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Citation for final published version:

Reichelt, Susan 2017. Aijmer, K. & Ruhlemann, C.: Corpus Pragmatics: A Handbook [Book Review]. Corpus Pragmatics 1 (1), pp. 85-90. 10.1007/s41701-016-0002-7

Publishers page: http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s41701-016-0002-7

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2 BOOK REVIEW



Aijmer, K. & Rühlemann, C.: Corpus Pragmatics: A Handbook

5 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2015

6 Susan Reichelt¹

7 Received: 28 October 2016 / Accepted: 31 October 2016

8 © Springer International Publishing AG 2016

1 AQL Corpus pragmatics is an emerging field that, over the past decade or so, has received increasing attention from linguists. The reviewed volume is the first handbook under 11 12 this sub-discipline, bringing together a multitude of studies investigating pragmatic features with corpus linguistic methods. As such, it is of interest to newcomers to 13 14 the field of corpus pragmatics on all academic levels as well as scholars from any field that are interested in new approaches. The chapters are great resources on 15 individual pragmatic features and can be used as stand-alone references with the 16 17 handbook as a whole serving as a remarkable collection of avenues taken within this 18 new discipline. 1 AQ2 Pragmatics, fully established in the late 1970s, investigates how language is used for communicative purposes. It, therefore, includes foci not on the literal meanings 20 21 of words and sentences alone, but also on social and cultural readings of the 22 utterances and their speakers. Research within pragmatics usually follows a 23 "horizontal reading" of text (further detailed in the introductory chapter, p. 3), 24 meaning close analyses of the immediate linguistic context of an utterance in which 25 it appears as well as broader situational contexts. With such intricate analyses

needed, data for pragmatic research has usually been quite limited to very specific text samples. The broad-sweeping comparisons across different texts have hence been difficult. The utterance-context specific interpretations seemingly limited the field to small-scale analyses—that is, until corpus linguistics found ways to not only comprise large amounts of language data, but also offer specialised corpora with

sophisticated methods of annotation accommodating to the needs of pragmatics.
 More and more corpora are constructed that include not just text fragments, but

33 whole texts, providing background information on speakers and listeners, as well as

34 situational and conversational contexts (cf. Chapman 2011: 187). Further, with

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	Journal : Small-ext 41701	Dispatch : 15-11-2016	Pages : 6
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technological advances, annotation and tagging of existing texts have become more and more versatile and applicable in various research areas, from historical linguistics over stylistics to linguistic anthropology. For pragmatics in particular this offers the possibility to find patterns across texts and further our knowledge of how certain features are used for communicative purposes in a wider sense, not just within limited contexts.

41 Both pragmatics and corpus linguistics are relative newcomers to the broad field 42 of linguistics and corpus pragmatics as the intersection of both, albeit currently still 43 rather small in comparison to other sub-disciplines due to the need for specialized 44 corpora, offers invaluable insights into how language is used for communicative 45 purposes. Corpus Pragmatics—A Handbook is a collection of studies that presents 46 recent work in this field and aims to "look at how the use of corpus data has 47 informed research into different key aspects of pragmatics" (summary from the 48 back of the book). I will give an evaluation of whether this was attained after a brief 49 summary of the contents of the volume itself.

50 After the introductory chapter, which highlights the particularities of corpus pragmatic research in general, the volume is divided into six parts, each focusing on 51 52 a particular theme from pragmatics (speech acts, pragmatic principles, pragmatic markers, evaluation, reference, and turn-taking). With the high number of individual 53 54 contributions, 16 studies by 21 researchers, it would be impractical to give detailed 55 accounts on all of these. Instead, I will highlight the ways in which they are embedded within corpus pragmatics as a new methodological field and how they 56 57 enhance given pragmatic theories.

58 Part 1: Corpora and Speech Acts

59 Speech acts have been investigated through corpus linguistic methods in a number 60 of studies (mentioned here are for instance Aijmer 1996; Weisser 2003; Adolphs 61 2008) and the investigations in this section add substantially to what is currently 62 known of general patterns of speech acts and, in particular, how corpus pragmatics 63 as a field can be used to further explore this area. Problems arising, as pointed out in 64 the first study by McAllister (pp. 29–51) on indirect directives, are that speech acts 65 are not easily defined by a given set of lexical features. They need to be sought and 66 coded manually, a time-intensive endeavour that cannot yet be sidestepped with 67 corpus methods. Annotation or tagging of corpus data and issues connected to this 68 are a reoccurring theme, not only reiterated by the other two studies in this section 69 of the book [Kohnen on a diachronic perspective on speech acts (pp. 52-83) and 70 Weisser on annotation of speech acts (pp. 84–113)], but throughout the volume. 71 A trend throughout most of the studies included here seems to be a combination of 72 annotation methods with initial automated coding followed by manual proofs.

The studies presented in this chapter offer new insights into pragmatic theories, as well as corpus pragmatics as a new methodological field. In terms of theory, both McAllister and Kohnen present new findings of speech acts in synchronic as well as diachronic language use respectively. Methodologically, Weisser investigates semiautomatic annotation models for pragmatic research in general and how they apply

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to speech acts in particular. This chapter stands out for its very thorough treatmentof technological challenges to a corpus approach.

80 Part 2: Corpora and Pragmatic Principles

81 In this section pragmatic principles and corpus investigations thereof are introduced: 82 Kaltenböck focuses on processibility (pp. 117–142), Andersen on relevance theory (pp. 118-168), and Diani on politeness (pp. 169-191). Here we find studies 83 84 highlighting the advantages of conducting large-scale research. Given the availability of data (in Kaltenböck's study for instance, appropriate texts from 85 different time periods that will allow for investigations on language change), a 86 87 corpus can give insights into pragmatic principles not only on "the level of individual usage but also on a more general structural level" (p. 118). Andersen, in 88 89 the following study, argues for corpus methods that not only broaden our understanding of pragmatic principles, but that broaden our understanding in a way 90 that is unachievable by other, more traditional methods for pragmatic research (p. 91 92 143). Looking at incoming discourse markers, Andersen shows how to systemat-93 ically investigate relevance theory and argues that existing literature focuses too 94 much on more traditional markers in a field ripe with innovation. He suggests that 95 corpus pragmatics offers possibilities to conduct research cross-linguistically and to 96 look into the development of items such as discourse markers through processes of 97 borrowing, etc.

98 The third study of this section, by Diani, follows this notion in examining 99 mitigated criticism strategies across two sets of cultural contexts: Italian and English 100 academic book review articles. In terms of employing cross-cultural studies through 101 corpus-pragmatic methods, it is pointed out here that the quantitative aspect of using 102 corpora is not the only advantage. As has been highlighted in sections before, the 103 opportunity to identify pragmatic patterns is one of the greatest assets of this new 104 sub-field of study, one that needs to be further exploited.

105 Part 3: Corpora and Pragmatic Markers

106 With reference to pragmatic principles, as covered in the previous part, this 107 chapter of the volume investigates corpus-led studies of pragmatic markers (Aijmer, 108 pp. 195–218) and stance taking (Gray and Biber, pp. 219–248), areas that have seen a fair share of corpus treatment before. Both studies reflect on the versatility of 109 110 markers, either for their unclear set of definitions, their various functions, or their possible implicitness. All of these present challenges to corpus pragmatic studies in 111 112 that they demand manual annotation where this is missing, as well as appropriate 113 background information about the situational context of the utterance for tagging and coding, all depending on the feature. As mentioned in the final study of this 114 115 section (Norrick, pp. 249-275), corpus investigations are not always straightforward, not even with those features that are relatively clearly defined in their form 116 117 and function, such as the here discussed interjections (including primary

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interjections oh or uh), as well as secondary interjections (such as gosh, yuck, or golly). With automated tagging often inconsistent across corpora, manual analysis is seemingly inevitable, particularly in the case of secondary interjections (those that belong to other word classes). Norrick presents a thorough portrayal of corpus work that has been undertaken in terms of interjections, including notes on corpora of various sizes and why both small and big corpora deserve a place in corpus pragmatic methodologies.

125 Part 4: Corpora and Evaluation

126 The two papers in this part of the volume present corpus-pragmatic work on prosody 127 (Partington, pp. 279-303) and tails (Timmis, pp. 304-327). Partington specifically highlights the advantages of corpus methods when introducing his study, which 128 129 investigates evaluative prosody and how patterns can be traced in both synchronic and diachronic contexts. He concludes by stating that corpus methods allow for 130 "more rigorous and more subtle analysis" (p. 301) than what was previously 131 132 possible in tracking co-occurrence of lexical items with reference to evaluation. 133 Timmis's study illustrates considerations of comparability between three corpora 134 and how one can use corpora in socio-pragmatic research. He also compliments the 135 opportunity to trace systematic feature uses and their functions in communicative 136 contexts with new and advanced corpus methods. Both studies highlight the 137 potential of corpus methods in pragmatics and how they advance the field in finding 138 structure in language use that was previously difficult to map appropriately across 139 corpora with reference to genre and time.

140 Part 5: Corpora and Reference

141 The two papers presented under the research area of reference emphasize the need 142 for specialized corpora for corpus-pragmatic research. The first (Rühlemann and 143 O'Donnell on deixis, pp. 331–359) is highly reliant on the thorough annotation of 144 texts going beyond POS tagging and into various layers including for instance 145 participant status or discourse presentation (see p. 342). They call for furthering the 146 annotation of corpus data in order to truly benefit from corpus methods in pragmatic 147 research.
148 The study following this (Cheng and O'Keeffe on vagueness, pp. 360–378)

The study following this (Cheng and O'Keeffe on vagueness, pp. 360–378) exemplifies this call in lamenting the lack of vague language tagging, which causes "meticulous trawling of general searches" (p. 365). Manual tagging aside however, they conclude that corpus-based studies offer a better and more thorough understanding of language patterns and are able to show how features are embedded in various contexts.

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154 Part 6: Corpora and Turn-Taking

155 The final part of the volume presents three studies on devices of turn-taking. Tottie 156 (pp. 381–407) discusses the function of turn-medial fillers *uh* and *uhm* and adds to 157 previous accounts that they function not only as turn-holding devices, but similarly as turn-planners (p. 399). Previous corpus accounts of the feature yielded a vast 158 159 amount of comparable data; however, with most corpora missing utterance context—such as the subjective matter of turn position (p. 393)—definite pragmatic 160 161 functions with reference to turn-taking and management are not easily assigned. 162 Here it becomes apparent that not only the feature itself is difficult to find and to 163 classify, but its surrounding context might be just as fickle. Moving on to 164 backchannels (Peters and Wong, pp. 408–429) the notion of context clarification is 165 further explored.

166 Here, not only the textual context is mentioned as vital in analysing pragmatic 167 functions. Multimodal considerations, such as facial expression or gestures, are 168 equally telling in corpus pragmatic analyses and should therefore not be ignored.

In their study, Peters and Wong highlight the technological advances of using
 corpus methods and including accurate timelines to their research, which advances
 previous accounts on the importance of backchannels for turn-management.

The final study in the volume presents the notion of co-constructed turn-taking (Clancy and McCarthy, pp. 430–453) and investigates patterns occurring at turnboundaries. Similarly to many of the other studies discussed in the volume, they mention tedious tagging as part of the analysis process. Nevertheless, it seems that throughout the research presented here, the oftentimes lengthy manual annotation is worthwhile in terms of the findings gained.

This is one of the main implications that the book not only set out to achieve, but indeed presented thoroughly through detailed accounts of recent and relevant research. Even though many existing corpora have not (yet) been provided with the detailed contexts and annotations needed for pragmatic studies, it becomes clear that this is a mere setback that is made up for by explorations of new patterns, systematic structures and regulations that were previously undiscernible.

The studies chosen for the volume work well together and give a broad overview on the various areas pragmatics is interested in. The six parts are well structured and the individual chapters complement each other in a way that a range of views and methods are offered for similar foci. This enables the reader to get a rounded picture of the new methodological possibilities, as well as occurring challenges that might be of interest.

190 Unfortunately, not all studies manage to point out in detail where the advantages 191 (or disadvantages) of corpus pragmatics in comparison to more traditional 192 pragmatic methods lie. Further, it would have been welcomed to read more about 193 constraints in choosing the right corpora for specific research areas that demand 194 particular annotation. While most studies mention annotation as a problem in terms 195 of context-bound analyses, they do not go into detail as to what that means for 196 corpus pragmatics as a field. This volume being the first handbook on this emerging

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197 research area especially, it would have been appreciated to see more methodological 198 reflection on this part. 199

In terms of offering an overview of the main areas of pragmatic research. however, the handbook excels in giving thorough examples of corpus methods. It remains exciting to see how the increasing availability of new corpora, as well as new methods of annotating pragmatic functions will further this field. As Rühlemann alludes to in the introduction, the expansion of this field is highly dependent on advancement of technological means, aiming towards (semi-)automatic annotations "that are not only more resource-economic but also more efficient" (p. 13). Regarding this point, it was surprising not to see more mention of multimodal research. Apart from some studies employing time-stamped corpora, there is a lack of accounts on multimodal means that are surely applicable and possibly further progressive to current theories. This is especially surprising considering Rühlemann's previous call for multimodal methods as being inevitable challenges in future pragmatic endeavours (2010: 298–299).

212 While an inclusion of multimodal methods would have certainly added another 213 layer of theoretical considerations to this volume, it is clear that as it stands it 214 already offers a vast amount of research to the reader, making this a small complaint 215 of an otherwise thorough and expertly presented handbook. In conclusion then, 216 Corpus Pragmatics—A Handbook provides a well-rounded and thorough overview 217 of major pragmatic areas and their take on corpus linguistic methods. It enriches the 218 field in expanding as well as challenging common theories through new findings, 219 guiding the reader through the process of combining two fields of linguistics that 220 have been thought to be "not unproblematic" (Rühlemann 2010: 289).

221 The handbook introduces a new field of linguistic study, promising for its 222 exciting new insights into pragmatics and challenging for further developments of corpus methods. 223

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