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Mersin Üniversitesi
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Ana Bilim Dalı

A CORPUS-DRIVEN ANALYSIS OF *EVET* 'YES' AND *HI-HI* IN TURKISH: EVIDENCE FROM THE SPOKEN TURKISH CORPUS

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ÖZET

Türkçede *evet* ve *hı-hı*'nın Derleme Dayalı İncelenmesi: Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi'nden Bulgular

Bu çalışmada, etkileşimsel belirleyici olarak görev yapan *evet* ve *hı-hı* edimbilim ve konuşma çözümlemesi kapsamında incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, bu belirleyicilerin Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi (STD) ışığında belirlenen etkileşimsel özelliklerini ve işlevlerini nicel sonuçlarıyla birlikte edimbilimsel katkıları da göz önünde bulundurularak ortaya çıkarmaktır.

Giriş bölümünde konuşmanın önemiyle birlikte konuşma çözümlemesi ve edimbilimsel yaklaşımların önemi özetlenecek ve derlem dilbiliminin bu tür çalışmalar üzerindeki rolü sunulacaktır.

Alanyazın bölümünde, konuşma çözümlemesi ve yaklaşımları, söylem belirleyicileri, yanıtsamalar (backchannels), derlem dilbilimiyle öncelikle İngilizce için daha sonra da Türkçede etkileşimsel belirleyiciler alanında yapılan çalışmalar özetlenmektedir.

Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi'nden veri elde etme süreci yöntem bölümünde sunulmuş; *evet* ve *hı-hı*'nın eşdizimlerinin bir bütün halinde görülmesini sağlayan AntConc ile ezgi ve vurgu bilgisi veren Praat yine bu bölümde açıklanmıştır.

Yaklaşık 280.000 sözcükten oluşan Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi'nden elde edilen *evet* ve *hı-hı*'nın görünümleri analiz bölümünde sunulmuş, *evet* ve *hı-hı* etkileşimsel belirleyicileri işlevlerinin ve kullanım alanlarının yanısıra ezgisel olarak da incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, iki etkileşimsel belirleyici arasında işlev bakımından nitel ve nicel farklılıklar ortaya çıkmış, bu işlevlerin sınıflandırılması sürecinde devam ettirme, doğrulama, katılma, konudan sapma-konuyu kapatma, cevap verme gibi işlevler *evet* ve *hı-*

hı'nın etkileşim içerisindeki yerlerine göre incelenmiştir. Çalışma sonucunda işlevsel özelliklerinin yanısıra kullanım alanlarındaki görünüm farklılıkları da değerlendirme boyutunu belirlemeyi sağlamıştır. Son olarak ezgi bakımından incelenen *evet* ve *hı-hı*'nın ezgi örüntülerinin işlevlerine göre değiştiği görülmüştür.

Anahtar sözcükler: edimbilim, etkileşimsel belirleyicisi, evet, konuşma çözümlemesi, hı-hı, Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi.

ABSTRACT

Corpus-Driven Analysis of *evet* 'yes' and *hı-hı* in Turkish: Evidence from the Spoken Turkish Corpus

In this study, *evet* and *hı-hı* which serve as interactional markers have been analyzed in terms of pragmatics and conversation analysis. The aim of this study is to unfold the interactional features and functions of *evet* and *hı-hı* in the light of quantitative results from Spoken Turkish Corpus (STC).

In the introduction, the importance of conversation and the role of conversation analysis and pragmatics in this study are summarized and the role of corpus linguistics on such studies is presented.

In the review of literature section, conversation analysis and its approaches, discourse markers, backchannels, corpus-based studies in English and Turkish are summarized.

The process of obtaining data from Spoken Turkish Corpus (STC) is presented in methodology; AntConc which supplies the concordance lines in which evet and hı-hı occur and Praat providing stress and intonation information are explained in this part, too.

Instances of the interactional markers *evet* and *hı-hı* obtained from 280.000 word STC are presented in the part of analysis; *evet* and *hı-hı* are analyzed in terms of their functions and domains as well as their intonational features. In this regard, on the basis of functions, quantitative and qualitative differences appear between *evet* and *hı-hı*, and their functions such as continuation, approval, agreement, divergence and responding are examined according to their positions in the interaction. In the conclusion, in additon to functional features, differences in the intances of domains of evet and hı-hı provide the means of distinguishing their evaluative dimensions. As a final point, the functions of *evet*

and *hı-hı* which are examined in terms of intonation change according to their intonation patterns.

Keywords: conversation analysis, *evet*, *hı-hı*, interactional marker, pragmatics, Spoken Turkish Corpus.

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INTRODUCTION

To examine language in the case of small items such as sentences, words, and speech sounds is suitable and indispensable for different purposes. But we cannot use them separately in order to produce consistent and clear utterances and comprehend them. Therefore, there are many rules and ways of composing extensive and comprehensive piece of language which is called discourse (Trask, 1999: 117-118).

Discourse is the conventional ways of talking and thinking as Johnstone describes, "Discourse is both the source of this knowledge (people's generalizations about language are made on the basis of the discourse they participate in) and the result of it (people apply what they already know in creating and interpreting new discourse)" (2002: 3). Taking this definition as the basis, discourse, both conversation and written texts, should be created according to a system and structure by uniting various utterances in a logical way with the help of different tools in order to make people understand (Aitchison, 1999: 101).

In the case of conversation as a kind of discourse, it takes place in the research topics related to the conversation analysis in which the researchers analyze the ways of speakers' expression of intentions or the ways of interpreting what is said. Besides, when we look at the approaches and the study fields to describe how conversation occurs, we can point to the ethnomethodology, sociolinguistics, philosophy, structural-functional linguistics, and social semiotics. But more specifically, new methods are developed with the studies of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson who define conversation analysis as a study of social interaction which includes all verbal and non-verbal behaviors in daily life (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 23).

For the sake of occurrence of this interaction, Lerner identifies three organizations such as turn-taking, action formation and action sequencing (2004: 4). In all turn-taking activities, there are turns and one party talking at a time. However, there are also the situations in which some problematic turns can occur as in the examples of overlapping and interruption that we will explore more deeply in the literature review section of the study. On the other hand, according to a study of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, the change of speaker and the transitions between turns without gaps are necessary for an interpretable turn-taking activity. But they also state that turn order and turn size are not fixed, but they vary, more than one speaker can talk at a time, number of parties can change, and talk can be continuous or not (1974: 700-701).

Recently, there has been an increase in the studies of conversation and pragmatics, and more specifically in the study of pragmatic markers. The fact remains that some researchers use different terms for these markers like discourse operators, discourse connectives, evincives and fumbles (as cited in Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton, 2001: 57). In other respects, some researchers classify their functions similarly; for example, according to Aijmer (1996) these markers have two general functions which serve as local markers that are used to indicate micro structure (as *I mean*) and serve as global markers that are used to sign transition from one topic to another (as *anyway*). On the other hand, Jucker and Smith (1998) divide them into two categories like reception markers which indicate the listener's acceptance of the information provided by the speaker and presentation markers which modify the information enabled by the speaker (as cited in Baker and Ellece, 2011: 34). As one of the most outstanding researcher in the study of pragmatic markers, Schiffrin uses the term discourse markers and describe them as indicating devices that are sequentially dependent. She claims that generally all the

markers serve to create cohesion, form and to continue an interaction. But these markers have the functions according to the context in which they occur, so it can be said that the same discourse marker may have different functions in different contexts as in the example of (Schiffrin, 1987: 73). She gives the example of *well* as well as *and* to state that their use is multifunctional. To her, the primary function of *and* is on the ideational level; on the other hand, the primary function of *well* is in the participation framework. And she concludes in the light of these examples that these discourse markers help to create coherence with various meanings and functions in different context (Schiffrin in Schiffrin, et al., 2001: 58). Nevertheless, Fraser who also has studies on discourse markers, points out three main features of them such as syntactic independence, syntactic flexibility, and lack of meaning. That is to say, discourse markers are important not because of the semantic and syntactic aspects of structural units but because of their pragmatic aspects of message construction; and therefore, they can be used in certain contexts (1999: 943-946).

In Turkish, there are also many researchers who study pragmatic markers. As Schiffrin considers these markers as a set of linguistic expressions such as conjunctions (*and, but, or*), interjections (*oh*), adverbs (*now, then*), and lexicalized phrases (*y'know, I mean*), we can give an example from the study of Çubukçu (2005) who studies supportive feedbacks in the interaction and from the study of Büyükkantarcıoğlu (2006) who explains "different pragmatic functions of Turkish interjections on the basis of a cognitive process called reactive idea framing". And in the study of *How do we say no in Turkish?* Gezegin uses Spoken Turkish Corpus in order to explain distributions and pragmatic functions of these two pragmatic marker: *hayır* and *cık* (2013).

Some interactional functions of discourse markers are defined by Ruhi in her studies *The Interactional Functions of tamam in Spoken Turkish* (2013) and *Interactional*

Markers in Turkish: A Corpus-Based Perspective (2013). These studies are influential not because she classified the functions of some certain interactional markers but because she uses everyday production and comprehension of language as database rather than completely introspection with the help of corpus.

As we will also use corpus as a tool in order to analyze conversation, more specifically discourse markers (as seen in Ruhi's studies) we can explain the corpus methodology here briefly to clarify how we explore our issue through a corpus-driven manner. Composed of both written and spoken texts, corpus is a collection of linguistic data having the purpose of proving or confirming a hypothesis about a language and making generalizations about this language (Hoffman, et al., 2008:14). Corpus can be helpful for showing an example of language use or to study of language through this language use. It can provide us a basis for different kinds of linguistic analyses and empirically justified linguistic observations.

Currently, corpora are computer-readable that can store many millions of running words, and they can be analyzed with the help of accessibility, speed, and accuracy of computer corpora. In other words, machine-readable corpora have the advantages of searching at speed and enriching with the extra information. Another advantage of a corpus is that it gives us naturally occurring data supplying a representative sample of the output of a particular language community (Hoffman, et al., 2008: 19). They provide for a large and broad sample of real language use; namely, actual linguistic output where descriptions based on a linguist's intuition is not usually helpful.

Current methodologies in corpus linguistics provide us to examine our data in terms of semantic, pragmatic, grammatical, and prosodic associations of units which are difficult to be carried out manually. However there is a deficiency in the type of text-based

corpora as they present data in the same physical medium; they are monomodal. When we want to analyze real-life interaction, it is difficult to use these text-based corpora as we cannot reach the knowledge about the contexts of situation and the speakers or listeners. So the importance of understanding of the context of interaction and the sequences of gestures, vocal signals, laughs, and pauses have been emphasized by too many researchers like Malinowski (1923), Firth (1957), and Halliday (1978) (Knight, 2011: 1). In this regard Myers and Myers asserts that non-verbal units mean something only in relation to a context that is what is going on before and after it (1973: 208). Ultimately, reaching to the knowledge about what non-verbal units mean can be possible with the knowledge of context. For this reason, multimodality gains importance in the corpus-based pragmatic analyses of real life discourse as Lund states (2007: 289-290):

> Multimodality encompasses a wide variety of phenomena in the literature, including emotions and attitudes conveyed through prosody, applause, laugher or silence in answer to a question, body movements, object manipulations and proxemics, layout and posture… in a different vein, the term multimodal is also often used to signify the medium in which a particular message can be expressed, for example text and graphics.

All in all, in the case of our study we also utilize the Spoken Turkish Corpus (STD) (Ruhi, et al., 2010) which is a multimodal general corpus with the purpose of seeing all functions of our pragmatic markers *evet* and *hı-hı* [˙1] according to their contexts and their domains. Besides, we attempt to find whether we can make any generalizations about their intonational features in terms of their functions or not.

Research Questions

In this study, our purpose is to find answers to the following questions:

1. What are the discursive functions of *evet* and *hı-hı* ˙?

[1] The superscript dot (˙) is used for non-lexicalized backchannels (e.g., hı-hı, haa, hm, etc.) and paralinguistic features that form a distinct intonation contour (e.g., ((laughs))˙).

2. Do the functions of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* change according to the positions and domains in which *evet* and *hı-hı˙* occur in the conversation?
3. Which marker is seen more than the other on the basis of quantitative analysis?
4. Is there any quantitative difference in terms of the functions, positions and domains of uses of *evet* and *hı-hı¨*?
5. What are the differences that intonation creates on the basis of the functions of *evet* and *hı-hı¨*?

Purpose and Importance of the Study

The current study aims at identifying functions of two Turkish interactional markers *evet* and *hı-hı˙* in terms of their positions, domains, and intonations through a corpus-driven research by taking pragmatics more specifically the context into consideration within the scope of conversation analysis.

The importance of this study comes from the idea that the interactional markers constitute a significant part of social life in which speakers need interaction with each other. However, our interactional markers which generally show affirmation have not been explored in Turkish yet. Thus, this is the first study to analyze *evet* and *hı-hı˙*, and it can be a model for further studies by using corpus-driven analysis of interactional markers to different subjects and data.

Limitations

Not to be included in our interactional markers in question (*evet* and *hı-hı˙*), all the markers (like *hee, ha-ha, hm-hm, hmm,* etc.) are left aside. Besides, because of the occurrence of the interaction which is one of the inevitable results of conversation, written data are not used in this study. As these interactional markers are examined within the

frame of Conversation Analysis, only the linguistic data are included and the non-linguistic factors are not studied at all.

I. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Conversation that is generally defined as social interaction has many definitions. According to functional linguist Halliday, conversation is "the spontaneous interchange of meaning in ordinary, everyday interaction" (1978: 40). On the basis of this definition, it can be said that conversation is the exchange of meaning as well as having the role in the construction of social identities and interpersonal relations. Eggins and Slade (1997: 6) also state that conversation is not just "a mechanical process of taking turns at producing sounds and words", it is also "a semantic activity, a process of making meanings".

Additionally, as noted by Goffman (1974: 36) two different approaches can be taken to the definition of conversation. To the first one, conversation can be defined as the casual talk in everyday settings; and alternatively as the equivalent of talk and spoken encounter.

Now that we mention talk in everyday settings where the speakers have verbal exchanges such as making presentations, taking positions, responding, attempting to make a decision, giving explanations, making replies, commenting and coming to the conclusion; Geneva linguists pointed out (Roulet et al. in Vanderveken and Kubo, 2001: 14) a conversation is not just the finite sequence of single individual illocutionary acts; it is also the finite sequence of verbal exchanges. During these verbal exchanges, speakers do much more in a conversation than just using a linguistic code. In this case, the real-world context in which the talk is produced should be taken into consideration as well as eye gaze, body posture, silences, and backchannels; therefore, it can be understood how the speakers socialize and develop and sustain their relationship with each other (Liddicoat, 2007: 1).

Above all, it can be said that conversation is not an individual affair, but it is a partnership and so dialogue.

I. 1 Conversation Analysis

Conversation is characteristically regulated by turn-taking, so how the participants manage to know where and how to change the roles of speaker and listener is about the organization of turn-taking. Sacks and his colleagues (Sacks et al., 1974: 696-735) describe turn-taking under three basic components:

1. turn-constructional units (providing places for possible turn-transition),

2. speaker-selection techniques (specification of a next speaker by the current speaker and self-selection by a subsequent speaker),

3. a rule set (ordering options for action at points of possible turn-transition).

Turn constructional units (TCUs) are the building stones of turns that at least one constructional unit is used in each turn. In order to construct a turn, a speaker can use various unit types such as sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions (Mazeland, 2006: 154; Sacks et al., 1974: 702). If we are to give an example to single-word turns, we can look at the study of Sacks et al. (1974: 696-735) again:

(1) DESK: What is your last name, Loraine?

*CALLER: Dinnis.

*DESK: What?

*CALLER: Dinnis.

It can be observed from this example that after the turn composed of a single turn (*What?*), next speaker starts with a unit sequentially appropriate (Dinnis, the answer of the question).

In Mazeland's example, the speaker begins TCU with a subordinate clause [*if…, then…*] and this makes the unit incomplete until the speaker has finished the *then*-part. Example (2) includes the telephone call of two girls (Angela and Corey):

(2) Angela: hhh (but) if you could get them back, (.) that be great.

0.2

Corey: Okay.

In this conversation, if-clause shows a continuation structurally that the end of its second part makes the recipient not to begin speaking when the speaker has finished the part with the if-clause. The short silence after it also prevents speakership transference (2006: 155).

We can infer from these examples that a turn constructional unit may fill a turn slot in itself because it can function as an interactional move on its own. For the regulation and negotiation of turn allocation for the next turn-constructional unit to be achieved, points of possible completion of unit-types are important. These are so called "transition-relevance places" that are generally defined as the end of a turn-constructional unit (Sacks et al., 1974: 704).

Allocation of speaking turns is the basis for social coordination achieved by conversation participants. The fundamental point in this accomplishment is that the speaking turn begins where the current turn comes to completion. But this practice does not prevent speakers from beginning their talk elsewhere in the course of another speaker's turn. So it can be said that before a possible completion place is reached, speaking turns may begin elsewhere when faced with the onset of talk by another participant (Lerner, 1989: 17). In this case, on the basis of speakers-selection we can maintain some basic techniques like "current speaker selects next" and "self-selection" as well as some

exceptions such as “interruptions”, “overlap” and “delayed completions”. When the current speaker selects the next as a speaker, the selected party has the right of speaking and is obliged to take the next turn (Sacks, et al., 1974: 704):

(3) Ava: He, he ‘n Jo were like on the outs, yih know?

(0.7)

→ Ava: [So uh,

→ Bee: [<u>They</u> always are (hh)hhh

The use of current speaker selects next technique makes the listener begin to talk by some certain unit-types such as *yih know* as in the above example.

In the self-selection technique, no one in the previous talk selects a person as a next speaker.

(4) (0.2)

Sue: Ggo:d whadda Day.

Trish: hh whadda wee [:k.

Mary: [yeh than’ g (h) od i's

Fr (h) [iday

Sue: [hh. Huh (Liddicoat, 2007: 66).

In Example (4), Sue selects herself as a next speaker after a short silence and then Trish also self-selects as next speaker because Sue’s talk does not select any next speaker. That is to say, first starter has the right to a turn, and transfer occurs at that place. On the other hand there are some cases in which the prior talk does not constrain who speaks next. In greetings as in the below example:

(5) Sue: Hi.

Trish: Hi [:Sue

Mary: [Hello:, (Liddicoat 2007: 66).

The turn type is constrained by the starter of the talk but not to the identity of the next speaker. Therefore, both Trish and Mary self-select as next speaker.

Some fragments of conversation show characteristic features that participants sometimes delay the final part of their utterance because of the onset of talk by other participant.

(6) H: I was deciding if I should write him the thank you no:te

[fer the] birthday gi:ft,

→ N: [Yea:h]

H: I decided no:t to [though

→ N: [How co:me, (Lerner, 1989: 169).

In this example possible completion place is not coincide with the actual place in which a turn-constructional unit is completed. N starts speaking at possible completion places two times before H does not finish his talk; therefore, this delays his completion of turn-constructional unit. In addition to this, it can be inferred from this example that "the delayed completion not only continues but completes the turn-constructional unit begun in the earlier utterance" (Lerner, 1989: 169). From these examples we can infer another important point that delayed completion is a device which is used to minimize the overlapping talk.

Simultaneous starts at some possible transition-relevance place attest the independent-for-each-part projectability at the talk, and generally the last part of a turn's talk will be expected to produce overlap between a current turn and a next:

(7) A: Uh you been down here before [havenche.

B: [Yeh. (Sacks, et al., 1974: 703).

Thus, some optional elements like *yeh* in the above example can be used during the first speaker's turn to serve some functions like affirmation and continuation as seen in (7).

In order to minimize gaps and overlaps and to govern turn-taking Sacks et al. propose a basic set of rules which contains these speaker-selection techniques and the transition-relevance place. Firstly for any turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit they note three important points that include speaker-selection techniques. In the case of using "current speaker selects next" technique, the selected participant has the right and is obliged to take next turn to speak. Thereby, no other participants have such rights or obligations to take the next turn. Nevertheless, if the turn does not involve "current speaker selects next" technique, "self-selection" may occur but it is not necessary. So the first starter has the right to take a turn and transfer occurs at that place. If the turn which involves neither "current speaker selects next" technique nor "self-selection" technique, then the current speaker may but need not continue to talk. When the current speaker continues, the other rules re-apply at the next transition-relevance place until the transfer is completed. This is the rule-set that can be explained as ordering options for action at points of possible turn-transition (1974: 704).

Gaps and overlaps are eliminated by this rule-set. However, these gaps and overlaps have the effect on interpretation although they are sometimes problematic on the basis of interaction. So with respect to the overlong transition space, Schegloff points out that gaps between the first pair part turn and the recipient of it are the result of not starting

a responsive turn on time, and this breaks up the contiguity of the first and second pair part (2007: 67).

(8) (5.15) Erhardt, 1:26-28

1 Kar: F ->

◦Gee I feel like a real nerd◦

<you c'n ahl come up here,

2 -> (0.3)

3 Vic: S -> Nah, that's alright wil stay down he_re,

In this extract, after the first pair part, we see three-second-pause that is a noticeable gap, and this is the signal of dispreferred response in some contexts as in the above extract that Karen invites Vicky to come to her own place, but she declines this invitation after a silence.

In other respects, gaps may not be attributed to any particular speaker if the gap comes after the completed turn; that is, at the end of a completed action in the talk as we can observe with an example that has been taken from Button and Casey (1984: 168):

(9) N: =You' l1 come abou:t (.) eight. Right?

H: =Yea::h,=

N: Okay.

(0 . 2)

N: Anything else to report,

In this extract, the action that N and H undertake is completed. The continuation of the talk after a two-second-silence is not constrained to a particular speaker; in other words, the pause is not necessarily connected with the participants that Liddicoat explains in the same way: "…N's silence is no more and no less relevant to the

interaction than H's" (2007: 80). To sum up, gaps can have different interpretations according to the contexts in which they are seen.

Another point that should be dealt here to explain the relationship between the turns is the functions of overlapping. When more than one speaker talk at the same time, there is an overlapping talk interpreted as doing something interactionally. In order to fully understand how turn-taking works in overlapping talks, we can look at two examples below from the study of Sacks et al. (1974: 707-708):

(10) Parky : Oo what they call them dogs that pull the sleighs.

(0.5)

Parky : S- sledge dogs.

(0.7)

(11) Old Man: Oh uh [: : uh

→ Tourist: [Uh- Huskies. =

→ Old Man: [Huskies. Mm,

→ Parky: = [-H uskies. Yeh Huskies.

The simultaneous starts indicate that each party has projected their own possible completion places in order to occupy the current turn, and the self-selection technique used by the old man, tourist and Parky is also notable that it produces overlapping talk in this case. In the example (12), overlapping talk is the result of speakers' interpretation of possible completion place; that's why the turns are mostly overlapped in the articulation of a last component of a party's talk:

(12) A: What's yer name again please [sir,

B: [F. T. Galloway.

In this extract, overlapping is not problematic at all, but if the resulting overlap is too long, it may be a problem which makes the speakers undertake some actions to deal with it. One way to handle this problem causes interruption which is reserved for problematic overlaps. In the situations where at least two speakers are talking, "a return to only one talking is achievable by only one of them stopping" (Sacks, in Lerner, 2004: 42).

(13) Dan: as a matter of fact we may not have a group going
after [the uh
Roger: [maybe you're
screening 'em too hard
→Dan: next couple of weeks

Here the transcribed fragments of conversation can exemplify interruption that Roger starts his talk before Dan reaches a possible completion place. Because of the onset of talk by Roger, Dan delays the final part of his utterance. So the fact that interruption, to use Lerner's (1989: 171) term, "is achieved in the talk through the production of he Delayed Completion". On the other hand, speakers may have some other techniques in order to get rid of overlapping talk. With "rush through" technique, speaker speeds up his/her talk and shapes the intonation contour to make his/her speech not interrupted by the overlapping talk (Schegloff, 1997: 84). In short, if the speakers' talk is violated at talk, they apply to some techniques in order to reach a possible completion place. Nevertheless, sequence at a talk is also important for some interruptions which are precisely placed by an interrupter, or else we cannot understand the occurrences and placements of both overlaps and interruptions.

As we have noted before, active, meaningful verbal interaction is managed by participants through the turn-taking activities. In addition to this, sequences, the

interactionally coherent exchanges in the communicative actions of the speakers, are also important in order to be able to recognize interactional order in a series of utterances (e.g. question-answer). Sequences which are normatively organized stretches of talk "constitute a unit in its own right, over and above the turns at talk that composed it" (Schegloff, 2007: xi). Thus, to examine this exchange as an organized coherent episode (Mazeland, 2006: 156), we can apply the sequence organization rules in which participants perform actions (Schegloff, 2007: 2; Liddicoat, 2007: 105).

The general characterization of the sequence organization is that the series of turns has its own structure. For example, if the speaker makes a request, the next action is to make a granting or a declining, or if the speaker makes an assessment, the next action can be an agreement or disagreement. In short, as we are to explain it with Mazeland's words again: "some turns belong more together than others" (2006: 156). Therefore, it can be said that all these different types of two-part sequences are the instances of a rigorous type of sequence organization: adjaceny pair. According to the rule of adjacency pair, there are first and second pair parts, and the first pair part require the production of reciprocal action (that is the second pair part) at the first possible completion place.

To give an example, greetings such as:

(14) A: Hello.

B: Hello.

are the paired utterances in which A picks a member of greeting exchange and B picks a member, too when he has an opportunity to speak (Sacks, 1995: 96 in Jefferson). The use of a greeting by one participant provides a minimal exchange which is another greeting. Herein, the most elementary features and the basic mode of operation of adjacency pairs

can be explained as Sacks and Schegloff (1973: 295-296) offer the characterization of them in the study of *Opening Up Closings*:

(a) composed of two turns,

(b) by different speakers,

(c) adjacently placed,

(d) relatively ordered,

(e) pair-typed related.

The first two features are rather clear, so the latter three features can be explained more profoundly. In the case of adjacently placed utterance, the two turns occur immediately together with no intervening talk. However, there are some cases in which a next action is not appropriate to the first one; that is, there can be some "systematic insertions that can legitimately come between first and second pair parts" (Hutchby and Wootfitt, 1998: 40).

For instance, question-answer, one of the adjacency pairs, is seen in the case of an insertion sequence (Levinson, 1983: 304):

(15)	1 A: Can I have a bottle of Mich?	Q1
	2 B: Are you over twenty-one?	Ins 1
	3 A: No.	Ins 2
	4 B: No.	A 1

After the completion of the first part of a question-answer adjacency pair, we encounter another question in line 2. This is the insertion sequence because speaker B does not ignore to answer the question of the first speaker; instead he suspends it until further relevant information. In the second insertion sequence, speaker A gives the answer to the speaker B's question instead of refusing to answer, complaining about the question, or

asking his initial question again. When the insertion sequence is completed, speaker B moves on in order to give the relevant second part.

What we can deduce from this example is that:

> What two utterances, produced by different speakers, can do that one utterance cannot do is: by an adjacently positioned second, a speaker can show that he understood what a prior aimed at, and that he is willing to go along with that. Also, by virtue of the occurrence of an adjacently produced second, the doer of a first can see that what he intended was indeed understood, and that it was or was not accepted. Also, of course, a second can assert his failure to understand, or disagreement, and inspection of a second by a first can allow the first speaker to see that while the second thought he understood, indeed he misunderstood. (Sacks and Schegloff, 1973: 296)

In short, participants can use adjacency pair mechanism in order to show their understanding of what has transpired and sense-making of one another's talk. Besides, with the purpose of supplying collaboratively sustained social world, participants should organize and adapt their adjacency pairs to much wider and less specified range of conversational actions. In addition to this, participants in interaction manipulate their turns according to the contextually situated social arrangements and attribute the meaning depending on the sequential reasoning of utterances.

In the light of this information, conversation analysis is the study of how social action is brought about through these organizations of talk. When we think about the study of verbal interaction, conversation analysis is one of the key methodological approaches, but in order to understand it more deeply, we can look at the relevant approaches to the conversation analysis.

I. 1. 1 Relevant Approaches to the Conversation Analysis

Spoken interaction, seen in all the domains of social life, is an interesting study field for researchers who have studies in ethnomethodology, sociolinguistics, philosophy, and structural-functional linguistics.

Within ethnomethodology, which is a branch of sociology developed by Garfinkel (1967), the main concern is to understand the way of making sense of everyday interaction (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 25; Bhatia, Flowerdew, and Jones, 2008: 4). So, mostly the works of Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson and his followers include "naturally occurring occasions of everyday interaction" (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984: 2) that they have two main facts about spoken interactive data as explained before:

1. only one person speaks at a time,

2. speaker change recurs (Sacks et al., 1974: 700).

According to these facts, speakers have to know the time of transferring the role of speaker and determine who the next speaker is to be in order to keep taking turns.

From the sociolinguistics perspective, we can encounter with some important names such as Hymes (1972a) and Gumperz (1982). Accounting for the use of language in the social contexts of everyday interaction, Hymes was concerned with "who says what to whom, when, where, why, and how". Hence, he developed a schema of which main unit of analysis is the *speech event* (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 33). As for the term speech event, Hymes (1972b: 56) refers to the activities "directly governed by rules and norms for the use of speech". That is to say, these rules determine our language use and interpretation on any specific occasion. Like Hymes, Gumperz's approach had also importance on context. Nevertheless, the importance of the context in the production and interpretation of discourse through the analysis of grammatical and prosodic features in interaction was the central concern of him (Gumperz, 1982: 4). In short, the interpretation of contextualization cues in discourse (e. g. intonation contours indicating rudeness and aggression) retains our participation in discourse events.

Another approach both structural and functional is interested in both the conversational structure and the function of authentic conversation. The Birmingham School which specifies the structure of the conversational exchange and the Systemic Functional Linguistics which analyze conversation based on the model of language as social semiotics can be the one in this approach (Eggins and Slade, 1997: 43-48).

Within logico-philosophic approach, the speech act theory, which sees conversation as a sequence of speech acts, and pragmatics that formulates maxims of conversational behavior focus on interpretation rather than the production of the conversation. According to the notion of speech act, a speaker performs one of a certain kinds of act (e. g. explaining, apologizing, thanking, etc.), and this is the minimal unit of human communication rather than a sentence (Searle, Kiefer, and Bierwisch, 1980: vii-xii). Like speech act theory, the pragmatic approach may not supply a comprehensive analysis of conversational interaction; however, it can provide useful ways in terms of describing different varieties of conversation. For this reason, it can be told that both pragmatics and the discourse structure are fundamentals on the achievement of interactivity.

And so, focusing on the discourse structure, we should go beyond the sentence-level that Biber et al. explain it as beyond "paragraphs in written discourse and episodes in oral discourse" (2007: 4). For this purpose, while some researchers investigate discourse functions of some words and phrases like discourse markers, discourse particles and connectives, others study particular linguistic devices related to the information or rhetorical structure in discourse.

Since our study is also related to the discourse markers and their functions, we can dwell on some of the studies focusing on the pragmatics of discourse markers.

I. 1. 2 As a General Concept: Discourse Markers

Looking at the characterizations of conversation; that is, spoken discourse, participants use some verbal and non-verbal elements in order to achieve interaction by which they construct a meaning or an action. These elements such as pragmatic markers, backchannels, or connectives are used to manage both the conversation and the social relations (Ruhi, 2013: 1-2).

Discourse markers which have various labels such as pragmatic markers, discourse operators, discourse connectives, evincives and fumbles have also so many definitions and explanations that Schiffrin defines discourse markers as terms having indexical functions; that is, discourse markers indexically point to the features of the context by linguistic expressions such as conjuctions, interjections, and lexicalized words (in Schiffrin, et al. 2001: 57). In terms of their classification, again we can cite various scholars who classify discourse markers. One of them is Aijmer (1996) who divides discourse markers into two categories in terms of their functions. The first function is to help to mark the micro structure such as *I mean*, and these are called as local markers. And the others are called as global markers which function as showing transition from one topic to another like *anyway*. On the other hand, Jucker and Smith (1998) classify them as reception markers and presentation markers. Reception markers like *yeah, oh, ok, really* show the speaker reactions to the information that he hears. And the presentation markers (*like, you know, I mean*) are used to modify information which are presented from the speaker (in Baker and Ellece, 2011: 34).

Generally all the markers work for creating coherence and for promoting interaction, but markers can gain their function through discourse, so it can be said that in different kinds of discourses, they can have different functions (Schiffrin, 1987: 73). For

example, the same discourse marker can serve more than one function as well as different discourse markers can serve very similar functions by filling the same slot in the discourse. These functions may be to structure an utterance, to prevent being interrupted while thinking of what to say next, to start a topic or to change a topic, to soften the effect of a strong statement (see Fraser, 1996; Norrick, 2012; Aijmer & Simon-Vanderbergen, 2006).

Rather than the function of facilitating the interpretation of hearer, discourse markers' functions are looked at from different perspectives such as Coherence and Relevance Theory. Coherence focuses more on the textual functions while the focus of Relevance Theory is on cognitive process.

Starting from this point of view, there are some attempts to define discourse markers about what it should be and what it should not be. Thus, discourse markers should have three features such as syntactic independence, syntactic flexibility, and lack of meaning (Fraser, 1999: 943-946). Syntactic independence means appearance of discourse markers independent or detachable from the constructional unit they occur in. Syntactic flexibility refers to the position of discourse markers in a constructional unit that they can be at the beginning or at the end of it. And lastly, when they are omitted, this does not affect the syntactic or semantic acceptability of constructional unit in which they appear, and this is about their lacking of meaning.

Here we can draw a conclusion that discourse markers seem to be not important because of their syntactic or semantic aspects of the constructional unit, but their pragmatic aspects of message construction; therefore, they are used in particular communicative contexts (Fraser, 1999: 943-946).

In this study, we examine these markers from the pragmatic aspects, too. However, from now on we will use interactional markers instead of discourse markers as

Ruhi (2013: 3) uses in her study, *Interactional Markers in Turkish: A Corpus-based Perspective* by extending the notion of interactional markers as:

> (1) pragmatics markers, that is, "words or phrases […] which signal the potential communicative force of an utterance" (Norrick, 2012a: 262); (2) (non-)lexical devices such laughter and backchannels, which indicate affective and "cognitive states" (Norrick, 2012b: 243) and which may function as tokens of (non-)acknowledgement; and (3) gestures and other non-verbal conversational management strategies such as prosodic features which may index a variety of social meanings.

In this case, to examine one of our interactional markers *hı-hı˙* which is non-lexical we should also mention backchannels as also seen in Ruhi's other study, *Interactional Functions of tamam in Spoken Turkish* in which she classifies *evet* as an interactional marker and *hm-hm* as a backchannel (2013: 9-32).

I. 1. 3 Studies on *evet / hı-hı˙* and *yes / yeah / mm hm*

Before we begin with the studies on *evet* and *hı-hı˙*, it can be useful to look at the similar studies in English. As for the beginning, Eggins and Slade, who explore interpersonal relations are indicated in their contexts, make a simple classification on *yes* and its variations such as *yea* and *yep*. They are observed in the contexts of family members and workplace colleagues which are absent from voluntariness. So, to their classification, *yes, yea,* and *yep* can be used to acknowledge or resolve and as a speech function *yes* is used for offer or compliance (1997: 169-190).

Nevertheless, Adolphs and Carter identify some functions of backchanneling response tokens such as *yeah* and *mm* as continuers, convergence tokens, engaged response tokens, and information receipt tokens (2013: 161). Furthermore, Gardner (1998: 204) claims that *mm hmm*, *mm* are certain minimal response tokens having the function of continuation; and *yeah* is used for a stronger acknowledgement. Besides, Muller observes

from his examples that *uh huh* serves as an acknowledgment and *yeah* expresses the listener's assessments with the speaker's statements (2005: 130).

I. 1. 4 Backchannels

As a cooperative action, in conversation the speaker expects to see whether the listener listens and gets the message and to get some signals about his/her interest. These signals are sometimes displayed through the specific brief utterances which are called as backchannels firstly by Yngve that he states they are the short messages that a speaker receives while holding the floor. And according to him, the use of certain forms and the marking of unknown or common information are interdependent (1970: 568).

While the current speaker is holding the turn, the listener does not constitute a turn by using backchannels as their function is not to take the turn but to acknowledge information or to show interest, so as Schiffrin points out that "speaker remains speaker and hearer remains hearer" (1987: 99). Thus, they can also be considered as interactional markers as they underline social relationship in conversational exchanges to serve some functions such as (Aijmer, 2002: 53):

- 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).

Additionally, O'Keeffe and Adolphs (2008: 84) categorize backchannels according to their four functions:

- Continuers: maintain the flow of conversation, provide feedback for speakers, make the speakers continue to talk.

- Convergence Tokens: mark agreement/convergence, maintain good relations.

- Engaged Response Tokens: signal emotions or opinions to the speaker without taking the turn.

- Information Receipt Tokens: signal the close or shift of a topic.

In the view of such information from various researchers, it can be important to acknowledge that backchannels are multifunctional. Except that, intonation can be a key factor in some cases for the interpretation and the detection of these functions. Stenström who emphasizes that intonation is not separable from backchannels claims that (1994: 81):

> The backchannels can reflect empathy, enthusiasm and indignation, but they can also reflect a lack of interest, indifference and impatience, although such feelings are generally expressed in a different form. Exactly, what backchannels do is partly a function of the lexical items chosen, partly of the intonation contour adopted.

In the view of Stenström, intonation can give information to the speakers so as to disambiguate the different intentions and the moods of the speakers. Like her, Abercrombie once wrote about the importance of intonation with these words (1965: 6)

> If you are reading aloud a piece of written prose, you infer from the text what intonations you ought to use, even if, as is almost always the case, you have a choice. The intonation, in other words, adds little information. But if you try to read aloud a piece of written conversation, you can't tell what the intonations should be – or rather what they actually were. Here the intonations contribute more independently to the meaning.

Related to this quote, Aijmer gives an example with a discourse marker *OK* to describe the relationship between the intonation and the function. She says that *OK* can signal both request for confirmation and comprehension. But provided that a speaker uses a rising intonation, it can be easily understood that s/he uses this particle in order to ask for

confirmation (2002: 52). In the same way, Brazil states that rising intonation creates an expectation on the basis of continuation of the current speaker's talk and the falling intonation gives the information about the completion of the talk (1997: 88-93).

Besides, Brazil also emphasizes that rising intonation is chosen by speakers in some certain contexts to put pressure on the listener to respond accordingly (1997: 93). So, intonation is not the only case about backchannels but the contexts in which they occur also play crucial role on determining functions of backchannels.

As we are to mention context generally, it is defined as physical environment by Yule, and has an impact on the ways of interpretation of referring expressions (1996: 21). Specifically, it can be said that the things are not said in a vacuum; instead, we say things in a context which can be partly linguistic or non-linguistic. "The things that have been said previously" are related to the linguistic part, and "the circumstances in which the speakers find themselves, including their knowledge of the world, their experience and their expectations" are related to the non-linguistic part. Therefore, the meaning is derived from the combination of the utterance and its context, not just from the utterance alone (Trask, 1999: 123-124).

According to Paltridge, if we want to understand how language functions in context, we should focus on the understanding of the relationship between "what is said" and "what is understood". For this reason, the most important thing in understanding and interpreting the meaning of what is being said is the context of situation of what someone says. The context of situation includes "the physical context, the social context, the mental worlds and the people involved in the interaction" (2006: 53).

We have said that the meaning of discourse often requires information from the context. These informational links help the hearers establish and follow relationships

between co-referential discourse entities and the linguistic forms. As an example to the co-referential discourse entities and the linguistic forms, Birner and Ward give the example of the use of definite article which marks the referent of a noun phrase. The use of definite article helps the listener understand the entity in question has been previously evoked and individuated. Therefore, in his store, the listener tries to look for appropriate referent which is evoked before instead of constructing a new discourse entity (as cited in Horn and Ward, 2006: 153).

In addition to this, the role of discourse context raises three general senses in which the notion of context is understood as Roberts states as (i) "the actual discourse event (verbal exchange)", (ii) "the linguistic content of the verbal exchange (what is actually said)", and (iii) "the structure of the information that is presupposed and/or conveyed by the interlocutors in an exchange". First one is related to the concrete situations of which components are speaker and listener, actual sound waves and things pointed out. The second one is associated with the syntactic and prosodic structures, and the third one is a more abstract semantic notion. They are all mutually inclusive that verbal exchange can only occur with linguistic content which is also the important aspect of information structure of the exchange. In this case, we can also carry on our study according to the definition of context made by Roberts as "… it is convenient to characterize the context in which an utterance is made in terms of information structured in conventionally given ways and to study how that information structure interacts with the information contributed by the utterance itself to efficiently convey the intended meaning" (in Horn and Ward, 2006: 197-198). However, in terms of their functions, the analysis of backchannels intonationally and contextually requires a spoken corpus in order to be able to get quantitative and qualitative information from a natural communicative setting and to

reach a representative result. Therefore, we need to mention corpus linguistics to see what it is, how it works and how it contributes to our study when it comes to a particular interactional marker.

I. 2 Corpus Linguistics

Corpus linguistics is the term involving the methodologies and approaches to the analysis of languages. When this definition is taken into consideration, it can be said that corpus linguistics is the study of language as expressed in real world text as McEnery and Hardie states "corpora allow us to observe language" (2012: 26). While concerning with input data, our intuitions are not usually helpful. Therefore, we need methods and approaches such as quantitative method which means counting features of language and discovering general patterns and qualitative method which means looking at this subset of the instances more closely (Hoffman et al. 2008: 18). For example, one could examine any usages of tenses in child books and another could investigate the near synonymous or antonyms in order to see the difference between them. So we can say that, rather than intuitions and introspections, corpus linguistics enables more objective view of language by analyzing various kinds of discourses.

On the other side, from the methodological considerations, the distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches may be useful for clarification purpose. While corpus-based approach starts with a point in which pre-existing theory is validated, refuted, or refined by using corpus data, corpus-driven approach "builds up the theory step by step in the presence of evidence, the observation of certain patterns leads to a hypothesis, which in turn leads to the generalization in terms of rules of usage and finally finds unification in a theoretical statement" (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 17). Giving priority to the pre-existing theoretical statement, corpus-based approach is used for a testing ground

in order to find a quantitative support for a certain theory. According to Tognini-Bonelli, variability of naturally occurring language can be supplied by the corpus-driven approach as the corpus itself is the source of hypotheses about language and embodies a theory of language (2001: 84-85). In this case, linguists may encounter one of the main problems that it not possible to find and account for every possible patterns which are prominent offered by authentic instances of language in context; thus the detailed analysis can be hard for the corpus-driven linguist (Sinclair, 1991: 27). However, examining the frequencies and contexts in which linguistic features or functions occur can be an alternative approach as Gries also emphasizes; "Corpus linguistic analysis are always based on the evaluation of some kind of frequencies, and frequency as well as its supposed mental correlate of cognitive entrenchment is one of several central key explanatory mechanisms within cognitively motivated approaches" (2009: 3). Therefore, we can say that frequency is where it all starts.

Frequency that reveals which words occur most frequently in the texts and key-words that are comparisons with another body of texts taken as a norm help us to get tokens and types and they consider words of low frequency as well as of high frequency. They are advantageous for comparing two corpora as we can get interesting information about the differences between the texts consisting of each one (Hunston, 2002: 67-68).

Frequency is one of the most important concepts in corpus-based language studies as Baker gives the reason; "language is not a random affair" (2006: 47). For example, it can be investigated the most common or uncommon words in a language to come to a reliable and consistent conclusion about it.

In brief frequencies, or frequency counts, are statistically more sensible and generalizable way of making sense of data; for example, while making comparisons

between two or more data sets of different sizes. But, these simple frequency counts also possess limitations that we can show them by explaining concordances and collocates.

Hunston (2002: 68) describes the collocation as, “the tendency of words to be biased in the way they co-occur”, in other words, collocations show which particular words or sets of words enter into. Collocation cannot be based upon intuition, so it is more reliable that it shows the tendency of one word to attract another. And this attraction shows us the conventionalized position of a word.

Besides, meanings and associations between words can be interpreted by collocations, and if we take into consideration that “words can only take meaning by the context that they occur in,” we can understand the meanings of words by comparing them in relation to other words (Baker, 2006: 96).

In sum, we can use different statistical measures to judge the collocates of words in order to understand their meanings, their associations and connotations.

In order to process corpus information, maybe the most important thing is to interpret the concordance lines which show what sorts of words tend to occur in the immediate environment of a given word. We can get information about general and detailed patterns of lexis, word meaning and pattern, semantic prosody and pragmatic interpretation by looking at concordance lines (Hunston, 2002: 38-39). That is to say, with the output of concordance lines, the researcher can see the occurrences in context, so the use of the linguistic item in question, in particular frequent patterns, can often be investigated and examined with little efforts.

All in all, concordance line, listing all the occurrences of a word found in a selected corpus, allows us phraseological patterns besides the meanings of the search

words. And to make a qualitative analysis, it is the most effective tool to carry out this sort of close examination (Baker, 2006: 71).

From now on we mention text-based corpora, but we need to know about multi-modal corpora as we will use to one of them while examining our interactional markers.

I. 2. 1 Multimodal Corpora

As we have said before, because of the deficiency in current corpora that have only the text-based records (they may include both written texts and the transcripts of spoken records) (monomodal corpora), we apply it to a multimodal corpus in order to get the contextual information that is missing in monomodal corpora. The main property of multimodal corpora is that they integrate textual, prosodic and gestural representations with respect to the nature of spoken intertaction (Foster and Oberlander, 2007: 307-308; Adolphs and Carter, 2013: 12). For there is both auditory and visual relation among speakers in a spoken interaction, one should apply to one of these corpora to interpret how the voice, facial gestures, head nods, intonation, etc. affect the listener's perception as Knight notes that the multimodal corpus outlines the ways in which multimodal datasets function to provide a more lifelike representation of the individual and social identity of participants, allowing for an examination of prosodic, gestural and proxemic features of the talk in a specific time and place" (2011: 3).

Together with its benefits, there are some key points that should be highlighted. One of them is the annotation part of a multimodal corpus in particular for the auditory and visual records. It facilitates the analysis of multimodal data, but we also need transcriptions of speech because they comprise the representation of structural, contextual, prosodic, temporal and kinesic elements of spoken interactions that are seen specifically as

interruptions, overlaps, backchannels, pauses, hesitations, and laughs, so we need to give some information about the transcription of Spoken Turkish Corpus (STC) that we will apply for this study in order to be able to make sense of it. STC has also its own transcription conventions as following:

* Declarative utterances or the utterances that have falling intonation are indicated by **full stop (.),**

* **Question marks (?)** indicate all types of questions,

* **Exclamation marks (!)** are used to express exclamatory function with rising intonation,

* **Cut-off sign (…)** is used where the speaker's turn is interrupted,

* **Repair (/)** indicates that there is a situation in which the speaker corrects or changes word without changing syntactic structure of the utterance,

* **Ligature sign for latching (⌣)** is used when the speaker does not leave an audible pause between two utterances,

* **Hyphen (-)** is for the the multi-syllable non-lexicalized interjections or the semi-lexicalized units.

* **Superscript dot (˙)** is used for the paralinguistic features and the non-lexicalized backchannels.

* **Bullet point sign (•)** shows pauses shorter than 0.1 second.

* **((_._))** is used for the pauses which are equal to or longer than 0.1 second.

* ((**XXX))** indicates unintelligible or inaudible parts in an utterance.

* Uncertain parts are written in parentheses.

* **v tier** is the place where standard orthography is used.

* **c tier** is the place where actual pronunciation is written.

These transcription conventions will be useful for us to perceive and interpret the utterances more easily. Our data will also be analyzed in terms of some of these signals such as pauses and ligature signs. And with the contributions of these multimodal corpora, especially with the help of the STC, we will identify functions of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* which remained underexplored because of using exclusively written data for why *hı-hı˙* and in some cases *evet* are absent from the written data.

II. DATA AND METHOD

In this study whose database is retrieved from Spoken Turkish Corpus, functional, interactional and pragmatic features of the markers in question will be examined following the methods in conversation analysis and pragmatics. We will integrate qualitative and quantitative approaches to describe and explain the distribution of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* considering the importance of interaction by asking following questions as Schiffrin does (in Schiffrin et al., 2001: 56-57):

- which markers occur where and why?

- what are the forms and functions?

- what do *evet* and *hı-hı˙* tell us about what is going on in the interaction?

The functions of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* will be described through 280.000-word data from the multimodal general corpus of STC built by using EXMARaLDA software suite. We can briefly describe STC as in below (Ruhi, 2013):

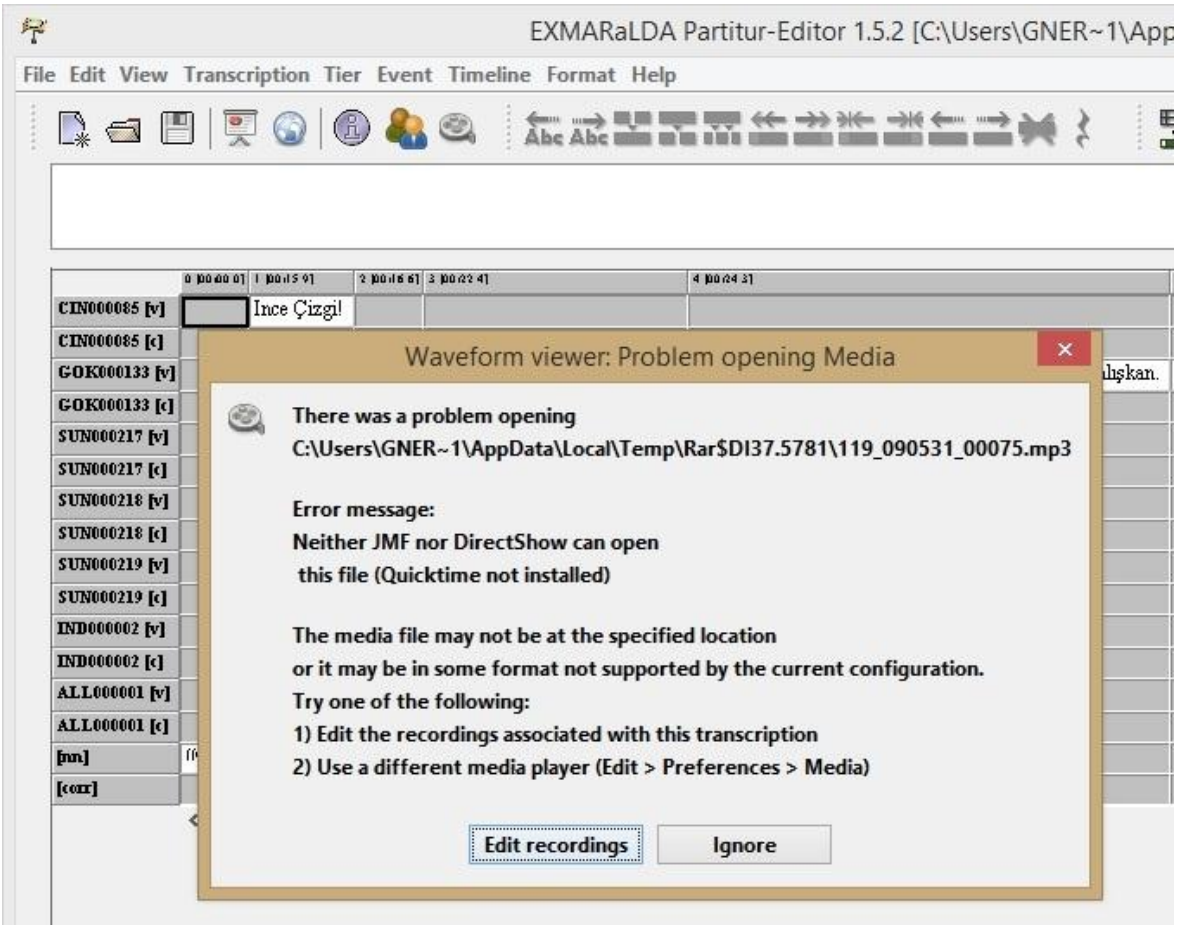
> STC is a multi-modal general corpus, which employs EXMARaLDA software suite (Schmidt & Wörner, 2009) and a web-based, open source corpus management interface (STC-CMS) developed by M. G. C. Acar and K. Eryılmaz (see Acar & Eryılmaz, 2010). Transcriptions in STC are orthographic and based on an adaption of the HIAT (Rehbein et al., 2004) transcription conventions (see Ruhi et al., 2010b). Talk in STC is time-aligned with media files and represented in partitur format (see Fig. 1). In STC files each speaker is assigned a verbal (v) and an annotation (c) tier, the latter of which indicates stylistic (e.g. informal pronunciation of future tense markers) and prosodic features (e.g. laughing). Utterances performed in unison (e.g. laughter) are assigned to the ALL tier, and background noises and significant activities in the setting are described in the no-speaker tier (nn) (see Ruhi et al. (2010b) for the full description of transcription and annotation conventions).

As STC offers us all the tools to determine frequency, concordances, pauses, and prosodic features, it is so easy to observe diverse language use. However, there are

also a few challenges while using this corpus as *evet* and *hı-hı* may not be seen as a search result if it is written separately. Therefore, these markers have been searched line by line.

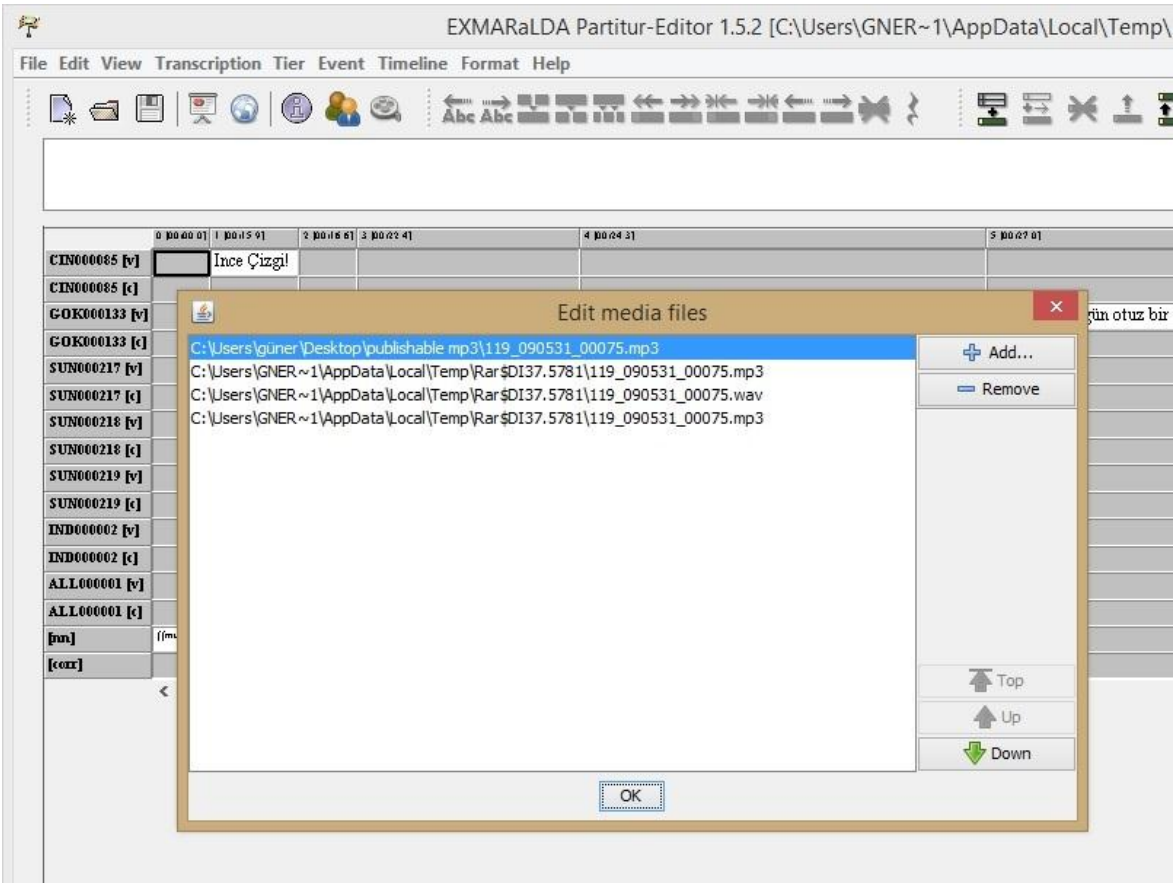
As we are to show the use of the STC step by step, we can begin with some adjustments because some corpora in the STC have audios while some have videos.

Figure 1. Opening a file from the STC



This media-opening problem can be confronted if the media is not in the specified location. Therefore, it can be adjusted by locating the media into the correct place as seen in Figure (2):

Figure 2. Adjusting the media location



Because the location of the media is top of other parts which have already been inside the file (such as mp3 and wav), the media will work smoothly when it is placed into the specified location. Hereafter, "Apply Stylesheet" is selected from the "Format" drop-down menu at the top of the window to proceed the analysis.

Figure 3. Searching through the STC

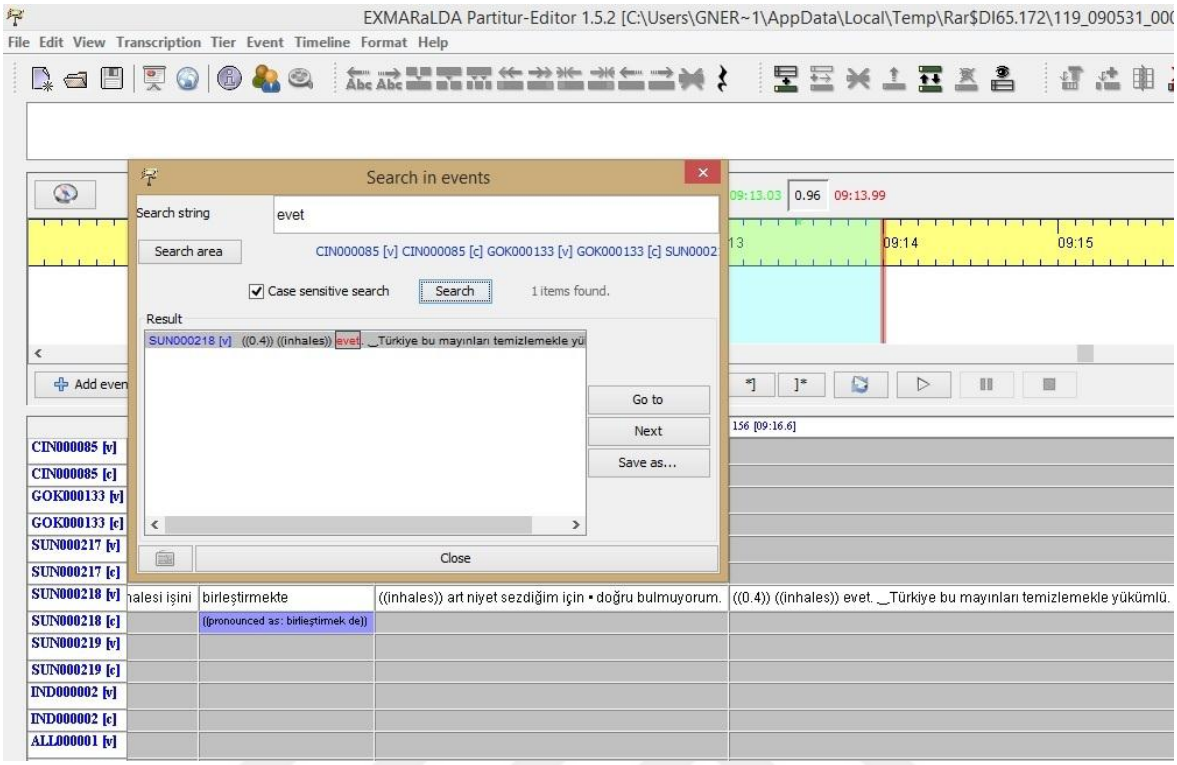
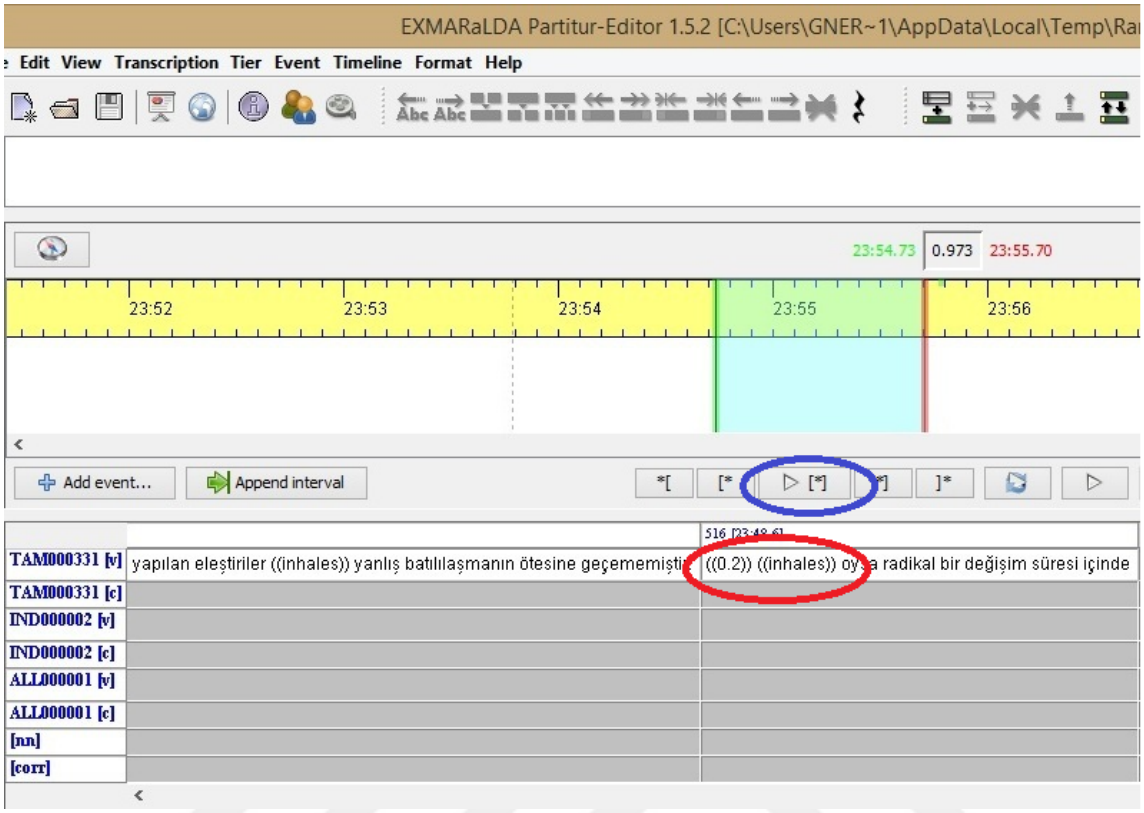


Figure (3) shows us how we can search our interactional markers through the concordance lines. By pressing Ctrl + F, searching window is opened and it gives all the results for searched word. When we need to see the lines in which they appear, it is enough to click on it.

As for the most important feature of this multimodal corpus, it also provides us some information about the prosodic cues and duration of the pauses:

Figure 4. Duration and paralinguistic features through the STC

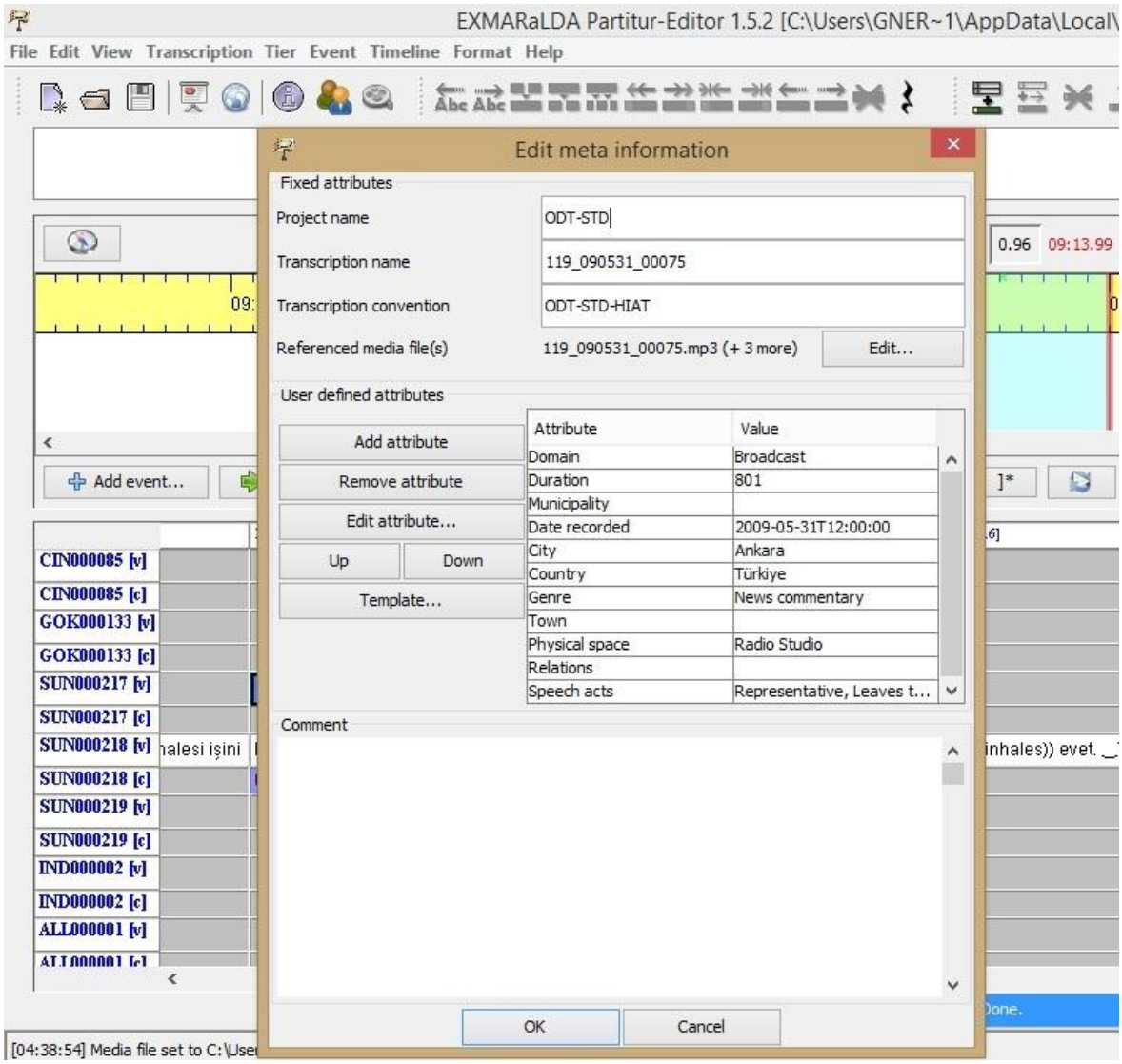


In Figure (4), blue circle shows how to hear our search result, and the red circle displays that there is a pause and inhales before the utterance.

On the other hand, there are some cases in which *evet* and *hı-hı˙* occur although the speakers do not say any of them. So these instances have been checked over and over and skipped if they are not heard. In addition to this, in the instances where *hm-hm˙* and *ha-ha˙* occur, we have had to listen again because we have encountered that *hı-hı˙* has been heard as one of them. On the other hand, *hı-hı˙* is heard as *hıı˙* in some records, so we exclude the instances where *hı-hı˙* has been heard as *hıı˙* from our study. Therefore, as a quantitative result, we have not counted the numbers of occurrences seen as a result of searching in events, but we have counted all the occurrences examined thorugh the lines.

Additionally, the information about the domains of each conversation, are reached through STC as seen in the Figure (5):

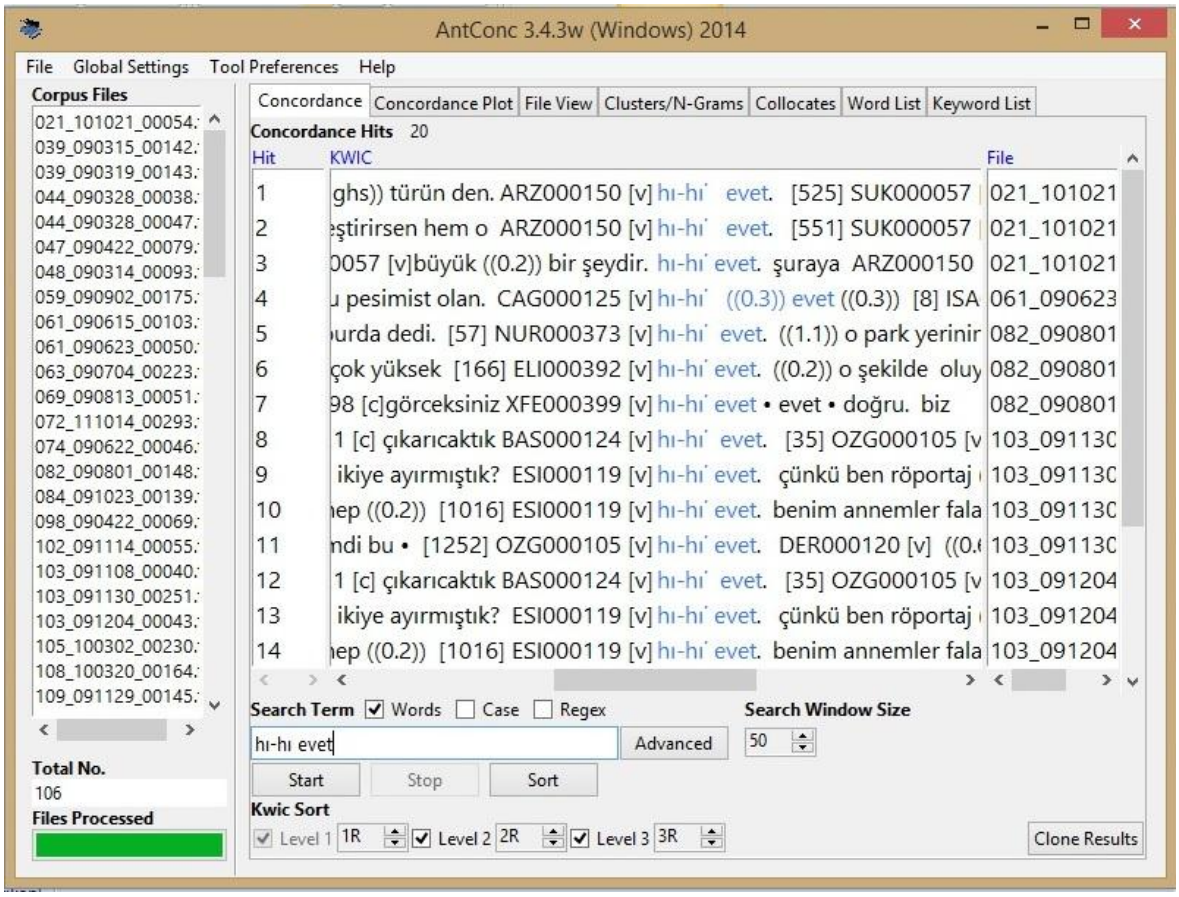
Figure 5. Retrieving information about the domain



To reach the metadata about domain, genre, duration, places, etc. of conversations, just clicking on the "Transcription" in the menu at the top of the window and choosing "Metainformation" from the drop-down menu is enough.

As for the collocates and clusters of them, we have used the free software program AntConc (Anthony, 2014) after changing Partitur documents of all the files into txt. format. For the latest version of AntConc, there is no need to do anything other than opening all the files as seen in Figure (6):

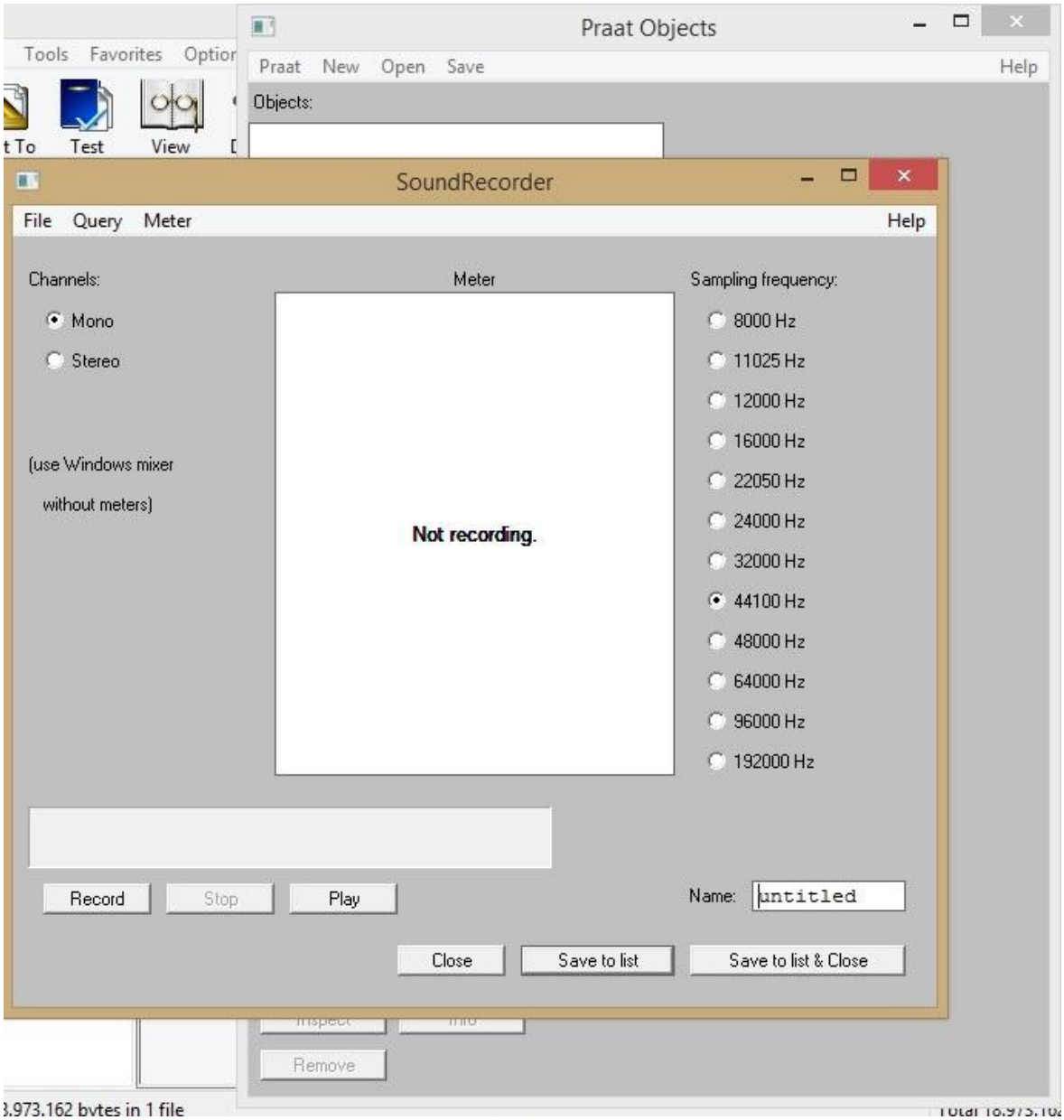
Figure 6: Searching through AntConc



In Figure (6), we see that *evet* and *hı-hı˙* co-occur a total of twenty times in the entire corpus, and if we want to obtain the concordances of *hı-hı˙ evet*, we can easily go inside concordance lines by clicking on them.

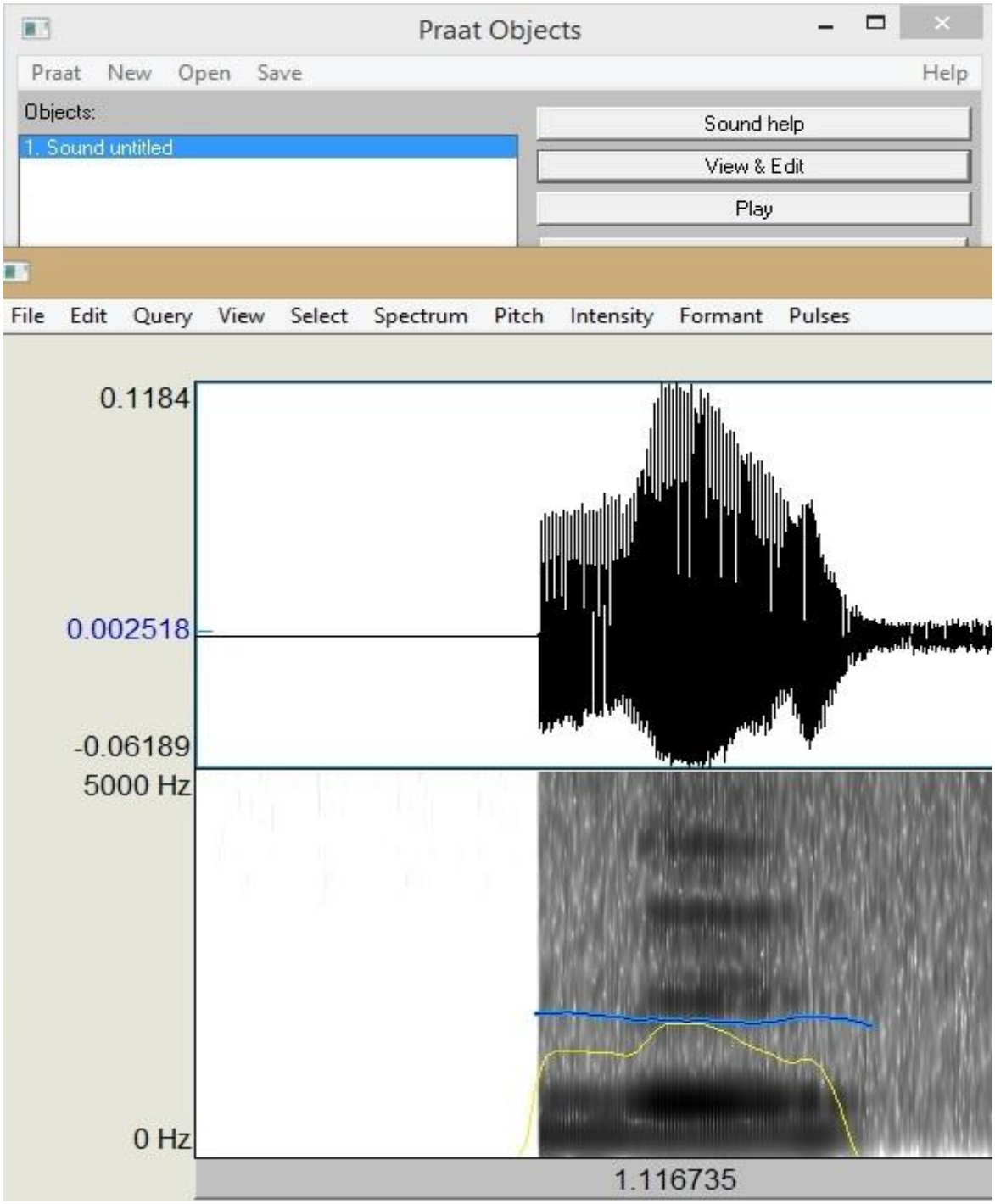
As a final point, we have used Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2014) in order to get the results of the intonational differences between *evet* and *hı-hı˙* according to their functions. Figure (7) shows how we record intonational results:

Figure 7. Intonation analysis through Praat



After choosing "New" at the top of the window, "Record a monosound" is selected from the drop-down menu to start recording. We start recording by clicking on the "Record" with the sound that we want to measure, and then stop it by clicking on the "Stop" (Figure 7). "Save to list" supplies us to go to the recorded sound, but more crucial part is to see the table of intonation that we can examine by clicking on "View & Edit" (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Measuring intonation and pitch



Showing the intonation contour, Praat also provides details about the intensity (shown by yellow line) and the pitch (shown by blue line).

III. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

III. 1 Analysis of the Functions of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*

According to the approaches developed by Stubbs (1995: 1-33) and Sinclair (1996: 75-106) about utterance function, they suggest that the analysis of corpus evidence allows us to understand the relationship between recurrent linguistic forms and their function in discourse, so we can arrive at more accurate description. As corpora can reveal typical and repeated uses of language, they enable us information about the conventional, idiosyncratic, creative, contextual and functional patterns of language use (Hoey, et al., 2007: 224). The approach to the multifunctionality of interactional markers stated here is data-driven that we have asked why *evet* and *hı-hı˙* occur in some places but not in others and according to which functions are determined.

Through the use of specific interactional markers, such as *evet* and *hı-hı˙* which are associated with specific pragmatic functions, marking new or old information, degree of agreement or evaluative judgment, and emotional response; both the speaker's prompting and the hearer's feedback occur. As well as information on interlocutors' reactions to the conversation flow, such markers which serve a specific signaling and performing function in the turn-taking, yielding, or holding, and index different intentions of participants in conversation have plenty of uses according to the contexts in which they are employed.

The items have in common and different that they have high-frequency in particular functions. They also have interactional implications as McCarthy (2003: 35) mentions "*yes*" or "*no*" would have functioned as agreement/disagreement, understanding, and closure. In addition to this, he also points out that "yes-plus" words do more than acknowledgment and corroboration in utterances as we have seen it for *evet* and *hı-hı˙* in

our own data. Besides, by examining the contexts, Sacks et al. (1992: 9) explain the function of "*mm hm*" as making the story progress; thus, it gives the sense that "The story is not yet over, I know that." And also, we have seen this function as a continuation mostly for *hı-hı˙* as well as *evet*.

In the matter of discourse structure of casual conversation, Eggins and Slade (1997: 171-173) classified "*yea*", "*yep*", "*yes*" with regard to their functions which are mostly related to the function of approval: acknowledgement and resolve.

Inspired by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), the analysis of our data has been guided by conversational analytic principles in terms of their contribution to fundamental aspects of conversational and social organization. Based on a number of domains of organization, they formulate the observations from simultaneous talks in an organizational way. As we have explained before, they claim that participants tend to minimize overlap and gap in turn-taking organization as we take them into consideration in our study. Additionally, while accomplishing and coordinating an interactional activity, participants use coherent series of interrelated communicative actions in sequence organization to initiate the right adjacency pair such as question-respond and criticism-reply to it. Besides, Schiffrin (1987)'s study on identifying discourse markers as having discourse organizational and coherence functions provides an important framework for this study in terms of use and distribution of forms and functions in discourse as well as a process of social interaction by reconciling both qualitative and quantitative methodology. Schiffrin proposes a discourse model including participation framework, information state, ideational structure, action structure and exchange structure. For example, she identifies the functions of *because* as connecting actions and ideas respectively and connecting a request to a complete task, and she also determines the functions of but as a rebuttal during

an argument and opening a turn at talk that displays participation framework (in Schiffrin, et al., 2001: 54-75).

Schiffrin, who describes the functions of pragmatic markers as constructions which are used to move a conversation forward, to organize sequential contributions, and to achieve coherence, states that they display epistemic and affective stances (1987). In line with Schiffrin's framework for the functions of pragmatic markers, O'Keeffe and Adolphs (2008) set a framework for classification and functions of backchannels, we have followed these functions (continuer tokens, convergence tokens, information receipt tokens, and engagement tokens) in accordance with our study. They describe continuer tokens such as *yeah* and *mm* as the minimal forms which maintain the flow of the discourse. For the convergence tokens, they refer to markers of agreement (based on emotive statements) and approval (based on participants' common ground or shared knowledge). In terms of engagement tokens, they give the example of follow-up questions (e.g. *did you?*) to respond on an affective level to the content of the message. When participants want to signal a topic transition or a closure where adequate information has been received, they use information receipt token such as *right* and *okay*. Therefore, in our study, we have followed their ways to classify our data. As illustrated in Table (1) *evet* (occurring 1161 times) and *hı-hı˙* (occurring 853 times)[2] are considered in our study according to their contexts. After the examination of the contexts (*e.g. conversations among family or friends, service encounters, brief encounters, broadcast, workplace, education and research*) in which *evet* and *hı-hı˙* occur, firstly we have reached a general quantitative description. Table (1) shows the frequency of occurrence of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*

[2]These numbers are about the instances which could be examined. The functions of 9 evet and 6 hı-hı could not be determined because the previous utterance could not be understandable ((XXX)), and the functions of 5 evet and 2 hı-hı could not either because the interlocutor is on the phone. Therefore, we did not add them into the table.

according to their functions. Continuation and approval functions have outnumbered when compared to the others, but there are also differences in terms of which interactional markers are used with which pragmatic functions. In this case, by looking through the table, it can be said that if the functions are approval, agreement, question-respond, and divergence, *evet* appears more frequently than *hı-hı˙*. However, if the function is continuation, then the most frequent interactional marker is *hı-hı˙*.

Table 1. Quantitative results of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* according to their functions

Functions	***Evet***	***hı-hı˙***
Approval	**552**	295
Agreement	**174**	46
Continuation	295	**441**
Question-Respond	**115**	63
Divergence	**25**	8
Total	***1161***	***853***

Adolphs and Carter (2013: 155) state that "*mhm*" is one of the verbal backchannels in English and it has been linked to the continuer function. Simply allowing the other speaker proceeds, it is defined as "the vocalizations of understanding" (Gardner, 1998: 204-224), we can also take *hı-hı˙* as a backchannel that it serves mostly as a continuer encouraging the speaker go on his/her utterance. In this case, the listener uses *hı-hı˙* not to take the floor or control the floor but to give the message of active listenership. Adolphs (2008: 123-124) also explains backchannels according to their functions that her classification includes continuation (*yeah, mm*), convergence (*yeah* and *tag questions*), engagement (*excellent, absolutely*), and information receipt tokens (*right, okay*). She also

takes "*yeah*" as a backchannel when its function is continuation or convergence. Giving an example from the extract including three cleaners in a university hall of residence, she determines some backchannels and their functions as seen in (16):

(16)

<S03> Well the fridge probably was+

<S02> <unintelligible>

<S03> +cos I mean I I didn't clean the fridge.

<S02> **Yeah.** But it can be bad an hour after.

<S03> But I er I cleaned <S0=> all the </S0=> all the thing and mopped all the floors+

<S02> **Mm.**

<S03> +in the morning. I mean what annoys me it puts you off doing anything.

<S01> **Mhm.**

<S03> What annoys me is that if a student comes up to me and says Can you clean tomorrow or Can you clean an <S0=> hour </S0=> half an hour later. And you turn round and you say Yes.

<S01> **Mhm.**

<S03> And then the problem with it is you're willing to do something for them.

<S01>**Yeah.**

<S02> And then what do they do for you?

<S01> Nothing.

<S03> **No.**

In this extract, indicating varying degree of involvement, Adolphs describes *mm* and *mhm* as simple continuers and *yeah* and *no* as convergence tokens. Speaker 1 and 2 use these markers through the talk to maintain the flow of discourse and to converge on what is being said is understood. Giving the example from an extract in which two female teachers are discussing their fellow teacher, she states that response tokens such as *absolutely* and multi-word sequences such as *that's right* mark stronger convergence, so they are categorized as engagement tokens:

(17)

<S01> I think that gets Maggie down as well cos she <unintelligible>.

<S0E> laughs </S0E>

<S01> **That's right.**

<S01> She's very keen.

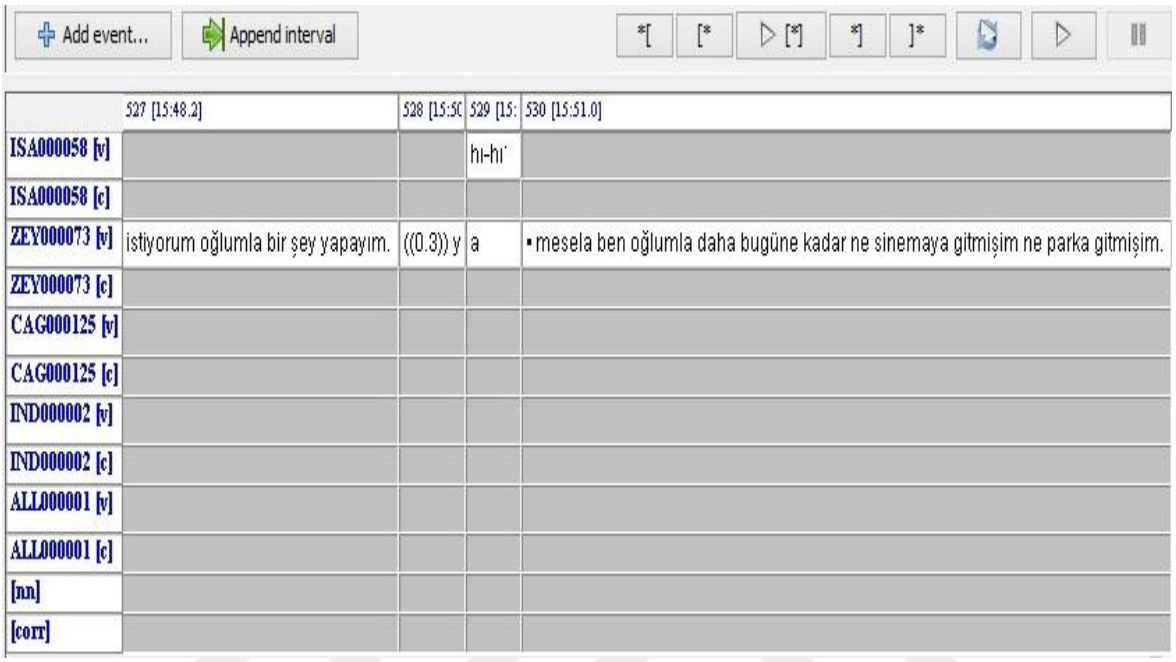
<S02> **Absolutely.**

Besides, she claims that these non-verbal backchannels are compared with the verbal ones to illustrate whether their realisations change according to their positions, intensity, and duration through a multi-modal corpus (Adolphs, 2008: 123-125).

Similarly, having looked at our data, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* are seen in the function of continuation frequently, but we see *evet* is less frequent than *hı-hı˙* that serves as a backchannel which are devices supporting the current speaker's turn and not claiming for it. In the extract shown by Figure (9) a mother, ZEY and her son, ISA are talking about the problems between them. Through the talk, ZEY expresses her complaints about ISA while

he is listening her complaints just by saying *hı-hı˙* in order to signal that ISA is listening to his mother:

Figure 9. *hı-hı˙* as a continuer in the overlapping position



As noticed in this extract, one of the most outstanding point is the overlapping position of this continuation marker, therefore, as a consequence of the quantitative analysis noted above, we examine the syntactic positions of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* to see if the frequency of functions is related to their positions or not.

Based upon the syntactic features of discourse markers, we can start from Schiffrin's approach that discourse markers have two main features such as syntactic independence and place of occurrence in relation to the sentence structure (1987: 328). According to her, discourse markers can be seen in the sentence-initial, sentence-medial, and also sentence-final positions. In line with Schiffrin's approach, in our data, we have seen *evet* and *hı-hı˙* in all the positions. However, because these interactional markers are mostly used as a reaction to what is being said in the interaction, we have examined them

according to both the speaker's and the hearer's utterances. Hereunder, Table (2) and (3) show five positions with the frequency of functions of *evet* and *hı-hı*˙:

Table 2. Frequency of functions of *evet* according to their positions in the interaction

	Evet					
	Approval	**Agreement**	**Continuation**	**Question-Respond**	**Divergence**	**Total**
Overlapping	**213**	69	110	16	3	**411**
((_._)) pause before it	**157**	38	116	60	18	**389**
No pause before it	**147**	58	56	36	3	**300**
• pause less than 1 second before it	**20**	4	9	1	1	**35**
‿ it comes immediately after an utterance	**15**	5	4	2	-	**26**
Total	**552**	**174**	**295**	**115**	**25**	**1161**

Table 3. Frequency of functions of *hı-hı˙* according to their positions

	hı-hı˙					
	Approval	**Agreement**	**Continuation**	**Question-Respond**	**Divergence**	**Total**
Overlapping	101	21	**205**	18	2	**347**
((_._)) pause before it	86	12	**138**	17	2	**255**
No pause before it	90	11	**93**	22	4	**220**
• pause less than 1 second before it	**10**	1	5	6	-	**22**
‿ it comes immediately after an utterance	**8**	1	-	-	-	**9**
Total	**295**	**46**	**441**	**63**	**8**	**853**

When we look at the Table (2) and (3), we have noticed that *evet* and *hı-hı˙* could occur almost anywhere in the interaction depending on the pragmatic factors. Nevertheless, they have differences in some cases while they have also some similarities.

For example, *hı-hı˙* which functions mostly as a continuer occurs in the position of overlapping with the current speaker's utterance.

As we have said before, *hı-hı˙* as a backchannel has contributions to the elaboration of the notion of "continuation" especially in the overlapping position. Therefore, if we concentrate on speaking turns, being "good listenership" (McCarthy, 2003: 36) is the main purpose of showing understanding of incoming talk.

Figure 10. Continuation function of *hı-hı˙* in the overlapping position

	7 [01:03.1]	58 [01:03.6]	59 [01:08.	60 [01:08.4]	61 [01:09.1]	62 [01:0
SUK000057 [v]	(0.1)) b/ buna	özel ((0.2)) aldığımız şeyler falan olduğu için ((0.3)) hazır onlarla kul	lanman	da yarar var.	((0.2)) ne der	sin?
SUK000057 [c]						
ISA000058 [v]			hı-hı˙		((0.2)) olur.	
ISA000058 [c]						
IND000002 [v]						
IND000002 [c]						
ALL000001 [v]						
ALL000001 [c]						
[nn]						
[corr]						

The extract in Figure (10) is about the way of using a voice recorder. SUK explains ISA how to use this recorder and ISA shows his understanding by saying *hı-hı˙* and as a result his acceptance of the information. Thus, it can be said that the notion of understanding can coincide with the notion of attention.

When considered from the point of view that the placement of the overlapped units, these overlapped-positioned units are not misplaced in starting to talk and stopping the talk, instead it is a phenomenon which is organized intensely and leads the interlocutors to take part in the precise placement of talk. As Jefferson states, a precision tracking of the emerging course of an utterance can be demonstrated by the placement of overlap (1973:

48-49). We have noted that continuation function occurs mostly in the overlapping position, but we also need to examine the other positions if they mean anything significant.

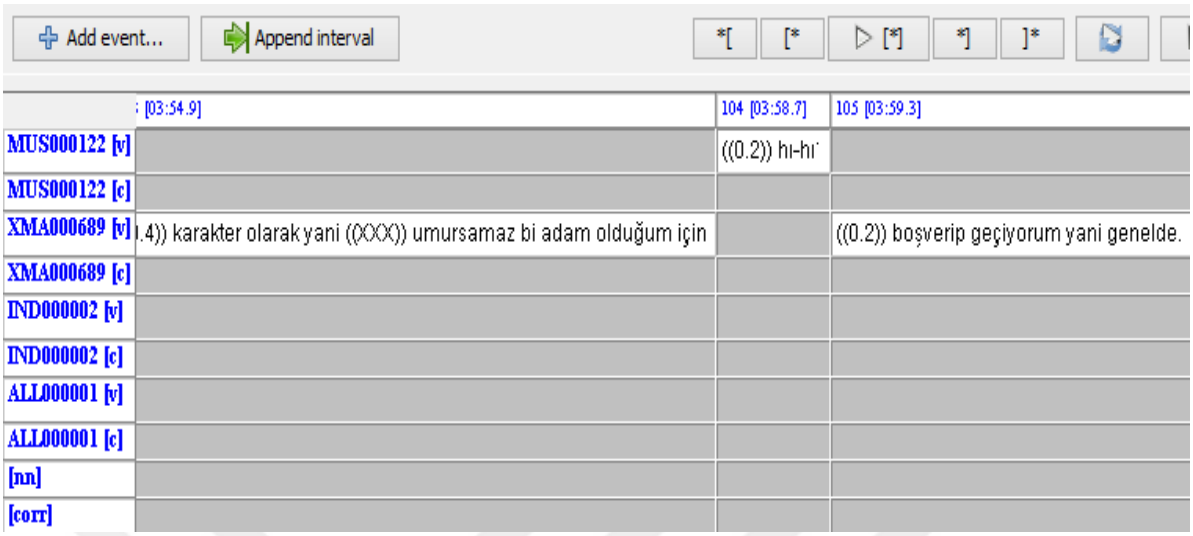
III. 1. 1 Continuation Function

hı-hı˙ serves as a structural device to signal continuation of the current topic. The listener does not bring any new information but helps to achieve the smooth flow of conversation by using *hı-hı˙*. Occurring in the overlapping position, in Figure (11) *hı-hı˙* is simply used to indicate that ISA is listening and wishes ZEY to continue her conversation:

Figure 11. *hı-hı˙* as a continuer in an overlapping position

In the below figure, we see a conversation in which the conversation partner MUS shows that he has heard and understood the partner's utterance and reinforces the speaker to continue his talk. While doing this, he has a little pause (((0.2))) to give the speaker time to formulate his utterance.

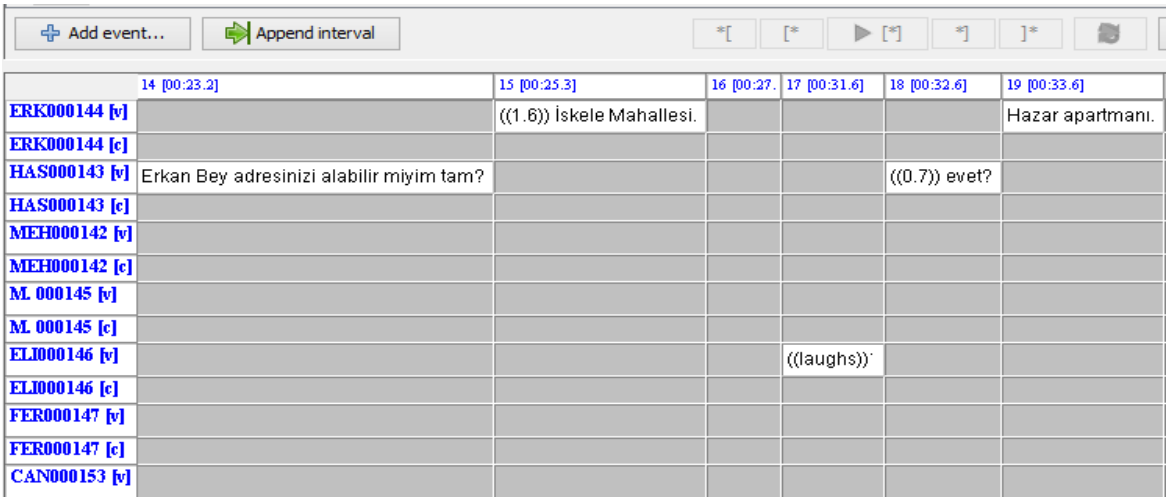
Figure 12. *hı-hı˙* as a continuer in a turn-medial position



Besides, we can also say it is seen in the turn-medial position which may be considered as the typical syntactic position of continuation with the evidence from high frequency in the STC.

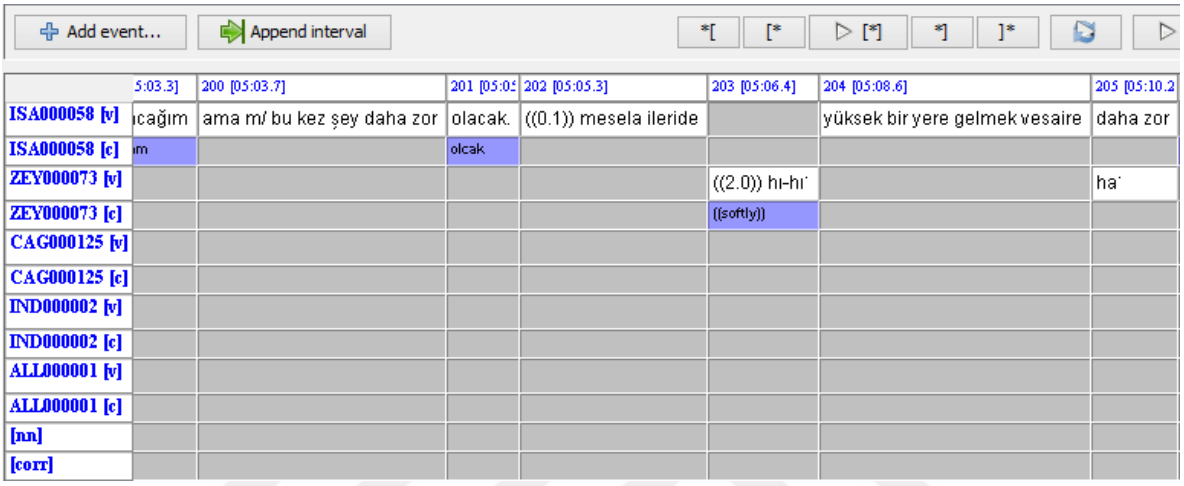
Findings reveal that as a continuer, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* occur in various contexts. In the context of a cultural event among families, ERK as an officer asks some questions in order to maintain the marriage ceremony. After a long pause or silence, HAS uses *evet* with the intonation of question in order to make ERK continue his answer as seen in the Figure (13):

Figure 13. *evet* as a continuer after a long pause



Another example is also related to the pauses before these interactional markers. In the case of fragments; that is, unfinished utterances, the listener tries to make the speaker finish his/her utterance, that is to say, he requests for continuation with *evet* or *hı-hı˙*.

Figure 14. *hı-hı˙* as a request for continuation



As Figure (14) shows, while ISA is giving examples to his situation, and before he comes to a possible completion point, he stops speaking that ZEY expects him to complete his utterance after *mesela ileride*. After a long pause, which is important for determining the functions of these markers, ZEY wishes to hear the rest of the example by expressing it with the backchannel *hı-hı˙*. Another point here is that the listener does not want to take over the turn to express a new proposition and also does not show any intention to do so. We can see the wider context as following from which we understand that *hı-hı˙* can be used as a continuer after a long pause because ZEY wants to hear more about ISA's plans. In the duration of this pause ((2.0)), ISA organizes his talk so as to delay the arrival of completion place even if he risks losing the turn.

(18)

ISA000058 ha˙ yok. ‿bi ya/ ya şeye gidebilirim/ Boğaziçi ((0.1)) Ankara Üniversitesi Hacettepe ((0.7)) Dokuz Eylül ((0.6)) le gidebilirim ama…

ZEY000073 ha˙ ((inhales)) mesela oraya gitsen ne olarak gideceksin?

ISA000058 ((0.2)) yine aynı işleri yapacağım ama m/ bu kez şey daha zor olacak. ((0.1)) mesela ileride

ZEY000073 ((2.0)) hı-hı˙

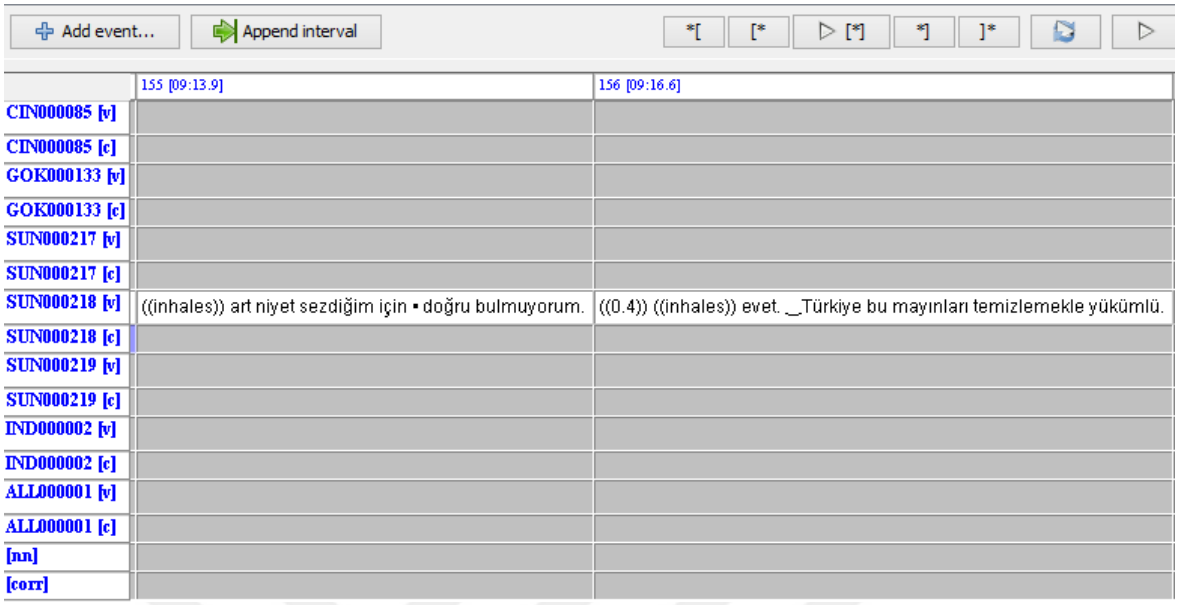
ISA000058 yüksek bir yere gelmek vesaire daha zor olacak.

Here we can also state that the current speaker ZEY selects ISA as a next speaker to make him finish his utterance.

As the above Figure (12), (13), and (14) illustrate, next speaker can enter into the turn at other than a possible completion place need not result in overlapping talk. Nevertheless, using these interactional markers turn-medially does not mean the interruption of current speaker's utterance, but it is about the listener's attempt to reach the speaker's delayed completion.

If we are to look at these interactional markers from the point of conversational analysis, the various ways of speakers get the floor draw our attention. More specifically, we can ask this question: Do the speakers use a specific way to get the floor according to the functions or contexts of *evet* and *hı-hı*˙? We see from the above examples and also from the Figure (15) that the speaker gets the floor by self-selecting himself with regard to continuation. Nevertheless, before self-selection we see that the speaker inhales after a pause in some examples. This shows us there is no one to continue to talk; and therefore, the same speaker holds the floor:

Figure 15. *evet* as a continuer with the self-selection technique



The extract in Figure (15) is taken from a radio programme in the domain of broadcasting. While SUN is commenting on a topic related to Turkey's attitude toward mines bordering on Syria, he gives his own opinion in some part of his talk, and then continues with some information about it again as seen more clearly in example (19):

(19)

SUN000218 ((0.9)) ((inhales)) Suriye sınırı boyunca mayınlanmış arazinin temizlenmesi ile ilgili İhale Kanun tasarısının yeniden gözden geçirilmesi doğru bir karar. ((inhales)) çünkü tasarı ((inhales)) sanki bir şablonu uygun biçimde hazırlanmış izlenimini veriyor. **((0.4)) ((inhales))** mesele mayınların temizlenmesinden çok arazinin kırk dört yıllığına kiralanmasıymış gibi bir yaklaşım öne çıkıyor tasarıda.

…

SUN000218 ((0.7)) ((inhales)) bölgenin mayından arındırılması işi ile bu toprakların ihalesi işini birleştirmekte ((inhales)) art niyet sezdiğim için • doğru

bulmuyorum. **((0.4)) ((inhales)) evet.** ◡Türkiye bu mayınları temizlemekle yükümlü.

The same speaker maintains speaking, for no other participant attempts to take the floor even if there are some long pauses and inhales before he begins his new utterance.

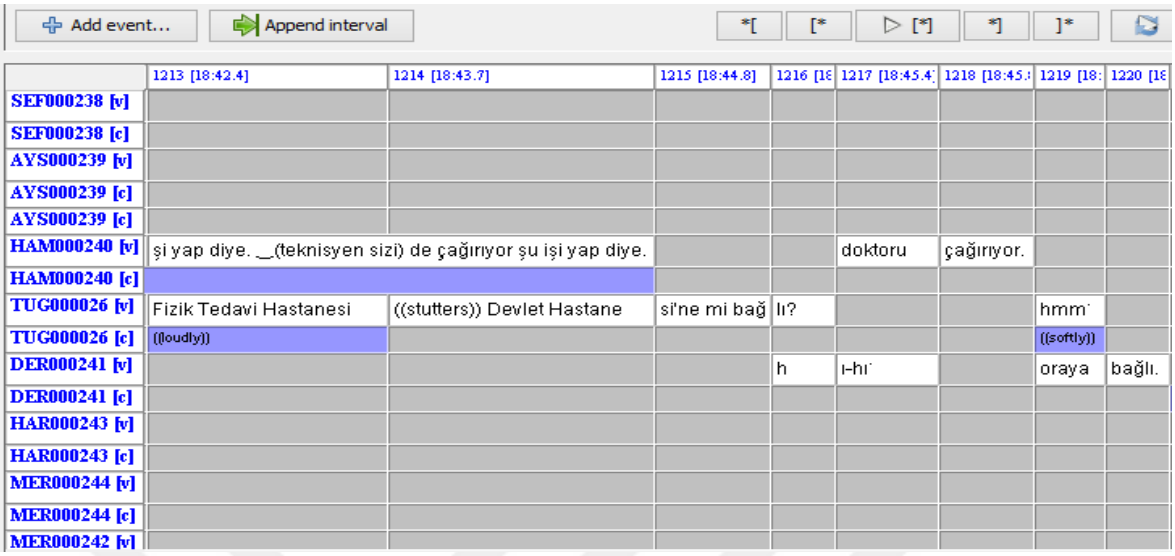
As a result, it can be said that the hearers are not just "a figment of the speaker's imagination" (treated within most traditional perspectives); they are coparticipants who can decline as well as accept the status of the speakers (from the conversational analysis point of view) (Goodwin and Heritage, 1990: 292). With the pause after the completion of the speaker's utterance, the hearer causes restart of the speech.

Here we can refer to Schegloff (1997) who points out that items like "*uh-huh*" which have back-channel function serve as a continuer except when positioned after a question. In other positions, it signals the understanding that the talk is not over yet. *Uh-huh* takes the stance that the current speaker should continue his/her utterance.

III. 1. 2 Question-Respond Function

Looking at the examples of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* from the STC, we have seen that the functions of these interactional markers change on the basis of their contexts. For instance, in question-respond, it can be seen that the particle m(I) which is used to seek new information activates the answers *evet* and *hı-hı˙* as in the below example:

Figure 16. *hı-hı˙* as a respond to a question in an overlapping position



In this context, the speaker TUG asks the question in order to receive an answer that he does not know and DER gives positive respond by saying *hı-hı˙*. In addition to this, in some cases such occurrence of overlapping utterances before these interactional markers, it may be complicated to decide which speaker's return of *evet* or *hı-hı˙* and it may also be complicated to understand/determine its function. If we are to look at the above example again, we can see that *hı-hı˙* is a respond to a question which is understood from the ongoing utterance of DER who continues her utterance by answering some part of the question:

(20)

TUG: Devlet Hastanesi'ne mi bağlı?

(Does it connect to State Hospital?)

DER: hı-hı˙ oraya bağlı.

(yes) (it connects there)

Considering the adjacency pair operation in which next speaker should start second pair part after the first possible completion of the first speaker, we have seen from

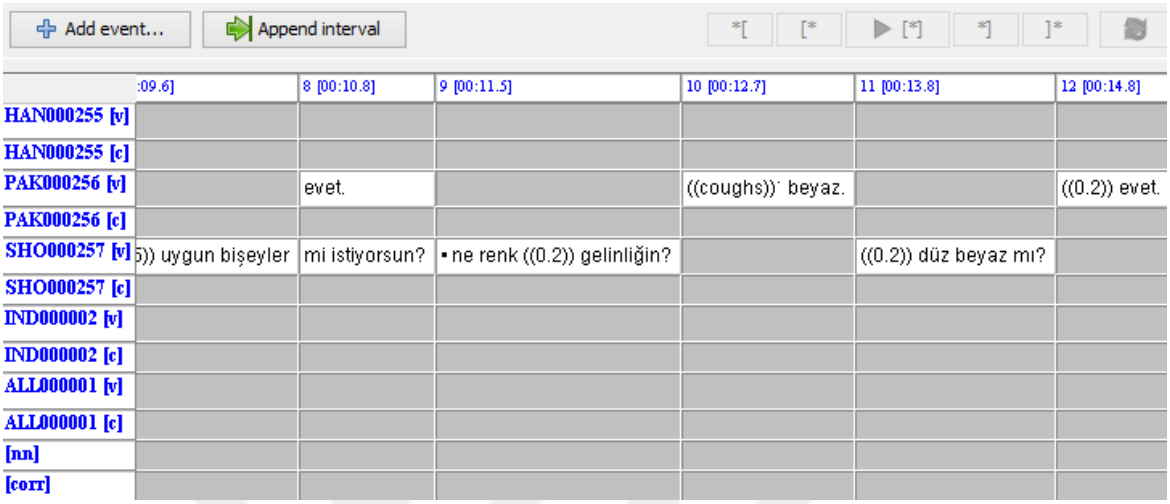
our data (we can also see it from Figure 16) that in question-respond adjacency pairs there is no need for a completion of the question. When we look at Table (4) that *evet* and *hı-hı˙* occur as responds to questions, it can be said that they can also be seen in the position of overlapping that is turn-medial position with the high-frequency.

Table 4. Question-respond frequencies of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* according to the positions

Question – Respond	***evet***	***hı-hı˙***
Overlapping	16	18
((_._)) pause before it	**60**	17
No pause before it	36	**22**
• pause less than 1 second before it	1	6
◡ it comes immediately after an utterance	2	-
Total	**115**	**63**

For the first *evet*, as seen in the below example from the STC, the speaker PAK gives the answer without waiting for the completion of the shop assistant's question.

Figure 17. *evet* as a respond to a question



For the second *evet*, there is a pause before it. The first turn of the second pair initiates some action, and the second turn responds to the prior turn and completes the action initiated in the first turn:

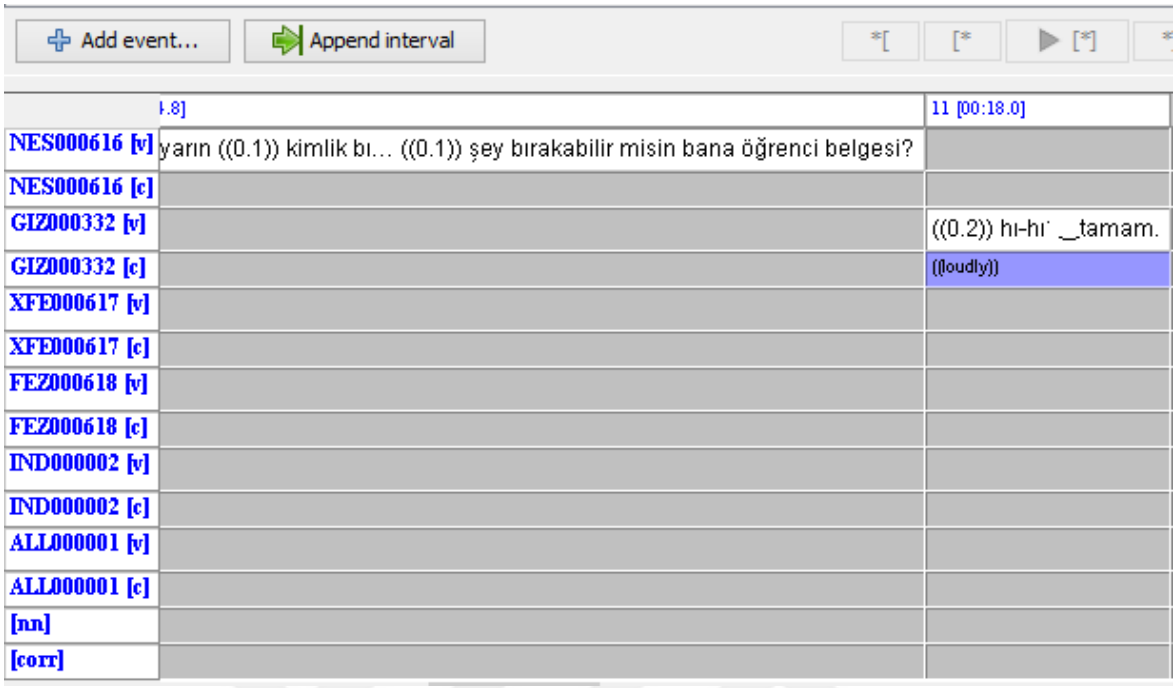
(21)

First pair part: ((0.2)) düz beyaz mı?

Second pair part: ((0.2)) evet.

On the basis of this basic sequence structure in the development of the talk, especially in the question-respond sequence, adjacency pairs set up expectations related to the proceeding of the talk.

Figure 18. *hı-hı˙* as a request acceptance



In the case of responding to a request exchange, the speaker leaves the turn to the listener to get an answer to her request. And it is easy to see how the listener's response in Figure (18) can be understood as a request acceptance. The way of requesting and responding to this request in this institutionalized context is very explicit. In asking the question, NES is performing the speech act of request for information. GIZ complies with this request and provides the appropriate answer that is expected by NES in a performative way.

In each of the examples of question-respond, speaker selection technique draws our attention. As a speaker selection technique, current speaker selects next in the function of question-respond contrary to the continuation function of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*.

III. 1. 3 Approval Function

Besides the responsive functions of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*, another point that should be noted here is the information conveyed by the speaker. As we understand from the below examples, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* signals that the information conveyed by the speaker's utterance

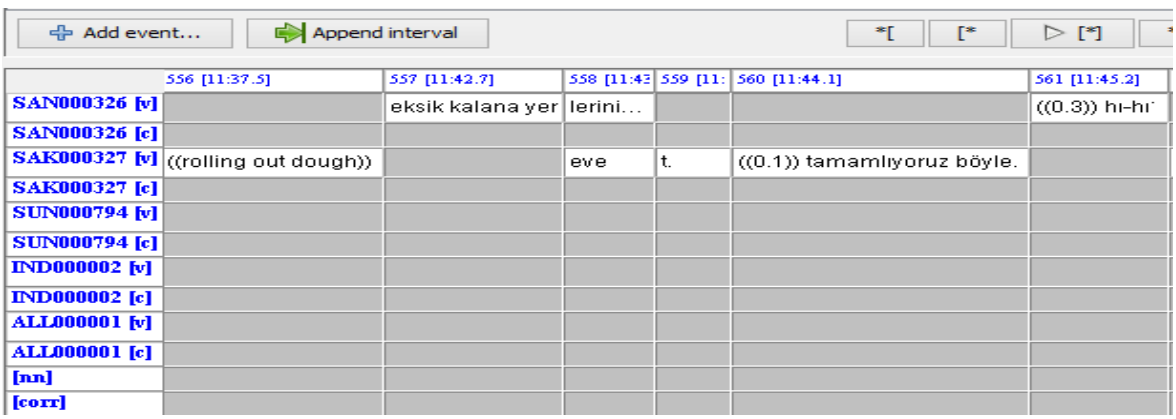
belongs both to the speaker's and to the listener's common ground if approval is the function of *evet*. That is to say, there is a shared knowledge when *evet* and *hı-hı˙* is used to approve the utterance.

Figure 19. *evet* as an approval

In the example of Figure (19) speakers mention natural beauties of a place known by all the speakers in the conversation. Therefore, while YES is describing the place, MEL whose speech overlaps with YES's confirms that YES is right about that statement: Yes, there was snow on the side of Ilgaz.

Figure (20) is another example that illustrates the approval function in the overlapping position:

Figure 20. *evet* as an approval in the overlapping position



Example in Figure (21) is a little bit different from the others because of the listener's completion of the speaker's utterance by interrupting. It is an interpretable action in talk that it can be meaningful in the context of utterance as seen in Figure (21); it may be deployed by the next speaker in order to achieve certain interactional ends.

Figure 21. Approval function of *hı-hı˙* after pause

SAN000326 [v]	imkanları olanların ((0.2)) da…
SAN000326 [c]	((slowly))
SAK000327 [v]	((0.1)) zaten ((0.3)) şey •
SAK000327 [c]	((softly))

SAN000326 [v]	((2.9)) kenarlarını iyice yapıştırıyor
SAN000326 [c]	((softly))
SAK000327 [v]	yapmamız lazım yani.
SAK000327 [c]	

SAN000326 [v]	muyuz ustam?
SAN000326 [c]	
SAK000327 [v]	Kenar larını yapıştırıyoruz şöyle. ((0.2)) kalıbımız
SAK000327 [c]	((very softly))

SAN000326 [v]	((0.2)) hı-hı˙ eksik kalana yer
SAK000327 [v]	ayrıldı! ((rolling out dough))
SAK000327 [c]	

SAN000326 [v]	lerini… ((0.3)) hı-hı˙
SAK000327 [v]	eve t. ((0.1)) tamamlıyoruz böyle. ((placing

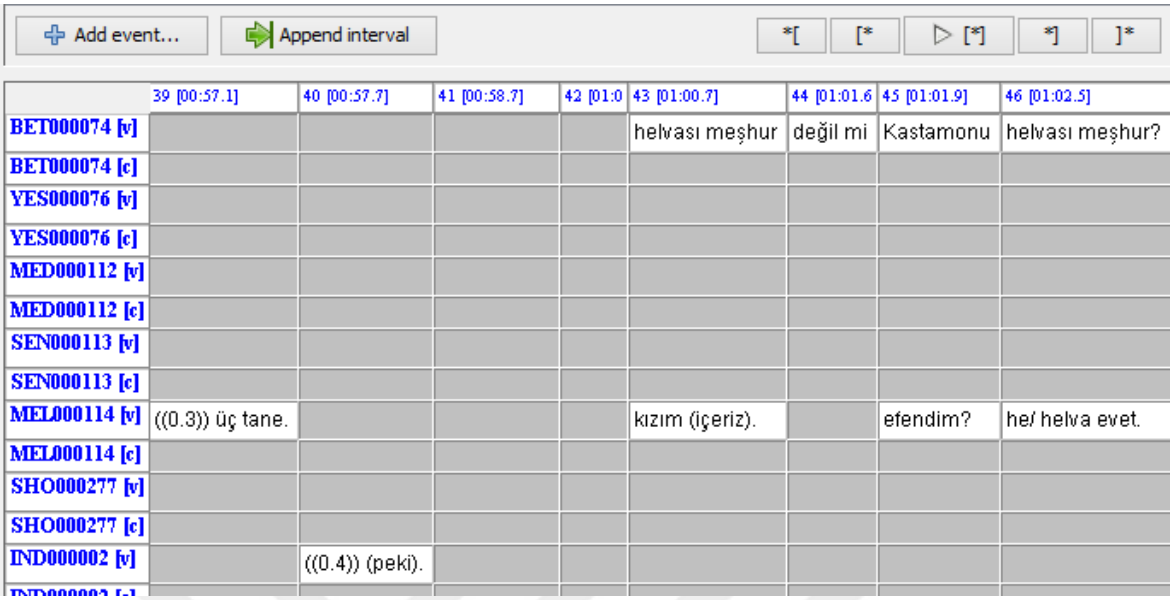
By examining the context of the occurrence of *evet* in the approval function, SAN who is a programme presenter comments on food which is being made by the cook, SAK. And SAK confirms SAN's comment by interrupting her utterance before she finishes and also by completing her utterance with "*tamamlıyoruz böyle*". Therefore, *evet* supplies an acknowledgement between them with the resulting utterance "*eksik kalan yerlerini tamamlıyoruz böyle*".

In these two examples of approval we see the technique of current speaker selecting next.

In addition to this, speaker's utterance triggers confirmation through various strategies. The most outstanding activators are *değil mi* and *öyle mi* which always allow the construal of a confirmative situation. In order to invite the answer *evet,* the speaker utters the statement and then adding a kind of negative "tag question" form "*değil mi*?". In this case, it can be said that "*değil mi?*" is used to seek approval/corroboration of the previous statement as Göksel and Kerslake point out about the tag question "değil mi": "…a question that is annexed to a statement and is used to seek confirmation of that statement" (2005: 252).

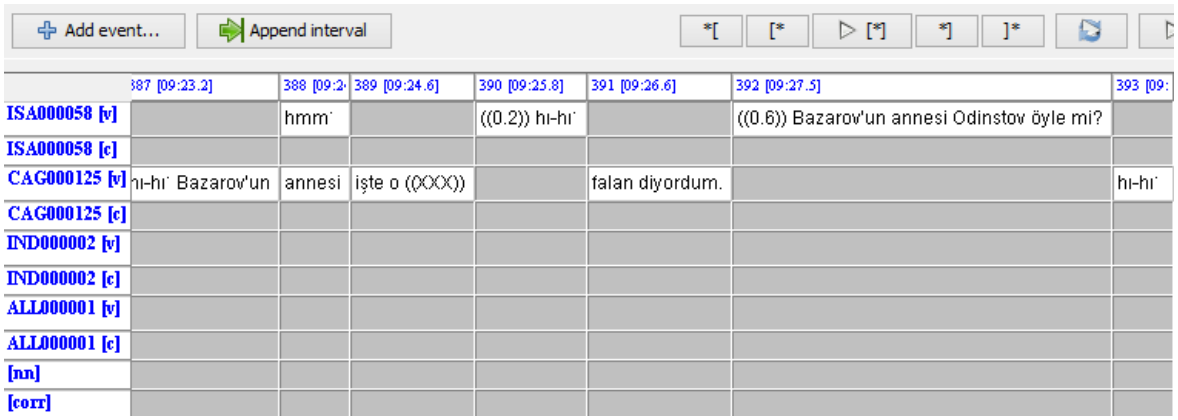
If we are to look at the below example (Figure 22), the speaker expects affirmative response in order to get confirmation about the statement "Kastamonu helvası meşhur". There is a special importance on the availability of tag question "*değil mi?*" here because it serves as an exit technique for a turn as pointed out by Sacks et al. (1974: 718). Current speaker BET has constructed the first pair of the turn to a possible transition-relevance place. Because of this, there is no self-selection technique here; instead BET selects MEL as the next speaker upon the tag question's completion and then exits from the turn.

Figure 22. *evet* as an approval as a result of tag question



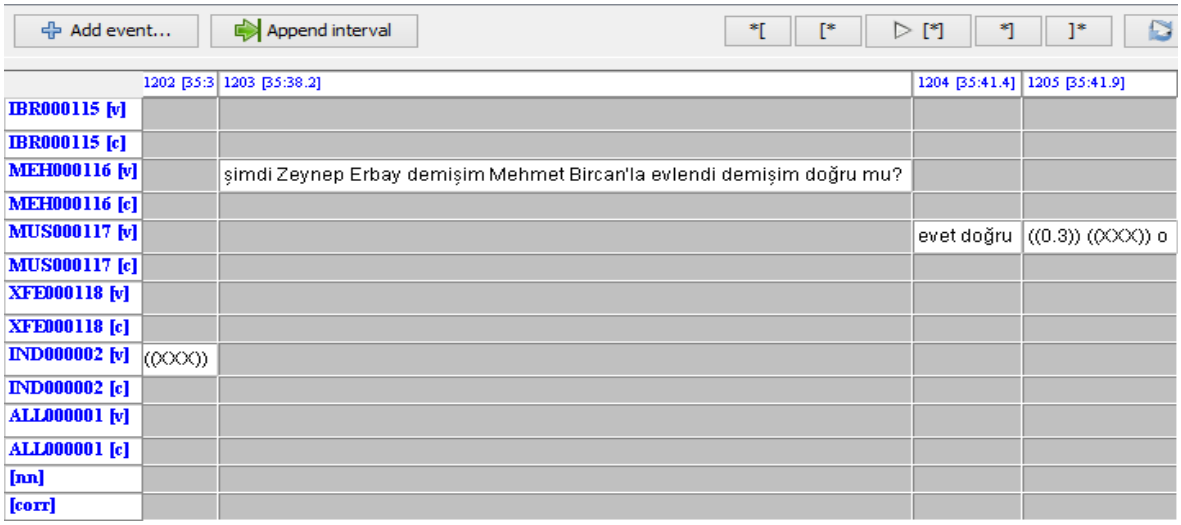
In Figure (23), ISA and CAG are talking about a book. CAG talks about the events in the book, and ISA uses some interactional markers in order to reinforce him to tell more. First *hı-hı˙* is used as a continuation marker which also signals an understanding on the part of the interlocutor's utterance; as a result, ISA maintains the flow of the talk. On the other hand, second *hı-hı˙* which is uttered by CAG serves as a function of approval. The interesting point here is that CAG's confirmation is probably elicited by ISA's previous turn. By ending his turn with *öyle mi* that is combination of a demonstrative adverbial along with a question particle ISA marks a joint formulation inviting CAG to specify whether he approves him or not.

Figure 23. *hı-hı˙* as an approval after *öyle mi*



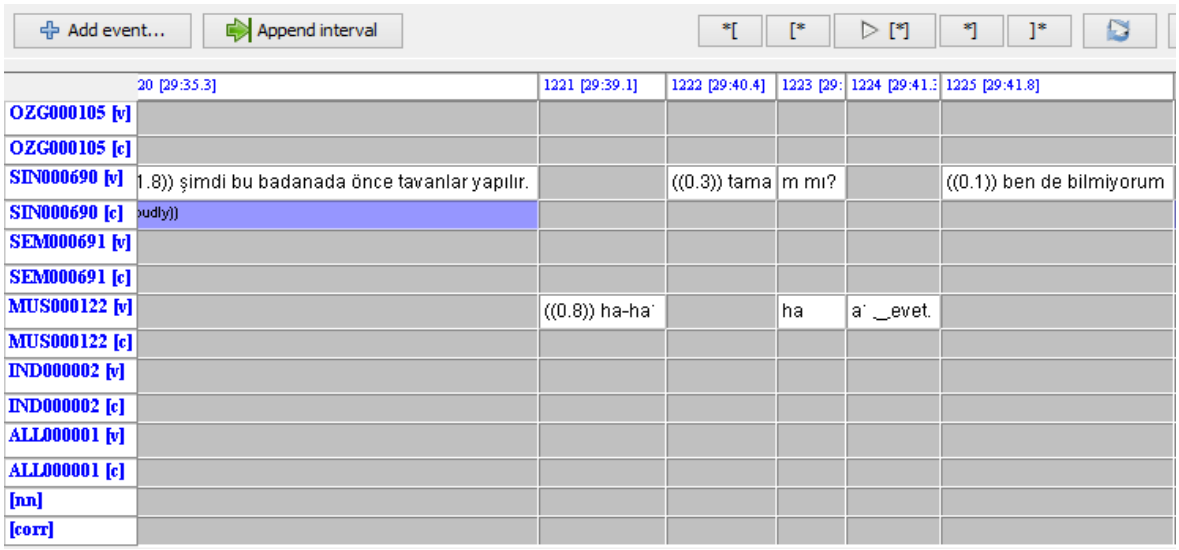
Another point that should be taken into consideration is the clause-final tag *doğru mu*. As a part of the first pair of an adjacency pair -as a confirmation request- it is used to signal the end of the utterance. In the below conversation (Figure 24) occurring among the relatives, MEH talks about the events and people related to his relatives. In the case of using *doğru mu* after the modality marker *–mIş* indicating perfective evidentiality, it can be understood that the current speaker has already mentioned this event and now he wants to get confirmation about it from MUS. Herewith the current speaker MEH selects MUS as a next speaker by asking *doğru mu* which triggers the approval function of *evet* with no pause before it as seen in the Figure (24):

Figure 24. *evet* as an approval after *doğru mu*



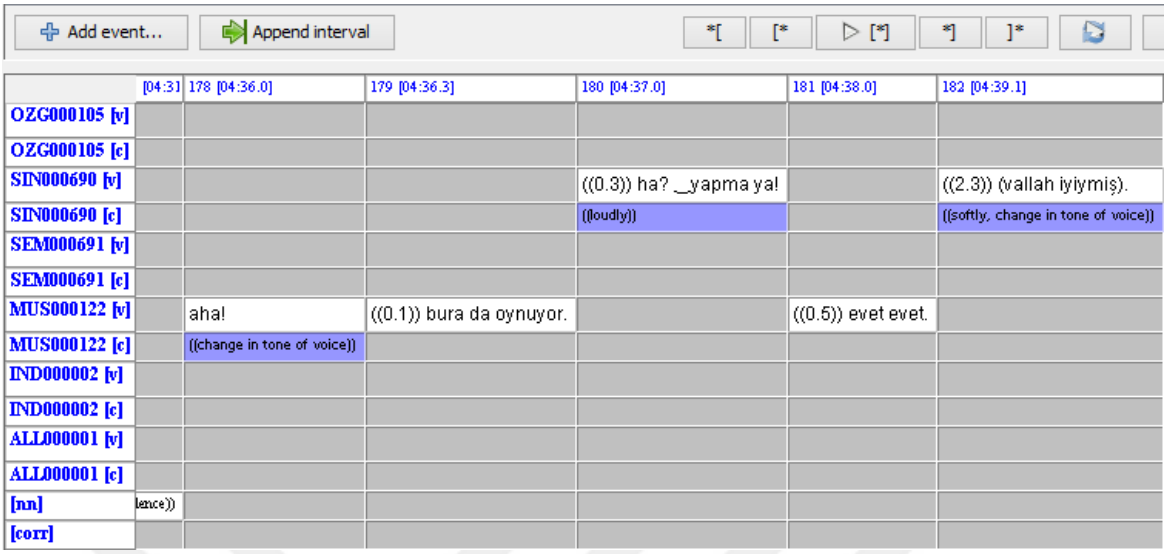
For the performative function of *tamam mı*?, we can refer to Ruhi's study on the functions of *tamam*. She identifies it as a pragmatic marker which queries alignment in the addressee's stance (2013: 11-12). In Figure (25), SIN gives some information about whitewash, and MUS shows his attention with first *ha-ha*. After that, SIN asks *tamam mı* to check comprehension or alignment. Therefore, based upon Ruhi's description, we can say that *tamam mı* requires *evet* or *hı-hı* with the approval function.

Figure 25. *evet* as an approval after *tamam mı?*



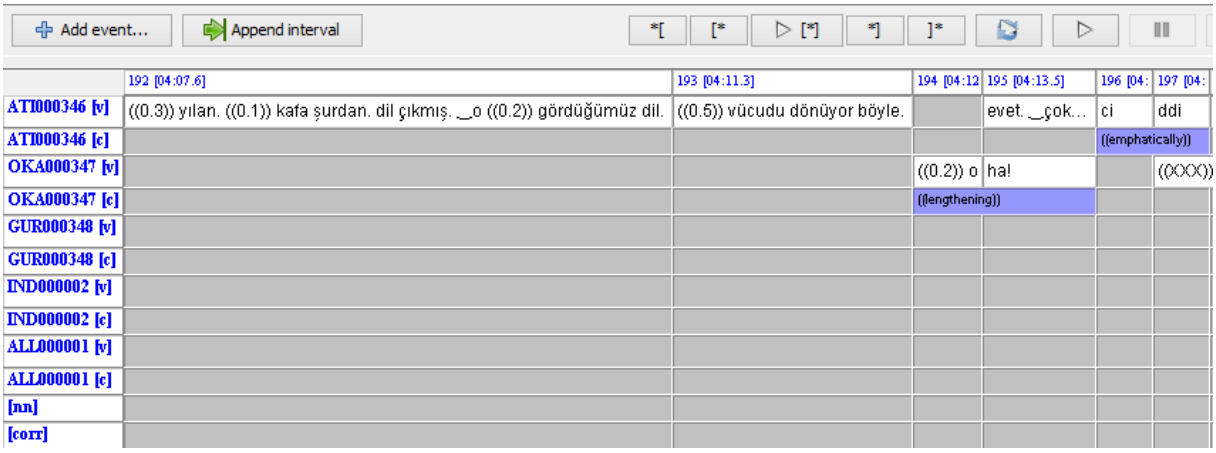
On the other hand, the same speaker can also approve his own statement by using these interactional markers. In Figure (26), we see that the interjection *yapma ya!* used by the listener (SIN) can prompt corroboration. In this case, the speaker (MUS) provides a confirmation of his prior telling. Based upon the propositional content of the preceding or following turn, interjections show communicative intention with the function of eliciting acknowledgment from the listener (Gonzalez, 2004: 79). By means of it, the listener tries to keep closely in touch with the speaker.

Figure 26. *evet* as an approval after an interjection (*yapma ya!*)



As Lewis also points out that linguistic structure helps us to identify discourse markers, they are distinguished from interjections which are closely associated with the discourse nature and the style of speakers (in Fischer, 2006: 55). In Figure (26) and (27), the interjections (*yapma ya*, *oha*) conveying emotion also indicate assessing a binary exchange positively. In the below Figure (27), we can see this pair clearly:

Figure 27. *evet* as an approval after an interjection (*oha!*)



After AT mentions snakes in the first pair part, OKA conveys his emotion about this interesting information by using an interjection in the second pair part.

Therefore, in this relevant context, AT confirms his first enunciation with *evet* in the overlapping position with regard to the utterance of OKA.

III. 1. 3. 1 Lexical Units and Approval Function of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*

As mentioned before linguistic structure helps us recognize discourse markers. In terms of the function of approval, it is important to note some outstanding linguistic units triggering the usage of discourse markers which the interlocutors confirm with:

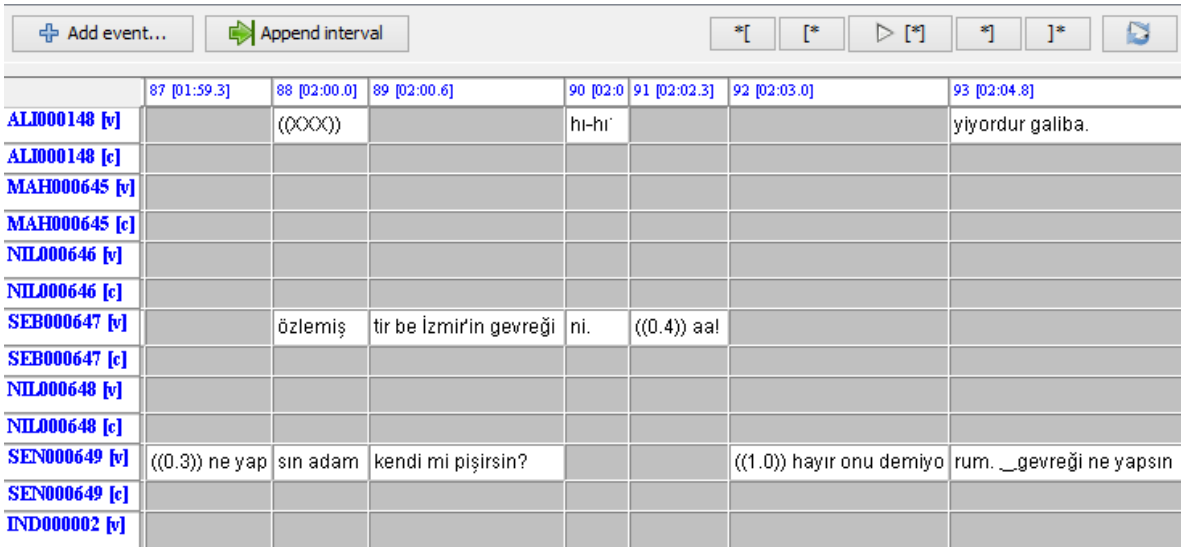
Table 5. Lexical units triggering *evet* and *hı-hı˙*

First Pair Part	**Second Pair Part**
Belki	
Herhalde	
Sanırım	
hani…ya hani…var ya/yok mu	*evet* *hı-hı˙*
Ya	
hmm˙	
-mIştIr	

To begin with the suffix seen in the table, *-mIş* which present "a statement based upon knowledge acquired indirectly" becomes a tense/aspect marker only in the case of being followed by *-(y)DI, ol-*, and *-DIr*. In our data, we see the occurrences of *-mIştIr* composed of perfective and generalizing marker expresses assumptions. Besides, Göksel and Kerslake, who defines *belki, herhalde,* and *sanırım* as adverbials modifying the sentence or a clause as a whole, emphasizes that these adverbials indicate "the speaker's degree of commitment to the truth of a statement". They also note that these modal

adverbials and the suffix *-mIştIr* can be used in the same utterance to express assumption depending on the speech context (2005: 294-299). Hence we search for the contexts in which *modal adverbial* + *mIştIr* occur to describe how these adverbials or suffixes prompt *evet* and *hı-hı*˙. The point we dwell on is which function *evet* and *hı-hı*˙ serve in the case of using these modal adverbials or the suffix *-mIştIr* in the first pair part.

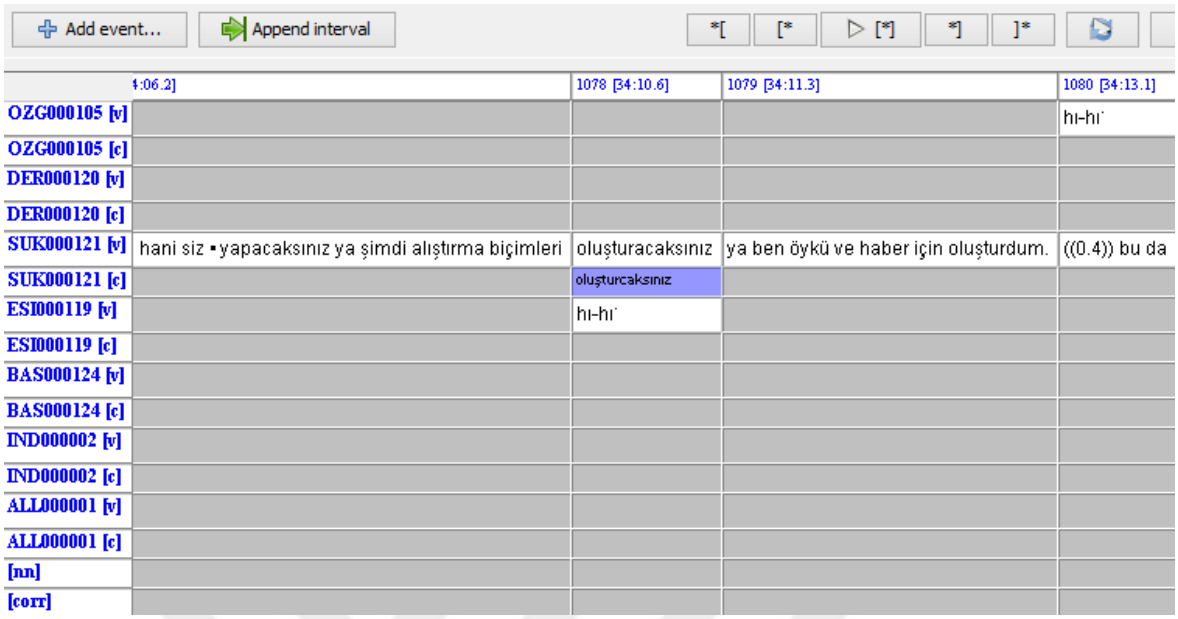
Figure 28. Suffix *–mIştIr* that triggers *hı-hı*˙ as an approval



In the above example, the function of *hı-hı*˙ is approval; however, as a clue of providing us to detect confirmation, shared knowledge is not seen in this context. Thus, it can be stated that the possibility, expressed by *galiba* in ALI's utterance is in accordance with the SEB's statement, indexing the assumption about the person's longing to İzmir's *gevrek*. He confirms what is somehow possible in the relevant context by saying *hı-hı*˙ without waiting for the end of the SEB's utterance.

Another example seen in the Figure (29) is related to the discourse connectives used in the first pair part that they also trigger *evet* and *hı-hı*˙ for being approved:

Figure 29. *hı-hı˙* as an approval after *hani…ya*



These discourse connectives are used to recall an event or state -*(hani)…ya*- or recall people or things -*(hani)…var ya/yok mu*-. Their counterparts in English are "you know" and "remember" which are used by the speaker to remind the listener that there is a person, thing, or situation within their shared knowledge (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005: 456). And in this extract, SUK reminds the listeners that they will create types of exercise, and *hı-hı˙* actually signals confirmation of the information provided by SUK.

III. 1. 4 Agreement Function

We can also see in conversations the speakers often search for some indication of mutual agreement explicitly, and the hearer provides corresponding feedback by using some interactional markers or backchannels. Adolphs and Carter state the same thing for *yeah* in English: "…*yeah* is employed primarily as a solidarity building device to mark agreement which a listener reasonably be expected to recognize…" (2013: 92).

The utterances of previous speaker include some opinion-based words or evaluative judgments that show us the difference between an agreement and an approval. Regarding this issue, O'Keeffe, Clancy, and Adolphs claim that suggestions and opinions

indicate agreement with differing degrees of hedging. And they give the example of *we can* and *yeah* which express that both the speakers agree on what is said (2011: 126):

(22)

Teacher 1: Yeah I think we need to give them a better more pre-information so that they can really.

Teacher 2: Now **we can** certainly do that better than the last time.

Teacher 3: **Yeah.**

Teacher 5: **Yeah.**

Teacher 1: Yeah yeah and…

Here we can also refer to Schegloff (in Atkinson & Heritage, 1984: 42):

> There is wide range of forms through the use of which conversationalists can do the work of bringing off collaboratively that they are in agreement. Some are nearly prepackaged, for example, "I agree," "I know," "Right," and the like, which are assertions of agreement; others, unlistable because they are in particulars fitted to the matter being agreed on, show agreement by a variety of techniques, for example, showing one knows what the other has in mind by saying it for him, as in completing his sentence or his argument. Both of these, concerned with claiming or showing agreement, should be distinguished from a quite different action, namely, "acknowledging agreement." The issue of who agrees with whom can be a real one, with sequential consequences, and not, as might be thought, one of vanity, in the face of the raw of agreement. That issue is: whose "position" is the point of departure, is the thing to be agreed with, and, therefore, who is in a position to be doing "agreeing": the one who does the "base statement" is not one who can do agreement with it (he can do reassertion of it).

Regarding this quotation, if we are to give an example from our data, we can take the Figure (30) and (31), the hearer's feedback is achieved through the use of specific interactional markers such as *evet* and *hı-hı*. In Figure (30) and (31), the opinion-based

words are *mikrop* (here it is not germinal but it has the metaphorical use in the sense of being goat and coarse) and *güzel* (nice). SEN's agreement signaling through the use of *evet* is a form of maintaining the relations and reinforcing the commonality between speakers. In Figure (30), YAS complains about the behaviors of bus and lorry drivers because they press her close at the traffic. Here SEN agrees with her by uttering *evet* in the overlapping position in terms of how abominable they behave at the traffic because they are woman.

Figure 30. *evet* as an agreement in an overlapping position

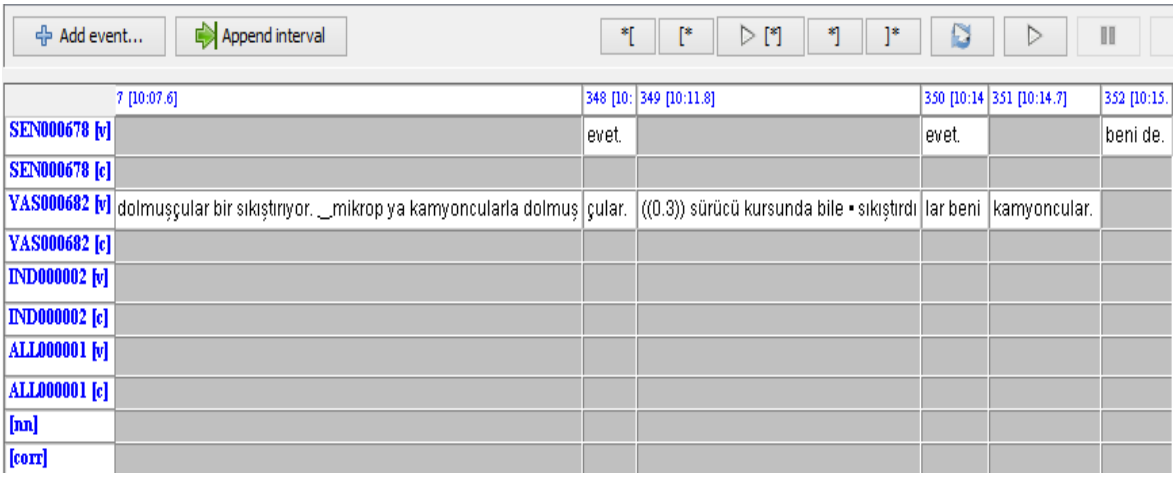


Figure 31. *evet* as a strong agreement in an overlapping position

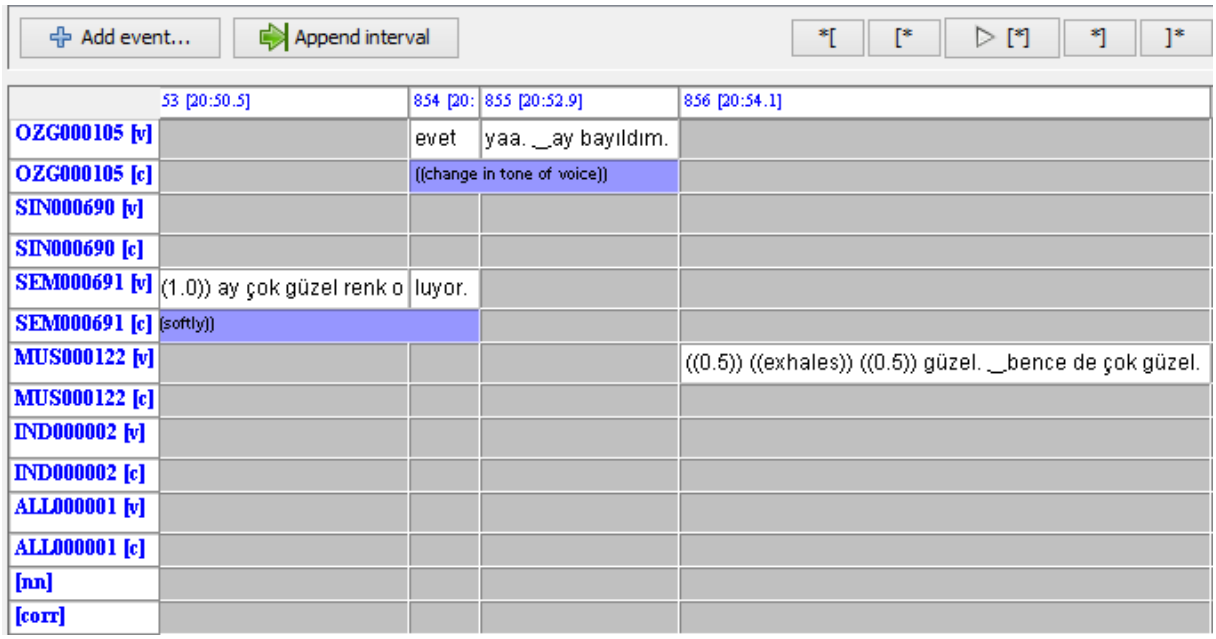


Figure (31) shows us another example on agreement function in which we can observe that SEM describes something nice with the adjective *güzel* and OZG supports her judgment with strong emotional response which we understand from the use of interjections *ay* and *yaa*. Therefore, it might be concluded that as a pragmatic response to what is said, heard, or perceived, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* is automatically triggered by adjectives complying with the contextual situation to show agreement.

Throughout the lines that *evet* and *hı-hı˙* are seen as an agreement marker, the speakers mostly indicate their agreements without any pause as Greatbatch points that "…agreements are normally performed directly and with a minimum of delay…" (in Silveman, 1998: 169) as seen in the above examples of agreement (Figure 27-28).

Greatbatch's assertion is supported by Pomerantz who demonstrates that the agreement turns have minimum of gap between the completion of prior talk and the initiation of the agreement turn while they are stated or performed (in Atkinson and Heritage, 1984: 54). We can present evidence to the assertions of Greatbatch and Pomerantz with the evidence in the STC for Turkish:

Table 6. Agreement frequencies of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* according to the positions

Agreement	***evet***	***hı-hı˙***
Overlapping	**69**	**21**
((_._)) pause before it	38	12
No pause before it	58	11
• pause less than 1 second before it	4	1
◡ it comes immediately after an utterance	5	1
Total	**174**	**46**

Table (6) shows us the agreement function of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* has the high frequency in particular positions in the utterances. According to Goodwin and Heritage (1990: 296) agreements are not delayed and they are usually performed intensely and immediately. In accordance with them, our data shows that especially with overlapping position in which *evet* and *hı-hı˙* occur it has the highest frequency. Besides, the second highest frequency also demonstrates if the function of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* is to show agreement, there is immediacy between the turns. In this case, it can be said that the next speaker does not have to wait for the first speaker's completion of utterance in order to express his/her agreement. Table (6) also gives us information about the pauses before them, but the examples from the STC have shown that these pauses are not more than ((0.2)) in line with the minimization of gap.

Figure 32. *evet* as an agreement without any pause

In the above extract (Figure 32), XMA expresses his own opinion that all at once should be taken up in the first pair part, and MUS shows his acceptance of XMA's elaboration by saying *evet* without any pause and gives support with *haklısın* ('you are right') in the second pair part. Additionally, the hearer MUS does not show any intention to express a new proposition, the only thing he does is to reflect his opinion to maintain the flow of talk. From this corpus evidence, Pomerantz and Greatbatch are supported again

that the next speaker shows his agreement by saying *evet* without pause before it and it has the high frequency in the STC. In the light of these examples, we can state that information on pauses (which can be called as suprasegmental unit) is especially important for analyzing the pragmatic functions of these interactional markers.

In conversation, speakers are usually in need of agreement, so they explicitly search for some indications of mutual agreement. Thus, the hearer provides feedback by using interactional markers or backchannels as expressions of interest. As we have said before, in some contexts *evet* and *hı-hı˙* show explicit and certain agreement; however, we can classify these agreement markers according to their degrees with the help of their collocations in their contexts. Our data show that when *evet* collocates with *kesinlikle* 'absolutely', *tabi* 'sure', *belki (de)* 'perhaps', and *olabilir* 'maybe', it can be graded on a scale of agreement having degrees from stressed to zero-degree:

Table 7. Degrees of Agreement

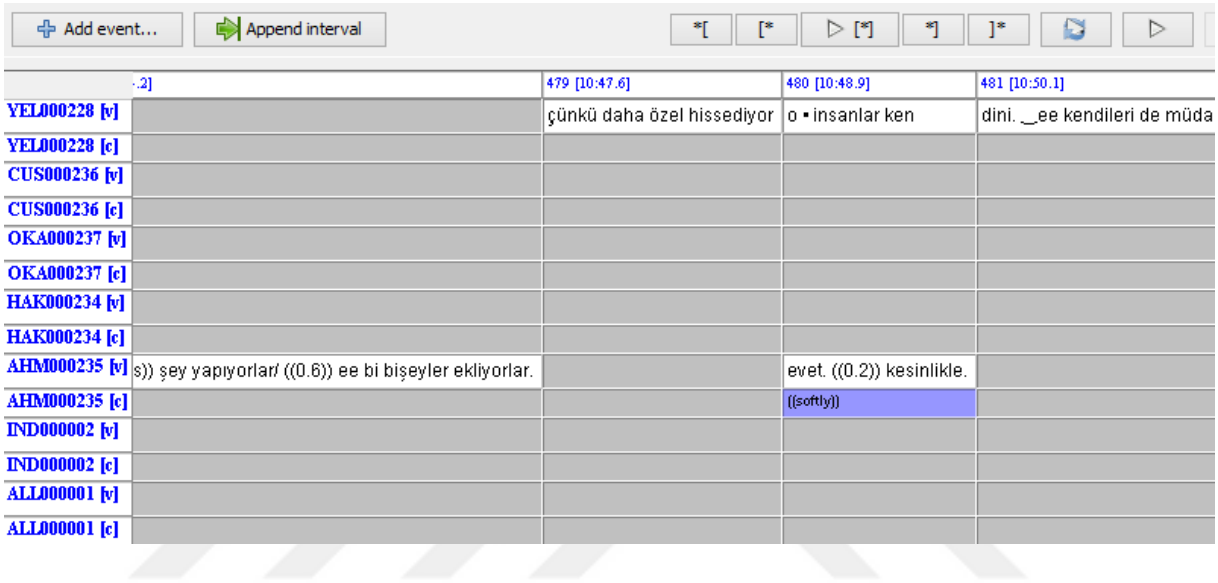
Degrees of Agreement	**Agreement Markers**
Zero-Degree	evet / hı-hı˙
Stressed	kesinlikle evet evet kesinlikle evet evet. tabi evet.
Unstressed	olabilir evet belki (de) evet

The conspicuous point here is that *hı-hı˙* that the counterpart of it *mm hm* is taken up as a brief agreement and semantically less empty object by Gardner (1998: 204-

224) does not represent anything about the degree of agreement, it is just encountered in the contexts in which it shows no degree of agreement.

In the below extract, there is a mutual agreement between YEL and AHM. But, we need to go to the context to examine on what they agree on more deeply.

Figure 33. *evet kesinlikle* as a stressed agreement



In the context of this extract, the shopkeeper AHM introduces his products especially the ornaments. He says that people usually prefer ornaments that they add something from themselves because it makes them feel more special. And that is the point YEL indicates her own stance clearly; she supports for what he is saying in an active way by using this two-word cluster *evet kesinlikle* as seen in Figure (34):

Figure 34. Context of *evet kesinlikle* from STC

YEL000228 [v]	hmm˙
YEL000228 [c]	fall-rise)), ((softly))
AHM000235 [v]	buna dönüştü yani. • burda bi sürü • takı

AHM000235 [v]	var. • ee yapılmış hazır. ama insanlar alıştığı ((0.3)) kendi

AHM000235 [v]	zevkinden de bi tane/ bi parça koymak için ((inhales)) şey

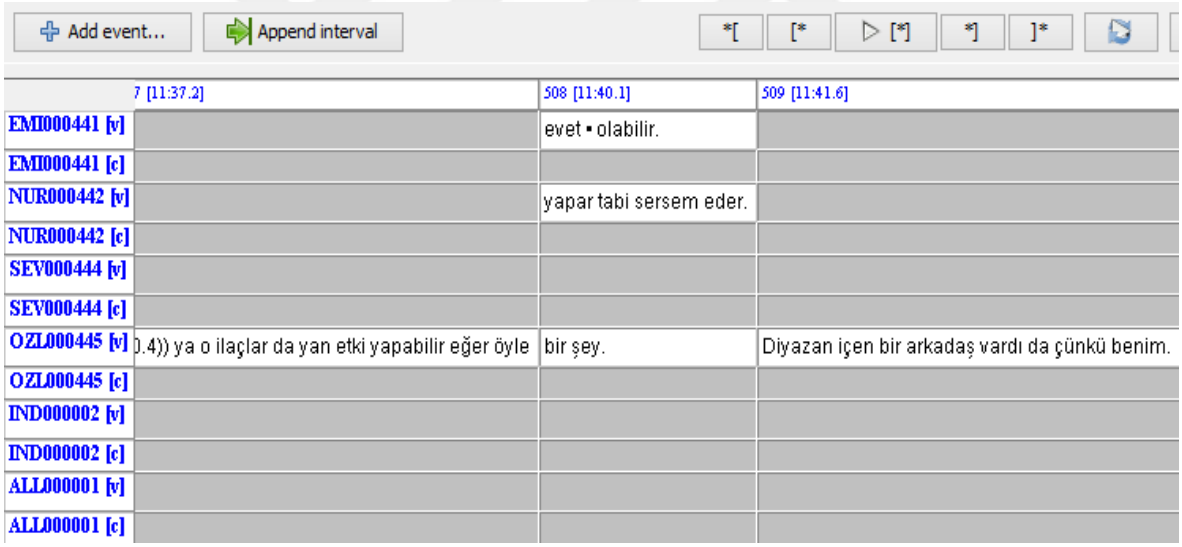
YEL000228 [v]	çünkü daha özel
AHM000235 [v]	yapıyorlar/ ((0.6)) ee bi bişeyler ekliyorlar.

YEL000228 [v]	hissediyor o • insanlar ken	dini. ‿ee kendileri de
AHM000235 [v]	evet. ((0.2)) kesinlikle.	
AHM000235 [c]	((softly))	

YEL000228 [v]	müdahale ettiklerinde ve kendileri ((inhales)) ee bunu	
AHM000235 [v]	bi de şey var.	di
AHM000235 [c]		dee mi

Nevertheless, in Figure (35), EM uses *evet* with *olabilir* to signal partial agreement with the opinion of OZL and after this statement of OZL's agreement, it allows EM to move to a side sequence in order to contribute to this topic by showing her agreement although she is not informed of this medicine and its results.

Figure 35. *evet olabilir* as a partial agreement



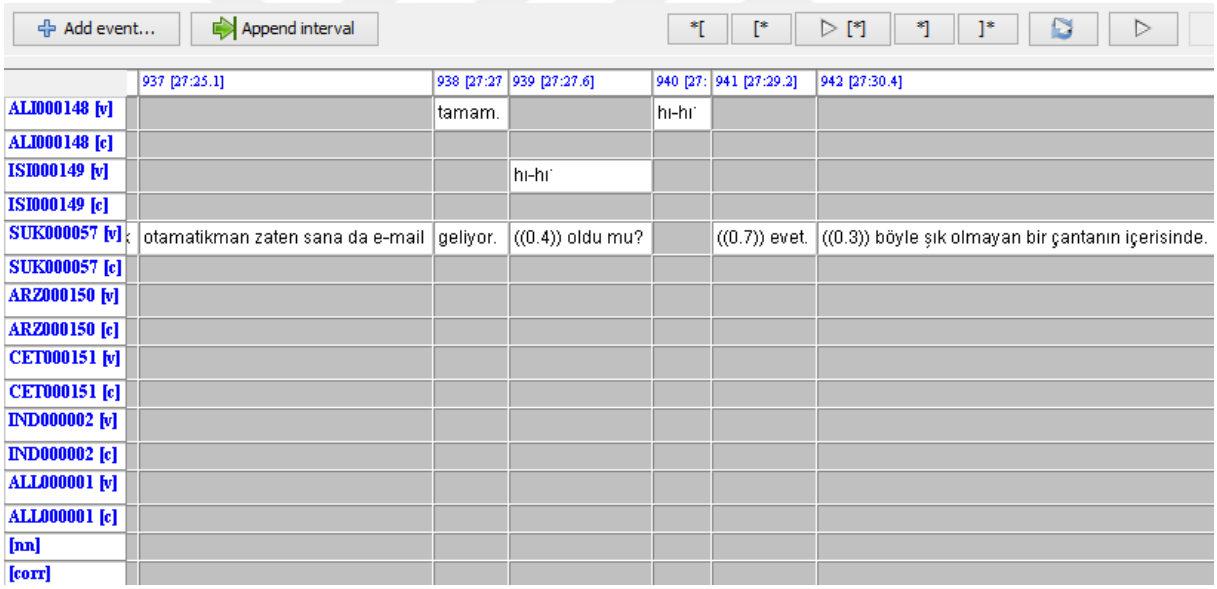
A notable point here may be that while the function of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* is agreement, occasionally dual or triple response tokens occur to show friendly support which is essential for maintaining the social relations. Although the clusters of *hm˙ evet* and *hmm˙ evet* are not seen too much (so we have not added them into the table), the contexts in which they occur give us some specific information about their functions.

While they have the function of approval mostly, they can also be seen as the agreement marker.

III. 1. 5 Divergence Function

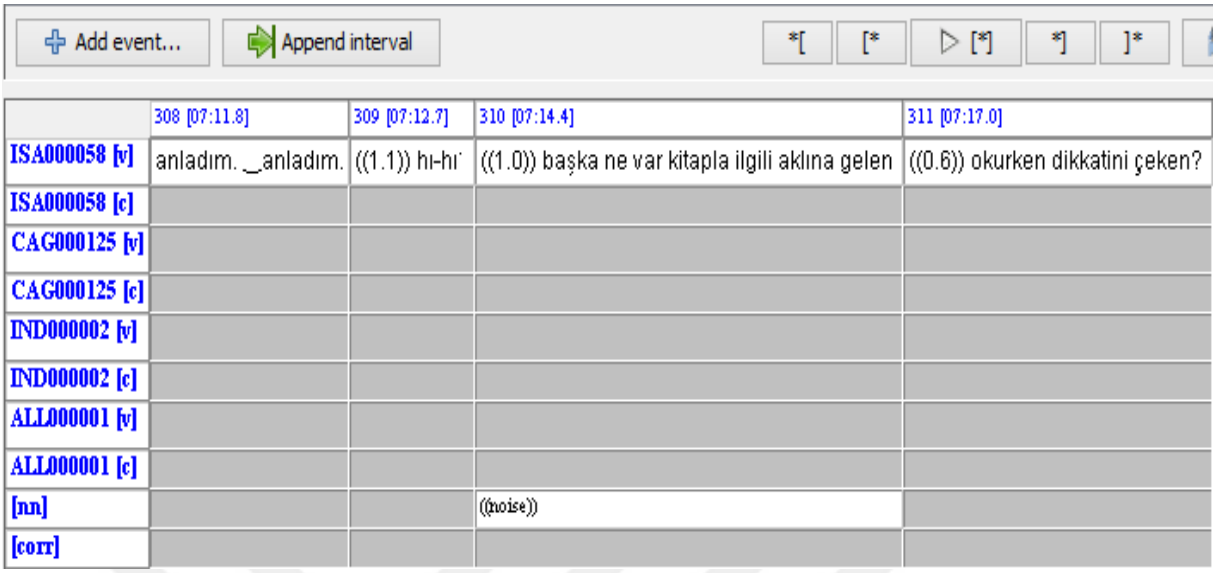
On a side note, there can be some situations in which listeners point to a change of topic or to the closing segment of discourse. We have used *divergence* for this case and examined some instances though it is not as frequent as the other functions. In Figure (36), after SUK, ALI, and ISI talk about their project, SUK begins her utterance with *evet* after a long pause. We have said it has a divergence function as she starts with another topic, but we can also say that it is a topic initiator as well.

Figure 36. *evet* as a divergence after a long pause



The extract in Figure (37) is a little bit different from the Figure (36) because in the below extract we cannot see the topic initiator function of *hı-hı*˙; instead, we observe that ISA tries to close the topic. Before asking CAG to a question, ISA doesn't volunteer for further talk as we understand from the three-word cluster *anladım anladım hı-hı*˙ showing a kind of underestimation.

Figure 37. *hı-hı˙* as a divergence after a long pause



In Figure (36) and (37) and in almost all the instances of divergence or topic initiator functions, a long pause draws our attention (as ((0.7)) and ((1.1)) pauses are seen in the tables) as Hirschberg asserts that beginning new topics are preceded by a longer pauses (in Horn and Ward, 2004: 515-537).

III. 1. 6 Clusters of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*

Building on the lists of clusters which *evet* and *hı-hı˙* occur in, we can identify and compare the forms and functions used in the data sets. If we are to classify them according to their functions, we end up with Table (8):

Table 8. Two-word clusters of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*

	Approval	**Agreement**	**Continuation**	**Question – Respond**
Two-Word Clusters	1. evet. evet. (32) 2. evet. ((_.._)) evet. (6) 3. evet. • evet. (3) 4. evet. ◡ evet. (1) 5. evet. aynen. (2) 6. aa! evet. (2) 7. evet ama … (8) 8. evet. hı-hı˙ (11) 9. hı-hı˙ evet. (16) 10. hı-hı˙ tabi. (2) 11. ha˙/haa˙ evet. (9) 12. evet. doğru. (4) 13. evet. öyle. (11) 14. evet işte. / işte evet. (3) 15. evet ya˙ (1) 16. evet. doğru. (3)	1. evet. evet. (6) 2. evet. ((_.._)) evet. (2) 3. evet. tabi. (3) 4. evet yaa/ya˙ (6) 5.evet. kesinlikle. (1) 6. evet. olabilir. (2) 7. evet belki. / belki evet. (3)	1. evet. evet. (3) 2. evet. ((_.._)) evet. (1) 3. hı-hı˙ evet. (2)	1. evet. evet. (5) 2. evet. • evet. (1) 3. evet. ((_.._)) evet. (1) 4. hı-hı˙ evet. (7) 5. evet ya˙ (1)

Table 9. Three-word clusters of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*

	Approval	**Agreement**	**Continuation**	**Question – Respond**
Three-Word Clusters	1. evet. evet. evet. (3) 2. evet. • evet. • evet. (1) 3. evet. aynen öyle. (1) 4. evet. evet. hı-hı˙ (1)	1. evet. bence de. (4)		

Table 10. Four-word clusters of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*

	Approval	**Agreement**	**Continuation**	**Question – Respond**
Four-Word Clusters	1. evet. evet. evet. evet. (1) 2. aynen öyle oluyor. evet. (1)			

A noticeable point in these tables is that divergence is only seen as one-response token. As we have emphasized before, the pauses may be clue for us to determine *evet* and *hı-hı˙* as having a divergence function.

In addition to this, repetitions of these markers can give us clues about their functions; for instance, if they co-occur with *kesinlikle* ‘absolutely’, *olabilir* ‘maybe’, *belki* ‘perhaps’, we can define *evet* and *hı-hı˙* as an agreement marker, or if they co-occur with *bence de* ‘I think so’ which is a opinion-based word, we can say that they show agreement again.

Besides, through the repetition of the same marker, confirmation or validation can be construed so one can infer that there is a common ground between the speaker and the listener as you can see in Figure (38):

Figure 38. Repetition of *evet* as an approval

In the above extract, BUG confirms EMI in an exhaustive way to express they have shared knowledge about the topic. Repetition of markers is also significant for social relations as Tannen (1989) claims "repetition is a resource by which conversationalists together create a discourse, a relationship, and a world. It is the central linguistic meaning-making strategy, a limitless resource for individual creativity and interpersonal involvement" (as cited in McCarthy and Carter, 1994: 144).

III. 2 Analysis on the basis of Domains

From the sociolinguistic perspective, we can see the effects of social factors on the language use of various speaker groups within the specific speech communities. To a large extent sociolinguistic studies focus on the differences of language use on the basis of age, gender, social class, and ethnicity. But, because conversation is a process of social interaction, we need to analyze these markers both qualitatively and quantitatively according to their distributions and usages by taking the interactional domains in which

they are seen into consideration. Therefore, to a much lesser extent domain-specific variation has been approached from the point of view of pragmatic features including the functions of these interactional markers according to their syntactic positions in utterance.

None the less, we have examined all the domains (classified as conversations among family, workplace, education, broadcast, research, brief encounter, service encounter by STC) in which *evet* and *hı-hı˙* are seen, we have realized that occurrences of them in some different contexts do not change according to their function, but they are mostly affected by the duration of the records. For example, Table (11) and (12) indicate that although approval *evet* is overused in the context of conversations among family members or friends and continuation *hı-hı˙* is used more frequently than the others in education, there are some records whose contexts are one of them and in which we have not seen any interactional markers because the duration is too short to perform an interaction.

By examining the high-frequency listener response tokens, we have seen that *evet* and *hı-hı˙* have some social functions which fulfill transactional needs. On the basis of domains of conversations, quantitative results show us that they have different functions while constructing and consolidating social relations. In other words, speakers use them as strategic mechanisms for creating the turn, taking the turn, or yielding the turn.

In terms of domain specific analysis, there are lots of continuation examples. They are mostly seen in the contexts in which first speaker asks some questions and while the next speaker is giving his/her answers, the first speaker uses *evet* and *hı-hı˙* in order to make him/her continue to his/her utterance.

Table 11. Raw frequencies of *evet* according to the domains

Evet						
Domains	**Approval**	**Agreement**	**Continuation**	**Question-Respond**	**Divergence**	***Total***
Brief Encounters	19	3	**39**	7	1	**60**
Service Encounters	**73**	8	19	30	3	**127**
Education	**129**	39	64	18	5	**247**
Conversations among family / friends	**205**	73	96	64	1	**440**
Workplace	21	**25**	12	6	-	**61**
Research	9	6	**15**	4	1	**35**
Broadcast	**96**	19	51	14	7	**190**
Total						**1161**

When we look at Table (11) and (12), we only see the raw frequencies of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* by just examining the lines and counting the instances. According to the raw frequency results, *evet* is overused in the context of conversations among family or friends, and in this context they are more frequently used as an approval when they are compared

to the other functions in the same context. This tells us something about maintaining the social relations as we have said before. For example, there is no need for people to maintain the social relations in the contexts of brief encounters like doing shopping in a store or an institutional encounter which requires mostly question-respond exchanges.

Table 12. Raw frequencies of *hı-hı˙* according to their domains

hı-hı˙						
Domains	**Approval**	**Agreement**	**Continuation**	**Question-Respond**	**Divergence**	***Total***
Brief Encounters	23	1	**32**	3	-	**59**
Service Encounters	**32**	8	29	15	1	**85**
Education	97	9	**176**	4	-	**286**
Conversations among family / friends	**109**	18	89	38	2	**256**
Workplace	**20**	7	8	4	1	**40**
Research	8	1	**46**	1		**56**
Broadcast	6	2	**61**	-	2	**71**
Total						**853**

Similar to *evet*, *hı-hı˙* also occurs most frequently in the context of comversations among families or friends with the approval function. However, this raw frequency analysis may not be reliable as domains are not equally represented in the STC. For example, sub-corpus for brief encounters contains 2748 words while sub-corpus for service encounters 16426 words. Thus, it is necessary to normalize all raw frequency counts to a rate of occurrence per 1 million words in order to compensate for these differences. For the calculation of the normed rate for occurrence for *evet* and *hı-hı˙* in the STC, we use the following formula (Biber, 2006: 35; Hoffman, Evert, Smith, Lee & Prytz, 2008: 69-76):

frequency pmw = number of instances / number of words x 1.000.000

After having calculated all the occurrences of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* according to the normalization formula, we get the results as seen in the Table (13):

Table 13. Normalized rates of occurrence for *evet* and *hı-hı˙*

	Evet		***hı-hı˙***	
Sub-corpora	**raw freq.**	**pmw**	**raw freq.**	**pmw**
Brief encounters	**60** ÷ 2748 x 1000000	21,834	**59** ÷ 2748 x 1000000	21,470
Service encounters	**127** ÷ 16426 x 1000000	7,731	**85** ÷ 16426 x 1000000	5,174
Education	**247** ÷ 32807 x 1000000	7,528	**286** ÷ 32807 x 1000000	8,717
Conversations among families/friends	**440** ÷ 66468 x 1000000	6,619	**256** ÷ 66468 x 1000000	3,851
Workplace	**61** ÷ 12251 x 1000000	4,979	**40** ÷ 12251 x 1000000	3,265
Research	**35** ÷ 4267 x 1000000	8,202	**56** ÷ 4267 x 1000000	13,123
Broadcast	**190** ÷ 17261 x 1000000	11	**71** ÷ 17261 x 1000000	4,113

In this kind of comparison, there are notable discrepancies between the raw frequencies of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* and the normalized rate of occurrences of these markers.

This pmw table is particularly interesting that it shows a highly significant change. Firstly, it represents that there is a uniform direction of change; that is to say, in all sub-corpora there is a decline of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*. The second point is that the rate of these markers differs significantly as seen in the domain of conversations among families or friends.

Contrary to the results of raw frequency, pmw frequency demonstrates that *evet* (with 21,834 rate) and *hı-hı˙* (with 21,470 rate) are encountered mostly in brief encounters between strangers. Looking at the metainformation in the STC, these brief encounters include the physical places such as shops, bazaars, and streets, and the relation is always between the interlocutors who do not know each other.

Figure 39. *hı-hı˙* as a continuer in a brief encounter

In Figure (39), BET and YES are the friends who do not know the other people. They go to a shop to look at some goods indigeneous to Kastamonu. ADE who is a shopkeeper helps them to learn more about their city, their goods, and their shops. Figure (39) shows us how we coincide with the continuation function in the brief encounters. As we have said before, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* have the highest frequency in brief encounters when

compared to the other domains. In addition to this, there is not such a significant difference between the use of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* in this specific domain. As a consequence, it can be inferred that *evet* and *hı-hı˙* have no differences on the basis of their domains, and it is not significant for the use of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* whether the interlocutors know each other or not.

For the approval function which is overused in the context of conversations among families or friends, we can look at Figure (40). BUG and EMI are talking about one of their friends, and BUG seeks for confirmation whether EMI knows him or not. *evet* which is used by EMI to BUG's asking "Aytaç var ya bizim?" is a requested information that is contextually represented as already activated within informational background shared by the two speakers.

Figure 40. Approval *evet* in the context of conversations among family/friends

BUG000127 [v]	((XXX)) o da elektrik elektronikte.
EMI000128 [v]	onun bölümü ne? ((0.8)) hmm˙
BUG000127 [v]	aynı bizim dönemden girmiş o da Aytaç'ın işte sınıf
BUG000127 [v]	arkadaşı. Aytaç var ya bizim? ((2.4)) onun sınıf
EMI000128 [v]	evet.
BUG000127 [v]	arkadaşı işte. ((1.1)) ne o hatta ben anlattım işte böyle böyle
BUG000127 [v]	(hatta) Aytaç'tan da falan filan diye işte (eşim) o ya. ((0.3))

As for the Table (13), understanding contextual influences in the interaction makes these numbers meaningful. There is no such a huge difference between *evet* and *hı-hı˙* in the education domain which includes conversations between teacher and student, between colleagues, between service provider and his/her interlocutor, and also between family members whose topic is related to education.

If we are to examine a small talk on a turn-by-turn basis as in Figure (41):

Figure 41. Continuer *hı-hı˙* in the context of education (lecture in the social sciences)

SUK000121 [v]	konuştuk zaten. ((0.3)) hani bir metin türünün özelliklerinin

SUK000121 [v]	ne olduğunu bilirsem ben ((0.4)) dedik. ((0.5)) ee
ESI000119 [v]	evet.

SUK000121 [v]	önce o metin türünün özellikleri … mesela ben burada

SUK000121 [v]	de mesela ee röportaj • için ön bir ((0.5)) ee
ESI000119 [v]	((coughs))˙
BAS000124 [v]	hı- hı˙

SUK000121 [v]	kuramsal bilgi yapabilirsin röportajla ilgili. ((0.1)) sonra
ESI000119 [v]	hı-hı˙

SUK000121 [v]	senin röportajında ((0.1)) neler var senin işte •
ESI000119 [v]	hı-hı˙

SUK000121 [v]	eleştirinde neler var • onları çıkartırsın. ((0.6)) ee ((0.5))
ESI000119 [v]	hı-hı˙
ESI000119 [c]	((softly))

We can determine one *evet* and four *hı-hı˙*s having the same function that is continuation. They serve the same purpose here; the listener ESI uses these markers particularly the backchannel *hı-hı˙* to maintain the flow of talk; in other words, to keep the conversation going by inviting SUK for further utterances. And what is more, ESI signals engagement and attention to the explanations of SUK with *hı-hı˙* by using it almost anywhere while SUK is talking.

As for the last point that should be noted here is that there are a few domains in which *evet* and *hı-hı˙* do not occur. But it does not have any importance on the results because there are various domains such as service encounters, broadcast, conversation among family/friend in which *evet* and *hı-hı˙* do not occur. But the general feature of these files is their duration that they are less than two minutes.

III. 3 Analysis on the basis of Intonation

Our interactional markers *evet* and *hı-hı˙* and their intonations share a general common function of supplying coherence for spoken interaction, so by examining the intonational contours of these markers we can show that some subtle and disambiguating layers of meaning can be differentiated. Yang focuses on cognitive and discourse phenomena of "uncertainty and certainty, intensity of emotional response, and interactive signals of knowledge state" which are reflected by the prosody of discourse markers. She claims that linguistic structure and the discourse context work together and prosody provides listener with correct understandings of their role in discourse (in Fischer, 2006: 274).

In this study, it has been found that intonation contour is carried by *evet* and *hı-hı˙* and the terminal pitch is an important variable while determining the nature of these interactional markers. We have analyzed these intonational contours through the STC, but there are some limitations that should be specified before moving on the analysis here.

As the prosodic information is not annotated in detail except pauses in the STC, we apply to Praat. This free scientific computer software was designed by Boersma and Weenink in 1995, but we have used the latest version (2014). While studying with such a device for measuring intonational contours, the important point is that we have a limitation on deciding how we can choose occurrences of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* to reach the more reliable result. For this reason, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* which occur in the overlapping positions and the ones that have background noises such as clatter of tableware, TV noise, voices in the background, phone ringing, noise of traffic, etc. are not included in this intonation analysis because the results of these measurements will have been affected by the other sounds. We have examined intonational contours of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* according to their functions by

interpreting falls and rises, and in some cases they are seen in all the functions of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*; however, we have chosen the most representative ones for examination.

In Turkish, as Demircan (2000: 17) claims, stress is a prosodic feature that pertains to the syllable. As in all intonation languages, stress is a feature which distinguish meaning in terms of functions. Therefore, he states that there is no specificied stress or intonation in Turkish, and they change according to the speaker's intention.

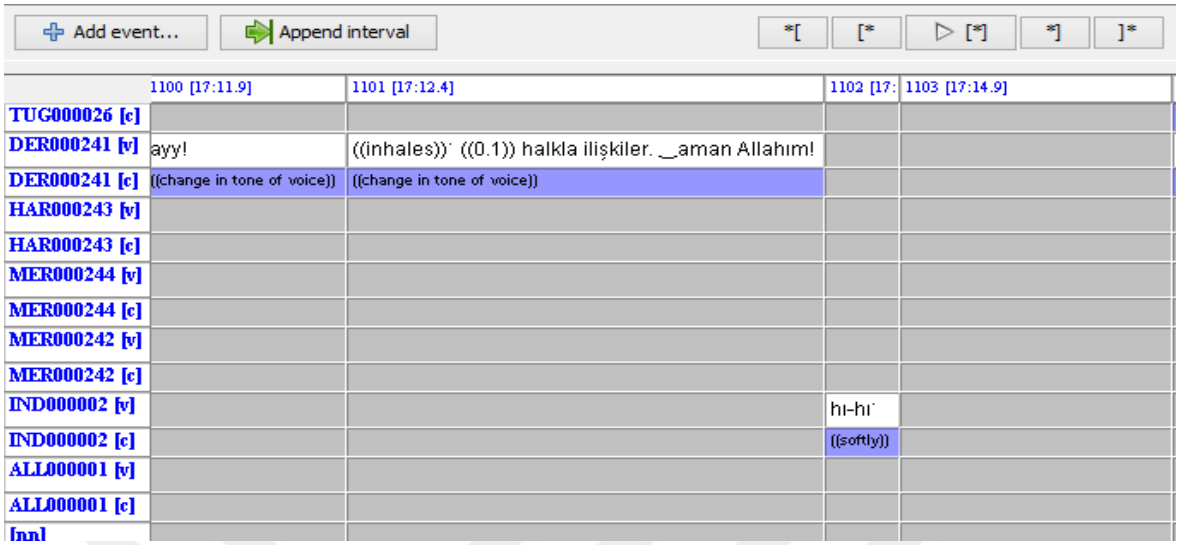
Most studies on intonation are based on the observations and the interpretations of the phoneticians and linguists. According to Demircan, because intonational changes are related to the pitchs, it does not have to be examined with any devices or tools. However, he also points out that intonation or stress measuring devices can be used for unsolvable acoustic signals (2000: 166).

Turkish grammar books do not include the Turkish intonation system as their examples are the traditional grammatical constructions taken from the written texts. On the contrary, spoken texts are crucial for this type of studies since the data is supplied through the spoken language. In our data analysis in terms of the change in the intonation of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*, we describe our observations with the results taken from both the STC and Praat.

III. 3. 1 Intonation Feature of Approval *hı-hı˙*

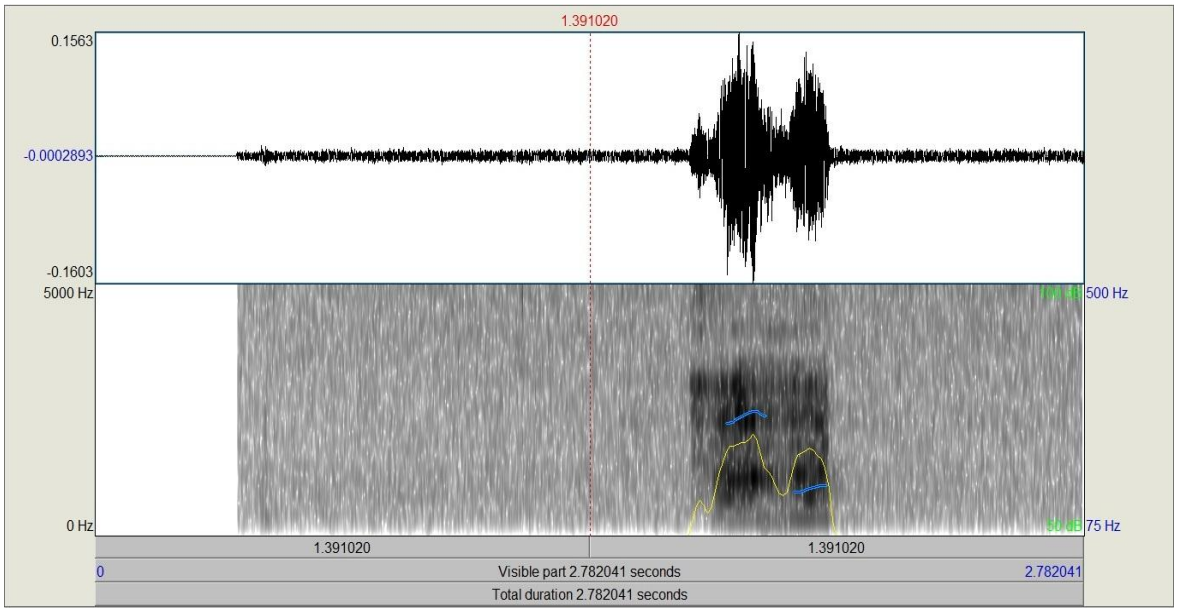
To begin with the approval function of *hı-hı˙*, its intonation pattern differs from the rest of other functions as well as they have similar intonational features. An analysis is provided in terms of all the positions in which it occurs except the overlapping position. In Figure (42), DER expresses her surprise by interjection "*aman Allahım!*". As we have said before, interjections trigger the approval function that IND expresses her alignment with *hı-hı˙*:

Figure 42. *hı-hı˙* as an approval in STC



In connection to the function, intonation has a role in expressing stance and structuring information. As we see in Figure (43), when *hı-hı˙* has the approval function, intonation rises on both of the syllables, but the first syllable is the most stressed as the pitch shows:

Figure 43. *hı-hı˙* as an approval in Praat



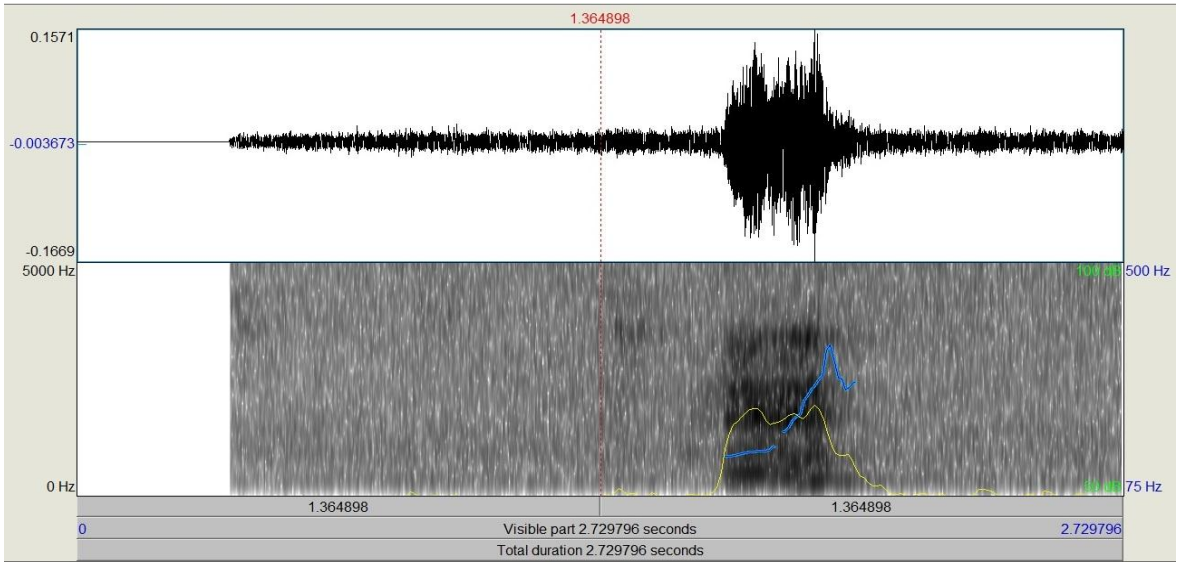
Intonation has the most crucial effect on modifying what we verbally or non-verbally express. For example, with the intonational mediation of *hı-hı˙*, one can expresses

her/himself in an ironic or satiric way by intending something different from the literal meaning**.**

Figure 44. *hı-hı˙* used as the approval function in an ironic way (evidence from the STC)

In the above extract (Figure 44), GAM insists that OZG should eat more because she thinks he needs to gain weight. OZG says *hı-hı˙* here not as an approval but as a disapproval as we can understand from the Praat result. With the evidence from Praat (Figure 45), intonation rises on the second syllable while the first syllable is uttered less stressed.

Figure 45. Intonation of *hı-hı˙* used as the approval function in an ironic way (evidence from Praat)



For interpersonal communication, interlocutors organize their intended meaning through the intonation. Figure (45) shows how OZG uses intonation to express his disapproval by an approval marker.

III. 3. 2 Intonation Feature of Approval *evet*

evet as having approval function again occurs after OZG's utterance "*vay!*" (a kind of interjection) in the line of GAM as *evet ya*. She approves that she laid all day long because she completed homework in the previous day.

Figure 46. *evet* as an approval in the STC

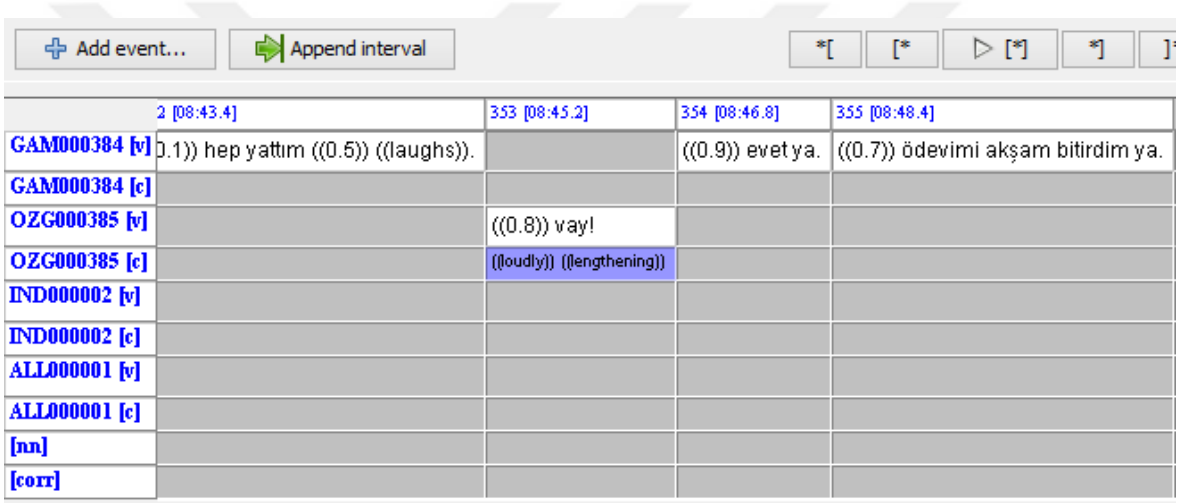
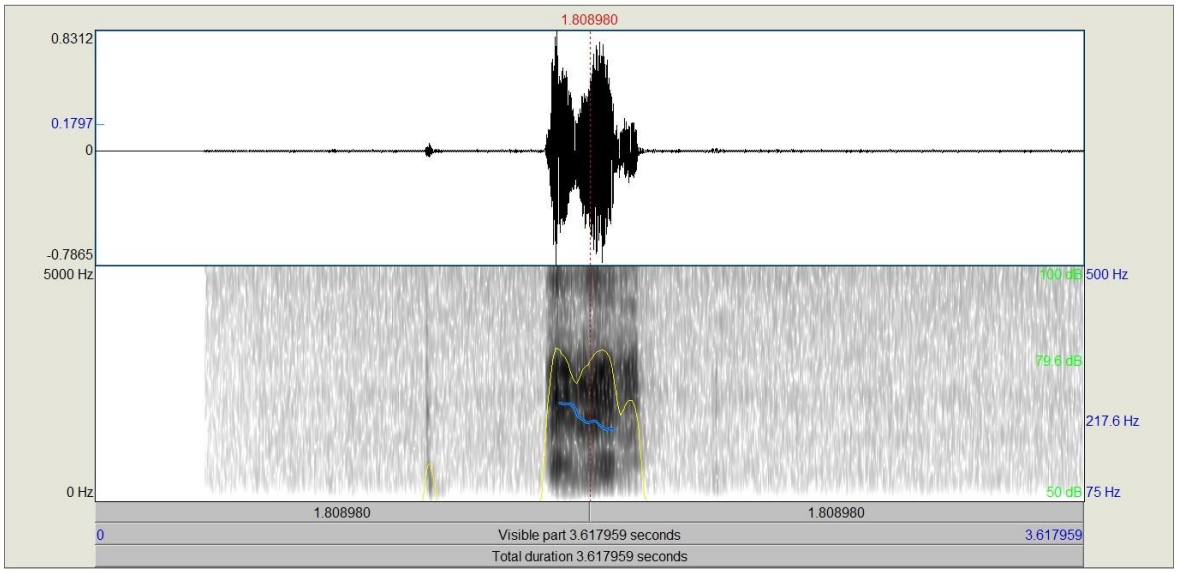


Figure 47. *evet* as an approval in Praat

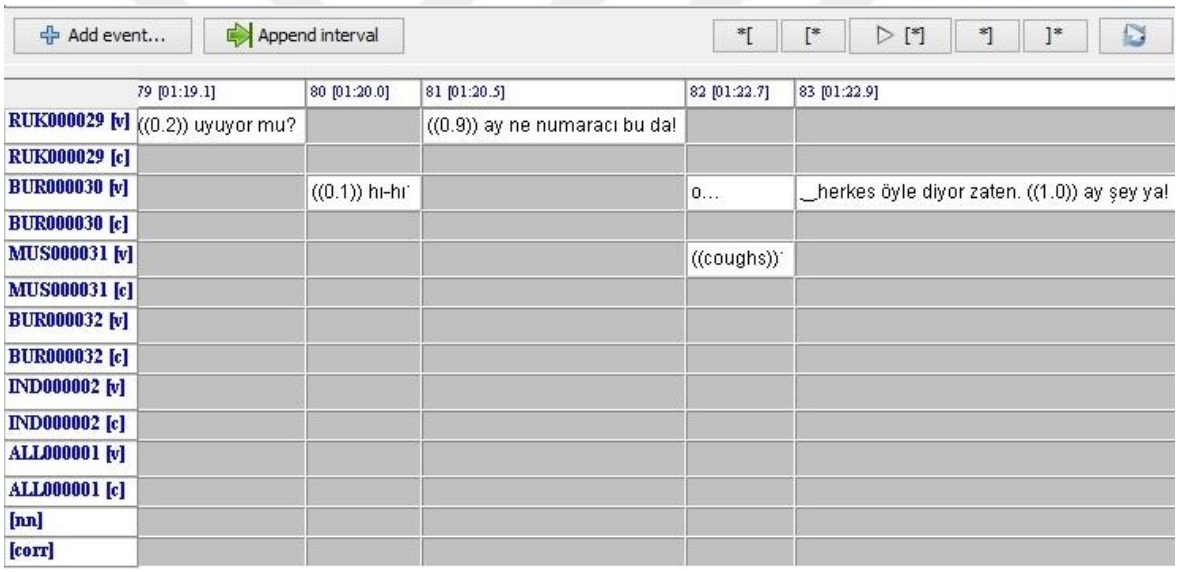


As we cannot understand how the intonation is expressed by just looking at the lines in which they occur, Figure (47) presents that when *evet* has the approval function, the intonation rises on both syllables, but the pitch shows that the first syllable is more stressed than the second syllable.

III. 3. 3 Intonation Feature of *hı-hı˙* as a Respond to a Question

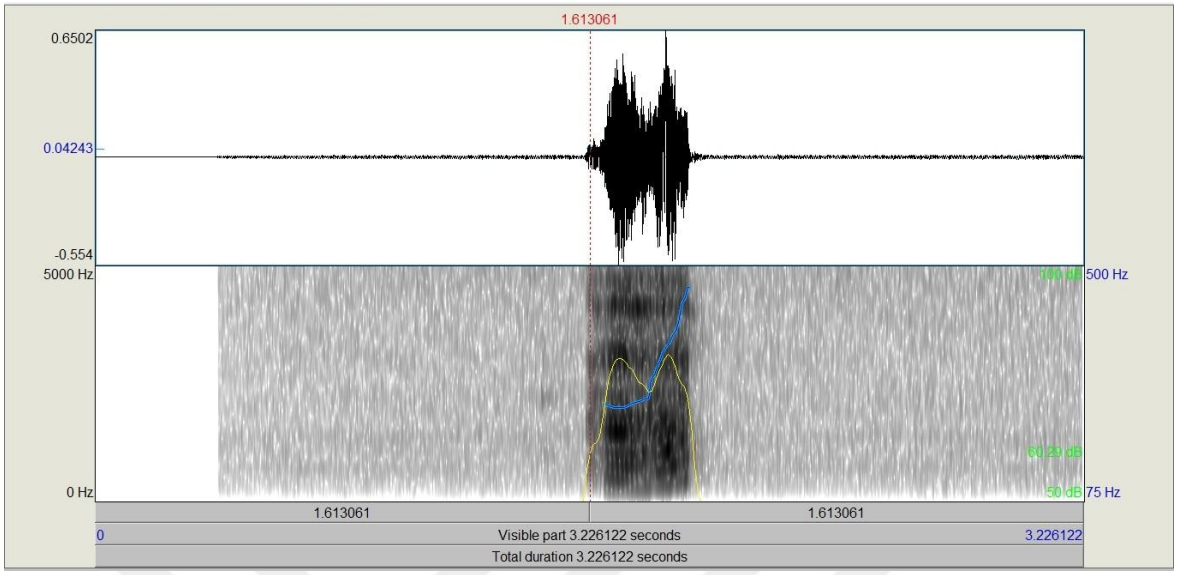
In the context of conversation among family or friends, RUK asks about somebody if s/he sleeps or not, and the new information is given by *hı-hı˙* as a respond by BUR.

Figure 48. *hı-hı˙* as a respond to a question in STC



With reference to the prosodic-intonational result from Praat, new information can be expressed according to the speaker's formulation of intonation. In the question-respond function, intonation rises on both the first and second syllable, but as we see from the pitch (blue line) the second syllable is more stressed.

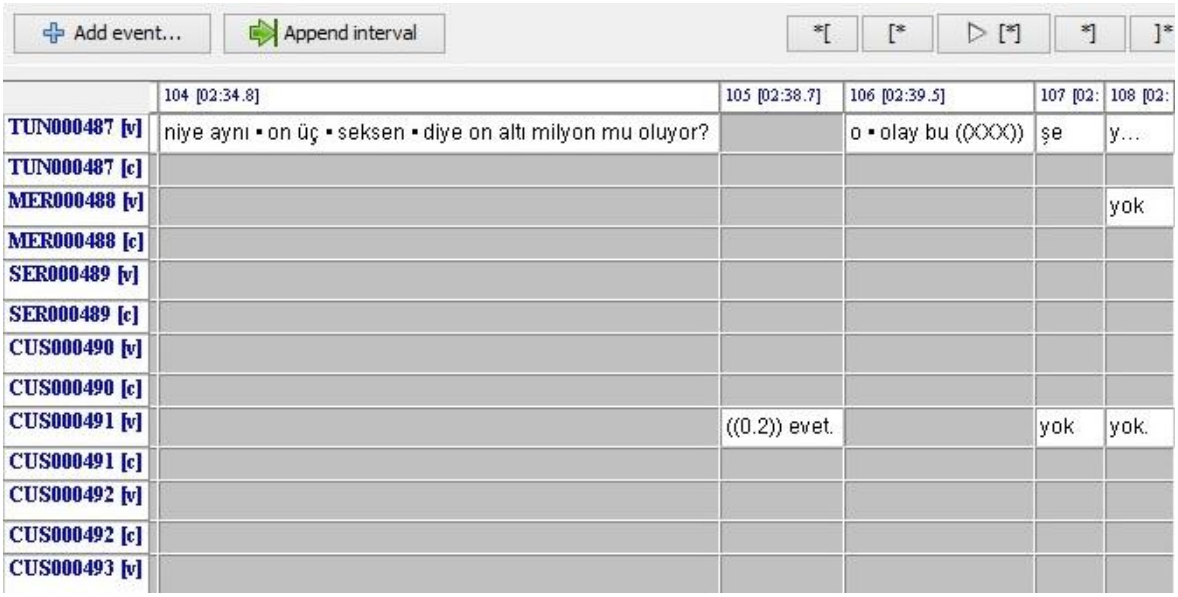
Figure 49. *hı-hı˙* as a respond to a question in Praat



III. 3. 4 Intonation Feature of *evet* as a Respond to a Question

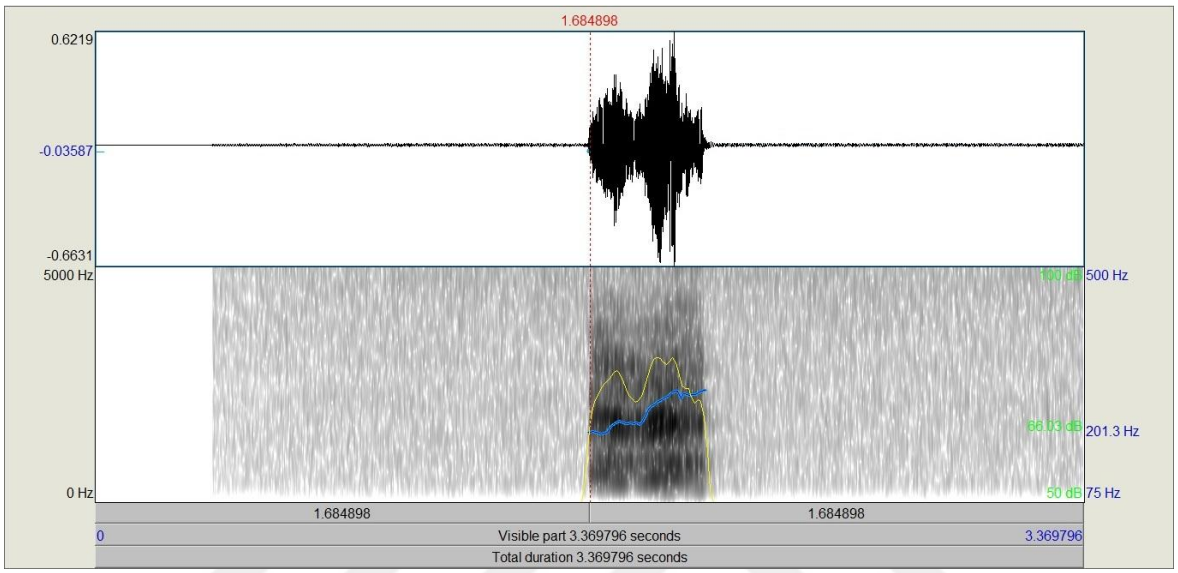
The below extract (Figure 50) in which evet appears as an example to respond to a question includes a conversation between friends. CUS answers TUN's question after ((0.2)) pause. Because there is new information that TUN does not know, CUS utters *evet* with a rising intonation on the second syllable as evidence from the Praat shows in Figure (51).

Figure 50. *evet* as a respond to a question in STC



Intonational feature of *evet* is actually rising on the second syllable, but this rise begins from the first syllable; that is to say, there is no drastic change between the syllables on the basis of pitch.

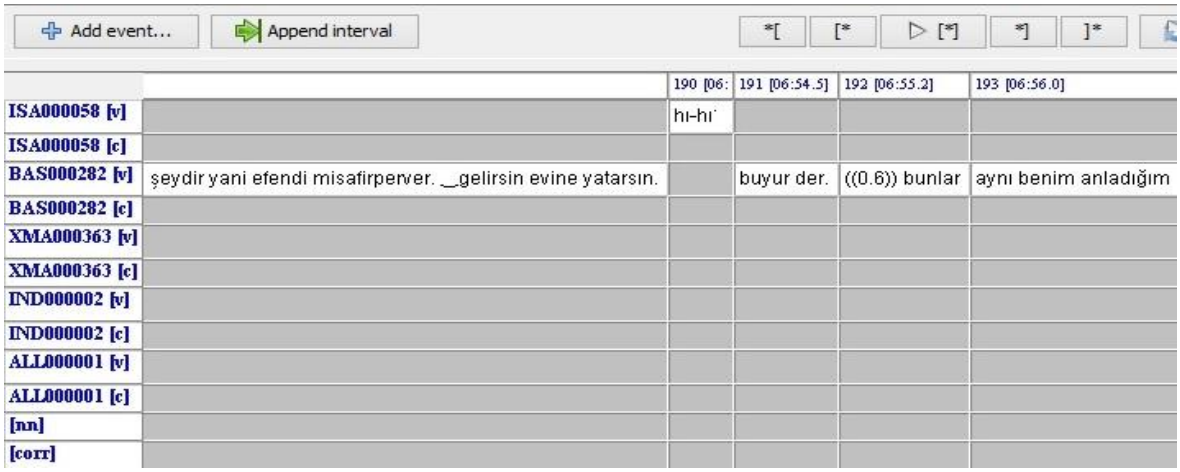
Figure 51. *evet* as a respond to a question in Praat



III. 3. 5 Intonation Feature of Continuer *hı-hı˙*

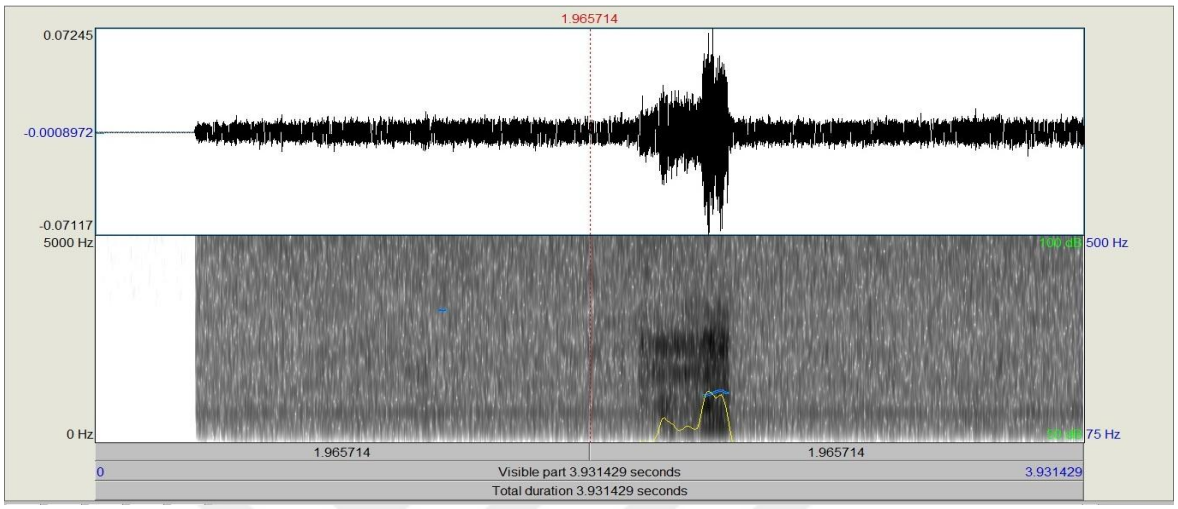
While giving examples or doing list, hearer uses a kind of continuation marker in order to make the speaker continue to his/her talk. In Figure (50), ISA uses *hı-hı˙* as a continuer in order to show his attention to what BAS is saying about his customs.

Figure 52. *hı-hı˙* as a continuer in STC



The Praat result shows if the function of *hı-hı˙* is continuation, intonation is on the second syllable.

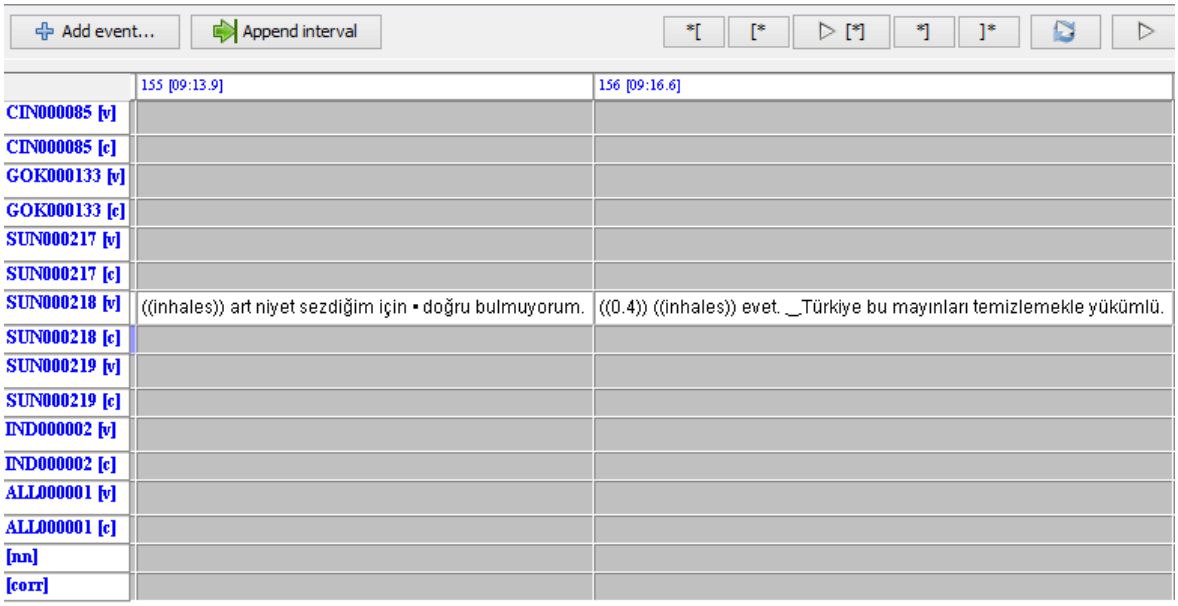
Figure 53. *hı-hı˙* as a continuer in Praat



III. 3. 6 Intonation Feature of Continuer *evet*

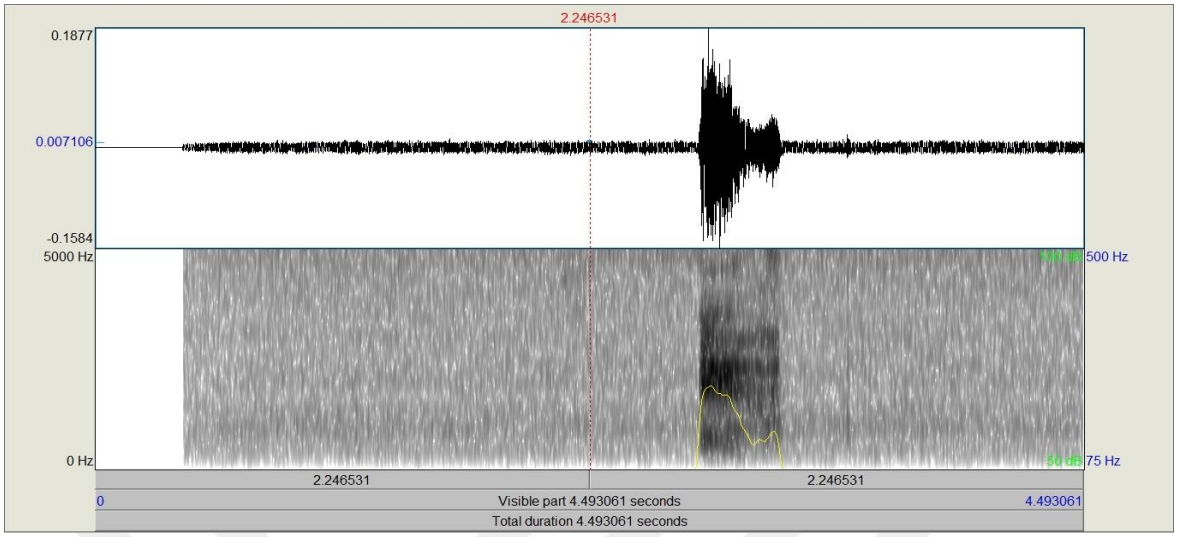
With the continuation function, SUN uses *evet* to continue his own utterance after a pause and inhales.

Figure 54. *evet* as a continuer in STC



evet as a continuation marker is represented in Praat as follows:

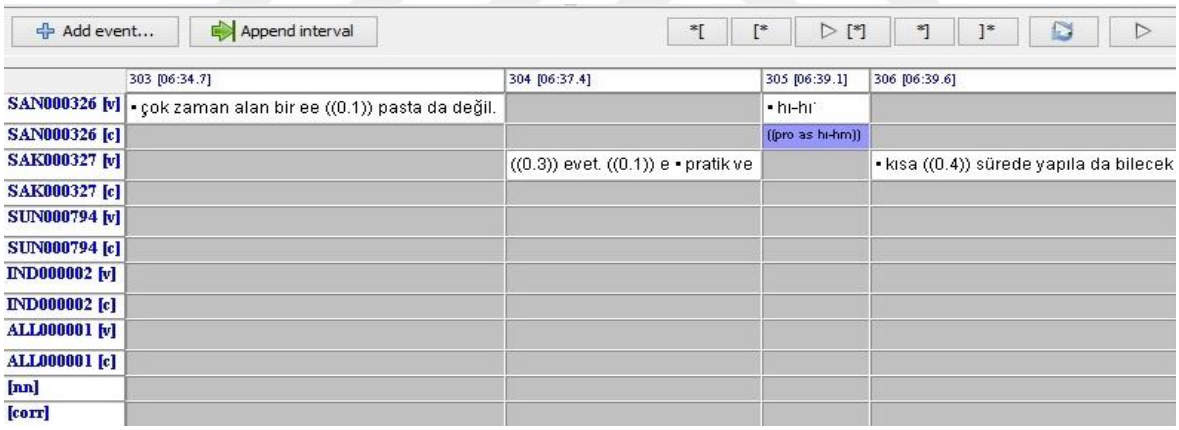
Figure 55. *evet* as a continuer in Praat



Unlike *hı-hı˙*, *evet* is uttered with a rising intonation on the first syllable.

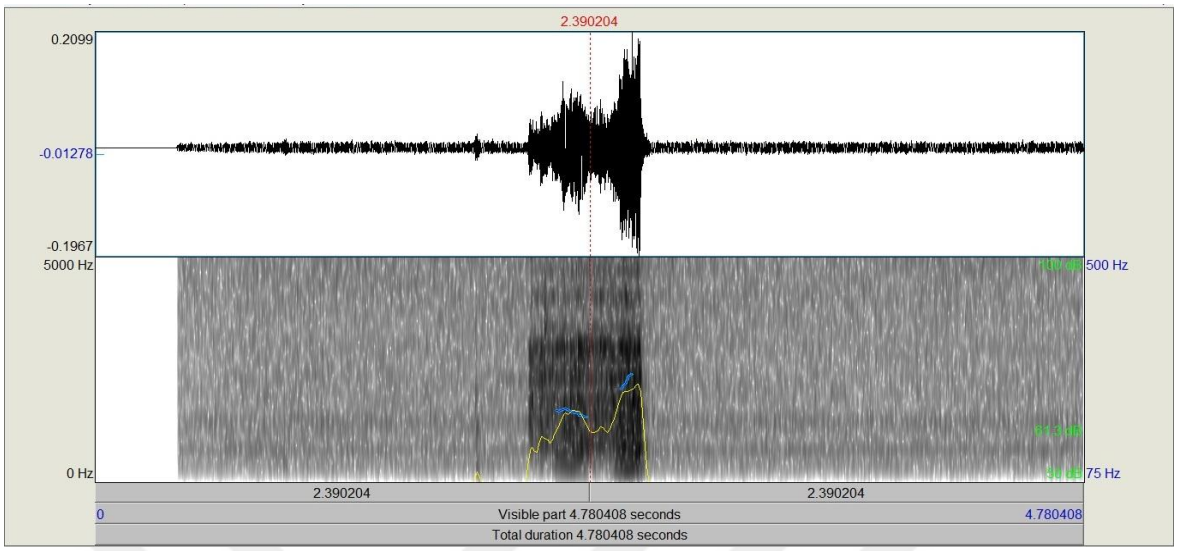
III. 3. 7 Intonation Feature of Agreement *hı-hı˙*

Figure 56. *hı-hı˙* as an agreement marker in STC



By looking at both the intensity and the pitch of *hı-hı˙* as having the function of agreement, it can be stated that there is a rising intonation on the second syllable as seen in Figure (57):

Figure 57. *hı-hı˙* as an agreement marker in Praat



III. 3. 8 Intonation Feature of *evet* as an Agreement Marker

Agreeing with the opinion of HUM "*Yalçın hoca çok komik ya*.", NIL expresses what she thinks by saying "*ay evet ya!*" fast and loudly. In accordance with the information in c-tier, intonation has a big effect on construction of the turns at talk.

Figure 58. *evet* as an agreement marker in STC

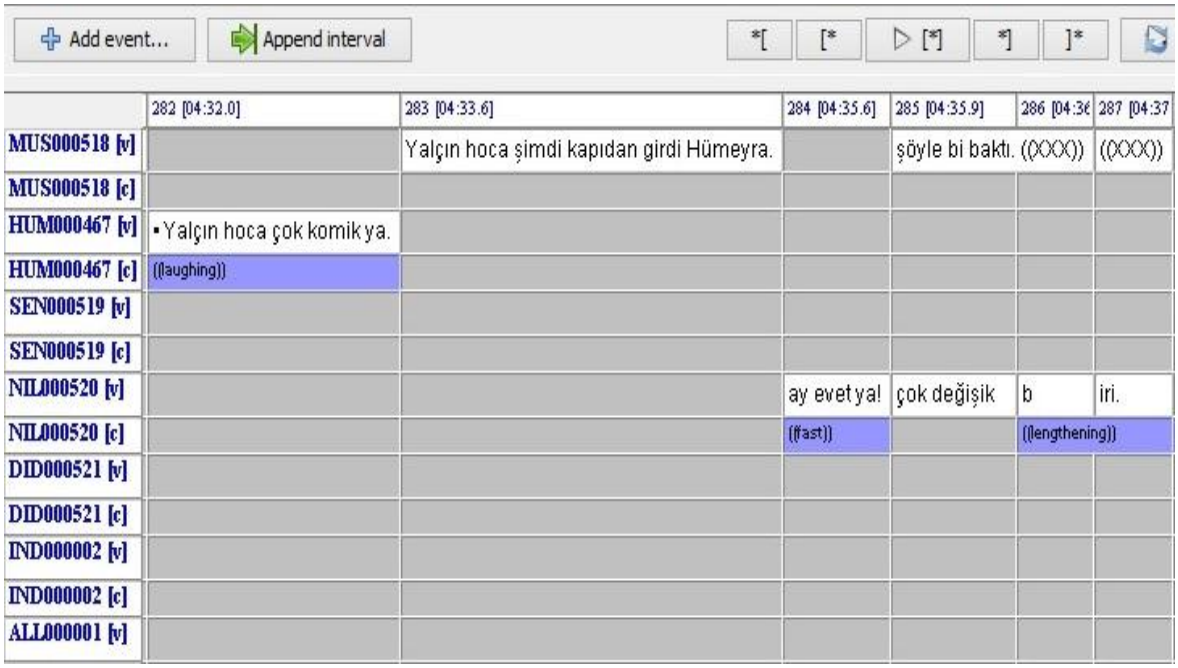
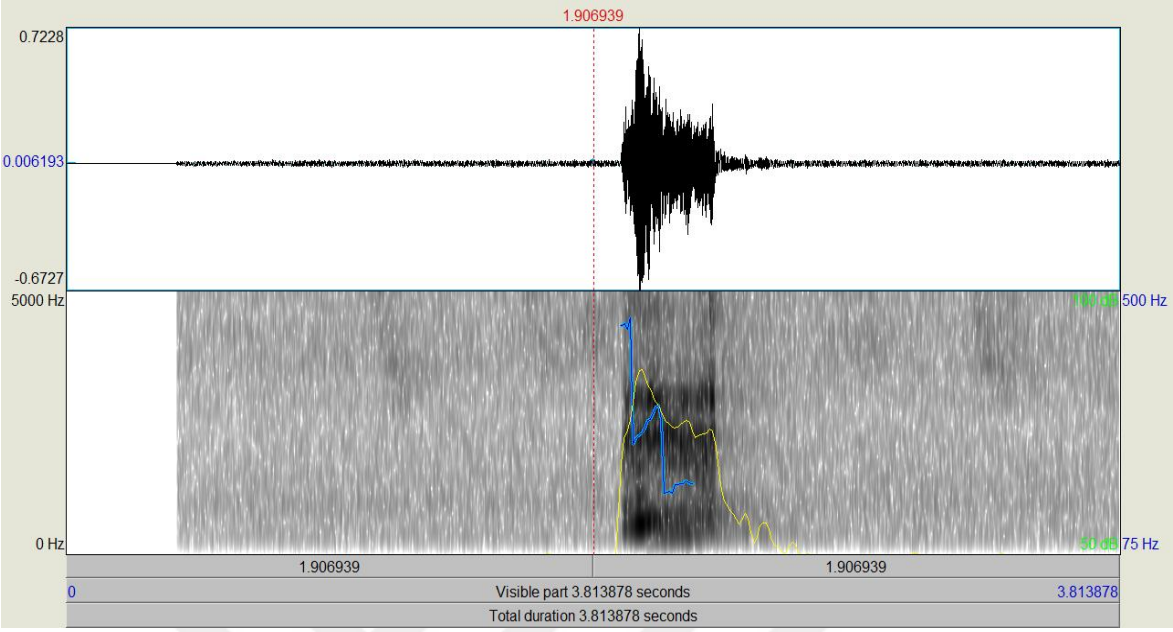


Figure 59. *evet* as an agreement marker in Praat



In the agreement function, interlocutors express their opinions or feelings without long pauses. Like this, the participants in an interaction show their agreement with a high intonation contour as seen in Figure (59).

CONCLUSION

Interactional markers which contribute to the social life make the interaction more effective and stabilize the interaction with different meanings by making the flow of conversation run smoothly. As for Turkish, we examined two interactional markers *evet* and *hı-hı˙* by aiming at identifying functions of them in terms of their positions, domains, and intonations through a corpus-driven research by taking pragmatics more specifically the context into consideration within the scope of conversation analysis.

In this study, we investigated discursive functions of two interactional markers, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* to see whether they change according to their positions and domains by taking their frequencies into consideration with the help of the STC. STC is employed for the placement in the line and the metainformation including domains of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*. As a corpus processing tool, AntConc is also used for all the concordances of the items under examination). Besides, we examined intonational features of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* if they create any difference on the basis of the functions of *evet* and *hı-hı˙*. Their intonational features were measured by Praat which shows both intensity and pitch, but the instances seen in the overlapping position were not included in order to get more reliable results.

Our data, retrieved from the STC, reveals that there is an overreliance on *evet* rather than *hı-hı˙*, and *hı-hı˙* is commonly associated with a backchanneling role. In spoken discourse, it can be said that occurrences of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* have a few differences in terms of their functions. Occurrences of *evet* are found to function primarily in interpersonal and structural categories to approve; however, our quantitative data also shows *evet* is seen with the functions of agreement, continuation, question-respond and divergence. When compared to *evet*, *hı-hı˙* also occurs as having the same functions, but with different

frequencies. Frequency result retrieved from STC changes according to the positions of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* in the interaction. If we are to summarize the frequency result (Table 14), we can reach a general conclusion about how the functions of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* change according to their positions:

Table 14. Differences between *evet* and *hı-hı˙* according to their functions and positions

Evet	***hı-hı˙***
Approval (mostly in overlapping)	Continuation (mostly in overlapping)
Continuation (mostly there is a pause before it)	Approval (mostly in overlapping)
Agreement (mostly in overlapping)	Question-Respond (mostly there is no pause before it)
Question-Respond (mostly there is a pause before it)	Agreement (mostly in overlapping)
Divergence (mostly there is a pause before it)	Divergence (mostly there is no pause before it)

Having the approval function, *evet* generally occurs in overlapping position like *hı-hı˙* which is seen in the overlapping position if its function is approval. With respect to the continuation function, interlocutors usually use *hı-hı˙* as a continuer in the overlapping position again. When the function is divergence, both *evet* and *hı-hı˙* occur less frequently without occurring in overlapping position, but occurring mostly after a pause.

As we have noted before that interactional markers have no syntactically fixed position, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* occur in the turn-initial, turn-medial, and turn-final as well. *evet* as an interpersonal interactional marker appears mostly in turn-initial position, whereas *hı-hı˙* tends to correlate with a turn-medial use to emphasize the attention to the speaker. It is also common for interlocutors using *evet* and *hı-hı˙* without waiting too much to denote emotive engagement or agreement.

Nevertheless, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* vary across domains which is a kind of metainformation. Consisting of brief encounters, service encounters, conversations among families or friends, broadcasts, workplace, education and research, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* differ from each other in terms of their frequency seen in the per million word that we can tabulate as following to summarize briefly:

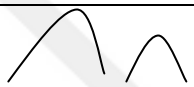
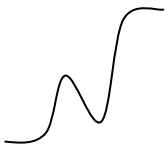
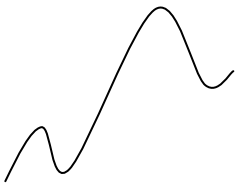
Table 15. Differences between *evet* and *hı-hı˙* according to their domains

evet	***hı-hı˙***
Brief encounters (21,834)	Brief encounters (21,470)
Broadcast (11)	Research (13,123)
Research (8,202)	Education (8,717)
Education (7,528)	Service encounters (5,174)
Service encounters (7,731)	Broadcast (4,113)
Conversation amon family/friends (6,619)	Conversation amon family/friends (3,851)
Workplace (4,979)	Workplace (3,265)

In brief encounters, in which both *evet* and *hı-hı˙* occur most frequently, the interlocutors are strangers, and they are forced into a mutually captive encounter. As well as brief encounters, the same action is hold in the service encounters in which *evet* and *hı-hı˙* is used to deliver service appropriately. Although *evet* and *hı-hı˙* do not show any significant difference on the basis of frequency, it can be noted that in broadcasts the usage of *hı-hı˙* is more restricted.

In respect of their functions, to view intonational features of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* broadly, viewing the Table (16) can be useful:

Table 16. Differences between *evet* and *hı-hı˙* according to their intonation features

	evet	*hı-hı˙*
Approval		
Agreement		
Continuation		
Question-Respond		
Approval – Ironic	-	

According to Table (16), in which intonational features of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* are illustrated on the basis of their pitch patterns, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* have some differences on the basis of their functions. With respect to the approval function, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* have similar intonation that their pitchs rise on the first syllable. However, *evet* is uttered with a rising intonation when its function is agreement on the contrary to *hı-hı˙* whose pitch begins with the falling intonation and rises on the second syllable. Intonational features that go for agreement function of *evet* and *hı-hı˙* are also the same for the continuation function of them. With regard to the question-respond function, *evet* bears a resemblance to *hı-hı˙*. However, the pitch of *hı-hı˙* on second syllable is so high while the pitch of *evet* changes from first syllable to second syllable more gradually. The last point to be emphasized is that the intonation of *hı-hı˙* when it is uttered in an ironic way. The intonation is always on the second syllable and the pitch rises drastically.

All in all, these interactional markers *evet* and *hı-hı˙*, which vary from their domains and functions to their intonational features, is important for interpersonal involvement and the creation of social meanings. Therefore, we can conclude that as the strategic mechanisms for creating transitions, *evet* and *hı-hı˙* are used by interlocutors to construct and consolidate social relations.

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