set_amb, subcategories _V1_ compared with _V3_ (with a P-value of 0.083, if significance level is assumed at 0.09) as well as _V2_ compared with _V6_ (with P-value 0.053), and _V3_ compared with _V6_ (with P-value 0.008) show significance in their distribution,
– whereas in a dependency calculation of the response sets set_amb and set_posA, _V1_ compared with _V2_ (P-value 0.01) and _V1_ compared with _V3_ (P-value 0.058) show a dependent distribution.

These calculations for the subcategories suggest that there is indeed a dependent distribution of specific response sets to specifically formed utterances – but it also shows that PosR patterns and their subcategories are not proving and revealing their status as a 'typical' compliment or assessment with a respective response at all times and in all comparisons and calculations. Some further testing with larger numbers of utterances and possibly some other methods are needed to find out more.

CHAPTER 7

Discussion

In this chapter, the Positive Remarks (PosR) and their features focused on in this study, are summarized and discussed (Subchapter 7.1). Subchapter 7.2 takes up the sequences and responses while Subchapter 7.3 discusses preferred Response Strategies used in the present data.

7.1 Discussion of the Positive Remarks

In tagging and then counting the Positive Remarks in this sub-corpus of the SBCSAE along the lines of the reformulated and more fine-grained formulae, 1,179 Positive Remarks were found in total in the used corpus (see Table 5.3). Of these positive utterances, most are formulated with a predicative adjective carrying the positive semantic load (supercategory _ADJ_ with 70%), some with a noun phrase (18%), even less with an evaluative verb (9%), and only 3% of the utterances do not fit one of these three supercategories (see Table 5.3). Since the coding in this study started with the aim to find all Positive Remarks that are formulated like the compliment formulae of Manes/Wolfson (1981), their findings and others that rely on their formulae, need to be adapted to the present findings for a comparison as is, exemplary, carried out in see Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Comparison of Positive Remark and compliment distribution in research

Supercategory	Syntax patterns	Present study	Manes/Wolfson (1981)	Rose (2001)
ADJ	1 and 9	70%	54.6%	50.9%
NOUN	3, 4, 6, 7, 8	18%	24%	24.3%
_VERB_eval	2	9%	16.1%	6.6%
ADV	5	1%	2.7%	1%

The present study as well as those by Manes/Wolfson (1981) and Rose (2001) analyze American English (see also Chapter 2.1.1 and Tables 2.1 and 5.1). Even though there are differences in the data collection methods and the time of the actual data collection, some similarities can be observed: of the formulae, the one with a predicative adjective carrying the positive semantic load is used most often, whether the remark functions as a compliment or possibly also as a positive assessment or

another Positive Remark. The distribution of the other supercategories and the formulae also show parallels. The positive semantic core of the Positive Remarks can be described with the supercategories as presented in Table 7.1. The realization strategies underlying these supercategories are important to analyze the sequencing of Positive Remark and Response Strategies in this study. The following subchapters will take up some features of the Positive Remarks analyzed in the present study, such as the connection of utterance form and sentence type (Subchapter 7.1.1), the topics referred to in the sequences of Positive Remarks (Subchapter 7.1.2), the more central notion of this study of form and function of the Positive Remarks (Subchapter 7.1.3), and an overview of the subcategories of the Positive Remark utterances and how they may be grouped together even beyond the groupings according to the positive semantic core (Subchapter 7.1.4).

7.1.1 Utterance and sentence types

Various realization patterns can be found in the present data that largely take the form of declarative sentences throughout the supercategories (see Chapter 5.1.2 and Figure 5.1). Supposedly emotional utterances, for example, as *Isn't that* ADJ, with which speakers express a positive evaluation, are attested as frequently used for American English in a corpus study conducted by Mittmann (2004: 293, she used the Longman corpus). This emotional utterance was also considered to be a distinct pattern by Manes/Wolfson (1981) wheras the present data shows only a very rare usage of such utterances which are subsumed under the category _ADJ_, more specifically in _A5_, the 'alternative' subcategory of the _ADJ_ supercategory. Only very few of these exclamatives – 13 in total (see Table 6.8) – are used in the conversations analyzed for the present study. Exclamatives, thus, cannot be considered to be a very common way of expressing a positive evaluation conversations among family and friends in American English. The _NOUN_ subcategory _N5_ also shows with five utterances in total only few exclamatives (see Table 6.15).

Next to similarities among the subcategories, there are also some feature that differ on the level of sentence type as, for example, the higher use of elliptical utterances in the _ADJ_ category than in any other. In this category, the sole utterance of the semantically positive core element, the adjective, is enough to signal a positive evaluation. Elliptical utterances are rarely found for the _VERB_eval category.

These findings reveal at first sight no further impact of the syntax on possible far-reaching functiional differences in the Positive Remarks. Even if exclamatives were considered prototypical compliment utterances, they nonetheless are only very rarely used and possibly do not serve as a starting point for further syntax-based investigations for the distinction of Positive Remarks.

7.1.2 Topic in Positive Remark sequences

In a further approach to give a general description of the Positive Remarks found in the conversations, the topics that are talked about in these remarks are also analyzed (see Chapter 5.1.3). Next to the 'typical compliment topics' – 'appearance', 'performance', 'possession', 'personality' – some other categories are needed in the present data to describe the topical context of the utterance, these are termed 'food', 'abstract', 'thing', and 'discourse'. Especially 'discourse' was taken up as a 'new' category. This is done on behalf of the positive evaluative utterances that rather function as listener responses or other pragmatic markers than genuine evaluations.

It is interesting to see that all topic-categories are used in all three supercategories (_ADJ_, _NOUN_, and _VERB_eval). Only the distribution of these topics in the PosR categories differs: while almost a quarter of all _ADJ_ utterances is coded as 'discourse', this topic is rarely assigned to _NOUN_ and _VERB_eval utterances. Throughout all utterance forms, the 'appearance' of a person is rarely addressed, while 'performance' is often evaluated positively. If Baba's (1999) distinction of external and internal topics is taken into account, one might claim that the American speakers of these everyday conversations strongly prefer external topics, i.e. topics, "that are detachable from the compliment recipients themselves, such as clothes or possessions" (Baba 1999: 29). Considering this along with the observation of the unemotional and more factual sentence structure used in the categories of the Positive Remarks, it can be stated that in these everyday conversations the speakers seem to keep a distance even though they supposedly create solidarity not only with compliments but also with other kinds of positive assessments.

As the results in Rees-Millers' (2011) study show, the topics (as well as the form of the compliment) can depend on the settings:

> In unstructured settings, appearance compliments between women on apparel and hairstyle predominated and served as phatic communication that reinforced the norm of effortful attention to daily appearance. […] For both men and women, compliments on performance far outnumbered all other topics in goal-oriented settings. (Rees-Miller 2011: 2673)

It could be argued that everyday family conversations are not goal-oriented settings and resemble the unstructured settings "in which [interlocutors] are interacting with no fixed purpose" (Rees-Miller 2011: 2679). Yet, 'appearance' is one of the least mentioned topics in the Positive Remarks of the present data base. It can be argued that another factor, e.g., age, influences the everyday conversations of the SBCSAE. Cordella/Large/Pardo note a "general trend […] for recipients younger than 30 years to receive compliments concerning appearance while recipients older than 30 are more likely to receive compliments related to skills" (1995: 245). Considering

this, a combination of the register of talk between family and friends as well as the age span of the conversationalists can influence the topic choice.

Since chi-square tests show a significance for the connection of topics with the form of the Positive Remarks (see Chapter 5.1.3) as well as for the connection of topic and Response Strategies (see Chapter 5.2.3), further studies investigating this connection would be interesting. This could be done, for example, with controlled role-play data or more controlled and contextualized conversational recordings in general, with which the researcher can investigate different constellations with varying features of gender, setting, and age, to find out whether this significant connection of form and topic as well as response and topic remain.

7.1.3 Form and function

A more detailed account of the form of Positive Remarks is necessary to find out about the possible connection of form and function that has been implied for compliments since Manes/Wolfson (1981). For this, more fine-grained subcategories were set up based on Manes/Wolfson's formulae and the utterances found in the conversations.

To be able to analyze the influence of the linguistic cues in the Positive Remarks on the Response Strategies chosen, it is of major interest to get a detailed account of the remarks' syntactic structure. Pomerantz (1975) already speaks of a connection of "the directness with which the recipients are credited and praised" and the strategies that are likely to be used as a response (cf. Pomerantz 1975: 130). She claims that the "more directly recipients are credited, the greater are the constraints to produce Returns, Appreciations, and/or Rejections" (Pomerantz 1975: 130) while it is more likely that agreements will occur after indirect crediting (Pomerantz 1975: 130).

It is surprising that the connection of the compliment formulae as found by Manes/Wolfson (1981) and these thoughts and observations by Pomerantz (cf., e.g., 1978) has so very rarely been made (see Chapter 2). Yet, there have been several attempts at looking at the form of the compliments in more detail. Herbert (1990), for example, takes the 'personal focus' of an utterance into account, "that is, whether the compliment subject is expressed with a surface 1st, 2nd, or 3rd (i.e., impersonal) person focus" (Herbert 1990: 203). A more detailed pattern was also needed in the automated corpus search for compliments that has been conducted by Jucker et al. (2008). They also take Manes/Wolfson's (1981) formulae as a starting point and state that search strings based on these formulae have to be defined more precisely to find usable utterances (see Jucker et al. 2008: 280–281). They discovered that these formulae overgeneralize and that 'improved versions'

of search algorithms (Jucker et al. 2008: 292) are needed to search larger corpora more effectively for compliments.

Looking at conversations between friends and family, as is done in the present study, one might expect a frequent use of direct address and pronouns since "conversation has a greater frequency of pronouns than other registers, reflecting its immediacy of context" (Hunston 2002: 162; see also Biber et al. 1999: 92). Conversations are considered to show 'involved production' of language (see, e.g., Biber 1988; Miller/Weinert 1998). An extract of how the positively evaluated items are referred to in the three main supercategories in the present data can be seen in Table 7.2 (for the entire reference list, see also Chapter 4.1.1 and 4.2 on the coding of reference in the data).

Table 7.2 Distribution of address terms in the respective supercategories

Reference to	_ADJ_	_NOUN_	_VERB_eval
– immediate interlocutor (you/name)	7%	4%	9%
– possessive pronoun	1%	3%	5%
– conversation participant/passive bystander	1%	3%	2%
– absent person	9%	22%	24%
– agent avoider	13%	11%	1%
– generic *you*	1%	0%	2%

It is interesting to see that – in all three supercategories – speakers rarely refer to their interlocutors by directly addressing them or using possessive pronouns. This is even more surprising since the pronoun *you* is ranking very highly (on fourth place) in a word list of the chosen texts generated with WordSmith (see Table B.20 in the appendix). Ranging on the fourth place of an overall wordlist of the chosen texts means that (non-differentiated) *you* is used very frequently in the conversations, as can be expected in this kind of spoken data. As can be seen in Table 7.2 though, this usage is not mirrored in the Positive Remarks even when adding up the uses as a direct address term and the generic *you* usage. This scarce usage of the *you* to refer to the interlocutor in the PosR seems very remarkable since positive assessments as well as compliments are supposed to enhance solidarity and a feeling of 'in-groupness'.[1] This obviously has to be done in other linguistic ways in the everyday conversations chosen for this study, not by using the second person pronoun.

1. For further information on the usage of generic *you* in conversations and their function in creating solidarity, see, e.g., Scheibman (2007).

7.1.4 The subcategories of the Positive Remarks: A general comparison

In order to compare the Positive Remarks in an as fine-grained way as possible and as generally as necessary to still be able to compare overall tendencies in terms of the reference and formulae usage, the formulae from Manes/Wolfson (1981) that serve as a basis in the present study are rearranged (see Chapter 4.1.2). For each supercategory, subcategories are established that are parallel in terms of the reference to the evaluated item/person used with them (see Chapter 6, Table 6.1).

Subcategory 1 includes all utterances in which reference is realized by using a personal pronoun. The third person pronouns are also included since, even though they do not refer directly to the evaluated person, it is claimed that in "some cases, Present-day [sic!] compliments concern a third person and not the addressee directly" (Taavitsainen/Jucker 2008: 198). For such utterances to actually count as compliments, "a direct link between the positively evaluated person and the addressee that transfers the positive evaluation to the second person" is needed (Taavitsainen/Jucker 2008: 198). Thus, even though these realizations differ from a direct address, a speaker can still provide a rather obvious reference to a person and therefore subcategory 1 could be described as Positive Remarks that refer to another person with a personal pronoun as a reference term which arguably functions differently from the positive evaluations with reference to an item.

Table 7.3 presents a comparison of the distribution of the subcategories in each respective supercategory.

Table 7.3 Usage of subcategories in respective supercategory

Subcategory	_ADJ_	_NOUN_	_VERB_eval
Subcategory 1	16%	31%	9%
Subcategory 2	44%	37%	27%
Subcategory 3	5%	8%	36%
Subcategory 4	31%	18%	3%
Subcategory 5	4%	6%	14%

It can be seen that in all three supercategories, subcategory 2 – which uses *this*, *that*, *these*, *those* as reference terms – is often used. In the _ADJ_ as well as the _NOUN_ category, this is in fact the largest subcategory and the second largest in the _VERB_eval category. In all these subcategories, a more frequent use of *that* and *those* over *this* and *these* is observed. Especially in anaphoric position – as it has in the _ADJ_ as well as in _NOUN_ category – the usage of *that* as well as *it* can "function to index a higher degree of solidarity among participants, while a higher frequency of anaphoric 'this' can index quite a different stance – one of opposition, confrontation, separateness or independence" (Strauss 2002: 144). Hence, it can be

argued that solidarity may be signaled in American English conversations between family and friends more often with *that* and *it* than by the use of personal pronouns.

Regarding the function of the Positive Remarks, an investigation solely of the evaluative utterances themselves cannot suffice but the reactions to these utterances also have to be taken into account. Along the lines of Pomerantz' action chains, the expected utterances in response to these evaluations should show a frequent use of evasive strategies or agreements, which at the same time would suggest the preceding Positive Remarks to rather have the function of positive assessments or ambiguous remarks than of compliments.

7.2 Sequences and responses

In this chapter, the results of the analysis of the Response Strategies and the sequencing of Positive Remarks and Response Strategies are discussed. There seems to be general consent, in research as well as in language practice, that a compliment as a first or initial move needs to be followed by a second move that forms its response (cf., e.g., Werthwein 2009). As easy as this may sound, there are difficulties in how to respond appropriately that are discussed in research as well as in everyday life. As Pomerantz puts it, interlocutors "notoriously have a difficult time responding to compliments" (Pomerantz 1975: 112). This does not solely result from the complimentees' dilemma of agreeing to a compliment without self-praise but also needs to be seen in the light of the fuzziness of evaluative speech acts (see Chapters 2.1 and, e.g., Herbert 1990: 208), which have to be interpreted by the hearer to enable them to choose a response that is deemed appropriate. As Arundale (2006: 196) puts it: "a first speaker's utterance affords a certain range of interpretings, but does not determine which one of these interpretings will be operative in the conversation" (cf. also Arundale 1999). Thus, the interpreting of the first utterance is not only determined by the speaker alone but in a joint effort also by the respondent whose following utterance "affords a new range of interpretings" so that "[b]oth speakers now assess the consistency between the two ranges" (Arundale 2006: 196). Schegloff (2007: 70) goes even further when he claims that the "normative weight of the asymmetry of preferred and dispreferred responses is properly borne by both (*or all*) participants, and not just the recipient of the first pair part" (italics added by me). This claim is especially interesting for conversations that have more than two participants, as the everyday conversations of the present study. Along with Schegloff's claim, it can be argued that the negotiation of the utterance meaning is a common aim and carried out by all conversational partners.

All turns that follow the Positive Remarks in the conversations are coded as next turns and are assigned to one of the Response Strategies used in compliment

and assessment research. These strategies go back to Pomerantz' (1978) responses in action chains (see Chapters 2.2 and 5.2). The strategies used most often in the present data in an overall account of all turns following a Positive Remark are OPTING OUT, AGREEMENT, and EXPLAINING/COMMENT (see Figure 7.1).

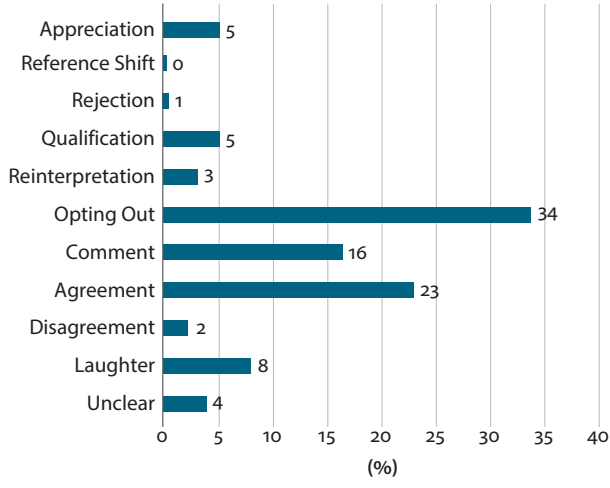


Figure 7.1 The distribution of Response Strategies in the sub-corpus

The Response Strategies displayed in Figure 7.1 entail all next turns to all the Positive Remarks tagged in the sub-corpus, thus, also Positive Remarks of the _ADV_ and _SPX_ categories,[2] next turns by addressees as well as turns that are coded as 'difficult' (for an explanation and definition of the turn structure coding, see Chapter 4.3). As can be seen in the figure, some of the Response Strategies often found in compliment research are rarely used following the Positive Remarks of the present study. Especially those strategies that can be used to respond to compliments according to Pomerantz' action chains (viz. APPRECIATION, REFERENT SHIFT, REJECTION, QUALIFICATION see Chapter 2.2.1) are used in very few instances and make up only about 10% of all responses. On the other hand, the strategies that could be assigned to positive assessments (especially AGREEMENT together with DISAGREEMENT) are used quite frequently just as those assigned mainly to the ambiguous utterances (i.e., OPTING OUT, COMMENT/EXPLAINING, REINTERPRTATION). These responses are mostly uttered in the form of a declarative, just as the Positive Remarks are (see Figures 5.4 and 5.5). There are slight differences in the distribution of the use of sentence types in the Positive Remarks and the Response

2. These two categories have also been used to code Positive Remarks but not considered for detailed analysis since they occur only very rarely, see Chapter 5.1 and Table 5.3.

Strategies: more interrogatives are used in the responsive turns, responses are interrupted more often, and some utterances that could not be coded along the lines of typical sentence types had to be put into a group of short utterances such as *mhm* (see Chapter 4.4.1). Thus, the overall context of Positive Remarks and next turns and the Response Strategies used display a conversational style where no strong emotions are displayed.

If this were a compliment study instead of a study on Positive Remarks, for some researchers the expected finding would most likely show "a tendency that Americans accept the compliment upon receipt" (Chen/Chen/Chang 2011: 254). Accepting a compliment can be understood as 'thanking' for the compliment. Yet, as Wolfson stated as early as 1989, "the use of 'thank you' is heavily conditioned by status and social distance" (Wolfson 1989: 229) and a "modest thank-you or no response at all" could even "effectively [block] attempts at further interaction" (Wolfson 1989: 230). Considering this, it is interesting to see that specially tutored English Second Language learners are found to use fewer 'thanking' in compliment sequences than non-tutored learners (see Billmyer 1990). Thus, a low frequency of appreciation tokens, as in the present data base, does not necessarily need to mean there is a low frequency of compliments preceding these responses. 'Thanking' may not be considered to be the only preferred response to compliments and Pomerantz claims that "most compliment responses lie somewhere in between (not at the polar extremes of) acceptances and agreements on the one hand and rejections and disagreements on the other" (Pomerantz 1978: 81). Hence, a tripartite division is often employed for categorizing the Response Strategies: "(a) acceptance, (b) rejection/deflection, and (c) evasion/self-praise avoidance" (Spencer-Oatey/Ng/Dong 2000: 99; also, e.g., Holmes 1986: 492). The latter strategy to respond to a compliment supposedly offers "a nice solution to the conflict between being cooperative while adhering to the modesty maxim" (Gajaseni 1994: 23/37). If this group of 'solution types', with which a complimentee may respond evasively, were to include the strategies Golato (2002, 2005) assigned in her studies, the following list of strategies from the current study reflects these evasive response types: QUALIFICATION, REINTERPRETATION, OPTING OUT, and COMMENT/EXPLANATION. If these were all counted as strategies to 'evade/avoid self-praise', the claim that such strategies are used most often in American compliment responses can be transferred to responses to Positive Remarks in American everyday conversations, since the use of these strategies amounts to 58% in the present data.

It is difficult, though, to compare findings from various compliment response studies with the results in the present study since the groupings of the strategies into superstrategies is often approached differently. The findings of the present study are not easily comparable to, for example, the findings of Chen (1993) or Schneider

(1999) since the strategies of the present study have been rearranged in a slightly – but importantly – different way: while many studies put several strategies together and set up one 'agreement/acceptance' group out of acceptance, appreciation, and agreement strategies, in the present study AGREEMENT and APPRECIATION are coded distinctly since it is claimed in the present study that such utterances signal the respondents' understanding of the Positive Remarks' function. It is aimed at in the present study to find out about differences in the function of similarly worded positive evaluations and claimed that a difference in understanding the Positive Remarks can be found in their form and the response uttered towards them, acknowledging Goodwin/Goodwin's statement:

> Much research within conversation analysis has investigated how subsequent utterances display an analysis of prior ones, and how such sequential organization is a basic resource utilized by participants for the production and understanding of action, and the talk that embodies it. (Goodwin/Goodwin 1987: 2)

The data base of the present study consists of multi-party conversations where the next turns uttered by another speaker following a Positive Remark (the TUOTH turns) are coded for either being uttered by an addressee or a non-addressee. In the light of Schegloff's claim on the importance of all participants for establishing a preference structure in a conversation (see above, Schegloff 2007), it is not surprising that turns following a specific subcategory of the Positive Remarks in the present data show, overall, similar distributions of the Response Strategies (no matter whether they are uttered by an addressee or a non-addressee) and thus influence the ranking of the Positive Remarks on the 'compliment-positive assessment continuum' (see Figures 6.6, 6.11, and 6.17) according to the assumed preference structure with slight strategy deviations, mostly within the response sets, from the addressee and the non-addressee turns.

Hence, the speaker of the first utterance is not responsible for determining the interpretation of an utterance alone and neither is the respondent. It can be described as a joint venture of the conversational partners who can draw on mutual knowledge of how language is used and rely on (implicit) conventions of a connection between directness of praise and sets of appropriate Response Strategies (cf. above, Pomerantz 1975: 130). This thought of directness of reference is reflected in the categorization of the subcategories of the Positive Remarks (see also Table 6.1). A very general approximation of an ordering according to these subcategories is given in Figure 7.2 below, where the general subcategories are labeled as _s1_ etc. and encompass the numbers and rankings of the respective subcategories from _ADJ_ and _NOUN_ in this figure. _VERB_eval utterances and subcategories are not included in this tentative general picture but will be discussed below.

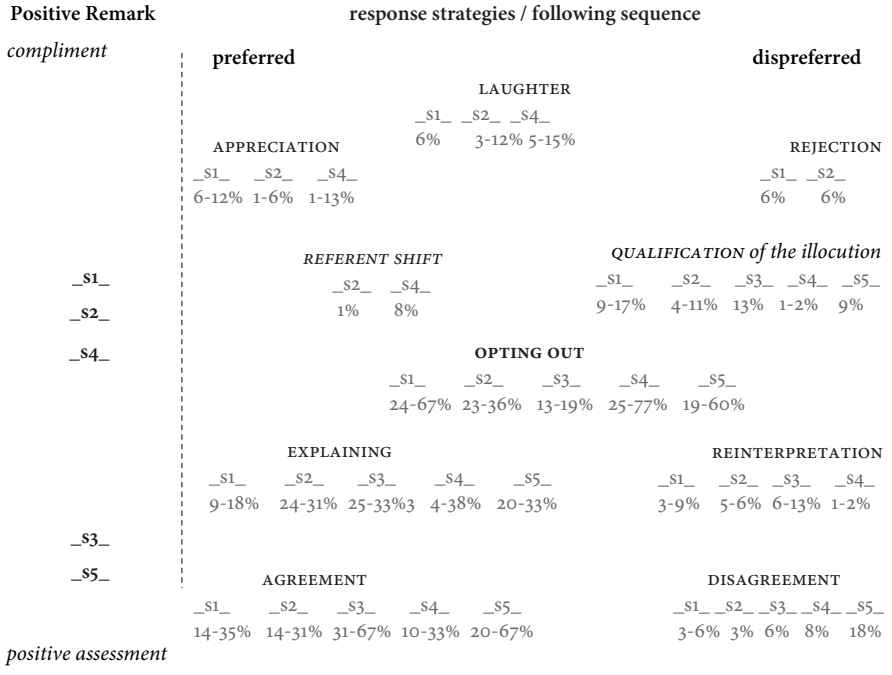


Figure 7.2 Approximation of a general distribution of the subcategories and the Response Strategies from _ADJ_ and _NOUN_

Figure 7.2 shows the approximate distribution of all TUOTH turns for the _ADJ_ and _NOUN_ categories. The ranking on the left-hand side of the model is a generalized ranking on the 'compliment-positive assessment continuum'. The position of the subcategories is by no means absolute but depends on and is relative to the position of the other subcategories. The main argument for the respective positions is taken from the distribution of the Response Strategies used with these subcategories. As can be seen in this figure, some of these Response Strategies show a rather wide range of percentage for the subcategories. These ranges represent the percentages found for the Response Strategies in the subcategories and encompass all findings of the TUOTH responses from _ADJ_ and _NOUN_ (cf. Figures 6.6 and 6.11).

What can be seen is the overall tendency of the American speakers in the present data base to respond with a strategy that is positioned in the lower half of the response field. Thus, the strategies representing preferred strategies to respond to ambiguous Positive Remarks (i.e., the strategies OPTING OUT and EXPLAINING) are used in responding to all five subcategories and are used rather frequently. AGREEMENT, which is also used in a high frequency in responding to all five subcategories, is the preferred Response Strategy assigned to Positive Remarks that rather function

as positive assessments than compliments. It could be argued then that these forms of Positive Remarks in American everyday conversations tend to resemble ambiguous utterances or positive assessments more than compliments. Yet, it might also be that agreeing responses are, overall, considered as more appropriate in this setting.

In this general picture of Figure 7.2, the category _VERB_eval is not represented due to some differences of this category and the Response Strategies used compared to those of the _ADJ_ and _NOUN_ categories. In Figure 6.17, the distribution of the subcategories and Response Strategies is displayed for the _VERB_eval category. Some subcategories are missing either because there was no response found in a TUOTH position (subcategory _V4_) or because there were too few of these utterances (as for _V1_ that only had one responsive turn). Subcategory _V2_ is placed in the middle of the 'compliment-positive assessment continuum' due to the strategies used as responses. For this subcategory 2, the responses used by addressee and non-addressee are quite similar to those of _ADJ_ and _NOUN_. The subcategories _V3_ and _V5_ seem to differ to a larger extent from those of _ADJ_ and _NOUN_. This might simply be due to the few utterances of the _VERB_eval category but made a general comparison difficult. Also, considering the approximate ranking of the subcategories in Figure 6.17, it is interesting to see that the subcategory _V6_ with the form "PRON VERB_eval (TO) V_inf sth." ranks closest to the compliment end of the continuum since it is the only subcategory that is answered by utterances that can be considered as expressions of APPRECIATION.

The comparison of the arrangement of the subcategories in the continuum suggests an influence of the reference as uttered in a Positive Remark and the response chosen since the reference terms are the common features of the supercategories. Calculating the P-value for the connection of sets of Response Strategies and the subcategories of the Positive Remarks shows significance for the distribution of the Response Strategies of the TUOTH turns in some _ADJ_ and _VERB_eval subcategories while no significance could be detected for _NOUN_ (see Chapter 6.4). Since there seem to be parallels between the subcategories of the three supercategories, it would be interesting to see the distribution and calculation in a larger corpus.

To find out more about a possible dependency of the Response Strategies with the respective forms of the PosR subcategories, the Fisher exact test was carried out for a combination of all substrategies (i.e., the _s1_ to _s5_; see also Table 6.1) with the overall response sets for compliment (set_comp), assessments (set_posA), and ambiguous (set_amb) functions (see Table 4.8). As mentioned before (see Chapter 6.4), the Fisher exact test requires a calculation in a two-by-two table, giving the opportunity to compare two subcategories in terms of their dependency with two response sets. The following significance values can be observed (with P 0.09) for the response sets set_comp and set_posA for the subcategories

- _s1_ with _s3_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.012, for tuoth_add 0.077),
- _s1_ with _s4_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.047, for tuoth_add 0.027),
- _s1_ with _s5_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.051, for tuoth_add no significance),
- _s2_ with _s3_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.07, for tuoth_add barely no significance with P-value 0.098),
- _s2_ with _s4_ (P-value for tuoth_add only significant value at 0.025).

This list shows that for subcategories of the number 1 type (i.e., with personal pronoun references) the responses that belong either to the set of responses for compliments or assessments (as coded in the present study) are more likely to show possible dependencies of their usage according to the subcategory they are used to respond to. The other subcategories do not show these dependencies in the significance testing for the present data. It is also interesting to note that the P-values mostly show significance with either TUOTH or tuoth_add with the respectively compared subcategories alike, which could support the aforementioned responsibility of all speakers to contribute to a conversation.

The following significance values can be observed (with P 0.09) for the response sets set_comp and set_amb for the subcategories

- _s1_ with _s2_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.016, for tuoth_add 0.069),
- _s1_ with _s3_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.036, for tuoth_add 0.059),
- _s1_ with _s4_ (P-value for TUOTH as well as for tuoth_add was a very low value as 1.12E and 1.60E in the calculation table),
- _s1_ with _s5_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.079, for tuoth_add no significance),
- _s2_ wwith _s4_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.002, for tuoth_add 0.00016),
- _s4_ with _s5_ (P-value only significant for tuoth_add with 0.069).

These calculations also seem to show the outstanding role of the subcategory of the PosRs with a personal pronooun. Only two other relations can be calculated as having a significant P-value whereas the remaining subcategories do not show significance for the distribution of the response sets of compliment and ambiguous responses according to the PosR form. A slightly different picture can be seen when calculating the significance values (with P 0.09) for the response sets set_posA and set_amb:

- _s1_ with _s4_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.0047, for tuoth_add 0.0069),
- _s2_ with _s3_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.068, for tuoth_add no significance),
- _s2_ with _s4_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.012, for tuoth_add no significance),
- _s2_ with _s5_ (P-value only significance for tuoth_add with 0.016),
- _s3_ with _s4_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.0006, for tuoth_add 0.011),
- _s4_ with _s5_ (P-value for TUOTH 0.000645, for tuoth_add 0.0013).

These calculations show a wider spectrum of possible dependencies for responses chosen in the sets of ambiguous and assessment responses towards the subcategories. Subcategory _s1_ does not show as much significance here as in the contrast of compliment-asssessment or compliment-ambiguous, which could also be interpreted as showing its outstanding role for a compliment function of utterances formed as such. In the same line of argument, these calculations could show an adapted behavior of the conversational partners towards subcategory _s2_ (determiners as noun phrase head realization) in deciding whether or not to opt for an ambiguous or an assessment response, possibly leaving more room for interpretation of the function in the conversation.

7.3 Discussion of preferred Response Strategies

This section entails an exemplary discussion of the Response Strategies that are used with the highest frequency in the present data, namely OPTING OUT, EXPLAINING, and AGREEMENT. Figure 7.3 shows an extract of Figure 5.9, displaying only the distribution of the Response Strategies in focus of the present subchapter.

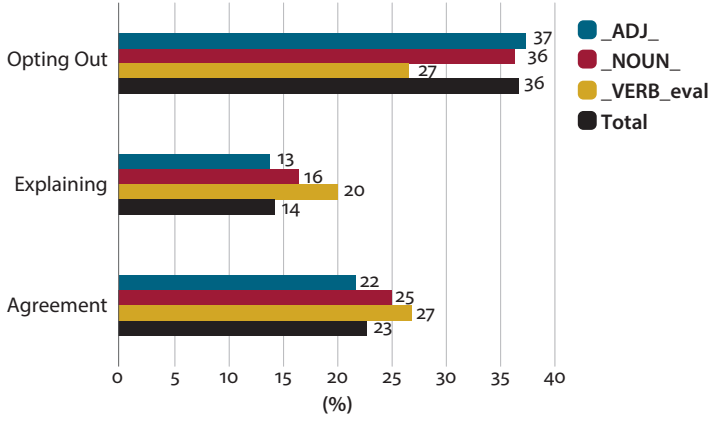


Figure 7.3 Most frequently used Response Strategies in focus (TUOTH only)

The Response Strategies are combined into the three superstrategies OPTING OUT, EXPLAINING and AGREEMENT (for the substrategies, see Tables 4.9 and 4.10). These are among the most frequent Response Strategies and belong to what is grouped under the preferred ambiguous responses (amb_pref) and the preferred responses to positive assessments (posA_pref, see Table 4.10). Preferred responses to compliments (APPRECIATION, including, e.g., thanking, gustatory sounds, and accepting) were used only rarely (less than 5%, see Table 4.9). The following subchapters will

explore the three mainly used Response Strategies and the distribution of the substrategies' usage with the Positive Remark categories.

7.3.1 OPTING OUT

In responding to compliments, it can be claimed that OPTING OUT shows 'evasive behavior' of speakers who try to avoid "the double bind" of responding to a compliment and "pretend not to hear" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2011: 150) so that they do not have to agree or disagree with the complimenter. In the present study, not only compliments are gathered within the Positive Remarks and the strategy of OPTING OUT might mirror a variety of functions and meanings of the Positive Remark sequences.

The strategy OPTING OUT is a superstrategy that consists of three Response Strategies: the speakers may opt out by 'referring to another/parallel topic' (in Table 7.4 referred to as Parallel), by 'continuing their own talk' (Continuing), or by 'starting a new topic/changing the topic' (New topic). Table 7.4 shows the distribution of the various strategies for OPTING OUT in the three main supercategories as well as the percentage of the total of OPTING OUT that is used in all TUOTH turns of the respective category.

Table 7.4 OPTING OUT distribution (TUOTH only)

	Parallel	Continuing	New topic	Total	% in category
ADJ	31 (17%)	125 (67%)	29 (16%)	185	42%
NOUN	10 (36%)	10 (36%)	8 (28%)	28	31%
_VERB_eval	3 (21%)	7 (50%)	4 (29%)	14	27%
Total	44 (19%)	142 (63%)	41 (18%)	227	39%

Looking at the strategies that are subsumed under OPTING OUT, it can be seen that 'continuing' is most often used (63% of all OPTING OUT strategies). It is by far most frequently used in the _ADJ_ category with 67% of all of its OPTING OUT utterances. Only 18% of all OPTING OUT instances represent the initiation of a new topic, most of them are found in the _VERB_eval category (while these numbers have to be considered carefully since this is a very small category).

As can be seen in Table 7.4 as well as in Figure 7.3, OPTING OUT is used most often in the _ADJ_ category in 42% of the next turns (TUOTH). Especially when looking at the high occurrence of 'continuing' in the _ADJ_ category, it can be claimed that many of these Positive Remarks are not responded to during the conversation. In the _ADJ_ category, also single elliptical adjectives are coded which frequently take the strategy of 'continuing' as a next turn. Since this elliptical utterance of a positive evaluation is usually used as a listener response to signal that one follows the conversation of the other speaker(s), such an utterance does not

claim the floor. Hence, it is not surprising that there is such a frequent use of this OPTING OUT strategy since no response is expected. The other speaker, who is the addressee of this listener response, goes on as before.

The reference to a different or parallel topic – which is the most frequently used substrategy of OPTING OUT in the _NOUN_ category – shows the highest number of occurrences in subcategory 2 ("PRON/DET_head VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN", see Chapter 6.2.1). Such utterances may also be understood as statements of speakers to show what they think about a situation or an item but which are not taken as something that needs to be responded to or even answered by the other speakers.

Even the _VERB_eval category shows in 27% of all TUOTH utterances that the speakers OPT OUT as well. Here, the interlocutors probably understand the evaluative utterance as 'expressions of positive affect' that might be used to show appreciation rather than to praise the addressee (cf. Kanouse/Gumpert/Canavan-Gumpert 1981: 114) and thus, the participants in a conversation might not feel the need to explicitly respond to such an utterance.

No matter which conclusions can be drawn from analyses of the respective subcategories and strategies of OPTING OUT, it is obvious that many Positive Remarks can be responded to with these evasive tactics and that indeed the Response Strategy is placed somewhere 'in the middle', an evasive response tactic possibly used not only for compliments but for all Positive Remarks.

7.3.2 EXPLAINING

EXPLAINING is one of the top three Response Strategies used in the present data. This is also a superstrategy that contains several strategies, namely, to comment the 'history of the item' (see Table 7.5), the 'history of an (absent) person', or giving a '(general) comment' on the situation, as well as 'asking for clarification or explanation' (referred to as 'question' in Table 7.5), and what is termed a 'minimal question' in the present study. Such questions are also taken into this response superstrategy since they typically evoke further explanations and negotiations in the conversations.

Table 7.5 EXPLAINING distribution (TUOTH only)

	ADJ	_NOUN_	_VERB_eval	Total
History of item	17 (25%)	5 (24%)	4 (29%)	26 (25%)
History of person	8 (12%)	6 (28%)	4 (29%)	18 (17%)
(General) comment	9 (13%)	3 (14%)	0	12 (11%)
Question	26 (37%)	2 (10%)	4 (29%)	32 (31%)
Minimal question	9 (13%)	5 (24%)	2 (13%)	16 (15%)
Total	69	21	14	104
% in category	16%	24%	25%	18%

In compliment research, commenting on the 'history of the item' is sometimes considered to show a "routinised misunderstanding" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2011: 150) since a compliment is treated as "an indirect question about the origin of the praised object" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2011: 150). Others claim that this way of responding to a compliment is used mainly by female speakers who "offered the purchase history of the complimented article" (Davis 2008: 81). Such a way of responding to a compliment may show that compliments are understood as "signals of solidarity" so that speakers give "further information to establish rapport" (Davis 2008: 81). Table 7.5 shows the distribution for the substrategies of EXPLAINING in the supercategories _ADJ_, _NOUN_, and _VERB_eval with only the TUOTH turns ('turn by other speaker', addressee and non-addressee combined).

The table displays the utterance numbers of the substrategies and their distribution in the Response Strategy EXPLAINING (in percent). The overall use of the superstrategy EXPLAINING as responses in the supercategories of the PosR is also given (in the last row named "% in category"). It seems that a Positive Remark of the _VERB_eval form, compared to the _ADJ_ and _NOUN_ forms, is most likely to trigger a response coded as one of the EXPLAINING strategies. We find that 25% of all TUOTH turns in this category are coded as one of the EXPLAINING strategies. It needs to be taken into account that this supercategory shows a very small number of utterances and the percentages might be misleading. Yet, if this distribution were to be found in a larger amount of data, it might be suggested that the urge to explain or even ask for clarification might be connected with this specific form of the Positive Remark. With an utterance such as *I like this*, the speaker utters 'personal affect' (see above) and the hearer might easily understand it as a wish to also obtain the same item. It has also been observed for some cultures that an utterance such as this leads the 'complimentee' to offering the object, interpreting the positive evaluation obviously in a way that the speaker would like to possess the evaluated item, see, e.g. Holmes (1988: 448–449). Such an interpretation can even be found in the SBCSAE data in conversation SBC011, but only in the recollection of a moment and the sharing of the speaker's thoughts. Such an understanding of the Positive Remark might be triggered by the formulaic similarity with utterances such as *I would like to* which are usually used to describe a wish the speaker has. This kind of interpretation might lead conversational partners to feel obligated to explain the history of the object so the other may know how to obtain the item for themselves. However, as this is only a small amount of data, this interpretation must remain highly speculative.

With only 16% of EXPLAINING strategies used in all TUOTH turns, this Response Strategy ranks third in the _ADJ_ Response Strategies. It is interesting to see that in the _ADJ_ category the question for clarification is the largest of the responsive substrategies. It may be argued that the _ADJ_ utterances possibly remain so vague

that a hearer has to ask for more information and start negotiating before they can really understand the function of the utterance. Interlocutors are possibly aware of the tendency of this utterance form to be frequently used and many times as a sheer act of support or alignment.

The _NOUN_ category also shows a rather frequent use of the EXPLAINING strategies in all of the TUOTH turns with 24% of all TUOTH responses. Here, the explanation of the item or person positively evaluated is clearly most frequently used in 53% of the cases. It is possible that in these cases the item itself, that is referred to by the noun phrase in the Positive Remark, is prominently in focus for the hearer so that they see the need to speak more about this item or person and explain or give the history. It can be speculated that in doing so, the interlocutors can talk on 'neutral grounds' since the focus lies outside of the personal range even though this item or (absent) person may be connected to one of the speakers.

7.3.3 AGREEMENT

In the same way as OPTING OUT and EXPLAINING, AGREEMENT is also a superstrategy that combines several substrategies, namely 'agreement minimal', expression of 'mutual knowledge', and 'affirmative' expressions, see Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 AGREEMENT distribution (TUOTH only)

	Agreement minimal	Mutual knowledge	Affirmative	Total	% in category
ADJ	29 (38%)	3 (4%)	45 (58%)	77	17%
NOUN	8 (30%)	5 (18%)	14 (52%)	27	30%
_VERB_eval	8 (62%)	1 (7%)	4 (31%)	13	21%
Total	45 (38%)	9 (8%)	63 (54%)	117	20%

It can be seen in Table 7.6 that the usage of the AGREEMENT strategies is most frequent in the _NOUN_ category where they make up 30% of all TUOTH turns. In the distribution of the substrategies, the affirmatives are the most frequently used Response Strategy in AGREEMENT. This strategy entails second assessments and other utterances to affirm the Positive Remark. With 58%, this is also the most frequently used substrategy of AGREEMENT in the _ADJ_ category, whereas the minimal agreement ranges first in the substrategies of the _VERB_eval category (again, the small amount of utterances in this category needs to be considered).

In 20% of all TUOTH utterances, either addressee or non-addressee agree with the Positive Remark. According to Pomerantz (1978), this Response Strategy should be avoided when responding to compliments. Is it then safe to claim that the Positive Remarks responded to in this way in the present data tend to have a positive

assessment function, as also suggested by the data distribution in the working model, and can thus actually be placed on the assessment end of the 'compliment-positive assessment continuum'?

Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2011: 150) claims that the 'contradictory demands' of responding to a compliment can also "take the form of downgraded agreement" or "moderate disagreement". Utterances that are clearly coded as DISAGREEMENT are very rarely found in the present data (cf. Figure 5.10). They are considered to be " 'socially disruptive', and hence are dispreferred responses" (Cheng/Tsui 2009: 2366; see also, e.g., Georgakopoulou/Patrona 2000). It is argued, though, that "the production of weak agreements may be disagreement implicative" (Pomerantz 1975: 82; see also Schegloff 2007: 165). To appropriately utter 'scaled down agreements' as second pair parts, compliments should not "directly contain the co-participants as referents" (Pomerantz 1975: 129) and

> [the] reference terms locate objects, persons, activities, etc., other than co-participant directly ("you"), that is, referents through which co-participants are accorded credit. In general, scaled down agreements occur subsequent to compliments containing reference formulations consisting of 'other-than-you' terms, e.g., "it", "that", "she", "he". (Pomerantz 1975: 129)

Sims (1984) observes something similar: her 'case 5' which has the form "That linking V (intensifier) ADJ NP" (1984: 88) shows agreement in 49.2% of all responses (1984: 99). Following these findings, subcategories 2 (with the determiners *this*, *that*, etc. as heads of the noun phrases) would yield most of these types of responses. Yet, it is difficult to testify or falsify such findings with the results in the present study since most of the categories occur so rarely. The only larger category is the _ADJ_ category as displayed in Table 7.7. Of the 77 TUOTH utterances that are used in the _ADJ_ category, 36, that is 47%, are indeed used in subcategory _A2_, which would confirm, at least for this category, the findings of Pomerantz (e.g., 1978) and Sims (1984). Since at least the _ADJ_ and the _NOUN_ category seem to be quite similar, this tentative finding for _A2_ could be claimed to be transferable to the _NOUN_ categories as well.

Table 7.7 AGREEMENT distribution in _ADJ_ subcategories (TUOTH only)

	Agreement minimal	Mutual knowledge	Affirmative	Total
_A1_	7	1	4	12 (16%)
_A2_	12	2	22	36 (47%)
_A3_	3	0	5	8 (10%)
_A4_	5	0	12	17 (22%)
_A5_	2	0	2	4 (5%)
Total	29	3	45	77 (100%)

A tendency that can be claimed for the whole set of findings is that in the interactions of the present data base, as well as in numerous studies before, "agreements are preferred over disagreements" (Tao 2007: 20; see also, for example, Pomerantz 1984 or Goodwin/Goodwin 1992a). By uttering an agreement, the speaker usually "implies agreement with someone, which in conversation is usually the person being addressed" (Du Bois 2007: 144). Du Bois (2007) claims that the "general term for this kind of stancetaking is alignment" and that by this the speakers may "calibrate" their relationship (Du Bois 2007: 144). 'Alignment' is a term that is used with the cooperation and coordination of speakers that may happen in explicit or implicit negotiations (cf. Rickheit 2005: 159). In fact, the term alignment can be found many times in connection with 'assessments' which

> reveal not just neutral objects in the world, but an alignment taken up toward phenomena by a particular actor. Moreover this alignment can be of some moment in revealing such significant attributes of the actor as their taste, and the way in which they evaluate the phenomena they perceive. (Goodwin/Goodwin 1987: 27)

Hence, assessments show alignment and create solidarity in conversation with the conversational partners, just as it is claimed of compliments and other evaluative utterances. By agreeing to such an assessment and aligning with the other speaker as well, this "alignment is not limited to the utterance immediately following the initial assessment, but extended assessment activity continues beyond this" (Snyder Ohta 1999: 1500; see also, for example, Branigan et al. 2007: 164). By this possibly "extended assessment activity" and the negotiations in conversations, "the participants have brought the activity of collaborative assessment to a peak of heightened mutual involvement" (Goodwin/Goodwin 1992b: 79) which can be seen as strong display of solidarity and the forming of an in-group (on agreement, alignment and in-group formation, see also Ädel 2011: 2940).

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion and outlook

Yet we need not despair. One way forward is in replication. As more studies are carried out, the influence of accidental factors may be easier to detect.

(Macaulay 2002: 298)

The analysis of Positive Remarks in the present study shows some new angles and perspectives in the research on compliments, positive assessments, and their responses. By analyzing the Positive Remark sequence, the present study has aimed at finding out about possible sequential distinctions that go back to the linguistic form of the Positive Remarks and the Response Strategy chosen in the follow-up turn that might entail information about the function of these sequences. The Positive Remarks in focus are defined by their forms which basically correspond to the compliment formulae as found by Manes/Wolfson (1981) and the assessment formula as found by Goodwin/Goodwin (1987) (see Chapters 2.1 and 4.1). The responses following these Positive Remarks are coded in Response Strategies that correlate with the strategies established by Pomerantz (1978) and mentioned in the literature on compliment and assessment responses (see Chapters 2.2 and 4.2). The combination of these turns goes back to the idea of 'action chains' by Pomerantz (1978). This thought had been discussed by other researchers as well, for example by Adamzik (1984), whose model for the combination of moves is one among several inspirations for the working model in the present study which goes beyond a vague first pair part "compliment" and integrates, as a starting point for the first turn, the forms of the Positive Remarks (see Figure 2.1).

To analyze the connection of the Positive Remark and the Response Strategy used, 21 everyday conversations from the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English were chosen as a data base (see Chapter 3). These conversations were selected to ensure that a range of Positive Remark sequences were found. For this purpose, the conversationalists needed to be in a conversation with family and friends that ensures lively conversations and turn-taking. The informants should neither be too close nor too distant in their relationship to ensure that they utter positive evaluations and possibly even compliments (cf. Biber/Finegan 1989: 106 on expressions of personal affect in conversations between friends and Wolfson 1988 on the 'bulge theory' concerning the situations in which compliments are paid). The conversations were searched in a text-analytic, manual way for the Positive Remarks

that were coded along with the turns following them. In these coding procedures, the organization of the conversations with more than two interactional partners also needed to be taken into account with specific coding of sequence organization.

Coding and analyzing the Positive Remark sequences aimed at answering the driving question of this study: can different functions of Positive Remarks be detected due to their form (e.g., by the positive semantic core and/or the references to the addressee/addressed item) and the responses used to react to them? This question can be divided into questions focusing specifically on Positive Remarks and Response Strategies respectively (see Chapter 2.3.2) and are taken up here again:

– Are there linguistic cues in Positive Remarks that indicate (functional) differences between a positive assessment and a compliment that possibly guide the interlocutors in their interpretation? Can such cues be found within the Manes/Wolfson (1981) compliment formulae which are used by many researchers?
– Is there a specific set of Response Strategies that is assigned to particular evaluative utterance forms? Is there a choice for an interlocutor from a range of response possibilities that are more or less preferred with a specific (first pair part) form? And can the distinction of Response Strategies according to their preceding utterance then help in (re)defining the speech event and assigning a compliment or assessment function to it?

The working model established was used to find answers to these questions and in the process of coding the Positive Remarks along the lines of the Manes/Wolfson (1981) formulae, it has become obvious that the formulae had to be rearranged to find out more about the influence of possible linguistic cues. Since the difference that can be suspected to foster varying functions of the Positive Remarks seems to lie in the use of reference and address, to which Manes/Wolfson's formulae do not pay the attention required for further functional differentiation, the formulae had to be reorganized into the present study's supercategories _ADJ_, _NOUN_, _VERB_eval, which are analyzed in more detail, along with the categories named _ADV_ and _SPX_. The subcategories are aligned with each other in terms of address and reference, e.g., _A1_ and _N1_ (see Chapter 4.1.2). While the chances to be able to determine a function via the reference are higher with these more fine-grained subcategories, the boundaries between the various functions of Positive Remarks must remain fuzzy and should rather be considered to be approximations in a continuum than absolute entities. Parallel to findings in earlier research, the remarks found in the present data share numerous functions which are also assigned to compliments and positive assessments in the literature. They (i) express a positive opinion and value system, which is expressed by the positive semantic cores of the utterances; (ii) create solidarity in conversations through showing their involvement by using addressee-directed pronouns or determiners

such as *that* and *those* (see, e.g., Subchapter 6.1.1.2); (iii) or to organize discourse (see, e.g., Subchapter 5.1.3 and Table 5.4).

The influence of the Positive Remarks on their following Response Strategies seems to emanate from the directness of addressing the evaluated referent: many instances in the data which show no direct address are mostly responded to with OPTING OUT, EXPLAINING, or AGREEMENT. The Positive Remarks formulated in such a way share seemingly discursive and positive assessment functions and evoke thus expected responses of their designated preferred responses (see Subchapters 6.1.3, 6.2.3, and 6.3.3). AGREEMENT as such deserves a closer look in future studies. The present findings show a possible 'double status' for this response strategy that, depending on the social context, might stand for appropriate use responding to compliments or positive assessments. In general, this way of responding shows the participants' alignment in conversations and negotiations of Positive Remarks rather than short evaluative utterance sequences would. It should be mentioned here that Golato (2005 and 2011) also found mainly positive evaluations of an assessing nature in everyday conversations of German speakers. Hence, it is possible that this 'neutral stance' might regularly be found in everyday conversations of many (western) cultures, independent of the language. This suggestion can be supported by the findings of Biber/Finegan (1989) concerning conversational interactions: even though conversation is the register that shows the most linguistic features of involvement (i.e., use of pronouns, deixis, etc.), they "are aware of no study that shows conversation to be the most affective register of English in terms of the overt expression of personal feelings and attitudes" (Biber/Finegan 1989: 107). As can be seen in the results chapters and the discussion chapter, the ambiguous and positive assessment functions clearly outweigh other functions the Positive Remarks have in the present data: there are only few personal references in the Positive Remarks and the most frequent Response Strategies used are OPTING OUT, EXPLAINING, and AGREEMENT. These are all located in the approximate 'ambiguous' and 'positive assessment' areas of the working model. It might be claimed, hence, that the usage of Response Strategies as well as the impersonal formulation of the Positive Remarks imply a more frequent use of non-complimentary positive assessments in American everyday conversations of family members and friends. This is also mirrored by the less frequent use of personal topics such as personality and appearance compared with the usage of Positive Remarks concerning abstract items or things (cf. Chapter 5.1.3).

In the model, all three supercategories of the PosR (_ADJ_, _NOUN_, and _VERB_eval) show parallels in the connection of the respective subcategories with specific Response Strategies (cf. Figure 7.2). This observation can be seen as marking the importance of the referents in the subcategories (which are mainly grouped according to the reference terms in this study, see, e.g., Table 6.1) in connection

with the Response Strategies. Subcategories which share the feature of personal reference, may be placed relatively high up on the compliment side of the continuum since they are – more often than other subcategories – responded to with Response Strategies that are usually attributed as preferred seconds to a compliment function. A similar parallel can be seen in the other subcategories: the _s2_ subcategories of all supercategories are placed towards the middle, the ambiguous area. These subcategories are formed with a determiner such as *this* and *that* as a reference and the speakers may evaluate something in their immediate surrounding with such an utterance. This close connection to the other conversational partners may leave these utterances with a more ambiguous than assessing function than, for example, the subcategories _A3_ and _N3_ which tend towards the assessment side of the continuum. In the _s3_ categories, the evaluated item is referred to with a noun phrase, which might create more distance to the participants in the conversational context. Further conclusions on the findings of the _VERB_eval category need to remain even more tentative since the findings are backed only by few occurrences in the conversations used for the present study. It seems, though, that utterances of this category may behave similarly to those of the other categories. These dependencies were also calculated with the Fisher exact test (see Chapter 7.2), showing significant P-values for some constellations and leading to an assumption that, indeed, there could be a connection between the reference form used and the response chosen from a possible set of responses. Thus, tendencies for a distinction between compliments and positive assessments due to reference terms used in the Positive Remark which also influences the choice of Response Strategy seem to exist and possible linguistic cues can be attested with the newly established subcategories of the Positive Remarks. A further confirmation would be needed with a larger amount of utterances. This could also help to attest for sequentially preferred connections in each of the PosR categories.

From a general perspective then, the working model, established on the ground of Pomerantz' (1978) action chains and Adamzik's (1984) model (see Subchapter 2.3.2 and Figure 2.1), is supported by empirical data. With this model, the connection between reference and address of the evaluated item/person in the Positive Remark, its influence on the Positive Remark's function, and the choice of Response Strategy can be described. Nonetheless, it needs to be borne in mind that changes on this model might be necessary when using it for analyzing Positive Remark sequences in other registers or cultures since preference structure quite possibly differs. The preference structure as proposed now in the model could and should also be tested with further data, from further corpus studies to elicited data. Only this way, further conclusions about the differences of the form-to-function connection of the Positive Remark with the Response Strategies can be drawn.

The need to look at more than just 'compliments' or 'positive assessments' in future studies is also obvious: the felicity conditions of these utterances are very similar (see also Table 2.2) and the function to "mark solidarity between participants, and […] the sharing of cultural beliefs" (Scheibman 2007: 125), which is often attributed as one of the major functions to compliments, is actually not restricted to these speech acts. In fact in the just quoted extract, Scheibmann defines generalization, not compliments or other evaluations, with the same solidarity building function. The claim that compliments serve to 'make the hearer feel good' is very vague and cannot serve as distinctive feature to describe compliments – this can also be done by positive assessments and other aligning features in conversation. Thus, filling the functional spaces in a continuum of Positive Remarks is called for. The investigation of this continuum and the possibly existing fuzzy boundaries between various notions and functions in it, as well as the connection with the Response Strategies cannot be determined based on the findings of a single study based on everyday conversations alone. Not only various further registers have to be analyzed to find out more about the connection of Positive Remarks and Response Strategies but what is also needed is a perceptional study to find out whether or not native speakers of English detect a difference in form and Response Strategy that they connect with the notion of a different function. In such a perceptional study, the sequences shown to the informants should be varied in terms of the subcategories, i.e., the references to the evaluated item in the Positive Remark, and the Response Strategies provided in response. The fact that a corpus may "offer evidence but cannot give information" leads to the conclusion that there is "the need for a corpus to be one tool among many in the study of language" (Hunston 2002: 23) and the need for triangulating the data. This could also be done with elicited conversational data, e.g. in the form of a naturalized role-play where the micro-social factors and numbers of speakers can be controlled.

The question about the distinctiveness of form and function becomes ever more interesting to pragmatics in light of using large corpora as a data base. A more refined knowledge about how forms and functions could match might be a further step towards the possibilities of automated searches in or tagging of a corpus (cf. also Jucker et al. 2008). An insight into the connection of specific functions of Positive Remarks with specific sets of responses might facilitate the unavoidable context analysis. The connection between the utterances and thus sequencing of the various turns is of interest for further studies as well. Who is expected to utter a next turn? Is any next turn expected at all? What is deemed appropriate? This might even be of interest beyond the scope of compliments or positive assessments for discourse organization in conversations, when considering those utterances that are followed by 'turn by same speaker' (tusp).

Such findings might also be of great interest for the area of applied linguistics and the investigations of teaching language use. If such findings can be based on naturally occurring data from a corpus as in the present study, the

> implications of these findings for foreign language instruction are compelling: if L2 learners can learn about specific aspects of L2 pragmatics with authentic exemplars of naturalistic conversational sequences which enables them to anticipate, interpret, and produce sequential patterns that are cross-culturally different, cross-cultural miscommunication may be effectively prevented by means of classroom teaching.
> (Huth 2006: 2026)

Thus, even though much research has been done on compliments, compliment responses, and positive assessments already, much remains to be done and future investigations should keep in mind the fuzziness of utterances such as Positive Remarks and investigate them as parts of a continuum and in a sequence with their following turns, not as single entities. A promising approach is to take multi-modal corpora, and thus also gestures, facial expression and body language into account (see, e.g., (Keisanen/Kärkkäinen 2014), which can add vital context for the understanding of the conversational sequences, especially if it were to be combined with a linguistic sequential model as presented in the present study.

References

Adamzik, Kirsten. 1984. *Sprachliches Handeln und sozialer Kontakt: Zur Integration der Kategorie 'Beziehungsaspekt' in eine sprechakttheoretische Beschreibung des Deutschen*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Adolphs, Svenja. 2008. *Corpus and Context: Investigating Pragmatic Functions in Spoken Discourse*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/scl.30

Adolphs, Svenja, Dawn Knight, and Ronald Carter. 2011. "Capturing context for heterogeneous corpus analysis: Some first steps." *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 16 (3): 305–324. doi:10.1075/ijcl.16.3.02ado

Ädel, Annelie. 2011. "Rapport building in student group work." *Journal of Pragmatics* 43 (12): 2932–2947. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2011.05.007

Aijmer, Karin. 1996. *Conversational Routines in English: Convention and Creativity*. London: Longman.

Aijmer, Karin. 2002. *English Discourse Particles: Evidence from a Corpus*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/scl.10

Aijmer, Karin, and Christoph Rühlemann (eds.). 2015. *Corpus Pragmatics: A Handbook*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139057493

Aijmer, Karin, and Anna-Brita Stenström. 2004. "Discourse patterns in spoken and written corpora." In *Discourse Patterns in Spoken and Written Corpora* , ed. by Karin Aijmer and Anna-Brita Stenström, 1–13. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.120.02aij

Al Falasi, Hessa. 2007. "Just say 'Thank You': A study of compliment responses." *The Linguistics Journal* 2 (1): 28–42.

Alfonzetti, Giovanna. 2013. "Compliments." In *Pragmatics of Speech Actions* , ed. by Marina Sbisà and Ken Turner, 555–586. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. doi:10.1515/9783110214383.555

Allami, Hamid and Maryam Montazeri. 2012. "Iranian EFL learners' compliment responses." *System* 40, 466–482.

Andersen, Gisle. 2001. *Pragmatic Markers and Sociolinguistic Variation: A Relevance-Theoretic Approach to the Language of Adolescents*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.84

Andersen, Gisle. 2011. "Corpus-based pragmatics I: Qualitative studies." In *Foundations of Pragmatics* , ed. by Wolfram Bublitz and Neal R. Norrick, 587–628. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter Mouton. doi:10.1515/9783110214260.587

Antaki, Charles. 2002. "'Lovely': Turn-initial high-grade assessments in telephone closings." *Discourse Studies* 4 (1): 5–23. doi:10.1177/1461445602004001010 1

Archer, Dawn. 2010. "Speech acts." In *Historical Pragmatics* , ed. by Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, 379–417. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter Mouton.

Arundale, Robert B. 1999. "An alternative model and ideology of communication for an alternative to politeness theory." *Pragmatics* 9 (1): 119–153. doi:10.1075/prag.9.1.07aru

Arundale, Robert B. 2006. "Face as relational and interactional: A communication framework for research on face, facework, and politeness." *Journal of Politeness Research* 2 (2): 193–216. doi:10.1515/PR.2006.011

Atkinson, John Maxwell and John Heritage (eds.). 1984. *Structures of Social Action. Studies in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge Universtiy Press.

Auer, Peter, and Susanne Uhmann. 1982. "Aspekte der konversationellen Organisation von Bewertungen." *Deutsche Sprache* 10 (1): 1–32.

Auer, Peter. 1984. "Referential problems in conversation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 8 (5–6): 627–648. doi: 10.1016/0378-2166(84)90003-1

Austin, John L. 1975. *How to Do Things with Words*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198245537.001.0001

Baba, Junko. 1999. *Interlanguage Pragmatics: Compliment Responses by Learners of Japanese and English as a Second Language*. München: LINCOM Europa.

Baker, Paul. 2006. *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. London/New York: Continuum.

Baker, Paul. 2010. *Sociolinguistics and Corpus Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Barnlund, Dean C., and Shoko Araki. 1985. "Intercultural encounters: The management of compliments by Japanese and Americans." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 16 (1): 9–26. doi: 10.1177/0022002185016001002

Barron, Anne, and Klaus P. Schneider. 2009. "Variational pragmatics: Studying the impact of social factors on language use in interaction." *Intercultural Pragmatics* 6 (4): 425–442. doi: 10.1515/IPRG.2009.023

Bednarek, Monika. 2011. "Approaching the data of pragmatics." In *Foundations of Pragmatics* , ed. by Wolfram Bublitz and Neal R. Norrick, 537–559. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter Mouton. doi: 10.1515/9783110214260.537

Beeching, Kate. 2006. "Synchronic and diachronic variation: The how and why of sociolinguistic corpora." In *Corpus Linguistics around the World* , ed. by Andrew Wilson, Dawn Archer and Paul Rayson, 49–61. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Beetz, Manfred. 1981. "Komplimentierverhalten im Barock: Aspekte linguistischer Pragmatik an einem literaturhistorischen Gegenstandsbereich." *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur neueren Germanistik* 13: 135–181.

Beetz, Manfred. 1990. *Frühmoderne Höflichkeit: Komplimentierkunst und Gesellschaftsrituale im altdeutschen Sprachraum*. Stuttgart: Metzler.

Beetz, Manfred. 1999. "The polite answer in pre-modern German conversation culture." In *Historical Dialogue Analysis*, ed. by Andreas H. Jucker, Gerd Fritz and Franz Lebsanft, 139–166. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/pbns.66.06bee

Biber, Douglas. 1988. *Variation across Speech and Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511621024

Biber, Douglas, Ulla Connor, and Thomas A. Upton. 2007. *Discourse on the Move: Using Corpus Analysis to Describe Discourse Structure*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/scl.28

Biber, Douglas, and Edward Finegan. 1989. "Styles of stance in English: Lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect." *Text* 9 (1): 93–124. doi: 10.1515/text.1.1989.9.1.93

Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad, and Edward Finegan. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Essex: Longman.

Billmyer, Kristine. 1990. "'I really like your lifestyle': ESL learners learning how to compliment." *Penn Working Papers in Linguistics* 6 (2): 31–48.

Björkmann, Beyza. 2014. "An analysis of polyadic English as a lingua franca (ELF) speech: A communicative strategies framework." *Journal of Pragmatics* 66: 122–138. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2014.03.001

Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, Juliane House, and Gabriele Kasper. 1989. "The CCSARP coding manual." In *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies* , ed. by Shoshana Blum-Kulka, Juliane House and Gabriele Kasper, 273–294. Norwood: Ablex.

Boroujeni, Aliakbar Jafarpour, Masoud Rahimi Domakani, and Samira Sheykhi. 2016. "Comparative cross-cultural analysis of compliments in English and Persian series." *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Language Research* 3 (2): 177–187.

Bou-Franch, Patricia and Pilar Garcés-Conejos Blitvich. 2014. "Conflict management in massive polylogues: A case study from YouTube." *Journal of Pragmatics* 73: 19–36. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2014.05.001

Bou-Franch, Patricia, Nuria Lorenzo-Dus, and Pilar Garcés-Conejos Blitvich. 2012. "Social interaction in YouTube text-based polylogues: A study of coherence." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 17: 501–521. doi: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2012.01579.x

Bousfield, Derek. 2010. Issues in defining and differentiating 'Impoliteness' and 'Rudeness'. Invited lecture at Bonn Applied English Linguistics, January 14, 2010, University of Bonn.

Boyle, Ronald. 2000. "'You've worked with Elisabeth Taylor!': Phatic functions and implicit compliments." *Journal of Pragmatics* 21 (1): 26–46.

Branigan, Holly P., Martin J. Pickering, Janet F. McLean, and Alexandra A. Cleland. 2007. "Syntactic alignment and participant role in dialogue." *Cognition* 104 (2): 163–197. doi: 10.1016/j.cognition.2006.05.006

Breitborde, Lawrence B. 1975. "Communicating insults and compliments in Jacaltec." *Anthropological Linguistics* 17(8), 331-403.

Brezina, Vaclav, and Miriam Meyerhoff. 2014. "Significant or random? A critical review of sociolinguistic generalisations based on large corpora." *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 19 (1): 1–28. doi: 10.1075/ijcl.19.1.01bre

Brown, Penelope, and Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bruti, Silvia. 2007. *Politeness phenomena in film translation. Complimenting and insulting*. Unpublished paper presented at the 10th International Pragmatics Association (IPrA) Conference, July 9–13, 2007, in Gothenborg, Sweden.

Carter, Ronald, and Michael McCarthy. 1995. "Grammar and the spoken language." *Applied Linguistics* 16 (2): 141–158. doi: 10.1093/applin/16.2.141

Carter, Ronald, and Michael McCarthy. 2006. *Cambridge Grammar of English: A Comprehensive Guide. Spoken and Written English Grammar and Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cedar, Payung. 2006. "Thai and American responses to compliments in English." *The Linguistics Journal* 1 (2): 6–28.

Cermák, Frantisek. 2002. "Today's corpus linguistics: Some open questions." *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 7 (2): 265–282. doi: 10.1075/ijcl.7.2.06cer

Chafe, Wallace. 1995. "Adequacy, user-friendliness, and practicality in transcribing." In *Spoken English on the Computer. Transcription, Mark-Up and Application*, ed. by Geoffrey Leech, Greg Myers and Jenny Thomas, 54–61. London: Longman.

Chen, Rong. 1993. "Responding to compliments: A contrastive study of politeness strategies between American English and Chinese speakers." *Journal of Pragmatics* 20 (1): 49–75. doi: 10.1016/0378-2166(93)90106-Y

Chen, Rong. 2010. "Compliment and compliment response research: A cross-cultural survey." In *Pragmatics across Languages and Cultures*, ed. by Anna Trosborg, 79–101. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Chen, Rong, and Dafu Yang. 2010. "Responding to compliments in Chinese: Has it changed?" *Journal of Pragmatics* 42: 1951–1963. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2009.12.006

Chen, Yuan-San, Chun-Yin Doris Chen, and Miao-Hsia Chang. 2011. "American and Chinese complaints: Strategy use from a cross-cultural perspective." *Intercultural Pragmatics* 8 (2): 253–275. doi:10.1515/iprg.2011.012

Cheng, Dongmei. 2011. "New insights on compliment responses: A comparison between native English speakers and Chinese L2 speakers." *Journal of Pragmatics* 43 (8): 2204–2214. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2011.02.003

Cheng, Winnie, and Amy B. M. Tsui. 2009. "'ahh ((laugh)) well there is no comparison between the two I think': How do Hong Kong Chinese and native speakers of English disagree with each other?" *Journal of Pragmatics* 41 (11): 2365–2380. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2009.04.003

Chung-Hye, Han. 1992. "A comparative study of compliment responses of female Koreans in Korean-speaking situations and in English-speaking situations." *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* 8 (2): 17–31.

Clark, Herbert H., and Adrian Bangerter. 2004. "Changing ideas about reference." In *Experimental Pragmatics* , ed. by Ira A. Noveck and Dan Sperber, 25–49. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Clark, Herbert H., and Thomas B. Carlson. 1982. "Hearers and speech acts." *Language* 58 (2): 332–373. doi:10.1353/lan.1982.0042

Clark, Herbert H., and Edward F. Schaefer. 1992. "Dealing with overhearers." In *Arenas of Language Use* , ed. by Herbert H. Clark, 248–274. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press.

Copestake, Ann, and Marina Terkourafi. 2010. "Conventionalized speech act formulae: From corpus findings to formalization." In *Constraints in Discourse 2* , ed. by Peter Kühnlein, Anton Benz and Candace L. Sidner, 125–140. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.194.07cop

Cordella, Marisa, Heather Large, and Veronica Pardo. 1995. "Complimenting behavior in Australian English and Spanish speech." *Multilingua* 14 (3): 235–252. doi:10.1515/mult.1995.14.3.235

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2014. "What does grammar tell us about action?" *Pragmatics* 24(3): 623–647. doi:10.1075/prag.24.3.08cou

Daikuhara, Midori. 1986. "A study of compliments from a cross-cultural perspective: Japanese vs. American English." *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* 2(2), 103–135. Accessed at www.wpel.net.

David, Maya Khemlani. 1999. "Acquiring communicative competence in the reading classroom." *Literacy Across Cultures* 3(1), 16–19.

Davis, Boyd, and Lisa Russell-Pinson. 2007. "One corpus, two contexts: Intersections of content-area teacher training and medical education." In *Corpus Linguistics beyond the Word. Corpus Research from Phrase to Discourse* , ed. by Eileen Fitzpatrick, 143–166. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi. doi:10.1163/9789401203845_010

Davis, Briallen. 2008. "Compliment responses across gender." *Griffith Working Papers in Pragmatics and Intercultural Communication* 1 (2): 76–87.

DeCapua, Andrea, Diana Berkowitz, and Diana Boxer. 2006. "Women talk revisited: Personal disclosures and alignment development." *Multilingua* 25 (4): 393–412. doi:10.1515/MULTI.2006.021

De Smet, Hendrik, and Hubert Cuyckens. 2005. "Pragmatic strengthening and the meaning of complement construction: The case of like and love with the to-infinitive." *Journal of English Linguistics* 33 (3): 3–34. doi:10.1177/0075424204273959

De Vries, Mark. 2008. "The representation of language within language: A syntactico-pragmatic typology of direct speech." *Studia Linguistica* 62 (1): 39–77. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9582.2007.00142.x

Deutschmann, Mats. 2003. *Apologising in British English*. Umeå: Umeå University.
Downes, William. 1998. *Language and Society*. London: Fontana. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139163781
Du Bois, John W. 2007. "The stance triangle." In *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction* , ed. by Robert Englebretson, 137–182. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.164.07du
Du Bois, John W., Wallace L. Chafe, Charles Meyer, and Sandra A. Thompson. 2000. *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English. Part 1*. Philadelphia: Linguistic Data Consortium.
Du Bois, John W., Wallace L. Chafe, Charles Meyer, Sandra A. Thompson, and Nii Martey. 2003. *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English. Part 2*. Philadelphia: Linguistic Data Consortium.
Du Bois, John W., and Robert Englebretson. 2004. *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English. Part 3*. Philadelphia: Linguistic Data Consortium.
Du Bois, John W., and Robert Englebretson. 2005. *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English. Part 4*. Philadelphia: Linguistic Data Consortium.
Dunham, Patrick. 1992. "Using compliments in the ESL classroom: An analysis of culture and gender." *MinneTESOL Journal* 10, 75–85.
Duttlinger, Claudia. 1999. *Komplimente im Spanischen*. Freiburg: Hochschulverlag.
Eelen, Gino. 2001. *A Critique of Politeness Theories*. Manchester/Northampton: St. Jerome Publishing.
Englebretson, Robert. 2007. "Stancetaking in discourse: An introduction." In *Stancetaking in Discourse. Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction* , ed. by Robert Englebretson, 1–25. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.164.02eng
Farghal, Mohammed, and Mahmoud A. Al-Khatib. 2001. "Jordanian college students' responses to compliments: A pilot study." *Journal of Pragmatics* 33 (9): 1485–1502. doi:10.1016/S0378-2166(01)00006-6
Félix-Brasdefer, J. César. 2014. "Speech act sequences." In *Pragmatics of Discourse* , ed. by Klaus P. Schneider and Anne Barron, 323–352. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton. doi:10.1515/9783110214406-013
Félix-Brasdefer, J. César and Maria Hasler-Barker. 2015. "Complimenting in Spanish in a short-term study abroad context." *System* 48, 75–85.
Fetzer, Anita. 2013. "The structuring of discourse." In *Pragmatics of Speech Actions* , ed. by Marina Sbisà and Ken Turner, 685–711. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. doi:10.1515/9783110214383.685
Fitri, Nurul, Lia Maulia Indrayani, and Ypsi Soeria Soemantri. 2014. "The evidence of pragmatic transfer in compliment responses in English conversation between Indonesian and American speakers." *International Journal of Language Learning and Applied Linguistics World* 5(1), 2289–3245.
Flöck, Ilka. 2009. *Suggestions in British and American English. A study in Variational Pragmatics*. Unpublished M.A. thesis at Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität, Bonn.
Flöck, Ilka. 2011a. 'Don't tell a great man what to do': Directive speech acts in American and British English conversations. Poster presented at the 12th International Pragmatics Conference, Manchester, England, July 3–8, 2011.
Flöck, Ilka. 2011b. "Suggestions in British and American English: A corpus-linguistic study." *Bochumer Linguistische Arbeiten* 3: 67–81.
Flöck, Ilka. 2016. *Requests in American and British English: A Contrastive Multi-Method Analysis*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Flöck, Ilka, and Ronald Geluykens. 2015. "Speech acts in corpus pragmatics: A quantitative contrastive study of directives in spontaneous and elicited discoruse." In *Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics 2015: Current Approaches to Discourse and Translation Studies*, ed. by Jesús Romero-Trillo, 7–37. Cham: Springer International. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-17948-3_2

Fox, Barbara A. 2007. "Principles shaping grammatical practices: An exploration." *Discourse Studies* 9 (3): 299–318. doi:10.1177/1461445607076201

Fraser, Bruce. 1990. "Perspectives on politeness." *Journal of Pragmatics* 14 (2): 219–236. doi:10.1016/0378-2166(90)90081-N

Fukuyama, Mary A. and Nancy C. Coleman. 1992. "A model for bicultural assertion training with Asian-Pacific American college students: A pilot study." *The Journal for Specialists in Group Work* 17(4), 210–217.

Furkó, Bálint Péter. 2013. "Irish English stereotypes. A Variational Pragmatic analysis." *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica* 5 (2): 123–135.

Gajaseni, Chansongklod. 1994. *How Americans and Thais respond to compliments*. Unpublished paper presented at the Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Conference on Pragmatics and Language Learning, 31.03.-02.04.1994, in Urbana, IL.

Garcia McAllister, Paula. 2015. "Speech acts: A synchronic perspective." In *Corpus Pragmatics: A Handbook*, ed. by Karin Aijmer and Christoph Rühlemann, 29–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139057493.003

Gardner, Rod. 2001. *When Listeners Talk: Response Tokens and Listener Stance*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.92

Gardner, Rod. 2007. "The 'Right' connections: Acknowledging epistemic progression in talk." *Language in Society* 36 (3): 319–341. doi:10.1017/S0047404507070169

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra, and Marianna Patrona. 2000. "Disagreements in television discussions: how small can small screen arguments be?" *Pragmatics* 10 (3): 323–338. doi:10.1075/prag.10.3.03geo

Georgila, Kallirroi, Oliver Lemon, James Henderson, and Johanna D. Moore. 2009. "Automatic annotation of context and speech acts for dialogue corpora." *Natural Language Engineering* 15 (3): 314–353. doi:10.1017/S1351324909005105

Geurts, Bart. 2007. "Really fucking brilliant." *Theoretical Linguistics* 33 (2): 209–214. doi:10.1515/TL.2007.013

Goffman, Erving. 1979. "Footing." *Semiotica* 25 (1/2): 1–19. doi:10.1515/semi.1979.25.1-2.1

Goffman, Erving. 1981. *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Golato, Andrea. 2002. "German compliment responses." *Journal of Pragmatics* 34 (5): 547–671. doi:10.1016/S0378-2166(01)00040-6

Golato, Andrea. 2003. "Studying compliment responses: A comparison of DCTs and recordings of naturally occurring talk." *Applied Linguistics* 24 (1): 90–121. doi:10.1093/applin/24.1.90

Golato, Andrea. 2005. *Compliments and Compliment Responses: Grammatical Structure and Sequential Organization*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/sidag.15

Golato, Andrea. 2011. "Appreciatory sounds and expressions of embodied pleasure used as compliments." In *Pragmatics of Society*, ed. by Gisle Andersen and Karin Aijmer, 361–392. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton. doi:10.1515/9783110214420

Goodwin, Charles. 1981. *Conversational Organization: Interaction between Speakers and Hearers*. New York: Academic Press.

Goodwin, Charles. 1986. "Between and within: Alternative sequential treatments of continuers and assessments." *Human Studies* 9 (2/3): 205–217. doi:10.1007/BF00148127

Goodwin, Charles, and Marjorie Harness Goodwin. 1987. "Concurrent operations on talk: Notes on the interactive organization of assessments." *IPrA Papers in Pragmatics* 1 (1): 1–54. doi:10.1075/iprapip.1.1.01goo

Goodwin, Charles, and Marjorie Harness Goodwin. 1992a. "Assessments and the construction of context." In *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon* , ed. by Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin, 147–190. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, Charles, and Marjorie Harness Goodwin. 1992b. "Context, activity and participation." In *The Contextualization of Language* , ed. by Peter Auer and Aldo di Luzio, 77–99. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.22.07goo

Greenbaum, Sidney, and Gerald Nelson. 2009. *An Introduction to English Grammar*. Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Grimm, Anne. 2008. *"Männersprache" – "Frauensprache"?: Eine korpusgestützte empirische Analyse des Sprachgebrauchs britischer und amerikanischer Frauen und Männer hinsichtlich Geschlechtsspezifika*. Hamburg: Kovac.

Grosjean, Michèle. 2004. "From multi-participant talk to genuine polylogue: Shift-change briefing sessions at the hospital." *Journal of Pragmatics* 36 (1): 25–52. doi:10.1016/S0378-2166(03)00035-3

Guirao, José María, Antonio Moreno Sandoval, Ana González Ledesma, Guillermo de la Madrid, and Manuel Alcántara. 2006. "Relating linguistic units to socio-contextual information in a spontaneous speech corpus of Spanish." In *Corpus Linguistics around the World* , ed. by Andrew Wilson, Dawn Archer and Paul Rayson, 101–114. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Hakulinen, Auli. 2009. "Conversation types." In *The Pragmatics of Interaction* , ed. by Sigurd D'hondt, Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren, 55–65. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/hoph.4.03hak

Halliday, Michael A. K. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, Michael A. K., and Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen. 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Hodder Arnold.

He, Yun. 2012. "Different generations, different face? A discursive approach to naturally occurring compliment responses in Chinese." *Journal of Politeness Research* 8: 29–51. doi:10.1515/pr-2012-0003

Henderson, Anita. 1995. "Compliments, compliment responses, and politeness in an African-American Community." *Texas Linguistic Forum* 34: 53–63.

Herbert, Robert K. 1986. "Say 'Thank you' – or something." *American Speech* 61 (1): 76–88. doi:10.2307/454710

Herbert, Robert K. 1989. "The ethnography of English compliments and compliment responses: A contrastive sketch." In *Contrastive Pragmatics* , ed. by Wieslaw Oleksy, 3–35. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Herbert, Robert K. 1990. "Sex-based differences in compliment behavior." *Language in Society* 19 (2): 201–224. doi:10.1017/S0047404500014378

Herbert, Robert K. 1991. "The sociology of compliment work: An ethnocontrastive study of Polish and English compliments." *Multilingua* 10 (4): 381–402. doi:10.1515/mult.1991.10.4.381

Herbert, Robert K. 1997. "The sociology of compliment work in Polish and English." In *Sociolinguistics. A Reader and Coursebook* , ed. by Nikolas Coupland and Adam Jaworski, 487–500. London: MacMillan Press.

Herbert, Robert K., and H. Stephen Straight. 1989. "Compliment-rejection vs. compliment avoidance: Listener-based vs. speaker-based pragmatic strategies." *Language & Communication* 9 (1): 35–47. doi:10.1016/0271-5309(89)90005-0

Hinkel, Eli. 1996. "When in Rome: Evaluations of L2 pragmalinguistic behaviours." *Journal of Pragmatics* 26 (1): 51–70. doi:10.1016/0378-2166(95)00043-7

Hoeksema, Jack, and Donna Jo Napoli. 2008. "'Just for the hell of it': A comparison of two taboo-term constructions." *Journal of Linguistics* 44 (2): 347–378. doi:10.1017/S002222670800515X

Holmes, Dick. 1984. "Explicit – implicit address." *Journal of Pragmatics* 8 (3): 311–320. doi:10.1016/0378-2166(84)90024-9

Holmes, Janet. 1984. "Modifying illocutionary force." *Journal of Pragmatics* 8 (3): 345–365. doi:10.1016/0378-2166(84)90028-6

Holmes, Janet. 1986. "Compliments and compliment responses in New Zealand English." *Anthropological Linguistics* 28 (4): 485–508.

Holmes, Janet. 1988. "Paying compliments: A sex-preferential positive politeness strategy." *Journal of Pragmatics* 12 (4): 445–465. doi:10.1016/0378-2166(88)90005-7

Holmes, Janet. 1993. "New Zealand women are good to talk to: An analysis of politeness strategies in interaction." *Journal of Pragmatics* 20(2), 91–116.

Holmes, Janet, and Dorothy Brown. 1987. "Teachers and students learning about compliments." TESOL Quarterly 21 (3): 523–546. doi:10.2307/3586501

Huang, Yan. 2012. *The Oxford Dictionary of Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hunston, Susan. 2002. *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139524773

Hunston, Susan. 2004. "Counting the uncountable: Problems of identifying evaluation in a text and corpus." In *Corpora and Discourse* , ed. by Alan Partington, John Morley and Louann Haarmann, 157–188. Bern: Lang.

Hunston, Susan. 2007. "Using a corpus to investigate stance quantitatively and qualitatively." In *Stancetaking in Discourse. Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction* , ed. by Robert Englebretson, 28–48. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.164.03hun

Hunston, Susan. 2011. *Corpus Approaches to Evaluation: Phraseology and Evaluative Language*. New York: Routledge.

Huth, Thorsten. 2006. "Negotiating structure and culture: L2 learners' realization of L2 compliment-response sequences in talk-in-interaction." *Journal of Pragmatics* 38 (12): 2025–2050. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2006.04.010

Hymes, Dell H. 1974. *Foundations of Sociolinguistics*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ishihara, Noriko. 2003. "Formal instruction on the speech act of giving and responding to compliments." In *Proceedings of the 7th Conference of Pan-Pacific Association of Applied Linguistics: SEAMEO RELC, Singapore, December 13–15, 2002*, ed. by Kyung-Ja Park and Michiko Nakano. Tokyo: PAAL, 62-78. Retrieved from http://www.paaljapan.org/resources/proceedings/PAAL7/pdfs/06noriko.pdf, 17.03.2018.

Jautz, Sabine. 2008. "Gratitude in British and New Zealand radio programmes: Nothing but gushing?" In *Variational Pragmatics. A Focus on Regional Varieties in Pluricentric Languages* , ed. by Klaus P. Schneider and Anne Barron, 141–178. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.178.07jau

Jautz, Sabine. 2009. "Zur inszenierten Höflichkeit bei der Beendigung von Radiotelefongesprächen." In *Theatralität des sprachlichen Handelns – eine Metaphorik zwischen Linguistik und Kulturwissenschaften* , ed. by Mareike Buss, Stephan Habscheid, Sabine Jautz, Frank Liedtke and Jan G. Schneider, 261–290. Paderborn: Fink.

Jautz, Sabine. 2013. *Thanking Formulae in English: Explorations across Varieties and Genres*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.230

Jucker, Andreas H. 2009. "Speech act research between armchair, field and laboratory: The case of compliments." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41 (8): 1611–1635. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2009.02.004

Jucker, Andreas H., Gerold Schneider, Irma Taavitsainen, and Barb Breustedt. 2008. "Fishing for compliments: Precision and recall in corpus-linguistic compliment research." In *Speech Acts in the History of English* , ed. by Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, 273–294. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.176.15juc

Jucker, Andreas H., Daniel Schreier, and Marianne Hundt. 2009. "Corpus linguistics, pragmatics and discourse." In *Corpora: Pragmatics and Discourse*. Papers from the 29th International Conference on English Language Research on Computerized Corpora (ICAME 29), Ascona, Switzerland, 14–18 May 2008 , ed. by Andreas H. Jucker, Daniel Schreier and Marianne Hundt, 3–9. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi. doi:10.1163/9789042029101_002

Jucker, Andreas H., and Irma Taavitsainen. 2000. "Diachronic speech act analysis: Insults from flyting to flaming." *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 1 (1): 67–95. doi:10.1075/jhp.1.1.07juc

Jucker, Andreas H., and Irma Taavitsainen. 2007. *Expressive speech acts and corpus methodology*. Unpublished paper presented at the 10th International Pragmatics Association (IPrA) Conference, July 9–13, 2007, in Gothenborg, Sweden.

Jucker, Andreas H., and Irma Taavitsainen. 2014. "Complimenting in the history of American English: A metacommunicative expression analysis." In *Diachronic Corpus Pragmatics*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen, Andreas H. Jucker and Jukka Tuominen, 257–276. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.243.16juc

Kallen, Jeffery L., and John M. Kirk. 2008. SPICE Ireland: A User's Guide. Belfast: Queens University, School of English.

Kanouse, David E., Peter Gumpert, and Donnah Canavan-Gumpert. 1981. "The semantics of praise." In *New Directions in Attribution Research* , ed. by John H. Harvey, William Ickes and Robert F. Kidd, 97–115. Hillsdale, NY: Erlbaum.

Kasper, Gabriele. 1992. "Pragmatic transfer." *Second Language Research* 8 (3): 203–231. doi:10.1177/026765839200800303

Kasper, Gabriele. 2000. "Data collection in pragmatics research." In *Culturally Speaking: Managing Rapport through Talk across Cultures* , ed. by Helen Spencer-Oatey, 316–341. London/New York: Continuum.

Kasper, Gabriele. 2008. "Data collection in pragmatics research." In *Culturally Speaking. Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory* , ed. by Helen Spencer-Oatey, 279–303. London/New York: Continuum.

Kasper, Gabriele, and Merete Dahl. 1991. "Research methods in interlanguage pragmatics." *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 13 (2): 215–247. doi:10.1017/S0272263100009955

Kaufmann, Anita. 2002. "Book Review: The Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English – Part I: Linguistic Data Consortium." *Journal of Pragmatics* 34 (9): 1309–1316. doi:10.1016/S0378-2166(02)00040-1

Keel, Sara. 2015. "Young children's emotional embodied pursuits of a response to their initial assessments." *Journal of Pragmatics* 75: 1–24. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2014.10.005

Keisanen, Tiina, and Elise Kärkkäinen. 2014. "A multimodal analysis of compliment sequences in everyday English interactions." *Pragmatics* 24 (3): 649–672. doi:10.1075/prag.24.3.09kei

Keizer, Evelien. 2009. "The interpersonal level in English: reported speech." *Linguistics* 47 (4): 845–866. doi:10.1515/LING.2009.029

Kerbrat-Orecchioni, Catherine. 2004. "Introducing polylogue." *Journal of Pragmatics* 36 (1): 1–24. doi:10.1016/S0378-2166(03)00034-1

Kerbrat-Orecchioni, Catherine. 2011. "From good manners to face work: Politeness variation and constants in France, from the classic age to today." *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 12 (1–2): 133–155. doi:10.1075/jhp.12.1-2.06ker

Khaneshan, Parisa Yazdani, and Alireza Bonyadi. 2016. "The investigation of compliment response patterns across gender and age among advanced EFL learners." *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 7 (4): 760–767.

Kirk, John M., Jeffrey L. Kallen, Orla Lowry, Anne Rooney, and Margaret Mannion. 2007. *The* SPICE-Ireland Corpus: Systems of Pragmatic Annotation for the Spoken Component of ICE-Ireland. Belfast and Dublin: Queen's University Belfast and Trinity College Dublin.

Knapp, Mark L., Robert Hopper, and Robert A. Bell. 1984. "Compliments: A descriptive taxonomy." *Journal of Communication* 34 (4): 12–31. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1984.tb02185.x

Kohnen, Thomas. 2000. "Corpora and speech acts: The study of performatives." In *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*. Papers from the Twentieth International Conference on English Language Research on Computerized Corpora (ICAME 20). Freiburg im Breisgau 1999 , ed. by Christian Mair and Marianne Hundt, 177–186. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Kohnen, Thomas. 2002. "Towards a history of English directives." In *Text Types and Corpora. Studies in Honour of Udo Fries* , ed. by Andreas Fischer, Gunnel Tottie and Hans Martin Lehmann, 165–175. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Kohnen, Thomas. 2004. "Methodological problems in corpus-based historical pragmatics: The case of English directives." In *Advances in Corpus Linguistics*. Papers from the 23rd International Conference on English Language Research on Computerized Corpora (ICAME 23), Göteborg 22–26 May 2002 , ed. by Karin Aijmer and Bengt Altenberg, 237–247. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Kohnen, Thomas. 2008. "Tracing directives through text and time: Towards a methodology of a corpus-based diachronic speech-act analysis." In *Speech Acts in the History of English* , ed. by Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, 295–310. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.176.16koh

Kohnen, Thomas. 2009. "Historical corpus pragmatics: Focus on speech acts and texts." In *Corpora: Pragmatics and Discourse*. Papers from the 29th International Conference on English Language Research on Computerized Corpora (ICAME 29), Ascona, Switzerland, 14–18 May 2008 , ed. by Andreas H. Jucker, Daniel Schreier and Marianne Hundt, 13–36. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi. doi:10.1163/9789042029101_003

Kohnen, Thomas. 2015. "Speech acts: A diachronic perspective." In *Corpus Pragmatics: A Handbook*, ed. by Karin Aijmer and Christoph Rühlemann, 52–83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139057493.004

Kondo, Sachiko. 2014. "Compliments and responses to compliments in L2 and L1 speakers' interaction: A discursive approach." *Sophia University Junior College Division Faculty Journal* 34, 19–43.

Kotthoff, Helga. 1989. "So nah und doch so fern: Deutsch-amerikanische pragmatische Unterschiede im universitären Milieu." *Information Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 16(4), 448–459.

Kuckartz, Udo, and Ivan Belous. 2007. *MaxQDA – The Art of Text Analysis. Version 2007. MX2007 :* Retrieved from http://www.maxqda.de/, 21.05.2007.

Lee, Candis. 1990. "'Cute yaw haiya.' - 'Nah!'. Hawaii Creole English compliments and their responses: Implications for cross-cultural pragmatic failure." *University of Hawai'i Working Papers in English as a Second Language* 9, 115–160.

Leech, Geoffrey N. 2014. *The Pragmatics of Politeness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195341386.001.0001

Lewandowska-Tomasczyk, Barbara. 1989. "Praising and complimenting." In *Contrastive Pragmatics* , ed. by Wieslaw Oleksy, 73–100. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Lin, Chih Ying, Helen Woodfield, and Wie Ren. 2012. "Compliments in Taiwan and Mainland Chinese: The influence of region and compliment topic." *Journal of Pragmatics* 44, 1486–1502.

Lindemann, Petra. 1990. "Gibt es eine Textsorte 'Alltagsgespräch'?" *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 43: 201–220.

Locher, Miriam A., and Richard J. Watts. 2005. "Politeness theory and relational work." *Journal of Politeness Research* 1 (1): 9–33. doi:10.1515/jplr.2005.1.1.9

Lorenzo-Dus, Nuria. 2001. "Compliment responses among British and Spanish university students: A contrastive study." *Journal of Pragmatics* 33 (1): 107–127. doi:10.1016/S0378-2166(99)00127-7

Lorenzo-Dus, Nuria, Pilar Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, and Patricia Bou-Franch. 2011. "On-line polylogues and impoliteness: The case of postings sent in response to the Obama Reggeaton YouTube video." *Journal of Pragmatics* 43 (10): 2578–2593. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2011.03.005

Ludwig, Klaus-Dieter. 1976. *Zum Verhältnis von Sprache und Wertung*. Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR.

Macaulay, Ronald K. S. 1987. "Polyphonic monologues: Quoted direct speech in oral narratives." *IPrA Papers in Pragmatics* 1 (2): 1–33. doi:10.1075/iprapip.1.2.01mac

Macaulay, Ronald K. S. 2002. "Discourse variation." In *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* , ed. by Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill and Natalie Schilling-Estes, 283–305. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Mair, Christian. 1991. "Quantitative or qualitative corpus analysis? Infinitival complement clauses in the Survey of English Usage corpus." In *English Computer Corpora. Selected Papers and Research Guide* , ed. by Stig Johansson and Anna-Brita Stenström, 67–80. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110865967.67

Mair, Christian. 2003. "Gerundial complements after begin and start: Grammatical and socio-linguistic factors, and how they work against each other." In *Determinants of Grammatical Variation in English* , ed. by Günter Rohdenburg and Britta Mondorf, 329–345. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110900019.329

Mair, Christian, and Marianne Hundt. 2000. "Introduction: Corpus linguistics and linguistic theory." In *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*. Papers from the Twentieth Conference on English Language Research on Computerized Corpora (ICAME 20) Freiburg im Breisgau 1999 , ed. by Christian Mair and Marianne Hundt, 1–4. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Mair, Christian, Andrea Sand, Lars Hinrichs, Dagmar Deuber, and Hubert Devonish. 2009. *The* ICE-Jamaica Corpus: Retrieved from http://ice-corpora.net/ice/download.htm, 15.04.2010.

Manes, Joan. 1983. "Compliments: A mirror of cultural values." In *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition* , ed. by Nessa Wolfson and Elliot Judd, 96–102. Rowley, MA: Newbury.

Manes, Joan, and Nessa Wolfson. 1981. "The compliment formula." In *Conversational Routine. Explorations in Standardized Communication Situations and Prepatterned Speech* , ed. by Florian Coulmas, 115–132. The Hague: Mouton.

Maíz-Arévalo, Carmen. 2012. "'Was that a compliment?' Implicit compliments in English and Spanish." *Journal of Pragmatics* 44(8): 980–996. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2012.04.004

Maíz-Arévalo, Carmen, and Antonio Garcia-Gómez. 2013. "'You look terrific!' Social evaluation and relationships in online compliments." *Discourse Studies* 15: 735–760. doi:10.1177/1461445613490011

Matsuoka, Rieko. 2003. "Gender variation in explicitness of proffering compliments." In *Proceedings of the 2nd Annual Pan-SIG Conference May 10–11, 2003*, ed. by Tim Newfields, Sayoko Yamashita, Anne Howard and Carol Rinnert. Kyoto, Japan: Kyoto Institute of Technology. Retrieved from http://jalt.org/pansig/2003/HTML/Matsuoka.htm, 17.03.2018.

McCarthy, Michael J. 2002. "Good listenership made plain: Non-minimal response tokens in British and American spoken English." In Using Corpora to Explore Linguistic Variation , ed. by Randi Reppen, Susan M. Fitzmaurice and Douglas Biber, 49–72. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

McEnery, Tony. 2003. "Corpus Linguistics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Computational Linguistics* , ed. by Ruslan Mitkov, 448–463. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McEnery, Tony, and Andrew Wilson. 1996. *Corpus Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McEnery, Tony, Richard Xiao, and Yukio Tono. 2006. *Corpus-Based Language Studies: An Advanced Resource Book*. London: Routledge.

McEnery, Tony, and Zhonghua Xiao. 2004. "Swearing in modern British English: The case of 'fuck' in the BNC." *Language and Literature* 13 (3): 235–268. doi:10.1177/0963947004044873

Miller, Jim, and Regina Weinert. 1998. *Spontaneous Spoken Language: Syntax and Discourse*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mittmann, Brigitta. 2004. *Mehrwort-Cluster in der englischen Alltagskonversation: Unterschiede zwischen britischem und amerikanischem gesprochenen Englisch als Indikatoren für den präfabrizierten Charakter der Sprache*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Monaghan, James. 1995. "Whole-text analysis in computerised spoken discourse." In *Spoken English on the Computer. Transcription, Mark-Up and Application* , ed. by Geoffrey Leech, Greg Myers and Jenny Thomas, 62–68. London: Longman.

Mondada, Lorenza. 2013. "Embodied and spatial resources for turn-taking in institutional multi-party interactions: Participatory democracy debates." *Journal of Pragmatics* 46: 39–68. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2012.03.010

Monjezi, Masoud. 2014. "The effects of proficiency and gender on the compliments and compliment responses made by Iranian EFL learners." *International Journal of Language Learning and Applied Linguistics World* 5(1), 625–636.

Mueller Dobs, Abby, and Pilar Garcés-Conejos Blitvich. 2013. "Impoliteness in polylogal interaction: Accounting for face-threat witnesses' responses." *Journal of Pragmatics* 53: 112–130. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2013.05.002

Mukherjee, Joybrato. 2009. *Anglistische Korpuslinguistik: Eine Einführung*. Berlin: Schmidt.

Mulo Farenkia, Bernard. 2004. *Kontrastive Pragmatik der Komplimente und Komplimenterwiderungen: Kamerunisch-Deutsch*. Aachen: Shaker Verlag.

Mulo Farenkia, Bernard. 2011. Responding to compliments in Cameroon French and Canadian French. Unpublished paper presented at the 12th International Pragmatics Association (IPrA) Conference, 3–8, 2011, in Manchester, UK.

Mulo Farenkia, Bernard. 2012. "Compliment strategies and regional variation in French: Evidence from Cameroon and Canadian French." *Pragmatics* 22 (3): 447–476. doi:10.1075/prag.22.3.05mul

Mulo Farenkia, Bernard. 2014. "Face-enhancing strategies in compliment responses by Canadian university students." *International Journal of Linguistics* 6 (3): 53–69. doi:10.5296/ijl.v6i3.5749

Murphy, Bróna. 2009. "'She's a 'fucking' ticket': The pragmatics of 'fuck' in Irish English: An age and gender perspective." *Corpora* 4 (1): 85–106. doi:10.3366/E1749503209000239

Mursy, Ahmad Aly and John Wilson. 2001. "Towards a definition of Egyptian complimenting." *Multilingua* 20(2), 531–549.

Mustapha, Abolaji Samuel. 2011. "Compliment response patterns among speakers of Nigerian English." *Journal of Pragmatics* 43 (5): 1335–1348. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2010.10.025

Nelson, Gayle L., Mahmoud Al-Batal, and Erin Echols. 1996. "Arabic and English compliment responses: Potential for pragmatic failure." *Applied Linguistics* 17 (4): 411–432. doi:10.1093/applin/17.4.411

Nelson, Gerald. 1995. "The International Corpus of English: Mark-up for spoken language." In *Spoken English on Computers. Transcription, Mark-Up and Application* , ed. by Geoffrey Leech, Greg Myers and Jenny Thomas, 220–223. London: Longman.

Nofsinger, Robert E. 1991. *Everyday Conversation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Norrick, Neal R. 2009. "Interjections as pragmatic markers." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41 (5): 866–891. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2008.08.005

Nutler, Carly W., and Ray Wilkinson. 2013. "Mobilising recipiency: Child participation and 'rights to speak' in multi-party family interaction." *Journal of Pragmatics* 50: 37–51. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2013.01.012

O'Keeffe, Anne, and Svenja Adolphs. 2008. "Response tokens in British and Irish discourse: Corpus, context and variational pragmatics." In *Variational Pragmatics. A Focus on Regional Varieties in Pluricentric Languages* , ed. by Klaus P. Schneider and Anne Barron, 69–98. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.178.050k

O'Keeffe, Anne, Svenja Adolphs, and Brian Clancy. 2011. *Introducing Pragmatics in Use*. London: Routledge.

Padilla Cruz, Manuel. 2014. "Pragmatic failure, epistemic injustice and epistemic vigilance." *Language & Communication* 39: 34–50. doi:10.1016/j.langcom.2014.08.002

Partington, Alan. 2004. "Corpora and discourse: A most congruous beast." In *Corpora and Discourse* , ed. by Alan Partington, John Morley and Louann Haarmann, 11–20. Bern: Peter Lang.

Payne, Sophia. 2013. "Compliment responses of female German and Italian university students: A contrastive study." *University of Reading Language Studies Working Papers* 5, 22–31.

Placencia, María Elena, and Amanda Lower. 2013. "Your kids are so stinkin' cute :-): Complimenting behavior on Facebook among family and friends." *Intercultural Pragmatics* 10 (4): 617–646. doi:10.1515/ip-2013-0029

Pomerantz, Anita. 1975. *Second assessments*. A study of some features of agreements/disagreements. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation at University of California, Irvine, CA.

Pomerantz, Anita. 1978. "Compliment responses: Notes on the co-operation of multiple constraints." In *Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction* , ed. by John Schenkein, 79–112. New York: Academic Press.

Pomerantz, Anita. 1984. "Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes." In *Structures of Social Action. Studies in Conversation Analysis* , ed. by John Maxwell Atkinson and John Heritage, 57–101. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pulaczewska, Hanna. 2013. "You get what you put in: Elicited production versus spontaneous verbal interaction in cross-linguistic studies of language use." *Intercultural Pragmatics* 10 (4): 647–678. doi:10.1515/ip-2013-0030

Rees-Miller, Janie. 2011. "Compliments revisited: Contemporary compliments and gender." *Journal of Pragmatics* 43: 2673–2688. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2011.04.014

Reppen, Randy, and Nancy Ide. 2004. "The American National Corpus: Overall goals and the first release." *Journal of English Linguistics* 32 (2): 105–113. doi:10.1177/0075424204264856

Rickheit, Gert. 2005. "Alignment und Aushandlung im Dialog." *Zeitschrift für Psychologie* 213 (3): 159–166. doi:10.1026/0044-3409.213.3.159

Roberts, Julie. 1998. Gender differences in language use. *A study from Bath, South West England*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation at University of Surrey, Guildford.

Romero-Trillo, Jesús. 2008. "Introduction: Pragmatics and corpus linguistics: A mutualistic entente." In *Pragmatics and Corpus Linguistics. A Mutualistic Entene*, ed. by Jesús Romero-Trillo, 1–10. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110199024.1

Romero-Trillo, Jesús (ed). 2013. *Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics 2013. New Domains and Methodologies*. Dordrecht: Springer. doi:10.1007/978-94-007-6250-3

Romero-Trillo, Jesús (ed). 2014. *Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics 2014. New Empirical and Theoretical Paradigms*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Romero-Trillo, Jesús (ed). 2015. *Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics. Current Approaches to Discourse and Translation Studies*. Cham: Springer International.

Romero-Trillo, Jesús (ed). 2016. *Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics. Global Implications for Society and Education in the Networked Age*. Cham: Springer International.

Rose, Kenneth R. 2001. "Compliments and compliment responses in film: implications for pragmatics research and language teaching." *International Review of Applied Linguistics* 39 (4): 309–326. doi:10.1515/iral.2001.007

Rühlemann, Christoph. 2007. *Conversation in Context: A Corpus-Driven Approach*. London/New York: Continuum.

Rühlemann, Christoph. 2011. "Corpus-based pragmatics II: Quantitative studies." In *Foundations of Pragmatics* , ed. by Wolfram Bublitz and Neal R. Norrick, 629–656. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton. doi:10.1515/9783110214260.629

Rühlemann, Christoph, and Karin Aijmer. 2015. "Corpus pragmatics: Laying the foundations." In *Corpus Pragmatics. A Handbook*, ed. by Karin Aijmer and Christoph Rühlemann, 1–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139057493.001

Ruhi, Sükriye. 2006. "Politeness in compliment responses: A Perspective from naturally occurring exchanges in Turkish." *Pragmatics* 16 (1): 43–101. doi:10.1075/prag.16.1.03ruh

Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. 1974. "The simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation." *Language* 50 (4): 696–735. doi:10.1353/lan.1974.0010

Sadeghi, Elahe and Gholam Reza Zarei. 2013. "Investigating the use of compliments in Persian and English. A case study of Iranian EFL students." *Journal of Foreign Language Teaching and Translation Studies* 2(2), 30–49.

Sams, Jessie. 2007. "Quoting the unspoken: An analysis of quotations in spoken discourse." *Colorado Research in Linguistics* 20: 1–16.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1995. "Parties and joint talk: Two ways in which numbers are significant for talk-in-interaction." In *Situated Order. Studies in the Social Organization of Talk and Embodied Activities* , ed. by Paul ten Have and George Psathas, 31–42. Washington, DC: International Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis and University Press of America.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence Organization in Interaction: A Primer in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511791208

Schegloff, Emanuel A., and Harvey Sacks. 1973. "Opening up closings." *Semiotica* 8 (4): 289–327. doi:10.1515/semi.1973.8.4.289

Scheibman, Joanne. 2007. "Subjective and intersubjective uses of generalizations in English conversations." In *Stancetaking in Discourse. Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction* , ed. by Robert Englebretson, 111–138. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.164.06sch

Schneider, Klaus P. 1999. "Compliment responses across cultures." In *On Language Theory and Practice: In Honour of Janusz Arabski on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday* , ed. by Maria Wysocka, 162–172. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Slaskiego.

Schneider, Klaus P. 2011. *'Yer a fair ol' cook': Socioeconomic variation in British compliments*. Unpublished paper presented at the 12th International Pragmatics Association (IPrA) Conference, July 3–8, 2011, in Manchester, UK.

Schneider, Klaus P., and Anne Barron. 2008. "Where pragmatics and dialectology meet: Introducing variational pragmatics." In *Variational Pragmatics. A Focus on Regional Varieties in Pluricentric Languages* , ed. by Klaus P. Schneider and Anne Barron, 1–32. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.178.02sch

Schneider, Klaus P., and Andreas H. Jucker. 2011. *Variation in pragmatics: The case of compliments*. Panel organized at the 12th International Pragmatics Association (IPrA) Conference. Manchester, UK, 03.07.2011.

Schneider, Klaus P., and Iris Schneider. 2000. "Bescheidenheit in vier Kulturen: Komplimenterwiderungen in den USA, Irland, Deutschland und China." In *Ethische Konzepte und mentale Kulturen: 2. Sprachwissenschaftliche Studien zu Höflichkeit als Respektverhalten* , ed. by Mariann Skog-Södersved, 65–80. Vaasa: Vaasan Yliopisto.

Schütte, Wilfried. 2001. "Alltagsgespräche." In *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft. Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science. Manuels de Linguistique et des Sciences de Communication* , ed. by Klaus Brinker, Armin Burkhardt, Gerold Ungeheuer, Herbert Ernst Wiegand and Hugo Steger, 1485–1492. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Sucuoğlu, Esen, and Nesrin Menemenci Bahçelerli. 2015. "A study of compliment responses in English: A case of North Cyprus." International Conference on New Horizons in Education, INTE 2014, 25–27 June 2014, Paris, France, Special issue of Procedia – Social and Behavioral Science, ed. by Isman, Aytekin 174; 3285–3291.

Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139173438

Searle, John R. 1976. "A classification of illocutionary acts." *Language in Society* 5 (1): 1–23. doi:10.1017/S0047404500006837

Shahsavan, Somayeh, Bita Alimohammadi, and Abbas Eslami Rasekh. 2014. "Compliment responses. A comparative study of native English speakers and Iranian L2 speakers." *Procedia. Social and Behavioral Sciences* 98, 1744–1753.

Shahsavari, Somayeh, Bita Alimohammadi, and Abbas Eslami Rasekh. 2014. "Compliment responses: A comparative study of native English speakers and Iranian L2 speakers." *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 98: 1744–1753. doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.03.602

Sharifian, Farzad. 2008. "Cultural schemas in L1 and L2 compliment responses: A study of Persian-speaking learners of English." *Journal of Politeness Research* 4 (1): 55–80. doi:10.1515/PR.2008.003

Sickinger, Pawel, and Klaus P. Schneider. 2014. "Pragmatic competence and the CEFR: Pragmatic profiling as a link between theory and language use." *Linguistica* 54 (1): 113–127. doi:10.4312/linguistica.54.1.113-127

Sidnell, Jack. 2009. "Sequence." In *The Pragmatics of Interaction* , ed. by Sigurd D'hondt, Jan-Ola Östam and Jef Verschueren, 215–239. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/hoph.4.13sid

Sifianou, Maria. 2001. "'Oh! How appropriate!': Compliments and politeness." In *Linguistic Politeness across Boundaries. The Case of Greek and Turkish* , ed. by Arin Bayraktaroglu and Maria Sifianou, 391–430. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.88.14sif

Sims, Anntari Lanita. 1984. *The compliment sequence*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation at The University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

Sims, Anntari Lanita. 1989. "The compliment sequence." *Southern Speech Communication Journal* 54 (2): 171–184. doi:10.1080/10417948909372754

Snyder Ohta, Amy. 1999. "Interactional routines and the socialization of interactional style in adult learners of Japanese." *Journal of Pragmatics* 31 (11): 1493–1512. doi:10.1016/S0378-2166(98)00115-5

Spencer-Oatey, Helen, Patrick Ng, and Li Dong. 2000. "Responding to compliments: British and Chinese evaluative judgements." In *Culturally Speaking: Managing Rapport through Talk across Cultures* , ed. by Helen Spencer-Oatey, 98–120. London/New York: Continuum.

Spencer-Oatey, Helen, Patrick Ng, and Li Dong. 2008. "British and Chinese reactions to compliment responses." In *Culturally Speaking. Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory*, ed. by Helen Spencer-Oatey, 95–117. 2nd edition. London / New York: Continuum.

Stenström, Anna-Brita, Gisle Andersen, and Ingrid Kristine Hasund. 2002. *Trends in Teenage Talk: Corpus Compilation, Analysis, and Findings*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/scl.8

Strauss, Susan. 1995. "Assessments as a window to socio-linguistic research: The case of Japanese, Korean and American English." In *Gengo-henyoo ni kan-suru taikeiteki kenkyuu oyobi sono nihongo kyoiku e no ooyoo* , ed. by M. Tokunaga, 177–191. Kanda University of Foreign Studies.

Strauss, Susan. 2002. "This, that, and it in spoken American English: A demonstrative system of gradient focus." *Language Science* 24: 131–152. doi:10.1016/S0388-0001(01)00012-2

Strubel-Burgdorf, Susanne. 2011. 'Your shirt and beads are most becoming' or 'These are such awesome cups': Positive evaluations and compliments of three elderly ladies and some college girls. Unpublished paper presented at the 12th International Pragmatics Association (IPrA) Conference, July 3–8, 2011, in Manchester, UK.

Stubbs, Michael. 2001. "Texts, corpora, and problems of interpretation: A response to Widdowson." *Applied Linguistics* 22 (2): 149–172. doi:10.1093/applin/22.2.149

Taavitsainen, Irma, and Andreas H. Jucker. 2008. "'Methinks you seem more beautiful than ever': Compliments and gender in the history of English." In *Speech Acts in the History of English* , ed. by Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, 195–228. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.176.11taa

Taavitsainen, Irma, and Andreas H. Jucker. 2011. Speech acts and variation: Diversification of American and British compliments. Unpublished paper presented at the 12th International Pragmatics Association (IPrA) Conference, July 3–8, 2011, in Manchester, UK.

Taavitsainen, Irma, Andreas H. Jucker, and Jukka Tuominen (eds). 2014. *Diachronic Corpus Pragmatics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.243

Tang, Chen-Hsin, and Grace Qiao Zhang. 2009. "A contrastive study of compliment responses among Australian English and Mandarin Chinese speakers." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41 (2): 325–345. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2008.05.019

Tannen, Deborah. 1989. *Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue, and Imagery in Conversational Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tao, Hongyin. 2007. "A corpus-based investigation of absolutely and related phenomena in spoken American English." *Journal of English Linguistics* 35 (1): 5–29. doi:10.1177/0075424206296615

Thelwall, Mike. 2008. "Fk yea I swaer: Cursing and gender in MySpace." *Corpora* 3 (1): 83–108. doi:10.3366/E1749503208000087

Thomas, Jenny. 1986. "Complex illocutionary acts and the analysis of discourse." *Lancaster Papers in Linguistic* 11: 1–29.

Thompson, Geoff, and Susan Hunston. 2000. "Evaluation: An introduction." In *Evaluation in Text. Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse* , ed. by Susan Hunston and Geoff Thompson, 1–27. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tognini-Bonelli, Elena. 2001. *Corpus Linguistics at Work*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/scl.6

Tran, Giao Quynh. 2006a. "The Naturalized Role-play: An innovative methodology in cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics research." *Reflections on English Language Teaching* 5 (2): 1–24.

Tran, Giao Quynh. 2006b. *The Nature and Conditions of Pragmatic and Discourse Transfer Investigated through Naturalized Role-Play*. München: LINCOM Europa.

Tran, Giao Quynh. 2007a. "The nature of pragmatic and discourse transfer in compliment responses in cross-cultural interaction." *The Linguistics Journal* 2 (3): 167–205.

Tran, Giao Quynh. 2007b. "Compliment response continuum hypothesis." *Language, Society and Culture* 21: pp. 22.

Tran, Giao Quynh. 2008. "Pragmatic and discourse transfer of combination of compliment Response Strategies in Second Language learning and usage." *The Asian* EFL Journal Quarterly 10 (2): 7–30.

Traverso, Véronique. 2009. "The dilemma of third-party complaints in conversation between friends." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41 (12): 2385–2399. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2008.09.047

Trester, Anna Maria. 2009. "Discourse marker 'oh' as a means for realizing the identity potential of constructed dialogue in interaction." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 13 (2): 147–168. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9841.2009.00402.x

Tsuchiya, Keiko, and Michael Handford. 2014. "A corpus-driven analysis of repair in a professional ELF meeting: Not 'letting it pass'." *Journal of Pragmatics* 64: 117–131. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2014.02.004

Valdés, Guadalupe, and Cecilia Pino. 1981. "Muy a tus órdenes. Compliment responses among Mexican-American bilinguals." *Language in Society* 10 (1): 53–72. doi:10.1017/S0047404500008423

Valkonen, Petteri. 2008. "Showing a little promise: Identifying and retrieving explicit illocutionary acts from a corpus of written prose." In *Speech Acts in the History of English* , ed. by Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, 247–272. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.176.14val

van Dijk, Teun A. 1979. "Pragmatic connectives." *Journal of Pragmatics* 3: 447–456. doi:10.1016/0378-2166(79)90019-5

Vandelanotte, Lieven, and Kristin Davidse. 2009. "The emergence and structure of 'be like' and related quotatives: A constructional account." *Cognitive Linguistics* 20 (4): 777–807. doi:10.1515/COGL.2009.032

Vaughan, Elaine, and Brian Clancy. 2013. "Small corpora and pragmatics." In *Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics 2013. New Domains and Methodologies* , ed. by Jesús Romero-Trillo, 53–74. Dordrecht: Springer. doi:10.1007/978-94-007-6250-3_4

Vine, Bernadette. 2000. "Getting things done: Some practical issues in a functional investigation of directives in spoken extracts from the New Zealand and British component of the International Corpus of English." In *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*. Papers from the Twentieth International Conference on English Language Research on Computerized Corpora (ICAME 20). Freiburg im Breisgau 1999 , ed. by Christian Mair and Marianne Hundt, 371–374. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Vine, Bernadette. 2004. *Getting Things Done at Work: The Discourse of Power in Workplace Interaction*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.124

Wang, Yu-Fang. 2002. "Compliment responses produced by college students in Taiwan." In *Form and Function. Linguistic Studies in Honor of Shuanfan Huang* , ed. by Yiwen Su and Jinfa, Chui, Kawai Lian, 371–401. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co. Ltd.

Watts, Richard J. 2003. *Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511615184

Weisser, Martin. 2015. "Speech act annotation." In *Corpus Pragmatics: A Handbook*, ed. by Karin Aijmer and Christoph Rühlemann, 84–113. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139057493.005

Werthwein, Daniela Christina. 2009. *Already got a compliment today? Wie Australier und Deutsche verbal auf Komplimente reagieren*. Sankt Augustin: Asgard-Verlag.

Wichmann, Anne. 2004. "The intonation of Please-requests: A corpus-based study." *Journal of Pragmatics* 36 (9): 1521–1549. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2004.03.003

Widdowson, H. G. 2000. "On the limitations of linguistics applied." *Applied Linguistics* 21 (1): 3–25. doi:10.1093/applin/21.1.3

Wieland, Molly. 1995. "Complimenting behavior in French/American cross-cultural dinner conversations." *The French Review* 68 (5): 796–812.

Wierzbicka, Anna. 1988. *The Semantics of Grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/slcs.18

Wiggins, Sally. 2001. "Construction and action in food evaluation: Conversational data." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 20 (4): 445–463. doi:10.1177/0261927X01020004003

Wilson, Andrew, and Olga Moudraia. 2006. "Quantitative content analysis? Experiences from a cross-cultural comparison of female students' attitudes to shoe fashions in Germany, Poland and Russia." In *Corpus Linguistics around the World* , ed. by Andrew Wilson, Dawn Archer and Paul Rayson, 203–217. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Wolfson, Nessa. 1981a. "Invitations, compliments and the competence of the native speaker." *International Journal of Psycholinguistics* 8 (4): 7–22.

Wolfson, Nessa. 1981b. "Compliments in cross-cultural perspective." *TESOL Quarterly* 15 (2): 117–124. doi:10.2307/3586403

Wolfson, Nessa. 1983. "An empirically based analysis of complimenting in American English." In *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition* , ed. by Nessa Wolfson and Elliot Judd, 82–95. Rowley, MA: Newbury.

Wolfson, Nessa. 1984. "Pretty is as pretty does." *Applied Linguistics* 5 (3): 236–244. doi:10.1093/applin/5.3.236

Wolfson, Nessa. 1988. "The Bulge: A theory of speech behavior and social distance." In *Second Language Discourse: A Textbook of Current Research* , ed. by Jonathan Fine, 21–38. Norwood: Ablex.

Wolfson, Nessa. 1989. "The social dynamics of native and nonnative variation in complimenting behaviour." In *The Dynamic Interlanguage: Empirical Studies in Second Language Acquisition* , ed. by Miriam Eisenstein, 219–236. New York: Plenum. doi:10.1007/978-1-4899-0900-8_14

Wolfson, Nessa, and Joan Manes. 1980. "The compliment as a social strategy." *Papers in Linguistics* 12: 391–410. doi:10.1080/08351818009370503

Xudong, Deng. 2009. "Listener response." In *The Pragmatics of Interaction* , ed. by Sigurd D'hondt, Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren, 104–124. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/hoph.4

Yanez, Rosa H. 1990. "The complimenting speech act among Chicano women." In *Spanish in the United States: Sociolinguistic Issues*, ed. by John J. Bergen, 79–85. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Ylänne-McEwen, Virpi. 1993. "Complimenting behaviour: A cross-cultural investigation." *Journal of Multicultural Development* 14 (6): 499–508. doi:10.1080/01434632.1993.9994551

Yousefvand, Elaheh, Nouroddin Yousofi, and Mohsen Abasi. 2014. "The study of compliment speech act responses: A study based on status and gender in Persian." *Journal of Applied Environmental and Biological Sciences* 4(3), 182–196.

Yu, Ming-Chung. 2003. "On the universality of face: Evidence from Chinese compliment response behavior." *Journal of Pragmatics* 35 (10–11): 1679–1710. doi:10.1016/S0378-2166(03)00074-2

Yuan, Yi. 2001. "An inquiry into empirical pragmatics data-gathering methods: Written DCTs, oral DCTs, field notes, and natural conversations." *Journal of Pragmatics* 33 (2): 271–292. doi:10.1016/S0378-2166(00)00031-X

Yuan, Yi. 2002. "Compliments and compliment responses in Kunming Chinese." *Pragmatics* 12 (2): 183–226. doi:10.1075/prag.12.2.04yua

Zayed, Niveen Mohammad. 2014. "Jordanian EFL teachers' and students' practice of speech acts in the classroom." *International Journal on Studies in English Language and Literature* 2(5), 1–10.

Zillig, Werner. 1982. *Bewerten: Sprechakttypen der bewertenden Rede*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. doi:10.1515/9783111357157

Websites

American National Corpus (ANC): http://www.anc.org/SecondRelease/contents.html [last accessed 20171123]

Charlotte Narrative and Conversation Collection (CNNC): http://nsv.uncc.edu/nsv/narratives [last accessed 20171123]

Corpus of Spoken Professional American English (CSPA): http://www.athel.com/corpdes.html [last accessed 20171123]

International Corpus of English (ICE): http://ice-corpora.net/ice/ [last accessed 20171123]

International Corpus of English (ICE) – Corpus Design: http://ice-corpora.net/ice/design.htm [last accessed 20171123]

Kirk, John M. on SPICE Ireland: http://www.johnmkirk.co.uk/cgi-bin/generic?instanceID=11 [last accessed 20171123]

Longman Spoken American Corpus: http://www.pearsonlongman.com/dictionaries/corpus/spoken-american.html [last accessed 20171123]

MAXQDA – The Art of Data Analysis: http://www.maxqda.de/ [last accessed 20171123]

Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE): https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/c/corpus/corpus?page=home;c=micase;cc=micase/ [last accessed 20171123]

Table: Chi-Square Probabilities: http://people.richland.edu/james/lecture/m170/tbl-chi.html [last accessed 20171123]

Talkbank: https://talkbank.org/ [last accessed 20171123]

Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE): http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/research/santa-barbara-corpus [last accessed 20171123]

APPENDIX A

Abbreviations

Table A.1 lists the abbreviations used throughout the text. The organization of the terms follows topical aspects: the beginning of the table shows abbreviations connected with the syntax patterns (from Manes/Wolfson 1981) and the Positive Remarks, followed by an account of the abbreviations used for Response Strategies in the text as well as the abbreviations used for tables in the appendix, and at the end of the table, abbreviations used to describe the sequence organization are listed.

Table A.1 Abbreviations used

Abbreviation	Term/Explanation
SP	**Syntax Patterns** (as found by Manes/Wolfson 1981) of which the following are abbreviations for the forms within the working model:
ADJ NP	ADJ NP! (SP8)
Isn't	Isn't NP ADJ! (SP9)
LOOK	NP is/looks (really) ADJ (SP1)
LOVE	I (really) like/love NP (SP2)
PRO is	PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP (SP3)
What a	What (a) ADJ NP! (SP7)
YOU	You V (a) (really) ADJ NP (SP4)
	You V (NP) (really) ADV (SP5)
	You have (a) (really) ADJ NP (SP6)
ADJ; _NOUN_; _VERB_eval; _ADV_; _SPX_	abbreviations for the supercategories of newly rearranged formulae
_A1_ etc., _N1_ etc.; _V1_ etc.	abbreviation for the subcategories of the respective supercategory (_A1_ for _ADJ_, _N1_ for _NOUN_ etc.)
PosR	Positive Remark: all positively evaluating utterances formed according to the semantico-syntactic formulae by Manes/Wolfson, no matter which conversational function they have
posA	positive assessment: those PosR that have the function of a more general evaluative utterance and (usually) do not have a complimentary function
comp	compliment: Positive Remark with a complimentary function; usually perceived to be followed by an appreciative response
amb	ambiguous utterance: these utterances fit into the form of the Positive Remarks but may be unclear in their function, whether they are seen as compliment or positive assessment

(*continued*)

Abbreviation	Term/Explanation
RespStrat	Response Strategy: an interpretative strategy coding that is assigned to the turns following a Positive Remark (cf. Chapter 4.2)
ReS	Set of Response Strategies: the grouping of the Response Strategies to sets of responses most likely to follow a PosR with specific conversational function
set_amb	set of Response Strategies most likely to occur with an ambiguous utterance
set_comp	set of Response Strategies most likely to occur with a compliment
set_posA	set of Response Strategies most likely to occur with a positive assessment
Response Strategies	abbreviations used in the appendix tables
APP	APPRECIATION
REF	REFERENT SHIFT
REJ	REJECTION
QUAL	QUALIFICATION
REINT	REINTERPRETATION
OPT	OPTING OUT
EXPL	EXPLAINING
AG	AGREEMENT
DISAG	DISAGREEMENT
LA	LAUGHTER
UC	UNCLEAR
Sequence Organization	
tusp	turn by same speaker: the turn that follows a Positive Remark is uttered by the same speaker as the Positive Remark itself
tuoth_non-add; tuoth_add	turn by other: the next turn after a PosR is uttered by another speaker, either the addressee of the PosR (add) or another person (non-add)
rere_non-add; rere_add	remote response: if something is uttered as a clear response to a Positive Remark but is uttered in a rather remote position from it and not as the next turn
TUOTH and RERE	the abbreviation in capital letters stands for both subgroups, the addressee as well as the non-addressee combined
non-add = non-addressee	anybody not directly addressed by a positive utterance but still reacting with a following turn; this also applies to instances where something is stated that is not directed at anybody in the conversation and somebody utters a next turn
add = addressee	the person directly addressed by a PosR, either by being named or addressed with "you" or with a possessive pronoun, or if the PosR is used as a listener response
diff = difficult	next turns or a sequence of turns usually when a lot of overlap happens and utterances are not easily distinguishable as to who is speaking to whom

APPENDIX B

Additional tables and text description

In this part of the appendix, various tables are presented that give background information on some of the figures and arguments in the text.

The tables in this part of the appendix and their reference point in the texts are listed in the following table:

Table B.1 Listing of appendix tables from Appendix B

Table in appendix	Reference point: chapter	Reference point: figure/table
B.2	Chapter 2	
B.3	Chapter 2.2.2	Tables 2.4 and 2.5
B.4	Chapter 4.1.3.1	–
B.5	Chapters 4.2 and 5.2	–
B.6	Chapter 5.1.2	Figure 5.1
B.7	Chapter 5.2.1	Figure 5.3
B.8	Chapter 5.2.3	Figure 5.6
B.9	Chapter 6.1.2	–
B.10	Chapter 6.1.2	Figure 6.2
B.11	Chapter 6.2.2	Figure 6.7
B.12	Chapter 6.3.2	Figure 6.13
B.13	Chapter 6.1.3	Figure 6.4
B.14	Chapter 6.1.3	Figure 6.5
B.15	Chapter 6.2.3	Figure 6.9
B.16	Chapter 6.2.3	Figure 6.10
B.17	Chapter 6.3.3	Figure 6.15
B.18	Chapter 6.3.3	Figure 6.16
B.19	Chapter 7	Table 7.2

Table B.2 shows a list of various studies on compliments and compliment responses in a variety of languages.

Table B.2 Overview compliment research

Language/Focus	Study or studies on this topic (examples)
Single languages investigated (other than English)	
German	Golato 2002, 2005, 2011
Spanish	Alba-Juez 2001 and Maíz-Arévalo 2012
Jacaltec	Breitborde 1975
Japanese	Matsuoka 2003
Egyptian Arabic	Mursy/Wilson 2001 and Nelson/El Bakary/Al-Batal 1996

(*continued*)

Table B.2 (*continued*)

Language/Focus	Study or studies on this topic (examples)
Turkish	Ruhi 2006
Persian (various aspects)	Yousefvand/Yousofi/Abasi 2014
Gender differences in:	
American English	Rees-Miller 2011
British English	Roberts 1998
Australian English	Davis 2008
New Zealand English	Holmes 1993
Cross-cultural differences	
Comparison of American English with:	
Irish English, German and Chinese	Schneider/Schneider 2000
South African English	Herbert/Straight 1989
Chinese	Chen 1993
German	Kotthoff 1989
French	Wieland 1995
Syrian Arabic	Nelson/Al-Batal/Echols 1996
Italian (subtitles in movies)	Bruti 2007
Comparison of British English with:	
Polish	Lewandowska-Tomasczyk 1989 and Herbert 1991
Spanish	Lorenzo-Dus 2001
Chinese	Spencer-Oatey/Ng/Dong 2000 and 2008
Comparison of German with:	
Cameroonian French	Mulo Farenkia 2004
Australian English	Werthwein 2009
Italian	Payne 2013
American English Varieties	
Mexican American bilinguals	Valdés/Pino 1981
Chicano English	Yanez 1990
African American English	Henderson 1995
Hawaiian Creole English	Lee 1990
Variational Pragmatics	Cheng 2011; Furkó 2013; Mulo Farenkia 2011, 2012 and 2014;; Schneider/Jucker 2011; Schneider 2011; Strubel-Burgdorf 2011; Taavitsainen/Jucker 2011; Lin/Woodfield/Ren 2012
Focus on Language Learning	Allami/Montazeri 2012; Baba 1999; Barnlund/Araki 1985; Billmyer 1990; Cedar 2006; Chung-Hye 1992; Cordella/Large/Pardo 1995; Daikuhara 1986; David 1999; Dunham 1992; Félix-Brasdefer/Hasler-Barker 2015; Fitri/Indrayani/Soemantri 2014; Fukuyama/Coleman 1992; Gajaseni 1994; Hinkel 1996; Holmes/Brown 1987; Huth 2006; Ishihara 2003; Kondo 2014; Monjezi 2014; Rose 2001; Sadeghi/Zarei 2013; Sharifian 2008; Shahsavan/Alimohammadi/Rasekh 2014; Tran 2007a; Zayed 2014

Description of texts chosen from SBCSAE

The following part gives a description of the copus texts chosen for analysis in the present study, see also Chapter 3.2.2.

SBC001 Actual blacksmithing
This is a conversation recorded in rural Hardin, Montana. Mae Lynne is a student of equine science, and is the main speaker. She is telling Lenore (a visitor) about her studies. Doris, Mae Lynne's mother, is doing housework, but joins the conversation towards the end to discuss friends of their family. The longer stretches of monologue in this conversation stand out from the other texts chosen for the present study. Still, this text was chosen since Lenore as well as Doris, Mae Lynne's mother, are always present and they can interact with Mae Lynne at any time. Not many Positive Remark sequences are found in this text.

SBC002 Lambada
This is an after-dinner conversation among four friends in San Francisco, California. All participants are in their late twenties or early thirties. Harold and Jamie are a married couple, Miles is a doctor, and Pete is a graduate student from Southern California. They all engage in a lively conversation about various topics. Many Positive Remark sequences are found here.

SBC003 Conceptual pesticides
This is a conversation among three friends who are preparing dinner together, which was recorded in Southern California. Roy and Marilyn are a married couple, and Pete is a friend visiting from out of town (this is the same Pete as in SBC002 Lambada). All participants are in their early thirties. While preparing dinner, they talk about many different topics as their travels, books they read, their parents' adventures. Many Positive Remark sequences are found in this text.

SBC004 Raging bureaucracy
This is a family conversation recorded in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The primary participants are three sisters all in their twenties. The other three conversation participants are two male friends and a female, ranging in age from 23 to 43. Not too many Positive Remark sequences are coded here.

SBC011 This retirement bit
This is a conversation among three friends before lunch, recorded in Tucson, Arizona. All three participants are retired women; Samantha (Sam) is 72, Doris is 83, and Angela is 90. They have a lively conversation about several everyday topics. Some compliments are paid and some Positive Remark sequences are coded here.

SBC013 Appease the monster
This is a family conversation at a birthday party, recorded in Fort Wayne, Indiana. The five participants are family members: Kendra (the birthday girl) and Kevin are siblings, Ken and Marci are their parents, and Wendy is Kevin's wife; the parents are 50, their children and daughter-in-law 25–26. This segment is highly interactional and contains a lot of overlap and many Positive Remark sequences.

SBC015 Deadly diseases
This is a conversation among three friends, recorded in Los Angeles, California. Ken and Joanne are a couple, and Lenore is a friend of theirs (this is the same Lenore as in SBC001). They are all in their end twenties/early thirties. They talk about their travels and some everyday topics. Many Positive Remark sequences are coded in this conversation.

SBC019 Doesn't work in this household
This is a family conversation, recorded in Michigan, Illinois. Frank and Jan (a married couple) are talking with Ron – Jan's brother who is visiting from California. Ron, Frank, and Jan are in their thirties and early fourties. Brett and Melissa are Frank and Jan's junior-high-school aged children (aged 14 and 12), who are doing homework and also taking part in the conversation. Comparatively few Positive Remarks are coded here

SBC031 Tastes very special
This is a face-to-face conversation recorded in a restaurant in Pullman, Washington. Sherry and Beth are sisters (in their late twenties), and Rosemary is their mother. The participants discuss what to order for lunch, interact with the waitress (Jamie) and engage in talk about family and friends while waiting for their food. A medium amount of Positive Remark sequences are coded in this conversation.

SBC032 Handshakes all around
This is a face-to-face conversation that takes place at an outdoor neighborhood 'block party' in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The three main participants are neighbors, age 60 to 70, all of whom happen to be named Tom. The discussion centers on life histories, World War II experiences, and neighborhood gossip. The three are briefly joined by Tucker (the son of Tom 1), and Elaine (the wife of Tom 3). A lot of their talk is about a granddaughter of one of the men whom they all know and hold dear (she is not present at the block party). A rather large amount of the many Positive Remark sequences found in this conversation refer to her.

SBC033 Guilt
This is a lively family argument/discussion recorded at a vacation home in Falmouth, Massachusetts. There are eight participants, all relatives or close friends, whose age range from 22 to 60. The discussion centers around a disagreement that Jennifer (age 23) is having with her mother (Lisbeth). Only few Positive Remark sequences are coded in this conversation.

SBC035 Hold my breath
This is a lively family argument/discussion recorded in the kitchen of a family home in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The age of the participants ranges from 16 to 81. The conversational topics span from the daughter's college plans to some general discussion about colleges and universities as well as city life. A large amount of Positive Remarks are coded in this conversation.

SBC036 Judgmental on people
This is a face-to-face conversation recorded in Albuquerque, New Mexico. There are three participants and a baby. Lisa and Kevin are siblings, Marie (the baby's mother) is a friend of Lisa's. They are all in their early twenties. Much of the speech event focuses on interaction with, and talk about, the baby, as well as gossip about friends and co-workers. Not that many Positive Remark sequences are coded in this conversation.

SBC037 Very good tamales
This is an informal, task-related (cooking) talk recorded in the kitchen of a family home in Corpus Christi, Texas. A family is making tamales. The main participants are Julia (an 80-year-old woman), her daughter (Dolores, 56), and grandson (Shane, 26, who also participates in SBC004). They are briefly joined by Kate (Shane's sister, 20) who is watching TV in another room. The segment contains occasional codeswitching (English/Spanish). This is one of the two conversations with the least amount of Positive Remark sequences.

SBC042 Stay out of it

This is a family argument and task-related talk, recorded in Pasco, Washington. The recording begins in a car, and moves to the kitchen of a family home. The main participants are three teenage sisters (Sabrina, Kendra, and Marlena), their mother (Kitty), and step-father (Curt). A friend of Sabrina's (Gemini) is also present. The dispute centers around Kitty's belief that Kendra stayed the night at a friend's house without permission, something which Kendra denies having done. Argument and shouting is interspersed with Saturday-morning housekeeping chores such as doing dishes and laundry. This is the second conversation with the least amount of Positive Remark sequences.

SBC048 Mickey mouse watch

A face-to-face conversation on Christmas morning traditions and the gift-exchange among family members, recorded in Fresno, California. Tim and Lea are a couple in their late fifties, Judy is their daughter, and Dan is Judy's boyfriend. There is a rather large amount of Positive Remark sequences coded in this conversation.

SBC049 Noise pollution

This is a face-to-face conversation recorded at an outdoor family birthday party near Boston, Massachusetts. There are ten speakers, all related. Four siblings in their mid thirties to mid forties: Dan, Al, Lucy, and Annette. Allen (Sr.), age 76, is their father. Al and Annette are twins. Linda is Al's wife, John is Annette's husband. Dave and Jane are Al and Linda's children. Glen is Lucy's son. Topics center primarily on recent renovations to Lucy's home. There are some Positive Remark sequences coded in this conversation.

SBC050 Just wanna hang

This is a face-to-face conversation among four roommates, recorded in a shared apartment in Burlington, Vermont. The speakers are all students at the University of Vermont, women aged 20–21. They engage in small-talk, make plans for the evening, and discuss household matters. A rather large amount of Positive Remark sequences is coded in this conversation.

SBC051 New Yorkers anonymous

This conversation is recorded before and during dinner, in a private home in Laguna Beach, California. There are four speakers, ranging in age from mid forties to early fifties. Sean and Bernard are a couple, Fran is a long-time friend visiting from New York. Alice is also a friend of Sean and Bernard, but had never met Fran. The discussion focuses on travels, and reminiscing about New York City. This is one of the conversations with the most Positive Remark sequences.

SBC052 Oh you need a breadbox

This is a phone conversation between family members at Christmas. Andrew and Cindy, a couple in their mid forties in Albuquerque, New Mexico, are calling Andrew's sisters in San Antonio, Texas. The discussion centers primarily on Christmas and Christmas gifts, and topics prompted by recent television news shows. Even though this is a phone conversation, it still is taken into the sub-corpus since, over a large stretch of the conversation, all three participants are basically involved in the conversation.

SBC059 You baked

This is a face-to-face conversation, recorded in a family home near Beloit, Wisconsin, on Christmas Eve. Cam and Fred are a couple in their early thirties. Jo and Wess are Cam's parents. The conversational topics include talk about family and friends, a football game which Wess and Fred had just finished watching, and holiday baking. There are some Positive Remark sequences coded in this conversation as well.

Table B.3 displays selected studies in compliment responses that base their response categories mainly on those categories established by Pomerantz (1975 and 1978). The numbers and letters displayed with the categories are taken from the original studies.

The listing in this table shows that, even though some (super)categories may bear the same name, there are differences in perceptions of these categories to be found in the

Table B.5 displays the Response Strategies as also presented in Chapter 5.2. A description is given here as well, even though some descriptions seem like the simple paraphrasing of the strategy names. Examples for these Response Strategies can be found in the respective chapters in coding and the results (see Chapter 5.2). As mentioned in Chapter 4.2.1, the Response Strategies may be on the surface either compliment or assessment preferred, yet, on the deeper level of the assigned substrategies, there might be overlapping areas with strategies that can be used in several contexts. This can be seen by assigning a feature like ass_pref (preferred Response Strategies in assessments) as well as comp_dispref (dispreferred response in connection with compliments) to the same Response Strategy (the QUALIFICATION of the Positive Remark).

Table B.3 Selected studies on Response Strategies based on Pomerantz (1975, 1978)

Herbert 1989		**Chen 1993**		**Schneider 1999**	
A AGREEMENT	65%	A ACCEPTING	40%	A ACCEPTING	36%
I. Appreciation		1. Thanking	30%	1. Thanking	30%
Ia Appreciation tokens	29%	2. Agreeing	3%	2. Agreeing	3%
		3. Expressing gladness	3%	3. Expressing gladness	3%
Ib Comment acceptance	7%				
Ic Praise upgrade	0%				
II. Comment History	19%				
III. Transfer					
IIIa Reassignment	3%				
IIIb Return	7%				
B NONAGREEMENT	32%	D REJECTING	13%	B REJECTION	19%
I. Scale down	5%			5. Thanking and denigrating	0%
II. Nonacceptance		10. Rejecting and denigrating	13%	6. Rejection and denigrating	13%
IIa Disagreement	10%				
IIb Qualification	7%				
III. Question	5%			4. Doubting	6%
IV. No acknowledgement	5%				
C REQUEST INFORMATION	3%	C DEFLECTING	29%	C DEFLECTING	23%
		8. Explaining	23%	7. Explaining	23%
		9. Doubting	6%		

Table B.3 (*continued*)

Herbert 1989	Chen 1993		Schneider 1999	
	B RETURNING	18%	D RETURNING	17%
	5. Returning compliment	14%	8. Returning compliment	15%
	6. Offering object of compl.	3%	9. Offering	2%
	7. Encouraging	1%		
			E MOCKING	5%
			10. Joking	4%
			11. Encouraging	1%

Table B.4 List of intensifiers

Intensifier	N	%
really	72	20%
real	31	8%
so (much)	50	14%
very	40	11%
pretty	24	7%
love/admire	33	9%
sup – superlative	24	7%
c – comparative	38	10%
others	57	15%
Total	369	100%

Table B.5 Detailed account of Response Strategies in Positive Remark sequences

Category	Description	Subcategory
APP (comp_pref)	the respondent shows appreciation by thanking or accepting the Positive Remark	THANKING (comp_pref); other than thanking; accepting & aligning (ADD); gustatory sounds (ADD)
REF (comp_pref)	the respondent reassigns the content of the Positive Remark to someone or something else	returning compliment (comp_pref); reassignment (ASS_pref)
REJ (comp_dispref)	the respondent rejects the content of the Positive Remark	request to refrain (comp_dispref); other than request to refrain
QUAL (comp_dispref)	the illocutionary force of the Positive Remark is qualified by downgrading	downgrading (comp_dispref); doubting (ASS_dispref); Upgrading (ASS_pref/comp_dispref)

(*continued*)

Table B.5 (*continued*)

Category	Description	Subcategory
REINT (amb_dispref)	some responses show that the respondent understands the Positive Remark as having another speech act function and reacts accordingly	apologizing; request interpretation – offering; request interpretation – no offering/rejecting; Offer interpretation; (thanking or rejecting); thanking interpretation (Thanks Minimizers follow); offering/advising/encouraging
OPT (amb)	participants in a conversation may choose to opt out and not say anything in response to a Positive Remark uttered; may be chosen by addressees as well as non-addressees by just saying something unrelated to the PosR	by referring to earlier/parallel topic; opting out by continuing; opting out by new question/topic
EXPL (amb_pref)	if a respondent answers with a comment or explanation, this strategy is assigned; the respondent explains or comments how positively evaluated things came about	Comment History of item/ Comment on item (amb_pref); Comment History of (absent) Person (amb_pref); (general) comment on situation; asking for clarification or explanation/ Question; Question minimal
AG (ASS_pref)	the respondent shows agreement with what the speaker claims with the PosR	agreement minimal; Mutual Knowledge; affirmative
DISAG (ASS_dispref)	the respondent disagrees with the content of the PosR	ASSESSMENT AS OVERRATED/DENIAL
LA	if laughter is the only response; does not say anything about whether or not this is friendly laughter	
UC (ADD)	these are instances of, e.g. overlapping or parallel talk, where no response strategy can be assigned	

Table B.6 shows the numbers that are displayed in Figure 5.1. The total amount of these codings in each group/category does not correlate exactly with the totals in Table 5.3. The reason for this has to do with practical applicabilities of the program MaxQDA. Some utterances overlap or are also coded for another PosR or a response in the same line and thus are counted twice. So instead of a total of 827 sentence types for _ADJ_, we find 842 sentence types in this category here.

Table B.6 Structural features of utterances in PosR sequences

Structural feature	_ADJ_	_NOUN_	_VERB_eval	Total
Declaratives	536	161	92	789
Interrogatives	19	8	4	31
Imperatives	5	2	0	7
Exclamatives	2	3	0	5
Elliptical	269	38	1	308
Interrupted	11	11	8	30
Total	842	223	105	1170

Table B.7 Distribution of Response Strategies

Response Strategy	N	%
APPRECIATION	40	4%
REFERENT SHIFT	4	0%
REJECTION	6	1%
QUALIFICATION	57	5%
REINTERPRETATION	35	3%
OPTING OUT	377	36%
EXPLAINING	152	14%
AGREEMENT	242	23%
DISAGREEMENT	28	3%
LAUGHTER	73	7%
UNCLEAR	37	4%
Total	1051	100%

Table B.8 Distribution Response Strategies and topic

	APP	REF	REJ	QUAL	REINT	OPT	EXPL	AG	DISAG	LA	UC	TOTAL
Appearance	5	0	1	6	0	18	11	17	3	4	6	71
Performance	7	1	2	17	7	49	40	55	2	22	6	208
Possession	13	2	0	5	8	33	30	32	3	2	7	135
Personality	0	0	0	7	0	21	8	15	4	6	1	62
Food	19	0	1	9	12	42	37	36	0	10	5	171
Abstract	3	2	2	7	4	79	29	54	8	16	7	211
Thing	1	0	0	3	3	8	8	6	2	2	0	33
Discourse	1	0	0	2	2	99	8	23	2	18	6	161
Misc	0	0	0	1	0	8	0	2	0	1	2	14
Total	49	5	6	57	36	357	171	240	24	81	40	1066

Table B.9 Interactional structure of the subcategory PRON/DET_head VERB (INT) ADJ

Formula	N	tusp	TUOTH	RERE	Difficult
_A2_ PRON/DET_head	360	107	162	6	85
VERB (INT) ADJ	100%	30%	45%	2%	24%
This/these VERB (INT)	30	9	12	3	6
ADJ	100%	30%	40%	10%	20%
That/those VERB (INT)	185	46	85	3	51
ADJ/Ø	100%	25%	46%	2%	28%
It VERB (INT) ADJ/Ø	141	49	65	0	27
	100%	35%	46%	0%	19%
PRON VERB (INT) ADJ	4	3	0	0	1

Table B.10 Distribution of Response Strategies used in _ADJ_ subcategories

Subcategory	APP	REF	REJ	QUAL	REINT	OPT	EXPL	AG	DISAG	LA	UC	Total
_A1_ Personal PRON VERB (INT) ADJ	6%	0%	4%	9%	4%	25%	13%	28%	3%	5%	5%	100%
_A2_ PRON/DET_Head VERB (INT) ADJ	5%	1%	0%	7%	5%	30%	17%	23%	2%	7%	3%	100%
_A3_ (DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	2%	0%	0%	7%	9%	19%	16%	33%	2%	7%	5%	100%
_A4_ elliptical_ADJ	3%	0%	0%	3%	2%	56%	7%	16%	0%	9%	4%	100%
_A5_ alternatives_ADJ	0%	0%	0%	4%	0%	36%	16%	24%	12%	4%	4%	100%
Total _ADJ_	4%	0%	1%	6%	4%	37%	13%	22%	2%	7%	4%	100%

Table B.11 Distribution of Response Strategies used in _NOUN_ subcategories

Subcategory	APP	REF	REJ	QUAL	REINT	OPT	EXPL	AG	DISAG	LA	UC	Total
_N1_ Personal PRON VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN	5%	2%	0%	5%	0%	31%	16%	31%	5%	2%	3%	100%
_N2_ PRON/Det_Head VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN	1%	0%	1%	2%	4%	41%	16%	20%	2%	7%	5%	100%
_N3_ (DET) NOUN VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	14%	29%	50%	0%	0%	0%	100%
_N4_ elliptical_NOUN	2%	2%	0%	4%	0%	38%	16%	18%	11%	4%	4%	100%
_N5_ alternatives_NOUN	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	36%	14%	36%	7%	7%	0%	100%
Total _NOUN_	3%	1%	0%	3%	1%	36%	16%	25%	5%	5%	4%	100%

Table B.12 Distribution of Response Strategies used in _VERB_eval subcategories

Subcategory	APP	REF	REJ	QUAL	REINT	OPT	EXPL	AG	DISAG	LA	UC	Total
_V1a_ Personal PRON VERB_ eval PRON	0%	0%	0%	20%	0%	20%	0%	60%	0%	0%	0%	100%
_V1b_ Personal PRON VERB_ eval DET_pron	4%	0%	0%	8%	4%	42%	21%	13%	4%	4%	0%	100%
_V2_ Personal PRON VERB_ eval (DET) NOUN	0%	0%	3%	0%	8%	26%	18%	32%	0%	13%	0%	100%
_V3_ (DET) Noun (INT) VERB_ eval (DET) Noun/DEM/PRON	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	22%	22%	22%	0%	33%	0%	100%
_V5_ alternatives_VERBS	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	25%	50%	0%	0%	0%	100%
_V6_ PRON VERB_eval (TO) V_inf sth.	11%	0%	0%	22%	0%	11%	22%	22%	0%	11%	0%	100%
Total _VERB_eval	2%	0%	1%	7%	4%	27%	20%	27%	1%	11%	0%	100%

Table B.13 Response Strategies distribution in _ADJ_ tuoth_non-add

Subcategory	APP	REF	REJ	QUAL	REINT	OPT	EXPL	AG	DISAG	LA	UC	Total
_A1_ Personal PRON VERB (INT) ADJ	2	0	2	3	3	11	3	7	1	2	0	34
_A2_ PRON/DET_Head VERB (INT) ADJ	1	1	0	3	4	18	17	21	2	9	1	77
_A3_ (DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	3	0	0	0	8
_A4_ (without subject/ elliptical_ADJ)	2	0	0	1	1	19	5	6	0	6	1	41
_A5_ alternatives_ADJ	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	5
Total _ADJ_ thuoth_non-add	5	1	2	8	9	52	28	38	3	17	2	165

Table B.14 Response Strategies distribution in _ADJ_ tuoth_add

Subcategory	APP	REF	REJ	QUAL	REINT	OPT	EXPL	AG	DISAG	LA	UC	Total
_A1_ Personal PRON VERB (INT) ADJ	4	0	2	4	1	10	6	5	1	2	0	35
_A2_ PRON/DET_Head VERB (INT) ADJ	6	1	0	12	6	36	24	15	3	3	1	107
_A3_ (DET) NOUN VERB (INT) ADJ	0	0	0	2	1	3	4	5	1	0	0	16
_A4_ (without subject/ elliptical_ADJ)	1	0	0	1	1	82	4	11	0	5	2	107
_A5_ alternatives_ADJ	0	0	0	1	0	2	3	3	2	0	0	11
Total _ADJ_ tuoth_add	11	1	2	20	9	133	41	39	7	10	3	276

Table B.15 Response Strategies distribution in _NOUN_ tuoth_non-add

Subcategory	APP	REF	REJ	QUAL	REINT	OPT	EXPL	AG	DISAG	LA	UC	Total
_N1_ Personal PRON VERB (INT) (ADJ) NOUN	0	0	0	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	6
_N2_ PRON/DET_Head VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN	1	0	0	0	1	6	4	4	0	0	1	17
_N3_ (DET) NOUN VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3
_N4_ elliptical_NOUN	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	0	1	8
_N5_ alternatives_NOUN	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	4
Total _NOUN_ tuoth_non-add	2	0	0	1	1	14	10	8	0	0	2	38

Table B.16 Response Strategies distribution in _NOUN_ tuoth_add

Subcategory	APP	REF	REJ	QUAL	REINT	OPT	EXPL	AG	DISAG	LA	UC	Total
_N1_ Personal PRON VERB (INT) (ADJ) NOUN	2	0	0	1	0	4	3	6	1	0	0	17
_N2_ PRON/DET_Head VERB (INT) (DET) ADJ NOUN	0	0	1	0	0	5	5	5	0	0	0	16
_N3_ (DET) NOUN VERB (INT) (DET) (ADJ) NOUN	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3
_N4_ elliptical_NOUN	0	1	0	0	0	4	2	4	1	0	0	12
_N5_ alternatives_NOUN	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3
Total _NOUN_ tuoth_add	2	1	1	1	0	13	12	19	2	0	0	51

Table B.17 Response Strategies distribution in _VERB_eval tuoth_non-add

Subcategory	APP	REF	REJ	QUAL	REINT	OPT	EXPL	AG	DISAG	LA	UC	Total
_V1_ Personal PRON VERB_ eval PRON	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
_V2_ Personal PRON VERB_ eval DET_pron	0	0	0	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	6
_V3_ Personal PRON VERB_ eval (DET) NOUN	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	3	0	1	0	8
_V4_ elliptical_VERB_eval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
_V5a_ (DET) Noun (INT) VERB_eval (DET) NOUN/DEM/ PRON	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	3
_V5b_ alternatives_VERBS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
_V6_ PRON VERB_eval (TO) V_inf sth.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
_VERB_eval tuoth_non-add	0	0	0	1	0	8	3	4	0	3	0	19

Table B.18 Response Strategies distribution in _VERB_eval tuoth_add

Subcategory	APP	REF	REJ	QUAL	REINT	OPT	EXPL	AG	DISAG	LA	UC	Total
_V1_ Personal PRON VERB_ eval PRON	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
_V2_ Personal PRON VERB_ eval DET_pron	0	0	0	1	1	4	4	2	1	0	0	13
_V3_ Personal PRON VERB_ eval (DET) NOUN	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	2	0	0	0	9
_V4_ elliptical_VERB_eval	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
_V5a_ (DET) Noun (INT) VERB_eval (DET) NOUN/ DEM/PRON	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
_V5b_ alternatives_VERBS	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	3
_V6_ PRON VERB_eval (TO) V_inf sth.	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	6
Total _VERB_eval TUOTH_add	1	0	0	5	2	6	10	7	1	1	0	33

Table B.19 Address in PosR

Addressee	N
Immediate interlocutor (you/name)	161
Conversation participant/passive bystander	24
Self-assessing/self-centered	246
Absent person	218
Possessive pronoun	31
Agent avoider/neutral agents	263
Thing	412
Abstract notion	353
General statement	73
General "you"	25

Table B.20 Wordlist of chosen texts (top 20)

Rank	Word
1	I
2	the
3	and
4	you
5	it
6	a
7	that
8	to
9	yeah
10	know
11	like
12	was
13	in
14	they
15	oh
16	of
17	it's
18	is
19	he
20	what

APPENDIX C

Additional figures

In the following figures, the next turns by another speaker (tuoth) from addressee (add) and non-addressee (non-add) are displayed in the working model. The 'non-addressee' numbers or percentages are always given at first place, then the 'addressee' values. The first Figure C.1, is on the distribution for the _ADJ_ supercategory. It can be seen that OPTING OUT is used by far most often as a strategy in the _ADJ_ category. Yet, it can also be seen that more of the non-addressee speakers agree with the Positive Remark (AGREEMENT: 23% non-addressees vs. 14% addressees agreeing).

Figure C.2 displays the distribution of the Response Strategies of 'non-addressees' and 'addressees' in the _NOUN_ sequences. A tendency can be described that the _NOUN_ Positive Remarks evoke associations with positive assessments with the addressees reacting to this Positive Remark since the majority responds with something that can be coded as AGREEMENT whereas the non-addressees speaking after such a PosR rather use OPTING OUT as a strategy to continue the conversation.

In Figure C.3, the numbers for the _VERB_eval sequences are displayed. The Response Strategies chosen by addressees to respond to a PosR of this supercategory seems to imply an understanding rather of a positive assessment than a compliment by the speaker of the PosR: over 50% of the responses can be coded as EXPLAINING or AGREEMENT, which are usually not seen as preferred as responses to compliments. The non-addressees seem to judge these Positive Remarks as ambiguous when not answering but instead OPTING OUT. Of course, it needs to be kept in mind that the overall numbers for the _VERB_eval sequences are not that high, and even more so, the TUOTH turns in the sequences are only slightly over 50 instances. Thus, the results shown here can show no more than a mere tendency for the conversations analyzed in the present study.

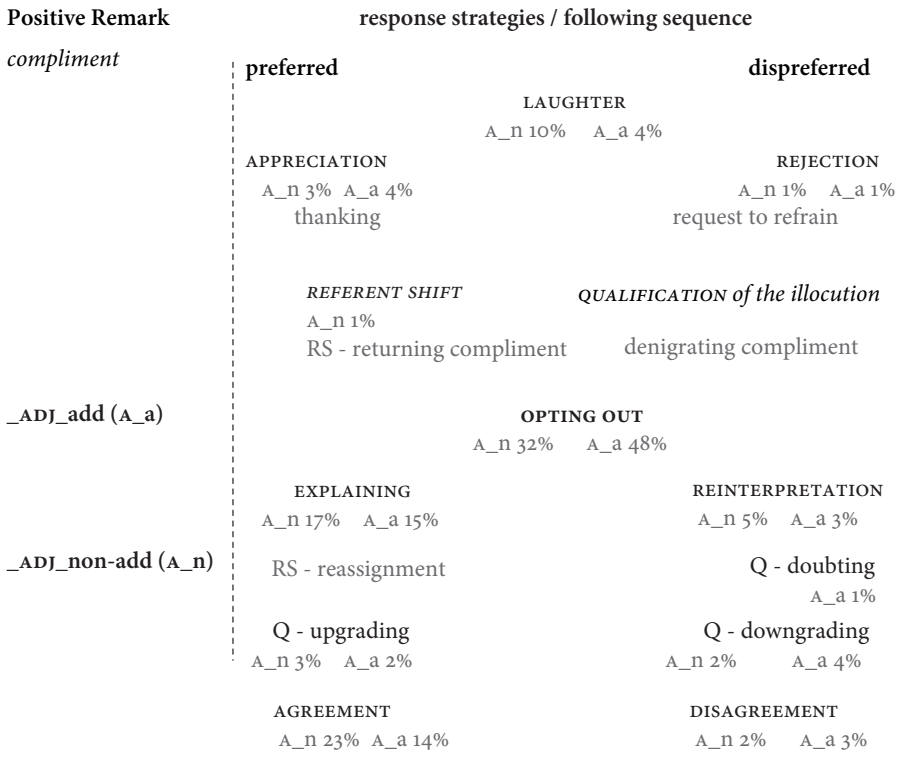


Figure C.1 Applying the numbers of the next turns to _ADJ_ to the model

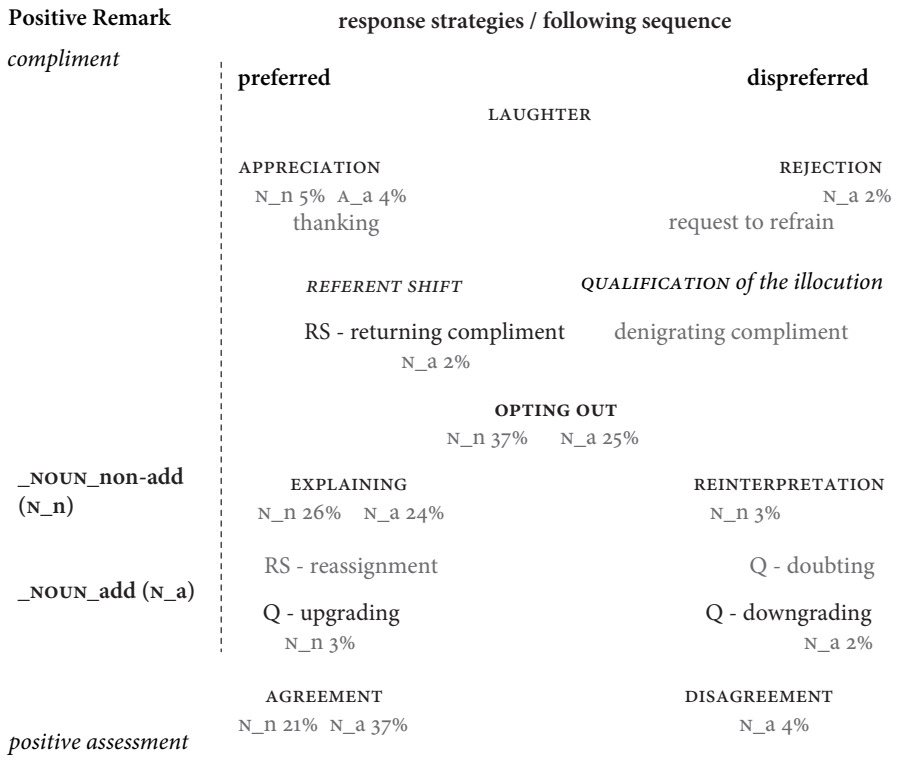


Figure C.2 Applying the numbers of the next turns to _NOUN_ to the model

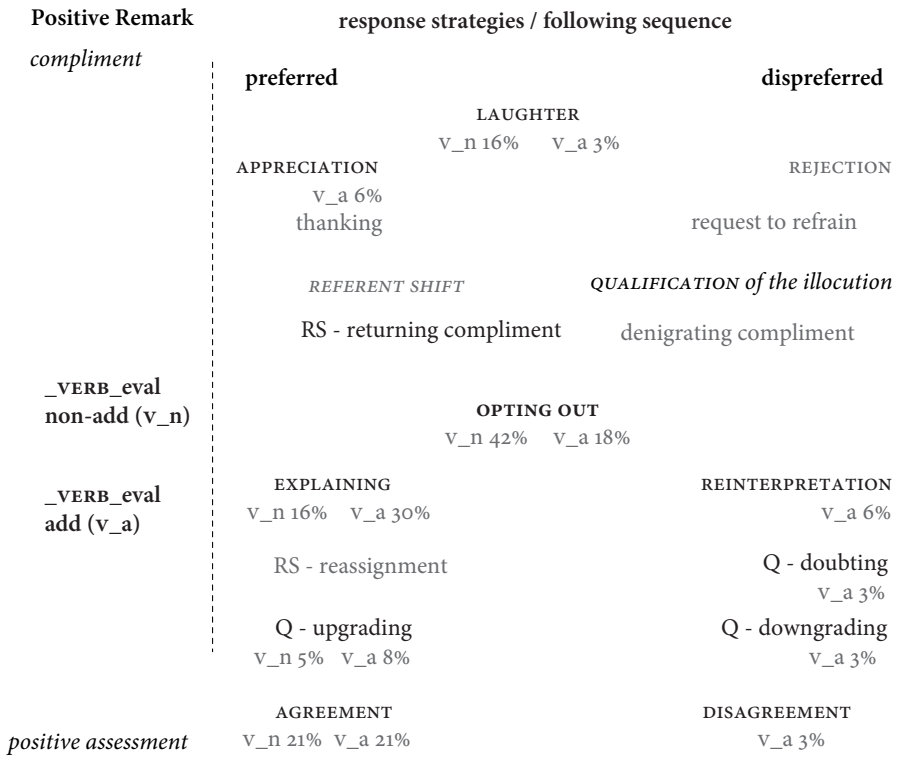


Figure C.3 Applying the numbers of the next turns to _VERB_eval to the model

Index

Compliments are among the most widely studied speech acts in pragmatics. The present study takes a new sequential approach by investigating compliments in context, considering compliment form, as part of a Positive Remark continuum, with the respective Response Strategy uttered in response. Analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively in multi-party conversations of the Santa Barbara Corpus of American English, the sequences suggest a connection between the address and reference terms in the Positive Remarks and the strategies chosen as a response.

ISBN 978 90 272 0077 8

John Benjamins Publishing Company