

COMPLIMENTS AND COMPLIMENT RESPONSES IN TURKISH AND
AMERICAN ENGLISH: A CONTRASTIVE PRAGMATICS STUDY OF A
FACEBOOK CORPUS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY
FUNDA DÖRTKULAK

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

OCTOBER 2017

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

COMPLIMENTS AND COMPLIMENT RESPONSES IN TURKISH AND AMERICAN ENGLISH: A CONTRASTIVE PRAGMATICS STUDY OF A FACEBOOK CORPUS

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October 2017, 321 pages

This corpus-driven study aims at analyzing Turkish and American interactants' monolingual compliment exchanges in *Facebook* photo comments to reveal cross-cultural and gender-based tendencies. For this purpose, a corpus of 2000 compliment exchanges were compiled evenly from the four target groups (TF, TM, AEF, AEM). The analyses were based on the classification of compliment responses and structural, topical and functional patterns of compliments in Nvivo 11 and intercultural and gender-based intracultural comparisons in SPSS 22. The findings revealed that all informant groups pay more compliments to the people of their own gender, with women paying more compliments overall. The structural and lexical formulae evident in American data are not applicable for Turkish, which carry more idiolectal tendencies. Turkish and American male and female compliments revealed striking similarities in terms of topical and functional distribution with more than 80% of the data functioning as approval/admiration compliments. Compliment responses have been analyzed in two ways: according to modes and classification of the content of the verbal responses. The button *like* and verbal appreciation tokens are the most common response strategies in both datasets. Unique cultural elements were identified for Turkish, including wishes to God, belief in the evil eye and the use of sarcastic utterances and negatively loaded words. The findings suggest that compliments in different languages and modes of communication necessitate further research and has much to contribute to the field of pragmatics.

Keywords: Facebook, Compliments, Compliment Responses, Topics, Functions

ÖZ

BİR KARŞILAŞTIRMALI EDİMBİLİM ÇALIŞMASI: TÜRKÇE VE AMERİKAN İNGİLİZCESİNDE SOSYAL MEDYADA KULLANILAN İLTİFATLAR VE İLTİFATLARA VERİLEN YANITLAR

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Tez Danışmanı: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Hale Işık Güler

Ekim 2017, 321 sayfa

Bu derlem çalışması, kültürlerarası ve cinsiyet temelli dil kullanımlarını ortaya çıkarmak için Türk ve Amerikalı katılımcıların anadillerindeki Facebook fotoğraf yorumlarındaki iltifat içerikli konuşmalarını analiz etmeyi hedeflemektedir. Bu amaçla dört grup katılımcıdan (Türk erkek /kadın, Amerikalı erkek / kadın) eşit sayılarda olmak üzere toplam 2000 iltifat içeren konuşma toplanmıştır. Analizler iltifatların yapıları, konuları ve işlevleri ile iltifatlara verilen yanıtların sınıflandırılması için Nvivo 11 kullanılarak, kültürlerarası ve cinsiyet odaklı kıyaslamalar için ise SPSS 22 kullanılarak yapılmıştır. Bulgular kadınların erkeklerden daha fazla iltifat ettiğini ve dört katılımcı grubun da (ise) kendi cinsiyetindeki kişilere iltifat etmeye daha eğilimli olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. İngilizce Türkçeye göre daha basmakalıp yapılar barındırırken Türkçede daha kişiye özgü dil kullanımları bulunmaktadır. İltifatların konuları ve işlevleri ile ilgili Türkçe ve İngilizce bulgular önemli benzerlikler taşımaktadır. İltifatlara verilen yanıtlar iki şekilde incelenmiştir. İlk inceleme yöntemi yanıtın nasıl verildiğine odaklanmaktadır. Facebook'un sunduğu “beğen” tuşu ile yanıt her iki dilde de en çok kullanılan yöntemdir. Sözlü iltifatların içeriğinde ise taktir işaretlerinin her iki dilde de en sık kullanılan sözlü yanıt tekniği olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Özellikle Türkçe derlemde nazar kavramı, kinayeli kullanımlar ve olumsuz anlama gelen kelimelerin iltifat etmek için kullanımını gibi kültüre has özellikler bulunmaktadır. Bulgular, farklı dillerde ve farklı iletişim araçları üzerinden yapılan iletişimlerde iltifat söz-eylemlerinin daha fazla çalışılması

gerektiđini, ve bu bulguların edimbilim alanına önemli katkılarda bulunabileceđinin altını çizmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Facebook, İltifatlar, İltifat Yanıtları, Konular, İşlevler

to every single experience I have,
which made me the person I am now....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to many precious people in my life who have contributed to this dissertation in different ways. First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Assist. Prof. Dr. Hale Işık-Güler without whose patience and support I would not be able to achieve this work. Her deep knowledge, guidance and support from the beginning to the end has shed light on the challenging path I have been walking through. This study wouldn't have been accomplished without her endless patience and encouragement.

I would also like to express my thanks to my committee members Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nurdan Gürbüz for her comments and contributions and Assist. Prof. Dr. Olcay Sert for his valuable and constructive feedback. Their invaluable suggestions and guidance in the long meetings we had have made this work the way it is now. I am also eminently grateful to Assist. Prof. Dr. Cemal Çakır and Assist. Prof. Dr. Betül Bal Gezeğin for their precious feedback and suggestions for further research.

I wish to express my thanks to all my colleagues at Çankaya University Preparatory School of English (CUPS) and especially my director Dr. Bülent İnal for their support. I also would like to express my deepest thanks to all my students who have made me a “teacher”, the title I have always been proud of having.

My deepest thanks are for my family, Nebahat and Hulusi Dörtkulak. I would specifically thank to my father, who has believed in me since the first years of my life. The childhood stories he told, the educational games we played and his effort “to teach” anything he knows has made me the person I am. The strength he saw in me even when I was five ensured the long journey of education I would go through. I would also like to express my deep love to my brother, Selçuk Dörtkulak and his wife and my sister Nihan Zerey Dörtkulak who are always there for me, which makes me a stonger person in life.

Last but not the least, I am one of the luckiest people on earth who have so many friends to make a family to her. With them in my life, the only thing I am afraid

of is “nazar” for all the love we have in our hearts, all the memories we share, all the parties we make, all the travels we go and such perfect 30s we have☺. I cannot find words enough to express my love and gratefullnes for having such a big family of friends around me. Thank you for being there and being my friends.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	Error! Bookmark not defined.
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ.....	v
DEDICATION	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xvii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xxi
LIST OF SAMPLES	xxii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xxvii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Presentation.....	1
1.1. Background to the Study	1
1.1.1. Compliments	4
1.1.2. Compliment Responses	6
1.2. Statement of the Problem	7
1.3. Purpose and Scope.....	8
1.4. Significance of the Study.....	9
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	13
2.0 Presentation.....	13
2.1. Theoretical Framework.....	13
2.1.1. Speech Act Theory	13
2.1.2. Goffman: ‘Face’ and ‘Observant Participant’	18
2.1.3. Theories of Politeness	19
2.1.3.1. Grice and the Cooperative Principle	19
2.1.3.2. Brown and Levinson’s Politeness Theory.....	21
2.1.3.3. Leech and the Politeness Maxims	24
2.1.3.4. Spencer-Oatey’s Rapport Management Model	26
2.1.4. Pragmatics across Cultures.....	29

2.1.5.	Computer Mediated Communication	31
2.2.	Previous Literature	32
2.2.1.	The Concept of Compliments	32
2.2.2.	The Concept of Compliment Responses.....	35
2.2.3.	Studies on Compliments and Compliment Responses	36
3.	METHOD OF RESEARCH.....	49
3.0	Presentation	49
3.1.	Research Questions	49
3.2.	Design of the Study	50
3.2.1.	Data Sources	51
3.2.1.1.	Native Speakers of Turkish	52
3.2.1.2.	Native Speakers of American English.....	53
3.3.	Ethical Issues.....	53
3.4.	Data Collection Choices Made	55
3.4.1.	Why Naturally Occurring Data?	55
3.4.2.	Why Facebook?	56
3.5.	Data Collection Procedures.....	58
3.5.1.	Selecting Participants.....	58
3.5.2.	Selecting Photographs	58
3.5.3.	Selecting Compliments	58
3.6.	Data Analysis	59
3.6.1.	Nvivo Analyses.....	60
3.6.2.	SPSS Analyses.....	61
3.6.2.1.	Odds Ratio	61
3.6.2.2.	Shapiro-Wilk Normality Test	61
3.6.2.3.	Independent Samples T-Test	62
3.6.2.4.	Mann-Whitney U Test	62
3.7.	Pilot Study.....	62
3.7.1.	Participants in the Pilot Study.....	64
3.7.2.	Data Collection Procedures	65
3.7.3.	Data Analysis Procedures	65
3.7.4.	Data Presentation Procedures	66
3.7.5.	The Results of the Pilot Study	68

3.7.5.1.	Results on the Structures of Compliments	69
3.7.5.2.	Results on the Topics of Compliments	73
3.7.5.3.	Results on the Functions of Compliments.....	75
3.7.5.4.	Results on the Unique Cultural Elements of Compliments.	76
3.7.5.5.	Pilot Study Results on Compliment Responses	78
3.8.	Classification of Compliments and Compliment Responses.....	80
3.8.1.	Classification of Compliments	80
3.8.1.1.	Structure of Compliments	81
3.8.1.2.	Topics of Compliments	84
3.8.1.3.	Functions of Compliments	85
3.8.1.4.	Unique Cultural Elements in the Data.....	86
3.8.2.	Classification of Compliment Responses.....	87
3.9.	Reliability and Validity Issues.....	89
4.	COMPLIMENTS IN TURKISH FBCC	90
4.0	Presentation.....	90
4.1.	Structure of Compliments.....	91
4.1.1.	Statements	92
4.1.1.1.	Differentiating between Tensed-S and Non-finite Structures in T	92
4.1.1.2.	Statements in FBCC-T	96
4.1.2.	Words/Phrases - Nonfinite Structures	103
4.1.2.1.	Revisiting Non-finiteness in T	104
4.1.2.2.	Non-finiteness in FBCC-T	104
4.1.3.	Wh- Elements	106
4.1.3.1.	The Use of Wh- Elements in T.....	107
4.1.3.2.	Wh- Elements in FBCC-T.....	111
4.1.4.	Yes/No Questions.....	112
4.1.4.1.	The Use of ‘mi’ [Yes/No] Questions in T	112
4.1.4.2.	Yes/No Questions in FBCC-T.....	114
4.1.5.	Imperatives	117
4.1.5.1.	The Use of Imperative Mood in T.....	117
4.1.5.2.	Imperative Structures in FBCC-T	120
4.1.6.	Combination of Structures	123
4.1.6.1.	Working Definition	123

4.1.6.2.	Combination of Structures in FBCC-T	128
4.2.	Topics of Compliments	129
4.2.1.	Appearance	132
4.2.2.	Photo	140
4.2.3.	Possessions	143
4.2.4.	Personality	148
4.2.5.	Performance	151
4.2.6.	T- Combination.....	154
4.2.7.	Unclear.....	155
4.3.	Functions of Compliments in FBCC-T.....	159
4.3.1.	Approval/Admiration.....	160
4.3.2.	Solidarity.....	162
4.3.3.	Sarcasm.....	163
4.3.4.	Rare Functions in FBCC-T	165
4.4.	Responses to Compliments in FBCC-T	166
4.4.1.	Mode of Responses in FBCC	166
4.4.2.	Types of Compliment Responses in FBCC-T	169
4.4.2.1.	Appreciation Token	170
4.4.2.2.	Comment Acceptance.....	171
4.4.2.3.	Returning	172
4.4.2.4.	Combination	173
4.4.2.5.	Rare Strategies to Respond to Compliments	174
5.	COMPLIMENTS AND COMPLIMENT RESPONSES IN FBCC-AE.....	175
5.0	Presentation	175
5.1.	Structure of Compliments	176
5.1.1.	Statements.....	177
5.1.1.1.	Differentiating between Tensed-S and Non-finite Structures in AE	177
5.1.1.2.	Statements in FBCC-AE.....	178
5.1.2.	Words/Phrases- Nonfinite Structures	182
5.1.2.1.	Revisiting Non-finiteness in AE.....	182
5.1.2.2.	Non-finiteness in AE	183
5.1.3.	Wh- Elements	184
5.1.3.1.	The Use of Wh- Elements in AE.....	184

5.1.3.2.	Wh- Elements in FBCC-AE.....	187
5.1.4.	Yes/No Questions.....	188
5.1.4.1.	The Use of Yes/No Questions in AE.....	188
5.1.4.2.	Yes/No Questions in FBCC-AE.....	189
5.1.5.	Imperatives.....	190
5.1.5.1.	The Use of Imperative Mood in AE.....	190
5.1.5.2.	Imperative Structures in FBCC-AE.....	191
5.1.6.	Combination of Structures.....	191
5.1.6.1.	A Working Definition.....	191
5.1.6.2.	Combination of Structures in FBCC-AE.....	197
5.2.	Topics of Compliments.....	198
5.2.1.	Appearance.....	200
5.2.2.	Photo.....	204
5.2.3.	Possessions.....	206
5.2.4.	Personality.....	208
5.2.5.	Performance.....	209
5.2.6.	T- Combination.....	210
5.2.7.	Unclear.....	212
5.3.	Functions of Compliments in FBCC-AE.....	214
5.3.1.	Approval/Admiration.....	216
5.3.2.	Solidarity.....	217
5.3.3.	Sarcasm.....	218
5.3.4.	Rare Functions in FBCC-AE.....	219
5.4.	Responses to Compliments in FBCC-AE.....	219
5.4.1.	Modes of Responses in FBCC-AE.....	220
5.4.2.	Types of Compliment Responses in FBCC-AE.....	221
5.4.2.1.	Appreciation Token.....	221
5.4.2.2.	Comment Acceptance.....	222
5.4.2.3.	Returning.....	223
5.4.2.4.	Combination.....	224
5.4.2.5.	Rare Strategies to Respond to Compliments.....	225
6.	A COMPARISON OF FBCC-T AND FBCC-AE.....	227
6.0	Presentation.....	227

6.1.	Structure of Compliments	229
6.1.1.	Statements	230
6.1.1.1.	A Comparison of Finiteness in T and AE.....	230
6.1.1.2.	Statements in FBCC	231
6.1.2.	Words/Phrases- Nonfinite Structures	233
6.1.2.1.	Word Frequency Analyses.....	234
6.1.3.	Wh- Elements	235
6.1.4.	Yes/No Questions	237
6.1.5.	Imperatives	238
6.1.6.	Combination of Structures	240
6.2.	Topics of Compliments	242
6.2.1.	Appearance	245
6.2.2.	Photo	249
6.2.3.	Possessions	251
6.2.4.	Personality	252
6.2.5.	Performance	254
6.2.6.	T- Combination.....	256
6.2.7.	Unclear.....	257
6.3.	Functions of Compliments	259
6.3.1.	Approval/Admiration.....	262
6.3.2.	Solidarity.....	263
6.3.3.	Sarcasm.....	264
6.3.4.	Rare Functions in FBCC.....	265
6.4.	Responses to Compliments in FBCC.....	265
6.4.1.	Modes of Responses in FBCC.....	266
6.4.2.	Types of Compliment Responses in FBCC	267
6.4.2.1.	Appreciation Token	268
6.4.2.2.	Comment Acceptance	269
6.4.2.3.	Returning	269
6.4.2.4.	Combination	270
6.4.2.5.	Rare Strategies to Respond to Compliments	271
7.	CONCLUSION.....	272
7.0	Presentation	272

7.1. Summary of the Aims and the Scope	272
7.2. Summary of the Results.....	274
7.3. Implications for EFL and TFL.....	284
7.4. Limitations of the Study and Implications for Further Research ...	285
7.5. Final Word.....	286
APPENDICES.....	297
APPENDIX A: Classification of Structure of Compliments	297
APPENDIX B: Classification of Topic of Compliments.....	298
APPENDIX C: Classification of Functions of Compliments	299
APPENDIX D: Classification of Compliment Responses.....	300
APPENDIX E: VITA	301
APPENDIX F: TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET	302
APPENDIX G: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu.....	321

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1: Gricean Maxims	20
Table 2: Leech's Politeness Maxims	24
Table 3: Components of Rapport Management	28
Table 4: Results on Structures of Cs in the Pilot Study	72
Table 5: Results on Topics of Cs in the Pilot Study	73
Table 6: Results on Functions of Cs in the Pilot Study	75
Table 7: Results on Unique Cultural Elements in the Pilot Study	76
Table 8: Results on Modes of CRs in the Pilot Study	79
Table 9: Results on Types of CRs in the Pilot Study	79
Table 10: Classification of Functions of Cs (by Manes & Wolfson, 1981)	86
Table 11: Categorization of CRs (by Allami & Montezari, 2012)	88
Table 12: The Results on Inter-rater and Intra-rater Reliability	89
Table 13: Distribution of Cs in FBCC-T	90
Table 14: Gender-based distribution of compliment structures in FBCC-T	91
Table 15: Verbal and Non-verbal Agreement Paradigms in Turkish	93
Table 16: The use of statements in FBCC-T	96
Table 17: Comparison of structure of Cs by Turkish females and males	98
Table 18: The use of non-finite words/phrases in FBCC-T	105
Table 19: The use of wh- elements in FBCC-T	111
Table 20: The use of yes/no questions in FBCC-T	115
Table 21: The use of imperatives in FBCC-T	121
Table 22: The types of combination of structures in FBCC-T	123
Table 23: The use of combination of structures in FBCC-T	129
Table 24: Gender-based Distribution of Compliment Topics in FBCC-T	132
Table 25: The use of Cs on appearance in FBCC-T	133
Table 26: The number of Cs on appearance received by T informants	134
Table 27: The use of specific & general appearance Cs in FBCC-T	139
Table 28: The number of Cs on photo in FBCC-T	141
Table 29: The number of Cs on possession in FBCC-T	146

Table 30: The number of Cs on possession received by T informants	146
Table 31: The number of Cs on personality in FBCC-T	149
Table 32: The number of Cs on personality paid to T informants	149
Table 33: The number of Cs on performance in FBCC-T	153
Table 34: The number of Cs with more than one topic in FBCC-T	155
Table 35: The number of Cs received with more than one topic	155
Table 36: The number of Cs with unclear topics in FBCC-T	158
Table 37: The number of Cs with unclear topics received by T informants	158
Table 38: Gender-based Distribution of Functions of Cs in FBCC-T	160
Table 39: The use of Cs to approve/admire in FBCC-T	161
Table 40: The use of Cs to create solidarity in FBCC-T	163
Table 41: The use of Cs to create sarcasm in FBCC-T	164
Table 42: Gender-Based distribution of modes of CRs in FBCC-T	167
Table 43: Gender-based distributions of CR strategies in FBCC-T	169
Table 44: The use of appreciation token as a CR in FBCC-T	171
Table 45: The use of Comment Acceptance as a CR in FBCC-T	172
Table 46: The use of Return Strategy as a CR in FBCC-T	173
Table 47: The use of combination of strategies to respond to Cs in FBCC-T ..	173
Table 48: Distribution of Cs in FBCC-AE	175
Table 49: Gender-based distribution of compliment structures in FBCC-AE ..	176
Table 50: The use of statements in FBCC-AE	179
Table 51: The use of non-finite words/phrases in FBCC-AE	183
Table 52: The use of wh- elements in FBCC-AE	187
Table 53: The use of yes/no questions in FBCC-AE	189
Table 54: The use of imperatives in FBCC-AE	191
Table 55: The types of combination of structures in FBCC-AE	192
Table 56: The use of combination of structures in FBCC-AE	197
Table 57: Gender-based distribution of compliment topics in FBCC-AE	200
Table 58: The use of Cs on appearance in FBCC-AE	201
Table 59: The number of Cs on appearance received in FBCC-AE	201
Table 60: The use of specific & general appearance Cs in FBCC-AE	203

Table 61: The number of Cs on photo in FBCC-AE.....	205
Table 62: The number of Cs on possession received in FBCC-AE	205
Table 63: The number of Cs on possession in FBCC-AE.....	207
Table 64: The number of Cs on possession received in FBCC-AE	207
Table 65: The number of Cs on personality in FBCC-AE.....	209
Table 66: The number of Cs on performance in FBCC-AE.....	210
Table 67: The number of Cs with more than one topic in FBCC-AE.....	211
Table 68: The number of Cs with more than one topic received by AE informants.....	211
Table 69: The number of Cs with unclear topics in FBCC-AE	213
Table 70: The number of Cs with unclear topics received by AE informants ..	214
Table 71: Gender-based distribution of functions of Cs in FBCC-AE	215
Table 72: The use of Cs to approve/admire in FBCC-AE	216
Table 73: The use of Cs to create solidarity in FBCC-AE.....	217
Table 74: The use of Cs to create sarcasm in FBCC-AE	219
Table 75: Gender-based distribution of modes of CRs in FBCC-AE.....	220
Table 76: Gender-based distributions of CR strategies in FBCC-AE.....	221
Table 77: The use of appreciation token as a CR in FBCC-AE.....	222
Table 78: The use of comment acceptance as a CR in FBCC-AE	223
Table 79: The use of return as a CR in FBCC-AE.....	224
Table 80: The use of combination of strategies to respond to Cs in FBCC-AE	225
Table 81: Distribution of Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	227
Table 82: Comparison of structure of Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.....	229
Table 83: The use of statements in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	232
Table 84: The use of non-finite words/phrases in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	234
Table 85: The most common words used in FBCC	235
Table 86: The use of wh- elements in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.....	236
Table 87: The use of yes/no questions in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.....	237
Table 88: The use of imperatives in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	239
Table 89: The use of combination of structures in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	241
Table 90: The types of combination of structures in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.	242

Table 91: Comparison of topics of Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.....	245
Table 92: The use of specific& general appearance Cs in FBCC.....	246
Table 93: The use of Cs on appearance in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	247
Table 94: The number of appearance Cs T & AE informants receive.....	248
Table 95: The use of Cs on photo in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	250
Table 96: The number of photo Cs T & AE informants receive	251
Table 97: The use of Cs on possession in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	251
Table 98: The number of possession Cs T & AE informants receive	252
Table 99: The use of Cs on personality in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.....	253
Table 100: The number of personality Cs T & AE informants receive.....	254
Table 101: The use of Cs on performance in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	255
Table 102: The number of performance Cs T & AE informants receive	255
Table 103: The use of combination of topics in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.....	256
Table 104: The number of Cs with a combination of topics in T & AE informants receive.....	257
Table 105: The use of Cs with unclear topics in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	258
Table 106: The number of Cs with unclear topics informants receive	259
Table 107: Comparison of functions of Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	262
Table 108: The use of Cs to approve/admire in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	263
Table 109: The use of Cs to create solidarity in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.....	264
Table 110: The use of Cs to create sarcasm in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.....	264
Table 111: Comparison of modes of CRs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	266
Table 112: Comparison of strategies of CRs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	267
Table 113: Comparison of the use of AppT in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.....	268
Table 114: Comparison of the use of ComA in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE	269
Table 115: Comparison of the use of return in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.....	270
Table 116: Comparison of combination of CR strategies in FBCC	271
Table 117: Distribution of Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.....	274

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1: The FTA Strategies in Brown & Levinson (1987)	22
Figure 2: The Bases of Rapport.....	27
Figure 3: A Sample Screenshot of the Nvivo Project Used	67

LIST OF SAMPLES

SAMPLES

Sample 1: AEM-18LaP-5	33
Sample 2: TF-11MeU-5	33
Sample 3: Not Included in FBCC	34
Sample 4: TF-15SeC-9	68
Sample 5: TM-19SeR-6	94
Sample 6: TF-1AsD-3	95
Sample 7: TF-24TuO-6	99
Sample 8: TM-15SeC-5	100
Sample 9: TF-25GiC-5	101
Sample 10: TF-25GiC-4	101
Sample 11: TF-10HiC-5	102
Sample 12: TF-25GiC-6	102
Sample 13: TF-2AyG-3	104
Sample 14: TM-9MuC-6	108
Sample 15: TM-16CiB-16	108
Sample 16: TF-10HiC-1	109
Sample 17: TF-12NeU-20	110
Sample 18: TF-16SeE-3	110
Sample 19: TF-11MeU-1	113
Sample 20: TM-4EmU-4	114
Sample 21: TM25CaS-3	114
Sample 22: TF-25GiC-3	116
Sample 23: TM-23FiS-8	116
Sample 24: TM-24MeA-4	120
Sample 25: TM-18SeO-6	121
Sample 26: TM-6FrK-7	122
Sample 27: TM-9MuC-7	122
Sample 28: TF-12NeU-3	123

Sample 29: TF-11MeU-9	124
Sample 30: TM-12OyM-1	124
Sample 31: TF-24TuO-9	125
Sample 32: TM-23FiS-2.....	126
Sample 33: TF-13OyM-3	126
Sample 34: TM-16CiB-8.....	127
Sample 35: TM-5ErB-4.....	127
Sample 36: TM-12YiY-9	128
Sample 37: TF-10HiC-1	131
Sample 38:TM-6FrK-7	135
Sample 39: TF-14OzM-7	136
Sample 40: TF-25GiC-3	137
Sample 41: TM-2BeK-22.....	138
Sample 42: TF-25GiC-2	138
Sample 43: TF-25GiC-3	139
Sample 44:TF-15SeC-3	141
Sample 45: TF-15SeC-8.....	142
Sample 46:TM-5ErB-20.....	143
Sample 47:TM-13OrM-10	143
Sample 48: TF-21SvE-4.....	144
Sample 49: TM-17SeM-18.....	145
Sample 50: TF-13OyM-19	148
Sample 51:TM-6FrK-1.....	150
Sample 52:TM-4EmU-23.....	150
Sample 53: TM-3SaC-9.....	152
Sample 54: TM-13KuA-2	152
Sample 55: TM-3SaC-15.....	152
Sample 56: TM-1AIS-22	154
Sample 57: TM-13SeR-6.....	156
Sample 58:TM-3SaC-18.....	157
Sample 59: TM-13OrM-12	157

Sample 60: TF-1AsD-15	161
Sample 61: TF-15SeC-11	162
Sample 62: TM-16CiB-7	164
Sample 63: TM-18SeO-18.....	165
Sample 64: TF-3BaC-13	165
Sample 65: TF-13OyM-17.....	167
Sample 66: TF-10HiC-1	168
Sample 67: TF-10HiC-1	168
Sample 68: TF-10HiC-1	170
Sample 69: TF-11MeU-2.....	171
Sample 70: TF-10HiC-6	172
Sample 71: TM-2BeK-22	173
Sample 72: AEF-10LiB-1	178
Sample 73: AEF-16HeP-5	180
Sample 74: AEF-12PaO-2	180
Sample 75: AEF-12PaO-2	181
Sample 76: AEF-10LiB-4.....	182
Sample 77: AEF-13SaG-1	185
Sample 78: AEF-9LaM-1	186
Sample 79: AEF-10LiB-4.....	186
Sample 80: AEF-13SaG-7	188
Sample 81: AEF-6JwH-4.....	189
Sample 82: AEF-23CaC-1	190
Sample 83: AEF-11LiL-21	192
Sample 84: AEF-13KyS-4	193
Sample 85: AEF-4EiH-16.....	194
Sample 86: AEF-3BeD-16.....	194
Sample 87: AEM-18LaP-2	195
Sample 88: AEM-10JeS-8	195
Sample 89: AEF-1 AmH -5	196
Sample 90: AEM-9StP -1	196

Sample 91: AEM-7PaK -3	198
Sample 92: AEM-6JoC-6	199
Sample 93: AEF-10LiB-7	202
Sample 94: AEF-10LiB-7	202
Sample 95: AEF-20HaM-7	204
Sample 96: AEM-9StP-25	206
Sample 97: AEF-14SuK-6.....	206
Sample 98: AEF-1AmH-10.....	208
Sample 99: AEF-21JeW-3.....	209
Sample 100: AEF-14SuK-6.....	211
Sample 101: AEF-7SkK-2.....	212
Sample 102: AEF-1AmH-5.....	212
Sample 103: AEF-8LaG-24.....	215
Sample 104: AEF-10LiB-4	217
Sample 105: AEF-1AmH-5.....	218
Sample 106: AEF-17LiW-2	218
Sample 107: AEM-15SvO-8	222
Sample 108: AEF-8LaG-22.....	222
Sample 109: AEF-6JwH-6	224
Sample 110: AEF-12-PaO-1	225
Sample 111: AEF-18AmJ-7	231
Sample 112:TF-15SeC-13.....	231
Sample 113: TF-20SuO-9	233
Sample 114: TF-21SvE-8.....	237
Sample 115: TF-10HiC-10.....	239
Sample 116: TF-22TUC-11.....	243
Sample 117: TF-3BaC-13	243
Sample 118: TF-25GiC-4.....	247
Sample 119: TF-24TuO-6	249
Sample 120: TM-25CaS-6.....	256
Sample 121: TF-19SuB-8.....	260

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C	Compliment
CR	Compliment Respose
Cee	Complimentee
Cer	Complimenter
FB	Facebook
SNS	Social Networking Site
TM	Turkish Male
TF	Turkish Female
AEM	American Male
AEF	American Female
FBCC	Facebook Compliment Corpus
BCC-T	Facebook Compliment Corpus-Turkish
FBCC-AE	Facebook Compliment Corpus-American English

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“People have a fundamental desire for others to evaluate them positively, and so they typically want others to acknowledge (explicitly or implicitly) their positive qualities, and not to acknowledge their negative qualities. Face is associated with these affectively sensitive attributes”, so is Facebook...

(Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 14)

1.0 Presentation

This dissertation reports on a study conducted with the aim of defining, describing and comparing compliments and compliment responses used by native speakers of Turkish and native speakers of American English, on one of the most widely used social networking sites, *Facebook*.

This introductory chapter consists of five sections. The first part of the chapter aims at and focuses on giving information on the background to the study while the second part states the research niché. Then, the aim and the scope of the study are portrayed, specifying the research questions. Next, the significance of the study is explained along with the limitations it bears. The chapter closes with definitions of the key terms and a list of acronyms used.

1.1. Background to the Study

In the fall of 2012, four students from Queens University in Canada started a *Facebook* (henceforth FB) profile to help the Facebookers (henceforth FBers) on campus to pay compliments (henceforth Cs) anonymously to each other. "We thought it would be an awesome project to spread happiness and positivity to the Queen's community," ... "The page has proven how much of an impact one single C can have on a person's life.", says Jessica Jonker, one of the site's cofounders.

In a couple of months, the profile reached up to 5000 friends. This trend spread to other campuses worldwide (Park, 2013).

The news above can be considered as a sign of both the effect of Cs to tie human relations tightly and the effect of improving technology and social networking sites (henceforth SNSs) for giving and taking on paying Cs. Even without defining what a C is, one can realize the positive effect of Cs on human relationships.

Language is a primary means for signed communication that can be produced in basically two ways: written or spoken. Speaking has been considered as the main function of language, which may be why many studies conducted on Cs were done on spoken language, either with naturally occurring spoken data or DCTs that reflect what has been *verbally* uttered. Another unavoidable reason for this can be the fact that Cs are mostly spoken. This was definitely the case until the last decade, but the ever growing technology has succeeded in creating a virtual world in which people live, converse and pay Cs to each other in many ways, basically on SNSs. This virtual world is getting more and more real day by day because of the amount of time people spend on it and the significance it has in our daily lives. This drastic change has not eliminated the fact that written Cs are still neglected in the world of research.

Despite the virtual world of SNSs, the common ground technologically created for communication, the users carry their real cultural and idiolectal background to the new virtual world, and their online language use reflects all that is brought with them

Culture can be defined as “a pattern of shared attitudes, beliefs, categorizations, self-definitions, norms, role definitions and values” among the members of a group (Triandis, 1996, p. 408). However, it should be noted that cultures can exist only when they are reflected in the common practices, beliefs or attitudes of people. For anyone who has experienced other cultures, it is not very surprising to observe that similar situations or practices may mean different things to people

from different cultures. That is, some people tend to act in similar ways to each other and constitute the boundaries of a specific culture (Barnlund & Araki, 1985).

Intercultural and intracultural communications are allusive subjects to study. Culture is not always country-related or specific. It is also distinctly different from nationality or ethnic identity. In fact, the perception of culture is shaped with the contribution of all of these. This accounts for the reason why geographical closeness results in cultural closeness and the expectation that some sharp differences can be observed in geographically isolated or distant societies. However, it would be unfair to overlook and not to mention cultural or perceptual differences within societies as well as among them.

Culture and language have always been accepted as intricately interwoven. It has been believed that culture affects language, its vocabulary range and its use. It has also been put forward that language itself is powerful enough to affect the culture in which it is used (Kay & Kempton, 1984). It shows that the relationship between culture and language seems mutual. This belief lies behind the studies that use linguistic data but claim them to be “cross-cultural”. This dissertation, like many others, takes language as the starting point and aims to conduct cross-linguistic and intracultural research that further aims at reaching cross-cultural findings as well as within-culture varieties.

A considerable majority of cross-linguistic research has been designed as interlanguage studies which focus on the cultural differences between languages. However, the intra-linguistic and intra-cultural variation has long been neglected. Fortunately, studies like Sidraschi (2014) focus on the linguistic and cross-cultural differences among the speakers of a common language (Italian in his case) and have proven that there are pragmatic similarities yet still have considerable ethnolinguistic differences. This finding shows that even geographically close and linguistically similar societies might be deeply different from each other cross-culturally (Sidraschi, 2014). This study keeps in mind the danger of starting the research with preset categories of culture or gender in mind, and thus pays attention to avoid a preset mind about genders or cultures. Although the

definitions of Turkish culture and American culture as well as men and women are categories, the researcher paid great caution in order not to attribute predetermined behavioral clichés to these categories. Thus, the aim of this dissertation is neither to resettle and strengthen categorical differences between cultures or genders nor to underline how different they are. The approach is rather to find the similarities communication is built on and to identify the differences to aid teaching practices and smooth cross-cultural misunderstandings. These similarities and differences cannot be generalized to all modes of communication, nor to all age groups or to the whole Turkish or American culture, as they, themselves, do not constitute homogenous structures. An important goal of this dissertation is, given the mode of the communication, to uncover possible reasons for the chosen C types and show the relationship, if there is any, between the structures and functions of Cs and the genders of addressors and addressees. In order to avoid the very sound criticism to most of the previous studies, may they be western-oriented or culture-biased, this study does not make any claim to generalize its findings to the Middle Eastern or the East-European cultures and not even to the Turkish culture. The findings claim to account for only a sample from the online Cs and CRs exchanged among the FBers who are university graduates and aged between 25-35. The reason why such an age limitation or educational criterion is decided upon is to be able to soften or eliminate, if possible, the cross-generational or educational differences in communication.

Firstly, it is necessary to put forward a clear definition of what a C is in order to give a background to the studies in the field and state the problem. Although Manes and Wolfson (1981) claim that it is easy to define Cs, the literature review section of this dissertation shows how difficult the definition and identification of Cs can be and how problematic the distinction between a C and other speech acts can be.

1.1.1. Compliments

It has been accepted that Cs are expressive speech acts (Searle, 1969). They are used to serve a positive function (Leech, 1983), and they are performed to create

closeness and comity among the interlocutors. “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, p. 485).

Cs in many languages have been studied and some universalities and cultural differences have been spotted. A widely-stated criticism to these studies is that they are mostly English-oriented in terms of language and they focus on western cultures. In recent years, there have been studies conducted in Chinese, Korean and Mandarin reflecting on the East Asian culture. Studies that give information on Middle Eastern and the East European culture/s are still too rare to make cultural assumptions. There are a few studies on Cs in Turkish (Ruhi, 2002; Ruhi, 2006; Şakırgil & Çubukçu, 2013). This is why more studies on Turkish language and Turkish culture/s are needed.

As both C exchanges and SNSs are understudied especially in Turkish, a study to focus on both is promising. The structural, topic-based and functional analyses of FB Cs need to be made. Moreover, the language that is used along with the introduction of emoticons, some keyboard characters that are also used for conveying emotional meaning, interestingly, shifts the language on SNSs somewhere between written and spoken language.

As mentioned above, Cs are positive evaluations of an interlocutor about the other. This skin-deep definition of Cs may result in an expectation towards positive responses to Cs. However, from previous studies on compliment responses (henceforth CRs) (Cheng, 2011; Farghal & Al-Khatib, 2001; Han, 1992; Pomerantz, 1978; Tang & Zhang, 2009), it is known that agreement to Cs may not always be achieved or even expected. The range of answers can markedly differ from total acceptance to total rejection depending on many variables such as gender, age, personal stories, topic of Cs and function of Cs etc. CRs, which are as commonly studied as Cs, are also studied in terms of the concrete ways they

are expressed and the strategic classification that can be made on them (for further information see section 3.8).

1.1.2. Compliment Responses

Pomerantz (1978) advocates the idea that a person who answers a C gets stuck into a dilemma. This dilemma can be explained with the clashing of two conversational maxims put forth by Leech (for further information see 2.1.3.3): do not praise yourself (modesty), and do not conflict with the other interlocutor (agreement). On the one hand, Cees need to be humble and reject the C. On the other hand, they feel the need to agree with the Cer; therefore, they need to accept the C. This dilemma seems to be a universal one, but the pattern chosen is what makes a culture.

Typically, East Asian and Eastern cultures are believed to reject or downgrade Cs as the modesty maxim overcomes the agreement maxim in their culture (for more on Leech's maxims see section 2.1.3.3). Unlike eastern cultures, western societies are more characterized with directness and agreement maxim that is believed to be more powerful in western conversations (Brown & Levinson, 1978; Holmes, 1984; Leech, 1983; Pomerantz, 1978).

After Manes & Wolfson (1981) put forward the formulaic nature of Cs, the question whether this is a language specific phenomenon or a universal principle has been a topic of discussion among scholars in the world of pragmatics. Another important question is whether or not such a formula exists in CRs.

This dissertation aims to explore FB Cs and CRs in Turkish (henceforth T) and American English (henceforth AE) under the light of previous research and help understand whether these findings can be generalized to languages other than English and English in different media of communication (for further information see 3.6).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Although it has been claimed that Cs are easy to identify, the notion of Cs as well as the responses they get is hard to define and interpret. The problem is that the definitions of what a C is are culturally biased and limited.

It has been more than three decades since the formulaic structure of Cs in English has been put forward (Manes & Wolfson, 1981). Since then, the syntactic formula, frequency of some vocabulary items, common C topics, and some functions of Cs have been studied in English and in quite a few other languages that barely include Turkish. In Turkish, to the best of the researcher's knowledge hardly any paper (except for Ruhi's works and a paper by Şakırgil and Çubukçu) or dissertation has been written to complement the need for Turkish data or underline cultural differences and similarities, the knowledge of which could be of great help to researchers and practitioners dealing with language and culture in a virtual context.

Apart from cultural differences, most definitions are deprived of any insights that can be gathered from new communication media such as SNSs. When the amount of Cs paid on social media is analyzed and compared to daily face-to-face Cs, the importance of taking this mode of communication into consideration becomes clearer. The fast and incredible pace of growing technology in today's world reflects itself into a fast and enormous change in the language used. Thus, the studies in language usage and requirements, need to keep up with the pace of change happening in the "world of language". That is why new contexts and media that stage language use need to be taken into consideration in conducting research on language because these new ways of communication became a part of our everyday lives (for further discussion see 3.4.3).

The body of previous research on Cs and CRs has focused mainly on AE, Chinese, German and a few more languages. This unequal distribution of studies among languages may lead to some question marks in the minds of many researchers about the generalizations made on the speech act because the values and

characteristics of a vast geography are neglected. This is one of the most important reasons why such cross-cultural studies are needed. The universal similarities as well as cultural and linguistic differences are to be spotted, recognized and appreciated. Such studies can help further cross-cultural understanding.

It is obvious that the act of complimenting others is a distinct behavioral unit and analysis of this speech act can help cultural understanding and also many premises of it can be understood in a deeper sense. The findings of this dissertation indicate that quite a few descriptive statements on both the similarities and differences of Cs and CRs can be made between native speakers of T and AE.

1.3. Purpose and Scope

The main purpose of this study is to provide baseline data and analyses on FB Cs reflecting the similarities and differences between target native speaker populations. Online Cs on FB in T and AE are scrutinized in a comparative fashion. Detailed analysis of Cs and CRs are done for both languages. Data analyses have also been done for AE data because the data for most of the previous studies come from DCTs or some of them come from recorded spoken data. Taking methodological concerns into account, AE data also had to be retrieved from FB because FB data portray sharp deviations from DCTs and spoken language (see 3.2.1). A comparison between cultures or at least cultural and linguistic uses of FB Cs can give reliable results only if the comparison is made between the FB data of each. That is why the baseline data in English as well as in Turkish needed to be recollected. For the purpose, a Facebook Compliment Corpus (henceforth FBCC) has been compiled with two sub-corpora consisting of Turkish Cs (henceforth FBCC-T) and American English Cs (henceforth FBCC-AE).

This dissertation is designed and conducted as a corpus-driven contrastive pragmatics research study. It aims at defining and describing compliments paid on FB by the native users of both Turkish and English languages.

The aim of this study is threefolds:

- (1) To analyze the C and CR strategies in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE (in terms of face management strategies, structural properties of C utterances, topics of Cs, functions of Cs, the most frequent lexicon used in Cs and unique cross cultural or gender based properties of them) retrieved from informants within the age range 25-35.
- (2) To make a comparison between the C and CR strategies used by men and women in both language communities.
- (3) To make a comparison between C and CR strategies used by the native language users of both languages.

1.4. Significance of the Study

Cs have been a hot topic of research over the last decades. The value of Cs as speech acts that construct/reconstruct the *face* of the interlocutors is undeniable. It is also an undeniable fact that computer mediated communication takes up much of our daily conversations today. Social networking sites have led to new settings, the virtuality of which is becoming more and more open to discussion. In such settings, Cs are paid and responded to and the need to study compliment events in social networking sites are, thus, crucial in order to understand not only the Cs but also the nature of communications in social networking sites.

CRs, as well as Cs, have been the topic of interest for many researchers from many different disciplines like sociology, psychology, linguistics etc. However, most of these studies have been conducted in one culture group only (Daikuhara, 1986; Holmes, 1988). Most of them had neither cross-cultural implications nor contrastive discussions. Their data come from western settings and findings can only reflect those settings. In order to answer cross-cultural questions, quite a few studies have been conducted in East Asia. Many cross cultural comparisons have been done by comparing the findings of a research with the previous studies. However, such a methodology bears its own problems. As the methodology used

in any two studies are most probably not identical, possible differences may account for the methodological differences or some other uncontrollable variables. That is why collecting and analyzing data for both cultural groups in one single study raises the reliability of the research. However, it should be noted that although such comparisons between previous studies and the one at hand bear methodological problems, they have become successful in shedding light on the field in many aspects and have helped researchers to raise further questions.

A vast majority of studies conducted on CRs reported high percentages of acceptance strategies as CRs. These studies were western-originated and western-oriented; thus, the results were not generalizable to other geographies. An early warning about possible cultural differences was done in late 1980s and early 1990s. Holmes (1988) and Herbert (1990) reached consistent findings on the tendency of westerners towards accepting Cs. While, on the other hand, studies that took their data from Eastern cultures, including Daikuhara (1986) and Wang & Tsai (2003) showed that Korean and Taiwanese tend to reject Cs more. These comparisons are fruitful but should be approached with caution in making generalizations because of the concerns just mentioned.

It should be noted that overgeneralizing research findings to come up with universal principles or differences between eastern and western culture may not only be misleading but also dangerous. The major motive in this study has never been to contribute to the stereotyping genders or cultures. Rather it is hoped that it will add to the recognition and appreciation of varieties. The following studies are outlined in an effort to support that Cs vary a lot in terms of how they are paid and why they are paid.

A more recent study comes from Yu (2004), who studied Cs of native speakers of Taiwanese Mandarin as EFL and ESL users. She, then, compared the results to the results of native speakers of AE. The results showed that Chinese speakers, either in Chinese or in English, showed a greater tendency towards rejecting Cs while native speakers of AE accepted them more.

Another study showing the importance of investigating similarities and differences is conducted by R. Chen (1993). Chen gathered the data from Taiwanese Mandarin speakers who were supposed to answer hypothetical C scenarios and answer to these Cs in the most *appropriate* way. Participants reported that a vast majority (81%-88%) of them would accept the Cs. However, previous research such as the ones conducted by Daikuhara (1986) and Wang & Tsai (2003) indicated just the opposite results. This dramatic difference might result from the methodology used; therefore, the finding may not show an inconsistency in the culture but an inconsistency between the methodologies used. Remembering that R. Chen (1993) worked on scenarios and asked people about the situations that are appropriate, it should be noted that in this case, people's perceptions may deviate from the real language they use. That is, their tendency to consider acceptance more natural might simply stem from the western-dominated media they are exposed to, while the real cultural changes may not take place that easily and quickly.

Having underlined the importance of studying Cs on a cross-cultural basis, disregarding a relatively recent but quite common medium of communication would be a loss. In the study ““You look terrific!”” which investigates social evaluation and relationships in online Cs, Maíz-Arévalo and García-Gómez aim to investigate how users of online social networks like FB use Cs to evaluate others and strengthen social rapport in English and Spanish (2013). In order to do so, two balanced corpora are gathered in both languages (50 examples in each language). Qualitative and quantitative analyses of the data uncover

that compliments constitute a system of choices where several available options help *Facebook* users to encode their evaluation of the other from various perspectives (e.g. as an emotion, as an unquestionable truth, etc.). Furthermore, results also show that despite superficial similarities, Cs in both languages follow remarkably different frequencies of use which reflect deep cultural differences. (italics original)

(Maiz-Arevalo & Garcia-Gomez, 2013, p. 735)

In another study, Maíz-Arévalo (2013) studied Cs in Spanish in computer mediated communication using SNSs. The study aimed to figure out the extent of the transfer of face-to-face C exchange patterns to computer-mediated exchanges.

The analysis focused on online CRs. Results indicate that “aspects such as disembodiment, asynchronicity or relative lack of privacy have a crucial say in how interlocutors respond to compliments” (Maíz-Arévalo, 2013a, p. 47).

Another sample study was conducted on American English. Placencia and Lower focus on complimenting behavior among members of one FB network of family and friends in the United States. The study investigated the forms of Cs, their functions, and common objects of Cs. The study is important in the sense that it focuses on not only the differences but also the similarities between online Cs and face-to-face Cs. The results point to many similarities such as objects of Cs as well as differences, which the writers attribute to “the medium of interaction and the affordances (and restrictions) of the technology that can give rise to variations of talk and perhaps even new social practices” (Placencia & Lower, 2013, p. 617).

As focused in the research mentioned above, Cs have been a tool in a new mode of communication. This new mode and its unique norms are uncharted territory, especially for Turkish. The main significance of the study at hand is to provide insights about Cs in this new mode of communication comparing the Cs paid by native speakers of Turkish in Turkey and by native speakers of English in the USA.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Presentation

In this chapter, key concepts in the literature, theories, approaches and research findings that constitute the pillars of this dissertation are touched upon. First, speech acts are explored in detail, and a brief history of politeness theories is examined. Later, these theories and notions are integrated into the world of speech act research. Lastly, a chronicle of studies on compliments and compliment responses is given in order to focus on the areas that require further research and shape the boundaries of this study.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

Starting from the Speech Act Theory, this chapter gives information about the theories that constitute the cornerstones in cross-cultural compliment research.

The theoretical framework of this dissertation focuses on the Speech Act Theory, theories of politeness, and contrastive pragmatics.

2.1.1. Speech Act Theory

Speech has long been considered to be statements on facts or situations. It has also conventionally been defined as the articulation of sounds in order to convey meaning. However, in his seminal work, Austin (1962) propounded that speech can also perform actions. According to this view, speech is more than merely statements or abstractions of situations. The Speech Act Theory elaborates on the idea that speech can implicitly or explicitly perform certain actions.

A typical example of an *act* done with speech can be found in wedding ceremonies. When a priest or registrar says “I pronounce you man and wife,” the

sentence does not only represent an idea, feeling or situation. It definitely and explicitly *does* something. The sentence of the priest is an action; that is, it is an act fulfilled via speech, a speech act. Utterances such as ‘I apologize to you’ and ‘I bet this team will be the champion’ are samples of acts performed by speech. This leads one to the conclusion that defining speech as abstract representations is inadequate and even false. Following is an example of an indirect speech act that has a concrete action.

MM I think I might go and have another bun.
AM I was going to get another one.
BM Could you get me a tuna and sweet corn one please?
AM Me as well?

(Cutting, 2015, p. 14)

Austin proposed and later abandoned the existence of performative actions/verbs such as those that express, inform or request behind every speech. He suggested that behind each utterance there is a force. A speech act reading of the example above could be as follows:

MM I express my intention to go and have another bun.
AM I inform you that I was going to get another one.
BM I request you to get me a tuna and sweet corn one please?
AM I request you to get me one as well

(Cutting, 2015, p. 14)

Austin, himself, realizing that non-verbalized imperatives sounded more natural and may not always have verbalized equivalents, abandoned his *performative hypothesis*.

Austin (1962) further depicts three levels of analysis of speech acts: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. The locutionary act is the real utterance which creates the meaning. It is the verbal representation of the speech act. The illocutionary act, on the other hand, is the intended meaning of the utterance, that is, why the utterance is made. It is also called the illocutionary force since it can be defined as the force behind the utterance. Lastly, the perlocutionary act is the effect that the locution creates for the hearer. Although the illocutionary force

hypothetically turns into the locution and corresponds with the perlocution, it may not always be the case. Alternative relations or lack of relations may be observed between these three dimensions. This is when an utterance may have more than one meaning, or when either the speaker or the hearer fails to catch the meaning.

Searle (1969) grouped speech acts into five macro classes. This widely accepted taxonomy of illocutionary acts includes declaratives, representatives, directives, commissives and expressives. *Declaratives* are declarations and expressions that change the world in some way. 'I bet,' 'I declare' and 'I resign' are examples of declaratives. Revisiting the example of the wedding ceremony, a priest or registrar pronouncing a couple *man and wife* does change something in the world of the couple. The priest turns the man and woman into an *official family* and changes their marital status by declaring the change with a declarative sentence. The second class is the *representatives*, which can be defined as the representations of the speaker's belief, such as 'claiming,' 'hypothesizing,' 'believing,' 'insisting' and 'predicting.' The third class Searle has identified is the *representatives*, utterances that commit the speaker to a future action, such as 'promising,' 'vowing,' 'offering,' 'threatening' and 'volunteering.' The next group, the *commissives*, constructs a category that aims to cause the hearer do an action. These include 'ordering,' 'requesting,' 'giving commands,' and 'inviting.' The last category covering Cs and forming the core discussion in this study is the *expressives*, which are the utterances that state what the speaker feels.

At the heart of the Speech Act Theory lies the notion of *felicity conditions*. As Austin (1962) states:

The uttering of the words is, indeed, usually a, or even the, leading incident in the performance of the act... it is always necessary that the circumstances in which the words are uttered should be in some way, or ways, appropriate, and it is very commonly necessary that either the speaker himself or other persons should also perform certain other actions, whether 'physical' or 'mental' actions or even acts of uttering further words (single quotations original)

(p. 8).

Austin argued that in order for speech to turn into an act, certain conditions have to be met. Although it might seem that *words act*, the context, interlocutors and

factors about social conditions decide whether the speech can perform an act. In order for a speech act to be fulfilled, there are some criteria, *felicity conditions*, which must be met. That is, if the performer of the act is in a position to do it, the utterance is *felicitous* and the act is done as in the Priest or registrar case above. However, if the felicity conditions are not met (whether intentionally or not), the act fails. For example, for a person to ‘pronounce’ people man and wife, the person has to be either a registrar or a member of the clergy. A lay person’s utterance of these words would be inappropriate. This results in a speech act that does not work.

Austin classifies felicity conditions as a *propositional condition* (the act is a future act), a *preparatory condition* (the listener is ready to do the action), a *sincerity condition* (the speaker sincerely wants the listener to do the action) and an *essential condition* (the utterance is actually an act) (Austin, 1962).

Compliments are categorized under the title *expressives* as they are the expressions of positive opinions. The use of this speech act and the way the locutionary act is formed is culturally-bound. Their social dimensions as well as linguistic forms display regional and cultural divergences. These cultural and country-specific changes in Cs and CR behaviors are discussed throughout this dissertation.

Searle (1975) further analyzes the directness of the relationship between the literal meaning of the locutionary act and the intended illocution, which may not be very clear-cut. The more literal and clear-cut the relationship between a locutionary act and its illocutionary force, the more direct the act is considered. It can be assumed that the ideal mode of communication requires the speakers to use a locutionary act that is as close as possible to the illocutionary force. In daily use, it is observed that this direct relationship is broken and the relationship turns out to be an indirect one. A direct speech act is utilized by using the literal meaning of the performative verbs while an indirect speech act is used in “cases in which illocutionary act is performed indirectly by performing another” (p. 60).

Being a groundbreaking theory of its time, Speech Act Theory has attracted many criticisms. One important criticism is on the possible overlaps in the categories of Searle. One speech act is likely to belong to more than one categories. See the example:

“They are all dead,” said Piggy, “an’ this is an island. Nobody don’t know we’re here. Your dad don’t know, nobody don’t know-”
His lips quivered and the spectacles were dimmed with mist. “We may stay here till we die”

(as cited in Cutting, 2015, p. 20)

In the example above, a representative speech act as a situation is described. On the other hand, the representative act is also an expressive one as there is also an emotional outburst (Cutting, 2015). The possibility of categorizing such speech events in more than one category is a major criticism given to the theory.

Another important criticism is that the Speech Act Theory is not sufficiently comprehensive to account for many types of communication. There are gap fillers, backchannels and incomplete sentences. These very common daily uses cannot be explained with the Speech Act Theory. Despite many criticisms, this new view on language and how it affects the interlocutors has attracted much interest and has paved the way for a huge number of studies in the field.

For the purposes of this research, the illocutionary force is of central importance as the illocutionary force behind compliments is discussed in addition to the requirement of context and background information being felt in many examples in the data. Understanding the illocutionary force is not an easy task as there are many uncontrolled and uncontrollable variables in the flow of conversation. Moreover, an utterance may have more than one illocutionary force. Multiple illocutionary forces, indirectness in uttering the speech act and the effect of these to the meaning making in the conversation are relevant and central to this study.

2.1.2. Goffman: 'Face' and 'Observant Participant'

Goffman theorized the concept of face in human interactions to develop his theory of interpersonal communication. He defined face as “positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of the self-delineated in terms of approved social attributes” (Tiryakian & Goffman, 1968, p. 5).

When in interaction, the parties get engaged in face-work. That is, both/all interlocutors manage their own faces as well as the others'. Face is something a person establishes as the “most personal possession and the center of his security and pleasure” (Goffman, 1972, p. 10). This notion of face is directly related to how people present themselves in public, which is the core of what FB does, giving people a chance to create 'face accounts' and make it as 'public' or 'private' as they like (for further information see 3.4.3).

A second notion put forward by Goffman is being an *observant participant*. In his dissertation *Communication and Conduct in an Island Community*, he claims to be an observing participant rather than a participating observer (Goffman, 1953, p. 2). The difference Goffman makes between the two is that he first aimed to be a participant in as many social occasions as possible and then he, as a researcher, observed what was going on. This way, he aimed to reduce the effects of the presence of a researcher in the context. His idea of observant participant, focusing on being the participant first, has been very influential in the field.

It can be said that the existence of a research has not affected the participants in this study as the data had already been produced when the research was conducted and it was collected. However, the participant effect does not only emerge with the existence of a researcher. The existence of observers (in the case of this research, sometimes the FB friends only, sometimes anyone who wants to see the exchange) might have an effect as mentioned by Goffman. However, this deviates from what Goffman tries to avoid in that the existence of observers is in the nature

of the language used. This is not a shortcoming of the study but a deviation in linguistic style of the language naturally used.

In this study, the notion of face is at the heart of the analysis as Cs are an important way of managing face and the SNS used, FB, provides an unanalyzed stage on which people manage each other's faces as well as their own. Also, the notion of observant participant is of great importance as the existence of observants might have an important effect on the language used on FB.

2.1.3. Theories of Politeness

Everyday conversations are full of interpersonal interactions. In these daily interactions, the interlocutors demonstrate politeness to reduce clashes and avoid communication problems. The understanding of politeness shapes people's daily relations and interpersonal communications. It can be defined, in its daily-used meaning, as *appropriate behavior*. The borders of politeness as appropriate behavior cannot be restricted to linguistic behaviors; thus, it covers both verbal and nonverbal aspects of interaction.

Approaches to politeness have evolved in time from a structure-based framework to a function-based one. In this part of the chapter, a chronicle of politeness theories is to be provided.

2.1.3.1. Grice and the Cooperative Principle

Grice, with his seminal work in 1975, achieved to found and trigger the basis of many later works on politeness. The basic premise that lies beneath the Cooperative Principle is that people have some expectations in the exchanges they are involved (Grice, 1975). People have an expectation that others abide by some unspoken rules in order to help the conversation proceed smoothly. These rules are shaped around a cooperative principle. The expectations shape a number of conversational rules, which Grice names maxims. These rules can be summarized as follows:

Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged (1967, p. 26).

Grice, further, put forward a number of maxims and sub-principles to define the rules the interlocutors obey in the flow of the conversation.

Table 1: Gricean Maxims

GRICEAN MAXIMS	
Maxim of Quantity	Be as informative as you should/ Don't be too informative
Maxim of Quality	Tell what you believe to be true/Don't tell what you are unsure about
Maxim of Relation	Make relevant contributions to the conversation
Maxim of Manner	Be clear and avoid ambiguity

(Grice, 1975, p. 43)

Gricean maxims require a conversation to obey the *quality* maxim, to give right information and not to provide the listener with fake or vague information. Also, the *quantity* maxim need to be obeyed as the speaker is expected not to give too much or inadequate information and to keep the information in the right amount. A conversation is also expected to be *relevant* and to provide information that is related to the conversation. The *manner* of conversation, according to Grice, is also an important rule for a conversation to be smooth. This rule requires the speakers to be clear in the communication and avoid ambiguity in the utterances. These maxims are not prescriptive rules but instead descriptive definitions of what people do in their daily speeches.

People may deliberately flout one or more of these maxims to create a pragmatic meaning beyond what is said. As an example, in a romantic affair, the one who ends the relationship may say 'you deserve better than me'. S/he does say so but most of the time does not mean it. In fact, both sides know what this utterance means (I no longer want you, but do not want to break your heart), but just for the sake of being polite, the rule of honesty, the quality maxim, is flouted.

Flouting a maxim is not equivalent to violating a maxim. Flouting occurs deliberately and it serves a certain pragmatic purpose. Most of the time, maxim floutings are for the sake of politeness and the other interlocutor is aware of the situation. On the contrary, violating a maxim does not aim at soothing a

conversation. An example of maxim violation (the maxim of quality) is lying. As syntax or grammar allows the users to make meaningfully untrue sentences, lying is not uncommon.

Grice has been harshly criticized for his “rule-governed” and “principled” language use approach. The first and a very important criticism is its lack of cross-cultural dimensions. Different cultures and languages may have different ways of cooperation in conversation. A second criticism is that the maxims overlap in some cases. Therefore, defining maxims in such a taxonomy may not always work. “Grice's maxims are hopelessly vague, and in fact harmful, because they form a misleading taxonomy. While his cooperative principle may be useful at a high level of theoretical analysis, it too is vague” (Frederking, 1996, p.1).

Another very major criticism is the prescriptive tone of these maxims such that daily interaction cannot be arranged according to such regulations. On the other hand, the maxims can be/should be considered as descriptive representations of daily use rather than as prescriptions.

Cs, as a point of study, can be analyzed using Gricean maxims or can challenge the maxims. For example, maxim of quality is at danger when Cooperative Principle is taken into consideration. That is, there are more ways to smooth social relations than the ones Grice claims.

Despite the many criticisms, Grice and his Cooperative Principle has been a milestone in conversation studies which have inspired numerous supporting and opposing works.

2.1.3.2. Brown and Levinson’s Politeness Theory

One of the most influential theories, if not the most influential one, on politeness has been produced by Brown & Levinson (1987). They built their theory upon the concept of *face*. Goffman defined the idea of face as “the public self image that every member wants to claim for himself” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61). Face, for Brown & Levinson, can be saved or lost, maintained or enhanced.

This dissertation, using the speech act of Cs as the core of the study, gets its data from the world-famous SNS *Facebook*. There might have been more than mere luck in Zuckerberg’s choice of the name *Facebook* for the SNS, on which people came up with their 21st century faces, public images.

Brown & Levinson (1987) used the Goffmanian concept *face* to explain politeness phenomena in languages and divided it into two as *positive* and *negative*. These two types can be defined as one’s desire to be approved and appreciated by the others and one’s desire for solidarity, respectively. Spencer-Oatey (2008), however, argues that these types represent people’s desire for approval and autonomy.

Another key concept in the politeness theory proposed by Brown & Levinson is the term Face Threatening Acts (henceforth FTAs). Sometimes, the illocutionary force of an act may inherently have the danger of making the hearer feel uneasy or uncomfortable and threaten the face of him/her. That is why interlocutors use some strategies to avoid the possibility of threatening the other interlocutor’s face.

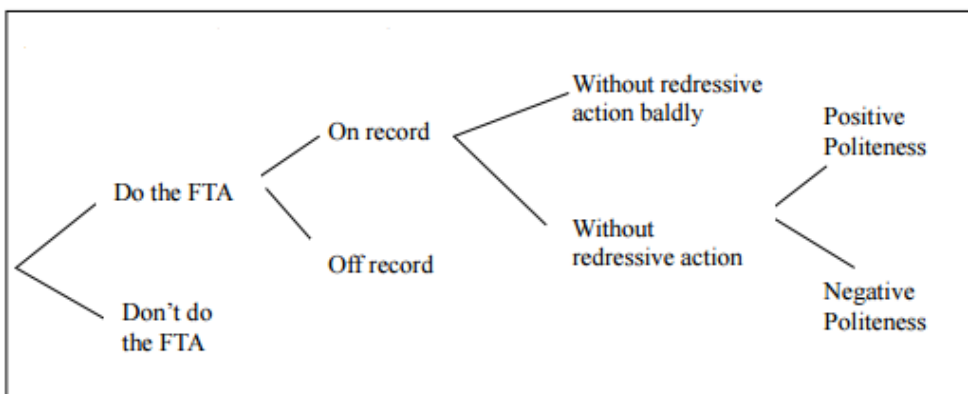


Figure 1: The FTA Strategies in Brown & Levinson (1987)

(Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 69)

The first choice a speaker has is to do the act or not to do the act. If the speaker chooses to do the potential FTA, s/he might choose to use an on-record or off-record strategy. Off-record strategy is when the speaker uses a more vague utterance to avoid any imposition of his/her words. On-record strategy is a bald

utterance that performs the act directly. Another way to avoid FTAs is either to use redressive acts or not use them.

In such situations, either positive or negative politeness strategies can be used. Positive politeness strategies are in use when the speaker claims to have a mutual idea/stance/interest, while negative politeness strategies are in use when the speaker allocates enough space for the hearer so that the hearer does not feel imposed.

As noted earlier, there are a number of reasons people may choose to do or to avoid doing FTAs. They may opt to violate the maxims of conversation deliberately, or they may prefer to obey them selectively. Brown and Levinson – with their well-known Politeness Theory – provided explanations as to why people may choose to be more indirect or less explicit in their language use. Politeness Theory also helps us to understand why people may choose a certain term of address and how people manage face. It deals with the contextual and social factors involved in the process of meaning making. It “aims at explaining contextual and cultural variability in linguistic actions: what social motivations are inherent in and what social meanings are attached to the choice of verbal strategies for the accomplishment of communicative goals” (Blum-Kulka & Michael Hamo, 2011, p. 152). Politeness strategies are based on face management strategies. Politeness strategies, the notion of face and conversational maxims, are very central to many studies of politeness.

Maintaining the face of both/all participants in a conversation is a basic motivation for human interaction (Blum-Kulka & Michael Hamo, 2011). However, there are some situations in which obeying the maxims may not be possible if concerns of face are considered. In some situations, maintaining face and telling the full truth may not be possible due to many speech acts being ‘face threatening acts,’. Then, speakers feel a dilemma as to whether they should obey the conversational maxims or obey the rules of politeness in order to save the face of the interlocutors. The decision they make in this dilemma may depend on many reasons and many contextual factors such as social distance, power and rating of imposition (Brown

& Levinson, 1987). Whether strongly or loosely, most speech acts, as they are imposing, are redressed in daily speech.

Brown & Levinson’s theory of politeness has attracted much interest and it has inspired numerous studies worldwide. However, it has also become the focus of much criticism. A very important criticism of Brown & Levinson concerns the lack of context. Matsumo (1988) argued that the theory is elaborated on the individual self and related concepts. In addition to being focused on the individual, the social and interactional aspects of face are underestimated and neglected.

Despite many criticisms, the Politeness Theory of Brown & Levinson has been a groundbreaking start for numerous studies to follow and it paved the way for many other theories on politeness to flourish.

2.1.3.3. Leech and the Politeness Maxims

Leech (1983) introduced a politeness model with conversational maxims. Thomas (1995) argues that Leech (1983) puts forward the most suitable framework and theory for cross-cultural research despite having many drawbacks and areas in need of improvement.

Leech (1983) proposes that there is a principle of politeness in daily conversations and this can be displayed with a maxim-based taxonomy. He draws a taxonomy of six principles of politeness.

Table 2: Leech’s Politeness Maxims

POLITENESS MAXIMS	
The Tact Maxim	minimize cost to the other maximize benefit to the other
The Maxim of Generosity	minimize benefit to the self maximize cost to self
The Approbation Maxim	minimize dispraise of the other maximize praise of the other
The Modesty Maxim	minimize praise of the self maximize dispraise of the self
The Agreement Maxim	minimize disagreement between self and the other maximize agreement between self and the other
The Sympathy Maxim	minimize antipathy between self and the other maximize sympathy between self and the other

(Leech, 1983)

For Leech, the tact maxim is “perhaps the most important kind of politeness in English-speaking society” (Leech, 1983, p. 107). This maxim requires that the speaker minimize the imposition towards the other. This is very similar to Brown & Levinson’s definition of negative politeness as the negative face of the other interlocutor is saved (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The second maxim of politeness is the maxim of generosity. This maxim proposes that the speaker should minimize the benefit to the self and maximize the cost to the self. The maxim of generosity and the tact maxim form a pair that approaches the phenomena from the points of view of the *self* and the *other*.

Another pair is the approbation and modesty maxims, which propose that a speaker may praise the other interlocutor but praising oneself is not polite. These two maxims are used throughout the discussion parts of this dissertation as responding to compliments in the affirmative occasionally results in the violation of the modesty maxim.

Another maxim is that of agreement, which suggests that interlocutors need to try not to disagree with each other. Agreement aids a smooth and cooperative conversation. The last maxim of politeness is that of sympathy. This maxim requires the speakers to express their congratulations, commiserations and good wishes to each other to share emotions with the other interlocutor.

Similar to Gricean maxims, the maxims put forward by Leech should not be regarded as prescriptive rules that should be obeyed. Rather, they are descriptions of language that has already been used for a long time in society.

The maxims proposed by Leech differ from those proposed by Grice and the Politeness Theory of Brown & Levinson such that they have a more philosophical stance. As mentioned previously, these theories have some limitations, including overlaps within the categories. That is, the categories are not mutually exclusive. Moreover, there are many cases in real language use that cannot fit into Leech’s maxims as they cannot be explained with the Politeness Theory of Brown & Levinson.

Although these theories have been very influential and highly accepted, they have also been subject to many criticisms from many aspects, the most common of which is their being too ethnocentric. They have been claimed to be too western-oriented. Intercultural as well as intra-cultural differences are not reflected in these studies (Blum-Kulka & Michael Hamo, 2011).

In spite of there being a number of sound criticisms of Leech's politeness maxims, these maxims have been very influential in studies of politeness. In the scope of this study, the modesty maxim and agreement maxim are discussed a lot because of the conflict between the two as Holmes (1988) puts it.

2.1.3.4. Spencer-Oatey's Rapport Management Model

Brown & Levinson put forward a very important theory on politeness. However, it has attracted many criticisms, including the fact that they focused on the individual aspect of politeness so much that they overlooked the social aspect. Though there might be a glimpse of the interpersonal aspect of politeness in the definitions of positive politeness, this side is very limited and needs much more elaboration. Such criticisms caused many new ideas to flourish, one of which being Spencer-Oatey's Rapport Management.

Spencer-Oatey's basic motive in developing her theory of Rapport Management was that 'face' focused theories were concerned with the speaker only. The speaker made efforts for either solidarity or self-fulfillment in the group. On the other hand, 'rapport' in Spencer-Oatey's study (2008) takes both/all interlocutors into account with the belief that conversation is co-constructed. Her preference not to use the term politeness in her work stems from the hypothetically smooth and harmonious representation of language use in politeness theories. That is, language, for Spencer-Oatey can be a way to express disharmony as well as harmony. Her framework has three main dimensions: the management of face, management of sociality rights and obligations and the management of interactional goals (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 13).

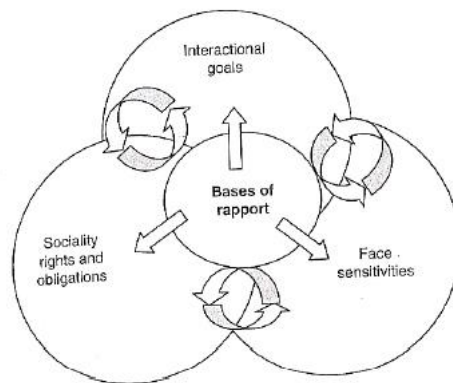


Figure 2: The Bases of Rapport

(Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 13)

As the figure suggests, the three dimensions in Spencer-Oatey’s model are all in relation to one another. A number of social rights and obligations leads to a number of interactional goals and the interactional goals lead to a number of social obligations. These sociality rights/obligations and interactional goals are mutually related to face sensitivities.

The definition of *face* for Spencer-Oatey does not differ from Goffman’s definition of face.

Face management, as the term indicates, involves the management of face sensitivities and, following Goffman (1967: 5) [citation original], I define face as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact.

(Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 13)

The new dimension, sociality rights and obligations, refers to the management of social expectations that she specifies as the “fundamental social entitlement that a person effectively claims for him/herself in his/her interaction with others”. The interactional goals, as the name suggests, are defined as “the specific task and/or relational goals that people may have when they interact with one another (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 13).

Table 3: Components of Rapport Management

	Face Management (Personal/Social Value)	Sociality Rights Management (Personal/Social Entitlements)
Personal/Independent Perspective	Quality Face (cf. Brown & Levinson's positive face)	Equity Rights (cf. Brown & Levinson's negative face)
Social/Interdependent Perspective	Social Identity Face	Association Rights (corresponds to one aspect of B & L's positive face)

(Spencer-Oatey, 2000, p. 15)

An important premise of politeness theories, FTAs, is also discussed in Spencer-Oatey's rapport management model. As the focus is not claimed to be on face, it is not only face but also the sociality rights and obligations and interactional goals that are threatened. The model proposes three dimensions of FTAs: face-threatening behavior, rights threatening/obligation-omission behavior, and goal-threatening behavior (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 17).

Similar to the idea of *face management strategies*, Spencer-Oatey proposes *rapport management strategies*. She proposes that speech acts can be analyzed in three ways. The first two, analyzing the semantic content and directness of the act, have been very common in speech act research. The third way is analyzing speech acts "in terms of upgraders/downgraders or, as they are also called, boosters/hedges, intensifiers/downtoners or maximizers/minimizers (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 23). She lists four factors that influence the strategies people use in their interactions. These factors are

1. Rapport enhancement orientation: a desire to strengthen or enhance harmonious relations with the other interlocutors;
2. Rapport maintenance orientation: a desire to maintain or protect harmonious relations between the interlocutors;
3. Rapport neglect orientation: a lack of concern or interest in the quality of relations between the interlocutors (perhaps because of a focus on self);
4. Rapport challenge orientation: a desire to challenge or impair harmonious relations between the interlocutors.

(Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 32)

Rapport enhancement orientation means that people want to develop the already existing relationship for a variety of reasons. Rapport maintenance results in the stability of the current relationship between the interlocutors. If rapport is

neglected, the harmony in the relationship is ignored. *Rapport impair orientation* can be observed when people deliberately impair the harmony of the interaction either to assert their personal being or for other reasons.

The rapport management model proposed by Spencer-Oatey is one of the most recent and comprehensive theories on face, and this definition and dimension of face have been used extensively in the discussions in this dissertation.

2.1.4. Pragmatics across Cultures

Yule defines pragmatics as “the study of speaker meaning, the study of contextual meaning, the study of how more gets communicated than is said and the study of the expression of relative distance” (1996, p. 21). Knowing a language does not mean knowing a vocabulary, being able to pronounce words or knowing its grammar. Knowing a language entails the ability to use appropriate language in appropriate contexts. One needs to decipher the underlying meaning and the communicative function of an utterance. Contextual clues and knowledge of the background add to the meaning of utterances (Blum-Kulka & Michael Hamo, 2011).

The philosophers John Austin, John Searle and Paul Grice are three fathers and leading figures of pragmatics. Austin and Searle developed the idea that speech is an act. They focused their attention on what the speakers mean and what they achieve more than what they actually say (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). On the other hand, Grice (1975) contemplated on how hearers deduce meaning from utterances and how conversation is co-constructed. Later on, many theories on politeness and face have been put forward, adding new cornerstones to the field.

Even daily observations of common conversations can easily show that people’s understanding of what is polite, and what is not, changes cross-culturally, interpersonally or even intra-personally, depending on the situation. Cultural variation is one of the major determiners in the way people interact with each other. People brought up in different cultures often carry different norms and

patterns when dealing with pragmatic issues and these different norms are deeply rooted in their cultural being (Wierzbicka, 2003). Cross-cultural pragmatics studies this difference, and how these differences reflect in interculturally or intraculturally different contexts. It deals with both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic strategies which cover pragmatic competence, knowing how to use appropriate language to mean what the speaker really means, and sociological competence, meaning the ability to use language that is appropriate to social contexts, norms, etc.

Cross-cultural studies are often contrastive in nature. These cross-cultural studies can shed light on the assumptions of universality of politeness or specifically certain speech acts. Although the idea of universality has attracted much enthusiasm and excitement on the part of many researchers, there are some researchers and theoreticians who believe that human interaction does not depend on universal principles (Wierzbicka, 2003).

Though the debate on whether or not speech acts or some pragmatic norms are universal is still contentious, many scholars claim that speech acts are universal. However, the manner in which they are used, both the norms and the forms, vary among cultures (Blum-Kulka & Michael Hamo, 2011; Yu, 2003).

To have smooth interactions, interlocutors need to pay attention to each other's *face* (see 2.1.2). This face-work is undertaken in all verbal and nonverbal social interactions and it underlies all social interactions among people (Park, 2013). Many politeness theories aim at providing a framework to study and analyze interactions among people. Still very few of them consider the nature of online communication and the frameworks for the analysis of online communications, which are barely established or sufficient.

With the knowledge of this gap in this research field, this study aims at examining the already-existing frameworks for C and CRs and analyzes whether they are applicable to Turkish and American English. Furthermore, if not applicable or adoptable, creating new frameworks will be a major claim of this study.

2.1.5. Computer Mediated Communication

Over the last two decades, the medium of communication has changed considerably. This change has been facilitated by the introduction of SNSs. Different from the former types of media, the Internet, providing people with more interactivity, has started to be an extensively used medium of communication. People are now no longer the passive audience of the media but active contributors of the sites, even the creators of their own pages. Information exchange in mass communication has turned out to be more and more interactive. Needless to say, such a change has affected what/why/how/how much/when/where and even with whom people communicate as well as the way they keep in contact with them.

Facebook is a SNS which was founded in 2004 and became an instant success all around the world as well as in Turkey. Today, Turkey, with a population of 77.695.704 people, has 46.282.850 active internet users. More than 41 million of these are *Facebook* users, which means that *Facebook* is a widely used SNS. The USA rates the first in the number of *FB* users in the world. Among its 310 million people, 133 million, 43%, use *FB* (“Internet Stats and Facebook Usage”, 2017).

On *FB*, people have pages with walls. They can write statuses, tag themselves in places, add photos and tag their friends¹ in those photos. Recently, an update has made it possible for users to share memories on *FB* and celebrate their friendships on *FB*. Not surprisingly, *FB* has provided non-verbal images to indicate feelings. Moreover, a very common tool used by *Facebookers* is the “like” tool. Note that there is no *unlike* or *dislike* button; however, in the course of writing this dissertation, some additional moving icons as a supplement for like has appeared. This difference has not been considered in this research.

In the scope of this study, compliments on the personal photos of people will be considered. The photos are selected among those in which people are seen.

¹ ‘Friend’ in *FB* terminology means anybody in one’s network.

Comments on videos, statuses or what is written on people's walls by their friends are also open to research but not analyzed in the scope of this study.

In daily life, as well as in computer mediated communication, avoidance is a strategy in cases where compliments can be paid or responses are uttered. However, this study will not be able to focus on avoidance as the variables (the number of friends, the number of friends who saw the photo etc.) appear to be uncontrollable with the technology at hand in the time this dissertation is being written. Before and during the analyses, the differences between computer mediated communication and face to face communication and possible effects of these differences on the FBCC are discussed (for further discussion see 3.4.3).

2.2. Previous Literature

2.2.1. The Concept of Compliments

Compliments are widespread and widely appreciated conversational routines in many countries and cultures. They provide positive evaluations, praise and admiration to the Cee from the Cer.

The most commonly cited definition of Cs is

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, 1988, p. 446).

The definition provided above underlines two important aspects of Cs:

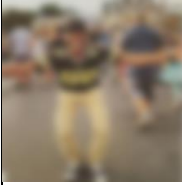
- i) Compliments are utterances that create positive feelings on the part of listeners
- ii) Compliments may be overt or covert; that is, direct or indirect.

A third aspect underlined in the definition above is *somebody other than the speaker*. According to this, Cs are always positive comments as they are paid for some *good* aspects. Another key characteristic of Cs is to appraise *someone other than the speaker*. It is clear that this *someone* can be *something* and, either a person


or a thing, it is related to the Cee although it is not directly mentioned in this definition. If this relation (between the object of C and the Cee) is not built by either of the interlocutors, the utterance turns out not to be a C but a declaration. It can be seen as a praise to a third party but not a C to the Cee (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1989). To give an example, when a person's child is complimented, that person may feel grateful and express gratitude although the child is another person. If the complimented child is not related to the other interlocutor, he/she most probably does not respond to the utterance and it becomes an expression of ideas/emotions rather than a C.

The claim that *somebody other than the speaker needs to be praised* is another aspect of the definition that needs to be broadened for another reason: self-compliments are also Cs semantically, syntactically and pragmatically. Throughout this research, it has been considered and accepted that some Cs can be integrated with a C to the self. See the examples from the FBCC:

Sample 1: AEM-18LaP-5

	<p>AEF-Cer: Love the picture I took...</p> <p>AEM-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
<p>A young man crouching down.</p>	

Sample 2: TF-11MeU-5

	<p>TF-Cer: Süperiz kızlar ☺ [We are perfect girls ☺]</p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
<p>A group of women dining out.</p>	


In the examples above, Cs mention the *good* not only in *someone other than the speaker* but also the Cer himself/herself. Therefore, the definition by Holmes still

falls short to define Cs in spite of the fact that it is the most comprehensive definition.

Cs are commonly accepted as expressive speech acts. However, the same Cs may serve for a variety of different *actions* in different situations or cultures with different interlocutors, such as for requests, offers, etc. That is, exchanging Cs and responding to them are highly context-bound social events.

Manes & Wolfson (1981) mention the formulaic syntactic and semantic formula of Cs and claim that it can be difficult to identify Cs simply because they have been so much integrated into daily speech. The observations in this research lead the researcher to believe that not only the widespread use and implicitness but also interlocutor perceptions make Cs difficult to identify and analyze. What is a compliment and what is not is sometimes too personal. See the example (not included in the FBCC):

Sample 3: Not Included in FBCC

	<p>AEF-Cer: Gülten, you look so tan.</p> <p>AEM-Cee: (likes the C) lol ThX I worked hard for that.</p>
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In the example above, ‘looking tan’ is considered as a C by the Cee; however, this might not always be the case. A dark skin color is not favored in many societies as lighter skin is mostly associated with modern city life. However, tan skin is also an indicator of a long holiday by the sea therefore implying a socio-economic status. That is, both the interlocutors and the cultural understandings determine the borders of the definition of Cs.

Compliments can be paid for a variety of *goods* such as possession, personality, achievement, appearance or skill. There have been numerous classifications on topics of Cs (for further information see 3.8.1.2).

Cs are classified according to the directness of the relationship between the locution and illocutionary force. Thus, another classification between them may be either *implicit* or *explicit*. Implicit Cs may be considered as indirect ones conveyed with the help of contextual cues while explicit ones are direct Cs which can be observed even without enough contextual clues. The data in this study are composed of explicit Cs mostly.

From a historical perspective, Politeness Theory proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) shaped a huge body of research in its infancy. The notions of positive politeness and negative politeness were deeply studied. More recent studies focus their attention from a top-down to a more bottom-up perspective. Instead of describing norms of behaviors and defining universal strategies, new research aims at identifying contexts and specific situations in which individual users of language act as they do. The motives behind their speech acts have become the object of greater focus.

Interest in Cs started with the groundbreaking study of Manes and Wolfson (1981). In this study, the authors examined the syntactic, semantic and discourse features of Cs and found that Cs in American English are mostly formulaic and this formulaic nature has been absorbed so implicitly that native speakers do not realize their formulaic nature. From then on, there have been a growing body of research on especially English Cs, to which this research aims to add with information on Cs on computer mediated communication in T and AE.

2.2.2. The Concept of Compliment Responses

Compliment responses have been under investigation as they are also important components of co-constructing what the Cs endeavor to achieve. Most Cs require response; however, avoiding a response is also an option though not expected. Different from face to face communication, avoidance seems easier on SNSs. This research does not/cannot take the avoidance strategy in C as a research goal; however, it aims to provide insights into when and why Cs are left unresponded. Furthermore, it aims at investigating whether the number of instances of

avoidance/leaving the compliment unresponded is higher than Cs paid in other ways of communication.

Ruhi (2006) studied Cs with a data set collected through field observations. Field workers were provided with a form on which they wrote the C exchange and they took notes on the possible important issues in the case of the compliment. Her research on CRs in Turkish shows that native speakers of Turkish accept compliments 61% of the time, reject them 23% of the time and deflect/evade them 16 % of the time.

Taking the previous studies into account, this research aims to study with a wide corpus of 2000 Cs and CRs and provide insights on the Cs in Turkish and AE paid on SNSs. This research also aims at describing CRs in both languages.

2.2.3. Studies on Compliments and Compliment Responses

Early research on Cs focused on their structure more than the functions that they served. Another major concern of the studies in this area was about the claims for universality. Quite a few studies tried to support or eliminate the claims that Cs have universal patterns and that they are formulaic in all languages. In this section, studies on Cs and CRs in different languages are provided with a focus on their research goals.

One of the most groundbreaking studies on Cs was carried out by Manes & Wolfson (1981). This study focused on semantics, syntax and discourse that Cs occur in and presented the idea that Cs in AE are mostly formulaic. They found that an extremely limited set of adjectives accounts for an overwhelming majority of the Cs paid. Among more than one hundred Cs, 42.5% were constructed with only two adjectives: ‘nice’ and ‘good’. Cs in AE proved to be syntactically formulaic as well. Among the same data, 85% of all Cs fell into one of the three syntactic patterns identified by Manes and Wolfson. Similarly, the functions served by compliments are not original. The lack of originality is surprising for many, especially native speakers, as they are accepted as implicit and not

explicitly recognized all the time not because of the difficulty to recognize them but because of the fact that they are accepted as they are, that is as formulae.

In order to prove the ease of identifying Cs, Manes and Wolfson (1981) cited that a group of native speaker field workers in their research with no background in the field were asked to collect the data for the research. To their surprise, none of the field workers inquired the exact definition of “compliments”. Moreover, the data collected by them *without being trained on how to identify compliments* consisted of only Cs with no exceptions. This means that no background in the field was needed to identify Cs.

At this juncture, a critical question is to be proposed by the researcher. It is clear that all the data gathered were Cs but it is unknown if all the data they avoided to note down were not Cs. That is, the fieldworkers might have avoided to note down the questionable data. Therefore a working definition of Cs is needed to draw the borders and see what lies/stays behind them.

If the users of a language are surprised to learn that Cs are formulaic, this is not due to a difficulty to define or identify what a C is but because people are not taught to pay Cs. In a vast majority of cultures, children are taught to say “thank you” or “God bless you” but not to say “you look terrific today”. The same occurs in second language education. Offers and requests or suggestions are taught for hours or weeks but Cs are not. Hardly ever does a textbook allocate a space to teach this speech act.

It should be noted that despite the formulae, they found Manes & Wolfson (1981) do not claim a universal compliment behavior. On the contrary, they mention the cross cultural differences. This study and the claim about the formulaic semantics, structure and discourse of Cs has had a triggering effect and quite a few studies in many languages have been conducted on the possible formulaic structure of Cs. Some of the leading studies are summarized in the next section.

After the formula was proposed, Ruhi worked on the effect of the Cs on the hearer in Turkish. Her findings show that although Cs are mostly formed in a very limited syntax and lexicon and thus show a formulaic tendency, they may also exemplify creative use. Cs, when in the form of uniquely created utterances, have a more intense effect on the hearer (Ruhi, 2006). Yu (2003) studied the more general idea of politeness in two cultures and found a number of important differences. Yu (2005) compared and contrasted sociolinguistic features of paying Cs in the uses of native Chinese speakers and native speakers of American English. Yu studied not only the features of distribution but also the functions they may serve.

Şakırgil & Çubukçu (2013) reported a study on formulae and topics in Turkish and English Cs and concluded that in both languages, compliment events are formulaic. The C events in this study cover the topics of, and responses to Cs. The syntactic structures used while complimenting in Turkish are not in the scope of this study. Their classification of topics of compliments is based on appearance, possession, performance, attribute and skill. They classified responses as accepting, downtoning, rejecting, directing to someone else, returning and providing account.

Supporting the formulaic use of Cs, Boori (1994) studied 834 Persian compliment events and found that only five adjectives and two syntactic patterns can account for two-thirds of the Cs. Accordingly, Boori suggests 18 types of CR strategies applied by speakers of Persian. These are 1) Appreciation token; 2) Appreciation token plus a politeness formula; 3) Appreciation token plus comment/reassignment; 4) Nonverbal Acceptance; 5) Comment Acceptance; 6) Comment; 7) Offering; 8) Praise Upgrade; 9) Comment History; 10) Reassignment; 11) Return 12) Entreaty; 13) Scale Down; 14) Question; 15) Disagreement; 16) Qualification; 17) No Acknowledgement; and 18) Request interpretation (as cited in Allami & Montazeri, 2012, p. 469). All these findings serve to support the universality claims in this specific speech act.

The context of Cs has been a topic of discussion for quite many studies. Dijk (1981) studied the formal and informal contexts in which Cs occurred and

described the possible contexts for Cs to be paid from a pragmatic viewpoint. Spencer-Oatey & Xing (2003) studied the misunderstandings of Cs in multicultural business meetings. Ruhi (2006) studied compliments in Turkish according to Brown & Levinson's (1987) face theory and the conversational maxim approach of Leech (1983). She propounded the notion of self-politeness which included three aspects: display confidence, display individuality, display impoliteness. Studying on the level of education and responding to Cs, it was found that the more educated the people are the more acceptance strategies they start to use (Gao & Ren, 2008).

Another important study focusing on gender differences was conducted by Herbert. Herbert (1990), in a quantitative analysis of C data, concluded that the Cs American males pay are almost twice as likely to be accepted while women accept Cs twice as much as men. Johnson & Roen (1992) reported on the gender differences in AE Cs in one genre of written discourse. The findings indicated that women more often use opening and closing Cs. The study showed that the issue of gender involves writing as well. Farghal & Al-Khatib (2001), in their study conducted on Jordanian Arabic CRs, arrived at the conclusion that there is a highly gendered language use when CRs are taken into consideration in terms of simple versus complex CRs, macro vs. micro functions of CRs and intrinsically versus extrinsically complex CRs.

Rees-Miller (2011) found strikingly different results about the relationship between gender and Cs. She divided the settings of the Cs into two: structured and unstructured settings. The findings for the unstructured settings supported the previous research findings, claiming that women pay and receive more Cs especially on appearance. In structured settings, on the other hand, Cs for performance outnumbered the other topics of the Cs. This study is difficult to generalize but it is important to underline the emphasis of setting on the topics of Cs.

Heidari et al. (2009), with their gender-based study on CRs, discovered that female Iranian EFL learners preferred using evasion and rejection strategies as the

most common strategies while responding to Cs. Furthermore, another gender-specific aspect of the study argued that women used more implicit strategies while men preferred to be explicitly more polite.

A detailed analysis on topics of Cs and the gender differences in the number of Cs paid is given in Parisi & Wogan (2009). In the same year, Tang & Zhang (2009) took a close look at the CRs among Australian English and Mandarin Chinese speakers. The results indicate that the Mandarin Chinese speakers have a considerably greater tendency towards evading or rejecting a compliment rather than accepting it. The authors relate the differences to culture and suggest that any universal model for CRs is doomed to fail because cultures have their own ways to respond to Cs. The same study showed that more combination strategies were used by the Australian participants, which indicated “the Australians made more effort when responding to compliments” (Tang & Zhang, 2009, p. 1).

Cross-cultural comparisons have mostly been done between American and Japanese or Mandarin Chinese. Matsuura (2004) compared American and Japanese people in terms of their C behavior. The results showed that social status and gender are more important factors for the Americans than the Japanese. Moreover, the Japanese tended to be less polite towards family members because of the distinction between *uchi* and *soto*. These two notions refer to *insider* and *outsider* respectfully. One’s friends, colleagues or the people s/he interacts with are insiders while a client, for example, is outsider. It is important for a person to honor and praise the outsiders (*soto*) while humbling the ones in-group (*uchi*).

Ye (1995) studied Chinese compliment events. She found that in Chinese society, Cs on performance are more welcome than Cs on appearance as the former received more response from Cees. Wang & Tsai (2003) examined Cs and C topics in Taiwanese Mandarin with a focus on structure and the topic of Cs. They found that college students in this culture tend to disagree or show surprise when their appearance is complimented while they have a stronger tendency to accept if the topic of C is a possession. They found that appearance Cs are more likely to be disagreed while Cs on possessions are more accepted. CRs also displayed

differences according to the social status of the participants. Golato (2005) studied grammatical and sequential organization of Cs. The results showed that Germans *overwhelmingly* accept Cs. When compared with the findings of (Pomerantz, 1978) cross-cultural differences were highlighted.

Bergqvist (2009) aimed to spot if there occurs any pragmatic transfer from Swedish, the L1 of the participants, to English as the second language. The results indicated that there are no differences between the two; however, the result does not necessarily point to pragmatic transfer. To make a judgement about the existence of transfer, more research is needed.

Adachi (2010), looking from a broader perspective, analyzed not only the Cs but also the larger discourse that results in Cs. The research findings show that approximately 50% of Cs occur in cases where C topics are introduced by the Cee. This finding and the research question itself is important, as the data in this dissertation were retrieved from FB accounts and the uploaded photographs on this SNS. This results in the fact that the C topic is, most of the time if not always, introduced and determined by the Cee.

A study that reflected on language teaching practices was the one on Iraqi EFL learners. Cs in an Iraqi setting were studied with postgraduates and some important implications for classroom have been revealed (Qusay, Sattar, & Lah, 2003). The study underlined the need to teach Cs in a second language. S. E. Chen (2003) designed a study on the use of Cs by native AE speakers and non-native English speakers of Hong Kong Chinese. She concluded that there is a considerable difference between the two groups. The differences can be attributed to both the cultural differences and contextual factors.

Chen & Yang (2010) mentions many other studies on Cs and CRs in Chinese culture most of which refer to rejecting Cs as the most common CR strategy. However, in their 2010 study, Chen & Yang, taking R. Chen (1993) as baseline data reported a change in Chinese culture towards more western strategies of CRs.

The authors attribute this change to the influence of western culture that took place in the locality the research was conducted.

Aijuan (2010) concentrated on pragmatic transfer in a study conducted on Chinese EFL learners. Three variables were taken into consideration: the majors of the students (Do they major in English or in another subject?), the length of their history in learning English and their proficiency in English. The findings indicate that English majors made fewer pragmatic transfers. The length of learning experience in English as well as the level of proficiency also affects the number of pragmatic transfers. The longer the student is engaged in learning the language, the fewer mistakes s/he makes. Moreover, the higher the proficiency, the less likely the pragmatic transfer.

Maíz-Arévalo (2012) studied the possible pragmatic motivations the speakers may have while using implicit Cs in Spanish and English. The results indicated that implicit Cs are mostly preferred when the interlocutors are still socially distant. Cai (2012) studied the CR strategies of Chinese college students and classified the CR strategies in general in terms of gender, social power and social distance. The results of the study showed that CR strategies of college students differ greatly from the traditional patterns: 1) Acceptance strategy is preferred to rejection; 2) Females use explicit acceptance strategy more than males; and 3) Explicit acceptance is more common.

Guo et al. (2012) examined the language change in terms of CRs and claimed that there is a decline in non-acceptance strategies in contrast to an increase in acceptance strategies. Similarly, the modesty maxim that is believed to be of great importance for Chinese culture seems to lose its power against the agreement maxim. The study also examined the social variables that seemed to affect CR strategies: gender, age, social status, education level, social class, distance and background in other languages.

Ying, Woodfield, & Ren (2012), in a variational pragmatics study on Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese, focused on a macro-social variable, the effect of region, a

micro-social variable and the topic of C. The results drew attention to the similarities between these two varieties of Chinese and the findings showed that it is most of the time not the linguistic variety but the topic of C which determines the way the C speech act is answered.

Maiz-Arevalo & Garcia-Gomez (2013) studied Cs in online communication, more specifically FB. It also served as a cross-cultural study as the two groups which were studied were American and Spanish. The findings indicate similarities and differences between these two cultures. In a mixed methods analysis of these two corpora, they reported that FB seems to allow its users a variety of ways to respond to Cs wherein these two cultures exhibit important differences in the way they respond to them.

Sidraschi (2014) conducted an intracultural study in the Italian-speaking community. Two Italian towns, Novara and Grottaglie, proved to have very different compliment strategies and even the conceptualization of Cs differed between these two towns. In Novara, C seems to be considered a positive act, while in Grottaglie, Cs are considered dangerous acts that attract the evil eye.

Some studies worked on linguistic transfer and English as a second/foreign language. Valdés & Pino (1981) analyzed CRs in interactions between Mexican-American speakers. The strategies used by these bilinguals were then compared to those of American monolingual speakers of English and monolingual Spanish speakers. The study showed that bilinguals have a greater variety of CR strategies in their language use. The author attributes this difference to the fact that monolinguals have access to these strategies in only one language while bilinguals have access in two. Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984) conducted a very enthusiastic project called 'the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project'. Six languages, including English, and three varieties of English were studied in order to be able to make better generalizations about the claims of universality. The findings showed that there are similarities among all the groups when requests and apologies are considered. However, even for these acts, which obviously seem to bear similarities, the manifestation of meaning while using these acts and their use

and meaning changes from culture to culture. Despite being one of the most commonly cited works of the literature, the study has attracted harsh criticisms for its potential western bias. It is clear that claims for universality need to be either supported or left with the upcoming research; however, some non-western languages need further studies, such as Turkish as is the topic of this dissertation.

In another cross-cultural study, Daikuhara (1986) reported another comparative finding on similarities in CRs. After an analysis of Cs and CRs between a group of American and Japanese interlocutors, the study discovered that both groups used similar strategies to respond to Cs. Both groups downplayed the Cs and used the appreciation token 'thank you.' Billmyer (1990) conducted a study on the effect of instruction in the ability to use Cs. The results underlined that teaching can affect C use positively. Wierzbicka (1992) examined certain speech acts in Polish and Japanese and found contrary results to the claims of universality in complimenting behavior. The final claim of the author was that performing speech acts are circumstance and culture specific, thereby rejecting ideas to support universality.

Cross-cultural studies also aimed at revealing possible universal patterns in C exchanges. R. Chen (1993) compared features in C speech acts between native and non-native speakers of English. Chen, supporting the universality claims, argued that people tend to respond to Cs positively as Cs depict a form of positive politeness and a rejection can threaten the positive face of the Cer. Chen revealed that most of the studies were conducted focusing on American English and their findings could not be generalized because, as an example, native speakers of AE prefer acceptance strategies to respond to Cs, while in Eastern cultures, there are much fewer acceptance strategies being used.

Some cross-cultural studies rejected the common universal patterns proposed and supported that there are strong cultural differences in C events. Modifying Deborah Tannen's *thanksgiving dinner method* (Tannen, 1987), Wieland (1995) found differences in both the frequencies and topics of Cs paid at dinner tables between French and American cultures. Nelson, Al-Batal, & Echols (1996) studied

CRs used by Syrian Arabic and American English. They focused more on the similarities than the differences and suggested that in both groups, the participants tended to accept or mitigate the compliment rather than reject it. In another study Lorenzo-Dus (2001) focused on CRs in British English and Spanish. Using DCTs to collect the corpus, the study suggested that some response strategies were common in both groups while questioning the sincerity of a compliment. Additionally, the solidarity of the relationship is more common among English speakers while requests for repetition are more common among the Spanish speakers. Matsuura (2002) studied CRs in AE and Japanese. The findings indicate that ostensible acceptance (light acceptance) is very common in AE. Appreciation tokens are commonly used. On the other hand, in Japanese there is a variety of CRs in use.

Chiang & Pochtrager (1993) created their own taxonomy of CRs. They categorized Cs according to topics such as ability, appearance and possession Cs. They also divided CRs into five: acceptance, positive elaboration, neutral elaboration, negative elaboration and denial. The striking difference in this study was the fact that both groups spoke English as the first language while their ethnicity differed. The results indicated a considerable difference in CR strategies. Chinese-born English speakers used negative elaboration and denial more whereas American-born English speakers choose to elaborate the Cs positively.

Cross-cultural differences reflected themselves not only in Cs but also in CRs. Golato (2002) found some similarities as well as differences among cultures and languages. In his study, German CRs were compared to American CRs. The findings indicate that the response styles are mostly different. While Americans prefer using appreciation tokens as the most common strategy, Germans prefer to agree or accept the Cs without thanking.

Another very important study came from Golato (2002), in which the researcher made a contrastive comparison of CR between German and American participants in their conversations with family and friends. This study showed that there are important cultural differences in the content of their responses. Yu (2004) studied

the difference between CR strategies of Chinese learners of English in Taiwan and in the USA. Though the learner group in the USA exhibited a more American way of responding to Cs, the group in Taiwan remained more L1-like. Despite many differences between these two groups, the influence of L1 and L1 sociocultural strategies remained constant in both groups at different levels.

Al Falasi (2007) reported that L1 influence can be observed in non-native female Arab learners of English in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) setting. Mustapha (2011) conducted an *interlanguage study* in an ESL context of Nigerian English. With a relatively large corpus, the research aimed at comparing and contrasting the CRs in this ESL setting and what was reported about native English speakers beforehand. The results indicate both divergences and convergences in the comparison of these two speech communities. The pragmatic divergences are spotted and the author suggests the importance of information about the other cultures for healthy cross-cultural communication.

Chen (2011) explored CRs by Chinese EFL and ESL learners as well as native speakers of English. The comparison between these groups pointed out two reasons for the differences in CRs: the effect of the L1 culture and limited knowledge of linguistic forms in the L2 culture. Chen & Victoria Rau (2011), in a DCT mediated study, made American assessors conduct a content analysis of the Cs and CRs paid by L1 Chinese of L2 English speakers. Some pragmatic transfers are identified and analyzed in depth and it is underlined that there are string cross cultural differences in Cs paid.

Mohajernia & Solimani (2013) used Australian English speakers as the native speakers and compared their CRs with those of Iranian EFL learners. The results indicated that the CR strategies are far from pointing to a universal strategy. Rather, they indicate the effect of cultural differences in responding to Cs.

Barnlund & Araki (2013) studied the frequency of paying Cs in American and Japanese families. They found that Americans pay more Cs than the Japanese. Moreover, they found that Americans pay more Cs to the people with whom they

are in close relation than to distant people, while the Japanese pay more Cs to the people with whom they have more distance. However, power relations and gender were two neglected points. Daikuhara (1986) also compared Japanese and American Cs and found similar results.

Razi (2013) focused on CRs in Australian English and Iranian Persian. The framework of the study is adapted from Tang & Zhang (2009) and the results were compared to those of Tang & Zhang (2009). Razi concluded that, unlike what is indicated in most of the previous research, there seems to be no universal rule that governs CRs. An (2013) studied English CRs on appearance, ability, performance and possession. The results indicated differences in CR strategies used by English teachers with Chinese L1 and American native speakers.

In their study, Ghanbaran et al. (2014) studied intensifiers used before apologies and Cs in Persian language settings and found an extensive use of intensifiers before Cs. Shahsavari et al. (2014) compared Iranian EFL learners and native speakers of AE in their CR strategies. The results indicated that L2 CR strategies differ greatly from native use. The purpose of this research is to qualitatively and quantitatively identify Cs and CRs in American English and Turkish. This study, therefore, sets out to discover the common, generic features between the two groups and to account for the possible differences between them.

Fukasawa (2011), in a study of CRs on Japanese students who study abroad, reported that students who studied abroad for a while could improve their pragmatic competence if they are in friendly relations with native speakers and engage in social activities.

Cheng (2011), in a study on non-native C use, studied Chinese L2 speakers of American English and compared their language use with that of native speakers. Not surprisingly, considerable differences between native and non-native uses were recorded. In a study conducted on intermediate level Iranian EFL students, Sadeghi (2012) emphasized that explicit instruction on Cs had an immense effect in the pragmatic success of language learners. Allami & Montazeri (2012) selected

gender, age and educational background as variables and studied Iranian EFL learners' strategies while the learners responded to Cs. The most commonly used strategies identified were acceptance, positive elaboration and neutral elaboration.

As can be understood, there is an overwhelming background to the study of Cs; however, they are mostly built up on DCTs. This study, using naturally occurring data, contributes to the field in many aspects.

CHAPTER III

METHOD OF RESEARCH

3.0 Presentation

This chapter aims to give detailed information on the method of the study in addition to the research questions on which this dissertation has been built up. Then, the chapter specifies the methodology chosen. The possible data collection methods and the one chosen for this research are also given with the justifications of why they have been chosen. This is followed by a brief review of previous studies conducted with similar methodology or data collection procedure. Next, participant selection and the nature of the data will be presented followed by a pilot study covering 16% of the data will be given. Finally, the limitations of the method used will be discussed.

3.1. Research Questions

This dissertation has been designed as a corpus-driven study based on a corpus of compliments on FB photo comments (with two sub-corpora: FBCC-T for Turkish and FBCC-AE for American English) compiled by the researcher between 2012-2015. This study has four different informant groups: female native speakers of Turkish in Turkey (henceforth TF), male native speakers of Turkish in Turkey (henceforth TM), female native speakers of American English in the USA (henceforth AEF) and male native speakers of American English in the USA (henceforth AEM).

In the scope of this research, compliments and responses used by all four groups are collected with an aim to answer the following questions. To answer the following questions, the datasets have been compared two-way.

1. What are the most common structural/ topical/functional preferences the four informant groups use in their Cs?

2. Are there any specific structural/topical/functional preferences that can be attributed to genders in Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE?
3. Are there any specific structural/topical/functional preferences that can be attributed to culture in Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE?
4. Are there frequently utilized lexemes that function as lexical formulae for C utterances?
5. What are the pragmatic roles that emoticons serve while complimenting/ responding to Cs in FBCC?
6. What are the most common modes of response FBERs use to respond to photo Cs in FBCC?
7. What are the most common response strategies used by the four informant groups in FBCC?
8. Are there any response strategies that can be attributed to gender in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE?
9. Are there any response strategies that can be attributed to the culture in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE?
10. Are there any unique cultural elements that are reflected in the C exchanges?

3.2. Design of the Study

Dörnyei (2007) mentions two camps of research methodologies: the constructivist/interpretivist paradigm and the positivist/empiricist paradigm. As Davis (1995) puts it, the distinction cannot be made solely based on the data. Were it to be only the data, this dissertation could be considered to be qualitative research. However, as suggested by Davis (1995), the dichotomy (if so) lies beneath the method of data collection and data analysis as well as the nature of the data.

In deciding which camps to go with, the data is of crucial importance. Dörnyei (2007) divides the data in applied linguistics into three: (1) Quantitative data -data that can be expressed in numbers-; (2) Qualitative data -data in textual form that can be transcribed either in spoken or written form-; (3) Language data -language

elicited for research purposes. The data in this research are not elicited and the language sample is naturally occurring data. That is, in Dörnyei's classification, the data in this research fall in the category 'qualitative data'. The analysis is conducted both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Before deciding on one's position between these two *camp*s, in Dörnyei's terms, the advantages and drawbacks of both research methodologies need to be taken into consideration. Firstly, quantitative research mainly uses numbers, mostly as a predetermined set of categorizations, and focuses on generalizations with the help of variables and large groups of participants. It uses standardized procedures and statistics to assess objective and universal reality. However, this *universal* approach is accused of leading the researcher to lose *the unique*. These generalizations make it "decontextualized and simplistic" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 271). On the other hand, qualitative research does not focus on strictly predetermined categorizations. Its aspects are shaped in the process. The data set, which is the most naturally occurring one, includes large and complex details; therefore, the sample size is almost always smaller than the research conducted using the quantitative methodology. Interpretive analysis is the core of the research, which can be criticized as whoever the researcher is can have a direct influence on what the results are likely to be.

Using both quantitative and qualitative data analysis, this study was primarily designed as a corpus study. Qualitative data were gathered and analyzed in digital setting. The most significant benefit of such a corpus study is that it enables the researcher to use natural data. Also the corpus is available for further research and investigation.

3.2.1. Data Sources

Selecting the data is a very fundamental step in the research design as the sample selected from the population is claimed to be the representatives of a larger unit, if not the universe (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010). In cross-cultural studies, the more variables are considered, the more reliable findings may be gathered. Therefore,

it can be claimed that age, gender, ethnic background and demographic information such as the educational level of parents are important indicators of cultural behavior; the inclusion of these strengthens the findings and discussions built on these findings.

Being unable to consider all these variables and being unable to research the possible effects of them on Cs, this research limits the age and education level of the participants so that the effects are minimized.

In order to be able to obtain reliable data from real FB accounts, the participants were selected according to an *Exponential Non-Discriminative Snowball Sampling* methodology. Using this technique, a new FB account was signed up and a small information announcement was prepared. The possible participant group was defined and friends with the friends of friends were added. The people who wanted to participate in this study added the account as a friend, and in this manner the actuality of the accounts were verified.

The data in this study are collected from four groups of informants. Every informant in this study (n=100) is a university graduate between the ages of 25 and 35. Their marital/relationship status is not taken into consideration. Furthermore, as a natural consequence of the data collection technique, the power relationships between participants cannot be used as a variable in spite of the fact that it can be claimed that the power relationship is mostly *equal to equal* as FB makes everyone *friends*. The characteristics of the participants are described in detail below.

3.2.1.1. Native Speakers of Turkish

Fifty native Turkish speakers participated in this study, 25 male and 25 female. Every participant was a university graduate who was an active user of FB. That is, they not only hold the accounts but they also log in to it at least once a day. All of the participants in this group are professionals. Their second or third languages were not taken into consideration. All participants, being native speakers of T,

were born in Turkey and have spent their lives in Turkey except for short periods of time abroad, speaking Turkish for daily issues and in their families.

In the scope of this research, T-T compliments paid to these participants are analyzed. In addition to responses, either verbal or visual means (like emoticons), have also been the foci of the analyses.

3.2.1.2. Native Speakers of American English

There are 50 American native speakers of English who contributed to this research. Similar to the Turkish participants, half of the participants were female and the other half male. Moreover, the criteria of university degree and age remain constant with this group. In this group of participants, as a representative of American culture, there were many people from different ethnic backgrounds. Similar to the Turkish participants, the ethnic backgrounds were not taken into consideration. If they are American born and bred in childhood and if they use American English as the language of communication in their daily lives, they are considered native speakers.

For the purposes of this research, AE Cs paid to AE native speakers were investigated. Cs, CRs and the emoticons used in them to pay a C are analyzed.

3.3. Ethical Issues

In the last two decades, the Internet has been able to penetrate into every single cell of our being. It has also created devastating changes in the way people express themselves in addition to creating their *selves* and relating this *very own self* to the world outside.

This dramatic change has found its place in the research world, providing vast amounts of data. These data have been used in education, psychology, communication, gender studies, and many interdisciplinary studies including this one at hand.

Through creating a new channel and a new means of communication, research using computer mediated communication has experienced its own unique problems which have started a harsh debate on what is ethical. First of all, research in online communication can be synchronous or asynchronous. In the first phases, the distinction between these two types were clear; however, nowadays, with applications on smart phones, the so-called asynchronous messages notify users immediately, and this blurs the clear cut distinction. For the purposes of this research, the distinction is made considering whether or not the message is valid and kept after some time. Synchronous communication is defined as mostly informative or daily communication, which turns out to be less important and is deleted after a while. Texting on a mobile device or *Whatsapp* applications can be listed as examples of instant messaging, while asynchronous messaging may include forum posts, FB photo comments, etc.

As can be inferred, FB photo comments, the data source in this study, were considered as asynchronous types of communication. The ethical problems this type of research bear can be listed as false/fake accounts, the difficulty of getting informed consent and copyright issues.

The participant recruitment process in computer mediated communication is one of the most difficult parts as obtaining written consent from the informants may be problematic, especially if the researcher is conducting the research overseas and if there are some cultural prejudices that may make the informants feel uncomfortable. There are two opposing views regarding this informed consent issue. Some argue the importance of personal written consent, while others argue that informing them is sufficient. If there are no objections, it is ethical to use the information, as it is already available for everyone (including non-friends).

In this research, a new FB account was created. The possible participants were added and they were sent a short message informing them that the photo comments on their page were going to be used for a linguistic study on Cs. Additionally, they were asked whether they had any objections, and if so, they needed to inform the researcher. Except for two potential participants, there were

no objections. The same information was posted on the wall of the research account to ensure that everyone saw it. Those who did not reject it were included in the research.

3.4. Data Collection Choices Made

Using appropriate data collection techniques is one of the most challenging tasks for a researcher working in the area of pragmatics. The selected data collection tools determine whether or not the researchers are able to fully answer their research questions (Yuan, 2001). The tools should be able to not only gather the representative samples of the aimed groups or cultures, but also allow the researcher to obtain enough data in a limited time so that some generalizable conclusions can be derived about the questions at hand. That is, both time and reliability/validity concerns help the researchers and decision makers decide on the tools to be used in data collection.

In such studies, another challenging task a researcher faces is to control the variables examined in the study, which may not be possible all the time.

Taking all these concerns into consideration, researchers in the field of pragmatics have used a number of different data collection methods, some of which are listed below. It should carefully be noted that all these data collection methods have their own strengths and weaknesses.

3.4.1. Why Naturally Occurring Data?

Studying in the field of pragmatics using naturally occurring data is a challenging but a fruitful task to conduct as the data do not simulate but exemplify what actually is occurring in real-life contexts. How this study differs from many others is the “nature” of the naturally occurring data used. The nature of the data differs because of the contextual differences SNSs bear in their very nature.

Fake accounts and false identities are some very important threats to the validity of a study being conducted using SNSs. Furthermore, it can be difficult to

determine or question the power relations between people. Even asking whether they are the native speakers of the community language may sound offensive to many people. Therefore, it is difficult to control many variables in SNSs.

However, according to research, people spend 20% of their day online. This means that 20% of language use is online language thereby leading us to the conclusion that ignoring a language used online, with its similarities and differences to face-to-face use, would lead the researchers to missing an important quantity of data.

In order to be able to eliminate the weaknesses of using online data in this study, the selection was made according to variables of levels of education and gender. Participants were found via networking with friends.

3.4.2. Why Facebook?

FB was chosen as the social networking site to collect the data from native speakers of both English and Turkish. This website was chosen because it is among the most popular social networking sites in both Turkey and the USA. Moreover, FB is very commonly used for uploading photos (which differs from Twitter, etc.) As the data was specifically taken from those photos which receive Cs, the use of *FB* gave an opportunity for better sampling.

Moreover, the data from *FB* is naturally occurring data which can provide a more realistic picture of the topic of research. It can be claimed that the data on FB cannot portray real-life daily use. Although this, most probably, is the case, the aim of this study is to describe the language use, which, in this new high-tech era, cannot be limited to the boundaries of spoken or academically written discourses. SNSs are indispensable parts of people's lives, therefore, the language used there deserves more attention than they attract today.

However, as in all data collection methodologies, FB data are not free of problems. The main problems encountered during the data collection and analysis procedures are as follows:

- The accounts of participants-to-be have to be real accounts belonging to real people. Therefore, the idea of posting a request on the wall of a FB group and adding people does not work. A FB account can make hundreds of friends online but demographic information cannot be gathered as most accounts can be people with fake accounts or those with age or education levels incompatible with the criteria selected for this study. Therefore, finding friends of friends to collect data is a safer way to find real people with natural data.
- Once the accounts are “friended” (in FB terms) on FB, 20 Cs are collected from each participant. The second challenge is to decide what a C is and what cannot be considered as a C. The term has already been defined in the literature as mentioned in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. However, in coding a number of sentences, further and more detailed explanations and definitions are made. Defining what a C is and what a C is not becomes more challenging when nonverbal messages are taken into consideration.

FB has another understudied area to be explored: emoticons. Emoticons are icons representing emotion that help the users to express their nonverbal messages, or emotions, with some shapes on their keyboards. At first, they may seem to be used only to express emotions, but later it becomes clear that a number of emoticons are used as compliments and are responded to as if they are compliments. That is, some, but not all, emoticons are analyzed as compliments in this dissertation.

Another important shortcoming of extracting data from FB is the inability to quantify avoidances. Social networking sites give the person far more freedom to “skip” an opportunity to pay compliments while in real life, to avoid paying a compliment can be a stronger FTA. Therefore, avoidance strategies are also focused with a comparison between CRs in face to face communication and on FB.

3.5. Data Collection Procedures

3.5.1. Selecting Participants

Participants in this study are randomly selected. There are two criteria that are shared by all the participants: having a degree from a university and being between the ages of 25 and 35. Random selection can be done in two ways: simple and stratified. The selection type used in this research is *stratified random selection*. As there are two criteria for the choice of participants, it can be claimed that among the two types of random selection, simple and stratified, the participants in this study fit in stratified random sampling (Mackey & Gass, 2005). Randomly selected 25 accounts with 20 Cs are included in this study from each group on condition that the owner is 25-35 years old and a university graduate.

3.5.2. Selecting Photographs

After the accounts are selected, the first 20 Cs are taken as samples. The problem encountered here is that occasionally, especially male participants are not complimented very often; therefore, despite hundreds of pictures, 20 compliments could not be extracted in some cases. In such cases, the participant is disqualified and replaced with another 'more complimented' participant.

3.5.3. Selecting Compliments

As mentioned in the literature review, the definition and borders of Cs as speech acts are still debated. The definition is controversial not only because of the numerous variables of contexts but also because of the cross-cultural nature of Cs.

The stance taken in this dissertation is that if the complimenter (henceforth Cer) states or implies a positive aspect of the complimentee (henceforth Cee), the statement is regarded as a C. That is, "I love this T-shirt" is a C as it positively evaluates someone or something.

3.6. Data Analysis

The main aim of this research can be summarized as an attempt to understand Cs and CRs in both AE and T and produce a framework of general strategies used in online compliment events in these two different languages/cultures.

To be able to analyze the data, the first step is to find participants and select the photos included. Then, the pages on which the Cs are paid are extracted into Nvivo 11 as PDF documents.

If some qualitative data are to be classified and the relationships between them are to be shown, Nvivo works on the same logic as syntactic trees. The next step for the researcher here is to discriminate the Cs in the PDF files and to classify them according to the nodes. Furthermore, the analyses are conducted on syntactic and lexical (semantic and pragmatic) bases.

- The first classification was made among four groups: AEF, AEM, TF and TM. This helped the researcher understand the similarities and differences between the language users as well as the genders.
- The next step in classification was Cs and CRs. That is, the data were divided into two: Cs and CRs (See Appendices).
- The Cs paid to a participant were classified into four according to the genders of the Cer and the Cee. That is, male to male, male to female, female to male and female to female Cs were grouped.
- The Cs in the corpus were also grouped according to their structures so that the possible formulaic structure, if any, could be realized.
- Cs were also classified according to their topic. For this classification, as mentioned in the literature review, the categorization used by Holmes (1998) and Wolfson (1983) was adapted. This categorization identified four topics of Cs: appearance, performance, possessions and personality. A new category called “photo” has been added as it did not logically fit in any of the existing categories and it covered a considerable amount of the

data. There is also a fifth category (“other”) for the Cs the topics of which may not be very clear.

- Moreover, Cs in FBCC were classified according to their functions. Manes & Wolfson (1981) classified Cs according to their pragmatic functions. The pragmatic functions were adapted according to the data at hand and a new framework was prepared. Later, the classification was carried out according to this new framework identified.
- CRs were also analyzed according to gender. Four main modes of possible FB reactions to a C:
 1. One can only ‘like’ the C, meaning “I saw it/I recognize it/Thank you”
 2. One may both *like* and give an answer.
 3. One may give an answer (without *like* button).
 4. One may ignore the C.

This categorization of compliment responses covers the possible *technical responses*; therefore, it is called as the *modes of responses*.

- Verbal CRs in the study were categorized in nine groups and the CRs in this research were divided into nine categories as mentioned in the literature review.
- After the categorizations were carried out, the numeric data were computed on SPSS 22 and the quantitative results were obtained.
- For the word frequency analyses, the *run query* and *word frequency query* commands in Nvivo 11 were used.

3.6.1. Nvivo Analyses

Nvivo is a qualitative data analysis tool that allows the researchers to import data from SNSs, classify them into nodes and analyze the word frequencies of the qualitative data. The tool was helpful in analyzing the corpus which is made up of a huge amount of data. The word frequency tools as well as reliability tests helped the researcher in the data analysis and results parts.

3.6.2. SPSS Analyses

SPSS 22 was used to carry out the following analyses that are described below. In gender based classifications, odds ratio was used. Because the total number of Cs was not even, the percentages were used to understand the tendencies. Independent Samples T-Test and Saphiro-Wilk Normality Test were used in cross-cultural comparisons where the total number of Cs were even and the means of the data were meaningful.

3.6.2.1. Odds Ratio

In some tests, independent t-tests may be inefficient in providing reliable comparisons because of the effects of other variables. In such cases, odds ratio can be used to understand some group-based tendencies. Odds ratio is a measure of association between an exposure and an outcome. Odds ratio is defined as the odds that an outcome will occur with a specific/particular exposure, in comparison to the odds of the outcome that occurs when the particular exposure is not at play. Case-control studies are the most common areas of research where odds ratios are used; however, they can also be used in cross-sectional and cohort study designs as well (with some modifications and/or assumptions). This study being a cross-comparison one, has benefitted from odds ratio a lot.

3.6.2.2. Shapiro-Wilk Normality Test

The Shapiro-Wilk test is a test to check if the data is in normal distribution which means that the data is high in effectiveness with reliable results even with a small number of observations. This test does not aim to compare two datasets and give the results of similarities and deviations. The only purpose of it is to check the normality.

The basic idea behind the Shapiro-Wilk test is to estimate:

- 1) The regression line in the QQ-Plot allows to estimate the variance.
- 2) The variance of the sample can also be regarded as an estimator of the population variance. Both estimated

values should approximately equal in the case of a normal distribution and thus should result in a quotient of close to 1.0. If the quotient is significantly lower than 1.0 then the null hypothesis (of having a normal distribution) should be rejected.

(“<http://www.statista.com/statistics/268136/top-15-countries-based-on-number-of-facebook-users/>,” n.d.)

The test rejects the hypothesis of normality when the p-value is less than or equal to 0.05. Failing the normality test allows you to state with 95% confidence the data does not fit the normal distribution. Passing the normality test only allows you to state no significant departure from normality was found.

If the variable passes the Shapiro-Wilk Normality process, parametric tests are used for this variable; otherwise, non-parametric tests are used for it.

3.6.2.3. Independent Samples T-Test

The Independent Samples t-test is a type of parametric test to compare the means of two independent groups with an aim to understand whether the associated group means are significantly different or not.

3.6.2.4. Mann-Whitney U Test

Mann-Whitney U test is the non-parametric alternative test to the independent sample t-test. It is used to be able to compare and contrast two sample means that come from the same population, and it is used to test if the means of the two samples are equal or not. Normally, the Mann-Whitney U test is utilized if the data are ordinal or if the assumptions of the t-test are not met.

3.7. Pilot Study

As a simulation of the main research project, a pilot study has been conducted to ascertain whether the process is correctly conducted and whether the results are achievable.

The term ‘pilot study’ has two definitions: a small-scale study conducted to prepare a large-scale one, and a pre-testing of a research tool (van Teijlingen &

Hundley, 1998). Both definitions work for the pilot study conducted prior to the main research in this dissertation. The pilot study is a smaller version of the main research to be able to understand whether the data can provide meaningful findings and insights. Moreover, the pilot study served for the testing of the frameworks created, which helped the researcher find the areas that need further research and change.

One of the advantages of conducting a pilot study is that it might give advance warning about where the main research project could fail, where research protocols may not be followed, or whether proposed methods or instruments are inappropriate or too complicated.

(van Teijlingen & Hundley, 1998)

The aforementioned advantage of pilot studies made it necessary for this research to be piloted beforehand. The rarity of the previous studies in Turkish and the lack of any cross-cultural comparative study raised the possibility of unfit frameworks and/or research techniques. Thus, the process of the pilot study and the findings of it shaped the backbone of the study.

The unexplored nature of the study focus, cross cultural comparison of AE and T Cs, assigned a crucial role to the pilot study: to provide initial results on which the forthcoming data can be based.

Pilot studies can be based on quantitative and/or qualitative methods and large-scale studies might employ a number of pilot studies before the main survey is conducted. Thus researchers may start with “qualitative data collection and analysis on a relatively unexplored topic, using the results to design a subsequent quantitative phase of the study”.

(Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998, p. 183)

The next part of the chapter presents the pilot study that was conducted. The data collection procedures, the data used, the data analysis done, the challenges encountered in the course of the pilot study, the findings and discussions of findings are presented in this part.

3.7.1. Participants in the Pilot Study

An important issue in pilot studies is whether the participants in the pilot study should also be included in the main study. Many researchers reach a consensus that the inclusion of either the pilot data or the participants of the pilot study may result in *contamination*. The concern about the data is that if the data collection tool proves to be inaccurate or invalid throughout the pilot study, then these data are likely to contaminate the main research data. The second concern, that regarding the inclusion of participants, revolves around the idea that re-applying the same or a similar data collection tool to the same participants can cause contamination with the effect of experience.

In the case of this research, the former concern would be valid if the same data were not analyzed again with the new frameworks shaped after the pilot study. That is, the data collection tool proved to be accurate and applicable; however, in the analysis process, the frameworks and classifications are modified. As the pilot data were re-analyzed for the main research, the inaccurate and inadequate frameworks and the possible contaminations they could create were eliminated. The latter concern regarding the participants was considered off-topic for the data used in this research because naturally occurring (more accurately naturally occurred) data was not elicited again and it was already in written form. It was neither likely nor possible that any of the participants could change the data on their FB accounts and in the Nvivo Project Sheet. Therefore, the concern about the participants and the effect of 'experience' was eliminated with the help of the nature of the data.

Regarding all these aforementioned precautions and explanations on the data and participants in the research study, it has been considered safe and valuable to include the pilot participants and the data in the research.

The participants in the pilot study, as a projection of the main one, comprised four groups (i.e., TF, TM, AEF, AEM) each consisting an equal number of informants. In total, 10 informants from each group, 40% the participants, are included in the

research. The first 8 Cs of each participant are included; in total 40 informants and 320 Cs (16% of the FBCC), were analyzed.

3.7.2. Data Collection Procedures

Selecting a valid and reliable data collection procedure is undeniably at the heart of every study. Different data can help the researcher answer different types of questions. Because the researcher aims to acquire the most realistic information possible, Cs have been collected in their natural setting rather than using elicited data.

Besides the nature of the data collected, the data collection procedure used in this research is a groundbreaking one as, contrary to the important place of social networking sites in the daily lives of people, there have been rare studies conducted using this method of data collection, data from FB. This data collection method is important for two reasons: it provides natural and non-manipulated linguistic data, and it sheds light on the possible linguistic tendencies in a new medium of communication which is extremely common in everyday life but has not been able to take its rightful place in the research world.

With the same concerns in mind, the participants in the pilot study have been chosen from the main research informants. Only eight Cs from the first 10 informants in each group were taken to ascertain whether the research is likely to achieve its goals. The data extracted from the FB pages were imported into Nvivo 11, and the analyses were conducted using this data and program.

3.7.3. Data Analysis Procedures

Data analysis of the pilot study was conducted exactly in the same way as mentioned in the methodology part. The steps of the data analysis are as follows:

Step 1: 10 informants from each of the four groups (i.e., TM, TF, AEM & AEF) were selected randomly.

Step 2: Eight Cs from each informant and the responses to them were computed. In cases of no response, they were categorized as non-responded Cs. In total, 320 Cs were included in the pilot study.

Step 3: The Cs were classified as T and AE Cs. Later, they were classified according to the gender of the Cers and the Cees. The classification continued with the umbrella categories as *structure*, *function*, *other* and *topic*. Then, these classes were divided into subcategories using the frameworks created (for further details, see 3.6 & 3.8).

Step 4: After the numbers of Cs in each category were identified, the numbers were computed on SPSS 22.

Step 5: On SPSS 22 the correlations and descriptive statistics are calculated and the results were obtained (for further details see 3.6.2).

Step 6: Word frequency analysis was carried out for T & AE. Additionally, to be able to understand gender differences, word frequencies of males and females were analyzed separately. To be able to scrutinize in detail and decipher the effect of the gender of the Cee, Cs paid by men to men, men to women, women to men and women to women were analyzed separately in the datasets of both languages. The frequency of recurrent adjectives was discussed.

Step 7: The results, along with the specific samples, were discussed referring to the implications for classroom applications and further research.

3.7.4. Data Presentation Procedures

In the research, real FB pages were used. The pages were transformed into the presented form due to three main concerns. First, the data were sensitive. The photos or direct screenshots needed to be blurred for ethical reasons. Second concern was the need to add extra metalinguistic, linguistic and cultural information. Especially, Turkish data included translations and extra notes on

culture. The third concern was practicality. Due to space and face validity concerns, the data were presented in a table format.

The Nvivo interface is originally as follows:

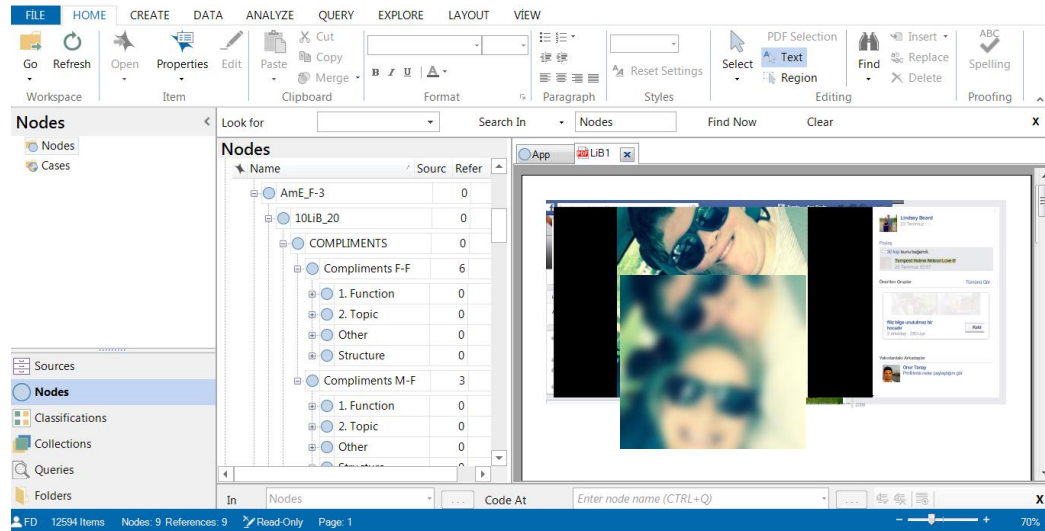


Figure 3: A Sample Screenshot of the Nvivo Project Used

On this page, the researcher has a chance to see the categorization. In this screenshot only the main categories are seen; however, it is possible to go into the nodes, the head units in the categories.

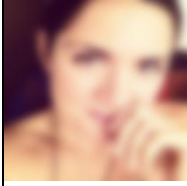
As the data needed to be more effectively presented, the following procedures were applied.

- The photos were taken and minimized to fit in a smaller table.
- A short description of the photos were written (in case they become less clear after minimization or blurring).
- The Cer's nationality and gender were coded for each ineractant as TM or AEF.
- Translations for Turkish data were provided in brackets and in italic. When culturally loaded or unintelligible uses are observed extra cultural notes were given in double parentheses. When the explanations were long, they were given in footnotes. Emoticons and punctuations were kept the same.

- When there is no response or when it is a mass response, this is provided in parenthesis.
- Lastly, a code and sample number was given to each exchange. The sample number indicated the order in the dissertation while the code pointed the place of the data in FBCC. For example, the data code TF-10HiC-4 means that the data come from a Turkish female informant. She is the number 10 informant in the set and the 4th C she got is being discussed. With this information at hand, the researcher had the chance to go back to the data and find any extra information she could.

An example of the data presented is as follows:

Sample 4: TF-15SeC-9

 <p>A selfie of a young woman.</p>	<p>TF-Cer: Süper görünüyorsun,Cok güzesin!!!!Tıpkı ben:~)~) <i>[You look awesome. You are very beautiful!!!! Like me:~)~)]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: Hah ha:) evet ben de tam aileden gelme dıcektım! <i>[Hah ha:) yes I would just say that it is genetic!]</i></p>
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3.7.5. The Results of the Pilot Study

To analyze the data to be used in the pilot study, the data which had already been collected using Nvivo 11 were analyzed creating the nodes, which are the classifications mentioned before.

In the structure and topic analyses, the challenge of some utterances, not fitting into the existing categories, led the unclear category to be identified while the *combination* category seemed inevitable as some samples could fit in more than one of the categories.

An important task for the researcher was to analyze striking cross-cultural characteristics in both cultures, especially the T dataset being an understudied one and the native culture of the researcher. A comparison of such geographically and culturally distinct cultures can be very promising.

In order to take this discussion to a deeper ground, the researcher identified a number of elements that tend to bear cross-cultural and gender-based differences. The aforementioned aspects such as the sounds of emotion, likening to a famous person or giving a good wish are identified for this purpose.

Descriptive statistics was the first analysis conducted to make the differences visible. These descriptive statistics indicated a number of important differences between genders and cultures.

3.7.5.1. Results on the Structures of Compliments

The claim of Manes & Wolfson (1981) on the formulaic nature of Cs and lack of enough research in the area brought up the question if T Cs are also formulaic or not. To be able to identify the formula and the nature of intensified Cs in T, if there is any, the first question the research was planned to be built upon was the classification of Cs according to their structures.

These initial results were extremely crucial for the follow-up design of the research as the possibility of dividing all the Cs as formulaic or non-formulaic/intensive underpinned the findings that would provide information as to whether the ‘formulae’ mentioned by Manes & Wolfson for English Cs were valid for those in T. Even in the process of the qualitative analysis, it was clear that T Cs were not as formulaic as the AE variety and the claims for the universality of such a recurrent formula tended to be invalid.

Besides the lack of strict formulae in C speech acts, the data showed that both the language and culture as well as the genders of the Cers (in some cases Cees) affected the structure of the Cs. That is, the structural patterns of Cs were determined by more than one factor like gender and culture.

Preparing and adapting the framework for the structure of Cs in both languages has been one of the most challenging steps in the research process. As there are quite few studies in the area of the cross-linguistic studies in English and Turkish, it has been quite a challenging task to compare the structures of them. The

definition of some structures in one language did not necessarily fit in the definition in the other language.

To begin with, the definition of finite and non-finite clauses in English has, for the most part, been clear; however, defining finiteness in T, especially in nominal clauses, has been very challenging as what decides finiteness, subject and auxiliary, can be dropped in T. A word may be considered as a single word or it could stand for a sentence because of the pro-drop nature of Turkish and the lack of suffixes in the third-person singular. For example, in the English data, the utterance ‘beautiful’ was considered to be a word or phrase because there is no verb or inflection that informs us about tense or agent. Additionally, this ‘beautiful’ utterance can refer to the second-person or third-person (‘You are beautiful’ or ‘the photo is beautiful’). As the person and tense are not clear, this is definitely a non-finite use. The finite version of such an utterance is ‘it is beautiful’ and the examples of such uses are also available in the AE dataset. In contrast the utterance ‘güzel’ is vaguer in terms of finiteness. This utterance can be definitely considered as a word or phrase, but with a number of questions in mind. Firstly, in contrast to the English example, ‘güzel’ cannot refer to the second person as the second person inflection would require the word to be inflected thus, ‘güzelsin’. Therefore, the use of ‘güzel’ can only refer to the third-person ‘o’ (a generic third-person in T used in the meaning of he/she/it). Moreover, the tense of this use is known as it does not have the possibility to mean past or future. The past of this use could be ‘güzeldi’ (-di being the past tense marker).

As can be understood from the example, especially in nominal clauses in Turkish, it is difficult to differentiate finiteness. There has been no specific research on such a distinction to the best of the researcher’s knowledge. Keeping this extremely important gap in the literature of Turkish language, the standard considered in this research for such a differentiation was to consider the word as a word/phrase if there is no inflection and consider it as a finite clause if there is inflection. Such a definition bears possible criticisms that are likely to be justified and calls for further research to make more valid and sound classifications. It

should be noted that this property of T data makes the structure ambiguous while this does not necessarily affect the topic or function of C.

Another area of difficulty was the definition of imperatives in T as the AE literature was sufficiently comprehensive and the language bore fewer possibilities of sentence constructions. At first sight, it can be understood that in English, the imperative case is possible for only the present tense second person. On the other hand, the T imperative case showed many varieties. There is some literature on the imperative case in T, despite its inadequacy. In the literature, it has been almost taken for granted that the imperative case in T, in contrast to the English version, can be used for persons other than the second person. A striking and contentious debate revolves around the optative case and the imperative case in T. For some researchers, third-person imperatives are the optative case in T, and an example of the equivalent of such an optative use in English is ‘God bless you’. As the distinction between imperative and optative is neither clear nor satisfactory, they are classified together for the purposes of this research for both languages. Since the use of the optative mood is more common in Turkish, this decision affects the results profoundly (for detailed information see 4.1.1.1).

Another important issue to be taken in the course of the pilot study was about wh-structures. In both languages wh- (ne structures in T) serve to ask questions and make exclamatory phrases. It was a decision to make whether to include exclamatory wh- phrases -in both languages-under the title wh- questions. Considering that wh- questions already served a rhetorical purpose and did not act as real questions, the use of exclamatory wh- phrases were analyzed under the same title and the title was renamed as wh- elements.

The use of finite clauses, yes/no questions and wh- phrases or questions in both languages were basically similar. Therefore, a cross-cultural and cross-gender analysis were conducted. The following are the initial results that the pilot study provided. Table (4) shows the sentence structural tendency of informants according to their gender and language.

Table 4: Results on Structures of Cs in the Pilot Study

STRUCTURE	TM	TF	AE_M	AE_F
Yes/No Question	1	3	0	0
Wh- Elements	5	11	5	7
Finite Clause	28	47	36	41
Words	20	28	36	33
Imperatives	3	7	0	1
Combination	5	2	1	0
TOTAL	62	98	78	82

The table indicates that even in the pilot study, it was made clear that some sentence structures are either unique or more common in certain cultures and for one specific gender. To start with, although there is no apparent difference between the grammatical uses of yes/no questions in T and AE, it is clear that there is a greater tendency of the users of T to pay Cs in yes/no questions. The pilot study showed a difference in this respect but if this difference is statistically significant and what this difference can be attributed to needs more samples and more elaboration.

The use of *wh- questions* or *phrases* in Cs is both structurally and quantitatively similar in T and AE, being used seldomly in both languages. In terms of *combination strategies* and *imperative* usages, T informants seem more generous. That is, in T dataset, more examples of these types can be found. For more examples and possible reasons of this cross-linguistic difference, a broader research such as the main research in this dissertation was needed.

Considering gender differences, *yes/no questions* and *imperative* uses seem to point out no differences. In every other type of sentence structure, it is clear that females show dominance. This may be due to the fact that women in general pay more Cs. Interestingly, the use of *wh- questions* or *phrases* is preferred more by males in T but females in AE. If this finding is justified by the main research, the results may indicate some important cross-cultural differences.

3.7.5.2. Results on the Topics of Compliments

There has been a bunch of research in literature regarding the topics of Cs. The classifications are mostly *appearance*, *performance*, *personality/affect* and *possessions*. This classification by Ruhi (2002) has shaped the starting step in the classification of Cs in the study. However, in the course of the pilot study, it was observed that there are some samples that could not fit in any of these categories or that could fit in more than one. Therefore, two more classes, *unclear* and *combination*, were created. Though this clarified most of the path through the classification process, during the research it was realized that there was a need for another class of topics, *photo*. Paying Cs on photo does not sound as a generalizable category in daily use of the language in face to face communication. However, the importance of this category should not be underestimated in the course of this study.

The category *photo* might seem overlapping with the category *appearance*; however, the distinction is very clear. If the Cer's appearance is praised, the category is decided as *appearance*, if the photo or the scenery is complimented, then, the category is *photo*. For some Cs, especially one word ones, the distinction is blurred and the *unclear* category is used for vagueness of such.

Table 5: Results on Topics of Cs in the Pilot Study

TOPIC	TM	TF	AE_M	AE_F
Appearance	35	51	53	45
Performance	4	7	8	7
Personality	4	9	4	6
Possessions	1	6	0	7
Unclear	18	25	13	17
TOTAL	62	98	78	82

The table shows the frequency of Cs the groups pay. It is clear that for both the T and AE data, appearance is a contentious topic on which to be complimented. It is commonly reported that women receive more Cs on their appearance. The table above reports that women pay also more Cs on appearance. However, the

frequency at which they are complimented needs further analysis and it also seems to be a requirement to include this inquiry in the main research.

As the number of appearance Cs is very high, an in-group classification for appearance Cs was performed. The initial categorization was thought to be general or specific Cs. General appearance Cs were defined as the ones like one word positive adjectives. They tell that the Cee is beautiful but the specific aspect that is complimented is not mentioned. Specific appearance Cs are the ones that mention the aspect that is complimented like the eyes, hair, voice, etc. If the specific Cs were to be found in a considerable percentage, then a deeper classification could be done. That is, a further classification on neither specific Cs nor general Cs were promising as the former was quite rare in number and the latter is already classified in terms of function and structure. However, the initial results of the pilot study showed that the effect of gender on paying specific or general Cs is an interesting area of research and needs to be dwelled on in the main study.

Similar to appearance Cs, performance, possession and personality Cs exist in both languages. While T informants tend to use more performance and personality Cs, AE informants pay more Cs on the Cer's possessions. Whether these differences are statistically important or not needs further research. The gender-based comparisons indicate no statistically significant difference in the most common topics of Cs despite the total number of topics of Cs paid by two genders is strikingly different.

In patriarchal societies, men's *possessing things* is considered to be more favorable than women's. Thus, it can be considered to be an interesting finding of the pilot study that women are more complimented on what they have. If this initial finding is supported by the main study, the finding can be considered to conflict with the findings of the previous studies. This overuse of women sounds interesting and the samples need to be further processed for a more detailed understanding.

3.7.5.3. Results on the Functions of Compliments

In the literature, an elaborate list of common functions of Cs was put forward by Manes & Wolfson (1981). This classification was not only comprehensive but also adaptable for the purposes of this research. Taking the classification of Manes & Wolfson as a baseline framework, the pilot study was conducted. It was interesting that most of the Cs fitted in only a few categories and most of the functions of Cs mentioned by Manes & Wolfson did not reflect in FBCC. Also, there were a few Cs that fit in more than one category or none of the categories. For these data, categories *unknown* and *combination* were added to the design (see List of Abbreviations on page xiv)

Table 6: Results on Functions of Cs in the Pilot Study

FUNCTION	TM	TF	AE_M	AE_F
App	53	87	67	68
Cop	1	3	1	2
Des	4	5	6	7
Fol	1	0	1	0
Other	0	0	0	0
Sar	1	1	1	2
Sof	0	1	0	0
Sol	0	0	0	0
Unknown	2	0	2	3
Combination	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	62	98	78	82

As the results of the pilot study suggest, most of the Cs used in both languages fall into the category *approval/admiration*. There is a considerable number of Cs used to create solidarity and pay sarcastic comments in the data. However, they do not constitute a statistically significant number in the pilot study. As with the other categorizations, some Cs fell into the category *unknown* because their function was not clear or they were classified under the category *combination* serving more than one functions at a time.

More samples in the main research can be promising to reach more reliable results and more inferences about the *whys* and *hows* of the functions of Cs.

3.7.5.4. Results on the Unique Cultural Elements of Compliments

A very interesting and promising title for cross-cultural comparison in this research is the analysis of a number of cross-cultural elements in both languages and the relationship of gender with these elements. Firstly, it is important to note that the four categories in this title are not interrelated. That is, the four types of language use observed in the pilot study were noted down and the frequency of each of them was analyzed.

Table 7: Results on Unique Cultural Elements in the Pilot Study

CCE	TM	TF	AE_M	AE_F
Emo	5	11	2	6
Fam	1	0	1	1
Self	3	8	2	1
Wish	5	15	0	1

The four cultural elements mentioned in the table -sounds of emotion, likening to a famous person, self-Cs and expressing wishes- seemed quite interesting as they offered new areas of research with a quite seldomly mentioned focus in literature. Sounds of emotion, referred as *emosounds* in this dissertation, seems to be used more often by T informants. However, whether there is an important cultural difference or gender-based effect needs to be statistically analyzed.

Likening to a famous person is a common strategy in many cultures to pay Cs. Famous people are generally considered as beautiful, intelligent, charismatic and successful. Therefore, it can be expected that likening to a famous person is mostly positive (not always if the person is notorious, not famous in the positive sense) and can be considered as a C. The idea is that women may be complimented referring to famous people more as their appearance is more under the spotlight and more complimented. However, the data, especially in the pilot FBCC-T, indicate interesting findings. Men are complimented more with references to famous people especially by the male Cers. The language used and the famous people they are likened require closer analysis.

While studying CRs, it is not uncommon to see compliment upgrades, strengthening the praising force of the C, thus praising the self. However, a quite interesting finding in the FBCC is that in the first turn of the complimentary act, the Cer chooses to pay a compliment to the self along with the Cee. This type of C has not been mentioned in previous literature to the best of the researcher's knowledge. Directly complimenting to the self or something related to the self is considerably high in number if the Cer is a close relation of the Cee or the Cees, boosting with the relation between them such as 'Kimin kardeşi yaaa!' ('whose brother is he?' sharing the quality to be praised). Moreover, a very common type of self-compliment refers to the photograph taken. It is very common for many Cers to mention how nice a photo is and how successful the photographer was in taking this photograph, they being the photographer themselves. This issue raised in the pilot study has been analyzed in the main study as well (for further details see 4.2, 5.2 and 6.2).

The last but one of the most important cross-cultural elements to be studied in this dissertation is 'wishes'. In many cultures, Cs are considered as positive statements and 'social lubricants' that serve to "grease the social wheels" (Wolfson, 1981, p. 89). This definition and perception of Cs is to a certain extent true; however, as indicated in Sidraschi (2014) Cs can be considered as dangerous acts as well. The Cer, as s/he envies what she Cs on, may cause the damage or loss of the item complimented or person to be harmed by something like the loss of beauty or success. A similar belief called 'evil eye' is existent in Turkey as well. That is why a wish for blessing from God is very common to be used as/ with Cs. When used on its own as "maşallah" [*God bless you*], "Allah nazardan sakınsın" [*God keep you away from the evil eye*], "Allah sana bağışlasın" [*God let him/her/it be yours*] may serve as wishes and Cs at the same time. Sometimes other structures of Cs are followed, preceded or even supported by the word "maşallah". This is an interesting finding as AE data has quite rare samples of such language. This might indicate a very important cross-cultural finding.

The belief in evil eye and the use of such wishes differ not only according to culture but also according to gender. The results indicate that female Cers, especially T female ones tend to use a vast number of Cs including good wishes.

Another important point to be mentioned about these *wish Cs* is the interesting case marker they use. Structurally, in AE ‘God bless you’ is an optative case (also a subjunctive form) but similar examples of optative Cs are extremely rare. In T, imperative case used for second person and the other subjects seemed confusing and a detailed research on T literature was conducted to clarify the nature of imperatives in T literature.

Seeing that linguists in T are not able to reach a consensus on the distinction between imperative and optative cases, the linguistic view in this study supports the idea that the optative case –e –a is no longer used and the meaning of wishes and wants is given with second person imperative and –(s)ın(lar) as an optative case marker. The difference between optative case and imperative case is blurred and vague. For many linguists, there are no satisfying differences and optative case may act as imperatives in many contexts and utterances.

Keeping this discussion in mind, after the pilot study, optative cases and imperatives are classified together (for further details see 4.1.6). Except for a few free variations in the AE dataset, there are not many examples in the English language. However, the T dataset provides a fruitful area of research and analysis for wishes in the meaning of the optative, the most captivating one being the imperative that is directed to God.

3.7.5.5. Pilot Study Results on Compliment Responses

The CRs in FBCC were analyzed in two different ways. The first important classification has been done on the modes of CRs. The Cs on FB were responded by (1) the like button, (2) the like button along with a verbal CR, (3) only by a verbal response or (4) no response. As FB, by its nature, limits the possible modes

of responses used, the first level classification was done according to these four categories. The initial results were as follows:

Table 8: Results on Modes of CRs in the Pilot Study

CR MODES	TM	TF	AE_M	AE_F
Like	27	25	32	22
Verbal & Like	11	47	7	35
Verbal	6	9	8	7
No Response	18	17	31	18
TOTAL	62	98	78	82

Table (8) indicates that in both culture groups and genders using the like button is the most common strategy to respond to Cs. This button seems to act like an appreciation token. Interestingly, it is also used with verbal appreciation tokens. This is an area to be investigated further in the main study.

Also, it is observed that FBers avoid or choose not to respond to Cs very often. Avoidance strategy seems higher in online Cs than in face to face communication with regards to what has been documented in the previous studies.

A further analysis has been conducted on verbal CRs that are used with or without like button. The results are as follows:

Table 9: Results on Types of CRs in the Pilot Study

CR TYPES	TM	TF	AE_M	AE_F
AppT	54	56	69	71
ComA	4	21	4	6
Return	2	12	0	2
Combination	0	3	1	1
Other	0	1	3	0
ScD	0	1	1	0
Upgrade	2	0	0	0
Reass	0	3	0	1
Disagree	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	62	98	78	82

As can be seen in the table, not only Cs but also CRs have a functional formula. In both T and AE, appreciation tokens and comment acceptance is very commonly used. On the other hand, some techniques are almost nonexistent in the corpus. In this framework, the categories *other* and *combination* are added due to the fact that some responses could not fit in any of the categories while some fit in more than one. The number of such CRs might increase in the main study which bears the need to add these categories in the framework.

3.8. Classification of Compliments and Compliment Responses

There have been quite a few studies conducted in different languages to classify Cs and CRs. In these studies, a number of frameworks and classification methods have been used. Most of these studies focus on English-speaking countries and western cultures, with a few exceptions including Japanese, Taiwanese and Chinese studies. These studies almost never cover SNSs or the Turkish language. Although the context-specificity of the speech acts of Cs have resulted in the need to develop or adapt the already existing ones, these previous studies have been the backbone of the frameworks used in this study.

The pilot study, in contrast to theory driven studies, was at the heart of the research design in this data driven research as it provided an important insight into the nature of the data and what kind of adaptations would be needed.

3.8.1. Classification of Compliments

The first classification done was among genders and nationalities. Turkish informants, as well as American informants, were divided into two groups: female and male. Later, the classifications were done according to the aspects of Cs to be explained in this dissertation. The structure, topic and function of Cs were investigated and the other cross-cultural elements that the data revealed were collected under the term ‘other’.

3.8.1.1. Structure of Compliments

A prior groundbreaking study that investigated the structure of Cs was conducted by Manes & Wolfson (1981), who produced a finding that the structure of Cs in English were highly formulaic. They focused on recurring vocabulary and sentence patterns in English and reported that 85% of the 686 Cs they analyzed fell into one of the three categories they identified:

- (1) NP is/looks really ADJ (e.g., “That shirt is so nice.”)
- (2) I (really) like/love NP (e.g., “I really like those shoes.”)
- (3) PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP (e.g., “This was really a great meal.”)

In a further study, Wolfson (1981) reported that two-thirds of adjectival Cs were constructed with only five adjectives: *nice*, *good*, *pretty*, *beautiful* and *great*. These findings also entailed that at least 85% of English Cs (AE) were in the form of statements. Holmes (1988), duplicating the same research, revealed that the three finite sentence structures reported by Manes & Wolfson accounted for 78% of the Cs in New Zealand English. This similarity in two variations of English brought up questions on the extent to which the formulaic nature of Cs can be generalized.

With an effort to broaden the literature on Cs and to investigate the universality claims, many studies have been conducted. Second and/or foreign language learners of English have been researched (i.e., Chen & Victoria Rau, 2011; Tajeddin & Yazdanmehr, 2012). Moreover, languages other than AE have been analyzed, though fewer in number (i.e., Chen & Victoria Rau, 2011; Golato, 2005).

To be able ascertain whether the formulaic structures of Cs are identical cross-culturally, another study on Spanish Cs which focused on seven different sentence structures to make Cs (Hasler-Barker & Felix-Brasdefer, 2015) was conducted; however, even those seven structures only included full sentences or

words/phrases (including exclamatory phrases). The possibility of paying Cs using exclamatory sentences or questions was not explored.

Maíz-Arévalo (2012), in studying Cs, divided them into two: formulaic and implicit Cs. The formulaic Cs were further divided into two in terms of their structures: *declarative sentence* and *exclamative sentence* formats. This classification, despite providing an insight to further research, is limited when the complex nature of speech acts are considered.

As most of the studies in the field engage in the investigation of English, specifically AE, studies on C structure in Turkish have been very rare. An early and very comprehensive study was conducted by Ruhi (2002). In this study, cultural norms and the socio-pragmatics of complimenting were studied, followed by analyses of gender, topic, social distance, and style of complimenting.

Ruhi, in her 2002 study, preferred to analyze the *style* of Cs rather than the *structures* of them. These two terms are, though not synonymous, related. The structure of Cs refers to the *sentence type* (question, imperative, etc.), while style refers to their *pattern* (such as N + VP etc.).

The first and baseline information about the applicability of universality claims on Turkish Cs is attributable to Ruhi (2002). Ruhi found that T Cs are both formulaic and non-formulaic, meaning that there are a number of recurrent sentence patterns that can be considered as formulaic. However, the number of intensified Cs and the use of poems, lyrics, or narratives also make Turkish Cs non-formulaic. She also reported that with regard to the stylistic choice, gender is not a statistically important factor. Only for the Cs including poems, lyrics, or narratives, males are more creative and generous in their Cs.

While analyzing style, Ruhi (2002) used the classes *NP+Adj/V*, *2nd p Adj/V*, *What a*, *I like*, *Other* and *Pro Adj/V*. The interesting point is that Ruhi has not encountered any Cs in the form of questions or imperatives/optatives.

In a more recent study, Cs were analyzed by Şakırgil & Çubukçu (2013). Although the C formula has been the topic of these studies, the formula focused on in this study differed from that in Manes & Wolfson (1981) as their formula revolved around the exchanges in compliment events and not on the structural patterns.

The structural categories in this dissertation have been decided upon according to the data, as the nature of any data-driven research suggests. The categories used are similar to those used by Tajeddin & Yazdanmehr (2012). However, the pilot study spotted the need to adapt this framework and add a *combination* category. After the needed adaptations, the final categories were divided as follows:

- 1) *Yes/No Questions* refer to ‘*mi*’ questions in Turkish and ‘*yes/no questions*’ in AE. The uses, meanings and connotations of these structures are basically the same in both languages.
- 2) *Wh- elements* are ‘*ne*’ question words in Turkish and questions with wh- words in English. In both languages, questions with an information gap and exclamatory statements are constructed with this structure. Considering the nature of Cs and the possibility of wh- questions being rhetorical questions, these two structures are categorized under one title.
- 3) *Finite sentences*, as the name suggests, are sentences that contain a finite verb with a tense. In both languages, this structure has proved to be very common. For the purposes of this research, finite sentences are used interchangeably with full sentences keeping in mind that finite clauses can cover the other categories such as imperatives, etc.
- 4) *Words/Phrases* comprise the category of non-finite phrases. Despite being used interchangeably with non-finite clauses, words/phrases are used more to refer to this category because non-finite clauses may connote a larger category to cover a number exclamations and other structures.
- 5) *Imperatives* are the class of Cs paid in imperative mood. The use of imperatives is markedly different between the two languages. This difference was realized and studied in the course of the pilot study.

- 6) *Combination strategies* refer to the use of more than one strategy in paying Cs. In previous research, such a class had been ignored. With a broader focus, this study added this category with the aim of understanding the nature of Cs more comprehensively.

3.8.1.2. Topics of Compliments

The topics of Cs have been a relatively more studied area of research and the classifications reflect more diversity. Both the numbers of classifications and their focuses differ. Before focusing on the classification used in the study, a review of what classes have been identified so far may be of use.

A prior study conducted to compare and contrast Cs in English and Persian TV interviews classified Cs as Cs on appearance, ability, possessions and personality. There were two other categories as personality+ability Cs and others (Behnam & Amizadeh, 1981). Barnlund & Araki (1985), in another early study, made a simpler classification of four categories: Cs on appearance, taste, skills and traits. Parisi & Wogan (2009) classified Cs as appearance, skill, possessions, personality and others. In a more recent study on varieties of Chinese, the classification was done according to appearance, possession, ability and performance (Ling Ying et al., 2012). Hasler-Barker & Felix-Brasdefer (2015), in one of the most recent studies on the topic of Cs, opted to use a much simpler classification with three groups: appearance, skill and possession.

In the C literature in Turkish, there are two studies that analyzed the topics of Cs. In her leading study, Ruhi (2002) classified Cs as appearance, accomplishment, personality, affect and possessions. In the second one by Şakırgil & Çubukçu (2013), the classification was done as Cs on possession, physical features, general appearance, performance/skill and attribute. As mentioned before unclear and combination categories were also added.

3.8.1.3. Functions of Compliments

If a speech act like complimenting is to be studied, the functions it serves are inevitably a major concern in the study as what makes them a point to study is their function as an 'act'. This leads the researchers to mention the functions of Cs even when they do not specifically focus on the functions of Cs.

The most commonly mentioned function of a C is to praise or attribute some good to someone or something. However, Cs may also serve other purposes, such as conveying sarcasm, softening criticism and opening a conversation.

Many studies seem to emphasize a specific function of Cs and revolve around that function in the course of the research. To illustrate, Voyer & Vu (2015) focused on sarcastic Cs. Sarcasm, among others, is one of the functions that a C may serve.

Behnam & Amizadeh (1981), while studying English and Persian Cs and CRs in TV programs, identified a number of functions for Cs that was specific to their data. For the English data, the functions they gathered are introducing the guest, affective comment on personality, evaluative Cs, self-praise avoidance and thanking. For the Persian data, they found that saying goodbye, greeting, thanking, criticizing, self-praise, affective comment on personality, introducing the guest, *taarof* (a system of flattery and false modesty to make the others feel good in Persian culture), asking for ideas and C being followed by a question are the main functions that Cs may serve. It seems that the use of self-praise and criticism as well as the very culture limiting the use of *taarof* are the main differences between these cultures.

Two striking functions mentioned in the Persian data are the concept of *taarof* and the existence of self-Cs. *Taarof* is a very Persian-specific understanding of fake modesty. Although both parties know that this type of modesty is fake, they continue with *taarof* as it is a way to show politeness. The second point, the existence of self-Cs in Persian culture but not in English, is interesting and the

cross-cultural comparisons of Turkish and American English reveals such a difference.

The last and the most comprehensive analysis of functions of Cs is the one conducted by Manes & Wolfson (1981). The categories they have used are as follows:

Table 10: Classification of Functions of Cs (by Manes & Wolfson, 1981)

SOL → to establish solidarity between speaker and addressee
APP → to express approval or admiration toward the listener
OTH → to strengthen or replace other speech acts like apologizing, greeting, reprimanding, or thanking, request
SOF → to soften acts such as criticism
DES → to offer praise, to reinforce or encourage the desired behavior in specific situations, such as teaching and learning
SAR → as sarcasm
COP → as conversation opener
FOL → to show interest in the issue for example by asking follow-up questions

(Tajeddin & Yazdanmehr, 2012)

In the few studies on Cs in Turkish, there has been no research for a classification of functions of Cs. Ruhi (2002) mentioned the roles and norms of paying Cs, specifically in T, but she did not make a classification of functions of Cs. Although functions of Cs are not a topic of research in Şakırgil & Çubukçu (2013), the topics are classified into two: praising the object and praising the hearer. Even these two categories can be considered as two functions Şakırgil attributed to Cs.

As the previous research does not provide many details about the categorization of functions of Cs in Turkish, the comprehensive categorization used by Manes & Wolfson was accepted as a baseline framework and the classification was done accordingly.

3.8.1.4. Unique Cultural Elements in the Data

The title ‘Unique Cultural Elements’ has been discussed by many researchers (i.e., Behnam & Amizadeh, 1981; Ruhi, 2002). In this study, specific C styles and strategies were noted. The most striking unique cultural elements noted were the use of non-existent words to indicate appreciation (i.e., vaoww, uuuuu, wuhuuu), likening the Cee to a famous person, self-Cs and stating a wish as a C or with a C.

These possible elements were identified and analyzed in the process of the pilot study.

3.8.2. Classification of Compliment Responses

When CRs are considered, there were two types of classifications conducted. The first classification was a very technical one. The users of FB have options that are quite limited when they are complimented. They may opt to respond or not to respond as in real-life situations. If they decide to respond, they have three more options: they may only 'like' the comment, they may 'answer' the comment (with words or emoticons) or they may both 'like and answer' the comment.

In total, the FBers are provided with four ways to answer Cs. A Cer might choose

- (1) to only 'like' the C
- (2) to both 'like' and reply to the C
- (3) to reply to the C verbally
- (4) not to respond to the C

All the Cs were classified according to the four options with which users are provided by FB. The verbal answers given in numbers (3) and (4) were also classified according to the manner in which they were responded. For classification, an adapted version of the schemes used in previous studies was utilized after an analysis of the literature.

Allami & Montazeri (2012) adapting the categories used in Boori (1994) and Herbert (1990) made the following classification of 17 categories:

Table 11: Categorization of CRs (by Allami & Montezari, 2012)

1) Appreciation token	a verbal acceptance of a compliment that is not tied to the specific semantics of the stimulus like ‘thanks’ or ‘thank you very much’.
2) Politeness formula	the acceptance is somehow tied to the semantics of the stimulus like ‘bon appetite’.
3) Comment acceptance	the addressee accepts the complimentary force and offers a relevant comment on the complimented topic like ‘I myself like it, too!’
4) Non-verbal acceptance	smiling.
5) Comment	the receiver offers a comment on the topic like ‘I myself have selected it’.
6) Offering	the addressee offers the complimented object to the speaker like ‘you can take it!’
7) Praise upgrade	the addressee accepts the compliment and asserts that the compliment force is vivid and it has always been true of her/him like ‘I have always been good looking!’
8) Comment history	the addressee offers a comment on the complimented object which shifts the force from the addressee with a reference to the past like ‘they’ve brought it for me from the south’.
9) Reassignment	the addressee agrees with the compliment assertion, but the complimentary force is transferred to some third person as in kaado-ye khaaharame ‘my sister gave it to me as a gift’ or to the object itself like ‘they are wild flowers’.
10) Return	the praise is returned to the first speaker as in ‘you’re so kind’.
11) Entreaty	the addressee apparently asks the speaker not to compliment her/him, since s/he thinks s/he does not deserve it as ‘I entreat you’.
12) Scale down	the addressee disagrees with the complimentary force, pointing to some flaw in the object ‘it doesn’t have a good quality, it looks good’.
13) Question	the addressee questions the sincerity or the appropriateness of the compliment as ‘Do you mean it?’
14) Disagreement	the addressee asserts that the complimented object is not worthy of praise like ‘not at all!’ or ‘you must be joking!’
15) Qualification	the addressee qualifies the original assertion like ‘.but I didn’t pay that much!’
16) No acknowledgment	the addressee either gives no response and remains silent.
17) Request interpretation	the addressee, consciously or not, interprets the compliment as a request rather than a simple compliment as in ‘Do I give it to you?’

This classification had been the most detailed one up to the time of this research. Therefore, an adaptation of this classification was promising. The adaptation process was done through the piloting process. Some categories like *request interpretation* were non-existent in the data either because the nature of online data was not suitable to bear these uses or the data did not let the researcher work on this information.

3.9. Reliability and Validity Issues

Nvivo 11 provides its users with an opportunity to analyze the interrater reliability if there is more than one coder. For the pilot study, as well as the whole study, interrater reliability and intra-rater reliability were calculated using this feature of Nvivo 11.

When the data coding process ended, a second user account was added to the project because this was the only way to compute the inter-rater reliability. The second user chosen to check inter-rater reliability is a 30 year old female researcher who has majored in English language teaching. She is actively teaching English but she is not pursuing any further academic research. While she was doing the coding, the commands *view* and then *coding samples* were used to see how the agreement was going. This helped the researcher to instruct the second coder, to spot the possible points of discussion and problems she might encounter in the data analysis procedure.

Nvivo provides its users with different scientific tests on inter-rater reliability. To start with, there are two types of reliability tests that can be conducted on Nvivo: percentage agreement tests and Kappa co-efficient tests. For this research both has been conducted for inter-rater and intra-rater reliability tests.

Below is a table that indicates the results:

Table 12: The Results on Inter-rater and Intra-rater Reliability

CODER	% AGREEMENT	KAPPA COEFFICIENT
Coder 1 vs Coder 2	87,2	,79
Coder 1 vs Coder 1	93,7	,93

The table indicates that there is a high compatibility between the two raters. The instruction and the help of the view command. When the points of disagreement is investigated, the discussions about finiteness have emerged as an important cause of disagreement (for further discussion see 4.1.2, 5.1.2 and 6.1.2).

CHAPTER IV

COMPLIMENTS IN TURKISH FBCC

4.0 Presentation

This chapter focuses on Compliments in Turkish corpus (FBCC-T). The chapter opens with general information on the corpus and the initial quantitative results. Then it depicts the findings, discussions and gender-based comparisons on structures, topics and functions of the Cs. It closes with the comparisons and discussions on CRs.

Despite being widely used in everyday life, Cs in Turkish have remained much understudied. Two most comprehensive and mostly cited works are by Ruhi (2006) and Şakırgil & Çubukçu (2013). These two studies mainly focused on the content, structural patterns and vocabulary choice in compliment exchanges. However, the most common words, the structure of Cs or functions of them had not previously been studied to the best of the researcher's knowledge. This section of dissertation aims to analyze the Cs and CRs given in Turkish in detail going deep into the relationship between gender and compliment exchanges.

To start with, some general findings about Cs in the FBCC-T is provided in Table (12).

Table 13: Distribution of Cs in FBCC-T

Interactants	<i>n</i>
F to all	686
M to all	314
M to M	235
M to F	79
F to M	266
F to F	420

The table shows that women pay and receive more Cs than men do. Another important finding indicated in the study is that both men and women pay more Cs to their own gender and prefer to pay Cs to the opposite sex less often.

4.1. Structure of Compliments

Since Manes & Wolfson (1981) mentioned a C formula referring to the formulaic sentence structure and lexical aspects of Cs, it has been commonly accepted that Cs are mostly formulaic. From a cross-cultural or intracultural perspective, this is likely to be an overgeneralization. Therefore, the first aim of this study is to ascertain whether there is a formulaic use in complimenting strategies in T or not.

In order to be able to answer questions on the syntactic formula two aspects of the data have been analyzed: the sentence structures of Cs and the frequency analyses of the words used while complimenting (Manes & Wolfson, 1981). Below is a table that shows the findings about FBCC-T.

Table 14: Gender-based distribution of compliment structures in FBCC-T

STRUCTURE	FF	FM	Total F	MF	MM	Total M	TOTAL
Statements	159	136	295	27	99	126	421
Words/Phrases	162	67	229	31	80	111	340
Wh- Elements	16	14	30	2	5	7	37
Yes/No Questions	2	2	4	2	6	8	12
Imperatives	4	7	11	2	9	11	22
Combination	78	39	117	15	36	51	168
TOTAL	421	265	686	79	235	314	1000

Table (14) displays the structural patterns that are used in T Cs. It can be inferred from the table that the most commonly observed pattern in Turkish Cs is the use of statements. In total, 421 of 1000 Cs are used in the form of finite clauses as fully constructed sentences. Although this general tendency towards using statements in the act of complimenting is valid for all groups, it should be underlined that the table also spots some differences in the levels of use among the genders. As the data are categorized according to the gender of the Cee, these

differences need to be statistically analyzed to see if gender is an important factor. However, whether these differences are statistically important and what these differences can be associated with are discussed further in this chapter.

The second most commonly used sentence pattern is the non-finite phrases/words. These structures are used in 340 of total 1000 Cs. The effect on genders of not only the Cers but also the Cees need to be scrutinized. An in-depth discussion of finiteness/non-finiteness is to precede all these discussions that are to be based on the results of the study.

A third common strategy that the analyses of the datasets reveal is the combination of more than one strategy, mostly a finite clause and a non-finite one. Combination strategy is followed by less common structures. The marked categories that do exist but are not common are wh- phrases/questions, yes/no questions and imperatives. When compared to the previously discussed categories, the use of wh- phrases and questions are relatively rare. The use of imperatives is also an uncommon strategy which is followed by the use of yes/no questions.

4.1.1. Statements

Prior to conducting a deep analysis of finite and non-finite uses in T Cs, it is necessary to provide a working definition of finiteness in T.

4.1.1.1. Differentiating between Tensed-S and Non-finite Structures in T

Traditional grammarians classified the forms of verbs in two main groups: (1) finite verbs and (2) non-finite verbs. The former covers the indicative, imperative, optative and subjunctive forms of the verbs, while the latter is characterized by nominalizations, infinitives and participles. The basic principle to distinguish a finite and non-finite verb is to decide whether the verb has the ability to construct an independent clause with the affixes it already has. That is, what characterizes finiteness is the tense marker and the person agreement, the Tensed-S condition (for further discussion see Kornfilt 1997, pp.77–91). It should be noted that the

verb's ability to form independent clauses shouldn't be considered as the core indication. There are innumerable cases (i.e., adverbial or adjectival clauses in English) where finite verbs occur in subordinate clauses.

Both traditional and derivational grammarians have conducted a great deal of research on the verbal and nominal inflections of T. Starting from Deny (1921), there have been exhaustive analyses and findings on tense, aspect, modality and person agreement in T.

An important way to distinguish a finite verb from a non-finite verb is to check whether the verb is inflected with a subject. George & Kornfilt (1981) claim that person agreement is more important and recognizable than the tense marker. Nominals, for George & Kornfilt (1981), can also be finite with the help of person agreement affixes added to them. Their fruitful discussion on the importance of person agreement in identifying finiteness is not mentioned in detail in the scope of this research as the nominalizations and subordinate clauses that construct the core of the discussion are rarely found in the data of this study.

In Turkish, in order to be considered a grammatically well-formed finite verb, a verb must contain at least a tense and subject (Tensed-S condition). Not only the verbal stems but also nominal stems can be classified as finite or non-finite. See the examples of verbal and non-verbal agreement paradigms in the examples below:

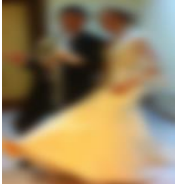
Table 15: Verbal and Non-verbal Agreement Paradigms in Turkish

Subject	a. verbal	b. non-verbal
	<i>[I read]</i> etc.	<i>[I am a teacher]</i> etc
I	oku-r-um	öğretmen-im
You	oku-r-sun	öğretmen-sin
he/she/it	oku-r-Ø	öğretmen-Ø
We	oku-r-uz	öğretmen-iz
You	oku-r-sunuz	öğretmen-siniz
They	oku-r-lar	öğretmen-ler

(Sezer, 2002, p. 25)

As can be observed in the table, “verbal tense affixes ordinarily head a tense affix” (Sezer, 2002, p. 25). The table above also indicates that the third-person singular does not have a linguistically recognizable affix. In terms of the identification of finite and non-finite uses, this is of a great importance as the identification of non-verbal clauses as finite or non-finite is very difficult because the tense does not have an affix, nor does the person. Therefore, the Tensed-S condition and the non-finite forms become exactly identical. To exemplify, the sample below displays an instance where there occurs an ambiguity:

Sample 5: TM-19SeR-6

 <p>A couple just getting married. The bride is showing her shoes.</p>	<p>TM-Cer²: on numaraaa !!! <i>[ten points!!!]³((excellent/perfect))</i></p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) Teşekkürler:)))⁴ <i>[Thanks:)))] ((shared response))</i></p>
---	---

Seeing the wedding picture, it is very likely to consider ‘number 10,’ which means *excellent*, or *perfect* in Turkish, as a C paid to the couple. In the picture, the bride shows her shoes, which are not high-heeled (a very uncommon type of shoe for a bride). The couple is laughing and enjoying themselves. The picture is definitely not a typical formal wedding photograph. It seems less studious but warmer. The Cer, saying ‘excellent’ may be paying, pays a C to the couple’s being together, to their marrying, to their wedding dress, to the uncommon shoe style or to the picture. Because of the aforementioned features of T, it is very difficult to estimate what feature in the photo or what aspect of the photo was liked. The response,

² Typos in Cs remain original in the data represented. The Turkish versions include only lexical translations.


³ In Turkish, when something is perfect, it is said to be “ten points”.

⁴ Smileys, the keyboard character sequences used to represent feelings, remain as they are in the dataset.

which is a *like* and an appreciation token, ‘thank you’, is still insufficient to decipher the object of the C. The decision is made with not only the structure of the C but also its relationship with the photo. If the photo made the address of the C clear, the categorization is done accordingly. As the subject is not felt in this C, it is evaluated under the category *words/phrases*.

Similar to non-finite phrases, one word C may cause ambiguity about the topic of C. To illustrate, the following example displays a C paid in one word and it is ambiguous:

Sample 6: TF-1AsD-3

 <p data-bbox="343 1003 526 1126">A half-body shot with butterfly wings at the back.</p>	<p data-bbox="566 896 718 963">TF-Cer: Şirin! [Sweet!]</p> <p data-bbox="566 985 925 1052">TF-Cee: (likes the C)⁵ teşekkürler [thanks.] ((shared response))</p>
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The photo displays a young woman in front of a wall on which butterfly wings were drawn. In the photo, the wings appear to be attached to her and she has a big smile on her face. The Cer says ‘şirin,’ meaning ‘sweet,’ thus stating that the butterfly wings on the wall are very sweet, so are her wings. Moreover, the big smile on her face is sweet, and so is the photo. Among these four possibilities, what is being complimented is difficult to analyze. Similar to sample (4), the answer is a generic token which does not provide any clues about what the Cee has understood from the C. This C, similar to the previous one, is considered as word/phrase because if the Cee wanted to make a finite statement she could have said “şirinsin” [You are sweet] instead of this word. However, it should be noted that this classification is not satisfactory to the researcher either.

⁵ On FB, after each photo, the audience has a opportunity to ‘like’ the photo and comment on it. The tag of the button is ‘like’ and it is indicated as (likes the C) in the presentation of the data. This ‘like’ information only covers if the Cee likes the C s/he receives.

4.1.1.2. Statements in FBCC-T

Having described and analyzed finiteness in Turkish in the previous section (4.1.1.1), this part focuses on the Cs paid in the form of statements, particularly in the form of fully constructed (bearing a subject and a verb, *Tensed-S Condition*) finite sentences. This study proves that statements are the most common structures used while paying Cs in T.

For the purpose of this dissertation, the overall tendencies of speakers of T, as well as that of men and women separately, have been analyzed. For a detailed analysis and the statistical conclusions, see the table below:

Table 16: The use of statements in FBCC-T

STATEMENTS	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	295	43%
M to all	126	40%
STATEMENTS	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	99	78,6%
M to F	27	21,4%
STATEMENTS	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	136	46.1%
F to F	159	53.9%

The findings show that for both males and females, statements are the most commonly used sentence structures while complimenting. In FBCC-T, 43% of F Cs 40% of M Cs are in this group. This result indicates that regardless of the gender of the Cee, the use of finite independent clauses is a very common, most probably the most common structure in T.

The analysis to see the structural tendencies of the participants indicated some important differences considering both the gender of the Cer and the Cee. It is clear that both male and female language uses bear many examples of Cs in statement form. When the total number of female Cs in this structure (295) is compared to that of male Cs (126), a significant statistical difference can be observed. Females, as Cers, pay considerably more Cs as statements than males.

However, attributing such a difference to gender roles or gender-based language use can be misleading as the total number of Cs paid by women is already twice as much as men. Thus, the idea that women pay Cs more proves true in this research study while the fact that women pay more Cs in statement form is to be accepted as a natural result of the first proposition.

Whether women or men have a greater tendency to use Cs in statement form can be understood when the percentages of this structure in the Cs paid in a group is considered. The percentages show that women are slightly more tended to make C using fully constructed sentences. However, the difference is not statistically significant.

A second question that can shed light on T culture is whether the gender of the Cee is important in determining the structural form of Cs. To answer this question, an in-depth analysis has been conducted regarding the genders of both the Cers and Cees. It can be seen in Table (16) that both men and women prefer to use fully constructed sentences more towards men. The gender of the Cer appears to be less effective than the gender of the Cee.

Such a use of language tells us much about the culture from which these data were collected. It can be claimed that the gender of the Cer is not important, which indicates that gender of the Cer is not always the determining factor in the use of this structure. On the contrary, the gender of the Cee could be of greater importance.

Formulaic Uses

In some cases, samples that can be considered as the reflection of the formulae Manes & Wolfson (1981) suggests can be seen in FBCC-T. Such samples are rare and do not reflect a high percentage in T use on FB. The reason why such formulaic uses as NP+like/love are rare in Cs can be either because of the rich possibilities provided by the language or can be due to the existence of like button.

Because there is a possibility to pay a C without using words and satisfy the face needs of the Cee, people, instead of using formulaic Cs, may use the like button.

In the previous literature on T, Ruhi (2002) reports the sentence patterns used in paying Cs in T. Although the focus of Ruhi was not to compare or contrast the use of statements with other structures, her findings suggest that finite independent clauses were overwhelmingly common in T Cs.

Ruhi (2002) working with field notes collected from 634 participants, studied the most commonly used patterns of utterances in Turkish. The patterns she identified were mostly in the form of finite independent clauses such as ‘*I like...*’ ‘*NP+Adj/V*’ or ‘*pre+Adj/V*’. Her findings are listed in the table below:

Table 17: Comparison of structure of Cs by Turkish females and Turkish males

Interactants	NP+Adj/V	2ndp+ Adj/V	What a	I like	Other	pro+ Adj/ V	Total
M-F	66	76	11	4	100		257
F-F	73	51	19	7	77	11	228
M-M	18	26		2	32		78
F-M	17	22	3	6	23		71

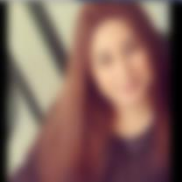
$\chi^2: 284.654$ (not statistically significant on the SPSS; significant in unequal distribution analysis: 24.496)

(Ruhi, 2002, p. 411)

Moreover, the class ‘other’ may include many examples of statements. Besides the huge number of Cs paid in statement form, another important finding that the table indicates is on the compliment formula. Ruhi (2002) suggests that Cs are, to a certain extent, formulaic in T; however, there are many non-formulaic aspects to them as well. They are formulaic as there are a number of recurrent patterns and vocabulary items. On the other hand, they are not formulaic in the sense as Manes & Wolfson (1981) claim because in T, there seems to be no overused structures that could account for a majority of Cs. Further evidence of the non-formulaic nature of Cs is that the most commonly used sentence pattern in T Cs is categorized as ‘other,’ which leads to the conclusion that Cs in Turkish are not formulaic in terms of sentence patterns.

The following sample is a good example of finite full sentences that act as Cs. In Ruhi's (2002) data, the second most common structure is NP+Adj/V, and this is an example of such a use. If there is a formula in T Cs, this sample is an example of one because there are many cases where this structure can be observed.

Sample 7: TF-24TuO-6

	<p>TF-Cee: çok beğendim tuçışım ☺ <i>[I liked this a lot my tuçış⁶ ☺]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C)- Nebahatim beğenmene sevindim ☺ <i>[My Nebahat, ((my dear Nebahat)) I am glad that you liked ☺]</i></p>
<p><i>A half portrait of a young woman.</i></p>	


Sample (7) above is an interesting sample of fully constructed sentences as Cs. The C simply conveys the message that the Cer likes the object of the C. What makes this specific C worthy of analysis is that FB already has a 'like' button which indicates that the Cer likes what is complimented. This sentence does not convey any additional meaning. Similarly, the response stating that *the Cee is happy because the Cer 'liked' it* is similar to a metapragmatic analysis of the 'like' button, serving no additional purpose. Therefore, if the meaning is basically the same, the reason why the interactants verbalize the meaning of the 'like' button already conveys can be to enhance or intensify its meaning. Thus, the meaning is the same but the connotations or emotional intensity of the verbal C appears to be greater than what is ostensibly conveyed.

Intensified Uses

Different from the use in sample (7), some uses can be very non-formulaic and culturally loaded. The following sample (8) carries a conveyed meaning exceeding 'like' and is a culturally loaded C to a photo, which has cultural indicators. A male Cer lists a number of positive adjectives to his friend.

⁶ In T, adding -ış -ış to a name omitting its final syllable is commonly used to make the address *sweeter*.

Sample 8: TM-15SeC-5

	<p>TM-Cer: yavrum be şaaesin klasik ☺ sen hep receiversın gülüm ☺ [My son, you are perfect classic ☺ You are always receiver my rose ☺] (("Perfect" is spelled inaccurately on purpose.) ((Rose is used as an address word specifically for women.))</p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal answer]</p>
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In the photo, there is a man, slowly swiping his moustache with his right hand, looking upward and posing. The photo is a culturally loaded one because the gesture 'swiping the moustache' has a cultural meaning and connotation to convey. The very long moustache used to be common in Anatolia during Ottoman times and clearly it was a symbol of being a *manly man* [*adam gibi adam*] (charismatic, successful, strong and gentle). The adjective "klasik" [*classical*] can be considered as a reference to this 'old Anatolian look'. The noun "receiver" is difficult to decipher; however, most probably it is a reference to the 'charismatic' look the Cee has and it is an adjective claiming that he can always "attract interest". This C cannot be considered as a formulaic use because both what is complimented and C itself are culturally loaded. Different from sample (6), sample (8) is an intensified C. Throughout the FBCC-T, there are many examples of such verbally, meaningfully and referentially intensified Cs.


Negative Statements as Cs

Mostly, the cited examples as well as the elicited structures of Cs in statement forms are in affirmative. Another structural finding in FBCC-T is that statements are not always affirmative in Cs. There are statements that are also negative in structure. Among the 421 Cs paid in finite sentence form, there are 22 examples in the data (2,2%). In the example below, a negative structure is used to emphasize the uniqueness of the Cee's beauty.

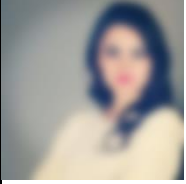
Conversational ‘ama’ in Compliment Statements

A striking structural finding in this section is that there is a linker used in a different form than is commonly accepted use: the use of “ama” (but), which is a linker indicating the concession between argument 1 and argument 2. The following two examples display samples for the use of this linker with a different function in FBCC-T:

Sample 11: TF-10HiC-5

	TF-Cer: Ama bayılıyorum size 😊 @ Cee. [But I like you a lot @ Cee]
A woman on the road, turning her back making V-signs with both hands.	TF-Cee: (likes the C)- Canım @Cer. 😊😍 teşekkür ederim 🌟 [My sweetheart @Cer 😊😍 thank you 🌟]

Sample 12: TF-25GiC-6

	TF-Cer: 😊😍😍😍❤️ süpersin ama sen ya [but you are perfect] ((“ya” is used for exclamatory meanings to intensify emotions))
A half portrait of a woman.	TF-Cee: (likes the C)- teşekkür ederim cammm ici 😊😍❤️❤� [thanks sweetheart]

In both (11) and (12) above, the use of contrast linkers attracts attention because their existence without a prior argument to oppose to requires further investigation. First of all, the meaning of ‘ama’ is basically similar to ‘but’ in AE. Among the few studies on this line, the most comprehensive one is (Zeyrek, 2012). After discussing the meanings of ‘ama’ and ‘fakat,’ Zeyrek investigates their positions in sentences, with a concern to contrast the uses of these two almost synonymous linkers. She finds that ‘ama’ is mostly a structural linker that is used in sentence-initial positions. In order to create a contrast, there needs to be an Argument 1 either in the preceding sentence or in the preceding context. The

example above shows that there is a use of “ama” for which there is no need for an annotative reference.

Zeyrek, working on the comparison of two linkers one of which is ‘ama’, adds that there are many other meanings of ‘ama’ which definitely require further investigation. The most striking purpose ‘ama’ is associated with is ‘topic change’. Though, the use of ‘ama’ in the examples above seem like a ‘topic change’, the lack of a prior context and argument 1 points that there is a different use here.

The use of ‘ama’ in the examples carry three important qualities of discourse markers: (I) it is syntactically independent having no syntactic role in making grammatically correct sentences, (II) it is syntactically flexible, being used at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the sentences and (III) it lacks meaning. It fosters the meaning of the sentence but omitting it does not make the sentence lose its meaning.

Considering these three qualities of this ‘ama’, it can be claimed that it is used as a discourse particle in the Cs without conveying the meaning of concession or contrast.

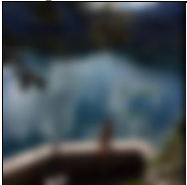
4.1.2. Words/Phrases - Nonfinite Structures

This category of ‘words and phrases’ covers both non-finite constructions and one-word utterances including the sounds of emotions, *emosounds*. In this section, the FBCC-T and the tendency of the native speakers of T to use Cs in words/phrases is analyzed with a working definition of the category used in the dissertation.

4.1.2.1. Revisiting Non-finiteness in T

The Cs here are considered in the form of a non-finite phrase or a one-word utterance as they do not carry the Tensed-S condition (for detailed discussion see 4.1.1.1). In the class *non-finite phrases*, adjectives, nouns and emosounds are widely used. An example of emosounds, as non-finite structures, grouped under this title can be the following:

Sample 13: TF-2AyG-3

	<p>TM-Cer: Ohhhh <i>[ohhhh] ((an interjection of relief))</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) - <i>[no verbal response]</i></p>
<p><i>A woman sitting in by a lake. Photo tagged as in a foreign city⁷</i></p>	

The photo depicts very nice scenery which was taken on a holiday. The sound “Ohhhh” is used when a problem is solved, or when a negative situation ends or similar situations with positive feelings. It is an onomatopoeic word that mimics a person’s sigh in a moment of relief. The Cer uses the sound ‘Ohhhh’ to mirror the relief the Cee might be feeling when the photo was taken.

4.1.2.2. Non-finiteness in FBCC-T

Following is a table that depicts the findings of this study on the use of words or phrases by T speakers displaying the difference between genders.

⁷ Some photographs, mostly those taken abroad, are tagged in a specific place. As the Cs are very likely to be about them, the tagged ones photographs are indicated under the pictures.

Table 18: The use of non-finite words/phrases in FBCC-T

WORDS	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	229	33,4
M to all	111	35,4
WORDS	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	80	72,1
M to F	31	39,2
WORDS	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	67	29,3
F to F	162	70,7

In literature, the use of non-finite phrases as Cs has always been cited as very common. (Manes & Wolfson, 1981). In line with those findings, this study has proved that non-finite phrases/words are very commonly used to pay Cs as shown in Table 15. This similar finding in T indicates a commonality between AE and T. In the T dataset, the use of non-finite structures constitutes the second most commonly used structure (34%), following statements. Although this result is similar to the previous studies conducted via different data collection methods and analyses, it should be noted that the medium of communication from which the data have been retrieved might have played a role in this finding; that is, the written, public or C-focused nature of the SNSs might result in Cs' being higher in number but shorter in length.

In the data, it is revealed that 340 of 1000 Cs are in the form of words or phrases. Of these 340 Cs, 229 are paid by women and the remaining 112 are given by men. As is obvious from these numbers, there is a strong difference between men and women in the numbers of Cs paid in this structure. When a statistical analysis is conducted, as the numbers suggest, there is a considerable difference between male and female use of the structure. The fact that women pay more Cs using this structure does not necessarily mean that women have a greater tendency using it.

As can be seen in percentages, the striking differences between the figures do not seem to be valid when the in-group percentages are considered. Women choose non-finite clauses in 33.4% of their Cs while men use them in 35.4% of their Cs. The outnumbering of female Cs in this structure can be attributed to the fact that the total number of female Cs exceeds that of male Cs, as this was the *nature* of the data; that is, it can be strongly claimed that the number of female Cs in words or phrases is far higher than that of males. However, this does not indicate a gender-based tendency.

This analysis very emphatically highlights that researchers need to be extremely cautious when they make gender-based discussions or generalizations as the nature of the data can diverge the statistical results.

The fact that there seems to be no significant difference between the number of Cs paid by men and women indicates that the gender of the Cer does not affect the use of this structure. Another question about the effect of the Cee's gender is also analyzed in Table 15. According to Table 15, the gender of the Cee is more effective than that of the Cer; however, the difference is still a statistically unimportant one.

To sum up, it can be said that Turkish native speakers tend to use non-finite structures and one-or-more-word structures very commonly while paying Cs. Although one-word phrases bear unique requests for further syntactical, morphological and semantic research, they constitute the second most common C structure in T and the gender of neither the Cer nor the Cee seems to affect the use of this structure.

4.1.3. Wh- Elements

Before the discussion of wh- elements used in T Cs, a brief literature needs to be touched upon to draw the boundaries of the scope of this class in this dissertation.

4.1.3.1. The Use of Wh- Elements in T

All languages have grammatical rules or a number of principles to form questions. When a question requires an informative answer, rather than a yes/no reply, it is called a wh- question because in English, with the exception of *how*, such questions are constructed with words starting with wh-.

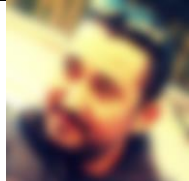
The speakers of T can express a question by using question words that can be considered as rough equivalents of wh- question words in English. The following is a representative list of question words in T:

- (a) kim (who)
- (b) ne (what)
- (c) nere (where)
- (d) hangi (which)
- (e) niye (why)
- (f) neden (why)
- (g) nasıl (how)

Among these question words, ‘kim’ and ‘ne’ can be inflected with a case or possession marker. In addition, ‘nere’ can only be used in inflected form in modern Turkish (Kornfilt, 1997). In T, different from fixed-word-order languages like AE, wh- words are not necessarily used at the beginning of the sentence. The scrambling nature of T allows its users to locate the wh- words in a variety of places within a sentence.

The questions in this category, similar to yes/no questions, are mostly rhetorical. Nevertheless, there are a few samples of non-rhetorical wh- questions that actually ask for an answer. An example of a rhetorical use is represented below.

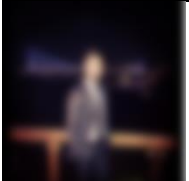
Sample 14: TM-9MuC-6

 <p>A close portrait of a man.</p>	<p>TF-Cer: Kim bu yakisikli [Who is this handsome]</p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C)- savoluunnnnnn ☺ [thank you ☺] ((shared response)) ((in second person plural and in a spelling like childish pronunciation))</p>
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The C in the example above is clearly a rhetorical question. The first clue is that the answer is not informative. The addressee, rather than saying *who* the person is, thanks the addressor, which indicates that he accepts it as a C. The second clue is the punctuation. The question-like statement does not have the necessary punctuation, the question mark, which seems to be an indicator of its non-questioning structure⁸. It can be claimed that this may merely be a ‘slip of keyboard’ or carelessness; however, among the 37 wh- elements found in the data, only 2 have question marks at the end. Such a tendency can be intrinsically motivated as the Cer as well as the Cee knows that the utterance is not a question.

In the examples where there is a question mark, the meaning of a question is also not indicated. In the following example, in which the Cer has used a question mark after a fully constructed wh- question, it would be an overestimation to consider the utterance as a real question:

Sample 15: TM-16CiB-16

 <p>A young man in suit.</p>	<p>TF-Cer: Ne yaptın cahit! Kadınların kalbi nasıl dayansın bu görüntüye? [What have you done cahit! How can women's hearts endure this?]</p> <p>TM- Cee: Mama canimsin ☺ sektörde rekabeti arttırayım dedim [Mama you are my sweetheart ☺ I just wanted to raise the competitiveness in the sector]</p>
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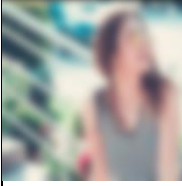
There are two wh- elements in the example above: the first one ends with an exclamation mark while the second one has a question mark. The response to the C shows that the Cee accepts the utterance as a C. The question here is about the

⁸ In T, the use of a question mark after rhetorical questions is optional. In most cases, the rhetorical question that does not require an informative answer is used without a question mark, which is acceptable usage.

use of the question mark after the wh- element as the norm in FBCC-T is not to use it. It is clear that this exceptional use reflects itself in the answer as well because the response, though sarcastic, includes an answer.

Similar to yes/no questions, the wh- questions in the data are almost always rhetorical ones. If not rhetorical questions, they serve as exclamatory utterances. For instance, in the following example, the Cer definitely does not ask a question. Rather, there is an exclamation which serves to intensify the emotive aspects.


Sample 16: TF-10HiC-1

	<p>TF-Cer: Ne kadar manken bir kız ♥ <i>[What a model girl!♥]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) :D ne kadar tatlısınız ☺ <i>[:D how sweet you are ☺]</i></p>
<p><i>A young woman looking in the horizon.</i></p>	

The Cer, making such an exclamatory statement, intensifies the emotion conveyed in the C and adds a surprise or a shock upon seeing such a beauty. The response is exactly in the same structure returning the C emphasizing the prettiness of the Cer. In this sample, there is an interesting use that needs further explanation. The Cer, with the language she uses, displays a very intimate interaction with the Cee; however, the Cee, despite using very intimate vocabulary, uses second person plural and creates a distance with the Cer. To dig into this interesting use, a small interview was made with the Cee. The Cer is the Cee's student. It is clear that they have close relationship but still the teacher, using plural and including either the class or the Cer's friends, keeps distant. Her 'sweet' vocabulary and distant grammar seem to be clashing. This controversy may be a good example of teaching for prospective teachers to "be friendly but not friends." She uses friendly vocabulary but does not act like a friend.

Another example of such an exclamatory use can be the following example, in which another structural element, capitalization, is striking:

Sample 17: TF-12NeU-20

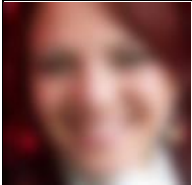
	<p>TF-Cer: YAHU BU NE GÜZELLİK ☺☺ <i>[LOOK THERE ((similar to “for God’s sake”)) WHAT A BEAUTY ☺☺]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C)- <i>[no verbal answer]</i></p>
<p><i>A young woman in front of an interesting building in a green environment.</i></p>	

The use of capitalization is considered to be an indication of ‘loud voice’ that intensifies the emotions. However, it should be kept in mind that this capitalization can be just an idiolect of a person who is not that aware of the netiquette⁹.

The Cer in the sample above pays the C exclaimatorily by adding some smileys. There is still no question mark, which is an expected use, because the exclamatory sense is very strong in this example. Though the structure is the same as a question or a rhetorical question, the meaning of the exclamation is very clear. The Cee prefers to accept the C by using the ‘like’ button and does not provide a verbal answer. This shows that the emotionally loaded exclamatory C does not elicit such a loaded answer.

A different example of the exclamatory Cs is the following one because the C is a short one with a soft tone (as can be understood from the use of punctuation – no capitalization and the use of triple dots).

Sample 18: TF-16SeE-3

	<p>TF-Cer: nasıl güzel bi gülümseme... <i>[how beautiful a smile...]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) sağolasın Bahar, amaninnn daha büyük gülümsemeleri çizmede siz vereceksiniz artık, hadi bol bol gezin.. <i>[Thanks Bahar, aye you will give me bigger smiles in The Boot, now enjoy your trip] ((the Cer is going on a trip to Italy))</i></p>
<p><i>A young woman smiling.</i></p>	

⁹ Rules about the proper and polite way to communicate with other people when you are using the Internet (Merriam Webster, 2015).

This is a different example because in the previous one, the C was made as emotionally intense as possible with the use of an imperative (giving a connotation of surprise) and using capital letters which raises the ‘volume’ of what is written. However, the response was a simple ‘like’. In the case of this C, the C is a more ‘silent’ one while the answer is longer and more intense.

The comparison and contrast between the last two examples is important because the former is a ‘loud’ C constructed with ‘loud’ structures but with a silent effect, whereas the latter has a more silent mood despite attracting ‘louder’ responses. This indicates that the structure of the C is important; however, the ‘sense’ of it is created by many factors in addition to the sentence structure (i.e. the punctuation, spelling and the interaction between the interlocutors).

4.1.3.2. Wh- Elements in FBCC-T

In Turkish, wh- elements in Cs are, similar to yes/no questions, existent but not very common. A total of only 37 of 1000 Cs are constructed using wh- elements. This accounts for 3.7% of T Cs.

Table 19: The use of wh- elements in FBCC-T

WH- ELEMENTS	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	30	4,4
M to all	7	2,2
WH- ELEMENTS	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	5	71,4
M to F	2	28,6
WH- ELEMENTS	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	14	46,7
F to F	16	53,3

The table shows that the number of Cs paid in T using this structure is few in number. With such low numbers, it is not possible to indicate any differences. It

is clear that the number of female Cs in this format is higher than that of the male Cs.

When the frequency of wh- words in Cs is taken into consideration, two striking points can be observed. Cs with wh- elements are used far more by women than men. As exclamatory sentences are emotion intensifiers, the results indicate that women use more emotion in their C acts. It is clear that the difference between male and female use is found not only in the total numbers but also in the tendencies of each group. However, this finding has to be handled with caution as the number of Cs in this class is too few to make generalizations.

Regarding the importance of the gender of the addressee, it can be claimed that both men and women pay more Cs in wh- questions or more exclamations to their peers. This can be accounted for the gender roles associated with the emotional loadedness of exclamatory utterances.

All in all, it can be said that women use more exclamatory or rhetorical/non-rhetorical wh- questions or phrases while complimenting. Both genders use these statements more to their own sex. The difference, however, is not statistically important.

4.1.4. Yes/No Questions

Cs are unmarkedly in the form of sentences or words. This underlying assumption proves to be wrong with a close look at the natural use of language. Despite the overwhelming quantity of these categories, there are many examples of interrogatives that are used to pay Cs. The data show that it is also possible for people to express their Cs in the form of yes/no questions.

4.1.4.1. The Use of ‘mi’ [Yes/No] Questions in T


In Turkish, there are three basic ways to convey the meaning of an interrogative: yes/no questions that are constructed with ‘mi’ and the allomorphs , wh- questions that are constructed with question words derived from ‘ne’ and questions in the

form of affirmatives but meaning interrogatives with the help of intonation (Ağbaba Maclaren, 2012).

In Turkish, yes/no questions are constructed with a ‘mı’ particle (a morpheme written separate from the preceding word). This ‘mı’ can be used basically anywhere in the sentence (keeping in mind the scrambling nature of Turkish), but most importantly it precedes the part the answer is required to. On the other hand, in T, similar to many other languages, some formulaic uses and rhetorical devices serve to smooth and ease daily conversations. Quite a few samples of yes/no questions that serve for rhetorical purposes can be observed. With regard to the avoidance of an oversimplified generalization on ‘mı’ questions, it needs to be noted that many daily questions such as “aa geldin mi?” [*Are you here?*] are rhetorical, requiring no answer. However, “Yarınki sınava girecek misin?” [*Will you take the exam tomorrow?*] is not generally a rhetorical question as it (in many contexts) requires an answer.


These rhetorical questions can serve many functions such as opening a new conversation or changing a topic. It has been observed that yes/no questions can also serve for paying Cs.

Sample 19: TF-11MeU-1

	<p>TF-Cer: Arkadaşım hiç değişmeyecek misin sen???:)) [<i>My friend, won't you ever change???:))</i>]</p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) Değişmez olur muyum canımın içi, olgunlaştım, akıllandım, gözlerimin çevresindeki minik kırışıklıklar da cabası, ama onları da seviyorum. [<i>Is it possible that I don't change sweetheart, I got more mature, wiser and I also got tiny little wrinkles around my eyes, but I love them too.</i>]</p>
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In this example, the question is a rhetorical one which states that the Cee did not age. The C is paid in the format of a yes/no question. Three question marks are used in the C but they are followed by a smiling face which turns the question into an exclamation.

Sample 20: TM-4EmU-4

	TM-Cer: yahu zamanı durdurmayı öğrendin de haberimiz mi yok,yoksa dershanecilik ve öğretmenliği bırakınca mı böyle dinamik görüyorsun insan:)) [Look there; is it that you learned how to stop time and we don't know, or does a man look so dynamic when he stops working at a private course and teaching]
A portrait of a man taken from above	TM-Cee: (likes the C) Hocam teveccühünüz:)) Teşekkür ediyorum.. [That's very kind of you:)) Thank you..]

With the data in FBCC-T, it would not be an overgeneralization to claim that these questions, for the most part, have rhetorical functions in compliment utterances. That is, they do not require or have answers. Especially (29) is a good example to show that a structurally interrogative utterance is answered with an appreciation token. As the examples display, the structures of Cs are in question format; however, these are not real questions. See the examples below:

Sample 21: TM25CaS-3

	TM-Cer: Kendini yakışıklı mı zannediyorsun :)) [Do you think you are handsome :))]
A portrait of a young man.	TM-Cee: Senin yanında sönük kalırım abi [I would be invisible behind you brother]

Serindağ (2013) in his study on rhetorical questions in Turkish claims that rhetorical questions carry more meaning in the common cultural background or in personal/cultural perceptions and interpretations rather than in the literal meaning of what is said. Therefore, these questions need to be analyzed and categorized as indirect speech acts within the field of pragmatics.

4.1.4.2. Yes/No Questions in FBCC-T

For the purpose of this study, the numbers and percentages of yes/no questions in Cs are analyzed. The following table presents a summary of the findings of the research in this respect:

Table 20: The use of yes/no questions in FBCC-T

YES/NO	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	4	0,6%
M to all	8	2,5%

YES/NO	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	6	75%
M to F	2	25%

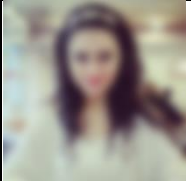
YES/NO	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	2	50%
F to F	2	50%

The existence of this structure in C exchanges is an important concern of this research. The important finding about this structure in compliment events is the fact that yes/no questions are quite low in number (4 of the female Cs and 8 of M Cs) and construct a marked category in compliment acts.

Rhetorical questions can be used for many reasons including asking for agreement or using hedges. These hedges defined as “cautious notes” (Yule, 1996, p. 38) to the listeners about the concerns about the quality maxim can exist in the form of rhetorical questions. That is, the act of giving Cs in the form of yes/no questions can result from the need to use hedges and underline that it is a subjective evaluation.


A widely accepted assumption, backed by many recent studies (Holmes, 1988; Manes & Wolfson, 1981; Ruhi, 2002), is that men pay and receive fewer Cs. On the other hand, women give and welcome Cs far more than men. This may lead to the conclusion that women practice this act more thereby explaining the fact that the territory of complimenting appears to be exclusively the domain of women. This results in men feeling uneasy or even unsecure while complimenting. This uneasiness may result in an overuse of rhetorical questions, considering the function of them to call for agreement. To see an example of such hedge-like yes/no questions, see the example below:

Sample 22: TF-25GiC-3

	<p>TM-Cer: @Cee, ☺ Böyle Bir Güzelliği Beğenmemek Mümkün mü? <i>[@Cee, is it Possible not to Like such a Beauty?]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: her zamanki gibi çok naziksin ali abi @Cer <i>[As usual, you are very kind brother ali @Cer]</i></p>
<p><i>A portrait which looks like a selfie</i></p>	

In this example, the question is rhetorical or just adding an exclamatory meaning to the utterance. Many samples in the data reveal that yes/no questions in Turkish are emotionally loaded and occasionally have exclamatory uses such as in the example above. Also, most of the yes/no structures in C are used with some sarcasm or humor in them. When the cultural values and the understanding of across-gender private zones are considered, it is not surprising that men use these emotionally loaded or sarcastic phrases with other men. A contrastive analysis between male-to-male Cs (n=6) and male-to-female Cs (n=2) in a yes/no format can reveal much about the nature of yes/no structures. It can be inferred that men pay more Cs in this structure to other men. Following is an example of humorous/sarcastic Cs constructed in yes/no structure:

Sample 23: TM-23FiS-8

	<p>TM-Cer: jean cloud vandame diilmi o?..))) <i>[isn't that Jean-Claude Van Damme?..]]] ((Jean-Claude Van Damme is misspelled in original))</i></p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) Ahahah:) adana şubesi☺ <i>[lol:) Adana version☺] ((Adana is the city where the Cee is from.))</i></p>
<p><i>A full-length body shot of a man.</i></p>	

Jean-Claude Van Damme is a famous actor known with his physical power and charisma. Claiming the Cee is as charismatic, the Cer likens him to the famous actor. This C sounds a bit mockery mostly because of the no-verbal signs, emoticons, used with it. It is clear that the Cer does not take this resemblance serious and upgrades the C claims that he is a doppelganger of the actor mentioned. This mockery is also achieved with the structure of Cs as well as the emoticons.

It is important to note that the differences mentioned in this part are important to show the tendencies of genders but are not adequate to make generalizations as the percentage of this structure is really low among the data used for the study.

4.1.5. Imperatives

Before analyzing the imperative mood used in T Cs, an overview of imperatives in T is needed to clarify what is considered as imperatives and what is not. The discussion sheds light on important linguistic novelties of Turkish that affects the result of the study.

4.1.5.1. The Use of Imperative Mood in T

In Turkish, the imperative form of the verb is marked with the unaffixed form of the verb stem. This root acquires no inflection and it can be considered to be the imperative form of the verb for the second-person singular, the most common form of the structure. Examples of this second-person imperative include ‘gel’ [*come*], ‘otur’ [*sit down*] and ‘oku’ [*read*]. If the second person is plural, -ın/-in/-un/-ün is added to the verb; i.e., ‘gelin’ [*come*], ‘oturun’ [*sit down*] and ‘okuyun’ [*read*]. If the predicate of the imperative is not verbal, the copular predicate is inflected with *copula be* ‘ol-’ (i.e., ‘sessiz ol-un’ [*be quiet/silent*], ‘mutlu ol’ [*be happy*]). The rules and affixes in copular imperatives are identical to verbal imperatives.

It is important to note that in T, regardless of tense, aspect or modality, the second-person plural can also be used to address the second-person singular. In addition to the unaffixed second person singular and second person plural with –sın, a very striking unique feature appears in Turkish. In formal or polite contexts, the second-person plural ‘okuyun’ (read) is upgraded and the public imperative ‘okuyunuz’ [read] (a more polite version), is used. This novel use is the *public imperative* as in ‘okuyunuz’ [read], ‘inceleyiniz’ [analyze/check] and ‘cevaplayınız’ [answer]. The public imperative, similar to the regular imperative, can address a singular or plural second person.

In addition to the imperative mood, there are other means of stating imperatives. A very common way to express this mood is to use the suffix –s[A]n[A] (for the second-person singular) or –s[A]n[I]z[A] (for the second-person plural).

There is also a colloquial imperative form, rarely found in writing, but often used in the spoken language. ...

(195) Sigaranızı atmadan önce söndürsenize!

"Do extinguish your cigarette before throwing it out!"

Other than their colloquial style, these forms have the property of implying that it was necessary to issue the order they express, because a contrary action preceded the utterance. For example, in (195), we infer that the addressee threw out at least one cigarette without extinguishing it. However, in the corresponding "regular" imperative discussed earlier, there is no such implication.

(Kornfilt, 1997, p. 44)

Taking most European languages as the baseline data, it can be misleadingly assumed that the imperative mood can only be used for the second-person singular or plural. However, a close analysis reveals that T is very rich in the structural varieties of the imperative mood. In addition to second-person imperatives, commands can be given to other addressees such as third persons or even first persons. As can be inferred, such uses are not direct imperative moods but optative moods.

This strikingly close meaning, the optative mood, is conveyed with the use of suffixes –sın and –sınlar, as in “Ödevini yarın getirsin” [*He shall bring his homework tomorrow*]. However, the distinction between this optative modality and imperative modality is blurred for many researchers.

In the studies on Turkish grammar, the imperative mood/modality and the optative mood/modality are treated as two separate moods/modalities; however, in several studies examples given to explain this topic fail to highlight the distinction between the conceptual areas which are marked by the moods in question.

(Karademir, 2012, p. 292)

It can be inferred that Turkish linguists have not been able to reach a satisfying consensus on the definition or identification of the imperative and optative mood.

For some researchers, the imperative mood in Turkish requires no morphemes while for some others, the imperative case can be used for all persons. Moreover, self-imperatives appear to be almost non-existent in the comparative literature on imperative or optative moods. Considering the affiliation between these two moods, it can be claimed that the sentence “Ben de biraz ders çalışayım” [*I shall study a bit, too*] is in the optative mood.

Karademir (2012) agrees that the imperative meaning is not only conveyed with imperative mood (no morphemes) as some would suggest, but also every optative mood cannot be considered to be imperative meaning providers. Some optative cases can give an imperative meaning while some others are simply an indication of wish.

Imperative is a kind of featured desire which is achieved in an order of hierarchical relationships. It is a mood which reflects the speaker’s attitude toward the carrying out the action or not carrying out it. This mood has morphological, lexical, syntactic and prosodic markers. In the period from Old Turkish to Modern Turkish, a standard mood the primary function of which was to express imperatives and which had conjugations of six persons did not exist. In fact, the structure, *-AyIm, -Allm; -Ø, -Xn(Xz); -sXn, -sXnlAr*, which was proposed as the imperative mood in studies of grammar is an optative mood. Expressing imperatives is only one of many functions of this structure in conjugations of different persons, except for the first person singular.

(Karademir, 2012, p. 2092)


As Karademir (2012) puts it, optative modality is a very broad mood in language and an imperative role can only be considered as one of its many functions. These discrepancies in the literature (i.e., first-person optative mood as imperatives and inadequate/unclear identifications of optative and imperative moods) as well as the complexity of the subject matter problematize and harden the analysis of imperatives in FBCC-T. Combined with the complexity and difficulty of studying Cs, imperatives that function as Cs serve as an extensive area of research.

Nevertheless, the difference between the optative and imperative moods is difficult to make. Therefore, in the scope of this research, both the imperative uses (those without any morphemes) and the seemingly optative cases are considered under this title.

Whether or not to include the optative mood under this title was an important decision as the T dataset had many examples of it.

There is one more interesting optative mood used in Turkish Cs: the wishes from God. As in the examples *Muhabbet kuşları, maşallah nazar değmesin* [*lovebirds, maşallah god bless you*], *çok güzel allah nazarlardan korusun sizi aminnnnnnn* [*very beautiful, god bless you from the evil eye aminnnnnnn*], *allah mutluluğunuzu bozmasın maşallah* [*god shall never overturn your happiness maşallah*], *İnsanın içine ferahlık, huzur veren bir tebessüm... Yüzüünden hiç eksik olmasın :)))* [*A smile that gives peace and relief to the person... May it never leave your face :)))*]. These are not imperatives to God, but they are optative moods, wishes and hopes of the one paying the compliment for God to grant these. The examples of these are more common in female language.

Sample 24: TM-24MeA-4

	<p>TF-Cer: Wauewww çok çok Mutlu olun insalahhh¹⁰ [Wauewww, Be happy inşallah] ((The word “inşallah” is misspelled in original.))</p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) Ben evlenmiyorum @Cer [I am not getting married @Cer]</p> <p>TF-Cer: Ay çok sevindim;) ne yalan söyleyeyim yarım ağızla yazmıstım☺ [Yea I got so happy:) to be honest, I wrote it half-heartedly☺]</p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
<p>A young man wearing a tie and holding it.</p>	

In the example above, there is an imperative structure which does not give any order; rather it states a wish to the Cee or about the Cee to God. Such examples are almost always followed with *inşallah* [hopefully] or *maşallah* [God bless you].

4.1.5.2. Imperative Structures in FBCC-T

The use of imperatives in FBCC-T are very rare if optative mood and wishes from God are not considered. As wish is considered as another title (see 4.4.1), here

¹⁰ The word “inşallah” is used as a wish from God. It indicates a hope and a permission from God.

only the imperatives will be considered. The results of imperative uses are as follows:


Table 21: The use of imperatives in FBCC-T

IMPERATIVES	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	11	1,6%
M to all	11	3,5%
IMPERATIVES	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	9	81,8%
M to F	2	18,2%
IMPERATIVES	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	7	63,6%
F to F	4	36,4%

Because the optative mood including wishes from God are not included in the final results, it is seen that the use of imperatives in Cs is very rare. This results in the fact that the data is inadequate to provide an insight into gender based use of imperatives as Cs. Men and women seem to have used the same number of Cs with imperatives. There is no statistical difference in their use. However, a striking point is that both genders pay more imperative Cs to men. The data bear few examples which is not enough to make generalizations. It is highlighted in FBCC-T that imperatives do exist as Cs but rarely used in T.

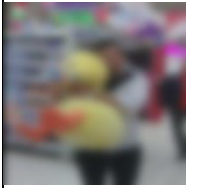
Following are examples of imperative Cs in FBCC-T.

Sample 25:TM-18SeO-6

	<p>TF-Cer: Maşallah ya tipe bak [Maşallah ya, look at it.]</p>
<p>A man sitting with his baby. The photo was tagged @hotel</p>	<p>TM-Cee: - [no response]</p>

In the example above, the feelings towards to cuteness of the Cee’s child is reflected with an imperative statement. The statement sounds exclamatory. A similar example is as follows:

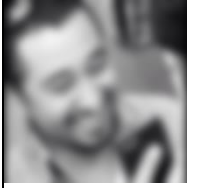
Sample 26:TM-6FrK-7

	<p>TF-Cer: amannnn şu şirinliğe bak sen :)) <i>[Awe look at this sweetness :)]</i></p> <p>TM-Cee: senin kadar olamam karabük güzeli:D:D <i>[I can't be as sweet as you, the beauty of Karabük:D:D]</i></p>
<p><i>A half portrait of a young man holding a tweety.</i></p>	

In the example above, a female Cee pays the C in imperative. This is a very intense C but it is adorned with the exclamatory marker “amannnn” and the smiley “:))”. These uses serve to smooth and direct the intense emotive aspect of the C towards a “cute” platform.

The following example displays a similar C by a male Cer. Again cuteness is the emphasis and it is provided by the discourse marker “abuuu” and the smiley.

Sample 27:TM-9MuC-7

	<p>TM-Cer: abuuu datlılığa bak biyon :) <i>[abuuu look at this cuteness biyon :)]</i> ((The word “biyon” is not a word in T.))((The word “cuteness” is misspelled in a childish manner.))</p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) savol kardeşim <i>[thanks bro]</i> ((The word “thanks” is misspelled in a childish manner.))</p>
<p><i>A young man laughing and playing with his mobile.</i></p>	

Such imperative uses, similar to sample (36), sound exclamatory and emphasize the emotive loadedness of the C paid. They also indicate, as mentioned before, a surprise to the complimented quality of the Cee. The uses “amannnn” and “abuuu” that indicate surprise are used by multiplying the last sound. That is, it can be said that the imperative can be used as an exclamation.

4.1.6. Combination of Structures

4.1.6.1. Working Definition

Users of a language are able to, and mostly do, combine strategies and structures to convey meaning. Paying Cs is not an exception as the users of a language are equipped with a variety of structural possibilities and combinations of them. The different combinations in FBCC-T are as follows:

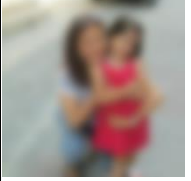
Table 22: The types of combination of structures in FBCC-T

Combined Structures	n
Statement & Non-finite Use	50
Imperative & Statement	39
Wh & Statement	24
3+ Structures	16
Imperative & Non-finite Use	12
Yes/No & Sentence	10
Imperative & Wh	7
Wh & Non-finite Use	7
Yes/No & Non-finite Use	3
TOTAL	168

A statement & A Non-Finite Word/Phrase

A very common strategy is to combine a word/phrase with a statement. In deciding on the sentences which bear a combination of structures, address terms and discourse particles used in sentences are not considered as different structures combined if they are not separated from the main clause with a punctuation.

Sample 28: TF-12NeU-3


	TF-Cer: Çok güzelsiniz:)))) benziyor sana..!! Maşallah.. [You are very beautiful:)))) She resembles you..!! Maşallah..]
A woman and a little girl hugging.	TF-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]

In this example, ‘maşallah’ [God bless you] is considered as a noun/phrase. In some cases where this ‘maşallah’ is used in the sentence, it is considered as a discourse marker; however, as the punctuation indicates, it acts as a different word in this utterance and the structure turns out to be a combination of a word and a finite statement.

An Imperative & Statement

There are many cases in which an imperative case is used with a statement that gives background information or idea generation:

Sample 29: TF-11MeU-9


	<p>TF-Cer: Ablacim bu saç sana çok ama çok güzel olmuş ya¹¹ sakın değiştirme ... 💕💕💕 <i>[My dear sister this hair has matched you but it is very nice ya do not change it ... 💕💕💕]</i></p> <p>TF- Cee: Tamam canım, biraz gider artık ;) <i>[Okey sweetheart it will be like this for a while;)]</i></p>
<p>A full length portrait of a woman.</p>	

In this sample, the Cer pays the C and enhances it with a strong advice she makes. To achieve this meaning she uses a statement stating her idea that is followed with an imperative giving a strong suggestion.

A Wh- Element & Finite Statement

In some cases, wh- elements are preceded or followed with statements.

Sample 30: TM-12OyM-1

	<p>TF-Cer: Sen nasıl yakışıklı birşeysin böyle 😊 karşıdan yedim bitirdim Öyküm cüm. <i>[What a handsome guy you are 😊 I ate¹² him from here dear Öyküm.]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) Teşekkür ederiz Fatoş. Senin için şu anda bir ısırık atıyorum. 😊 <i>[Thanks Fatoş. I am getting a bite for you now. 😊]</i></p>
<p>A young woman and her son.</p>	

¹¹ In T, “ya” is used as a gap filler to intensify the emotive aspects of the utterance.

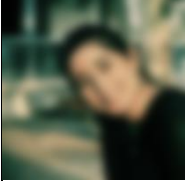
¹² A wish to eat something is an idiomatic expression in T to indicate that the complimented item/person etc. is extremely sweet.

The wh- is used to give the meaning of an exclamation. It also enhances the ‘sweetness’ mentioned in the statement. The response does not include an answer to the wh- which is a strong indicator that the wh- is not a question but an exclamation.

Combination of More Than Two Structures

Languages provide their users with limitless opportunities while expressing themselves. Therefore, it is no surprise that combining more than two structures is also a possibility in Cs. There are some cases where the C is paid with a long poetry, joke or story. In others, a couple of sentences/phrases follow each other to intensify the Cs. In FBCC-T, there are quite a few of such intense Cs.

Sample 31: TF-24TuO-9

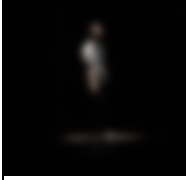
	<p>TF-Cer: bi gülümseme bi insana bu kadar mı yakışır;sen hayata ve inadına hep gülümse;bu kadarda yakışırken TUĞBİŞİMMMMMM.....)SEVGİLERİMMM ADANAYA VE SANA GÜZELLİK...</p> <p><i>[Does a smile match one this much; always smile no matter what happens in life; it already matches you this much MY DEAR TUBİŞ... MY LOVE ((in plural)) IS TO YOU AND TO ADANA.]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: - <i>[no response]</i></p>
<p><i>A portrait of a young woman.</i></p>	

In this sample, there is a long, emotionally loaded C which addresses the appearance of the Cee as well as the affect/relationship they have. Also, the utterance starts with a yes/no statement, goes on with an imperative and ends with a phrasal structure.

Imperative & Non-finite Word/Phrase

Imperatives are, in many cases, followed with statements or words/phrases. Though statements are more commonly used before or after imperatives, non-finite structures also display some examples in such contexts.

Sample 32: TM-23FiS-2

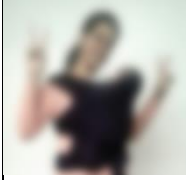
	TM-Cer: super bi fotoğraf sakın arşivden kaybetme firat [A perfect photo don't lose it from your archive firat.]
A full body shot of a young man.	TF-Cee: (likes the C) – [no verbal answer]

The imperative in this sentence is a bit different from other imperative uses as it is neither an optative nor an exclamation. It sounds more like a real command/order/suggestion. However, it is interesting that this is not considered as an instruction or real imperative by the Cee. Rather the Cee likes the C, which shows that the utterance is considered as a C but not an answer/agreement seeking imperative.

Yes/No & Finite Statement

Yes/no structures are almost always preceded or followed with other structures, sometimes statements. They are mostly used with finite statements.

Sample 33: TF-13OyM-3


	TF-Cer: başarımlı kutluyorum çok güzelsiniz nazarlığınız var mı? birgül ün saygıları var öpüyorum [I congratulate you for your success you are so beautiful do you have a lucky charm? Birgül sends her regards I kiss you]
A portrait of a woman with her baby in a kangaroo pouch.	TF-Cee: (likes the C) teyzem nazarlığımız var merak etme. Birgül Abla'ya selam. [Auntie, don't worry we have a lucky charm. Greetings to Sister Birgül.]

As can be seen in the example, there is a statement followed by a yes/no question and two more statements. On FB, because the communication is not instant, interactants have the chance to use longer utterances without the risk of interruption or boring others.

Imperative & Wh- Elements

In many cases, an imperative and a wh element follow each other. They are both emotionally loaded structures and they are used together in some cases.

Sample 34: TM-16CiB-8


	TF-Cer: BEHLÜL ¹³ DE NEYMİŞ GELSİNLER CAHİDİ GÖRSÜNLER AŞKI MEMNUYA ALSINLAR [WHAT IS BEHLÜL? ((WHO IS BEHLÜL?)) THEY SHOULD COME AND SEE CAHİD AND RECRUIT HIM IN “FORBIDDEN LOVE”] ((Behlül is a character in a famous soap opera “Forbidden Love”))
A portrait of a young man.	TF-Cee: eywallah hocam :)) [OK. My Hodja] ((hoca is an address term used in a wide variety of contexts meaning teacher, respected person, religious leader or just sir)) ((“Eyvallah” is used in spoken language to mean OK. It has a masculine tone and it means “God knows the best.”))

The most striking characteristics of this C is capitalization which makes the utterance sound like *shouting*. Though this is not a very favored way of expression, it enhances the emotion and in this C it shows that the Cer is very sure about what he claims (the similarity between Behlül and Cahit).

Wh- & Non-finite Word/Phrase

Wh- elements are also followed with words or phrases. The words or phrases can emphasize the rhetorical meaning of question wh-s or enhance the exclamatory wh-s.

Sample 35: TM-5ErB-4

	TF-Cer: canım noluyo bi havalar bi havalar .. yani artik..(arin:)) [Dear, what’s going on? You are airy. I donno]
A portrait of a young man.	TM-Cee: - [no response]

In sample (35), there is no question mark, which is an indicator that the utterance is a rhetorical question. The phrase “bi havalar bi havalar...” specifies the question


¹³ Behlül is a character in a soap opera. He is known for how handsome he is.

and shows why the Cer asks such a question. That is, the phrase used after wh- enhances the rhetorical meaning of the C.

Yes/No & Non-finite Word/Phrase

Yes/no questions can also be used with words or phrases. Similar to other question types, the phrase used can be an explanation of why the question or exclamation is made.

Sample 36: TM-12YiY-9

	<p>TF-Cer: Kalkıp gelsem mi??? Güzel insanlar kocamaan eğlenceler... <i>[Should I come??? Beautiful people, great entertainment...]</i></p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) Sonraki durak Caddebostan sahil umutum bekleriz <i>[Next stop is Caddebostan coastline, my dear umut, we are looking forward to seeing you]</i></p>
<p><i>A group shot having dinner together.</i></p>	

In this example, the Cer, asks a question (a rhetorical one to express how he wishes to be with the group in the photo) and then explains why (because the people are good and the entertainment is great).

4.1.6.2. Combination of Structures in FBCC-T

The important point to be made about the combination of structures is that this strategy mostly makes the C longer, more intensified and less formulaic as can be observed in the samples in part 4.1.3.1. Therefore, a gender-based comparison of combination strategies may provide a glimpse into the relationship between gender and the formulaic use of Cs.

Below is a table displaying the findings on the distribution of combination strategies. Note that the order of the structures is not considered when classifying.

Table 23: The use of combination of structures in FBCC-T

STR. COMB.	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	117	17,1
M to all	51	16,2
STR. COMB.	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	36	70,6
M to F	15	29,4
STR. COMB.	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	39	33,3
F to F	78	66,7

The table indicates that there is a considerable difference between the numbers of combined structures used by men and women. While men pay 51 Cs by combining two or more structures, women give 117, more than twice the men. Both men and women pay more Cs to the people of their own gender by combining the structures. Out of their 51 Cs, men give 39 to other men and only 15 to the women. Similarly, women, in their 117 Cs, pay 78 Cs to other women in contrast to only 39 paid to men. In both groups, the interactants pay twice as many Cs to their own gender than to the opposite sex.

Keeping in mind that combining structures makes Cs less formulaic and more intensified, the finding that both genders use more combined structures to the people of their own sex indicates that more intensified Cs are used to people's own gender.

4.2. Topics of Compliments

Cs have been studied morphologically, syntactically and lexically; however, there are limited studies that have focused on Cs at an interactional level. The topics of Cs have also been studied at a descriptive level. At this interactional level, the topic of Cs become an important issue to be discussed. A very illuminating question to be answered has been asked by Adachi (2010): Who starts/initiates the topic that is complimented? It has been reported in the study that at a larger

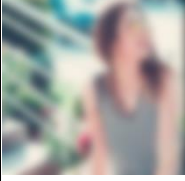
discourse level, it is, most of the time, the Cees that introduce the topic complimented. That is, interestingly, it was not the Cer but the Cee who chose what to be complimented on. There are a couple of techniques used by the Cee to fish for Cs: (1) boasting, (2) information-giving, (3) showing favor, (4) criticizing oneself and (5) displaying gratefulness. This study in Japanese culture and language may not provide the same results in all cultures; however, the question is still enlightening and promising.

Apart from the possible differences, there is a possible effect of medium of communication where the Cees post their photos and overtly *fish for* Cs. On FB, which is the main source of the data collected for this study, users post their photos on their pages and depending on their choice, either their friends or the ones they allow, *like* the photos with/ without a comment they leave. Because FB is mostly about enhancing face, it is very unlikely that people make negative comments on the photos. The shortcut reactions do not even provide a dislike button as liking a photo is the norm in such SNSs.

It can be anticipated and observed that Cs are about the photos, and there is a strong relationship between what the Cer pays the C on and what the Cee introduces into the context. Therefore, the topics of Cs are co-constructed by the Cer and the Cee, the Cee more influential in the FB context.

SNSs, constitute a different nature in the virtual world. On FB, the Cee is the initiator of each C as the photos provide the contexts where Cs occur. On FB it is technically possible for the Cer to pay the C on the wall of the Cee without any photo or another initiator. However, among the 100 FB pages investigated, not a single example of this was observed (This was not what the researcher looked for either). Therefore, it can be said that all the Cs in FBCC-T are fished by the Cee and this reflects the true nature of FB interaction. Not only the C but also the topic of C can be claimed to be fished by the Cee. It has been observed that what the photo posted is like mostly, if not always, determine what the C will be directed to. See the example below:

Sample 37: TF-10HiC-1

 <p>A half body shot of a young woman.</p>	<p>TF-Cer: yinee yeniden heep güzelsinizz ♥ [Again and again you are always beautiful♥]</p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) Canım benim öpüyorum çok seni 😘 teşekkür ederim [Dear, I kiss you 😘 thank you]</p>
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In sample (37), the photo portrays a young woman with elegant clothes and a pair of striking sunglasses. The Cer may pay the C on the clothes, something she owns such as the sunglasses, or the appearance. Though possible, it is rare to see a C topic that the photo does not highlight. Even in situations where the photo does not directly decide the topic of the C, it narrows down the possibilities.

In the example above, a C to the skills or achievements is not what the expected norm is as the Cee has not fished for such a topic of C (by showing a diploma or wearing a professional suit). Here the photo highlights the elegance and beauty; thus, the topic of C is either the same or similar to this topic. If a mismatch is observed between the content of a photo and the topic of a C, this feels like flouting of relevance maxim (as mentioned by Grice (1975) in Cooperative Principle).

Keeping the effect of the Cee in the choice of topic of Cs, this section is analyzed from two different angles: the Cers and the Cees. Thus, gender-topic relations are also analyzed in terms of what topics the genders use in their Cs as well as what topics they are mostly complimented on.

Apart from overt fishing for Cs, a second important point about the nature of the data is the fact that whatever is posted on FB stays online and can be seen even after years (if not deleted by the Cee or the Cer). This has important effects on FBers. First important impact is social pressure. This pressure can be two sided. In some cases, it may cause avoidance with the fear that one can break some cultural codes like being flirtatious, in some other cases this may cause a pressure to 'like' or to pay Cs on a person's post. Such a unique property of this medium

of communication affects not only the quantity of Cs but also the content of them on SNSs.

As the data for this research comes from FB photos, it can be expected that Cs are paid basically to the outlook. However, the data reveals that despite the huge number of appearance Cs, performance, possessions and the personality of the people are complimented as well.

Table 24: Gender-based Distribution of Compliment Topics in FBCC-T

TOPIC	FF	FM	Total F	MF	MM	Total M	TOTAL
Appearance	267	127	394	38	132	170	564
Photo	50	37	87	14	30	44	131
Possessions	42	48	90	7	18	25	115
Personality	5	13	18	1	22	23	41
Performance	7	14	21	5	11	16	37
T-Combination	19	12	31	3	8	11	42
Unclear	31	14	45	11	14	25	70
TOTAL	421	265	686	79	235	314	1000

The table above shows the number of Cs paid by each group in each category. In total, women paid 394 appearance Cs while men paid 170 ones. Cs on photo, which is a unique category in this research, is also very common. The third most common category is possessions, with 115 Cs paid in total. The category unclear covers 70 of the 1000 Cs and there were 42 combination of topics, 41 Cs on personality and 37 performance Cs.

4.2.1. Appearance

To date, studies on Cs have mainly focused on the topics of them; without any exception, all cited appearance as the top topic for Cs in ranking, this study being no exception. Being an unchallenged number-one topic of Cs, *appearance* refers

to a wide range of Cs from specific ones like a praise to a part of body to a generic comment without any specification on what of the Cee has deserved such a C.

The first considerable finding on topics of Cs is the excessive use of appearance Cs. Among the 1000 Cs, 566 are paid to the appearance of the Cees. Because the Cs are solely photo comments in this study, the huge amount of appearance Cs is expected.

Table 25: The use of Cs on appearance in FBCC-T

APPEARANCE	n within all topics	% within all topics
F to all	394	57,4
M to all	170	54,1
APPEARANCE	n within male Cers	% within male Cers
M to M	132	77,6
M to F	38	22,4
APPEARANCE	n within female Cers	% within female Cers
F to M	127	32,2
F to F	267	67,8

Of the 686 Cs paid by women in FBCC-T, more than half address to the appearance of Cees. Men, similarly, pay more than half of their 314 Cs in the corpus to the appearance of the Cees. It seems that for both genders, appearance is the most complimented topic in the FBCC-T. Claiming that women pay more Cs to the appearance of Cs proves to be true when the numbers of Cs are considered; however, the in-group analyses show that women pay more appearance Cs just because they pay more Cs. The quantitative difference is due to not a gender-based tendency but a quantitative difference in the total number. In terms of the percentages, it can be claimed that women pay slightly more Cs on appearance but this difference is not statistically significant.

In terms of findings, what is interesting is that both males and females prefer to pay appearance Cs more to the people of their own sex. This justifies the

information that people in T culture avoid paying Cs to the opposite sex. Whether this is a recurrent case in face to face communication or if this is valid for FB as it is a public platform is not in the scope of this study; however, it can be safely stated that culturally, paying appearance Cs to one's own sex is considered more appropriate in Turkish society.

Another fruitful analysis can be conducted on the appearance Cs people get. That is, the classification, in this part, is based on not the Cer but the Cee:

Table 26: The number of Cs on appearance received by T informants

APPEARANCE	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F from all	305	61
M from all	259	51,8

Supporting the findings of the previous studies (Ruhi, 2002; Şakırgil & Çubukçu, 2013), among 500 Cs they received in FBCC-T, women get 304 appearance Cs in contrast to 260 ones male informants got. This difference is considerable. This indicates that gender is important not as an initiator but as a receiver of Cs, especially in deciding the topic the Cs paid. That is, it can be claimed that the gender of the Cee is more important than the gender of the Cer when paying a C on appearance.

Ruhi's (2002) study on complimenting women in Turkish has found that the social boundaries tailored for genders reflect themselves in the existence of Cs. The striking findings she mentions are that women are complimented more on their appearance while men are more praised for their accomplishments. Ruhi also suggests that women are more complimented in the boundaries of their traditional being, such as their beauty or cuteness.

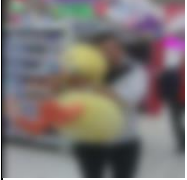
The results of this study justifies what Ruhi (2002) found, in online communication as well. It seems that even in virtual settings, the traditional existence of gendered behaviors can be expected to a certain extent.

It is observed that women are complimented more on their appearance; however, the idea that women are complimented by men more than men are complimented by women proves wrong as well. Men pay only 22,4% of their appearance Cs to women while women allocate 32% of them to men. This is an important issue of discussion as this finding clashes with the boundaries of Turkish culture, in which women are considered more hesitant to pay Cs to the opposite sex and avoid being flirtatious, which can be the possible connotation of a C. To understand the reasons of such an unexpected result, the Cs need to be qualitatively analyzed considering the face and rapport concerns of the interactants.

The term face is closely related to the notion of *self*, however, self has an individual aspect, relational aspect and collective/group aspect. People attribute themselves some values for all these three identities; however, it should be highlighted that not only the person but also the values she is in is important in managing face.

First of all, it has been observed that the data for both genders depict many examples of ‘sexless’ appearance Cs, Cs with some childish exclamations, mockery, sarcasm or emoticons that soften the possible flirting meaning to be derived from them.


Sample 38:TM-6FrK-7

	<p>TF-Cer: amannnn şu şirinliğe bak sen :)) [Awe look at this sweetness :))]</p> <p>TM-Cee: senn kadar olamam karabük güzeli:D:D [I can't be as sweet as you, the beauty of Karabük.:D:D]</p> <p>TF-Cer: saol canm ama olmussunnn begendm ☺ [thanks dear but you have “become” ((used to mean that he is OK)) I liked it☺]</p> <p>TM-Cee: sen begendysen sorn yok yha:D:D [if you like it no problem yha:D:D] ((yha as an exclamation))</p> <p>TF-Cer: :)) [no verbal response]</p>
<p>A half portrait of a young man holding a tweety.</p>	

This C is in imperative mood and this imperative modality does not reflect itself as a command or order but it sounds like a surprise as mentioned before. A woman’s surprise on the sweetness of a man is softened or purified from sexual/flirtatious connotations with the “amannnn” [vaowww] ((an exclamation used in similar contexts with ‘my gosh’)). Similarly, using emoticons have such an effect to distance from sexual connotations. In the response part, another C to the appearance comes up with emoticons. These emoticons also serve for a similar purpose.

Another way to lower the flirtatious connotations of an appearance C is to pay the C in plural. In the example below, a man not only pays a C to the beauty of a group of women but also sends kisses. However, it should be noted that the Cer (as learned from the interview) is someone from the family and that is why he can pay such Cs. In addition, the second person plural use in the utterance makes it lack flirtatious content.

Sample 39: TF-14OzM-7

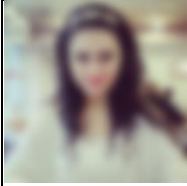
	<p>TM-Cer: bütün güzeller bir arada öpüldünüz [all beauties are together you are kissed]</p>
<p>A half body shot of a group of women.</p>	<p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>

In this example, even if the relation between the Cer and the Cees is not known, the C does not sound awkward in terms of gender relations.

In all these examples, the rapport between the interlocutors is enhanced or maintained. In the former sample the rapport is enhanced as the C is returned with an intimate address term which indicates that the intimacy claimed by the Cer is valid for the Cee. The interlocutors are in the same ground about the distance/closeness of their relationships. In the latter example, the rapport is maintained as the C is accepted without any sign of redesigning the relationship. Spencer-Oatey (2008) mentions the importance of sociality rights and obligations.

If these are not fulfilled, interpersonal rapport damages. “This can be particularly common if the participants of an interaction hold differing views as to the nature of their sociality rights and obligations” (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 15).

Sample 40: TF-25GiC-3

 <p><i>A portrait of a woman who looks like a selfie.</i></p>	<p>TM-Cer: @Cee, ☺ Böyle Bir Güzelliği Beğenmemek Mümkün mü? <i>[@Cee, is it Possible not to Like such a Beauty?]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: her zamanki gibi çok nazıksın ali abi @Cer <i>[As usual, you are very kind brother ali @Cer]</i></p>
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In this example, the male Cer (the relation is not known) pays a C to the appearance of the Cee and uses the structure of a yes/no question to pay it. The Cee, uneasy with the C paid, emphasizes the word ‘brother’ to eliminate the intimacy the Cer creates. The Cee tries to disassociate herself from the closeness the Cer has tried to establish.

It is clear that the rapport cannot be established in the way the Cer claims in this example. Spencer-Oatey (2008) explains this with a clash of explicit and implicit conceptualizations of roles and positions. In the example, the Cer claims an intimacy and the Ce distances the flirtatious intimacy claimed. This might be because of the “abi” [brother] position the Cee claims for him or because of the by-stander effect, the effect of the existence of many observers and possible interlocutors. That is, the exchange takes place in a public domain which might have an effect on the Cee’s need for disassociation. The social identity she assumes for herself required a larger private zone; therefore, she


Spencer-Oatey (2008), when listing the factors influencing rapport management strategies used, claims that the number of participants in a conversation is of great importance. This is one of the most important pinpoints in this study to explain the “sexless” utterances in the first two examples and the need to challenge the rapport created by the Cer in the last example. In the data collected in this study,

the face is managed not only between interactants but also among a large group of audience.

General Appearance Compliments vs. Specific Appearance Compliments


To be able to gather more detailed information on appearance Cs, this research categorized Cs as specific and general. General appearance Cs refer to positive evaluations on the appearance of the Cee (or something/someone that is related to the Cee). The examples are “vaowww”, “güzelsin” etc. On the other hand, specific appearance Cs are mostly on a specific part like eyes, lips or a specific change in the appearance. Following are examples for general and specific Cs respectively:

Sample 41: TM-2BeK-22

	<p>TM-Cer: vaowwww [wow] ((an emosound used when amazed))</p> <p>TF-Cee: - [no response]</p>
<p><i>A close portrait of a young man.</i></p>	

In sample (41), the utterance is a C because the emosound used has a positive connotation. It is mostly used when amazed about something. The Cer, amused with the post, does not specify what amused him. The positive value attributed is general.

Sample 42: TF-25GiC-2

	<p>TM-Cer: Naptı leyyn haşin bakışlı [What did you do, woman with a harsh gaze?]</p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
<p><i>A close portrait of a young woman.</i></p>	

On the other hand, the sample (42) is a specific C on the woman’s gaze. Although the structure is a question, the C is on how she looks, which is also a highlighted image in the photo.

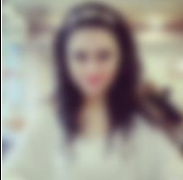
Following is a table on the use of appearance Cs on general or specific aspects of the Cees.

Table 27: The use of specific & general appearance Cs in FBCC-T

Interactants	General n & % within all Cs	Specific n & % within all Cs	TOTAL
F to all	350(88,8%)	44(11,2%)	394(100%)
M to all	142(83,5%)	28(16,5%)	170(100%)
	n within M Cers	% within F Cers	
M to M	108(81,8%)	24(18,2%)	132(100%)
M to F	34(89,5%)	4(10,5%)	38(100%)
	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
F to M	110(85,9%)	18(14,1%)	128(100%)
F to F	240(90,2%)	26(9,8%)	266(100%)
TOTAL	492(87,2%)	72(12,8%)	564(100%)

In the table, both the numbers of Cs in both categories and the percentages they share are given so that tendencies of Cers can be understood. To start with, most of the Cs in the corpus are general appearance Cs. The reason why people do not pay specific appearance Cs can be the fact that specific appearance Cs are more face threatening. If the rapport is not managed well, the C, which is supposed to be a face enhancement act, turns out to be a face threatening one. Following is a specific C paid to the Cee's eyes:

Sample 43: TF-25GiC-3

 <p>A portrait which looks like a selfie</p>	<p>TM-Cer: @Cee, Sevgili Gamze; "Gözlerin, gözlerin, gözlerin / İster hastaneme gel, ister hapishaneme / Gözlerin, gözlerin, gözlerin / Hep güneşte..." diye devam eden Nazım Hikmet'in bir şiiri var. Nazım Usta o şiiri, senin dünyaya önceki gelişinde bu fotoğrafı görerek mi yazmıştı? [Dear Gamze, "Your eyes, your eyes, your eyes/ Come to my hospital room if you like or my prison visit/ Your eyes, your eyes, your eyes/In the sun always they sit..." is a poem by Nazım Hikmet. Did Nazım Usta write the poem by seeing you in your previous life?] ((Nazım Hikmet, also called as Nazım Usta, is a well-known Turkish poet.))</p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal answer]</p>
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At first sight, there is no indication of the Cee's feeling a threaten on her face. However, when the page is investigated it is seen that she explicitly and verbally responds to all Cs mentioning the names of each Cer personally. However, this C is left unresponded except for the like button. Also, such a long and intensified C is not responded verbally, which might indicate that she does not want to foster the association the Cer created.

As a reflection of appearance Cs in total, both general and specific Cs paid to the people of one's own gender is more common which can also be referred to the cultural boundaries drawn by the culture.

4.2.2. Photo

In the literature, there has been no previous research study that has considered 'photo' as a topic of C because in face-to-face communication, it is highly rare to pay a C directed to a photograph rather than the Cee or an aspect in the photograph. The main difference between photo Cs and the other types of Cs is the "temporariness" the Cs on photos bear.

For the purpose of this research, Cs on appearance and Cs on photos have been separated with a belief that photo Cs do not directly refer to the Cee. It is still considered a C because the photo is something related to the Cee but not the Cee himself/herself.

Some Cs on the photo can be classified as a C on appearance. They can be analyzed under the same title but for the purpose of this research they have been analyzed separately because the photo Cs are high in number and the medium of communication is directly related to photo Cs. The tendency of results display similarity with the results on appearance Cs.

It is sometimes challenging to differentiate if the C is paid to the person or the photo. The differentiation has been done during data analysis with the help of the verb chosen and the inflection used with it. The verb and the inflection highlighted the *temporariness* of the positive value attributed.

Sample 44:TF-15SeC-3

	<p>TF-Cer: bu çok güzel bir resim ★★★★★ <i>[This is a very beautiful picture ★★★★★]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) teşekkürler, o sizin bakışınızın güzelliği: <i>[Thank you; beauty is in the eye of beholder☺]((Second person plural is used.))</i></p>
<p><i>A close portrait of a young woman.</i></p>	

In sample (44), the Cee accepts the C as if it is directly paid to her, which can be explained with the fact that the complimented item is related to her. The same C could have been given to a photo without the Cee in it. This could still be a C to the photo. This shows that what is complimented here is not the person but the photo. However, it cannot be claimed that the C is an appearance one. The utterance does not state that she is beautiful but claims that the photo is good/beautiful.

Table 28: The number of Cs on photo in FBCC-T

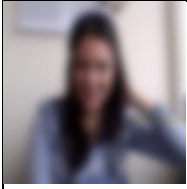
PHOTO	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	87	12,7
M to all	44	14
PHOTO	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	30	68,1
M to F	14	31,9
PHOTO	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	37	42,5
F to F	50	57,5

The total number of photo Cs makes up 13,1 percent of all Cs (131 out of 1000) in FBCC-T. This number is relatively smaller than the number of Cs paid to the appearance of Cs. On the other hand, Cs on photo still make up for the second most common topic of Cs in FBCC-T. However, the tendencies are similar in appearance and photo Cs; thus people prefer to pay the Cs to the photographs of their own sex more than the ones of the opposite sex. The reason behind this can

be the fact that though the object of the utterance seems different, photo Cs are accepted as appearance Cs in most cases.

The meaning of a C is co-constructed between a Cer and a Cee. It can be observed that in most cases the photo Cs are accepted as Cs on appearance, which results in similar findings in the study. Following is an example of a photo C that might have been considered as an appearance C by the Cee if the element of temporariness were disregarded.

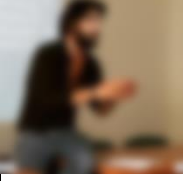
Sample 45: TF-15SeC-8

	<p>TF-Cer: Caniiim cok tatli cikmissin. [Sweetheart you look pretty]</p> <p>TF-Cee: Tesekkurler canim:) [Thanks dear☺]</p>
<p><i>A half body shot of a young woman.</i></p>	

In this example, the Cee accepts the Cs as it is an appearance Cs. Actually it is, but the focus is basically on the photo as the C does not state that she is beautiful; rather it claims that she looks beautiful on this photo. The ‘*temporariness*’, the *structure* and *lexicon* of the C provides is disregarded and the C in it is considered as a personal appearance C by the Cee.

Although the tendency patterns in FBCC-T are similar in appearance and photo Cs, there are more samples on photo paid to the opposite sex relative to appearance Cs. There may be a few reasons of this. The first one is that appearance Cs are always personal, paid directly to the person being interacted. However, Cs on photo can be considered either personal or impersonal. The illocutionary force behind paying both types of Cs can be attributing the positive value to the Cee himself/herself. However, the locution between the two is different. The more direct the locution, the more face threatening the C can be especially in exchanges between males and females. This can be the reason why the choice of using such photo Cs can be more common in photo comments in comparison with appearance Cs. That is, in photo Cs there is a buffer layer. Following are two examples of impersonal and personal photo Cs respectively.

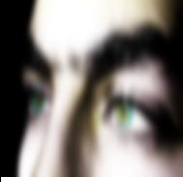
Sample 46:TM-5ErB-20

	TF-Cer: Kadrajı iyi ayarlamış, kim çektiyse artık :P [Whoever took the photo has set the frame well :P] ((The Cee is the one who took the photo.))
A half body shot of a young man.	TM-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]

This photo C is considered impersonal by the researcher as it praises the photograph. It is still liked by the Cee, and the Cee is still the receiver of the C because the photo is directly related to him; however, there is no inference to be made about the looks of the Cee. (This C will be reevaluated in self Cs category.)

Therefore, this is not an appearance C but a photo one.

Sample 47:TM-13OrM-10

	TM-Cer: toprağım sanatsal pozlar veriosun artık deli bakmışsın :D [My townsman, you are now posing artistically, you have a crazy gaze. :D]
A half face shot of a young man.	TM-Cee: İmkanlar dahilinde toprağım ::D Pallikler bakar dediler baktık [As much as I can my townsman ::D they said palliks ¹⁴ looks like this and we did]
	TM-Cer: kim demişse doğru demiz biz pallikler çok can alıcı bakarız :D [whoever said it is right we palliks have fatal gaze :D]

Sample (47) is considered as a photo C but bit is more personal than the previous example. The Cee is complimented with his posing and gaze. Still the meaning is not the beauty of Cee's eyes but how he looks in this specific photo, so this is considered as a photo C. On the other hand, this is a more personal one that could also have been evaluated as an appearance C if the word "posing" was not used.

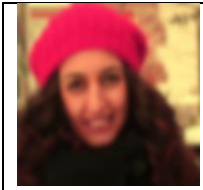
4.2.3. Possessions

Possessions can be specified as the objects a person has. However, this definition is not only vague but also inadequate as a possession can be something abstract,

¹⁴ Pallik is non-existent in Turkish or any language known to the researcher. A small interview revealed that this is an address term the Cee and his friends use among themselves, which has a connotation like *bro* or *brother*.

like a relationship, or someone they *have* like a baby or boyfriend/girlfriend. The class ‘possessions’ in this study has been constructed as anything that a person has. A person can be complimented on an item such as a car, computer etc. or a family, child or relationship s/he has. While deciding which Cs can be considered as Cs on possessions, the criteria was whether the complimented item/notion/thing belonged to the Cee. In addition to what belongs to the Cee, a relationship (as a notion or child/husband/wife) needs to exist as a possession as these notions or relations are also among what the *Cee has*. Following are two examples of possession Cs:

Sample 48: TF-21SvE-4

	<p>TF-Cer: şapkan. çok güzelmiş cınım [Your hat is very beautiful cınım¹⁵]</p> <p>TF-Cee: sağ ol cınım istersen sana da örebilirim ☺ [Thank you cınım if you like I can knit one for you, too ☺]</p> <p>TF-Cer: wuu çok havalı ☺ ben atkısını istiyorum aynı renk olsun ☺ [wuu very cool ☺ I want a muffler with the same color ☺]</p> <p>TF-Cee: tamam kanka sen iste söz ;) her ne kadar profil olmasak da :P [ok kanka¹⁶ as you like I promise :) Although we are not in the profile (picture):P]</p> <p>TF-Cer: yenisini görmedin mi ☺ durumu da bak lütfen ☺ [Didn't you see the new one ☺ Look at my status too please. ☺]</p> <p>TF-Cee: ahaha manyaakk :)) [lol crazy :))]</p> <p>TF Cer: ☺</p> <p>TF cee: (likes the C) – [no verbal response]</p>
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A portrait of a young woman.

¹⁵ The word “cınım” is a word that does not exist in Turkish. It is a reproduction or deliberate distortion of the word “canım” which means “dear” in English. This spelling change might have been done to create a prettier and closer atmosphere with a cute address word.

¹⁶ The word “kanka” is a clipped form of the word “kan kardeş” which means “blood brother”. In daily use, people call the others “kanka” to refer that they are best friends to each other or they are very close friends. They do not necessarily need to be blood brothers or sisters.

In sample (48), the C is directly paid on a material possessed. This C starts a conversation in which the interlocutors exchange many positive comments.

Sample 49: TM-17SeM-18

	<p>TF-Cer: Senin antenlerini sevsinler ☺ maşallah ☺ <i>[Love your antennas ((referring to the pony tails & using thir person plural as the subject)) maşallah]</i></p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) sevsinler Meltem teyzesi <i>[Her aunt Meltem, love them ((again the subject is third person plural))]</i></p>
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Ruhi (2002) considers possessions as a topic category in Cs and analyzes the frequency in her corpus. The difference is that she considers Cs on relationships or social belonging in another category. Her findings suggest that %10,7 (68) of her C corpus (total n=634) belongs to the group of Cs paid for possessions. When cultural clichés are considered, it is highly expected that men be complimented more on what they have like cars/houses/ motorbikes. However, Ruhi's data reveals that both genders prefer to pay Cs on possessions of women more than men. Men pay 70% (21 out of 30) of their possession Cs to women while women pay 82% (31 out of 38) to women.

The findings of this study deviates from Ruhi's findings in a couple of ways:

Table 29: The number of Cs on possession in FBCC-T

POSSESSIONS	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	90	13,1%
M to all	25	8%

POSSESSIONS	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	18	72%
M to F	7	28%

POSSESSIONS	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	48	53%
F to F	42	47%

Different from Ruhi, whose findings show that men pay more possession Cs to women, this study has shown that both genders prefer to pay possession Cs more to men. As can be seen in the table above, women pay 53% of their possession Cs to men. Their gender choice is not statistically important. However, men pay 72% of theirs to other men and their tendency has a statistically significant value. More than half of their possession Cs are given to the opposite sex.

To better see the big picture, a table focusing on the gender of the Cee is prepared. See the table below:

Table 30: The number of Cs on possession received by T informants

POSSESSION	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F from all	49	13,1%
M from all	66	8%

The two table contrasted indicate that the gender of neither the Cer nor the Cee but the genders of both are at play when the possessions are complimented. Thus, there is a strong difference in the number of possession Cs paid to the people of their own gender and the opposite gender. This difference is not gender-based because it is valid for both.

These findings lead the researcher to reach the conclusion that there are some gender-based expectations in the culture and these expectations reflect themselves on Cs to possessions in photo comments. However, it appears that whatever this cultural boundary or motivation to pay possession C to the opposite gender is valid for both men and women, with a higher effect on men.

To strengthen this hypothesis, another t-test has been conducted to analyze the Cs not paid but received by both genders. The results underlined that there is no statistically considerable difference ($\text{sig}=,592$) between the possession Cs males ($\text{mean}=2,6$) and females ($\text{mean}=1,96$) get.

All these descriptive and comparative analyses lead to the conclusion that for possession Cs gender is important but the gender of Cer seems to be the main factor rather than the gender of the Cee.

As for the reasons why the gender of the Cer is more important than the Cer leads the discussion to question what the genders value for themselves. It is very common for every one of us to claim that the society values for example having kids or a happy marriage especially for women. That is why women are complimented more on family or children. However, the research indicates that they aren't complimented but they pay Cs more on such possessions. This unexpected finding shows that social norms are not external to genders but they penetrate into the cells of every human being in the society.


In comparison with the previous research findings, this finding deviates from the common consensus that men are complimented more on what they have. However, the nature of SNSs make it more common to comment on each other's family, relationships or children. This difference in the medium of communication chosen might have resulted this devastating change as the number of such possessions complimented are not few.

4.2.4. Personality

A category that seems to exist in most of the studies on Cs is the category of “personality”. In many cultures, if not all, people tend to pay Cs on the other’s personality. This research also documents on people’s personality complimented online as well.

An example of a photo comment on personality is as follows.

Sample 50: TF-130yM-19

	TF-Cer: komiksin sen... <i>[you're funny...]</i>
A woman in primary school uniforms. The sign behind says "Back2school".	TM-Cee: 😊 <i>[no verbal response]</i>

Adachi (2010) suggests that in most cases it is the Cee who introduces the C topic. That is, it can be claimed that the context where the C occurs is created and directed by the Cee. At this critical point, however, one unique characteristic of this study to be highlighted is that the data have been collected from FB photo comments and what the Cee displays in a photo may not be and cannot be personality in many cases (although it is not impossible to call for a personality C with a photo post). Therefore, high deviations from Cs in spoken/face to face communication and Cs in FBCC can be expected. It is very likely that photos do not attract as many personality Cs as the spoken data or DCT data collected.

The distribution of personality Cs among the whole dataset and gender-based distributions can be seen as follows.

Table 31: The number of Cs on personality in FBCC-T

PERSONALITY	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	18	2,7
M to all	23	7,3
PERSONALITY	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	22	95,7
M to F	1	4,3
PERSONALITY	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	13	72,2
F to F	5	27,8

Personality Cs paid by men and women do not display significant differences. That is, the table indicates that the gender of the Cer does not pose a significant difference in the number of Cs paid to each gender. However, the gender of the Cee seems more influential in attracting the Cs on personality.

Table 32: The number of Cs on personality paid to T informants

PERSONALITY	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F from all	6	1,2
M from all	35	7

It becomes obvious and significant that both men and women prefer to praise the personality of men more than that of women. Females pay fewer Cs to females (n=5) than males (n=13). Similarly, males prefer to pay more Cs to males (n=22) than females (mean=1).


This finding needs further analysis as the numbers indicate a cultural tendency. The reason why men are complimented more on their personality, when compared to the findings of appearance C, may indicate the appreciated values of society. The society gives more importance to personality in man while appearance is much more valued for women. The question if this discussion is true or not needs further analysis and research tools while the possibility of generalization to other cultures is not possible in the scope of this research.

Being an ‘Adam’ [man] as a Compliment

A striking and unique point that flourished in the data analysis is the notion of being an “adam” [man]. In Turkish there are a number of idioms and phrases that use the word “adam” as an equal to “insan” [human]. A most commonly used expression means adam ol- which means “being a man”. This may be used as an imperative to a person who misbehaves to want him/her act as a man, that is, act in the correct and ideal manner. That is the measurement of being correct in manner or attitude is measured by how “manly” you can behave. The word “man” covers being fair, just, ethical, forgiving, manful and many other positive adjectives.

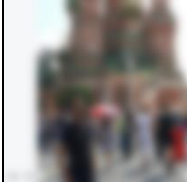
See the examples of “manly” Cs.

Sample 51:TM-6FrK-1

 <p>A portrait of a young man.</p>	<p>TM-Cer: adamın dibi ya :D [You are the best of men :D]</p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
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In this C, specifically, the Cee is not only “adam” but also the “peak” of this notion. The word “dibi” used means “the depth of something”. Another example about being a man is as follows:

Sample 52:TM-4EmU-23

 <p>A half body shot of a young man.</p>	<p>TM-Cer: ADAMSIN ADAM..... [YOU ARE A MAN MAN.....]</p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
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Similar to English and many other languages, this sexist word is used as a positive adjective which covers women, too. Having this manly quality is a compliment for women, too. However what is interesting in this study is among 2000 Cs, there

is no C on being an “adam” to a woman. Moreover, although English has similar adjectives like “manful”, there is no example of such a C addressed to either men or women. On the contrary, 43% of the personality Cs men get contain this word “adam”. Many others contain terminology like “paşa” [*pasha, admiral, general*], “kral” [*king*] and “tosun” [*bullock, young bull*]. The common ground of these terms are their sexist connotations. 83% of the total personality Cs paid to men contain such terms.

When it comes to women, sexism decreases to a very considerable level. The opposite of “adam” is “kadın” [*woman*] or “hatun” [*womanly woman*]. However, there is no example of a C where the Cee is complimented as “woman”. This is the same in English as well as Turkish. Even if there were a C like “hatun”, if this C is a personality or appearance C would be a topic of discussion.

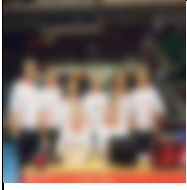
To sum up, being a man alone is a C in FBCC-T while this does not seem to account for the opposite sex.

4.2.5. Performance

Performance Cs are the ones in which the Cee is complimented on something s/he has achieved. The achievement or at least the act of something is seen worth to pay the C on. FBCC is composed of photo comments. The photos are mostly the main trigger or the first initiative in the C exchange. This might lead the conclusion that on SNSs it is very rare or sometimes impossible to pay a C on the performance of the Cee, which is not true. Depending on the photograph or the context between the Cee and the Cer, it is very likely that the person who posts the photo is paid a C on a performance depicted in the photo.


Following are some examples on the performance Cs.

Sample 53: TM-3SaC-9

 <p>A close portrait of a young woman.</p>	<p>TM-Cer: En büyük hakem bizim hakem [The best referee is our referee] ((a very commonly used cheering in sports events especially))</p> <p>TM-Cee: - [no response]</p>
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In this example, the Cee is wearing the uniforms for a volleyball referee and stands with a group of referees. The photo is taken after or before a volleyball match but the comment includes a cheer to the referee meaning that the Cee is the best referee ever. Because this C is addressed to the abilities and performance of the Cee, it is considered as a performance C.

Sample 54: TM-13KuA-2

 <p>A half body shot of two men in an activity/occasion..</p>	<p>TM-Cer: Beyler büyüsunuz...agliyorum lan:D [Guys, you're great... I am crying lan:D] ((The word "lan" is an address word in slang mainly used among men.)</p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) Giremezsin dediler girdik başkan. [Chief/President they said we could not enter we did.]</p>
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This example differs from the previous one in that the response is needed to understand the topic of the C. The C acclaims that the guys are "great"; however, from the picture or the vocabulary choice of the C it is not clear what makes the guys "great". However, the response indicates that there was an event or a place in which they were not expected to be able to join/go; however, they could join in or go in it. This is a performance success which turns the C into a performance C.

Sample 55: TM-3SaC-15

 <p>A close shot of a young man.</p>	<p>TM-Cer: @Cee. seni dağlarda gördüm ya... Daha ne gam☺ [Now that I saw you on the mountains... No worries anymore ☺]</p> <p>TM-Cee: Benim meskenim dağlardır dağlar, İzzet abi ☺ [My home is mountains, mountains] ((These are lyrics from a song.))</p>
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This example is more explicit than the previous one. The Cer explains that he is happy to have seen the Cee in the mountains, which includes an appreciation to

the climbing the Cee does. The Cee accepts the C using lyrics of a song, which says that mountains are his home.

Performance Cs are commonly cited in literature and found its place in many studies including this one. Even with photos only, people can fish for and pay performance Cs.

When gender based tendencies are regarded, previous literature cited that performance Cs more commonly addresses males. That is both men and women are supposed to pay performance C to men more. The results of this study is as follows:

Table 33: The number of Cs on performance in FBCC-T

PERFORMANCE	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	21	3,1
M to all	16	5,1
PERFORMANCE	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	11	68,7
M to F	5	31,3
PERFORMANCE	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	14	66,7
F to F	7	33,3

When the percentages are considered, it can be seen that performance Cs are the rarest type of Cs paid in FBCC. To see the effect of the gender of the Cee, t-test has been conducted according to the Cee's gender. The results of the t-test reveals that both males and females pay more performance Cs to males. However, for both groups, there seems to be no significant difference regarding the Cee (sig=,290).


It has mostly been believed that women are complimented on appearance while men are complimented on possessions or performance. The data in FBCC show that these claims, seeming valid in a culture, cannot be generalized as there is no

statistically important difference in the Cs paid by both genders. This raises a question mark on the universality claims about speech acts like Cs.

4.2.6. T- Combination

The category T-combination can be defined as the combination of more than one topics of Cs in one utterance, which may be in any structural form or combination of different structures. For example, an utterance can bear a C to both the appearance and the personality of a Cee. Following is an example of such a combination.

Sample 56: TM-1AIS-22

 <p>A half-body shot of a young man.</p>	<p>TF-Cer: hocalarımız eğitimli oldukları kadar karizmalarıyla da yakarlar! <i>[Our teachers fire ((impress deeply)) not only with their education but also with their charisma!]</i></p> <p>TM-Cee: - (likes the C) - <i>[no verbal answer]</i></p>
--	--

The C in the example addresses the charm and educational qualities of the Cee. In both cases, it is hard and almost impossible to categorize the topic of C under one single point. That is why a sub-category called “combination” has been needed.

When gender-based tendencies are taken into consideration, it can be observed that Cs addressing more than one aspect are used more by women than men. The difference is not statistically significant. It can be accounted for women paying more Cs.

Table 34: The number of Cs with more than one topic in FBCC-T

T-COMB	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	31	4,5
M to all	11	3,5
T-COMB	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	8	72,7
M to F	3	27,3
T-COMB	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	12	38,7
F to F	19	61,3

As the number of Cs paid in this category is relatively low, the difference indicated in numbers do not stand out when percentages are considered. That is, the tendencies do not seem to deviate according to the gender of the participant.

Table 35: The number of Cs received with more than one topic

T-COMB.	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F from all	22	4,4
M from all	20	4

Although the number of Cs seem to indicate a tendency for women to use this type of Cs more, the difference can be attributed to the difference in the total number of Cs paid in the study.

All in all, there seems to be cases where the C addresses more than one topics and there seems no statistically significant difference related to the genders of the Cees or Cers.

4.2.7. Unclear


Unclear category is mostly for Cs whose focus is not clear. This category covers a wide range of structures; however, for T dataset it can be claimed that mostly one-word phrases, emosounds and emoticons make up most of these Cs. Depending on the photograph, a “vooow” can be directly a C on appearance in

general or it can be an unclear topic especially when both the appearance and the photo of the Cee are “vaovable” (a word coined by one of the participants in the corpus). This is valid for both T and AE but it might be valid for many other languages and contexts as well.

There is one unique quality of T which makes the unclear category more worth to dive into: the invisible subject and tense markers. Remembering the discussion on finiteness/non-finiteness in T, it can be stated that the pro-drop nature of T, combined with the null third person singular marker creates an ambiguity in identification of Tensed-S condition of verbals or nominals

Below is an example of such an ambiguity.

Sample 57: TM-13SeR-6


	<p>TF-Cer: süper yaa ☺ tebrik ederimmmm ☺ mutluluklarr ☺ <i>[That's wonderful yaa ☺ ((an emotion intensifier)) ☺ I congratulate you, wish you happiness ☺]</i></p>
<p><i>A bride and a groom walking and the bride showing her shoes.</i></p>	<p>TM-Cee: Teşekkürler :)))) <i>[Thanks :)))] (mass response)</i></p>

Here the Cer pays the C “super”, but what is super is not clear. This could be a C paid to the photo, the act of getting married (performance), the shoe the bride is showing (possession), the couple etc. If there were a subject or an inflection like “süpersiniz” [you are super] or “super ayakkabılar” [super shoes], the ambiguity could have been eliminated or at least be lowered.

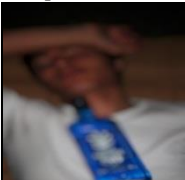
This pro-drop and null-inflected third person nature of T results in such an ambiguity which has not been referred to in such a discussion before to the best of the researcher’s knowledge. The uses under the category *unclear* mostly result from this syntactic and morphological issue.

More examples of one-word statements and emosounds that act like Cs but are ambiguous in their topic reference can be seen below:

Sample 58:TM-3SaC-18

 <p>A selfie of a group of three tagged in a concert.</p>	<p>TF-Cer: oyyy oyyy☺ [-](no verbal compliment: an emosound)</p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
--	--

Sample 59: TM-13OrM-12

 <p>A man lying on the floor with a bottle on his chest.</p>	<p>TF-Cer: Yakışırır :D [It fits :D.]</p> <p>TF-Cee: Ayıpsın :D [Of course :D]</p>
---	--

In the example above, the utterance “oyyy oyyy” is accepted as a C because it has an emoticon at the end and it is clear that this is a positive evaluation of the photo/the concert/the act of going to the concert or even the person who is about to give a concert. Although the Cee, when interviewed, said that he guessed the C was to the band who was about to give a concert, from the data on FB it is difficult to guess this.

The samples of such an ambiguity can be multiplied but the most important point to be mentioned is that this ambiguity is mostly observed in one-word utterances, non-finite clauses, Cs with emosounds and Cs with emoticons only.

Still there are other cases where the existence of a C is understood but the topic is not clear. In the example below, such an example can be observed.

Table 36: The number of Cs with unclear topics in FBCC-T

UNCLEAR	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	45	6,6
M to all	25	8
UNCLEAR	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	14	56
M to F	11	44
UNCLEAR	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	14	31,1
F to F	31	68,9

To start with, it can be said that regardless of the gender, the number of unclear Cs are very low in both groups of T informants. In total, 6,6 of all female Cs and 8% of all male Cs are paid in this category. In terms of the gender of the Cer and the Cee, there seems to be no significant difference if the Cer is male. That is, men pay similar amounts of unclear Cs to both genders. However, women pay more “unclear” Cs to the people of their own gender. This might be attributed to the overuse of *maşallah* and emoticons by women. When a photo is complimented with a “maşallah”, the topic is likely to be blurred and this C mostly goes under the category “unclear”.

Table 37: The number of Cs with unclear topics received by T informants

UNCLEAR	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F from all	42	8,4
M from all	28	5,6

As can be seen in the table above, the gender of the Cee, similar to that of the Cer, affects the use of “unclear” Cs only for female informants. That is, the number of unclear Cs males get are not significantly different for males but as for females, women not only pay but also receive more “unclear” Cs.

4.3. Functions of Compliments in FBCC-T

The most commonly used definitions of Cs define and describe the functions of Cs as “social lubricants” that serve to “grease the social wheels” (Wolfson, 1981, p. 89). That is, the basic function of Cs is to soothe the communication between interlocutors by serving a positive function (Leech, 1983). These expressive speech acts attribute a positive value to the hearer of the C.

Before getting deep into the functions of Cs, the close relationship between the topics and the functions of them need to be underlined. What is complimented is the topic of Cs while why it is complimented is the function. Though the difference sounds clear, in some studies, the topics are classified according to the functions. Şakırgil & Çubukçu (2013) classified the topics of Cs into two: praising the object and praising the hearer, which indicates two important functions of Cs, definitely inadequate to cover all. Another study in Turkish by Ruhi (2002) defines what a C is mentioning the roles and norms of paying Cs, but the focus of her study was not the classification of functions of Cs.

A comprehensive study on the functions of Cs was carried out by Manes & Wolfson (1981). The study shapes the core skeleton of this part of the dissertation because of its focus on functions of Cs.

The functions they have identified are as follows:

(i) to establish solidarity between speaker and addressee (ii) to express approval or admiration toward the listener (iii) to strengthen or replace other speech acts like apologizing, greeting (iv) to strengthen or replace other speech acts like apologizing, greeting, reprimanding, or thanking, request reprimanding, or thanking, request (v) to soften acts such as criticism (vi) to offer praise, to reinforce or encourage the desired behavior in specific situations, such as teaching and learning (vii) to offer praise, to reinforce or encourage the desired behavior in specific situations, such as teaching and learning (viii) as sarcasm (ix) as conversation opener (x) to show interest in the issue at hand for example by asking follow-up questions

(Tajeddin & Yazdanmehr, 2012, p. 29)

In this study, it is aimed to reach a broader classification of functions of Cs to be able to identify the similarities and differences between the two cultures at hand.

That is why the framework created by Manes & Wolfson (1981) has been revised and used in this study adding unclear and combination categories.

There is one more point to be pondered about the functions of Cs in FBCC. The Cs are paid online and there are innumerable observers and interlocutors. Therefore, the face concerns of both the Cers and the Cees are expected to be different from the face to face communication. For example, sarcasm is expected to be used in fewer samples than spoken data.

Table 38: Gender-based Distribution of Functions of Cs in FBCC-T

FUNCTIONS	FF	FM	Total F	MF	MM	Total M	TOTAL
Approval/Admiration	364	206	570	66	184	250	820
Solidarity	29	20	49	6	13	19	68
Sarcasm	9	22	31	1	21	22	53
Desired Behavior	7	6	13	3	6	9	22
Soften Criticism	4	2	6	0	3	3	9
Open Conv.	0	4	4	0	3	3	7
Other	1	2	3	1	2	3	6
Follow Up Conv.	1	1	2	0	1	1	3
Funct. Comb.	4	2	6	2	2	4	10
Unknown	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	421	265	686	79	235	314	1000

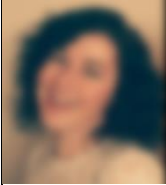
To start with, it can be said that a huge majority of Cs in FBCC-T serve for two basic functions: to approve or appreciate and to create solidarity. The other functions of Cs are rare in FBCC-T.

The table above shows that women pay 570 (83,1%) of their Cs to approve or appreciate the Cee while men pay 250 (79,6%) of their Cs for the same reason. Other commonly used functions of Cs on FB are to create solidarity and to use sarcasm.

4.3.1. Approval/Admiration

By nature, Cs are the speech acts that express appreciation and admiration to the other interlocutor about some quality s/he has or bears. The Cs that barely state the approval and admiration are analyzed under the category approval/ admiration.

Sample 60: TF-1AsD-15

	<p>TF-Cer: çok güzelsin en güzelsin... <i>[You are beautiful you are the most beautiful...]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) - <i>[No verbal response]</i></p>
<p><i>A portrait of a young woman.</i></p>	

Keeping in mind that the data used are FB photo comments, it is not surprising that a quite considerable number of Cs function as the statements of admiration.

Table 39: The use of Cs to approve/admire in FBCC-T

APPROVE/ADMIRE	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	570	83,1
M to all	250	79,6
APPROVE/ADMIRE	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	184	73,6
M to F	66	26,4
APPROVE/ADMIRE	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	206	36,1
F to F	364	63,9

The table shows that 83,1% of Cs paid by women are used to admire or approve the Cee. This huge percentage is valid for male informants as well. Men pay 79,6% of their Cs in the corpus for the same function.

An interesting finding is that both men and women pay more APP Cs to the people of their own sex. Men pay 184 APP Cs to other men which constitute 73,6% of their APP Cs while women can get only 66 (26,4%) APP Cs from men. Similarly, women pay 363 (63,9%) of their APP Cs to their own sex while they pay 207 APP Cs to men which constitute 36,1% of their total APP Cs.

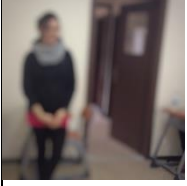
Admiration and approval Cs also cover appreciation, which include the admiration of beauty, possessions and personal traits. These are the most personal aspects that a C can address to. The reason why this category is dramatically higher than the

other categories can be about the nature of data. FB is a platform where there are numerous interlocutors or observers of an interaction, which leads the users to be cautious about the gender roles they bear and possible misunderstandings they might experience. That is why the users might avoid appreciating or admiring the other gender. Gender roles may set back the informants in expressing admiration to the other gender.

4.3.2. Solidarity

To create solidarity is a commonly cited function of Cs. In the scope of this research, the definition of solidarity as a function of Cs is related with “togetherness”, “connectedness”. The Cs in which the Cer aims to underline the relationship or togetherness with the Cee are analyzed under this title.

Sample 61: TF-15SeC-11

	<p>TF-Cer: Ben çektim güzelliği 🥰 <i>[I took the photo of this beauty 🥰]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) canım seni seviyorum 🥰 biliyorsun bunu 🥰🥰 <i>[My sweetheart, I love you 🥰 you know this 🥰🥰]</i></p>
<p>A full-body shot of a young woman.</p>	

In FBCC-T, conveying the meaning of solidarity makes up of the second most commonly used function of Cs.

Table 40: The use of Cs to create solidarity in FBCC-T

SOLIDARITY	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	49	7,1
M to all	19	6,1
SOLIDARITY	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	13	68,4
M to F	6	31,6
SOLIDARITY	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	20	40,8
F to F	29	59,2

Women in FBCC-T pay 49 of their total Cs to create solidarity, which makes up of 7,1% of their Cs. On the other hand, men pay 19 (6,05%) of their Cs with this function. Though the number is much lower than female informants, the percentage shows that the tendencies are very similar and there is no considerable difference.

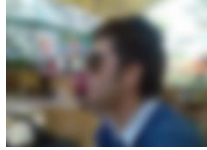
A finding which is in line with the findings of appreciation Cs is that both men and women pay more SOL Cs to the people of their own sex. That is, men pay more SOL Cs to men and this difference is statistically important while women pay more SOL Cs to women though the difference is not statistically important. The reasons why there is such a tendency is open to discussion but the most likely reason, as in APP Cs, is the limitations gender roles put for people. They might be more hesitant to pay Cs to create solidarity with the fear of invading the Cee's private zone or causing misunderstandings in the eyes of the audience.

4.3.3. Sarcasm

Some Cs interestingly include very sarcastic comments. They include some negative words or words of criticism. In total 5,3% of the dataset is made up of Cs with a sarcasm. Women use slightly more sarcasm but the difference is not statistically significant. Interestingly both genders use more sarcastic Cs to males.

This might be due to the fact that Cs are more female dominated area of speech acts and adding sarcasm to Cs softens its negative effect on the “masculinity” of the Cee.

Sample 62: TM-16CiB-7

 <p>A close portrait of a young man.</p>	<p>TM-Cer: yahuşuklummm..... <i>[my handsome man...] ((a dialectical pronunciation is mimicked))</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: - <i>[no response]</i></p>
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In the example above, a man pays the C “handsome” to another man. This can be an FTA; therefore, he changes the spelling of the word and adds a funny accent to it to be a bit sarcastic and less face threatening. In other cases, people use sarcasm to make fun and enjoy and also to underline closeness.

Table 41: The use of Cs to create sarcasm in FBCC-T

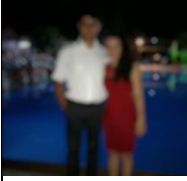
SARCASM	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	31	4,5
M to all	22	7
SARCASM	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	21	95,4
M to F	1	4,6
SARCASM	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	22	8
F to F	9	29

The table indicates that men use more sarcasm, but there is not a significant difference between male and female speakers of T in the number of sarcastic Cs they pay. The gender-based analyses show that both men and women pay more sarcastic Cs to the people of their own sex. This might be because of the fact that sarcastic Cs, if they exceed the private zone, may turn out to be face threatening.

Being Ugly [Çirkin] as a Compliment

The idea of evil eye reflects itself not only in the use of maşallah but also in the use of negative words for positive meanings. In FBCC-T, there are many cases of negative words used for positive connotations.

Sample 63: TM-18SeO-18


 <p>A couple by a pool.</p>	<p>TM-Cer: maşallah ne güzel olmuşsunuz çirkinler:)))) [Maşallah, How nice you, the uglies:)))]</p> <p>TF-Cee: - [no response]</p>
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As can be seen in the photo, the couple is complimented for being “ugly”. This is another indication of the belief in evil eye (for further details see 4.1.2).

4.3.4. Rare Functions in FBCC-T

A category that exists both in previous studies and in this study is the facilitation of desired behavior as a C function.

Sample 64: TF-3BaC-13

 <p>A young woman studying.</p>	<p>TM-Cer: araba 6. viteste gidiyor. gazı kesme :::))) [the car is going on the 6th gear. don't slow it down :::)))]</p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) ☺ [no verbal response]</p>
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In the example above, the photo shows the woman studying and, apparently, her studies are facilitated in the C which claims that “the car” is going extremely fast and the Cer explicitly facilitates this situation.

There are many other functions that Cs can serve and these functions are also reflected in FBCC-T data. However, these functions are rarely used because of either the nature of Cs or the nature of data on SNSs. These functions are softening

criticism, opening a conversation, following-up a conversation or combining more than one functions. However, almost all of these are used in less than 0,1% of the Cs.

In combination of functions, appreciation and other functions are combined. especially in sarcastic Cs, appreciation is added to soften the sarcasm.

To wrap up, there are many functions that can be served via paying Cs but the most common function that covers a vast majority of Cs in FBCC-T is approval and appreciation.

4.4. Responses to Compliments in FBCC-T

CRs are conversational tools and *phatic* devices that help maintain the harmony and solidarity between the interlocutors. Apart from Cs, CRs have been a topic of research in many studies, even more than Cs themselves because a clash of interlocutors' understanding of what a proper response to a C is might cause cross-cultural misunderstandings.

Before getting deep into how the CRs can be classified, a prior classification on the modes of response on FB needs to be analyzed.

4.4.1. Mode of Responses in FBCC

There are three possible ways to respond to Cs on FB. The first possibility is an appreciation or at least a recognition token, the *like* button. The second possibility is to give a verbal or visual response while the third possibility is giving both together. Another possibility is to ignore or avoid giving an answer.

The frequency of the use of these modes of response is shown in the table below.

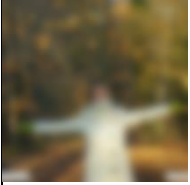
Table 42: Gender-Based distribution of modes of CRs in FBCC-T

RESPONSES	Total F	mean	Total M	Mean	TOTAL	sig.
Like	173	6,96	199	7,96	372	0,49
Verbal	190	2,48	98	3,24	288	0,288
Verbal + like	62	7,6	81	3,92	143	0,005
No Response	75	3,04	122	4,84	197	0,109
TOTAL	500		500		1000	

The table above shows that more than 80% of Cs on FBCC-T are responded in one of the possible modes provided by FB. Women respond to Cs more than men do. While women respond the Cs 85% of the time, men respond to them 75,6% of the time. Although men use the like button alone to answer a C, women use this appreciation token with a verbal comment. On the other hand, men tend to respond to Cs less than women.

The first way mentioned is the *like* button. *Like* has not been a detailed topic of research in the scope of this study because *likes* used only as a response to Cs has attracted attention. In this case, *like* has turned out to be an appreciation token like a “thank-you” to a C and can be regarded as a way to accept it. An example of a C which was responded by a *like only* is as follows:

Sample 65: TF-130yM-17


	<p>TF-Cer: SÜPER BİR KARE KİM ÇEKTİYSE ONUN DA ELLERİNE SAĞLIK SONBAHAR AMA YAZ HAVASI VAR FOTOGRAFTA [A SUPER SHOT WHOEVER TOOK IT, GOOD FOR HIM/HER IT IS FALL TIME BUT THERE IS A SUMMER FEELING IN THE PHOTO]</p>
<p>A half body shot of a young woman in nature.</p>	<p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal answer]</p>

In the example above, the Cer describes the photo and expresses the positive evaluations on the photo. The Cee recognizes and accepts it by using *like* as an appreciation token. On the other hand, there are many other types of *like* uses which have not been under investigation in this dissertation. *Like* is a response

that stands between recognition and acceptance. It gives the feeling of thanking but obviously it is not as strong as thanking. That is why in many cases, the Cee both likes and verbally responds to the C.

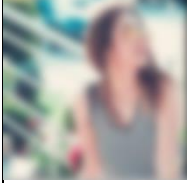
A second way to respond to the Cs is to like and verbally respond to Cs. In many cases, the response does not give any meaning other than an appreciation token; however, the verbal answer is still given to intensify or loosen the acceptance.

Sample 66: TF-10HiC-1

 <p>A half body shot of a young woman.</p>	<p>TF-Cer: yinee yeniden heep güzelsinizz ♥ <i>[Againn and again you are alllllways beautiful ♥]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) Canım benim öpüyorum çok seni 😊 teşekkür ederim <i>[My sweetheart I kiss you many times 😊 thank you]</i></p>
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In this example, the Cee both likes and responds to the C verbally. The response is not directly related to the topic of the C. It is a generic appreciation token.

Sample 67: TF-10HiC-1

 <p>A half body shot of a young woman.</p>	<p>TF-Cer: Muhteşem <i>[Georgeus]</i></p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) Sensin o @Cer <i>[That's you.]</i></p>
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There are two examples above from the same participant. In the former case the Cee likes the C and verbally accepts it which is an intensified way of thanking and accepting C. However, in the latter example, the Cee reflects the C with the verbal response she provides. That is, in most of the cases like is neither enough nor clear to respond Cs; thus, the users prefer to add verbal or visual comments.

There is also one more way to react the C: silence. Approximately 20% of the Cs on FB are left without notice. Ignoring Cs and not responding to them is not a commonly studied topic in the previous studies; therefore, no comparison of this finding with the previous ones can be made. However, it would be awkward if

someone pays a C face to face and the Cee turns his/her face to the Cer. On the other hand, on SNSs, it is easier, though not “norm”al, not to respond to Cs because there are higher possibilities not to see the C or use the page anymore.

4.4.2. Types of Compliment Responses in FBCC-T

CRs are norms created by culture and language together and they reflect a lot about the sociolinguistic environment they occur in. There are a lot of macro and micro strategies to respond to Cs. A most commonly cited classification is threefolds: (i) accepting, (ii) deflecting/evading (iii) rejecting (An, 2013). These macro strategies are also analyzed with micro strategies which is also in the scope of this study.

As mentioned in Chapter 3.8.2, the framework used in this section of the study has been adapted from Manes & Wolfson (1981). The finalized framework and the results of this study is as follows.

Table 43: Gender-based distributions of strategies to respond to Cs in FBCC-T

RESPONSES	Total F (n)	mean	Total M (n)	mean	TOTAL	sig
AppT	137	5,48	66	2,64	203	0,013
ComA	35	1,40	33	1,32	68	0,776
Return	33	0,76	26	0,56	59	0,431
CR Comb	19	1,32	7	1,04	26	0,037
Other	8	0,32	14	0,56	22	0,58
ScD	6	0,24	13	0,52	19	0,187
Upgrade	7	0,28	11	0,44	18	0,253
Reass	3	0,12	7	0,28	10	0,256
Disagree	4	0,16	2	0,08	6	0,389
TOTAL	252	10,08	179	7,16	431	0,031

As can be seen from the table the most commonly used strategy is appreciation token and comment acceptance is the second common strategy. What Ruhi (2006) stated about CRs in T is in line with what has been found in this study. According to Ruhi (2006) 60,85 % of all the Cs are accepted by T Cees. Appreciation tokens

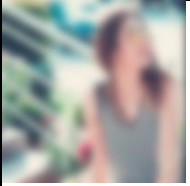
make up of 28,92% of these and constitute the most commonly used strategy. These findings are in line with what has been found in this study. In this section, the types of Cs are analyzed in detail.

4.4.2.1. Appreciation Token

An appreciation token is a form of CR which ensures that the C has been recognized as a C and accepted by the Cee. However, the response provided as an appreciation token has no specific reference to the topic of the C. Responses like “thanks”, “thank you etc. are under this category.

The *like* button on FB is also an appreciation token. It has a broader meaning and use than a C acceptance token, but it is used for this purpose as well. However, it should be noted that *like* is a very mild appreciation token which is supported by a verbal acceptance or comment in many cases.

Sample 68: TF-10HIC-1

	<p>TF-Cer: yinee yeniden heep güzelsinizz ♥ <i>[Againn and again you are alllllways beautiful ♥]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) Canım benim öpüyorum çok seni 😊 teşekkür ederim <i>[My sweetheart I kiss you many times 😊 thank you]</i></p>
<p><i>A half body shot of a young woman.</i></p>	

There are two types of response strategies used in the example. The first one is the like button while the second one is a verbal answer. Both these strategies can be considered as generic appreciation tokens. Then the question is why the Cee needed to use both together. The answer most probably is that like is a very mild appreciation token. It can even be considered somewhere in between recognition and appreciation. That is why in many cases the Cee *likes* and comments on the C.

Another interesting finding that can also be seen in the example above is that in T, sending a kiss is an appreciation token. Similar examples have not been observed in AE.

If the referent of the C is not mentioned in the CR and the C is accepted with a general statement or word, it is considered as an appreciation token. The use of Appreciation token in FBCC-T is as follows:

Table 44: The use of appreciation token as a CR in FBCC-T

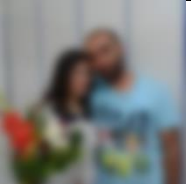
AppT	n within all CRs	sig
F to all	137	0,013
M to all	66	

It can be seen in the table that of all the 500 Cs paid to women, 137 of them were verbally answered with an appreciation token in addition to the ones responded with a like only. On the other hand, of the 500 Cs paid to men in the FBCC-T, only 66 were responded verbally with an appreciation token. The difference between these two gender groups is statistically significant.

4.4.2.2. Comment Acceptance

Sometimes, the Cee accepts the C with a comment about what is complimented. This comment neither upgrades nor downgrades the comment made. It might give some extra information on what has been complimented. See the example below:

Sample 69: TF-11MeU-2

 <p><i>A half body shot of a couple.</i></p>	<p>TF-Cer: Muhabbet kuşları, maşallah nazar değmesin <i>[Lovebirds, maşallah God save you from evil eye.]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) Amin, bu fotoğraf yazın evlilik yıldönümümüzden <i>[Amen, this photo is from our wedding anniversary this summer.]</i></p>
---	---

The sample above shows that the Cee accepts the C with an appreciation token (like) and adds a comment on it giving information about when the photo was taken. In many cases, as in the example above, this strategy is used to create

solidarity or to escape from the plainness or simplicity of a simple appreciation token. The Cee shows that s/he attends the interaction without upgrading or downgrading the C.

The use of ComA as a response strategy in FBCC-T is as follows:

Table 45: The use of Comment Acceptance as a CR in FBCC-T

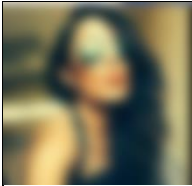
ComA	n within all CRs	sig
F to all	35	0,776
M to all	33	

The table (45) indicates that there are 33 samples of men using ComA strategy in FBCC-T as opposed to the 35 samples of women using it among the 500 C each group responded. As can be understood from the numbers and statistical tests, there is no considerable difference between male and female uses of ComA as a CR strategy.

4.4.2.3. Returning

In many cases, the Cee accepts the C by returning the C to the Cer, mostly but not necessarily on the same topic.

Sample 70: TF-10HiC-6

	<p>TF-Cer: Vaaaayyyyyy güzelliikkkkkk 🍷🍷🍷🍷🍷🍷🍷🍷 [Vaaaayyyyyy beauty 🍷🍷🍷🍷🍷🍷🍷🍷]</p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) Seen tatlılık, şekerlik, doğallık, şirinlik [You cuteness, sweetness, naturalness, adorableness]</p>
<p>A woman sending a kiss.</p>	

The sample above shows that the Cee returns another C to the Cer as a response to her C. Such a response is used to create a togetherness between the interlocutors and to share the positive values attributed.

Table 46: The use of Return Strategy as a CR in FBCC-T


Return	n within all CRs	sig
F to all	33	0,431
M to all	26	

According to table (46), men use slightly fewer CRs with return strategy. However, the difference is not statistically significant. There is no considerable gender based difference to account for the use of return as a CR.

4.4.2.4. Combination

Combining more than one response strategies is very commonly used in FBCC-T. Especially combining a verbal answer with *like* makes up 14,3% of all the data. Also among the verbal responses only, there are cases where a verbal appreciation token is combined with other response strategies.

Sample 71: TM-2BeK-22

 A man in suits sitting.	TM-Cer: Çok yakışıklısın oğlum.... [You are very handsome my son....] TM-Cee: (likes the C) abi o senin bakışlarının güzelliği teşekkürler. [brother that's the beauty in your eyes ¹⁷ thank you.]
--	--

In the example above, an appreciation token 'teşekkürler' is combined with a *like* and a return. Such combinations are very commonly used in FBCC-T. 13,7% of all the verbal CRs in FBCC-T are composed of such combinations.

Table 47: The use of combination of strategies to respond to Cs in FBCC-T

CR Comb	n within all CRs	sig
F to all	19	0,037
M to all	7	

¹⁷ "It is the beauty in your eyes" is used in Turkish to mean "beauty is in the eye of beholder".

The table above indicates that women combine more than one strategies more frequently than men. Although women use slightly more combination strategy to respond to Cs, the gender difference is not statistically significant.

4.4.2.5. Rare Strategies to Respond to Compliments

The other techniques, as table (43) suggests, are not very commonly used in FBCC-T. Even though the numbers and percentages of the CR strategies used differ according to the gender of the Cee, the strategies that are used most are the same for both genders. The cases where they appear are so few in number that statistical conclusion are not to be made on them.

At this point a comparison between previous findings on CRs in T should be touched upon. The only comprehensive study on CRs was conducted by Ruhi, (2006). She found that acceptance and agreement strategies are the most common ones. However, her data revealed a more diverse and non-formulaic nature, most probably, due to the difference in the data collection methodologies of the two studies. Strategies like opening a conversation or following up one is not very likely to be used in computer mediated communication because of the publicity of the exchanges.

CHAPTER V

COMPLIMENTS AND COMPLIMENT RESPONSES IN FBCC-AE

5.0 Presentation

This chapter focuses on compliments in American corpus (FBCC-AE). The chapter starts with general information about FBCC-AE. Then, it portrays the findings, discussions, gender-based comparisons on structures and topics and functions of the Cs. It closes with the comparisons and discussions on CRs.

Cs, being a hot topic in the world of pragmatics, have been studied in AE more than in any other language. Most of the research has taken AE as the language of research and the findings mostly reflect this language and language culture. Many different studies have developed frameworks for analysis of topics, functions or structures of Cs.

The cross-cultural and cross-linguistic comparisons aimed in this dissertation cannot be done between Turkish data and the previous studies because the nature of data in this study is unique and requires a counterpart dataset in AE as well. That is, the *online* nature of data and possible cross cultural/crosslinguistic differences that the study bears makes it necessary to collect data among the native speakers of AE as well.

To begin with, the general summary of the results on Cs in FBCC-AE can be shown as follows:

Table 48: Distribution of Cs in FBCC-AE

Interactants	n
F to all	760
M to all	240
M to M	138
M to F	102
F to M	362
F to F	398

As the table above indicates, the claim that women pay and get more Cs (Sifianou, 2001) is confirmed in this study. In this way, this study confirms the previous studies. Another important point the table portrays is that both men and women pay more Cs to the people of their own gender and fewer Cs are paid to the opposite sex.

5.1. Structure of Compliments

Manes and Wolfson (1981), focusing on the structure and vocabulary used in Cs, claimed that Cs are highly formulaic. The most commonly used patterns as well as the most frequent vocabulary are spotted with their study. They found that a very limited set of vocabulary and a few sentence structures account for most of English Cs.

To check if this claim holds valid for the AE data in this research, two different analyses were conducted. The sentence structures of Cs as well as the word frequency analyses were done. The results showed that the vocabulary variety in AE Cs is quite limited when compared to that in T Cs. Also, while some structures are almost non-existent in the corpus, some are quite commonly used. Thus, the structures of AE Cs seem to be formulaic in this online corpus. That is, data in FBCC-AE support the claims for structural and lexical formula in Cs paid in AE.

Table 49: Gender-based distribution of compliment structures in FBCC-AE

STRUCTURE	FF	FM	Total F	MF	MM	Total M	TOTAL
Statements	126	93	219	25	25	50	269
Words/Phrases	214	173	387	64	82	146	533
Wh- Elements	9	15	24	1	3	4	28
Yes/No Questions	3	2	5	0	0	0	5
Imperatives	3	2	5	0	0	0	5
Combination	43	77	120	12	28	40	160
TOTAL	398	362	760	102	138	240	1000

Table (49) portrays a summary of the structural patterns used in FBCC-AE. In AE, different from T, the most commonly used sentence pattern while

complimenting is non-finite words or phrases. In total, 53,3 % of all Cs are paid in this structure. This category, which covers more than half of the Cs, mainly consists of adjectives.

The second most commonly used category is statements, the finite clauses. They are used in 269 of total 1000 Cs in AE. Women seem to use fully constructed sentences more than men. The effects of Cers and Cees are to be analyzed in detail in the following sections focusing on finiteness and non-finiteness in English as well.

A third very common strategy used is combining two or more strategies. In total 16% of all Cs are paid using this technique. Many different combinations are provided but the most common ones are combining a finite clause with a non-finite word/phrase. Also combining wh- phrases and non-finite phrases are common. Other strategies are either rare or non-existent.

In the following sections, detailed gender-based analyses of the structures used in FBCC-AE are provided.

5.1.1. Statements

Before going deep into the use of finite and non-finite clauses in English, the working definitions of finiteness and non-finiteness in English are stated in this section.


5.1.1.1. Differentiating between Tensed-S and Non-finite Structures in AE

In traditional linguistics, verbs as well as clauses are grouped into two main categories: finite and nonfinite verbs/clauses. The former equals to the Tensed-S condition of the verb, the verb with a tense and the subject. It covers the indicative, imperative, optative and subjunctive moods of the verb. On the other hand, nonfinite structures cover nominalizations, infinitives and participles (for further discussion refer to 4.1.1.1).

Though the definitions and borders of finiteness and nonfiniteness seem to account for both T and AE, the use and, as a result, recognition of finiteness in AE is much easier because the tensed-S condition is provided with overtly stated morphemes, either bound or free.

Although the fixed word order and overt morphemes help the AE finiteness be recognizable, there are some cases where the Fbers prefer to omit the subject and still use the verb in finite format. The samples are rare but not non-existent.

Sample 72:AEF-10LiB-1

	<p>AEF-Cer: Love it...</p> <p>AEF--Cee: - [no response]</p>
<p><i>A close portrait of a woman with a young kid.</i></p>	

Dropping the pronoun does not necessarily require the statement to be nonfinite as the pronoun is still clear in the statement and the tense is also simple present. Therefore, the clarity of statement makes it easy to categorize it as a finite clause.

5.1.1.2. Statements in FBCC-AE

It is mostly considered that Cs exist in fully constructed sentence forms. Though this claim is an overgeneralization, it can be claimed that Cs in fully constructed sentence form are not uncommon. The second most common category in FBCC-AE are statements, finite clauses meeting tensed-S condition. In total 26,9% of all Cs in FBCC-AE are paid using this structure.

For the purpose of this study, the overall tendency of men and women to pay Cs using this structure is analyzed separately. The table below shows the number of Cs paid by each group and the percentages they hold among the total number of Cs paid by each.

Table 50: The use of statements in FBCC-AE

STATEMENTS	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	219	28,8%
M to all	50	20,8%
STATEMENTS	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	25	50%
M to F	25	50%
STATEMENTS	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	93	42,5%
F to F	126	57,5%

The results indicate that statements in the finite clauses, the second most commonly used structure in FBCC-AE, are used by women more. The gender of the Cer seems important as men have a considerably lower percentage of paying Cs using this structure. However, when it comes to the gender of the Cee, it is clear that male Cers do not pay attention to the gender of the Cee in using statements or not. They pay exactly half of their statement Cs to men while the other half to women. Women have a slightly more tendency to pay Cs in fully constructed sentence format.


It should be noted that statements in tensed-S condition can also be found under the *combination* category. Through the discussions in that category (see 4.1.3 and 5.1.3), it is seen that the combination and the length of a C is related to its intensity. Using fully constructed sentences can also be a sign of using more intense Cs to the Cee. This also explains why women prefer to use more Cs in statement forms to women rather than men.

All in all, despite slight differences, it is clear that in FBCC-AE, both men and women prefer to use statements while complimenting as the second most common form of language. The gender of the Cee is not of great importance.

Formulaic Uses


Referring back to what Manes & Wolfson (1981) claimed, it is expected that the sentence structures in FBCC-AE are mostly formulaic. Unlike T, the corpus used in this study justifies what has been claimed and shows that a high percentage of Cs in the corpus are constructed in the formula mentioned in Manes&Wolfson (1981). The use of *like* button is a way of expressing a C in a formulaic manner (for further discussion see 4.4 & 5.4), however, this is not in the scope of this study. When the verbal Cs are analyzed, still the formulae is very common and is in line with the common examples mentioned in the previous studies.

Sample 73: AEF-16HeP-5

	<p>AEF-Cer₁: Love the headband! AEF-Cer₂: She has the best smile! AEF-Cer₃: Awww...👍 the picture! She is adorable! AEF-Cer₄: 👍 the photo</p>
<p><i>A close portrait of a woman with a little kid.</i></p>	<p>AEF--Cee: - [no response]</p>

In the example above, there are three Cs all of which are paid in the formulaic structures put forward by Manes & Wolfson (1981)

Sample 74: AEF-12PaO-2

	<p>AEF-Cer₁: Love this picture! AEF-Cer₂: Love this too! AEF-Cer₃: That really is a gorgeous pic, Patti. AEF-Cer₄: Such a pretty baby 😊</p>
<p><i>A close portrait of a woman.</i></p>	<p>AEF--Cee: (likes all the comments) - [no verbal response]</p>

Sample (74) portrays another example of structural formula in Cs in AE. All the three Cs in the sample are paid using one of the five structures listed by Manes & Wolfson (1981).


When the two examples above are observed, the overuse of some words like “love” or the emoticon that refers to this verb is seen. Also the grammar structures

are limited and repeated. Such Cs are considered as formulaic because they are not creative and they are very extensively used.

Intensified Uses

Different from the formulaic Cs in samples (73) and (74) some Cs bear a variety of grammatical structures and lexical items. These intensified Cs, as they mostly carry loaded vocabulary and different emphasis in word orders or sentence structures, mostly convey more intense emotions or cultural meaning.

Sample 75: AEF-12PaO-2

	<p>AEF-Cer: I really like this pic, Pat Ostor! You look absolutely GIDDY with delight. Having known you from my teen years, so glad to see that you are blessed with wonderful things, among those: precious memories of your dear Mom, a fulfilling career, a handsome, loving and accomplished young son, and this dude, right here. Your SOUL-MATE. Love you always, Pat.</p>
<p><i>A close portrait of couple.</i></p>	<p>AEF--Cee: (likes the comment) Thanks, Lilly. We certainly face our challenges, too, but yess, I am grateful for the good and doing my best to learn from the challenges. xoxo</p>

This sample is a striking one as it is classified as an intensified one which bears formulaic statements as well. The C starts with a both structurally and lexically formulaic statement. However, it goes on with a very intensified definition and list of the qualities and possessions appreciated among the cultural community the interactants share. The Cer also adds that she has known the Cee since they were teenagers assuring that the Cs she pays are more intense and effective. As a result the response is very intense, too.

They generally combine more than one structures and they are non-formulaic in terms of their topics as well.

Negative Statements as Cs

Mostly, the cited Cs in statement forms are in affirmative. However, the Turkish data revealed that quite a few examples in negative are also possible (4.1.1). The reason why this has not been mentioned is, most probably, the western orientation of studies on Cs. What has been found in AE data is that there are no uses. Among

the 269 Cs paid in finite sentence form, there is no example of a negative statement and this could be considered as a very striking finding in this study.


5.1.2. Words/Phrases- Nonfinite Structures

The class “words/phrases- nonfinite structures” covers both one word utterances and phrases that do not include a finite verb. Another constituent of this category is *emosounds*, exclamatory sounds of emotion. Before getting deep into the use of non-finite structures and phrases in AE, the definition of non-finiteness needs to be revisited.

5.1.2.1. Revisiting Non-finiteness in AE

Defining finiteness in AE automatically leads to a definition of non-finiteness, too. Finite verbs carry the Tensed-S condition while non-finite verbs do not carry the meaning of tense or subject (for detailed discussion see 4.1.1.1). One-word utterances, phrases, adjectives, nouns and sounds of emotions are all classified under this category. Examples of this category are as follows.

Sample 76: AEF-10LiB-4

	<p>AEF-Cer₁: Beautiful women! AEM-Cer₂: Precious pic! Beautiful ladies! AEF-Cer₃: Wow the resemblance</p> <p>AEF--Cee: (likes all the comments) - [no verbal response]</p>
<p>A half-body shot of two women hugging. .</p>	

In the sample above, there are more than one example of Cs in non-finite form. The first Cer uses one, the second Cer uses two adjective phrases while the last Cer prefers to use an emosound with a determiner phrase. In any case, there is no verb that obeys the tensed-S condition which makes all these three examples non-finite.

5.1.2.2. Non-finiteness in AE

Similar to Turkish dataset, English dataset reveals that non-finite phrases are very extensively used while paying Cs. Different from FBCC-T, in which finiteness seem to be the most commonly used structure, in FBCC-AE non-finite structures are the most extensively used ones.

Below is a table that depicts the findings of this study on the use of words or phrases in FBCC-AE displaying the difference between genders.

Table 51: The use of non-finite words/phrases in FBCC-AE

WORDS	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	387	50,9
M to all	146	60,8
WORDS	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	82	56,2
M to F	64	43,8
WORDS	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	173	44,7
F to F	214	55,3

The findings of this study support that the use of non-finite phrases and words to pay Cs seems to construct the most common category. However, it should be underlined that the studies before are conducted using DCTs or naturally occurring data; thus, sounds of emotions referred as emosounds, remained understudied. Adding this to the study might have resulted in an over-use of non-finite structures.

Among the 1000 Cs in the FBCC-AE, 533 are used in non-finite form. Among the 760 Cs paid by women, 50,9% (387) of them are paid in non-finite form while among 240 male Cs, 60,8 (146) of them are paid in this structure. Though the number of female non-finite Cs seem higher, when the percentages are taken into consideration, it becomes clear that this numerical difference is not because of

women's greater tendency to use this structure but because of the difference in the total number of Cs paid. That is, women pay more Cs in this form simply because they pay more Cs. On the other hand, despite being fewer number, male Cs tend to be in non-finite form more than women's. Still, it should be emphasized that despite the slight effect of the gender of the Cer, for both genders, nonfinite clauses and words/phrases are the most commonly used categories.

Another important point to be considered in these findings is the effect of the gender of the Cee. When the numbers and the percentages are considered, it can be said that there is a slight and statistically unimportant effect of gender on the C. Both men and women pay fewer Cs in this format to the opposite sex, but the difference is statistically unimportant.

At the heart of this part is that both men and women prefer to use Cs in the form of words and phrases. Although these one-word utterances and non-finite phrases have much more to offer to further analyses, in the scope of this study, the effect of gender has been analyzed and a statistically meaningful difference has not been found. The gender of the Cee and/or the Cer seems to have trivial effect on the use of non-finite structures in FBCC-AE.

5.1.3. Wh- Elements

Before discussing the existence and samples of wh- elements in FBCC-AE, a brief literature on the use of wh- words/phrases and clauses in English needs to be displayed.

5.1.3.1. The Use of Wh- Elements in AE

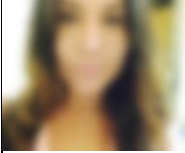
Languages have different ways to form questions and exclamatory utterances. There are basically two types of questions in English: questions that require an informative answer and questions that require an agreement or disagreement. The former group is named as wh- questions as wh- words are the core construct of such questions while the latter can be named as yes/no questions as the answer

required can be a simple yes or no. The latter, structurally, is constructed using the tense marker or the auxiliary at the beginning.

These questions are constructed with *who*, *what*, *where*, *which*, *whom*, *why* and *how*, all starting with *wh-* with *how* as an exception. In AE, *wh-* words can make subordinate clauses and exclamatory remarks as well as questions. The section is titled as *wh-* elements because not only the *wh-* questions but also the exclamatory remarks are considered under this title. However, the *wh-* words used for making embedded clauses are not considered if the main clause does not have a *wh-* word.

In the AE dataset, similar to T one, most questions constructed with *wh-* are rhetorical.

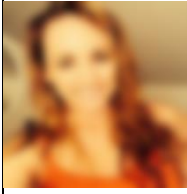
Sample 77: AEF-13SaG-1

 <p data-bbox="341 1124 555 1169"><i>A close portrait of a woman.</i></p>	<p data-bbox="561 1008 1375 1041">AEF-Cer: Ok what is going on you are stunning Dr. Sara Gungor</p> <p data-bbox="561 1070 1375 1131">AEF--Cee: (likes the comment) - <i>[no verbal response]</i></p>
---	---

The question in this example is a rhetorical one which does not require an informative answer. A simple appreciation token, *like*, is given as a response to the utterance which shows that the reply indicates an answer. Also, the rhetorical nature of this *wh-* question can be uncovered paying attention to the punctuation marks. As can be seen in this example, there is no question mark used, which can be considered as an indication of rhetorical use.

On the other hand, punctuation cannot be the only way or the best way to claim that a use is rhetorical. There are many cases in both FBCC-T and FBCC-AE that bear rhetorical questions with question marks as well.


Sample 78: AEF-9LaM-1

 <p>A close portrait of a woman.</p>	<p>AEM-Cer: How is it that the women in your family defy aging???</p> <p>AEF-Cee: (likes the comment) Thank you everyone ☺ [shared response]</p>
---	--

In this example, the question which constructs the C itself, is followed by three question marks which turns the meaning of the punctuation from being a question to expressing exclamatory feelings. It can be claimed that the multiple use facilitates the meaning of the question, however, when the content of the utterance is considered, it is clear that this is not a real question. The C addresses not only the Cee but also all the women in her family because in many cultures as well as American one, it is a C to be defying aging. As she is complimented on how young she is able to stay, she says “thank you” as a collective answer accompanied with a “like” as an appreciation token.

As mentioned in this example, though seeming like a question, in many cases wh-elements structurally compose exclamatory remarks.

Sample 79: AEF-10LiB-4

 <p>A close portrait of two women hugging.</p>	<p>AEF-Cer: Awwww! What a beautiful picture Lindsey!!</p> <p>AEF--Cee: (likes the comment) - [no verbal response]</p>
---	---

The wh- words in English can construct exclamatory statements. Especially the words *what* and *how* make up of almost all the exclamatory statements in the corpus. The sample C above is a clear exclamation with a multiple use of exclamation marks. Also, the emosound that precedes it “Awwww!” facilitates this exclamation. This sound also gives an exclamatory feeling as it is also followed with an exclamation mark.

5.1.3.2. Wh- Elements in FBCC-AE

In AE, wh- elements used in Cs are existent but not commonly used. In total, only 28 of 1000 Cs are paid using this structure. As the number is very few, gender based discussions cannot portray a reliable picture.

Table 52: The use of wh- elements in FBCC-AE

WH-	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	24	3,2
M to all	4	1,7
WH-	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	3	75
M to F	1	25
WH-	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	15	62,5
F to F	9	37,5

The table displays that the number of Cs paid using this structure is extremely low. Women pay more exclamatory Cs than men and men receive more such Cs than women. However, as stated above, with data so few in number generalization are hard to be made.

The fact that women use more exclamatory phrases can be explained with the emotionally loadedness of such uses. However, all the judgements in this discussion needs to be approached with caution.

The most important finding of this section is to portray that wh- phrases, both as rhetorical questions and as exclamatory phrases, are used while paying Cs despite being few in number.

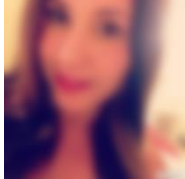
5.1.4. Yes/No Questions

As mentioned in the previous sections, Cs are mostly in the form of statements and non-finite phrases. This results in a very limited number of Cs paid in the form of interrogatives, specifically yes/no questions. Before getting into the results, a brief literature on yes/no questions in English is given.

5.1.4.1. The Use of Yes/No Questions in AE

In English, yes/no questions are constructed with a simple movement of the tense marker or to be before the subject. In terms of their functions, they can serve a great variety of purposes. They can serve as offers, invitations, tags or they can ask for information. As can be understood from the data in FBCC-AE, they can very rarely help make Cs or facilitate the meanings in them. Mostly, the meaning they carry are not that of a question. Similar to wh- questions, these ones are rhetorical, too.

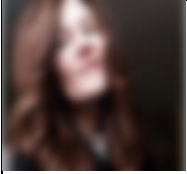
Sample 80: AEF-13SaG-7

 <p><i>A close portrait of a woman.</i></p>	<p>AEF-Cer: Is this my Maxine's beautiful friend. Wooooo</p> <p>AEF--Cee: (likes the comment) Haha Aunt Kate I miss you! I hope we can see each other soon</p>
--	--

As can be seen in this example, this structurally interrogative sentence does not aim to get factual information. This is also indicated with the punctuation used. The sentence is finished with a comma which underlines the non-interrogative nature of it.

On the other hand, there are cases where the correct punctuation for an interrogative is used but the sentence is still far from being an interrogative in terms of its function.

Sample 81: AEF-6JwH-4

	<p>AEF-Cer: Cover for your next album?</p> <p>AEF--Cee: (likes the comment) Haha! not yet ☺</p> <p>AEF--Cee: But I wish ☺</p>
<p><i>A close portrait of a woman.</i></p>	

This example portrays a yes/no question which surely does not ask for an answer. It has an exclamatory meaning. The C claims that the photo is beautiful enough to be a cover for an album and this meaning is conveyed through an interrogative.

5.1.4.2. Yes/No Questions in FBCC-AE

In FBCC-AE, there are few cases where yes/no questions serve as Cs or C facilitators. Following is a table of the summary of yes/no question use in C utterances in FBCC-AE.

Table 53: The use of yes/no questions in FBCC-AE

YES/NO	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	5	0,7%
M to all	0	0%
YES/NO	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	0	0%
M to F	0	0%
YES/NO	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	2	40%
F to F	3	60%

Yes/No questions constitute an almost unused structure in Cs in AmE. 0,35% of all Cs in FBCC-AE are constructed using yes/no questions and all of these are constructed by female users. However, there is no considerable difference between male and female use of yes/no questions in giving Cs. As the data are

extremely rare, coming up with generalizations is not possible with the data at hand.

5.1.5. Imperatives

Before getting deep into the analysis of imperatives used in C utterances in FBCC-AE, a short overview of imperative case in English is needed to be done. The discussion is needed for a more clear comparison and contrast between the two target culture and linguistic groups in this study: Turkish and American ones.


5.1.5.1. The Use of Imperative Mood in AE

In English, the imperative mood is more clearly stated and used than that in Turkish. There is a consensus that the imperative mood is directed only to the second person plural or singular, in the case of English being the same pronoun, *you*. Other subjects like the third person singular or plural ones cannot be addressed with the imperative mood. Although there are cases in which the subjunctive use may sound, look and mean like imperatives as in the case of “God bless you”, there were no such examples in the data to go further in detail.

The subjunctive case that sound like imperative can be observed in many examples of Cs in T while in AE, there is no single example. This is one of the most important structural differences the researcher came across between English and Turkish.

In AE, the C is paid through an imperative like giving motivation or facilitating a desired behavior.

Sample 82: AEF-23CaC-1

	AEF-Cer: Go skinny mini Go! AEF--Cee: - (likes the comment) - [no verbal response]
<i>A close portrait of a woman.</i>	

As in this example, the running activity of the Cee is appreciated by the Cer adorned with positive adjectives for the physical appearance of the Cs. It should be noted that “skinny” is normally not a positive adjective. It does not mean fit or good looking; however, it is clear that this is used as a C. The Cee also likes the comment which can be considered as recognition/appreciation.

5.1.5.2. Imperative Structures in FBCC-AE

The use of imperative structures in C utterances in AE is very limited in number. In total, only 0,05% of all the Cs are paid using this structure. All of these Cs are paid by women.

Table 54: The use of imperatives in FBCC-AE

IMPERATIVES	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	5	0,7%
M to all	0	0%
IMPERATIVES	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	0	0%
M to F	0	0%
IMPERATIVES	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	2	40%
F to F	3	60%

As can be seen from the chart, the number of imperative structures in Cs in AE is very rare. Therefore, it is hard to reach any generalizations about this use except for the fact that imperative case is used very rarely in paying Cs in AE.

5.1.6. Combination of Structures

5.1.6.1. A Working Definition

Among the structural possibilities to use a language and to pay a C, users are equipped with a huge number of varieties, one possibility being the combination

of sentence structures. It is very common and expected for users of a language to combine strategies and sentence structures while using language. Paying Cs is not an exception. The varieties that appeared in FBCC-AE are as follows:

Table 55: The types of combination of structures in FBCC-AE


Combined Structures	n
Statement & Non-finite Use	105
Imperative & Statement	11
Wh & Statement	14
3+ Structures	13
Imperative & Non-finite Use	4
Yes/No & Sentence	3
Imperative & Wh	0
Wh & Non-finite Use	8
Yes/No & Non-finite Use	2
TOTAL	160

As can be observed in the table, some combinations of structures are more commonly used than the others. In AE 66% of the combinations, a statement and a non-finite phrase have been used together. In this section possible combinations are analyzed one by one with samples from FBCC-AE.

A Statement & A Non-finite Word/Phrase

Using a word/phrase along with a statement is a common strategy in FBCC-AE. In deciding on the sentences that bear a combination of structures, address terms and discourse particles in sentences are not regarded as different structures used together unless they are used after a comma, as a different utterance.

Sample 83: AEF-11LiL-21

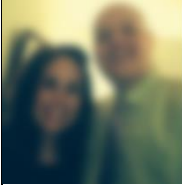
	<p>AEF-Cer: Super cute cowgirls! Love it!</p> <p>AEF--Cee: (likes the comment) - [no verbal response]</p>
<p><i>A half-body shot of two young women.</i></p>	

In the example above, the interlocutor uses a non-finite phrase with an exclamation mark and starts a new sentence (as can be inferred from the capitalization and finiteness of the verb) that ends with another exclamation mark. The exclamation mark used after a phrase or a sentence intensifies the emotive aspect in the C.

An Imperative & Statement

In FBCC-AE data, similar to FBCC-T data, there are cases where imperative constructions are used with a finite clause to compose a C. These imperative statements used with the statements mostly bear good wishes rather than imperative meaning. That is, despite the imperative case used, the main focus is wish rather than giving orders. See the example below:

Sample 84: AEF-13KyS-4

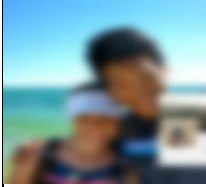
	<p>AEF-Cer: Looking good! Have fun!</p> <p>AEF--Cee: - [no response]</p>
<p><i>A half-body shot of a couple..</i></p>	

In the example above, the Cer pays a C using a statement and wishes them to have a good time by using imperative mood. Different from FBCC-T data, there is no case of a strong suggestion given using imperatives.

A Wh- Element & Finite Statement

In some cases, wh- elements are used before or after finite clauses to reinforce the meaning or the feeling conveyed through paying Cs. Wh- elements can be used for two purposes: making rhetoric questions or making exclamations.

Sample 85: AEF-4EiH-16


 <p>A half-body shot of a couple..</p>	<p>AEF-Cer: The water looks beautiful! What a beautiful day!</p> <p>AEF--Cee: - [no response]</p>
---	---

The utterance in the example above contains a C as a sentence and an exclamatory remark. In this utterance, the wh- element serves as an exclamation which is followed by an exclamation mark.

Combination of More Than Two Structures

No matter how formulaic the Cs are in a language, it is very likely to provide the speakers with other, less formulaic and more intense ways of paying Cs. A commonly used strategy while paying Cs is combining more than two structures in Cs. Although combining more than one strategies makes the C more likely to be intense, the constituents of the C may still be formulaic.

Sample 86: AEF-3BeD-16

 <p>A half-body shot of two women and a baby.</p>	<p>AEF-Cer: is this recent!? cute kid- you make a lovely 'alternative' family!</p> <p>AEF--Cee: - [no response]</p>
--	---

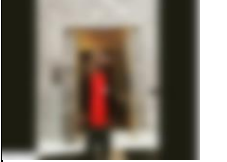
In the example above, a yes/no question, a non-finite phrase and a finite statement are used together, which enhances the intensity of the utterance.

Imperative & Non-finite Word/Phrase

Imperative uses in Cs do not appear alone in many cases. As mentioned before, it is very common for imperative utterances to be followed or preceded by finite statements. These imperatives are mostly exclamatory remarks. Similarly, non-

finite phrasal structures are also commonly used with imperatives, though not as common as finite structures.

Sample 87: AEM-18LaP-2

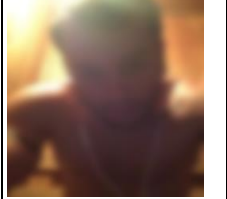
	<p>AEF-Cer: Nice...very important the red t-shirt....have a good day...</p> <p>AEF--Cee: (likes the comment) - [no verbal response]</p>
<p>A body shot of a man.</p>	

In this example, there are two one-word utterances both of which are adjectival Cs. The C ends with a wish for a good day in imperative form. This imperative is used to express a wish rather than giving an order in its basic sense.

Yes/No & Finite Statement

Hardly ever is there a case in FBCC-AE where a yes/no question is used as a C without the use of some other structures. The most common way is to combine yes/no questions with a finite statement.

Sample 88: AEM-10JeS-8

	<p>AEF-Cer: Do u like that, I mean does it seem to work!!! Looks so hot!</p> <p>AEM--Cee: (likes the comment) 🍌</p>
<p>A half body shot of a young muscular man.</p>	

As can be observed in the example above, the question is followed with a statement which seems to bear the answer. Though the reference to *it* in the C is not known, either an activity or a medication used is mentioned and apparently the Cer claims that *it* is working. This activity which is supposed as a success by the Cer is also considered so by the Cee, too.


Imperative & Wh-

In FBCC-AE, there is no example of an utterance constructed with the combination of an imperative and a wh- statement.

Wh- & Non-finite Words/Phrases

Wh- elements, either a rhetorical question or an exclamation, can be followed or preceded by a word or phrase. The phrase used along with them can enhance the rhetorical question or exclamatory meaning conveyed through them. Also, they can help the Cers look more interested and affectionate.

Sample 89: AEF-1 AmH -5


	AEF-Cer: Oh so cute!! When are you going to be in CO??!! AEF--Cee: - [no response]
A half body shot of a young couple.	

In the example above, the rhetorical wh- question does not directly carry a C meaning; however, it does intensify the C.

Yes/No & Non-finite Words/Phrases

Yes/no questions can, similar to wh- ones, also be used with one-word utterances or phrasal structures.

Sample 90: AEM-9StP -1

	AEM-Cer: Beautiful family - did your wife cut her hair... really pretty! AEM--Cee: - [no response]
A half body shot of a young couple.	

In the example above, the question alone may not serve as a C. However, it is clear that the question prepares the C and also specifies the topic of the following utterance of C.

5.1.6.2. Combination of Structures in FBCC-AE

One significant point to be underlined about the combination of structures is that this strategy results in longer, more complicated, more intensified and less formulaic Cs. This intensity may be a result of exclamatory or rhetorical uses as well as the words/phrases or sentences used. To go deeper in the analysis, it is promising to see if there is any gender based tendency in combining structures.

Table 56: The use of combination of structures in FBCC-AE

STR. COMB.	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	120	15,8
M to all	40	16,6
STR. COMB.	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	28	70
M to F	12	30
STR. COMB.	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	77	64,2
F to F	43	35,8


The table above displays that both men and women pay similar percentages of their Cs combining structures. The difference between them seem high in number but, similar to the discussions in all findings, the percentages uncover that the difference is due to the difference in the total number of Cs paid. It is not a matter of tendency for genders to use one over the other. Women pay 15,8% of their 760 Cs combining structures, which equals to 120 Cs while men pay 16,6% of their 240 ones using this structure, which makes 40 Cs.

When the Cees' genders are taken into consideration, there seems to be a considerable relationship between the gender of the Cee and the Cs in combination

strategies they get. Both men and women pay more Cs in combined structures to men and this difference is statistically important.

It should be highlighted that combining structures mostly (not necessarily) makes Cs less formulaic. See the example below:

Sample 91: AEM-7PaK -3

	<p>AEF-Cer: Wish u were here so I could squeeze or cute cheeks. Picture perfect, beautiful! Did u see Michaels beautiful new baby girl now he is a dadda. Holly molly or all growing up too fast.</p> <p>AEM--Cee: (likes the comment) - [no verbal response]</p>
---	---

As can be seen, the use of such a long and complicated phrase turns the C into an intense one. Another important point to be underlined is that the discussions on gender-based differences can be more valid and reliable if more samples can be studied. Another reason for combining more than one structures and making the Cs longer and more intensified may be to soften the face threatening effect of the C.

5.2. Topics of Compliments

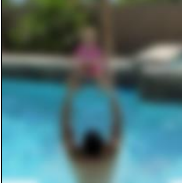
Cs have been studied in many ways including their topics. Adachi (2010) claimed that in most cases it is the Cee who introduces the topic to be complimented. This is valid for this study as well. Despite the similarities between the findings of previous studies and this one, some important differences need to be highlighted.

In previous studies, topics of Cs have been studied extensively. The main difference between this study and the previous ones is the medium of communication, which is likely to cause a significant difference in the topics of Cs fished and paid. It is very rare to pay a C on a quality that has not been highlighted in the photo. That is, posting the photo can be considered as the first turn in a C exchange. That is why a C with an unrelated topic can be considered as flouting a maxim. On the other hand, an important similarity is about who initiates the C. Although the first turn of a C exchange is uttered by the Cer in all

the examples of the corpus, it should be noted that the Cee posts the photo first and initiates the C, though not verbally (for further discussion see 4.2) This is in line with what Adachi (2010) put forth.

When photo Cs on SNSs are considered it can be claimed that the Cs themselves are fished by the person who posts the photo. The C is more overtly fished on SNSs than in real life. The photo initiates the C. Not only the Cs are fished but also the topics are initiated and sometimes even chosen by the Cee in photo comments because the Cs are mostly paid relating to the topic highlighted in the photo. That is what the photo underlines or highlighted is more likely to be what is complimented. See the example below:

Sample 92: AEM-6JoC-6

	<p>AEM-Cer: The third? Wow, that's awesome! Tell her I said hello</p> <p>AEM-Cee: - [no response]</p>
<p><i>A man in a pool holding a baby-girl.</i></p>	

The photo in the example above displays a man in a swimming pool holding a baby. The photo focuses on the baby (which is the Cee's sister's) because the Cee turns his back and the baby's face is in the middle of the frame. As the baby is presented in the photo, not surprisingly, it turns out to be the focus of the C as well. This also shows that the topic of the C is fished by the Cee on SNSs most of the time if not all.

In addition to the overt fishing of Cs on SNSs, the medium of communication might have an effect on the nature of Cs in another way. What has been posted online stays there forever or at least until it is deleted by one of the interlocutors. This might result in a hesitation and fear of breaking some cultural codes in the Cs paid. Liking a photo or paying a C on it might be considered as a violation of a personal zone by some users.

As the datasets in this study is derived from FB photos, it can be expected that the topic used to pay Cs have a restricted range. However, the data reveals that

although appearance Cs cover a high percentage of the corpus, there are quite a few other topics, too.

Table 57: Gender-based distribution of compliment topics in FBCC-AE

TOPIC	FF	FM	Total F	MF	MM	Total M	TOTAL
Appearance	151	91	242	47	34	81	323
Photo	102	110	212	22	36	58	270
Possessions	33	66	99	1	23	24	123
Personality	7	3	10	1	2	3	13
Performance	6	7	13	4	9	13	26
T-Combination	25	28	53	7	8	15	68
Unclear	74	57	131	20	26	46	177
TOTAL	398	362	760	102	138	240	1000

As can be seen above, appearance Cs make up of more than 30% of the corpus; however, there are many other topics which the Cs address to. In this list of topics of Cs, the title “photo” is unique to this study as the data collection method made it necessary to create a new subtitle which covers the Cs paid to the photo posted rather than the Cee or other topics related to the Cee like possession (For detailed information see 4.2.2&5.2.2).

5.2.1. Appearance

Appearance, as a topic of C, has been cited as the most common topic of Cs. The findings of this study verifies these results in virtual environment as well. Appearance Cs, covering quite a majority of the Cs exchanged, can be subcategorized in many different ways. To the best of researcher’s knowledge, there has been no prior study to cover the subcategories of appearance Cs investigating what in appearance is addressed. In the scope of this research, two main categories of appearance Cs have been created: general appearance Cs and specific ones.

To start with, the number of appearance Cs is strikingly high in the FBCC-AE. Among the 1000 Cs, 323 are paid to the appearance of the Cees’. This finding is in line with the findings of the previous studies.

Table 58: The use of Cs on appearance in FBCC-AE

APPEARANCE	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	242	31,8
M to all	81	33,8

APPEARANCE	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	34	40,8
M to F	47	59,2

APPEARANCE	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	91	37,6
F to F	151	62,4

As can be inferred from the table above, women pay considerably more appearance Cs to both women and men. They also receive more appearance Cs from both genders. While the difference the gender of the Cee creates for male Cers isn't very high, female Cers pay a lot of attention on the gender of the Cee and pay more Cs to their own gender.

On the other hand, it could be an overgeneralization to claim that men tend to pay fewer Cs to the appearance of the Cee as the percentage of the appearance Cs does not display any significant difference than that of women's; it is even slightly higher. To have a more clear understanding, it is vital to see the number and percentages of Cs both genders get as well.

Table 59: The number of Cs on appearance received in FBCC-AE

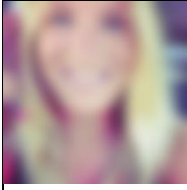
APPEARANCE	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F from all	198	39,6
M from all	125	25

It can clearly be claimed that women pay and get more appearance Cs. Among the 500 AE Cs analyzed, women get 39,6% of the Cs on their appearance while men get 25% of them on this topic.

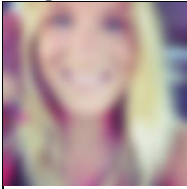
General Appearance Cs vs. Specific Appearance Cs

To be able to get deeper into Cs, the appearance Cs in this study have been classified as general or specific. General appearance Cs can be defined as positive evaluation of someone or something in general, without specifying the point that has been liked. Specific appearance Cs, on the other hand, refer to the Cs that specifically mention the point that has been liked like the item possessed, eyes, lips or hands. Here are two examples for general and specific Cs respectively.

Sample 93: AEF-10LiB-7

	<p>AEM-Cer₁: My pretty Lindsey Claire AEM-Cer₂: Gorg! AEM-Cer₃: So beautiful Linny!</p> <p>AEF-Cee: Thanks everyone you're too nice 😊 <i>(mass response)</i></p>
<p><i>A close shot of a young woman.</i></p>	

Sample 94: AEF-10LiB-7

	<p>AEM-Cer: Dem eyes 😊</p> <p>AEF-Cee: Thanks everyone you're too nice 😊 <i>(mass response)</i></p>
<p><i>A close shot of a young woman.</i></p>	

In the former example, the Cs paid are addressed to the overall beauty or appearance of the Cee while in the latter one the C is paid to the eyes of the Cee. These two examples show that in some cases, what is complimented may be general while in some other cases it might be specific. However, it should be noted that the number of specific Cs is far fewer than general ones. See the table below:

Table 60: The use of specific & general appearance Cs in FBCC-AE

Interactants	General	Specific	TOTAL
	n & % within all Cs	n & % within all Cs	
<i>F to all</i>	217(89,4%)	25(10,6%)	242(100%)
<i>M to all</i>	72(89,5%)	9(10,5%)	81(100%)
	n within M Cers	% within F Cers	
M to M	30(87,1%)	4(12,9%)	34(100%)
M to F	42(88,9%)	5(11,1%)	47(100%)
	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
F to M	87(95,7%)	4(4,3%)	91(100%)
F to F	130(85,6%)	21(14,4%)	151(100%)
TOTAL	289(89,4%)	34(10,6%)	323(100%)

The table displays both the numbers and the percentages of specific and general Cs paid by each group of informants. The most important finding shown in the table is that a huge majority of the corpus FBCC-AE is made up of general Cs. Specific Cs, on the other hand, cover only 10,6% of the data.

Because there has been no previous research that analyzed the Cs as specific or general appearance Cs, comparison between other media and SNSs is not possible. The reason why people may prefer to pay more general Cs may be due to face concerns and their understanding of private zone. A specific C to the Cee may turn out to be a face threatening one if their understanding of closeness is not the same. This results in the rapport not to be managed well and the C become a FTA.

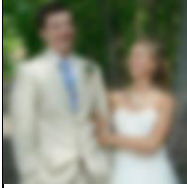
To sum up, both men and women in FBCC-AE pay more appearance Cs to women. The gender of the Cee seems to matter more for women. In terms of general or specific Cs, both groups prefer to pay more general Cs. The use of more formulaic structures in English might also result in more general Cs as many Cs are paid using one single word like an adjective.

5.2.2. Photo

In face to face communication, a C can be paid to the appearance, possession, performance or personality of a person. SNSs are a media where a lot of Cs are exchanged but still a lot of divergences from the face to face interactions. Although this categorization of C topics may vary in different studies or cultures, there has been no need for a category like “photo” to the best of the researcher’s knowledge in the previous studies. As the nature of data in this research differs from face to face communication and is derived from photo comments, it is not a surprise that a distinct category, photo, has been required for a better understanding.

On SNSs, photos have turned out to be a means of communication and they became the tools to fish for most of the Cs people are paid. This is another reason why it could have been missing if the photo Cs had been analyzed under the category of appearance, possession or the like, although sometimes it was difficult to differentiate if the C was a photo or appearance C etc.

Sample 95: AEF-20HaM-7

	<p>AEF-Cer: I love this one 😊</p> <p>AEF-Cee: [<i>likes the C</i>] Thanks everyone you're too nice 😊 (<i>mass response</i>)</p>
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A half-portrait of a bride and a groom.

In the example above, the C is directly paid to the “this one”, which seems to be the photo. The reason why such a category is needed is clear in this picture because it would be misleading if this photo was analyzed under another category.

Photo Cs are second most commonly used type of Cs in FBCC-AE. Among the 1000 Cs analyzed, 270 are paid to the photo. The distribution of photo Cs according to the genders are as follows:

Table 61: The number of Cs on photo in FBCC-AE

PHOTO	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	212	28,1
M to all	58	16,7
PHOTO	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	36	61,8
M to F	22	38,2
PHOTO	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	110	52,3
F to F	102	46,7

Female informants tend to use photo Cs more than male ones. This difference is a considerable one. On the other hand, both men and women have a greater tendency to pay photo Cs to men. Another look at the same findings from the Cee perspective can more clearly depict the tendency to pay photo Cs to men.

Table 62: The number of Cs on possession received in FBCC-AE


PHOTO	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F from all	124	24,8%
M from all	146	29,4%

Among the 500 Cs they got, men were complimented on the photo they posted in 146 cases while the number is 124 for women among the same number of Cs they got. This can be considered as a gender construction that women are to be complimented more on their appearance. However, men are not expected to be complimented on the outlook as much as women. That is why an indirect positive evaluation of the Cee is very likely to be used in photo comments so that the appreciation is conveyed without violating social rules. That is, photo Cs create a buffer layer to lower the face threatening act of Cs.

5.2.3. Possessions

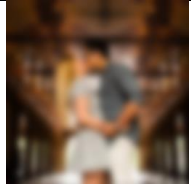
A category that has taken its place in C studies is possessions which refers to the items and objects a person has. However, this idea of owning an item or a “thing” needs to be broadened because a relationship or a baby can also be something a person “has”. That is, a C may address a new relationship, baby or a friendship as well as a car, house or toy. While making the categorization, the question if the Cer “has” the item/thing/notion or even relationship is asked.

Sample 96: AEM-9StP-25

 <p>A family-portrait with parents and two kids.</p>	<p>AEM-Cer: A beautiful mama and family!!</p> <p>AEM-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
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In the two example above, a family is paid a C. The mother and the children are the focus of Cs.

Sample 97: AEF-14SuK-6

 <p>A couple kissing hand in hand.</p>	<p>AEF-Cer: gorgeous dress</p> <p>AEF-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
---	---

In the C above, the C is paid to the dress of the Cee. Both of these examples are analyzed under the category of possessions. That is, both the items and the affect are under this category.

Possessions are the third most commonly complimented topic of Cs. Among the Cs in FBCC-AE, 12,3% are paid on possessions.

Table 63: The number of Cs on possession in FBCC-AE

POSSESSION	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	99	13%
M to all	24	7%

POSSESSION	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	23	95,7%
M to F	1	4,3%

POSSESSION	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	66	67%
F to F	33	33%

Similar to appearance Cs, women tend to pay more Cs to the possessions people have both in material and in affect. Woman pay 13% of their Cs on possessions while men pay 9%.

In FBCC-AE, there is a striking tendency to pay Cs on possessions of men rather than women. This finding is expected as the previous studies also claim a tendency for men to be complimented on what they have, however. There were almost no cases where the Cees showed off their cars or houses. Still, male Cees are addressed more with their possessions.

Table 64: The number of Cs on possession received in FBCC-AE

POSSESSION	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F from all	34	6,8%
M from all	89	17,8%

Men get 17,8% of 500 Cs on possessions while women get only 6,8 % of theirs on this topic. This difference is statistically significant. This tendency can be explained with the social rules of men being more powerful in terms of material possessions. However, this does not hold true in the scope of this research because the most commonly complimented possession of men is family or things related to relationship and family. That is, explaining this tendency with social roles could


be misleading. However, it might have a point to discuss that men prefer to share and compliment more on relationship photos. It is quite rare that a man shares a selfie and another man posts an appearance C on this photo. However, it is quite common for a man to post a photo with family and another man paying an intense C on how perfect they are as a family. That is, understanding of private zone and the possibility of threatening a face with a C is not the same among men and women. It is very likely that such Cs on the relationships people have is more face threatening than a C directly paid to the person's appearance or skills. To make the C milder and more self-promoting rather than self-threatening relationships, babies or other types of possessions are complimented more often.

5.2.4. Personality

Personality is a very commonly appreciated value which has been cited as a topic of Cs in many previous studies. This study aims to report on the personality Cs paid on photo comments on FB.

Following is an example of a personality C.

Sample 98: AEF-1AmH-10

	<p>AEF-Cer: Aaaaaaan love your beautiful head!! X</p> <p>AEF-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
<p><i>A woman holding a banner saying "end of the weak".</i></p>	

In this example, the Cer directly appreciates the ideas and personality the Cee has. This example also depicts that even in photo Cs the Cee may fish for personality Cs. Still it can be expected that the number of personality Cs may be rare when compared to other studies and this difference can be attributed to the nature of the data.

The gender-based distribution of personality Cs in FBCC-AE is as follows:

Table 65: The number of Cs on personality in FBCC-AE

PERSONALITY	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	10	1,3
M to all	3	0,1

PERSONALITY	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	2	66,7
M to F	1	33,3

PERSONALITY	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	3	30
F to F	7	70


As can be seen from the table, the number of personality Cs are extremely rare and statistical findings cannot be reliable in such few numbers. Therefore, generalizations are hard and unreliable to make.

5.2.5. Performance

Performance Cs are used to refer the appreciation of something the Cee or someone/something related to him/her has done or achieved. This does not have to be a success all the time. The act of doing something like an adventure, travel, shopping etc. is also considered as performance if it is appreciated.

As mentioned before, many Cs are fished by the Cees which make it possible for the Cee to choose the topic of Cs in many cases. This holds true for online photo Cs as well. What the photo displays becomes the main drive for the Cer in paying the C on performance, too. See the example below.

Sample 99: AEF-21JeW-3

 <p>A group of performers in formal clothes.</p>	<p>AEM-Cer₁: Y'all did amazing today!!!!!! AEF-Cer₂: The concert was awesome! AEF-Cer: Just beautiful! AEF-Cer₃: It was really good!!!</p> <p>AEF-Cee: (likes all the Cs) [no verbal answer]</p>
---	--

In the example, the photo underlines the performance rather than the other qualities of the Cee. That is why most of the Cs, if not all, address the performance and appreciate the concert given by the Cee. That is the photo fishes for performance Cs.

On the other hand, it should be highlighted that this is not a common topic of C in FBCC-AE. Only 2,6% of all the Cs are paid to the performance of the Cee. This is the least common topic of Cs in the dataset.

Table 66: The number of Cs on performance in FBCC-AE

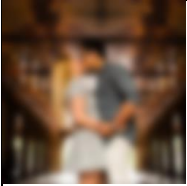
PERFORMANCE	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	13	1,7
M to all	13	3,9
PERFORMANCE	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	9	69,2
M to F	4	30,8
PERFORMANCE	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	7	53,8
F to F	6	46,2

As can be understood from the table, the gender of the Cer does not affect the tendency to use performance Cs, neither does the gender of the Cee. Also, the statistical analyses cannot be generalized as the number of findings is too few.

5.2.6. T- Combination

It is very likely that a C addresses more than one topics and points of appreciation. That is, the C does not have only one specific target point to address. In this situation, the C can be claimed to be a combination of more than one topics, which is referred as T-Combination in this study. This combination has no roots in structural combination etc. To illustrate, a C can address both the appearance of the Cees, the photo that has been taken and/or the personalities of them.

Sample 100: AEF-14SuK-6

	<p>AEF-Cer: I love how much your personalities are in these photos! Gorg!!</p>
<p><i>A couple kissing hand in hand.</i></p>	<p>AEF-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>

In this example, the Cer explicitly states that the photo is gorgeous (or the couple). She also claims that the personalities of the Cees are reflected in the photo and it is gorgeous (most probably referring to the photo or the couple). That is, the C addresses both the appearance, the photo and the couple.

The gender of the Cer or the Cee does not seem to have a crucial significance in the use of a combination of topics in an utterance. The following tables demonstrate the numbers and percentages of the use of Cs with a combined topic.

Table 67: The number of Cs with more than one topic in FBCC-AE

T-COMB	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	53	6,9
M to all	15	5,5
T-COMB	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	8	53,3
M to F	7	46,7
T-COMB	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	28	52,8
F to F	25	47,2

As can be seen in the table above, women pay slightly more Cs with more than one topic but this difference is not statistically important. Both men and women have a slightly greater tendency to pay such Cs to men, but still this difference is not statistically important.

Table 68: The number of Cs with more than one topic received by AE informants

T-COMB.	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F from all	32	6,4
M from all	36	7,2

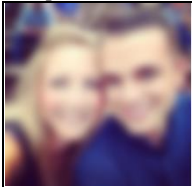
The table above shows that men get 7,2% of the 500 Cs with more than one topic. On the other hand, women get 6,4% of the 500 Cs with a combination of more than one topic. The difference is not statistically important.

All in all, this study shows that it is quite likely that some Cs may refer to more than one aspect to be complimented. However, there seems to be no gender-based differences among the C exchanges under this category.

5.2.7. Unclear


The category “unclear” is mostly made up of the Cs whose topic is not overtly stated or cannot be inferred. Although such Cs whose topic is not clear may come in many different structural forms, most of the unclear Cs are one-word utterances where an adjective is stated without referring to the specific target and emosounds that actually convey appreciation without a content word uttered.

Sample 101: AEF-7SkK-2

	<p>AEF-Cer: Great</p> <p>AEM-Cee:- [no verbal response]</p>
<p>A woman with her tongue out.</p>	

In the examples above, the former C refers to a “greatness” either in the photo or the couple; however, it is really difficult to make sure if the appearance, the photo or the relationship is “great”.

Sample 102: AEF-1AmH-5

	<p>AEF-Cer: YaaaaaaaaaY!!</p> <p>AEF-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
<p>A half-portrait of a couple.</p>	

In the latter example, there is an emosound that makes the hearer feel the appreciation, but still the same issues remain unclear.

Following is a table to show the gender-based distribution of unclear Cs.

Table 69: The number of Cs with unclear topics in FBCC-AE

UNCLEAR	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	131	17,1
M to all	46	13,6
UNCLEAR	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	26	55,6
M to F	20	44,4
UNCLEAR	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	57	43,9
F to F	74	56,1

The table indicates that among the 1000 Cs paid in FBCC-AE, 177 of them express an appreciation whose target is not clear. Sometimes the grammar, sometimes the vocabulary chosen and sometimes the photo itself makes it clear what the complimented point is. However, there are quite a few cases where it is unclear and these cases make up 17,7% of all Cs in the corpus.

Although women have a slightly more tendency towards paying Cs with vague topics, the difference is not statistically important. Still, the difference can be attributed to women's more frequent use of emosounds that make the target of the C vague.

It could be fruitful to see if the gender of the Cee affects the use of unclear Cs. The following table depicts the number and percentages of unclear Cs Cees get.

Table 70: The number of Cs with unclear topics received by AE informants

UNCLEAR	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F from all	94	18,8
M from all	83	16,6

The table above demonstrates that the gender of the Cee does not play an important role in the exchanges of Cs whose topics are unclear. To conclude, although female Cs have a slightly higher tendency to be unclear the gender of the Cee does not affect its topic to be so.

5.3. Functions of Compliments in FBCC-AE

Cs may serve for a variety of purposes that “grease the social wheels” (Wolfson, 1981), soothing the conversation and creating a positive interaction among the interlocutors. They assign a positive evaluation to the listener or something related to the listener.


There can be found a close relationship between the topics and functions of Cs, but the difference between the functions and the topic of Cs should be made clear. Topics of Cs are what the Cer attributes the positive value to; on the other hand, functions of them are why the Cer pays that C.

Although the definition of Cs clarifies the basic functions of Cs, cultural varieties are always at play. Therefore, a detailed analysis of the functions the Cs may serve can enlighten the field about the cultural similarities and differences between T and AE speech communities about why the Cs are paid. In this study, the very important study by Manes & Wolfson (1981) has been taken as a baseline and the framework has been built upon theirs (for further details, see 3.3 and 4.3).

This study aims at defining and describing the functions of them used in FBCC to be able to discuss the gender based and culture based varieties in online

communication. It may also shed light on the similarities and differences of the findings with the studies using other data collection methods.

Sample 103: AEF-8LaG-24

 <p>A half portrait of a couple.</p>	<p>AEF-Cer: i'm so glad y'all are still together! y'all are soo cute</p> <p>AEF-Cee: - [no response]</p>
---	--

The appreciation and approval in the sample can be directed to the physical appearance of the Cee as well as something else as in the example above. This C is a direct approval of a relationship, personality trait and/or appearance. This is very typical to the data in FBCC-AE. Following is a table on gender based distribution of C functions in FBCC-AE.

Table 71: Gender-based distribution of functions of Cs in FBCC-AE

FUNCTIONS	FF	FM	Total F	MF	MM	Total M	TOTAL
Approval/Admiration	347	326	673	89	124	213	886
Solidarity	16	18	34	2	3	5	39
Sarcasm	9	2	11	5	2	7	18
Desired Behavior	10	1	11	2	3	5	16
Soften Criticism	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Open Conversation	2	4	6	1	2	3	9
Other	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Follow Up Conv.	6	5	11	2	4	6	17
Funct. Comb.	6	6	12	0	0	0	12
Unknown	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	398	362	760	102	138	240	1000

To begin with, the table clearly depicts that a majority of Cs in FBCC-AE are paid to fulfill two functions: to approve or appreciate and to create solidarity. The other functions of Cs are rare in FBCC-AE. According to the table, 673 (88,6%) of female Cs are paid to approve or appreciate the Cee. Likewise, men pay 213 (88,8%) of their Cs for the same reason. Other commonly used functions of Cs on FB are to create solidarity and to use sarcasm.

5.3.1. Approval/Admiration

The definition of Cs underlines that the Cs attribute a positive value to the Cee which makes admiration and approval a basic function of paying Cs. In FBCC-AE, there are many examples of Cs that serve for this purpose. Among the categories adapted for the FBCC, the most commonly used function of a C is to admire or appreciate, which is expected because this finding is in line with the previous studies and the nature of data collected facilitates this function of Cs.

Following is a table on the appreciation Cs by AE informants.

Table 72: The use of Cs to approve/admire in FBCC-AE

APPROVE/ADMIRE	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	673	88,6
M to all	213	88,8
APPROVE/ADMIRE	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	124	58,2
M to F	89	41,8
APPROVE/ADMIRE	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	326	48,4
F to F	347	51,6

The table indicates that 88,6% of Cs paid by women are used to admire or approve the Cee. This huge percentage is valid for male informants as well. Men pay 88,8% of their Cs in the corpus for the same function. It is clear that there is no significant difference in the gender based tendencies. However, there is a striking similarity: both genders prefer to pay more Cs to show appreciation or approval to the people of their own gender. This difference is not statistically significant for women while for men, it can be said that the difference is more visible.

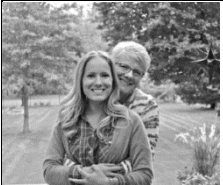
As this group of Cs covers admiration, approval as well as appreciation, it also includes the admiration of appearance, possessions and personality etc. The nature of data can be influential on the high percentage of this type of Cs. As the Cs are

paid on FB, there are a lot of other interlocutors as well as observers. With the effect of other interlocutors the Fbers may prefer to pay more appreciation Cs. However, the appreciation Cs are mostly paid to the gender of their own lest there occurs any misunderstandings. That is, this tendency can be explained with the social boundaries the people have about their gender roles.

5.3.2. Solidarity

In many previous studies, *Cs to create solidarity* is mentioned (Manes & Wolfson 1981; Holmes 1988); however, the details about the distinction between this category and the other ones has not been given. For the purpose of this study, Cs that underline *connection* and *togetherness* between the Cer and the Cee are considered as Cs to create solidarity.

Sample 104: AEF-10LiB-4

	<p>AEF-Cer: I'm so proud to call one my daughter and the other my granddaughter. Both are beautiful from head to toe!!!!!!!!!!</p>
<p>Two women hugging.</p>	<p>AEF-Cee: (likes the C)- [no verbal response]</p>

In FBCC-AE, creating solidarity through Cs constitutes of the second most commonly used function of Cs.

Table 73: The use of Cs to create solidarity in FBCC-AE


SOLIDARITY	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	34	4,5
M to all	5	2,1
SOLIDARITY	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	3	60
M to F	2	40
SOLIDARITY	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	18	52,1
F to F	16	47,9

As can be seen from the table, the difference between genders of neither Cers nor Cees indicate a statistically significant difference. Therefore, it can be claimed that the genders of the interlocutors do not affect the Cs to create solidarity on FBCC-AE.

5.3.3. Sarcasm

It is mostly uncited and unexpected that some Cs include negative words or sarcastic comments. In total, 1,8% of FBCC-AE is composed of sarcastic comments.

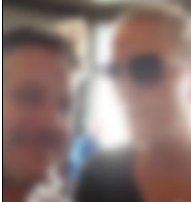
Sample 105: AEF-1AmH-5

 <p>A portrait of a couple.</p>	<p>AEF-Cer: Gorgeous! He's not so bad either.</p> <p>AEF-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
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In the example above, the appearance of the woman is complimented while the man's outlook is downgraded, which creates a sarcasm. The Cer sounds like gossiping behind him on a FB C which makes it absurd and sarcastic because the man is going to see the C for sure.

Similar to this, there are some interesting bad words that give negative meaning but a positive feeling of closeness between the interlocutors.

Sample 106: AEF-17LiW-2

 <p>A portrait of a couple.</p>	<p>AEM-Cer: Again..... pimps</p> <p>AEF-Cee: (likes the C) - [no verbal response]</p>
--	---

As can be seen in the example, the Cee uses a word with negative connotations to pay a C. This is also a good example of sarcastic Cs. The reason why such a word has been used might be to show the closeness and *fun* between the interlocutors.

Table 74: The use of Cs to create sarcasm in FBCC-AE

SARCASM	n within all Cs	% within all Cs
F to all	11	1,45
M to all	7	2,9
SARCASM	n within M Cers	% within M Cers
M to M	2	28,6
M to F	5	81,4
SARCASM	n within F Cers	% within F Cers
F to M	2	18,2
F to F	9	81,8

As can be seen from the table, the number of sarcastic Cs in AE is very rare. Although it seems that women get more sarcastic Cs, the finding cannot be generalized due the low number of them in FBCC-AE.

5.3.4. Rare Functions in FBCC-AE

There are some other functions Cs serve in AE. A category that exists both in previous studies and in this study is the facilitation of desired behavior as a C function.

Cs to follow up a conversation make up 1,7% and Cs to facilitate a desired behavior make up 1,6% of FBCC-AE. On the other hand, Cs can serve for other functions mentioned before while the frequency of use is considerably low.

5.4. Responses to Compliments in FBCC-AE

CRs are used to maintain and enhance the harmony between the interlocutors. CRs have been studied more extensively than Cs in different cultural and linguistic contexts. In CRs, cultural comparisons are of great importance for two main reasons. First, it is important to underline similarities between cultures so that cultural stereotyping and prejudices can be avoided. Second, cross-cultural

differences should be spotted so that possible causes of misunderstanding are eliminated and avoided.

As the study is conducted on FB photo comments, there are two different classifications on two different bases. The first classification is based on the modes of responses in FBCC-AE. That is, the classification is not about the content of the response provided but about the medium and the way it is responded. The second classification covers the verbal responses only. In this section, the responses provided are classified according to their content and what the Cee does with the C paid. For such a classification the framework mentioned in 3.8.2 has been used. In this section, the modes of responses and the most commonly used strategies to respond to Cs and examples will be provided respectively.

5.4.1. Modes of Responses in FBCC-AE

There are two basic reactions to a C, to respond or to ignore. On FB, one can ignore a C as well as recognize or accept it. When it comes to the mode of responses, there are four possible ways to respond to a C.

Table 75: Gender-based distribution of modes of CRs in FBCC-AE

RESPONSES	Total F	mean	Total M	mean	TOTAL	sig.
Like	272	10,88	257	10,28	529	0,613
Verbal	25	1	13	0,52	38	0,917
Verbal + like	96	3,84	22	0,92	118	0,001
No Response	107	4,32	208	8,48	315	0,020
TOTAL	500		500		1000	

As can be seen from the table, both male and female Cees in FBCC-AE prefer to like the C only, without adding any verbal comments in more than half of the C exchanges. Using verbal comments only is the least favorite mode of CRs because it is clear that if there is a verbal C, it is accompanied with the *like*. Still, more than 30% of Cs paid to the AE interactants in FBCC are left unnoticed.

5.4.2. Types of Compliment Responses in FBCC-AE

CRs, similar to the Cs themselves, mirror the sociolinguistic environment they occur in. There are a lot of strategies the interactants use to answer the Cs they get. The strategies used and the frequencies can be seen in the table below:

Table 76: Gender-based distributions of strategies to respond to Cs in FBCC-AE


RESPONSES	Total F (n)	mean	Total M (n)	mean	TOTAL	sig
AppT	80	3,20	18	0,72	98	0,001
ComA	18	0,72	7	0,28	25	0,07
Return	5	0,2	2	0,08	7	0,615
CR Comb.	6	0,24	3	0,12	9	0,419
Other	9	0,4	4	0,16	14	0,419
ScD	0	0,0	1	0,04	1	0,317
Upgrade	0	0,0	1	0,04	1	0,317
Reass	2	0,08	0	0,0	2	0,153
Disagree	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	1,00
TOTAL	120	4,84	36	1,44	156	0,003

As indicated in the table, not only Cs but also CRs are very formulaic in AE. More than 62% of the verbal responses are responded by appreciation tokens. In addition 16% of them are responded by comment acceptance. The other strategies are either too rare or unused.

5.4.2.1. Appreciation Token

An appreciation token is a response to a C in which no specific reference to the topic of the C is made. Such responses recognize and appreciate the C without any extra comment on the complimented item positively or negatively. Some examples of appreciation tokens are “thank you” or “thanks”. See the example below:

Sample 107: AEM-15SvO-8

 <p>A half body shot of a young woman.</p>	<p>AEM-Cer: Congrats, you look great!!</p> <p>AEF-Cee: (likes the C) Thanks Geoff 😊</p>
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In the example above, the Cee likes the C and verbally responds to it as well. The response is a “thanks” which has no indication about the topic of Cs. This can be considered as an appreciation strategy and even acceptance strategy which is reinforced with the emoticon used after the response. The use of appreciation tokens in FBCC-AE is as follows:

Table 77: The use of appreciation token as a CR in FBCC-AE


AppT	n within all CRs	sig
F to all	80	0,001
M to all	18	

The table indicates that of the 500 Cs they get, women respond with appreciation tokens in 80 Cs while men respond 18 of them using this strategy. The difference between men and women is statistically significant. Women use more appreciation tokens than men to a considerable degree.

5.4.2.2. Comment Acceptance

Sometimes the Cee accepts the C by adding some comments on it. In the comments, the Cee may neither upgrade nor downgrade the C.

Sample 108: AEF-8LaG-22

 <p>A close selfie of a woman.</p>	<p>AEF-Cer₁: Cute!</p> <p>AEF-Cer₂: You so pretty 😊</p> <p>AEF-Cer₃: I miss that pretty face! I've been perusing "Performing Chastity" and a book about female mystics in the Golden Age of Spain, and--weirdly--this makes me miss you more.</p> <p>AEF-Cee: Awww! I miss you guys! ((mass response)) And Maegan, that's odd, but it would remind me of me too. So not that odd actually!</p>
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In this example, there are three female Cers who paid comments on how the Cee looks. The third Cer also adds that a book and a topic she has been reading about has reminded her of the Cee. In return, the Cee accepts that such a topic would remind her of “herself”. This may or may not be considered as a self C depending on the context and the background of the interlocutors. Associating a woman with a book on “Golden age” or “female mystics” sounds like a C. However, the Cee makes a comment to accept this C and in her comment she tries to neutralize the positive effect of the C, most probably, in order not to act against Leech’s maxim to minimize the value to the self and maximize the value to the other. In responses with comment acceptance, the Cee accepts the C without reevaluating the value attributed like upgrading or downgrading.

Following is a table on comment acceptance strategies used in FBCC-AE.

Table 78: The use of comment acceptance as a CR in FBCC-AE

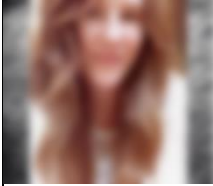
ComA	n within all CRs	sig
F to all	18	0,07
M to all	7	

The table indicates that there are very few cases in which the Cees accept the C adding a comment on them. Of the 500 Cs they received, women responded to 18 of them with a C while men responded only 7 of them using this strategy. The numbers are few and the statistical difference between the gender groups is not significant.

5.4.2.3. Returning

Sometimes, the Cee may prefer to accept a C by returning the C to the Cer. In most cases, returning a C is accompanied by acceptance strategies. That is why in many studies, they are considered as acceptance strategies (Golato, 2002). However, there are cases where a return might have glimpses of rejection, disagreement or deflection of a C. See the example below:

Sample 109: AEF-6JwH-6

	<p>AEF-Cer: I hope I look like you when I grow up!</p> <p>AEF-Cee: (likes the C) Psh, you're much more beautiful already than I was at your age!! Plus, this was like the 20th pic of a bunch of awful ones to get this! Lol! But thank you</p>
<p><i>A man in suits sitting.</i></p>	

By stating that the Cer is more beautiful than the Cee at that age is a return strategy. On the other hand, the Cee accepts that the photo is nice but attributes the positive value to the photo rather than deflecting the C. She says that she has taken 20 awful photos until she has this one. This is also a deflecting strategy.

The use of return strategy in FBCC-AE is indicated in the table below:

Table 79: The use of return as a CR in FBCC-AE

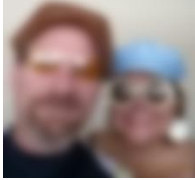
Return	n within all CRs	sig
F to all	5	0,615
M to all	2	

The table shows that both men and women use returning strategy very rarely in FBCC-AE. Although women use this strategy slightly more than men, the difference between them is statistically insignificant.

5.4.2.4. Combination

In FBCC-T, there are cases in which the Cee prefers to respond to a comment by combining more than one strategies. In all the samples, it is the combination of an appreciation token and one of the other strategies listed in this chapter. An example of such a combination is as follows:

Sample 110: AEF-12-PaO-1

 <p>A close shot of a couple.</p>	<p>AEF-Cer: I really like this pic, Patti Osterman! You look absolutely GIDDY with delight. Having known you from my teen years, so glad to see that you are blessed with wonderful things, among those: precious memories of your dear Mom, a fulfilling career, a handsome, loving and accomplished young son, and this dude, right here. Your SOUL-MATE. Love you always, Patti.</p> <p>AEM-Cee: (likes the C) Thanks, Lisa. We certainly face our challenges, too, but yess, I am grateful for the good and doing my best to learn from the challenges. xoxo</p>
--	--

In this example, the Cee thanks the Cer, which is an appreciation token. Later on she gives details about the complimented quality of the couple’s life. Although the Cee’s mentioning challenges may be considered as a deflecting or downgrading of a C, the Cee definitely accepts the C with a more neutral comment about the complimented quality. Still, he uses the strategy stating that he is grateful for having the topic complimented.

The use of combination strategies in FBCC-AE is shown in the table below:

Table 80: The use of combination of strategies to respond to Cs in FBCC-AE

CR Comb	n within all CRs	sig
F to all	6	0,419
M to all	3	

The table highlights that there are quite rare cases in which strategies are combined to respond to a C. Women use this strategy slightly more than men; however, this is not statistically significant. More examples and further research is necessary to comment on the gender difference in such a use. The only finding that can be deduced from the table is that both men and women use few combination techniques.

5.4.2.5. Rare Strategies to Respond to Compliments

As the table (76) suggests, there are some other strategies to respond to Cs; however, they are very rarely used. Some of these strategies might have a broader

use in other media of communication or in face-to-face communication. However, such a comparison is not in the scope of this study.

When the findings of CR strategies in FBCC-AE are considered, it can be claimed that not only Cs but also CRs are formulaic in English.

CHAPTER VI

A COMPARISON OF FBCC-T AND FBCC-AE

6.0 Presentation

The most striking difference between T and AE with regards to C exchanges is the number of research they have attracted so far. Turkish, providing numerous structures and topics to pay Cs for different functions, has attracted a few studies while AE has been focused by quite many studies. AE still dominates most of the baseline research about the theories put forward. This constitutes a problem which might lead to incorrect overgeneralizations which place western culture/s and language/s, especially English, in the center.

This section of this dissertation is composed of a cross-cultural comparison of the two datasets: FBCC-T and FBCC-AE. The tendencies of the genders as well as language groups are discussed in detail.

Before discussing the types of Cs paid in the corpus, see the following table about the quantity of Cs in each dataset.

Table 81: Distribution of Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

Interactants	T(n)	T mean	AE(n)	AE (mean)	Sig
F to all	760	13,74	686	15,20	,141
M to all	240	6,32	314	4,50	,06
M to M	138	9,44	235	5,52	,0
M to F	102	3,20	79	3,48	,563
F to M	362	10,68	266	14,48	,0
F to F	398	16,80	420	15,92	,225

A commonly accepted finding about Cs is that women pay and receive more Cs than men (Sifianou, 2001). This finding has been criticized by some scholars making references to some data collection techniques and methodologies that are believed to have misled these studies rather than displaying the reality. A basic point made was that the researchers or field workers who have collected the data

around them are predominantly women. They collect the data around them, which leads to a dominance in the number of Cs paid by women (Rees-Miller, 2011). In order to avoid such a shortcoming but still be able to display the quantitative similarities and differences in the C behavior between genders, the number of participants was chosen evenly (25 males and 25 females for each language) from each group. Then, the first 20 Cs on each participants' FB pages were taken without considering the gender, of the Cer. This technique reduced the shortcomings of a female data gatherer and also provided the advantage of making quantitative comparison. Referring back to the previously mentioned shortcomings criticized in the beginning of the paragraph, the results, despite all the precautions taken not to be biased towards women, indicate that women pay considerably more Cs than men in both datasets. 76% of T Cs and 68,6% of AE Cs are paid by the female interactants. That is, the findings of this study justifies the previous research verifying the common belief that women pay more Cs.

As can be seen from the table, the distribution of Cs according to genders show striking similarities and differences. The first similarity between the two groups is that women pay and receive more Cs. There are differences in the numbers of Cs in the two groups but the difference in numbers is not statistically important for both male and female interactants. Another similarity in the groups is that both genders in both datasets prefer to pay more Cs to the people of their own sex. That is cross-cultural tendencies to pay Cs seem in line with each other in FBCC.

A statistically significant difference that can be seen in the table is the difference in the number of Cs interactants pay to men in the study. American men pay more Cs to men (n=235) than their Turkish counterparts (n=138). On the other hand, women pay more Cs to men in T. Turkish women have 362 Cs to men whereas American women pay 266. Both these differences are statistically significant.

Another significant point to be highlighted is that T women pay more Cs to T men in comparison to AE woman pay to AE men. This difference deserves attention because T culture which is considered as a patriarchal one is not expected to indicate such tendencies.

6.1. Structure of Compliments

It has already been discussed that Cs are structurally as well as lexically formulaic in English. They are constructed with a limited set of syntactic and semantic structures (Manes & Wolfson, 1981). According to Şakırgil & Çubukçu (2013) and Ruhi (2006), in Turkish there are some frequently used structures to pay Cs. Şakırgil & Çubukçu (2013) still call it a formula, but the formulaic patterns they mention are more about the adjacency pairs and do not apply to the discussion in this section. On the other hand, Ruhi (2006), claiming that there are some more frequent structures, underlines that T Cs are not as formulaic as AE Cs analyzed in Manes & Wolfson (1981).

The most common structural patterns used in FBCC can be categorized and compared as in the table below:

Table 82: Comparison of structure of Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

STRUCTURE	T -n	T-Mean	AE-n	AE-Mean	Sig
Statements	421	16,92	269	10,36	,0
Words/Phrases	340	18,8	533	21,08	,106
Wh- Elements	37	1,48	28	1,12	,863
Yes/No Question	12	,48	5	,2	,042
Imperatives	22	,88	5	,2	,012
Combination	168	6,72	160	5,2	,019
TOTAL	1000		1000		

The table indicates that in T more Cs are paid using statements and the difference between AE and T is statistically significant. Also there are huge differences between the number of Cs paid in words/phrases. The difference in these two structures can be attributed to a structural difference in the languages: finiteness (for further discussion see 6.1.1). The third most commonly used structure in Cs is the combination strategy in both groups. T speakers use slightly more *combined structures* than AE speakers. Another striking finding in this study is the high use of yes/no questions in rhetorical functions and imperatives in T data.

6.1.1. Statements

Before discussing finite and non-finite uses in T and AE with a cross linguistic view, a short comparison of these two languages with regards to their ways to indicate finiteness is to be done (for further discussion see 4.1.1.1 and 5.1.1.1).

6.1.1.1. A Comparison of Finiteness in T and AE

In traditional linguistics, the forms of verbs have been grouped in two as *finite* and *non-finite* verbs. Finite verbs refer to the Tensed-S condition in which imperative, optative, indicative and subjunctive moods are covered. On the other hand, non-finiteness can be characterized by nominalizations, infinitives and participle uses. The basic differentiation between the finite and non-finite verbs can be made by Tensed-S condition (for further discussion see 4.1.1.1).

Because Turkish is an agglutinating language in which inflectional morphemes like person, possessive meaning, tense, aspect and modality are in suffix forms, even in the utterances where pronoun is dropped (which is allowed in T) the tensed-S condition remains. The tensed-S condition is given by bound morphemes. However, in English, despite the existence of agglutinations, person, possessive meaning and modality are given with free morphemes without any agglutination. That is why English is not considered among agglutinative languages.

In addition to the differences in suffixation, English and Turkish differ in how they place the pronouns in the sentence. Turkish, with its ability to agglutinate the person morpheme as well, provides the opportunity to drop the pronoun (PRO). However, in English the fixed order requires the pronoun be used.

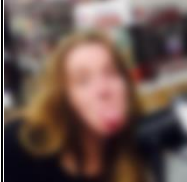
Both in T and AE, nominal clauses are also inflected with a tense and subject. In Turkish the inflection is done with a bound morpheme added to the verb or the nominal while in English the verb is inflected with a bound morpheme as opposed to the nominal that is used with an auxiliary, providing tensed-S condition with a

free morpheme. That is why especially in nominal clauses identifying finiteness in English and T are two distinct linguistic processes.


6.1.1.2. Statements in FBCC

The effect of the linguistic differences mentioned can be observed in the structures used in FBCC. The existence of auxiliaries in free morphemes in English makes it easy to understand and differentiate the finite or non-finite structures. On the other hand, the considerable lack of literature on this specific topic, the pro-drop and agglutinating nature of Turkish make it hard to differentiate between a finite and nonfinite clauses. Therefore, the researcher had to make a decision to accept one word utterances as words/phrases or finite clauses (as even one word can be finite in Turkish with a pronoun dropped and an auxiliary invisible). That is, one word utterances, which might be claimed to refer to finite clauses as well were categorized in a new class so that the distinction can be made. Still the difference between languages when auxiliaries are considered is to be referred in the following discussions as well.

Sample 111: AEF-18AmJ-7

	<p>AEF-Cer: cute!</p> <p>AEM-Cee: (likes the C)- [no verbal response]</p>
<p>A woman with her tongue out.</p>	

Sample 112:TF-15SeC-13

	<p>TF-Cer: Mukemmelsin ☺ .) [Perfect/You are perfect ☺ .)]</p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) <i>cok sagol yaa valla simarmicam</i> [Thank you yaa ((an exclamation to intensify emotion)) I will really get spoilt.]</p>
<p>A woman in her office.</p>	

In the AE example, the C is a one-word utterance which is not inflected. It is considered in words/phrases category considering the non-finite structure.

However, the latter example, the T one, provides another one-word C which is inflected and made finite. That is, the structural differences in the two languages result in finite clauses being used more in Turkish as opposed to the high percentage of non-finite uses in English.

Table 83: The use of statements in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

STATEMENTS	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	421	16,9	,0
FBCC-AE total	269	10,4	
STATEMENTS	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	126	2,54	,0
AE M	50	0,84	
STATEMENTS	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	295	5,92	,005
AE F	219	4,34	

As can be seen from the table above, both in general findings and in gender-based analyses, it can be said that speakers of T pay considerably more Cs in finite form than speakers of AE. This finding can be directly attributed to the finiteness in T.

Formulaic vs. Intensified uses in FBCC

Having been put forward by Manes & Wolfson (1981), formula in Cs have been discussed and mostly accepted as universal although Manes and Wolfson were cautious about making overgeneralizations. The idea of formula has been elaborated in many ways. Also, in most of the studies, the formulaic nature of Cs has been highlighted.


In this study, the first step was to categorize the structural patterns to see if the datasets bear formulaic uses. Even in this initial categorization, the T dataset revealed very creative structural forms far away from being formulaic. Therefore the first classification is left.

The sentence patterns which Manes & Wolfson (1981) have mentioned was explored in the study and it has been observed that Turkish, despite some more frequent patterns (Ruhi, 2006), does not have recurring formulaic structures similar to what has been displayed by Manes and Wolfson. However, the English data in this study reveals formulaic nature.

Negative Statements

In FBCC-T, there was a striking feature presented by the data: Cs in negative statements. Although by nature, Cs are considered as affirmative statements, what has been observed is that there are 22 cases of statements with negative markers.

Sample 113: TF-20SuO-9

	<p>TM-Cer: Beğenmeden geçemedim. <i>[I couldn't help liking.]</i></p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) Tesekkür ederim :))) <i>[Thank you :)))]</i></p>
<p><i>A woman playing with mobile and her hair.</i></p>	

As in the example above, some statements are not affirmative; however, they still carry a positive meaning despite the negative structure. The striking difference is that in FBCC-AE, there is no example of a structurally negative C. This difference again underlines the wide range of possibilities T provides its users with to pay Cs.

6.1.2. Words/Phrases- Nonfinite Structures

This category in FBCC covers both one-word utterances and non-finite phrases as well as emosounds. In this section a comparison between T and AE is going to be done and possible reasons for the findings are going to be discussed.

In English, words or phrases directly refer to the non-finite clauses. The one word utterance in English is almost always an adjective, a non-finite verb, while in Turkish one word utterances can be finite as well such as “Bayıldım” *[I loved it]*.

These finite one-word utterances, as mentioned before, have not been classified under this category. This category is specifically allocated to non-finite clauses (for further discussion see 4.1.2 and 5.1.2).

Following is a table to show the cross-cultural comparison of the use of non-finite structures in Cs.

Table 84: The use of non-finite words/phrases in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

WORDS	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	340	18,8	,106
FBCC-AE total	533	21,08	
WORDS	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	111	2,24	,154
AE M	146	2,78	
WORDS	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	229	4,58	,0
AE F	387	7,76	

To start with, almost all the previous studies report non-finite structures as one of the most commonly used structures in Cs. This study supports the claim. In FBCC-T, one-word non-finite phrasal structures and emosounds constitute the second most common category. However, it is also important that the nature of language (how it is inflected) is the main cause of the difference between T and AE.

6.1.2.1. Word Frequency Analyses

Manes & Wolfson (1981), in their groundbreaking study, reported a lexical formula that results in 86% of English Cs be paid with only 5 adjectives and verbs. Although the medium of communication and the data collected bring up new words like “picture” to the list, the lexical formula mentioned is still valid. When adjectives and verbs are considered the list of the most commonly used words are as follows:

Table 85: The most common words used in FBCC

Most freq. words among FBCC-T			Most freq. words in FBCC-AE		
		(n)			(n)
1.	güzel/güzellik	184	1.	Love/loved/lovely/loving	186
2.	maşallah	83	2.	Beautiful/beauties/beauty	183
3.	benim	60	3.	Looked/look/looking/looks	147
4.	süper	31	4.	Picture/pictures	102
5.	Allah/allah	27	5.	great	101

As can be seen in the numbers above, although some words are used more than the others, the frequency of words are quite fewer in T Cs than in AE Cs. This shows that the formulaic structure that is very strong in AE is not as strong in T.

A striking difference between the two lists is the references to *Allah* in T data. The idea of evil eye makes it very common to use the words “maşallah” and “Allah korusun” [*God save/bless you*] (for further discussion see 4.1.3).

It should be noted that function words like benim [*my*] and bir [*a*] are nor listed here considering that the content is analyzed and the content is conveyed through these content words. However a further research on the content words could be promising as the content word *my* is not in the top 20 A words list while it is the fourth common word in T list.

6.1.3. Wh- Elements

Wh- words basically canstruct questions in many languages including T and AE. In T, *ne* words that almost exactly act as *wh* words make *wh*- questions, exclamatory remarks and embedded clauses similar to AE. This structural similarity between languages made it easy to decide on the category *wh*- elements. Embedded clauses constructed with *wh*- words were considered under this title because the main clause was taken as the basis. On the other hand, both exclamations and questions are analyzed under this title because the questions in FBCC, regardless of the punctuations, mostly serve for rhetorical purposes.

The “wh-” questions in AE as well as ‘ne’ questions in T ask questions to obtain informative answers on nouns, nominals, adjectives, adverbs and propositions, etc. Taking a cross-linguistic perspective, it can be observed that a very conspicuous relation is that in both T and AE, wh- elements construct not only interrogative clauses but also non-interrogative clauses as subordinators. However, in the discussion of wh- elements in this dissertation, embedded questions and question words making subordinate clauses are not mentioned for two reasons: they were considered to be statements and they were non-existent in the datasets. Thus, it can be concluded that the category *wh- elements* covers every utterance that carries wh- elements in both interrogative and non-interrogative uses. To sum up, the category wh- elements covers interrogative and exclamatory words but not embedded clauses because the main clause was considered as the finite main verb.

Table 86: The use of wh- elements in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

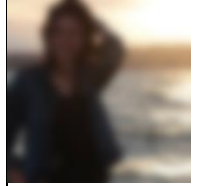
WH-	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	37	1,48	,86
FBCC-AE total	28	1,12	
WH-	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	7	,14	,31
AE M	4	,08	
WH-	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	30	0,6	,89
AE F	24	,48	

The table above indicates that there are no cross cultural differences among AE and T speakers of English even when the genders of the Cers and the Cees are taken into consideration. This shows that linguistic similarities might result in similar structural uses. The differences may or may not be cultural ones. Therefore, reaching cultural realization through linguistic analyses requires caution.

6.1.4. Yes/No Questions

Both in T and in AE, *mi* questions and yes/no questions are used to ask questions. However, as mentioned before, yes/no questions in FBCC are mostly rhetorical questions, both in T and in AE.

Sample 114: TF-21SvE-8

 <p>A half-body shot of a young woman.</p>	<p>TF-Cer: Artist misin oloooooommmmm [Are you an artist my son?¹⁸]</p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) artiz ne arar la :))¹⁹ [Where is the artist la :)] ((The word artist is used in a dialectical pronunciation/spelling.)) (“La” is used as a discourse marker used among men mostly to address each other.))</p> <p>TF-Cer: (likes the C) Yerim la:) guzel askom benim 😊😌❤️👄 [I eat la 😊my beautiful love 😊😌❤️👄] ((The word “love” is misspelled on purpose to intensify the closeness between the interlocutors.))</p>
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The example above shows that there are some examples that display Cs in yes/no question form. Also, the answer and the following utterance underlines that this question is a rhetorical one.

The use and the functions of Cs paid in this structure are the same in the two groups. However, the frequency of use differs as indicated in the table below.

¹⁸ In Turkish, calling someone ‘artist’ is an equivalent of calling him/her “cool”. In the example, “my son” is misspelled on purpose to deviate from standard T and sound more slang-like.

¹⁹ In the last few years, there has been a video on SNSs in which a man in a bazaar was asked something about his job, and because of a misunderstanding, he answered that there were no artists in the bazaar. People had fun watching this misunderstanding and this C refers to that viral video.

Table 87: The use of yes/no questions in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

YES/NO	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	12	0,48	,042
FBCC-AE total	5	0,2	
YES/NO	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	8	0,16	,003
AE M	0	0,0	
YES/NO	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	4	0,08	,977
AE F	5	0,1	

In the table, it is displayed that, this type of questions is not very common in both languages but still there is a considerable difference between these two languages. The comparison of the two structures show that in T, yes/no questions are used more often than in AE. This difference is statistically significant. When male participants of each group are considered, it can be observed that the difference is still valid. TMs use yes/no questions considerably more than AEMs. However, women in both groups use this structure to a similar level. However, these findings require further analysis as the numbers are few.

6.1.5. Imperatives

In English, the formation of imperatives is very rule-governed and abrupt. The subject of the imperative is always *you* and the tense it refers is always *present*. The imperative sentences are always constructed with the *bare infinitive* or, if negative, *don't* is used before *bare infinitive* suggesting the existent/present nature of imperatives in English.

In English no subject except for *you* can be used as to give orders. Only suggestions can be given for the subjects other than *you* like “Let him go to the party.” Imperatives can serve as order, suggestion, request or warning. In some cases an optative can be used in subjunctive form and this has not been observed in the data in FBCC (for further discussion see 5.1.6).


Turkish is very different from English in the structure of imperatives as Turkish lets its users to use imperative structures for first or third person as well. The functions of imperatives in Turkish are as comprehensive as those in English. They can also be used to give orders, advice or warnings. The third person imperatives, a distinctive structural difference, is also considered in the analyses. This difference is discussed by linguists as some considered it as optative mood while the others regarded this use as imperative.

Table 88: The use of imperatives in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

IMPERATIVES	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	22	0,88	,012
FBCC-AE total	5	0,2	
IMPERATIVES	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	11	0,22	,006
AE M	0	0,0	
IMPERATIVES	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	11	0,22	,156
AE F	5	0,10	

The table displays that the structural and functional difference can account for the considerable difference in the number of Cs paid using imperatives. It is clear that T speakers pay more Cs using imperatives than AE speakers. Most of this difference can be accounted for Cs as in the following.

Sample 115: TF-10HiC-10

	<p>TF-Cer: Vayyy vayyyyyy vayyyyyy... hatuna bak [Vaoowww... look at this lady/woman]</p> <p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) teşekkür ederim güzell hatunlar...çook öpüldünüz:) ☺ (mass response)[thank you beautiful ladies... you are kissed a lot;) ☺]</p>
<p>A woman on a road surrounded with yellow trees in fall time.</p>	

Although the AE counterpart is not awkward, it is definitely more uncommon than the T one. Similar examples exist in FBCC-T more often than FBCC-AE. Because

the AE structure also allows such Cs, it can be said that the difference between the datasets are cultural ones rather than linguistic ones. Women in AE dataset do not display important differences from the women in T dataset. On the other hand there is no example of such a C by male participants in FBCC-AE.

6.1.6. Combination of Structures

Language is productive and unique, which means users of a language are able to construct new strategies and/or combine the existing ones to convey their meaning. This rule about language in general applies for Cs as well. Users of any language has the possibility to use more than one strategy to pay a C. The use of more than one structure in Cs makes the Cs longer, more intensified, less formulaic.

Because combining structures is not uncommon, a *combination* category has been a necessity in the FBCC. The possible combinations have been discussed in detail in gender-based in-group discussions about FBCC-T and FBCC-AE (for further details, see 4.1.3.1 and 5.1.3.1). In deciding the structures of the Cs, address terms and discourse particles are not considered as separate structures combined if not separated from the C with punctuation.

Before getting deep into the discussion, the gender based comparison of FBCC-T and FBCC-AE are as follows:

Table 89: The use of combination of structures in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

STR. COMB.	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	168	6,72	,019
FBCC-AE total	160	5,2	
STR. COMB.	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	51	1,02	,291
AE M	40	,8	
STR. COMB.	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	117	2,34	,845
AE F	120	2,42	

The table shows that T and AE interactions use combination strategies roughly in similar numbers. When the genders of the Cers and the Cees are considered, there are differences in the numbers of Cs paid using this strategy but the results are not statistically significant.

One important similarity between T and AE which is not indicated in the table above (see 4.1.3 and 5.1.3) is that in both datasets both men and women pay Cs using combined structures more to their own gender. Regarding the combined structures in Cs more intense and less formulaic, it can be claimed that hesitation to pay intense Cs to the opposite sex is a boundary in both cultures. It is clear that the findings about T and AE show more similarities than differences. When the structures combined are considered, similarities and differences in FBCC can be listed as in the table below:

Table 90: The types of combination of structures in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

Combined Structures	T	AE
Statement & Non-finite Use	50	105
Imperative & Statement	39	11
Wh & Statement	24	14
3+ Structures	16	13
Imperative & Non-finite Use	12	4
Yes/No & Sentence	10	3
Imperative & Wh	7	0
Wh & Non-finite Use	7	8
Yes/No & Non-finite Use	3	2
TOTAL	168	160

As can be seen from the table, the combination of a statement and a non-finite clause in FBCC-AE is twice as many as those in FBCC-T. In T, there are many uses of imperative and statement combinations while in AE, there are fewer samples. Similarly, Turkish bears more examples in most of the combinations in the table. This shows that although the number of combined strategies are very close, their distribution is different in the two languages. In AE, more than 30% of Cs are paid by doing only one type of combination while in T, despite some frequent categories, there is a more even distribution of categories. This difference can be attributed to the formulaic nature of Cs in AE.

6.2. Topics of Compliments

Cs have been studied in many different aspects including the morphology, syntax and vocabulary. In addition to these structural analyses, topics of Cs has attracted a huge body of research.


Before analyzing the topics of Cs in FBCC, an important research on “fishing for Cs” is worth mentioning. Adachi (2010) reported that the topics of Cs are introduced and initiated by the Cee most of the time. Listing the possible techniques for a Cee to fish for Cs, Adachi states that boasting, information giving, showing favor, criticizing oneself or displaying gratefulness are some techniques used by the Cee to call for the Cs. Although the scope of this dissertation differs

from Adachi (2010), in terms of both the culture groups investigated, the media of communication used, the questions and insights provided by Adachi (2010) has been very fruitful for the field and for this research.

As this dissertation aims at investigating FB photo comments, the claim that the Cee is the one to fish for Cs and s/he is the one to decide what the topic of C is becomes more influential and applicable to this study.


To give an example, a photo as in the following example calls for a C on physical appearance.

Sample 116: TF-22TUC-11

	<p>TF-Cer: Bak güller bile boynunu bükmüş senin masumiyetin ve güzelliğin karşısında <i>[Look even the roses are humble near your innocence and beauty]</i></p>
<p><i>A young woman with red roses at hand.</i></p>	<p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) yirimmmmmmm seniii <i>[I eattttttt youuuu]</i></p>

The photo depicts a young and beautiful woman who is carrying roses. Neither an achievement nor a personality trait is highlighted in it. The possible Cs can be on the appearance of the woman, something the roses she carries or a special occasion she has recently experienced (i.e. an engagement/wedding) or the photo itself. That is, possible topics for Cs are limited with the photo provided. On the other hand, it is less likely that a photo as in the following example gets a C on physical appearance.

Sample 117: TF-3BaC-13

	<p>TM-Cer: araba 6. viteste gidiyor. gazı kesme :::))) <i>[the car is going on the 6th gear. don't slow it down ::::)))]</i></p>
<p><i>A young woman studying.</i></p>	<p>TF-Cee: (likes the C) ☺ <i>[no verbal response]</i></p>

The photo above underlines that the owner of the photo is a literate person. Her education level, success or hard work are the first points to be complimented. The sample C above is on how hardworking she is. She answers with an emoticon and likes the C, which can be accepted as a mild appreciation token.

Mismatches between the photo provided and the topic of the C paid may result in the violation of an important conversational rule: maxim of relation (Grice, 1975).

All the discussion above (for further discussion see 4.2) shows that the topics of Cs are not Cer directed all the time. The topics are co-constructed. Therefore, the discussions and analyses in 4.2 and 5.2 are done on the part of not only the Cers but also the Cees.

Apart from the Cee's fishing for and/limiting the possible topics of Cs in FBCC, the nature of data in this study bears some characteristics that is possibly effective on the results. Whatever is posted on FB stays online and can be seen even after years at least by the mutual friends or the whole world. That is the number of observants and the subsistence of the conversation ever after (if not deleted by the owners) might have affected the results.

The number of observants and the subsistence of the conversations have two important effects: one might feel hesitant with the fear that s/he may sound inconvenient or flirtatious, and one might feel the pressure to pay a C or reply the C paid. Such a unique characteristics of Cs might affect not only the number of Cs paid but also the topics of them.

Although comparing and contrasting data collected through different media of communication is not in the scope of this research, it aims to provide an insight about what the different characteristics might be.

Table 91: Comparison of topics of Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

TOPICS	T -n	T-Mean	AE-n	AE-Mean	Sig
Appearance	564	22,8	323	13,04	0,0
Photo	131	5,24	270	11,04	0,0
Possessions	115	4,6	123	4,96	0,494
Personality	41	1,64	13	0,52	0,001
Performance	37	1,48	26	1,24	0,493
T-Combination	42	1,64	68	2,68	0,02
Unclear	70	2,76	177	7,16	0,0
TOTAL	1000		1000		

The table indicates that appearance Cs are the most commonly uttered Cs in both T and AE. Photo and possession are the second and third most commonly paid topics of Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE. Unclear is the fourth; combination of two or more topics is the fifth common focus of Cs. It is striking that the order of the most common three topics is almost the same in T and AE. This indicates that looking for differences is promising, but similarities might be more than differences and they also deserve attention.

6.2.1. Appearance

Appearance has, without any exception, always been listed as a topic of Cs in the studies conducted to categorize the topics of Cs (Parisi & Wogan, 2009; Rees-Miller, 2011; Ruhi, 2006; Şakirgil & Çubukçu, 2013). Appearance Cs cover a huge spectrum ranging from Cs paid to a very specific aspect of the outlook to a general statement about the positive appearance qualities.

Appearance Cs construct an interesting category in FBCC-T because the data used is derived from a medium which publicizes the personal and personalizes what is public by allowing a large audience observe and/or even contribute to the exchange while causing people to take general posts personal and feel an urge to respond to them. In such a medium where personal and private are interjected, a discussion on *face* and *face management* strategies become more complicated and fruitful (for further discussion see 3.4.2).

Another important aspect of the data used is the photo comments. It can be argued that the data, being drawn from FB photo comments, intensifies the effects of “fishing” and leads to a more appearance based communication. That is, if a special quality like a possession or an achievement is not highlighted in the photo, it is very likely that the appearance of the Cee is complimented.

Before getting deeper in the appearance Cs, they are analyzed as general or specific Cs to see if a specific aspect or general appearance of the Cee is appreciated. The results are as follows:

Table 92: The use of specific& general appearance Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

APPEARANCE	T -n	T-Mean	AE-n	AE-Mean	Sig
General	492	19,72	289	11,52	0,0
Specific	72	3,08	34	1,52	0,06
TOTAL	564	22,8	323	13,04	0,0

The first finding in FBCC is that both in T and in AE, appearance is the most commonly used topic of Cs. 56,4% of FBCC-T and 32,3% of FBCC-AE are composed of appearance Cs. Even the percentages indicate that the difference between T and AE is statistically significant.

There seems to be no statistically important difference between T and AE about specific Cs even though T bears a higher number of them. On the contrary, both in T and AE, general Cs constitute a huge number of the Cs in the data and the difference is statistically important.

The results in the table show that both groups of participants prefer to pay general appearance Cs, which might be attributed to the fact that paying a specific C can be more face-threatening.

The total number of appearance Cs on FBCC are analyzed in the table below:

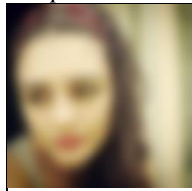
Table 93: The use of Cs on appearance in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

APPEARANCE	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	564	22,8	,17
FBCC-AE total	323	13,04	
APPEARANCE	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	Sig
T M	170	3,40	,001
AE M	81	1,56	
APPEARANCE	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	Sig
T F	394	7,88	,0
AE F	242	4,96	

The difference between T and AE appearance Cs are statistically important. Both T women and men pay more appearance Cs than men and women in FBCC-AE. The differences are all statistically important.

The qualitative analysis conducted in two datasets show that in FBCC-T, especially in the Cs paid to the opposite sex, there are many cases where the Cs are softened or generalized with the fear to be misunderstood (see 4.2.1). Sometimes the answer included “distancing” elements as in the following example below:

Sample 118: TF-25GiC-4

	<p>TM-Cer: Türkçe öğretmeni sordu çocuğa, "gizem nedir?" diye. Çocuk düşündü, "anlatması zor, anlatmak yerine bir resim göstersem olur mu?" diye. "Kabul" dedi öğretmen. Ve çocuk gösterdi öğretmenine bu fotoğrafı... <i>[The Turkish teacher asked the kid “what is Gizem²⁰?”. The kid thought. “it is difficult to tell, Is it OK if I show a picture instead of telling it?” The teacher said “OK”. And the kid showed this photograph to the teacher.]</i></p>
<p><i>A close portrait of a woman looking at somewhere else.</i></p>	<p>TF-Cee: tesekur ederim oğulcan abi:) yine çok güzel bir şekilde yorumlamışsin fotoğrafımı.... <i>[thank you brother oğulcan:) again you have interpreted my photo in a very nice manner...]</i></p>

The female Cee in the photo seems to be disturbed by the “too intensified” C she receives and draws the line around her private zone by calling the Cer “brother”.

²⁰ The word “Gizem” is a very commonlu used name fro women in Turkey. It means *mystery*.

As can be seen in the example above, the qualitative analysis shows that despite the huge number of C exchanges across genders, they are likely to be face threatening (for discussions on cross-gender Cs and gender based analyses in the datasets see 4.2.1 and 5.2.1).

In the discussion of topics of Cs, it turns out to be a necessity to discuss the gender of the Cee on the topic chosen. Therefore, a new analysis focusing on the gender of the Cee is conducted. The findings are as follows:

Table 94: The number of appearance Cs T & AE informants receive

APPEARANCE	n within all Cs	% within all appearance Cs	mean	Sig
TM	259	45,9	10,44	0,00
AEM	125	38,7	5,12	
TF	305	54,1	12,12	0,00
AEF (ff+mf)	198	61,3	7,92	

As can be seen from the table, the difference between T and AE seems significant when the results of T-test is taken. However, it should be reminded that the difference can be attributed to the difference in the numbers of appearance Cs paid in the corpus. Using T-test results may mislead the researchers to make gender-based generalizations that are far from reflecting the nature of the Cs.

Odds ratio, which is widely used in this dissertation is of help in this situation as well. Therefore, within-appearance-Cs percentages are also displayed in the table. The table suggests that women get more appearance Cs is a generalization which is true for both languages; however, the difference in FBCC-T is not significant while FBCC-AE depicts a deeper deviation that can be considered as gender-based.

The result about AE in this study is compatible with previous research while T data reveals deviations. This finding is of great importance because it reminds the researchers of being cautious about generalizing the findings in AE data to other language and culture communities.

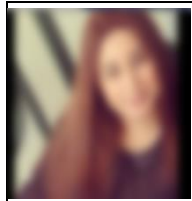
6.2.2. Photo

A devastating change that SNSs brought into our lives is that photos gained an identity and started to fish for most of the Cs we pay in our everyday lives. Their meaning and semiotic value needs further analysis and reporting.

A striking category in this research is “photo” as a topic of Cs. This unique category is born out of the nature of the data. Cs on appearance and Cs on photo has been separated with the idea that photo Cs do not directly address to a feature about the Cee but the photo. The distinction between photo Cs and other types are made with the verb and the inflection used with it (for further discussion see 4.2.2).

Shifting the focus of the C from the appearance to the photo does not seem to affect the answer the Cee provides as the photo is still something related to him/her. See the C exchange below:

Sample 119: TF-24TuO-6

 <p data-bbox="336 1301 555 1406"><i>A half portrait of a young woman.</i></p>	<p data-bbox="555 1173 1402 1240">TF-Cer: çok tatlı çıkmışsın canım benim ☺ <i>[you look so sweet in this shot my sweetheart ☺]</i></p> <p data-bbox="555 1267 1402 1335">TF-Cee: (likes the C) Nurişim canımm ☺ <i>[my dear Nuriş, my sweetheart ☺]</i></p>
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In the example above, the Cer tells the Cee how sweet she looks in this photo. This is accepted as a C and answered with a phrase to underline the affect between the interlocutors. The difference between this C and an appearance C is that the C does not refer to how sweet she is, it underlines how sweet she looks. Such examples can be observed in both T and AE.

Table 95: The use of Cs on photo in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

PHOTO	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	131	5,24	,0
FBCC-AE total	270	11,04	
PHOTO	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	44	0,88	,09
AE M	58	1,22	
PHOTO	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	87	1,74	,0
AE F	212	4,30	

The total number of photo Cs make up of 13,1% of T Cs and 27% of AE Cs. The difference between T and AE photo Cs is statistically significant. This might have two reason.

The first possible reason can be a social-rule governed one. Paying a C to a photo is less face threatening than paying a C to the Cee, especially if the Cee is of the opposite sex. The evidence for this claim comes from the in-group analyses conducted (4.2.2&5.2.2).

Other than the cultural explanations, there can be a linguistic reason for this difference in T and AE. Because T is an agglutinating language, one word utterances can be finite (for further discussion see 4.1.1.1), which means it can carry the meaning of a subject and a verb. This makes the reference in T C more clear. On the other hand, the lack of inflection in one-word Cs and the extensive existence of one-word Cs affect the topic as well.

In FBCC, there are impersonal and personal photo Cs. In both languages both of these techniques are used extensively (for further discussion see 4.1.2).

Another important point to ponder about the topic of Cs is the gender of the Cee. In order to see the effect of the gender of the Cee in both groups, analyses have been conducted as indicated in the table below:

Table 96: The number of photo Cs T & AE informants receive

PHOTO	n within all Cs	% within all photo Cs	mean	Sig
TM	67	51,1	2,68	0,00
AEM	146	54,1	6,08	
TF	64	48,9	2,56	0,002
AEF (ff+mf)	124	45,9	4,96	

The table suggests that in both T and AE, male receive slightly more Cs on the photos they post. Although the difference seems statistically important in T-test, the odds ratio analyses show that it is not about a gender-based tendency to receive photo Cs but about the gender-based difference in the total number of Cs attracted. That is, the difference between genders is not statistically significant.

6.2.3. Possessions

Possessions can be defined as the items a person has. However, this definition is vague as well as inadequate because possessions can be abstract, too. The relationship a person *has*, someone they *have* in their lives or an idea they *have* etc. can be considered under the heading *possessions*. That is the classification covers *affect* as well as objects.

Table 97: The use of Cs on possession in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

POSSESSIONS	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	115	4,6	,494
FBCC-AE total	123	4,96	
POSSESSIONS	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	25	0,50	,676
AE M	24	0,46	
POSSESSIONS	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	90	1,80	,438
AE F	99	2,02	

When T and AE datasets are compared and contrasted, it can be observed that there are no differences both in the total numbers and in the gender based comparisons.

There have been many studies that looked for gender differences in the number of possession Cs attracted. The commonly accepted belief is that men are complimented more on the possessions they have. In order to understand the effect of the gender of the Cee, analyses have been conducted as shown in the table below:

Table 98: The number of possession Cs T & AE informants receive

POSSESSION	n within all Cs	% within all possession Cs	mean	Sig
TM	66	57,4	2,64	0,152
AEM	89	72,4	3,64	
TF	49	42,6	1,96	0,293
AEF	34	27,6	1,32	

The table shows that in both FBCC-T and FBCC_AE, men are complimented more, supporting the commonly accepted and expected gender roles. However, an interesting finding is that the difference between male and female informants in T dataset is statistically unimportant and very low while the difference in AE data is considerably low. This finding is also important to remind the researchers that most of the assumptions about the nature of Cs are shaped according to what is happening in AE, being the language that dominates the research world. However, such generalizations are to be approached with extreme caution.

6.2.4. Personality

A very widely mentioned category in almost all the studies is personality Cs. People pay Cs to the personality of each other in many cultures, if not all. FB Cs are no exception. People pay Cs to each other's personality online as well.

The use of personality Cs in FBCC is as follows:

Table 99: The use of Cs on personality in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

PERSONALITY	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	41	1,64	,001
FBCC-AE total	13	0,52	
PERSONALITY	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	23	0,46	,001
AE M	3	0,06	
PERSONALITY	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	18	0,36	,075
AE F	10	0,20	

The table above displays the important difference between T and AE with regards to the personality Cs. Despite the little difference between TF and AEF, male users cause an important difference between two datasets. The reasons of T men using more personality Cs can be explained with the use of address words men use for each other as Cs to underline the close relation between them and the “manliness” the Cee bears. Among the 35 personality Cs T men get from males and females, 33 includes words like “adam” [man], “erkek”[man], “paşa”[pasha] and “tosun”[bullock]. In AE data such examples are nonexistent.

The difference between T and AE males getting Cs on personality can be attributed to the gender rules and images of societies. In T, despite so many “masculine” Cs, there is no single example of a female counterpart, which can be an indicator of the sexism in language and society (for further discussion see 4.1.4).

In addition to the data analyses to understand cross cultural differences, further analyses are needed to understand the effect of gender in each dataset in order to understand the social and/linguistic nature of the language in use. Following is a table that displays the results on the gender of the Cee in both languages.

Table 100: The number of personality Cs T & AE informants receive

PERSONALITY	n within all Cs	% within all personality Cs	mean	Sig
TM	35	85,4	1,40	0,00
AEM	5	38,5	0,20	
TF	6	14,6	0,24	0,889
AEF	8	61,5	0,32	

The table above indicates striking differences between T and AE datasets. TMs attract considerably more personality Cs than TFs. Also, there are few cases of personality Cs in AE dataset. The interestingly high number of personality Cs of TMs can be attributed to the patriarchal understanding of *manliness* for which a man deserves to be complimented. All the personality Cs directed to TMs included vocabulary like adam [man], paşa [pasha/general/commander], erkek [male/man] etc. These address words and/or adjectives are used as Cs; however, female counterparts haven been encountered in FBCC. Such a use can be the cause of this quantitative difference (for further discussion see 4.2.4).

6.2.5. Performance

Performance is another widely cited topic of Cs in literature. The achievement of something or simply the act of doing something might be the point that attracts attention and gets the C. As the Cs in FBCC are composed of photo comments, performance Cs are rare but not nonexistent. In cases where an achievement or an action like a travel or an adventure is shared, there are many Cs to what has been done (for further discussion see 4.2.5 and 5.2.5).

The performance Cs in T and AE are not different in a considerable degree. The details are displayed in the table below:

Table 101: The use of Cs on performance in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

PERFORMANCE	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	37	1,48	,493
FBCC-AE total	26	1,24	
PERFORMANCE	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	Sig
T M	16	0,32	,744
AE M	13	0,26	
PERFORMANCE	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	Sig
T F	21	0,42	,078
AE F	13	0,26	

When gender based tendencies are considered, it can be observed that T and AE do not show significant differences. Another important finding is that a possible prejudice about women being complimented more on appearance while men being complimented more on what they have is invalidated at least in online photo comments.

Although the number of performance Cs are relatively few in FBCC for both languages, a closer look at the effect of the Cee is promising to understand more about the C events.

Table 102: The number of performance Cs T & AE informants receive

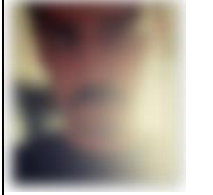
PERFORMANCE	n within all Cs	% within all perform. Cs	mean	Sig
TM	25	67,6	1,00	0,358
AEM	16	61,5	0,64	
TF	12	32,4	0,48	0,377
AEF	10	38,5	0,40	

The table suggests that in both T and AE, men are complimented more on their performance. There seems to be no significant cultural difference in this gender-based C topic. The difference is between genders. In both cultures, possessions of men seem to attract more attention than the possessions of women.

6.2.6. T- Combination

Cs can be paid to two or more aspects related to the Cee. This is not only common but also very natural. For example a C can appreciate the Cee's appearance and personality at the same time. See the example below:

Sample 120: TM-25CaS-6

	<p>TF-Cer: içinin güzelliği yüzüne yansımış can'cım, yüzün hep böyle gülsün <i>[the beauty of your heart has reflected on your face my dear can, I hope you always smile like this]</i></p> <p>TM-Cee: (likes the C) - <i>[no verbal answer]</i></p>
<p><i>A close portrait of a young man.</i></p>	

In the example above the Cer claims that both the appearance and the personality and/or heart of the Cee are equally worthy and beautiful, one resulting in the other.

Following is a table on the statistical findings about the combination of topic in FBCC.

Table 103: The use of combination of topics in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

T-COMB	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	42	1,64	,02
FBCC-AE total	68	2,68	
T-COMB	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	11	0,20	,562
AE M	15	0,30	
T-COMB	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	31	0,62	,031
AE F	53	1,04	

The number of Cs with combination of topics is paid by AE participants are significantly more than that by T interactants. Though male interactants are similar, women become the one to cause this difference. Women in AE pay more Cs with more than one topic than women in T.

Another important aspect to be investigated in detail is the effect of the Cee on the topic of the C. The table above displays the comparison of FBCC-T and FBCC-AE in terms of the gender of the Cee.

Table 104: The number of Cs with a combination of topics in T & AE informants receive

T-COMB	n within all Cs	% within all t-comb Cs	mean	Sig
TM	20	47,6	0,76	0,031
AEM	36	52,9	1,44	
TF	22	52,4	0,88	0,286
AEF	32	47,1	1,24	

The table above indicates that in both T and AE, the gender of the Cee is not significantly effective in the number of Cs that are paid with more than one topics.

6.2.7. Unclear

In the previous studies, the category unclear was not mentioned; however, for this study, this category has turned out to be a necessity because in some cases it was very difficult to understand what the target topic of C is. The reason why this specific study required such a category is because it focuses on written communication between the interlocutors about whom the researcher has little or no idea about.

This unclear category covers a wide range of Cs. Referring back to the discussion about non-finite one word structures, a lot of examples of unclear Cs in this form can be observed. Because of lack of Tensed-S condition, the reference of the C turns out to be vague.

The most common type of unclear Cs are emosounds, the sounds of emotion. The utterances like “vaooooowww”, “vayst” etc. can be considered under this category. However it should be noted that, emosounds may refer to very specific topics as well. For example, an emosound can directly refer to the appearance of a person

while another one can be a congratulation remark if the Cee has posted a photo holding a certificate or diploma at hand.

The unclear category in AE is more commonly used than in T to a statistically significant degree. The following table shows the results of the analyses:

Table 105: The use of Cs with unclear topics in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

UNCLEAR	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	70	2,76	,0
FBCC-AE total	177	7,16	
UNCLEAR	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	25	0,48	,019
AE M	46	0,96	
UNCLEAR	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	45	0,90	,0
AE F	131	2,64	

The first striking difference is that AE speakers use more Cs whose topics are unclear. This can be attributed to the finiteness issue mentioned above. Although the gender-based comparisons also show important differences, there is one common point to be underlined: women in both groups pay more unclear Cs. This can be caused by the fact that total number of Cs paid by women is more than men. To sum up, AE speakers pay more Cs with unclear topics, which is likely to result from linguistic differences.

Moreover, the gender of the Cee may have an effect on the Cs that are paid with unclear topics. The following table displays analyses on the use of Cs with unclear topics in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE:

Table 106: The number of Cs with unclear topics informants receive

UNCLEAR	n within all Cs	% within all unclear Cs	mean	Sig
TM	28	40	1,08	0,00
AEM	83	46,9	3,46	
TF	42	60	1,68	0,00
AEF	94	53,1	3,80	

The table shows that AE data includes much more examples of Cs with unclear topics. Throughout the discussion in the chapter, this high number has been attributed to the structural aspects of languages (for further discussions see 5.2.7). However, another comparison can be done by examining the odds ratio. The percentages indicate that in both languages women attract more Cs with unclear topics. The difference in numbers is not a gender-based one because the tendencies of genders, as indicated with the percentages, do not deviate in the two datasets.

The reason why women attract more Cs with vague topics can be because of more emoticons and emosounds they use.

6.3. Functions of Compliments


The basic function of Cs is to soothe the conversations among interlocutors and strengthen the ties between/among the interlocutors. This basic function is at the core of the most commonly cited definition of Cs as well. Cs are defined as positive statements and “social lubricants” that serve to “grease the social wheels” (Wolfson, 1981, p. 89). Different definitions of Cs may highlight different functions of Cs, but it can be said that the definition of a C, by nature, includes one or more functions of them.

In the previous literature, some classifications of macro and micro functions Cs may serve have been done. In some studies, topics and functions of Cs are analyzed in an interwoven way. The difference between the topic and the function

of Cs is that the topic is what the Cer praises while the function is why the Cer praises it.

Although the basic function of Cs is to praise the other, they can serve for some other functions like softening a criticism to be made or conveying a sarcastic meaning. Though the functions of Cs, mostly explicitly stated in the definitions, the functions and the connotations Cs carry might change from culture to culture. A very good example is put forward by Sidraschi (2014). In his study, Sidraschi studied the Cs in two different varieties of Italy, Grottaglie and Novara. He came up with the conclusion that in Grottaglie, Cs have a dangerous connotation as they even can result in the loss of what is complimented. On the other hand, in Novara, Cs have more positive connotations and their face-threatening value is lower. As can be understood from this study, the functions and connotations of Cs can change even in two different varieties of a language. Thus, it is not surprising to expect that T and AE will be different in terms of the functions Cs serve.

Sample 121: TF-19SuB-8

	<p>TF-Cer: Maşallaaah maşallah.. Harika gözükiyorsunuz hocam... Çok yakışmış.. Allahım nazarlardan korusun sizi <3<3 :)) <i>[Maşallaaah maşallah.. You look perfect hocam²¹... It fits nice.. God protect you. <3<3 :))]</i></p>
<p>A woman holding a baby.</p>	<p>TF-Cer: - <i>[no response]</i></p>

As can be seen from the example, the positivity of the evaluation is approached with caution and there are some words and wishes believed to be protective in such cases. That is why the Cer needs to use and even repeat the word “maşallah” to help the Cee be protected from the evil eye. This example shows the cultural differences in the functions of Cs and the meanings attributed to them (for detailed discussion of “maşallah” see 4.1.2 & 7)

²¹ The word “hoca” originally refers to a person who teaches religion; however, in time the word turned out to be used for teachers or other people as an address word that shows respect.

Manes & Wolfson (1981) as cited in Tajeddin & Yazdanmehr (2012) defined the functions that Cs might serve in a very detailed way. The classification they have made shaped the the core skeleton of the classification done in this dissertation as it was the most detailed classification that has been made.

The functions they have identified are

(i) to establish solidarity between speaker and addressee (ii) to express approval or admiration toward the listener (iii) to strengthen or replace other speech acts like apologizing, greeting (iv) to strengthen or replace other speech acts like apologizing, greeting, reprimanding, or thanking, request reprimanding, or thanking, request (v) to soften acts such as criticism (vi) to offer praise, to reinforce or encourage the desired behavior in specific situations, such as teaching and learning (vii) to offer praise, to reinforce or encourage the desired behavior in specific situations, such as teaching and learning (viii) as sarcasm (ix) as conversation opener (x) to show interest in the issue at hand for example by asking follow-up questions.

(Tajeddin & Yazdanmehr, 2012, p. 29)

In the pilot study, it has been observed that, the categories identified were detailed and adequate for a great majority of the FBCC data. However, though rare, some of the data could not fit in any categories or could fit in more than one. Therefore, two more classifications were added to the framework: *unclear* and *combination*. Similarly, some categories identified in the framework are not very suitable to online communication. For example, FB photo comments may not be the best place to open conversation while in real life it is much more common to initiate a conversation with a C.

Below is a table to show all the categories defined and the gender-based distribution of the Cs in these categories.

Table 107: Comparison of functions of Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

FUNCTIONS	T -n	T-Mean	AE-n	AE-Mean	Sig
Approval/Admiration	820	32,84	886	37,8	0,0
Solidarity	68	2,72	39	1,56	0,035
Sarcasm	53	2,08	18	0,72	0,002
Desired Behavior	22	0,88	16	0,64	0,413
Soften Criticism	9	0,26	1	0,04	0,01
Open Conversation	7	0,28	9	0,36	0,552
Other	6	0,24	1	0,04	0,44
Follow Up Conv.	3	0,12	17	0,68	0,15
Combination	10	0,4	12	0,48	0,708
Unknown	2	0,8	1	0,4	0,977
TOTAL	1000		1000		

To start with, Cs are mostly paid to appreciate and approve what is in the photo in both datasets. 82% of T Cs, 88,6% of AE Cs are paid to express appreciation and admiration to the Cee about some positive aspect s/he has/is/does.

Because the data is retrieved from FB photo comments, it is not surprising that in such a public communication, appreciation Cs are the most frequently used ones. Solidarity and sarcasm are also used commonly while the rest of the list is not as common as these first three functions.

6.3.1. Approval/Admiration

SNSs are the platforms on which people publicly make private talks. These personal exchanges that are public is under the effect of observers or possible interlocutors. That is why these pages are used more to facilitate the positive face of the interlocutors rather than criticism or opening a conversation. A good way to foster the positive face is to underline the affection and relation between the two interlocutors by appreciating or approving.

Following is a table displaying the distribution of appreciation Cs in FBCC.

Table 108: The use of Cs to approve/admire in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

APPROVE/ADMIRE	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	820	32,84	,0
FBCC-AE total	886	37,8	
APPROVE/ADMIRE	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	250	5,00	,46
AE M	213	4,26	
APPROVE/ADMIRE	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	570	11,42	,035
AE F	673	13,46	

The findings indicate that appreciation Cs are more commonly used in AE than in T. The difference is clear in total numbers as well as in the female Cs. On the other hand, there is not a significant difference in male Cers' use of this function.

6.3.2. Solidarity

The function of Cs to create solidarity is one of the broadest functions it can serve. Neither Manes & Wolfson (1981) not Holmes (1988) has given details about what they meant by “to create solidarity” and how they differentiated this from appreciation or even reinforcing desired behavior. In order to smooth the flow of the research, the category of solidarity has been defined as the *connection* and *togetherness* the Cer states between the Cee and himself/herself. That is, if the C states an appreciation only, it has been categories as appreciation C. If it states a connectedness between the Cee and the Cer, that it is considered under the solidarity category.

Following is a table to show the comparison of solidarity Cs in T and AE.

Table 109: The use of Cs to create solidarity in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

SOLIDARITY	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	68	2,72	,035
FBCC-AE total	39	1,56	
SOLIDARITY	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	19	0,38	,127
AE M	5	0,10	
SOLIDARITY	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	49	0,98	,181
AE F	34	0,68	

As can be seen from the table, there is a considerable difference between the FBCC-T and FBCC-AE. However, the difference does not reflect itself in males or females. That is, there is a cultural difference between the two while the gender based distributions show similarities more than differences.

6.3.3. Sarcasm

Sarcastic Cs are the ones that include negative vocabulary or comments either to make a joke or to state a criticism. In total 3,5% of the FBCC is made up of sarcastic Cs. In FBCC-T, this percentage is 5,3 while in FBCC-AE it is 1,8%. The following is the table to show the comparison of sarcastic Cs in FBCC.

Table 110: The use of Cs to create sarcasm in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

SARCASM	n within all Cs	% within all Cs	Sig
FBCC-T total	53	2,08	,002
FBCC-AE total	18	0,72	
SARCASM	n within M Cers	% within M Cers	
T M	22	0,42	,041
AE M	7	0,14	
SARCASM	n within F Cers	% within F Cers	
T F	31	0,62	,006
AE F	11	0,22	

In both T and AE, Cs with sarcasm are used more by women. That is, in both cultures, there is a gender based tendency: women use more sarcastic Cs. When the TM and AEM are compared, it can be observed that there is a considerable difference between the datasets. TMs use considerably more sarcastic Cs than AEMs. Similarly, TFs use considerable more sarcastic Cs than AEFs. Thus, it can be said that T and AE are similar in that in both groups women pay more sarcastic Cs than men. However, the number of sarcastic Cs paid by T participants is higher than the number of that in AE participants for both males and females.

6.3.4. Rare Functions in FBCC

The most commonly used functions Cs serve in both T and AE data in FBCC are appreciation and creating solidarity between the interlocutors. Using sarcasm or negative words to pay Cs is the third most common category in both groups. It is striking that the first three most common functions in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE are identical. Cs may serve some other functions such as opening a conversation or following up one. However, these functions are rare or non-existent in FBCC data.

6.4. Responses to Compliments in FBCC

CRs are *phatic* devices in conversation used in order to maintain the conformity and harmony between/among the interactants. CRs have attracted a huge body of research, even more than Cs. It is important to study CRs because especially in cross-cultural contexts, proper use of CRs is crucial. CRs are “worth studying because, like all speech acts, they can show us the rules of language use in a speech community” (Yuan, 2001, p. 273).

This study aims to identify the gender and response relationship in FBCC. This knowledge can help the further research on the variations of CRs in different media of communication. Before getting deep into micro and macro level strategies as identified by (Manes & Wolfson, 1981), the possible ways to respond a C on FB needs to be discussed.

6.4.1. Modes of Responses in FBCC

A FB who gets a C on a photo s/he has posted may choose one of the following: like the C, verbally respond to the C, like and verbally answer the C or ignore the C.

The frequency of the use of these modes in responding to Cs in FBCC is as follows:

Table 111: Comparison of modes of CRs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

MODES OF CR	T -n	T-Mean	AE-n	AE-Mean	Sig
Like	372	7,46	529	10,58	0,005
Verbal	288	2,86	38	0,76	0,0
Verbal & Like	143	5,76	118	2,38	0,0
No Response	197	3,94	315	6,3	0,059
TOTAL	1000		1000		

The table above indicates that T informants use response strategies more than AE informants do. In FBCC-T there are considerably more cases of responses in all modes of responses.

First mode of response is the use of *like*. *Like* has a variety of uses one of which is CRs. The functions it serves other than responding to Cs is not in the scope of this dissertation. The CR with a *like* only can be considered as an appreciation token. This response gives the idea that the C has been recognized and mildly accepted. This can be likened to a smile as a CR in face-to-face communication. The reason why like alone is not considered as a strong acceptance is that there are cases where verbal tokens accompany like to clarify the acceptance, which indicates that like alone is not strong enough in these cases.

The second very commonly used strategy in both datasets is verbal responses. Especially speakers of T use this response strategy quite commonly. The verbal responses without like are given more in T mostly because of the fact that in AE Cs are formulaic and formulaic responses are also provided. *Like* alone is a way

of giving such a formulaic response. However, in T Cs are not formulaic, neither are the responses. Therefore, users feel the need to provide verbal CRs as well.

Both T and AE datasets bear many examples of CRs with a *like* and verbal response together. Turkish has considerably more examples because of the reasons listed above.

Avoidance is a strategy that is very commonly used in SNSs. More than half of the Cs in this research have been left unnoticed. However, it should be noted that virtual world gives its users an opportunity to ignore the comments even when they are made specifically to the person. This might be the main cause of such a finding (for further details see 4.4.2 & 5.4.2).

6.4.2. Types of Compliment Responses in FBCC

CRs are cultural and pragmatic norms that reflect the context and the community they occur in. There are macro strategies analyzed like accepting, deflecting and rejecting Cs. However, to be able get a better and more detailed idea about the use of response strategies, a more detailed framework has been used in this study (see 3.8.2). The framework and the results of the analysis is as follows:

Table 112: Comparison of strategies of CRs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

RESPONSES	T -n	T-Mean	AE-n	AE-Mean	Sig
AppT	203	4,06	98	1,96	,0
ComA	68	1,36	25	,5	,004
Return	59	1,18	7	,14	,0
Combination	26	,52	9	,18	,025
Other	22	,44	14	,28	,224
ScD	19	,38	1	,02	,0
Upgrade	18	,36	1	,02	,0
Reass	10	,2	2	,04	,025
Disagree	6	,12	0	,0	0,012
TOTAL	431		156		

As the table depicts, in both FBCC-T and FBCC-AE, using an appreciation token is the most commonly used response strategy. Comment acceptance is the second common strategy. In both T and AE, CR strategies are similar in terms of the two

most common strategies. However, there are striking differences as well. In FBCC-T, there are quite a few cases of the other possible strategies while AE data reveal very few cases using them. That is, in T data the strategies are distributed in a more balanced manner, though not evenly. However, AE data give glimpses of possible formulae in responses as well.

6.4.2.1. Appreciation Token

Appreciation tokens are the responses in which the Cs are recognized and in many cases accepted; however, no specific reference is made to the topic of the C. A typical appreciation token is thanking. SNSs, including FB, provide their users with a variety of ways to react to comments or Cs. Some examples of these are 👍 (like) on *FB*, ❤️ (heart) on *Twitter* and on *Instagram*. Emoticons are also other non-verbal ways to post appreciation tokens.

Despite the existence of such non-verbal appreciation tokens, users feel the need to verbally comment or respond to comments on SNSs. That is why the use of verbal appreciation tokens is not rare. Following is a tale that depicts and compares the use of appreciation tokens as CRs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.

Table 113: Comparison of the use of AppT in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

AppT	n within all CRs	% within all verbal CRs	mean	Sig
T	203	47,1	4,06	0,0
AE	98	62,8	1,96	

The table above shows that in AE the number of appreciation tokens used is fewer than the use of the same CR strategy in T. Although the t-test indicates a significant difference between the two groups, odds ratio analyses can provide more sound results as the difference can also be attributed to the difference in the total number of verbal CRs. Therefore, it becomes valuable to compare the percentages of the use of appreciation token in the two datasets. The results show that appreciation tokens make up of 47,1 % of FBCC-T while the strategy

constitutes 62,8% of FBCC-AE. This underlines that there are considerably more appreciation tokens in AE than in T.

6.4.2.2. Comment Acceptance

In some cases, the Cee responds to the C with a comment. The comment does not upgrade the C by adding some positive qualities on it or it does not scale the C down by downgrading the value of what is appreciated. It is mostly a neutral comment added to an acceptance strategy or used alone. The analysis of T and AE datasets about CR strategies provide the information as follows:

Table 114: Comparison of the use of ComA in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

ComA	n within all CRs	% within all verbal CRs	mean	Sig
T	68	15,8	1,36	0,004
AE	25	16	0,5	

The table indicates that in T there are a lot of cases in which the Cee prefers to pay a comment on the complimented item/notion etc. AE dataset also includes a considerable number of comment acceptance strategy as a CR. The percentages underline that despite the difference in the total number of this strategy used in T and AE, it could be invalid to talk about cross-cultural differences because both groups have a similar tendency to use this strategy.

6.4.2.3. Returning

In many cases, especially in T dataset, the Cee prefers to return the C to the Cer. In many cases, returning strategies are accompanied with strategies to accept Cs (Golato, 2002). The difference between T and AE in their use of return as a CR is dramatically huge. Both t-tests and odds ratio indicate statistically significant differences in two datasets. Following is a table to display the findings.

Table 115: Comparison of the use of return in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

Return	n within all CRs	% within all verbal CRs	mean	Sig
T	59	13,7	1,18	0,0
AE	7	4,5	0,14	

The table highlights the difference between the two groups of datasets in terms of the use of return strategy as a CR. While direct acceptance strategies are more accepted in AE contexts, more indirect acceptances are valued more in T ones.

According to what Leech (1983) put forward, these are some conversational maxims users try to obey in order to soothe the conversations. Two of these maxims are directly related to CRs. The first one is modesty maxim which states that a speaker should not praise himself/herself. The second one is the agreement maxim the core of which is not to conflict with the other interlocutor. Pomerantz (1978) portrays a dilemma in which the Cees fall while responding to Cs. A Cee should pay attention not to look boasting/arrogant and not to disagree/conflict with the other interlocutor (for further information see 2.1.3.3). This dilemma is claimed to be a universal one; however, the pattern the speaker chooses is directly related to his/her culture.

Stuck between the dilemma between agreement and modesty, eastern cultures are believed to value the modesty maxim over the agreement one while for western cultures the opposite is believed to be true (Holmes, 1984; Leech, 1983; Pomerantz, 1978).

The results of this study indicate that T interactants use return strategies more than AE interlocutors and this difference can be attributed to the cultural differences in coping with the dilemma mentioned above.

6.4.2.4. Combination

In FBCC, combination of more than one response strategies is not a very commonly used way of responding to Cs. The table below summarizes the findings on the combination strategies in CRs used in FBCC.

Table 116: Comparison of combination of CR strategies in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

CR-Comb	n within all CRs	% within all verbal CRs	mean	Sig
T	26	6	0,52	0,025
AE	9	5,8	0,18	

The table shows that there are quite few examples of combination of more than one CR strategies. However, the table also underlines that in spite of the difference in the number of CRs paid using this strategy, these seems to be no significant cultural difference reflected on the FB accounts studied. The odds ratio analyses conducted highlight the striking similarity in this respect.

6.4.2.5. Rare Strategies to Respond to Compliments

As table (112) suggests, the possible CR strategies are quite diverse. The most comprehensive ones were added in the scope of this study. The comparison of the two cultures studied, as mentioned before, indicate very strong similarities and differences. It is similar in both T and AE that many CR strategies that were cited as commonly used ones were not very common and some of them were almost nonexistent in the data studied. The difference between the findings of this study and the previous ones may have resulted from the effects of data collection technique and the actual data itself: the use of FB.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

7.0 Presentation

In this chapter, first the aims and the scope of the study is stated and a brief summary of the major findings is presented. Then, the results of the study, major findings and the pedagogical implications for English and Turkish as a foreign/second language are elaborated. Lastly, the limitations of the study are discussed with the suggestions for further research.

7.1. Summary of the Aims and the Scope

The main focus of this study has been online compliments on social networking sites, specifically, *Facebook* with an aim to broaden cross-cultural and gender-based tendencies in the compliment events.

To be able to probe Cs and CRs exchanged on SNSs, a corpus of 2000 Cs was prepared. For data collection FB was chosen because it is the most widely used SNS in Turkey. Nvivo 11, a qualitative data analysis software that allows data import from FB and many other SNSs, has been used to collect, organize and analyze the data. For data collection, 50 Turkish and 50 American (25 males and 25 females in each group) participants were selected using an *Exponential Non-Discriminative Snowball Sampling* methodology. First, the possible informant characteristics were defined and real people with actively used accounts were added to the new FB account. Friends and their friends who were the potential informants were added. A message and a wall post (a general statement everyone can see) informing the potential *friends* (in FB terms) is written and posted. The people who wanted to participate in this study added the account as a friend, and in this manner the actuality of the accounts were verified. As a result a corpus of 2000 Cs from four groups of informants (TF, TM, AEF, AEM) has been prepared. All the participants were 25-35 years of age and they are university graduates. They are actively working in professional jobs.

The data selection process was as challenging as informant selection process. It was clear to understand and decide to use what were definite Cs. However, deciding on what was not a C was a more challenging process because this could have affected the results of the study. Deciding on the data selection started with deciding on what definition of C was taken as a basis. the most comprehensive and widely accepted definition was by Holmes (1988):

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 (p. 446).

Although this definition has been the most comprehensive one and could be applied to most of the data at hand, the Cs that appealed to the speaker himself/herself also considered as a C because they were positively valued by the interactants. There were cases where the C was about how well the photo was taken (the Cer being the one having taken the photo); these samples were also included in FBCC and studied in this dissertation.

All sources were selected and imported on Nvivo 11. The structures of Cs and the topics of them were analyzed by a framework specifically prepared for this research. The functions were classified using an adapted version of Manes & Wolfson (1981) and responses were analyzed following an adapted version of Allami & Montazeri (2012). During the pilot study, the frameworks were evaluated and some adaptations were considered necessary. It was realized that some Cs could fit in more than one categories while some others could not fit in any of the pre-determined categories. Because this research has a data-driven approach to the data analysis, the frameworks were revised and reshaped according to the corpus of online Cs. The existing categories were left as they are to be able to see if there are any examples of such; moreover, some new classes were created so that the framework becomes more comprehensive and meets the needs of the research.

At the end of initial analyses in the pilot study, four frameworks to analyze Cs have emerged: (1) a framework to analyze the structures of online compliments, (2) a framework to analyze the topics of online compliments, (3) a framework to analyze the functions of online compliments, (4) a framework to analyze online compliment responses. The data were analyzed using the frameworks developed. Nvivo analyses allowed the researcher to create head categories called *nodes* and make comparisons between the nodes. For word frequency analyses, *analyze* and *word frequency analysis* commands of Nvivo are used.

7.2. Summary of the Results

The initial findings indicate a very commonly cited result: women pay more Cs. Although this finding is not a new one, some scholars have been skeptical about this finding claiming that the field is dominated by women and because the data are collected by women, they collect the data around them, which results in such findings and these results are not reliable (Rees-Miller, 2011). Recruiting equal numbers of informants from both genders, this study eliminates this possible short-coming and reveals that on FB women pay more Cs both in T and AE.

Another important similarity among the four datasets (TF, TM, AEF, AEM) is that in both T and AE, informants pay more Cs to the people of their own sex. Although there are differences in numbers, the tendencies portray striking similarities. A statistically significant difference between T and AE is that TM get considerably more Cs, especially from women.

Table 117: Distribution of Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE

Interactants	T(n)	T mean	AE(n)	AE (mean)	Sig
F to all	760	13,74	686	15,20	,141
M to all	240	6,32	314	4,50	,06
M to M	138	9,44	235	5,52	,0
M to F	102	3,20	79	3,48	,563
F to M	362	10,68	266	14,48	,0
F to F	398	16,80	420	15,92	,225

As can be seen on the table above, comparison of quantitative data in FBCC underlines as many similarities as differences. Also, when the statistical results are considered, it can be said that the significantly different data comes from the Cs paid to men. This brings up the question about the gender of the Cee. The gender of the Cee seems at least as effective as the gender of the Cer. Especially for topics of Cs and CRs, the gender of the Cee has been analyzed in detail throughout the chapters.

Findings on Structure

- The most important finding about the structure of Cs is that Cs in T are definitely not as formulaic as Cs in AE. In T, statements are the most common structure used while in AE words/phrases are the most frequently used ones. However, still the first three structures used in the two languages are the same.
- To study, adapt and improve the framework created, a detailed literature search on the structures of T and AE was done. Striking similarities and differences were underlined and discussed on the use of Tensed- S conditions (finiteness), imperative/optative uses and rhetorical wh- and yes/no questions. It was an important decision to make which structures to add to the framework. The final decision was to add all possible structural varieties to be able to understand which were more common and which were rare/non-existent. Because the literature, especially on T, could not reach a consensus in some of the topics discussed in this dissertation, a brief literature review was added in such specific parts and the stance taken in this study has been clarified, especially on controversial linguistic discussions.
- In the classification framework, the most widely used two structures are fully constructed finite sentences (providing Tensed-S condition) and non-finite phrases or words. Despite the similarity of top ranking structures used, the use of these two structures differs dramatically in T and AE

datasets. In T, the most common structure is statements (n=421) while there are fewer (n=269) samples in AE. On the contrary, half of AE Cs are paid in words and phrases while 34% of them are paid using non-finite constructions in T. Such a difference has its roots in the linguistic nature of the language. Because T is an agglutinating language, even one word statements can be finite. The difference can be attributed to the linguistic differences rather than social or cultural ones.

- Moreover, a very interesting finding is the use of negative structures in T and AE. In T, there are quite a few cases where structurally negative statements or imperative/optative cases are used in T. However, in FBCC-AE negative statements are not observed.
- The statements and the vocabulary used in FBCC-AE indicate striking similarities with what Manes & Wolfson (1981) put forward. Sometimes a statement can be an intensifier of a *like*. Although *like* already tells that the Cer *liked* the statement, there are examples where the Cer constructs a sentence telling that s/he has *liked* the C (i.e. “I liked more than like”). Such examples in FBCC attract attention to an important concern about *what a like is* as a C as well as a CR. As a C like is a recognition of something to be appreciated. It acts as a C but a very mild one that cannot be responded. Such a formula as not been observed in T dataset.
- The use of wh- elements in T and in AE are structurally very similar. The findings indicate that there is no statistical difference between the use of wh- elements in Cs in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE. This can be considered as an indicator of how linguistic similarities are effective in the structure of the speech act done. This finding also reminds the researchers to be careful about making culture-based generalizations before making sure that the differences are not language-originated.
- Another important structural difference in T and AE is that in T there are samples with yes/no questions and imperatives while in English they are almost non-existent. In both datasets the questions are rhetorical and in most cases they are used without question marks.

- There are some gender-based differences in the use of combination of structures. However, it should be noted that the gender differences are valid and strikingly similar in both FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.
- Turkish data reveal some concurrent uses; however, the higher frequency of some structures is far from the claims of formula in compliment events.
- Statements are the most commonly used structure in FBCC-T. In order to differentiate the statements used in FBCC-T from the phrasal uses, a brief literature review has been provided in the chapter. Finiteness in T is constructed with inflections that might be invisible in 3rd person singular, which results in a difficulty in the identification of finiteness in T.
- In FBCC-T, there was a specific use of “ama” [*but*] identified. This “ama” is not used to indicate contrast or concession. It is not used to indicate any linking puposes. It is used as a conversational “ama” or a discourse marker.
- Words and phrases, including emoticons and sounds of emotions, make up the second most commonly used structural category in FBCC-T. There are many cases in which a sound of emotion acts as a C.
- Wh- elements, including rhetorical questions and exclamatory remarks, are the fourth commonly used structures. The use of wh- words in embedded clauses were not analyzed under this category. They were analyzed according to the structure of the main clause.
- In FBCC-T, there were examples of structurally negative statements to pay Cs. These statements make up of 22 of the data. There seems to be no gender-bias in the use.
- Another point to ponder about the structure of T is imperatives. In T imperative case is a controversial case because the scope and borders of imperative case are not clarified in the literature. Optative case is considered under the imperative in some sources while it is considered as a separate case in some other sources. Because the ways of identification of these case markers and the differentiation between them are not clearcut, the optative uses are considered under this category. In fact, structurally negative uses had optative meanings and connotations, too.

Imperative mood, including optative, are the fourth common category in FBCC-T.

- Yes/no questions are rare but not non-existent in FBCC-T. Similar to wh-questions, they are rhetorical ones. In many of the questions in FBCC-T (both yes/no and wh-) there are no question marks at the end of structurally interrogative utterances. This is a strong indicator of rhetorical use of questions in online Cs.
- A category unique to this research is the combination of more than one structures. The third most common category is the combination of more than one structures. The combined structures have been analyzed in detail throughout the chapters. However, it should be underlined that the most common strategy is to combine a word and a fully constructed finite sentence. The word is *maşallah* in many cases. Referring back to Sidraschi (2014) who claimed that Cs can be considered as dangerous acts which might cause the loss or damage of the referent of the C in some cultures, it was discussed that Cs may include envy as well as appreciation and there is an idea that this envy may cause some negativity in the target of the C. That is why the C is very commonly preceded, followed or interrupted with the word *maşallah* as a wish from God to protect the object of C. *Maşallah* is considered as a non-finite word if it is used alone or separated from the main sentence with punctuation. However in cases when it is used in the sentence, it was not considered as an additional structure.
- In AE data, non-finite words/phrases are the most, statements are the second most commonly used structures. The structures as well as the word frequency analyses indicate striking similarities with Manes & Wolfson (1981). It can be said that this study verifies the claims of formula in AE Cs.
- AE data does not include any negative statements. Also, structures constructed with wh-elements, yes/no questions or imperatives are very rare in FBCC-AE.

Findings on Topics of Compliments

- Before studying C exchanges an important research by Adachi (2010) is worth revisiting. Adachi claims that in most of the cases, it is the Cee who fishes for Cs by bringing up the object of C into the conversation. In FB case, this is always true. Cs are initiated by the photos posted and these photos can be considered as the first part of adjacency pairs. Because of this nature of the data, it is not surprising that in FBCC, appearance is the most commonly complimented topic. This finding validates and even upgrades the findings in the previous studies. The reason why there are many appearance Cs in FBCC can be because of two reasons: the nature of Cs (considering similar results indicated in previous studies) and the nature of the data collected. Because this study is conducted on photo comments, the physical appearance is expected to be highlighted in the photos and this might have had an effect on the findings.
- Appearance Cs are divided into two in order to be able to understand the specific aspect of appearance that is complimented. However, the findings reflected a very interesting face concern that the Cers have. For both languages, the Cers prefer to pay general appearance Cs in which the Cee's good-looks is complimented but what specifically looks that good is not mentioned. The results show that both groups of participants prefer to pay general appearance Cs, which might be attributed to the fact that paying a specific C can be more face-threatening. The public nature of FB, on which private exchanges take place might be an important facilitator of such a face concern.
- The second most common category on the basis of topics of Cs is the photo Cs, which were added to the framework considering the extra level/buffer layer the lexicon or inflection of the C adds to the C. Photo Cs are also worth studying as they provide insights about the face concerns of the interactants. Photo Cs are differentiated from other categories with the vocabulary or the inflection used such as "nice pic", "gorgeous photo", "super çikmişsin" [*you look perfect*] etc. In photo Cs, the C is conveyed

from the Cer to the Cee in a less face-threatening way as the vocabulary and affixes that make the photo C act as a *buffer layer* that softens the face-threatening nature of Cs. AE data includes a considerably high number of photo Cs. The formulaic structures and vocabulary mentioned by Manes & Wolfson (1981) fit in photo comments and this might be a triggering factor for such a massive use in FBCC-AE.

- Possessions are the third most common topic of Cs. Especially possessions that cover some affect are complimented more. That is, more than material possessions, abstract ones like a relationship or something about kids are complimented more for both men and women, Turkish or American. In both languages, men attract more possession Cs than women.
- Personality Cs, similar to possession ones, do not indicate quantitative differences between languages. Both in T and AE, men attract more personality Cs. A very striking finding about T data is that the personality Cs men attract include words that are addressed to the “manhood” of the Cee. The words “adam” [*man*], “paşa” [*pasha, admiral, general*], “kral” [*king*] and “tosun” [*bullock, young bull*] is used and accepted as Cs. Such examples are non-existent in FBCC-AE. This indicates a sexist vocabulary in the act of complimenting towards men in T. On the other hand, female counterparts of such vocabulary does not exist in the corpus.
- Performance Cs in T and AE do not indicate much difference quantitatively and qualitatively. A very important finding is that in both languages, males attract performance Cs from both genders at a considerably higher degree than female interactants. In AE, the difference is not statistically significant.
- Compliments with a combination of more than one topic and Cs with unclear topics are interestingly unique categories to this research. In the previous research, there has been no mention to some Cs having unclear topics or more than one topic. Benefiting from the naturally occurring data and a comprehensive corpus, this research underlines that there may be cases where the C is used with a vague referent or multiple referents.

- A very important finding that spots the relationship between the structure and the topic of Cs is found in the difference between T and AE in the use of Cs with unclear topics. In AE there are considerably more Cs with unclear topics. The causes can be explained with the structural difference in the languages regarding *Tensed-S* condition. In both languages, one-word or two-word structures to pay Cs are very common. However, in T, even one-word statements can meet Tensed-S condition while in AE both the non-pro-drop nature of the language and the auxiliary being a free morpheme makes almost all one-word or phrasal utterances non-finite. This non-finiteness results in a subject being not clear in English but more likely to be clear in T. That is there are more Cs with unclear topics in English, and this difference in topics of Cs can be attributed to the structural difference.

Findings on Functions of Compliments

- When functions of Cs are analyzed, it can be observed that in both T and AE, the functions of online Cs on FB are formulaic. Both in T and AE, more than 80% of the data consists of approval/admiration Cs. FBCC-AE indicates more approval/admiration Cs than T while FBCC-T includes more examples of Cs to indicate solidarity, connectedness and togetherness. This finding also reinforces the idea that in the Middle Eastern/East European cultural settings *community* and *collective culture* is more important.
- Another important difference in functions of T and AE Cs on FB is that in T there are many uses of sarcasm and the use of words with negative meanings. There are such uses in AE as well but there is a significant quantitative difference between the two groups. In T, men use and get sarcastic Cs more while in AE women pay and receive such Cs more.
- The striking similarity is that many functions of Cs cited in previous literature are extremely rare in FBCC like opening a conversation or following up conversation. This might be attributed to the nature of the

data collected. Because SNSs are public areas, the privacy of such talks may be left to more private zones like the messenger.

Findings on Compliment Responses

- Before classifying the responses to Cs, the modes of responses have been analyzed. The classification framework has been provided by FB itself. The possible modes of response FB provided for its users were (i) to like the C, (ii) to verbally respond to the C, (iii) to like and verbally respond to the C and (iv) to avoid responding/ to ignore the C²². When the modes of responses are considered, it can be claimed that *like* is the most common response strategy in both datasets. The *like* is used on its own in many cases and it serves as an appreciation token. However, a discussion on how mild it sounds as an appreciation token deserves attention because there are many cases in which it is used along with verbal appreciation tokens, as well.
- Women give more verbal responses to Cs in both T and AE data. T informants prefer to provide verbal responses to the Cers considerably more than AE informants. Both groups use *like* along with verbal responses to a similar level.
- T women prefer to pay verbal comments as the most common mode of response while AE women prefer to use the *like* as the first. Another considerable finding is that T men provide verbal responses to Cs to a considerably higher degree.
- When the types of CRs were analyzed, the framework prepared after the pilot study was used. The first important finding is the considerable difference between the verbal Cs provided in FBCC-T and FBCC-AE.

²² In the course of the research, after the data were imported on Nvivo, *Facebook* added another mode of response. After this change users can choose ways of liking with six possible emoticons explained in parentheses: a heart (love), flower (thankful), a laughing smiley (haha), a surprised/shocked smiley (wow), a crying face (sad) and a frowning face (angry). However, note that these emoticons were added to the like button under the original post shared. The comment response part still has the *like* only.

- For both datasets, appreciation tokens are the first and most commonly used type of response. This also indicates that *like* itself is not enough to give the response in many cases. Verbal responses used with or without *like* are needed to respond to Cs more intensely.
- Comment acceptance is the second most commonly used strategy in both datasets. T people use considerably higher numbers of responses that accept the Cs by giving comments on the referent of the C.
- Return strategy indicates cultural implications because the samples are quite rare in AE. In T data, there are quite a few cases in which the Cee returns the C to the Cee.
- Other response strategies like upgrading the C or scaling it down are more common in T. Reassessment and disagreement are two other strategies that exist mostly in T data. This finding indicates that AE CRs, similar to the structure of AE Cs, are formulaic.
- Other ways of responding to Cs such as using emoticons, sounds of emotions and the like are also found in both of the datasets. Also combination of more than one strategies are also observed. This underlines the need for “other” and “combination” categories.
- Interestingly, the gender-based in-group comparisons of FBCC-T and FBCC-AE reveal that the response strategies do not show statistically significant gender-based differences. The chance of using the *like* only and the high percentage of the use of appreciation tokens might be the main reason of such a similarity.

Other Findings:

- Word frequency analyses shed light on the fact that the formulaic nature of Cs is not as strong in T as in AE.
- There are culturally specific uses, especially in T, that promise further interesting findings. Some of these culturally unique uses include wishes to God, belief in the evil eye, and the use of sarcastic utterances in Cs.

7.3. Implications for EFL and TFL

Language teaching is intricately interwoven to culture teaching and teaching the pragmatics. That is why intercultural and crosscultural pragmatics has much to offer in-class practices. The findings of this research provides fruitful data and areas of development for second/foreign language teaching/learning practices.

To start with, as the results indicate, there are some unique culture specific characteristics of the speech act of compliments. As the use of this specific speech act varies across cultures, it is important for the communicators in a language to be able to recognize/identify, understand and properly respond it. Therefore, it is highly necessary for the L2 learners to be equipped with the pragmatic knowledge and rules of the use of this speech act. In cases where Cs are not identified or correctly responded the users may violate some conversational norms which might result in misunderstandings and prejudices. Thus, speech acts and the contexts where these speech acts are problematic for the learners derive more attention in language learning/teaching processes. That is why it is a responsibility to teach how to pay and respond to Cs in the curriculum of language teaching.

Most of the language teachers depend on (or they are made to depend on) coursebooks as teaching materials. Thus, teachers are in need of practical and comprehensive course-books that are successful enough to cover the pragmatic aspects of language like speech acts. The coursebooks in use do not focus on Cs at all because of an underestimation on the use of Cs and CRs. Because Cs are claimed to be easily identified and formulaically structured, they are unable to find a place in the coursebooks in many cases. Even if they exist, the contexts they might occur in, the various alternative ways to pay Cs and to respond to them are not focused. Because AE Cs are mostly formulaic and the responses also bear many recurrent uses, the coursebooks may have an easier time to include materials to prepare the users for real life interactions in C events. However, such a possible ease of integration of Cs into the

curriculum should not lead to an underestimation about the use of Cs in language teaching curricula.

On the other hand, Cs in T display more diverse uses and generalizations may not work. Further studies might provide more focus on different aspects of Cs in T. Also, materials developed to teach T as a second/foreign language should include the speech acts of Cs. Because of the non-formulaic structural and lexical nature of Cs in T, the curriculum should be required to integrate

In order to include such materials into the programs, more studies on interlanguage of the learners are also needed. More crosscultural and intercultural studies can provide insights about points of difficulties for language learners, resulting in materials being shaped accordingly.

7.4. Limitations of the Study and Implications for Further Research

This study has some limitations and implications for further research. The first limitation is the lack of enough background studies on T language in terms of structure and pragmatics. This study was designed as a two-way comparison on the effects of gender and culture on the C exchanges on FB. In order for this study to be conducted, structural analyses were made. Throughout the structural analyses, it was observed that finiteness in T is open to more detailed research especially in cases where nominal clauses with third person singular are constructed. Another point to attract more research in T structure is the use of imperative and optative mood. Especially in cases where wishes to God are valid, there are striking uses that call for further studies.

Another shortcoming of the corpus prepared for this study is the informant group. 2000 Cs were gathered from a group of participants with some similar demographic characteristics like age and educational level. In terms of Cs and CRs in general, other SNSs and informants with different age groups or education levels are open to investigation. Because most of the Cs we use in our daily lives are online, online Cs deserve attention and they have the

potential to provide valuable information on language and culture. Also, another shortcoming of this study is that while the use of FB provided the researcher with the possibility to collect a huge number of data from both languages, the inability to gather personal information from and of the participants (like their marital status etc.) is one of the shortcomings of this study. Especially, the difficulty and inability to understand social distance between the interlocutors is another weakness of this study. In order for broader generalizations to be made, much more research needs to be conducted on this issue.

Another important implication for further research is the use of *like* and emoticons. In this study, like as a CR and emoticons in Cs and CRs are analyzed. However, there are quite many other uses of them as well. Their different uses and the pragmatic meanings they bear in conversations are able to provide the linguists with information about online language and non-verbal cues in online communication.

7.5. Final Word

Think about the last Cs you have paid or received. For sure, some of these Cs were paid online. In this new age of communication which has been heavily influenced by what modes of communication social networking sites provide their users with, speech act of complimenting has reached its golden age. They deserve more attention than ever before. Different media of communication and different informant groups are able to provide the field of pragmatics with invaluable data on languages. This dissertation at hand is an initial one which hopes to trigger further studies on both languages investigated.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Classification of Structure of Compliments

1	Yes/No Questions
2	Wh- Elements
3	Statements
4	Words/Phrases
5	Imperatives
6	Combination

APPENDIX B: Classification of Topic of Compliments

1	Appearance
2	Performance
3	Personality
4	Photo
5	Possessions
6	unclear
7	Combination

APPENDIX C: Classification of Functions of Compliments

App	to express approval or admiration toward the listener
Cop	as conversation opener
Des	to offer praise, to reinforce or encourage the desired behavior in specific situations, such as teaching and learning
Fol	to show interest in the issue at hand for example by asking follow-up questions
Oth	to strengthen or replace other speech acts like apologizing, greeting, reprimanding, or thanking, request
Sar	as sarcasm
Sof	to soften acts such as criticism
Sol	to establish solidarity between speaker and addressee
unknown	

APPENDIX D: Classification of Compliment Responses

AppT	to give an appreciation token
ComA	to accept the c with a neutral comment on the complimented item
Return	to return the c to the cer
Combination	to use more than one strategy in responding
Other	unknown or unclear
ScD	to decrease the effect of the c
Upgrade	to increase the effect of the c
Reass	to reassess the c
Disagree	not to accept the c

APPENDIX E: VITA

FUNDA DÖRTKULAK

Education:

- 2010-2017: PhD in English Language Teaching, METU, Ankara
- 2006-2009: MA in English Literature, METU, Ankara
- 2001- 2005: BA in the Department of Foreign Language Education

Personal Profile:

Nationality: T.C.

Birth Date: 17/11/1983

Birth Place: Kayseri

Experience:

2006-Present: Çankaya University Preparatory School, Instructor

Trainings:

Çankaya University Preparatory School, INSET Program (In-service Training),
3 years

Atilım University Pre-Service Training, 80 hours

Skills Profile:

Computer Skills: Knowledge of Microsoft Office Package (MS Word, MS
Excel, MS Power point, MS Front Page)

Language Skills: C2 in English

B2 in German

APPENDIX F: TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

BİR KARŞILAŞTIRMALI EDİMBİLİM ÇALIŞMASI: TÜRKÇE VE AMERİKAN İNGİLİZCESİNDE SOSYAL MEDYADA KULLANILAN İLTİFATLAR VE İLTİFATLARA VERİLEN YANITLAR

GİRİŞ

Sosyal medyanın hayatımıza girmesi ile birlikte iltifat söz-eylemlerin kullanımı her geçen gün hızla artmaktadır. İnsanların birbiri ile ilişki ve yakınlık (solidarity) kurmak ve birbirlerinin yüzlerini korumak ve pekiştirmek için kullandıkları iltifat söz-eylemler, sosyal medya kullanımının beraberinde getirdiği yeni iletişim şekilleri ile birlikte, dilbilim dünyasına üzerinde çalışılması gereken çok geniş bir dil kullanımı sunmaktadır. Daha önce söylem tamamlama testleri ve sesli dil kayıtları ile çalışılan iltifatlar daha yaygın bir iltifat kullanım alanı sağlayan sosyal medya araçlarında neredeyse vazgeçilmez bir iletişim yöntemi olarak yerini almıştır. Hergün yapılan iltifatların önemli bir kısmı yüzyüze değil sosyal medya araçları üzerinden çevrimiçi platformlarda yayılmaktadır. Günlük hayatın bir parçası haline gelmiş çevrimiçi platformlarda iltifat kullanımını kapsamak iltifat çalışmaları için bir zorunluluk haline gelmiştir.

Sosyal medyadaki iletişim araçları her geçen gün iletişimde yeni bir yanıt verme yöntemi geliştirmektedir. Sözsüz iletişimin yazılı hali olarak hayatımıza giren, iki ya da üç karakterden oluşan klavye kısayolları, zamanla önceden belirlenmiş sayıca sınırlı duygusal tepkiler ifade eden küçük resimler [emojiler] ile zenginleşmiştir. Bu küçük resimler hem yüklenen fotoğrafa hem de ona yapılan yoruma yanıt vermek amacıyla kullanılabilir. Ayrıca fotoğrafın kendisine alt yazı [caption] olarak da kullanılabilir. Bu kullanım bu araştırmanın kapsamında değildir.

Bu çalışmanın öncelikli amacı her iki dile ayrı ayrı referans veri oluşturmayı ve diller ve kültürler arasında karşılaştırmalı bulgular elde etmeyi de kapsayan üç ana başlıkta toplanabilir. İlk temel amaç, anadili Türkçe ve İngilizce (Amerikan

İngilizcesi) olan sosyal medya kullanıcılarının iltifat söz-eylemleri ile bir derlem oluşturmak ve bu derlem içindeki iltifatların konu, işlev ve yapılarını ve bu söz-eylemlere verilen yanıtları incelemektir. Çalışmanın bu kısmı, öncelikli olarak iltifatı belirlemek ve tanımlamak konusunda tartışmalara yer vermekte ve bununla birlikte alanyazında daha önce yapılmış çalışmalardan referanslar vermekle beraber özellikle Türkçede daha önce hiç çalışılmamış ya da çok az ele alınmış birçok analizi barındırmaktadır.

Araştırmanın ikinci amacı cinsiyet ve dil kullanımı arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemek ve daha önce farklı dillerde yapılmış çalışmaların belirttiği cinsiyet temelli farklılıkların söz konusu sosyal medya derleminde de olup olmadığını analiz etmektir. Yine bu analizler kapsamında toplumsal cinsiyet odaklı davranış modeli olarak kabul edilen davranışların sosyal medya aracındaki örneklerde kendini gösterip göstermediği tartışılmıştır.

Araştırmanın bir diğer amacı dil - kültür ilişkisi üzerine odaklanmaktır. İki gruptaki katılımcıların iltifatlara verdikleri yanıtlar incelenmiş ve bu yanıtlardaki kültürel öğeler tartışılmıştır. Çalışmanın bulgularındaki bazı farklılıklar diller arasındaki yapısal farklılıklarla açıklanırken, önemli ölçüde kültürel öğelerin yol açtığı farklılıklar gözlemlenmiş ve tartışılmıştır.

ALANYAZIN ÖZETİ

Araştırmanın alanyazın bölümünde öncelikli olarak *söz eylem kuramından* bahsedilmiştir. Bu kuram içinde iltifatların nerede durduğu tartışılmıştır (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). Goffman (1967)'in *yüz kuramı* ve Grice (1975)'in *işbirliği ilkeleri* ise daha sonra birikimsel bir şekilde nezaket çalışmalarının artmasına ve gelişmesine ışık tutmuştur. Bu bağlamda sırasıyla Lakoff (1974), Brown & Levinson (1978), Leech (2007) ve Spencer-Oatey & Xing (2003) bu alandaki çalışmalara büyük katkılarda bulunmuşlardır ve bu tezin alanyazın kısmında bu çalışmalara detaylı bir şekilde yer verilmiştir.

Alanyazın kısmı, bu alanda geliştirilmiş kuramlara ek olarak yapılan çalışmalarını da kapsamaktadır. Bu sebeple alanyazın kısmında sadece Türkçe ve/ya İngilizce değil tüm dünya dilleri üzerinde yapılan çalışmalar taranmış, çalışmaya ışık tutacak olanlar özetlenmiş, bir kısmının bulguları ve bu bulguların olası nedenleri tartışılmıştır. Araştırmaların ciddi bir çoğunluğunun İngilizce üzerine yapılmış olması alanyazında baskın dil olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. İngilizcenin en çok çalışılan dil olması ve diğer dillerin çok daha az çalışılması İngilizce bulguların bazı durumlarda tüm dillere genellenmesine sebep olmakta, bu da yanlış ve aşırı genellemelere yol açmaktadır. Bu hatadan kaçınabilmenin en doğru yolu, diğer dünya dillerinde yapılan araştırma sayısını ve araştırmaların çeşitliliğini de arttırarak diller arası farklılıklar ve benzerliklere yeni bir bakış açısı kazandırabilmektir.

İltifat çalışmaları alanda görece yeni bir alanı oluşturmaktadır. Bir söylem olarak iltifatlar üzerine yapılan ilk çalışmalar daha çok yapısal özelliklere odaklanmışken, daha sonraki yıllarda iltifatlar ve onlara verilen yanıtlar işlevsel ve konu odaklı olarak da incelenmiştir. Manes & Wolfson (1981) iltifat çalışmaları alanında bugün hala temel oluşturan bulguları ile İngilizcede iltifatların *basmakalıp* [formulaic] olduğunu, yani kullanımda olan iltifatların bir çoğunun çok sınırlı sayıda cümle yapısı ve önad ile yapıldığını öne sürmüştür. Öyle ki, bu çalışmanın bulgularına göre toplamda beş yapı ve dört önad İngilizce iltifatların %86'sını oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışma oldukça ses getirmiş ve sonrasındaki çalışmalara yön vermiştir. Sonrasında yapılan çalışmaların çoğu da bu bulguyu doğrulamaktadır (Boori, 1994; Blum-kulka & Olshtain, 1984). İltifatlar kullanılan dilin resmiyet düzeyine, konuşmacıların yakınlık düzeylerine, içinde buldukları dilsel bağlam ve çevresel ortama göre ya da aldıkları yanıtlara göre incelenmiş, farklı dillerde benzeşen ve ayrışan birçok noktanın üzerinde durulmuştur. Yapılan çalışmaların kimi söylem tamamlama testleri kimi ise günlük konuşmaların kayıt altına alınması ile yapılmıştır. Ancak günlük konuşma kaydının bir çok zorluğu düşünüldüğünde söylem tamamlama testleri daha yoğun kullanılmıştır. Bu tezin bulguları farklı bir veri toplama yöntemi ve farklı bir dil kullanımını araştırdığı için farklı bir bakış açısı ve farklı bulgular ortaya

koymayı hedeflemiş ve başarmıştır. Hem Türkçenin hem de sosyal medyanın bu araştırmaya katılması alanyazında yer alan bir çok çalışmadan farklı bir yer edinmesine yardımcı olmaktadır. Türkçe gibi bir çok dil de üzerinde çalışma yapılmasına açıktır. Bu alanda İngilizceden sonra en yoğun çalışılan diller Mandarin Çincesi ve Almancadır.

Yapılan çalışmalarda en az iltifatlar kadar iltifatlara verilen yanıtlar da konu olmuştur. Kapsamlı bir iltifat çalışmasının hem iltifatı hem de ona verilen yanıtı ve hatta mümkünse bütün iletişimi konu edinmesi gerektiği ilkesinden yola çıkarak, bu araştırmada iltifat söyleminin olduğu birleşik tümcelerin tamamı analiz edilmiştir. İltifatların aldıkları yanıtlar da en az iltifatlar kadar içinde bulunduğu toplumun dokusunu taşımaktadır. Bu sebeple olacak ki bilim dünyasında en az iltifatlar kadar onlara verilen yanıtlar da ilgi çekmektedir (Davis, 1995; Golato, 2003; Pomerantz, 1978; Valdés & Pino, 1981; Behnam & Amizadeh, 1981; He, n.d.; Hobbs, 2003; Holmes, 1986; Jusuf Ibrahim & Theophilus J. Riyanto, 2000; Mackey & Gass, 2005; Maíz-Arévalo, 2013; Matsuura, 2002; Şakırgil & Çubukçu, 2013; Tang & Zhang, 2009). Bu çalışmaların birçoğu iltifatlara verilen yanıtların yapı ve içerik bakımından analizlerini yapmakla beraber bitişik sözceleri [adjacency pairs] de ele almaktadır.

İltifat çalışmalarının temelini oluşturan bu çalışmalara ek olarak Türkçe'deki bulgulara benzerlik gösteren bazı çalışmalara da alanyazında yer verilmiştir. Örneğin Türkçe derlemde etkisi oldukça belirgin olan nazar kavramının benzer bir örneğini anlatan Sidrachi (2014) İtalyanın bir bölgesinde insanların iltifatın olumsuz sonuçlar getirebilecek bir söz-eylem olduğuna inandıklarını, iltifat ettikleri kişi veya nesneyi olası bir zarardan korumak için de aıçerisinde iltifat olan sözceleri yanında bir “koruma sözcüğü” ile kullandıklarını rapor etmektedir. Bu koruma sözcüğü anlayışı ve iltifatın bir kayıp ya da zarara sebep olabilme ihtimali Türk kültüründeki nazar kavramı ile birebir örtüşmektedir.

Türkçe ile ilgili yapılmış çok az sayıda çalışma olmakla beraber en kapsamlı çalışmalar Ruhi (2006) ve Şakırgil & Çubukçu (2013) tarafından yapılmıştır. Ruhi (2006) iltifatlara verilen yanıtları nezaket kuramı ve Leech (1983)'in ilkelerine

göre incelemiştir. Ayrıca Ruhi (2006) iltifat-cinsiyet ilişkisi üzerinde de durmuş kadınlara yapılan iltifatları konuları bakımından incelemiştir. Ruhi'nin hem yapısal hem de konu odaklı bulguları, bu çalışmanın bulguları ile önemli ölçüde benzerlik göstermektedir. Şakırgil & Çubukçu (2013) ise iltifat konuları üzerine çalışmış ve bir basmakalıp kullanımdan [*formulaic use*] bahsetmiştir. Ancak altı çizilmelidir ki bu basmakalıp kullanım yapısal ya da sözlüksel bir basmakalıplık değildir daha çok bitişik sözceler üzerinde durulmuştur; bu yüzden Manes & Wolfson (1981)'in bahsettiğinden farklı bir basmakalıplık öne sürülmektedir.

Alanyazın özetinden de anlaşılacağı gibi bu alanda yapılan çalışmalar son zamanlarda artmıştır ancak Türkçe üzerine yeterli çalışma henüz yapılmamıştır. İltifatlar konusunda bu tez ve batı dilleri dışındaki diller üzerine yapılan diğer çalışmalar çoğu batı dilleri üzerinde yapılan araştırmalarla varılabilecek yanlış ve aşırı genellemeleri engellemek açısından önemlidir. Ayrıca bu gibi çalışmalar kültürlerarası ve cinsiyetler arası farklılıklar kadar aynılıklara da odaklanarak sadece kültürel sınır çizgilerini değil cinsiyet davranışları ile ilgili sınır çizgilerini de sorgulamak ve sorgulatmak amacını gütmektedir.

YÖNTEM

Bu tez bir derlem çalışmasıdır, bu sebeple yöntemi oluşturan ilk aşama derlemin hazırlanmasıdır. Bu adımın başlangıç noktası ise iltifatın tanımlanmasıdır. En yaygın kullanılan iltifat tanımı Holmes (1988) tarafından yapılmıştır. İletişimdeki kişilerden birinin kendisi dışındaki birine ya da bir şeye karşı olumlu değerlendirmesini beyan etmesi olarak özetlenebilecek bir tanım oldukça kapsamlı ancak bir o kadar yetersizdir. Günümüzün en kapsamlı tanımı olarak alıntılanan bu tanım 1988 yılından sonra değişikliğe uğrayan iltifat kavramının yeniliklerini içine almamaktadır. Örneğin kişinin kendisi ile ilgili “övgü” dolu sözcüklerinin kendi kendine yapılan iltifat [*self-compliments*] olduğu gerçeği, bu tür iltifatların ya da övünmelerin sosyal medyada azımsanamayacak oranda kullanılıyor olması ve iltifatların her zaman zararsız olumlu sözceler olduğunun iddia edilemeyeceği bu tezin önemli bulgularındandır ve iltifatın tanımında geçmemektedir. Alanyazında bahsedilen bazı çalışmalar Sidrachi (2014) bu tip

bulguların sadece Türk diliyle ya da Türk kültürüyle sınırlı olmadığına dair önemli ipuçları sunmaktadır. O halde iltifat kavramının yeniden tanımlanması, bu yeni tanımına sosyal medya kullanımının, dilde 30 yıla yakın süre içerisinde gerçekleşmiş değişikliklerin ve bu kavramların genel-geçer olmayabileceği gerçeğinin de eklenmesi gerekmektedir.

Araştırmanın ilk basamağı olan “iltifat nedir” ve “ne iltifattır” sorularının sorulduğu noktada, iltifat ve iltifat olmayan sözcelerin ayrımında Manes& Wolfson’ın iltifatları belirlemenin kolaylığı ile ilgili iddiaları eleştiriye açık bir hale gelmiştir. Manes& Wolfson yaptıkları bir çalışmada saha araştırmacılarını sahaya iltifat toplamaya göndermiş, ancak bu araştırmacılara iltifatın ne olduğu konusunda hiçbir ön bilgi vermemiştir. Kendi saha araştırmacılarının hiçbir eğitim almadan iltifat olduğu düşüncesiyle topladıkları verilerin tamamının iltifat olması onları iltifatların tanımlanmasının çok kolay olduğu sonucuna götürmüştür ve aslında bu çıkarım görece kabul edilebilirdir. Saha araştırmacıları hiçbir eğitim almadan neyin iltifat olduğunu tanımışlardır ancak aynı saha araştırmacıları neyin iltifat olmadığını belirlerken neyi dikkate almışlardır sorusu akıllara “kaçınma” olasılığını getirmektedir. Aslında belki de en ciddi bulguların ve çıkarımların içinde bulunduğu ciddi bir dil verisi araştırmanın dışında kalmaktadır. Bu sorunla karşılaşmamak adına neyin iltifat kabul edildiği kadar neyin iltifat kabul edilemeyeceği sorusu da araştırmanın bu ilk basamaklarından itibaren gündeme gelmiştir. Yani iltifat olan sözceleri belirlemek gerçekten kolay gibi görünse de iltifat olmayan sözcelerle aralarındaki çizgi sanıldığı kadar net değildir. Bireysel, bağlamsal ve toplumsal bir çok değişken bir sözcenin iltifat olarak kabul edilip edilmemesinde önemli rol oynamaktadır. Bütün bu veriler ele alındığında Facebook Türkçe İltifat Derlemi iltifat olarak kabul edilip edilmemesi tartışılabilir bir çok örnek barındırılmış, bu örneklerin iltifat olarak ya da olmayarak sınıflandırılmasında göz önünde bulundurulmuş temel kriterler detaylı olarak tartışılmıştır. Araştırmaya katılan iltifatların seçimi göstermiştir ki neyin iltifat kabul edilip neyin edilmediği hem kültürel hem de bireysel bir çok değişkene bağlıdır ve bazı iltifatlar genel geçer kabul edilse de gerçek hayatta

kullanılan dil evrensel olduğu düşünölemeyecek kadar farklı ögeler barındırmaktadır.

Facebook İltifat Derlemi (FBCC) *Facebook* adlı sosyal medya aracından oluşturulmuş olup, iltifat alan katılımcıların sayfalarından Nvivo 11 adlı istatistik programına yüklenen iltifatları kapsamaktadır. Sayfasından veri toplanan tüm katılımcılar 25-35 yaş arası üniversite mezunu katılımcılardır. Sayfasından kendisine yapılan iltifatları alan tüm katılımcılar bir çalışmaya katkıda buldukları konusunda bilgilendirilmişlerdir. Ancak onların arkadaşları, ya da fotoğraflarına yorum yapan diğer kişiler bu konuda bilgilendirilmemiştir. Bu konuda yapılan alanyazın taraması bir çok tartışmayı dikkate almış ve telif hakları kapsamında değerlendirerek sosyal medya sayfası sahibinin izni ve bilgisi olarak tüm yorumları kullanmıştır. Ancak yapılan yorumların sahibi zaten bir çok kişiye ve hatta dünyaya açık bir yorum yaptığı bilinciyle bu verilerin kullanımına olanak tanımıştır ve bu sebeple teker teker bilgilendirme mümkün olmadığından telif hakkı talep edememektedir. Söz konusu yorum ve paylaşımlar araştırmacıya ve hatta çoğu kez tüm dünyaya açık olduğu için kullanılabilmiştir. Ayrıca yorumlar katılımcının sayfasında olduğu için de ondan alınan izinler Her katılımcının profil fotoğrafından başlayarak tarihte geri gitme yöntemi ile aldığı en son 20 iltifat araştırma kapsamına alınmış olup, fotoğraf seçiminde ise kişinin kendisinin bulunduğu fotoğraflar değerlendirmeye alınmıştır. Kişilik haklarının gizliliği gereği fotoğraflar bulanık bir şekilde kullanılmış, kişi adları sözceler içinde geçiyorsa değiştirilmiş, ayrıca her örneğe anlamlı bir kod verilmiştir. Böylece hem katılımcıların kişisel bilgileri güvence altına alınmış, hem de örnekler derlemde bulunabilir hale getirilmiştir.

Nvivo 11 nitel veri analizine imkan sağlayan ve özellikle sınıflandırma odaklı verilerin işlenebileceği ve ayrıca sosyal medya hesaplarından da veri aktarımı yapabilen işlevsel ve bu araştırmanın öngörülen yöntemine uygun bir yazılımdır. Bu sebeple Nvivo 11 araştırmanın her aşamasında kullanılmıştır. Altında iltifat olan fotoğraflar ve alttaki iltifat içerikli karşılıklı konuşmalar Nvivo 11 üzerine pdf formatında atılmış, daha sonra ayrıştırılarak Nvivo'nun sunduğu kodlama

yöntemi ile sınıflandırılmış ve bu süreç nitel analize imkan sağlamıştır. Bu süreç yeni bulguların daha iyi sınıflandırılmasına ve ayrı bir başlık altında toplanıp daha sonraki bulgularla kıyaslanmasına ya da birleştirilmesine de olanak sağlamıştır. Bu sınıflandırma ile alanyazındaki diğer çalışmalar ve pilot çalışma sonucunda elde edilmiş kategorilerin altları doldurulmuş, her iki dildeki iltifat kullanımları ile ilgili genel bir fikir elde edilirken tüm iltifatlar da bir çok kez farklı açılardan (yapı, konu, işlev, kültürel öğeler ve aldıkları yanıtlar) bakımından analiz edilmiştir. Sınıflandırmanın sonucunda nitel data nicel rakamlara dönüşmüştür. Ortaya çıkan bu değerler ise SPSS 22 üzerinde yapılan nicel araştırmanın temelini oluşturmuş ve derlem ile ilgili kapsamlı bir sonuca ulaşılmasını mümkün kılmıştır.

Ana çalışma yapılmadan önce bu çalışmada kullanılacak olan verinin %16'sını kapsayan bir pilot çalışma yapılmış, bu çalışmanın ışığında nitel araştırmanın çatısını oluşturan sınıflandırma kriterleri nicel bulguları da etkileyecek biçimde yeniden düzenlenmiştir. Pilot çalışmada kullanılan verinin ana çalışmaya eklenip eklenmemesi konusu tartışılmış, eklenmemesini savunan bilim insanlarının “veri kirlenmesi” sorunundan bahsettiği görülmüştür. Aynı katılımcının aynı konu, sorun ya da test ile ilgili ikinci deneyiminin ilkinden farklı olmasından kaynaklanan güvenirlilik probleminin zaten kağıt üzerinde bir veri olan ve zaten toplanmış ve değiştirilmesi mümkün olmayan bu derlem için geçerli olmadığı sonucuna varıldığından pilot çalışmada kullanılan verilerin ana çalışmaya da katılması uygun görülmüştür.

SPSS 22 adlı istatistik programına girilen verilere bir kaç çeşit analiz uygulanmıştır. İlk analiz yöntemi olan “odds-oranı” toplam rakamı ve dolayısıyla ortalamaları [mean] benzeşmeyen veri gruplarının ortaya çıkma olasılıklarını ölçmede kullanılan bir istatistik biçimidir. Her iki dilde de kadın ve erkek deneklerin toplam iltifat sayılarındaki farklılık göz önüne alınarak, cinsiyet eğilimi açısından en doğru sonucu vereceği düşünülen “odds oranı” cinsiyet kıyaslamaları için kullanılmıştır.

Toplam iltifat sayısının eşit olduğu ve karşılaştırmalı analizlerin anlamlı sonuç verebileceği durumlarda öncelikle tüm başlıklarda ayrı ayrı verilerin normal

dağılımda olup olmadığı incelenmiştir. Bunun için Saphiro-Wilk normallik testi uygulanarak normal dağılımda çıkan veriler için Bağımsız T Testi, normal dağılımda çıkmayan veriler için de Mann-Whitney U Testi uygulandı. Çıkan sonuçlar, nitel bulguların da ışığıyla değerlendirildi.

İLTİFATLARIN YAPISAL ÖZELLİKLERİ İLE İLGİLİ BULGULAR

- İltifatlar yapılarına göre incelenirken olası dil yapıları araştırılmış ve hangi cümle tiplerinde ve hangi kiplerle iltifat cümleleri kurulabileceği ile ilgili bir ön çalışma yapılmıştır. Daha sonra yapılan pilot çalışmada eksik kalan iki kategori eklenmiş ve ana çalışmadaki iltifatların tamamı yapısal özellikleri temel alınarak gerekli sınıflara sorunsuz bir şekilde yerleştirilmiştir.
- Türkçe derlem araştırmanın en zorlu ve özel ayağını oluşturmaktadır çünkü Türkçe iltifat örnekleri hem yapısal hem de işlevsel olarak eşsiz örnekler sunmaktadır. Türkçe derlemin en önemli özelliği daha önce alanyazında hiç bahsedilmemiş yapılarda iltifat örnekleri barındırmasıdır. Örneğin emir kipi kullanılarak yapılan ya da dilek/şart kipi anlamı taşımaya rağmen üçüncü şahıs emir kipi ile yapısal olarak önemli ölçüde benzeşen kullanımlar Türkçe'nin özgün yapısal özelliklerini işaret etmektedir. Bu yapıların kullanımının kültürel bir boyutu olduğu da unutulmamalıdır. Örneğin dilek/şart kiplerinin çoğu dua anlamı ya da nazardan korumak için Allah'tan koruma isteği gibi anlamlar içermektedir. Yani yapı kültürü yansıtma aracı olarak kullanılmıştır. Türkçedeki dilek/şart ve emir kiplerinin ayrımı ve Türkçe emir kiplerinin İngilizce vb bir çok Avrupa dilinden farklı olarak ikinci tekil ya da çoğul şahıs dışında da kullanılabilmesi iltifat çalışmalarında daha önce hiç değinilmemiş olan emir kipinde iltifat ve dilek/şart kipinin (çoğu zaman Allah'a edilen bir dua şeklinde) iltifat yapılarında kullanılması da Türkçeye özgü bir kullanımdır ve daha önceki iltifat çalışmalarında bahsi geçmemiştir. Ancak alanyazında bu tip iltifatlarla ilgili bir bilgiye ratlanmaması iltifat çalışmaları alanındaki eksikliğe dikkat çekerken,

henüz Türkçedeki dilek/şart ve emir kipleri arasındaki çizginin dilbilimciler tarafından tartışılıyor olması alanda bu konuda geliştirilmesi gereken bir nokta olduğunu göstermektedir.

- İngiliz dilinde daha önce yapılmış çalışmalar iltifatların basmakalıp [formulaic] olduğu konusunda birbirini doğrular niteliktedir. Her ne kadar Türkçe derlem benzer bir özellik göstermese de derlemin İngilizce kısmı da iltifatlarda bahsedilen basmakalıp yapıları ve kelime kullanımları barındırmaktadır. Ancak derlemin Türkçe kısmı bu bulguların tüm dillere genellenemeyeceğini net bir şekilde işaret etmektedir. Türkçe iltifatlar ne dilbilgisi ne de kullanılan kelime dağarcığı bakımından İngilizce kadar basmakalıptır. Türkçe iltifatlar, şiirler, şarkı sözleri, iğneleyici [sarcastic] kullanımlar, olumsuz anlam içeren sözcüklerin nazardan koruma amaçlı kullanımı ve yine nazar kavramından kaynaklanan alışlagelmiş “maşallah” vb. sözcükler ve Allah’tan dilenen dilekler Türkçe iltifatları daha önce yapılmış tüm çalışmalardan farklı içeriği ile çalışmaya değer bir alan haline getirmektedir. Türkçe derlem bazı hayvan isimlerinin, ünlü kişilerin ya da ilginç nesnelere şaka yollu kullanımı ile de yapılan iltifatlar içerdiği gibi nazar kavramından korumak amacı ile olumsuz ve şiddet içerikli sözcüklerin özellikle çocuklar için kullanıldığı örnekler içermektedir.
- Dil yapısı ve kelime dağarcığı ile ilgili farklılıkların bir kısmı, “maşallah” sözcüğünün yoğun kullanımı ya da “Allah esirgesin” derken kullanılan kip gibi, kültürel olmakla beraber bazı farklılıklar tamamen dillerarası yapısal farklılıkla yorumlanabilir; kültürel bir sebep aramaya gerek yoktur. Örneğin, Türkçe derlemde en çok kullanılan yapının çekimlenmiş fiil barındıran cümleler olması ama İngilizce derlemde en sık kullanılan yapının içerisinde çekimlenmiş fiil barındırmayan söz öbekleri olması Türkçenin sondan eklemeli doğasının her iki dilde de tek kelime ile kullanılma eğiliminde olan iltifatların Türkçede çekimlenmiş olarak kullanılabilmesi ile açıklanabilmektedir.

- Yine Türkçe'nin daha önceki çalışmalarda hiç değinilmemiş yapısal bir özelliği de yapıcı olumsuz cümlelerin iltifat olarak kullanılmasıdır. Türkçe yapı olarak olumsuz cümleleri iltifat derleminde bulundururken İngilizce derlem böyle bir örnek içermemektedir. “Böyle bir güzellik dünyaya bir daha gelmez” örneğindeki gibi düz cümle halinde olabileceği gibi olumsuz emir kipleri de kullanılabilir.
- Türkçede –mı soruları ve emir kipleri iltifat yapıları oluşturabilirken İngilizcede benzer örnekler oldukça nadirdir. Bu da yine iltifatların Türkçe’de yapısal olarak İngilizceye oranla daha az basmakalıp olduğunu göstermektedir. Örneğin Türkçede “ben bu güzelliği yiyeyim mi?” yadırganmayacak bir iltifat yapısıyken İngilizce de ne yapı olarak –mı sorusu ne de herhangi bir insanı yemek gibi şiddet içerikli bir eylemin iltifat olarak kullanımı sıradan kabul edilebilir.
- Soru formatında yapılan iltifatlar her iki dilde de retorik sorulardır; yani asıl amacı soru sormak değil duygu ve/ya fikir beyan etmektir. Sözcenin cevap bekleyen bir soru olup olmadığı bağlamdan çıkabilmektedir ve kullanılan noktalama işaretleri de bu konuda fikir vermektedir. Retorik soruların çoğunda soru işareti kullanılmamıştır, ünlem kullanımı ise çok yaygındır, bu da sözcelerin soru değil iltifat olduğunun anlaşılmasına yardım eden bulgulardan biridir.
- Derlem her iki dilde de kullanılan dil yapıları açısından iltifat edenler ve iltifat alanlar odaklı incelenmiş, her iki analizde de cinsiyetin kullanılan dil yapılarına istatistiki açıdan önemli ölçüde etkisi gözlemlenmemiştir. Duygu yoğunluğu daha fazla olabilecek emir kipi ve retorik soru yapılarını kadınların görece daha fazla kullanması beklenirken sonuçlar bunun bir toplumsal cinsiyet önyargısı olduğunu ve böyle bir cinsiyet farklılığının olmadığını göstermektedir.
- Cinsiyet farklılıkları en çok kelime kullanımında ve emoji kullanımında belirgin hale gelmektedir. Her iki dilde de kadınlar sayıca daha fazla emoji kullanmaktadır. Daha fazla kalp işareti ve sadece emoji ile verilen yanıtlar da yine kadın katılımcılar arasında yaygındır. Buna ek olarak daha önce

bahsedilen “nazar” korkusuyla tekrar edilen “maşallah” kelimesinin de yine kadınlar tarafından kayda değer bir şekilde daha fazla kullanıldığı kaydedilmiştir. Yine kadınlar daha çok yakınlık veya ilişki kurma odaklı iltifat ifade etmektedir. Örneğin bir kadın kullanıcı kardeşine iltifat ederken “evlat paşası” ya da “kimin kardeşi ya” gibi sözceler söyleyebilmektedir. Hitap sözcükleri ve takma adlar da yine kadınlar tarafından daha yoğun kullanılmaktadır. Erkekler tarafından kullanıldığında ve özellikle kadınlara yöneltildiğinde ise bu tip hitap sözcükleri iltifat yapılan kişi tarafında özel alan ihlali olarak değerlendirilip uzaklaştırma [distancing] amaçlı “abi” “kardeşim” ya da “bey” gibi sözcüklerin kullanıldığı gözlemlenmiştir.

- Türkçe derlemede daha önce alanyazında hiç değinilmemiş bir “ama” gözlemlenmiştir. Bu “ama” bir zıtlık bağlacı değil bir konuşma başlatıcı ya da söylem belirteci olarak kullanılmaktadır. Öncesinde hiçbir sözcük yokken eklenen bir fotoğrafa “Ama çok güzelsiniz” demek daha önce üzerine çalışılmamış bir “ama”nın varlığına işaret etmektedir. Bu kullanım sosyal medyada her geçen gün artmakta ve önemli olabilecek bir dilsel dönüşümü işaret etmektedir.
- Son olarak “beğen” tuşu da yeryer basmakalıp bir iltifat yapısı olarak kullanılmaktadır. Altını çizmek gerekir ki “beğen” sadece beğenmek anlamına gelmemekte ve sadece iltifat amacı ile kullanılmamaktadır. Ancak bir iltifat olarak “beğen” tuşu yeterince yoğun bir anlam içermemiş olacak ki birçok örnekte iltifat eden kişi hem bu tuşu kullanmış hem de sözlü olarak “Çok beğendim” gibi, aslında “beğen” tuşundan çok da farklı olmayan bir beyanda bulunmuştur. Bu da bir kısayolun duygusal yoğunluk olarak sözlü yapılmış bir iltifattan daha yüzeysel kaldığı sonucunu işaret etmektedir.

İLTİFATLARIN KONULARI İLE İLGİLİ BULGULAR

- Adachi (2010) iltifatların konularının çoğu zaman iltifatı alan kişi tarafından belirlendiğini iddia etmektedir. Adachi (2010)’nin iddiaları, söz

konusu sosyal medya fotoğraflarına yapılan yorumlar olduğunda, araştırmada yerini daha güçlü bir şekilde almaktadır çünkü sosyal medya fotoğraf yorumlarında ilk sözce yerine konabilecek bir fotoğraf yükleme davranışı [act] vardır ve bu bir sözcelem [speech act] görevi görmektedir ve aslında iltifatın konusunu da belirleyici bir görevi vardır. Daha da önemlisi fotoğrafın içeriği ve neyi öne çıkardığı iltifatın konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Böylece iltifat alan kişinin çok açık bir biçimde iltifat istediği [fishing for Cs] söylenebilir.

- Araştırmada kullanılan derlem fotoğraf yorumlarından oluşturulduğu için fotoğrafta yansıtılan konunun iltifat konusu olması beklenmektedir ancak unutulmamalıdır ki fotoğrafların neredeyse tamamında dış görünüş de iltifat edilebilecek unsurlardan biridir. Bu yüzden de görünüş [appearance] derlemin hem Türkçe hem de İngilizce kısmında en çok iltifat edilen konudur.
- Ancak unutulmamalıdır ki daha önce söylem doldurma testi ya da günlük konuşmadan toplanmış verilerle yapılan çalışmaların tamamı da dış görünüşe iltifat etmenin en yaygın iltifat sebebi olduğunu doğrulamaktadır.
- Görünüş ile ilgili iltifatlar hakkında daha detaylı bilgi sahibi olabilmek adına bu iltifatlar genel ve özel olarak iki grupta toplanmıştır. Ancak her iki dilde de genel dış görünüş iltifatlarının tüm görünüş iltifatlarının %80'den fazlasını oluşturduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Özel görünüş iltifatları yani ellere, gözlere, bakışlara vb. yapılan iltifatlar karşıdakinin yüzünü (benliğini) tehlikeye atabilecek yapıda oldukları ve bu derlemdeki paylaşımların izleyici ve olası katılımcı sayısının fazlalığı bu iltifat tipinin sayıca çok az olmasına sebep olmuştur. Bu durumun günlük konuşmada geçerli olup olmadığı ilerideki çalışmalarda incelenmelidir.
- Bu araştırmaya özel bir iltifat konusu da sosyal medyada yayınlanan fotoğrafların bizzat kendileridir. Bir çok örnekte yapılan iltifat direk kişiyi değil fotoğrafı övmektedir ama fotoğraf da kişiye ait olduğu için kişi kendisine yapılan bir iltifata vereceği yanıtla benzer yanıtlar vermektedir.

Çünkü sahip olunan çocuk, aile ve nesnelere gibi bir çok duruma yapılan iltifatta da kişi iltifatı kendisine yapılmış gibi algılayıp yanıtlamaktadır. Hatta bazı durumlarda erkek katılımcılara yapılan iltifatların birlikte oldukları kişiler tarafından yanıtladığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu durum bu çalışmanın temel araştırma konusunu oluşturmamakla birlikte önemli bulgular sunabilecek bir çalışma alanını işaret etmektedir.

- Daha önce yapılmış araştırmalar erkeklerin mülkiyet kadınlarınca kişilik ile ilgili iltifatları karşı cinslerine göre daha fazla aldıklarını vurgulamaktadır. Oysa ki bu çalışma farklı bulgular ortaya koymuştur. Kadınlar ve erkekler arasında kişilik, mülkiyet ve başarılar ile ilgili iltifatların dağılımında önemli bir cinsiyet farklılığı gözlenmezken bu anlamda en dikkat çekici bulgu Türkçe derlemde gelmiştir. İngilizce derlemde farklı olarak Türkçe derlemde erkeklerin kişiliklerine yapılan iltifatların tamamı cinsiyet kimliği üzerinden yapılmakta, “erkek” kelimesi başlı başına bir iltifat olarak sunulmaktadır. Aynı şekilde “paşa” ve “koç” kelimeleri de erkeklik üzerinden yapılan iltifatlara örnektir. Koç kelimesi bir iltifat olarak birden fazla kez derlemde yerini alırken söz konusu hayvanın dişisi olan “koyun” bir iltifat değildir. Bir erkeğe “erkek” demek iltifatken bir kadına “kadın” diye bir yorum bırakılmamaktadır. Bu bulgu iltifatlardaki cinsiyetçi söylemlere dikkat çekmek açısından önemlidir.
- Aynen yapısal incelemede olduğu gibi konuları sınıflandırırken de bazı iltifatlar birden fazla kategoriye girerken bazılarının hangi kategoride olduğu netleştirilememiştir. Bu da “belirsiz” ve “konuların birleşimi” olarak iki başlık daha açılmasını gerektirmiştir. Bu başlıkların daha önce belirlenmemiş ya da bu tip konusu belirsiz veya birden fazla kategoriye hitap eden iltifatların daha önceki çalışmalarda geçmemesi araştırmanın ilk tartışması olan “iltifat nedir?” ve “ne iltifattır?” sorularını akla getirmekte ve söylem tamamlama testleri vb yöntemlerin güvenilirlik ve geçerliğini sorgulamaktadır. İkircikli durumların ve kullanımların hakettiği tartışmaya dikkat çekemediği tezin farklı noktalarında tartışılmıştır.

- İngilizce ve Türkçedeki konu dağılımları istatistiki açıdan önemli farklılıklar barındırmamaktadır. Tek anlamlı farklılık “belirsiz” kategorisindedir. Bunun temel sebebi de yapısal analiz bölümünde bahsedilmiş olan Türkçenin sondan eklemeli doğasının ona sunduğu tek kelime halinde bile çekimli bir yapı oluşturabilme özelliği ile açıklanabilmektedir. Tek kelime ile yapılırsa dahi kişi eki iltifatın kime ya da neye yapıldığına dair daha açık bir anlam içermektedir. Yani aslında dilin yapısal bir özelliği iltifatın konusunun belirlenmesinde önemli bir rol oynamaktadır.

İLTİFATLARIN İŞLEVLERİ İLE İLGİLİ BULGULAR

- Alanyazında önemli yer tutan birçok çalışma iltifatları işlevleri açısından değerlendirmiş ve önemli bulgular elde etmiştir. Bu araştırmaların ışığında ama sosyal medyanın kendi gerçekliğini de göz önünde bulundurarak hazırlanmış bir sınıflandırma tezin bu bölümüne yön vermiştir. Pilot çalışmada var olan bazı sınıfların kullanılmadığı farkedilse de önceki çalışmalarla yapılabilecek kıyaslamalara ışık tutmak açısından bu sınıflar listeden silinmemiş, ancak araştırmanın gerekli kıldığı iki yeni sınıf eklenmiştir. Bu sınıflar yine iki işlevin karışık kullanılması ve bazı iltifatların ne işlevle kullanıldığının açık olmamasıdır.
- Sosyal medya iltifatları yapısal olarak ve konu bakımından farklılıklar gösterse de işlevsel olarak çok “basamaklı” bir kullanıma sahiptir. Hem Türkçe hem İngilizce derlemdeki iltifatların çoğu taktir ve onaylama belirtme işlevi ile kullanılmaktadır. Bu durum cinsiyetler ya da kültürlerarası farklılık göstermemektedir. Ancak bu durumun kullanılan iletişim aracı ile ilgili olma olasılığı azımsanamayacak noktadadır. Söz konusu iletişimin bir çok gözlemcisi ve olası katılımcısı olması eleştiriyi yumuşatma vb işlevlerin olasılığını azaltmakta, yine bu bağlam kişilerin bir sohbeta başlamak için iltifat etme ya da bir sohbeti devam ettirme amacıyla bu denli “açık” bir ortamda iltifat etme olasılıklarını düşürmektedir.

- “Nazar” kavramına değinmeden Türkçe’de iltifatların ne gibi söylemsel işlevleri ve sonuçları olabileceğine değinmek mümkün değildir. Nazar kavramı üzerine olumlu konuşulan ya da kıskançlık ve kötü niyetle bakılan/gözlemlenen herhangi bir eşya, durum ya da ilişkinin konuşan ya da gören kişinin olumsuz enerjisi yüzünden zarar göreceğine dair olan inancı anlatır. Bu sebeple Türkçe derlem İngilizceden farklı olarak dua içeren, Tanrı’dan dilekte bulunan iltifatlar barındırmaktadır. “Allah esirgesin” vb iltifatlar, iltifat edilen kişi ya da nesnenin “nazar” sebebiyle zarar görmesini engellemek, aynı zamanda bu iltifatın kıskançlıkla değil iyi niyetle yapıldığını göstermek için kullanılır. Çok benzer anlamda ama yapısal olarak farklı olan söylem belirteci “maşallah” benzer bir görev üstlenir. Bu da Türkçede iltifatların işlevinin kategorilerde değinilmemiş olumsuz bir etkiye sebep olabileceğini göstermektedir.
- Türkçe ve İngilizce iltifatların işlevsel kategorizasyonu önemli benzerlikler belirtse de Türkçe derlemde olumsuz kelimeler barındıran iltifatlar veya şaka ile karışık iğneleyici kullanımlar İngilizce derlemdekinden önemli ölçüde fazladır. Bunun sebebi “maşallah” sözcüğünün çok sık kullanılmasına benzer şekilde Türk kültüründeki nazar kavramına bağlanabilir. Yetişkinlerin küçük bebekleri ya da çocukları “çirkin” diyerek sevmesi kültürel açıdan hiç de yadırganmayan bir kullanımdır; temelinde iltifatın konusu olan kişi ya da nesneyi nazarın sebep olabileceği olumsuzluklardan korumak vardır.

İLTİFATLARA VERİLEN YANITLAR İLE İLGİLİ BULGULAR

- İltifatlara verilen yanıtlar içerik bakımından analiz edilmeden önce katılımcıların yanıt verme biçimleri incelenmiştir. Facebook katılımcılara sözlü yanıt verme hakkı tanıdığı gibi yapılan yoruma “beğen” tuşu ekleyerek iltifat söz konusu olduğunda taktir işareti [appreciation token] olabilecek bir kısayol da sunmaktadır. Böylelikle kullanıcılar dört ayrı olası davranış içine girebilmektedirler. Yapılan iltifatı sadece

beğenebilirler, sadece yanıt verebilirler, hem beğenip hem sözlü yanıt verebilirler ya da hiçbir yanıt vermeyebilirler.

- Hem Türkçe hem İngilizce derlemde en yoğun yanıt verme biçimi “beğen” tuşunun kullanımınıdır. Türkçe iltifatların %37’si sadece “beğen” tuşu ile, %14,5’i de “beğen” tuşu ve sözlü cevap birleşimi ile yanıtlanmıştır. Yani iltifatların yarısından fazlası bu tuş ile yanıtlanmaktadır. İngilizcede sadece “beğen” tuşu ile yanıtlanan iltifat oranı %53, hem “beğen” tuşu hem sözlü yanıt barındıran kullanımlar ise %12’dir. Bu tuşla beraber sözlü yanıtların kullanılıyor olması da “beğen” tuşunun yeterince güçlü olmadığını ve yoğun bir duygu iletmediğini göstermektedir.
- İlgi çekici bir bulgu da yanıtlanmayan iltifatlardır. Gerçek hayatta bir insanın şahsına yapılan bir iltifata cevapsız kalması oldukça zor olabileceken, sosyal medyadan oluşturulan derlemin önemli bir kısmını yanıtızsız bırakılan iltifatlar oluşturmaktadır. Türkçe derlemin %20’si, İngilizce derleminse %31,5’i cevaplanmamış iltifatlardan oluşmaktadır. Bu da sosyal medyada yanıt vermekten kaçınma [avoidance] stratejisinin daha yoğun kullanılabildiğini göstermektedir. Bunun birçok sebebi olabileceği gibi en önemli nedenlerinden birinin iltifat edilen kişinin iltifatı görmeme ya da farketmeme olasılığının varlığı olduğu öne sürülebilir. Böyle bir ihtimal dahi iltifat edilen kişiye sessiz kalma hakkı tanımaktadır ve iltifatı görse bile cevap vermeme olasılığı daha yüksektir.
- Cinsiyet davranışları açısından incelendiğinde Türk kadınlarının Amerikalı kadınlara oranla çok daha fazla sözlü yanıt verdiği gözlemlenmektedir. Bu fark istatistikî açıdan önemli kabul edilebilecek ölçüdedir. Aynı davranış modeli Türk erkekleri için de geçerlidir. Amerikalı erkeklere oranla Türk erkekleri iltifatlara sözlü yanıt vermeye daha eğilimlidirler. İltifatlara yanıt verme eğiliminin kültürel bir fark olabileceğinin altını çizen bu bulgu Türk kültüründe iltifatı yanıtızsız bırakmanın daha büyük bir kabalık olarak kabul edildiğini göstermektedir.
- İltifatlara verilen sözlü yanıtlar içerik olarak incelendiğinde ilk göze çarpan bulgu Türk katılımcıların Amerikalı katılımcılara göre çok daha

fazla sözlü yanıt verdiğiidir. Bu bulgunun cinsiyetler bazında da benzerlik göstermesi, farklılığın kültürel olabileceğini işaret etmektedir.

- Her iki derlem için de taktir işareti [appreciation token] en çok kullanılan yanıt yöntemi olmuştur.
- Her iki dilde de en çok kullanılan ikinci yöntem iltifatın bir yorum ile birlikte kabulü [comment acceptance] olmuştur. Türk katılımcılar Amerikalı katılımcılara oranla bu yöntemi çok daha fazla kullanmıştır.
- Bir iltifatı karşılıkine yönlendirme [returning] Türkçe derlemde örneklerine sık rastlanan bir yanıtlama yöntemi olsa da İngilizce derlemde çok nadir rastlanan bir yöntemdir. Bu da yine önemli bir kültürel farklılığın altını çizmektedir.
- Türkçe derlem, iltifatı artırma [upgrading] ya da azaltma [scaling down] gibi yanıtların da örneklerini barındırırken İngilizce derlemde bu stratejilerin örnekleri yok denecek kadar azdır. Yani iltifatların yapıları gibi yanıtların içerikleri de Türkçede oldukça zenginken İngilizcede daha tektip ya da basmakalıp özellikler taşımaktadır.
- Hem Türkçe hem İngilizce derlemde iltifatlara verilen yanıtlar cinsiyetler arası kıyaslanmış ancak kadın ve erkeklerin yanıtlarında cinsiyetleri ile bağlantılı bir kullanım farklılığına rastlanmamıştır.

DİĞER BULGULAR

- İltifat yapılarında kullanılan kelimelerin sıklıkları üzerine yapılan çalışmalar Türkçe iltifatların İngilizce iltifatlara kıyasla çok daha çeşitli kelimelerle yapıldığını ve basmakalıp olmadığını göstermektedir.
- Türkçedeki nazar kavramının sonucu kullanılan “maşallah” kelimesi ve Allah’a dilekte bulunulan iltifatlar daha önce hiç çalışılmamış ilgi çekici kültürel öğeler barındırmaktadır. Ayrıca Türkçedeki kinaye içeren iltifatlar ve içerisinde olumsuz sözcük barındırmasına rağmen övgü için kullanılan iltifatlar kültürel öğelerdir.
- Türkçe derlemde ünlü birine benzetmek bir iltifat olarak sıklıkla kullanılırken İngilizce derlemde neredeyse hiç yer almamıştır.

DİL ÖĞRETİMİ ALANI İÇİN ÇIKARIMLAR

Dil öğretimi ve öğrenimi kültür öğretimi ile ve edimbilim çalışmaları ile içiçedir. Bu yüzden kültürlerarası edimbilim çalışmalarının dil öğretimine yapacak çok katkısı vardır. Bu araştırmanın bulguları da ikinci ve yabancı dil olarak İngilizce ve Türkçe alanlarına katkıda bulunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Öncelikle, araştırmanın bulgularında da görüldüğü gibi her dil, özellikle de konu iltifat gibi bir söz eylemse, kendi içinde kültürel öğeler ve kültürel biriciklikler barındırmaktadır. Bu kültürel farklılıklar o dilde iletişim kurmayı hedefleyen kişilerin iletişimsel farkındalığını artırmak ve söz eylemlere doğru yanıtlar vermelerini sağlamak için dil öğretim programlarının bir parçası olmalıdır. İltifatların ve benzer söz eylemlerin farkedilmediği ya da doğru yanıtlanmadığı durumlarda iletişim kurallarının ihlali ve sonuç olarak da yanlış anlaşılmalarda ve önyargılar oluşması muhtemeldir. İşte tam da bu yüzden iltifatlar hem nasıl yapılacakları hem de nasıl yanıtlanacakları bilgisi ile ders kitaplarında yer almalıdır.

Piyasada ikinci dil olarak İngilizce öğretimini hedefleyen ders kitaplarında hak ettiği yeri bulamayan iltifatlar hem yapısal hem içerik olarak çok daha zengin ve dolayısıyla öğrenenler için çok daha karmaşık olabilecek Türkçe iltifatların Türkçe'nin yabancı dil olarak öğretimi hedefiyle yazılan kitaplarda yer bulmaması öğretim sürecinde geliştirilmesi gereken bir noktadır.

APPENDIX G: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Dörtkulak

Adı : Funda

Bölümü : İngiliz Dili Öğretimi

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Compliments and Compliment Responses in Turkish and American English: A Contrastive Pragmatics Study of a Facebook Corpus

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: