

BACKCHANNELS IN SPOKEN TURKISH

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ABSTRACT

BACKCHANNELS IN SPOKEN TURKISH

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This study aims to identify all the non-lexical and lexical backchannels and different functions carried out by these backchannels in the Spoken Turkish Corpus. It also aims to investigate differences in the use of backchannels in naturally formed groups in the data. In order to achieve these aims, Spoken Turkish Corpus was used as the data source and EXMaRALDA tools were used to annotate functions of the backchannels. A sub-corpus was formed consisting of 61 conversations from three main settings: conversations among family and/or relatives (35), among family and friends (13) and friends and/or acquaintances (13). Using a cyclic approach which requires continuous back and forth for the identification of the functions of backchannels, the results show that both non-lexical and lexical backchannels have two main functions: keeping the conversational flow and showing attitudes. Both of these main functions also have a diverse set of sub-functions. The analysis shows that there are some statistical tendencies for different age and gender groupings with regard to their use of non-lexical and lexical backchannels. Groups consisting of entirely young female speakers tend to use backchannels more commonly compared to other groups. In addition, they tend to use backchannels with the approval and agreement functions mostly. However, results also indicate that despite these statistical tendencies, other variables such as the

topic of the conversation and socio-educational background of the speakers might have a more fundamental effect on the use of backchannels than age and gender of the speakers.

Keywords: Lexical Backchannels, Non-lexical Backchannels, Group Differences, Corpus, Spoken Turkish

ÖZ

KONUŞMA TÜRKÇESİNDE GERİBİLDİRİMLER

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Bu çalışma Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi'nde kullanılan bütün sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimleri ve bu geribildirimlerin işlevlerini belirlemeyi hedeflemektedir. Çalışma aynı zamanda veride doğal olarak oluşan gruplarda geribildirimlerin kullanımlarındaki farklılıkları araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçlara ulaşmak için veri kaynağı olarak Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi ve geribildirimlerin işlevlerini tanımlamak için EXMaRALDA araçları kullanılmıştır. Aile ve/veya akrabalar (35), aile ve arkadaşlar (13) ve arkadaşlar ve/veya tanıdıklar (13) arasında olmak üzere üç ana ortamda 61 konuşmadan oluşan bir alt derlem oluşturuldu. Geribildirimlerin işlevlerini belirlemek için verinin geriye dönülerek tekrarlı analizini gerektiren döngüsel bir yöntemin kullanıldığı analiz sonuçlarına göre hem sözcüksel hem de sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler konuşmanın akışını sağlamak ve tutum bildirmek olmak üzere iki temel işleve sahiptir. Her iki temel işlev de birçok alt işlevlere sahiptir. Analiz sonuçları farklı yaş ve cinsiyet gruplarının sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanımına dair bazı istatistiksel eğilimleri olduğunu göstermektedir. Tamamı genç kadın konuşmacılardan oluşan gruplarda geribildirimlerin diğer yaş ve cinsiyet gruplarına göre daha sıklıkla kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra, belirtilen gruplar geribildirimleri sıklıkla onaylama

ve görüş birliđi belirtme işlevleri için kullanmaktadır. Bu istatistiksel eğilimlere rağmen analiz sonuçları konuşmanın konusu ve konuşmacıların eğitim ve yetişme durumları gibi deđişkenlerin konuşmacıların yaş ve cinsiyetlerine göre geribildirimlerin kullanımında daha önemli etkilere sahip olabileceđini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sözcüksel Geribildirimler, Sözcüksel Olmayan Geribildirimler, Grupsal Farklar, Derlem, Konuşma Türkçesi

To My Mother, Türkan Aytaç
and
To My Late Father, Muharrem Aytaç

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

METU	Middle East Technical University
STC	Spoken Turkish Corpus
BCs	Backchannels

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Presentation

In this introductory chapter, first a background to the study is provided. Next, the problem and the research niche that triggered the study at hand is discussed. The purpose and scope of the research is outlined. This chapter ends with the significance of the study.

1.1. Background to the Study

Backchanneling is a natural component of communication and backchannels are usually not thought about, planned or noticed until a person's backchanneling behavior varies from the expected norm. Backchannels and their functions have been investigated in different studies, especially in English. First coined by Yngve (1970), backchannels are worthy of a more comprehensive analysis due to their high frequency especially in spoken language and due to their forms and functions which still await further investigation.

Commonly defined as short expressions used for providing feedback and showing listener's support for the current speakers, it is undeniable that backchannels play an essential role in the organization of conversations. Though backchannels have been mostly associated with showing listenership in earlier research, more recent studies show that they have more various functions and they have different types (Adolphs and Carter, 2013; Antaki, Houtkoop-Steenstra and Rapley, 2000; Cutrone, 2014; Iwasaki, 1997; Maynard, 1997; O'Keeffe and Adolphs, 2008; Pipek, 2007; Ruede, Muller, Stuker and Waibel, 2017). Approval, disapproval, responding to questions and

request for clarification are some of the identified functions of backchannels. They might be used in verbal or non-verbal forms or they might also consist of both verbal and non-verbal expressions. While verbal forms refer to lexical or non-lexical expressions, non verbal backchannels refer to nods, head movement, laughter, etc. Identifying the meanings of non-lexical forms of backchannels is especially challenging since they lack conventional dictionary meaning.

An overview of literature on backchannels shows that there is still no consensus among the scholars with respect to the definition, types, forms, functions and features of backchannels. Recent studies are challenging the previously mentioned assumptions related to the features of backchannels (see Ike, 2014 and 2016). Despite this controversy, as underlined by Heinz (2003) it has been widely accepted that backchannels exist in all languages and cultures and they play significant roles in the organization of communication. Their pragmatic importance in intercultural settings has also been acknowledged in literature (e.g., Clark & Wasow, 1998; Goodwin, 1986; Heinz, 2003; Li, 2006; Schegloff, 1982). In each culture and language, learned expectations exist considering backchanneling behavior. Variations with respect to the types, frequency and functions of backchannels in different cultures are also issues that have been dwelled upon in literature.

Regarding Turkish language, studies on the identification of backchannels have been very scarce. Some studies investigated a number of backchannels (e.g., Özcan, 2015) but there has not been a comprehensive study for backchannels and their functions in Turkish. Besides, to the knowledge of the researcher, no study has focused on inter and intra-group variations in the use of backchannels in Turkish.

When one says group differences in the use of backchannels, different social categories such as gender, age, occupation, class and ethnicity, by which these groups are formed, might spring to mind. Among these categories, historically there has always been much interest in all types of gender differences and it might have been the most frequently investigated social category. Do women and men talk differently? Is there any bias towards one gender in the usage of any specific language item? Besides other gender differences, researchers have also been interested in these questions.

When a person asks the question ‘do women and men talk differently’, it means that s/he already has some assumptions about genders and recently these conventional assumptions have been challenged by more contemporary and up-to-date approaches to language and gender. First, by asking this specific question, people assume that we can clearly divide speakers into two categories which are called ‘women’ and ‘men’. Secondly, the question assumes that although there are also similarities between men and women in terms of their language usage, we are mainly interested in differences between them rather than the similarities.

It might be clearly seen that there has been a dramatic increase in the number of studies on gender differences in conversation within the last 40 years. However, previously there was a lack of focus on female speech in language studies. Chambers and Trudgill (1980) underlined that in traditional dialectology, *male, older, and rural* people’s speech was investigated. It was only in the late 1980s that studies which examined the speech of female speakers started to appear (see Bate and Taylor, 1988; Coates and Cameron, 1989).

Considering the studies on female speech, the publication of Robin Lakoff’s *Language and Woman’s Place* in 1975 was a very influential one. In this book, Lakoff tried to show how women are marginalized in society as a result of their language usage which is regarded as unassertive and weak. However, Lakoff’s book has been duly criticized on the grounds that it has sweeping claims and it lacks empirical evidence. Criticisms generally indicated that Lakoff’s claims were based on her own intuitions and there were simplistic generalizations. Still, its significance in sociolinguistics cannot be ignored since linguists all over the world were encouraged by this book to work further on how women talk.

There have been three waves in sociolinguistics regarding the studies on language and gender. The “first wave” variationist sociolinguistics was significant since the studies in the first wave established connections between language variation and macro-social categories such as gender, social class, and ethnicity. As indicated by Eckert (2008), in these early variationist studies, linguistic variation was seen as a consequence of demographic categories. The results of these studies concluded that vernacular, in

other words “non-standard” forms were more commonly used by males than by females (see Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974). Later, first wave studies were criticized for having overgeneralizations.

In early language and gender research, there were mainly three frameworks regarding the researcher's perspective on language and gender. According to the deficit approach, women's language was seen as lacking and deficient compared to men's language. Dominance approach emphasized that the reason why women's language was perceived as deficient was closely related to the domination of women by men. The difference framework, which is associated more so with the works of Tannen (1990), underlined that the differences in the way men and women communicated were results of socialization. According to the difference approach, the interactions between men and women were regarded as examples of ‘cross-cultural communication’.

Frameworks in early gender and language research were also criticized for being overly simplistic (see Bergvall, 1999; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992a). Some scholars also argued that there is also variation within groups of women and men besides the variation between groups. The simplistic assumptions of deficit, dominance and difference approaches were challenged by social constructionist frameworks in which identity was believed to be a result of interaction itself.

The second wave of variationist sociolinguistics was an attempt to move from an emphasis on macro-social categories to local identities. As indicated by Eckert (2012), second wave variationist sociolinguistics used ethnography as the research method. Use of ethnography helped the researchers have a more local understanding of social categories. Still, the studies in second wave variation, similar to the studies in the first wave variation, were based on certain categories.

In the third wave of variationist sociolinguistics, language is regarded as an essential source in the process of identity construction. Butler (1990) indicated that gender is perceived as a performance and it is, thus, not a fixed category according to the third wave studies. With regard to discursive construction of gender identities, as indicated by Sunderland (2006), the sex of the writer or speaker may be of no or little interest.

There is now curiosity in the field about how gender is performed or constructed in texts. Kendall & Tannen (2001) pointed out that the difference between the past approaches and the discursive approach is that the past approaches were mostly based on biological sex while the discursive approach is based on social construction of gender.

Interestingly, men's speech has not been specifically examined for its features until recently because men were seen as the unmarked gender. Therefore, as indicated by Coates (2013), the terms *man* and *person* were often interchangeably used. However, in the last decade the whole issue of men and masculinity has also come under discussion in linguistic studies. Studies appeared on men's usage of language and how masculinity is represented through their language. There has also been a shift from seeing men as unmarked representatives of the human race to focusing on them as *men*.

As far as the methodology is concerned, Murphy (2010) pointed out that the use of corpus tools to investigate social categories such as age and gender is a crucial move from previous studies which were mostly based on questionnaires to gather information. Questionnaires can be a useful tool to investigate the people's perceptions of their linguistic patterns. However, by using a corpus based approach, it might be possible to analyze samples of real language used by real people in natural contexts which are lacking in questionnaires. These contexts make it possible for the researchers to interpret their findings more thoroughly.

Corpus-based tools might provide both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data. Using a word frequency list tool, it is possible to calculate word frequency extremely rapidly. Cluster analysis might show the researchers how languages systematically cluster into words. Keyword analysis displays the common and distinctive features of a specific type of discourse. Tribble (1997) drew attention to the fact that concordancing might provide a more qualitative insight to the data analysis since it also provides the surrounding context of the search word or phrase.

There have been many studies in which corpora were used to explore social and

cultural issues (see Baker, 2005; Baker and McEnery, 2005; Johnson and Ensslin, 2006; Piper, 2000; Stubbs, 1996). Since corpus consists of natural language, it might provide some examples of inequalities between men and women in a specific culture and society. Evidently, the language people are using is a valuable source to investigate the attitudes and features specific to a society or a social group.

In this dissertation, the usage of backchannels was investigated in naturally occurring groups which consist of conversations among family and/or relatives, conversations among family and friends and conversations among friends and/or acquaintances. The detailed manual analysis of the common words and expressions used by the speakers in the data revealed that backchannels were noticeably of *high* frequency. There appeared to be an interesting intersectional effect of gender as well as age across conversational groups which required a deeper analysis.

Up to now, however, while investigating the lexical features of men's and women's speech, there has been a lack of focus on the age variable, which might in fact be in close interaction with the gender variable. As emphasized by Murphy (2010), it can be quite difficult and misleading to study sociolinguistic variables such as gender, age and class in total isolation from each other. The same issue was also voiced by Eckert (2003). She emphasized that age and gender are interconnected and if one wants to study one of these categories, the other category also requires investigation. She also added that class, ethnicity and race should also be taken into consideration while studying gender. Therefore, in order to fill a research gap, in this study, since the naturally formed groups in the data consist of different age and gender combinations, the variables gender and age will be discussed together.

Considering the age variable in sociolinguistic studies, Hamilton (1992) underlined the fact that in studies of language and gender, people beyond middle age are usually not included and pointed out that researchers who have an interest in how language and age are interrelated might benefit from both the examinations of younger adults but also from the language analysis of the elderly as well. In this study, groups that were formed naturally also include examples of elderly people's speech, which might fill yet another research gap.

1.2. The Problem

Yngve (1970) who first introduced the term 'backchannels' to the literature, defined backchannels as short messages such as *yes* and *uh-huh* used by the listener without taking the turn. However, what kind of utterances should be named as backchannels is still a controversial issue. Some scholars including Yngve (1970) asserted short utterances such as *yes* and *uh-huh* should be regarded as backchannels while some others including Maynard (1990) underlined that short messages such as *I see* might also be regarded as backchannels. Some other researchers even claimed that longer utterances including repetitions are examples of backchannels (see Clancy, Thompson, Suzuki and Tao, 1996; Duncan, 1974; Hirokawa, 1995; Horiguchi, 1988). Therefore, to date a consensus has not been reached regarding the definition of backchannels and what kind of lexicalizations or utterances might be named as backchannels. Also, although English has been exhausted more, there has not been a very comprehensive study focusing on functions of both non-lexical and lexical backchannels in naturally occurring conversations in Turkish. At this point, the study at hand aims at identifying the backchannels in spoken Turkish and bringing their functions to the fore after a detailed and careful corpus analysis.

Another important issue is with regard to group differences in the use of backchannels. Previous studies, focusing on social categories in isolation in English mostly showed that women use backchannels more frequently than men. However, in more recent and up-to-date studies, the frequency of backchannels have been shown to change depending on the context of the conversation. In other words, their use is context-sensitive. To illustrate, difference in frequency is more clearly observed in single-gender conversations than in mixed conversations (see Bilous and Krauss, 1988; Reid, 1995). Ide, Hori, Kwasaki, Ikuta and Hiromi (1986) claimed that gender differences should not be regarded as direct consequences of speakers' gender. On the contrary, it is a combination of the effects of complex factors: the interaction between the speaker and the listener, their distance and the number of encounters between them.

These two problems mentioned above are the starting point of this dissertation. The questions whether backchannels might be identified and categorized clearly and

whether there are any differences in the use of backchannels in naturally formed groups were the inspirations behind this dissertation. Keeping these issues in mind, the researcher aims to supply baseline data for upcoming research on backchannels in Turkish and the variations in the use of backchannels in different groups consisting of various age and gender combinations.

1.3. Purpose and Scope

This dissertation has been designed as an exploration of backchannels in spoken Turkish. As already stated above, it aims to form a baseline analysis for further research on backchannels in spoken Turkish, thus investigates the non-lexical and lexical backchannels in spoken Turkish and their functions in detail. In order to achieve this goal, both non-lexical and lexical backchannels are included within the scope of the study.

The main objective of this study is first identifying all the non-lexical and lexical backchannels as well as various functions for each of them. Another objective of this study is to find out variations in the use of backchannels in naturally occurring groups in the data. The analysis of the corpus conversations revealed a plethora of speaker groupings exhibiting different age and gender combinations. Thus, this study also aims to investigate how these two variables, age and gender, interact with each other regarding the usage of non-lexical and lexical backchannels even though the previous studies, very few in number, underline the effect of each variable separately. To clarify, social categories are regarded as emergent constructions within the framework of this study in accordance with more recent approaches to gender and language (see Butler, 1990, 1994; Eckert, 1997, 2003, 2008, 2012; Eckert and McConnell, 1992a, 1992b). Hence, group differences in the use of backchannels are the subject of investigation in this study.

As for the data for this study, it only focuses on spoken Turkish in Spoken Turkish Corpus (hereafter, STC) since backchannels, especially non-lexical backchannels, are more commonly used in spoken language than in written language. As for data collection settings, conversations among family and/or relatives, conversations among

family and friends and conversations among friends and/or acquaintances in STC are used as they all sourced from naturally-occurring conversations.

1.4. Significance of the Study

This study aims to fill a gap in studies related to backchannels in Turkish. A number of studies have been carried on the functions of backchannels in English. However, unfortunately, studies on backchannels in Turkish have been very scarce. There is still controversy even regarding the definition of backchannels. Thus, there is a research gap in Turkish for a comprehensive study on the identification of both non-lexical and lexical backchannels and their functions. The significance of this dissertation owes to the fact that it analyzes non-lexical and lexical backchannels in depth by providing a framework for the categorization of the backchannels and by investigating their specific functions meticulously.

Although gender and age are not the starting points of this study, since it was observed that the naturally formed groups consist of different age and gender combinations, the interaction between these two variables will be investigated. Several studies investigated the effect of gender variable on the use of backchannels in English but there is only a limited number of studies investigating the effect of gender and age variables together and these studies investigated these factors separately. In other words, they did not focus on how these two variables interact with each other. With regard to Turkish language, to the knowledge of the researcher, group differences in the use of backchannels have not been investigated so far. This is exactly where the importance of this dissertation lies: analyzing the backchannels, both non-lexical and lexical ones, deeply and investigating the group differences in the use of backchannels in spoken Turkish. Thus, the findings and results of this study will contribute to studies on backchannels in Turkish and to studies interested in group differences in the use of backchannels, specifically for the Turkish language.

1.5. Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the background of the study, the problem triggering this study, the purpose and scope and significance of the study. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the related literature. It starts with different approaches to language and gender studies. Previous studies on men's and women's speech in conversational practice and different viewpoints related to conversational dominance in mixed talk are also discussed in Chapter 2. Some examples of gender studies specifically in Turkey and studies on gender asymmetry in languages are provided. Chapter 2 ends with an overview of the literature related to backchannels. Chapter 3 begins with a presentation of the methodology guiding the study, introduces the research design and research questions, and explains the data source in detail. Chapter 4 presents the analysis of non-lexical backchannels. It starts with the functions of non-lexical backchannels which are keeping the conversational flow and showing attitudes and their sub-functions. Next, it introduces the use of backchannels in naturally formed groups. Lastly, it ends with the distribution of specific non-lexical backchannels in these groups. Chapter 5 presents the analysis of second type of backchannels, lexical backchannels. Similar to Chapter 4, Chapter 5 also begins with the functions of lexical backchannels and their sub-functions. Next, use of backchannels in naturally formed groups and distribution of specific lexical expressions used as lexical backchannels in these groups are discussed successively. Chapter 6 provides a summary of results and findings. It finalizes the discussion and offers implications for future research on backchannels and group differences in their use.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0. Presentation

In this chapter, the literature related to language and gender and backchannels are dwelled upon. First, this chapter starts with an overview of the literature related to backchannels. Then different approaches to language and gender studies are provided. Next, relevant previous studies on men's and women's speech in conversational practice are pointed out. Scholars' viewpoints related to conversational dominance in mixed talk are also outlined. Some examples of gender studies specifically in Turkey and studies on gender asymmetry in languages are provided.

2.1. Studies on Backchannels

In this section, relevant literature regarding the definition, types and functions of backchannels are dwelled upon. Next, this section provides an overview of cultural differences in the use of backchannels, relation between gender and use of backchannels. Lastly, current issues in the studies on backchannels are also discussed in this section.

2.1.1. Definition and Types of Backchannels

There have been various studies focusing on the definition and functions of backchannels, especially in English conversations. White (1989) made a distinction between the terms *main channel* and *back channel*. He underlines that main channel is the one through which the speaker sends his or her messages while over the *back channel*, the listener provides useful information but s/he does not claim the floor. This

assumption related to backchannels has also been voiced by several other studies though it has been challenged by more recent approaches suggesting that backchannels should not necessarily be regarded as not claiming the floor. White (1989) also indicated that backchannels have both nonverbal and verbal forms. He further claimed that the main functions of backchannels are attentiveness, comprehension, and interest. In agreement with White's distinction of verbal and nonverbal backchannels, in another study Duncan (1974) indicated that short expressions such as “Really!”, “Right”, “Yes”, repetitions, word supplies and sentence completions can also be regarded as verbal backchannels.

Backchannels have widely been regarded as ‘short messages’ such as *aha* and *mhm* that are produced by the listener. Gardner (2001) underlined that since these short messages lack traditional dictionary meaning or semantic meaning, they have been mostly ignored in research. Yngve (1970) was the first scholar who used and coined the term *backchannel*. Since then, backchannels have gained much popularity in linguistic studies and different terms have also been used in different studies to refer to these linguistic markers. Many researchers used Yngve’s term *backchannels* (see Cutrone, 2005; Maynard, 1986, 1989, 1990, 1997; Oreström, 1983; Saft, 2007; Tottie, 1991; Ward & Tsukahara, 2000; White, 1989). Among the other terms used to refer to this linguistic device are: *minimal responses* (Fishman, 1983), *continuers* (Schegloff, 1982), *reactive tokens* (Clancy et al., 1996; Young & Lee, 2004), *response tokens* (Gardner, 2001), *generic listener responses* (Bavelas, Coates, & Johnson, 2002), *acknowledgment tokens* (Jefferson, 1984), *accompaniment signals* (Kendon, 1967), or *active listening responses* (Simon, 2018).

To give more examples of the definitions of backchannels, Benus, Gravano and Hirschberg (2007) defined backchannels such as *mmhm* and *okay* as devices that signal listener's attention to the speaker. Such definitions especially underline the fact that with the usage of the backchannels, the listener does not wish to take the floor. Providing another definition for backchannels, Pipek (2007) indicated that the feedback that is provided by short supportive expressions are called as backchannels. In agreement with White (1989) and Benus et al. (2007), he also claimed that backchannels do not claim for the turn and they are not proper turns. By using the term

reactive tokens to refer to backchannels, Young and Lee (2004) defined reactive tokens as a small number of lexical and non-lexical items that are placed at or near unit boundaries in the current turn at talk by the listener. This definition also pays attention to the prevalent and recently challenged assumption that backchannels are produced by only the listeners in a conversation.

In order to define backchannels, different criteria have been used. One of them is the length of the utterance. Traditionally, as already discussed, backchannels have usually been regarded as short messages but what is meant by *short* has not been clarified and there is still not a standard perception of the length of backchannels. To exemplify, Duncan and Fiske (1977) considered long vocal utterances consisting of more than one word as backchannels. On the other hand, only non-lexical utterances formed of one word are regarded as backchannels by Clancy et al. (1996). According to Tottie (1991) and Cutrone (2005) longer utterances with more than one backchannel item such as *yeah yeah yeah* and *yeah sure right* are also labelled as backchannel instances or backchannel tokens (see Cutrone, 2005; Lee and Mukai, 1998; Tottie, 1991). Furthermore, Yngve (1970) used the term *an extensive back-channel activity* to refer to an instance that span a number of sentences. Similarly, Iwasaki (1997) considered any form of a sentence or a sequence of sentences uttered by the listener as a *substantive backchannel* (p. 666). Evaluating these various approaches, Ike (2016) inferred that there is no consensus on the length of backchannels. Therefore, it might not be regarded as a reliable criterion for defining backchannels.

With regard to the shortness of utterances that might be considered as backchannels, Heinz (2003) proposed that verbal backchannels can be various expressions consisting of “assessments, sentence completions, brief requests for clarification, restatements, short questions and answers, exclamations, and attempted interruptions” (p. 1117). This assumption might indicate that backchannels can carry various functions in the organization of conversations and it is quite challenging to write up inclusionary/exclusionary principles for their length. In addition, this approach differs from a more recent study by Ike (2016) which does not regard expressions that are used for responding to a question as backchannel, which is another evidence for the controversy surrounding the functions of backchannels.

Regarding the types of backchannels, Heinz (2003) indicated that there are two main types which are verbal and non-verbal backchannels. Verbal backchannels might be short utterances such as *mm* and *hm-mm* and non-verbal backchannels include examples of nods, laughter and smiles. As for further examples of verbal backchannels in English, different studies have provided different examples such as *Mm* (Gardner 1997), *Okay* (Beach 1993), *Okay* and *Uh-huh* (Hockey 1993), *Yeah* and *Mm-hm* (Jefferson 1984), and *Um* and *Uh* (Brennan & Schober 2001; Fox Tree 2002).

Several studies also focused on the difference between lexical and non-lexical backchannels. To illustrate, Bjørge (2010) suggested that verbal backchannels might have different types such as lexical, non-lexical, phrasal and syntactic backchannels. She also provided a list of possible backchannels: *ah, aha, fine, good, good heavens, I see, mhm, no, of course, oh, oh my goodness/dear/God, ok, quite, really, right, so, sure, that's nice/right/not bad, yes/yeah, yes I know, absolutely, brilliant, certainly, cool, definitely, exactly, excellent, fine, good, gosh, great, lovely, marvelous, perfect, quite, really, right, sure, true, wonderful* and *wow* (p. 193). As is shown in the list, backchannels might have various forms and in some instances adjectives, adverbs and complete sentences might also function as backchannels.

Considering different types of backchannels, several other studies focused on the difference between generic and specific backchannels (Bavelas and Gerwing, 2011; Goodwin, 1986; Tolins and Fox Tree, 2014, 2016). Generic backchannels are used for indicating comprehension and attention. Examples of *generic* backchannels include utterances such as *uh huh* or *yeah*. These backchannels are sometimes named as *continuers* (Schegloff, 1982; Goodwin, 1986; Stivers, 2008), as they help keeping the conversational flow. *Specific* backchannels also called *assessments* (Goodwin, 1986; Bavelas and Gerwing, 2011) are utterances such as *woh* and *really*. As underlined in Knudsen, Creemers and Meyer (2020) *generic* backchannels encourage the production of new information while *specific* backchannels provide evaluations of previously provided information in the conversation and they might also be attitudinal in some contexts.

With the purpose of providing definitions for backchannels, identifying some of their features is also essential. In most of the studies, backchannels are believed not to claim to take the turn in the conversation (see Duncan and Fiske, 1977; Francis and Hunston, 1992; Tottie, 1991; Tao and Thompson, 1991; Tolins and Fox Tree, 2016). Providing a similar argument, Heinz (2003) also underlined the fact that backchannels are not turns although they are a natural component of turn-taking activities. In agreement with these arguments, Schiffrin (1987) pointed out that “speaker remains speaker and hearer remains hearer” (p. 99) in order to underline the fact that the listener does not try to take a turn by using backchannels since their function is not to take the turn but to acknowledge information or to show interest.

However, with regard to the issue of turn-taking, there are also controversial opinions. Schegloff (1982) used the term *non-primary turn* to refer to backchannels, and this ambiguous term implies that there is still uncertainty whether backchannels are turns or not. Still, backchannels are mostly regarded as “not to challenge primary speakership” (Heinz, 2003, p. 1117). Pipek (2007) also asserted that backchannels have several features. One of them is that backchannels are not turns but they support the current speaker's turn. The second feature is that backchannels do not bring any new information but they are used for the smooth flow of the conversation. The third feature is that they often overlap with the speaker's turn. Another feature is that they highly depend on the current speaker's move. Lastly, backchannels imply that the current listener is not interested in taking the turn.

While providing a definition for backchannels, it is also important to make a distinction between backchannels and interjections. Li (2005) defined an interjection as a word, phrase, or sound for expressing emotions including surprise, excitement, happiness, etc. He added that the most frequently used interjections in English include *hey*, *oops*, *gee*, *oh*, *ooh*, *eh*, *aw*, *yo*, *sh*, and *yippee*. In another attempt to define interjections, Poggi (2009) indicated that interjections might be defined as holophrastic signals since they express the information of an entire sentence. For example, “Ouch!” can be understood as “I am feeling pain”. The information in this speech act implies that the speaker is feeling some unpleasant physical sensation. “Hey!” can be paraphrased as “I ask you to pay attention”. Considering this information about interjections, it can be

said that they are mostly related to speakers' feelings while backchannels are mostly used as a feedback to Speaker 2. Another distinction between the interjections and backchannels is that, in alignment with the assumptions of Pipek (2007), backchannels are highly dependent on the current speaker while this is not so with regard to interjections. Independent from the current speaker, the other speaker might use interjections to express their emotions.

To summarize, as has been depicted above, different definitions and forms have been proposed for backchannels in the literature. An overview of the previous studies suggests that there is still controversy around the definition, types and forms of backchannels. While some scholars regard even adjectives, adverbs, exclamations and complete sentences as backchannels in some contexts, others only accept non-lexical expressions consisting of only one word as backchannels. Functions of backchannels are also still controversial. While some research studies, especially the earlier ones, indicate that the main functions of backchannels are giving listener's support and inviting the speaker to continue speaking, other studies have claimed that backchannels have a variety of functions in the organization of communication besides their attitudinal functions. The features of backchannels have also not been clarified in the literature. Although most of the research on backchannels suppose that backchannels do not offer to take the turn, still some others imply that this is not for certain.

2.1.2. Functions of Backchannels

Functions of backchannels have been investigated in various studies. Ruede et al. (2017) provided a definition for backchannels and indicated that backchannels are short phrases such as *uh-huh*, *hum*, *yeah*, *right*, etc. and their main function is to show that one is listening and paying attention. In addition to these main functions, they also claimed that in some instances backchannels might also indicate empathy, confirmation, approval or disapproval. Besides, they underscore the complexity of using backchannels, underlining that they must be chosen appropriately, timed correctly and placed in proper intervals. The same argument was also voiced by Knudsen et al. (2020). Planning backchannels appears to be not so different from planning other utterances and in order to avoid misunderstandings in communication,

speakers should select the most appropriate backchannels in line with the messages they wish to convey. Emphasizing the importance of backchannels in communication, Çubukçu (2005) underlined that backchannels provide signals for the acceptance and reception of the previous utterance. They also shape and direct the upcoming utterances.

Earlier studies mostly focused on the functions of backchannels with respect to keeping the conversational flow. Benus et al. (2007) also highlighted the importance of backchannels for the synchronization of everyday communication. In agreement with Benus et al. (2007), Aare, Włodarczak and Heldner (2014) also paid attention to the functions of backchannels and he indicated that backchannels mostly show listener's attention and comprehension of the speaker. According to Pipek (2007) their most common function is to show listener's attention. They also show that the speaker's message has been received, understood, agreed and has caused a certain effect. Pipek (2007) added that backchannels are also used with the continuer function to maintain the flow of conversation. The other functions are captured interest token, consonance token and information confirmation token with the devices of agreement or disagreement.

Concerning the functions of backchannels, Cutrone (2014) also identified 5 different functions for backchannels which are continuers, display of understanding of content, agreement, support and empathy toward the speaker's judgement, strong emotional response. Different from most of the other studies, Cutrone (2014) also identified some of the attitudinal functions of backchannels such as showing empathy and strong emotional response apart from the functions of keeping the conversational flow. In two other studies, Adolphs and Carter (2013) and O'Keeffe and Adolphs (2008) identified some functions of backchanneling markers such as *yeah* and *mm* as continuers, convergence tokens, engaged response tokens, and information receipt tokens. Furthermore, Gardner (1998) claimed that *mm hmm*, *mm* are certain minimal response tokens having the function of continuation; and *yeah* is used for a stronger acknowledgement. Centering upon the conversational activities of backchannels, Iwasaki (1997) underlined their role in a loop sequence which is defined as successive exchanges of backchannels. According to this study, thanks to the loop sequence,

participants get the opportunity to negotiate the next floor holder to control and develop the floor after the current floor holder.

Similar to the categories identified by Cutrone (2014), Maynard (1997) also investigated the functions of backchannels and identified five different functions: (1) display of understanding of content, (2) support toward the speaker's judgement, (3) agreement, (4) strong emotional response, and (5) minor addition, correction, or request for information. These functions also contained examples of attitudinal backchannels. Extending the scope of backchannels even further, in some other studies, backchannels have also been regarded as a discourse marker. To provide one example, according to the classification of backchannels by Gardner (2001), there are seven different categories which give cues about their different functions: discourse markers, dispreference markers, hesitation markers, assessment tokens, acknowledgement tokens, continuers, and newsmarkers. In addition to these studies, Duncan and Niederehe (1974) proposed that backchannels might also be used for requesting clarification in their investigation of backchannels.

Shaking the previous assumptions about backchannels, which indicate that backchannels are only associated with the listener in the conversation, Aijmer (2002) claimed that backchannels can also be considered as *interactional* markers as they underline social relationship in conversational exchanges to serve some functions such as:

- signaling support for or attention to what the speaker is saying (Fishman, 1978; Bilous & Krauss, 1988),
- continuing (Schegloff, 1982),
- agreement, strong emotional response, request for information (Gardner, 1997),
- marking successful completion of the interaction; high-grade assessment (Antaki et al., 2000).

With regard to the Turkish language, although there have not been many studies on backchannels in Turkish, Özcan (2015), for her M.A thesis, investigated the functions of two specific forms: *evet* and *hi-hi* in STC. The results of the analysis indicated that they have 5 common functions which are approval, agreement, continuation, question-

respond, and divergence functions. These identified functions show that besides their roles in the organization of communication, these two backchannels have also attitudinal meanings, both positive and negative. Altunay and Aksan (2018) carried out a study on the pragmatic markers *hayır* and *yok* in Turkish. The results showed that these pragmatic markers might have complex functions in discourse including textual and interactional functions. In a more recent M.A. thesis, Kaynarçınar (2021) investigated the approval markers from the point of (im)politeness and speech act theories in Turkish by using Turkish National Corpus. Although this study was not specifically based on backchannels and approval markers were not referred to as backchannels, there are some overlaps between this study and M.A. thesis by Kaynarçınar (2021). Some approval markers including *tabi*, *aynen*, *doğru*, *iyi*, *kesinlikle* etc. were also identified in this study.

Table 2.1 displays the summary of the functions of backchannels identified by previous studies.

2.1. Functions of Backchannels Identified by Previous Studies

Studies	Name of Functions Identified					
Aare et al. (2014)	listener's attention and comprehension					
Adolphs and Carter (2013)	Continuers	convergence tokens	engaged response token	information receipt token		
Antaki et al. (2000)	marking successful completion of the interaction	high-grade assessment				
Benus et al. (2007)	listener's attention					
Bilous & Krauss (1988); Fishman, (1978)	signalling support and attention					
Cutrone (2014)	continuers	display of understanding of content	agreement	support and empathy	strong emotional response	

Table 2.1. (cont'd)

Duncan and Niederehe (1974)	request for clarification					
Gardner (1997)	agreement	strong emotional response	request for information			
Gardner (1998)	continuation	stronger acknowledgement				
Gardner (2001)	discourse markers	dispreference markers	hesitation markers	assessment tokens	acknowledge tokens	continuers, newsmarkers
Iwasaki (1997)	controlling and developing the floor					
Maynard (1997)	display of understanding of content	support toward the speaker's judgement	agreement	strong emotional response	minor addition, correction, or request for information	
Özcan (2015)	approval	agreement	continuation	question-respond	divergence	
Pipek (2007)	maintain the flow of conversation	captured interest token	consonance token	information confirmation token	continuer	
Ruede et al. (2017)	Listening	paying attention	empathy	confirmation	approval	disapproval
Schegloff (1982)	continuing					
White (1989)	attentiveness	comprehension	interest			

Considering such information from various researchers with respect to the functions carried by backchannels, it can be important to acknowledge that backchannels are highly multifunctional. Most of the previous studies highlighted the role of backchannels in the conversational flow such as asking the current speaker to continue, indicating the comprehension of the topic being talked about and showing listener's support. However, as an issue raised also by several other studies, backchannels might carry attitudinal meanings too, either positive or negative. They might be used for expressing empathy, agreement or disagreement. In addition, intonation can be an important factor in some cases for the interpretation and the identification of these functions as has been briefly mentioned before. Overgeneralizations with respect to

the functions of backchannels should, therefore, be avoided as the same backchannel might carry different meanings and functions depending on the intonation and also the surrounding context of the backchannel.

2.1.3. Cultural Differences in the Use of Backchannels

Backchannels undeniably have a crucial role in the organization of communication. Although backchannels exist in all languages (Clark & Wasow, 1998; Goodwin, 1986; Heinz, 2003; Schegloff, 1982), as stated by Heinz (2003) there is variation in their form, frequency and functions across different cultures and languages. There are both similarities and differences between different cultures and languages regarding backchannels. To provide an example, Lebra (1976) indicated that use of the backchannels is essential in Japanese culture because of the concept of *omoiyari* which basically means creation and maintenance of smooth human interactions. However, this concept does not exist in American culture. Therefore, there is not any equivalent term for this concept for Americans. *Omoi-yari* requires people to maintain harmony and mutual understanding, and be sensitive to the other person's opinions and emotions. Lebra (1976) further claimed that being empathetic may sometimes require complying with the other's ideas even if they are opposed to one's own ideas.

The concept of *omoiyari* might be an explanation for the higher frequency of backchannels in Japanese than backchannels in American culture. In another study, focusing on the cultural value of backchannels, White (1989) investigated the difference between Japanese and American people in terms of the backchannels they use. According to the results, Japanese people use significantly more backchannels of several types than Americans do. However, American listeners change their frequency of backchanneling and use significantly more backchannels in conversations with Japanese people than in conversations with fellow Americans. This finding is especially significant since it shows that in intercultural communication people have a tendency to accommodate their speech interactionally when in communication with another person from a different cultural background. White (1989) claimed that the frequency of the backchannels is especially influenced by the duration of the contact with the people of the host culture. As the duration gets longer, the usage of

backchannels becomes more frequent.

There are also cultural differences with regard to the use of non-verbal backchannels. Ike (2010) indicated that Japanese speakers of English prefer head movement while Australian speakers of English mostly prefer eye gaze as non-verbal backchannels. Ike and Mulder (2014, 2015) also investigated the use of backchannels in an English as an International Language (EIL) setting. In this setting, Japanese participants overtly used backchannel cues to elicit backchannels from Australian participants. On the other hand, Australian participants usually produced backchannels on cue. As already discussed, the high frequency of backchannels in Japanese culture and Japanese people's expectation from their interlocutors regarding the use of backchannels might be associated with the concept of *omoiyari* in Japanese culture.

Considering the Finnish language and culture, Tiittula (1994) highlighted that Finnish conversations also include backchannels. However, in Finnish conversations the turns before the occurrence of backchannels tend to be longer compared to English conversations. Hence, it might be possible to deduce that in Finnish conversations, backchannels are not used as frequently as they are in conversations in English. Similarly, Heinz (2003) compared Germans, Americans and German-American bilinguals regarding their use of backchannels. The results of the analysis showed that Germans use fewer backchannels. Moreover, they use backchannels less frequently in overlapping positions. The results also showed Germans who become proficient in English produce more backchannels compared to monolingual Germans, which might be the result of becoming aware of the target language's culture as a direct consequence of learning another language. Comparing English and Korean cultures, Young and Lee (2004) investigated the difference in the use of reactive tokens in English and in Korean and the perceptions of speakers with respect to reactive tokens. The results showed that reactive tokens in English are used by the listener in order to decline overtly to take the opportunity for a full turn. On the other hand, reactive tokens in Korean are usually regarded as an obligation which is perceived to be an interactional burden on the listener.

The essence of the knowledge of backchannels is especially evident in intercultural communication. From a pragmatic approach, participants should use the backchannels appropriately in an intercultural setting in order to avoid misunderstandings and achieve the smooth flow of communication. Based on these cultural similarities or differences, as highlighted by Li (2006), bilinguals change their backchannel codes when they switch from their one language to the other one especially if there are differences between their two languages regarding backchannels.

In an intercultural setting, Li, Cui and Wang (2010) investigated the types of backchannel responses and the participants' enjoyment of the conversation. Findings showed that Chinese participants used more backchannels compared to their Canadian counterparts. In both cultural groups, nodding and *okay* were the most frequently used non-verbal and verbal backchannels. Surprisingly, a negative correlation was also found between the frequency of backchannels and the enjoyment of the participants. Thus, this study raised the important issue of ideal frequency of backchannels in intercultural settings. In an earlier study which also investigated cultural differences, Li (2006) also found a negative correlation between the frequency of backchannels and content information in conversations between Chinese and Canadians. In these intercultural conversations, when there were more backchannels, there was little content information. On the other hand, when the conversation was only between Chinese people, more backchannels meant more content information. The same was also true for Canadians. When there were only Canadian people in the conversation, there was a positive correlation between the frequency of backchannels and the amount of content information.

This overview of the studies on cultural differences regarding the use of backchannels indicate that backchannels are crucial in all languages and cultures. However, there are both similarities and differences among languages with respect to backchannels. Being aware of the tendencies in different cultures related to backchannel usage is also crucial for pragmatics. It is essential for speakers, especially in intercultural settings, to plan the use of backchannels in their speech by accommodating to the culture of the other speaker for avoiding misunderstandings.

Why could this be relevant for the study at hand? The corpus data for this dissertation is sourced from a single language group, however, conversational culture/sub-cultures of the naturally formed groups/groupings might have an impact on backchannel choice and function much in the same way as in intercultural communication outlined above.

2.1.4. Backchannels and Gender

The relation between gender and backchannels have also been investigated in previous research. These studies usually adopt a more descriptive approach to language and gender. Although this dissertation follows the assumptions of third wave studies and social constructionist approaches to language and gender, an overview of these studies is provided to display how our approach to gender has changed over time.

Previous studies on the use of backchannels mostly agree that women use them more frequently than men, and at appropriate moments. Women mostly use them appropriately in conversations because backchannels and minimal responses used by women usually indicate the listener's support for the current speaker. They also use them with the purpose of keeping the conversation going (see Coates, 1989, 1991, 1994; Fishman 1980; Hirschmann, 1974; Holmes, 1995; Stradtbeck and Mann, 1956; Zimmerman and West, 1975).

According to previous studies, the places where backchannels are used might also be different for male and female speakers. Zimmerman and West (1975) indicated that delayed backchannels are more commonly used by males. Before these delayed backchannels, there is usually at least one second of silence and these delayed backchannels mostly occurred in single-sex conversations, rather than mixed-sex conversations. They interpreted these delayed backchannels as indications of disinterest or a lack of understanding of the current topic in the conversation. In alignment with these arguments, Fishman (1983) also found similar findings. Additionally, results in her study showed that men usually produce backchannels at the end of an utterance produced by a female speaker. On the other hand, women used backchannels not only at the end but also in the middle of the utterances produced by men.

Interpretations and perceptions of men and women regarding the use of backchannels also seem to be different based on previous studies. To illustrate, Mulac et al. (1998) analyzed the student observers' assessment of backchannels. Results showed that male students perceived backchannels to be more controlling such as giving information and leading the conversation while female students thought backchannels have the functions of agreement or showing interest.

Literature on backchannels and gender shows that gender is usually taken in isolation, as a separate variable in these studies. Though these studies provide some tendencies for different genders with respect to their usage of backchannels, overgeneralizing these results might end up with more simplistic approaches. Investigating social categories such as gender, age and class together and in relation to other cultural and social factors might provide more context-sensitive results.

2.1.5. Current Issues in Studies on Backchannels

Investigation and analysis of backchannels also require taking some controversial issues into consideration. Moreover, some recent approaches have raised important questions related to studies on backchannels. As highlighted by Ike (2016), though there is a growing interest in backchannels, there is still a lack of research on the actual backchannel behavior. Most of the studies on backchannels focus on their different functions in the conversations, their frequency and different types of backchannels. However, the actual interactional aspects of backchannels have mostly been ignored in previous studies. Ike (2016) connected this problem to the prevalent perception of backchannels as a listener action by proposing that backchannels should be regarded as essential markers which create cooperative interaction between the speaker and the listener. Most of the research presupposed that backchannels are produced only by the listener in the conversation. However, conversations are interactional practices that are produced thanks to the mutual involvement of the speakers and labeling one of the participants in the conversation as the listener and the other as the speaker might be opposing to the nature of the conversations.

Another crucial point that should be taken into consideration about backchannels is the issue of intonation. Pipek (2007) paid attention to this critical issue related to backchannels in interaction. He claimed that the intonation has also a tremendous effect in determining their functions. If they have a falling intonation, they indicate that there is nothing to be added and the statement finished. If they have a rising intonation, this shows that there is more to follow. Focusing solely on this issue, Stenström (1994) emphasized that intonation is not separable from backchannels and claims that the backchannels can reflect empathy, enthusiasm and indignation, but they can also reflect a lack of interest, indifference and impatience based on the lexical items chosen and the intonation contour adopted. Similarly, Abercrombie (1965) underlined the importance of intonation with these words: “If you are reading aloud a piece of written prose, the intonation adds little information. But if you try to read aloud a piece of written conversation, the intonations contribute more independently to the meaning” (p. 6). Related to this quote, Aijmer (2002) gave an example with a discourse marker, *OK*, to describe the relationship between the intonation and the function. She stated that *OK* can signal both request for confirmation and comprehension.

Besides intonation and interactional features of backchannels, Ike (2016) drew attention to the problem with listing backchannels for a specific language. By emphasizing the context of the occurrence, he claimed that a linguistic item might function as a backchannel in one instance but in the other it might not function as a backchannel. Thus, although lists of backchannels in different languages might provide baseline data, possible variations in their meaning across different contexts should also be noted.

Another issue related to backchannels raised by Ike (2016) is the ignorance of non-verbal backchannels in linguistic studies. These non-verbal backchannels include examples such as nodding, gazing and head movement. To illustrate, head movement and nodding have been found to be the most commonly used backchanneling responses in Japanese and Japanese English in several studies (see Ike, 2010, 2012; Kita & Ide, 2007; Maynard, 1987, 1997). Analyzing the backchanneling behaviour of British English speakers and Japanese speakers, Cutrone (2005) showed that an important

amount of the backchannels in his data consist of only head movement. Similarly, Ike (2010) found that about 40% of backchannels uttered by Japanese speakers of English and more than half of backchannels used by Australian speakers of English consist of head movement only. Therefore, integrating the analysis of non-verbal backchannels into the investigation of backchannels might provide more comprehensive findings.

2.2. Different Approaches to Language and Gender

As speakers naturally form conversational groups, these groups can combinatorially revolve around a mixture of different age, gender, education and occupation categories. Thus it is important to have an overview of the different research approaches to each of them.

One prominent variable is manifestly gender. Since the publication of Lakoff's classic work, *Language and Woman's Place*, in 1975, there have been mainly four approaches which were used in language and gender studies by linguists to analyze the differences between men's and women's speech. These four different perspectives are called as the deficit approach, the dominance approach, the difference approach, and the dynamic or social constructionist approach.

In the earliest work in gender studies, mostly the deficit approach was used as the mainstream perspective. Most well-known work using this approach is Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place*, in which Lakoff claims that there is something called 'women's language'. Accordingly, women's language has some specific linguistic traits including common use of hedges and some adjectives such as *charming* and *nice*. Based on these linguistic features, Lakoff describes women's language as weak and unassertive, in other words, as deficient compared to men's language. As highlighted by Meyerhoff (2015) deterministic and simplistic generalizations about how men and women speak were quite common in the earliest gender studies.

Scholars who take the second approach, the dominance approach, as the main perspective in their gender studies, see women as an oppressed group in the society and linguistic differences in women's and men's speech are interpreted and discussed

in terms of men's dominance and women's subordination. Within the abstracting framework of this approach, social categories are also analyzed in isolation.

The third approach, which is called as the difference approach, underlines the idea that women and men are coming from different subcultures. Women were regarded as a subordinate group according to the dominance approach. Later, women started to resist this treatment, and in the 1980s, this resistance resulted in the discovery of male and female subcultures which are clearly distinct from each other. As indicated by Humm (1989) owing to the discovery of these subcultures, women began to assert strongly that they are different from men in terms of their voice, psychology, and their attitudes towards love, work and the family. The main advantage of the difference approach is that it allows women's talk to be analyzed outside a framework in which they are regarded as oppressed or powerless.

The dynamic approach is the fourth and most recent approach because it underlines the fact that there are dynamic aspects in the social interaction. Researchers who use this approach take a social constructionist perspective; therefore, gender identity is seen as a social construct which is created during the course of interaction rather than as a biologically 'given' social category. As clearly indicated by West and Zimmerman (1987), we should not see speakers as belonging to a statically particular gender, rather we should see them as 'doing gender' or constructing their gender in interaction.

With regard to more recent and contemporary approaches to language and social categories such as gender which are especially relevant to this study, as underlined by Meyerhoff (2015), Judith Butler (1956-) first introduced the term 'gender performativity' which has been very influential in language and gender studies. According to this approach which is in alignment again with the social constructionist perspective, social categories such as gender, age and class are *emergent* and *multifaceted* in language research. As indicated in Salih (2007), according to Butler (1994), gender is something *done* by somebody, it is not something one *is*. Therefore, Butler's perspective of gender is also connected to speech act theory proposed by Austin (1955) since gender is regarded as a consequence of different acts.

According to Butler (1990), gender identity, either masculine or feminine, only exists through talk or other social activities. As interpreted by Salih (2007), Butler's gender performativity implies that there is no identity or gender outside language; that is, gender is done through language and discourse. As a direct consequence of this perspective, identities were analyzed not in isolation but in relation to social and historical factors. They are now believed to be a result of an individual's experiences and their interpretation should not ignore the relevant cultural norms. The need to examine the cultural norms and the idea that identities are emerging were the cornerstones of third-wave studies.

As a criticism for the abstraction of language and gender from other social practices, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992a) proposed investigating realizations of social categories such as gender, age and class in their actual communities. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992a) also came up with a slogan, "think practically and look locally" (p. 3). Based on this perspective, gender or any other social category should not be viewed as functioning independently from other social aspects. In addition, it also should not be regarded as the same in all communities in the world. They added that gender is also in interaction with other symbols such as dress, touch and gaze. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992a) summarized the consequences of abstracting gender from other social factors with the words "certainly to interpret broad sex patterns in language use without considering other aspects of social identity and relations is to paint with one eye closed" (p. 6).

Although four different approaches have been identified in gender studies, using one of these perspectives does not mean abandoning the other approaches since they do not have rigid boundaries. In some circumstances, researchers may be influenced by more than one approach, so they may take an eclectic approach which includes a mixture of more than one perspective in their studies. The essential issue is the shift in researchers' perspective on the features of gender. Gender is no more seen as something static and a biologically add-on characteristic of speakers, but it is regarded as something that is dynamically constructed in social interaction.

With regard to this dissertation, more contemporary and up-to-date assumptions related to gender and social categories and third wave studies are especially relevant and these more recent approaches are adopted since they are more in alignment with the purpose of this study. Gender and age are not taken as abstract and separate categories and they are not analyzed in isolation in this study. In other words, this study is not interested in how each gender and age uses backchannels. Rather, the main purpose is to investigate group differences in the use of backchannels. Since these groups are formed by different social categories such as age, gender, education and occupation, considering the scope of the study, use of backchannels by different age and gender combinations will be discussed.

2.3. Studies on Men's and Women's Speech in Conversational Practice

Although the literature has moved towards more constructionist approaches for language and social categories, in this section, previous studies on men's and women's speech in conversational practice are provided in order to display how approaches and assumptions about language and gender have changed over time.

There have been many studies on the comparison of men's and women's speech especially in English in terms of different features such as differences in pronunciation, lexical and syntactic differences. In one of the earliest gender studies, Trudgill (1974) tried to investigate the social stratification in Norwich considering the variations in the pronunciation of the sound "ng". In the study, three different variables which are speaker's gender, social class and contextual style were all examined and the data analysis showed that scores for male and female speakers were quite different. According to the results, women speakers in Norwich tended to use the prestige variant [f] more and the stigmatized variant [n] less than men, and this pattern did not differ in different social classes.

In another study which also focused on phonological varieties, Newbrook (1982) worked on West Wirral to find out how far the usage of the urban vernacular of Liverpool which is called as Scouse has also spread into the surrounding area. To be more specific, he tried to investigate to what extent local Cheshire forms have been

replaced by linguistic features of Scouse. In this study, a number of phonological variables were investigated, and results showed that there were significant gender differences for most of these phonological variables based on both gender and social class. According to the data, women's pronunciation was closer to the prestigious standard form compared to men's. Moreover, the range of individual scores involved was also different between men and women based on the social class. The average score for a working-class man was much lower than that for a middle-class man. On the other hand, women's scores in different social classes did not differ as much as men's scores did. The range of the scores among women from different social class was not so large. These results point out that social class is a more important factor in determining men's speech than women's in West Wirral.

The studies by Trudgill (1974) and Newbrook (1982) were all carried out in Britain, and they investigated phonological variation. However, gender differences in languages do not only occur in pronunciation; it is also possible to observe gender differences in other proponents of language. In another study, grammatical variation was examined in Australia. Eisikovits (1987, 1998) examined the adolescents' talk in working-class areas of Sydney. Three of the grammatical features she studied were the non-standard past tense forms such as *seen* and *done*, multiple negation and invariable *don't*. The results were again in the expected pattern considering the results of the previous studies in that female speech was much closer to the standard norm, and male speakers were using the non-standard forms much more frequently. However, this pattern was not observed in the speech of younger adolescent speakers interviewed by Eisikovits, so it was possible to infer that age is another variable which should also be considered while interpreting the results.

These studies show us the complexity of the effect of gender as a variable in speech variation. Where variation is observed in the studies, it often seems to be the case that gender is one of the variables that affect the variation. Male and female speakers seem to prefer different variants considering phonological, lexical and syntactic features. And in cases where it is possible to regard one of the variants as prestigious, then it is often female speakers who especially prefer this variant.

In earlier research on language and gender, it is mostly claimed that women use more hedges compared to men. Therefore, women's speech is often described as tentative, unassertive and weak. Hedges are linguistic forms such as *I think*, *I'm sure*, *you know*, *sort of* and *perhaps* and they are mostly used to express the speaker's certainty or uncertainty about the topic that is being discussed. Lakoff (1975) explicitly indicated that women use more hedges since their speech is unassertive. However, this claim was criticized since it was not based on empirical evidence. She also added that little girls are forced to believe that it is not ladylike or feminine to assert themselves strongly in the society.

Considering the usage of hedges, it should be noted that they might have quite contradictory meanings and functions in the conversations. Holmes (1984) made a distinction between the types of hedges. He claimed that not all hedges are used to indicate uncertainty; some of them are used to indicate certainty. To be more specific, *you know* might express both certainty and uncertainty depending on the context. In his study, women participants tended to use *you know* more commonly than men in order to express confidence. However, women used *you know* less frequently with uncertainty meaning. Holmes's analysis demonstrated that hedges are multifunctional and can have more than one meaning, so any analysis of gender differences considering the usage of hedges needs to take this issue into account.

Lakoff (1975) also indicated that tag questions are also a feature of women's speech since they also indicate unassertiveness; however, she did not make a distinction between the types of tag questions. To fill this gap in the analysis of tag questions, Holmes (1984) examined them according to whether they carry a modal or affective meaning. Tags with modal meaning signal the speaker's degree of certainty about the topic that is being discussed. These tag questions can be described as speaker-oriented since they ask the addressee to confirm or approve the speaker's proposition. On the other hand, affective tag questions express the speaker's attitude to the addressee, and so they can be regarded as addressee-oriented. Holmes's (1984) study indicated that women mostly use tag questions with an affective meaning while men use them mostly with a modal meaning.

Questions are another feature that has been investigated in gender studies. Fishman (1980) analyzed the recordings which included conversations between couples for questions as well as for the hedge *you know*. She looked at yes/no questions and tag questions. The women participating in the study used three times as many tag and yes/no questions as the men. Research findings so far suggest that women use questions more than men and that this may reflect women's relative weakness and unassertiveness in interactive situations. Women are believed to use questions and tag questions in order to keep the conversation going. The questions asked by women are regarded as mitigating rather than aggravating.

Women and men are also believed to differ in their usage of commands and directives. Goodwin (1980, 1990, 1998) examined the language used in the group play of girls and boys in a Philadelphia street, and found that the boys used different types of directives from the girls. The boys used more explicit and direct commands while girls mostly used more indirect and mitigated commands. Swearing and taboo language have been another feature that has been investigated when comparing male and female speech. Kramer (1974) analyzed cartoons from the *New Yorker*. She found that producers make male characters swear much more freely than the female characters in those cartoons.

In recent years, the speech activity which is called as 'gossip' has been examined and redefined in sociolinguistic studies based on gender. Gossiping is commonly believed to be something that is done by women. In everyday talk, people almost always use the term 'gossip' to refer to women's talk and it usually has negative connotations. In *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, gossiping is defined as 'idle talk' and 'tittle-tattle'. Using a non-androcentric perspective, Jones (1980) used the term 'gossip' with a positive meaning. She accepted that 'gossip' is a term that is used to describe women's talk, but defined it again in a neutral way without any positive or negative connotations as 'a way of talking between women in their roles as women, intimate in style, personal and domestic in topic and setting' (Jones, 1980, p. 194). Jones (1980) also argued that using the term 'gossip' to refer to female talk instead of using the term 'all-female talk' underlines the fact that the language used by women when talking to each other is not traditionally treated as serious linguistic data. On the contrary, men's talk is regarded

as 'real' talk and has always been taken seriously.

There have also been later studies which showed that gossiping is not only a feature of female's speech but it is also possible to observe examples of gossiping in male's talk. In one of these studies, Cameron (1997) analyzed 'sportstalk' among male students because she believed that it is a typically masculine conversational genre. The group of students were recorded while they were watching a match on television. Cameron (1997) noticed that their comments on the basketball game they were watching were evidence that they were gossiping. They were also gossiping about people who were not present at that moment. Their gossip included detailed discussions about some of the men they know and labelling those males as being gay. Thus type/sub-genre of conversation and topic are also relevant categories for the intersectional analysis adopted in this dissertation.

2.4. Conversational Dominance in Mixed Talk

Considering the gender differences and whether there is any inequality in language usage, conversational dominance has been another aspect of investigation in the first wave gender studies. As indicated by Coates (2013), 'conversational dominance' is the phrase used to refer to the event in which a speaker dominates others during interaction. Previous studies which focused on mixed talk in different contexts showed that the conversations between male and female speakers were asymmetrical in that men used more strategies which resulted in male dominance in conversation. Talk is organized around turn-taking principles which means one person should speak at a time and all the participants in the context should have their own contributions to the conversation. When somebody dominates the conversation, he or she breaks the rules of this turn-taking model.

Conversational dominance is usually done by grabbing the floor or hogging the floor. Interruptions and overlaps are examples in which one speaker grabs the floor and this results in conversational dominance. Interruptions are usually regarded as the most obvious strategy to achieve conversational dominance because interrupting someone in a sense means taking their chance and right to speak. Interruptions might be

regarded as violations of the turn-taking rules of conversation since in interruptions the next speaker begins to speak while the current speaker is still speaking, the point interrupted cannot be identified as the current speaker's last word. In overlaps, on the other hand, instead of beginning to speak when the current speaker finishes their speech, the next speaker begins to speak at the very end of the current speaker's turn which results in overlapping the last word or part of the last word.

Zimmerman and West (1975), using Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) model of turn-taking, recorded thirty-one conversations in which there were two participants in different contexts including coffee shops, drug stores and other public places on the campus of the University of California. Ten of these conversations were between two women, ten of them were between two men, and eleven were between one woman and one man. In these eleven conversations between one woman and one man, there were nine overlaps and forty-eight interruptions. The male speaker caused all of the overlaps. Moreover, the total number of interruptions was forty-eight and the male speaker used forty-six interruptions.

In the second type of conversational dominance, which is hogging the floor, one person speaks too much so the other or the others do not have enough opportunity to contribute to the conversation. Considering mixed talk, there is a commonly held belief in our society that women talk more than men. However, interestingly, research findings are mostly in contradiction to this. Men have been shown to talk more than women in diverse settings including staff meetings (Eakins and Eakins, 1978, 1979), seminars (Bashiruddin, Edge and Hughes-Pelegrin, 1990; Swacker, 1979), television panel discussions (Bernard, 1972; Edelsky and Adams, 1990), mock jury deliberations (Strodtbeck and Mann, 1956), and experimental pairs (Argyle, Lalljee and Cook, 1968).

In an attempt to examine hogging the floor, Swacker (1975) tried to investigate the amount of talk done by men and women. In this study, there were different pictures and the participants were asked to talk about three pictures. Results show that male participants talked for 13.00 minutes for each picture while female participants talked for 3.17 minutes on average. Similarly, Woods (1989) showed how hogging the floor

was directly affected by the gender variable, rather than by the participants' occupation. She recorded nine conversations between work colleagues of differing status. In each conversation, there were three people. The results of her analysis showed that powerful speakers were holding the floor in these conversations. However, according to the results while male bosses spent more time when holding the floor, female bosses did not.

Some studies suggest that these finds were also in effect for different modes of communication other than conversation. In a study on the amount of online interaction by men and women, Herring (1992) examined the contributions of male and female participants to an e-discussion list. He observed that contributions of the participants on the e-mail discussion list were highly asymmetrical. 80 per cent of the total discussion composed of the male participants' contributions.

2.5. Language and Gender Studies in Turkey

The difference between men's and women's speech in Turkish has also been investigated in some research studies. In these studies, both how men and women use the language and how they are spoken of were examined. In one of these studies, Çolak (2016) tried to investigate the use gendered forms in Turkish considering the author's gender. She examined the texts between 1860 and 2015 and analyzed 552 words. The results showed that 402 of those 552 words had social gender. Sexism was more clearly observed in words that were regarded as more appropriate to refer to men. In addition, the study concluded that men had a more conservative attitude toward social gender.

Besides gender, in some studies other variables were also considered. As an example, Kansu-Yetkiner (2006) examined the language use of two groups of less educated Turkish women in narrative/conversation situations among female friends on critical/taboo topics with special reference to cultural politeness norms, self presentation styles and linguistic strategies reflecting sociopsychological mechanisms. The Groningen group represented a more liberal perspective as compared to the Ankara group. Being a younger population, they were more open to discussions on critical topics and as they acknowledged later, they were in need of being able to talk

about unspeakable aspects of their lives with authority and respect.

As is the case in English, lexical features of men's and women's speech were also investigated in Turkish. Şimşek (2006) tried to investigate the features of women's talk in her M.A. thesis. She recorded the speeches of five different women groups in their home environment. The results showed that women's speech tended to include overlaps, interruptions, repetitions, laughter, questions and minimal responses. As for the prominent topics in women's talk, she indicated that their speech usually includes topics related to home, gossiping, and womanhood stages. In terms of the lexical features, the usage of concrete and abstract nouns has also been compared based on the gender variable. In her M.A. thesis, Ağaçasapan (1989) tried to examine the different language usage of female and male students at a high school in Eskişehir. She found that male students tend to use more concrete nouns while female students tend to use more abstract nouns.

Turkish is regarded as a gender-neutral language. However, in some studies, it was claimed that although there is no grammatical gender in Turkish, some lexical items actually do carry gender on their own. In one of these studies, Doğan (2011) pointed out that while the category of gender exists in most of Indo-European languages and semiotic languages, it is not observed in Altaic languages and Turkish language. He tried to classify the examples which might have traces of gender category. Some of the words which implied femininity are *abla*, *hatun*, *kaynana*, *duvaklı* and *ay parçası*. Some of the words which indicated masculinity included *abazan*, *babacan*, *efelenmek*, *aslan* and *koç*. In terms of the proper names used for women and men, Doğan (2011) found that names for men usually refer to sky, heroism, bravery, metals and predators. On the other hand, names for women usually have a reference to flowers, plants, love, preying animals and precious stones. In another study, Büyükkantarcıoğlu (2000) investigated the construction of woman's identity in visual media through language. She pointed out that regarding the social roles assigned to men and women, the language used for genders differ greatly. She further claimed that when the language used to refer to women was analyzed, it was shown that women were seen in a secondary position.

Proverbs and idioms in Turkish have also been investigated to find some clues about the representation of men and women. Özkan and Gündoğdu (2011) tried to present men's and women's roles in Turkish society by investigating proverbs and idioms. They also tried to find out what society expects from these two genders. The results of the study indicated that in proverbs and idioms girls are usually associated with marriage and setting up a home. On the other hand, boys are expected to make economical contribution to the family and keep the father's job. In addition to proverbs and idioms, metaphors have also been an issue in gender studies. As an example, Çek (2015) evaluated the usage of metaphors in Turkish lullabies. She claimed that since women cannot express themselves clearly, they use a lot of metaphors and similes in the lullabies.

The possible bias towards one gender and any possible inequality were also investigated in course books in Turkey. Kitiş Çınar (2013) tried to examine the visuals and contents of the Turkish course and student exercise books which are used in schools by the allowance of the Turkish Head Council of Education and Morality at middle schools from 5th to 8th class. According to the findings men and boys are more commonly observed in the books that were examined and their visualization is in harmony with the gender stereotypes. Men and boys more frequently appear as a main character compared to women and girls. In these books, women are usually represented as mothers, nurses, and teachers. In alignment with the results of the previous studies, Aydınoğlu (2014) aimed to investigate how the language used to refer to women shows their secondary position in the society. She found out that women are negated and humiliated by means of the language used to refer to them.

Whether swearwords and slang are mostly used by men or women has also been an interesting issue in gender studies in Turkish. In one of these studies, Özçalışkan (1994) investigated the usage of swearwords by men and women. The participants were students at Boğaziçi University. The results of this study showed that men tend to use 'stronger' swear words compared to women. As a counter argument to Özçalışkan's study, Kocaer (2006) focused on the relationship between slang and gender and she indicated that the usage of slang by educated and young women in big cities such as Istanbul and Ankara is increasing day by day. There is also further

support for the usage of slang by female speakers. To illustrate, Sebzecioğlu and Özgür (2015) tried to investigate the usage of slang by females and males on Twitter. They indicated that women use slang much more comfortably on Twitter compared to their real life since they are able to get out of their socially expected gender frames in this virtual environment.

2.6. Age and Language Use

Numerous studies on spoken language production have also claimed that language production changes across the life span (see Mortensen, Meyer and Humphreys, 2006). Eckert (1997) proposed three different age types which are chronological age, biological age and social age. He defined chronological age as age since birth. Biological age refers to physical maturity, puberty and losing hair. Lastly, the term social age is used to refer to important events in one's life including marriage and birth of first child. Studies about language and age usually consider chronological age and adopt an etic approach since they group speakers based on age spans (see Barbieri, 2008; Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974). Eckert (1997) further focused on middle aged bias in language use. Children and adolescents are regarded as learning adult language. Elderly are considered to be losing their ability to use language while middle aged are regarded as 'doing' language rather than losing or learning it.

Some of the earlier research on age specifically analyzed children's and teenagers' language in an attempt to compare them. To exemplify, Peccei (1999) highlighted some features of child-directed speech including higher pitch, slower speed and more pauses. He also claimed that children's speech is clearer and it has more distinct pronunciation with exaggerated intonation. In addition, according to Peccei (1999) children use pet names, simple sentences, repetition, tag questions, and baby talk words more frequently. With regard to teenagers' speech, Eckert (1997) exemplified some specific features. He indicated that teenagers construct their style and identity through their speech. Teenagers' language also includes examples of sound change and use of vernacular.

Age has also been associated with a number of theories related to communication. To illustrate, based on the Communication Accommodation theory (CAT), Giles, Coupland & Coupland (1991) underlined that regarding over-accommodation young people overuse lexical and syntactic simplification, low speech rate and prosodic features. With under-accommodation, elderly speakers only talk about safe topics in order not to raise social issues. With respect to expressions of emotions by different age groups, Löckenhoff, Costa & Lane (2008) also investigated age differences in people's expressions of their own feelings. Participants read hypothetical emotion-eliciting scenarios and described how they themselves and the social partners involved in the scenarios would feel. Older adults used more positive emotions compared to younger adults. Accordingly, older adults also used fewer negative emotions.

Several studies specifically investigated the relationship between age and the usage of backchannels. To illustrate, Geertzen (2015) advocated that age differences are observed on feedback strategies. He added that younger interlocutors tend to use more backchannels compared to older speakers, but when taking turns, older interlocutors produce backchannels more frequently. He concluded that younger adults produce more backchannels in different circumstances and this indicates the active monitoring of the partner's production.

There are also some other studies which are in agreement with the results of Geertzen (2015). For instance, Kemper, FinterUrczyk, Ferrell, Harden and Billington (1998) found a significant age effect in a referential communication task in which young adults instructed older adults to reproduce a map. Gould and Dixon (1993) also reported that younger adults produced more backchannels than older adults when describing a mutually experienced event such as holidays. This has been explained as an increased "willingness and ability to take on the cognitively demanding task of dividing one's attention between monitoring the social situation and planning one's own speech productions" (Gould and Dixon, 1993). In another study which investigated the factors affecting the selection of backchannel structures in British English, Wong & Kruger (2018) found that the participants in the 30-59 age group used backchannels most frequently compared to other age groups. On the other hand, the oldest age group produced backchannels less frequently compared to middle aged

and young group.

This overview of studies related to age and language provides some insights into how age and language have been dwelled upon in literature over time. With respect to this study, age of the speakers, as is the case with the gender of the speakers, is not taken in isolation. It is analysed in different age and gender combinations in naturally occurring groups.

CHAPTER III

METHOD OF RESEARCH

3.0. Presentation

In this chapter, first the methodological perspective guiding this dissertation is provided. Second, the research design of the study is explained. Then research questions for the present study are provided. Lastly, the data source, STC, is explained in detail.

3.1. Methodological Perspective

Corpus methodology has been one of the most widespread methodologies used in linguistic research. Although considered as a pre-application method by Tognini-Bonelli (2001), corpus linguistics makes it possible for researchers to analyze linguistic structures using large collections of machine readable data.

One of the biggest controversial issues regarding corpus methodology arise from Chomsky's ideas related to mental grammar or competence. Chomsky claims that using linguist's intuition or language users' intuition is one of the viable methods researchers can apply in order to conduct linguistic analysis. However, in disagreement with Chomsky's ideas, some linguists believe that only using informants' or linguist's intuition for linguistic analysis is a big simplification. Thus, they prefer to use only naturally occurring language data when doing linguistic analysis. In order to analyze naturally occurring data, they either use randomly collected texts or utterances, or systematic collections of texts, in other words, corpora. Linguists have discovered that using corpora might be very useful for different purposes in linguistic research. The analysis using corpora is usually carried out by means of specialized software. Corpus

linguistics aims to answer two fundamental questions:

1. What particular patterns are associated with lexical or grammatical features?
2. How do these patterns differ regarding different varieties and registers? (as cited in Bennett, 2010)

In the early corpus linguistics or pre-Chomskyan era, which is the period before 1940s/1950s, Franz Boas was one of the leading people in the field of corpus linguistics. In order to analyze phonological patterns of language, he compiled small corpora. During this period, corpus was regarded as the only source for creating theories in linguistics. Research studies in pre-Chomskyan era was based on two fundamental assumptions:

- There are a finite number of sentences in a natural language.
- It is possible to collect and enumerate the sentences of a natural language.

After this period, between 1957 and 1965, Chomsky had an important influence and the direction of linguistics was changed from empiricism towards rationalism. Chomsky (1957) argued that “Some sentences won’t occur because they are obvious, others because they are false, still others because they are impolite. The corpus, if natural, will be so wildly skewed that the description would be no more than a mere list” (p. 159). One of the important criticisms of corpora is related to the difference between competence and performance. Competence might be regarded as the internalized and tacit knowledge of language whereas performance is usually considered to be the language we put into practice through writing and speaking. According to Chomsky, we should not focus on performance of the speaker. What we should take into consideration is the competence of an idealized speaker-hearer. Its finiteness is another criticism for corpora.

Early studies which use corpora assume that a language has finite number of sentences so it is possible to know everything about that language if the sample is large enough. However, the number of the possible sentences in a language is infinite thanks to the syntactic rules. Chomsky claims that a corpus is always biased in favor of certain

structures, which is regarded as another criticism of corpora. Corpora are also believed to be partial, that is, it is only possible to find things in a corpus if they are frequent enough. The last criticism of corpora is that it is not possible to say what is ungrammatical by just analyzing a corpus. As highlighted by Gatt (n.d.) a corpus does not contain structures which are not allowed in a language. However, if a word is not found in a corpus, this does not necessarily mean it is not allowed in that language. This word might be rare, the corpus might not be big or up-to-date enough.

In spite of some criticisms, using corpus for language analysis has also some advantages. To illustrate, as highlighted by Aytaç (2014) since corpus is public and the results might be verified by other people, corpus might be better than introspection. In addition, some types of language analysis are not suitable for introspection such as the frequency of words or structures. However, this does not mean that introspection should not be included in language analysis. It is also useful to combine corpus methodology with the introspection method.

In the late 20th century, thanks to the development of the digital personal computer, the number of corpus based studies have increased dramatically. Using the works published in the United States in 1961, Henry Kucera and W. Nelson Francis compiled the Brown Corpus in the 1960s at Brown University. This corpus consisted of approximately one million words including 500 samples of English-language texts. The London-Lund Corpus was compiled by Jan Svartvik in 1975. It consisted of 500,000 words of spoken British English transcribed to show prosodic and paralinguistic features. Many others were also compiled after these corpora. Recently, with its widespread popularity, corpus methodology is used for different branches of linguistics and new fields of research.

3.2. Research Design

In the present study, Spoken Turkish Corpus (STC) 2.0 (institutional in-house version of the corpus) was used as the data source and EXMaRALDA tools were used to annotate functions of the backchannels. A sub-corpus was formed in which there were 61 conversations from three main settings: conversations among family and/or

relatives, conversations among family and friends and conversations among friends and/or acquaintances. These types of conversations were especially chosen in order to analyze more naturally-occurring unrehearsed, unmitigated data, that is, the interactant groups were comprised of people who have closer relationships compared to a broadcast or a lecture. Moreover, the types chosen for this study were expected to have more interaction rather than monologues. 35 conversations were among family and/or relatives, 13 conversations were among family and friends and 13 conversations were among friends and/or acquaintances. There were 150.494 words in total. The duration of all the recordings that were examined for the present study was 18 hours 44 minutes.

As already indicated, considering the natural groups in the data, there were three groupings done regarding the age of the speakers. Based on the classification of age groups by Hawkey, Williams and Cacioppo (2011), for the data sets at hand, the first group consists of people who are in the young adulthood and their ages range from 18 to 25. The second group include people from mid-adulthood and their age range is between 26 and 50. The last group consists of people who are in elderly adulthood and their ages are above 50.

In order to determine all cases of backchannels and to analyze the functions of lexical and non-lexical backchannels in the corpus, the manual analysis method was employed. Following a cyclic approach, when a new function was identified, the whole data was went over to find the other instances of the same function. All the functions were identified at the end of this cycle.

First, all of the data extracts were carefully read and accompanying sound files were listened to by the author and a long list of non-lexical backchannels for Turkish were identified. After identifying the non-lexical backchannels, the data was again analyzed meticulously considering their surrounding context to decide on their functions. The functions of the non-lexical backchannels were annotated by using the EXMaRALDA tools. Later, these functions were grouped into different categories.

In order to analyze the functions of lexical backchannels, the same stages were followed. All the expressions used as lexical backchannels were identified by

reading/listening to the data closely. After identification of the lexical backchannels, they were analyzed to determine their functions in context.

For achieving intercoder reliability, during the process of classifying the functions of backchannels, sample data subsets were shared regularly with experts. Their opinions were in agreement with the researcher's classification of functions.

According to social constructionist approach, as proposed by Butler (1990) and Eckert (2012), interpretation of demographic variables should not ignore the relevant cultural norms. Adopting this approach, this dissertation does not investigate social categories in isolation. In the next part, the differences in the use of backchannels in naturally formed groups are investigated. The analysis of the data show that there are three main conversational groups in the corpus data: all female, all male, and mixed gender conversations. Mixed conversations have three subgroups which are majority female groups, majority male groups, and conversations which include an equal numbers of male and female speakers. After identifying the features of the participants in the groups, the usage of of their non-lexical and lexical backchannels were calculated. The percentages of the functions of lexical and non-lexical backchannels were also calculated and the results were compared to find out any group/ing differences in the use of lexical and non-lexical backchannels.

Common functions of non-lexical and lexical backchannels were analyzed considering different naturally formed groups. Lastly, in these age and gender groups, the most frequently used non-lexical and lexical backchannels were identified.

3.3. Research Questions

This study aims to identify the non-lexical and lexical backchannels and various functions carried out by these backchannels in STC. Furthermore, investigating group differences in the use of backchannels is another objective of this study. Considering these objectives, there are four main research questions with their sub-questions guiding this dissertation study:

1. *What are the backchannels and their frequencies that are observed in the data?*
 - a. What are the non-lexical backchannels and their frequencies that are observed in the data?
 - b. What are the lexical backchannels and their frequencies that are observed in the data?

2. *What are the functions of backchannels and their frequencies in spoken Turkish?*
 - a. What are the functions of non-lexical backchannels and their frequencies in the data?
 - b. What are the functions of lexical backchannels and their frequencies in the data?

3. *Which backchannels are used with each function?*
 - a. Which non-lexical backchannels are with each function?
 - b. Which lexical backchannels are used with each function?

4. *What kind of differences are observed in the usage of lexical and non-lexical backchannels in naturally formed groups (in view of gender and age grouping variations) in the data?*
 - a. What are the frequencies of non-lexical and lexical backchannels in naturally formed groups in the data?
 - b. What kind of group differences exist regarding most commonly used functions of non-lexical and lexical backchannels?

The main purpose of the first research question is to provide a list of both non-lexical and lexical backchannels that are observed in the data. Another objective with this question is to present the frequencies of each backchannel in the data. The second research question aims to find out all the different functions carried out by non-lexical and lexical backchannels and their frequencies. After identifying all the functions based on the surrounding context of the specific backchannel, they are grouped under more comprehensive categories.

The third research question aims at finding all the lexical and non-lexical backchannels used with each function. The frequencies of each function are also investigated. With

regard to the last research question, the main objective is to find out the group differences in the use of non-lexical and lexical backchannels. The analysis of the data shows that naturally formed groups in the data consist of different age and gender combinations. In these groups, the frequency of the functions of backchannels and the most frequently used functions of non-lexical and lexical backchannels are investigated to examine the grouping effects.

3.4. Data Source

As already mentioned, in this study, STC was used as the only data source for investigating backchannels as it is the only comprehensive corpus for Spoken Turkish. In this section, main features of STC are presented.

3.4.1. Spoken Turkish Corpus

STC is a multi-media corpus of naturally occurring contemporary Turkish constructed at the Department of Foreign Language Education at METU.¹ The main purpose of STC is to provide a linguistic resource formed by face-to-face and mediated interactions in Turkish. As indicated by Ruhi (2011) the possibility of carrying out different linguistic research mostly depends on the availability of large scale corpora for a specific language. STC has been selected as the data source for this study since it is one of the few corpora for spoken Turkish. As underlined by Çelebi (2012) there was no corpus for Turkish language until 2009 when the Turkish Corpus of two million words of written Turkish samples was published by METU. In the METU Turkish Corpus, there were language samples from ten different genres. The construction of STC started in 2008 and the main objective was to collect and present interactions of present-day Turkish face-to-face or mediated interactions.

Ruhi (2011) underlined that one of the important advantages of STC is the fact that it has a wide range of speakers with various age and language features although it is relatively small in size. Moreover, the recordings and transcriptions in STC include

¹ See Ruhi et al. (2010), Ruhi, Schmidt, Wörner and Eryılmaz (2011) and Ruhi, Acar and Eryılmaz (2012) for more information on the construction and use of STC.

both standard Turkish spoken in major cities such as Ankara and Istanbul and dialectal forms of Turkish spoken in cities such as Kastamonu and Muğla.

Ruhi (2011) also added that during the construction of STC, a great deal of attention was paid to standardize the transcription of words that are found in spoken Turkish such as backchannels and gap fillers since these words are crucial in the construction of meaning in interaction and they are neither semantically nor pragmatically empty. Because of the difference between orthography and speech rendering, achieving standardization of transcription was a challenging and long process (see Işık-Güler and Eröz-Tuğa, 2010). However, the problem was solved by means of the double transcription tier to a great extent.

Balancedness is an essential feature of a corpus. As mentioned in Ruhi, Hatipoğlu, Eröz-Tuğa and Işık-Güler (2010) during the construction of STC, it was aimed to achieve balance based on Leech's (2007) definition: “a corpus is ‘balanced’ when the size of its subcorpora (representing particular genres or registers) is proportional to the relative frequency of occurrence of those genres in the language’s textual universe as a whole. In other words, balancedness equates with proportionality” (p. 4). However, it is quite challenging to prove balancedness in a corpus even if it has been very carefully constructed. As can be seen in Figure 3.1., 8 major domains were identified in the construction of STC.

MAJOR DOMAINS	MAIN INTERACTIONAL GOAL & MEDIUM
1. FAMILY MEMBERS & RELATIVES	<i>chats, cultural events, narratives, telephone conversation, educational interaction, trips with the family</i>
2. FRIENDS AND FAMILY	<i>(same as in 1)</i>
3. FRIENDS	<i>(same as in 1)</i>
4. WORKPLACE COMMUNICATION	<i>meeting, shopping, workplace chats, telephone conversations, cultural events, work-related dinners interviews, appointments</i>
5. EDUCATION	<i>lecture in the social sciences, lecture in science, lecture in skills courses, seminars, conferences, panels student conferencing, parent-teacher meeting educational panel, interviews for educational programs school trips</i>
6. SERVICE ENCOUNTERS	<i>institutional, shopping, service encounter on public transport</i>
7. BROADCASTS	<i>news, news commentary, debate, series & films, sports educational, documentary, entertainment, competition culinary, health, children's programs</i>
8. OTHER	<i>brief encounter, religious discourse (sermons), legal discourse (e.g. court cases) political speech, political meeting, other public speeches, other public meeting, research</i>
9. UNCLASSIFIED	

Figure 3.1. Major Domains in STC

Ruhi, Işık-Güler, Hatipoğlu, Eröz-Tuğa and Çokal Karadaş (2010) maintained that in order to assure the representativeness of spoken Turkish, a detailed analysis of the sampling including the context of the conversation and demographic information is provided in the STC. Figure 3.2. (taken from Çelebi, 2012, p. 99) presents the proportions of topics in STC.

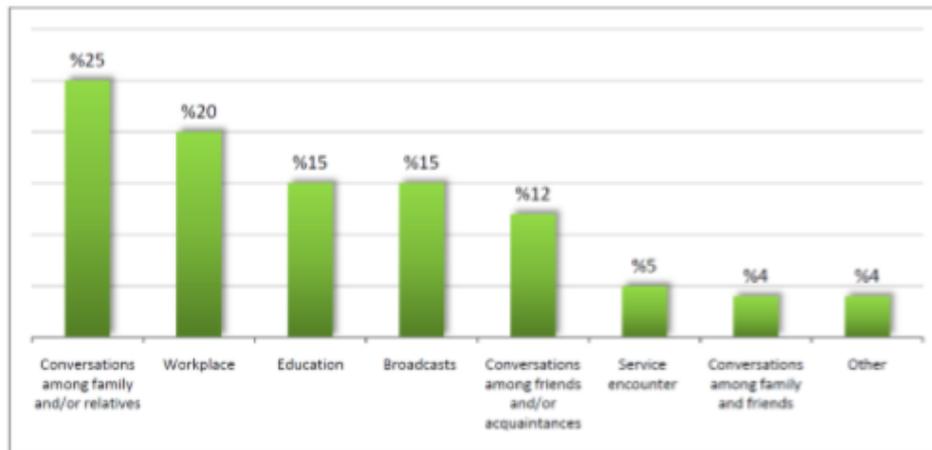


Figure 3.2. Topic Distribution in the STC

As highlighted by Ruhi et al. (2010) STC utilizes EXMARaLDA, which is an open source system of data models, formats and tools for the production and analysis of spoken language corpora. Owing to EXMARaLDA, transcriptions can be viewed in a time-aligned manner with recordings. Transcriptions in STC are done with EXMARaLDA's Partitur Editor which uses an adapted and revised form of HIAT (Halbinterpretative Arbeitstranskriptionen- "semi-interpretative working transcriptions"). As indicated by Ruhi (2011), a double tier transcription method has been used in STC in order to reflect the spoken forms both in their standard orthography and with annotations for dialectal pronunciation, including annotation that describes specific non-prosodic features.

In EXMARaLDA Partitur Editor, different lines indicate different speakers on a sheet and they show speakers' utterances all at once in alignment with time. Partitur Editor transcribes language similar to the appearance of a musical score which shows clues for overlaps, interruptions and turn-taking. Partitur Editor also represents the overlaps with utterances showing the beginning and end points horizontally. STC provides different formats for presentation (e.g. [TEI], [Praat], [Folker], RTF), which might be chosen based on the researchers' purpose. For this study, RTF format is chosen for the visualization of the extracts since it provides the context by providing details of overlaps, turn-taking, and other elements offered by the annotations. An example RTF format in STC is presented in Figure 3.3 below.

DER000481 [v]	gerekmiyor mu?			hı'
UFU000482 [v]			tamam işte şu değil mi?	
AYD000483 [v]		bunun kaç?		

Figure 3.3. An Example RTF Format

While transcribing speech in STC, different symbols were used for representing interjections and utterance initialisers, fillers, variation in lexemes and pronunciation, mispronunciation, slips of the tongue, pauses, silences and utterance boundaries. Symbols in STC and their explanations are given in Table 3.1 (Çelebi, 2012, p. 96).

Table 3.1. The STC Symbols and Their Explanations

Symbols	Uses
Full stop (.)	The full stop is used to indicate declarative utterances and other utterances that have falling intonation.
Question Mark (?)	Question mark is used for all types of questions, including utterances that are syntactically declarative but functionally a question. It is also used for backchannels that are interrogative.
Exclamation Mark (!)	The exclamation mark is used to mark utterances that have an exclamatory function, utterances that have a rising intonation, and greetings and vocatives uttered loudly.
Cut-off Sign (...)	The cut-off sign is used for utterances that are not completed by the speaker or where the speaker's turn is interrupted.
Repair (/)	Repairs occur in utterances where a speaker corrects, changes a word, or restarts an utterance, without changing the syntactic structure of the utterance.
Ligature sign for latching (∪)	The ligature sign (∪) is used for latching. It shows that the speaker did not leave an audible pause between two utterances.
Hyphen (-)	The hyphen (-) is used for multi-syllable non-lexicalised interjections and other types of semi-lexicalized units such as agreement markers (e.g., o-oo-oh!; a-a!; hı-hı).
Superscript dot (•)	The superscript dot is used for non-lexicalised backchannels (e.g., hı-hı, haa, hm, etc.) and paralinguistic features that form a distinct intonation contour (e.g., ((laughs)) •).

The interjections used in STC transcription conventions are presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Sample Interjections in STC

Interjections
a!/aa!
a-a!/a-ah!
abo!/aboo!
aman!/ amaan!
ay!/ayy!
ay!
be!
bili bili
bravo!
cık cık cık
deh!
eh!/eeh!/ehh!
eyvah!
hah
o/oo!
pist!
şş/şşt!
vah vaah!
(saçmalama) yaa!
yazık!

Figure 3.4 presents the main page of the STC Online Demo Version. As can be seen in the figure, on the main page, it is possible to see the number of conversations, speech acts and speakers. Moreover, users can get connected to a specific conversation and to information about a specific speaker.

141 Communications

112_090217_00001 (5 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 012_090128_00002 (6 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 075_090622_00003 (5 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 113_090404_00004 (6 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 072_090618_00005 (5 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 072_090913_00006 (4 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 114_090221_00007 (7 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 114_090228_00009 (5 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 063_090626_00011 (6 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 063_090628_00012 (6 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 021_090501_00013 (4 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 069_090610_00015 (4 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 052_090819_00016 (4 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 115_090323_00017 (4 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 116_090206_00018 (5 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 117_090310_00019 (7 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 061_090622_00020 (5 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 118_090321_00021 (8 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online
 072_090820_00022 (6 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online

20 Speech acts

Advising
 Apology
 Asking about well being
 Asking for advice
 Asking for opinion
 Asking for permission
 Compliance (as a response to a request)
 Criticizing
 Declarative
 Greetings
 Insults
 Inviting
 Leaves taking
 Offering
 Other Expressives
 Refusals (as a response to a request)
 Representative
 Requests
 Thanking

416 Speakers

ADE000075 (male)
 AF1000061 (female)
 AHM000046 (male)
 AHM000235 (male)
 AHM000856 (male)
 AJD000563 (female)
 AK1000053 (male)
 AL1000148 (male)
 AL1000613 (male)
 AL1000685 (male)
 ALL000001 (unknown)
 ALP000090 (male)
 AN1000086 (male)
 APA000050 (male)
 AR1000630 (male)
 ARZ000150 (female)
 ARZ000941 (female)
 AS1000037 (female)
 ASL000101 (female)

Figure 3.4. Main page of STC DEMO Version

In STC, as highlighted by Çelebi (2012), metafiles which include bibliographic information are also provided. In these files, date, context, place and genre of the conversation, relations between the speakers are supplied. Figure 3.5 presents information about a specific conversation STC. As shown in the figure, domain, genre, physical space, relations, speech acts and topics are presented for each and every conversation in STC. Thanks to such kind of information, interpreting the data and finding out the underlying messages become much easier for researchers.

113_090404_00004 (6 Speakers, 1 Transcription) Browse online	
Date recorded	2009-04-04T17:30:00
Domain	Conversations among friends and/or acquaintances
Duration	491
Genre	Conversation among friends and/or acquaintances
Physical space	Cafe
Relations	OZG000035 is friend of BAD000036. DER000038 is friend of ASI000037.
Speech acts	Requests, Criticizing , Offering
Topics	Fotoğraf çekilme, Fotoğraf makineleri, Fotoğraf makineleri fiyatları, E-posta adresi alma-verme, Yabancı diziler, Otobüs firmaları, Bilet fiyatları, İçecekler, Sigara kokusu, Tribünlere oynamak
project-name	ODT-STD
transcription-convention	ODT-STD-HIAT
transcription-name	113_090404_00004
Speakers: OZG000035; BAD000036; ASI000037; DER000038; ALL000001; IND000002;	

Figure 3.5. Part of a Communication Metadata

In Figure 3.5, part of an example communication data is presented. Communication data in STC give information about the domain, duration, genre, physical space, relations, speech acts and topics in that specific conversation, which make it easier to interpret the data. Figure 3.6 presents an example of demographic information in STC.

As can be seen in the figure, in STC for each and every speaker, their gender, citizenship, education, marital status, occupation and year of birth are provided. That kind of sociolinguistic information makes it possible for researchers to carry out sociolinguistic studies analyzing variables such as education, gender, and age.

AFlooooo61 (female)	
Citizenship	Türkiye
Education	High School
Marital status	Single
Occupation	Student
Year of birth	1988
In Communications:	
069_090610_00015;	

Figure 3.6. An Example of Demographic Information in STC

In Table 3.3, 21 speech acts that have been tagged in the STC are presented:

Table 3.3. Speech Acts in STC

Advising
Apology
Asking about well being
Asking for advice
Asking for opinion
Asking for permission
Compliance (as a response to a request)
Criticizing
Declarative
Greetings
Insults
Inviting
Leaves taking
Offering
Other expressives
Promising
Refusals (as a response to a request)
Representative
Requests
Thanking
Well wishes/Congratulations

Figure 3.7 presents an example EXACT search. In the search query, the word or phrase to be investigated is entered. After clicking on the search button, all the occurrences of the search word are presented in the concordance lines. It is also possible to see the context of an occurrence by clicking on the concordance line.

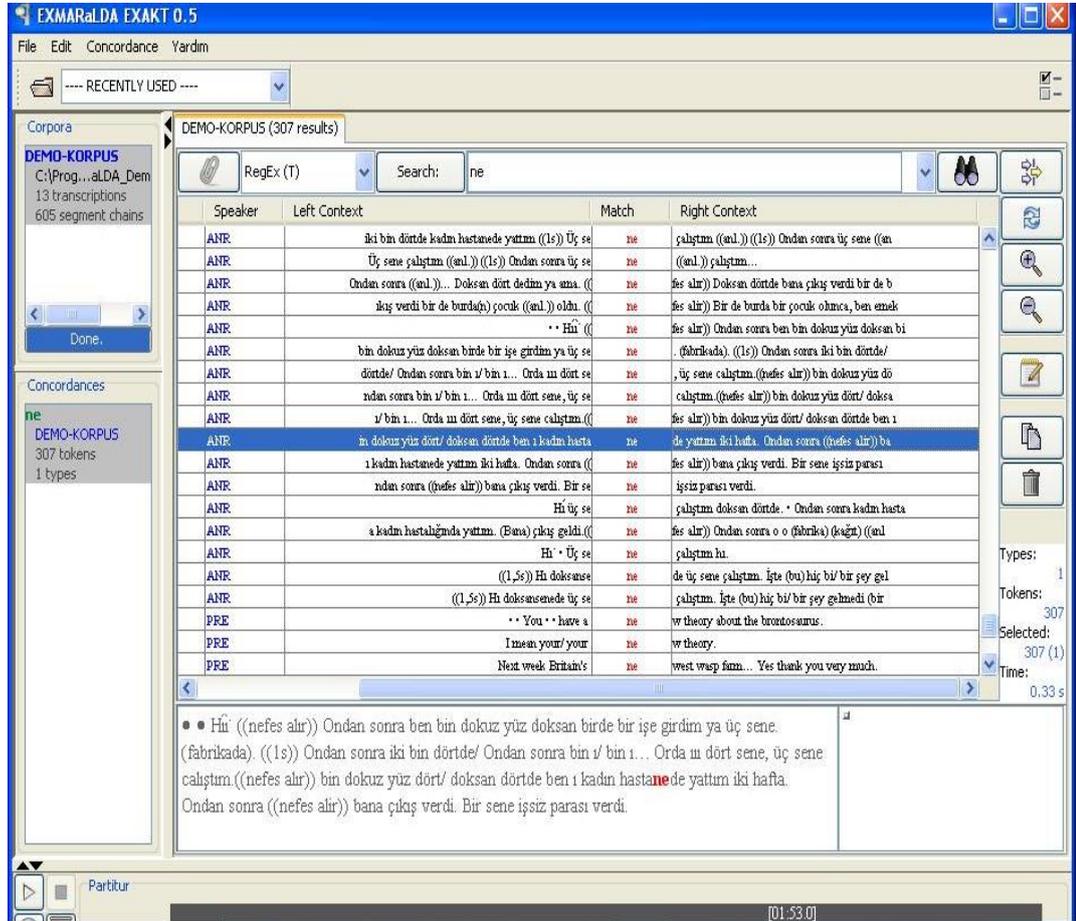


Figure 3.7. An Example EXAKT Search

Several studies have been carried out using STC in order to investigate various features of spoken Turkish and to analyze different linguistic markers. To name just a few of them, Çelebi (2012), in her PhD dissertation, used STC and British National Corpus to investigate impoliteness. In an M.A. thesis, Özcan (2015) also used STC to analyze the functions of *evet* and *hi-hi* in Turkish. As already mentioned, Altunay and Aksan (2018) investigated the properties of *hayır* and *yok* in STC. In addition, Işık-Güler and Eröz-Tuğa (2017) investigated the use of the interjection *UIAn* in STC and Turkish National Corpus. Investigating the interactional functions of *şey* in Turkish, Erdoğan

(2013) also used STC as the data source. Bal-Gezegin (2013) analyzed *hayır* and *cık* in Turkish by analyzing the data in STC. Lastly, Özcan and Aksan (2017) also used STC for investigating the properties of *evet* in Turkish.

3.4.2. Participants

As already mentioned, there are three main domains in this study: Conversations among family and/or relatives, conversations among family and friends and conversations among friends and/or acquaintances. Table 3.4 displays the communication descriptions for the data. As illustrated in the figure, there are 3 domains, 7 different genres, 14 different physical places most of which is home, 59 distinct relations and 58 distinct topics.

Table 3.4. Communication Descriptions for the Data

Domain	Conversations among family and/or relatives (35) Conversations among family and friends (13) Conversations among friends and/or acquaintances (13)
Genre	Conversation between family and/or relatives (31) Conversation among family and friends (12) Conversation among friends and/or acquaintances (10) Narratives in family context (3) Studying with friends (3) Cultural event among family and friends (1) Family telephone conversation (1)
Physical space	14 distinct values Home (45)
Relations	59 distinct values
Topics	58 distinct values

As for the participants, as illustrated in Table 3.5, there are 189 speakers in the data. All of these speakers are from Turkey. In terms of their education level, there are primary school, elementary school, high school, university, master and PhD graduates in the data. With regard to their marital status, the number of single and married participants are quite close to each other. Participants have various occupations examples of which include teachers, workers, engineers, students, etc. There are young, middle-aged and elderly speakers in the data. Regarding their gender, there are 102 female speakers and 87 male speakers in the data.

Table 3.5. Speaker Descriptions in the Data

Citizenship	<i>1 distinct value</i> Türkiye (189)	
Education	8 distinct values High School (78) University (50) Primary School (22) Elementary School (14) UNDEFINED (13) Master (5) Literate (4)	
Marital status	3 distinct values Single (92) Married (88) UNDEFINED (9)	
Occupation	18 distinct values Student (66) Housewife (32) Teacher (23) UNDEFINED (12) Retired (11)	Engineer (6) Worker (6) Farmer (5) Academics (5) Architect (4) Officer (4)
Year of birth	59 distinct values 1989 (21) 1988 (17) None (11) 1984 (9) 1987 (7) 1960 (6) 1990 (6)	1985 (6) 1959 (5) 1948 (4) 1986 (4) 1962 (4) 1978 (4) 1956 (4) 1979 (4) 1982 (4)
Gender	107 females 82 males	

With respect to the regions of the participants in the data, they are from a variety of regions of Turkey. Table 3.6 illustrates the region information of the participants though for some participants region information was not defined. There are 38 different cities in the data. These cities form a mixture of northern, southern, eastern and western parts of Turkey although there exists a density of speakers from the western parts of Turkey in the data.

Table 3.6. Region Information of the Participants

Manisa (12)	Balıkesir (3)
Ankara (11)	Tokat (3)
Tekirdağ (11)	İstanbul (3)
İzmir (10)	Bursa (3)
Bolu (10)	Mersin (2)
Antalya (10)	Kastamonu (2)
Adana (7)	Kilis (1)
Kırklareli (7)	Gaziantep (1)
Erzurum (7)	Mardin (1)
Niğde (7)	Çankırı (1)
Ankara (6)	Uşak (1)
Çanakkale (6)	Malatya (1)
Denizli (6)	Kars (1)
Afyon (5)	Çorum (1)
Burdur (5)	Edirne (1)
Hatay (4)	Kütahya (1)
Yozgat (4)	Eskişehir (1)
Trabzon (4)	Sakarya (1)
Muğla (4)	Nevşehir (1)

In this chapter, methodological perspective of the study, data source, participants and descriptions of the conversations in the data are provided. Examples from STC for demographic information, communication data and speech acts in STC are presented. In addition, a brief description of EXAKT search is also provided since it facilitates analyzing a corpus and it saves time for the researcher.

CHAPTER IV

NON-LEXICAL BACKCHANNELS

4.0. Presentation

This chapter starts with the functions of non-lexical backchannels based on the analysis. It continues with the differences in the use of backchannels in naturally formed groups in the data. The importance of topic and the importance of the length of conversation are discussed. Lastly, distribution of non-lexical expressions used as backchannels is provided.

4.1. Functions of Non-lexical Backchannels

A detailed analysis of all the conversations was carried out to find out the types of backchannels. According to the analysis, as illustrated in Table 4.1, two main functions with their subgroups were identified for non-lexical backchannels. For the 2231 non-lexical backchannels found in the data, a total of 16 functions were identified for the Turkish STC data.

According to the findings, the first main function of non-lexical backchannels is to *keep the conversational flow*. In the STC, this function has 9 sub-functions which are (1) continuation, (2) comprehension, (3) responding to a question, (4) request for repetition, (5) clarification, (6) reassurance, (7) indication for getting the message, (8) listener's support, and (9) request for a response.

The second main function of non-lexical backchannels is that they have an *attitudinal* aspect. In this group, non-lexical backchannels can display either *positivity or negativity*. Non-lexical backchannels with positivity have 4 sub-functions which are

(1) approval, (2) agreement, (3) relief and (4) agreement to an offer. Non-lexical backchannels with negativity have 3 sub-functions which are (1) disagreement, (2) sarcasm and (3) non-lexical backchannels with the meaning of “*so what?*”. Frequencies of the functions of non-lexical backchannels in each conversation are provided in Appendix A.

It is important to note at this point that when findings of this study with the previous studies are compared with respect to both non-lexical and lexical backchannels, the seventeen functions, (1) request for repetition, (2) clarification, (3) reassurance, (4) request for reassurance, (5) backchannels with the meaning of ‘that’s what I am saying’, (6) possibility, (7) changing the topic, (8) indication for getting the message, (9) relief, (10) agreement to an offer, (11) sarcasm, (12) backchannels with the meaning ‘so what?’, (13) request for approval, (14) summing up, (15) having the meaning of ‘alright’, (16) exclamation and (17) implying the insignificance of a topic are unique functions to the study at hand and exhibit original dimensions.

As illustrated in Table 4.1, non-lexical backchannels are mostly used for keeping the conversational flow function in the data. For this main function, continuation is the most frequently used function followed by comprehension and responding to a question. Results also show that compared to on-lexical backchannels with negativity, non-lexical backchannels with positivity are used more frequently in the data. As for non-lexical backchannels with positivity, approval is the most commonly used function followed by agreement. Lastly, disagreement is the most frequent function for non-lexical backchannels with negativity.

Table 4.1. Functions of Non-lexical Backchannels and Their Frequency in the Data

Functions of Non-lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
Keeping the Conversational Flow	
1. Continuation	<u>557</u>
2. Comprehension	427
3. Responding to a question	175
4. Request for repetition	131
5. Clarification	110
6. Reassurance	98

Table 4.1. (cont'd)

7. Indication for getting the message	70
8. Listener's support	13
9. Request for a response	6
Total	1587
Attitudinal Non-lexical Backchannels	
Non-lexical Backchannels with Positivity	
1. Approval	462
2. Agreement	145
3. Relief	7
4. Agreement to an Offer	1
Total	615
Non-lexical Backchannels with Negativity	
1. Disagreement	16
2. Sarcasm	12
3. Non-lexical backchannels with the meaning of "so what?"	9
Total	37
<u>Total Number of Non-lexical Backchannels</u>	<u>2231</u>

Before presenting the results of the functional analysis, the non-lexical items that are used as non-lexical backchannels and their frequencies in the data are presented in Table 4.2. A total of 20 non-lexical backchannels were identified in the data. As presented in the table, *hu* is the most frequently used non-lexical backchannel in the data followed by *hi-hi* and *hi*.

Table 4.2. List of Non-lexical Backchannels Observed in the Data

	Non-lexical Backchannel	Number of Occurrence
1	hu	378
2	hi-hi	310
3	hi	303
4	haa	229
5	hmm	193
6	ha	175
7	hm	172
8	he	141

Table 4.2. (cont'd)

9	Hee	91
10	hm-hm	78
11	ha-ha	62
12	he-he	36
13	ı-ih	16
14	ee	12
15	hım	11
16	hehehe	6
17	hah	5
18	hıh	3
19	hımm	3
20	a-ha	2
21	heh	2
22	hı hım	1
23	ih	1
24	ehe	1
Total		2231

4.1.1. Keeping the Conversational Flow

As already mentioned, the first main function of non-lexical backchannels is keeping the conversational flow. All the sub-functions of this main function are explained in this section one by one.

4.1.1.1. Continuation

According to the analysis, one of the common functions of non-lexical backchannels was asking the other person to continue speaking. Therefore, the non-lexical backchannels that are used with this function help the conversation to keep going. The continuation function of the non-lexical backchannels that was found after the detailed analysis of the data agrees with many of the previous studies which also indicated that continuation is one of the main functions of non-lexical backchannels. These studies include Adolphs and Carter (2013), Benus et al. (2007), Cutrone (2014), Pipek (2007), Ruede et al. (2017) and Schegloff (1982).

The non-lexical backchannels that are commonly used with the continuation function are presented in Table 4.3. The most common non-lexical backchannel is *hi*, and it is followed by *hi-hi* and *hii*. It might be because *hi* has a more neutral quality compared to the other non-lexical backchannels since with the continuation function, there is not any attitude signalled by the listener.

Table 4.3. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Continuation Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
hi	131
hi-hi	98
hii	88
hmm	60
hm	47
hm-hm	38
he	29
haa	23
ha	13
ha-ha	9
hee	8
ee	6
he-he	4
hıh	3
Total	557

In Extract 1, speakers are talking about a lawsuit for a work-related industrial accident. SED asks her mother, KAD, where she will take the court decision and KAD, who is the mother of SED, says that one of her friends' father is a legal expert on work-related industrial accidents and he is preparing reports for those accidents. In order to show her mother her support and to ask her continue speaking, SED uses the non-lexical backchannel *hi* (highlighted in the extract). After this non-lexical backchannel, KAD continues talking.

Extract 1. 114_090221_00007

hKAD000045 [v]	((XXX)) pazartesi bişey çıkacak.		
SED000047 [v]		((0.4)) iyi de nerden	
SED000047 [c]			götürcen
[nn]	((microphone noise))		

Extract 1. (cont'd)

KAD000045 [v]			b	i arkadaşın babası bilirkişiymiş.
SED000047 [v]	götüreceksin	sen kara	rı?	
SED000047 [c]				
[nn]			((microphone noise))	
KAD000045 [v]		mahkemelerde bu iş kazalarına bakıyormuş.	((0.2)) iş	
[nn]				
KAD000045 [v]		kazaları için rapor hazırlıyormuş.		((0.6)) hani
SED000047 [v]			((0.2)) hi	
KAD000045 [v]		kazanın nasıl oldu ne etti	((0.5)) onau ben anlattım da	
KAD000045 [v]		mahkemeden falan bahsettim.		bi dedi ben
AHM000046 [v]			• yarın çıkartı	rım sabahleyin

In Extract 2, AYS and SUK are talking about being recorded and being afraid of speaking into microphone. AYS, who is the elder sister of SUK, is talking about one of her memories in which she was asked to speak into the microphone about her opinions related to Atatürk. She tries to underline how afraid and nervous she was when asked to talk. In order to keep the conversation going and to show her support, SUK uses the non-lexical backchannels *hm*, *hm*.

Extract 2. 021_081206_00088

SUK000057 [v]	hm-hm'			
EMI000246 [v]	vet.			
EMI000246 [c]				
ISI000149 [v]				hıı'
AYS000247 [v]		((0.2)) Kale'de Festival/ Kale Festivali'nde		bizim s
SUK000057 [v]		((0.2)) hm' ((0.1)) hm'		
AYS000247 [v]	tand vardı.		((0.4)) ee bu yine Başkent	
[nn]		((clatter of tableware))		
AYS000247 [v]	ee televizyonundan şe/ ((0.1)) geldi.	• ama • o		bayanın
AYS000247 [c]				((emphatically))
[nn]				
AYS000247 [v]	((0.3)) gelip de bana mesela bakın ben ee şu amaç...			
AYS000247 [c]				((change

Extract 2. (cont'd)

AYS000247 [v]	((inhales)) hemen mikrofonu uzattı.	((0.4)) Atatürk
AYS000247 [c]	in tone of voice))	

4.1.1.2. Comprehension

Another common function of non-lexical backchannels is to indicate comprehension of what the other person is saying. In this function, the non-lexical backchannels usually mean “*I see*”. Adolphs and Carter (2013) and Benus et al. (2007) also indicated that non-lexical backchannels have the comprehension function. Compared to continuation function, comprehension function does not ask the other person to continue speaking. It is more like a comment about the things that have been mentioned until the usage of the non-lexical backchannel. Therefore, these non-lexical backchannels are usually used with a lengthening tone.

As illustrated in Table 4.4, the most common non-lexical backchannel for comprehension function is *hmm*, and it is followed by *hu*. Since this function has almost the same meaning with “*I see*”, there is final lengthening/lengthening tone in commonly used non-lexical backchannels.

Table 4.4. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Comprehension Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
hmm	96
hu	82
haa	61
hm	55
ha	26
hee	24
hi	20
hi-hi	17
hm-hm	16
he	12
ha-ha	10
hm hm hm	8
Total	427

In the following excerpt, SAB and NAC, who are distant relatives, are talking about an illness and the results of a medical analysis. NAC says that they made a medical analysis but the results were not promising. After this, SAB uses the non-lexical backchannel *hmm* with a lengthening tone to indicate that she understands.

Extract 3. 023_100710_00192

SAB000541 [v]	yakın	yani.	bi de seni yakın	işte getir	diler. oğlan gitti aldı
NAC000539 [v]		hee'		(şey mi)?	
NAC000539 [c]				((slowly))	

SAB000541 [v]	ge	ldi.		• hmm'		
NAC000539 [v]		tahl	il yapmışlar da	((0.2)) ee	yani	((0.1)) ((hesitating))
NAC000539 [c]						((slowly))

SAB000541 [v]				hmm'		
SAB000541 [c]				((lengthening))		
NAC000539 [v]	şey çıkmamış.	((0.1)) güzel çıkmanı		ş. ((inhalation))		o tahlilden
[nn]						((voices in

Extract 4 provides another example for the comprehension function of non-lexical backchannels. VAS000542 is the mother of EMI000540. NAC000539 is husband's sister of EMI000540. VAS is talking about the time she was born and her family. In order to show that she understands what VAS says, NAC uses the non-lexical backchannels *hu* with the comprehension function.

Extract 4. 023_100707_00193

VAS000542 [v]		beni bir evlattan ayırdın demiş.	adı bilinmeyen yerlere		
VAS000542 [v]	verdin yolladın demiş	al	bay amcaya rahmetli.	o ver	miş
NAC000539 [v]		hi'			hi?
VAS000542 [v]	ya ona.		((0.1)) onun evine gezmeye gelmiş.		babam da
NAC000539 [v]		hee'			

Extract 4. (cont'd)

VAS000542 [v]	yeni askerden gelmiş.		• salmışlar vermişler ki.
NAC000539 [v]		((0.1)) hıı	
[nn]			
VAS000542 [v]	kaç sene durduysa benim bir abim olmuş ölmüş.		((1.3))
VAS000542 [v]	ben annemin üzerindeymişim köye	giderken.	
VAS000542 [c]		gidende	
NAC000539 [v]			((0.3)) hıı
VAS000542 [v]	((0.3)) orda olmuşum.		((0.4)) ondan sonra dedem
NAC000539 [v]		((0.5)) hı	
VAS000542 [v]	kahretmiş.	((0.8)) beni bir evlattan ayırdın demiş.	verdin
VAS000542 [v]	((XXX)) aldı gitti al elin adamı demiş.		((0.4))
EMI000540 [v]		((0.2)) yani.	

4.1.1.3. Responding to a Question

The analysis of the non-lexical backchannels show that in some instances, they are used in a question-response sequence. One of the speakers asks a question and in order to answer that question, the other speaker sometimes uses non-lexical backchannels instead of using lexical expressions. In agreement with the results of this study, Özcan (2015) also claimed that *hı-hı* might be used for responding to a question. In alignment with these results, as illustrated in Table 4.5, the most frequently used non-lexical backchannel with this function is *hı-hı*.

Table 4.5. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Responding to a Question Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
hı-hı	60
hıı	19
ı-ih	16
ha-ha	13
hı	11
haa	9
he	8
hmm	8

Table 4.5. (cont'd)

ha	6
hee	6
he-he	5
hm-hm	5
a-ha	3
he he he	3
hm	3
Total	175

In the following excerpt, BED is father and REC is uncle of BIL. They are mainly talking about fat coals. However, in this specific excerpt, they are talking about the place of mussels. BIL asks her father where the mussels were found. In order to be sure, her father asks “midye mi?” and to answer this question, BIL uses the non-lexical backchannel *hi-hi*.

Extract 5. 139_100616_00280

BIL000736 [v]		((0.4)) tamam yabancı da	ya	ni...	
BED000738 [v]	((0.2)) yabancı.		tra/		t/ Travel'
BED000738 [c]					eng: seyahat

BIL000736 [v]		((0.4)) nerde yani? _yeri	n altında bu	lunmuş	
BED000738 [v]	da	seyrettim.	ül/ ülke...		
BED000738 [c]					

BIL000736 [v]	bişe	y mi?	hi-hi		((0.2))
BED000738 [v]		midye	mi?	((0.3)) m	idye denizin derinliklerinde

BIL000736 [v]		denizden mi çıka	rmişlar bunlar?		
BED000738 [v]			denizden çıkarıyorlar.		
REC000739 [v]				okyanus veya deniz	

BIL000736 [v]				((0.7)) ya ama	
BED000738 [v]			((0.1)) yani denizden çıkarıyorlar.		
REC000739 [v]		gibi bişey.			

BIL000736 [v]		bu suyun altında kalmış bişeyle		bilmiyorum orda da	
----------------------	--	---------------------------------	--	--------------------	--

BIL000736 [v]		metandan bahsedebi	liyor muyuz suyun altında da?		
BED000738 [v]			ağ/ tabi ağır metan oluşu	yor.	

In Extract 6, HAL is husband of HAT. They are talking about some memories. HAL says that he brought fabric from the military and asks his wife whether she knows or remembers it or not. In order to answer that question, HAT uses the non-lexical backchannel *hu*.

Extract 6. 144_090409_00150

HAL000407 [v]	amanın ((0.2)) beni mağaralara götürdüler.			((1.2)) tabanca
HAL000407 [c]				dabanca
HAL000407 [v]	((0.8)) kumaş	((0.1)) mermi. • o zamanlar		kumaş
HAL000407 [c]	gumaş			gumaş
[nn]	((voices in the background))			
HAT000406 [v]			hi i	
HAL000407 [v]	da getirdim ha askerden önce.	((0.1)) biliyor	musun?	
HAL000407 [c]		bilyon	mu	
HAT000406 [v]		((inhalés))	((coughs))	
HAL000407 [v]	((0.4)) or	dan...		((1.2)) dedim bana o ((0.1))

4.1.1.4. Request for Repetition

Non-lexical backchannels are also used to request the other speaker to repeat their previous utterances. In this function, one of the speakers usually asks a question to another speaker. The second speaker, however, sometimes misses or does not pay attention to the question. Therefore, in order to ask the first speaker to repeat the question or the previous utterance, the second speaker uses a non-lexical backchannel. The non-lexical backchannels with this function usually have a questioning tone and is followed by a question mark. As illustrated in Table 4.6, the most frequently used non-lexical backchannel with this function is *hi* with a questioning tone.

Table 4.6. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Request for Repetition Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
hi	56
ha	27
he	25

Table 4.6. (cont'd)

hı	7
hm	6
haa	5
hmm	2
hah	1
hı hı	1
hım	1
Total	131

In Extract 7, DER, UFU and AYD are friends and they are talking about geometry. DER asks UFU what kind of a shape the deltoid was. However, UFU misses the question and asks his friend to repeat that question by using the non-lexical backchannel *hı* with a question tone.

Extract 7. 158_090511_00172

DER000481 [v]	benim bi tane özürlü ar	kadaşım vardı.	
UFU000482 [v]			yok elips değil.
AYD000483 [v]	hemen bi tane yapıyorsun.		

DER000481 [v]			del	toid nasıl bi
UFU000482 [v]	ne o geoik geoik falan.			bunun yarım
AYD000483 [v]		((1.1)) geoik ne be?		
[nn]		((noise))		

DER000481 [v]	şekildi ya	Ufuk?		((0.2)) deltoid nasıl bi şekildi?	((0.3)) iki
UFU000482 [v]	şekli.		hı?		
AYD000483 [v]		hı'			((0.3))

DER000481 [v]	ikizkenar üçgen...			iki ikizkenar üçgenin olması
UFU000482 [v]			işte	ka/ karenin böyle
AYD000483 [v]	deltoid coğrafyada	var ya.		

DER000481 [v]		gerekıyor.	hı'	
UFU000482 [v]	bastırılmışı.			((0.4)) ((sniffs))
AYD000483 [v]				bana • ((short

In another excerpt, RUK and BUR are neighbours and they are talking about the recording assignment for RUK's course. BUR was confused with that assignment and asks RUK why she is recording them. However, RUK could not catch the question and asks RUK to repeat the question by using the non-lexical backchannel *ha*. Then BUR

repeats her question by asking why she chose them for her assignment.

Extract 8. 012_090128_00002

RUK000029 [v]		kapatma ya! _dur. _ödev bu. _çok önemli bak.	((inhalés))
BUR000032 [v]			
[nn]			((microphone

RUK000029 [v]	istersen	hocamızla	konuşabilirsin.	
RUK000029 [c]		gocamızla	gonuşabilirsin, ((laughing))	
BUR000030 [v]				((0.3)) şimdi
[nn]	noise))			

RUK000029 [v]			ha?	
BUR000030 [v]	benimle ne konuşuyorsun ki?			
BUR000032 [v]				bizi/ ((0.1)) bizi
IND000002 [v]		((XXX))	((XXX))	

RUK000029 [v]		öyle e ((0.2)) şey gibi	
RUK000029 [c]			hane
BUR000032 [v]	niye seçtin ödev konusu olarak?		misa

4.1.1.5. Clarification

In some instances, non-lexical backchannels were also used to clarify an issue. In this function, one of the speakers is confused about an issue and asks the other person to clarify that issue. When the other speaker explains it, the first speaker uses a non-lexical backchannel to show that now s/he understands it and now it is clear. Considering this function, the non-lexical backchannel is commonly followed by an expression like “I thought it was.....” which indicates that before the explanation of Speaker 2, Speaker 1 had something else in his or her mind and now it became much clearer thanks to the explanation. This function of backchannels has not been identified in previous studies on backchannels.

Table 4.7 shows the non-lexical backchannels that are used with this function. As illustrated in the table, *haa* is the most frequently used non-lexical backchannel for clarification since it has a much stronger tone compared to other non-lexical backchannels. In order to indicate that the previous confusion disappeared, the

speakers need a non-lexical backchannel with a firmer tone.

Table 4.7. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with the Clarification Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
haa	47
hı	30
hmm	11
ha	10
hı	5
hm	2
ha-ha	1
ha ha ha	1
he	1
hee	1
ee	1
Total	110

In Extract 9, ZEK is the husband of BEY. AKI is husband of MUR. ZEK is a friend of AKI. MUR is a friend of BEY. ZEK is talking about a new car that he has bought. MUR is confused with the brand of the car and asks whether it is Hyundai or not. ZEK answers the question saying that it is not Hyundai but Honda. Then MUR indicates her clarification by using the non-lexical backchannel *haa* and adds that he had thought it was another brand.

Extract 9. 063_090626_00011

ZEK000051 [v]	• herkesi böyle s	olluyor.		
ZEK000051 [c]	((fast))			
AKI000053 [v]	• hadi canım!		ya ben de öyle ara	baya hastayım
AKI000053 [c]	((loudly))		((fast))	
MUR000054 [v]				Hyundai deđi

ZEK000051 [v]		• d	eđil. (Hyund	ai'n) Getz.	
BEY000052 [v]			deđil deđil.		
BEY000052 [c]			((fast))		
AKI000053 [v]	ište.				
AKI000053 [c]					
MUR000054 [v]	l mi o?			((0.2)) haa	ben
MUR000054 [c]				((lengthening))	

Extract 9. (cont'd)

ZEK000051 [v]		((XXX))	((XXX))	o/		o/
ZEK000051 [c]				((lengthening))		((lengthening))
BEY000052 [v]			(o) Honda	Jazz.	bu Ja	
AKI000053 [v]		o Ge	tz. ((0.3)) bu J	azz.		
MUR000054 [v]	onunla karı	ştırdım.				

ZEK000051 [v]			onlar çok ucuz.			
BEY000052 [v]	zz.			((0.4)) hm	m'	
AKI000053 [v]	ona	benziyor da..		((0.4)) ha?		
MUR000054 [v]		Ay/ • Ayf	ergilinki (o) di m i?		Ayf	

4.1.1.6. Reassurance

According to the analysis of the non-lexical backchannels, in some instances, they were used to show reassurance of a previous topic that is already spoken of. In this function, Speaker 1 talks about an issue and Speaker 2 shows a kind of astonishment and uncertainty. In order to reassure what s/he said before, Speaker 1 uses some non-lexical backchannels. Since with this function, speakers try to reassure what they had said before, the non-lexical backchannel *hı-hı* is used quite commonly, which has a stronger tone. As illustrated in Table 4.8, the most common non-lexical backchannel used with this function is *hı*. This function is also among the functions that have not been identified in previous literature on backchannels.

Table 4.8. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Reassurance Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
hı	22
he	15
haa	13
hı-hı	11
hee	10
hm	7
ha	6
hı	6
ha-ha	3
hm hm	3
hmm	2
Total	98

In Extract 10, RID is father of ERG and CUN is son-in-law of RID. They are talking about a murder and a corpse. RID talks about the colour and the place of the corpse that was found. CUN shows his astonishment and suspicion by using the expression “Allah Allah!”. In order to reassure what he had said about the corpse was true, RID uses the non-lexical backchannel *hı-hı*.

Extract 10. 055_090619_00222

CUN000626 [v]		bul	muşla	r.	
RID000628 [v]	((0.4)) ((clears throat))	hemen		a	mir aradı. hemen
RID000628 [v]		gitti. mosmor olmuş Rıdvan abi diyor.		((XXX))	
RID000628 [c]				((whispering))	
ERG000211 [v]				bu şeyin arkasında	
CUN000626 [v]				Allah Al	lah!
RID000628 [v]		((0.4)) ((XX X))	arka sokağında.	hı-	hı
RID000628 [c]					
ERG000211 [v]	hat	ta ne o?		((XXX))	arkasında.
RID000628 [v]		mosmor	ceset bulmuşlar.		((0.4))
ERG000211 [v]	((0.))	mosmor ceset b	ulmuşlar.		

In Extract 11, ISA is the elder brother of CAG. They are talking about a book that CAG has recently read. CAG says that one of the characters in the book was very interested in frogs. ISA is quite surprised by what CAG mentions and he repeats what CAG says “çok çok?” to show his surprise and the need to be persuaded. Therefore, in order to reassure him, CAG uses the non-lexical backchannel “*hı-hı*”.

Extract 11. 061_090623_00050

ISA000058 [v]		bildik bir şey inceler yani.		((0.7))	adam gidiyor kurbağaları
ISA000058 [v]	inceliyor. niye acaba?	kitapta hiç öyle bir bilgi	var mı?		
CAG000125 [v]			cık.		
ISA000058 [v]	kurbağaları	niye incelediğiyle ilgili?			
ISA000058 [c]		((fast))			
CAG000125 [v]		yok ama çok çok	ilgileniyor kurbağalarla.		

Extract 5. (cont'd)

ISA000058 [v]	çok çok?		Allah Allah nasıl yani?	
CAG000125 [v]		hı-hı		((0.4) yani nasıl
CAG000125 [v]	diyeyim? _evin önüne bataklık kuruyor.		işte ((inhalation)) •	
CAG000125 [v]	Arkady'in evinde de bataklık arıyor buluyor.		işte hani dedim	
ISA000058 [v]		hı-hı'		çok ilginç
CAG000125 [v]	çocuklara atlayın suya diyor fa	lan.	((inhalation))'	

4.1.1.7. Indication for Getting the Message

Having not been identified in previous studies on backchannels, another function of the non-lexical backchannels is to show that the listener “gets” what the other person says. This function is similar to the comprehension function. However, with this function, the listener shows a *stronger* tone of understanding. One of the speakers asks a question and the other speaker answers that question. In order to show that s/he got the answer, the first speaker uses non-lexical backchannels. However, in comprehension function, there is no question asked.

As illustrated in Table 4.9, the non-lexical backchannel *haa* is the most frequently used non-lexical backchannel with indication for getting the message function. Since this function might be regarded to have a stronger meaning compared to the comprehension function, the non-lexical backchannel *haa* which has a stronger tone is used most frequently.

Table 4.9. Non-lexical Backchannels Used for Indication for Getting the Message

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
haa	29
hıı	18
ha-ha	8
ha	7
hee	2
hı	2
hm	2

Table 4.9. (cont'd)

hmm	2
Total	70

In Extract 12, CEN is father of SEN and they are talking about cooking. SEN asks her father whether it is appropriate to add the water at that moment and her father says it will be better if she adds it in a bit later. Then in order to show that she understands and grasps what her father said, SEN uses the non-lexical backchannel *hmm* with a lengthening tone.

Extract 12. 138_100614_00242

SEN000678 [v]	mi?	((0.2)) iyi mi şimdi	koymam?	
SEN000678 [c]	((lengthening))			
CEN000680 [v]			((poffs))'	ee biraz sonra

SEN000678 [v]			((0.4)) hm'	
CEN000680 [v]	koyarsan ((0.8)) daha iyi olur.		((0.2)) çünkü mak	arna

CEN000680 [v]	soğuduğu zaman lezzetli olmaz.		((0.4)) bu ((1.2)) yarım saat	
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SEN000678 [v]		((0.2)) hmm'		• o yüzden
SEN000678 [c]		((lengthening))		
CEN000680 [v]	kırk beş dakika • sürebilir.			

SEN000678 [v]	makarna için z	amanımız var.		
CEN000680 [v]		(hıı)' _makarna		için veya pilav için
CEN000680 [c]		((softly, slowly))		

SEN000678 [v]		((0.8)) ((inhales)) tıh ((0.4)) bana Bilge		
SEN000678 [c]		((slowly))		
CEN000680 [v]	zamanımız var.			

4.1.1.8. Listener's Support

According to the analysis, in agreement with several earlier studies such as Aare et al. (2014), Benus et al. (2007), Ruede et al. (2017), and White (1989), non-lexical backchannels are also used to show the listener's support for the other interlocuter who is speaking. With this function, Speaker 1 addresses Speaker 2, and Speaker 2 uses a non-lexical backchannel to show his or her support for Speaker 1. Non-lexical backchannels with this function might also mean “Okay, I am listening to you”. This function is similar to the continuation function. However, with this function, Speaker 1 first addresses Speaker 2 in order to get his or her attention and Speaker 2 uses a non-lexical backchannel to show his or her support. As illustrated in the table below, *hi* is the most frequently used non-lexical backchannel with this meaning.

Table 4.10. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Listener's Support Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
hi	4
haa	2
heh	2
hm	2
ha	1
he	1
hiı	1
Total	13

In Extract 13, MEH and MUS are distant relatives and they are talking about their family tree. After some discussion about the family tree, MEH tries to provide some explanations and addressing MUS, he says “look, now”. In order to show that he is listening to MEH, MUS uses the non-lexical backchannel *he*.

Extract 13. 044_090328_00038

MEH000116 [v]		
MUS000117 [v]	Aydınlı	((. .)) Ali var da • Ali İhsan koyduyduk biz adını kay

MEH000116 [v]		((0.6)) şimdi	ee
MUS000117 [v]	/gitmesin Aydın'a diye.	((0.2)) ((laughs))	

Extract 13. (cont'd)

MEH000116 [v]		burdan şu sonuca vardık • bak şimdi	
MUS000117 [v]	kaçıyormuş o da		he
MUS000117 [c]	kaçıyomuş		

MEH000116 [v]	((0.8)) ee ne dedik?	((0.9)) Ayanoğlu Süleyr	((0.9)) kimle
---------------	----------------------	-------------------------	---------------

MEH000116 [v]	evli? _Döndü'yle. dedenle	((XXX))	
MEH000116 [c]			dedeyn
MUS000117 [v]		he he he evli	• ebem ile evli

In the following conversation, SEB and NIL are spouses and SEN is their daughter. NIL is aunt of ALI. NIL addresses her daughter SEN saying “Sena” to get her attention and to ask her daughter to listen to her. Then in order to indicate that she is listening to her mother, SEN uses the non-lexical backchannel *hi*. After this non-lexical backchannel, her mother asks her a question.

Extract 14. 105_100602_00230

ALI000148 [v]	((0.1)) barbun?		
NIL000646 [v]		((1.4)) Sena.	
NIL000648 [v]		((4.1)) aynen öyle.	
SEN000649 [v]			((0.5)) hi

NIL000646 [v]	((0.8)) ((swallows)) Ankara'ya giderken		gevrek
SEB000647 [v]		((coughs))	

NIL000646 [v]	ve boyoz		götü	recek misin gevrekle
NIL000648 [v]		((1.4)) götür tabi ord	a	

NIL000646 [v]	boyoz?		
SEN000649 [v]		götüreceğim	anne gevrekle boyoz ((short laugh)).
SEN000649 [c]		götürcem	((humorous tone))

NIL000646 [v]	((short laugh))		tabi tabi.
NIL000648 [v]	((short laugh))	((0.2)) e buzluğa koyarsın sonra	ısıtıp yiye
SEN000649 [v]			atarım a

ALI000148 [v]			((XXX))
NIL000648 [v]	biliyorsun onu da		daha ((XXX)).
SEN000649 [v]	tarım sonra ısıtıp yerim	evet.	zaten geçen gün Duygu sordu

4.1.1.9. Request for a Response

According to the analysis of the non-lexical backchannels, they are also used to request for a response in some instances in alignment with the results of Gardner (2001). In this function, one of the speakers asks a question and waits for the answer for a while. There is usually a certain amount of silence after the question. Therefore, when there is no answer, in order to request for a response, that speaker uses a non-lexical backchannel. As illustrated in Table 4.11, the most frequently used non-lexical backchannels were *hi* and *hu* with this function. The occurrences and total occurrences of this function, however, were not high in number in comparison to the other functions described up to now.

Table 4.11. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Request for a Response Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
hi	2
hu	2
ha	1
hm	1
Total	6

In Extract 15, MUS is father of EMR and MUR. EMR is elder sister of MUR. EMR000546 is mother of EMR000636. They are talking on the phone. MUR asks EMR000636, who is three years old, what colour his new t-shirt is. After this question, there is silence, knock on wood and again silence. When there is no answer, in order to request a response, she uses the non-lexical backchannel *hm* with a questioning tone. After the usage of this non-lexical backchannel, MUS says that it is red in order to provide a response.

Extract 15. 179_090117_00195

MUS000545 [v] ((0.3)) Mürüvvet!		rengi nasıl	de	hele!		kırmızı
MUS000545 [c]			di			
EMR000546 [v]	((XXX))					
MUR000547 [v]				(hm)'	—	((XXX))

Extract 15. (cont'd)

MUS000545 [v]	diyor.			
EMR000546 [v]			((XXX))	
MUR000547 [v]		((1.1)) E	mre ((0.1)) e...	((inhales)) Emre ne renk tişört
MUS000545 [v]			kırmı	zı diyor.
MUR000547 [v]	aldınız sana?		hm?	
[nn]		((silence, knock on wood, silence))		
MUS000545 [v]	((1.4)) sarı mı kırmızı mı de de bak		nasıl diyor.	
MUR000547 [v]			sarı	mı aldınız

In the following excerpt, KAD is mother of SED. SED asks her mother whether a woman whose name is Belgin gave birth or not. She waits for a while for the response. However, since she does not get any response and there is silence for a while, in order to request for an answer from her mother, she uses the non-lexical backchannel *ha* with a questioning tone.

Extract 16. 114_090221_00007

KAD000045 [v]	((0.7)) dünyada ikinci.		hı'		işsizlik
SED000047 [v]		((0.4)) öyle mi?		birin	ci kimmiş?
KAD000045 [v]	te. _birinci de neresiydi?				
SED000047 [v]		((4.5)) kötü yaa!		((0.3)) cık cık cık'	
SED000047 [v]		((0.5)) ((inhales)) anne Belgin abla doğum yapmış mı?			
KAD000045 [v]			((0.1)) ((inhales)) ((0.3)) sanki o geçen şeyde		
SED000047 [v]		ha?			
[nn]	((silence))				
KAD000045 [v]			hı	i'	
SED000047 [v]	((0.5)) mart • ta	hamileydi.	ge/		geçen mart.. _yok.
SED000047 [c]	= martta				
KAD000045 [v]			((1.1)) yapmamıştır o zaman.		
SED000047 [v]	((0.1)) pardon martta evlendi.				

4.1.2. Attitudinal Non-lexical Backchannels

The analysis of the non-lexical backchannels shows that in some instances they are used with an *attitudinal* meaning including *positivity* and *negativity* towards the other speaker. Attitudinal non-lexical backchannels with positivity are the ones which are face saving acts including approval, agreement and relief. On the other hand, attitudinal non-lexical backchannels with negativity are face threatening acts for the other speaker and are in the forms of disagreement, sarcasm and implying the meaning of “*so what?*”.

4.1.2.1 Non-lexical Backchannels with Positivity

In this section, functions of non-lexical backchannels with positivity will be explained. Four sub-functions have been identified for non-lexical backchannels with positivity: approval, agreement, relief and agreement to an offer.

4.1.2.1.1. Approval

The analysis shows that a very common function of the non-lexical backchannels is to show approval. With this function, non-lexical backchannels indicate that one of the speakers approves what the other speaker says. However, this function is different from the agreement function. With the agreement function, non-lexical backchannels show a subjective viewpoint. However, with the approval function, they are not subjective but they show a common ground for what is mentioned. Speaker 1 also knows or is aware of what Speaker 2 is saying. Since this function has an attitudinal aspect and is stronger compared to the non-lexical backchannels used for conversational flow, the speakers usually use stronger dual/triple repetitive non-lexical backchannels such as *hi hi hi* and *hi-hi*. Moreover, before Speaker 2 uses the non-lexical backchannel with the approval function, Speaker 1 usually uses an expression such as “you know”. This function of the non-lexical backchannels has also been mentioned by the previous studies such as Özcan (2015) and Ruede et al. (2017).

Table 4.12 presents the non-lexical backchannels used with the approval function. As illustrated in the table, *hi-hi* is the most frequent non-lexical backchannel used with the approval function.

Table 4.12. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Approval Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
hi-hi	98
hi	63
he	43
hi	36
ha	34
he-he	34
hmm	30
hee	29
ha-ha	25
hm-hm	24
hm	18
ha ha ha	5
himm	5
haa	4
he he he	4
hi-hm	4
ee	4
ehe	4
Total	462

In the following excerpt, NUR is mother of BEG. BEG is starting to read a book and she announces that she just started. In order to approve her daughter, NUR uses the non-lexical backchannel *hi-hi*.

Extract 17. 082_090820_00262

BEG000434 [v]	((XXX))	((0.8)) başladım.		((inhalés)) ((exhalés))
BEG000434 [c]	((whispering))			
NUR000373 [v]			((0.3)) hi-hi	

BEG000434 [v]	Robin Hood	hakkın ((0.3)) da		((inhalés)) kitap okudum.
BEG000434 [c]		= hakkında		

Extract 17. (cont'd)

BEG000434 [v]	• onla ((0.5)) ilgili konuşma yapmak istiyorum.	yani onu
[nn]	((microphone noise))	
BEG000434 [v]	anlatmak istiyorum.	((0.2)) ((inhalés)) ((exhalés)) ((inhalés))
[nn]		((microphone noise))
BEG000434 [v]	((0.4)) olay	((0.1)) ho/ orman... ((0.1)) vah... Sherwood
[nn]		
BEG000434 [v]	Ormanı'nda geçiyordu.	((0.1)) ((sniffs)) ((2.0)) genç yakışıklı

In example 18, NIL648 is elder sister of NIL646 and they are talking about a specific past event. NIL648 says that NIL646 just came in at that time and NIL648 remembers that event and shows her approval by using the non-lexical backchannels *hi hi hi* and *hi-hi*. When NIL648 says “içeri girmiştiniz evden ya”, this expression indicates that NIL646 already remembers that occasion.

Extract 18. 105_100602_00230

NIL000646 [v]		((1.2)) hi'	
NIL000648 [v]	konuşamadık o sırada fazla.		içeri girmiştiniz yeni
NIL000646 [v]		((0.2)) hi' hi' hi' hi-hi'	
NIL000648 [v]	evden ya.		Turkay dayım ((0.2)) aramış.
NIL000646 [v]		hmm'	((0.3))
NIL000648 [v]	((0.4)) senin şarjın mı bitti ne olduy	sa sonra da...	
NIL000646 [v]	telefonun şarjı bitmiş.	((inhalés)) ((XXX)) kapanmış.	
NIL000648 [v]		hi' kapalıymış o	ndan
NIL000648 [v]	sonra beni aradı. ben de e şey/ Tansaş'a gitmişim bir şey		
NIL000648 [v]	alacaktım.	((1.3)) dönüşte işte denk geldi.	((0.8)) bi sürü
NIL000648 [v]	şeye teşekkür etti dayım.	((0.9)) bi gittiğimiz için en başta/	

4.1.2.1.2. Agreement

The results of the analysis show that non-lexical backchannels are also used to indicate agreement. Speaker 1 proposes an idea and Speaker 2 uses a non-lexical backchannel to show that s/he agrees with the previous idea. Benus et al. (2007), Cutrone (2014), Özcan (2015) and Pipek (2007), have also referred to the agreement function of the non-lexical backchannels in their studies. As shown in Table 4.13, *hi-hi* is the most frequently used non-lexical backchannel with the agreement function, closely followed by *hi*.

Table 4.13. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Agreement Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
hi-hi	28
hi	26
ha	19
hi	15
haa	12
ha-ha	10
hmm	8
hm	7
he	6
hm-hm	6
hee	5
he-he	2
hah	1
Total	145

In Extract 19, NAC is husband's sister of EMI. They are talking about some characteristics of a woman called Dilek and NAC's aunt. NAC says that her aunt is also walking in the same way as Dilek does. EMI shows her agreement with this idea using the non-lexical backchannel *hi-hi*.

Extract 19. 023_100707_00193

NAC000539 [v]	ezecek gibi yü	rürdü yürürdü.	
EMI000540 [v]		zaten çok ağır.	((0.4)) Dilek ona benzemiş
[nn]			

Extract 19. (cont'd)

NAC000539 [v]		hı'		
EMI000540 [v]	her	halde	le?	
EMI000540 [c]	heralda			
NAC000539 [v]		hı-hı'	aynı.	
EMI000540 [v]			Dilek de	aynı.
NAC000539 [v]	((0.1)) aynı. aynı öyle yürüyor.			((0.2)) teyzem
EMI000540 [v]			((0.2)) hı-hı'	
NAC000539 [v]	bi adım	atana kadar	sen de	((0.1)) şeye varır gelird
NAC000539 [c]		atanadak		((lengthening))
NAC000539 [v]	in.			he'
EMI000540 [v]	ben	tahammül edemiyordum teyzemin o zaman	da yü	

In the following conversation, MUS is husband of OZG. AYS is a friend of OZG. ISI is a friend of OZG. They are eating fish together and AYS makes a comment about how big the fishbones are. MUS shows his agreement with this comment by using the non-lexical backchannel *hmm*.

Extract 20. 103_091108_00040

OZG000105 [v]		almışsın.		
OZG000105 [c]				
AYS000110 [v]		öyle yaptım vallahi.	((1.7)) çevir bakayım ((XXX))	
[nn]			((TV/radio noise))	
AYS000110 [v]	benim	herhalde.		
[nn]			((TV/radio noise, clatter of tableware))	((TV/radio noise))
AYS000110 [v]			((0.7)) çok manyak kılçıkları var yalnız.	
[nn]	noise))	((TV/radio noise))		
AYS000110 [v]			çok büyükler.	
ISI000108 [v]				((2.7)) daha iyi büyük olması.
MUS000122 [v]		((0.8)) hmm'		
OZG000105 [v]				((short
ISI000108 [v]	((2.0))	yanlışlıkla yutma gibi bir ihtimalin yok.		
OZG000105 [v]	laugh))'			
[nn]		((TV/radio noise))	((TV/radio noise))	((TV/radio noise,

Extract 20. (cont'd)

AYS000110 [v]				((3.4))
[nn]	clatter of tableware))	((TV/radio noise))	((TV/radio noise))	
AYS000110 [v]	soğanı pişmemiş.			
ISI000108 [v]			((1.2)) bizim kantinde şey yapıyorlardı	

4.1.2.1.3. Relief

In some instances, non-lexical backchannels are used to show relief. However, compared to other functions of non-lexical backchannels, relief function is observed less frequently in the data. As illustrated in Table 4.14, *ha*, which has a solid tone, is the most frequently used non-lexical backchannel with relief function. This function of backchannels has not been named in literature on backchannels.

Table 4.14. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Relief Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
ha	4
haa	2
hıh	1
Total	7

Extract 21 takes place in a marriage ceremony. MEH000142 is fiancé/fiancée of ELI000146 and CAN000153 is a friend of them. CAN insists that the bride should step on groom's foot. When the bride says that she did it, CAN shows his relief by using the non-lexical backchannel *hıh*.

Extract 21. 121_100309_00053

HAS000143 [v]		((0.6)) evet orası size ait.		evet.	altına
M. 000145 [v]	Hocam?		şuraya mı?		
ELI000146 [v]			tam	Mehmet	'in
HAS000143 [v]	da atabilir	siniz.			
ELI000146 [v]	ayağına bastım.			basıyor	um çekmelisin
CAN000153 [v]		((XXX)) bas	malısın.		hıh

Extract 21. (cont'd)

ELI000146 [v]	bunu.	((3.4)) ((laughs))' ((1.2)) ((short laugh))'	
[nn]			((silence))
ERK000144 [v]	ayağına bas ayağına. ayağına bas diyorum.		
MEH000142 [v]		oldu.	
IND000002 [v]			((XXX))

4.1.2.1.4. Agreement to an Offer

According to the analysis, non-lexical backchannels might also indicate an agreement to an offer. In these circumstances, Speaker 1 offers to do something and Speaker 2 agrees with that offer using a non-lexical backchannel. As illustrated in Table 4.15, there is only one instance in which a non-lexical backchannel implied agreement to an offer. In this example, the non-lexical backchannel *hm* was used. Though several studies (see Cutrone, 2014; Gardner, 1997; Gardner, 1998; Maynard, 1997) have referred to the agreement function of backchannels, they have not specifically named agreement to an offer function.

Table 4.15. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Agreement to an Offer Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
hm	1
Total	1

In conversation 22, ISA is elder brother of CAG and they are talking about a book CAG has read recently. CAG offers to show something to ISA. In order to show his agreement with this offer, ISA uses the non-lexical backchannel *hm*.

Extract 22. 061_090623_00050

ISA000058 [v]	((2.1)) hmm'	((0.2)) bak burada işte	((2.1)) kitap/ önerdiği
ISA000058 [v]	kitaplar bunlar mı diyor mesela?		
CAG000125 [v]			yok. _hayır. _bu
[nn]		((silence))	

Extract 22. (cont'd)

ISA000058 [v]		((XXX))		hm	
CAG000125 [v]	değil.	((0.2)) altında	ee bak göstereyim mi?		
[nn]					((sound of
CAG000125 [v]			şurada altında bir yerde açıklaması yazıyordu o		
[nn]		papers))			
CAG000125 [v]	kitabın		çünkü Fransızcayla	((0.8)) ee hayır	
			söylüyordu.		
CAG000125 [v]	bunlar değil.	((0.7)) cık bunlar da değil.		insanın yüzünde	

4.1.2.2. Non-lexical Backchannels with Negativity

Functions of non-lexical backchannels with negativity are presented in this section. Disagreement, sarcasm and non-lexical backchannels with the meaning of ‘so what?’ are sub-functions of non-lexical backchannels with negativity.

4.1.2.2.1. Disagreement

Another function of non-lexical backchannels is to show disagreement. When one of the speakers does not agree with the other speaker, s/he may sometimes use a non-lexical backchannel to show disagreement. The non-lexical backchannel that is commonly used with this function is *ı-ıh*. Özcan (2015), Pipek (2007) and Ruede et al. (2017) have also referred to the disagreement function of non-lexical backchannels.

Table 4.16 presents the non-lexical backchannels used with disagreement function. As can be seen in the table, the only non-lexical backchannel used with disagreement function is *ı-ıh*.

Table 4.16. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Disagreement Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
<i>ı-ıh</i>	16
Total	16

In Extract 23, NAS and VAC are distant relatives. VAS is talking about one of her memories and how she settled down where she is living now. NAC is mentioning one of her assumptions about VAS's life. In order to indicate that her assumption is wrong and to show disagreement, NAC uses the non-lexical backchannel *ı-ih*.

Extract 23. 023_100707_00193

VAS000542 [v]	dedi.	((0.3)) rahmetli.	
NAC000539 [v]			((0.2)) ben sizi ((0.1)) topraklıktan
[nn]			((noise))

NAC000539 [v]	((0.4)) geldiniz yerleştiniz de ordan buluştunuz		
NAC000539 [c]			zannediyom
[nn]			

VAS000542 [v]		((0.3)) ı-ih	
NAC000539 [v]	zannediyorum.		((0.4)) köyden getirdi ta ya
NAC000539 [c]			

VAS000542 [v]		((0.2)) ((XXX))	ondan
NAC000539 [v]	((0.1)) şeyden/ Aksaray'dan.		• hı-hı

VAS000542 [v]	sonra işte askerden gelen sonra	((0.3)) in... dayını demiş	
---------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------	--

VAS000542 [v]	buraya gel bak ((XXX)) bizim evin/ evin altında falan	filan	
NAC000539 [v]		hı-hı	
[nn]		((noise))	

In Extract 24, GAM is fiancée of OZG. OZG makes an offer to GAM about going to a place together. However, GAM says that her mother will not allow her to go with OZG. In order to show her disagreement with that request, she uses the non-lexical backchannel *ı-ih*.

Extract 24. 109_091129_00145

GAM000384 [v]		izin vermez.		((0.3)) cık kesinlikle izin
OZG000385 [v]	((0.9)) söyle.		neden?	

GAM000384 [v]	vermez.			üff şimdi bir sürü şey
OZG000385 [v]		((0.3)) ne için?		hı?
[nn]			((silence))	

Extract 24. (cont'd)

GAM000384 [v]	((0.2)) söyleyecek	bitanem bilmiyo musun?	
GAM000384 [c]	söylicecek		
OZG000385 [v]			((1.3)) ne için?
GAM000384 [v]	((0.2)) i-ih		
OZG000385 [v]		((0.5)) bi söyle ya. de ki böyle böyle.	((0.8))
GAM000384 [v]		ayy1	akraba dersem iyice beni öldürür.
OZG000385 [v]	akrabalarından	birinin...	

4.1.2.2.2. Sarcasm

Although observed relatively less frequently compared to the other functions of non-lexical backchannels, expressing sarcasm is yet another function. With this function, non-lexical backchannels indicate a kind of irony with the meaning “that's what you think but the real situation is not so”. As illustrated in Table 4.17, *ha-ha* is the most commonly used non-lexical backchannel for the sarcasm meaning. The uses all show that the preceding utterance of Speaker 1 has been found to be ridiculous by Speaker 2. To the researcher's knowledge, sarcasm function of backchannels has not been referred to in the literature.

Table 4.17. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with Sarcasm Function

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
ha-ha	4
ee	2
hu	2
haa	1
he	1
hıh	1
hmm	1
Total	12

In Extract 25, MUR and SEB are friends and they are talking about buying a house. SEB says that the owners of the house will extend an offer to SEB's family to buy it. In order to show that she does not quite agree with what SEB says, MUR uses the non-lexical backchannel *hu* scoffingly.

Extract 25. 063_090702_00224

MUR000054 [v]	hah´		tamam	işte.		((0.1)) alacağız
MUR000054 [c]						alcaz
SEB000632 [v]	önlüm	sizden tarafa	diyor.			((0.2)) hı´

MUR000054 [v]	alacağız	deyin oyala	yın.			
MUR000054 [c]	alcaz					
SEB000632 [v]			hı´	((0.3)) bizden tarafa di...		— yani hep
SEB000632 [c]						((fast))

MUR000054 [v]						((0.3)) hı´
MUR000054 [c]						((change in tone of voice))
SEB000632 [v]		bize (diye) teklif edecekler zaten de.				
SEB000632 [c]						

MUR000054 [v]			((0.8)) ya	s...		
MUR000054 [c]				((lengthening))		
SEB000632 [v]	((0.2)) ee ((0.1)) ama siz alın.	((0.8)) bak.				

In the following excerpt, GAM is the fiancée of OZG. GAM is trying to persuade OZG to cook something for her; however, OZG does not want to comply with this request. In order to show that, he uses the non-lexical backchannel *hı-hı* in an ironical way.

Extract 26. 109_091129_00145

GAM000384 [v]				((0.3)) bana ne.		
OZG000385 [v]	evinde hiç misafir olur mu ya.				evet.	
[nn]						

OZG000385 [v]			hı´ sen bahaneylen bana yemek	yaptıracaksın		
OZG000385 [c]				yaptırcan		
[nn]		((clattering))				

GAM000384 [v]		evet aşkım.				((0.2)) hadi
GAM000384 [c]		((laughs))				
OZG000385 [v]	ama	((XXX))	((0.4)) onu	geçeceksin	sen.	
OZG000385 [c]				geççen		

GAM000384 [v]	lütfen.					((0.7)) bitanem
OZG000385 [v]		hı-hı´				
[nn]			((clattering))	((mobile phone ringing))		

GAM000384 [v]		annen bana bişey yollamış galiba.				
OZG000385 [v]						((1.0)) evet. — olabilir.

GAM000384 [v]	((1.5)) ne yollamış?					((0.1))
OZG000385 [v]			((1.4)) sürpriz.	söyleyemem.		

4.1.2.2.3. Non-lexical Backchannels with the Meaning of “So What?”

The results of the analysis also show that in some instances, non-lexical backchannels are used to ask the other person what the value of the things they are talking about and what its relevance to the main topic is. In this function, the listener understands what the other person is saying; however, s/he actually wants to know why they are mentioning that specific issue. The non-lexical backchannels with this meaning can also denote “*so what?*” (*yani?* in Turkish). As illustrated in Table 4.18, the most frequently used non-lexical backchannel with this function is *ee* which is very rarely used with other functions of non-lexical backchannels. This backchannel is usually used with a rising intonation to mean “*so what?*” marking the topic of the conversation as not important or showing that they really do not care all that much about it or where the conversation is going. This function of backchannels also exhibits original dimensions since it has not been identified in the previous studies on backchannels.

Table 4.18. Non-lexical Backchannels Used with the Meaning of “so what?”

Non-lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
ee	6
hıı	2
hmm	1
Total	9

In Extract 27, SEL is elder brother of SED and they are talking about a film called “Recep İvedik”. SEL says that a specific company is shooting many advertisements with Recep İvedik. SED understands what he means but she does not understand the relevance and importance of what SEL says. Therefore, she asks him to explain it using the non-lexical backchannel *hıı* twice.

Extract 27. 114_090221_00007

SEL000048 [v]	Turkcell • biliyorsun şöyle ((0.5)) reklam çeviriyor Recep
[nn]	tableware))

SEL000048 [v]	İvedik'le.	((0.7)) bir değil beş değil.	((0.7)) kaç tane reklam
[nn]			((clatter of tableware))

Extract 27. (cont'd)

SED000047 [v]		hıı		((0.1)) hıı
SEL000048 [v]	çektı Recep İvedik'le.		((0.4)) doğru mu?	
[nn]				
SEL000048 [v]	dođru. adamlar ((0.4)) işın araştırmasını yapmıř da			
SEL000048 [v]	çekmıř.	((0.8)) yani öyle haybeye deđil.	((0.1)) koskoca	
SEL000048 [v]	Turkcell bu.	((0.9)) A B grubu seyircinin bile	en çok •	
KAD000045 [v]			((1.4))	
SEL000048 [v]	beđendiđi karakterlerden bi tanesi Recep İvedik'miř.		((1.4))	

4.2. Use of Non-lexical Backchannels in Naturally Formed Groups

A meticulous examination of the data at hand showed that groups in the data consist of different age, gender, education and occupation groups. With regard to the scope of the study, these naturally formed groups were examined considering age and gender combinations regarding the use of backchannels. It was observed that the conversations in this study included three main groups which are all female, all male, and mixed gender conversations. Mixed conversations have three subgroups which are majority female groups, majority male groups, and conversations which include equal numbers of male and female speakers. After identifying the speaker characteristics of the groups, group differences in the use of backchannels were investigated.

4.2.1. All Female Groups

All female groups in the data were made up of four sub-groups which are young, middle aged-elderly, young-middle aged, and young-middle aged-elderly speakers. As can be seen in Table 4.19, in all female conversations, the mixture of young-middle aged-elderly groups have the most non-lexical backchannels compared to young, middle aged-elderly and young-middle aged groups.

Table 4.19. Distribution of Non-lexical Backchannels in All Female Groups

Age Groups	Common Functions of BCs	Perc. Of BCs
Young-middle aged-elderly	- Approval - Continuation - Request for repetition	7,88%
Middle aged-elderly	-Continuation (2 conversations)	5,31%
Young-middle aged	- Approval - Comprehension - Responding to a question	3,87%
Young	- Approval (2 conversations), - Comprehension (1 conversation)	3,48%

In young all female group, there were three conversations. In terms of the functions of the non-lexical backchannels, in two of the conversations, they were mostly used to indicate approval and in one of them, they were used to indicate comprehension. There were two conversations in middle aged-elderly all female group. In terms of the functions of the non-lexical backchannels, in both of these conversations, they were mostly used to indicate continuation.

In young-middle aged all female group, there were four conversations. Regarding the functions of the non-lexical backchannels, in one of the conversations, they were mostly used to indicate approval and in one of them, they were used to indicate comprehension. In another conversation, the speakers used the non-lexical backchannels in order to respond to a question. In the other conversation, there was not any non-lexical backchannel used by the speakers.

There were three conversations consisting of all female, young-middle-aged and elderly speakers. In one of the conversations, they were mostly used to indicate approval and in one of them, they were used to ask for the continuation of the other speaker. In the other conversation, the speakers used the non-lexical backchannels mostly as a request for repetition of a previous utterance.

In Extract 28, which is an example of all female conversation consisting of only young speakers, AYS is a friend of SUM. They are talking about their memories and common acquaintances. AYS is talking about some people like Tahsin and Şerafettin and SUM

indicates that she also knows those people using the non-lexical backchannel *hı-hı*.

Extract 28. 191_090213_00276

SUM000728 [v]		tabi	S	a	fiye		Fe	vziye.
SUM000728 [c]								
AYS000729 [v]	onlara.							
CIS000304 [v]			((short laugh))		öyle bişey	de o	lur.	

SUM000728 [v]		((inhalés))	Fevziye ((X	XX))	gelinleri	derler	he	ralde
AYS000729 [v]	• ee				((XXX))	Tahsin Şerafettin		

SUM000728 [v]	onlara işte	şey...					altı mağaza gibin/
AYS000729 [v]		bi de	((0.2))	daha	geçen	sene	duydum ((XXX))

SUM000728 [v]	mağaza gibi...	((XX	X))	hı-hı			((0.1))	apartmanın
AYS000729 [v]			hah!	işte o	nun...			

OZG000726 [v]						((XX	
SUM000728 [v]		yan	tarafı	değil	mi	be?	
AYS000729 [v]						((0.3))	işte he büyük apartmandan..

4.2.2. All Male Groups

All male group in the data consisted of two sub-groups which are young, and young-elderly groups. As illustrated in Table 4.20, in all male groups, conversations with young participants have more instances of non-lexical backchannels compared to young-elderly group. However, the topic seems more important than the participants' age and gender. In one of the conversations, ISA acts like a teacher while talking to his brother about a book. In order to encourage him to answer the questions related to the book, ISA uses many examples of non-lexical backchannels.

Table 4.20. Distribution of Non-lexical Backchannels in All Male Groups

Age Groups	Common Functions of BCs	Perc. Of BCs
Young	- Approval (2) - Continuation - Request for repetition	8,1%
Young-Elderly	- Continuation (2)	1,71%

In young-elderly all male group, there were two conversations. In terms of the functions of the non-lexical backchannels, non-lexical backchannels were mostly used for the continuation of the other speaker's speech in both of the conversations.

Five conversations were made up of only young and male speakers. In two of these conversations, speakers used the non-lexical backchannels mostly to indicate approval. In another conversation, non-lexical backchannels were mostly used to ask for the continuation of the other speaker's speech. In another one, non-lexical backchannels usually acted as requests for repetition of previous utterances. Lastly, in one of the conversations, there were no non-lexical backchannels used.

In Extract 29, which is an example of all male conversation consisting of young and old speakers, EMI is future father-in-law of VOL. They are talking about some specific cars. VOL says that he really liked Mercedes A series but people do not use it in Turkey. In order to help VOL continue to talk, EMI uses the non-lexical backchannel *hı-hı* successively, three times in the same stretch of conversation.

Extract 29. 024_100501_00161

VOL000447 [v]	yurtdışına ((0.1)) gittiğim zaman bi bak/ ((0.1)) bi baktım
[nn]	

VOL000447 [v]	((0.1)) her tarafta Meriva.	((1.0)) ben A serisini çok
[nn]		

VOL000447 [v]	beğeniyordum Mercedes'in. • kimse kullanmıyor Türkiye'
----------------------	--

EMI000246 [v]			hı-hı'
VOL000447 [v]	de.	lan dedim ((0.1)) demek ki biş/ ((softly))	sıkıntısı var diyordum.
VOL000447 [c]			

EMI000246 [v]		hı-hı'
VOL000447 [v]	((0.2)) her taraf ((0.1)) yer ((0.1)) gök • A serisi bö...	

EMI000246 [v]		((0.2)) hı-
VOL000447 [v]	((0.2)) yani Mercedes A serisi hani şu şey var ya.	
VOL000447 [c]	((fast))	

EMI000246 [v]	hı'	
VOL000447 [v]		((0.2)) ondan sonra Smart'lar. Türkiye'de bi tane yok.
[nn]		((uninterpretable sound))

4.2.3. Mixed Groups

It was observed that mixed groups in the data comprised of three sub-groups which are majority female, majority male groups and conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers.

4.2.3.1. Majority Female Groups

Mixed conversations with more female speakers are formed of four sub-groups which are young, middle aged, young-elderly, young-middle aged, and young-middle aged-elderly. As illustrated in Table 4.21, young and young-middle aged-elderly groups have more examples of non-lexical backchannels compared to the other groups.

Table 4.21. Distribution of Non-lexical Backchannels in Majority Female Groups

Age Groups	Function of BCs	Perc. of BCs
Young-middle aged-elderly	- Comprehension - Responding to a question - Clarification	7,27%
Young	- Approval (2) - Comprehension - Responding to a question	7,06%
Young-elderly	- Approval (2) - Comprehension - Continuation	6,62%
Young-middle aged	- Approval (2) - Continuation - Request for repetition - Reassurance - Indication for getting the message - Clarification	4,86%
Middle aged	- Approval	1,57%

In young-mixed conversations with more female speakers, there were 4 conversations. In two of the conversations, non-lexical backchannels were mostly used to show approval. Speakers mostly used non-lexical backchannels for comprehension. In the other one, non-lexical backchannels were usually used in order to respond to a question. With regard to middle aged mixed conversations with more female speakers, there was 1 conversation. In that conversation, speakers mostly used non-lexical backchannels

for approval of what the other person says.

In young-elderly mixed groups with more female speakers, there were four conversations. In two of the conversations, non-lexical backchannels were mostly used to show approval. Speakers mostly used non-lexical backchannels for comprehension in one of the conversations. In the other one, non-lexical backchannels were usually used to ask for continuation of the other speaker.

Young-middle aged, mixed conversations with more female speakers had six conversations. In two of the conversations, non-lexical backchannels were mostly used to show approval. In one of the conversations, speakers mostly used non-lexical backchannels for reassurance. In the other one, non-lexical backchannels were usually used for continuation. In the other two recordings, non-lexical backchannels were usually used for clarification and comprehension in a stronger sense.

In young-middle aged-elderly, mixed conversations with more female speakers the non-lexical backchannels were mostly used for comprehension and clarification. In one of the recordings they were mainly used for responding to a question. In Extract 30, which is an example of conversations with more female speakers consisting of young, middle and old speakers, ZOH is talking about her plans to go and do the laundry and come back to eat some fruit. In order to show his or her approval for ZOH's plans, IND uses the non-lexical backchannel *hm-hm*.

Extract 30. 075_090627_00035

ZOH000084 [v]		yaktın.	((2.0)) işte. ((0.4)) öyle.	
ZOH000084 [c]		((softly))		
[nn]	tableware))			((clatter of tableware))

ZOH000084 [v]	e ben gideyim. _ (çamaşır) da var.		((0.7)) atayım
ZOH000084 [c]	((softly))		((softly))
IND000002 [v]		hm-hm	

ZOH000084 [v]	onları bi.	((1.3)) (bunlar)... yiyelim	sonra •
		meyvalarımızı	
ZOH000084 [c]		yiyek	

Extract 30. (cont'd)

ZOH000084 [v]	dolmalarımızı	saralım.	((0.7)) buzdolabında da şeyimiz var.
ZOH000084 [c]		sarak	
[nn]			((sound of water tap))
ZOH000084 [v]		((0.2)) ((XXX)) ((0.4)) tez ((XXX)) mi ettiniz kahval...	
HUL000097 [v]			yok.
[nn]			

4.2.3.2. Majority Male Groups

Examination of the data in the corpus showed that mixed conversations with more male speakers consisted of four sub-groups which are young, young-middle aged, young-elderly and young-middle aged-elderly. The distribution of non-lexical backchannels according to different age groups are presented in Table 4.22.

Table 4.22. Distribution of Non-lexical Backchannels in Majority Male Groups

Age Groups	Common Functions of BCs	Perc. of BCs
Young-middle aged	- Continuation (3) - Comprehension (2) - Request for repetition - Relief - Responding to a question	5,66%
Young-elderly	- Approval - Continuation	3,35%
Young-middle aged-elderly	- Approval	1,84%
Young	- Continuation	0,81%

In young, mixed conversations with more male speakers, the speakers mostly used the non-lexical backchannels to signal continuation for the other person. There were seven recordings for young-middle aged mixed conversations with more male speakers. In three of them, non-lexical backchannels were usually used for continuation. They were followed by comprehension, relief and question-response functions.

There were two recordings for young-elderly mixed conversations with more male speakers. In these recordings, speakers used the non-lexical backchannels mostly for approval and continuation functions. There was one recording for young-middle aged-

elderly mixed conversations with more male speakers. In this recording, approval was the most common function for the non-lexical backchannels.

In Extract 31, which is an excerpt from a conversation with more males consisting of young and middle speakers, RID is father of ERG and BET. They are talking about different types of food. RID says that all of them go to the same place. In order to give him support and encourage him to continue, BET uses the non-lexical backchannel *hi* as a continuation marker.

Extract 31. 055_090619_00222

CUN000626 [v]	((laughs))'						
BET000627 [v]	((laughs))'			((laughs))'	((inhales))		
RID000628 [v]			yaa!				
ERG000211 [v]		çok güzel olur	bi ara	da ya	a.		

BET000627 [v]		barbunya	yla	yiyecek	((laughs))'		
BET000627 [c]				((laughing))			
RID000628 [v]	hepsi aynı ye	re gidiyor.				hepsi ay	
ERG000211 [v]					((laughs))'		

BET000627 [v]			((0.1)) hi'				
RID000628 [v]	nı ye	re gidiyor.		((0.3)) dünyanın en güzel			
RID000628 [c]				((list intonation))			
ERG000211 [v]	eh!						

RID000628 [v]	yemeğini de yesen ıstakozu da yesen	karidesi de yesen					
RID000628 [c]							

RID000628 [v]	balığımı da yesen dünyanın en güzel yemeğini yesen	((0.2))					
RID000628 [c]							

4.2.3.3. Groups with Equal Numbers of Female and Male Speakers

In the data, conversations with equal numbers of female and male speakers are formed of five sub-groups which are young, middle aged, young-middle aged, middle aged-elderly and young-middle aged-elderly. Distribution of non-lexical backchannels in groups with equal numbers of female and male speakers are presented in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23. Distribution of Non-lexical Backchannels in Groups with Equal Numbers of Female and Male Speakers

Age Groups	Common Functions of BCs	Percentage of BCs
Young	Agreement Approval Continuation (2) Indication for getting the message	9,77%
Young-middle aged	Continuation Approval Clarification Request for repetition	4,54%
Middle aged-elderly	Indication for getting the message	3,7%
Middle aged	Comprehension (2)	2,7%
Young-middle aged-elderly	Continuation	1,83%

In recordings which included only young speakers with equal numbers of female and male speakers, non-lexical backchannels were commonly used for continuation, approval, agreement and comprehension in a stronger sense.

In conversations which included only middle aged speakers with equal numbers of female and male speakers, non-lexical backchannels were commonly used for comprehension. Groups with young and middle aged speakers with equal numbers of female and male speakers used the backchannels most frequently for continuation function followed by clarification and request for repetition.

Comprehension in a stronger sense was the most frequent function of the non-lexical backchannels in recordings which included middle aged and elderly speakers with equal numbers of female and male speakers. Lastly, in groups which included young, middle aged and elderly speakers with equal numbers of female and male speakers, continuation was the most frequently observed function of non-lexical backchannels.

Excerpt 32 is an example of conversations with the equal number of male and female speakers consisting of middle aged and elderly speakers, PER is an acquaintance of NEC. NEC is talking about several of their common acquaintances who have died and in order to keep the conversation going, PER uses the non-lexical backchannel *hm* with the continuation function.

Extract 32. 072_090913_00006

PER000040 [v]		Allah rahmet	eylesin.	
NEC000042 [v]	ahu. ((0.2)) bundan baş	ka kaç kişi/		((0.1)) bizim

PER000040 [v]				hı
NEC000042 [v]	hanımdan başka kaç kişi öldü daha. kaç kişi böyle!			

PER000040 [v]		hm		
NEC000042 [v]				• bizim hanım çekti başı.
[nn]	((voices in the background))			

PER000040 [v]				((0.3)) hm-
NEC000042 [v]	arkadan (korucu) Adem var. sucu. o öldü.			

PER000040 [v]	hm			
NEC000042 [v]		arkadan Korsan Ali'nin karısı öldü.		• Müceller
NEC000042 [c]				((list intonation))
[nn]			((noise))	

NEC000042 [v]	öldü. Bayram öldü. Zeynel öldü.			((0.6)) Korsan Ali öldü.
NEC000042 [c]				

4.3. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions Used as Non-lexical Backchannels

In this section, frequency of non-lexical backchannels in naturally occurring groups consisting of different age and gender combinations, which are identified in the previous section, are presented.

4.3.1. All Female Groups

The analysis of the corpus data revealed that all female groups consisted of different age groups which are young group, middle-aged and elderly group, young and middle-aged group and young, middle-aged and elderly group.

4.3.1.1. Young Group

In terms of the frequency of non-lexical backchannels, as can be seen in Table 4.24, *hı-hı* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young and all female

recordings. As already stated, the most common function for this group is the approval function, which might be the reason for the high frequency of the non-lexical backchannel *hi-hi*.

Table 4.24. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young Group

Conversation	hi-hi	hi	hmm	ha	haa	ha-ha	he	hee	hi	hm	i-ih
113_090404_00004	2	2	1	4	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
191_090213_00276	5	6	-	-	-	1	2	2	2	-	2
069_090610_00015	2	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-
Total	9	8	4	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	2

4.3.1.2. Middle Aged-Elderly Group

As illustrated in Table 4.25, *hi* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in middle aged-elderly all female recordings. In terms of the common function of the non-lexical backchannels for this group, they are mostly used for continuation. Therefore, the non-lexical backchannel *hi*, which usually provides a support for the speaker to continue, is very commonly used in this group.

Table 4.25. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Conversation	hi	hi-hi	hi	hee	hm	he	ha	hmm	hm-hm	ha-ha	he-he	haa	hih	ih	i-ih
023_100707_00193	47	23	18	9	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
023_100710_00192	47	30	15	19	24	2	16	14	9	2	2	-	-	-	-
Total	94	53	33	28	24	22	16	14	9	2	2	1	1	1	1

4.3.1.3. Young-Middle Aged Group

Regarding the frequency of non-lexical non-lexical backchannels, as shown in Table 4.26, *hmm* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young-middle aged, all female recordings. The functional analysis shows that one of the most common functions of non-lexical backchannels for this gender and age group is the comprehension function along with approval and question-response sequence. Thus, the non-lexical backchannel *hmm*, which can be regarded as an indicator of

comprehension, is very commonly used by the speakers in this group.

Table 4.26. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young-Middle Aged Group

Conversation	hmm	hi-hi	hi	ha	i-ih	he	hi	ha-ha	hee	hm-hm
060_090725_00277	4	4	2	3	3	2	-	1	1	1
082_090820_00262	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
082_090820_00263	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
149_090204_00158	27	7	7	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
Total	<u>31</u>	12	9	4	3	2	2	1	1	1

4.3.1.4. Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

As presented in Table 4.27, *haa* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young-middle aged-elderly, all female recordings. Although *haa* is the most frequently used non-lexical backchannel in this group, the frequency of the other non-lexical backchannels are also close to the frequency of *haa*. This might be due to the fact that non-lexical backchannels are used with several functions in this group. This variety can also be interpreted by the three different age groups involved in the recordings.

Table 4.27. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Conversation	haa	ha	hm	hm-hm	hee	hmm	hmm	he	he	hi	hi	hi	ha-ha	he	hi	hi	hm
069_090813_00051	2	-	-	-	2	3	-	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	1
072_090820_00022	1	1	-	4	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
129_100320_00163	3	3	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-
Total	<u>6</u>	4	4	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

4.3.2. All Male Groups

According to the analysis of the data, all male groups were formed by different age groups which are young group and elderly group and young group. Distribution of non-lexical backchannels in these groups are explained in the following section.

4.3.2.1. Young-Elderly Group

Considering the frequency of non-lexical backchannels, Table 4.28 shows that *hm* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young-elderly, all male recordings. For this gender and age group, the most common function of non-lexical backchannels is the continuation function. Thus, that can be a reason for the high frequency of the non-lexical backchannel *hm* which has a more neutral tone compared to the non-lexical backchannel *hmm*.

Table 4.28. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young-Elderly Group

Conversation	hm	hi-hi	hi	ha	hm-hm	hmm	haa	hi	he	ha-ha	hee
024_100501_00160	9	4	9	8	2	4	3	2	-	2	1
024_100501_00161	9	11	5	-	5	3	3	4	5	-	1
Total	18	15	14	8	7	7	6	6	5	2	2

4.3.2.2. Young Group

As presented in Table 4.29, *hi-hi* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young and all male recordings. Similar to young and all female group, in this group non-lexical backchannels are also mostly used with the approval function. Therefore, approval function might be regarded as a reason for the high frequency of the non-lexical backchannel *hi-hi*.

Table 4.29. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young Group

Conversation	hi-hi	hm	hmm	ha	hi	haa
039_090315_00142	-	4	-	1	-	1
039_090319_00143	-	-	-	-	-	-
061_090615_00103	3	1	-	5	1	-
061_090623_00050	44	21	16	-	2	-
085_090930_00130	1	-	3	1	1	2
Total	48	26	19	7	4	3

4.3.3. Majority Female Groups

Majority female groups consisted of different age groups which are young group, middle aged group, young and elderly group, young and middle aged group and young, middle-aged and elderly group.

4.3.3.1. Young Group

In terms of the frequency of non-lexical backchannels, Table 4.30 presents that *hu* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young and all male recordings. The most frequent functions of non-lexical backchannels for this group are approval and comprehension. Therefore, *hu*, which can be regarded as an indicator of comprehension, is quite commonly used in this group. The non-lexical backchannel *hu* is followed another non-lexical backchannel *hi-hi* in terms of the frequency of their usage. As already stated, another common function of non-lexical backchannels for this group is the approval function. As a consequence, the speakers might have used the non-lexical backchannel *hi-hi* frequently as an indicator of approval.

Table 4.30. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young Group

Conversation	hu	hi-hi	hi	hmm	haa	hm	ha	ha-ha	hm-hm	him	i-ih	he	hee
012_090128_00002	1	2	-	6	13	-	13	8	8	6	1	-	-
103_091108_00040	4	17	6	15	-	18	2	-	1	-	1	1	-
117_090310_00019	1	-	-	1	5	1	-	7	2	-	-	-	-
158_090511_00172	33	16	20	3	2	-	3	1	-	-	2	-	1
Total	<u>39</u>	35	26	25	20	19	18	16	11	6	4	1	1

4.3.3.2. Middle Aged Group

In middle aged group, the most commonly used non-lexical backchannel was *hu* as can be seen in Table 4.31. The reason for the high frequency of this non-lexical backchannel might be associated with the fact that the most common function of non-lexical backchannels for this group was the approval function.

Table 4.31. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Middle Aged Group

Conversation	hi	ha	ha-ha	hah	he	hu
063_090702_00224	4	3	1	1	1	<u>7</u>

4.3.3.3. Young-Elderly Group

Regarding the frequency of non-lexical backchannels, as illustrated in Table 4.32, *haa* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young-elderly, mixed conversations with more female participants. The non-lexical backchannel *haa* is followed closely by its shorter form *ha* in terms of frequency.

Table 4.32. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young-Elderly Group

Conversation	haa	ha	hee	hmm	hu	hi-hi	hi	ha-ha	hm	i-ih	he	ee
067_090708_00201	-	2	1	1	2	5	4	1	2	1	-	-
098_090422_00069	1	-	-	7	4	2	1	-	-	1	-	-
107_100210_00104	35	30	12	4	4	2	2	4	1	2	3	-
112_090217_00001	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
Total	<u>38</u>	33	13	12	11	9	7	6	4	4	3	1

4.3.3.4. Young-Middle Aged Group

Table 4.33 presents the distribution of non-lexical expressions in young-middle aged group. In terms of the frequency of non-lexical backchannels, *hu* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young-middle aged, mixed conversations with more female participants.

Table 4.33. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young-Middle Aged Group

Conversation	hu	hi	hi-hi	hmm	haa	ha	hm	hee	hm-hm	he	he-he	hah	a-ha	ha-ha	hm
071_091003_00094	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
072_090618_00005	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
075_090622_00003	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
091_091021_00089	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4.33. (cont'd)

112_090201_00086	7	4	14	15	8	6	8	3	-	4	1	-	1	1	-
114_090221_00007	45	36	12	4	7	6	-	3	-	2	2	-	-	-	1
Total	<u>53</u>	40	27	19	17	12	8	7	7	6	4	2	1	1	1

4.3.3.5. Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

As can be seen in Table 4.34, *haa* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young-middle aged-elderly, mixed conversations with more female participants.

Table 4.34. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Conversation	haa	hu	hmm	hm	ha	hi	hm-hm	hi-hi	ha-ha	i-ih	ee	hee	he-he
021_081206_00088	64	48	27	22	19	12	9	10	5	-	3	1	-
075_090627_00035	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	4	-	-	1
075_090629_00023	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	<u>65</u>	48	30	23	20	14	11	10	5	4	3	1	1

4.3.4. Majority Male Groups

Majority male groups were formed by different age groups which are young, middle-aged and elderly group, young and middle-aged group, young group, young and elderly group.

4.3.4.1. Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

In young-middle aged-elderly mixed conversations with more male speakers, as illustrated in Table 4.35, the most commonly used non-lexical backchannel is *hu* and the most common function is the approval function for non-lexical backchannels in this recording.

Table 4.35. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young Group

Conversation	hu	hi	hmm	hah	he	hi-hi
044_090328_00047	<u>11</u>	6	3	1	1	1

4.3.4.2. Young-Middle Aged Group

Distribution of the non-lexical expressions in young-middle aged group is shown in Table 4.36. In terms of the frequency of non-lexical non-lexical backchannels, *hi* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young-middle aged, mixed conversations with more male participants. For this group, continuation and comprehension are the most frequent functions which can be a reason for the high frequency of the non-lexical backchannel *hi*.

Table 4.36. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young-Middle Aged Group

Conversation	hi	hi-hi	ha	hi	haa	hmm	hm-hm	hm	ha-ha	he	hee	ee	i-ih	a-ha	hah	he-he	hih
055_090619_00 222	22	12	4	10	2	3	-	2	-	5	1	-	4	-	-	-	-
061_090712_00 045	11	12	7	11	8	4	9	3	6	1	3	-	-	-	-	1	-
063_090704_00 223	2	6	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
121_100309_00 053	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
129_100320_00 162	1	6	2	3	3	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
139_100616_00 280	5	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
061_090622_00 020	-	2	9	-	5	8	9	6	2	1	-	4	-	-	1	-	-
Total	41	38	24	24	18	18	18	13	9	8	7	4	4	1	1	1	1

4.3.4.3. Young Group

In young mixed conversations with more male speakers, as illustrated in Table 4.37, the most frequently used non-lexical backchannel is *hi*, which might be because of the fact that non-lexical backchannels are commonly used for continuation and comprehension functions in this recording.

Table 4.37. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young Group

Conversation	hi	haa	hi-hi	hi	hee	hmm	ha	ha-ha
073_100201_00338	33	13	13	10	5	5	1	1

4.3.4.4. Young-Elderly Group

Table 4.38 displays the frequency of non-lexical backchannels in young-elderly group. As shown in the table, *he* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young-elderly, mixed conversations with more male participants. Approval and continuation are the most common function of non-lexical backchannels for this group. The very high frequency of the non-lexical backchannel *he* can also be explained by the education level and cultural background of the speakers (as revealed by the metadata) in conversation 044_090328_00038.

Table 4.38. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young-Elderly Group

Conversation	he	he-he	hee	hi	hehehe	hu	hi-hi	hmm	haa	heh	ee	ehe	ha	ha-ha	i-ih
044_090328_00038	82	30	17	10	6	-	3	5	1	2	-	1	-	1	-
108_100320_00164	-	-	4	4	-	6	2	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	1
Total	82	30	21	14	6	6	5	5	3	2	1	1	1	1	1

4.3.5. Conversations with Equal Numbers of Male and Female Speakers

Conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers consisted of five different age groups which are young, middle-aged and elderly group, young group, young and middle-aged group, middle-aged and elderly group and middle-aged group.

4.3.5.1. Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

In young-middle aged-elderly mixed conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers, as illustrated in Table 4.39, the most common non-lexical backchannel was *hu* probably because non-lexical backchannels were commonly used for continuation and approval function in this recording.

Table 4.39. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Conversation	hu	hi	hi-hi	i-ih	haa	hmm	ha-ha	hee
105_100602_00230	36	17	12	4	2	2	1	1

4.3.5.2. Young Group

In terms of the frequency of non-lexical backchannels, as can be seen in Table 4.40, *hu* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young, mixed conversations with equal number of female and male participants.

Table 4.40. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young Group

Conversation	hu	hmm	hi-hi	hi	ha-ha	haa	i-ih	ee	hm	hm-hm	ha	he	hih
024_091113_00031	1	2	1	-	4	1	1	-	3	1	2	-	-
052_090819_00016	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-
074_090622_00046	3	18	7	-	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
109_091129_00145	30	3	5	10	-	1	3	3	-	-	-	1	1
158_090528_00173	2	1	1	1	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Total	36	25	14	11	9	8	5	5	4	4	2	1	1

4.3.5.3. Young-Middle Aged Group

Table 4.41 illustrates the frequency of non-lexical backchannels in young-middle aged group. As displayed in the table, *hm* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in young-middle aged, mixed conversations with equal numbers of male and female participants.

Table 4.41. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Young-Middle Aged Group

Conversation	hm	haa	hu	ha	hi-hi	hmm	hi	he	hee	hm-hm	ha-ha	ee	i-ih
103_090623_00253	9	10	5	10	1	3	2	3	3	2	2	1	1
138_100614_00242	1	-	3	-	4	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
144_090409_00150	-	2	4	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
179_090117_00195	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	14	13	12	10	5	5	4	3	3	3	2	1	2

4.3.5.4. Middle Aged-Elderly Group

In the middle aged-elderly mixed conversations with equal number of male and female speakers, as can be seen in Table 4.42, the most commonly used non-lexical

backchannels were *hm-hm* and *hm* as can be seen in the table. In this recording, non-lexical backchannels were commonly used for comprehension and approval function.

Table 4.42. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Conversation	hm	hm-hm	ha-ha	ha	haa	hmm	hi-hi
072_090913_00006	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	4	3	3	2	1

4.3.5.5. Middle Aged Group

Table 4.43 displays the distribution of the non-lexical expressions in middle aged group. According to the table, *haa* was the most common non-lexical backchannel in middle aged, mixed conversations with equal numbers of male and female participants. For this group, non-lexical backchannels were mostly used for comprehension with the meaning of “I got it”. Therefore, comprehension function might be regarded as a reason for the higher frequency of the non-lexical backchannel *haa* which might be used to show the understanding of the listener in a strong tone.

Table 4.43. The Distribution of the Non-lexical Expressions in Middle Aged Group

Conversation	haa	hmm	hm	hi-hi	i-ih	ha	he	ha-ha	hi	hee	hu	hm-hm
063_090626_00011	9	5	3	5	5	3	2	1	-	-	1	-
063_090628_00012	4	3	4	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	-	1
Total	<u>13</u>	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	2	1	1	1

4.4. Conclusion

With regard to non-lexical backchannels, in all female group and in majority female groups, the most common function of non-lexical backchannels is approval. This function is especially common in groups with young speakers. In all female group, in the conversations which include middle aged and elderly speakers, non-lexical backchannels mostly acted as indicators of continuation.

The most common function of non-lexical backchannels is continuation which indicates a more neutral attitude towards the other speaker in all male group and in majority male group. In all male group, although the most frequently used function is continuation, in the conversations which include young speakers, non-lexical backchannels were also commonly used to show approval.

In majority female groups, non-lexical backchannels mostly act as signs of approval for the other person who is speaking. On the other hand, in majority male groups, non-lexical backchannels are more commonly used to ask for the speakers' continuation of their turn with a more neutral tone compared to approval function. Similarly, when the number of the male and female speakers is the same in a conversation, according to the analysis, non-lexical backchannels usually function as the continuation markers for the speaker.

Approval function is more commonly used by the groups consisting of female speakers compared to groups with male speakers, especially when there are only female speakers or more female speakers in the conversation. In addition, this function was more common in groups with young speakers compared to groups with middle aged and elderly speakers. Continuation function is more frequently used by groups with male speakers compared to groups with female speakers. They are especially common in situations in which there are only male speakers, more male speakers and equal number of male and female speakers.

In all female conversations, since the most common functions were approval and continuation, speakers commonly used the non-lexical backchannels such as *hi-hi*, *hi*, and *hmm*. In all male recordings, speakers mostly used the non-lexical backchannels *hm* and *hi-hi* as the common functions were continuation and approval. In mixed conversations with more female speakers, commonly used non-lexical backchannels were *hu* and *haa* which also show the approval, comprehension and continuation function of non-lexical backchannels.

The most frequently used non-lexical backchannels were *hu*, *hi* and *he* and they usually imply the continuation of the speaker with regard to mixed conversations with more

male speakers. In conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers, *hm* and *hu* are the most commonly used non-lexical backchannels in correspondence with their functions which are continuation and comprehension.

However, the analysis of this group also showed that the non-lexical backchannel speakers use might also depend on the social and educational background of the speakers along with the function of the non-lexical backchannel. The non-lexical backchannel *he* was very commonly used by the groups of speakers who have a relatively low level of previous schooling and usually by the groups of speakers who live in rural areas of the country.

The analysis of the non-lexical backchannels also show that it is quite difficult to associate one specific non-lexical backchannel with one specific function. Although they have general tendencies, the meaning of a non-lexical backchannel might also depend greatly on the intonation of the backchannel as already indicated by Stenström (1994).

Another important point of the analysis is that, in alignment with the more recent approaches to language and gender studies, use of one specific non-lexical backchannel might be affected by other factors such as the cultural, social and educational background of the speakers along with the function of the backchannel. To illustrate, as can be seen in Example 33, in conversation 044_090328_00038 where the topic is the history of MUS's family, the non-lexical backchannels *he*, *hee*, and *he-he* are very commonly used by MUS, who is 74 years old and is a farmer. Therefore, the educational and social background of the speakers have also an important effect on the usage of non-lexical backchannels. In these cases, it might be possible to see some idiosyncratic usages of non-lexical backchannels.

Extract 33. 044_090328_00038

MEH000116 [v]		((0.4)) hayır öyle
MUS000117 [v]	((XXX))	
IND000002 [v]	yani amcam onun çocuğu olur. yani...	
IND000002 [c]	emmim	

Extract 33. (cont'd)

MEH000116 [v]	demeyelim.	yani şimdi resmiyete geçmiş geçmemiş	o beni
MUS000117 [v]		((0.3)) he	
MEH000116 [v]	ilgilendirmez.	beni	şimdi beni
MUS000117 [v]	aralıkta	Müslime'den doğma iki tane kız	he
MEH000116 [v]	daha çok ilgilendiren nokta ne biliyor musun?	kim kimin	
MUS000117 [v]			
MEH000116 [v]	çocuğu kim kimin nesi şimdi	akrabayız /onla da akrabayız	
MUS000117 [v]		he	

4.4.1. Importance of the Topic

Although there seem to be some tendencies for different genders and different age groups considering the functions of non-lexical backchannels, the analysis also pays attention to the fact that the topic of the conversation is another important factor which affects the function and the frequency of the non-lexical backchannels used by the speakers. To illustrate, in conversation 061_090623_00050 which has the highest percentage of non-lexical backchannels, ISA and CAG are talking about a specific book CAG has recently read. As is illustrated in Example 34, in order to encourage CAG to talk about the book more, ISA uses the non-lexical backchannels very frequently like a teacher.

Extract 34. 061_090623_00050

ISA000058 [v]		nih	ilist	olan.	hı-hı	
CAG000125 [v]	hilst o	lan.			ee	ama onunla birlikte ((0.2))
ISA000058 [v]		((0.2)) kim?			((0.2)) o kim?	
CAG000125 [v]	Arkady de gidiyor.			• Arkady.		((0.2))
ISA000058 [v]				((0.5)) hmm	• o nereye gidiyor?	
CAG000125 [v]	hani babanın oğlu.					((0.2))

Extract 34. (cont'd)

ISA000058 [v]			hm	Bazarov'lara
CAG000125 [v]	Bazarov'la birlikte onların evine gidiyor.			
ISA000058 [v]	gidiyor.			
CAG000125 [v]		• evet.	((0.5)) e işte onaltı mil ((0.6)) kadar bir yol	
ISA000058 [v]		((0.4)) hi-hi		
CAG000125 [v]	gidiyorlar.	ee	sonra işte Bazarov'lara geliyorlar.	
ISA000058 [v]			((0.2)) hmm	
CAG000125 [v]	orada ((0.6)) e işte önce uyukluyorlar biraz.		((0.2)) son	
ISA000058 [v]	yorulmuş	lar mı yolda	bayağı?	
CAG000125 [v]	ra yemek		hi-hi • ((inhalation)) sonra	

In the sub-corpus utilized for the analysis, there are two conversations in which there are no non-lexical backchannels. One of them is conversation 039_090319_00143 which is an all-male conversation consisting of only young speakers. The topic of the conversation is summoning a genie. As is shown in Extract 35, Speaker 1 talks very excitedly about one of his experiences about summoning a genie. However, the other speakers do not use any lexical expression. They do not use any non-lexical backchannels, either. They stay silent, which might be an indication of not being interested in the topic Speaker 1 is talking about. This example might also be regarded as an evidence for the fact that the topic of the conversation profoundly affects the usage of non-lexical backchannels.

Extract 35. 039_090319_00143

XMA000379 [v]	bizim mutfakta varya bir ses geliyor .		mutfakta sanki
XMA000379 [v]	herşeyi yıkıyor.	((0.4)) tüm çanakları birbirine vuruyorlar	
XMA000379 [v]	böyle.	((0.4)) ben korkudan annemin arkasına sığındım	
XMA000379 [v]	böyle.	tam anne	diyorum. _korkuyorum diyorum. • annem
XMA000379 [c]		diyom	korkuyom diyom
XMA000379 [v]	bakıyor falan. ablamgil de korktu artık.		((0.2)) ilk başta

Extract 35. (cont'd)

XMA000379 [v]	şaka gibi geliyordu onlara.	((0.4)) ama mutfaktan gelen sesi
XMA000379 [v]	duysan hacı inanamazsın.	sanki varya böyle dolapları hani
XMA000379 [v]	açarsın teker teker aşağı atarsın ya.	((0.5)) bildiğin o sesler.
XMA000379 [v]	çanakları birbirine vuruyor.	
XMA000380 [v]		hayır. zorunuz neydi? niye
XMA000379 [v]		lan annem içerde. ablamgil diyom. ben •
XMA000380 [v]	çağırımız?	
XMA000379 [v]	küçüğüm...	annem de kızdı yapmayın diye. ablam gençti

The other recording in which there are not any non-lexical backchannels is conversation 082_090820_00263. This is an all-female conversation consisting of young and middle aged speakers. NUR is mother of BEG and BEG is reading a book. As can be seen in Example 36, this conversation is more like a monologue since there isn't any mutual interaction. Therefore, there are no non-lexical backchannels used.

Extract 36. 082_090820_00263

BEG000434 [v]	sevdiğini kurtarmıştı.	((inhalés)) yani/	((2.3)) yani/	
[nn]				((rustling))
BEG000434 [v]	((inhalés)) ((0.3)) yani s/ ki sevdiğini kızı		((0.6)) ona ((0.3)) s...	
[nn]				
BEG000434 [v]	kavuşturmuştu.	((inhalés)) li/ ((0.3)) ((XXX))		
		((inhalés))		
BEG000434 [v]	((1.8)) ((XXX)) da çok kızmıştı.		((inhalés)) o yüzden	
BEG000434 [v]	hemencecik gitti.	((0.1)) ((inhalés)) e ona o kadar kızdığı		
BEG000434 [v]	için ((inhalés))	((0.4)) kendini	((exhalés)) ni/ nasıl	
			((inhalés))	
BEG000434 [c]		((exhaling))		
BEG000434 [v]	yerlerde (sürteceğini) bilemedi.		((0.3)) ((inhalés)) ((0.7))	
BEG000434 [v]	sonra mutlu mutlu ormana gittiler.		((0.6)) Alan Dale'nin	

Extract 36. (cont'd)

BEG000434 [v]	((0.3)) ((inhales)) Robin Hood'a bir sözü vardı.	((inhales))
---------------	--	-------------

BEG000434 [v]	((1.3)) eya... ((0.1)) Robin Hood ((0.3)) şöyle dedi önce	
---------------	---	--

BEG000434 [v]	((0.4)) siz kente gitmezsiniz heralde.	((inhales)) çünkü
---------------	--	-------------------

4.4.2. Importance of the Length of the Conversation

Table 4.44 illustrates the durations of conversations and percentages of non-lexical backchannels. Conversations 055_090619_00222 and 114_090221_00007 are the longest conversations in the data in terms of their duration. However, the percentages of the non-lexical backchannels in these conversations are 0,68% and 1,19% successively. If there was a positive correlation between the duration of the conversation and the percentage of non-lexical backchannels, one would expect these two conversations to have a high percentage of non-lexical backchannels. However, compared to the frequency of non-lexical backchannels in the other conversations, the percentages of non-lexical backchannels in these two conversations are not so high.

Conversation 075_090622_00003 is the shortest recording in the data set and the percentage of non-lexical backchannels in this conversation is 0,67%, which might be regarded as another evidence for the fact that there is no correlation between the duration of the conversation and the usage frequency of non-lexical backchannels in it.

Table 4.44. Durations of Conversations and Percentages of Non-lexical Backchannels

	Conversation	Genre	Duration	Number of words	Number of back.	Percent. of back.	Gender	Age
1	114_090221_00007	Family and/or relatives	4004	9544	114	1,19%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-middle
2	044_090328_00038	Family and/or relatives	3017	6592	145	2,1%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-elderly
3	021_081206_00088	Family and/or relatives	3217	7357	222	3,01%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-elderly

Table 4.44. (cont'd)

4	023_100707_00193	Family and friends	1853	3967	114	2,8%	All female	Middle-elderly
5	023_100710_00192	Family and friends	2468	6876	173	2,51%	All female	Middle-elderly
6	024_100501_00160	Family and friends	1825	5027	42	1,1%	All male	Young-elderly
7	024_100501_00161	Family and friends	2910	7135	44	0,61%	All male	Young-elderly
8	039_090315_00142	Friends and/or acquaintances	229	377	6	1,59%	All male	Young
9	039_090319_00143	Friends and/or acquaintances	78	199	0	0	All male	Young
10	044_090328_00047	Family and/or relatives	426	868	16	1,84%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle-elderly
11	055_090619_00222	Family and/or relatives	4414	9152	63	0,68%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle
12	060_090725_00277	Family and friends	949	2012	20	0,99%	All female	Young-middle
13	061_090615_00103	Friends and/or acquaintances	759	1799	8	0,44%	All male	Young
14	061_090623_00050	Family and/or relatives	707	1502	80	5,3%	All male	Young
15	063_090702_00224	Family and friends	400	1016	16	1,57%	Mixed (Majority female)	Middle
16	063_090704_00223	Family and friends	658	1737	11	0,63%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle
17	069_090813_00051	Friends and/or acquaintances	170	492	13	2,6%	All female	Young-middle-elderly
18	073_100201_00338	Family and friends	3789	10222	83	0,81%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young
19	074_090622_00046	Family and/or relatives	973	1410	35	1,77%	Mixed (1 male, 1 female)	Young
20	082_090820_00262	Family and/or relatives	918	1154	1	0,08%	All female	Young-middle
21	082_090820_00263	Family and/or relatives	616	775	0	0	All female	Young-middle

Table 4.44. (cont'd)

22	098_090422_00069	Family and/or relatives	712	1067	15	1,4%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-elderly
23	103_091108_00040	Family and friends	1775	3199	65	2%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young
24	105_100602_00230	Family and/or relatives	1440	3587	66	1,83%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle-elderly
25	108_100320_00164	Family and/or relatives	728	1589	20	1,25%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-elderly
26	109_091129_00145	Family and/or relatives	832	1392	56	4%	Mixed (1 female, 1 male)	Young
27	121_100309_00053	Family and friends	305	322	1	0,31%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle
28	129_100320_00162	Family and/or relatives	875	1470	18	1,22%	Mixed (majority female)	Young-middle
29	138_100614_00242	Family and/or relatives	353	472	9	1,9%	Mixed (1 female, 1 male)	Young-middle
30	139_100616_00280	Family and/or relatives	1574	3049	10	0,32%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle
31	144_090409_00150	Family and/or relatives	404	747	10	1,33%	Mixed (2 female, 2 male)	Young-middle
32	149_090204_00158	Family and/or relatives	735	1601	45	2,8%	All female	Young-middle
33	158_090511_00172	Friends and/or acquaintances	3235	7009	79	1,12%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young
34	158_090528_00173	Friends and/or acquaintances	320	631	9	1,42%	Mixed (1 female, 1 male)	Young
35	191_090213_00276	Family and friends	768	1729	20	1,15%	All female	Young
36	112_090217_00001	Family and/or relatives	137	246	7	2,84%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-elderly
37	012_090128_00002	Family and friends	733	1643	51	3,1%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young

Table 4.44. (cont'd)

38	075_090622_00003	Family and/or relatives	59	148	1	0,67%	Mixed (Majority female)	Middle-young
39	113_090404_00004	Friends and/or acquaintances	491	1075	9	0,83%	All female	Young
40	072_090618_00005	Family and/or relatives	135	323	2	0,61%	Mixed (Majority female)	Middle-young
41	072_090913_00006	Friends and/or acquaintances	199	501	19	3,7%	Mixed-1 female-1 male	Middle-elderly
42	063_090626_00011	Family and friends	605	2014	30	1,48%	Mixed (Majority female)	Middle
43	063_090628_00012	Family and/or relatives	547	1388	17	1,22%	Mixed-2 female-2 male	Middle
44	069_090610_00015	Friends and/or acquaintances	294	531	8	1,5%	All female	Young
45	052_090819_00016	Friends and/or acquaintances	305	673	8	1,18%	Mixed-1 male-1 female	Young
46	117_090310_00019	Friends and/or acquaintances	663	1651	14	0,84%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young
47	061_090622_00020	Family and friends	1640	3635	51	1,4%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young
48	072_090820_00022	Family and/or relatives	81	221	9	4%	All female	Young-middle-elderly
49	075_090629_00023	Family and/or relatives	126	272	6	2,2%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-middle-elderly
50	024_091113_00031	Family and/or relatives	697	1141	16	1,4%	Mixed-1 female-1 male	Young
51	075_090627_00035	Family and/or relatives	179	339	7	2,06%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-middle-elderly
52	061_090712_00045	Family and/or relatives	1624	6686	74	1,1%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle

Table 4.44. (cont'd)

53	112_090201_00086	Family and friends	1232	3170	65	2,05%	Mixed (Majority male)	Middle-young
54	091_091226_00189	Friends and/or acquaintances	1003	2898	1	0,10	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-middle
55	071_091003_00094	Family and/or relatives	124	299	1	0,33%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-middle
56	107_100210_00104	Family and/or relatives	2226	5258	98	1,86%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-elderly
57	085_090930_00130	Friends and/or acquaintances	385	902	7	0,77%	All male	Young
58	129_100320_00163	Family and/or relatives	383	934	12	1,28%	All female	Young-middle-elderly
59	179_090117_00195	Family and/or relatives	219	379	5	1,31%	Mixed-2 females-2 males	Young-middle
60	067_090708_00201	Family and/or relatives	1875	3652	19	0,52%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-elderly
61	103_090623_00253	Family and/or relatives	2010	3438	51	1,48%	Mixed-2 females-2 males	Young-middle
	Total			150.494				

4.4.3. Community of Practice

The findings of the non-lexical backchannels chapter indicate that there are some statistical tendencies for different age and gender groups considering the usage of non-lexical backchannels. Results show that naturally formed groups consisting of female speakers and young speakers tend to use non-lexical backchannels more for approving the other speaker. On the other hand, groups with male speakers and middle aged and elderly speakers tend to use non-lexical backchannels with a more neutral objective, which is for continuation of the conversation. However, the topic of the conversation and other social dynamics seem to be more important regarding the tendencies in the use of non-lexical backchannels.

These results bring us to the theory of “community of practice”. Lave & Wenger (1991) define “community of practice” as a group who share a common interest and desire to learn from and contribute to the community with their variety of experiences. Later, as a challenge to previous theories about language and gender, this theory was introduced to sociolinguistics by Eckert and McConnell (1992b) who define it as “an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations - in short, practices - emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavor” (p. 464).

In agreement with Eckert and McConnell's claims, the results of the analysis regarding non-lexical backchannels indicate that gender is produced in relation to people's different memberships in different communities. If they are more interested in a specific community and the topic being talked about in that community, they tend to use backchannels more. On the other hand, if they do not feel as a member of a given community, they might not act cooperatively in the construction of conversations. As already discussed, regarding the use of specific non-lexical backchannels, occupation, education level and cultural background of the speakers might also have an important effect. To summarize, the results of non-lexical backchannels chapter are in alignment with the contemporary approaches to age and gender studies, emphasizing that gender should not be abstracted from other aspects of social identity.

CHAPTER V

LEXICAL BACKCHANNELS

5.0. Presentation

In this chapter, first, the main functions of lexical backchannels are presented based on the analysis. ‘Keeping the conversational flow’ and ‘showing attitudes’ are discussed with their sub-functions in detail. Next, usage frequencies of lexical backchannels in naturally formed groups are provided. The most common functions of lexical backchannels in each age-gender group are presented and importance of topic and the importance of the length of conversation are also discussed. Lastly, distribution of lexical expressions used as backchannels in different groups consisting of various age and gender combinations is provided.

5.1. Functions of the Lexical Backchannels

Just as with the non-lexical backchannels, the data were carefully analyzed and the lexical backchannels were identified by going over the whole data manually. After the lexical backchannels were identified, they were analyzed to isolate their different functions and meanings. Later, group differences in the use of lexical backchannels were examined. Table 5.1 presents all of the lexical backchannels observed in the data. As can be seen in the table, 241 different forms of lexical backchannels were observed in the data. The lexical backchannel *evet* is the most frequently used backchannel and it is followed by *tamam* and *tabii*. These lexical backchannels are mostly used for approval and agreement functions.

Table 5.1. Lexical Backchannels Observed in the Data

	Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
1	evet	378
2	tamam	87
3	tabi	50
4	yani	48
5	hayır	37
6	tabii	35
7	evet evet	28
8	yok	28
9	tabi canım	28
10	öyle	28
11	öyle mi?	26
12	doğru	18
13	iyi	18
14	yok yok	13
15	anladım	11
16	tabi tabi	10
17	yok canım	10
18	Allah Allah	10
19	tabi ya	9
20	aynen öyle	8
21	valla?	8
22	öyle öyle	7
23	hiç	7
24	di mi	7
25	tabii tabii	6
26	hadi ya	6
27	aman!	6
28	yok artık	5
29	vallah	5
30	işte	5
31	hadi canım	5
32	neyse	5
33	e tabi	4
34	haa tamam	4
35	tabii canım	4
36	yok ya!	4
37	hayır hayır	4
38	öyle yani	4
39	haydi ya	4
40	hadi yaa	4

Table 5.1. (cont'd)

41	ha evet	3
42	bence de	3
43	hm evet	3
44	evet öyle	3
45	evet tabi	3
46	e tabii	3
47	tabii ki	3
48	evet doğru	3
49	tamam işte	3
50	he tamam	3
51	e tamam	3
52	hayır be	3
53	vallahi	3
54	hayır be ya	3
55	doğrudur	3
56	aynen	3
57	olur	3
58	olabilir	3
59	yazık!	3
60	hı evet	2
61	hı hı evet	2
62	evet yani	2
63	evet ya	2
64	evet olabilir	2
65	haa evet	2
66	ee evet	2
67	tamam evet	2
68	yani evet	2
69	hıı evet	2
70	tabii ya	2
71	ya tabii	2
72	tabi yaa	2
73	tabi ki	2
74	hmm anladım	2
75	tamam o zaman	2
76	tamamdır	2
77	hmm iyi	2
78	yok yo	2
79	yok hayır	2
80	yok öyle canım	2
81	ha yani	2

Table 5.1. (cont'd)

82	e yani	2
83	öyle be ya	2
84	aman! aman!	2
85	peki	2
86	anam	2
87	bak	2
88	öyle evet	1
89	iyi evet	1
90	e evet	1
91	evet evet hı-hı	1
92	evet belki de	1
93	evet işte	1
94	ya evet	1
95	evet hı-hı	1
96	evet gari	1
97	evet evet evet	1
98	evet haklısın	1
99	evet tabii	1
100	ay evet	1
101	evet doğru ya	1
102	hmm evet	1
103	işte evet	1
104	he evet	1
105	hee evet	1
106	yaa evet	1
107	evet hakkaten	1
108	evet tamam neyse	1
109	evet bence de	1
110	ayy evet ya	1
111	evet tabi canım	1
112	öyle orası evet	1
113	evet bitanem	1
114	evet aşkım	1
115	evet tamam	1
116	aynen tabii	1
117	tabii öyle	1
118	hmm tabi tabi	1
119	öyle öyle tabii	1
120	yok tabi canım	1
121	haa e tabi	1
122	tabi canım tabi	1

Table 5.1. (cont'd)

123	aa tabi canım	1
124	tabi doğru	1
125	öyle tabi	1
126	e tabi yani	1
127	hm tabi tabi	1
128	değil tabi ya	1
129	tabi tabi öyle	1
130	iyi tamam	1
131	tamam be	1
132	hm tamam anladım	1
133	ha ha tamam	1
134	hı tamam	1
135	tamam tamam	1
136	ha tamam	1
137	tamam canım	1
138	haa tamam tamam	1
139	peki tamam	1
140	tamam ya	1
141	iyi tamam tamam	1
142	tamam doğru	1
143	iyi iyi	1
144	ha iyi	1
145	iyi işte	1
146	iyi ya	1
147	iyi be	1
148	e iyi	1
149	hm iyi	1
150	cık yok	1
151	yok olmaz	1
152	yok be	1
153	yok yaa	1
154	yoo	1
155	hı yok	1
156	hayır yani	1
157	tıh hayır	1
158	Allah Allah hayır!	1
159	hayır hayır hayır	1
160	nayır	1
161	hayır canım	1
162	yani! yani!	1
163	yani değil mi?	1

Table 5.1. (cont'd)

164	yani de mi?	1
165	yani di mi?	1
166	yani doğru	1
167	hiç yani	1
168	bence de yani	1
169	hiç hiç hiç	1
170	hı doğru	1
171	hm doğru	1
172	haa doğru	1
173	he doğru	1
174	doğru ya	1
175	o dediğin doğru	1
176	çok doğru	1
177	he he doğru	1
178	o da doğru	1
179	doğru hani	1
180	ha ha ha işte	1
181	ya işte bu	1
182	öyle canım	1
183	öyleymiş	1
184	öyledir abi	1
185	öyle olması lazım	1
186	öyledir	1
187	öyle değil	1
188	işte öyle	1
189	ya öyle	1
190	e öyle	1
191	hı öyle	1
192	hmm öyle	1
193	hm-hm öyle	1
194	hadi len	1
195	hadi ordan!	1
196	e hadi!	1
197	hadi bakalım	1
198	haydi	1
199	hadi be ya	1
200	di mi ya!	1
201	aman ya!	1
202	amanın	1
203	aman canım	1
204	aman allahım	1

Table 5.1. (cont'd)

205	valla mı?	1
206	peki o zaman	1
207	Allah Allah peki	1
208	anladım anladım	1
209	hmm neyse	1
210	e olabilir	1
211	hah o olabilir	1
212	ya ne diyorsun!	1
213	bana ne canım!	1
214	belki de	1
215	belki	1
216	ana!	1
217	yapma ya	1
218	off süper	1
219	süper ya	1
220	ay süper	1
221	oo süper	1
222	harbi mi	1
223	maşallah	1
224	bence de ya	1
225	oley	1
226	gerçek mi	1
227	deme ya	1
228	ah canım	1
229	e hey yavrum be	1
230	hey allahım	1
231	ciddi mi	1
232	eyvah	1
233	ayy çok fena	1
234	ayy çok fena ya	1
235	muhtemelen	1
236	aynı aynı	1
237	bana ne	1
238	vay vay vay	1
239	herhalde	1
240	biliyorum biliyorum	1
241	töbe!	1
Total		1253

As can be seen in Table 5.1, some of the lexical backchannels are used together with non-lexical expressions such as *hi evet* and *evet hi-hi*. These backchannels are included

under the title of lexical backchannels and can be named as co-occurrences. All of these cooccurrences in the data are presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2. Cooccurrences of Non-lexical and Lexical Expressions

ha evet	e evet	hı evet	hı-hı evet	hm evet
evet evet hı-hı	haa evet	ee evet	evet hı-hı	hmm evet
he evet	hee evet	hıı evet	evet ya	ya evet
ay evet	yaa evet	ayy evet ya	tabii ya	ya tabii
e tabii	tabii ya	haa e tabi	aa tabii canım	tabi yaa
e tabi yani	tamam be	hm tamam anladım	ha ha tamam	hı tamam
ha tamam	e tamam	haa tamam	he tamam	haa tamam tamam
tamam ya	hmm iyi	ha iyi	iyi ya	hah o olabilir
e iyi	hm iyi	yok ya!	yok be	yok yaa
hı yok	tıh hayır	hayır be ya	ha yani	e yani
hıı doğru	hm doğru	haa doğru	he doğru	doğru ya
he he doğru	ha ha ha işte	ya işte bu	öyle be ya	ya öyle
e öyle	hı öyle	hmm öyle	hm-hm öyle	e hadi!
hadi ya	hadi yaa	hadi be ya	dı mi ya!	aman ya!
haa anladım	hmm neyse	e olabilir	ya ne diyorsun!	yapma ya
süper ya	ay süper	oo süper	bence de ya	deme ya
ah canım	e hey yavrum be	hey allahım	ayy çok fena	ayy çok fena ya
hmm tabi tabi				

As can be seen in Table 5.1, some of the lexical backchannels are repetitions of the same words. These lexical backchannels consisting of repeating words are presented in Table 5.3. As illustrated in the table, *evet*, *tabii*, *tamam*, *hayır*, *Allah*, *öyle*, *aman*, and *anladım* are the repeated words in lexical backchannel expressions.

Table 5.3. Lexical Backchannels Consisting of Repeating Words

evet evet	evet evet hı-hı
evet evet evet	tabii tabii
hmm tabi tabi	öyle öyle tabii
tabii canım tabii	tabii tabii öyle
tamam tamam	haa tamam tamam
iyi tamam tamam	yok yok
hayır hayır	yani! yani!
hiç hiç hiç	aman aman

Table 5.3. (cont'd)

Allah Allah peki	anladım anladım
Allah Allah	

After the lexical backchannels were identified, they were analyzed methodically to find out their functions considering the surrounding context of the lexical backchannel. As is the case with non-lexical backchannels, the analysis shows that they basically have two main functions which are *keeping the conversational flow* and *showing attitudes*. As can be seen in Table 5.4, there are 1253 lexical backchannels used in the data. Frequencies of the functions of lexical backchannels in each conversation are also provided in Appendix B. Considering keeping the conversational flow function, lexical backchannels are mostly used for responding to a question. It is followed by continuation and request for reassurance. As for attitudinal lexical backchannels, they are most commonly used for agreement function and it is followed by the approval function. The frequency of lexical backchannels used for disagreement function is quite low compared to agreement and approval functions. Moreover, the analysis shows that most of the lexical backchannels are used for showing positivity as attitudinal markers. The frequency of lexical backchannels with negativity is quite low compared to backchannels with positivity and backchannels used for keeping conversational flow.

Table 5.4. Functions of Lexical Backchannels and Their Frequency in the Data

Functions of Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
Keeping the Conversational Flow	
1. Responding to a question	107
2. Continuation	88
3. Reassurance	36
4. Request for reassurance	35
5. Comprehension	29
6. Backchannels with the meaning of “ <i>that’s what I am saying</i> ”	16
7. Indication for getting the message	16
8. Possibility	11
9. Changing the topic	7
10. Request for approval	5

Table 5.4. (cont'd)

11. Clarification	3
12. Finishing the topic	3
13. Summing up	2
14. Lexical backchannels with the meaning of 'alright'	2
15. Listener's support	1
Total	361
Attitudinal Backchannels	
Backchannels with Positivity	
1. Agreement	<u>439</u>
2. Approval	263
3. Astonishment	50
4. Giving Positive Comments	31
5. Exclamation	9
6. Compassion	5
7. Sharing feelings	3
8. Relief	1
Total	801
Backchannels with Negativity	
1. Disagreement	<u>79</u>
2. Implying the meaning of "so what?"	5
3. Implying insignificance of a topic	4
4. Sarcasm	3
Total	91
Total Number of Backchannels	<u>1253</u>

5.1.1. Keeping the Conversational Flow

The analysis of the data shows that lexical backchannels are sometimes used to keep the conversational flow without any attitudinal meaning. This main function has 15 sub-functions which are (1) responding to a question, (2) continuation, (3) reassurance, (4) request for reassurance, (5) comprehension, (6) lexical backchannels with the meaning of 'that's what I am saying', (7) indication for getting the message, (8) possibility, (9) changing the topic, (10) request for approval, (11) clarification, (12) finishing the topic, (13) summing up, (14) lexical backchannels with the meaning of 'alright' and (15) listener's support.

5.1.1.1. Responding to a Question

The analysis of the backchannels show that in some instances, they are used in a question-response sequence. One of the speakers asks a question and in order to answer that question, the other speaker sometimes uses backchannels instead of using lexical expressions. As can be seen in Table 5.5, *evet* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel with this function and it is followed by the backchannels *yok* and *hayır*. As already indicated in non-lexical backchannels chapter, Özcan (2015) has also underlined that backchannels might be used in a question-response sequence.

Table 5.5. Lexical Backchannels Used for Responding to a Question

Lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
evet	61
yok	15
hayır	12
yok yok	3
yok hayır	2
öyle	2
tabi	2
evet evet	2
evet öyle	1
hı yok	1
hayır hayır	1
hayır be ya	1
yok canım	1
hı evet	1
cık yok	1
tabi tabi öyle	1
Total	107

Extract 37 is an all female conversation consisting of young, middle aged and elderly speakers. This conversation is taking place at home. TUR000137 is mother of SUL000138 and TUR 000137 is neighbour of NER000139. The main topics in this conversation are earthquakes and common acquaintances. TUR offers some pastry to NER and in order to respond to this question, NER uses the lexical backchannel *yok yok*.

Extract 37. 069_090813_00051

TUR000137 [v]		Allah yarabbim.		
NER000139 [v]	ağrıyor.		haa' he he'	
NER000139 [c]				
NUR000152 [v]			hıçkırık tuttu.	
[nn]		((hiccupping sound))		((2.5)) ((touching

TUR000137 [v]		sana börek getiriyim gece • yer misin?		
TUR000137 [c]		yen mi?		
NER000139 [v]				yok yok
[nn]	microphone))			

TUR000137 [v]	şey'	ebegümececi gümek/ şey/ börek	yapa/ ebegümecili
TUR000137 [c]			yapacam
NER000139 [v]	sağol.		yok yok hiçbir şey

TUR000137 [v]	börek yapacağım.		zahmet etmem •
TUR000137 [c]			
NER000139 [v]	sağol.	((0.4) zahmet etme.	((XXX))
[nn]		((crack of door))	

Extract 38 is an all female conversation consisting of young, middle aged and elderly speakers. This conversation is also taking place at home. In this recording, MEM000449 is mother of YAS000454 and NAH000455 is mother of SEY000453. MEM000449 is the maternal aunt of KAD000448 and KAD000448 is the nephew/niece of NAH000455. YAS000454 is the cousin of KAD000448 and HAM000456 is the maternal grandmother of KAD000448. MEM000449 is friend of NAH000455. YAS asks NAH whether it is for her father and NAH uses the lexical backchannel *evet* in order to respond to this question.

Extract 38. 129_100320_00163

SEY000453 [v]	öyle deme	dim.			
SEY000453 [c]	((slowly))				
YAS000454 [v]		baba	sı için mi?		
NAH000455 [v]				((0.4) evet.	hemen
NAH000455 [c]					emen, ((humorous tone))

MEM000449 [v]			s	en de öğretmenine
KAD000448 [v]		((2.2)) ne dedi baba	n?	
NAH000455 [v]	(hakkı)...			
NAH000455 [c]	((humorous tone))			

Extract 38. (cont'd)

MEM000449 [v]	babanı mı/ babanı/	((0.3)) babanı mı şikayet ettin	kızım?
MEM000449 [c]			gızım

5.1.1.2. Continuation

According to the analysis, in agreement with Adolphs and Carter (2013), Benus et al. (2007), Cutrone (2014), Pipek (2007), Ruede et al. (2017) and Schegloff (1982), one of the common functions of backchannels was asking the other person to continue speaking. In this function, the listener shows his/her support for the other person who is speaking. Therefore, the backchannels that are used with this function help the conversation keep going. As can be seen in Table 5.6 which shows all the lexical backchannels used with continuation function, *evet* is the most frequently used one with the continuation function. It is followed by the lexical backchannel *tamam*.

Table 5.6. Lexical Backchannels Used for Continuation

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
<i>evet</i>	72
<i>tamam</i>	12
<i>evet hı-hı</i>	1
<i>hı evet</i>	1
<i>iyi</i>	1
<i>tamam evet</i>	1
Total	88

Extract 39 is an all male conversation in which there are young and elderly speakers. The conversation is taking place at home and ONU000099 is friend of VOL000447. EMI000246 is future father-in-law of VOL000447 and ONU000099 is friend of EMI000246. VOL is talking about life in Istanbul and in order to encourage him to continue, EMI uses the lexical backchannel *evet*.

Extract 39. 024_100501_00160

VOL000447 [v]	şeyde/ (iş yaptım)	• Sarıyer • rin	üstünde Kilyos var ya
VOL000447 [c]		= Sarıyer'in, ((hesitating))	

Extract 39. (cont'd)

EMI000246 [v]			hmm'	
ONU000099 [v]		hı'		
VOL000447 [v]	(şimdi)	şey/	((0.6)) ((inhales))	Zekeriya köy var ya. Ze

EMI000246 [v]	evet.			
VOL000447 [v]	keriyaköy'de	iş yaptım.	((0.6)) Sarıyer'de o	((0.9)) yok.

VOL000447 [v]	Kilyos'ta oteller varmış. Ğhani oraya da ((0.1)) ben ((0.1))			
---------------	--	--	--	--

ONU000099 [v]				çok pahalı.
VOL000447 [v]	şey yapmadım.	Ğbiraz ((0.5)) (çarşar) ((XXX))		mış.
VOL000447 [c]		otel		

Extract 40 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers and the participants in this conversation are young. This conversation is taking place at home and EZG000480 is a friend of DER000481. DER000481 is a friend of UFU000482 and UFU000482 is a friend of AYD000483. AYD000483 is a friend of EZG000480. They are talking about geometry. UFU is making some mathematical calculations and in order to encourage him to continue, DER uses the lexical backchannel *tamam*.

Extract 40. 158_090511_00172

DER000481 [v]	üçtü zaten.			((0.4)) hı üç
UFU000482 [v]		((0.3)) yo.	r üçtü r bir üç bölü iki.	

DER000481 [v]	bölü ikiydi tamam.			karesi.
DER000481 [c]				
UFU000482 [v]		p çarpı üç bölü ikinin ((0.1))		si.

DER000481 [v]			((coughs))'	((2.1)) tamam.
DER000481 [c]	((lengthening))			
UFU000482 [v]	((0.3)) pi	çarpı dokuz bölü	dört.	((2.0)) ee'

DER000481 [v]		hı-hı'		tamam.
UFU000482 [v]	((0.2)) bu ne taban alanı.		e	e hacim hesabı ne
UFU000482 [c]			((lengthening))	

5.1.1.3. Reassurance

According to the analysis of the backchannels, in some instances, they are used to show reassurance of a previous topic that is already spoken of, which has not been identified in literature on backchannels. In this function, Speaker 1 talks about an issue and Speaker 2 shows a kind of astonishment and uncertainty. In order to reassure what s/he said before, Speaker 1 uses some lexical backchannels. As can be seen in Table 5.7, *evet* is the most commonly used lexical backchannel with the reassurance function. It is followed by *valla* which is another lexical backchannel with a strong meaning to reassure the previously mentioned topic.

Table 5.7. Lexical Backchannels Used for Reassurance

Lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
evet	17
valla	3
tabi	2
tabi canım	2
öyle	2
öyle yani	2
evet evet	1
evet doğru	1
evet yani	1
ee evet	1
tabii	1
tabi yaa	1
ya öyle	1
öyle öyle	1
Total	36

Extract 41 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers who are middle aged. The conversation is taking place at home. MUA000633 is husband of SEB000632. SEB000632 is friend of MUR000054. SEB is talking about a memory in which they went to an island where it was too hot. In order to be sure about a previous bit of information shared, MUR asks whether they were wearing sandals. To reassure what she has previously said, SEB uses the lexical backchannel *ee evet*.

Extract 41. 063_090702_00224

MUR000054 [v]			e siz çorap
SEB000632 [v]	yandık. _ yandık. _ yandık. _ yandık.	((0.1)) yan	dık. _ yandık.

MUR000054 [v]	çarık	giydik diyordun ydi? _ gerçek mi		
SEB000632 [v]			o	ee evet. ((0.2))
SEB000632 [c]				((lengthening))

MUR000054 [v]					((0.3))
SEB000632 [v]	ilk	gittik bak.			
MUA000633 [v]	buz tut	tuk.	_ adaya	gittik. _ adada	buz tuttum
MUA000633 [c]			((hesitating))		

Extract 42 is a mixed gender-age group conversation consisting of more female speakers. Participants in this conversation are young and middle aged. The conversation is taking place at home and AHM000046 is the husband of KAD000045. KAD000045 is the mother of SEL000048. SEL000048 is elder brother of SED000047. SED000047 is elder sister of SEN000049. AHM talks about how he used to go to work by explaining some road directions. AHM asks KAD where the most traffic is towards and KAD says it is towards Adana. In order to be sure, AHM repeats the words "towards Adana?" with a questioning tone and in order to reassure AHM, KAD uses the lexical backchannel *tabi*.

Extract 42. 114_090221_00007

AHM000046 [v]		• Konya yolu doğru değil.	((1.9)) tih neden doğru değil?
AHM000046 [c]			

AHM000046 [v]	((inhalation)) çünkü en çok akım hangi tarafa hangi yöne?
---------------	---

KAD000045 [v]	Adana yönüne.		• tabi .
AHM000046 [v]		Adana yönüne?	((0.2)) ya Konya/

KAD000045 [v]		((0.3)) tabi .	
AHM000046 [v]	Konya'nın nüfusu kaç?		((0.2)) ama Adana

AHM000046 [v]	yönüne giden araçlara bak şimdi.	((0.1)) Mersin araçları
AHM000046 [c]		((list intonation))

5.1.1.4. Request for Reassurance

According to the analysis of the data, some of the lexical backchannels are used to ask for reassurance. As far as the researcher is concerned, this function has not been referred to by previous studies on backchannels. Speaker 1 is talking about a topic and Speaker 2 is a bit astonished. In order to be sure of what Speaker 1 is saying and in order to ask for reassurance, Speaker 2 uses a lexical backchannel. Table 5.8 presents all the lexical backchannels used as a request for reassurance. As can be seen in the table, *öyle mi?* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel with this function. The lexical backchannels used for a request for reassurance are mostly used with a questioning tone.

Table 5.8. Lexical Backchannels Used for Request for Reassurance

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
<i>öyle mi?</i>	26
<i>valla?</i>	3
<i>evet</i>	2
<i>harbi mi?</i>	1
<i>gerçek mi?</i>	1
<i>ciddi mi?</i>	1
<i>valla mı?</i>	1
Total	35

Example 43 is an all male conversation consisting of only young speakers. This conversation is taking place at a canteen and MEH000377 is a friend of EMI000378. They are talking about some engineering courses and exams. MEH asks EMI whether he has finished studying for statics. EMI says that he hasn't and statics is going to be more and more difficult day by day and he has understood nothing. In need of reassurance of what EMI has just said, MEH uses the lexical backchannel *valla* with a questioning tone.

Extract 43. 039_090315_00142

MEH000377 [v]		statığı	bitirdin mi?		
MEH000377 [c]		statiki			
EMI000378 [v]				((1.8)) çık.	((0.8))
[nn]	background)) ((silence))				

MEH000377 [v]			((0.1)) hmm´	hmm´	
EMI000378 [v]	statik de gittikçe	kazıklaşıyor.			sorulardan
EMI000378 [c]		gazıklaşıyo			

MEH000377 [v]		((laughs))		((0.1)) valla?	
EMI000378 [v]	hiç bir şey anlamad	(vize soru	ların)		
	lan.				
EMI000378 [c]	((laughing))				
[nn]					((voices in the

MEH000377 [v]		((1.6)) anlarınız yaa.	((0.3)) elu ne elu ne		
MEH000377 [c]					hatırlamıyon
[nn]	background))				

Example 44 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers. All of the participants in this recording are young. BAD000036 is a friend of OZG000035 and FAT000070 is a friend of AYS000071. OZL000072 is a friend of OZG000035 and this conversation is taking place in a car. They are talking about going to their hometowns for the holiday. AYS says that she will also go to her hometown and in order to ask for reassurance of what AYS has just said, MEH uses the lexical backchannel *öyle mi* with a questioning tone.

Extract 44. 117_090310_00019

BAD000036 [v]			herhalde	canım.	
BAD000036 [c]				((lengthening))	
FAT000070 [v]					((0.4))
AYS000071 [v]	e ben bile	gideceğim.			
AYS000071 [c]		gidicem			
IND000002 [v]	((XXX))		((XXX))	((XXX))	(yola be)!

FAT000070 [v]	öyle mi?				
AYS000071 [v]		((0.3)) yirmi üç	gideceğim	ben.	
		Nisan'da			
AYS000071 [c]			gidcem		

BAD000036 [v]			yaa	aslında A/ A/ Ankara Çorlu	
AYS000071 [v]	dayanamıyorum	gerçek	ten.		

5.1.1.5. Comprehension

Another common function of backchannels is to indicate comprehension of what the other person is saying. In this function, the backchannels usually mean “*I see*”. As it was previously mentioned in the non-lexical backchannels chapter, Adolphs and Carter (2013) and Benus et al. (2007) also indicated that backchannels have the comprehension function. Although it might seem similar to continuation function, compared to continuation function, comprehension function does not ask the other person to continue speaking. It is more like a comment about the things that have been mentioned until the usage of the lexical backchannel. Table 5.9 presents the list of lexical backchannels used for comprehension function. As shown in the table, *tamam* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel for comprehension and it is followed by *anladım*.

Table 5.9. Lexical Backchannels Used for Comprehension

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
tamam	12
anladım	10
hmm anladım	2
hm tamam anladım	1
anladım anladım	1
hı tamam	1
tamam tamam	1
evet	1
Total	29

Extract 45 is an all male conversation consisting of only young speakers. The conversation is taking place at home and ISA000058 is the elder brother of CAG000125. They are talking about a book titled *Babalar ve Oğullar*. CAG is specifically talking about a character in the book, Arkady. In order to indicate the comprehension of what CAG is talking about, ISA uses the lexical backchannel *anladım*, *anladım* consecutively with the meaning of *I see*. Note that there is an interesting case of combinatorial usage here with a dual repetitive lexical backchannel (anladım anladım) being followed by another non-lexical one (hı-hı).

Extract 45. 061_090623_00050

CAG000125 [v]	karşı ee	((0.5)) yani • Bazarov/ şey Arkady her insannasılsa	
[nn]			
ISA000058 [v]		• hmm´	
CAG000125 [v]	öyle kalır düşüncesine inanı		yani kendisinin/
[nn]	((microphone noise))		
ISA000058 [v]			
CAG000125 [v]	bunu kimsenin.	değiştiremeyeceğine	inanıyor
[nn]		((noise))	
ISA000058 [v]	anladım. _anladım.	((1.1)) hı-hı´	((1.0)) başka ne var kitapla
[nn]			((noise))

Example 46 is a mixed conversation with more male speakers. The participants in this conversation are young and middle aged. CUN000626 is husband of BET000627 and CUN000626 is sister's husband of ERG000211. CUN000626 is son-in-law of RID000628 and BET000627 is younger sister of RID000628. BET000627 is daughter of RID000628 and ERG000211 is son of RID000628. This recording is taking place at home. RID is describing the features of a specific town and in order to show that CUN understands what RID is talking about, he uses the lexical backchannel *anladım* with the meaning of *I see*.

Extract 46. 055_090619_00222

RID000628 [v]	olduğu yer yayla.	((0.8)) tıh yani gene Gümülcine'den ne	
RID000628 [v]	kadar diyelim burdan gene?	((3.8)) Spil kadar olmasa da	
[nn]		((noise, rustling))	
RID000628 [v]	Spil'in yarısı kadar bi gene bi yükseklik var.		_gene bi yokuş
[nn]			
RID000628 [v]	çıkıyorsun	giderken yani.	((inhalation)) bi de ((0.2)) kirazlar da
RID000628 [c]	çıkıyoz		
CUN000626 [v]		((0.5)) anladım.	
RID000628 [v]	hep dağın eteğinde.		((1.3)) rüzgar görüyor.
[nn]			((noise))

Extract 46. (cont'd)

RID000628 [v]	arkadan rüzgar görmüyor hep kapalı.	((0.9)) tam etekte
[nn]		
RID000628 [v]	böyle yani. ((0.1)) arkası Bulgarı zaten.	((0.5)) Bulgaristan.

5.1.1.6. Lexical Backchannels with the Meaning of “that's what I am saying”

In some instances, lexical backchannels are used with an emphasized approval meaning. With this function, Speaker 1 is talking about a topic and Speaker 2 also says something which is parallel to what Speaker 1 is saying. Therefore, in order to indicate that they are on the same grounds, Speaker 1 uses a lexical backchannel which means *that's what I am saying*. Table 5.10 presents the lexical backchannels which are used with this function in the data. As can be seen in the table, *işte* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel. This function of backchannels also presents original dimensions as it has not been named in earlier research on the functions of backchannels.

Table 5.10. Lexical Backchannels Used with the Meaning 'that's what I am saying'

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
işte!	5
tamam işte	2
yani	2
ha ha ha işte	1
ha yani	1
evet işte	1
e yani	1
evet	1
işte evet	1
yani evet	1
Total	16

Example 47 is an all male conversation consisting of young and elderly people. This recording is taking place at home. ONU000099 is a friend of VOL000447 and EMI000246 is future father-in-law of VOL000447. ONU000099 is a friend of EMI000246. VOL is talking about some architectural programs that are not available

in Turkey. As a response, ONU uses the lexical backchannel *işte* with the meaning *that's what I'm saying*.

Extract 47. 024_100501_00160

ONU000099 [v]	bitakım şeyde yani mecbur gelecek zaten o.	ğelmek
[nn]		((knock on wood))

ONU000099 [v]	zorunda.		
VOL000447 [v]			yani ((0.2)) ee şey
[nn]		((voices in the background, silence))	((clatter of tableware))

VOL000447 [v]	de mesela/ ((0.1)) Işıl'ın da yaptığı şey mesela şimdi orda
[nn]	

VOL000447 [v]	şey üzerine çalışıyor.	((0.8)) ee	((0.3)) bazı ((0.1))
VOL000447 [c]		((stuttering))	
[nn]			

ONU000099 [v]		((1.7)) işte.	
VOL000447 [v]	programlar şey üzerine • Türkiye'de yok.		((0.9))
[nn]			((clatter

VOL000447 [v]	yani bu iki anlama geliyor.	ğya • ilerde geldiğinde iyi hazır
[nn]	of tableware))	((knock on wood))

Extract 48 is a mixed group conversation with more female speakers and all of the speakers in this conversation are young. This conversation is taking place in a car. BAD000036 is a friend of OZG000035 and FAT000070 is a friend of AYS000071. OZL000072 is a friend of OZG000035. They are talking about their School Experience course. BAD shares one of her memories where she was asked to enter the grades of the students. Surprised by what she has heard, AYS asks whether it is really so and BAD uses the lexical backchannel *evet işte* with the meaning *that's what I'm saying*.

Extract 48. 117_090310_00019

BAD000036 [v]	diyorlarmış ya!			notalarını/ ((0.3)) notlarını bil
AYS000071 [v]		sonra	bişey çık	arsa ((0.3)) bizim başımıza
IND000002 [v]			((XXX))	

Extract 48. (cont'd)

BAD000036 [v]		gisay	ara geçirttiriyorlarmış hocalar.	• benim babam
AYS000071 [v]	patlar.			
IND000002 [v]		ha'		
ALL000001 [v]				((XXX))

BAD000036 [v]		bana bile geçirttirmiyor.		ya sırf işte gıcık yani
IND000002 [v]			hadi yaa!	
ALL000001 [v]				

BAD000036 [v]	böyle.		evet işte.	
AYS000071 [v]		((0.1)) öyle şey mi olur?	ha senin Kolej	harika yaa.

5.1.1.7. Indication for Getting the Message

Another function of the backchannels is to show that the listener grabs, grasps what the other person says. This function is similar to the comprehension function. However, with this function, the listener shows a stronger tone of understanding. One of the speakers asks a question and the other speaker answers that question. In order to show that s/he got the answer, the first speaker uses backchannels. However, in the comprehension function, there is no question asked. The lexical backchannel *tamam* is the most frequently used backchannel with this function as illustrated in Table 5.11.

Table 5.11. Lexical Backchannels Used for Indication for Getting the Message

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
tamam	10
haa tamam	3
ha tamam	1
tamamdır	1
haa tamam tamam	1
Total	16

Extract 49, which shows another example, is a mixed conversation consisting of more male speakers. The speakers in this recording are young, middle aged and elderly. The conversation is taking place at home and ELI000130 is the mother of MEH000116. ELI000130 is mother of SAM000131 and HUS000129 is father of SAM000131. They are talking about family trees and MEH asks how they call “Hüseyin Kocatürk” and HUS says probably it is “Koca Hüseyin”. After this response, in order to show that he

understood, MEH uses the lexical backchannel *tamam*.

Extract 49. 044_090328_00047

MEH000116 [v]	olmuş.		((0.6)) şimdi biz burda Hüseyin Kocatürk'e
ELI000130 [v]		evet.	
MEH000116 [v]	indik.		Hüseyin Kocatürk'e siz ne diyosunuz?
HUS000129 [v]		hmm'	
MEH000116 [v]	Hüseyin Çavuşlar mı diyoruz onlara?		
HUS000129 [v]			((1.2)) Herhalde Koca
MEH000116 [v]		tamam.	Ko
HUS000129 [v]	Hüseyin onunla ((XXX)) da yani..	Koca Hüseyin	derler o na.
MEH000116 [v]	ca Hüseyin.		ondan sonra ((0.9)) ee ((0.4)) onun
[nn]		((silence))	

Extract 50 is a mixed conversation with more male speakers. The participants in this conversation are young and middle aged. CUN000626 is husband of BET000627 and CUN000626 is sister's husband of ERG000211. CUN000626 is the son-in-law of RID000628 and BET000627 is younger sister of RID000628. BET000627 is daughter of RID000628 and ERG000211 is son of RID000628. This recording is taking place at home. They are talking about spreading a rumor. ERG says even the chief knows the rumor but RIS says it is not the chief but his friends who know the rumor. When the confusion is resolved, ERG says *haa tamam* to show that he understood.

Extract 50. 055_090619_00222

RID000628 [v]	dedikoduya ((1.5)) ortalık karışır.	((0.2)) ((eats))	
ERG000211 [v]			((1.1)) a/
RID000628 [v]		((smacks))	((1.4)) amire
ERG000211 [v]	amire bile söy	ledi dükkanda.	((0.7)) şaka gibi.
RID000628 [v]	değil be ya. arkadaşlarına be	ya.	((0.1)) üç tane
ERG000211 [v]		ha a! tamam.	
RID000628 [v]	araba geldi sivil be ya.	((0.5)) sivil araba zebellah gibi hepsi	

Extract 50. (cont'd)

RID000628 [v]	şey/ ((0.8)) silahları bellerinde yani. ((1.5)) nerde?	((0.7))
---------------	--	---------

RID000628 [v]	İzmir'den mi? ((0.6)) tih' Bursa'dan mi?	((2.8)) anladın mı?
---------------	--	---------------------

5.1.1.8. Possibility

Analysis of the data shows that lexical backchannels are sometimes used to mean a possibility, which is another function that has not been identified so far for backchannels. With this function, lexical backchannels indicate that what Speaker 1 says might be true or it might happen. Table 5.12 presents all the lexical backchannels that have been used with the possibility function in the data. As can be seen in the table, *olabilir* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel with the possibility function.

Table 5.12. Lexical Backchannels Used for Possibility

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency
olabilir	3
belki de	1
evet olabilir	1
e olabilir	1
hah o olabilir	1
evet belki de	1
belki	1
herhalde	1
mutemelen	1
Total	11

Extract 51 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers. The speakers in this conversation are young and the conversation is taking place at home. RUK000029 is the elder sister of MUS000031 and BUR000030 is the elder sister of BUR000032. RUK000029 is the neighbour of BUR000030 and RUK000029 is nthe eighbour of BUR000032. MUS000031 is the neighbour of BUR000030. MUS000031 is the neighbour of BUR000032. They are talking about going somewhere and BUR says she can not go there alone. MUS says that he can come with BUR and upon this response, BUR says then, it might be possible for her to go there. In this conversation, the lexical backchannel *olabilir* is used to indicate possibility.

Extract 51. 012_090128_00002

BUR000030 [v]	geçti.			((0.5)) ha
BUR000032 [v]		((0.4)) şimdi annem başladı deyince...		
BUR000030 [v]	benim tek gelmem	zor.	((1.0)) ama	• Mustafa benim...
BUR000030 [c]		((slowly))		
MUS000031 [v]				sen telefon et ban
RUK000029 [v]				ben de gelebilirim.
BUR000030 [v]			((0.5)) hah! o olabilir.	
MUS000031 [v]	a. <u>ben</u> gelirim.			
RUK000029 [v]			((0.3)) ((sh	ort
BUR000030 [v]	((0.4)) ha' çünkü • kızı çantaya koyuyorum.		((0.3)) a	a!

Extract 52 is a mixed conversation with more female speakers. All of the speakers in this conversation are young. The conversation is taking place at home and MUS000122 is the husband of OZG000105 and AYS000110 is a friend of OZG000105. ISI000108 is a friend of OZG000105. They are talking about a TV series in which the topic is the historic events that happened in the 1980s in Turkey. OZG asks whether the people at that time were affected by the events in England and MUS says *olabilir* to express possibility.

Extract 52. 103_091108_00040

OZG000105 [v]	((2.9)) acaba şu İngiltere'deki	olaydan	mı etkilendiler?	
OZG000105 [c]		((laughing))		
OZG000105 [v]	((laughs))'			yirmi kilo.
MUS000122 [v]		((1.7)) olabilir.		hmm'
[nn]			((TV/radio noise))	
OZG000105 [v]				yirmi.
AYS000110 [v]	((XXX))	((XXX))	yirmi mi yedi mi?	
ISI000108 [v]				yirmi.
MUS000122 [v]		sağlam.		((0.6)) İngiltere'de
AYS000110 [v]		ya ama bu	kuyumcularda hiç	ne cesaret diyorum ya
MUS000122 [v]	biz o	tam	şey ((XXX)).	

5.1.1.9. Changing the Topic

The analysis of the data indicates that another function carried out by the lexical backchannels is changing the topic which is also original for this study. Speaker 1 is talking about a topic and Speaker 2 might think that that topic is not so important or it is something annoying. Therefore, in order to change that topic, Speaker 2 uses a lexical backchannel. The lexical backchannels that are used with this function in the data are presented in Table 5.13. As can be seen in the table, *neyse* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel with function.

Table 5.13. Lexical Backchannels Used for Changing the Topic

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
neyse	5
hmm neyse	1
evet tamam neyse	1
Total	7

Extract 53 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers. The speakers in this conversation are young, middle aged and elderly people. EMI000246 is husband of SUK000057 and SUK000057 is mother of ISI000149. AYS000247 is elder sister of SUK000057 and EMI000246 is father of ISI000149. AYS000247 is maternal aunt of ISI000149 and EMI000246 is sister's husband of AYS000247. This conversation is taking place at home. They are talking about recording devices. SUK specifically talks about one of her memories when she appeared on a TV programme. In order to change the topic, AYS uses the lexical backchannel *neyse*.

Extract 53. 021_081206_00088

SUK000057 [v]	çıktım ya	ben	((0.3)) o işte Beta ((0.1)) hani böyle	koca koca
AYS000247 [v]		evet.		Betalar.
SUK000057 [v]	sı/ ye/	((0.1)) şey	ler var	dı. VHS'ler bilmem neler. ve
SUK000057 [c]	((hesitating))			
AYS000247 [v]	ha'		VHS'	ler.

Extract 53. (cont'd)

SUK000057 [v]	hepsi onda.		((0.1)) hiç. ((0.2)) yani.	
AYS000247 [v]		((0.2)) neyse.		((0.2))
AYS000247 [c]		((softly))		

SUK000057 [v]				((0.4)) ha'
ISI000149 [v]			((0.1)) hıı'	
ISI000149 [c]			((softly))	
AYS000247 [v]	((inhales)) onu cd'ye aldrabiliyorsun.			

Extract 54 is a mixed group conversation consisting of more female speakers. The participants in this conversation are young, middle aged and elderly people. ZOH000084 is the maternal grandmother of ESR000043 and NEV000033 is mother of ESR000043. This recording is taking place at home in the kitchen. They are talking about some things to eat. ZOH offers something to HUL and asks whether they have had their breakfast earlier. They think about another possibility for eating and in order to change the topic, HUL uses the lexical backchannel *neyse*.

Extract 54. 075_090627_00035

ZOH000084 [v]	dolmalarımızı	saralım.	((0.7)) buzdolabında da şeyimiz var.	
ZOH000084 [c]		sarak		
[nn]			((sound of water tap))	

ZOH000084 [v]	((0.2)) ((XXX)) ((0.4)) tez ((XXX)) mi ettiniz kahval...			
HUL000097 [v]			yok.	
[nn]				

ZOH000084 [v]	((0.7))	(olabilir) ((0.2)) biraz.	((1.1)) neyse.	
ZOH000084 [c]		((softly))		
[nn]			((sound of water dripping))	((sound of dripping))

ZOH000084 [v]				Hasan
HUL000097 [v]		neyse!		
[nn]	running water))		((sound of running water))	

ZOH000084 [v]	gelmişse ((0.4)) yemek türü bir şeyler...			
NEV000033 [v]			((0.3)) öyle az bişey	

5.1.1.10. Request for Approval

The analysis of the data shows that in some instances, speakers use lexical backchannels to ask for approval. With this function, Speaker 1 talks about a topic and in order to ask for an approval for what s/he is saying, Speaker 1 uses a lexical backchannel. As can be seen in Table 5.14, the only lexical backchannel used with this function is *di mi?*

Table 5.14. Lexical Backchannels Used for Request for Approval

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
di mi?	5
Total	5

Example 55 is a majority female conversation consisting of only young speakers. The conversation is taking place in a car and BAD000036 is a friend of OZG000035. FAT000070 is a friend of AYS000071. OZL000072 is a friend of OZG000035. They are talking about an irritating event involving a parent and a teacher that happened at a school. BAD says if this teacher had been her mother, she would have thrown out that parent from the room but since that person was a friend of the teacher, she did not behave in that way. In order to request for approval, IND says *di mi* which means *isn't it so*.

Extract 55. 117_090310_00019

BAD000036 [v]						benim
OZG000035 [v]			çok	garip değil mi yaa?		
AYS000071 [v]				çocuğu götürdü/ ((0.1))	derdi mi?	
OZL000072 [v]	na	sıl?				
IND000002 [v]	cık!					

BAD000036 [v]	annem çok s	inir olurdu. atardı herhalde • kadını sınıftan.
AYS000071 [v]	((laughs))	

BAD000036 [v]	• tabi öğretmen arkadaşısı olunca bişey diyemiyor.
IND000002 [v]	di mi?

Extract 55. (cont'd)

BAD000036 [v]	cık! ((0.4))	ama yani arkadaşlık	başka...		
BAD000036 [c]			((lengthening))		
FAT000070 [v]					((0.3))
FAT000070 [c]					((softly))
IND000002 [v]		((XXX))	yaa!	cık cık cık!	

5.1.1.11. Clarification

In some instances, backchannels were also used to clarify an issue. In this function, Speaker 2 misunderstands an issue and Speaker 1 notices this misunderstanding. Therefore, Speaker 1 attempts to clarify it by using some lexical backchannels. Considering this function, the backchannel is commonly followed by an expression like “What I mean is.....” which indicates that Speaker 2 has misunderstood something and not it is being clarified by Speaker 1. Table 5.15 presents the lexical backchannels used with clarification function. As shown in the table *hayır hayır* is used twice and *hayır* is used once in the data with this function.

Table 5.15. Lexical Backchannels Used for Clarification

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
hayır hayır	2
hayır	1
Total	3

Extract 56 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers. The speakers in this conversation are young, middle aged and elderly people. EMI000246 is husband of SUK000057 and SUK000057 is mother of ISI000149. AYS000247 is elder sister of SUK000057 and EMI000246 is father of ISI000149. AYS000247 is maternal aunt of ISI000149 and EMI000246 is sister's husband of AYS000247. This conversation is taking place at home. The speakers are talking about losing weight. AYS says that she has lost twenty four kilos in five months. SUK asks whether that speed is not enough. AYS understands that there is a misunderstanding and confusion so she says *hayır hayır* in order to clarify the issue. She continues with the sentence "what I mean is...."

Extract 56. 021_081206_00088

SUK000057 [v]	ee'			
AYS000247 [v]	(ayı)...	((0.4))	ve • beş ayda ben beş/ yir/ ee yirmi dört yirmi	
SUK000057 [v]		ama	Ayşe ondan hızlısını da	ne yapacaksın ki?
SUK000057 [c]				napacaksın ki?
AYS000247 [v]	beş kilo ver	dim.		
SUK000057 [v]		ha! bu hızlı sayılmaz mı?		
AYS000247 [v]		hayır. hayır.	((0.1)) şunu demek istiyorum.	
AYS000247 [c]		((emphatically))		
AYS000247 [v]		((0.1)) bazıları ((0.6)) iki ayda çok kilo veriyor. yirmi kilo		
ISI000149 [v]			((0.1)) tabii canım.	
AYS000247 [v]	veriyor iki ayda.			((0.5)) ben veremedim.
ISI000149 [v]			((0.3)) hm'	
AYS000247 [v]	ve vermek istemedim ya			((inhalation))'

Extract 57 is again a mixed conversation with more male participants. The speakers in this recording are young and middle aged. AKI000053 is father of NAZ000629. ARI000630 is friend of AKI000053. SUK000631 is wife's brother of ARI000630. This conversation is taking place at home and the topic is pesticides. AKI is talking about a specific pesticide but SUK is confused about that pesticide. Therefore, in order to clarify that issue, AKI uses the lexical backchannel *hayır* and explains the confusion.

Extract 57. 063_090704_00223

AKI000053 [v]	((0.8)) Allah Al	lah!	((1.1)) hayır bizde de var. bu tarafta	
SUK000631 [v]		tabi.		
SUK000631 [c]		((softly))		
AKI000053 [v]	vardı da.	((0.3)) yani benim dediğim çok	eski/	((0.2))
AKI000053 [c]			((emphatically))	
[nn]		((voice in the background))		
AKI000053 [v]	yirmi yıllık bi mesele değil.			hayır.
SUK000631 [v]			((0.2)) mesele evet. o	tuz
SUK000631 [c]				
AKI000053 [v]		çok...		hayır.
				çok eskilerden bahsediyorum
SUK000631 [v]		yıldır bi	zde	var.
SUK000631 [c]	((emphatically))			

5.1.1.12. Finishing the Topic

Closing the topic is another function of the lexical backchannels according to the data. To the researcher's knowledge, this function has also not been identified in literature. In these examples, Speaker 1 is talking about a topic and in order to finish this topic, Speaker 2 uses a lexical backchannel. As can be seen in Table 5.16, *tamam* and *e tamam* are the lexical backchannels used with this function.

Table 5.16. Lexical Backchannels Used for Finishing the Topic

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
tamam	2
e tamam	1
Total	3

Extract 58 is a mixed conversation with more female speakers and all of the participants are young. ZEY000073 is mother of ISA000058. ISA000058 is elder brother of CAG000125 and ZEY000073 is mother of CAG000125. ISA is talking about some of his problems related to his family and asks his mother not to have her hands in his life and ZEY says what ISA wants is not too much. Upon this response, ISA uses the lexical backchannel *e tamam* in order to finish the topic which is irritating for him.

Extract 58. 061_090622_00020

ISA000058 [v]	şey?		
ISA000058 [c]			
ZEY000073 [v]		yani aslında senin şu istediklerin ee	((1.0)) çok şey şey.

ISA000058 [v]		e tamam.	
ZEY000073 [v]	• yani çok e önemli bişey istemiyorsun.		• am

ISA000058 [v]	ben de başka...		hm'	yok!
ISA000058 [c]				((loudly))
ZEY000073 [v]	a çok öne	mli problemlerimiz var gibi geli	yor bana.	

ISA000058 [v]		benim/ benim istediğim bu. beni şey yapmayın/	sıkmayın.
---------------	--	---	-----------

ISA000058 [v]	zorlamayın. ((0.3)) yormayın beni yani burdayken.	((1.1)) e
---------------	---	-----------

In Extract 59 which is from the same conversation as Extract 24, ISA and ZEY are talking about ZEY's recommendations for ISA in order to solve a problem. In order to finish up those recommendations, ISA uses the lexical backchannel *tamam* twice.

Extract 59. 061_090622_00020

ZEY000073 [v]	yapalım.	((0.2)) mesela sabahları terası kendine tahsis et.
ISA000058 [v]	((0.4)) hmm?	
ZEY000073 [v]		((0.6)) ha/ hani biz • evin işine dönerken sen
ISA000058 [v]		hm-hm' ((0.2)) tamam.
ZEY000073 [v]	orayı kendine	((0.8)) şe y yapabil irsin/
ZEY000073 [v]	okuma yeri. kahvaltı hazırlanınca zaten ((0.4)) çağrıl	acaksın.
ZEY000073 [c]		((loudly))
ISA000058 [v]	((0.2)) haa'	((0.2)) tamam.
ZEY000073 [v]		((0.2)) yabancı gibi. ((0.7)) şey
ZEY000073 [c]		((humorous tone))
ZEY000073 [v]	istiyorum ya ben. ((0.7)) böyle ((inhalés))	hani sen yıl/ e

5.1.1.13. Summing up

Some of the lexical backchannels are used to sum up the topic that has been talked about up to that moment in time. These lexical backchannels also function as gap fillers used by Speaker 1 when there is no response from Speaker 2. As can be seen in Table 5.17, there are only 2 instances where lexical backchannels are used for summing up the topic. In these instances, the lexical backchannels *işte öyle* and *öyle yani* are used.

Table 5.17. Lexical Backchannels Used for Summing up

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
işte öyle	1
öyle yani	1
Total	2

Example 60 is an all male conversation consisting of young speakers. This recording is taking place at home and ISA000058 is elder brother of CAG000125. They are

talking about a book titled *Babalar ve Oğullar*. In order to sum up what he has mentioned up to that time, CAG uses the lexical backchannel *işte öyle*. These backchannels might also function as gap fillers in the conversations.

Extract 60. 061_090623_00050

CAG000125 [v]	((inhalés))'	kurbağaların ((0.8)) yani	((0.6)) efsane • li/ vi
CAG000125 [c]			=efsanevi

ISA000058 [v]		• hm'	((0.5)) hı-hı'	
CAG000125 [v]	bir gücü olduğuna		• inanıyor.	işte

ISA000058 [v]		((1.0)) Bazarov kurbağaların efsanevi bir gücü	
CAG000125 [v]	öyle.		

ISA000058 [v]	olduğuna mı ina	nıyor?	
CAG000125 [v]		efsanevi	değil de yani ((0.2)) büyük bir

5.1.1.14. Lexical Backchannels Having the Meaning of 'alright'

Although low in frequency, according to the analysis, in some instances lexical backchannels are used to mean “alright”. As can be seen in Table 5.18, *peki* and *tamam o zaman* are the lexical backchannels that are used with this function.

Table 5.18. Lexical Backchannels Used with the Meaning of 'alright'

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
peki	1
tamam o zaman	1
Total	2

Extract 61 is a mixed gender-age group conversation with more male speakers. The participants in this recording are young and middle aged. ISM000450 is son of MEH000452 and MEM000449 is maternal aunt of KAD000448. ISM000450 is nephew/niece of EKR000451. This conversation is taking place at home. They are talking about buying a car and the prices of the cars. ISM says that there is a car which is 16 million Turkish Liras. In response to ISM, MEH uses the lexical backchannel *tamam o zaman* which means *alright*.

Extract 61. 129_100320_00162

ISM000450 [v]	on altı milyon var.			haa'	ikinci
EKR000451 [v]		(kaçıncı) say bu?			
MEH000452 [v]	((XXX))		((XXX))	((XXX))	tamam

KAD000448 [v]			bunlar galeriden mi?		
ISM000450 [v]	sayfa.	ikinci sayfa.			((XXX))
MEH000452 [v]	o zaman.				
[nn]				((silence))	

KAD000448 [v]			şey var.	sahibinden com
KAD000448 [c]				=sahibinden.com
ISM000450 [v]				
MEH000452 [v]	adamin kendisinden	galeriden.	((XXX))	

5.1.1.15. Listener's Support

According to the findings, backchannels are also used to show the listener's support for the other person who is speaking. With this function, Speaker 1 addresses Speaker 2 and Speaker 2 uses a backchannel to show his or her support for Speaker 1. Backchannels with this function might also mean “Okay, I am listening to you”. This function is similar to the continuation function. However, with this function, Speaker 1 first addresses Speaker 2 in order to get his or her attention and Speaker 2 uses a backchannel to show his or her support. Table 5.19 shows that there is only one instance in which a lexical backchannel is used to show listener’s support. In that specific instance, the lexical backchannel *evet* was used.

Table 5.19. Lexical Backchannels Used for Listener's Support

Lexical Backchannel	Frequency of Occurrence
evet	1
Total	1

Extract 62 is an all female conversation consisting of only young speakers. This conversation is taking place at a dormitory and AFI000061 is a friend of SER000062. The topic is biology in this conversation and AFI addresses SER by saying we have divided the kidney into three parts. In order to show her support for AFI and in order to encourage her to continue, SER uses the lexical backchannel *evet*.

Extract 62. 069_090610_00015

AFI000061 [v]		((1.4)) nerdeydik?	((0.2)) hm! ((0.1)) şimdi bak ((0.1))
SER000062 [v]	((XXX))		
[mn]	((voices in the background))		

AFI000061 [v]	bu bep/ ((0.2)) böbreği üçe	ayırmışız Serap.	
AFI000061 [c]		((slowly))	
SER000062 [v]			((0.5)) evet.
SER000062 [c]			((softly))

AFI000061 [v]	((0.6)) salla bunları o zaman. — çıkamaz.	((1.6)) şimdi artıklar
AFI000061 [c]	((softly))	((loudly))

AFI000061 [v]	var o zaman. ((0.6)) ne yaptık?			((0.1)) üç
AFI000061 [c]		naaptık		
SER000062 [v]		sindirdik.	atacağız.	
SER000062 [c]			atcaz	

5.1.2. Attitudinal Backchannels

The analysis of the lexical backchannels shows that in some instances they are used with an attitudinal meaning including positivity and negativity towards the other speaker. Attitudinal backchannels with positivity are the ones which are face saving acts including approval, agreement, giving positive comments, astonishment, exclamation, sharing feelings, relief and showing compassion. On the other hand, attitudinal lexical backchannels with negativity are face threatening acts for the other speaker such as disagreement, implying the meaning of “so what?”, implying insignificance of a topic and sarcasm.

5.1.2.1. Lexical Backchannels with Positivity

Backchannels with positivity have the sub-functions of agreement, approval, astonishment, giving positive comments, exclamation, compassion, sharing feelings and relief.

5.1.2.1.1. Agreement

The results of the analysis show that lexical backchannels are also widely used to indicate agreement. Speaker 1 proposes an idea and Speaker 2 uses a backchannel to show that s/he agrees with the previous idea. As can be seen in Table 5.20, there are 371 instances in which lexical backchannels are used to indicate agreement with the other speaker. The most frequently used lexical backchannel with agreement function is *evet* followed by *tabii* and *tamam*. As already stated several studies including Benus et al. (2007), Cutrone (2014), Özcan (2015) and Pipek (2007) have already referred to this function of backchannels. However, the sub-functions of agreement have not been named in the earlier research.

Table 5.20. Lexical Backchannels Used for Agreement

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
evet	57
tabi	45
tamam	37
tabii	32
tabi canım	24
evet evet	17
tabi tabi	9
aynen öyle	8
tabi ya	7
öyle	7
tabii tabii	6
hiç	5
öyle öyle	4
tabii canım	4
evet tabi	3
e tabi	3
bence de	3
vallahi	3
tabii ki	3
hı hı evet	2
he tamam	2
e tabii	2
tabi ki	2
tabii ya	2
doğru	2

Table 5.20. (cont'd)

öyle be ya	2
yok canım	2
vallah	2
valla	2
evet evet evet	1
evet bitanem	1
evet aşkım	1
evet tabii	1
evet tabi canım	1
evet doğru	1
evet bence de	1
evet haklısın	1
evet hakkaten	1
evet tamam	1
evet öyle	1
ayy evet ya	1
he evet	1
hı evet	1
haa evet	1
ya evet	1
yaa evet	1
tabi ya	1
değil tabi ya	1
bence de ya	1
e tabi yani	1
e tamam	1
aynı aynı	1
aynen	1
hiç	1
bence de yani	1
he tamam	1
tabi canım	1
ha evet	1
e evet	1
evet ya	1
evet olabilir	1
hı öyle	1
hı doğru	1
hiç hiç hiç	1
hiç yani	1
öyle yani	1
öyle canım	1

Table 5.20. (cont'd)

öyle orası evet	1
o da doğru	1
o dediğin doğru	1
olur	1
aynen	1
aynen tabii	1
ha ha tamam	1
aa tabi canım	1
tabi doğru	1
tabi yaa	1
haa e tabi	1
ya tabii	1
tamam o zaman	1
vallah	1
hiç	1
yani de mi?	1
tabii öyle	1
hm tabi tabi	1
yani di mi?	1
di mi?	1
tabi ya	1
öyle öyle tabii	1
aynen	1
ha yani	1
yok öyle canım	1
e tabii	1
tamam canım	1
tamam tamam	1
olur	1
ya tabii	1
peki tamam	1
yani	1
tabi canım tabi	1
Total	368

Extract 63 is an all female conversation consisting of only young speakers. The conversation is taking place at a cafe and OZG000035 is a friend of BAD000036. DER000038 is a friend of ASI000037. At that moment, they are taking a photo of themselves and ASI says "let me see at how you look like in the photo" and in agreement to ASI, OZG says *tabii* which means *of course*.

Extract 63. 113_090404_00004

BAD000036 [v]	ne	ittiriyorsunuz!			
BAD000036 [c]		ittiriyonuz			
ASI000037 [v]				işim bitiyor.	
ASI000037 [c]				((laughing))	
IND000002 [v]					
[nn]			((voice in the background))		

DER000038 [v]		((1.7)) ben de burdan		da çekeyim.	
IND000002 [v]	((laughs))'	((XXX)) aca		((XXX))	

OZG000035 [v]			tabii.		
OZG000035 [c]			((emphatically))		
ASI000037 [v]		((1.5)) bakayım nasıl çıktın.			
DER000038 [v]					
IND000002 [v]	(canlı dur).				

OZG000035 [v]	insanların fotoğraf makineleri var.				
[nn]			((voices in the background))		

OZG000035 [v]		senin de var di mi?	((0.5)) (vakit)		
DER000038 [v]	haa! çok güzel çıkmışsın.				
IND000002 [v]	ya yok. diğerinde.	((XXX))			

Extract 64 is an all female conversation consisting of young and middle aged people. The conversation is taking place at home. NUR000442 is mother of EMI000441 and NUR000442 is maternal aunt of OZL000445. OZL000445 is cousin of EMI000441 and SEV000444 is the husband's brother's wife of NUR000442. They are talking about a child and EMI says what an intelligent boy he is. In agreement with EMI, OZL says *evet* which means yes.

Extract 64. 149_090204_00158

EMI000441 [v]		((laughs))'	((short laugh))'		
OZL000445 [v]	şekilden şekile giriyor ya.		((XXX)) di mi?	((0.3))	
OZL000445 [c]				((softly))	

EMI000441 [v]		maşallah acayip bir çocuk o ya.	((1.1)) çok zeki ama		
OZL000445 [v]	((XXX))				
OZL000445 [c]					

Extract 64. (cont'd)

EMI000441 [v]	gerçekten.		
OZL000445 [v]		((2.2)) (evet).	((0.1)) ((XXX)) üç buçuk yaşındaki

EMI000441 [v]			Ayşe'ye...
NUR000442 [v]		(kız) sen nereden biliyorsun?	((XXX))
OZL000445 [v]	çocuktan daha iyi.	((XXX))	((XXX))

Results of the analysis also show that there are six different types of agreement functions in the data. The types include (1) weak agreement, (2) unwilling agreement, (3) strong agreement, (4) empathetic with suspicion, (5) agreement with suspicion and (6) ironic agreement. These results suggest that although the frequency of lexical backchannels used for agreement is the highest in the data, some of the lexical backchannels used as agreement markers might not imply a true agreement. There are some cases, although not very frequent, where lexical backchannels are used for unwilling agreement, ironic agreement, agreement with suspicion and weak agreement. These types of agreement might suggest that speakers in the data use these lexical backchannels in order not to conflict with the other speakers blatantly.

5.1.2.1.1.1. Weak Agreement

Another type of agreement function is weak agreement. With this meaning, Speaker 1 explains something and Speaker 2 agrees with Speaker 1 by using lexical backchannels. However, the lexical backchannels that are used for weak agreement usually include the word *yani* which decreases the strength of the agreement. Table 5.21 presents all the lexical backchannels used for weak agreement. As illustrated in the table, *yani* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel for indicating a weak agreement. The table also shows that all the lexical backchannels used for weak agreement include the word *yani* for decreasing the strength of the agreement.

Table 5.21. Lexical Backchannels Used for Weak Agreement

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
yani	40
e yani	5
yani evet	1
yani doğru	1
Total	47

Extract 65 is an all female conversation consisting of young and middle aged people. The conversation is taking place at home. NUR000442 is mother of EMI000441 and NUR000442 is the maternal aunt of OZL000445. OZL000445 is the cousin of EMI000441 and SEV000444 is husband's brother's wife of NUR000442. They are talking about a cleaner and how effective it is. Since OZL does not know that specific cleaner, she uses the lexical backchannel *yani* to show a kind of weak agreement.

Extract 65. 149_090204_00158

EMI000441 [v]		yani ((short laugh)).	
SEV000444 [v]	sak ((0.1)) derler ki ((XXX))	((XXX))	ya kirpi
OZL000445 [v]		((laughs))'	
[nn]			((voices in the

EMI000441 [v]		((short laugh)) ya toz bulamıyor.	
SEV000444 [v]	derler ((short laugh))...		
[nn]	background))		

EMI000441 [v]	((laughs))'		kimyasal
NUR000442 [v]		((0.5)) ne devri?	
SEV000444 [v]	hangi devirden kaldın.		
OZL000445 [v]		((1.2)) yani.	

EMI000441 [v]	sonuçta o şeylerde de vardır ((0.1)) (o) şey.		
NUR000442 [v]			((0.9)) nereden

Extract 66 is an all male conversation in which there are young and elderly speakers. The conversation is taking place at home and ONU000099 is a friend of VOL000447. EMI000246 is future father-in-law of VOL000447 and ONU000099 is a friend of EMI000246. They are talking about roads in Istanbul and how they are similar to some roads in Ankara. VOL also says that people in Istanbul come together in clusters. In

response to VOL, ONU says *yani* which does not indicate a strong agreement.

Extract 66. 024_100501_00160

VOL000447 [v]	değil) Çayyolu e ((0.1)) var ya Çayyolu gibi yaşam ((0.1))		
EMI000246 [v]		((0.6)) ((XXX))	
ONU000099 [v]			((0.2))
VOL000447 [v]	alanı var yani orda.	((0.6)) ka	labalık bi de.
ONU000099 [v]		((XXX)) bi de artık İstanbul'da kümeleniyor	insanlar şeyde
VOL000447 [v]			kümeleniyorlar
ONU000099 [v]	yani	hani.	
VOL000447 [v]	yani.		orda kendi içinde... onlarla (ama) şöyle
[nn]			((knock on wood))
VOL000447 [v]	konuşuyoruz işte.	((0.7)) beni bi... mesela ben askerliği	
[nn]			((knock on wood))
VOL000447 [v]	orda yapmıştım.	((0.2)) beni aldılar işte şeye götürdüler.	
[nn]			

5.1.2.1.1.2. Unwilling Agreement

One of the types of agreement function is unwilling agreement. With this meaning, Speaker 1 is persuaded by Speaker 2 to agree on a specific topic. The context of the conversation clearly indicates that Speaker 1 is not willing to agree with Speaker 2 but in order not to dwell on the topic more, s/he agrees with what Speaker 2 says. The lexical backchannels that are used for unwilling agreement are presented in Table 5.22. As can be seen in the table, there are nine different lexical backchannels used with this function and, in terms of their frequency, they have equal instances, single occurrences in the data.

Table 5.22. Lexical Backchannels Used for Unwilling Agreement

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
iyi tamam	1
iyi tamam tamam	1
iyi be	1
tamam	1

Table 5.22. (cont'd)

e hadi!	1
tamam be	1
peki o zaman	1
tamam evet	1
peki	1
Total	9

Extract 67 is an all female conversation consisting of only young speakers. The conversation is taking place at a cafe and OZG000035 is a friend of BAD000036. DER000038 is a friend of ASI000037. They have taken photos and in order to send those photos to each other, they are sharing their e-mail addresses. ASI also wants to give her e-mail address but DER is not so willing to write her e-mail address down. Therefore, in order to show her unwillingness, she uses the lexical backchannel *e hadi*.

Extract 67. 113_090404_00004

OZG000035 [v]			seninki han	gisi?		
BAD000036 [v]					Badegül	Eren.
BAD000036 [c]						
ASI000037 [v]	olarak.					
ASI000037 [c]						
DER000038 [v]				e hadi!	ıstersen ver.	
IND000002 [v]		(Real'e) götürsek.				

BAD000036 [v]		Badegül Eren. ben... ((0.2)) kayıtlı di mi ama
BAD000036 [c]	((lengthening))	
DER000038 [v]		

BAD000036 [v]	gmail	'lerinizde?	Badegul Eren	((1.2)) (ve)
BAD000036 [c]	((eng pro))		((slowly, pronouncing gmail address))	

5.1.2.1.1.3. Strong Agreement

The last type of agreement is strong agreement according to the data. Compared to the other types, with this function, Speaker 1 implies a stronger and more marked agreement with Speaker 2. The following table illustrates the lexical backchannels used with strong agreement function and as is shown all forms are more or less equal

in frequency with a single or two occurrences each (*vallah*).

Table 5.23. Lexical Backchannels Used for Strong Agreement

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
vallah	2
yok öyle canım	1
yok canım	1
e tabi	1
tabi tabi	1
Total	6

Example 68 is an all female conversation consisting of middle aged and elderly people. The conversation is taking at home and SAB000541 is neighbour of EMI000540. NAC000539 is husband's sister of EMI000540. They are talking about some broken trees and SAB gives some advice because there might be some thieves. In order to show that she strongly agrees with SAB, NAC uses the lexical backchannel *tabi tabi*.

Extract 68. 023_100710_00192

SAB000541 [v]	zaman tembih	edeyim	de dedim.	bakmadınız olur ya (Allah
SAB000541 [c]		ediyim		
SAB000541 [v]	korusun)	hırlı olur hırsız olur	(burda).	
NAC000539 [v]	hı-hı'		tabi.	tabi. ((1.5)) hı'
EMI000540 [v]				a
EMI000540 [v]	ma burda yukarda ulaşılmadık yerde gene biçok kalmış.			
SAB000541 [v]				ay! şurda
EMI000540 [v]	gene ((hesitates)) bi leğen • belki de			daha fazla çıkar.
SAB000541 [v]	ki bi güzel	diyorum	da anca yüksek merdiven lazım diye	
SAB000541 [c]		diyom		

Example 69, which was previously analyzed for another function, is an all male conversation in which there are young and elderly speakers. The conversation is taking place at home and ONU000099 is a friend of VOL000447. EMI000246 is future father-in-law of VOL000447 and ONU000099 is a friend of EMI000246. They are again talking about some roads in Istanbul and in Ankara. In strong agreement with VOL, ONU says *yok öyle canım*.

Extract 69. 024_100501_00160

VOL000447 [v]	geçiyorsun. � bayağı geçiyorsun yani.	((inhalation)) bayağı bi
VOL000447 [v]	gidiyorsun ya!	yani ((0.1)) çevre yoluna çıkıyorsun. ((0.1))
VOL000447 [v]	ücretli kısım/ ücretli yola giriyorsun.	((0.5)) tekrar işte
VOL000447 [c]		((laughing))
ONU000099 [v]		yok
VOL000447 [v]	(gişelerden) çıkıyorsun	falan. � öyle gidiyorsun yani.
VOL000447 [c]		
[nn]		
ONU000099 [v]	öyle canım.	
VOL000447 [v]		((0.6)) ve de orda ((0.4)) e şaka maka
[nn]	((uninterpretable sound))	

5.1.2.1.1.4. Empathetic Agreement

Another type of agreement function is empathetic agreement based on the analysis of the data. This type of agreement implies a strong sharing of the other person's feelings. Speaker 1 tells his or her opinions about an issue and Speaker 2 shows a strong empathy for Speaker 1's feelings and ideas. As illustrated in Table 5.24, there are four forms of empathetic agreement markers in the data and they have all occurred only once.

Table 5.24. Lexical Backchannels Used for Empathetic Agreement

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
di mi ya!	1
di mi	1
yani! yani!	1
yani değil mi?	1
Total	4

Extract 70 is an all female conversation consisting of only young speakers. The conversation is taking place at home. OZG000726 is daughter of SUM000728 and CIS000304 is daughter of AYS000729. CIS000304 is a friend of OZG000726 and AYS000729 is a friend of SUM000728. They are talking about a person who hurt

SUM in the past. She says she would not behave like that person and in strong agreement with her, IND says *di mi ya!*, which indicates an empathetic agreement.

Extract 70. 191_090213_00276

SUM000728 [v]	yüzlü.	((0.6)) ((inhales)) neyse ben ((0.1)) dedim artık şimdi	
[nn]		((microphone noise))	
SUM000728 [v]	kaç sene geçmiş üstünden.	((0.2)) ((inhales)) e gidip de ee	
[nn]			
SUM000728 [v]	bi... onun seviyesine düşer miyim?	der miyim	böyle böyle
IND000002 [v]		di mi ya!	
SUM000728 [v]	demişsin sen?	((0.5)) hey güzel Allah'ım dedim yani.	öyle
[nn]		((clatter of tableware))	
SUM000728 [v]	bi zaman gelsin ki dedim onun haddini bildireyim ben ona		
SUM000728 [v]	dedim.	((0.6)) ((inhales)) ((0.3)) zaten kime öyle diyorsam	

Extract 71 is an all female conversation consisting of middle aged and elderly people. The conversation is taking place at home in the balcony. VAS000542 is mother of EMI000540 and NAC000539 is husband's sister of EMI000540. VAS is talking about a memory when she was asked to stitch a dress for somebody. She was also anxious because that person's husband might call her to account for that dress. In strong agreement with VAS, NAC uses the lexical backchannel *yani, değil mi* in an empathetic way.

Extract 71. 023_100707_00193

VAS000542 [v]	korkuyorum	bir yandan.		işte kocasına şöyle
VAS000542 [c]				
NAC000539 [v]			((0.2)) yaa!	
VAS000542 [v]	söyle	yerek böyle yaparak şöyle ederek onlar/		onları şey
NAC000539 [v]		((XXX))		
VAS000542 [v]	yapıyorl	ar.		((1.8)) neyse. ((4.0)) onu diktim mi
VAS000542 [c]				((exhaling))
NAC000539 [v]		ya	ni. değil mi?	

Extract 71. (cont'd)

VAS000542 [v]	dikmedim mi	bilmiyorum.	((1.2)) yeşil kumaş elbisem vardı.
VAS000542 [c]		bilmiyom	

VAS000542 [v]	bir de başka türlü elbisem vardı.	onları aldım.	çıktım.
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5.1.2.1.1.5. Agreement with Suspicion

In some other instances lexical backchannels are used to imply an agreement with suspicion. In these instances, Speaker 1 talks about a topic but Speaker 2 is not so sure about what Speaker 1 says or s/he does not have any ideas about that specific topic. Therefore, in order to indicate the suspicion, Speaker 2 uses a lexical backchannel such as *doğrudur*, *öyledir* and *öyle olması lazım* which means *you must be right* as shown in Table 5.25.

Table 5.25. Lexical Backchannels Used for Agreement with Suspicion

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
<i>doğrudur</i>	1
<i>öyledir</i>	1
<i>öyle olması lazım</i>	1
Total	3

Extract 72 is taken from the same recording with Example 30 which is an all female conversation consisting of middle aged and elderly people. VAS is talking about a past acquaintance and how that person was doing agriculture and what s/he was planting. Since NAC does not know that person, she uses the lexical backchannel *doğrudur* with suspicion.

Extract 72. 023_100707_00193

VAS000542 [v]	soğan var.	((XXX)) neler geliyor şimdi.	ekerdi.	yetiştirirdi.
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VAS000542 [v]		ağam ((XXX))	da babam
NAC000539 [v]	((1.8)) şey/ nasıl buldu seni Kerim	dayım nasıl...	

VAS000542 [v]	pek al	mı	yor.	bazı yerle	rini...	
NAC000539 [v]		a!		• <i>doğrudur.</i>	he!	biz... Kerim

Extract 72. (cont'd)

VAS000542 [v]			((0.5))
NAC000539 [v]	dayım nasıl buldu seni? Kerim dayı bulmuş	heralde.	
NAC000539 [c]		heralda.	
VAS000542 [v]	Kerim dayım bulmuş işte.	((0.5))	babaannem de
VAS000542 [v]	kahredermiş o zaman. _beni bir evlattan ayırdınız.	((0.2))	

Extract 73 is an all male conversation consisting of only young speakers. The conversation is taking place at a cafeteria and BAS000282 is a friend of ISA000058. They are talking about people in Mersin. BAS says that people in Mersin are very self-gain seeking people. Since ISA does not know the people in Mersin, he says *öyledir abi*, indicating that he is not very sure.

Extract 73. 061_090615_00103

ISA000058 [v]	yani hiç... ((short laugh))		
BAS000282 [v]		ya Mersin'in şu şeyleri falan çok	
ISA000058 [v]		öyledir abi	
BAS000282 [v]	çıkarıcı adamlar ya benim gördüğüm.		
ISA000058 [v]	tahminimce.		
BAS000282 [v]		ama bizim orada öyle de((0.4)) ya mesela.	
BAS000282 [v]	bunun nasıl sınıfsal toplumsal ((XXX)) kaynakları vardır		
BAS000282 [v]	onları anlayabilmiş değilim.	okumak lazım falan araştırmak	
BAS000282 [v]	lazım da	((0.8))	bizim oradaki adam şeydir yani efendi

5.1.2.1.1.6. Ironic Agreement

The second type of agreement function is ironic agreement. With this meaning, Speaker 1 agrees with Speaker 2 but the surrounding context of the conversation implies a sarcasm underlying the agreement. As can be seen in Table 5.26, which presents all the occurrences of lexical backchannels with ironic agreement, there are only two instances where lexical backchannels are used for ironic agreement in the data. According to the analysis, *tamam* and *evet* are the only lexical backchannels used

to imply a sarcastic agreement.

Table 5.26. Lexical Backchannels for Ironic Agreement

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
tamam	1
evet	1
Total	2

Example 74 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers. The participants in this conversation are young and middle aged. The recording is taking place at the garden of a canteen. KOR000248 is a friend of OZA000249 and OZA000249 is a friend of MEL000250. MEL000250 is a friend of KOR000248 and KOR000248 is a friend of XFE000652. MEL000250 is a friend of XFE000652. They are talking about a meeting of a graphic design group. OZA and MEL have some disagreements about the activities planned for the group and sometimes they get angry at each other in the conversation. In the following excerpt, MEL is again giving some advice to OZA and angered by what MEL says, OZA says *tamam* in an ironic way with an exclamation mark.

Extract 74. 091_091021_00089

OZA000249 [v]		evet.				
MEL000250 [v]	durumundasın z	aten.	((0.3)) eğer bi bilgi vermek istiyorsan/			
KOR000248 [v]		hı-hı'				
OZA000249 [v]				evet.		
MEL000250 [v]	bi toplantımız	var mes	ela demek	istiyorsan	o zaman	bilgiyi
MEL000250 [c]						
MEL000250 [v]		((0.1)) doğru şekilde vermesini ((0.3)) sağlamak				
MEL000250 [c]	((emphatically))					
OZA000249 [v]		tamam!	((0.9)) ilgi çek		mek hani fontu böyle	
MEL000250 [v]	zorunda	sin. bence	((0.9)) yani...			

5.1.2.1.2. Approval

The findings reveal that a very common function of the backchannels is to show approval. With this function, backchannels indicate that one of the speakers approves

what the other speaker says. However, this function is different from the agreement function. With the agreement function, backchannels show a subjective viewpoint. However, with the approval function, they are not subjective but they show a common ground for what is mentioned. Speaker 1 also knows or is aware of what Speaker 2 is saying. Table 5.27 presents the list of all the lexical backchannels used for approval. As can be seen in the table, there are 263 occurrences of approval meaning in the data and there are 44 different lexical backchannels used to imply approval. According to the analysis, *evet* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel for approval and it is followed by *öyle*.

Table 5.27. Lexical Backchannels Used for Approval

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
evet	165
öyle	17
doğru	16
tamam	12
evet evet	8
yani	3
doğrudur	2
ha evet	2
hm evet	2
öyle öyle	2
tabii	2
ay evet	1
hee evet	1
evet öyle	1
öyle tabi	1
hm doğru	1
biliyorum biliyorum	1
doğru hani	1
hmm evet	1
hm-hm öyle	1
hmm öyle	1
evet gari	1
doğru ya	1
çok doğru	1
haa doğru	1
evet doğru ya	1
evet ya	1

Table 5.27. (cont'd)

hm evet	1
he he doğru	1
haa evet	1
evet evet hı-hı	1
evet doğru	1
iyi evet	1
hadi bakalım	1
hı evet	1
olur	1
e öyle	1
öyle evet	1
öyleymiş	1
tabi	1
tamamdır	1
tamam doğru	1
tamam işte	1
Total	263

Example 75 is an all female conversation consisting of middle aged and elderly people. The conversation is taking at home and SAB000541 is neighbour of EMI000540. NAC000539 is husband's sister of EMI000540. They are talking about a specific village and SAB is describing some features of that village. In order to show that NAC is also aware and knows that village, she uses the lexical backchannel *öyle evet*.

Extract 75. 023_100710_00192

SAB000541 [v]	yok.	biz...	((0.1)) Yozgat'ın bi Taramta köyü var.	benim
NAC000539 [v]				
NAC000539 [c]				
SAB000541 [v]		gelinim ordan oraya gidiyor.	((0.8)) dikili ağaç yok.	((0.4))
SAB000541 [c]			((loudly))	((slowly))
SAB000541 [v]	böyle ko	ca köy!		((0.1)) bi yeşillik yok.
SAB000541 [c]				
NAC000539 [v]		(o Karapınar)	öyle. ◡ evet.	
SAB000541 [v]	((0.2)) (bi)...	◡ Ankara da öyle.	((0.3)) biz... Es	kişehir'e ge
SAB000541 [c]				((slowly))
NAC000539 [v]				(anladım).

Extract 76 is taken from the same recording as Extract 37. Speakers are talking about a time when there was a water outage. NAC also says that at that time they were bringing water from a specific place for tea. In order to show that SAB has also experienced the same thing, she uses the lexical backchannel *doğru* for approval.

Extract 76. 023_100710_00192

SAB000541 [v]			hiçbişey
NAC000539 [v]	yararlı değil zararlı demişler.	((0.1)) kapattı	lar. ıki sene ney
NAC000539 [c]			
SAB000541 [v]	yapmadı ama.	ı ama	bi seneye yakın içtim. ısağolsun.
NAC000539 [v]	oldu kapanalı.	hı hı'	hı' ((0.1)) işte.
SAB000541 [v]		ıgelirken ordan (getiriverirlerdi) bizim akrabalar böyle	
NAC000539 [v]		((0.4)) niye kestiler? hemen kesiver/ gidiyorlardı.	
SAB000541 [v]	bidonlarla.	ıe öy	le.
SAB000541 [c]		((change in tone of voice))	
NAC000539 [v]		iyi	su diye get/ ((0.1)) gidip
SAB000541 [v]			doğru.
SAB000541 [c]			((slowly))
NAC000539 [v]	herkes çayına ney ordan getiriyordu.	ıçay ney	demliyordu.

5.1.2.1.3. Astonishment

The results of the analysis show that lexical backchannels are also used to indicate a kind of astonishment in some instances, which has not been identified in previous studies on backchannels. With this function, Speaker 1 talks about a specific topic and Speaker 2 shows his or her amazement and surprise about what Speaker 1 is saying. As can be seen in Table 5.28, *Allah Allah* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel to indicate astonishment and it is followed by *hadi ya* and *hadi canım*.

Table 5.28. Lexical Backchannels Used for Astonishment

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
Allah Allah	10
hadi ya	6
hadi canım	5

Table 5.28. (cont'd)

yok artık	5
hadi yaa	4
haydi ya	4
aman!	2
bak	2
Allah Allah peki	1
anam!	1
aman Allahım!	1
deme ya!	1
hadi len	1
haydi	1
aman! aman!	1
ana!	1
amanın!	1
hadi be ya	1
yapma ya!	1
hey Allahım	1
Total	50

Extract 77 is an all female conversation consisting of young, middle aged and elderly speakers. The conversation is taking place at home. RAM000080 is mother of PER000040 and SER000081 is the mother-in-law of GUL000082. RAM000080 is husband's sister of SER000081. The topic is giving birth and the process after the birth. RAM says to GUL that she is a large person and surprised by what RAM says, GUL asks whether RAM meant that GUL is a fat person. SER also uses the lexical backchannel *amanın* because she is also surprised.

Extract 77. 072_090820_00022

PER000040 [v]			yok. �o �ekilde demedi herhalde. �e
RAM000080 [v]	(Yusuf!		
RAM000080 [c]	another person in the context))		
SER000081 [v]			((laughs))'
GUL000082 [v]		�((short laugh))'	((laughs))'
GUL000082 [c]			

Extract 77. (cont'd)

PER000040 [v]	e • ne denir böyle? ((XXX)) de	ğil anlamı	nda. o anl	amda	
RAM000080 [v]		vücut yapısı.	ut.		
GUL000082 [v]			haa'	yok.	şaka
GUL000082 [c]			((lengthening))		

PER000040 [v]	(dedi) ((XXX))				
RAM000080 [v]		• vücut yapısı.			
SER000081 [v]			amanın!		
SER000081 [c]			((softly))		
GUL000082 [v]	dedim ben. şaka dedim.				

Extract 78 is an all male conversation consisting of young and elderly speakers. The conversation is taking place at home. ONU000099 is a friend of VOL000447 and EMI000246 is future father-in-law of VOL000447. ONU000099 is a friend of EMI000246. They are talking about a specific car brand and, excited by what he has heard, VOL uses the lexical backchannel *Allah Allah*.

Extract 78. 024_100501_00161

EMI000246 [v]		Volswagen'le mi?
ONU000099 [v]	giderken eliyle ipe tutarak arabayla	gidiyor. (bi de araba
ONU000099 [c]		((laughing))

EMI000246 [v]	yapma ya!	olma	z abi! ya	pma ya!
ONU000099 [v]	var yani. ((laughs))			
ONU000099 [c]				
VOL000447 [v]		Al	lah Allah!	ben sana şöyle s

VOL000447 [v]	öyleyeyim.	benim babam da Volkswagen kullandı.	((0.3))
VOL000447 [c]	söylim, ((fast))		

VOL000447 [v]	benim babam nasıl fitik oldu. (ben sana söyle	söyle	söyleyeyim).
VOL000447 [c]		= şöyle	söylim

5.1.2.1.4. Giving Positive Comments

Being another original function identified in this study, lexical backchannels are also used by Speaker 2 to comment on what Speaker 1 is talking about. As can be seen in Table 5.29, these comments include more neutral lexical backchannels such as *iyi* and

hmm iyi and more emphasized exclamations including *off süper!* and *ay süper!*. The most frequently used lexical backchannel with this meaning is *iyi*.

Table 5.29. Lexical Backchannels Used for Giving Positive Comments

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
iyi	17
hmm iyi	2
iyi ya	2
iyi iyi	1
e iyi	1
hm iyi	1
iyi işte	1
off süper!	1
süper ya!	1
ay süper!	1
oo süper!	1
maşallah!	1
hm iyi	1
Total	17

Extract 79 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers. All of the participants in this recording are young. BAD000036 is a friend of OZG000035 and FAT000070 is a friend of AYS000071. OZL000072 is a friend of OZG000035 and this conversation is taking place in a car. They are talking about a music band called Ayna and OZG says that one of the members of that group came to visit her sister's house. Astonished and excited by what she has heard, BAD and OZG use the lexical backchannels *off süper* and *süper ya* for commenting.

Extract 79. 117_090310_00019

BAD000036 [v]	çı	kar...			
OZG000035 [v]	miş.				yaa o
AYS000071 [v]		hayır	çıkarmadı da	girerlerken ((01.)) gördüm.	
OZL000072 [v]		(tatil)...			

BAD000036 [v]			off süper!		
OZG000035 [v]	nun yanındaki kel adam v	ar y	a. _kel adam.	Gülden ablam	
AYS000071 [v]				((laughs))	
OZL000072 [v]	ben de konserine gittim.				

OZG000035 [v]	lara oturmaya geldi yaa!			süper ya!
OZG000035 [c]				((laughing))
OZL000072 [v]	artık o şeye geçti.			
IND000002 [v]		harbi mi?		
ALL000001 [v]		((laughter))	((laughter))	

The excerpt in Extract 80 is from the same recording with Example 39. Speakers are talking about a specific and prestigious college in Ankara. AYS says that teachers in that college meet in their room during the breaks and evaluate their previous courses together. Surprised by the things she has heard, BAD uses the lexical backchannel *maşallah* with an exclamation.

Extract 80. 117_090310_00019

AYS000071 [v]		konuşmak yoklamayı imzalama için	derste böyle çocuklara	
AYS000071 [v]	bir	writing	bişey yaptırdığında hemen yanımıza gelip	
AYS000071 [c]		eng: yazma		
AYS000071 [v]	yapıyorlar!	teneffüste koştur koştur odalarına gidip	((0.5))	
BAD000036 [v]			maşallah!	
AYS000071 [v]	hemen toplanıp ders hakkında konuşuyorlar.	her teneffüs		
AYS000071 [v]		koştur koştur şeye gidiyorlardı/ kendi zümrelerine		
AYS000071 [v]	gidiyorlardı.		teneffüs	te işi olmu/ ((0.2)) yani
OZL000072 [v]		((0.2)) va	ay!	

5.1.2.1.5. Exclamation

According to the analysis, speakers in the data sometimes use the lexical backchannels as exclamation markers, which is first identified in this study. There are eight different lexical backchannels used in the data with an exclamation meaning as presented in Table 5.30.

Table 5.30. Lexical Backchannels Used for Exclamation

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
oley	1
anam	1
töbe!	1
e hey yavrum be	1
eyvah	1
ayy çok fena	1
ayy çok fena ya	1
ya işte bu	1
vay vay vay	1
Total	9

Extract 81 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers and the participants in this conversation are young. This conversation is taking place at home. EZG000480 is a friend of DER000481 and DER000481 is a friend of UFU000482. UFU000482 is a friend of AYD000483 and AYD000483 is a friend of EZG000480. They are planning a lesson and preparing materials. They are talking about a problem with the internet connection and later the problem is solved. In order to show her happiness, DER uses the lexical backchannel *oley*.

Extract 81. 158_090511_00172

EZG000480 [v]					şu anda interneti yakaladım.
UFU000482 [v]			((whistles)) ((0.9)) ((whistles))'		
AYD000483 [v]	oluyor di mi?				
IND000002 [v]		((1.7)) evet.			
[nn]		((noise))			

EZG000480 [v]	((0.2)) umarım gitmez.				
DER000481 [v]		((0.2)) oley.			
UFU000482 [v]				((0.4)) gitmez büyük	

DER000481 [v]		((0.8)) tut tut.	kaçır/ kaçırma.	((laughs))'	
DER000481 [c]			((laughing))		
UFU000482 [v]	ihtimal.				((0.2)) al.

Extract 82 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers. Participants in this conversation are young and middle aged. The conversation is taking place at home and AHM000046 is husband of KAD000045 and KAD000045 is mother of

SEL000048. SEL000048 is elder brother of SED000047 and SED000047 is elder sister of SEN000049. SEN is telling a joke and in response to that joke, SEL says *e hey yavrum be* as an exclamation.

Extract 82. 114_090221_00007

SEN000049 [v]	işe yaramaz demiş.	((inhalés))	sıra Fenerli'ye gelmiş.	sen
SEN000049 [v]	ne istersin demiş.	((0.5))	Fenerli de demiş ki sırtıma	
SED000047 [v]		((laughs))	((XXX))	
SEL000048 [v]			a hey yavrum be!	
SEN000049 [v]	Galatasaraylı'yı bağlayın.			
SED000047 [v]		((0.3)) ((short laugh))	((inhalés))	napmaya çalıştın sen
SED000047 [v]	şimdi?	hı?	((short laugh))	al/ aşağıladı
SEL000048 [v]			ne güzel fıkra işte al.	((clears

5.1.2.1.6. Compassion

Results of the analysis indicate that lexical backchannels are also used to show a strong feeling of sympathy for someone who is suffering, and a desire to help them, another newly defined function in this study. Table 5.31 presents all the lexical backchannels used to indicate compassion. As can be seen in the table, *yazık* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel for compassion meaning.

Table 5.31. Lexical Backchannels Used for Compassion

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
yazık	3
ah canım!	1
anladım	1
Total	5

Example 83 is a majority female conversation consisting of young and elderly speakers. The conversation is taking place at home. UMM000569 is maternal aunt of GAM000568 and MUS000570 is aunt's husband of GAM000568. UMM000569 is wife of MUS000570. They are talking about their relatives and home. GAM says

UMM can come to their house whenever she wants. In order to show her affection, UMM says *ah canım*.

Extract 83. 067_090708_00201

GAM000568 [v]	((inhales)) yani buyrun gelin. _{evimiz}	herkese	a	çık.
GAM000568 [c]		((emphatically))		
UMM000569 [v]				yok

GAM000568 [v]			sıcak mı
UMM000569 [v]	canım! _{bil} biliyorum. (iyi şeylerin üzerinde olacak.		çünkü...

GAM000568 [v]	cak buluruz bi yolunu. _{yatarız}		kalkarız	ne olacak.
GAM000568 [c]		((laughing)) ((humorous tone))	noolucak	
UMM000569 [v]		ah canı	m! ((XXX((XXX)) yahu!	

GAM000568 [v]			yok! _{onun da bişeyi yok}	yani.
GAM000568 [c]			((loudly))	
UMM000569 [v]	olmuş bişey bu ya! ((XXX))			(ben
UMM000569 [c]	((change in tone of voice))			

Extract 84 is a majority female conversation consisting of young and elderly speakers. The conversation is taking place at home. SAL000285 is father of SEZ000284 and MEL000286 is maternal aunt of SEZ000284. SAL000285 is elder brother of MEL000286. They are talking about an elderly person and in order to show her compassion for that person, SAL uses the lexical backchannel *yazık*.

Extract 84. 107_100210_00104

SAL000285 [v]	garip. • fakir.		başka/	başka geliri...	
SAL000285 [c]				((loudly))	
MEL000286 [v]		((0.2)) ti	triyor.	titr	_{iyor.} bak/ bak (sen) her
MEL000286 [c]					((change in tone voice))

SEZ000284 [v]					((short laugh))
SAL000285 [v]		ha ya		haa	
SAL000285 [c]		((lengthening))		((softly))	
MEL000286 [v]	yerde titriyor	um ben. yanlışlıkla	tit	riyorsun	diyecekler. _{(tit}
MEL000286 [c]		titriyon			

Extract 84. (cont'd)

SEZ000284 [v]			((short laugh))'		
SAL000285 [v]		yazık.			
MEL000286 [v]	riyor bakın).			((laughs))'	çok çalışkandı!
MEL000286 [c]	((laughing))				((humorous tone))

5.1.2.1.7. Sharing Feelings

In some instances, lexical backchannels are used to show that Speaker 1 is sharing the feelings of Speaker 2 and s/he is showing empathy for Speaker 2's feelings. This function is usually observed when Speaker 1 is talking about a negative event or situation s/he is worrying about. In order to show his or her empathy for Speaker 1, Speaker 2 uses a lexical backchannel. As can be seen in Table 5.32, there are only 3 occurrences of this function and *aman ya* and *aman* are the only lexical backchannels used in these instances.

Table 5.32. Lexical Backchannels Used for Sharing Feelings

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
aman!	2
aman ya!	1
Total	3

Extract 85 is an all female conversation consisting of middle aged and elderly people. The conversation is taking place at home in the balcony. VAS000542 is mother of EMI000540 and NAC000539 is husband's sister of EMI000540. EMI is talking about a detergent that she has brought for NAC and but some of the detergent spilled on the road. In order to show that is not important, NAC uses the lexical backchannel *aman* twice.

Extract 85. 023_100707_00193

NAC000539 [v]	sana da	((0.3)) bayağı	almıştım.	ne	kadar
NAC000539 [c]			aldıydım		
EMI000540 [v]	doldurup bi şişe (ver).				

Extract 85. (cont'd)

NAC000539 [v]	di?		hı'			
NAC000539 [c]	gadardı					
EMI000540 [v]	on	kiloluktu da	gel	ene	kadar	bi kilosu dökülmüş. _ağzı
EMI000540 [c]					gadar	

NAC000539 [v]		aman!				
NAC000539 [c]		((lengthening))				
EMI000540 [v]	aç/ ar	alık kalmış da.	((0.2))	((inhalation))	arka a/ o ((0.3))	Clio'

NAC000539 [v]			((0.2))	aman!		
NAC000539 [c]				((lengthening))		
EMI000540 [v]		nun arkasını temizleyene kadar i bitti.				

5.1.2.1.8. Relief

In some instances, lexical backchannels are used to show relief. However, compared to other functions of lexical backchannels, relief function is observed less frequently in the data. As illustrated in Table 5.33, *ha iyi* is the only lexical backchannel used with relief function. As already stated in non-lexical backchannels chapter, this function of backchannels has not been referred to until this study.

Table 5.33. Lexical Backchannels Used for Relief

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
ha iyi	1
Total	1

Extract 86 is an all female conversation consisting of middle aged and elderly people. The conversation is taking at home and SAB000541 is neighbour of EMI000540. NAC000539 is husband's sister of EMI000540. They are talking about cooking and SAB is concerned about whether NAC has lowered the heat or not. When NAC says the meal is under control, in order to show her relief, SAB uses the lexical backchannel *ha iyi*.

Extract 86. 023_100710_00192

SAB000541 [v]	kapatıverseymişsin	piş	mişmiş	o.	
SAB000541 [c]	kapatıvereymişin				
NAC000539 [v]			ya!		
EMI000540 [v]					• saat tuttum ya sözde

SAB000541 [v]				(gene) mi k	oydun?
NAC000539 [v]		hı'			
EMI000540 [v]	saatine baktım.	o s	aatte pişiyor o saa	tine göre.	

SAB000541 [v]		• gene mi koydun?		ha'ıyı.
NAC000539 [v]			((0.3)) ((XXX))	
EMI000540 [v]	((0.2)) hı?		((0.3)) yok.	koymadım.

SAB000541 [v]	((0.1)) ha	ni koyduysan	unutmazsın.	
SAB000541 [c]		koysan	unutman	
NAC000539 [v]		(şeyi)/		(tencereye mi koydun)?

5.1.2.2. Lexical Backchannels with Negativity

Lexical backchannels with negativity have four sub-functions which are disagreement, lexical backchannels with the meaning of 'so what?', implying the insignificance of a topic and sarcasm.

5.1.2.2.1. Disagreement

Another function of lexical backchannels is to show disagreement. When one of the speakers does not agree with the other speaker, s/he may sometimes use a backchannel to show disagreement. Though several studies including Özcan (2015), Pipek (2007) and Ruede et al. (2017) identified the disagreement function of backchannels, sub-functions of disagreement have not been named.

Table 5.34 presents the list of lexical backchannels used with disagreement function. As can be seen in the table, *hayır* is the most commonly used lexical backchannel to show disagreement. It is followed by *yok* and *yok yok*.

Table 5.34. Lexical Backchannels Used for Disagreement

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
hayır	24
yok	13
yok yok	10
yok canım	6
hayır be	3
yok ya!	2
hayır hayır	2
hayır be ya	2
hayır canım	1
hayır hayır hayır	1
yok yaa	1
yoo	1
yok be	1
yok yo	1
aman aman	1
yok olmaz	1
Allah Allah hayır!	1
öyle değil	1
hayır yani	1
tih hayır	1
nayır	1
bana ne	1
bana ne canım	1
Total	77

Extract 87 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers. The speakers in this conversation are young and the conversation is taking place at home. RUK000029 is elder sister of MUS000031 and BUR000030 is elder sister of BUR000032. RUK000029 is neighbour of BUR000030 and RUK000029 is neighbour of BUR000032. MUS000031 is neighbour of BUR000030. MUS000031 is neighbour of BUR000032. RUK says that she has to go home because she has to cook dinner. In order to persuade her to stay more, BUR says she can send a meal over but RUK does not agree, declines and says *yok olmaz*. In response to RUK, BUR says *hayır* to show her disagreement with RUK.

Extract 87. 012_090128_00002

RUK000029 [v]		((0.4)) bab	am gönderdi.	
BUR000030 [v]	yaa?		tamam. _ben yemek	gönderirim. _tamam
BUR000030 [c]				

RUK000029 [v]	yok	olmaz!	bu ((XXX))	((short laugh))'	
BUR000030 [v]	mi?		hayır!		hayır dedim.
BUR000030 [c]			((loudly))		
BUR000032 [v]					((short

RUK000029 [v]		sık sık geliriz yani.			
BUR000030 [v]				ha' _hiç	inanmıyorum.
BUR000032 [v]	laugh))'		(çok)	((XXX))	

Example 88 is a majority female conversation consisting of young and middle aged speakers. The conversation is taking place at home. RAI000258 is mother of PEL000213 and BEY000261 is elder sister of KAG000259. RAI000258 is maternal aunt of BEY000261 and HIL000260 is husband of RAI000258. BEY000261 is cousin of PEL000213 and HIL000260 is father of PEL000213. KAG000259 is cousin of PEL000213 and RAI000258 is maternal aunt of KAG000259. HIL000260 is aunt's husband of BEY000261 and HIL000260 is aunt's husband of KAG000259. They are talking about some behavior patterns and whether it is suitable to behave in some specific manners. RAI offers something to drink and to show her disagreement, HIL says *nayır* (meaning *Hayır*).

Extract 88. 071_091003_00094

PEL000213 [v]		((0.9)) hiç öğretememişim.	((0.2))
PEL000213 [c]		@RAI000258 and HIL000260	
IND000002 [v]	(vermişim izin)!		

PEL000213 [v]	büyüklerinizin yanında öyle sarılarak do	laşılır mı?
PEL000213 [c]		
RAI000258 [v]		annene kal
RAI000258 [c]		@BEY000261, referring

RAI000258 [v]	dı mı? _içmiş mi?	adaş vereyim mi	azıcık	sana bundan?
RAI000258 [c]	to BEY000261's mother	@HIL000260	acıkın	((fast))

Extract 88. (cont'd)

PEL000213 [v]	((short laugh))	((short laugh))'	dikmiş valla	hızlı	hızlı.
PEL000213 [c]			((laughing))	((softly))	
HIL000260 [v]	hayır.			((XXX))	(hay
HIL000260 [c]	= hayır				

5.1.2.2.1.1. Jeerer disagreement

Results of the analysis show that some of the lexical backchannels used as disagreement markers might be used with a jeerer disagreement meaning. As illustrated in Table 5.35, *hadi ordan* is the only lexical backchannel used with this meaning and it is used only once in the data.

Table 5.35. Lexical Backchannels Used for Jeerer Disagreement

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
hadi ordan!	1
Total	1

Example 89 is an all female conversation consisting of only young speakers. The conversation is taking place at a café and OZG000035 is a friend of BAD000036. DER000038 is a friend of ASI000037. At that moment, they are taking some photos. After taking the photos, they are evaluating them and ASI and DER are competing with each other regarding which photo is better. DER says her photo is better than ASI's photo. In order to show her disagreement, BAD says *hadi ordan*.

Extract 89. 113_0904_0004

BAD000036 [v]	burda arkamızı çekseydin keşke?		
BAD000036 [c]	((laughing))		
ASI000037 [v]			((4.8)) şey
DER000038 [v]		çekiyorum.	

ASI000037 [v]	güzel çıkıyor.		
DER000038 [v]		((0.1)) benimki daha güzel çıktı. ((0.2)) ben	

Extract 89. (cont'd)

BAD000036 [v]		hadi	ordan!	((short laugh))	
BAD000036 [c]		((louder))	((lengthening, laughing))		
DER000038 [v]	çektim.				
IND000002 [v]					((0.2))

DER000038 [v]				((0.9))	
IND000002 [v]		ben şunun üstüne oturdum. ıo yüzden bunalttı beni.			

BAD000036 [v]					yeter yaa
ASI000037 [v]			((0.5)) yaa! ne bile	ben.	
DER000038 [v]	hareket ettin.				
IND000002 [v]				((XXX))	

5.1.2.2.1.2. Empathetic Disagreement

As can be seen Table 5.36, in one instance in the data, a lexical backchannel, *ya ne diyorsun* with an exclamation is used for indicating a strong disagreement.

Table 5.36. Lexical Backchannels Used for Empathetic Disagreement

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
ya ne diyorsun!	1
Total	1

Example 90 is an all female conversation consisting of only young speakers. The conversation is taking place at home. OZG000726 is daughter of SUM000728 and CIS000304 is daughter of AYS000729. CIS000304 is a friend of OZG000726 and AYS000729 is a friend of SUM000728. The topic is a specific type of meal and OZG says that SUM will not be affected by the meal since she is used to eating fatty meals. In order to show her disagreement, SUM says *ya ne diyorsun* which is used to indicate a strong disagreement.

Extract 90. 191_090213_00276

OZG000726 [v]	babama hani böyle ((clears throat)) yemekten bişey olabilir
[nn]	

Extract 90. (cont'd)

OZG000726 [v]	ama sana olmaz.	((0.6)) sen çok alışkınsın.	
SUM000728 [v]			((0.6)) neye di...
[nn]			

OZG000726 [v]		taa Kars'tan	alışkınsın sen • yağlı yemeğe ağır
SUM000728 [v]	çok a	lışığım ((XXX))	
[nn]		((clatter of tableware))	

OZG000726 [v]	yemeğe.	((0.8)) sa	na		olma	z bunlar.
SUM000728 [v]			ya	ne di	yorsun!	
IND000002 [v]						((0.2)) he' _hi'

5.1.2.2.2. Lexical Backchannels with the Meaning of “So What?”

The results of the analysis also show that in some instances, lexical backchannels are used to ask the other person what the value of the things they are talking about and what their relation to the main topic is. In this function, the listener understands what the other person is saying; however, s/he actually wants to know why they are mentioning that specific issue. The backchannels with this meaning can also mean “so what?” As illustrated in Table 5.37, the most frequently used backchannel with this function is *yani*. These lexical backchannels are usually used with a rising intonation to mean “so what?”.

Table 5.37. Lexical Backchannels Used with the Meaning of 'so what?'

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
yani	2
evet yani?	1
ee evet	1
e tamam	1
Total	5

Extract 91 is an all female conversation consisting of young and middle aged speakers. The conversation is taking place at home in the balcony. HAN000730 is neighbour of EMI000731 and AYS000732 is daughter of HAN000730. They are talking about a misunderstanding and EMI asks a question to AYS. AYS does not know why EMI is asking such a question and says *evet yani* which means *so what*.

Extract 91. 060_090725_00277

HAN000730 [v]	kendi	doğurur gibi... ((sniffs))		diyeceksin.
HAN000730 [c]	gendi	((crying))		diyecen, ((lengthening))
[nn]			((silence))	

HAN000730 [v]			((0.7)) ne?	
EMI000731 [v]		((1.8)) (hani dedin ya ne) ((XXX))?		((0.3)) nerde?
[nn]				((uninterpretable))

HAN000730 [v]		((0.2)) kız bak! haa!	dur şu yüzüne	bakalım.		
HAN000730 [c]				bagalım		
EMI000731 [v]					e ona	
[nn]	sound))					

HAN000730 [v]				((0.4)) bu şişe şef	tali mi
EMI000731 [v]	alıyorsan (heybet	liye mi)?		((0.4)) e ben ((XXX))...	
AYS000732 [v]		evet	yani?		

Example 92 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers and the participants in this conversation are young. This conversation is taking place at home and EZG000480 is a friend of DER000481. DER000481 is a friend of UFU000482 and UFU000482 is a friend of AYD000483. AYD000483 is a friend of EZG000480. UFU is talking about some geometrical calculations and DER says *yani* which means *so what* because she does not understand the relation of what UFU says to the main topic.

Extract 92. 158_090511_00172

DER000481 [v]	dört bölü... ne? hı-hı'	((0.3)) h	acmi?	evet ((0.2))
UFU000482 [v]			öbür şeyi.	

DER000481 [v]	kürenin dört bölü üç p r küp.			
UFU000482 [v]		bunun şeyi şu.		((1.7)) emm'

DER000481 [v]		((0.5)) yani?	ya	ni üç?	
UFU000482 [v]	((0.1)) yarıçapı.		yani şurası ç.		((0.9))

DER000481 [v]		((2.0)) ama bununkini ((0.4)) hesaplamaları		
UFU000482 [v]	((sighs))'			

DER000481 [v]	gerekmiyor mu?			hı'
UFU000482 [v]			tamam işte şu değil mi?	
AYD000483 [v]		bunun kaç?		

5.1.2.2.3. Implying Insignificance of a Topic

In some instances, lexical backchannels are used to imply that the topic being talked about is not so important. Table 5.38 presents the lexical backchannels that are used for implying insignificance of a topic. As can be seen in the table, *aman* and *aman canım* are the lexical backchannels used with this function.

Table 5.38. Lexical Backchannels Implying Insignificance of a Topic

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
aman	3
aman canım	1
Total	4

Extract 93 is a mixed conversation with more female speakers. All of the speakers in this conversation are young. The conversation is taking place at home and MUS000122 is husband of OZG000105 and AYS000110 is a friend of OZG000105. ISI000108 is a friend of OZG000105. The topic is wedding plans and AYS it is too early for her because she does not have any preparations or saving. In order to indicate that it is not important, OZG uses the lexical backchannel *aman canım*.

Extract 93. 103_091108_00040

AYS000110 [v]	belki	mayıs gibi falan gelirler.	((1.4)) eylül • ama
MUS000122 [v]		tam işte yaz zamanı düğün zamanı.	

OZG000105 [v]			((laughs))
AYS000110 [v]		dur bakalım ben korkuyorum ya.	
MUS000122 [v]			niye korkuyorsun ya?

OZG000105 [v]			aman
AYS000110 [v]	ya benim hiç bir hazırlığım yok.	hiçbir şeyim yok.	
ISI000108 [v]	((XXX))		
MUS000122 [v]			nasıl

OZG000105 [v]	canım.		
AYS000110 [v]			daha hazırlığım yok birikimim yok
MUS000122 [v]		hazırlık yani?	

5.1.2.2.4. Sarcasm

With this function, lexical backchannels indicate a kind of irony with the meaning “that's what you think but the real situation is not so”. Table 5.39 presents the lexical backchannels used to indicate a sarcasm in the data. As can be seen in the table, *yok ya* and *tabi canım* are the lexical backchannels used for sarcasm.

Table 5.39. Lexical Backchannels Used for Sarcasm

Lexical Backchannels	Frequency of Occurrence
yok ya	2
tabi canım	1
Total	3

Example 94 is a mixed conversation consisting of more female speakers. Participants in this conversation are young and middle aged. The conversation is taking place at home and AHM000046 is husband of KAD000045. KAD000045 is mother of SEL000048. SEL000048 is elder brother of SED000047. SED000047 is elder sister of SEN000049. They are talking about a plane accident and SED says sometimes those accidents happen because of life jackets. In order to mean 'that's what you think but the real situation is not so', SEL says *yok ya*.

Extract 94. 114_090221_00007

SED000047 [v]	((0.1)) pilot nehire indirmişti ya ş	eyi/ u	çağı. �o zaman işte
SEL000048 [v]		hı-hı'	
SED000047 [v]	• böyle tarihte benzer kazalar diye bi gazetede haber		
SED000047 [v]	vardı. �okumuştum da ben orda.	((inhales))	o can yeleğini
SED000047 [v]	erken açtıkları için bikaç kişi boğularak ölmüş. �bili	yor	
SEL000048 [v]			yok ya!
SED000047 [v]	musun? �in	meden önce. �evebaşka	kazalarda.
SEL000048 [v]		�ama	biraz...
SED000047 [v]		o zamanda değil.	((0.4)) ha işte tam
SEL000048 [v]	• o zaman o uçak	lar için olmuştur.	

The excerpt in Example 95 is also taken from the same recording with Example 54. They discuss where goods belong to. SEL says they belong to the country the tax is paid, whereas SED claims they belong to the country where they are produced. When SEL hears SED's claim, in a sarcastic manner, he says *yok ya*.

Extract 95. 114_090221_00007

KAD000045 [v]		((0.4)) ((XXX)) firması...	
SEL000048 [v]	ülkenin	((0.4)) hangi ülkeye	vergisini ödüyorsan onun
[nn]		((noise))	

SED000047 [v]		((0.1)) yok artık!		ne	rde
SEL000048 [v]	şeyi oluyor/	malı olu/	malı oluyor. X))		
			((XX		

SED000047 [v]	üretildiyse oranın malıdır.		((0.1)) yok artık! mesela
SEL000048 [v]		yok ya!	

SED000047 [v]	sen Afyon/ Afyon doğumlusun. Afyo/ Afyonlu olmuyor
----------------------	--

5.2. Use of Lexical Backchannels in Naturally Formed Groups

The analysis of the data in the corpus showed that the conversations examined in this study were formed of three main groups which are all female, all male, and mixed conversations. Mixed conversations have three subgroups which are majority female groups, majority male groups, and conversations which include equal numbers of male and female speakers. After identifying the group components, differences in the usage of backchannels were examined in these groups.

5.2.1. All Female Groups

The analysis of the corpus data revealed that all female groups were formed by different age groups which are young group, middle-aged and elderly group, young and middle-aged group and young, middle-aged and elderly group.

5.2.1.1. Young Group

After identifying the lexical backchannels and their functions in the data, another analysis was carried out to see how lexical backchannels were used in groups consisting of different gender and age combinations. Table 5.39, 5.40 and 5.41 present the functions of the lexical backchannels that are used in conversations which have only female and young speakers. As illustrated in Table 5.40, agreement is the most commonly used function in conversation 113_090404_00004. Approval and disagreement have the same percentage of frequency in this conversation.

Table 5.40. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 113_090404_00004

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Unwilling agreement	3
Ironic agreement	1
Agreement	8
Agreement total	12
Jeerer disagreement	1
Disagreement	2
Disagreement total	3
Approval	3
Reassurance	2
Responding to a question	2
Comment	1
Total	23

Table 5.41 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 191_090213_00276. As illustrated in the table, lexical backchannels are most commonly used for agreement function. There are only two instances where lexical backchannels are used for disagreement function and there is only one instance of approval function.

Table 5.41. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 191_090213_00276

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Empathetic agreement	2
Agreement	10
Agreement total	12
Disagreement	1
Empathetic disagreement	1
Disagreement total	2
Responding to a question	2
Approval	1
Astonishment	1
Total	18

In Table 5.42, functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 069_090610_00015 are presented. As illustrated in the table, approval is the most commonly used function in this recording. There are not any places where lexical backchannels are used as disagreement or agreement markers in this conversation.

Table 5.42. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 069_090610_00015

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	13
Listener's support	1
Responding to a question	1
Total	15

Table 5.43 summarizes the total frequencies of functions of lexical backchannels in all female young group. As can be seen in the table, the most commonly used functions are agreement followed by approval while the percentage of the lexical backchannels that are used with disagreement function is quite low.

Table 5.43. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in All Female Young Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement Total	24
Approval Total	17
Disagreement Total	5
Responding to a question	5
Reassurance	2
Comment	1
Listener's support	1
Astonishment	1
Total	56

5.2.1.2. Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Table 5.44 and 5.45 present the functions of the lexical backchannels that are used in conversations which have only female speakers who are middle aged and elderly speakers. As shown in Table 5.43, approval is the most commonly used function of lexical backchannels in conversation 023_100707_00193. It is followed by agreement function and there is not any instance where a lexical backchannel was used for disagreement in this conversation.

Table 5.44. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 023_100707_00193

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	12
Agreement	5
Empathetic agreement	2
Agreement with suspicion	1
Agreement total	8
Sharing feelings	4
Implying insignificance of a topic	2
Exclamation	1
Astonishment	1
Possibility	1
Comment	1
Total	30

Table 5.45 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 023_100710_00192. According to the analysis, agreement is the most commonly used function in this conversation. Approval function is the second most commonly observed function while there are not any examples of disagreement function in this recording.

Table 5.45. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 023_100710_00192

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	29
Agreement not strong	5
Agreement total	34
Continuation	23
Approval	22
Comment	5
Responding to a question	3
Request for reassurance	1
Relief	1
Compassion	1
Request for approval	1
Total	91

Table 5.46 presents the total frequencies of functions of lexical backchannels in all female group in which there are middle aged and elderly speakers. The results of the analysis show that the most common functions of lexical backchannels are agreement, approval and continuation. As can be seen in the table, there isn't any instance in which the lexical backchannels were used to indicate disagreement.

Table 5.46. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in All Female Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement Total	41
Approval	34
Continuation	23
Comment	6
Sharing feelings	4
Responding to a question	3
Implying insignificance of a topic	2

Table 5.46. (cont'd)

Exclamation	1
Astonishment	1
Possibility	1
Request for reassurance	1
Relief	1
Compassion	1
Request for approval	1
Disagreement	0
Total	121

2.1.3. Young and Middle Aged Group

Table 5.47 and 5.48 present the functions of the lexical backchannels that are used in conversations which have only female speakers who are young and middle aged speakers. As shown in Table 5.46, approval and responding to a question are the most commonly used function of lexical backchannels in conversation 060_090725_00277. In this conversation, there are not any examples of agreement function and there is only one instance where a lexical backchannel is used for disagreement.

Table 5.47. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 060_090725_00277

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Responding to a question	2
Approval	2
Disagreement	1
Request for reassurance	1
Astonishment	1
So what?	1
Compassion	1
Comment	1
Total	10

Table 5.48 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 149_090204_00158. Agreement is the most commonly used function in this conversation and disagreement and approval functions are used only once this recording.

Table 5.48. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 149_090204_00158

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	3
Weak agreement	2
Agreement total	5
Reassurance	1
Disagreement	1
Approval	1
Total	8

Total frequencies of functions of lexical backchannels in all female group in which there are young and middle aged speakers are presented in Table 5.49. As can be seen in the table, lexical backchannels are mostly used for agreement function followed by approval. There are two instances where a lexical backchannel is used for disagreement and disagreement and responding to a question have the same frequencies of occurrence.

Table 5.49. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in All Female Young Middle Aged Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement Total	5
Approval Total	3
Disagreement Total	2
Responding to a question	2
Astonishment	1
Request for reassurance	1
So what?	1
Compassion	1
Comment	1
Reassurance	1
Total	18

2.1.4. Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Table 5.50, 5.51 and 5.52 present the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of only female speakers who are young, middle aged and elderly. As can be seen in Table 5.49, responding to a question and giving positive

comments functions are the most common functions for lexical backchannels in conversation 129_100320_00163.

Table 5.50. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 129_100320_00163

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Responding to a question	2
Comment	2
Disagreement	1
Implying insignificance of a topic	1
That's what I am saying	1
Total	7

Table 5.51 lists the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 069_090813_00051. In this conversation, there is only one lexical backchannel and it is used for responding to a question.

Table 5.51. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 069_090813_00051

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Responding to a question	1
Total	1

As illustrated in Table 5.52, there is only one lexical backchannel in conversation 072_090820_00022 and it is used to indicate astonishment.

Table 5.52. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 072_090820_00022

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Astonishment	1
Total	1

Table 5.53 presents the total frequencies of functions of lexical backchannels in all female groups where there are young, middle aged and elderly speakers. As shown in the table, the most commonly used function is responding to a question and there is only one instance where a lexical backchannel is used for disagreement function. In this group, speakers did not use lexical backchannels for agreement or approval

functions.

Table 5.53. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in All Female Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Responding to a question	3
Comment	2
Disagreement	1
Implying insignificance of a topic	1
That's what I am saying	1
Astonishment	1
Total	9

5.2.2. All Male Groups

All male groups consisted of young and elderly group and young group. The distribution of the lexical backchannels in these groups are explained in this section.

5.2.2.1. Young and Elderly Group

Table 5.54 and 5.55 present the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of only male speakers who are young and elderly. As illustrated in Table 5.54, agreement is the most commonly observed function in conversation 024_100501_00160. Disagreement and approval functions have the same percentage of frequency in this conversation.

Table 5.54. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 024_100501_00160

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	19
Weak agreement	3
Agreement total	22
That's what I'm saying	3
Disagreement	2
Approval	2
Continuation	1
Total	30

Table 5.55 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 024_100501_00161. Lexical backchannels are mostly used for agreement function. Disagreement and approval functions have similar percentages of frequency and they are quite low compared to the percentage of the frequency of agreement function.

Table 5.55. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 024_100501_00161

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	23
Weak agreement	5
Agreement total	28
Disagreement	5
Responding to a question	4
Approval	4
Astonishment	1
Total	42

Table 5.56 illustrates the total frequencies of functions of lexical backchannels in all male groups in which there are young and elderly speakers. As can be seen in the table, agreement is the most commonly observed function and it is followed by disagreement and approval functions. The frequency of the disagreement function is higher than the frequency of approval function in this group.

Table 5.56. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in All Male Young-Elderly Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement total	50
Disagreement total	7
Approval total	6
Responding to a question	4
That's what I'm saying	3
Continuation	1
Astonishment	1
Total	72

5.2.2.2. Young Group

Table 5.57, 5.58, 5.59 and 5.60 present the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of only male and young speakers. Astonishment and agreement functions are the most commonly observed functions for lexical backchannels in conversation 039_090315_00142. There are not any examples of disagreement and approval functions in that recording.

Table 5.57. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 039_090315_00142

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Astonishment	3
Agreement	1
Unwilling agreement	1
Weak agreement	1
Agreement total	3
Responding to a question	1
Request for reassurance	1
Total	8

Table 5.58 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 061_090615_00103. Lexical backchannels are most commonly used for agreement and astonishment functions in this conversation. There is only one instance where a lexical backchannel is used for approval and there are not any examples of disagreement function in this recording.

Table 5.58. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 061_090615_00103

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Astonishment	2
Agreement with suspicion	1
Agreement	1
Agreement total	2
Comment	1
Approval	1
Total	6

As can be seen in Table 5.59, responding to a question is the most commonly used function for lexical backchannels in conversation 061_090623_00050. It is followed by comprehension function and there are not any examples of disagreement function in this recording.

Table 5.59. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 061_090623_00050

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Responding to a question	11
Comprehension	5
Astonishment	3
Approval	2
Changing the topic	1
Summing up	1
Total	23

Table 5.60 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 085_090930_00130. Similar to the previous conversation, lexical backchannels are most commonly used for responding to a question function which is related to conversational flow. Approval and astonishment are the other functions observed in this conversation and there are not any examples of disagreement in this recording.

Table 5.60. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 085_090930_00130

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Responding to a question	2
Approval	1
Astonishment	1
Total	4

Total frequencies of functions of lexical backchannels in all male group with young speakers are presented in Table 5.61. As can be seen in the table, responding to a question and astonishment functions are the most commonly used functions but there is no instance where a lexical backchannel is used for disagreement by male and young speakers. There are five instances of agreement and four instances of approval functions in this group.

Table 5.61. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in All Male Young Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Responding to a question	14
Astonishment	9
Agreement	5
Comprehension	5
Approval	4
Request for reassurance	1
Comment	1
Changing the topic	1
Summing up	1
Disagreement	0
Total	41

5.2.3. Majority Female Groups

According to the analysis of the data majority female groups were formed by young group, middle-aged group, young and elderly group, young and middle-aged group and young, middle-aged and elderly group.

5.2.3.1. Young Group

Table 5.62, 5.63, 5.64 and 5.65 present the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of more female and young speakers. According to the analysis results, disagreement is the most commonly used function for lexical backchannels in 012_090128_00002. There is only one instance of agreement function in this conversation.

Table 5.62. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 012_090128_00002

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Disagreement	3
Astonishment	2
Possibility	1
Agreement	1

Table 5.62. (cont'd)

Responding to a question	1
Total	8

Table 5.63 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 103_091108_00040. As illustrated in the table, lexical backchannels are most commonly used for agreement function and it is followed by approval for which there are 15 instances. There is only one lexical backchannel used for disagreement in this conversation.

Table 5.63. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 103_091108_00040

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	12
Agreement with suspicion	1
Weak agreement	3
Agreement total	16
Approval	15
Responding to a question	7
Possibility	1
Disagreement	1
Implying insignificance of a topic	1
Total	41

Approval is the most commonly used function in conversation 117_090310_00019 as shown in Table 5.64. Agreement is the second most commonly observed function and there are not any examples of disagreement function in this conversation.

Table 5.64. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 117_090310_00019

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	9
Agreement	5
Weak agreement	3
Agreement total	8
Responding to a question	6
Comment	5
Astonishment	3
That is what I am saying	2

Table 5.64. (cont'd)

Disagreement	2
Request for reassurance	2
Request for approval	1
Reassurance	1
Total	39

As illustrated in Table 5.65, agreement is the most commonly used function for lexical backchannels in conversation 158_090511_00172 followed by approval function. There are not any lexical backchannels used for disagreement in this conversation.

Table 5.65. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 158_090511_00172

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	21
Weak agreement	1
Unwilling agreement	2
Agreement total	24
Approval	20
Continuation	7
Responding to a question	3
Reassurance	3
Request for reassurance	3
Indication for getting the message	2
So what?	2
Comprehension	1
Exclamation	1
Changing the topic	1
Summing up	1
Total	69

Table 5.66 presents the total frequencies of functions of lexical backchannels in majority female groups consisting of only young speakers. As shown in Table 5.66, agreement and approval functions are the most commonly used functions followed by responding to a question and continuation functions but the frequency of the lexical backchannels that are used for disagreement is quite low compared to agreement and approval functions.

Table 5.66. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Majority Female Young Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement total	49
Approval total	44
Responding to a question	18
Continuation	7
Disagreement total	6
Astonishment	5
Request for reassurance	5
Comment	5
Reassurance	4
Possibility	2
That is what I am saying	2
So what?	2
Indication for getting the message	2
Implying insignificance of a topic	1
Request for approval	1
Changing the topic	1
Summing up	1
Exclamation	1
Comprehension	1
Total	157

5.2.3.2. Middle Aged Group

Table 5.67 presents the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of more female and middle aged speakers. As can be seen in the table, agreement and approval functions are the most commonly used functions but there is not any instance where the lexical backchannels are used for disagreement.

Table 5.67. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Majority Female Middle Aged Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	4
Weak agreement	3
Agreement total	7
Approval	3

Table 5.67. (cont'd)

That is what I am saying	1
Reassurance	1
Total	12

5.2.3.3. Young and Elderly Group

Table 5.68, 5.69, 5.70 and 5.71 present the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of more female speakers who are young and elderly. Approval and agreement functions have the same percentages of frequency and there is only one instance where a lexical backchannel is used for disagreement function in conversation 067_090708_00201.

Table 5.68. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 067_090708_00201

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	5
Agreement	5
Astonishment	2
That's what I'm saying	2
Responding to a question	1
Continuation	1
Disagreement	1
Compassion	1
Total	18

As illustrated in Table 5.69, there are three lexical backchannels used in conversation 098_090422_0069 and they are used for weak agreement, request for reassurance and continuation functions.

Table 5.69. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 098_090422_0069

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Weak agreement	1
Request for reassurance	1
Continuation	1
Total	3

Table 5.70 illustrates the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 107_100210_00104. As shown in the table, agreement is the most commonly observed function in this conversation followed by approval function and there are not any examples of disagreement in this recording.

Table 5.70. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 107_100210_00104

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	18
Approval	10
Continuation	5
Responding to a question	2
Indication for getting the message	2
Compassion	1
Request for reassurance	1
Disagreement	1
Total	40

There are two lexical backchannels used in conversation 112_090217_00001 as shown in Table 5.71 and these lexical backchannels are used for responding to a question and indicating the meaning of *that is what I mean*.

Table 5.71. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 112_090217_00001

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Responding to a question	1
That's what I'm saying	1
Total	2

Table 5.72 shows the total frequencies of lexical backchannels in majority female groups in which there are young and elderly speakers. As can be seen in the table, agreement and approval functions are the most commonly used functions but the frequency of the lexical backchannels used for disagreement is quite low.

Table 5.72. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Majority Female Young Elderly Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement total	24
Approval total	15
Continuation	7
Responding to a question	4
That's what I'm saying	3
Disagreement total	2
Astonishment	2
Compassion	2
Request for reassurance	2
Indication for getting the message	2
Total	63

5.2.3.4. Young and Middle Aged Group

Table 5.73, 5.74, 5.75, 5.76 and 5.77 present the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of more female speakers who are young and middle aged. There are three lexical backchannels in conversation 071_091003_00094 and two of them are used for agreement and one of them is used for disagreement function in this conversation, as illustrated in Table 5.73.

Table 5.73. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 071_091003_00094

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	2
Disagreement	1
Total	3

Table 5.74 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 072_090618_00005 and there is only one lexical backchannel which is used for disagreement in this conversation.

Table 5.74. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 072_090618_00005

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Disagreement	1
Total	1

Continuation function which is related to conversational flow is the most frequently observed function in conversation 091_091021_00089 as shown in Table 5.75. It is followed by approval function but the frequency of approval function is quite low compared to continuation function. There is only one lexical backchannel which is used for disagreement function in this conversation.

Table 5.75. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 091_091021_00089

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Continuation	18
Approval	4
That is what I'm saying	3
Responding to a question	2
Ironic agreement	1
Disagreement	1
Possibility	1
Total	30

Table 5.76 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 112_090201_00086. According to the analysis, approval is the most commonly observed function of lexical backchannels and it is followed by agreement function. There are three instances of disagreement function in this recording.

Table 5.76. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 112_090201_00086

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	8
Agreement	7
Request for reassurance	4
Disagreement	3
Implying insignificance of a topic	2
Astonishment	2

Table 5.76. (cont'd)

Indication for getting the message	1
Comprehension	1
Total	28

As illustrated in Table 5.77, lexical backchannels in conversation 114_090221_00007 are most frequently used for approval function and it is followed by agreement function. There are four instances of disagreement function in this recording.

Table 5.77. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 114_090221_00007

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	18
Agreement	16
Astonishment	7
Responding to a question	6
Disagreement	4
Request for reassurance	4
Reassurance	3
Sarcasm	2
Indication for getting the message	1
Exclamation	1
Total	62

Table 5.78 presents the total frequencies of lexical backchannels in the majority female group consisting of young and middle aged speakers. As can be seen in the table, approval is the most commonly used function followed by agreement and continuation functions. Although it is not as high as the frequency of approval and agreement functions, the frequency of disagreement function is relatively high in this group.

Table 5.78. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Majority Female Young Middle Aged Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval total	30
Agreement total	26
Continuation	18
Disagreement total	10

Table 5.78. (cont'd)

Astonishment	9
Responding to a question	8
Request for reassurance	8
That's what I'm saying	3
Reassurance	3
Implying insignificance of a topic	2
Indication for getting the message	2
Sarcasm	2
Exclamation	1
Possibility	1
Comprehension	1
Total	124

5.2.3.5. Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Table 5.79, 5.80 and 5.81 present the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of more female speakers who are young and middle aged. Agreement is the most frequently used function in conversation 021_081206_00088. Continuation and approval have the same percentages of frequency in this conversation and they are followed by disagreement function.

Table 5.79. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 021_081206_00088

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	25
Weak agreement	3
Agreement total	28
Continuation	8
Approval	8
Disagreement	7
Request for reassurance	5
Responding to a question	3
Reassurance	3
Astonishment	3
Exclamation	2
Changing the topic	1
Clarification	1

Table 5.79. (cont'd)

Comment	1
Possibility	1
Total	71

Table 5.80 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 075_090629_00023. According to the analysis, there is only one lexical backchannel in this conversation and it is used for responding to a question.

Table 5.80. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 075_090629_00023

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Responding to a question	1
Total	1

There are two lexical backchannels used in conversation 075_090627_00035 as illustrated in Table 5.81 and they used approval and changing the topic.

Table 5.81. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 075_090627_00035

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	1
Changing the topic	1
Total	2

Table 5.82 presents the total frequencies of functions of lexical backchannels in majority female group in which there are young, middle aged and elderly speakers. As can be seen in the table, agreement is the most commonly used function followed by approval and continuation functions. Although it is not as high as the frequency of approval and agreement functions, the frequency of disagreement function is relatively high in this group.

Table 5.82. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Majority Female Young Middle Aged Elderly Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement total	28
Approval total	9
Continuation	8
Disagreement total	7
Request for reassurance	5
Responding to a question	4
Reassurance	3
Astonishment	3
Changing the topic	2
Exclamation	2
Clarification	1
Comment	1
Possibility	1
Total	74

5.2.4. Majority Male Groups

Majority male groups consisted of different age groups which are young, middle-aged and elderly group, young and middle aged group, young group and young and elderly group.

5.2.4.1. Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Table 5.83 presents the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of more male speakers who are young, middle aged and elderly. As can be seen in the table, approval is the most commonly used function in this group. There is no instance where a lexical backchannel is used as a disagreement marker.

Table 5.83. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Majority Male Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	14
Reassurance	1
Comprehension	1

Table 5.83. (cont'd)

Indication for getting the message	1
Total	17

5.2.4.2. Young and Middle Aged Group

Table 5.84, 5.85, 5.86, 5.87, 5.88, 5.89 and 5.90 present the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of more male speakers who are young and middle aged. Lexical backchannels are most frequently used for agreement function in conversation 055_090619_00222, as shown in Table 5.84. It is followed by disagreement and approval functions.

Table 5.84. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 055_090619_00222

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	33
Weak agreement	6
Agreement total	39
Disagreement	10
Approval	5
Responding to a question	3
Reassurance	3
Continuation	1
Request for reassurance	1
Comprehension	1
Indication for getting the message	1
Astonishment	1
Request for approval	1
Total	66

As illustrated in Table 5.85, agreement is the most commonly observed function of lexical backchannels in conversation 061_090712_00045. Disagreement and approval functions have the same percentages of frequency.

Table 5.85. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 061_090712_00045

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	21
Disagreement	9
Approval	9
Request for reassurance	3
Continuation	3
Astonishment	1
Reassurance	1
That is what I am saying	1
Total	48

Table 5.86 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 063_090704_00223. Approval is the most frequently used backchannel in this conversation and it is followed by agreement function. There are not any lexical backchannels used for disagreement in this recording.

Table 5.86. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 063_090704_00223

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	9
Agreement	7
Weak agreement	1
Agreement total	8
Reassurance	1
That is what I'm saying	1
Total	19

Responding to a question is the most commonly used function of lexical backchannels in conversation 121_100309_00053, as illustrated in Table 5.87. Agreement and approval functions are used for once and there are not any instances where a lexical backchannel is used for disagreement in this recording.

Table 5.87. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 121_100309_00053

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Responding to a question	2
Request for reassurance	1

Table 5.87. (cont'd)

Reassurance	1
Agreement	1
Approval	1
Total	6

Table 5.88 shows the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 129_100320_00162. There are two lexical backchannels used in this conversation and they are used for approval and having the meaning of *alright then*.

Table 5.88. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 129_100320_00162

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Lexical backchannels with the meaning of 'alright'	1
Approval	1
Total	2

In conversation 139_100616_00280, agreement is the most frequently used function of lexical backchannels and it is followed by approval function as shown in Table 5.89. There are not any lexical backchannels used as disagreement markers.

Table 5.89. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 139_100616_00280

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	4
Weak agreement	1
Agreement total	5
Approval	4
Continuation	3
Responding to a question	2
Possibility	1
That is what I'm saying	1
Total	16

As illustrated in Table 5.90, finishing the topic is the most commonly used function of lexical backchannels in conversation 061_090622_00020 and there are two instances of lexical backchannels where they are used as agreement markers.

Table 5.90. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 061_090622_00020

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Finishing the topic	3
Reassurance	2
Comprehension	2
Agreement	2
Total	9

Table 5.91 illustrates the total frequencies of lexical backchannels in majority male groups in which there are young and middle aged speakers. As can be seen in the table, agreement and approval are the most commonly used function in this group. Although it is not as high as the frequency of approval and agreement functions, the frequency of the disagreement function is also relatively high in this group.

Table 5.91. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Majority Male Young-Middle Aged Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement total	76
Approval total	29
Disagreement total	19
Reassurance	8
Responding to a question	7
Continuation	7
Request for reassurance	4
Comprehension	3
That's what I'm saying	3
Finishing the topic	3
Astonishment	2
Indication for getting the message	1
Request for approval	1
Request for reassurance	1
Lexical backchannels with the meaning of 'alright'	1
Possibility	1
Total	166

5.2.4.3 Young Group

Table 5.92 presents the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of more male speakers who are young. As can be seen in the table, agreement is the most commonly used function in this group and it is followed by disagreement. Different from the other groups, in this group the frequency of disagreement function is higher than approval function.

Table 5.92. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Majority Male Young Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	17
Weak agreement	5
Unwilling agreement	1
Agreement total	23
Disagreement	7
Reassurance	6
Approval	5
Astonishment	4
Responding to a question	4
Request for reassurance	2
Continuation	1
Implying insignificance of a topic	1
Indication for getting the message	1
Total	54

5.2.4.4. Young and Elderly Group

Table 5.93 and 5.94 present the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of more male speakers who are young and elderly. Comprehension is the most frequently used function of lexical backchannels in conversation 044_090328_00038 as shown in Table 5.93. It is followed by approval function and there are not any examples of disagreement function in this recording.

Table 5.93. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 044_090328_00038

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Comprehension	11
Approval	10
Continuation	6
Agreement	4
Request for reassurance	2
Comment	2
Reassurance	2
Indication for getting the message	2
Responding to a question	1
Changing the topic	1
Finishing the topic	1
Total	42

As presented in Table 5.94, there are five lexical backchannels used in conversation 108_100320_00164. These lexical backchannels are used for agreement, astonishment, giving positive comments, approval and responding to a question functions.

Table 5.94. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 108_100320_00164

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	1
Astonishment	1
Comment	1
Approval	1
Responding to a question	1
Total	5

Table 5.95 lists the total frequencies of functions of lexical backchannels in majority male groups in which there are young and elderly speakers. As can be seen in the table, comprehension and approval are the most commonly used function in this group followed by continuation and agreement. Lexical backchannels were never used for disagreement in this group.

Table 5.95. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Majority Male Young-Elderly Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Comprehension	11
Approval	11
Continuation	6
Agreement total	5
Comment	3
Request for reassurance	2
Reassurance	2
Indication for getting the message	2
Responding to a question	2
Changing the topic	1
Finishing the topic	1
Astonishment	1
Disagreement total	0
Total	47

5.2.5. Conversations with Equal Numbers of Male and Female Speakers

Conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers consisted of five different agr groups which are young, middle-aged and elderly group, young group, young and middle-aged group, middle-aged and elderly grouo and middle-aged group.

5.2.5.1. Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Table 5.96 presents the total frequencies of the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of equal numbers of male and female speakers who are young, middle aged and elderly. As can be seen in the table, approval and agreement are the most commonly used function in this group. Lexical backchannels were never used for disagreement in this group.

Table 5.96. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversations with Equal Numbers of Male and Female Speakers Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	19
Unwilling agreement	1
Weak agreement	1
Agreement	15
Agreement total	17
Responding to a question	4
Reassurance	2
Request for reassurance	2
Exclamation	2
Possibility	1
Comment	1
Indication for getting the message	1
Comprehension	1
Total	51

5.2.5.2. Young Group

Table 5.97, 5.98, 5.99, 5.100 and 5.101 present the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of equal numbers of male and female speakers who are young. There are six lexical backchannels used in conversation 024_091113_00031 as shown in Table 5.97. They are used for astonishment, agreement, request for reassurance, responding to a question, continuation and giving positive comments functions.

Table 5.97. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 024_091113_00031

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Astonishment	1
Agreement	1
Request for reassurance	1
Responding to a question	1
Continuation	1
Comment	1
Total	6

Table 5.98 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 052_090819_00016 and is illustrated in the table, lexical backchannels are mostly used for approval function in this conversation. They are never used to show disagreement in this recording.

Table 5.98. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 052_090819_00016

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	6
Responding to a question	2
Comment	1
Agreement	1
Disagreement	1
Total	11

In conversation 074_090622_00046, approval is the most frequently observed function of lexical backchannels followed by agreement function as shown in Table 5.99. There is not any instance where a lexical backchannel is used as a disagreement marker in this conversation.

Table 5.99. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 074_090622_00046

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	6
Agreement	5
Comprehension	4
Continuation	1
Request for reassurance	1
Astonishment	1
Total	18

As presented in Table 5.100, responding to a question and agreement functions are the most commonly used functions in conversation 109_091129_00145. There are two instances where the lexical backchannels are used for disagreement.

Table 5.100. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 109_091129_00145

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Responding to a question	8
Agreement	5
Agreement not strong	3
Agreement total	8
Reassurance	3
Disagreement	2
Comment	2
Possibility	1
Sarcasm	1
Astonishment	1
Total	26

There are three lexical backchannels in conversation 158_090528_00173 as shown in the following table. These lexical backchannels are used for getting the message, reassurance and having the meaning of so what.

Table 5.101. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 158_090528_00173

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Indication for getting the message	1
So what	1
Reassurance	1
Total	3

Table 5.102 presents the total frequencies of functions of lexical backchannels in conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers in which there are only young speakers. As can be seen in the table, agreement and responding to a question are the most commonly used function in this group followed by approval function. Disagreement function is observed less frequently than approval and agreement functions.

Table 5.102. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversations with Equal Numbers of Male and Female Speakers Young Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement total	15
Approval total	12
Responding to a question	11
Comment	4
Comprehension	4
Reassurance	4
Disagreement total	3
Astonishment	2
Request for reassurance	2
Continuation	2
Possibility	1
Sarcasm	1
Indication for getting the message	1
So what	1
Total	64

5.2.5.3. Young and Middle Aged Group

Table following four tables present the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of equal numbers of male and female speakers who are young and middle aged. As listed in Table 5.103, agreement is the most frequently observed function in conversation 103_090623_00253. There is only one instance where a lexical backchannel is used for disagreement in this conversation.

Table 5.103. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 103_090623_00253

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	18
Unwilling agreement	1
Agreement total	19
Responding to a question	6
Approval	4
Comprehension	3
Indication for getting the message	3
Comment	2
Finishing the topic	1
So what?	1

Table 5.103. (cont'd)

Exclamation	1
Disagreement	1
Continuation	1
Total	42

Table 5.104 presents the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 138_100614_00242. As shown in the table, there are four lexical backchannels in this conversation and they are mostly used for agreement function.

Table 5.104. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 138_100614_00242

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	3
Responding to a question	1
Total	4

As illustrated in the table below, there is only one lexical backchannel used in conversation 144_090409_00150 and it is used for responding to a question.

Table 5.105. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 144_090409_00150

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Responding to a question	1
Total	1

In conversation 179_090117_00195, there are three lexical backchannels and two of them are used for agreement while one of them is used for astonishment as shown in the following table.

Table 5.106. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 179_090117_00195

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	2
Exclamation	1
Total	3

Table 5.107 presents the total frequencies of functions of lexical backchannels in conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers consisting of young and middle aged speakers. As can be seen in the table, agreement and approval are the most commonly used function in this group. Disagreement function is observed less frequently than approval and agreement functions.

Table 5.107. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversations with Equal Numbers of Male and Female Speakers Young-Middle Aged Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement total	24
Responding to a question	8
Approval total	4
Comprehension	3
Indication for getting the message	3
Comment	2
Exclamation	2
Finishing the topic	1
Disagreement total	1
Having the Meaning of 'So what?'	1
Continuation	1
Total	50

5.2.5.4. Middle Aged and Elderly Group

Table 5.108 presents the total frequencies of functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of equal numbers of male and female speakers who are young. As can be seen in the table, lexical backchannels are mostly used for approval function in this group. There are not any examples of disagreement and agreement functions in this recording.

Table 5.108. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversations with Equal Numbers of Male and Female Speakers Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	7
Reassurance	1

Table 5.108. (cont'd)

Request for reassurance	1
Comprehension	1
Comment	1
Total	11

5.2.5.5. Middle Aged Group

Table 5.109 and 5.110 present the functions of the lexical backchannels in conversations consisting of equal numbers of male and female speakers who are middle aged. Agreement and approval functions have the same percentages of frequency and they are the most commonly used functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 063_090626_00011 as shown in Table 5.109.

Table 5.109. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 063_090626_00011

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Agreement	8
Approval	8
Continuation	6
Astonishment	2
Comment	2
Request for reassurance	2
Total	28

Table 5.110 lists the functions of lexical backchannels in conversation 063_090628_00012. As presented in the table, lexical backchannels are most frequently used for approval function in this conversation. There are two instances of agreement and one instance of disagreement function in this recording.

Table 5.110. Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversation 063_090628_00012

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval	7
Agreement	2
Disagreement	1
Astonishment	1

Table 5.110. (cont'd)

Exclamation	1
That is what I am saying	1
Total	13

The following table presents the total frequencies of functions of lexical backchannels in conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers in which there are middle aged speakers. As can be seen in the table, approval and agreement are the most commonly used function in this group. Disagreement function is observed less frequently than approval and agreement functions.

Table 5.111. Total Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Conversations with Equal Numbers of Male and Female Speakers Middle Aged Group

Function	Frequency of Occurrence
Approval total	15
Agreement total	10
Continuation	6
Astonishment	3
Comment	2
Request for reassurance	2
Exclamation	1
Disagreement total	1
That is what I am saying	1
Total	41

5.3. The Distribution of the Lexical Expressions Used as Lexical Backchannels

In this section, the distribution of the lexical expressions used as lexical backchannels in naturally occurring groups consisting of different age and gender combinations are explained.

5.3.1. All Female Groups

The analysis of the corpus data revealed that all female groups consisted of different age groups which are young group, middle-aged and elderly group, young and middle-

aged group and young, middle-aged and elderly group.

5.3.1.1. Young Group

The following table presents the lexical expressions used as lexical backchannels in all female and young group. As can be seen in the table, the most frequently used lexical backchannels is *evet* and it is followed by *tamam* which are mostly used for approval function. These results are in agreement with the results of the previous section, which indicate that agreement is the most commonly used function in all female and young group. These lexical expressions, *evet* and *tamam*, are mostly used for agreement and approval functions.

Table 5.112. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young Group

Lexical Exp.	113_090404_00004	069_090610_00015	191_090213_00276	Total
evet	12	9	4	25
tamam	2	6		8
tabi			4	4
yok ya	1		1	2
hayır	1		1	2
tabii	1			1
hadi ordan	1			1
iyi tamam	1			1
evet evet	1			1
ha evet	1			1
e hadi	1			1
iyi iyi	1			1
yok			1	1
di mi ya			1	1
di mi			1	1
ya ne diyorsun			1	1
he doğru			1	1
yok hayır			1	1
hı evet			1	1
bana ne canım			1	1
Total	23	15	18	56

5.3.1.2 Middle Aged-Elderly Group

The lexical expressions used as lexical backchannels in all female group consisting of middle aged and elderly speakers are presented in Table 5.113. As can be seen in the table, the most frequently used lexical backchannels is *evet* and it is followed by *öyle* which are mostly used for approval function. These results are in agreement with the results of the previous section, which indicate that approval, followed by agreement, is the most commonly used function in this group. These lexical expressions, *evet* and *öyle*, are mostly used for agreement and approval functions.

Table 5.113. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Lexical Expressions	023_100710_00192	023_100710_00193	Total
<i>evet</i>	30	4	34
<i>öyle</i>	4	5	9
<i>yani</i>	6	2	8
<i>iyi</i>	5	1	6
<i>tabi</i>	5		5
<i>hı evet</i>	2	3	5
<i>aman</i>		5	5
<i>tabi ya</i>	4		4
<i>öyle evet</i>	2		2
<i>tabii</i>	2		2
<i>tabi tabi</i>	2		2
<i>hı-hı evet</i>	2		2
<i>yazık</i>	2		2
<i>öyle öyle</i>	2		2
<i>hm evet</i>	2		2
<i>Allah Allah</i>	2		2
<i>yani yani</i>		1	1
<i>iyi evet</i>	1		1
<i>belki de</i>		1	1
<i>aynen tabii</i>	1		1
<i>evet ya</i>	1		1
<i>öyle evet</i>		1	1
<i>haydi</i>		1	1
<i>yani de mi</i>	1		1
<i>neyse</i>	1		1
<i>öyle mi</i>	1		1
<i>hmm iyi</i>	1		1

Table 5.113. (cont'd)

tabii öyle	1		1
tabi tabi	1		1
hı tabi	1		1
hmm tabi tabi	1		1
evet öyle	1		1
doğrudur		1	1
evet işte		1	1
ha iyi	1		1
yani dimi	1		1
aman ya		1	1
evet evet	1		1
e evet		1	1
öyleymiş		1	1
doğru	1		1
yani değil mi		1	1
öyle öyle tabi	1		1
Total	91	30	120

5.3.1.3. Young-Middle Aged Group

Table 5.114 presents the lexical expressions used as lexical backchannels in all female group consisting of young and middle aged speakers. As can be seen in the table, the most frequently used lexical backchannels is *evet* and it is followed by *hayır* and *öyle*. Considering the results in the previous section, it might be possible to talk about an agreement between the results. Previous section indicates that approval and responding to a question are the most commonly used functions in this group, and these lexical backchannels, *evet*, *hayır* and *öyle*, might be used for these functions.

Table 5.114. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young-Middle Aged Group

Lex. Exp.	060_090725_00277	149_090204_00158	082_090820_00262	082_090820_00262	T.
evet	1	3			4
hayır	2				2
öyle	2				2
yani		2			2
ana	1				1
öyle mi	1				1

Table 5.114. (cont'd)

iyi	1				1
evet	1				1
yani					
yazık	1				1
olur		1			1
yok		1			1
evet		1			1
olabilir					
Total	10	8	-	-	18

5.3.1.4. Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Distribution of the lexical backchannels in young-middle aged-elderly group is presented in Table 5.115. As illustrated in the table, there are only 9 lexical backchannels used in this group and *işte*, *hayır* and *iyi* are used twice. These lexical backchannels are especially used in this conversation since the common functions are responding to a question and giving positive comments.

Table 5.115. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Lexical Expressions	129_100320_00163	069_090813_00051	072_090820_00022	Total
işte	2			2
hayır	2			2
iyi	1	1		2
iyi işte	1			1
aman	1			1
amanın			1	1
Total	7	1	1	9

5.3.2. All Male Groups

According to the analysis of the data, all male groups were formed by different age groups which are young group and elderly group and young group. Distribution of non-lexical backchannels in these groups are explained in the this section.

5.3.2.1. Young-Elderly Group

Table 5.116 presents the lexical expressions used in all male group which consists of young and elderly group. The lexical expression, *evet*, is the most commonly used lexical backchannel followed by *evet evet*. In the previous section, it was shown that agreement is the most commonly used function of lexical backchannels in this group. Therefore, the most commonly used lexical backchannels are in agreement with the most common functions of lexical backchannels in this group.

Table 5.116. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young-Elderly Group

Lexical Expressions	024_100501_00160	024_100501_00161	Total
evet	3	8	11
evet evet		7	7
tabi	4	3	7
hayır	2	4	6
tabi canım	1	4	5
tamam	3	1	4
tabi tabi	1	3	4
aynen öyle	3	1	4
yani	1	2	3
tabii	2		2
yani hani	1	1	2
e yani		1	1
yani doğru		1	1
işte	1		1
hiç		1	1
yok canım		1	1
hı tabi	1		1
ya tabi		1	1
ha ha ha işte	1		1
yok tabi canım	1		1
ha yani	1		1
tabi canım	1		1
biliyorum biliyorum	1		1
öyle canım	1		1
öyle öyle	1		1
Total	30	42	72

5.3.2.2. Young Group

Table 5.117 presents the lexical expressions used as lexical backchannels in all male group and young group. Similar to previous groups, *evet* is the most commonly used lexical backchannel in this group. The most common function of lexical backchannels in this group is responding to a question. It was observed in the data that speakers commonly use the lexical expression *evet* when responding to a question.

Table 5.117. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young Group

Lex. Exp.	039_090315_0014	039_090315_0014	061_090615_0010	061_090623_0005	085_090930_001	Total
<i>evet</i>	2	3	3	0	30	14
haydi			2	1		3
ya						
Allah	2			1		3
Allah						
yok				2		2
hadi ya	1					1
hayır				1		1
tamam	1					1
valla	1					1
yok				1		1
hayır						
cık yok				1		1
yok lan	1					1
tamam	1					1
be						
yani	1					1
öyle			1			1
yani						
işte				1		1
öyle						
iyi ya			1			1
evet				1		1
evet hı- hı						
hm				1		1
tamam						
anladım						
anladım				1		1
anladım				1		1
anladım						
neyse				1		1
hmm				1		1
neyse						
yapma						
ya						
Total	8	-	6	23		41

5.3.3. Majority Female Groups

Majority female groups consisted of different age groups which are young group, middle aged group, young and elderly group, young and middle aged group and young, middle-aged and elderly group.

5.3.3.1. Young Group

Lexical expressions used as lexical backchannels in majority female groups consisting of young speakers are illustrated in Table 5.118. As can be seen in the table, young speakers mostly use *evet* as a lexical backchannel and *tamam* is the second most frequently used lexical backchannel in this group. In the previous section, it was highlighted that approval and agreement are the most commonly used functions in this group, and most commonly used lexical expressions are in agreement with the functions.

Table 5.118. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young Group

Lexical Express.	117_090310_000 19	103_091108_000 40	158_090511_001 72	012_090128_000 02	T.
evet	12	18	31		51
tamam		5	20		25
tabi canım	2	4	1		7
yani	3	2	2		7
hayır	2		1	1	4
yok yok	2	1			3
öyle mi	1		2		3
vallahi		3			3
bence de			2		2
aynen öyle		2			2
öyle		2			2
hadi yaa	1			1	2
evet evet	1	1			2
doğru		1			1
aman ya		1			1
haa evet	1				1
evet ya		1			1
ya evet			1		1

Table 5.118. (cont'd)

hm evet		1			1
off süper	1				1
süper ya	1				1
harbi mi	1				1
öyle yani			1		1
ay süper	1				1
oo süper	1				1
ha yani	1				1
evet öyle	1				1
evet belki de		1			1
evet işte	1				1
gerçek mi			1		1
maşallah	1				1
neyse			1		1
hadi ya	1				1
hadi canım				1	1
hah o olabilir				1	1
di mi	1				1
ha evet			1		1
Allah Allah	1				1
tabi	1				1
e tabi	1				1
peki			1		1
peki o zaman			1		1
oley			1		1
tamam evet			1		1
tamam o zaman			1		1
haa tamam				1	1
hı tamam			1		1
yok canım				1	1
yok				2	2
Total	39	41	69	8	157

5.3.3.2. Middle Aged Group

There is only one conversation in majority female group consisting of middle aged speakers. Table 5.119 presents the lexical backchannels used in this group and as

illustrated in the table, *evet* is the most commonly used lexical backchannel in this group and the most common function of lexical backchannels is agreement.

Table 5.119. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Middle Aged Group

Lexical Expressions	Number of Occurrence
evet	5
vallah	2
e yani	2
tamam işte	1
yok canım	1
e tabii	1
ee evet	1
Total	12

5.3.3.3. Young-Elderly Group

In young and elderly group, there are 4 conversations and the distribution of lexical backchannels in these conversations are presented in Table 5.120. Similar to previous groups, *evet* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel in this group, which might be because of the fact that agreement is the most commonly used function in this group.

Table 5.120. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young-Elderly Group

Lexical Expressions	067_090708_00201	098_090422_00069	107_100210_00104	112_090217_00001	Total
evet	6		12	2	20
tabi	1		4		6
tabi ya			5		5
tabi canım	3		1		4
doğru	1		2		3
e tabi			2		2
hiç			2		2
evet gari			1		1
hayır	1				1
hadi yaa	1				1
ha evet	1				1
di mi		1			1
doğru ya			1		1
deme ya	1				1
e yani	1				1
evet hı-hı		1			1

Table 5.120. (cont'd)

haa e tabi			1			1
işte	1					1
öyle mi			1			1
tabii	1					1
tabi yaa			1			1
tabi ki			1			1
tamam			1			1
tamam			1			1
tamam						
ha tamam			1			1
yani		1				1
yazık			1			1
yok canım			1			1
vallah			1			1
Total	18	3	40	2		63

5.3.3.4. Young-Middle Aged Group

Table 5.121 shows the lexical backchannels used in majority female groups consisting of young and middle aged speakers. As can be seen in the table, *evet* is the most commonly used lexical expression and approval and agreement are the most frequently observed functions of lexical backchannels.

Table 5.121. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young-Middle Aged Group

Lex. Exp.	071_091003_00094	072_090618_00005	075_090622_00003	091_091021_00089	112_090201_00086	114_090221_00007	T.
evet	1			19	12	18	50
tabi					1	9	10
tamam			4		3	2	9
öyle mi					2	4	6
yok artık						4	4
tabi canım						4	4
hiç	1					2	3
aman Allahım					2		2
hadi ya						2	2
hayır				1		1	2
hayır							
evet evet						2	2
evet haklısın						2	2
yok						2	2

Table 5.121. (cont'd)

yok ya					2	2
yok	1				1	2
canım						
Allah					1	1
Allah						
aman			1			1
anladım			1			1
belki		1				1
çok				1		1
doğru						
doğru					1	1
o doğru					1	1
di mi				1		1
e hey					1	1
yavrum						
be						
nayır	1					1
hayır					1	1
hayır be					1	1
evet evet					1	1
evet						
işte			1			1
tabi					1	1
canım						
tabi						
tabi tabi				1		1
e tamam			1			1
tamam			1			1
evet						
tamam			1			1
işte						
Total	3	1	-	30	28	62
						121

5.3.3.5. Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Table 5.122 shows the lexical backchannels used in majority female groups consisting of young and middle aged and elderly speakers. As can be seen in the table, *evet* is the most commonly used lexical expression and agreement is the most frequently observed function of lexical backchannels.

Table 5.122. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Lexical Expressions	021_081206_00088	075_090627_00035	075_090629_00023	Total
evet	22			22
tabi	5			5
tabii canım	4			4
hayır	4			4
öyle mi	4			4
tamam	3			3
yok	2		1	3
neyse	1	1		2
yok canım	2			2
e tabii	2			2
evet evet	2			2
e yani	2			2
aynen	1			1
evet tabi	1			1
hiç yani	1			1
hayır hayır	1			1
bak	1			1
valla	1			1
hey Allahım	1			1
valla	1			1
anam	1			1
yani	1			1
di mi	1			1
herhalde	1			1
bence de	1			1
tabi ki	1			1
töbe	1			1
hadi ya	1			1
valla	1			1
iyi	1			1
he-he doğru		1		1
Total	71	2	1	74

5.3.4. Majority Male Groups

Majority male groups were formed by different age groups which are young, middle-aged and elderly group, young and middle-aged group, young group, young and elderly group.

5.3.4.1. Young Group

Table 5.123 shows the lexical backchannels used in majority male group consisting of young speakers. As is the case with most of the other conversations, *evet* is again the most frequently observed lexical backchannel in this group and agreement is the most frequently used function.

Table 5.123. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young Group

Lexical Expressions	Number of Occurrence
evet	12
tabi	5
yok	4
yani	3
tabi canım	3
Allah Allah	2
valla	2
hadi canım	2
haa anladım	1
valla ya	1
ciddi mi	1
hee evet	1
ya öyle	1
öyle öyle	1
evet yani	1
e tabi	1
yoo	1
bak	1
yok yaa	1
evet evet	1
tamam	1
iyi be	1
öyle öyle	1
doğrudur	1
e tamam	1
yaa evet	1
e yani	1
hakkaten	1
yani	1
Total	54

5.3.4.2. Young-Elderly Group

Table 5.124 presents the list of lexical expressions used as lexical backchannels in majority male groups consisting of young and elderly speakers. Different from the previous groups, *tamam* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel and *evet* is the second most commonly used lexical backchannel. As for the most common functions of lexical backchannels in this group, as it was mentioned in the previous section, it was comprehension and agreement. Because of the common comprehension function, *tamam* might have been the most frequently used lexical backchannel.

Table 5.124. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young-Elderly Group

Lexical Expressions	044_090328_00038	108_100320_00164	Total
tamam	17	2	19
evet	6	9	15
iyi	2	1	3
evet tamam	1		1
he evet	1		1
hadi len		1	1
he tamam	1		1
tabi tabi	1		1
iyi olmuş ha	1		1
öyle mi	1		1
evet evet	1		1
evet doğru	1		1
yok		1	1
Total	41	5	47

5.3.4.3. Young-Middle Aged Group

Distribution of lexical backchannels in majority male groups consisting of young and middle aged speakers are presented in Table 5.125. The list shows that *evet* is the most frequently used lexical backchannel and it is followed by *tabi*. Considering the most common function of lexical backchannels in this group, which is agreement, the lexical backchannels are in agreement.

Table 5.125. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young-Middle Aged Group

Lexical Expressions	055_090619_00 222	061_090622_0002 0	061_090712_0004 5	063_090704_0022 3	121_100309_0005 3	139_100616_0028 0	129_100320_0016 2	Total
evet	12		20	4	6	8	2	53
tabi	13			8		2		23
yani	6			1				7
tamam	3	2						5
evet evet			3	2				5
hayır			3	1		1		5
öyle	4	1						5
tabii			5					5
yok	2					1		3
tabi tabi	1	1				1		3
yok yok	2							2
e tamam		2						2
öyle be ya	2							2
öyle mi			2					2
di mi	2							2
olur	1	1						2
tabi ki			2					2
yani						2		2
anladım	1	1						2
Allah Allah			1					1
evet öyle			1					1
hayır be	1							1
hayır canım			1					1
hayır hayır			1					1
he evet			1					1
hı evet			1					1
işte evet			1					1
tamam canım	1							1
o da doğru	1							1
olabilir			1					1
e olabilir						1		1
hayır be ya	1							1
tuh tabi				1				1
tabii ki				1				1
tabi yaa		1						1
öyle değil	1							1
aman aman	1							1
doğru	1							1
doğru hani			1					1
hayır be ya	1							1
hayır o değil	1							1
e tabi			1					1
ya tabi			1					1
tabi ya	1							1
tabi yani				1				1
evet tabi	1							1
haa tamam	1							1
tabi doğru	1							1
evet doğru	1							1
yok be	1							1
yok yo			1					1
yok yok			1					1
hadi be ya	1							1
hiç hiç hiç	1							1
Total	66	9	48	19	6	2	2	166

5.3.4.4. Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

In majority male groups, the last group consists of young, middle aged and elderly speakers. As shown in Table 5.126 *evet* is the most commonly observed lexical backchannel in this group which is in alignment with the most frequently observed function, approval.

Table 5.126. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Lexical Expressions	Number of Occurrence
evet	10
evet evet	2
tamam	2
tabi	1
öyle	1
hmm evet	1
Total	17

5.3.5. Conversations with Equal Numbers of Male and Female Speakers

Conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers consisted of five different agr groups which are young, middle-aged and elderly group, young group, young and middle-aged group, middle-aged and elderly grouo and middle-aged group.

5.3.5.1. Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Table 5.127 presents the lexical expressions used as lexical backchannels in conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers consisting of young, middle aged and elderly speakers. As can be seen in the table, the most frequently used lexical backchannels is *evet* in this group, which might be because of the fact that approval is the most common function of lexical backchannels in this group.

Table 5.127. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young-Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Lexical Expressions	Number of Occurrence
evet	22
tamam	3
tabi	3
öyle mi	2
doğru	1
e öyle	1
öyle tabi	1
evet bence de	1
aynen öyle	1
tabi tabi	1
bence de yani	1
yani	1
e tabi	1
hı öyle	1
hı doğru	1
e iyi	1
yok yok	1
hı evet	1
peki	1
tabi yani	1
eyvah	1
ayy evet ya	1
ayy çok fena ya	1
muhtemelen	1
doğrudur	1
Total	51

5.3.5.2. Young Group

Lexical expressions used as lexical backchannels in conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers consisting of young speakers are presented in Table 5.128. Speakers in this group mostly used *evet* as a lexical backchannel and the most common function is agreement followed by approval function.

Table 5.128. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young Group

Lexical Expressions	074_090622_00046	109_091129_00145	158_090528_00173	052_090819_00016	024_091113_00031	Total
evet	2	7	1	8	2	20
hayır		5		1		6
yani		3				3
öyle	2					2
anladım	2					2
hmm anladım	2					2
iyi		1		1		2
tamam		2				2
ee evet			1			1
öyle yani		1				1
hm doğru				1		1
hm iyi					1	1
hmm iyi		1				1
evet tabi	1					1
haa doğru	1					1
haa tamam			1			1
hadi ya	1					1
öyle canım	1					1
öyle orası evet	1					1
valla	1					1
valla mı					1	1
öyle öyle	1					1
aynı aynı	1					1
aynen	1					1
doğru	1					1
tabi canım		1				1
tabi tabi					1	1
Allah Allah peki		1				1
evet bitanem		1				1
bana ne		1				1
evet aşkım		1				1
evet olabilir		1				1
yok artık					1	1
Total	18	26	3	11	6	64

5.3.5.3. Young-Middle Aged Group

In conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers consisting of young and middle aged speakers, as illustrated in the following table, the most commonly used lexical backchannel is *tamam*, which is in alignment with the most commonly observed function, agreement.

Table 5.129. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Young-Middle Aged Group

Lexical Expressions	103_090623_00253	138_100614_00242	144_090409_00150	179_090117_00195	Total
tamam	10	1		3	15
evet	7				7
yok	1	1	1		3
tabi	1	2			3
iyi	2				2
bence de ya	1				1
evet evet	1				1
tabi öyle evet	1				1
hı evet	1				1
anladım	1				1
anam				1	1
tamamdır	1				1
doğru	1				1
tamam tamam		1			1
evet tabi	1				1
peki tamam	1				1
tamam ya	1				1
haa tamam	1				1
e tamam	1				1
değil tabi ya	1				1
iyi tamam tamam	1				1
işte bu	1				1
evet tamam	1				1
haa evet	1				1
tabi ya	1				1
Total	39	5	1	5	50

5.3.5.4. Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Table 5.130 presents the distribution of lexical backchannels used in conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers consisting of middle aged and elderly speakers. As can be seen in the table, *evet evet*, *öyle* and *evet* are used twice in this group. The most common function is approval.

Table 5.130. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Middle Aged-Elderly Group

Lexical Expressions	Number of Occurrence
evet evet	2
öyle öyle	2
evet	2
öyle	1
öyle mi	1

Table 5.130. (cont'd)

anladım	1
iyi ya	1
hm-hm öyle	1
Total	11

5.3.5.5. Middle Aged Group

In middle aged group which consists of equal numbers of male and female speakers, *evet* is the most commonly used lexical backchannel and it is mostly used for approval function in this group, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 5.131. Distribution of Lexical Backchannels in Middle Aged Group

Lexical Expressions	063_090628_00011	063_090628_00012	Total
<i>evet</i>	11	5	16
<i>tabi</i>	2	2	4
<i>öyle</i>	1	2	3
<i>doğru</i>	3		3
<i>iyi</i>	2		2
<i>yani</i>	1	1	2
<i>hadi canım</i>	2		2
<i>öyle mi</i>	2		2
<i>tabi canım</i>	1		1
<i>tamam</i>	1		1
<i>tabii</i>	1		1
<i>hiç</i>	1		1
<i>vay vay vay</i>		1	1
<i>yok</i>		1	1
<i>hadi ya</i>		1	1
Total	28	13	41

5.4. Conclusion

The results of the analysis in this chapter show that *evet*, *tamam* and *tabii* are the most frequently used lexical backchannels in the data. As for their functions, they are mostly used for approval and agreement functions. In some instances, lexical backchannels are used with non-lexical backchannels such as *hi evet* and *evet hi-hi*. Similar to non-

lexical backchannels, the analysis shows that keeping the conversational flow and showing attitudes are the main functions of lexical backchannels.

Regarding keeping the conversational flow function, responding to a question is the most commonly used function of lexical backchannels. In terms of the frequency of occurrence, responding to a question function is followed by continuation and request for reassurance functions.

The attitudinal lexical backchannels are most frequently used for agreement function and the second most frequent function of attitudinal lexical backchannels is approval function. However, in comparison with agreement and approval functions, the frequency of lexical backchannels used as disagreement markers is quite low. Attitudinal lexical backchannels have two sub-types which are attitudinal lexical backchannels for positivity and attitudinal lexical backchannels for negativity. According to results of the analysis, attitudinal backchannels are mostly used for showing positivity. In comparison with the attitudinal backchannels with positivity and backchannels for keeping conversational flow, the frequency of attitudinal backchannels with negativity is quite low. Considering the attitudinal lexical backchannels, results suggest that although the frequency of lexical backchannels used for agreement is the highest in the data, some of the lexical backchannels used as agreement markers do not imply a true agreement. There are some cases, although not very frequent, where lexical backchannels are used for unwilling agreement, ironic agreement, agreement with suspicion and weak agreement. These types of agreement might suggest that speakers in the data use these lexical backchannels in order not to conflict with the other speakers blatantly.

In the data, the conversation with the highest number of lexical backchannels includes only female and young speakers. The conversation which has the second most lexical backchannels consists of only young speakers and majority of the speakers are female speakers. These results might indicate a tendency for groups consisting of female and young speakers to use lexical backchannels more frequently. On the other hand, there are four conversations in which there are not any lexical backchannels used. Two of these conversations include only female speakers who are middle aged and elderly

people. One of them has only male and young speakers. The other conversation has middle aged and elderly people and most of the speakers are female. As a result, it might be difficult to infer a correlation between the age and gender of the speakers and the percentage of lexical backchannels. Although there seems to be a tendency for groups with female and young speakers to use lexical backchannels more frequently than male and elderly speakers, as is the case with the non-lexical backchannels, the topic of the conversation and other social dynamics seem more influential than the age and gender variables of the speakers regarding the use of lexical backchannels.

Differences in the functions of lexical backchannels in naturally formed groups were also analyzed. In all female groups, lexical backchannels are usually used for agreement and approval functions and the frequency of lexical backchannels used for disagreement is quite low. In all male groups, especially when there are middle aged or elderly people, the frequency of disagreement function is relatively higher although it is not the most commonly observed function of lexical backchannels.

In majority female groups, approval and agreement are again the most frequently observed functions of lexical backchannels. In groups where there are young and middle aged speakers and in groups where there are young, middle aged and elderly speakers, the frequency of disagreement function is relatively higher. However, it is still not possible to infer a correlation between the age of the speakers and the frequency of lexical backchannels used as disagreement markers. To illustrate, in majority female groups in which there are only middle aged speakers, lexical backchannels are never used for disagreement. Moreover, in majority female groups where there are young and elderly speakers, the frequency of lexical backchannels used as disagreement markers is quite low.

As is the case with other groups, in majority male groups, lexical backchannels are most frequently observed as agreement and approval markers. In these groups when there are only young speakers or when there are young and middle aged speakers, the frequency of disagreement function was observed to be relatively higher although it is not the most common function. However, it is not possible to say that there is a correlation between the age of the speakers and the frequency of disagreement function

since in majority male groups where there are young, middle aged and elderly speakers and in majority male groups where there are young and elderly speakers, there is not any instance where a lexical backchannel is used for disagreement.

In conversations consisting of equal numbers of male and female speakers, agreement and approval are the most commonly used functions of lexical backchannels and in all age groups, they were either never used for disagreement or used less frequently for disagreement compared to approval and agreement functions.

While analyzing group differences the most frequently used lexical backchannels in different age and gender combinations were also investigated. According to the results, in all female, all male, majority female, majority male and in mixed conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers, the most frequently used lexical backchannel was found to be *evet*.

5.4.1. Importance of the Length of the Conversation

Table 5.132 shows the number and percentage of lexical backchannels used in each conversation in the data. As can be seen in table, the conversation which has the highest number of lexical backchannels consists of only female and young speakers. Another conversation which has the second most lexical backchannels has only young speakers and most of the speakers are female. There are four conversations in which there are not any lexical backchannels used. Two of these conversations consist of only female speakers and they are middle aged and elderly people. One of them consists of only male and young speakers. The other conversation has middle aged and elderly people and most of the speakers are female. Therefore, it might be difficult to infer a correlation between the age and gender of the speakers and the percentage of lexical backchannels. Although there is a tendency for groups with female and young speakers to use lexical backchannels more frequently than the groups consisting of male and elderly speakers, as is the case with the non-lexical backchannels, the topic of the conversation and social and cultural background of the speakers in the groups are more determinative than the age and gender of the speakers.

Whether there was any correlation between the length of conversation and the number of lexical backchannels in the conversation was also investigated, as it was done in the chapter related to non-lexical backchannels. The percentages of the lexical backchannels are 0,72% and 0,64% successively in conversations 055_090619_00222 and 114_090221_00007 which are the longest conversations in the data. If there was a positive correlation between the duration of the conversation and the percentage of lexical backchannels, the percentage of lexical backchannels would be higher.

Table 5.132. Frequency and Percentage of Lexical Backchannels

	Conversation	Genre	Duration	Number of words	Number of back.	Percent. of back.	Gender	Age
1	114_090221_00007	Family and/or relatives	4004	9544	62	0,64%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-middle
2	044_090328_00038	Family and/or relatives	3017	6592	42	0,63%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-elderly
3	021_081206_00088	Family and/or relatives	3217	7357	71	0,96%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle-elderly
4	023_100707_00193	Family and friends	1853	3967	30	0,75%	All female	Middle-elderly
5	023_100710_00192	Family and friends	2468	6876	91	1,32%	All female	Middle-elderly
6	024_100501_00160	Family and friends	1825	5027	30	0,59%	All male	Young-elderly
7	024_100501_00161	Family and friends	2910	7135	43	0,60%	All male	Young-elderly
8	039_090315_00142	Friends and/or acquaintances	229	377	8	2,12%	All male	Young
9	039_090319_00143	Friends and/or acquaintances	78	199	0	0	All male	Young
10	044_090328_00047	Family and/or relatives	426	868	17	1,95%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle-elderly
11	055_090619_00222	Family and/or relatives	4414	9152	66	0,72%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle
12	060_090725_00277	Family and friends	949	2012	10	0,49%	All female	Young-middle

Table 5.132. (cont'd)

13	061_090615_00103	Friends and/or acquaintances	759	1799	6	0,33%	All male	Young
14	061_090623_00050	Family and/or relatives	707	1502	23	1,53%	All male	Young
15	063_090702_00224	Family and friends	400	1016	12	1,18%	Mixed (Majority female)	Middle
16	063_090704_00223	Family and friends	658	1737	19	1,09%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle
17	069_090813_00051	Friends and/or acquaintances	170	492	1	0,20%	All female	Young-middle-elderly
18	073_100201_00338	Family and friends	3789	10222	54	0,52%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young
19	074_090622_00046	Family and/or relatives	973	1410	18	1,27%	Mixed (1 male, 1 female)	Young
20	082_090820_00262	Family and/or relatives	918	1154	0	0	All female	Young-middle
21	082_090820_00263	Family and/or relatives	616	775	0	0	All female	Young-middle
22	098_090422_00069	Family and/or relatives	712	1067	3	0,28%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-elderly
23	103_091108_00040	Family and friends	1775	3199	41	1,28%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young
24	105_100602_00230	Family and/or relatives	1440	3587	50	1,39%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle-elderly
25	108_100320_00164	Family and/or relatives	728	1589	5	0,31%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-elderly
26	109_091129_00145	Family and/or relatives	832	1392	26	1,86%	Mixed (1 female, 1 male)	Young
27	121_100309_00053	Family and friends	305	322	6	1,86%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle
28	129_100320_00162	Family and/or relatives	875	1470	2	0,13%	Mixed (majority female)	Young-middle

Table 5.132. (cont'd)

29	138_100614_00242	Family and/or relatives	353	472	4	0,84%	Mixed (1 female, 1 male)	Young-middle
30	139_100616_00280	Family and/or relatives	1574	3049	16	0,52%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle
31	144_090409_00150	Family and/or relatives	404	747	1	0,13%	Mixed (2 female, 2 male)	Young-middle
32	149_090204_00158	Family and/or relatives	735	1601	8	0,49%	All female	Young-middle
33	158_090511_00172	Friends and/or acquaintances	3235	7009	69	0,98%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young
34	158_090528_00173	Friends and/or acquaintances	320	631	3	0,47%	Mixed (1 female, 1 male)	Young
35	191_090213_00276	Family and friends	768	1729	18	1,04%	All female	Young
36	112_090217_00001	Family and/or relatives	137	246	1	0,40%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-elderly
37	012_090128_00002	Family and friends	733	1643	8	0,48%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young
38	075_090622_00003	Family and/or relatives	59	148	0	0	Mixed (Majority female)	Middle-young
39	113_090404_00004	Friends and/or acquaintances	491	1075	23	2,13%	All female	Young
40	072_090618_00005	Family and/or relatives	135	323	1	0,30%	Mixed (Majority female)	Middle-young
41	072_090913_00006	Friends and/or acquaintances	199	501	11	2,19%	Mixed-1 female-1 male	Middle-elderly
42	063_090626_00011	Family and friends	605	2014	28	1,39%	Mixed (Majority female)	Middle
43	063_090628_00012	Family and/or relatives	547	1388	13	0,93%	Mixed-2 female-2 male	Middle

Table 5.132. (cont'd)

44	069_090610_00015	Friends and/or acquaintances	294	531	15	2,82%	All female	Young
45	052_090819_00016	Friends and/or acquaintances	305	673	11	1,63%	Mixed-1 male-1 female	Young
46	117_090310_00019	Friends and/or acquaintances	663	1651	39	2,36%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young
47	061_090622_00020	Family and friends	1640	3635	9	0,24%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young
48	072_090820_00022	Family and/or relatives	81	221	1	0,45%	All female	Young-middle-elderly
49	075_090629_00023	Family and/or relatives	126	272	1	0,36%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-middle-elderly
50	024_091113_00031	Family and/or relatives	697	1141	5	0,43%	Mixed-1 female-1 male	Young
51	075_090627_00035	Family and/or relatives	179	339	2	0,58%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-middle-elderly
52	061_090712_00045	Family and/or relatives	1624	6686	48	0,71%	Mixed (Majority male)	Young-middle
53	112_090201_00086	Family and friends	1232	3170	28	0,88%	Mixed (Majority male)	Middle-young
54	091_091226_00189	Friends and/or acquaintances	1003	2898	30	1,03%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-middle
55	071_091003_00094	Family and/or relatives	124	299	3	1,003%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-middle
56	107_100210_00104	Family and/or relatives	2226	5258	40	0,76%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-elderly
57	085_090930_00130	Friends and/or acquaintances	385	902	4	0,44%	All male	Young
58	129_100320_00163	Family and/or relatives	383	934	7	0,74%	All female	Young-middle-elderly

Table 5.132. (cont'd)

59	179_090117_00195	Family and/or relatives	219	379	3	0,79%	Mixed-2 females-2 males	Young-middle
60	067_090708_00201	Family and/or relatives	1875	3652	18	0,49%	Mixed (Majority female)	Young-elderly
61	103_090623_00253	Family and/or relatives	2010	3438	42	1,22%	Mixed-2 females-2 males	Young-middle
	Total			150.494				

5.4.2. Community of Practice

As already mentioned in chapter related to non-lexical backchannels, the results of this study indicate that although there are some statistical tendencies for different age and gender groups regarding backchannels, still, it is quite difficult to generalize the results to all women, men, young speakers, middle aged speakers or elderly speakers. Moreover, taking a social constructionist stance, gender and age variables were not analyzed in isolation and separately in this study. Group differences were the subject of this investigation. Still, it is difficult to deduce absolute group tendencies regarding the use of lexical backchannels, as it was the case with non-lexical backchannels.

In agreement with Eckert and McConnell (1992b), speakers' way of talking comes out during their joint activity. Therefore, when analyzing the usage of backchannels, gender or age of the speakers should not be abstracted from the other aspects of their identity including their cultural and educational background. Moreover, if the topic of the conversation is considered to be interesting by the speakers, they have more willingness for contribution to keep the conversation flow. If the topic is not so interesting for one or more of the speakers, they might have less contribution and use fewer backchannels.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

6.0. Presentation

In this last chapter, the results of the study are overviewed and a brief summary of the findings is provided. Then limitations of the study and implications for further research are set forth.

6.1. Summary of the Findings

This dissertation investigated the functions of backchannels in Spoken Turkish and group differences in their usage. Backchannels were grouped into two categories: non-lexical backchannels and lexical backchannels. According to the results of the first part, non-lexical backchannels have two main functions: keeping the conversational flow and showing attitudes. Keeping the conversational flow has 9 subfunctions: (1) continuation, (2) comprehension, (3) indication for getting the message, (4) listener's support, (5) clarification, (6) reassurance, (7) request for repetition, (8) request for a response, and (9) responding to a question. Showing attitudes has two main types: showing positivity and showing negativity. Showing positivity has 4 subfunctions: (1) approval, (2) agreement, (3) agreement to an offer and (4) relief. Non-lexical backchannels with *negativity* have 3 sub-functions which are (1) sarcasm, (2) disagreement and (3) non-lexical backchannels with the meaning of “*so what?*”.

Analysis of the data showed that conversations in the data were formed by three main groups which are all female, all male, and mixed conversations. Mixed conversations have three subgroups which are majority female groups, majority male groups, and conversations which include equal numbers of male and female speakers. After

identifying the groups in the data, the usage of non-lexical backchannels was examined in these groups by paying special attention to the age and gender combinations. In all female group and in majority female groups, the most common function of non-lexical backchannels is approval. This function is especially common when there are young speakers in the group. In all female group, in the conversations which include middle aged and elderly speakers, non-lexical backchannels mostly function as continuation markers.

Regarding all male group and majority male group, the most common function of non-lexical backchannels is continuation implying a more neutral attitude towards the other speaker. In all male group, although the most frequently used function is continuation, in the conversations which include young speakers, non-lexical backchannels are also commonly used to show approval.

In majority female groups, non-lexical backchannels mostly act as signs of approval for the other person who is speaking. On the other hand, in majority male groups, non-lexical backchannels are more commonly used to ask for the speakers' continuation of their turn with a more neutral tone compared to approval function. When the number of the male and female speakers is the same in a conversation, according to the analysis, non-lexical backchannels usually function as the continuation markers to keep the flow of the conversation.

Approval function is more commonly used in the groups with female speakers compared to groups with male speakers, especially when there are only female speakers or more female speakers in the conversation. In addition, this function was more common in groups including young speakers compared to groups consisting of middle aged and elderly speakers. Continuation function is more frequently used by groups with male speakers compared to groups with female speakers. They are especially common in conversations in which there are only male speakers, more male speakers and equal number of male and female speakers.

In the last part of non-lexical backchannels chapter, specific non-lexical expressions that are commonly used in conversations including specific age and gender groups

were analyzed. Results show that the specific non-lexical backchannels commonly used in each group are in alignment with the common functions of non-lexical backchannels in these groups. In all female conversations, speakers commonly used the non-lexical backchannels such as *hi-hi*, *hi*, and *hmm* as the most frequent functions were approval and continuation. In all male recordings, speakers mostly used the non-lexical backchannels *hm* and *hi-hi* since the common functions were continuation and approval. In mixed conversations with more female speakers, commonly used non-lexical backchannels were *hu* and *haa* which are also mostly used with the approval, comprehension and continuation function of non-lexical backchannels.

With respect to mixed conversations with more male speakers, *hu*, *hi* and *he* were the most frequently used non-lexical backchannels and they usually imply the continuation of the speaker. However, the analysis of this group also showed social and educational background of the speakers might be other factors that affect the usage of a non-lexical backchannel. To illustrate, the non-lexical backchannel *he* was very commonly used by the speakers with a relatively low educational level. It was also commonly used by the speakers who live in rural areas of the country.

In conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers, *hm* and *hu* are the most frequently used non-lexical backchannels in correspondence with their functions which are continuation and comprehension.

The analysis of the non-lexical backchannels also show that it is quite difficult to associate one specific non-lexical backchannel with one specific function. Although they have general tendencies, the meaning of a non-lexical backchannel might also highly depend on the intonation as already indicated by Stenström (1994).

In the next part of this dissertation, lexical backchannels in the data were analyzed. According to the results, there are 241 different lexical backchannels in the data and there are 1253 occurrences. As is the case with the non-lexical backchannels, lexical backchannels also have 2 main functions: keeping the conversational flow and showing attitudes. Keeping the conversational flow has 15 sub-functions which are (1) reassurance, (2) responding to a question, (3) listener's support, (4) possibility, (5)

continuation, (6) changing the topic, (7) request for reassurance, (8) lexical backchannels with the meaning of 'that's what I am saying', (9) comprehension, (10) summing up, (11) request for approval, (12) indication for getting the message, (13) lexical backchannels with the meaning of 'alright', (14) clarification and (15) finishing the topic. Showing attitudes has 2 main types: lexical backchannels with positivity and lexical backchannels with negativity. Backchannels with positivity has 8 sub-functions: approval, agreement, giving positive comments, astonishment, exclamation, sharing feelings, relief and showing compassion. On the other hand, attitudinal backchannels with negativity are face threatening acts for the other speaker such as disagreement, implying the meaning of “*so what?*”, implying insignificance of a topic and sarcasm.

Functions of lexical backchannels were also analyzed considering different groups formed by various age and gender combinations in the data. The results show that in almost all age and gender groups, lexical backchannels were used to indicate approval or agreement. In all female group consisting of only young speakers, the most common function of lexical backchannels is approval. In conversations including middle aged and elderly speakers, agreement is the most frequently used function and it is also agreement function that is most commonly used in conversations including young and middle aged speakers. In all female group consisting of young, middle aged and elderly speakers, the most commonly observed function of lexical backchannels is responding to a question.

In all male group including only young speakers, the most frequently observed function of lexical backchannels is responding to a question while in groups consisting of young and elderly speakers, it is agreement function. In majority female groups, in conversations consisting of young and middle aged speakers, approval is the most frequently used function while in the other age and gender groups, agreement is the most frequently observed function of lexical backchannels.

Lexical backchannels are most frequently used as agreement markers in groups which consist of mostly male speakers, in conversations consisting of only young speakers and in conversations consisting of young and middle aged speakers. In conversations including young and elderly speakers, comprehension and approval are the most

commonly used functions while it is the approval function in young, middle aged and elderly group.

In groups where there are equal numbers of male and female speakers, in young group and in young and middle aged group, agreement is the most frequently used function of lexical backchannels. In middle aged group, in middle aged and elderly group and in young, middle aged and elderly group, lexical backchannels are most commonly used as indications of approval.

Lastly, specific lexical backchannels commonly used with certain age and gender groups were also analyzed in this dissertation. Results indicated that lexical backchannels *evet*, *tamam* and *tabii* are the most frequently used lexical backchannels in the data and in almost all of the age and gender groups, *evet* was the most commonly used lexical backchannel. In all female group, in conversations consisting of only young speakers, in conversations consisting of middle aged and elderly speakers and in conversations consisting of young and middle aged speakers, *evet* is the most commonly used lexical backchannel. These results are in alignment with the most commonly used function of lexical backchannels which is agreement in these groups. In all female group consisting of young, middle aged and elderly speakers, *işte*, *hayır* and *iyi* are the most commonly observed lexical backchannels because responding to a question was the most commonly used function in this group.

In all male and in majority female groups, in all age groups, the most frequently used lexical backchannel is *evet*. These results are also in alignment with the most commonly observed functions of lexical backchannels which are agreement and approval in these groups.

Lastly, in conversations with equal numbers of male and female speakers, in conversations including only young speakers, only middle aged speakers and in conversations including young, middle aged and elderly speakers, *evet* is the most frequently observed lexical backchannel. In young and middle aged group, *tamam* is the most commonly used lexical backchannel while in middle aged and elderly group, *evet*, *evet evet* and *öyle öyle* are the most frequently used lexical backchannels. All

these commonly used lexical backchannels in this group are also in alignment with the most common functions of lexical backchannels which are approval and agreement in this group.

6.2. Discussion

Considering the functions of both non-lexical and lexical backchannels, this study exhibits original dimensions since the seventeen functions, request for repetition, clarification, reassurance, request for reassurance, backchannels with the meaning of ‘that’s what I am saying’, possibility, changing the topic, indication for getting the message, relief, agreement to an offer, sarcasm, backchannels with the meaning ‘so what?’, request for approval, summing up, having the meaning of ‘alright’, exclamation and implying the insignificance of a topic are unique functions to the study at hand and they have not been identified in previous studies on backchannels.

As far as the researcher is concerned, a comprehensive study on backchannels in Spoken Turkish had not been carried out until this study. Therefore, having provided the lists of all non-lexical and lexical backchannels in the data, this study provides baseline data for upcoming research on backchannels in Spoken Turkish. However, as voiced by Ike (2016), forming lists of backchannels might be problematic if there is a prescriptive approach. The lists of non-lexical and lexical backchannels that are provided in this study do not claim that they are the only possible backchannels in Spoken Turkish. In harmony with the assumptions expressed by Ike (2016), an expression might be used as a backchannel in one context while it might not be regarded as a backchannel in another context.

The findings of this study indicate some statistical tendencies for different age and gender groups considering the usage of non-lexical and lexical backchannels in the data. To illustrate, regarding both non-lexical and lexical backchannels, groups with female and young speakers have a tendency to use backchannels more frequently. According to the data, groups consisting of young and female speakers mostly use non-lexical backchannels for approval function while groups with male, middle aged and elderly speakers mostly use them for continuation function. Considering lexical

backchannels, in almost all age and gender groups, lexical backchannels are used for agreement and continuation functions. However, results indicate that disagreement markers were used by all male and majority male groups more frequently compared to all female and majority female groups.

Regarding the use of backchannels by different genders, the statistical tendencies are mostly in agreement with previous studies which indicate that women use backchannels more frequently for showing support for the current speaker (see Coates, 1989, 1991, 1994; Fishman 1980; Hirschmann, 1974; Holmes, 1995; Strodtbeck and Mann, 1956; Zimmerman and West, 1975). However, there are also some salient exceptions in the data. Therefore, it is not possible to generalize the findings of this study to all these age and gender groups. For instance, in some conversations in which there are only young or female speakers, there is no backchannel used in the conversation. In some conversations where there are male, middle aged and elderly speakers, there are a lot of backchannels used. As discussed by Butler (1990), gender or any other social category is a results of different acts and they only exist through speech and other social activities. Therefore, the topic of the conversation and group dynamics are other factors which have even a more important effect on the use of backchannels than the age and gender of the speakers.

Another surprising finding of this study is that the length of the conversations does not have a direct impact on the frequency of backchannels. In the longest conversation in the data, the number of the occurrences of backchannels was not so high contrary to general assumptions. Moreover, the frequency of backchannels was not so low in the shortest conversations. Therefore, it is important to note that the length of the conversations is not a reliable criterion for estimating the frequency of backchannels.

The results of this study bring us to the theory of “community of practice” introduced by Lave & Wenger (1991). The specific ways of talking might appear depending on the activity, so the usage of backchannels might also depend on the topic of the conversation. As highlighted by Kogura (2003), according to the advocates of Community of Practice approach gender differences in language use appear because of the interconnected variables including power, status and age. In alignment with the

assumptions of the third wave studies and more constructionist and contemporary approaches to language and social categories (see Butler, 1990; 1994; Eckert, 1997; 2003; 2008; 2012; Eckert and McConnell, 1992a; 1992b), this study showed that social categories such as gender, age and class should not be analyzed in isolation and use of both non-lexical and lexical backchannels are affected by the topic of the conversation and cultural and social background of the speakers and group dynamics as well as speakers' age and gender. Therefore, these results should not be generalized to all these specific age and gender groups.

Moreover, in this dissertation, combinations of age and gender groups were analyzed considering the usage of backchannels. Male, female, young, middle aged and elderly speakers were not analyzed separately to find out their tendencies for the use of backchannels in alignment with the third wave studies and recent approaches which emphasize that gender and other demographic categories should not be abstracted from other factors (see Butler, 1994; Eckert, 2012). Thus, this study does not use oversimplification and generalizations like all female or male speakers use backchannels in this way or all young, middle aged or elderly speakers use backchannels in that way. Only if there are any tendencies of different age and gender combinations regarding the use of non-lexical and lexical backchannels were analyzed in this dissertation.

Apart from age and gender variables, according to the analysis, there are certainly other variables affecting the use of non-lexical and lexical backchannels. As underlined by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992a) abstraction of gender from other social categories and factors might result in an only partial and prejudiced assumptions about language use. Speakers' personality features, cultural and educational background, and their mood at the time of the conversation are some of the other important variables that should be taken into account. As already indicated by Kogure (2003), use of backchannels might be context-sensitive. At this point, it is important to note that the detailed analysis of group differences regarding the use of backchannels is another contribution of this study to the literature on backchannels.

This dissertation examined both non-lexical and lexical backchannels in different chapters. Results show that there are some similarities and differences between these two types of backchannels. First, there are some differences between their frequency of occurrences and the number of their different forms. There are 24 different non-lexical backchannels used in the data while there are 241 different lexical backchannels in the same data. Although the number of forms of lexical backchannels is quite high compared to non-lexical backchannels, their frequency of occurrence is surprising. There are 2231 non-lexical backchannels in the data whereas the number of frequency for lexical backchannels is 1253. This might be due to the fact that speakers might find articulating non-lexical backchannels easier compared to lexical backchannels. Moreover, using lexical backchannels, speakers take a more strident stance regarding their attitudes towards what the other person is saying. On the other hand, it might be done more implicitly using the non-lexical backchannels.

Another distinction between non-lexical and lexical backchannels is related to their forms. In this study, it was observed that some lexical backchannels are used together with non-lexical expressions. These backchannels were named as *cooccurrences* and they were placed under the title of lexical backchannels. This case was not observed while analysing non-lexical backchannels which only include non-lexical expressions.

Regarding non-lexical and lexical backchannels, although they both have two main functions, the number of their sub-functions are different. To illustrate, keeping the conversational flow has 15 sub-functions for lexical backchannels, while it has 9 sub-functions for non-lexical backchannels. Request for reassurance and request for a response, which are sub-functions of non-lexical backchannels, are not observed in the analysis of lexical backchannels. The sub-functions changing the topic, request for reassurance, summing up, request for approval, finishing the topic and backchannels with the meaning of 'alright' are only observed in the analysis of lexical backchannels.

Considering backchannels with positivity, lexical backchannels have 8 sub-functions while non-lexical backchannels have 4 sub-functions. The sub-function agreement to an offer is special to non-lexical backchannels and it was not observed in lexical backchannels. Giving positive comments, astonishment, exclamation, sharing feelings

and showing compassion are sub-functions of lexical backchannels. Non-lexical backchannels do not have these sub-functions.

Lastly, regarding backchannels with negativity, non-lexical backchannels have 3 sub-functions while lexical backchannels have 4 sub-functions. 3 of their sub-functions are common while implying the insignificance of a topic is only observed with lexical backchannels. In brief, lexical backchannels have more sub-functions in total, which might be related to the fact that they have more variety. As already mentioned, there are 241 different lexical backchannels in the data while the number of different non-lexical backchannels is 24.

In the last parts of the analysis of both non-lexical and lexical backchannels, most frequent functions and most frequently used backchannels were investigated. Regarding non-lexical backchannels, the most frequent functions are approval and continuation while agreement and approval are the most frequent functions of lexical backchannels. Since with lexical backchannels, people might take a sharper and explicit stance, they might be using them for approval and agreement functions more frequently. Non-lexical backchannels might have a more implicit meaning, so the number of the agreement function is not so high considering non-lexical backchannels. In addition, the most commonly used non-lexical and lexical backchannels in different age and gender groups are also in alignment with the most common functions. However, it should be noticed that the intonation of the speakers has a great effect on the meaning of backchannels for both types.

6.3. Limitations of the Study and Implications for Further Research

It is also accepted that this dissertation has some limitations. The biggest limitation is that the data in STC was collected between the years 2008 and 2010. A very important feature of all languages is that they are always changing over time. Therefore, the data used in this study may not include enough examples for some backchannels that are commonly used in speech nowadays. To illustrate, *aynen*, *eyvallah*, *ne münasebet* and *nasıl yani* are some of the frequently used lexical backchannels in today's spoken Turkish especially by young speakers. However, there were not enough examples of

these lexical backchannels in the data because the corpus is not entirely up-to-date and in this study, all age groups are included. Thus, few occurrences or no occurrences of these lexical backchannels in the data were especially surprising. If it was only young speakers' speech, it would be more likely to find more examples of these lexical backchannels. Therefore, for further studies, it is highly recommended to create and study on a more contemporary corpus for spoken Turkish and to the researcher's knowledge, there are already some attempts to create a new corpus on youth talk in Turkish. With STC it is recommended to analyze only young speakers' speech.

Besides the coverage of the corpus, in close agreement with several previous studies (e.g., Abercrombie, 1965; Stenström, 1994; Aijmer, 2002; Pipek, 2007), analysis in this study also indicates that intonation of the speakers might dramatically change the meaning of the backchannels. The same non-lexical or lexical backchannel might have contrasting meanings depending on the intonation of the speaker. Though for this study the accompanying files have also been listened to while analyzing the functions of backchannels and some distinctive intonation patterns have been identified for some functions, intonation of the backchannels was not the main focus. Thus, focusing on intonation with more emphasis might also be recommended for further studies on backchannels in spoken Turkish.

Within the framework of this dissertation, only verbal backchannels have been investigated under two sub-groups: non-lexical and lexical backchannels. However, as highlighted by previous and current research on backchannels (see Heinz, 2003; Ike, 2010 and 2016), nodding, head movements, eye gaze and smiles are some of the examples of non-verbal backchannels and they are very frequently used in everyday speech and they are mostly ignored when analyzing backchannels. Therefore, both non-verbal backchannels and intonation of backchannels might be investigated in further studies with the help of the developments in video-recording technology.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Frequencies of Functions of Non-lexical Backchannels in Each Conversation

Conversation	Cont.	Comp.	Reassu.	Approval	Agreement	Getting the message	Respond. to a quest.	Req for rep.
114_090221_00007	44	8	16	<u>27</u>	3	3	5	3
044_090328_00038	18	39	14	<u>66</u>	2	6	9	12
021_081206_00088	61	<u>72</u>	6	31	8	9	3	5
023_100707_00193	<u>67</u>	18	-	12	9	-	2	4
023_100710_00192	<u>75</u>	27	6	49	9	1	6	4
024_100501_00160	<u>17</u>	8	-	11	1	-	5	-
024_100501_00161	<u>25</u>	5	-	7	-	-	3	4
039_090315_00142	-	1	-	<u>2</u>	-	1	-	1
039_090319_00143	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
044_090328_00047	1	-	-	<u>12</u>	2	-	3	-
060_090725_00277	4	-	3	4	3	-	<u>5</u>	-
061_090615_00103	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	<u>4</u>
061_090623_00050	<u>24</u>	21	4	2	4	-	11	-
063_090702_00224	-	4	1	<u>5</u>	1	-	1	-
063_090704_00223	<u>3</u>	-	-	2	2	-	-	2
069_090813_00051	-	-	1	<u>11</u>	-	1	-	-
073_100201_00338	<u>24</u>	19	10	9	5	5	8	3
074_090622_00046	<u>16</u>	7	1	5	1	1	3	-
082_090820_00262	-	-	-	<u>1</u>	-	-	-	-
082_090820_00263	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
098_090422_00069	<u>7</u>	2	-	1	3	1	2	-
103_091108_00040	6	10	3	<u>16</u>	5	-	15	3
105_100602_00230	<u>14</u>	11	2	13	7	2	6	5
108_100320_00164	<u>4</u>	2	2	<u>4</u>	-	1	3	2
109_091129_00145	<u>10</u>	7	4	2	1	1	4	<u>10</u>
121_100309_00053	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
129_100320_00162	3	-	1	4	1	1	<u>5</u>	2
138_100614_00242	<u>3</u>	-	-	<u>3</u>	-	1	-	-
139_100616_00280	3	<u>4</u>	-	1	-	-	1	1
144_090409_00150	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	-
149_090204_00158	5	<u>14</u>	-	9	-	-	7	-
158_090511_00172	8	19	-	<u>23</u>	8	5	11	3
158_090528_00173	1	-	-	-	-	<u>4</u>	-	-
191_090213_00276	-	3	-	<u>6</u>	2	1	-	-
112_090217_00001	-	-	1	<u>2</u>	-	-	-	1

012_090128_00002	6	<u>14</u>	2	7	-	2	8	7
075_090622_00003	-	-	<u>1</u>	-	-	-	-	-
113_090404_00004	-	2	-	<u>3</u>	2	2	2	-
072_090618_00005	-	-	-	1	-	<u>3</u>	-	-
072_090913_00006	2	<u>7</u>	-	5	1	1	-	1
063_090626_00011	7	<u>9</u>	1	5	-	4	1	2
063_090628_00012	4	<u>8</u>	-	4	-	-	-	-
069_090610_00015	1	<u>2</u>	-	1	-	-	1	-
052_090819_00016	-	-	1	<u>6</u>	-	-	1	-
117_090310_00019	-	4	-	2	2	2	<u>5</u>	-
061_090622_00020	<u>16</u>	13	5	3	2	1	2	3
072_090820_00022	<u>4</u>	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
075_090629_00023	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
024_091113_00031	2	1	-	-	<u>3</u>	-	2	1
075_090627_00035	2	-	-	1	1	-	<u>3</u>	-
061_090712_00045	<u>22</u>	8	3	14	17	-	3	3
112_090201_00086	5	14	-	<u>20</u>	12	-	11	2
091_091021_00089	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
071_091003_00094	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
107_100210_00104	16	14	5	<u>22</u>	19	5	7	5
085_090930_00130	-	-	-	<u>4</u>	-	1	-	2
129_100320_00163	2	2	1	2	-	1	-	<u>4</u>
179_090117_00195	<u>2</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
067_090708_00201	3	<u>6</u>	3	2	3	-	1	1
103_090623_00253	2	8	-	3	3	1	3	<u>17</u>
055_090619_00222	11	<u>13</u>	1	11	3	2	5	<u>13</u>

Conversation	Clar.	Req for an answer	So what?	Listener's support	Disagree.	Relief	Agreement to an offer	Sarcasm	Total
114_090221_00007	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	117
044_090328_00038	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	171
021_081206_00088	19	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	<u>216</u>
023_100707_00193	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	114
023_100710_00192	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	179
024_100501_00160	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42
024_100501_00161	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46
039_090315_00142	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
039_090319_00143	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<u>0</u>
044_090328_00047	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
060_090725_00277	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	21
061_090615_00103	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
061_090623_00050	5	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	72
063_090702_00224	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	14
063_090704_00223	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9

069_090813_00051	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
073_100201_00338	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	84
074_090622_00046	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35
082_090820_00262	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<u>1</u>
082_090820_00263	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<u>0</u>
098_090422_00069	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
103_091108_00040	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63
105_100602_00230	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	65
108_100320_00164	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
109_091129_00145	7	1	2	-	2	-	-	1	52
121_100309_00053	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	<u>1</u>
129_100320_00162	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
138_100614_00242	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
139_100616_00280	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
144_090409_00150	<u>3</u>	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	10
149_090204_00158	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43
158_090511_00172	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	79
158_090528_00173	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	9
191_090213_00276	4	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	18
112_090217_00001	<u>2</u>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	7
012_090128_00002	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	49
075_090622_00003	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<u>1</u>
113_090404_00004	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
072_090618_00005	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
072_090913_00006	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
063_090626_00011	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
063_090628_00012	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
069_090610_00015	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	7
052_090819_00016	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
117_090310_00019	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	16
061_090622_00020	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	48
072_090820_00022	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	9
075_090629_00023	<u>3</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
024_091113_00031	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	14
075_090627_00035	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
061_090712_00045	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	74
112_090201_00086	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67
091_091021_00089	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
071_091003_00094	<u>1</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<u>1</u>
107_100210_00104	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	98
085_090930_00130	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8
129_100320_00163	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
179_090117_00195	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	5
067_090708_00201	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
103_090623_00253	8	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	50
055_090619_00222	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	64

APPENDIX B: Frequencies of Functions of Lexical Backchannels in Each Conversation

Conversation	Reas.	Resp. to a ques.	List. supp.	Possi.	Cont.	Chan. the topic	Req. for reassu.	That is what I am saying	Comp.	Sum. up	Req. for approval	Indic. for getting the message	With the meaning of 'alright'	Clarif.
114_090221_00007	3	6					4					1		
044_090328_00038	2	1			6	1	2		<u>11</u>			2		
021_081206_00088	3	3		1	8	1	5							1
023_100707_00193				1										
023_100710_00192		3			23		1			1				
024_100501_00160					1			3						
024_100501_00161		4												
039_090315_00142		1					1							
039_090319_00143														
044_090328_00047	1								1			1		
060_090725_00277	1													
061_090615_00103														
061_090623_00050		<u>11</u>				1			5	1				
063_090702_00224	1							1						
063_090704_00223	1							1						
069_090813_00051		<u>1</u>												
073_100201_00338	6	4			1		2					1		
074_090622_00046					1		1		4					
082_090820_00262														
082_090820_00263														
098_090422_00069					1		1							
103_091108_00040		7		1										
105_100602_00230	2	4		1			2		1			1		
108_100320_00164		1												
109_091129_00145	3	<u>8</u>		1										
121_100309_00053	1	<u>2</u>					1							
129_100320_00162													1	
138_100614_00242		1												
139_100616_00280		2		1	3			1						
144_090409_00150		1												
149_090204_00158	1													
158_090511_00172	3	3			7	1	3		1	1		2		
158_090528_00173	1											1		
191_090213_00276		2												
112_090217_00001		1						1						
012_090128_00002		1		1										
075_090622_00003														
113_090404_00004	2	2												
072_090618_00005														
072_090913_00006	1						1		1					
063_090626_00011					6		2							
063_090628_00012								1						
069_090610_00015		1	1											
052_090819_00016		2												
117_090310_00019	1	6					2	2		1				

061_090622_00020	2							2						
072_090820_00022														
075_090629_00023	1													
024_091113_00031	1			1		1								
075_090627_00035					1									
061_090712_00045	1			3		3	1							
112_090201_00086						4		1				1		
091_091021_00089	2		1	18			3							
071_091003_00094														
107_100210_00104	2			5		1						2		
085_090930_00130	<u>2</u>													
129_100320_00163	<u>2</u>						1							
179_090117_00195														
067_090708_00201	1			1			2							
103_090623_00253	6			1				3				3		
055_090619_00222	3	3		1		1		1		1		1		

Conversation	Finishing the topic	Appr.	Agree.	Giving positive comments	Astoni.	Excla.	Sharing feelings	Relief	Comp	Disag.	"so what"	Insig. of a topic	Sarc.	Total
114_090221_00007		18	16		7	1				4			2	62
044_090328_00038	1	10	4	2										42
021_081206_00088		8	28	1	3	2				7				71
023_100707_00193		12	8	1	1	1	4					2		30
023_100710_00192		22	34	5				1	1					91
024_100501_00160		2	22							2				30
024_100501_00161		4	28		1					5				42
039_090315_00142			3		3									8
039_090319_00143														0
044_090328_00047		14												17
060_090725_00277		1	5							1				8
061_090615_00103		1	2	1	2									6
061_090623_00050		2			3									23
063_090702_00224		3	7											12
063_090704_00223		9	8											19
069_090813_00051														1
073_100201_00338		5	23		4					7		1		54
074_090622_00046		6	5		1									18
082_090820_00262														0
082_090820_00263														0
098_090422_00069			1											3
103_091108_00040		15	16							1		1		41
105_100602_00230		19	17	1		2								51
108_100320_00164		1	1	1	1									5
109_091129_00145			8	2	1					2			1	26
121_100309_00053		1	1											6
129_100320_00162		1												2
138_100614_00242			3											4
139_100616_00280		4	5											16
144_090409_00150														1
149_090204_00158		1	5							1				8
158_090511_00172		20	24			1					2			69
158_090528_00173											1			3
191_090213_00276		1	12		1					2				18
112_090217_00001														2

012_090128_00002			1		2				<u>3</u>				8
075_090622_00003													0
113_090404_00004		3	<u>12</u>	1					3				23
072_090618_00005									1				1
072_090913_00006		<u>7</u>		1									11
063_090626_00011		<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	2	2								28
063_090628_00012		<u>7</u>	2		1	1			1				13
069_090610_00015		<u>13</u>											15
052_090819_00016		<u>6</u>	1	1					1				11
117_090310_00019		<u>9</u>	8	5	3				2				39
061_090622_00020	<u>3</u>		2										9
072_090820_00022					1								1
075_090629_00023													1
024_091113_00031			1	1	1								6
075_090627_00035		1											2
061_090712_00045		9	<u>21</u>		1				9				48
112_090201_00086		<u>8</u>	7		2				3		2		28
091_091021_00089		4	1						1				30
071_091003_00094			<u>2</u>						1				3
107_100210_00104		10	<u>18</u>						1	1			40
085_090930_00130		1			1								4
129_100320_00163				<u>2</u>					1		1		7
179_090117_00195			<u>2</u>			1							3
067_090708_00201		<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>		2				1	1			18
103_090623_00253	1	4	<u>19</u>	2		1			1	1			42
055_090619_00222		5	<u>39</u>		1				10				66

APPENDIX C: CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name, Surname: Kadriye AYTAÇ-DEMİRÇİVİ
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Place of Birth: Konya, Turkey
Current Affiliation: Aksaray University, School of Foreign Languages

EDUCATION

2015-2021 PhD Degree in Foreign Language Education
Middle East Technical University, Ankara

Dissertation Title: Backchannels in Spoken Turkish

2011 - 2014 M.A. Degree in Foreign Language Education
Middle East Technical University, Ankara

Thesis Title: A corpus-based comparative study of *anyway* in English and *her/neyse* in Turkish

2006- 2010 B.A degree in English Language Teaching
Middle East Technical University, Ankara

2008-2010 Minor Degree in German Language
Middle East Technical University, Ankara

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

Aytaç, K. & Gürbüz, N. (2018). Grammatical Competence in Exam Writing and Take-Home Assignments. In B. Kağıtçı-Yıldız & S. Turan (Eds.) *Proceedings of the 12th METU International ELT Convention* (pp. 300-330). Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Aytaç-Demirçivi, K. (2020). Personal factors predicting EFL Learners' writing anxiety. *Global Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*, 10(4), 257-267. doi:10.18844/gjflt.v10i4.5104

Aytaç-Demirçivi, K. (2020). Usage of English speech like expressions in Turkish students' written works. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*, 16(2), 1006-1018.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS/PUBLISHED PROCEEDINGS

- Aytaç, K. & Işık-Güler, H. (2014). Kurgu Metinlerinde İngilizcedeki Anyway ve Türkçedeki Her Neyse Üzerine Derlem Temelli Karşılaştırmalı Bir Çalışma, 28. *Ulusal Dilbilim Kurultayı*, Sakarya, Türkiye, pp. 114-132.
- Aytaç, K. & Gürbüz, N. (2015). Grammatical Competence in Exam Writing and Take Home Assignments and Students Attitudes, *12th ODTÜ International ELT Convention*, Ankara, Turkey.
- Aytaç, K. (2017). Usage of Speech Like Expressions in Students'xx Written Works, *GlobELT 2017 An International Conference on Teaching and Learning English as an Additional Language*, Ephesus, Turkey, p. 38.
- Aytaç, K. & Hatipoğlu, Ç.(2017). Representation of men and women in Turkish: Evidence from Turkish National Corpus, *IV. International Linguistics and Language Studies Conference (LILA'xx17)*, Istanbul, Turkey, pp. 72-84.
- Aytaç, K. (2017). Avoidance of Past Perfect Tense by Turkish Learners of English, *1st International Black Sea Conference on Language and Language Education*, Samsun, Turkey, pp. 322-332.
- Aytaç-Demirçivi, K. (2020). Factors Associated with EFL Learners'xx Writing Anxiety, *11th International ELT Research Conference-ELT2020*, Çanakkale, Turkey, pp. 37-38.

SCHOLARSHIPS and AWARDS

- TUBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey)
Scholarship for PhD Degree (2015-2021)
- METU Course Performance Award (2018)

APPENDIX D: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

1. GİRİŞ

İletişimin doğal bir parçası olan geribildirimler bir konuşmacının geribildirim verme davranışı beklenen formun dışına çıkmadıkça fark edilmemektedir. Geribildirimler ve işlevleri özellikle İngilizcede olmak üzere farklı dillerde ve farklı çalışmalarda araştırılmıştır. İlk olarak Yngve (1970) tarafından isimlendirilen geribildirimlerin özellikle konuşma dilinde yüksek sıklıkta kullanılmaları ve hala daha fazla araştırma gerektiren işlevleri ve türleri dolayısıyla daha kapsamlı bir analizi önemlidir.

Sıklıkla o andaki konuşmacı için dönüt vermek ve dinleyicinin desteğini göstermek için kullanılan kısa ifadeler olarak tanımlanan geribildirimlerin konuşmaların düzenlenmesinde çok önemli bir rol oynadıkları yadsınamaz bir gerçektir. Önceki çalışmalarda genellikle dinleyici desteğini göstermekle bağdaştırılan geribildirimlerin çok daha çeşitli işlevlerinin ve çok farklı türlerinin olduğu daha güncel çalışmalarda ortaya koyulmuştur (Adolphs ve Carter, 2013; Antaki vd., 2000; Cutrone, 2014; Iwasaki, 1997; Maynard, 1997; O’Keeffe ve Adolphs, 2008; Pipek, 2007; Ruede vd., 2017). Onaylama, reddetme, sorulara yanıt verme ve bir konunun açıklığa kavuşturulması için talepte bulunma gibi işlevler geribildirimler için belirlenen işlevlerden bazılarıdır. Geribildirimler sözel ya da sözel olmayan formlarda kullanılabilir ya da hem sözel hem de sözel olmayan formların birleşiminden oluşabilmektedir. Sözel geribildirimler sözcüksel ya da sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerken sözel olmayan geribildirimler kafa sallamak ya da kahkaha gibi beden diline özgü davranışlardır. Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin geleneksel sözlük anlamları bulunmadığı için bu geribildirimlerin anlamlarını ve işlevlerini belirlemek özellikle zorlayıcıdır.

Geribildirimler üzerine yapılmış olan önceki çalışmaların gözden geçirilmesi sonucu hala alan yazında geribildirimlerin tanımı, çeşitleri, işlevleri ve özellikleri üzerine bir

görüş birliğinin sağlanamadığı görülmektedir. Güncel çalışmalar geribildirimlerin özellikleri hakkında önceki çalışmalardan kabul gören varsayımları artık sorgulamaktadır (Ike, 2014 ve 2016). Bu uyuşmazlıklara rağmen Heinz (2003) tarafından da belirtildiği gibi geribildirimlerin bütün dillerde var oldukları ve iletişimin düzenlenmesinde çok önemli işlevleri sahip oldukları yaygın bir şekilde kabul görmüştür. Geribildirimlerin kültürlerarası iletişimdeki pragmatik önemi de alan yazında tasdik edilmiştir (Clark ve Wasow, 1998; Goodwin, 1986; Heinz, 2003; Li, 2006; Schegloff, 1982).

Türkçe göz önüne alındığında geribildirimler üzerine yapılmış çalışmalar oldukça azdır. Bazı çalışmalar birkaç geribildirim üzerinde durmuştur fakat araştırmacının bilgisi çerçevesinde geribildirimler ve işlevleri üzerine Türkçede kapsamlı bir çalışma henüz yapılmamıştır. Buna ek olarak yine araştırmacının bilgisi çerçevesinde Türkçede geribildirimlerin kullanımındaki gruplar arası ve grup içi farklar üzerinde hiçbir çalışma yapılmamıştır.

1.1. Çalışmanın Amacı

Bu çalışma konuşma Türkçesindeki geribildirimlerin kapsamlı bir incelemesi şeklinde tasarlanmıştır ve daha sonra Türkçedeki geribildirimler üzerine yapılacak çalışmalar için bir dayanak sağlayacak analiz oluşturmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu sebeple bu çalışma konuşma Türkçesindeki sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimleri ayrıntılı bir şekilde araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu hedefi gerçekleştirmek için hem sözcüksel hem de sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler çalışmanın kapsamına dâhil edilmiştir.

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı öncelikle verideki bütün sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimleri ve bu geribildirimlerin işlevlerini belirlemektir. Diğer bir amaç ise veride doğal olarak oluşan gruplarda geribildirimlerin kullanımındaki farklılıkları ortaya çıkarmaktır. Derlemdeki konuşmaların analizi farklı yaş ve cinsiyet kombinasyonlarından oluşan gruplaşmalarda bir yoğunluk olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu nedenle, önceki çalışmalar bu değişkenlerin etkilerini ayrı ayrı birbirinden bağımsız olarak incelese de, bu çalışma aynı zamanda yaş ve cinsiyet değişkenlerinin

geribildirimlerin kullanımı söz konusu olduğunda birbirleriyle olan etkileşimlerini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışma çerçevesinde cinsiyet ve dil kullanımı hakkındaki daha güncel yaklaşımlarla uyumlu olarak sosyal kategoriler gelişen yapılar olarak algılanmaktadır (Butler, 1990, 1994; Eckert, 1997, 2003, 2008, 2012; Eckert and McConnell, 1992a, 1992b). Bu yüzden, bu çalışmada yaş ve cinsiyet bağımsız değişkenler olarak ele alınmamıştır. Bunun yerine geribildirimlerin kullanımındaki grupsal farklar çalışmanın odak noktasıdır.

2. YÖNTEM

Geribildirimler, özellikle sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler, konuşma dilinde yazı diline oranla daha sık kullanıldığı için, bu çalışmada Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi (STD) veri kaynağı olarak kullanılmıştır. Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi'ndeki aile ve/veya akrabalar, aile ve arkadaşlar ve arkadaşlar ve/veya tanıdıklar arasındaki konuşmalar doğal olarak oluşan konuşmalar olduğu için çalışma için veri toplanan ortamlardır.

Geribildirimlerin işlevlerini belirlemek için ise EXMaRALDA araçları kullanılmıştır. Üç ana ortamdan 61 konuşmadan oluşan bir alt derlem oluşturulmuştur. Bu ortamlar daha önce de belirtildiği gibi aile ve/veya akrabalar, aile ve arkadaşlar ve arkadaşlar ve/veya tanıdıklar arasındaki konuşmalardır. Bu tür konuşmaların seçilme sebebi bu ortamlardaki konuşmaların daha doğal, kendiliğinden oluşan ve daha fazla etkileşim içeren konuşmalar olacağı beklendiği içindir. Bu konuşmalardan 35'i aile ve/veya akrabalar, 13'ü aile ve arkadaşlar ve diğer 13'ü ise arkadaşlar ve/veya tanıdıklar arasındaki konuşmalardır. Veride toplamda 150.494 kelime bulunmaktadır ve bu çalışmada incelenen kayıtların toplan uzunluğu 18 saat 44 dakikadır.

Konuşmacıların yaşları göz önüne alındığında veride toplam 3 grup oluşturulmuştur. Hawkey vd. (2011) tarafından belirlenen sınıflandırma baz alınarak verideki 18-25 yaş arası konuşmacılar genç, 26-50 yaş arası konuşmacılar orta yaşlı ve 50 yaş üzeri konuşmacılar ileri yaşlı olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Bütün sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin belirlenmesi için manüel analiz kullanılmıştır. Döngüsel bir yöntem kullanılarak geribildirimler için yeni bir

işlev belirlendiğinde bu işleve ait diğer örneklerin de ortaya çıkarılması için geriye dönülerek bütün veri tekrar analiz edilmiştir. Bu döngünün sonunda geribildirimlerin bütün işlevleri belirlenmiştir.

Öncelikle verideki bütün konuşmalar dikkatle okunmuş ve eşlik eden ses dosyaları dikkatli bir şekilde dinlenmiştir. Daha sonra Türkçede sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler için uzun bir liste oluşturulmuştur. Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler belirlendikten sonra işlevlerin belirlenmesi için her bir geribildirim bağlamı içerisinde tekrar analiz edilmiş ve işlevler belirlenmiştir. İşlevlerin belirlenmesi için EXMaRALDA araçları kullanılmıştır. Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler ve işlevleri belirlendikten sonra aynı süreç sözcüksel geribildirimler için bir liste oluşturmak ve işlevlerini belirlemek için de takip edilmiştir. Sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin işlevlerinin tanımlanmasında karşılıklı kodlama güvenilirliğini sağlamak için örnek veri grupları düzenli olarak uzmanlarla paylaşılmış ve onların da araştırmacının sınıflandırması ile aynı fikirde oldukları görülmüştür.

Çalışmanın amaçları göz önünde bulundurulduğunda çalışma için alt sorularla birlikte dört temel araştırma sorusu oluşturulmuştur. İlk araştırma sorusu verideki bütün sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimleri ve onların verideki kullanım sıklıklarını belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. İkinci araştırma sorusu veride kullanılan sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin işlevlerini ve bu işlevlerin hangi sıklıkta kullanıldığını ortaya çıkarmayı hedeflemektedir. Üçüncü araştırma sorusu her bir işlevle hangi sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanıldığını bulmayı amaçlamaktadır. Son araştırma sorusu ise sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanımındaki yaş ve cinsiyet kombinasyonlarını göz önüne alarak grupsal farkları araştırmayı hedeflemektedir. Son araştırma sorusunun ilk alt sorusunda doğal olarak oluşan gruplardaki sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanım sıklıkları, ikinci alt soruda ise sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin işlevlerinin kullanımındaki grupsal farkları ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Çalışmada 189 konuşmacı bulunmaktadır. Eğitim seviyeleri göz önüne alındığında, ilkokul, lise, üniversite, yüksek lisans ve doktora mezunu konuşmacılar bulunmaktadır.

Evli ve bekâr olan konuşmacıların sayısı birbirine oldukça yakındır ve birçok farklı meslek grubundan konuşmacılar bulunmaktadır. Veride 102 kadın 87 erkek konuşmacı bulunmaktadır. Buna ek olarak veride 38 farklı ilden konuşmacılar bulunmaktadır. Türkiye'nin batı kısımları için bir yoğunluk olsa da konuşmacılar kuzey, güney, doğu ve batı kesimlerin bir sentezini sergilemektedir.

3. SÖZCÜKSEL OLMAYAN GERİBİLDİRİMLERE AİT BULGULAR

Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin analizine göre veride toplam 24 farklı sözcüksel olmayan geribildirim olduğu ve toplam 2231 kez sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanıldığı görülmüştür. Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler için analiz sonuçlarına göre iki ana işlev belirlenmiştir. Bu işlevler konuşmanın akışını sağlamak ve tutum sergilemektir. Bu iki ana işlev için alt işlevler olduğu da görülmüştür. Konuşmanın akışını sağlamak için 9 alt işlev belirlenmiştir. Bu işlevler konuşmayı devam ettirme, anlama, konuşmacının mesajının dinleyici tarafından alındığını belirtme, dinleyici desteği sağlama, açıklığa kavuşturma, tekrar doğrulama, tekrar için talep, yanıt için talep ve bir soruya yanıt vermek olduğu görülmüştür.

İkinci ana işlev olan tutum belirleme işlevinin ise iki alt grubu ve bu grupların da alt işlevleri olduğu ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Tutum bildirme işlevi olumlu tutum bildirmek ve olumsuz tutum bildirmek olmak üzere iki alt gruba sahiptir. Olumlu tutum bildirme onaylama, görüş birliği bildirme, bir teklife olumlu yanıt verme ve rahatlama olmak üzere 4 alt işleve sahiptir. Olumsuz tutum bildirme ise kinaye, görüş ayrılığı bildirme ve 'evet yani?' anlamını taşıyan geribildirimler olmak üzere 3 alt işleve sahiptir.

Analiz sonuçları sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin veride en sık konuşmanın akışını sağlamak için kullanıldığı görülmüştür. Bu ana işlev için en sık kullanılan alt işlev konuşmayı devam ettirme işlevidir. Bu alt işlevi sıklık bakımından anlama ve soruya yanıt verme işlevleri takip etmektedir. Tutum bildiren geribildirimler göz önüne alındığında ise olumlu tutum bildiren geribildirimlerin olumsuz tutum bildiren geribildirimlere göre çok daha sıklıkla kullanıldığı görülmüştür. Olumlu tutum bildiren geribildirimlerin en sık onaylama işlevi için kullanıldığı görülürken olumsuz tutum bildiren geribildirimlerin en sık görüş ayrılığı bildirme alt işlevi için kullanıldığı ortaya

çıkılmaktadır.

Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin analizi veride 24 farklı sözcüksel olmayan geribildirim kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Bu geribildirimlerden *hu* veride en sık kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimdir. Buna ek olarak, *hi-hi* ve *hi* ise diğer sıklıkla kullanılan geribildirimlerdir.

Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler için konuşmanın akışını sağlama ana işlevinde en sık kullanılan alt işlevinin konuşmayı devam ettirme işlevi olduğu görülmüştür. Bu işlevde geribildirimler o andaki konuşmacının konuşmayı devam ettirmesi için kullanılmaktadır. Bu işlev için en sık kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimin *hi* olduğu görülmüştür. Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler için en sık kullanılan ikinci alt işlevin anlama işlevi olduğu ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu işlevde geribildirimler o andaki dinleyicinin o andaki konuşmacının ne söylediğini anladığını belirtmek için kullanılmaktadır. Bu işlevde en sık kullanılan geribildirimin uzatma vurgusu ile *hmm* olduğu görülmüştür.

Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler için üçüncü en sık kullanılan alt işlevin bir soruya yanıt vermek olduğu ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu işlevde sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler soru-yanıt dizisinde kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Konuşmacılardan biri bir soru sormakta ve diğer konuşmacı ise bu soruya sözcüksel olmayan geribildirim kullanarak cevap vermektedir. Bu alt işlevde *hi-hi* en sık kullanılan geribildirimdir.

Analiz sonuçlarına göre sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin konuşmanın akışını sağlamak ana işlevinde 4. en sık kullanılan alt işlevinin tekrarlama için talep olduğu görülmektedir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri bir soru sormakta ancak diğer konuşmacı bu soruyu anlamamakta ya da kaçırmaktadır. Bu yüzden, ikinci konuşmacı ilk konuşmacının sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimleri kullanarak sorusunu tekrar etmesini istemektedir. Bu işlevde sorgulama tonu ile birlikte kullanılan *hi* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimdir.

Açıklığa kavuşturma işlevi sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin alt işlevlerinden biridir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri bir konu hakkında kafa karışıklığı yaşamakta

ve diğ er konuşmacıya konuyu açıklamasını istemektedir. Diğ er konuşmacı konuyu açıkladığı nda konunun açıklığı kavuştuğ unu belirtmek için ilk konuşmacı sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimleri kullanmaktadır. Bu işlevde daha güçlü bir tona sahip olan *haa* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimdir.

Analiz sonuçlarına göre tekrar doğrulama sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler için en sık kullanılan 6. alt işlevdir. Bu işlevde sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler daha önce konuşulan bir konunun tekrar doğrulanması için kullanılmaktadır. İlk konuşmacı bir konudan bahsetmekte ve ikinci konuşmacı şaşkınlık ya da emin olamama belirtileri göstermektedir. Bu yüzden daha önce söylemiş olduğ u ifadeyi tekrar doğrulamak için birinci konuşmacı sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler kullanmaktadır. Bu alt işlevde *hu* en çok kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimdir.

Konuşmacının mesajının dinleyici tarafından alındığı nı belirtme sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler için belirlenen diğ er bir alt işlevdir. Bu işlev anlama işlevine benzemektedir ancak bu işlevle o andaki dinleyici daha güçlü bir tonda anlamış olduğunu göstermektedir. İlk konuşmacı bir soru sormakta ve diğ er konuşmacı cevap vermektedir. İkinci konuşmacının cevabını anladığı nı daha yüksek bir tonda belirtmek için sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler kullanılmaktadır. Anlama işlevinde ise konuşmacılar tarafından sorulan herhangi bir soru bulunmamaktadır. Bu işlevde *haa* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimdir.

Dinleyici desteğ i sağlama sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin alt işlevlerinden bir diğ eridir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri açık olarak diğ er konuşmacıya seslenmektedir. Bunun üzerine seslenen konuşmacı dinlediğ ini belirtmek için sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimleri kullanmaktadır. Bu işlev de konuşmayı devam ettirme işlevine benzerlik göstermektedir ancak konuşmayı devam ettirme işlevinde konuşmacılardan biri diğ erine seslenmemektedir. Bu işlevle birlikte *hu* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimdir.

Analiz sonuçları sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin bir yanıt için talep işlevi için de kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Bu işlev konuşmanın akışını sağlamak ana işlevindeki en az kullanılan alt işlevdir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri diğ erine bir soru

sormakta ve diğerkonuşmacı belirli bir süre geçmesine rağmen cevap vermemektedir. Bu yüzden ilk konuşmacı yanıt için talepte bulunmakta ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimleri kullanmaktadır. Bu işlevde *hı* ve *hu* en sık kullanılan geribildirimlerdir.

Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin ikinci ana işlevi tutum bildirmektir. Bu ana işlevin iki alt işlevi bulunmaktadır: olumlu tutum bildirmek ve olumsuz tutum bildirmek. Olumlu tutum bildirmek için 3 alt işlev belirlenmiştir. Bunlardan ilki ve en sık kullanılanı onaylama işlevidir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri diğerini onaylamaktadır. Onaylama işlevi görüş birliği bildirme işlevinden farklıdır çünkü görüş birliği bildirme işlevinde sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler öznel bir bakış açısı bildirmektedir. Diğer yandan, onaylama işlevinde konuşmacılar konuşulan konudan haberdar olduklarını ve onların da o konuyu bildiklerini göstermektedirler. Bu işlevde *hı-hı* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimdir.

Olumlu tutum bildirmek işlevinde ikinci en sık kullanılan alt işlev görüş birliği bildirme işlevidir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri bir düşüncesini ya da fikrini belirtmekte diğerkonuşmacı ise bu fikirle görüş birliğinde olduğunu sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler kullanarak belirtmektedir. Bu işlevde öznel bir bakış açısı bildirilmektedir ve *hı-hı* en çok kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimdir.

Olumlu tutum bildirmek işlevi göz önüne alındığında rahatlama işlevi sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin en sık kullanılan 3. alt işlevidir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri bir konu hakkında tedirginliğini dile getirmekte, diğerkonuşmacı ise tedirgin olmayı gerektirecek herhangi bir durum olmadığını belirtmektedir. Bunun üzerine, ilk konuşmacı rahatlama yaşadığını göstermek için sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimleri kullanmaktadır. Bu işlevde *haa* en sık kullanılan geribildirimdir.

Bir teklife olumlu yanıt verme sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin olumlu tutum bildirmek işlevi için en az kullanılan alt işlevidir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri diğerinde bir teklif sunmakta, diğerkonuşmacı ise sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler kullanarak bu teklifi kabul etmektedir. Bu işleve sahip sadece bir sözcüksel olmayan geribildirim bulunmaktadır ve *hm* bu işlevle kullanılan tek geribildirimdir.

Olumsuz tutum bildirmek sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin işlevlerinden biridir. Bu işlevde görüş ayrılığı bildirme en sık kullanılan alt işlevdir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri diğeri ile aynı fikirde olmadığını belirtmek için sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimleri kullanmaktadır. Bu işlevde *i-h* sözcüksel olmayan tek geribildirimdir.

Olumsuz tutum bildirmek için kinaye ikinci en sık kullanılan alt işlevdir. Bu işlevle ikinci konuşmacı birinci konuşmacının bahsettiği konunun gülünç olduğunu ironi yaparak belirtmektedir. Bu işlevde *ha-ha* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimdir. Olumsuz tutum bildirmek için en az kullanılan alt işlev ise ‘yani?’ anlamı taşıyan sözcüksel geribildirimlerdir. Bu geribildirimler o andaki konuşmacıya bahsettikleri konunun öneminin ve asıl konuya olan alakasının ne olduğunu sormak için kullanılmaktadır. Bu işlev için *ee* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimdir.

4. SÖZCÜKSEL GERİBİLDİRİMLERE AİT BULGULAR

Sözcüksel geribildirimleri ve işlevlerini belirlemek için de sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler için kullanılan aynı yöntemler uygulanmıştır. Analiz sonuçları veride 241 farklı sözcüksel geribildirim olduğunu ve toplamda 1253 kez sözcüksel geribildirimlerin kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Bu sözcüksel geribildirimlerden *evet* veride en sık kullanılanıdır ve *tamam* ve *tabi* diğer sıklıkla kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimlerdir. Analiz sonuçları bazı durumlarda, *ha evet* ve *ha ha ha tamam* gibi, sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin birlikte kullanıldıklarını göstermektedir. Bazı durumlarda ise sözcüksel geribildirimler kendini tekrarlamaktadır ve *hayır hayır* bu örneklerden biridir.

Sözcüksel geribildirimler için yapılan analiz sonuçları, sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerde olduğu gibi, bu geribildirimlerin iki ana işlevinin olduğunu göstermektedir. Fakat sözcüksel geribildirimlerin, sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerden farklı olarak çoğunlukla olumlu tutum bildirmek için kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Konuşmanın akışını sağlamak ana işlevinde sözcüksel geribildirimler için 15 alt işlev belirlenmiş ve bir soruya yanıt vermek işlevinin en sık kullanılan alt

işlev olduğu ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Olumlu tutum bildirmek için ise 8 farklı alt işlev belirlenmiş ve en sık kullanılan işlevin görüş birliği bildirme işlevi olduğu görülmüştür. Olumsuz tutum bildirmek 4 alt işlev tanımlanmış ve görüş ayrılığı bildirme alt işlevinin en sık kullanılan alt işlev olduğu belirlenmiştir.

Sözcüksel geribildirimlerde konuşmanın akışını sağlamak ana işlevi için 15 alt işlev belirlenmiştir. Bu işlevler, bir soruya yanıt verme, konuşmayı devam ettirme, tekrar doğrulama, tekrar doğrulama için talep, anlama, ‘benim de anlatmaya çalıştığım şey bu’ anlamındaki sözcüksel geribildirimler, konuşmacının mesajının alındığını belirtme, olasılık, konuyu değiştirme, onay için talep, açıklığa kavuşturma, konuyu bitirme, özetleme, ‘tamam o zaman’ anlamındaki sözcüksel geribildirimler ve dinleyici desteği sağlamadır.

Sözcüksel geribildirimlerin konuşmanın akışını sağlama için en sık kullanılan alt işlevi bir soruya yanıt vermedir. Bu işlevde *evet* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir. Konuşmayı devam ettirme işlevi ikinci en sık kullanılan alt işlevdir. Bu işlevde *evet* en çok kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir. Sözcüksel geribildirimlerde konuşmanın akışını sağlama ana işlevi için üçüncü en sık kullanılan işlev tekrar doğrulama alt işlevidir. Bu işlevde yine *evet* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

Tekrar doğrulama için talep 4. en sık kullanılan alt işlevdir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri bir konudan bahsetmekte ve diğer konuşmacı şaşkınlığını belirtmektedir. Bu yüzden, ikinci konuşmacı birinci konuşmacının anlattığı konudan emin olmak ve tekrar doğrulaması için talepte bulunmak için sözcüksel bir geribildirim kullanmaktadır. Bu işlevde ‘*öyle mi?*’ en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir. Anlama işlevi, sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerde olduğu gibi, sözcüksel geribildirimlerin de alt işlevlerinden bir diğeri olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu işlevde *tamam* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

Sözcüksel geribildirimler veride ‘benim de anlatmaya çalıştığım şey bu’ anlamında da kullanılmaktadır. Bu işlevde birinci konuşmacı bir konudan bahsetmektedir ve ikinci konuşmacı da birinci konuşmacının bahsettiği konuya paralel bir konudan bahsetmektedir. Her ikisinin de aynı konudan bahsettiğini vurgulamak için birinci

konuşmacı bir sözcüksel geribildirim kullanmaktadır. Bu işlevde ‘*işte!*’ en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir. Konuşmacının mesajının alındığını bildirme sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerde olduğu gibi sözcüksel geribildirimlerin de alt işlevlerinden biridir. Bu işlevde *tamam* en çok kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

Olasılık işlevi konuşmanın akışını sağlamak için en sık kullanılan 8. alt işlevdir. Bu işlevde birinci konuşmacı bir konudan söz etmekte ve diğer konuşmacı ise birinci konuşmacının bahsettiği konunun doğru olabileceğini ya da gerçekleşebileceğini belirtmek için bir sözcüksel geribildirim kullanmaktadır. Bu işlevde *olabilir* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

Analiz sonuçlarına göre sözcüksel geribildirimler, sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin aksine, konuyu değiştirmek için de kullanılmaktadır. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri bir konudan söz etmekte ve diğer konuşmacı bu konunun önemli olmadığını ya da rahatsız edici olduğunu düşünmektedir. Bu sebeple, konuyu değiştirmek için sözcüksel geribildirimler kullanmaktadır. Bu işlevde *neyse* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

Sözcüksel geribildirimler bazı durumlarda onay için talep işlevinde de kullanılmaktadır ve bu işlev konuşmanın akışını sağlamak ana işlevi için belirlenen 10. en sık kullanılan alt işlevdir. Bu işlevde birinci konuşmacı bir konudan söz etmekte ve anlattığı konu için onay talep etmek amacıyla bir sözcüksel geribildirim kullanmaktadır. Bu işlevde ‘*di mi?*’ kullanılan tek sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

Açıklığa kavuşturma sözcüksel geribildirimlerin alt işlevlerinden biri olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu işlevde ikinci konuşmacı bir konuyu yanlış anlamakta ve birinci konuşmacı bu yanlış anlamayı fark etmektedir. Bu yüzden, birinci konuşmacı yanlış anlamayı açıklığa kavuşturmak için sözcüksel geribildirimler kullanmaktadır. Bu işlevde *hayır hayır* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

Konuyu kapatma işlevi sözcüksel geribildirimlerin alt işlevlerinden biridir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri bir konudan söz etmekte ve ikinci konuşmacı bu konuyu kapatmak ve bitirmek için sözcüksel geribildirimler kullanmaktadır. Bu işlevde *tamam*

en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

Sözcüksel geribildirimlerin alt işlevlerinden biri de özetlemedir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri diğerinden herhangi bir tepki olmadığında o ana kadar konuşulan konuyu özetlemek için sözcüksel geribildirimleri kullanmaktadır. Bu işlev için *işte öyle* ve *öyle yani* kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimlerdir. Bazı durumlarda sözcüksel geribildirimler ‘tamam o zaman’ anlamında kullanılmaktadır. Bu işlevde *peki* and *tamam o zaman* kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimlerdir. Dinleyici desteği sağlama sözcüksel geribildirimlerin diğer bir alt işlevidir. Bu işlevde birinci konuşmacı ikinci konuşmacıya seslenmektedir ve ikinci konuşmacı desteğini bildirmek için sözcüksel geribildirimler kullanmaktadır. Bu işlevde *evet* tek kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerde olduğu gibi sözcüksel geribildirimler için de tutum bildirmek ikinci ana işlev olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu ana işlevin olumlu tutum bildirmek ve olumsuz tutum bildirmek olmak üzere 2 alt işlevi bulunmaktadır. Olumlu tutum bildirmek için 8 alt işlev belirlenmiştir. Bunlardan en sık kullanılan görüş birliği bildirme alt işlevidir. Konuşmacılardan biri bir fikir öne sürmekte ve diğer konuşmacı ise bu fikir ile olan görüş birliğini sözcüksel geribildirimler yoluyla ifade etmektedir. Bu işlev için *evet* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir. Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerden farklı olarak bu işlev için sözcüksel geribildirimlerde alt işlevler de belirlenmiştir. Bu alt işlevler isteksiz görüş birliği bildirme, kinayeli görüş birliği bildirme, empatik görüş birliği bildirme, şüphe ile görüş birliği bildirme, zayıf görüş birliği bildirme ve güçlü görüş birliği bildirmediir.

İsteksiz görüş birliği bildirme işlevinde *iyi tamam*, *iyi tamam tamam* ve *iyi be* gibi sözcüksel geribildirimler kullanılmaktadır. İronik görüş birliği bildirme işlevinde *tamam* ve *evet* sözcüksel geribildirimleri kullanılmaktadır. Empatik görüş birliği bildirme işlevinde *di mi ya!*, *di mi*, *yani! yani!* ve *yani değil mi?* ifadeleri kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimlerdir. Şüphe ile görüş birliği bildirme işlevinde kullanılan üç sözcüksel geribildirim bulunmaktadır: *doğrudur*, *öyledir* ve *öyle olması lazım*. Bazı durumlarda sözcüksel geribildirimler zayıf görüş birliği bildirmek için de kullanılmaktadır. Bu işlevde *yani* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir. Son

olarak güçlü görüş birliđi bildirme işlevinde *vallah* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirim olarak belirlenmiştir.

Olumlu tutum bildirmek için ikinci en sık kullanılan işlev onaylama işlevidir. Bu işlevde *evet* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir. Şaşkınlık bildirme olumlu tutum bildirmek için en sık kullanılan 3. alt işlevdir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri bir konudan söz etmekte ve diđer konuşmacı bu konu ile ilgili şaşkınlığını sözcüksel geribildirimler kullanarak ifade etmektedir. Bu işlev için *Allah Allah* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

Olumlu yorumlar vermek olumlu tutum bildirmek için sözcüksel geribildirimlerde belirlenen bir diđer alt işlevdir. Bu işlevde ikinci konuşmacı birinci konuşmacının bahsettiđi konu hakkında sözcüksel geribildirimler kullanarak olumlu yorumlar yapmaktadır. Bu işlevde *iyi* en çok kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir. Analiz sonuçlarına göre bazı durumlarda sözcüksel geribildirimler ünlem ifadeleri olarak da kullanılmaktadır. Bu işlev için kullanılan 8 farklı sözcüksel geribildirim olduđu görülmüştür: *oley, anam, töbe, e hey yavrum be, eyvah, ayy çok fena, ayy çok fena ya, ya işte bu ve vay vay vay.*

Şefkat bildirme olumlu tutum bildirmek işlevinin alt işlevlerinden biridir. Bu işlevde konuşmacılardan biri acı çeken diđer konuşmacı için merhamet ifadeleri kullanmakta ya da diđer konuşmacı için duyduđu sempatiyi ifade etmektedir. Bu işlevde *yazık* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir. Duyguları paylaşmak da sözcüksel geribildirimlerin bir diđer alt işlevi olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu işlevde ikinci konuşmacı birinci konuşmacının duygularını paylaşmakta ve ona empati göstermektedir. Genellikle bu işlevde birinci konuşmacı olumsuz bir olaydan ya da üzgün olduđu bir durumdan söz etmekte ve diđer konuşmacı ona empati göstermektedir. Bu işlevde *aman!* iki kez, *aman ya!* ise bir kez kullanılmıştır. Olumlu tutum bildirmek için en az sıklıkla kullanılan son işlev rahatlama işlevidir. Bu işlevde, sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerde olduđu gibi, konuşmacılardan biri bir konu hakkında yaşadığı tedirginliđi dile getirmekte ve diđer konuşmacı ise birinci konuşmacının tedirginlik duymasını gerektirecek bir durum olmadığını belirtmektedir. Bunun üzerinde birinci konuşmacı rahatlamış olduğunu belirtmek için sözcüksel geribildirimler

kullanılmaktadır. Bu işlevde sadece *ha iyi* sözcüksel geribildirim olarak kullanılmıştır.

Olumsuz tutum bildirmek sözcüksel geribildirimler için belirlenen bir diğer alt işlevdir. Bu işlevde en sık kullanılan alt işlev görüş ayrılığı bildirme alt işlevidir. Konuşmacılardan biri diğeri ile olan görüş ayrılığını ifade etmek için sözcüksel geribildirimler kullanılmaktadır. Bu işlevde *hayır* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir. Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerden farklı olarak bu işlev için sözcüksel geribildirimlerde alt işlevler de belirlenmiştir. Alaycı görüş ayrılığı bildirme ve empatik görüş ayrılığı bildirme bu işlev için belirlenen alt işlevlerdir. Alaycı görüş ayrılığı bildirme işlevinde sadece *hadi ordan!* sözcüksel geribildirimi kullanılmaktadır. Empatik görüş ayrılığı bildirme işlevinde yalnızca *ya ne diyorsun!* sözcüksel geribildirimi kullanılmaktadır.

Analiz sonuçlarına göre olumsuz tutum bildirmek için bazı durumlarda sözcüksel geribildirimler ‘yani?’ anlamında kullanılmaktadır. Bu işlevde ikinci konuşmacı birinci konuşmacının bahsettiği konuyu anlamakta fakat bu konuyu neden anlattığını ve asıl konuya olan bağlantısını anlamamaktadır. Bu işlevde *yani* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

Bir konunun önemsiz olduğunu ima etmek sözcüksel geribildirimlerin bir diğer işlevidir. Bu işlevde *aman* üç kez, *aman canım* ise bir kez kullanılmıştır. Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerde olduğu gibi sözcüksel geribildirimler de bazı durumlarda kinaye ifade etmek için kullanılmaktadır. Bu işlevde ikinci konuşmacı birinci konuşmacının bahsettiği konuyu ya da düşüncesini gülünç bulmaktadır. Bu işlev için *yok ya* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

5. GERİBİLDİRİMLERİN KULLANIMINDAKİ GRUPSAL FARKLAR

Bu çalışmada sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin işlevleri tanımlandıktan sonra geribildirimlerin kullanımındaki grupsal farklar ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Derlemdeki konuşmaların detaylı incelenmesi sonucu bu konuşmaların kendiliğinden farklı yaş ve cinsiyet kombinasyonlarından oluştuğu görülmüştür. Veride sadece kadınlardan oluşan gruplar, sadece erkeklerden oluşan

gruplar, kadınların çoğunlukta olduğu gruplar, erkeklerin çoğunlukta olduğu gruplar ve kadın ve erkeklerin eşit sayıda olduğu gruplar olduğu görülmüştür. Bu gruplar da içerdikleri yaş gruplarına göre incelenmiştir.

Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler için genç konuşmacıların olduğu sadece kadınlardan oluşan ya da çoğunluğu kadın olan gruplarda en sık kullanılan işlevin onaylama işlevi olduğu görülmüştür. Öte yandan, sadece kadın konuşmacıların olduğu orta yaşlı ya da ileri yaşlı konuşmacılardan oluşan gruplarda sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler çoğunlukla konuyu devam ettirme işlevi için kullanılmaktadır. Sadece erkek konuşmacılardan ya da çoğunluğu erkek konuşmacılardan oluşan gruplarda sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler yine en sık konuyu devam ettirme işlevi için kullanılmaktadır. Fakat bu gruplarda eğer genç konuşmacılar da bulunuyorsa sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin en sık kullanılan işlevi onaylama işlevidir.

Çoğunluğu kadınlardan oluşan gruplarda sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler çoğunlukla onaylama işlevi için kullanılırken çoğunluğu erkeklerden oluşan gruplarda sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler çoğunlukla konuyu devam ettirme işlevi için kullanılmaktadır. Benzer şekilde, kadın ve erkek konuşmacıların eşit sayıda olduğu gruplarda da konuyu devam ettirme işlevinin sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin en sık kullanılan işlevi olduğu görülmektedir.

Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler söz konusu olduğunda, onaylama işlevinin erkeklerden oluşan gruplara oranla kadınlardan oluşan gruplar tarafından; orta yaşlı ve ileri yaşlı konuşmacılardan oluşan gruplara oranla genç konuşmacılardan oluşan gruplar tarafından daha sık kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Diğer yandan, konuyu devam ettirme işlevinin kadınlardan oluşan gruplara oranla erkeklerden oluşan gruplarda; genç konuşmacılardan oluşan gruplara oranla orta yaşlı ve ileri yaşlı konuşmacılardan oluşan gruplarda daha sık kullanıldığı görülmektedir.

Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin işlevlerinin kullanımındaki grupsal farklar incelendikten sonra bu gruplarda hangi sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin ne sıklıkta kullanıldığı da analiz edilmiştir. Sadece kadınlardan oluşan gruplarda *hı-hı*, *hı* ve *hmm* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerdir. Bu geribildirimlerin bu

gruaplarda en sık kullanılan işlev olan onaylama işlevi ile uyumlu oldukları görülmektedir. Sadece erkeklerden oluşan gruplarda konuyu devam ettirme en sık kullanılan işlev olduğu için *hm* ve *hi-hi* en sık kullanılan geribildirimlerdir. Çoğunluğu kadınlardan oluşan gruplarda *hu* ve *haa* geribildirimlerinin sıklıkla kullanıldığı görülmüştür.

Çoğunluğu erkeklerden oluşan gruplarda *hu*, *hi* ve *he* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerdir ve bu geribildirimler çoğunlukla konuyu devam ettirme işlevi için kullanılmaktadır. Kadın ve erkek konuşmacıların eşit sayıda bulunduğu gruplarda bu gruplarda sıklıkla kullanılan konuyu devam ettirme ve anlama işlevleri ile uyumlu olarak *hm* ve *hu* en sık kullanılan geribildirimlerdir. Fakat analiz sonuçları sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanımında toplumsal ve eğitimsel faktörlerin de oldukça önemli olduğunu göstermektedir. Örneğin, sözcüksel olmayan geribildirim *he* diğer konuşmacılara oranla daha düşük eğitim seviyesindeki konuşmacı gruplarında ve kırsal alanda yaşayan konuşmacılardan oluşan gruplarda çok sık bir şekilde kullanılmıştır.

Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin analizi belirli bir geribildirimi belirli bir işlev ile bağdaştırmanın oldukça zor olduğunu göstermektedir. Bazı genel eğilimler bulunsa da aynı sözcüksel olmayan geribildirim farklı bağlamlarda ve farklı tonlamalarla birlikte farklı anlamlar edinebilmektedir. Analiz sonuçlarına göre, dil ve cinsiyet üzerine daha güncel yaklaşımlarla uyumlu biçimde, konuşmacıların kültürel, toplumsal ve eğitimsel geçmişleri onların yaş ya da cinsiyetlerine göre kullandıkları sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler üzerinde daha önemli etkilere sahiptir.

Çalışmanın bir diğer önemli sonucu ise farklı cinsiyet ve yaş grupları için sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanımına dair bazı eğitimsel bulunsa da o anda konuşulan konunun yaş ve cinsiyet değişkenlerinden daha önemli olabileceğidir. Eğer konuşmacıların ilgisini çeken bir konu konuşuluyor ise konuşmacılar konuşmanın akışını sağlamak için daha fazla geribildirim kullanarak daha çok katkıda bulunmaktadır. Ancak konuşmacıların ilgisini çeken bir konu değil ise, daha çok konuşmanın dışında kalmayı ve katkıda bulunmamayı tercih edebilmektedirler.

Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanım sıklığı ile konuşmaların uzunluğu arasında bir ilişki olup olmadığı da bu çalışmada araştırılmıştır. Analiz sonuçlarına göre verideki en uzun iki konuşmada sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanım sıklığının % 0,68 ve %1,19 olduğu görülmüştür. Diğer yandan, verideki en kısa konuşmada sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanım sıklığının %0,67 olduğu görülmektedir. Verideki en uzun konuşmalardaki sözcüksel geribildirimlerin kullanım sıklığı beklenen kadar yüksek değil; en kısa konuşmalardaki sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanım sıklığı da beklenen kadar düşük değildir. Bu sonuçlara göre konuşmanın uzunluğu ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanım sıklığı arasında bir ilişki bulunmamaktadır.

Sözcüksel geribildirimlerin kullanımındaki grupsal farklar da bu çalışmada araştırılmıştır. Analiz sonuçlarına göre sadece kadınlardan oluşan gruplarda sözcüksel geribildirimler en fazla görüş birliği bildirme ve onaylama işlevleri için kullanılmaktadır. Bu gruplarda görüş ayrılığı bildirme işlevinin sıklığının oldukça düşük olduğu görülmektedir. Sadece erkeklerden oluşan gruplarda, özellikle orta yaşlı ve ileri yaşlı konuşmacıların olduğu zaman, görüş ayrılığı bildirme işlevinin, en sık kullanılan işlev olmasa da, diğer işlevlere göre daha sık olarak kullanıldığı görülmektedir.

Çoğunluğu kadınlardan oluşan gruplarda onaylamam ve görüş birliği bildirme işlevleri yine sözcüksel geribildirimlerin en sık kullanılan işlevleridir. Bu gruplarda genç ve orta yaşlı konuşmacıların olduğu durumlarda ve genç, orta yaşlı ve ileri yaşlı konuşmacıların birlikte olduğu durumlarda görüş ayrılığı bildirme işlevinin nispeten daha sık kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Çoğunluğu erkeklerden oluşan gruplarda sözcüksel geribildirimler yine sıklıkla görüş birliği bildirme ve onaylama işlevlerinde kullanılmaktadır. Bu gruplarda sadece genç konuşmacıların olduğu durumlarda ya da genç ve orta yaşlı konuşmacıların olduğu durumlarda, en sık kullanılan işlev olmasa da, görüş ayrılığı bildirme işlevinin nispeten daha sık kullanıldığı ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Son olarak, kadın ve erkek konuşmacıların sayısının eşit olduğu gruplarda görüş birliği bildirme ve onaylama sözcüksel geribildirimlerin en sık kullanıldığı işlevlerdir.

Analiz sonuçlarına göre hem sözcüksel hem de sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler kadın ve genç konuşmacıların olduğu gruplarda daha sık kullanılmaktadır. Sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerde olduğu gibi, sözcüksel geribildirimler için de geribildirimlerin kullanım sıklığı ve konuşmaların uzunluğu arasında bir ilişki olup olmadığı araştırılmıştır. Verideki en uzun iki konuşmadaki sözcüksel geribildirimlerin kullanım sıklığı %0,72 ve %0,64 olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu sonuçlar da, sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerde olduğu gibi, konuşmanın uzunluğu ve sözcüksel geribildirimlerin sıklığı arasında bir ilişki olmadığını göstermektedir.

Grupsal farklar incelenirken hangi gruplarda hangi sözcüksel geribildirimlerin ne sıklıkla kullanıldığı da araştırılmıştır. Sonuçlara göre sadece kadınlardan oluşan gruplarda, sadece erkeklerden oluşan gruplarda, çoğunluğu kadınlardan oluşan gruplarda, çoğunluğu erkeklerden oluşan gruplarda ve erkek ve kadın konuşmacıların sayılarının eşit olduğu gruplarda *evet* en sık kullanılan sözcüksel geribildirimdir.

6. SONUÇLAR VE ÖNERİLER

Çalışma sonuçları hem sözcüksel hem de sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanımının farklı yaş ve cinsiyet kombinasyonlarından oluşan gruplara göre bazı farklılıklar gösterdiğini ortaya koyarken, Uğraş Toplulukları Kuramı'na (Wenger, 1998) paralel olarak geribildirimlerin kullanımının konuşmanın konusuna ve konuşmacıların demografik bilgilerine bağlı olarak ortak bir uğraş etrafında değişebileceğini göstermektedir.

Bu çalışmada hem sözcüksel hem de sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin işlevleri araştırılmıştır. Çalışma sonuçları daha önceki çalışmalarda geribildirimler hakkında tanımlanmayan bazı işlevler de ortaya koymaktadır. Daha önceki çalışmalarda tanımlanmayan işlevler tekrar için talep, açıklığa kavuşturma, tekrar doğrulama, tekrar doğrulama için talep, 'benim de anlatmaya çalıştığım şey bu' anlamındaki geribildirimler, olasılık, konuyu değiştirme, mesajın alındığını belirtme, rahatlama, bir teklifi kabul etme, kinaye, 'yani?' anlamına gelen geribildirimler, onay için talep, özetleme, 'tamam o zaman' anlamına gelen geribildirimler ve bir konunun önemsiz olduğunu belirtmedir.

Araştırmacının bildiği kadarıyla bu çalışmaya kadar konuşma Türkçesinde geribildirimler üzerine kapsamlı bir çalışma yapılmamıştır. Bu yüzden, verideki bütün sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin listesi oluşturulduğu için bu çalışma bundan sonra konuşma Türkçesinde kullanılan geribildirimler üzerine yapılacak çalışmalar için esas alınabilecek veri sağlamaktadır.

Çalışma sonuçları hem sözcüksel hem de sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin kullanımında farklı yaş ve cinsiyet kombinasyonlarından oluşan gruplarda bazı istatistiksel eğilimler olduğunu ortaya koyarken veride bazı istisnalar olduğu da gözlemlenmiştir. Bu yüzden bu sonuçların bütün yaş ve cinsiyet gruplarına genellemesi mümkün değildir. Butler (1994) ve Eckert (2012) tarafından da belirtildiği gibi konuşmacıların toplumsal, kültürel ve eğitimsel geçmişlerinin cinsiyet ve yaşlarına göre geribildirimlerin kullanımında daha büyük bir etkiye sahip olduğu görülmektedir. Buna ek olarak konuşmanın konusunun da geribildirim kullanımı üzerinde önemli bir etkiye sahip olduğu ortaya koyulmuştur.

Çalışmada incelenen sözcüksel ve sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler incelendiğinde sözcüksel olmayan 24 farklı geribildirim tanımlanırken sözcüksel olan 241 farklı geribildirim tanımlanmıştır. Buna rağmen, veride toplam 2231 sözcüksel geribildirim kullanılırken toplam 1253 sözcüksel geribildirim kullanılmıştır. Diğer bir fark ise sözcüksel geribildirimlerin sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlere göre daha fazla alt işleve sahip olmasıdır. Konuşmanın akışını sağlamak ana işlevi için sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler 9 alt işleve sahipken sözcüksel geribildirimler için 15 alt işlev tanımlanmıştır. Olumlu tutum bildirmek işlevinde sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler için 4 alt işlev tanımlanırken sözcüksel geribildirimler için 4 alt işlev tanımlanmıştır. Son olarak, olumsuz tutum bildirmek işlevi için sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimlerin 3 sözcüksel geribildirimlerin ise 4 alt işlevi bulunmaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın bazı sınırlılıkları olduğu da kabul edilmektedir. Öncelikle Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi 2008-2010 yılları arasında oluşturulmuştur. Bütün dillerin orta özelliklerinden biri zamanla değişiyor olmalarıdır. Bu yüzden veride günümüz konuşma Türkçesinde sıklıkla kullanılan bazı geribildirimler bulunmayabilir ya da daha az sayıda bulunabilir. Örneğin, *aynen*, *eyvallah*, *ne münasebet* ve *nasıl yani*

günümüz konuşma Türkçesinde özellikle genç konuşmacılar tarafından sıklıkla kullanılan ifadeler olmakla birlikte bu çalışma için kullanılan veride çok az sayıda gözlenmiş ya da hiç gözlenmemişlerdir. Bu çalışma için kullanılan derlem tamamen güncel olmadığı için bu örneklerin az sayıda bulunması ya da hiç bulunmaması çalışmanın şaşırtıcı sonuçlarından biridir. Sadece genç konuşmacıların kullandığı dilin incelenmesi ya da daha güncel bir derlemin oluşturularak onun üzerinde inceleme yapılması bu çalışmanın bundan sonra yapılacak olan araştırmalar için önerisidir.

Derlemin kapsamına ek olarak tonlamanın da geribildirimlerin anlamı üzerinde büyük bir etkisinin olduğu kabul edilmektedir (Abercrombie, 1965; Stenström, 1994; Aijmer, 2002; Pipek, 2007). Aynı sözcüksel veya sözcüksel olmayan geribildirim tonlamaya bağlı olarak farklı anlamlara sahip olabilmektedir. Bu çalışmada bütün ses dosyaları dikkatlice dinlenerek analiz yapılmış olmasına ve bazı işlevler için ayırt edici bazı tonlamalar tanımlanmış olmasına rağmen geribildirimlerin tonlaması çalışmanın temel odak noktası değildir. Bu sebeple bundan sonraki çalışmalarda geribildirimlerin tonlamaları üzerine daha çok odaklanması bu çalışmanın önerilerinden bir diğeridir.

Son olarak, bu çalışmanın kapsamı doğrultusunda çalışmada sözcüksel olmayan geribildirimler ve sözcüksel geribildirimler olmak üzere sözel geribildirimler araştırılmıştır. Diğer yandan, baş sallama, bakış, gülümseme ve kahkaha gibi sözel olmayan geribildirimlerin de iletişimin düzenlenmesinde önemli etkilere sahip olduğu bilinmektedir (Heinz, 2003; Ike, 2010 ve 2016). Bu yüzden, daha sonra geribildirimler üzerine yapılacak çalışmalarda teknolojinin de ilerlemesiyle birlikte sözel olmayan geribildirimlerin de incelenmesi önerilmektedir.

APPENDIX E: THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

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