



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of Linguistics

**INDEXING SOCIAL MEANING: SOCIOPHONETIC VARIABLES AND
LISTENER PERCEPTIONS OF TURKISH**

Emre Yağlı

PhD Dissertation

Ankara, 2018

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LISTENER PERCEPTIONS OF TURKISH

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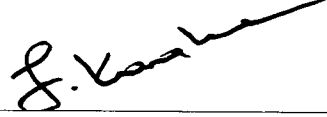
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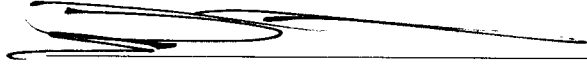
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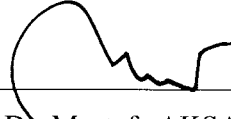
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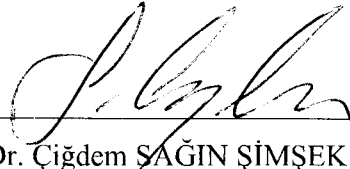
Prof. Dr. S. Nalan BÜYÜKKANTARCIOĞLU



Prof. Dr. Işıl ÖZYILDIRIM (Danışman)



Prof. Dr. Mustafa AKSAN



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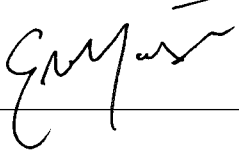
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☐ **Tezimin/Raporumun.....tarihine kadar erişime açılmasını istemiyorum ancak kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisinin alınmasını onaylıyorum.**

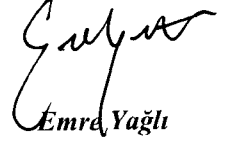
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08/06/2018


Emre Yağlı

ETİK BEYAN

Bu çalışmadaki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, görsel, işitsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu, tezimin kaynak gösterilen durumlar dışında özgün olduğunu, Tez Danışmanının **Prof. Dr. Işıl ÖZYILDIRIM** danışmanlığında tarafımdan üretildiğini ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesine göre yazıldığını beyan ederim.



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ÖZET

YAĞLI, Emre. *Toplumsal Anlamı Belirtiselleştirme: Toplumsesbilgisel Değişkenler ve Türkçenin Dinleyici Algısı*, Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2018.

Konuşucu ve dinleyici arasında gerçekleşen iletişimsel içerik, mesajların iletiminde ve yorumlanışında değişkenler ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Bu değişkenler söyleyiş açısından ele alındığında, seslerin sesbilimsel doğası ve farklı ses çevrelerinde kullanımı mesajın oluşumuna ve aktarımına katkı yapar. Konuşmanın bu gibi sesbilimsel ve sesbilgisel görünüşleri toplumsal görünüşler ve yapılarla birlikte göz önünde bulundurulduğunda ise büyük ölçekli değişkeler ortaya çıkar. Bu bağlamda büyük ölçekli değişkenler toplumdaki bilgi birikimini yansıtır ve dil konuşucuları tarafından toplumsal anlam olarak algılanır ve yorumlanır. Bu açıklamalar çerçevesinde bu algı çalışması, dişyuvasıl dokunmalı /r/ ve artdamaksıl duraklamalı /k/ değişkenlerinin alt değişkeleri ile ilişkilendirilen toplumsal anlamları bulgulamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu birincil amaç doğrultusunda çalışma, dinleyiciler tarafından algı sürecinde kullanılan toplumsal kaynaklara açıklama getirmeyi amaçlayarak /r/ ve /k/ değişkenlerine ait *belirtisel alanları* (Eckert, 2008) ortaya koymaktadır.

Dinleyicilerin algısında bulunan toplumsal bilgi birikimlerini ortaya çıkarmak için üçlü bir deneysel tasarım uygulanmıştır. Deneyin ilk aşamasında /r/ ve /k/ toplumsesbilgisel değişkenlerine ait alt söyleyiş değişkeleri üç farklı toplumdilbilimsel veri elde etme yöntemiyle toplanmıştır: Toplumdilbilimsel mülakat, harita ve okuma görevleri. İkinci aşamada ise bu sesler süre ve perde gibi çevresel etmenlerden arındırılmış ve algı aşamasında kullanılacak örnekçeler şeklinde belirlenmiştir. Bu örnekçelerin algısına odaklanan üçüncü aşamada ise nitel ve nicel veri sırasıyla toplumdilbilimsel grup mülakatları (30 grupta N=110) örtük eşleştirmeli anket (N=228) ile elde edilmiştir. Toplumdilbilimsel grup mülakatlarında dinleyicilere konuşmacıya dair öğrenim ve gelir düzeyi çerçevesinde toplumsal ipuçları sunulmuştur. Mülakatlarla gelen etkileşimsel nitel veri budunyöntembilimsel konuşma çözümlemesi yaklaşımıyla çözümlenmiş ve nicel örtük eşleştirmeli anket ile üçgenlenmiştir.

Çalışmanın bulguları /r/ değişkeninin kim tarafından üretildiğine bağlı olarak iki farklı toplumsal karakter ile eşleştiğini göstermiştir. Buna göre /r/ değişkeni, kadın bir konuşucu tarafından üretildiğinde *tiki*, erkek konuşmacı tarafından üretildiğinde ise *gey* karakteri çerçevesinde algılanmaktadır. Çalışmanın bir diğer değişkeni olan /k/ ise dinleyicilerin algısında *İç Anadolu* insanı karakteri ile ilişkilendirilmiştir.

Dinleyicilerin algı sırasında farklı toplumsal kaynakları kullandığı bulgulanmıştır. Toplumsal ipucu ve toplumsal bilgi olarak ele alınan bu toplumsal kaynakların, dinleme etkileşiminin gerçekleştiği bağlam ile ilişkili olduğu görülmektedir. Bu bulgu doğrultusunda, toplumsal ipuçları, toplumsal karakter ve dinleyicilerin arka planları ile oluşan etkileşim bağlamının, dinleyicilerin algısı ve toplumsal karakter arasında aracı olduğu düşünülmektedir. Buna ek olarak çalışma, dinleyicilerin aldığı duruşun algı sırasında belirleyici olduğunu bulgulanmıştır. Dinleyiciler tarafından alınan duruşların ve bu duruşların düzeyinin, toplumsesbilgisel bir değişkenin belirtisel ve/ya da ikonik algısında belirleyici olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Elde edilen bu bulgular, toplumsesbilgisel değişken, etkileşimin bağlamı ve konuşucuya dair algılanan karakter arasındaki ilişkiye odaklanan toplumsal anlam algısının karmaşık bir süreci içerdiğini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Toplumdilbilim, toplumsesbilgisi, konuşma algısı, belirtisellik, belirtisel alan, duruş

ABSTRACT

YAĞLI, Emre. *Indexing Social Meaning: Sociophonetic Variables and Listener Perceptions of Turkish*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Ankara, 2018.

The communicative content taking place between speakers and listeners yield variation in which people transmit and interpret the messages. In regard to the variation in pronunciation, the phonemic nature of sounds and their implementations in various segmental environments constitute and transmit the message. When the phonological and phonetic aspects of speech are taken into consideration along with social aspects and social constructions, broader aspects of variation arise. In this sense, the broader aspects of variation exhibit the cumulation of knowledge in the society and they are realized and interpreted by language users as social meanings. In line with this, the current perception study aims to uncover the social meanings associated with the variant pronunciations of alveolar flap /ɾ/ and velar stop /k/ variables in Turkish. In regard to this preliminary aim, the study endeavours to bring an understanding to the social resources employed during the perception and lays out the *indexical fields* (Eckert, 2008) associated with the /ɾ/ and /k/ variables.

In uncovering the socially accumulated knowledge in the perception of listeners, the study employs a tripartite experimental design. In the first phase, variant pronunciations of the sociophonetic variables (i.e., /ɾ/ and /k/) have been obtained through three distinct sociolinguistic data elicitation methods; sociolinguistic interviews, map task and read speech. In the second phase, the environmental aspects (i.e., duration and pitch) of these variables have been equalized and the tokens for the next phase have been determined. In the third phase, which focuses on the perception of these variables, qualitative and quantitative data have been gathered through sociolinguistic group interviews (N=110 in 30 groups) and matched guise survey (N=228) respectively. In the sociolinguistic group interviews, the listeners have been provided with social cues about the speaker as education and socioeconomic level. This interactional qualitative data have been analysed by employing ethnomethodological conversation analysis and further triangulated through a quantitative matched guise survey.

The findings show that the /ɾ/ variation is perceived alongside two distinct social personae: *tiki* and *gay men* depending on who produces the variable. When produced by a female speaker, listeners have perceived the variable as a salient component of the sociolinguistic style of *tiki* persona, while they have perceived the same variable along with a *gay* persona when produced by a male speaker. On the /k/ variable, listeners have yielded an *Inner Anatolian* persona.

In perceiving the speaker, it has been found that listeners exploit the social resources. These social resources, which are social cues and social information, have been employed by the listeners depending on the context of interaction. Thus, it can be argued that the context of interaction, which has been formulated through the social cues, themes and listeners' backgrounds, is a mediator between listeners' perception and the social persona of the speaker. Furthermore, stances adopted by the listeners are also determinant in the perception process and act as a mediator in the social meaning perceiving process. Thus, it can be stated that listeners' stances and their level of stance takings calibrate whether a sociophonetic variable bear indexical or iconic associations.

The findings also show that social meaning perceiving is a complex process that draws on the relationship between the sociophonetic variant perceived, the context of interaction and the perceived persona of the speaker.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics, sociophonetics, speech perception, indexicality, indexical field, stance

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The communicative content taking place between speakers and listeners, the encoding and decoding processes, and expressing and interpreting meanings yields variation in which people transmit and receive these meanings. The emergence of this variation among speakers is a result of distinct pronunciation patterns that are inseparable parts of human verbal communication. In turn, the distinct pronunciation patterns of a variety develop through the already existing reservoir of the knowledge in a community: They are realized through the cumulation of the knowledge by the speakers and interpreted by the listeners. The informational and conventional phonetic details, which yield differences in the sociolinguistic variables in interlocutor's speech, may lead people to bear such social meanings that s/he comes from a certain place, has a successful educational background and has such personality traits as informative, friendly or fearless, etc.

In this regard, this dissertation addresses the overall sociolinguistic knowledge and/or social meaning on the variant pronunciations of alveolar flap /ɾ/ and velar stop /k/, and provides an evidence to this knowledge in terms of perception. Placing the theory of indexicality in the very centre of the theoretical framework, this work attempts to draw on the concept *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008) to bring an understanding to the language variation in perception.

The following lines of the current chapter have been organized as; In 1.1, the theoretical background has been established in relation to the theory of indexicality. In the section 1.2, the research problem has been given in line with its significance for the current work. The section 1.3 introduces the aim of the study and in 1.4, the research questions have been addressed. In 1.5, the

limitations that exist in the very context of the current work have been accounted for and further discussed, and in the section 1.6, the outline of the dissertation have been delivered.

1.1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The interpretation of the social meanings associated with the /t/ and /k/ variables in perception has been grounded on the theory of *indexicality* which has been a recent endeavour in the field of sociolinguistics. More specifically, in bringing an understanding to the social meaning perceiving process at work, this dissertation draws on *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008) and in some distinct contexts, it has been further tackled in consideration with *stance* (Jaffe, 2009) and *iconization* (Gal, 2016; Irvine & Gal, 2000).

Incorporating both semantic and social meaning in perception, which is the case of this dissertation in terms of two sociolinguistic variables, the theory of indexicality has been put forward in the field of linguistic anthropology. In addition, with the interest and tendency of the recent tradition in the variationist sociolinguistics that revisits what has been asserted by Labov (1963) considering the engagement between social affiliation and linguistic choices, the theory of indexicality has been on the agenda of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and sociocultural linguistics.

In establishing the notion of *indexicality*, Silverstein (1976) first posits a distinction between semantic (i.e., referential meaning) and social meaning in the sense that social behaviour is communicative and involves a “complex of signs” which in turn suggests “something in some respect” (p. 12). That is, participants, or interlocutors in diverse speech situations have various goals to accomplish. He then departs from Saussurean definition of *sign*, which is restricted to its arbitrary nature, and focuses on context-bound word meaning. In doing so, he makes use of what Roman Jakobson named *shifter*, and states that “the reference ‘shifts’ regularly depending on the factors of the speech situation” (p. 25). In tackling the factors present in a speech situation, he draws on the trichotomy proposed by Charles Sanders Peirce:

The three sign types, each characterized by its own type of meaning for the users, are icon, index and symbol. *Icons* are those signs where the perceivable properties of the sign vehicle itself have isomorphism to (up to identity with) those of the entity signaled. That is, the entities are "likeness" in some sense. *Indexes* are those signs where the occurrence of a sign vehicle token bears a connection of understood spatio-temporal contiguity to the occurrence of the entity signaled. That is, the presence of some entity is perceived to be signaled in the context of communication incorporating the sign vehicle. *Symbols* are the residual class of signs, where neither physical similarity nor contextual contiguity hold between sign vehicle and entity signaled. They form the class of "arbitrary" signs traditionally spoken of as the fundamental kind of linguistic entity (Silverstein, 1976, p. 27).¹

Silverstein remarks on Peirce's (1901) trichotomy on *signs: icons, indexes, and symbols*. An *icon* is the copy-relationship between a signifier and a signified. Being a signifier, it has the qualities that resemble, remind or imitate the signified, e.g., an onomatopoeic expression, *Su gürül gürül akıyor* (The water runs with a gurgling sound), or seeing a picture of someone and later saying 'This is him/her'. Considering an *index*, a sign vehicle bears physical and/or causal relationship between its signified, e.g., such deictic expressions as *burada* (here), *şu* (this), *orada* (there), etc., and seeing a hot tea cup in an empty room and inferring that someone has just left. Lastly, a *symbol* refers to the conventional relationship between the signifier and the signified, e.g., the logogram 3 meaning *three*, and the letter *A* representing a specific sound.

A working example regarding the concept *index*, which bears physical and/or causal relationship, can be given with reference to Ochs (1992). Ochs, focusing on the linguistic indexing of gender, states that "the relationship between language and gender is *distributional* and *probabilistic*"² (p. 340). Disregarding the topic of her study, the gender, for practical purposes, she asserts that linguistic indexing of a phenomenon is dependent on various determinants that range from how and where frequently one employs a linguistic variable, and to what extent. The frequency of the use of a linguistic variable is bound to what additional resources are used along with it, and thus its distribution in the repertoire of a community. It, in turn, unlocks other linguistic indexes found together with itself and there arises the probabilistic nature of indexes. In this vein, the linguistic resources that have the probability of indexing a social meaning constitute each other.

Although it is not one of the analytical tools in the interpretation of the social meanings associated with the sociolinguistic variables of this dissertation, it should be noted that Silverstein (2003) enhances his groundwork on *indexicality* to *indexical order*. In his work, he brings a diachronic approach that involves a range of social meanings ranging from 1st to nth order. For instance, a 1st indexical order can be viewed as a surface meaning, e.g., using wider pitch-width in speaking.

¹ Emphasis in Silverstein (1976).

² Emphasis by the researcher.

This first order indexicality can carry a social meaning, e.g., high educational background. This initial association, in turn, can be the preface of further social meanings, e.g., Wider pitch-width is employed by those who have high educational background and those people who mostly live in big cities.

Tackling Silverstein's (2003) *indexical order*, Eckert (2008) questions the ways how indexes pattern and organize across communities. Seeing that indexes float in "a fluid and ever-changing ideological field", Eckert (2008) proposes that one should start with the ideological field itself (p. 464). Addressing this preliminary research question, Eckert argues that in a community "meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings" (p. 453). That is, meanings travel in an *indexical field* which are ideologically linked and prone to change according to the trends and/or needs of the community (ibid.). In this regard, Eckert primarily challenges the traditional variationist paradigm which regards a variable as bearing a fixed social meaning. This essentialist approach that Eckert argues against disregards the context in which a variable is used, and thus, it is far from grasping the social meaning change of a variable throughout the time:

Variables have indexical fields rather than fixed meanings because speakers use variables not simply to reflect or reassert their particular pre-ordained place on the social map but to make ideological moves. The use of a variable is not simply an invocation of a pre-existing value but an indexical claim which may either invoke a pre-existing value or stake a claim to a new value (Eckert, 2008, p. 464).

Revisiting what has been exemplified with regard to Silverstein's (2003) *indexical order* following the *indexical field*, it can be said that wider pitch-width, instead of carrying the social meaning of an 'educated person living in a city', may be employed by an illiterate person in a village to make an ideological move to claim a space in his community, and at the same time, found in the sociolinguistic style of a university student to show loyalty to his/her friend circle.

In the recent sociolinguistic literature, *indexicality* has started to be addressed along with the concept *stance*. Jaffe (2009) builds on the *indexical field* and employs the concept *sociolinguistics of stance* in bringing an understanding to the social meaning making/perceiving process. According to Jaffe (2009), stance "is a uniquely productive way of conceptualizing the process of indexicalization that are the link between individual performance and meaning making" (p. 4). That is, it can be said that speakers and listeners exploit the semiotic (i.e. indexical) resources in their social sphere to create and perceive social meaning. In this process, speakers and listeners, as individual identities, reflexively define themselves within the social sphere and "invoke a

constellation of associated social identities” (p. 9). In this regard, positioning themselves socially and contextually, individuals highlight and construct distinct subject positions of their interlocutors during production and perception. This forms strong links to what Eckert (2008) mentions in regard to the *indexical field*; in that, *indexical fields* are not static since the agency of the speakers and listeners involves a stance. Thus, speakers and hearers exploit the semiotic resources around them and have the probability of creating new indexical meanings by making use of pre-existing indexical resources.

In her another work, Jaffe (2016) reviews the notions given by Silverstein (2003) and Eckert (2008) and states that *stance* can also account for how indexical at one order are portrayed to successive orders and how indexicals are constructed into fields (p. 86). For instance, if a listener who has conflicting ideas on the education system of the country happens to listen to someone who is employing wider pitch-width, s/he could create a $n+1^{\text{st}}$ order indexicality as an act of stance-taking to e.g. someone who is ‘big head’ or ‘elitist’, or organize his/her knowledge on wider pitch-width with series of personality traits such as – alongside ‘big head’ and ‘elitist’ – ‘Grammar-Nazi’, ‘show pony’, etc.

In addition to the concepts given above, indexing the social meaning with possible stance-takings has the probability of converging with stereotypical figures. For instance, Agha (2005) states that distinct metasemiotic processes can be employed by agents to perceive or feature a personhood with new contexts (p. 43). In this direction, a sign vehicle that possesses an indexical value may result from diverse interactional resources available to the speaker and/or listener in his/her social sphere. This stereotypical nature of the ‘entextualized figures’ (Agha, 2005) posits another semiotic tool, namely *iconization/rhematization* (Gal, 2016; Irvine & Gal, 2000).

An indexical element can turn into *iconic* after meaning making processes occur in the society (Gal, 2016; Irvine & Gal, 2000). In Irvine and Gal (2000), this process is called *iconization*³ where “by picking out qualities supposedly shared by the social image and the linguistic image, the ideological representation – itself a sign – binds them together in a linkage that appears to be inherent” (p. 38). Furthermore, Gal (2016) states that an indexical sign may become *iconic* due to ‘axes of differentiation’ which results from the *stances* taken by the speakers and/or listeners. That is, it can be said that those *stances* saturate the indexical meaning making process and the agents in a community form *iconic* links to the linguistic feature. Tackling the above pitch-width

³ The current work follows the term *iconization*. Gal (2016) refers to this as *rhematization*.

phenomenon in this line, it can be said that regardless of the social contexts in which it occurs, individuals may perceive wider pitch-width in association with a ‘show-pony persona’.

The above lines involve the theoretical framework that has been adopted in interpreting the social meanings associated with the alveolar flap /ɾ/ and velar stop /k/ variation in Turkish. In the following section (1.2), the significance of the study has been given.

1.2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The current work manifests four efforts that contribute to its significance; first of all, this dissertation is a preliminary attempt in uncovering the social meanings associated with the sociolinguistic variation in Turkey. Secondly, it provides the future sociolinguistic inquiries on language variation with further research questions and methodological issues in the very context of Turkey. Thirdly, the study tackles a sociolinguistic variable that yields two distinct social meanings and lastly, it contributes to the broad field of sociolinguistic variation with respect to how a linguistic variable is perceived by groups whose social sphere has been predetermined by institutional knowledge.

As for the preliminary significance of the current work, it can be said that in the literature of Turkish sociolinguistics, where the studies have not reached an efficiency considering the sociolinguistic variation, this dissertation is the first attempt on the perception of two sociophonetic variables, e.g., alveolar flap /ɾ/ and velar stop /k/, and their alternative realisations, or variants. Although this dissertation tackles the perception of sociolinguistic variables (e.g., how people perceive a phonetic variable with distinct social meanings) instead of production of these variables (e.g., how and why people employ a distinct phonetic variable to project themselves), this study also brings an awareness for the understanding of language variation in production in its local context.

Secondly, related to its primary importance, in the very context of Turkey, the current inquiry provides the future inquiries on language variation with research questions and methodological issues. However, because of the insufficient literature on language variation in Turkey, it has also imposed limitations on the current work with respect to the methodology adopted, e.g., the description of the variables and the design of the experimental setting.⁴ Yet, it can still be said that the experimental design employed in the study (e.g., the sociolinguistic group interviews and

⁴ For an overview on this limitation, see the section 1.5 - Limitations.

the matched-guise survey, and their interpretations) has the probability of providing the further studies with a starting point in uncovering various sociolinguistic phenomena in Turkey.

Thirdly, the current inquiry handles a sociolinguistic variable that bears two distinct social characteristics with regard to its social meanings; (i) the *tiki* subculture and (ii) sexual orientation. That is, the alveolar approximant [ɹ] variant of the /r/ variable has been observed in the speeches of *tiki* that indexes a subculture that is formed by a group of wealthy young people – mostly girls – or those who want to be and thus seem like that, and gay men that indexes sexual orientation, and further evidenced through the current perception study.

Lastly, the dissertation addresses social meanings that are salient in communities whose sociolinguistic knowledge have been preset by institutional knowledge. In this regard, it raises a question for a perception phenomenon salient in the contexts where the members of a community possess heteronormatively constructed institutional knowledge, which in turn yields sharp implications in the social meaning making and/or perceiving process when compared to the other contexts employed in the study.⁵ The mechanism behind this observation has been endeavoured to be understood by inserting such terms *stance* (Jaffe, 2009) and *iconization/rhematization* (Gal, 2016; Irvine & Gal, 2000) into the interpretation along with indexicality.

All in all, it can be said that this study is significant in the sense that it tries to fill in the gap that exists in the area of sociolinguistics and contributes to the investigation of social meanings of /r/ and /k/ in the very context of Turkey.

1.3. AIMS OF THE DISSERTATION

In this inquiry that focuses on the perception of the variant pronunciations of the alveolar flap /r/ and velar stop /k/ variables in Turkish, the primary aim is to bring an understanding to the social meanings associated with these variables, which have been presumed to be salient sociophonetic variables in the society, and thus, it seeks to deal with an untouched phenomena in the context of Turkey. Secondly, the dissertation also endeavours to uncover the semiotic resources used by the listeners during the perception. Lastly, it tackles the theoretical concepts given in the section 1.1 through providing evidence from Turkish.

As have been stated, in the literature of Turkish sociolinguistics, whether it is a production or a

⁵ See Chapter 4, section 4.2.2 /r/ variation indexing gay.

perception research, there have not been any study adopting a variationist approach to sociolinguistic variables. In addition, the works that describe the variation of phonetic variables have been given in the context of regional variation in the literature on Turkish dialectology. In this regard, the current enterprise aims to uncover an untouched phenomenon and intends to bring an understanding to it in the very context of the society in which it locates. Following this aim, the study investigates whether the variant pronunciations of the /r/ and /k/ variables are present in the perception of the society. Considering the /r/ variable, the dissertation attempts to uncover a series of social meanings that remain heuristic. On the other hand, in relation with the /k/ variable, which has been reported to show regional variation, the current work aims to state that the /k/ variation is not only regional, but also social. In doing so, the social meanings associated with the variables draws the preliminary attention of the current work.

The secondary aim of the dissertation is to discern what social resources are used by the listeners during the perception of the /r/ and /k/ variables. That listeners employ social resources in perceiving the speakers is a widely known phenomenon in the literature of sociolinguistics. That is, there is a link between social and linguistic information that bears the probability of being accessed during the perception. Following this fact, the current work inquires the social information employed during the perception.

Thirdly, it has been stated that the theoretical framework developed in the field of linguistic anthropology has been on the agenda of the recent sociolinguistic studies. One of these theoretical contributions is the continuation ranging from indexicality to *sociolinguistics of stance* (Jaffe, 2009) to *iconization* (Irvine & Gal, 2000). In this contemporary epistemological context, the current work undertakes the probable *stances* of the listeners and further develops an understanding in how listeners associate social meanings to the variables in question during the perception.

The above given aims of the dissertation cause an interest for the research questions addressed in the following section (1.4).

1.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

There are four main research questions motivating the current work. The first two questions share the same focus, i.e., the social meaning, but differ in terms of what sociophonetic variables have been addressed, i.e., /ɾ/ and /k/ respectively. Furthermore, the first research question have been divided into two considering the social personae by which the variable is used, i.e., *tiki* subculture and sexual orientation.

- 1) How does the indexical pronunciation of /ɾ/ (and its variant) interface with the perceptions of listeners on the accounts of;
 - a) *tiki* subculture,
 - b) sexual orientation,
- 2) How do the indexical pronunciations of /k/ (and its variants), which have been reported to show regional variation, interface with the perceptions of listeners?
- 3) What social resources (i.e., social information and/or social cue) are used in perceiving the others considering /ɾ/ and /k/?
- 4) How do different stances of the listeners affect speech processing with respect to /ɾ/ and /k/?

The first two questions go hand in hand with the preliminary aim of the dissertation. Here, the only difference between them lies in the fact that while the /k/ variation has been a well-established phenomenon in the literature of Turkish dialectology, the /ɾ/ variation has remained intact.

In regard to the first research question, which focuses on the perception of the variant pronunciations of the alveolar flap /ɾ/, it has been hypothesized that the alveolar approximant [ɹ] variant of the /ɾ/ variable is found in the perceptions of the listeners as series of social meanings associated with (a) the *tiki* subculture and (b) sexual orientation of gay men. Being aware of the fact that evidencing the associations given in (a) and (b) from the experiences and observations of the researcher imposes a limitation for the work. Thus, it can be stated that the first research question of the dissertation is a preliminary attempt. In addition, the /ɾ/ variation has also revealed implications in the pilot study of the current work.⁶

⁶ A pilot study has been conducted in 2016 to orient the current work into the theoretical framework and experimental setting. In the pilot study, a perception experiment has been carried out to uncover the social meanings associated with the pitch-width (wide vs. narrow). In the course of the experiment, the /ɾ/ variable has been employed as a *filler token* (i.e. variable that is unrelated to the research inquiry) along with the target tokens that vary in pitch-width.

Considering the second research question, it can be said that the variable in question, e.g., the velar stop /k/, is supported by evidences from the studies given on the regional dialectology of Turkish spoken in Anatolia (Caferoğlu, 1951, 1963; Gemalmaz, 1978; Olcay, 1963). Thus, tackling an observed phenomenon that has been reported to show regional variation, the second research inquiry addresses the social meanings associated with a so-called regional variables. Hence, the second research question aims to state that the /k/ variation is not only geographical, but also social.

The third research question addresses the social resources exploited by the listeners during perception. In the sociolinguistic literature, speech perception studies report that listeners employ social resources in perceiving the sociophonetic variables. For instance, among others, the listeners exploit the semiotic resources related with the dialect area (Hay, Nolan, & Drager, 2006; Niedzielski, 1999), age (Drager, 2011; Hay, Warren, & Drager, 2006; Koops, Gentry, & Pantos, 2008b), socioeconomic status (Hay, Warren & Drager, 2006), and ethnicity (Staum Casasanto, 2008) of the speaker. Following this well-established finding, the third research inquiry addresses the semiotic resources accessed by the listeners during the perception. In the context of this work, the term ‘social resources’ have been employed to refer to social information and social cues. In this regard, while social information refers to the information used by listeners, social cue refers to the information presented to the listeners prior to the listening task.

The last research question deals with how *stances* of the listeners affect the perception of others. That is, following the notion *the sociolinguistics of stance* given by Jaffe (2009, 2016) and *iconization* (Gal, 2016; Irvine & Gal, 2000), the fourth inquiry attempts to reveal how the perception of the /t/ and /k/ variables differ according to ideologically loaded accumulated knowledge of the listeners.

The above lines involve the research questions and the preliminary hypotheses of the dissertation. In the following section (1.5), the limitations of the current work have been introduced.

1.5. LIMITATIONS

In the current work that aims to uncover the social meanings associated with the /r/ and /k/ variables, there have arisen several limitations considering the fact that the dissertation tackles an untouched sociolinguistic inquiry in the very context of Turkey. In this section, these limitations have been addressed with respect to formulation of the hypotheses, familiarization with the methodology, description of the variables and the listener profiles.

As have been stated in the previous lines of this chapter, this perception study is an initial attempt on the social meanings associated with the sociolinguistic variation in Turkey. This basically means that there have not been any study conducted on a sociolinguistic variable with regard to its production (i.e., how and why people employ distinct pronunciation patterns) and perception (i.e., how and why people perceive certain pronunciation patterns along with distinct social meanings). This up-to-date state has yielded a set of hardships in the formulation of the hypotheses. For instance, the first research question, which tackles the social meanings associated with the alveolar approximant [ɹ] variant of the /r/ variable in perception in terms of the *tiki* subculture and sexual orientation, has been addressed in a situation where there are not any research in the production literature that provides the study with both sociolinguistic and social characteristics of either the *tiki* subculture or sexual orientation. Thus, the hypothesis behind the first research question has been devised by referring to the researcher's own observations, as well as the implications obtained during the pilot study.

A similar endorsement can be brought for the variable that has been addressed in the second research question, e.g., the voiceless velar fricative [x] and voiced velar stop [g] variants of the voiceless velar stop /k/ variable. In this regard, the production literature of the /k/ variable is restricted to regional dialectology and thus, the sociolinguistic and social characteristics (e.g., community of practice, class, gender, etc.) of the /k/ variable are missing.

In relation with the above given restrictions on the /r/ and /k/ variables, different experimental steps (i.e., perception experiments) have been employed to uncover the social meanings. As for the /r/ variable, which lacks social characteristics in regard to both production and perception, only sociolinguistic group interviews have been conducted to uncover the social meanings. However, since the /k/ variable has already been defined in the dialectology literature, along with the sociolinguistic group interviews, a further experiment, namely the matched-guise survey, has been implemented to triangulate the perception data.

In the current sociolinguistic tradition of Turkey, where there have not been any endeavour in bringing a sociolinguistic account into the language variation, the second struggle has emerged with regard to the familiarization with the methodology. In overcoming this difficulty, a year-long pilot study have been conducted to test and compare the experimental design adopted by the contemporary perception studies that focus on various languages of the world.

Another limitation that has resulted from the very general nature of the sociolinguistic literature on Turkish is the incompetency on the description of the variables in question. In addition, the phonetic descriptions given on the variant pronunciations of the /ɾ/ and /k/ variables have not gone beyond the level of introductory phonetic courses. That is, the only descriptions brought on these variables encompass their predictable nature, namely the allophonic variation, e.g., the realization of /ɾ/ in syllable initial, medial and final position.

For sure, the above mentioned shortcoming prevails for the /ɾ/ variable, which has not been handled and thus drawn the attention of linguists working on language variation. In addition, as have been stated, although the /k/ variable has been described in relation with its regional variation, those substantial efforts given in the Turkish dialectology have fallen behind the contemporary trend, and thus are far from grasping the very general nature of the /k/ variable. This stems from the tradition of the Turkish dialectology, which has been criticised several times by the dialectologists working in the field (see e.g., Akar, 2006; Demir, 2006; Karahan, 1999, 2012). These scholars mostly make reference to the advancing technology and stress the importance of adapting to the contemporary trend in transcribing the variants. For instance, Akar (2006) states that there are different transcription conventions employed by the studies given on the Turkish dialectology and suggests the use of a unified convention (p. 50). Similarly, Karahan (2012) refers to the negative effects of transcribing the variants as-heard and questions the transcription conventions adopted in the field (pp. 133-134). These methodological shortcomings in the Turkish dialectology have inevitably imposed hardships in dealing with the /k/ variable, which, as stated, has been revisited to attain a reference point for the future studies that can be conducted in the frame of either sociolinguistics or dialectology.

Lastly, the current work reports from sociolinguistic group interviews that have been conducted in five cities. In this regard, the findings have not been generalized for the general public. Similarly, although the study involves demography about the listeners considering their age, the findings have not been interpreted and thus concluded with specific reference to the ages of the listeners.

This section has dealt with the limitations that prevail in the current work. The next section (1.6) draws the outline of this dissertation.

1.6. OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation has been organized as six chapters. Having introduced the topic and the hypotheses of the current work and presented the theoretical framework adopted in this chapter, the following chapters are structured as follows:

CHAPTER TWO involves the review of the literature relevant to the study, in terms of the *three waves of sociolinguistics* as drawn by Eckert (2005) and the speech perception in particular, as well as the critical overview of the studies given on the /k/ variation in the literature of the Turkish dialectology.

CHAPTER THREE deals with the methodology adopted in the dissertation. Starting with (3.2) the descriptions of the /r/ and /k/ variables and their variants that have been employed to uncover the social meanings associated with them, the chapter introduces (3.3) the experimental design. In this regard, the subsection 3.3.1 deals with three sociolinguistic data elicitation methods employed in the production stage; sociolinguistic interviews, map task and read speech that were conducted with a total of 11 speakers, who are (3.3.2) the informants of the current work. The subsection 3.3.3 deals with the tokenization phase in which the variables have been stabilized with regard to their intensity, duration and pitch-width. In another subsidiary section (3.3.4), the perception experiments have been clarified with reference to (3.3.4.1) group interviews and (3.3.4.2) matched-guise survey, as well as (3.3.4.3) the profile of the listeners who participated in this study. The section 3.4 lays out the data analysis with reference to the analytical tools adopted in interpreting (3.4.1) the interviews and (3.4.2) survey.

CHAPTER FOUR and FIVE constitute the analysis and discussion of the perception of the /r/ and /k/ variables alongside their social meanings. In the CHAPTER FOUR, the alveolar approximant [ɹ] variant of the /r/ variable have been analysed and further discussed with regard to (4.2.1) *tiki* subculture and (4.2.2) sexual orientation. The subsection 4.2.1 involves interpretations of the interviews and draws on the indexical links associated with the [ɹ] variant. In the subsection 4.2.2, the work focuses on the perception of the [ɹ] variant that indexes *gay men*. Similarly, that subsection first tackles the interview data and then discusses the indexical associations of the variant in question. CHAPTER FIVE addresses the /k/ variable that have been

previously associated with regional variation in Turkey. In this regard, it deals with the perception of the voiceless velar fricative [x], voiced velar stop [g] and voiceless glottal fricative [h] variants of the voiceless velar stop /k/ variable. The perception experiment used in that chapter consist of qualitative and quantitative data. In this vein, the subsection 5.2.1 features the analysis of the interview data and following the qualitative interpretation, 5.2.2 focuses on the survey data on which factor analysis and linear/mixed effect models have been applied. In the subsection 5.2.3, the indexical meaning associated with the /k/ variable has been discussed.

CHAPTER SIX lays out the concluding remarks of the current work through addressing the research questions. In addition, it further brings an understanding to the future projections of the sociolinguistic trends in Turkey in the context of this dissertation.



CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the field of sociolinguistics, and *sociophonetics* in a narrower sense, the current perception work draws on the social meanings associated with the variant pronunciations of alveolar flap /ɾ/ and velar stop /k/ variables in Turkish. In providing the background information to this dissertation, the present chapter involves the literature review on sociophonetics and follows from the general (i.e., sociolinguistics and sociophonetics) to the specific (i.e., the variables of the study) fashion.

This chapter is organized as follows; In 2.1, the field of sociolinguistics has been introduced with reference to the concept and/or label *sociophonetics*. The section 2.2 follows Eckert's (2005, 2012, 2016a, 2016b) notion of the *three waves* of sociolinguistic variation and bring an overview on the studies noted in the previous section (2.1). In the section 2.3, studies that tackle the speech perception phenomenon have been introduced with an emphasis on (2.3.1) the social information affecting the perception. The following sections 2.4 and 2.5 lay out the accounts brought on the /ɾ/ and /k/ variables respectively. It should be noted that the topical hierarchy that prevails in the organization of the current chapter also makes reference to the methodologies employed by the studies mentioned.

2.1. SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND SOCIOPHONETICS

Sociophonetics, in today's terms, refers to the field that involves the use of contemporary phonetic methods in the quantitative and/or qualitative investigations of language variation and change, and thus, actualizes in the interface of *sociolinguistics* and phonetics (Baranowski, 2013; Foulkes, Scobbie, & Watt, 2010). That is, sociophonetics is the meeting point of the methodologies from sociolinguistics and phonetics. The methodology developed in the field has been employed on the determinants of social variation of language in terms of production and perception studies. The production studies, the key studies of which have been presented in the current section, constitute the backbone of the variationist sociolinguistics and/or sociophonetics. In this regard, the below lines present an historical overview of the field with reference to the key studies that led to its emergence.⁷

Emerging out of the works by Labov (1963, 1966, 1972), which uncover the links between phonetic variation and social characteristics of the speakers, the field have developed wide range of research questions that address the melting point between the linguistic and social. With the influence of these initial studies, the field reached to a point in the early 1990s when its scope broadened and involved such concepts as language change, speaking style and fieldworks along with its preliminary concern on language variation. Back then, the scholars working in the field started to adopt qualitative inquiries alongside the quantitative methods that is inherent to the field. Seeing the field in today's world, it can be said that it involves and exploits the methodologies that prevail in such fields as psycholinguistics, first (L1) and second (L2) language acquisition and computational linguistics, which is also labelled by Foulkes et al. (2010) as a 'loose confederation of industries' (p. 704).

Since Labov's New York City (1966, 1972) and Martha's Vineyard (1963) studies, in which he deals and establishes the links between the frequency of phonetic variants in production and such social variables as age, speaker style and social class, a large body of works has emerged to cover wide range of methodologies that address various theoretical inquiries such as language change and social indexical meanings of phonetic variables. In addition, these studies have also contributed to dialectological researches which previously tackle variation in terms of cross-dialectal fashion (i.e., where one comes from) instead of socially conditioned one (i.e., age, social class, etc.). For instance, Labov (1963) found that people employ different speech patterns based

⁷ Since the current work settles in the perception literature, the studies investigating the social variation in perception have been reviewed in the section 2.3.

on their ages and ideologies. Similarly, in his New York study (1966), he uncovered a pattern on the /r/ variable depending on the socioeconomic status of the addressee. That is, speech does not only purely carry an information about where one comes from, or is not a product of human biological endowment, it also bears social associations between linguistic variants and speakers.

As have been stated, Labov's works on sociolinguistic variation have provided the field with core research questions. In this regard, Labov's early research questions have been tackled in different communities. For instance, focusing on the coda /r/ of Labov's (1966, 1972) *fourth floor*, studies by Reid (1978), Romaine (1978) and Stuart-Smith (2007b) have focused on rhotic varieties in Scotland and found statistical correlates in the production of /r/. In these studies, the scholars have yielded a finding that members of the high socioeconomic groups employ more rhotic-/r/ than those of lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Addressing the same inquiry, e.g., the use of coda /r/, Wells (1982) have noted an opposite interpretation in the social context of non-rhotic varieties of English (e.g., England). He asserted that since the non-rhotic [r] is regarded as a norm in England, a rhotic pronunciation have the probability of bearing a perception of the low social status rather than high (ibid., p. 35). In another key study, Trudgill (1974) have dealt with *-ing* variation (i.e., [m - ən - ŋ - n]) in the environments like final nasal gerunds (i.e., *talking*) in Norwich English and established a connection between the social class and gender, and the variable.

What is common among the above mentioned studies is that they correlate the speech style to such broad demographic categories as social class, age, speaker sex and gender, regional variation and ethnicity, and thus, investigated the social source of the linguistic variation.

The variationist tradition have witnessed a sharp turning point in the 90s. That is, the studies have started to leave the paradigm that involve associating the sociolinguistic variables to broad social categories such as social class and focused on uncovering the underlying functions of the linguistic variation. Among the key studies addressing this motivation, the studies adopting a *community of practice* framework (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999) have demonstrated how specific linguistic variables are influenced by individual's motivation for group memberships. Similarly, Bucholtz (1998, 1999) have uncovered how 'Nerds' differentiate themselves from the other groups by employing specific phonetic and linguistic variables in distinct social practices. The same inquiry have also been approached through the *social network* theory (Milroy, 1980/1987). One of the representative studies in this vein is by Dubois and Horvath (1998, 1999). Their works draw on the variability in dental fricatives among the young in Louisiana Cajun English, and they have demonstrated that the young in closed communities (i.e., participants do

not have contact with wider communities) resurrect two linguistic variables (e.g., [t̪ - d̪] for /θ - ð/ respectively) based on their membership of open and closed networks.

The sociolinguistic variation have also been treated with respect to the age of the speakers. For instance, Kerswill and Williams (2000) have worked on the variation in Milton Keynes, a commuter residence for London that witnessed a huge expansion in the 60s. They have found that while the parents show rhoticity in their speech, 4-year-old children feature diversity which has thought to be the result of the dialects they are exposed to. The age of the speakers is also evident in the context of mass migration. In this regard, Al Shareef's (2002) Gaza study have noted that while the people who are adults before 1948 sustain their original dialects, those who are born after the migration employ other dialectal forms, which in further, provides an evidence from a language contact phenomenon.

In regard to the sociolinguistic variation related to the speaker sex and gender phenomena, the studies have focused on the 'performed roles' of gender instead of the biological sex (Butler, 1990; Eckert, 2000). In Stuart-Smith (2007a) for example, she has found that although anatomical differences between males and females prevail in the acoustic differences in [s], the data from working-class girls have shown similarity to males. What has been brought for this observation by Stuart-Smith is that the girls do not intend to sound like males, instead, they aim at distancing from middle-class girls.

Sociolinguists have also been interested in regional variation. The works given in this motivation have stressed the social aspect of language variation that is missing in the literature of dialectology. Auer, Hinskens, and Kerswill (2005) tackle this issue by referring to social motivations that yield linguistic variation. In their work, providing an overview to the studies given in frame of the traditional dialectology, they refer to such concepts as mobility, standardization, *accommodation* (Giles & Powesland, 1975) and contact in building up the social aspect of language variation.

In regard to the language variation based on the ethnicity of the speakers, the sociolinguistic literature tackles ethnicity as a social product, instead of a biological endowment. Starting with Labov's (1963) Martha's Vineyard study, in which he deals with the sound patterns of Portuguese and Wampanoag Native Americans, the literature on the ethnicity involves various studies on African American English (AAE) (see, e.g., Muwfené, Rickford, Bailey, & Baugh, 1998; Wolfram, 1969) and English spoken in the North America (see, e.g., Anderson, 1999; Schilling-Estes, 2000).

The studies given in the sociophonetic agenda propose that during the production of phonetic forms (i.e., sociophonetic variables), the speakers are surrounded by several factors. Those factors exercise on the speakers when they want to sustain their social goals. In this vein, among the others, the above key studies, which have investigated the *Whats*, *How*s and *Whys* of linguistic variation in production, have handled this phenomena through taking speakers as socially situated entities. The same inquiry has also been conducted by the studies given in the perception literature that has been reviewed in the section 2.3.

Following the current introductory section, which presents the key studies that investigate the sociolinguistic variation in production, and thus constitute the backbone of the variationist sociolinguistics, the following section (2.2) involves the interpretation brought by Eckert (2005, 2012, 2016b) on the sociolinguistic agenda, namely the three waves of variation study.

2.2. THE THREE WAVES OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS

The current section lays out with what Eckert (2005, 2012) proposes as the *three waves* of sociolinguistics in revising the chronological development of social meaning in variationist framework. In the meantime, this section also reconsiders some of the studies mentioned in the previous section (2.1) with reference to the concepts of *social meaning*, which is the information deployed through linguistic units such as pronunciations, morphemes, words or bigger constructions that add upon the speakers' social qualities.

In her talk in the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Eckert (2005) stresses the shift in the paradigm that provides the scholars with research questions on the phenomenon of social meaning, which constitutes the main rationale behind the employment of the term *three waves* of sociolinguistic variation. Below involves these arguments in her own words:

The quantitative study of sociolinguistic variation has now been going on for forty years. During this time, the *focus* has been overwhelmingly on regional and ethnic dialects, and on linguistic change. Tonight, I would like to look squarely at *variation as a resource for the construction of social meaning* in language. This means that I'm backing away from changes in progress to consider the wider system of social meaning – a wider system in which changes participate.

To do this, I'm going to talk about *three waves of analytic practice*. These waves are *not* strictly ordered historically, and no wave supersedes the previous, rather all three waves are part of a whole. But I think of them as waves because each represents a way of thinking about variation and a *methodological* and analytic practice that grew out of the findings of the previous one (Eckert, 2005, p. 1).⁸

In dealing with the 40-year-old sociolinguistics (i.e., variationist sociolinguistics and/or sociophonetics in the context of this study), Eckert (2005) forwards a new agenda, “variation as a resource for the construction of social meaning” so as to replace the traditional one that draw extensively on regional and ethnic varieties that continuously change over time span (p. 1). In this regard, she makes clear her position in the ongoing tradition and stresses that social meanings also participate in this change, and thus, she brings a new readings on the previous studies. This new reading is based on how the previous studies conducted in the framework of variationist sociolinguistics tackle the social meaning. Thus, she pinpoints the whereabouts of the previous attempts with reference to how they employ the methodology.

According to Eckert (2005, 2012), the *first wave* involves studies that postulate strict correlations between the linguistic variables and macro-sociological structures, e.g., the use of a variable is linked to such broad categories as class, ethnicity, age, sex, etc. The *second wave*, employing ethnographic methods, investigates the local categories instead of broad ones, and lays out the relationship between linguistic variables and macro-sociological structures, e.g., the use of a variable is linked to such local categories as lower-class tradesmen in an island. Lastly, the *third wave*, employing ethnographic methods, regards linguistic variation as a social semiotic system that both reflects and constructs the social meaning, e.g., the use of a variable is linked to the reflection and construction of a specific identity in a school. The following lines draw on these initial descriptions of the *three waves* introduced here.

The *first wave* features Labov's (1966) work of the social stratification of English in New York and its replicas (see, e.g., Macaulay, 1977; Trudgill, 1974; Wolfram, 1969) in various social settings as a representative of the paradigm that intends to establish correlations between linguistic variables and primary social categories. This *survey era*, as called by Eckert (2005), has

⁸ *Italicised* parts are the emphasis by the researcher.

investigated patterns of language use that are linked to socioeconomic stratification in terms of *standard* vs. *non-standard* use. This way of thinking have also brought several assumptions about the speakers, e.g., linguistic variables and language varieties mark the speaker's social status, and thus, language can be regarded as a matter of *prestige*. In this regard, it can be said that the *first wave* is the era that provides the introductory sociolinguistics books with such terms as standard, non-standard, vernacular, prestige, social marker, etc. For instance, the studies given under this paradigm have referred to the concept *standard variety* as a collection of speech that lacks regional or socially distinctive features. In addition, Labov (1972) defines *vernacular* with respect to speaker's unconscious linguistic behaviour which is restricted locally. Similarly, the concept *gender* as a social category, has been tackled physiologically and broadly, e.g., male-female.

Considering the social meaning that prevails in the *first wave*, the studies given in this paradigm treat variables as having similar social meanings. In this sense, it can be said that since the first wave studies lay out variables as entities that bear direct links to the broad social categories, the social meanings associated with those variables remains fixed (Eckert, 2016a, p. 3).

Adopting an ethnographic approach, the *second wave* studies focus on smaller communities (e.g., girls at a school, tradesmen in a city, a group of football fans, etc.) and thus, endeavour to uncover locally pertinent social categories through long-term observations of the linguistic variables. The *second wave* starts with Labov's (1963) Martha's Vineyard study. What should be noted here is that as Eckert (2005) states in the above quote, these waves do not occur in a chronological order. That is, although the *second wave* starts before the *first*, Eckert's methodological approach puts it in the second place.

Labov (1963) found that in Martha's Vineyard, which is an island in the North-Eastern United States, the people of different age groups and ideologies projected themselves employing different speech patterns that coordinate with the local social order. In a situation where the local identities of some people on the island were in a threat by the outsiders (i.e., visitors coming from the mainland United States), and some others welcome the outsiders for economic purposes, Labov indicated that speakers were employing local linguistic variables as to reflect their ideology and position in the process.

In one of the key studies given in the *second wave*, Gal (1978) demonstrates how language shift occurs in a town called Oberwart where young women shifts their language from peasant (Hungarian) to the industrial (German) economy to reflect their preference for the new social identity. In another study, Milroy (1980/1987) employs the term *social networks* as opposed to

class and argues that social class is too abstract to deal with linguistic variation (p. 14). In addition, in Milroy and Margrain (1980), they found that the amount of linguistic variant used by speakers is dependent on whether their social networks are dense or not, regardless of the broad social categories prevail in the society. Eckert (1980), providing evidence from how peer-based local social order is maintained in a school, draws on the idea that the social stratification can be understood through local ways. Referring to some of the studies given in the frame of the *second wave*, Rickford (1986), emphasizes the importance of ‘analytical machinery’ to grasp the variation (p. 215).

The social meaning in the *second wave* was regarded as a bridge between broad and local social categories. The studies draw on *style* as a form of affiliation in consideration with the locally-defined categories, which provided a space for the *third wave* studies.

Parallel with the paradigm shift occurred in the social sciences, the *third wave* studies have projected a move from structure to practice. That is, the studies have started to treat variables not as a tool that reflects the broad social categories (i.e., structure), but a practice through which individuals “enact social personae or types” (Eckert, 2016a, p. 69). Eckert (2005) lays out the *practice* phenomenon as follows:

Peter Ladefoged was arguing last night that **a language** is an institution. I am arguing that **language** is a practice that unfolds with respect to that institution. And it is the accumulation of practice that produces and reproduces that institution (Eckert, 2005, p. 16).⁹

In relation with the above quote, it can be said that the *third wave* studies regard the society as an institution that consists of individuals. In this institutional environment, individuals’ social actions are constrained by the institution, and in turn, individuals exploit the resources in their social sphere to uncover these constraints. Thus, individuals endeavour social practices to both construct and shape their agencies, identities, as well as other social resources.

As have been stated, the *third wave* studies regard linguistic variation as a social semiotic system. Hence, the studies given in this tradition focus on the semiotic system to uncover the indirect relationship between the variables and the macro-social phenomena. In this regard, Eckert (2016a) states that “variation functions in the pure indexical realm, pointing out distinctions in the social world” (p. 3). That is, linguistic variables used by the individuals index (i.e., point to) diverse social meanings based on the social sphere in which they are found. In addition, the activity of

⁹ **Bolded** emphasis in Eckert (2005).

indexing a specific social meaning is bound to local and individuals “produce and recognize the social” in this local level (ibid., p. 4).

Eckert (2005) exemplifies the concept of *community of practice* (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 2000), which refers to a group of people who form strong ties as a community to focus on specific activities, e.g., family, a sports team, workers in a factory, etc., in highlighting the very basic argument of the *third wave* studies. For instance, in dealing with specific activities (i.e. practice), both the ties among the members of a community and the practice itself develop, constituting a bilateral process. This bilateral process also involves the construction of shared values of the communities. In this regard, the members compare themselves with the other members of the society as well as with the other communities, and thus construct identities. These constructed identities, which are “sense[s] of place in the social world” determine to what extent an individual participates in the communities of practice in his/her social sphere (Eckert, 2005, p. 17). Hence, one of the tools of this participation is the language and/or style, which has been given as “a speaker’s situational adjustments in the use of individual variables” (ibid.). This mechanism behind the *community of practice* can also be highlighted by referring to Nettle (1999) as follows:

One of the central insights of sociolinguistics is that learners of language do not simply pick up the most common norms going around them. Rather, they are seen as active discriminators who aspire to membership of particular social groups and make themselves sound as similar as possible to the members of those groups (Nettle, 1999, p. 99).

Following what Nettle (1999) argues, it can be said that in constructing an identity, individuals in a community use language to both “sound similar” to and “discriminate” themselves from their peers. For instance, Eckert’s study in Belten High in the Detroit suburbs (1989) focuses on two groups called *Jocks* and *Burnouts*: while the former is a group that consists of students who follow middle class culture, the latter, on the other hand, feature a working class culture in the high school. In the study, Eckert found that the differences between the two groups were not incidental (i.e., not totally based on the social structure prevalent around them), on the contrary, there were salient ideological concerns that had been established through the involvements over time during the formation of these groups. That is, the stylistic choices (i.e., linguistic use) that exist in these groups, *Jocks* and *Burnouts*, cannot be observed straightforwardly but through the practices and semiotic processes that contribute to the group identities as well as the members of the two groups.

Another study that helps to figure out the trajectory of the *third wave* is by Zhang (2005). In the study, Zhang focused on four phonological variables used by the speakers of Mandarin Chinese that work in foreign and state-owned companies in Beijing and found that the professionals

working in foreign companies employ both local and global variants, while those who are working in state-owned companies only use local ones. Her arguments on this observation centres around the idea that the professionals working in foreign companies do so in order to construct a new identity, and she concludes that “variation does not just reflect existing categories and social change, but is a resource for constructing those categories and participates in social change” (p. 431).

As can be seen in the basic argument of the *third wave* studies, the social meaning is uncovered through the practice, a process in which the linguistic variables are one of the keys. In this regard, the following lines overview the studies that address the social meaning within the scope of the *third wave*.

In the third wave sociolinguistic studies that explain the linguistic variation through the semiotic resources, it can be observed that scholars put more stress on the *social meaning* of the linguistic variables. The main rationale behind it lies in the distinction given by Silverstein (1976). As have been stated in the previous chapter,¹⁰ Silverstein (1976) points to the distinction between *social* and *referential* meaning with the claim that social behaviour is communicative and involves a “complex of signs”, which further suggests “something in some respect” (p. 12). Specifically, interlocutors in an interaction use linguistic variables in consideration with their goals and/or aims. On the other hand, *referential meaning* of a linguistic variable is the object, phenomenon or state that are denoted by the linguistic unit(s) itself. In their recent work that tackles the *social meaning* in the sociolinguistics literature, pointing to the terms such as *icon*, *index* and *symbol* that have been employed to uncover the *social meaning* in variation, Eckert and Labov (2017) state that sociolinguistic variables do not possess any *referential meaning*:

In other words, variables are signs. Peirce (1931–1935) distinguishes three kinds of signs on the basis of the relation between form and content: *symbols* by pure convention, *icons* by resemblance, and *indexes* by association in fact. The indexical realm is based in contiguity within the speech situation, as form ‘points to’ the immediate context from the speaker’s perspective. While this pointing may serve a referential function, as in the case of spatial and temporal deictics, sociolinguistic variables have no referential function (Eckert and Labov, 2017, p. 469).¹¹

That is, while such linguistic unit as deictic expressions (e.g., *burada* (here), *orada* (there) point to specific places as part of their referential nature, they can also indicate specific *social meanings*,

¹⁰ See 1.2 Theoretical Framework.

¹¹ *Italicized* emphasis by Eckert and Labov (2017).

e.g., extensive use of those deictic expressions in an interaction may mean that the user (i.e., speaker) is someone who is ‘oppressive’ or ‘dominant’.

A working example on how *social meaning* is tackled in the recent literature can be given by foregrounding Kiesling (2004) and Campbell-Kibler (2006, 2007). In Kiesling (2004), he draws on the address term *dude*, which is previously used mostly by men, and its functions and social meanings in interaction. In this regard, he investigates the wider use of the term. By referring to its social meaning, Kiesling states that *dude* later develops into a discourse marker that unmarks (i.e., not explicitly point to) the addressee(s), and thus indexes the speaker’s stance (i.e., speaker’s position) towards his/her addressee in the interaction. As a result, *dude* as a discourse marker index ‘solidarity’ and ‘distance’. In addition, he also adds that the use of *dude* expands to the women based on its availability to index speaker’s stance, which is independent of its previous associations with masculinity (p. 286).

In Campbell-Kibler (2006, 2007), she investigates the social meaning of the accent (ING) (e.g., *-in* as [ɪn] and [ən], and *-ing* as [ɪŋ]) in perception. Addressing these variants’ social associations, and thus the social meanings, she concludes that speakers using *-ing* have been perceived as ‘more educated’ and ‘articulate’, and ‘gay’, on the other hand, those who employ *-in* in their sociolinguistic styles have been perceived as ‘redneck’. In that vein, she further asserts that the accent (ING) resides in the social sphere as a socially meaningful resource that have the probability of being altered in the presence of another independent linguistic variant (Campbell-Kibler, 2007, p. 56).

The above postulation by Campbell-Kibler (2007) is one of the properties of the *social meaning*. That is, they are not constant in the society, on the contrary, they are prone to change. The same argument is also evident in Kiesling (2004). He underlines the fact that both the social meaning of *dude* and the values of the people using this discourse marker might change (p. 300). This inherent property of the *social meaning*, which bears indexical meanings, is central to the theoretical framework of this dissertation. As have been stated in the previous chapter (1-Introduction), the current work tackles social meanings as *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008), which is “a fluid and ever-changing ideological field” (p. 464) as well as “a field of potential meanings” (p.453).

Following the very general nature of the *social meaning* that has been highlighted above, the next half of the current subsection focuses on how *social meaning* has been treated in the literature. In this regard, the literature here has been overviewed in consideration with (a) variationist

sociolinguistics and third wave sociolinguistics, (b) linguistic anthropology and sociocultural linguistics.

In the tradition of (a) variationist sociolinguistics, the first inquiry on the social meaning can be traced back to Labov (1963). Following Labov's works, with the impetus of third wave sociolinguistics, there have arisen a new reading with the interpretation made by Eckert (2000, 2012). Thus, the evolution between Labov (1963) (i.e., variationist sociolinguistics) and early 90s (third wave sociolinguistics) comprises the sociolinguistic leg of the *social meaning* inquiries. The preliminary difference between two sides of the sociolinguistics can be grasped by uncovering the trend on the source of the social meaning: from local social categories to individuals. For instance, in Labov (1963), he uncovers local social meanings of the linguistic variables used by the residents of Martha's Vineyard. The local social context of Martha's Vineyard provides the linguistic variables with social meaning associated with local social categories (e.g., fishermen, workers, natives, etc). Considering this, the below (1) presents the local social context of Martha's Vineyard.

(1) *Local social context of Martha's Vineyard*

The main industry of Martha's Vineyard was on the process of change from whaling and fishing to tourism, and thus yielding hardships for its residents who sustain their life through the fishing industry. The residents, thus, were divided into two sides: those who favour the new industry and those who do not.

In the local context of Martha's Vineyard given in the (1) above, it can be said that there are two sides on the island; those who favour the new industry and those who do not. In this regard, the residents of Martha's Vineyard employ linguistic variables with respect to how they view the 'process of change' that undergoes on the island. On the other hand, there are also broad social categories such as age, gender, socioeconomic status that are thought to be strictly related to the local social categories. Hence, what Labov (1963) postulates is that the residents' style (i.e., use of linguistic variables) is a bridge between local (e.g., fishermen, rural residents, etc.) and broad (e.g., age, gender, etc.) social categories. That is, *rural* people between the *ages 30-45* employ a specific linguistic variant, while *fishermen* between the *ages 30-45* employ another variant, based on their affiliations with the process of change that occurs on the island.

In the third wave sociolinguistics, the *social meaning* has been tackled with respect to how speakers exhibit their style through linguistic and non-linguistic factors. For instance, in Eckert (1996), she identifies a linguistic variable (i.e., back /æ/ before nasals) that go hand in hand with such non-linguistic cues as nail posh, lip gloss and walking. She found that younger students

constructed an individual style when they employed the /æ/ variable and took part in specific activities (e.g., wearing a lip gloss). In this regard, she states that “stylistic endeavours are inseparable from the construction of meaning for the community of practice, and from the construction identity for the individual as a participant in that community” (ibid., p. 8). With this initial argument that have led to the emergence of a body of work in the third wave sociolinguistics, it can be said that *social meaning* is regarded as a construction employed in the process of practice.

The *social meaning* employed in the third wave variationist framework shows similarities with the studies given in (b) linguistic anthropology and sociocultural linguistics. However, the studies given in this framework prioritize interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, 2008). Proposing a framework for the investigation on the identities as produced in linguistic encounters, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) state that “it is in interaction that all these resources gain social meaning” (p. 586). That is, according to Bucholtz and Hall, social meaning is not a source for linguistic and semiotic processes, rather it is the product of social and cultural settings. In addition, creating a contrast between their approach and the traditional variationist sociolinguistics (e.g., Labov, 1966) and the sociology of language (e.g., Fishman, 1971) that associate the social meaning with broad social categories, they state that the phenomenon of social meaning involves broad social categories, locally-specific cultural positions and individuals’ roles that are prone to change (ibid., p. 592). Lastly, similar to that of given by the third wave sociolinguists, they put stress to the semiotic resources by foregrounding the indexicality, in that, an individual in an interaction may employ several semiotic resources to index social meanings. For instance, one might mention a specific social meaning, some other might use implicatures or presuppositions considering his or her own identity, another one have the probability of portraying his or her evaluative position in the course of continuing interaction, and others might draw on ideologically loaded linguistic structures (ibid., p. 594).

Following the previous lines which focus on (2.1) the borderlines of the field of sociolinguistics and/or sociophonetics and (2.2) third wave sociolinguistics with specific emphasis on (2.2.1) the social meaning, the following section (2.3) lays out the current agenda of speech perception studies whose paradigm develops hand in hand with what has been referred to as part of sociophonetics and third wave sociolinguistics.

2.3. SPEECH PERCEPTION

The current section builds on the previous two sections (2.1 and 2.2). In this regard, it firstly deals with (2.3.1) the correlation between production and perception and later lays out (2.3.2) the current agenda of speech perception studies with specific references to the influential studies given in the literature.

2.3.1. The Production – Perception Correlation

Starting with Labov (1966, 1972), who first put the links between sociolinguistic and/or phonetic variation and wide range of social factors such as class, prestige and social characteristics of the speaker, the production studies have occupied the large part of the sociolinguistics literature. In this research tradition, the scholars have also put emphasis on some instances of perception. For instance, Surprenant and Goldstein (1998) found that there are predictable patterns in the perception of English stops in the process of consonant cluster reduction (e.g., lift [lɪft] as in [lɪf]), which in turn, matched with the results given by Wolfram (1969) and Labov (1972). Providing evidence from audiovisual speech perception, McGurk and Macdonald (1976) integrated linguistic and visual information and tested the probability of the association between the sight and the sound in the memory. Both examples have shown that there are correlates between the production and perception. A similar note has also been given by Campbell-Kibler (2006);

When contemplating the role of listener perceptions in the structuring of linguistic variation, it is apparent that speakers who differ in their linguistic preferences and social sense of meaning while speaking must also differ while listening. As a result, we would expect patterned variation in the responses that listeners give to particular variables, much as we witness patterned variation in the performances of speakers themselves. Indeed, not only are these likely to correspond, but the knowledge on which the performance is based must be to a large extent gained through observation of the performances of others. Further, to the extent that speakers are aware of this variation in their audiences or potential audiences, it will shape the performances they create (Campbell-Kibler, 2006, p. 11).

What has been further emphasized by Campbell-Kibler is that although the listeners are well aware of the fact that they use knowledge from the production, their knowledge used during the perception can also shape the production. Since the very beginning of the 1990s, and with some exceptions, the question of perception have arisen with respect to the variation in production. Thus, it can be said that people do not only produce and transmit speech patterns which are surrounded by and linked to social contexts, they also interpret the speech situation which is happening around them in everyday life.

While production studies focus on speech data collected from the speakers and tackle them with respect to the language variation, e.g., *how* people produce *what* linguistic variables, the perception studies, on the other hand, deal with the questions that the production studies have not, e.g., *how* and *why* people perceive *what* linguistic variables. The *why* question here has triggered several research questions that have not been asked by the production literature. For instance, during perception, listeners have been observed to employ linguistic cues to identify the speaker (see, e.g., Clopper & Pisoni, 2004). In addition, listeners have also yielded specific judgments on the speaker's linguistic traits (see, e.g., Levon, 2006, 2007) and stored information in their mind differently (see, e.g., Sumner & Samuel, 2009). In addition, there are also instances where the production and perception do not form a pattern. For instance, Thomas (2000) found that some of the listeners in his perception study employed phonetic cues that they had not used. That is, he provides an evidence for the fact that a listener has the probability of perceiving a linguistic variable that he or she does not use during production. Similarly, Hay, Warren and Drager (2006) noted that the listeners were successful in classifying distinct linguistic variables although they did not possess any contrast in their speech.

Considering these initial arguments and findings that correlate with and complement to the production studies, the below lines involve a topical overview of the perception literature.

2.3.2. On Perception

In the sociolinguistics literature that documents the correlation between linguistic and social variables such as class, region, age, sex, gender and formality since the early 1960s, the perception studies fall within the last three decades of the overall inquiry. With the impetus of third wave sociolinguistics, and also the methodological breakthrough in the field, perception studies have yielded two major findings: listeners employ social information to perceive the speakers and they use the linguistic variables to ascribe specific social traits to the speakers (Campbell-Kibler, 2010; Drager, 2010). However, these findings have been reported after a tough labour by the scholars working in the field. With this respect, the following lines firstly feature the studies that have led to the emergence of the speech perception studies and later, deal with (2.3.2.1) the works that centre upon the social information employed by the speakers during the perception.

Starting with the studies that test the perception of (i) regional variation, ethnicity and socioeconomic level, the studies given in the perception literature also range from the perception of (ii) language change to (iii) personality traits.

In regard to the perception of regional variation, the initial study was given by Bush (1967). In her work, she investigated whether the listeners were correctly identifying such dialects as American, British and Indian English of that time. Based on the stimuli, which involve manipulated tokens as nonsense and real words along with sentences, she found that most of the listeners employed prosodic factors to identify the dialects.

In another direction, Preston's (1993, 1996) works on the perception of regional variation constitute one of the recent endeavours. In his works, Preston recorded voices of speakers whose sociolinguistic style involve a regional variation, and played the sounds to subjects who are from Michigan and Indiana. In the course of his experiments, he asked his participants to match the sound clips they hear and place the voices on the map. He noted that although the listeners were successful in identifying regional background of the speakers, there observed a sharp difference between Michigan and Indiana listeners in placing the speaker into a specific geography.¹²

Tackling the same question in a different geography, Williams, Garrett, and Coupland (1999) recorded voices from six different parts of Wales together with British variety, and played the sound clips to students and teachers from Wales. Different from Preston (1993, 1996), they asked their participants to identify the dialect of the speakers and rate them according to such categories as 'Welshness' and 'probable intimacy'. At the end of the study, they reported that teachers were more accurate than students in identifying the dialect of the speaker.

In another influential study, Clopper and Pisoni (2001) tackled to uncover to what extent the listeners were accurate in identifying the speakers from different parts of the United States. They asked the listeners from Indiana to match each sound clip with a region. At the end of the study, they reported that the listeners were successful in associating the speaker to a region. In addition, they also investigated the features that the listeners employ during the perception. In this regard, they indicated that specific variants (e.g., non-rhoticity, /s/ and /z/ in the production data) were at work during the perception.

Alongside the perception of regional orientation, the perception of ethnicity has been another concern in the speech perception literature. In this regard, it can be said that most of the studies focus on the perception of African American and European American speakers. With the initial finding by the early studies that the listeners are accurate in identifying the ethnicity of the speaker

¹² Dennis Preston is also a key figure in the field of perceptual dialectology that remains beside the point in terms of the current literature review. Readers can see Preston (1986, 1999).

(see, e.g., Haley, 1990; Hibler, 1960; Tucker & Lambert, 1969 among others), the studies given recently have focused on other determinants in uncovering this inquiry. For instance, Wolfram (2000) investigated the identification of two closed ethnic communities in North Carolina. One of the communities in his research (i.e., Hyde County) was in the process of being assimilated by European Americans and the other (i.e., Robeson County) consists of three sub-ethnic groups as European Americans, African Americans and Lumbee Native Americans. He found that while the outsiders were unsuccessful in identifying Hyde County African Americans and Lumbees, the same trend was not observed in intra-ethnic groups. This study by Wolfram (2000) shows that identifying the ethnicity of the speaker is not a one-sided phenomenon, there are other determinants that prevail during the perception.

In the work by Purnell, Idsardi, and Baugh (1999), they focused on the same phenomenon in a detailed way. Finding that European American listeners distinguished the variant productions of the word *hello* as produced by African Americans, European Americans and Mexican Americans, they further asserted that the quality of /ɛ/ variable (i.e., its articulatory nature, environment in the word, stress) was a determinant in this process.

The studies conducted on the perception of socioeconomic level and/or social class of the speakers show a different tradition. On this point, it can be said that there are not any study that only focus on the socioeconomic level and/or social class of the speaker. The studies investigating the socioeconomic level of the speaker have gone hand in hand with the other inquiries on regional variation, ethnicity, age, sex and gender. In the early variationist tradition, there are plenty of studies that reported the accurateness of the listeners in perceiving the socioeconomic level (see, e.g., Shuy, 1970; Wolfram, 1969 among others).

Language change has been another concern in the perception literature. One of the hot topics in the perception of language change is the *mergers* in progress, which can be described as the merging of two sounds which are previously distinct. For instance, Janson and Schulman (1983) tackled an ongoing merger in Swedish and they found that the listeners were not always accurate in discriminating the sounds that were merging. On the contrary, Labov, Karen, and Miller (1991) investigated Philadelphia's identification competencies with pairs such as *ferry* and *furry* which were merged by some of the Philadelphians of that time. They reported that although many of them were not employing the variables in their own speech, many Philadelphians were able to discriminate the sounds which were undergoing a merge. Similarly, Hay, Warren, et al. (2006) studied another merger phenomenon that took place in New Zealand and they also found that the

listeners precisely identified the merging sounds, while they did not sustain any distinction in their everyday speech.

In relation with the personality traits associated with the speaker, it can be said that perception literature have provided a great deal of studies. The trend in uncovering the personality traits of the speakers has emerged with Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum's (1960) matched-guise survey (Thomas, 2002). The matched guise survey is based on listeners' ratings on the paired guises (i.e., linguistic stimuli) produced by the same speaker. Labov (1963) recorded speech samples produced by five women from Manhattan and asked the other residents of Manhattan to rate them in consideration with appropriateness for diverse jobs. He reported that the listeners were conditioned in their ratings based on the stylistic properties of the variables that were well-known by the residents of Manhattan. In another study by Van Bezooijen (1988), she investigated how listeners evaluate speakers' personalities. Her stimuli consist of speech samples from people having diverse socioeconomic backgrounds from the same city. She presented the manipulated stimuli as guises (i.e., manipulated and intact tokens) to listeners and asked to evaluate the stimuli with regard to such personality traits as 'educated' and 'fair'. At the end of the study, she reported that there were statistically significant differences between manipulated and non-manipulated tokens considering the personality traits. Employing videotaped recordings as guises, Plichta (2001) tackled the personality traits (e.g., standardness, education, region, etc.) associated to European Americans and African Americans by European Americans and African Americans. He concluded that European American participants judged speakers of each ethnicity equally in terms of 'standardness', while African Americans yielded low scores for the other African Americans in regard to the same personality trait.

The above mentioned studies, which can be regarded as a pathfinder for their followers in the speech perception literature, initiated several research questions as well as provided a preliminary methodology. In this regard, the next subsection provides an overview of the *followers*, which are known with their unique research questions that challenge the social information used by the listeners as well as the social traits associated with the speakers in various contexts.

2.3.2.1. The Role of Social Information in Perception

Different from the previous sections of this chapter, the preliminary concept in the current subsection is *social information*, which can be interpreted along with the third wave sociolinguistics. Here, the concept *social information* covers a series of meanings ranging from personality traits to broad social categories, and to ethnicity, sex and gender that go hand in hand with the perception.

First of all, what has been made clear by the earlier studies is that linguistic cues influence the speech perception. That is, listeners have the ability to extract such information as gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic status out of speech stimuli. Specifically, among the other studies given recently, it has been found that listeners can employ phonetic variation to identify speaker's regional identity (Fridland, Bartlett, & Kreuz, 2004), ethnicity (Purnell et al., 1999), sexuality (Campbell-Kibler, 2011; Levon, 2014) and locally-known styles (D'Onofrio, 2015; MacFarlane & Stuart-Smith, 2012).

For instance, in Fridland et al. (2004), they manipulated vowel formants and prepared monosyllabic tokens as guises in order to test the listeners' awareness on the phenomena of a regional sound shift. Proposing an experimental design that focuses on measuring speakers' sensitivity towards slight changes in vowels, they investigated the relationships between perceived Southern accents and vowels. Continuing to be relevant in the current agenda of the perception studies, Purnell et al. (1999) investigated how the listeners of two ethnic groups (i.e., African Americans and European Americans) identify and distinguish the variant productions of a word (i.e., *hello*) to infer ethnicity out of a phonetic variable. In uncovering how listeners use phonetic variation as a social cue for talker's sexuality, Campbell-Kibler (2011) focused on three intersecting variables: pitch, /s/-fronting and/or backing and (ING). In her work, she found that among the other variables, /s/-fronting bears strong social meaning in perceiving someone as 'less masculine' and 'more gay'. In addition, her (ING) variable resulted in social meanings that reside in two distinct edges: *-ing* as 'more competent' and *-in* as 'less competent'. The speaker's sexuality was also dealt with by Levon (2014). In his study, intersecting the variables and the categories of gender, sexuality and social class in the UK, he investigated how the perception of sexuality is regulated by the attitudes of the listeners. In his work, he concluded that the listeners consistently realized pitch and TH-fronting (i.e., [f] instead of [θ]) with the social meanings of 'competence' and 'likability' respectively. In addition, he noted that individual attitudes was the key in perceiving the pitch/sibilance with social meanings associated with gender/sexuality. In another study that aims to uncover the production/perception link in Glasgow, MacFarlane and

Stuart-Smith (2012) tested the relationship between phonetic variation in production and social attributes in perception with respect to a locally-defined style, namely the *Glasgow Uni-ish*. Similarly, D'Onofrio (2015) investigated another locally-known style that is known as *Valley Girl*. In her work, she focused on backed TRAP vowel (i.e., [æ] shifts to back) and found that persona-based social meanings have the probability of influencing the perceptions and she further stated that this finding provides evidence for the argument that persona is a social construct.

In regard to the first group of studies, which stresses the effects of social information on the categorization of the speaker, recent studies in the literature put forward the finding that the social characteristics provided to the listeners about the speaker (e.g., age, gender, socioeconomic and education level, etc.) mediate the perception. For instance, social information about speaker's gender (Strand, 1999), age (Koops et al., 2008b), race (Staum Casasanto, 2008), geographical orientation (Niedzielski, 1999), socioeconomic status (Hay, Warren, et al., 2006), sexual orientation (Mack & Munson, 2012) and persona (D'Onofrio, 2015) affects the perception.

Strand (1999) investigated how cues about the gender stereotypes affect the perception. In this regard, she created gender neutral tokens based on /s/ and /ʃ/, which are known to be produced differently as a result of physiological nature of men and women, asked her participants to match the token with gender. She found that participants were likely to identify the neutral token as /ʃ/ when they were shown a video of a female. That is, Strand (1999) found that participants first employed social information about the speaker (i.e., video in her study) and later, they employed this information to perceive and identify the speaker.

In another study where speaker's age is a determinant in perception, Koops et al. (2008b) investigated the pre-nasal /i/ and /e/ in Houston that were on the process of un-merger at that time (i.e., /i/ and /e/ were on the process of splitting up although they were identical in the past). They conducted an eye-tracking experiment and asked their participants to match the sounds they hear with the words they see. As a result, they found that listeners associated the merged system when listening to an 'old' speaker. The same observation was not recorded for 'young' speakers. Instead, Koops et al. (2008b) interpreted that observation as vowel merger in Houston that was correlated with the age of the speaker.

In the work by Staum Casasanto (2008), she investigated the effect of ethnicity as a social cue on the perception of consonant cluster reduction (i.e., deleting the final consonant of the cluster found in the coda position of a syllable). She provided her participants with pictures of Black and White faces and asked to identify the lexical items 'mass' and 'mast'. At the end of the study, she found

that listeners associated the Black speakers with consonant cluster reductions (e.g., ‘mass’ as in [mæs]) and White speakers with less consonant cluster reductions (e.g., ‘mast’ as in [mæst]).

In uncovering the effect of the dialect of the speaker as a social cue on perception, Niedzielski (1999) tackled a sound phenomenon occurring in Detroit and Canada. In these places, the diphthong /aʊ/ as in the word *mouth* is produced with a raised nucleus. She addressed the previous studies that investigated this phenomenon and noted that while Detroit speakers associated this variant with Canadians while they were not aware that they also employ the /aʊ/. She conducted an experiment in which the participants were asked to pair the variant with either Detroit and Canada and found that participants were more liable to match the variant with a raised nucleus in the circumstances where Canada was found at the top of the answer sheet. The same instance was not observed for Detroit speakers with the same significance. In this regard, Niedzielski (1999) concluded that participants’ expectations regarding the speaker’s dialect was a determinant in associating the raised variant with either Detroit and Canada.

Hay, Warren, et al. (2006) focused on merger-in-progress of the diphthongs in the words *near* and *square* in New Zealand. In their experiment, they provided the listeners with identical tokens along with different pictures of the speakers, e.g., older, younger, middle-class and working-class. In addition, their middle- and working-class photos involved the same people with different clothes. At the end of the study, they stated that there were wide range of determinants observed in the perception of merger-in-progress. One of these determinants was noted as the social cue related to the socioeconomic level of the speaker.

In another study, Mack and Munson (2012) tackled a widely-established production and perception phenomenon in the popular culture, the phenomenon of ‘gay lisp’ during the production of fronted-/s/. In their perception study, they dealt with the fronted- and misarticulated-/s/ sounds produced by gays and employed two distinct experiments with regard to the distinction between the tokens. As a result of the first experiment, they reported that speakers were identified as ‘younger-sounding’ and ‘gayer-sounding’ when the listeners were provided with non-fronted-/s/ (i.e., dentalized /s/ or /s/ produced with high pitch). On the other hand, as for the second experiment, they found that when the listeners were asked to listen a fronted-/s/, they were quicker than before in identifying the person as ‘gay’. In that vein, Mack and Munson (2012) concluded that stereotypes about sexual orientation is a determinant in the perception of /s/.

D'Onofrio (2015) investigated the phenomenon of TRAP-backing (i.e., the vowel in the word 'trap' shifts to back), which is a widely known phenomenon that is associated with California and a specific persona that resides in the California region, namely the *Valley Girl*. In uncovering the determinants behind the perception of the backed vowel, she conducted an eye-tracking experiment. During the experiments, she provided one of her groups with the social cue that the speaker was from California. Similarly, another group in the experiment were provided with the persona of the speaker as *Valley Girl*. Comparing the social cues given in terms of California and *Valley Girl*, and finding that the listeners associated both of these entities with TRAP-backing, she concluded that it was not only the macro-sociological categories, but also the specific persona associated with the speaker affected the perception.

Considering the studies given in the above lines, it should be noted that the term *social information* has been used in two senses in the literature: (i) the information about the speaker provided to the listeners during perception and (ii) the information used by the listeners in the course of the perception. In order to dismantle the ambiguity on the concept *social information* in consideration with this dissertation, the term *social cue* has been employed to refer to the social information provided to the listeners during the perception, e.g., providing the listener with a social cue about the speaker as, *This person is a Ph.D. graduate*. In addition, the term *social information* has been employed to refer to the resources employed by the listeners during the perception.

Starting with the broad framework known as variationist sociolinguistics and/or sociophonetics, the above lines have depicted the very borderlines of the current work on the perception of the alveolar flap /ɾ/ and velar stop /k/ variables with regard to such terms social meaning of variables and social information employed in perceiving the speaker. Building on this line, the following sections 2.4 and 2.5 involve the review of the literature on the variables of the dissertation, /ɾ/ and /k/ respectively.

2.4. ON /r/

As have been stated as part of a limitation for the current work, the alveolar flap /r/ and its variants have not drawn the attention of the sociolinguistic tradition in Turkey. Thus, the descriptions on the /r/ have been given with respect to its basic phonetic and phonological nature. In this regard, it can be said that the literature on the /r/ variable only involves its predictable environments, e.g., its occurrence in syllable initial, medial and final positions.

In Turkish, the alveolar flap /r/ is realized differently based on the environments where it is used. In intervocalic environments, it is realized as voiced alveolar flap [r], e.g., *ara* [ara], *bere* [bere] and *serap* [serap]. In word-initial position, it becomes voiced fricated alveolar flap [r̥], e.g., *raf* [r̥af], *resim* [r̥esim] and *rüya* [r̥yja:], and in word-final condition, it turns out to be voiceless fricated alveolar flap [r̥̥], e.g., *bir* [bi̥r̥], *ser* [se̥r̥] and *her* [he̥r̥] (Demircan, 1996; Ergenç, 1989; Ergenç & Bekar Uzun, 2017; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 1997; Lewis, 1967/2000; Özsoy, 2004; Selen, 1979).

The only instance of /r/ that can be regarded as a sociolinguistic description comes from Kornfilt (1989/2009). In bringing a descriptive account to the phonology of Turkish with regard to the phenomenon of word-final liquid devoicing (e.g., as in *ser* [se̥r̥] above), she states that;

... another striking phenomenon somewhat related to stop devoicing is the word-final liquid devoicing of liquids, especially common in the İstanbul dialect and in the speech of educated speakers in the other big cities: *kar* ‘snow’, *bakır* ‘copper’, *kele* ‘bald’ (Kornfilt, 1989/2009, p. 525).

In her chapter on the structure of Turkish, Kornfilt asserts an *unpredictable* phenomenon for certain sounds. In the mainstream descriptive linguistics, predictable nature of certain phonemes and/or sounds are associated with their constraints yielded by the environments in which those sounds occur. However, as can be seen above, Kornfilt notes an exception for the occurrence of the /r/, which in turn, can be regarded as a *free variation*, which has the probability of being determined by non-linguistic (i.e., *not* structural) factors. As she stated, those factors were given in frame of education level, accent and/or dialect area and big cities, and thus, it can also be regarded as a social phenomenon.

In the pilot study conducted prior to the current work, one of the filler tokens (i.e., the tokens that were not taken into account considering the main research question of the pilot study) involved

variant pronunciations of the /r/. Both in the group interviews and the matched-guise survey, there observed strong implications that the alveolar approximant [ɹ] variant of the /r/ was associated with a subculture called *tiki* and gay men. These implications were also conformed with the initial observations and hypotheses of the researcher. In that vein, the variant pronunciations of the alveolar flap /ɾ/ have been hypothesized as a phonetic variable that has the probability of yielding social meanings associated with (i) tiki subculture and (ii) gay men. As have been stated and further justified in the previous chapter (see 1.5 Limitations), this hypothesis bear serious limitations.

Contrary to the /r/ variable, the /k/ variable employed in the current work is a popular phenomenon in the literature on the Turkish dialectology. In this line, the following section lays out and discusses the findings given on the variation of the velar stop /k/.

2.5. ON /k/

Alongside its conditioning (i.e., predictable) environments, the velar stop /k/ is also a popular phenomenon among the dialectologists in Turkey. However, the descriptions given on the /k/ vary from scholar to scholar, due to the methodologies employed in the tradition of the Turkish dialectology. In this regard, the below lines firstly report from the descriptive accounts brought on the /k/ and later, the descriptions brought by the dialectology studies have been discussed.

Velar stop /k/ in Turkish has two conditioning environments; With [a, ʊ, o, u], it is realized as voiceless velar stop [k] (e.g. *kal* [kal], *kıl* [kuɫ] and *kol* [kol]), and with [e, i, œ, y], it turns out to be voiceless palatal stop [ç] (e.g., *kel* [çel], *kür* [cyɾ] and *kör* [çœɾ] (Demircan, 1996; Ergenç, 1989; Ergenç & Bekar Uzun, 2017; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 1997; Lewis, 1967/2000; Özsoy, 2004; Selen, 1979).

Along with the descriptions given on the predictable nature of the /k/ variation, there are also studies that report the unpredictable nature of it; fieldworks on the Turkish dialectology. Specifically, in the broad literature of the dialectology of Turkish and the Turkic languages, the voiceless velar fricative [x], voiced velar stop [g] and voiceless glottal fricative [h] variants of the voiceless velar stop /k/ have been associated with the Inner and Eastern Anatolian accents (see, e.g., Caferoğlu, 1951, 1963; Demir, 2013; Gemalmaz, 1978; Olcay, 1963 among others). However, these studies, which have been yielded as a result of long lasting devotion and precious efforts, lack consistency when it comes to interpret the variation. This is thought to be the result

of the tradition of its methodology. As have been stated, this has imposed a limitation for the current work. In order to minimize the effects of this limitation, the below lines can be regarded as an attempt to communicate with the findings given in the literature of the Turkish dialectology.

Tackling several findings into account, Caferoğlu (1963) put forward a compilation that involves the [g] variant of the /k/ variable. Among his other comments, below is an instance from Caferoğlu:

In an orderly manner, the *k*->*g*- variation has been finalized for certain regions. Even, it is possible to establish a “dialect map” for this sound change. Although one can scarcely observe it in some parts of Anatolia, this variation is salient in eastern cities and especially in the Inner Anatolian Region, and today, it has become a phonetic phenomenon. Notwithstanding the *k*’s in these regions tried to co-occur with borrowed words, this does not bear any importance.

..

b) - *k* - > -*g*- This sound has not developed as it is in the word initial position, however, in some words, it found in the second sound of the words involving - *k*k -: *fugara* < *fuğara* (poor); *topragları* < *toprakları* (their lands) ; *cigmiş* < *çıkmiş* (went out); *yokguş* < *yokkuş* (slope) (Caferoğlu, 1963, pp. 9-10).¹³

As can be seen in the above quote from Caferoğlu (1963), the annotation of the /k/ variable was given with reference to its *written* form. However, a speaker of Turkish can easily realize that the exemplified variation *cigmiş* < *çıkmiş* (i.e., [g] vs. [k]) is misleading in the sense of its transcription. One might think that the representation by Caferoğlu (1963) resulted from the methodology and/or technology employed by the studies of that time. However, the same representation also prevails in today’s works. For instance, in his comprehensive work on Ankara accent, Demir (2013) noted the followings considering the transcription of the sounds:

¹³ “Double quotation” emphasis by Caferoğlu (1963) and **bolded** emphasis and English translations in parenthesis by the researcher.

One of the problems faced in the course of the transcription is the decision process involving such sounds as *k-g-h*, *t-d-b-p* that possess voiced and voiceless properties. Among these, voiceless stop sounds are also aspirated. In the recordings, these sounds are mostly produced as unaspirated. In this case, it is not an easy task to differentiate these sounds by ear considering whether they are voiced or voiceless. When two sounds, which have both voiced and voiceless realizations, occur side by side, in most circumstances, the first one is realized as voiceless but unaspirated, the second is realized as voiced, e.g., *atdı* (He/she threw), *yapdı* (He/she did). It is possible to uncover the qualities of these sounds by a computer (Demir, 2013, p. 79).¹⁴

The above quote by Demir (2013) can be regarded as another instance on how Turkish dialectology deals with the representation of the sounds. Moreover, he also sees the need for a computer-assisted analysis of the sounds in order to attain a fine-grained acoustic description. Demir (2013) is not the first and/or the last in seeing need for a well-established characterization of the sounds. Similar voices can be observed in the literature of Turkish dialectology. For instance, Akar (2006) foregrounds his concerns as follows:

Seeing the published works on the dialects, it is easy to determine the researchers' own way of transcribing the sounds. For instance, the same sounds, which have been studied in the same geography, have been annotated differently. Which one is correct? As an answer to this question, one can say "the third one" or "none of them." In the studies on the dialects, a uniform dialect transcription conventions based on the International Phonetic Alphabet should be devised and used in every research (Akar, 2006, p. 50).

Akar's (2006) arguments on how the studies given in the Turkish dialectology stresses the importance of a unified transcription convention. These methodological shortcomings in the field have surely imposed difficulties in dealing with the /k/ variable. As a projection, it can be stated that the future studies that endeavour to tackle the social nature of the variables will face with similar hardships and concerns.

¹⁴ English translation by the researcher.

2.6. CLOSING REMARKS

This chapter has provided this dissertation with a background. In this regard, the current work, which tackles the social meanings of /t/ and /k/ in perception, draws on the field of sociophonetics and further adopts a framework of indexicality to interpret the social meanings.

Considering the /t/ variable, the current work can be regarded as an initial attempt to uncover a phenomenon that has not received an evidence from production. On the other hand, as for the /k/ variable, the study aims to bring an understanding to a previously-established regional variation. In addition, in the course of uncovering the social meanings associated with these variables, the work also deals with social information and addresses the social resources used in perceiving the speakers and variables.

The next chapter (3-Methodology) lays out the experimental design of the dissertation through bringing an account for data collection, analysis and interpretation.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. OVERVIEW

In the field of sociophonetics, tackling the perceptions of listeners involves a series of methodologies that differ with respect to what research question(s) is addressed. Following the Chapter 2, which have reviewed the current sociolinguistic agenda on language variation and perception, this chapter deals with how the current study has tackled the perceptions of the listeners in uncovering the social meanings associated with the variables employed.

The current inquiry focuses on two linguistic variables: the alveolar flap /ɾ/ and velar stop /k/ and the social meanings associated with them during perception. In this regard, the speech stimuli have been constructed by employing three sociolinguistic data elicitation methods; sociolinguistic interviews, map task and read speech. After obtaining the data, the target tokens involving the variant pronunciations of the /ɾ/ and /k/ variables have been arrayed to finalize the tokenization process. In terms of the perception, the experimental design involves two distinct perception practices; sociolinguistic group interviews and matched guise survey. Considering the perception phase, the qualitative data that have been yielded by the interviews have been interpreted by adopting an ethnomethodological approach. In triangulating the qualitative data, the quantitative data have been interpreted through conducting a statistical analysis.

In relation with the above given brief outline of the methodology adopted in the current work, the following lines start with the (3.2) the descriptions on the variables (and their variants) that have been employed to uncover the social meanings associated with them. Following the descriptions on the variables, the section 3.3 proposes the experimental design that has been adopted to test

the variables in the perceptions of the listeners. The section 3.4 lays out the analytical tools employed in the interpretation of the qualitative and quantitative findings and lastly, 3.5 reports from the pilot study that has been conducted prior to the dissertation.

3.2. WHY DO /r/ AND /k/ MATTER? THE VARIABLES

In this study, the social meaning perceiving process has been investigated with regard to the variable pronunciations of alveolar flap /r/ and velar stop /k/. Starting with the /r/ variable, below lines provide a descriptive account on the linguistic variables that have been tested in the perception of the listeners.

3.2.1. The /r/ Variable

Alveolar approximant [ɹ] variant of the alveolar flap /r/ variable is one of the variables that has been dealt with in the current study. The rationale behind the employment of the [ɹ] is based on two grounds: Firstly, this work makes use of the strong implications obtained from the pilot study that was conducted in 2016, in which one of the tokens (i.e., variables) was the alveolar approximant [ɹ] variant of the /r/ variable. Secondly, it has been observed that alveolar approximant [ɹ] is one of the salient sociophonetic variables that has been performed in such popular culture tools as TVs, magazines, social media, etc.

In Turkish, the alveolar flap /r/ is realized differently based on the environments where it is used. In intervocalic environments, it is realized as voiced alveolar flap [r], e.g., *ara* [ara], *bere* [bere] and *serap* [serap]. In word-initial position, it becomes voiced fricated alveolar flap [r̥], e.g., *raf* [r̥af], *resim* [r̥esim] and *rüya* [r̥yja:], and in word-final condition, it turns out to be voiceless fricated alveolar flap [r̥], e.g., *bir* [bi̥], *ser* [se̥] and *her* [he̥] (Demircan, 1996; Ergenç, 1989; Ergenç & Bekar Uzun, 2017; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 1997; Lewis, 1967/2000; Özsoy, 2004; Selen, 1979).

Different from the above given predictable variants of the /r/, in Turkish, the /r/ variable has another variant, which is unpredictable, namely the alveolar approximant [ɹ]. This is one of the strongest observations in this dissertation that alveolar approximant [ɹ] is claimed to occur in the speeches of members of *the tiki subculture* that indexes a group of wealthy young people – mostly girls – or who want to be and thus seem like that, and *gay men* that indexes sexual orientation. Acknowledging the fact that the /r/ has not been tackled in the Turkish sociolinguistics literature

and thus a ‘closed book’, the current work gains strong implications from the pilot study that was conducted in 2016, in which one of the tokens was the alveolar approximant [ɹ] variant of the /r/ variable that has been observed to be salient in the perceptions of the listeners along with its social meanings associated with *tiki* and gay personae.

The only instance of /r/ that can be regarded as a sociolinguistic description comes from Kornfilt (1989/2009). In bringing a descriptive account to the phonology of Turkish with regard to the phenomenon of word-final liquid devoicing (e.g., as in *ser* [seɾ] above), she states that;

... another striking phenomenon somewhat related to stop devoicing is the word-final liquid devoicing of liquids, especially common in the İstanbul dialect and in the speech of educated speakers in the other big cities: *kar* ‘snow’, *bakır* ‘copper’, *kıl* ‘bald’ (Kornfilt, 1989/2009, p. 525).

In her chapter on the structure of Turkish, Kornfilt points to an *unpredictable* phenomenon for certain sounds, one of which is the /r/. In the mainstream descriptive linguistics, predictable nature of certain phonemes and/or sounds are associated with their constraints yielded by the environments in which those sounds occur. However, as can be seen above, Kornfilt notes an exception for the occurrence of the /r/, which in turn, can be regarded as a *free variation*, which has the probability of being determined by non-linguistic (i.e., *not* structural) factors. As she stated, those factors were given in frame of education level (i.e., speech of educated speakers), accent and/or dialect area and big cities (i.e., İstanbul dialect, speakers in the other big cities than İstanbul), and thus, it can also be regarded as a social phenomenon.

In that vein, the variant pronunciations of the alveolar flap /r/ have been hypothesized as a phonetic variable that has the probability of yielding social meanings associated with (i) tiki subculture and (ii) gay men. As have been stated and further justified in the previous chapter (see 1.5 Limitations), this hypothesis bear serious limitations.

Revisiting the variable pronunciations of the /r/ given in the literature, the Figure 3.1 below exhibits the environments of the alveolar approximant [ɹ], which is constrained by non-linguistic factors in the society.

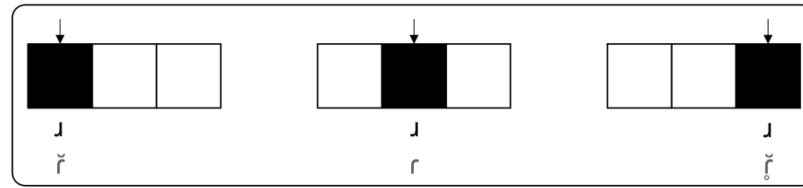


Figure 3.1. /ɾ/ variation in initial, medial and final positions with an emphasis on alveolar approximant [ɹ]

The above Figure 3.1 maps the alveolar approximant [ɹ] alongside the other variants of the alveolar flap /ɾ/. In the production data, these three environments have been observed as the realization spot of the /ɾ/ variable.

3.2.2. The /k/ Variable

The second variable that has been tackled in the current work is the velar stop /k/. The velar stop /k/ has been dealt along with its two unpredictable variants, e.g., velar fricative [x] and velar stop [g]. The rationale behind the employment of the variant pronunciations of the /k/ as sociophonetic variables is the fact that it is one of the most salient production phenomena in the literature of Turkish dialectology. In this regard, it has been noted by numerous studies that /k/ variation is associated with the Inner and Eastern Anatolian accents (see, e.g., Caferoğlu, 1951, 1963; Gemalmaz, 1978, Olcay, 1963, among others).

Velar stop /k/ in Turkish has two conditioning environments; with [a, u, o, u], it is realized as voiceless velar stop [k] (e.g. *kal* [kal], *kıl* [kuɫ] and *kol* [kol]), and with [e, i, œ, y], it turns out to be voiceless palatal stop [ç] (e.g., *kel* [çel], *kür* [cyɾ] and *kör* [cœɾ]) (Demircan, 1996; Ergenç, 1989; Ergenç & Bekar Uzun, 2017; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 1997; Lewis, 1967/2000; Özsoy, 2004; Selen, 1979).

In addition to the predictable nature of the /k/ variable given above, there are also unpredictable variants of the /k/ variable which has been on the agenda of the regional dialectology in Turkey for decades. That is, in the broad literature of the dialectology of Turkish and the Turkic languages, the voiceless velar fricative [x], voiced velar stop [g] and voiceless glottal fricative [h] variants of the voiceless velar stop /k/ have been associated with the Inner and Eastern Anatolian accents (Caferoğlu, 1951, 1963; Gemalmaz, 1978; Olcay, 1963). Figure 3.2 maps the variable pronunciations of /k/ that have been employed in the study:

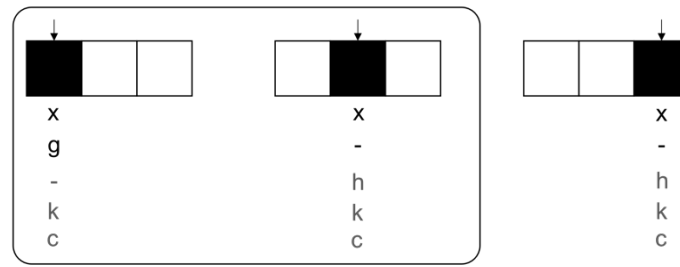


Figure 3.2. /k/ variation in initial, medial and final positions with emphasizes on [x] and [g]

Following Figure 3.2, which involves variable pronunciations of /k/ in Turkish with respect to its environments, in the dissertation, only the word-initial and word-medial variants of /k/ have been regarded as the linguistic stimuli. The reason of this motivation is practical in the fact that in word-final position, the voiceless glottal fricative [h] can be omitted. In order not to deal with an uncontrolled elliptic variation of /k/, the study has focused only on the physically existent /k/ variables. Following the variables as introduced above, the following section lays out the experimental design adopted in the dissertation.

3.3. THE EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

The experimental design of the dissertation consists of three stages; (i) speech production, (ii) tokenization and (iii) speech perception. The below Figure 3.3 features the experimental design.

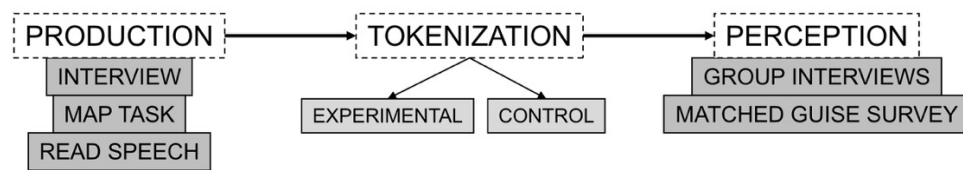


Figure 3.3. The experimental design adopted in the dissertation

Following the overall framework of the study design given in the Figure 3.3 above, in (i) the initial stage, speech samples have been obtained from speakers to form the *linguistic stimuli*. Then, the environmental features of the stimuli, which bear the probability of affecting the perception of the listeners, have been stabilized and both experimental and control variables have been formed in (ii) the tokenization phase. In the last phase of the experiment, namely (iii) the perception stage, two methods have been employed to gather listeners' perceptions on the variables in question.

The following subsections deal with (3.3.1) the production stage, (3.3.2) the tokenization phase and (3.3.3) the perception stage.

3.3.1. The Production Stage

In the studies that focus on the perception of linguistic variation, speech production stage is significant for its role in creating linguistic stimuli from a set of subject pool. In this regard, this section gives detailed descriptions on (3.3.1.1) the methods employed in extracting linguistic stimuli from the informants and (3.3.1.2) the informant pool from whom the linguistic stimuli have been obtained. The below Figure 3.4 highlights the speech production stage.

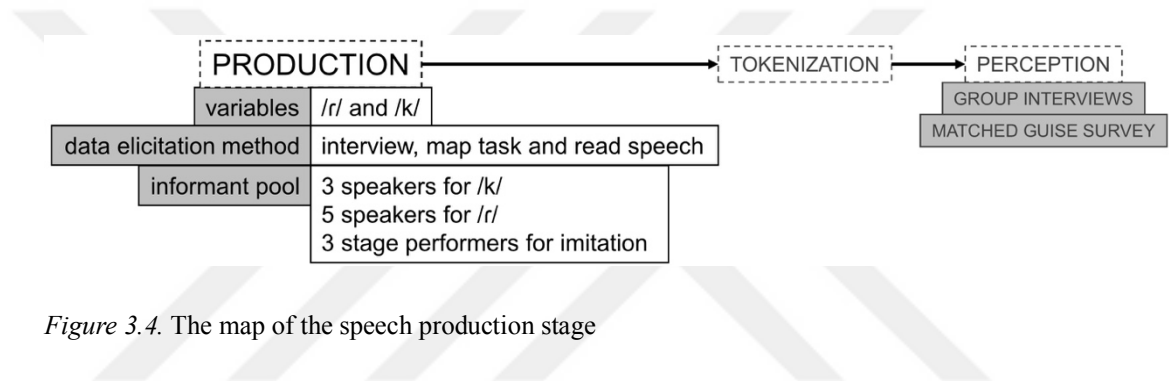


Figure 3.4. The map of the speech production stage

The linguistic data of the study have been constructed on the variable pronunciations of alveolar flap /r/ and velar stop /k/. In order to extract linguistic stimuli from the informants, such linguistic data elicitation methods as interview, map task and read speech have been conducted with 11 participants. The following subsection involves descriptions on the linguistic data elicitation methods employed.

3.3.1.1. The Linguistic Data Elicitation Methods

Based on the research questions, there have been various linguistic data elicitation methods adopted in the studies in the broad literature of variationist sociolinguistics and/or sociophonetics. Among them, semantic differential questions (Labov, 2001), interactive map task (Brown, Anderson, Shillcock, & Yule, 1984), interactive/monologic diapiix tasks (Baker & Hazan, 2011; Scarborough, Brenier, Zhao, Hall-Lew, & Dmitreva, 2007), picture book narration (Troiani et al., 2008; Varon, 2007), silent movie narration (Chafe, 1980) and read-text tasks are the ones which are extensively used in the field. In this study, in creating the linguistic stimuli with variable pronunciations of /r/ and /k/, three sociolinguistic data elicitation methods have been employed: (i) Interview, (ii) map-task and (iii) read speech.

The main rationale behind the application of these three distinct tasks has been the need for both naturally occurring and imitated linguistic data to form guises in the perception tasks. While (i) the interview and (ii) map task have been employed in order to obtain naturally occurring data, (iii) the read speech task has been conducted to obtain identical sounds that have been produced by the participants in the first two data elicitation methods. Hence, this method provides the study with identical guises differing only in the linguistic variables in question, e.g., two identical words that differ only in [r] and [ɹ].

Here, it should be noted that the read speech task has been employed on the grounds that there has not been any study in the Turkish sociolinguistic literature that can be adopted as a model in the course of speech production stage. Hence, in order to refrain from any shortcomings with the variants of the linguistic variables of the current work, the read speech task has been adopted in securing the linguistic data.

Before the data elicitation tasks (e.g., sociolinguistic interview and map task), informants have been equipped with general information about the experiment. This briefing involves the aim of the study and the procedures of speech production phase. After these tasks, Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form were provided to them.¹⁵ The below (1) provides an instance of the briefing given to the participants:

- (1) *I am going to record your voice in two tasks. In the first task, I am going to ask you some questions about your daily activities, habits, etc. Following this, in the second task, I am going to make you describe the route of a place on a fictional map for one of your friends. During these two activities, I am going to focus on your language use. If you feel uncomfortable in telling the route of a place in your daily life, you have the right to leave the second task.*

In obtaining naturally occurring linguistic data, each participant has been asked to take part in both interviews and map tasks. In regard to (i) the interviews, different from that of Labov (1966, 2001), who employs semantic differential questions, e.g., questions which involve adjectives on two opposite edges to make the speaker utter words according to, in the current study, interviews have been conducted on daily topics. Since people have the probability of yielding explicit social information in different contexts (i.e., through words reflecting their occupations, traits, etc.), all the participants in interviews were asked the same questions in order to limit the social information transmitted through the speech. Thus, all of the interviews consist of questions about

¹⁵ See Appendix 1 for the Participant Information Sheet and the Consent Form, and Appendix 2 for the ethics permit.

participants' backgrounds, including what they watch on television, what they think about their favourite meal, how they grew up, etc. In order to make the participants feel comfortable, such filler questions have been asked as what makes their time precious, what kind of words they use in their daily life, etc. Moreover, in order to get a fine grained naturally occurring data in the map task, at the end of the interviews, the participants have been asked if they feel comfortable in giving directions to someone in any kind of route-guiding setting. The participant who stated their ease concerning this question proceeded to the map task.

In (ii) the map task, participants have been required to guide their partners in drawing a route which was specified only in their sheet (i.e. map) and not on their partners'. In the process, the participant who is telling the route of x on the map has been recorded. The major aim of the map task was to elicit the same words and phrases from the participants in a naturally occurring setting. In addition, map task has been found practical in the sense that the interaction occurs in the same speech event (e.g., telling a route) with limited amount of speech acts (e.g., making requests, suggestions and giving directions). Thus, the task-oriented setting of the task has provided the study with a naturally occurring linguistic data. The map employed in the map task does not belong to any real place, it is fictional. The Figure 3.5 involves the map employed in the map task.

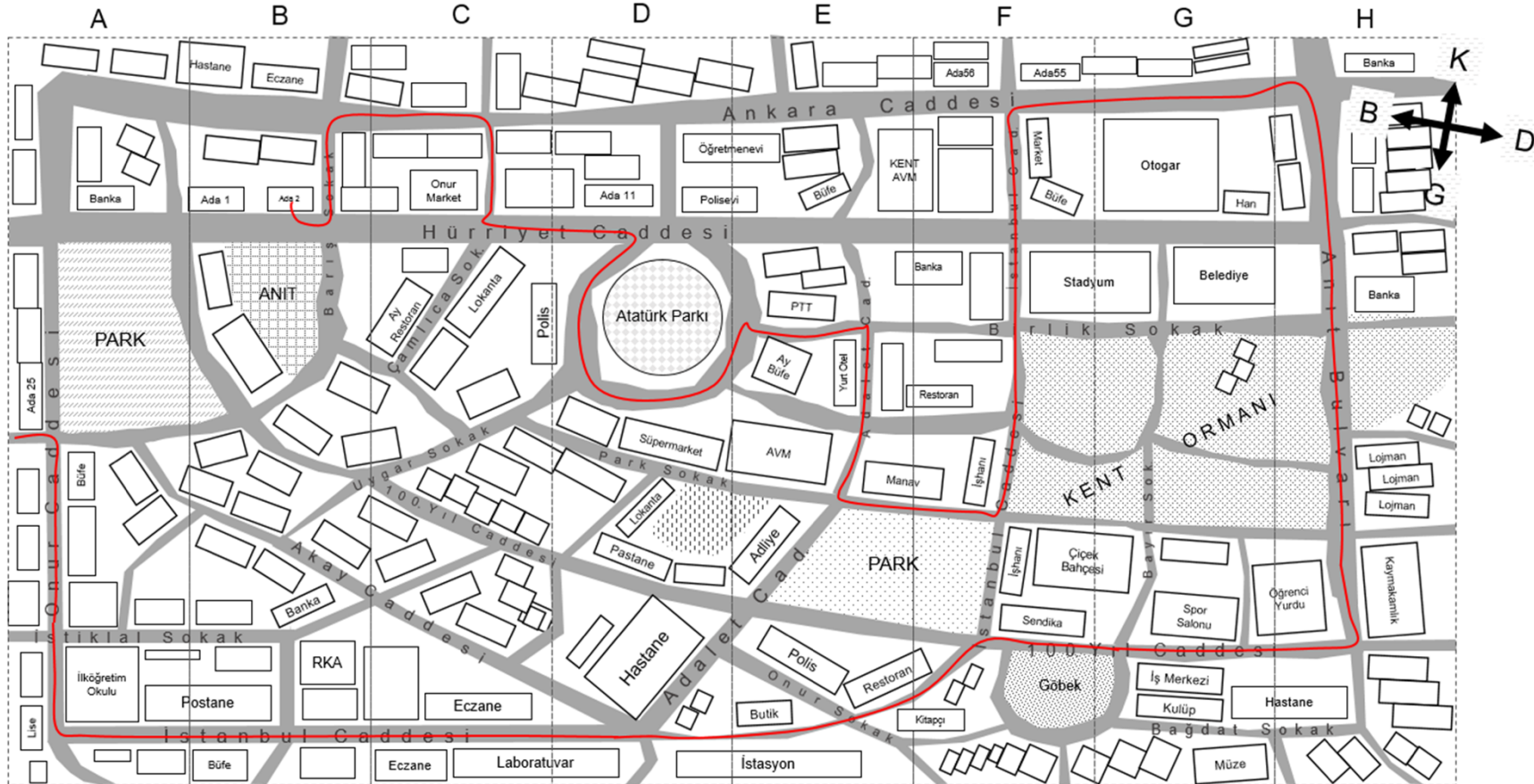


Figure 3.5. The map employed in the map task

After obtaining the linguistic data and determining the linguistic stimuli in the tokenization stage (see below 3.3.3), (iii) a read speech task on a predetermined wordlist has been carried out with three participants who are professional stage performers. The informants of the read speech task have higher educational background on stage arts and theatre and either studying or working in one of the state conservatories in Ankara. Having been purposefully sampled, the informants of the read speech task have been asked to listen to the productions of the other informants and later read a list of phrases and sentences which involve variable realizations of [ɾ] and [k]. The main rationale behind the inclusion of these informants is to obtain guises (i.e., marked and unmarked productions of linguistic variables) that have been employed in the perception stage.

In the course of the tasks conducted in the speech production stage, M-Audio M-Track II sound device, Rode NT2-A microphone and Audacity software (Audacity(R), 1999-2016) have been used to record the participants.

3.3.1.2. The Informant Pool

In eliciting linguistic data on the variable pronunciations of /ɾ/ and /k/, recordings of 11 participants have been employed to form the linguistic stimuli through interviews, map and read speech tasks. The Table 3.1 below involves intersectional profile of the informants with respect to where they are from, their age, which linguistic variable was obtained and which data elicitation method was carried out.

Table 3.1

Informant profile

ID	Background	Age	Focus	Data elicitation method
SP01	Ankara / M	26	k	interview & map task
SP02	Karabük / M	26	k	Interview & map task
SP03	Ankara / M	35	k	interview & map task
SP04	Ankara / F	22	r	interview & map task
SP05	İstanbul / F	24	r	interview
SP06	Ankara / G	25	r	interview & map task
SP07	İstanbul / G	29	r	interview
SP08	Samsun / M	21	r	interview & map task
AR09	Ankara / F	32	k & r	Read speech
AR10	Ankara / M	27	k & r	read speech
AR11	Ankara / M	30	k & r	read speech
M=Male, F=Female, G=Gay				

The informants in the speech production stage have been purposefully sampled after a period of observation with regard to the linguistic variable in question. In this regard, the informants are the people who are found in the friend circle of the researcher.

In order to uncover the social meanings associated with the variable pronunciations of the velar stop /k/, three informants (SP01, SP02 and SP03), whose linguistic style involves particular forms of the Inner Anatolian Accent, have been employed. Furthermore, in obtaining the linguistic stimuli that have been further tested in the perceptions of the listeners with regard to the social meaning related to *the tiki subculture*, the informants SP04 and SP05, whose linguistic style involve alveolar approximant [ɹ], have been included. In uncovering the social meanings associated with the *gay men*, SP06, SP07 and SP08 are the informants whose linguistic style involve alveolar approximant [ɹ]. After the tokenization stage, in which the linguistic stimuli obtained from the above speakers have been determined as *tokens*, three stage performers (AR09, AR10 and AR11) were involved in the speech production stage in order to form identical guises that have been employed in the speech perception stage.

In the following section, the tokenization process has been described.

3.3.2. The Tokenization Stage

Upon extracting speech stimuli from participants through the sociolinguistic data elicitation methods described above, a tokenization stage has been conducted to determine the tokens that have been further presented to the perceptions of the listeners.

The initial part of the tokenization phase involves the stabilization of the environmental features of the /r/ and /k/ variables. After the stabilization of the environmental features, the tokens have been determined in word, phrase and sentence levels. In this regard, they have been stabilized in terms of intensity (dB), duration (t) and pitch-width (Hz). The normalization of the intensity has been performed with Audacity (version 2.1.2) ‘normalize’ function, and the peak amplitude of the auditory stimuli has been stabilized by normalizing the maximum amplitude to -1.0 dB. The below Figure 3.6 provides an instance in the normalization of the tokens.

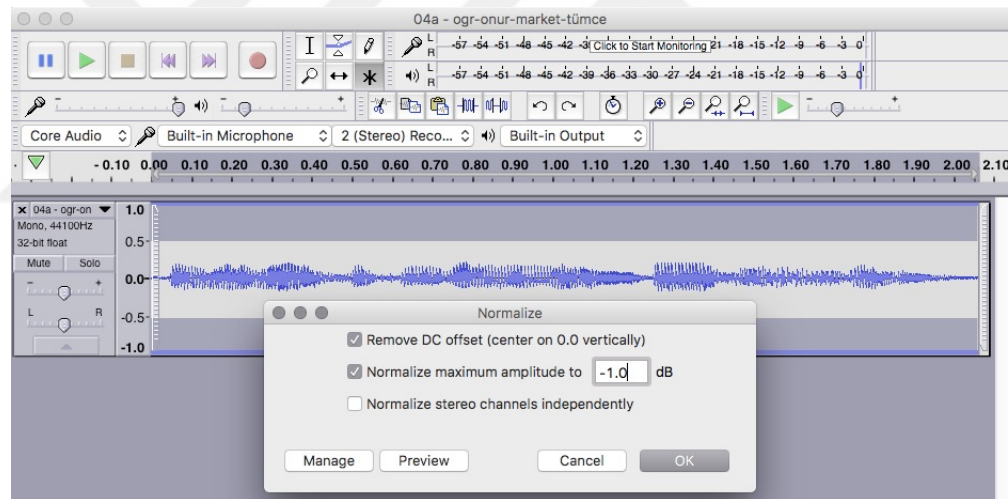


Figure 3.6. Audacity ‘normalize’ window for intensity

The normalization operation has provided the stimuli with a fixed upper limit which has been thought to have the probability of becoming a determinant in the perception stage. Similarly, the duration of the tokens that involve the /r/ and /k/ variables have been equalized through Audacity ‘tempo’ function. The Figure 3.7 below portrays this procedure:

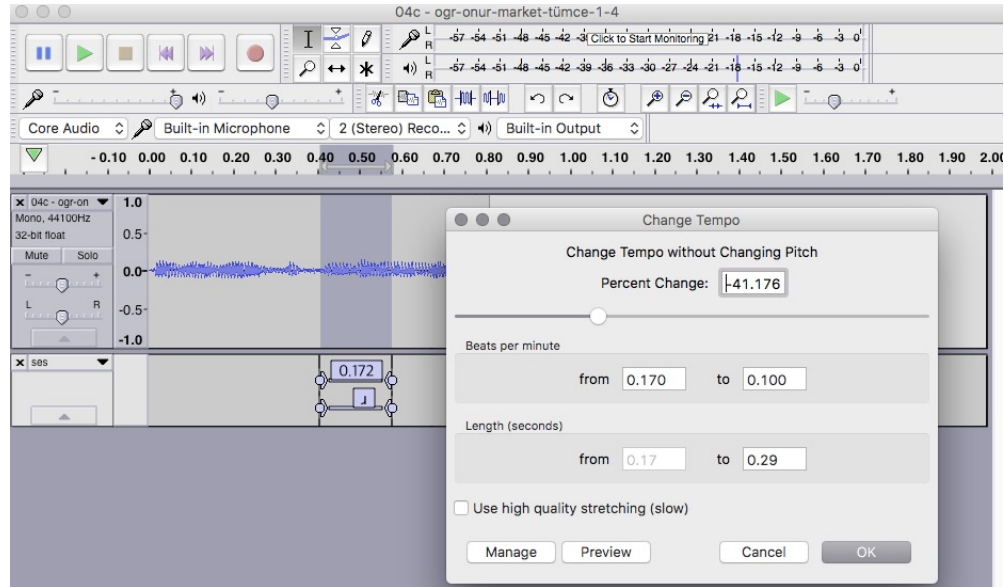


Figure 3.7. Audacity ‘tempo’ window for duration

In order not to have a determinant considering the length of the tokens in the perception, the linguistic stimuli have been equalized in duration. In equalizing the tokens, the pitch of the linguistic stimuli has been left intact.

The last phase of the stabilization process has been conducted on the pitch-width, which is known as the range between the lowest and the highest pitch in the auditory stimuli. In the pilot study of this dissertation, it has been found that the pitch-width in the phonetic stimuli have the probability of yielding distinct social meanings and thus, a variable that has the probability of leading to different perceptions.¹⁶ In this regard, the tokens have been limited to cover similar pitch-width. An exclusion condition has been set for the linguistic stimuli which differ in pitch-width in extensive amount. The pitch-width of the tokens has been stabilized through Praat (version 6.0.14) ‘manipulation’ window. The below Figure 3.8 provides an instance of the stabilization of the pitch-width.

¹⁶ Readers can see section 3.5 that reports from the pilot study.

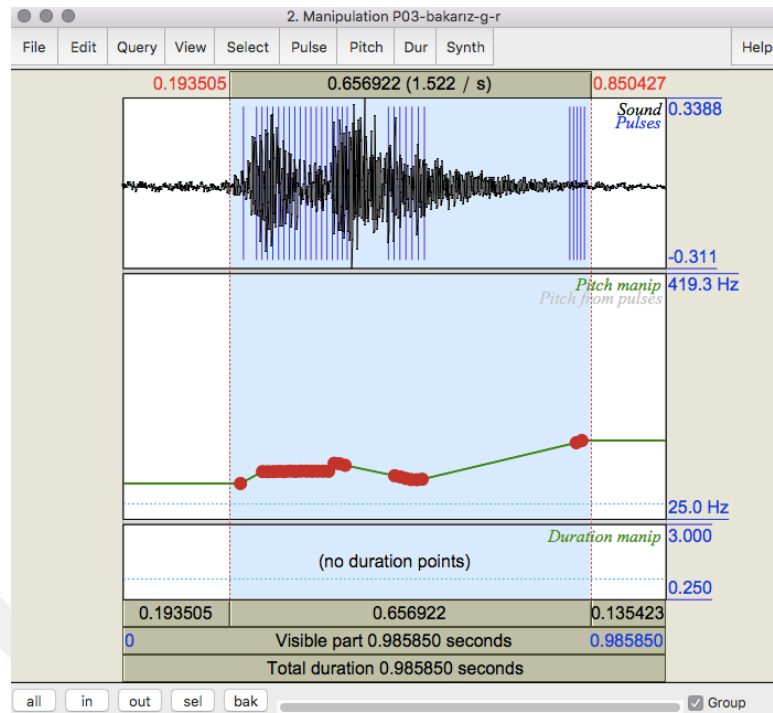


Figure 3.8. Praat 'manipulation' window for pitch-width

After stabilizing the environmental features of the linguistic stimuli, the tokens have been determined as words, phrases and sentences. The below Table 3.2 involves the final state of the tokens presented to the listeners in the perception stage.

Table 3.2

The tokens employed in the perception stage

ID	Speaker	Token	Variable
P01	SP05	Görmüyorum gibi bir şekilde...	/r/ - [ɹ]
P01AR	AR09	Görmüyorum gibi bir şekilde...	filler
P02	SP03	Atatürk Parkı'na çık.	/k/ - [x]
P03	SP06	Bakarız.	/r/ - [ɹ]
P03AR	AR10	Bakarız.	filler
P04	SP02	Bakarız.	/k/ - [x]
P05	SP07	Göreceğiz.	/r/ - [ɹ]
P07	SP04	Görmüyorum.	/r/ - [ɹ]
P08	SP07	Görmüyorum.	/r/ - [ɹ]
P04AR	AR09	Görmüyorum.	filler
P10	SP07	Uğraşıyorum.	/r/ - [ɹ]
T01	SP02	Kaymakamlıktan sola dön.	/k/ - [x]
T01AR	AR10	Kaymakamlıktan sola dön.	filler
T02	SP03	Kaymakamlıktan sola dönüyorsun.	/k/ - [g]
T02AR	AR10	Kaymakamlıktan sola dönüyorsun.	filler
T03AR	AR09	Onur Market'in yanından sola dön.	filler
T10	SP07	Onur Market'in yanından sola dön.	/r/ - [ɹ]
T04	SP03	Kaymakamlığa kadar ilerliyorum.	/k/ - [x]
T05	SP03	Ada iki hedefimiz.	filler
T06	SP01	Bankanın yanından sağa dön.	/k/ - [x]
T07AR	AR11	Bakarız.	filler
T09	SP03	Adliyeyi geçtim ondan sonrası karıştı.	/k/ - [g]
T11	SP03	Yaklaşık yirmi bir.	/k/ - [x]
T13	SP01	Liseye kadar düz devam et.	/k/ - [g]
T15	SP01	Ada yirmi beşe kadar git, sola dön.	/k/ - [g]
T16	SP02	Onur Caddesine çıkıyorsun.	/k/ - [x]

The above Table 3.2 involves the inventory of the tokens employed in the perception experiment. The first column involves the code given for each token. With regard to the tokens, AR stands for the tokens replicated by the performance artists, e.g., T01AR. The second column presents the speakers that have been given in the Table 3.2. The third column presents the stimuli heard by the listeners and the fourth column comprises the variables associated with the tokens. Along with the target tokens which have been given as binary variable-variant, e.g., /k/ - [x], there are also *filler tokens* which do not bear any marked pronunciation pattern. These tokens have been produced by stage performers (i.e., coded as AR in Table 3.2).

Having been finalized as both target and filler tokens, the stimuli have been presented to the perception of the listeners in the perception stage. In that vein, the next subsection details the perception stage.

3.3.3. The Perception Stage

The stimuli, which have been constructed out of three sociolinguistic data elicitation tasks and stabilized in terms of environmental features, have been employed as tokens to be tested in the perceptions of the listeners. In the perception stage, two methods were adopted; (i) Sociolinguistic group interviews and (ii) matched-guise technique (Lambert et al., 1960). Figure 3.9 below introduces the design implemented in the perception stage:

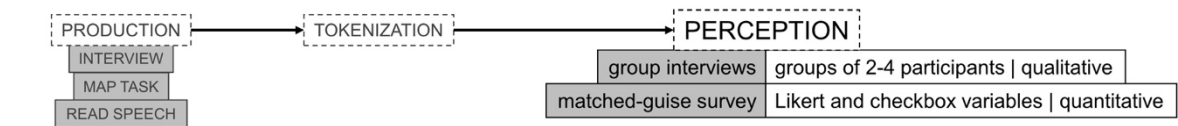


Figure 3.9. The experimental design featuring the speech perception stage

The first part of the perception stage involves semi-structured sociolinguistic group interviews in which the participants have been provided with linguistic stimuli and asked to yield their perceptions. In the second part of the perception stage, a matched guise experiment has been employed to obtain statistical data to uncover the social meanings.

These two perception methods have been employed differently with regard to which linguistic variable has been presented to the listeners. That is, considering the perception of the /r/ variable, only the sociolinguistic group interviews have been conducted. However, in regard to the /k/ variable, both methods have been adopted to yield the perceptions of the listeners. The rationale behind this methodological difference lies in the fact that while the /k/ variable is a well-established notion in the production literature of the Turkish dialectology, the same situation cannot be observed for the /r/ variable. Thus, the perception task (i.e., interviews) on the /r/ variable remains exploratory and addresses the social meanings associated with it through the qualitative data. Since the production literature provides grounded descriptions on the /k/ variable (e.g., geographical orientation), both the qualitative (i.e., interviews) and quantitative (i.e., survey) data have been employed to address the previous studies and test the hypothesis whether the /k/ variation is a regional phenomenon or not.

The following subsections detail (3.3.3.1) the sociolinguistic group interviews, (3.3.3.2) the matched guise survey, and (3.3.3.3) the participant profile.

3.3.3.1. The Sociolinguistic Group Interviews

Sociolinguistic group interview is based on the interactions of the participants that emerge as a result of open-ended questions on the linguistic variables under study. That is, the interviews involve a set of open-ended evaluations given on the extracts of the speech adopted in the production tasks that involve /r/ and /k/.

Before the interview, participants have informed about the study and provided with the consent form and with the following verbal instruction:

I'm now going to play you some sound clips which were recorded during interviews on daily life and a map task in which someone assists his/her peer in drawing a route on a map. I'd like you to talk and interact to get an impression of the speaker. During the process, I am going to ask you open-ended questions. Please don't feel you have to come up with an answer if you have nothing to say.

The recordings have been played in contrastive pairs, e.g., pairing [r] with [ɹ], and [k] with either of [x, g, h], and listeners have been asked to yield their perceptions on the variant in question. In addition, each question has been asked to the participants one by one. Figure 3.10 depicts the setting of the interviews.

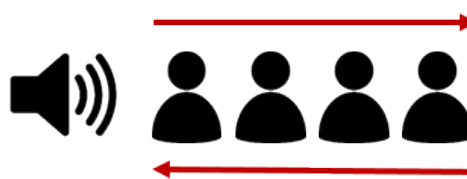


Figure 3.10. The setting of the sociolinguistic group interviews

The interviews have been conducted with groups ranging from two to four participants. When the participants have felt ready to discuss or comment on the speech stimuli, below questions have been addressed:

(2) The questions addressed in the sociolinguistic group interviews:

- *What would you say about this person?*
- *What style of dress would you associate with this person?*
- *What would be the education level/age/occupation of this person?*
- *Which shops do you think this person goes to?*
- *What TV channels do you think this person watches?*
- *What type of TV programs do you think this person watches?*
- *What kind of free time activities would you associate with this person?*
- *What do you think about the mood/manner of this speaker in [describing the route, talking]?*
- *What can you say about the tempo of the speaker?*
- *Would you lend money to that person?*
- *Assuming that, you are on a bus trip which lasts three hours, and this person is sitting next to you. Would you spend three hours with talking to this person?*
- *What do you think about the home town/region of this person?*
- *What would be the monthly salary of this person?*
- *What kinds of clothes, styles, etc. emerge when you say "This person is X?"*

The process outlined above has been repeated for each round. Alongside the questions given in (2) above, the participants have been provided with the social cues as guises, e.g., additional information about the speaker such as *this person earns 10.000 Turkish Liras per month*. The social cues presented to the participants have been given in (3) below:

(3) The social cues presented to the participants as guises

- <[variant] + education level>: *The person that you have listened to has just finished his/her Ph.D. program.*
- <[variant] + socioeconomic level>: *The person that you have listened to earns around 8.000 - 10.000 Turkish Liras per month and works as a manager in a company.*

The contexts given in the (3) above have been employed to uncover the effects of social cues presented to the listeners when they hear the linguistic variants in question. In order to uncover the effect of the social cues, the social cues given in (3) above have been presented to the listeners as guises. That is, the same social cue (i.e., high education level) has been presented to the listeners along with different linguistic stimuli, as well as the same linguistic stimuli has been provided to the listeners together with two distinct social cues (i.e., high education level and high socioeconomic level).

After the participants have yielded their feelings over the stimuli that have been presented to them, a more explicit approach has been adopted and the below questions have been addressed to uncover what social information (i.e. the knowledge which is available to the participant in his or her social sphere) has been used in associating the speaker using either /ɾ/ or /k/ variables with distinct social meanings.

(4) Follow-up questions addressed to the listeners

- *The person that you have listened to describes himself as a gay, tiki, etc. Have you realized this while listening to the speaker?*
- *Do you think this person does that (i.e., sociolinguistic style) intentionally?*
- *Do you experience this kind of pronunciation pattern in your everyday life?*

The above (2), (3) and (4) constitute the overall framework adopted in addressing the questions to the participants. As have been stated, the sociolinguistic group interviews have been designed in a semi-structured fashion. That is, the order of the questions is not strict. In order to exemplify an interview setting, below Figure 3.11 can be given.

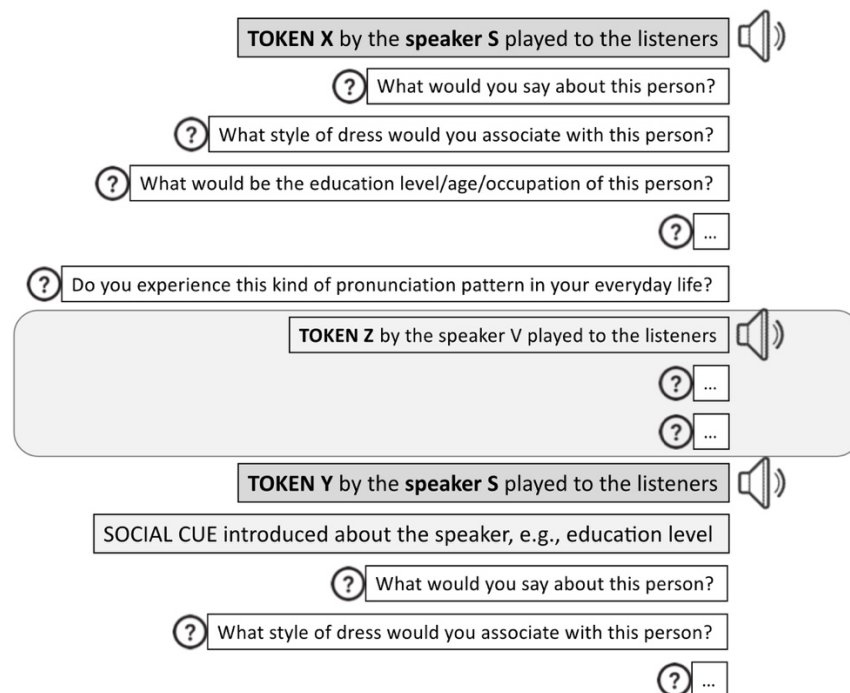


Figure 3.11. Descriptive architecture of the semi-structured sociolinguistic group interviews. Rectangular=Other perception tasks in an interview

The Figure 3.11 above exemplifies the architecture of a semi-structured sociolinguistic group interview with regard to how the questions given in (2) were addressed, when the social cues given in (3) were presented to the listeners and what linguistic variables (e.g., variable pronunciations of /t/ and /k/) the listeners were made to listen. As a representative for the sociolinguistic group interviews conducted in this work, the Figure 3.11 depicts that when the listeners have been played *token X* by the *speaker S*, they have firstly been asked about their overall perceptions of the speaker. This initial question has been followed by the questions that have been asked to uncover other traits and thus, social meanings associated with the variable. In the course of the interviews, the listeners have also made to listen filler tokens accompanied with a couple of similar questions. After a while, they have been made to listen to another token (e.g., *token Y*) by the same *speaker S* but with a social cue about the speaker, e.g., *This person is a Ph.D. graduate* as a marker of education level. In turn, the initial questions have been readdressed to uncover the effect of social cue about the speaker.

Considering the Figure 3.11 above, the ‘semi-structured’ nature of the interviews can be given in terms of the architecture of the interviews. In this regard, it should be said that although the order of such questions on personality traits, home city, clothing style and education level have been strict, the other questions given in (2) above have varied considering their order.

As have been stated, the semi-structured group interviews have been conducted in uncovering the social meanings associated with both of the variables. The matched-guise survey, however, has been adopted to uncover the social meanings ascertained to only the /k/ variable. In this regard, the following subsection provides information about the matched guise survey employed for the /k/ variable.

3.3.3.2. The Matched Guise Survey

The matched guise technique (Lambert et al., 1960) has been implemented to test the perceptions associated with the variable pronunciation of /k/.¹⁷ The questions of the matched-guise survey have been determined following the responses given on the /k/ variable in the interviews. In addition, the survey has been employed online through Hacettepe University’s survey service.¹⁸

¹⁷ See Appendix 2 for the matched guise survey employed in this experiment.

¹⁸ anket.hacettepe.edu.tr

The survey consists of three parts. The first part of the survey involves the consent form that involves broad information about the study by stressing such notions related to ethical considerations as privacy and voluntary participation. Second part aims to obtain the demographic information of the participants (the Figure 3.12) and the third part covers a series of social meanings presented either as Likert scale or checkbox variables (the Figure 3.13).

The below Figure 3.12 features the second part of the matched guise survey.

VERİLERİNİZİ SAKLAYIN

3 Yaş

4 Cinsiyet

5 Beş yıldan fazla yaşadığınız şehir(ler)

6 Meslek

7 En son tamamladığınız okulun düzeyi

☐ İlköğretim

☐ Lise ve dengi

☐ Ön lisans

☐ Lisans

☐ Lisansüstü

Figure 3.12. The matched guise survey: Demographic information

Following the Figure 3.12 above, the demographic information about the participants have been extracted with reference to age (see, e.g., 3), gender (see, e.g., 4), cities that one resides more than five years (see, e.g., 5), occupation (see, e.g., 6) and education level (see, e.g., 7).

The third part of the interview involves a set of social meanings that the listeners associate with the speaker employing variant pronunciations of the /k/ variable. In this regard, the third part of the survey has been formed through Likert scale and checkbox variable. Figure 3.13 below involves the Likert scale employed.

Aşağıda duyacağınız sesler kişilerden yaptıkları yol tarifi sırasında alınmıştır.
Bu çerçevede, "X caddesinden sola dön, ilerle, Z'nin yanında sağa dön, çık vb." ifadeler duyacaksınız.
Dinleyeceğiniz bazı ses parçalarında konuşan kişiye dair bilgiler verilecektir.
Ses parçasını dilediğiniz kadar tekrar dinleyebilirsiniz.

8 Duyduklarınız kadarıyla aşağıdaki kutucuklardan size uygun olanı seçiniz.

0:00

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
çok dikkatlidir	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok utangaçtır	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok eğitilidir	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok sıradandır	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok uyumludur	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok duyarlıdır	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok sorumludur	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok içedönüktür	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok sakindir	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok bilinçlidir	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5

Figure 3.13. The matched guise survey: Likert scale

In the above Likert scale, the taxonomy prepared for personality traits, namely the Big Five personality traits (Goldberg, 1993) have been followed. In the Likert scale employed in the survey, participants rate the speaker with respect to the social meanings ranging from left to right (i.e. 1 to 5), e.g., *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). Likert scales are useful in the sense that for a linguistic variable, the listeners' attitudes or ascertained social meanings can be measured. Following the Likert scale, the third part of the matched guise survey involves checkbox variables focusing on age, education level, personality traits and social status, and regional orientation. The below Figure 3.14 features the checkbox list employed in the matched guise survey.

9 Duyduğunuz kadarıyla bu kişinin eğitim seviyesi

0:00

☐ İlköğretim
☐ Lise ve dengi
☐ Lisans
☐ Lisansüstü

12 Duyduklarınız kadarıyla bu kişi kaç yaşında?

0:00

Bu kişi öğretmen, İstanbul'da yaşıyor

☐ 15-20
☐ 21-30
☐ 31-40
☐ 41-50
☐ 51 ve üzeri

17 Duyduklarınız kadarıyla bu kişi... (Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz)

0:00

☐ Tembel
☐ Çalışkan
☐ Rahat
☐ Kendinden emin
☐ Küçümseyici
☐ Şefkatli
☐ Konuşkan
☐ Dindar
☐ Yalnız
☐ Can sıkıcı
☐ Eğlenceli
☐ Aile odaklı
☐ Güvenilir
☐ İnkili
☐ Metroseksüel
☐ Sportif
☐ İnek
☐ Kendini üstün gören
☐ Evli
☐ Bekar
☐ Çekici
☐ İltici
☐ Şişman
☐ Zayıf
☐ Eğitilmiş
☐ Eğitimsiz

18 Duyduklarınız kadarıyla bu kişi ...

0:00

☐ Ege
☐ Doğu
☐ Karadenizli
☐ Güneyli
☐ Orta Anadolu
☐ Trakyalı
☐ Kırsalda yaşıyor
☐ Şehirde yaşıyor
☐ Yüksek gelirli
☐ Orta gelirli
☐ Düşük gelirli

Figure 3.14. The matched guise survey: Checkbox variables

In the above Figure 3.14, the checkbox variables inquire about a range of social variables and attributes. Those variables and attributes have the probability of being associated with speakers in the society. Considering the 3.14 above, the checkbox variables consist of age (see, e.g., 12), education level (see, e.g., 9), social attributes (e.g., status, personality traits, etc.) (see, e.g., 17) and regional orientation (see, e.g., 18).

The following subsection provides information about the participants, who took part in the sociolinguistic group interviews and matched guise survey.

3.3.3.3. The Listener Profile

This subsection involves descriptions on the listener groups that have participated in the speech perception tasks. As have been stated, the perception tasks differ with respect to which linguistic variable is in question. While only the sociolinguistic group interviews have been conducted with the listener groups that focus on the /r/ variable, both sociolinguistic group interviews and matched guise survey have been conducted in obtaining the perceptions with regard to the /k/ variable. This difference in the study design results from what have been yielded in the literature on the production patterns of the variables that have been employed in this study, which in turn, limited the current work in formulating the hypothesis. As have been stated, while there have not been any study on the production patterns of the /r/ variable, there have been studies on the /k/ variable in the literature of the Turkish dialectology. Thus, the current work aims to address the dialectological literature by employing both qualitative (i.e., interviews) and quantitative (i.e., survey) data. In this vein, while the qualitative interview data provides the study with in-depth information on the sociophonetic variable, the quantitative survey data enable this work to bring a rationale to certain findings obtained during the interviews.

The below lines descriptively introduce the profile of the participants who took part in the sociolinguistic group interviews and matched guise survey respectively.

In extracting the listeners' perceptions on the linguistic variables, 30 sociolinguistic group interviews have been conducted with 110 participants in 6 cities. In each group, there have been participants whose count ranges from two to four. Out of 30 sociolinguistic group interviews, 25 interviews have been conducted on the perception of the /r/ variable and 19 interviews have been

performed on the /k/ variable. Below Table 3.3 provides the descriptive statistics of the participants who have participated in the interviews.¹⁹

Table 3.3

The participant (N=110) profile [sociolinguistic group interviews]

Age	Min=18, max=41, Mean=24.7, St. Dev.=4.37
Gender	Male=62, Female=48
Education level	High school=71, BA=34, MA=3, Ph.D.=2
City	Ankara=41, Karabük=19, İzmir=18, Çanakkale=16, Kayseri=8, Konya=8

Following the Table. 3.3 above, with the age range between 18-41, the mean age of the participants (N=110) is 24.7 (St. Dev.=4.37). Considering the gender, there are 54 males, 48 females and 8 gays who have participated in the interviews. In regard to the educational background, most of the participants are university students and thus, high school graduates (N=71). The rest are; 34 participants are university graduates, 3 are MA and 2 are Ph.D. graduates. For descriptive purposes, the below Figure 3.15 features the intersection of gender and education level of the listeners.

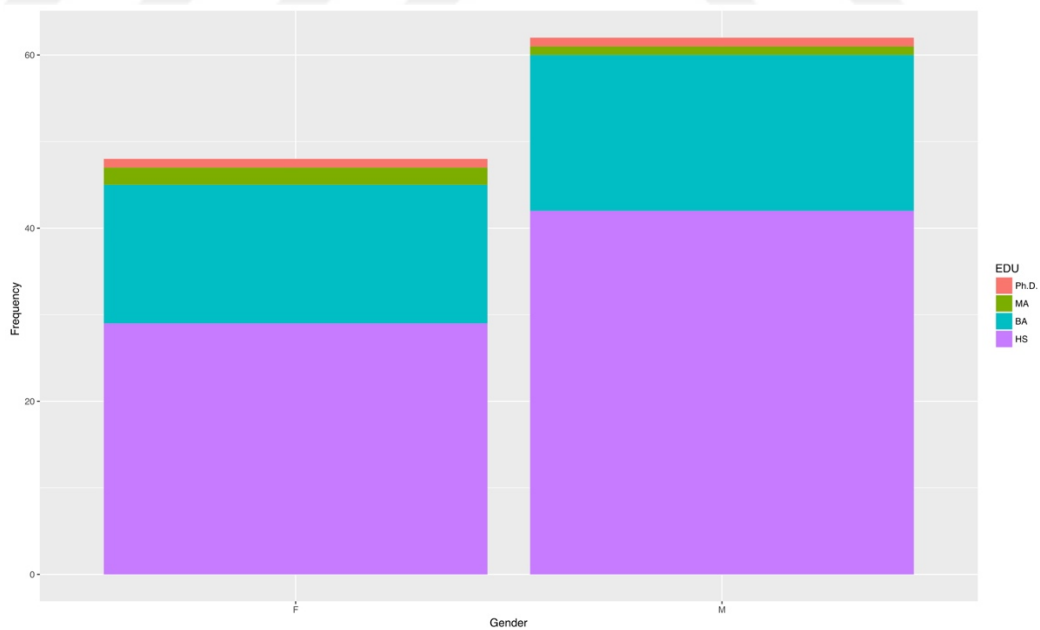


Figure 3.15. Intersection: Gender and education level (interview)

¹⁹ See Appendix 4 for the detailed participant profile.

Furthermore, the interviews have been conducted in six cities and most of the participants live in Ankara (N=41). The rest are; Karabük=19, İzmir=18, Çanakkale=16, Kayseri=8 and Konya=8. Among the cities in which the sociolinguistic group interviews have taken place, the /k/ variation is a salient sociophonetic phenomenon in Ankara, Karabük, Konya and Kayseri (Caferoğlu, 1951, 1963; Gemalmaz, 1978; Demir, 2000/2007; Eren, 1997; Olcay, 1963; Sağır, 1995). Considering İzmir and Çanakkale, the current work makes use of the evidences from the pilot study that the /t/ variation is associated with these cities. Hence, the cities in which the interviews are conducted have been sampled purposefully. Furthermore, in sampling the participants living in those cities, snowball and/or chain-sampling has been employed.

In addition to the cities that the interviews have taken place, in the demographic information collected prior to the interviews, the participants have been asked to provide the names of the cities in which they had lived more than five years. Taking this information into account, the below Figure 3.16 highlights the intersectional geographical distribution of the participants who took part in the interviews.²⁰

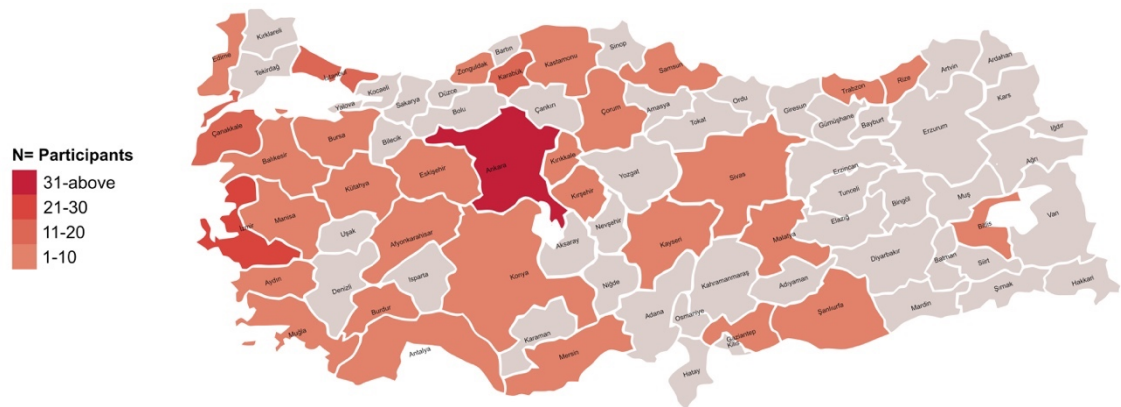


Figure 3.16. Map of the geographical distribution of the participants (interview)

The above Figure 3.18 maps the participants onto map of Turkey by taking what they have provided to the demography inquiry *Please write the names of the cities in which you have resided more than five years*. In addition, the above figure also shows that the participants' backgrounds in the sociolinguistic group interviews are not limited to the cities that the interviews have been conducted. Hence, it can be said that the interview data can represent a wider geography.

²⁰ GADM map database and ggplot2 (Wickham, 2009) have been employed to create the maps.

Considering the profile of the listeners that have participated into the matched guise survey, the Table 3.4 below involves the basic descriptives of the participants who have taken part in the survey. The participants of the survey have been sampled randomly through links shared in e-mail groups and social media.

Table 3.4

The participant (N=228) profile [matched guise survey]

Age	Min=17, max=59, Mean=24.73, St. Dev.=5.83
Gender	Male=95, Female=133
Education level	High school=107, BA=88, MA & PhD=33
Occupation	Student=125, Teacher=63, Other=40
City	Ankara=61, İstanbul=51, Samsun=13, Eskişehir=12, Others:151

Following the Table 3.4 above, which involves the basic descriptives of 228 participants, the age range of the participants is 17-59, with a mean of 24.73 and the standard deviation of the age-span is 5.83. What should be noted here is that the participant profiles of the interview and survey show almost the same mean age, which is 24.7. Considering the gender, 95 out of 228 participants are male (41.6%) and 133 of them are female (58.4%). In terms of the education level, 107 out of 228 participants are high school graduate (46.9%), 88 of them are university graduate (38.7%) and 33 are graduated from either MA or PhD (14.4%). Different from that of given in the Table 3.3, the participants have been asked about their occupation prior to the survey. In this regard, it can be seen in the above table that most of the participants who have taken the survey are students (125=54.8%). With regard to the cities that the participants have lived more than five years, Ankara, İstanbul and Samsun head the list by 61, 51 and 13 respectively, among others counted as 163.

Similar to that of given in the Figure 3.15, the below Figure 3.17 involves an intersectional profile of the participants with respect to gender and education level.

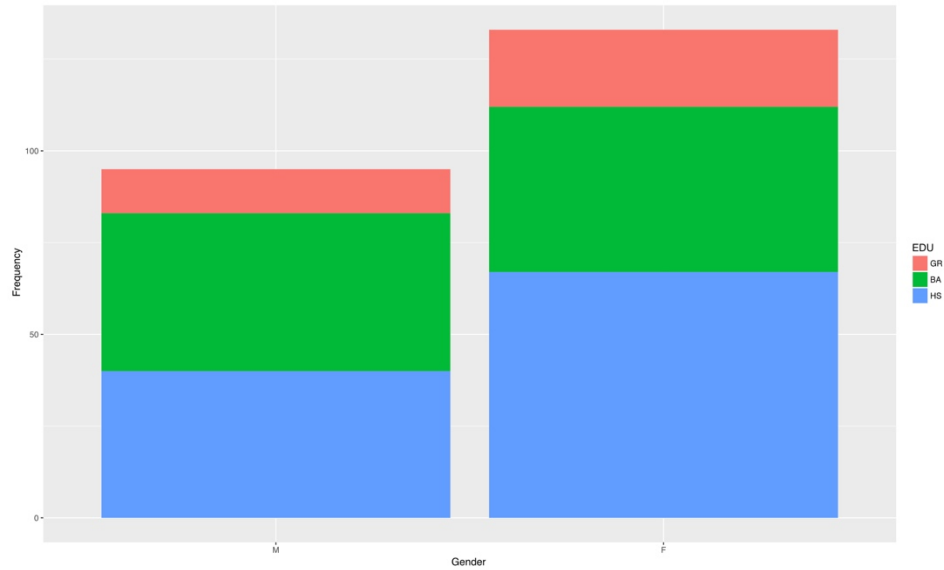


Figure 3.17. Intersection: Gender and education level (survey)

The geographical distribution of the participants who have taken the survey shows difference when compared to the sociolinguistic group interviews. The difference has resulted from the fact that in the interviews, participants have been purposefully sampled with regard to the cities that the interviews have taken place. However, in the survey, there has not been any specific limitation for the city and/or home city of the participants. In this regard, below Figure 3.18 maps the geographical distribution of the participants of the matched guise survey:

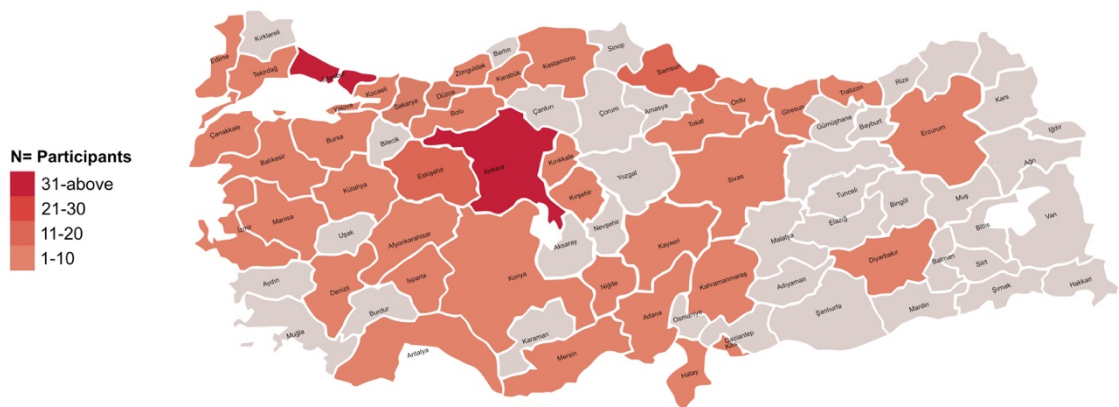


Figure 3.18. Map of the geographical distribution of the participants (survey)

Leaded by Ankara with 61 instances, and followed by İstanbul with 51, there have been 288 recorded instances of the cities where the participants have lived more than five years. In addition,

91 out of 228 participants have submitted more than one city in the form, including five participants living abroad (i.e., cities located in Germany). The Figure 3.18, when compared with the geographical distribution of the participants in the sociolinguistic group interviews (see, e.g., Figure 3.16), shows that the participants in both perception tasks have similar geographical backgrounds.

Following the above given basic descriptives of the interviews and survey, the following section lays out the framework employed in the data analysis.

3.4. DATA ANALYSIS

In the current dissertation, which employs interviews and matched-guise survey to extract the perceptions of listeners on the variable production of /t/ and /k/, two type of findings have been obtained: (i) Qualitative data from the interviews and (ii) quantitative data from the survey. In this regard, the below subsections involve (3.4.1) the tools employed in interpreting the interviews and (3.4.2) the statistical interpretations that has been brought into the quantitative data obtained through the survey.

3.4.1. Interpreting the Interviews

The qualitative data obtained through the sociolinguistic group interviews have been analysed in consideration with the theoretical framework adopted.²¹ Because of the fact that the data has been gathered through interviews, which are interactional in its nature, the analytical tools provided by the ethnomethodological conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) have been adopted. In linking the theoretical framework to the conversational analytic framework, a linguistic anthropological approach has been followed (see, e.g., Anderson, 2008; Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). In this regard, it should be noted that the current study does not adopt any theoretical framework submitted by Conversation Analysis.

The present work interprets 30 sociolinguistic group interviews. While the analysis of the social meanings associated with the /r/ variable focuses on 25 interviews, the /k/ analysis tackles 19 interviews.

The responses given by the listeners in the interactional setting have been refined into distinct themes. These distinct themes have formed the broad social meanings associated with the speaker. In addition, these themes have been preset in the questions addressed to the listeners. For instance, the question *What kind of free time activities would you associate with this person?* in the (2) above has been named as the theme ‘free time activities’. In response to this question, what the listeners have projected, e.g., ‘[this person] likes to spend time with friends’ or ‘[this person] likes to watch TV’ have been subcategorized under the theme ‘free time activities’.

Furthermore, in the sociolinguistic group interviews, the themes have been manipulated through the social cues presented to the listeners as guises. For instance, assuming that the above theme (i.e. free time activities) is in question, the listeners have been provided with the social cue <[variant] + education level> and asked to yield their perceptions in the presence of the social cue. Hence, the themes have also been interpreted in relation with the social cues.

²¹ See Chapter 1 Introduction (1.2. Theoretical Background) for a detailed account on the theoretical framework followed.

With respect to what social information (i.e. e.g., what the listeners make use of while perceiving the speaker) is available to the listeners, the responses given to the question in the (4) above have been interpreted in relation to the themes.

In the light of the above plan on the interpretation of the interviews, such analytical tools as *indexicality* (Eckert, 2000; 2008; Silverstein, 1976, 2003), *stance* (Jaffe, 2009) and *iconization* (Gal, 2016; Irvine & Gal, 2000) that have been given in the broad literature of sociolinguistic theory have been put into account in order to map the social meanings onto an *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008).

The below subsection gives the analytical account on how the statistical data have been dealt with.

3.4.2. Interpreting the Survey

As have been stated, the interview data have provided the matched-guise survey with questions which are going to be presented as Likert scale and checkboxes. In this direction, the interpretation of the survey deals with different variables which have been accounted to explain and triangulate the qualitative data.

An exploratory factor analysis has been conducted by employing R-*psych* package (Revelle, 2018) on the Likert scores which have been formed in line with the personality traits given for the speech stimuli in the sociolinguistic interviews. The reason behind the use of the factor analysis is that it provides an insight on the relationship between adjective scales (i.e., Likert scale) and the underlying factors (i.e., determinants) that the listeners employ in perceiving the speaker. Thus, the factor analysis has been employed to yield what social meanings are associated with the speakers and what kind of trends (i.e. which personality traits are perceived in a similar fashion) have been observed in the perception.

3.5. THE PILOT

As have been stated in the previous lines of the current chapter, a pilot study was conducted in order to familiarize with the experimental design and test the initial hypothesis constructed for the current work. In this regard, this section briefly overviews the hypothesis, procedure and the findings of the pilot study with reference to the study design given in this chapter.

In the pilot study, it has been hypothesized that difference in the pitch-width (i.e., the pitch range between the highest and the lowest part of the pitch) of an utterance is realized along with distinct social meanings. Thus, pitch-width has been taken as the sociophonetic variable and the tokens have been formed with respect to wide and narrow pitch-width.

The design of the pilot study involves three distinct stages: production, manipulation and perception. In the production stage, two data elicitation methods have been employed: Interview and map task. In the production stage that focuses on linguistic data elicitation, the procedures described in 3.3.1.1 have been followed. In the second stage, the linguistic data obtained through the elicitation tasks have been manipulated in terms of pitch-width. For instance, pitch of an utterance have been manipulated as wide and narrow width, and thus, guises have been formed. In the last stage, the tokens as guises have been presented to the listeners by employing two distinct perception phases: sociolinguistic group interview and matched guise survey.

In the first perception task that aims to uncover the listeners' perceptions on the pitch-width, 12 sociolinguistic group interviews have been conducted with 52 participants. The qualitative data that have been obtained through the interviews have been analysed by adopting the tools given in the tradition of ethnomethodological conversation analysis (Sacks et al., 1974). In addition, in the second task, a matched guise survey has been conducted with 224 participants. The quantitative data that have emerged out of the survey have been analysed by employing a factor analysis.

In the sociolinguistic group interviews, listeners have been asked to associate the speaker with specific personality traits, free time activities, home city, occupation and income. In this regard, it has been found that the listeners have associated the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves wider pitch-width with someone who is 'educated', 'reliable', 'dominant', 'sociable', who lives in 'big cities', whose free time activities involve 'reading', whose occupation required high educational background and whose income is over 3000 Turkish Liras. On the contrary, the

listeners have affiliated the speaker whose style involves narrower pitch-width to someone whose personality involve such traits as ‘dissatisfied’, ‘diffident’, ‘ordinary’ and ‘unreliable’, whose free time activities comprise ‘driving cars’ and ‘watching TV’, who is from ‘Inner Anatolia’, ‘Black Sea’ and ‘rural areas’, whose occupation involves such jobs as ‘worker’, ‘tradesmen’, ‘police’, ‘housewife’ and ‘cashier’, and whose income is around 1000 Turkish Liras.

In the factor analysis conducted on the data obtained through the matched guise survey, it has been found that listeners’ responses on the pitch-width have shown a trend. In this regard, it has been observed that listeners have perceived both pitch level (i.e., wide and narrow pitch-width) with regard to ‘educatedness’. That is, education level is the preliminary social meaning ascertained to the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves salient pitch-width (i.e., recognizable wider and narrower pitch-width).

Considering the findings attained through interviews and survey, the indexical field associated with wider and narrow pitch-width can be given as in the Figures 3.19 and 3.20 below:

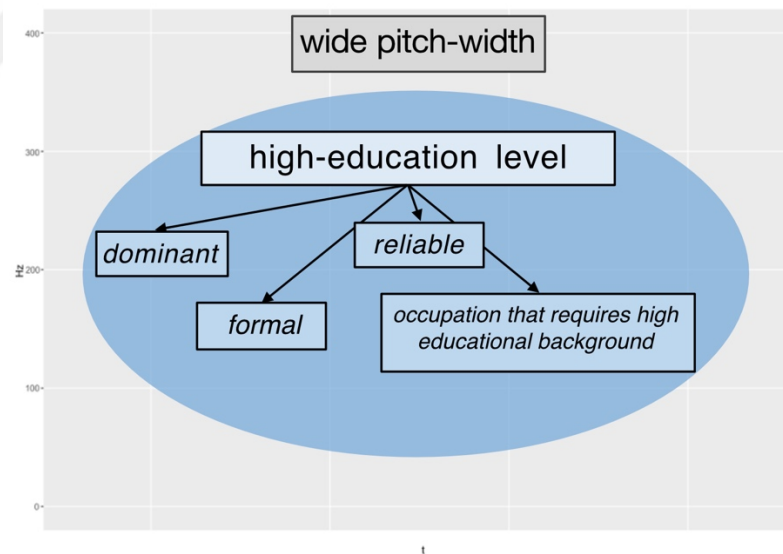


Figure 3.19. Indexical field associated with wider pitch-width

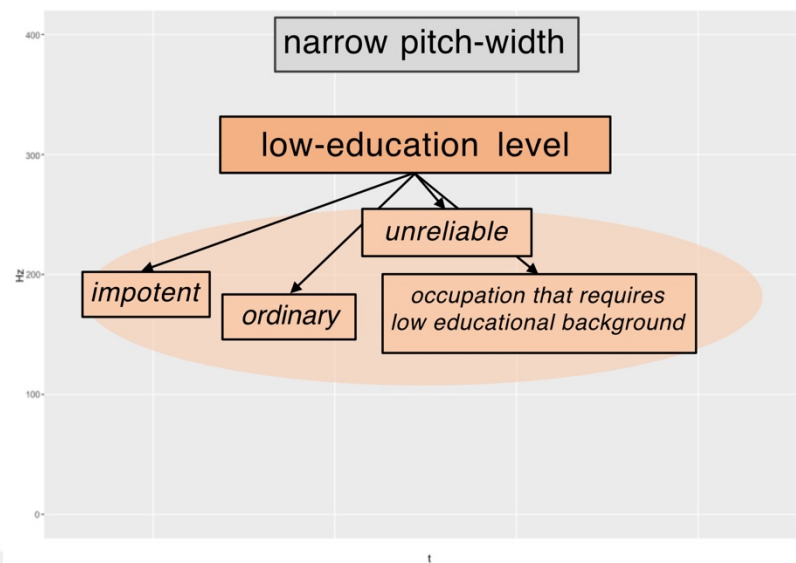


Figure 3.20. Indexical field associated with narrower pitch-width

The Figure 3.19 above features the indexical field associated with wider pitch-width. In this regard, it can be stated that wider pitch-width has been perceived along with an educated persona who is ‘dominant’, ‘formal’, ‘reliable’ and whose occupation requires high educational background. On the contrary, following the Figure 3.20, which maps the indexical field associated with narrower pitch-width, listeners have yielded a persona who is ‘impotent’, ‘ordinary’, ‘unreliable’ and whose occupation requires low educational background.

The pilot study has provided the current work with insights on familiarization with the study design and formulation of the hypothesis. Considering the study design, which comes up with limitations, the pilot study has provided the dissertation with accommodating with the stages of the experimental design. Furthermore, in terms of the hypothesis of the current work that draws on three distinct social types and/or personae such as *tiki*, *gay* and *Inner Anatolian person*, the pilot study has provided evidences on the sociophonetic variables that are associated with these social personae.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL MEANING OF /ɹ/

4.1. OVERVIEW

This chapter focuses on the alveolar approximant [ɹ] realization of /ɹ/ in two distinct indexical fields: The speech of *tiki* that indexes a subculture that is formed by a group of wealthy young people – mostly girls – or those who want to be and thus seem like that, and gay men that indexes sexual orientation. Hence, the importance of this chapter is that it focuses on a variable which has two distinct social meanings: /ɹ/ variable indexing *tiki* and *gayness*. In this direction, the major research question of this chapter is: (i) *How do the indexical pronunciations of /ɹ/ interface with the perception of listeners on the accounts of the social meanings associated with (a) the tiki subculture and (b) sexual orientation?*

Linked to the above major research question, the current chapter also deals with the social resources employed by the listeners during the perception of /ɹ/ and addresses the research question: (ii) *What social resources are used in perceiving the others?*

In uncovering the probability of the styles and stances of the listeners towards the speaker that affect the speech processing in terms of /ɹ/, the third research inquiry of the chapter is: (iii) *How do different stances of the listeners affect speech processing?*

Three sociolinguistic data elicitation methods have been employed to create the stimuli: Sociolinguistic interviews, map task and read speech. After stabilizing the environmental features of the target variables, (e.g., the intensity and the duration of the preceding and the following sounds), which is the alveolar approximant [ɹ] in this chapter, interactional sociolinguistic group interviews have been conducted. In the interviews, which have been conducted in an interactional setting, listeners have been provided with such social cues as education and socioeconomic level and yielded their perceptions on the accompanying variables. In uncovering the indexical meanings of the /ɹ/ variable that is salient in the perceptions of the listeners, the interactional data

relating to sociolinguistic interviews have been analysed by employing an ethnomethodological conversation analysis (Sacks et al., 1974).

The below section (4.2) deals with the findings and the discussions on the /r/ variation indexing *tiki* and *gayness*.

4.2. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section involves the analyses of the variant pronunciations of the /r/ variable that have two distinct social meanings: *tiki subculture* (4.2.1) and *gayness* (4.2.2). Each subsection firstly deals with the interpretation of the sociolinguistic group interviews and then discusses the indexical fields prevalent for each social meaning.

4.2.1. /r/ Variation Indexing *Tiki* Persona

This subsection involves the indexical interpretation of the /r/ variation in terms of the *tiki* phenomena. The term *tiki* refers to a subculture formed by young people, mostly girls, who have wealthy backgrounds or who want to be like that. Since the very beginning of the 1990s, the term has acquired different social meanings that refer to distinct personae such as *ciks*, *tiki* and *Pelinsu*. In the course of this social meaning making process, while *ciks* denotes both males and females, the term *tiki* has started to be mostly associated with the females since the late 1990s. In this diachronic process, the term has recently been labelled as *Pelinsu*, which is a female given name, and thus, it has acquired a social meaning that denotes only the female. Instead of employing the terms *ciks* and *Pelinsu*, the current analysis prefers the term *tiki* since it has thought to be the most salient term associated with the subculture.

The term *tiki[ness]* can be initially described as a subculture that is formed by a group of wealthy young people of 15-25 age-span or those who want to be, and thus, seem like that.²² One of the earliest description on the term was given by the columnist Duygu Asena in her column on the daily *Milliyet* as someone who “wears branded and similar clothes and worships discos” (Asena,

²² Also written as *tikky* homophonously with *tiki*. The emergence of this written form has been discussed with reference to the effect of the English language in the following lines of this subsection.

1992). By referring to the term *yuppie*^{23 24} as a group of people who hit the headlines in 1980s, Lüküslü (2005) describes *tiki* as a group of young people who pay attention to appearance, wear branded outfits, and are “passive observers of consumer society” (p. 33). Similarly, Korkmaz (2006) describes *tiki* as a group of people who like to wear trendy and branded outfits, prefer attractive streets with full of branded clothing shops in big cities, and perform a specific linguistic style that involves words and sound patterns from English (pp. 30-31). Related to what is asserted by Korkmaz (2006), Uygun (2016) specifies shopping malls as a locus of practice for the *tiki* persona.

In addition, Kocaer (2006) points to females who live in big cities as the locus of practice for the *tiki* subculture. Further, by referring to the *tiki* subculture, she also stresses that slang words are one of the aspects of the sociolinguistic style of these people. In this regard, Kocaer states that:

... for those [stresses herself] who are above their thirties, and thus fall outside today’s youth generation, and who come from small cities, it might be irritating to hear those *slang* words that are not widely observed in the daily life. And even it is surprising to see that the use of slang is popular among *women* who have already attained certain educational backgrounds (p. 97).²⁵

Comparing *tiki* with *yuppie*, Deniz (2012) asserts that both *yuppies* and *tikis* share similar semiotic resources to highlight their individual differences in order to attain luxury consumption (p. 122). In addition, he also asserts that while *yuppies* in the 1980s feel comfortable with defining themselves as *yuppie*, this is not so for the members of the *tiki* subculture (ibid.). On the contrary, in her fieldwork, Tıǧlı (2012) notes that in order to distinguish themselves from other social personae²⁶ that bear negative associations, a group of young people call themselves as *tiki* (p. 114).

²³ Acronym of *Young Urban (or Upwardly mobile) Professional Person* which was coined in the late 1970s as a pun of *hippie* (Childs & Storry, 2002, p. 2) and refers to “... self-absorbed young professionals, earning good pay, enjoying the cultural attractions of sophisticated urban life and thought” that cannot be described by referring to income or class (Hanson, August 13, 2010).

²⁴ Kozanoğlu (1993) asserts that the term *yuppie* was also employed to refer to the young people who were adapted to the neo-liberal policies of the 1980s’ Turkey.

²⁵ *Italicized* emphasis by Kocaer (2006).

²⁶ Tıǧlı (2012) refers to such pejorative terms as *kıro* as lower class people who migrated from rural Anatolia to bigger cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, *varoş* as people who live in the slums, e.g., *slum dweller*, and *maganda* as bearing similar meaning with *kıro* (pp. 29-34).

Cankurtaran-Öntaş, Buz, and Hatiboğlu (2013) argue that the term *tiki* bears negative connotations and adds that it “was coined by young people who saw themselves as being different from the ‘Tikis’ – the ‘anti-tikis’” (p. 253). They also associate the origination of the term with Turkey’s being introduced to the culture of consumerism.

In line with the different names given to the phenomenon of *ciks* and *tiki*, the social meaning making process on *tiki* has been observed to possess a new label called *Pelinsu* which only denotes the female. In the course of this distinction, the term *Berkecan* has started to be employed for the male. As an instance for this, Kana, Yağmur, and Elkıran (2017) note that one of the frequently used labels among high school students in Turkey is *Pelinsu and Berkecan* that denotes those who have material and monetary wealth (p. 69).

Pelinsu is a girl name that is formed by bringing two words ‘Pelin’ (meaning ‘wormwood’ (*Artemisia annua*, in Greek) and also a girl given name) and ‘su’ (meaning ‘water’ and a girl given name) as a compound. According to Duman (2018)²⁷, first of all, it should be noted that contrary to the most of the personal names in Turkey, the name *Pelinsu* denotes neither religious nor Turkic connotations. In addition, it does not bear any politicized associations such as *Devrim* (revolution) and *Eylem* (protest and/or movement). She further states that in the recent twenty years, there has been a trend to put such suffixes as *-mur*, *-can*, *-han* and *-su* at the end of the personal names that mostly bear religious associations. However, *Pelinsu*, which can be regarded as a part of this trend, does not bear any religious connotations.

It can be stated that both *tiki* and *Pelinsu* personae are visible in the public discourse. Along with their personality traits or other social attributes, sociolinguistic style associated with these personae is also apparent in the public discourse. In that vein, linked to their sociolinguistic styles, the followings can be given from *Ekşi Sözlük* (lit. Sour Dictionary), a hypertext dictionary in which users, as authors, have been describing and defining words, or people in their own perspectives since it was founded in 1999.²⁸

²⁷ Personal correspondence with Derya Duman.

²⁸ As for September 2017, *Ekşi Sözlük* is ranked as 14th in Turkey and 755th in global by Alexa.

Thread: <i>Tiki Turkish</i>	
Turkish	English
a) April 28, 2005	
<i>bazi kelimelere bazi harfleri eklemek, bazi kelimelerden bazi harfleri çıkarmak ve mutlak surette r harfini yuvarlamak marifetiyle rahatlıkla konusulabilecek bir lisan. <u>bir lisan bir insan</u> hadisesininin çürüten bir lisandır.</i>	It is a language that can be easily spoken by inserting some letters to some words, extracting some letters out of some words and definitely jabbering the letter 'r'. It is a language that refutes the proverb ' <u>One language, one human</u> '
[...]	[...]
b) May 15, 2012	
<i>ingilizce-türkçe karışımı konuşmaya da denen şeydir. oluşum nedeni başta <u>buse</u> olmak üzere çeşitli üniversite <u>ingilizce hazırlık programlarıdır.</u></i>	It is a term that is also used to refer to a style that consists in a mix of English and Turkish. Pioneered by <u>BUSEL</u> , <u>English preparatory classes</u> of various universities can be regarded as the source of this style.
Thread: <i>Tiki language</i>	
c) December 13, 2011	
(bkz: <u>tikkish</u>)	(See: <u>Tikkish</u>)

The above involves two *Ekşi Sözlük* authors' projections of *tiki* persona. In their descriptions on *tiki* in the thread *Tiki Turkish*, the author in (a) has pointed to specific sociolinguistic style in which the *tiki* persona jabbars the pronunciation of the letter that corresponds to the /r/ variable, which is also the case of the current work. In addition, the author in (a) has also featured a persona who inserts specific sounds into words. Furthermore, by referring to *Bilkent University School of English Language* (BUSEL), the user in (b) has indicated that the emergence of the *Tiki Turkish* was triggered by the schools of foreign languages in the universities. What is more, the same description claims that *Tiki Turkish* is a style that consists in a mixture of English and Turkish. A similar projection is also visible in the description made by the author in (c), who has provided the blended form *Tikkish* as a result of the mixture of *Turkish* and *English*.

In line with the above given preliminaries on the *tiki* phenomena, the subsection 4.2.1.1. tackles the sociolinguistic group interviews on the perception of the /r/ variation and in the subsection 4.2.1.2, discussion on the findings has been given with reference to how social cues and social information affect the social meaning perceiving process that has been mapped onto the *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008) associated with the /r/ variation.

4.2.1.1. The interpretation of the Interviews

The below analysis reports from 20 out of 30 sociolinguistic group interviews in which the /ɾ/ variation has been addressed. Thus, the present interpretation draws on the social meanings associated with the variant pronunciation (i.e., [ɾ]) of the /ɾ/ variable in the presence and absence of social cues.

In the interviews, the listeners have listeners speech stimuli that has been produced by three female informants. Along with the speech stimuli, they have been provided with social cues about the speaker. These social cues have been limited to education level and socioeconomic level of the speaker and presented to the listeners verbally prior to the listening task. Specifically, the social cues provided to the listeners have been *high* education level and *high* socioeconomic level.

In interpreting the interview data, the themes given in the Figure 4.1 below have been employed. Considering (i) the personality traits of the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɾ] variant, the social attributes associated with the speaker have been addressed (see, e.g., the extracts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 below). The second theme (i.e., probable intimacy with the speaker), has been employed to uncover listeners' reactions to the social encounter with the speaker employing the [ɾ] in a hypothetical 3-hour bus trip context (see, e.g., the extracts 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15). The third theme (i.e., authentication of the speaker) draws on whether the listeners identify the speaker with the [ɾ] variant or not (see, e.g., the extracts 16, 17 and 18). The fourth theme (i.e., the locus of practice) aims to uncover the places that the speaker would like to spend time practice (see, e.g., the extract 19, and 20) and the fifth theme (i.e., home city) attempts to bring the relevant cities associated with the [ɾ] variant (see, e.g., the extracts 21, 22 and 23). In the sixth theme (i.e., clothing), listeners' reactions to clothing style ascertained to the speaker has been addressed (see, e.g., 24) and seventh and eighth themes lay out the free time activities and favourite TV programs associated with the speaker respectively (see, e.g., 25, 26, 27 and 28).

i	personality traits
ii	probable intimacy with the speaker
iii	authenticity of the speaker
iv	locus of practice
v	home city
vi	clothing
vii	free time activities
viii	favourite TV programs

Figure 4.1. Themes employed in the interpretation of the interview data on /r/ variation

The first theme of the current interpretation is (i) the personality traits associated with the speaker. In this regard, listeners in the interviews have been asked *What would you say about [the manner of] this person?* and *What is your initial impression about the speaker?* These questions have been asked to the listeners in three contexts depending on the social cues provided. In the first context (see, e.g., the extracts 1 and 2), listeners have not been provided with any social cue and only have listened to a speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɹ] variant. In the second context (see, e.g., 3 and 4), they have been provided with the education level of the speaker as a social cue, e.g., *This person is a Ph. D. student and/or graduate*, and in the third context (see, e.g., 5 and 6), socioeconomic level ascertained to the speaker as a social cue has been presented, e.g., *This person earns around 10-12 thousand Turkish Liras per month*.

In tackling the personality traits associated with the speaker in the absence of social cues, the extracts (1) and (2) below have been given. In this regard, the following (1) has been excerpted from one of the sociolinguistic group interviews conducted in Ankara, in which the listeners have listened to a speaker with the [ɹ] variant in the absence of a social cue.

(1) RECG2 | 02:12 – 02:59^{29 30}

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Buna bakalım (.) Bu kişi hakkında	GE	Let's see this one. What do
2		genel olarak ne düşünürsünüz?		you think about this person?
3		(0.9)		
4	G2A	(Gülme) (.) Aklıma biri	G2A	((Laughter)) I have someone in
5		gel[di.		my mind.
6	G2C	(((Gülme)))	G2C	((Laughter))
7	G2A	Böyle (.) güven vermeyen biri,	G2A	This person is someone who is
8		etrafındakiler tarafından çok		not reliable and who is not
9		sevilmeyen biri bu sesin sahibi.		liked by the people around.
10	GE	[Siz	GE	You?
11	G2B	[Yapmacık oluyorlar böyle sese sahip	G2B	These kind of people are
12		insanlar. (1.1) Ben de öyle		<u>mannered</u> . I also think that
13		etrafındakiler tarafından pek		this person is not liked by
14		sevilmediğini düşünüyorum.		those around, too.
15		(.)		
16	G2C	Özgüveni çok yüksek. (.)	G2C	She is self-reliant.
17	GE	Böyle bir sonuca nasıl vardınız?	GE	How did you reason that?
18	G2C	((Gülme)) böyle insanlar tanıdım,	G2C	((Laughter)) I have get to
19		ondan dedim.(0.5)		know these kind of people,
20	G2D	Çok fazla bir şey çağırmadı bende		that is why I say so.
21		ama (.) şeyi var (.) yapmacıklığı	G2D	Not much thing occurred in my
22		(.) böyle çok fazla tarz olmaya		mind but this person is
23		çalışan (.) öyle görünen (.) ailesi		someone who tries to seem like
24		zengin olan (0.4) <u>zengin görünmeye</u>		a styled, whose family is rich
25		çalışan da olur (0.6) ama bence		or <u>who tries to seem like</u>
26		özgüvensiz (.) özgüvenli olduğunu		<u>that</u> . But for me, this person
27		düşünüyorum çünkü yapmacık.		is diffident. This person is
				diffident because she is
				mannered.
G2 – Ankara – 4 participants (G2A=F24, G2B=F18, G2C=M19, G2D=M19) GE=interviewer				

In (1) above, the listeners have been asked about the personality traits of the speaker. As an answer to this question, listeners have projected a persona who is ‘unreliable’, ‘not liked by the people around’, ‘mannered’, ‘self-confident’ and ‘diffident’. Specifically, G2A has asserted that the person is ‘unreliable’ and ‘someone who is not liked by the people around.’ Similarly, G2B has confirmed the listener G2A and further provided such a generalization that ‘these kind of people are mannered.’ Following the G2A, the listener G2C has featured a positive trait, e.g., ‘self-confidence.’ Upon being asked about the rationale of this impression, G2C has pointed to his own social circle. G2D, objecting to G2C, has indicated that the speaker is ‘diffident’ and confirmed the G2B on the grounds that the speaker is ‘mannered’ just because she is trying to sound ‘rich.’

²⁹ See Appendix 5 for the transcription conventions.

³⁰ *Gaps, silences and overlaps* have been excluded in English translation.

A similar fashion can be observed in the (2) below, which has been extracted from an interviews conducted in Ankara with four participants. Listeners have been made to listen to the same linguistic variant from a different speaker with no social cue given.

(2) RECG6 | 03:09 – 03:58

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Peki bu kiři için ne dersiniz?	GE	Well, what would you say about this person?
2		(0.7)		
3	G6D	Umursamaz bir tavrı var.	G6D	I see an indifferent manner.
4	GE	Sizde?	GE	What about you?
5	G6C	Bana çok itici geldi bu kiři (0.5)	G6C	It appeals to me repellent. It is very repellent when I hear it.
6		Duyunca baya itici geldi.		
7		(0.6)		
8	G6B	Akıllı biri değil her şeyden önce	G6B	Not a clever one. Above all, she is a deceivable person. I can say that she is simple-hearted.
9		(.) Kolay kandırılabilircek bir insan		
10		(.) Saf [diye bilirim.		
11	G6A	[Bence de çok saf (0.5) İçi	G6A	She is simple-hearted for me too. It seems she is not an open book.
12		dışı bir olmayan insan gibime geldi.		
13	GE	İçi dışı bir derken bir tanıdığınız	GE	Do you think of someone who is an open-book?
14		mı var? (.) Yani çevrenizde böyle		
15		konuşan insanlar [bulunuyor mu?		
16	G6A	[((Gölme)) Evet	G6A	((Laughter)) Yes ((addressing G6C)) is she like ((provides a name in the class))?
17		sınıftan ((isim veriyor)) gibi bir		
18		şey değil mi [((G6C'ye hitap ediyor))?	G6C	I have not thought like that. Actually it could be like ((exemplifies her friends' names in the friend circle)).
19				
20	G6C	[Hiç düşünmedi- (.) Ya	G6A	((Laughter))
21		evet olabilir aslında ((birkaç isim veriyor)) onlar gibi [konuşuyor.	G6B	I have not paid attention to that but I have seen people talking like that.
22				
23	G6A	[((Gölme))		
24	G6B	Ona ben hiç dikkat etmemişim (.) Ama		
25		gördüm böyle konuşanları.		
G6 – Ankara – 4 participants (G6A=F19, G6B=M20, G6C=F18, G6D=M23) GE=interviewer				

In (2) above, the personality traits given by the listeners can be summarized as the talker is 'unlovely,' 'foolish,' 'deceivable' and 'mannered.' For instance, the listener G6D has depicted a persona who is 'indifferent'. In the line 5, G6C has featured a 'repellent' persona. In turn, G6B has associated the speaker with such personality traits as 'foolish' and 'deceivable'.

In the above (1) and (2), the listeners have also been asked about their familiarity with a person whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɪ] variant. In both of the extracts, the listeners have exemplified people in their friend circle. For instance, the listener G2C in (1) has asserted that he has known people talking like the speaker (in lines 18 and 19). In addition, G6A and G6C in (2) have provided names of their friends in the class (lines 16-20). This shows that the [ɪ] is a salient sociophonetic variable in the perception.

The personality traits associated with the [1] variant has also been addressed in the contexts where the listeners have been provided with education level as a social cue. In this regard, the following (3) and (4) have been given. In both of the extracts, the listeners have been made to know the education level of the speaker, e.g., *This person is a Ph. D. student*. The (3) below is the first example that has been extracted from an interview conducted in Ankara with four participants.

(3) RECG11 | 06:21 – 07:28

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bu kiři ile ilgili sizlere birkaç	GE	Let me give you some
2		bilgi vereyim. (0.8) Arkadařlar bu		information about this person.
3		kiři doktora öğrencisi, (.) otuz		This person is a PhD student
4		yařında. (.) İlk izleniminiz nedir?		and 30 years old. What is your
5		(0.7)		impressions?
6	G11A	Yani (.) ilk izlenim oluřmadı gibi	G11A	You know, I have not developed
7		ama (.) sıradan biri (.) [<u>sıradan</u>		an impression but this person
8		bir insan.		is an <u>ordinary</u> one.
9	G11B	[<u>Çok</u>	G11B	Not an ordinary person at all.
10		sıradan biri de deęildir ya (0.4)		That is, this person might
11		Yani iři vardır böyle normal dıřı		have a job which is not
12		bir iři.		ordinary.
13		(1.0)		
14	G11C	Bence de (0.5) Yönetici olabilir (.)	G11C	To me, she can be a manager,
15		Modacı olabilir (.) <u>Öğretmen</u> [olamaz		stylist but not a <u>teacher</u> .
16		mesela.		
17	G11D	[Modacı	G11D	She can be a stylist, or
18		olur (0.6) sonra (.) mimar tasarımcı		architect or designer. Thus,
19		gibi (.) yani sıradan mesleęe sahip		this is not an ordinary
20		sıradan insan deęil bu kiři.		person.
21	GE	Ben size ((G11A'ya yönelik)) sorayım	GE	Let me ask you ((addressing
22		tekrar (.) Siz neden sıradan biri		G11A)). Why did you think that
23		olarak düşündünüz? (0.4)		this person is ordinary?
24	G11A	<u>Yani</u> (.) Bana bir özellięi gelmedi	G11A	<u>Well</u> I have not made a
25		böyle <u>pat diye</u> söyleyebileceğim bir		specific personality trait <u>at</u>
26		özellik.		<u>first glance</u> .
27		(1.2)		
28	GE	Bu kiřinin mizacı nedir peki	GE	What about the manner of this
29		arkadařlar? Yani kiřilik özellikleri		person? What do you think
30		üzerinden ne düşünürsünüz? (0.5)		about the personality traits?
31		Siz? (0.6)		You?
32	G11D	Kendine güvenen biri [belli ki.	G11D	A self-reliant one for sure.
33	G11C	[<u>Tabi biraz</u>	G11C	Surely, this person likes to
34		yakın olmayı seviyor insanlarla bu		stay a bit close to the
35		kiři.		others.
36		(0.8)		
37	G11B	Kibar (.) ve arkadaş [canlısı.	G11B	Kind and friendly.
38	G11A	[Kibar (.)	G11A	Yes she is kind.
39		evet.		
G11 – Ankara – 4 participants (G11A=M27, G11B=F24, G11C=F27, G11D=F32) GE=interviewer				

In (3), the social cue has been provided concerning the education level of the speaker, e.g., *a Ph.D. student at the age of 30* and the similar questions to that of extracts (1) and (2) have been

employed in yielding the personality traits. In line 6, G11A has reflected his percepts as the speaker is an 'ordinary person.' Objecting to G11A, G11B has asserted that the person may have a job which is not common in the society (line 9) and thus 'not an ordinary person'. In line 14, G11C has confirmed G11B and associated the speaker with a 'managerial occupation', but not as a 'teacher'. In similar vein, G12D has provided such jobs as stylist and architect by forwarding the idea that these are not found in the common and/or ordinary occupation range in the society (lines 17-20). In the line 32, the listener G11D has projected a 'self-reliant' persona. Taking the turn of the G11D, the listener G11C has asserted that the speaker persona is someone who 'would like to get close to people'. Lastly, the listeners G11B and G11A have featured a persona who is 'kind' and 'friendly'.

The (3) above has shown that listeners' perceptions on the [1] have changed depending on the social cue presented to them. A similar observation can also be made for the following extract (4). The (4) below has been extracted from an interview in which the listeners have been provided with the same social cue as in (3) and asked to yield their perceptions. The interview has taken place with four participants in İzmir.

(4) RECG18 | 09:51 – 10:45

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Şimdi bu dinlediğimiz kişi doktora öğrencisi (.) Sanıyorum son yılında olan bir doktora öğrencisi (.) Yaşı otuz civarında sanırım. (0.5) Bu kişiye dair ne söyleyebilirsiniz? (.) Kişiliği bakımından (.) Huyu falan. (.) Bu kez buradan başlasın. (1.2)	GE	The person you have listened to is a PhD student. Probably a last year student who is 30 years old. What would you say about this person? About the personality traits and manner. This time we can start here.
9	G18D	Aa (.) Yani- (.) Öncelikle iletişimi ve insanlarla konuşmayı seven biri (.) Yani sevecen biri derdim [ben.	G18D	Mm, well- Firstly, she is someone who likes to communicate and talk to people. Thus I would say this is a lovely one.
12	G18C	[Değil- değil de (.) <u>konuşmayı</u> sever bu arkadaş (.) <u>Etkileşim kurmayı</u> sever diyeyim daha doğrusu böyle iletişim becerileri var.=	G18C	<u>Not</u> like that actually but this person likes <u>to talk</u> and <u>interact</u> . More precisely, this person has some communicative abilities.
17	G18B	=Sosyal biri gibi geldi bana da.	G18B	This appeals to me as a sociable person.
18	G18A	Hmm (.) Ya- (.) Şimdi sayın hocam (.) bu arkadaş (.) biraz (.) sosyal ama- çok böyle- güvenilir değil (.) İşten biliyorum. <u>Sevecen</u> olurlar, sosyal olurlar ama <u>çok</u> rahat edemezsin yanlarında. Ama <u>oturup</u> yemek yersin bira içersin bu kişiyle ama sonrası yok yani. (2.1)	H18A	My dear teacher, this person is a little bit sociable one but unreliable. I talk from my work experiences. They are <u>affectionate</u> but you cannot feel <u>very</u> easy when you have time with them. But you can <u>sit</u> somewhere and drink beer with these people but nothing more.
G18 – İzmir – 4 participants (G18A=M29, G18B=M31, G18C=F31, G18D=F36) GE=interviewer				

As a response to the question (line 1), which tries to uncover the personality traits of the speaker, G18D has featured a persona who is ‘friendly’ and ‘communicative’ (lines 9-11). Adding upon what has been mentioned by G18D, G18C has asserted that the speaker ‘favours forming an interaction’ as a person who has communicative skills (line 12). Building his rationale on the previous responses, G18B has given his remark as the speaker is a ‘people person’ (line 17). G18A, differentiating her impressions from the others, has stated that while the speaker is ‘lovely’ and ‘people person’ that one can establish several social encounters, she is also an ‘unreliable’ person (line 18).

The (3) and (4) above have shown that the listeners’ perception of the speaker persona has been mediated by the social cues presented in the course of perception. Taking this observation into account, the below (5) and (6) have been given in exemplifying the contexts in which the speaker has been ascertained to social cues on the socioeconomic level. In the (5) below, which is an

extract from an interview conducted in Ankara with four participants, the social cue has been given as *This person holds a managerial position in a company and earns 8.000 Turkish Liras monthly.*

(5) RECG4 | 08:15-09:27

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bu kiři de (.) arkadaşlar (.) Bir	GE	This person is a manager in a
2		řirkette yönetici (.) Kendisi		company. She earns around 8000
3		yaklaşık sekiz bin civarında maař		Turkish Liras and lives in
4		alıyor ve Ankara'da yařıyor. Bu		Ankara. What would you say if
5		kiřiye dair ilk izlenimlerinizi		you are to provide your
6		verecek olursanız ne derdiniz?		initial impressions?
7		(1.2)		
8	G4D	Mařallah ((Gülme)) Baskın bir tip	G4D	Mařallah ((Laughter)) this is
9		(.) Belli. 0 kadar parayı alsam ben		a dominant person for sure. If
10		de baskın olurum [((Gülme))		I earn that money, I would be
11	G4C	[((Gülme)) Ben <u>sey</u>		dominant ((Laughter))
12		düşündüm (.) řimdi (.) eğitilmiş bir	G4C	((Laughter)) I think that this
13		ses <u>değil</u> öncelikle (0.6) Hmm (.)		is <u>not</u> an educated voice. It
14		Yani saçma olacak ama önce sekreter		seems weird but this person
15		olmuřtur sonra da yönetici.		might have firstly become a
16		İnsanlarla konuşmayı biliyordur ama		secretary then a manager. She
17		bu tipler çok yapmacık olur (.)		knows how to talk to people
18		Gösteriři severler.		but these kind of people are
19		(1.4)		mannered and like to show-off.
20	G4B	Aslında- (.) tabi (.) yapmacıklığı	G4B	Actually, sure this is a
21		olabilir ama ondan daha da çok		mannered one but more than
22		özgüven doludur bu insan (.) Bu		that, these kind of people
23		sesle yöneticilik eşleşince gözümün		have full of self-confidence.
24		önünde tonla suratında (.) tonla		When I match this voice with
25		<u>makyaj olan biri</u> canlanıyor gözümde		managership, there occurs <u>a</u>
26		(0.4) [yani.		<u>person who has heavy make-up</u>
27	G4A	[Ben (.) ya (.) bu insanla		in my mind.
28		arkadař olunabilir diye düşündüm	G4A	At first, I have thought that
29		(0.5) en bařta ama sonradan		I can be friend with this
30		arkadařlık kurarken çok o (0.7) çok		person but this is a person
31		arkadařlığa yönelik emek verecek		who cannot give efforts for
32		biri değil yani (.) bu kiři ya.		friendship.
33		(1.2)		
G4 – Ankara – 4 participants (G4A=F25, G4B=M25, G4C=F31, G4D=M27) GE=interviewer				

In (5), the initial question on the personal traits of the speaker involves the social cue on the socioeconomic level of the speaker (line 1), e.g., *This person is manager in a company and earns 8.000 Turkish Liras, and lives in Ankara.* In line 4, the participant G4D has firstly associated the speaker with a ‘dominant’ personality and later justified this impression as correlating the dominance with the money that one earns. Responding to G4D, and based on her experiences, G4C has asserted that the speaker persona is not someone who holds the managerial position just because of her education (lines 11-18). In addition, G4C has yielded a persona who is ‘mannered’ and likes to ‘show-off.’ Confirming G4C concerning the ‘mannered’ personality, G4B has stated

that the speaker is a ‘self-reliant’ person. She has further characterized the speaker persona as someone who has ‘heavy makeup on her face’ (line 20). In line 27, the participant G4A has depicted a speaker who cannot be considered as a friend.

The (6) below shares the similar context with (5) and can be employed to interpret how listeners associate specific personality traits to the [ı] variant in the presence of socioeconomic level as a social cue. The (6) is an extract from an interview that has been conducted in Ankara with four participants. In the interview, the social cue given is; *The person you have listened to has a high salary, around 8.000 Turkish Liras and this person works in a managerial position in an engineering company in Ankara.*

(6) RECG5 | 11:28-12:16

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Öncelikle dinlediğiniz bu kişinin	GE	At first, the person you have
2		maaşı yüksek biri (.) Yaklaşık yedi		listened to earns high salary.
3		bin sekiz bin civarında maaşı var ve		This person earns around seven
4		Ankara’da bir mühendislik şirketinde		or eight thousand and is a
5		yönetici bu kişi arkadaşlar. (0.6)		manager in an engineering
6		Şimdi (.) İlk (.) izlenimlerinizi		company in Ankara. Now, let me
7		alayım ben öncelikle.		have your initial impressions?
8	G5C	Mühendis <u>değil</u> di- mi hocam?	G5C	My dear teacher, she is not an
9	GE	Aa onu bilmiyorum (.) Yani öyle bir		engineer, isn’t it?
10		bilgi (.) meslek bilgisi almadım bu	GE	Mm, I don’t know that. That
11		kişi[den].		is, I have not received any
12	G5C	[Yani şeyse (.) mühendis		information about her
13		değildir ya kesinlikle (0.6) yani.		occupation.
14	G5D	Meslek çıkarımı yapamıyorum ama <u>çok</u> -	G5C	Thus, if she is not like that,
15		(.) böyle geveze ama <u>iyi giyinen</u>		she is not an engineer for
16		biri. Ofisteki en şık insan budur.		sure.
17		(1.2)	G5D	I cannot infer a specific
18	G5B	Bu arkadaşı gözüm tutmadı ((Gülme))		occupation but she is a <u>very</u>
19		Şey yapmam mesela böyle çok konuşmam		talkative but <u>dressy</u> person.
20		bununla (0.4) [Yapmacık.		She must be the most elegant
21	G5A	[Gösterişi sever bu		person at the office.
22		ablamız ((Gülme)) Tertipli düzenli	G5B	I did not take fancy to this
23		biridir ama bunu söylerim.		person ((Laughter)) Actually,
				I do not talk to this person.
				She is mannered.
			G5A	This sister likes to show off
				((Laughter)). She is someone
				who is neat and tidy.
G5 – Ankara – 4 participants (G5A=M19, G5B=M19, G5C=F23, G5D=F23) GE=interviewer				

In the extract (9) above, the listeners have been provided with a social cue that involves the salary and position of the speaker. The listener G5C has claimed that the speaker cannot be an engineer (lines 12-13). G5D has pointed to a persona who is ‘well-dressed,’ ‘stylish’ and ‘chatterer’ (lines 15-16) and G5B and G5A have pictured ‘mannered,’ ‘pretentious’ and ‘well-organized’ persona.

The interview data have shown that listeners' perceptions have changed depending on the social cues. In this regard, it can be stated that while listeners have mostly associated the [ɪ] variant with 'positive' personality traits in presence of education level as a social cue, i.e., <[ɪ]+education level>, they have not yielded a persona whose personality traits involve 'positive' associations in the presence of socioeconomic level as a social cue, i.e., <[ɪ]+socioeconomic level>. In that vein, the context <[ɪ]+socioeconomic level> shows similarities with <[ɪ]+no social cue> considering these 'positive' personality traits. However, what has been noted in the interviews is that listeners, through forming a link between one's earning high salary and *power*, have projected a persona who is 'dominant' in the context <[ɪ]+socioeconomic level>. This has been the only case which shows similarity between the contexts <[ɪ]+education level> and <[ɪ]+socioeconomic level>.

In regard to the *laughter* that the participants have yielded during the interviews, there has arisen a strong implication that the listeners have developed a stance against the persona employing the [ɪ] variant. This has been observed in two contexts; when the listeners have not been provided with any social cue about the speaker (see, e.g., the extracts 1 and 2) and when they have been provided with socioeconomic level as a social cue (see, e.g., the extracts 5 and 6). However, in the contexts where the listeners have been provided with the social cue about the speaker in terms of education level, the listeners have never employed laughter in interaction, and thus, have not developed a stance.

This observation on *laughter* can be further interpreted with reference to how social cues about the speaker affect the perception. For instance, in the lines 4 and 6 of the extract (1), the listeners have put a stress on their shared experiences. For instance, when the listener G2A has stated that 'someone occurs in my mind' in the line 4 along with a laughter, the listener G2C has responded with a laughter while taking the turn. This corresponds to what Hay (2000) has noted; laughter can "highlight similarities or capitalize on shared experiences" (p. 4). In this regard, it can be stated that by employing *laughter* in interaction, the listeners have drawn on their shared experiences (i.e., exemplifying a common friend) and aligned with themselves. In turn, they have stigmatized the persona whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɪ] variant.

Following the analysis on (i) the personality traits associated with the [ɪ] variant, the next analysis draws on (ii) the probable intimacy with the speaker. In uncovering *how* and *why* listeners would (not) like to accommodate themselves with the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɪ] variant, they have been asked; *Would you talk to this person in a three-hour bus trip?* In

response to this question, whether the listeners would like to take part in a social encounter with the speaker or not has been uncovered.

Similar to the previous analysis on the personality traits, the current analysis on (ii) the probable intimacy with the speaker employs three contexts. In all of the contexts, the listeners have been asked; *Would you talk to this person in a three-hour bus trip context?* In the first context, the listeners have been asked about their probable intimacy with the speaker in the absence of social cue (see, e.g., the extracts 7, 8 and 9). In the second context, the social cue has been given with regard to the education level (see, e.g., the extracts 10 and 11) and in the last context, the social cue has been on the socioeconomic level (see, e.g., 12, 13, 14 and 15).

The (7), (8) and (9) below share the similar context, i.e., no social cue about the speaker, and have been employed to uncover listeners' probable intimacy with the speaker in the absence of social cues. The (7), (8) and (9) below involve conversations extracted from the interviews conducted in two cities. Considering this, while the (7) and (8) below have been extracted from the interviews conducted in Ankara, the (9) has been conducted in İzmir. In all of the below extracts, there have been four participants.

(7) RECG2 | 02:12 – 03:16

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Sizden devam edeyim (.) Bu kişi ile	GE	Let's go on with you. You are
2		otobüs yolculuğundasınız ve bu kişi		in a bus trip with this person
3		otobüste yanınızda oturuyor. Size		who is sitting next to you. If
4		laf atsaydı onunla üç saat boyunca		this person wants to chat with
5		konusur [muydunuz?		you, would you talk to her?
6	G2D	[konuşurum ama uzatmam (.)	G2D	I talk to but not extend it.
7		sıkar beni bu insan.		This person bothers me.
8	G2C	Ben asla konuşmam (Gülme)	G2C	I never talk to [this person]
9	G2B	Ben de konuşmam.		((Laughter))
10	G2A	[Konuşmam (.) Ne	G2B	I do not talk to [this person]
11		konusacağım ki bunlarla (.) Bu		too.
12		kişilerle konuşmam genelde.	G2A	<u>No</u> . Why should I talk to. I do
				not talk to these people.
G2 – Ankara – 4 participants (G2A=F24, G2B=F18, G2C=M19, G2D=M19) GE=interviewer				

(8) RECG6 | 04:11 – 04:36

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Şunu sorsam (0.4) Bu kişiyle beş	GE	Let me ask this. Would you
2		saatlik otobüs yolculuğu yapsanız ve		talk to this person if you
3		sizinle bu kişi konuşmak istese (.)		have a 5-hour bus trip with
4		Konuşur musunuz?		this person who wants to chat
5	G6D	Konuşmam (.) [net.		with you?
6	G6C	[Aslında güzel makyaj	G6D	I do not talk, for sure.
7		trickleri biliyordur bence öyle deme	G6C	((Addressing G6D)) <u>Actually</u>
8		((Gülme))		she knows good make-up tricks.
9	G6B	Hmm (.) Ben de konuşmam <u>itici</u> olur		You should not say so
10		konuşması (.) <u>Sürekli</u> soru sorar		((Laughter))
11		[falan.	G6B	I do not talk, too. Her speech
12	G6A	[Vallahi ((isim veriyor)) olsa		seems <u>irritating</u> and she might
13		konuşurum ((Gülme)) ama başka biri-		ask questions <u>continuously</u> .
14		olsa konuşmam (.) Yerimi	G6A	In truth, I would talk to if
15		değiştiririm.		she is ((providing a name of a
				shared friend)) ((Laughter))
				but I would not if it is
				someone other than that. I
				would change my seat.
G6 – Ankara – 4 participants (G6A=F19, G6B=M20, G6C=F18, G6D=M23) GE=interviewer				

(9) RECG10 | 16:41 – 16:54

Turkish			English	
1	G10A	Ben (.) konuşurum diyeyim (0.5)	G10A	Let's say, I talk to [that
2	G10B	Ben de konuşurum=	G10B	person].
3	G10D	=Düşünürüm (.) Yani konuşmam sanki	G10D	I talk to, too.
4		ya=		I think about that. That is to
5	G10C	=Konuşurum.	G10C	say, I suppose that I don't
				talk to that person.
				I talk to.
G10 – İzmir – 4 participants (G10A=M22, G10B=M24, G10C=F19, G10D=F23) GE=interviewer				

In the (7) and (8) above, which have taken place in Ankara, it can be seen that the listeners have responded negatively to a probable social encounter with the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɪ] variant. However, in (9), İzmir participants have been more liable to talk to the speaker. Thus, it can be stated that participants' responses to the question that aims to uncover their intimacy with the speaker have varied with respect to where the interview has taken place (i.e., the city).

The extracts (7), (8) and (9) above can be regarded as a representative for the contexts in which no social cue has been provided to the listeners. In the interview data, a similar observation has also been made for the contexts where the social cue has been presented with regard to education level of the speaker. In bringing an insight on this observation, the extracts (10) and (11) has been highlighted.

The (10) and (11) below share the similar context, i.e., education level as a social cue. In both (10) and (11), there are four participants, however, while the (10) belongs to an interview conducted in Ankara, (11) is from İzmir.

(10) RECG11 | 07:28 – 07:41

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Peki bir otobüs yolculuğundasınız ve	GE	Well you are in a bus trip and
2		yanınızda bu kişi oturuyor (.) Size		this person is sitting next to
3		laf attı (.) Konuşur musunuz		you, and intends to talk to
4		arkadaşlar kendi[siyle?		you. Would you talk to?
5	G11A	[Ben kimseyle	G11A	I don't talk to anybody
6		konuşmam ((Gülme))		((Laughter))
7	G11B	<u>Ben</u> konuşurum.=	G11B	<u>I</u> talk to [this person].
8	G11C	=Ben konuşmam.	G11C	I do not.
9		(0.7)	G11D	I do not.
10	G11D	Konuşmam.		
G11 – Ankara – 4 participants (G11A=M27, G11B=F24, G11C=F27, G11D=F32) GE=interviewer				

(11) RECG18 | 10:45 – 10:57

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Peki (.) Otobüs senaryosunu	GE	Well, remember the bus trip
2		hatırlayalım. Aynı soru bu kişi için		context. The same question
3		de [geçerli.		comes for this person.
4	G18A	[Konuşu[rum.	G18A	I talk to [this person].
5	G18D	[Konuşurum (.) evet.	G18D	Yes, I talk to.
6	G18B	Ben de konuşurum.	G18B	I talk to, too.
7	G18C	Evet.	G18C	Yes.
G18 – İzmir – 4 participants (G18A=M29, G18B=M31, G18C=F31, G18D=F36) GE=interviewer				

In the (10) above, it can be observed that except for the listener G11B, the rest of the participants have rejected to talk to the speaker during the conjectural bus trip. However, in (11), the participants have responded positively to the hypothetical social encounter with the speaker. Thus, it can be stated that social cue on the educational background of the speaker is not a strong determinant in forming a closeness with the speaker.

In line with the above findings, the last context of the interpretation on listeners' probable intimacy with the speaker has been given with regard to socioeconomic level as a social cue. This time, the following extracts (12), (13), (14) and (15) belong to the interviews that have been conducted in four different cities, e.g., Ankara, Karabük, İzmir and Konya respectively.

(12) RECG1 | 13:49 – 13:59

Turkish			English	
1	G1C	Konuşmam=	G1C	I don't talk to [that
2	G1D	=Ben de konuşmam (.)	G1D	person].
3	G1B	Ya konuşurum (.) sanki [ben-	G1B	I don't talk to, too.
4	G1A	[Ben de	G1A	Perhaps, I talk to.
5		konuşmam.		I don't talk to, too.
G1 – Ankara – 4 participants (G1A=F24, G1B=F26, G1C=M23, G1D=M23) GE=interviewer				

(13) RECG30 | 08:10 – 08:17

Turkish			English	
1	G30A	Abi ben konuşurum sanırım (.)	G30A	I suppose I would talk to
2	G30B	Ben (.) konuşmam ((Gülme))		[that person].
3	G30C	Konuşmam.	G30B	I don't talk to ((Laughter)).
			G30C	I don't talk to.
G30 – Karabük – 3 participants (G30A=M20, G30B=M21, G30C=M24) GE=interviewer				

(14) RECG19 | 15:33 – 15:40

Turkish			English	
1	G19B	Ben kimseyle konuşmam. (0.4)	G19B	I do not talk to anybody.
2	G19C	Konuşu[rum.	G19C	I talk to [that person].
3	G19A	[Konuşurum.	G19A	I talk to.
G19 – İzmir – 3 participants (G19A=F26, G19B=F23, G19C=M28) GE=interviewer				

(15) RECG16 | - - -

Turkish			English	
1	G16A	Konuşmam.	G16A	I don't talk to [that
2	G16B	Konuşmam.	G16B	person].
3	G16C	Konuşmam.	G16C	I don't talk to.
				I don't talk to.
G16 – Konya – 3 participants (G16A=F35, G16B=M27, G16C=F28) GE=interviewer				

In the presence of socioeconomic level as a social cue, it can be seen in the extracts (12), (13) and (15) that listeners have mostly rejected to have a conversation with the speaker. However, in (14), two out of three listeners have responded positively to the question, while one speaker (i.e., G19B) has yielded her 'total' rejection to any social encounter in bus trip, regardless of the person. Here, it can be observed that the (14), which is an extract of an interview conducted with İzmir participants, has shown a similar pattern with the other İzmir participants in the sense of positive response to the social encounter with the speaker who employs the [ɹ] variant in speech.

With the evidence of the extracts given in (7-15), the interview data have shown that social cue about the speaker is not a determinant in listeners' feeling a closeness to and thus taking part in a social encounter with the speaker whose sociolinguistic style comprises the [ɹ] variant. This

finding implies that there are other social resources employed by the listeners that overrides the social cues. For instance, it can be asserted that İzmir participants' willingness in taking part in a social encounter with the speaker persona has the probability of stemming from their closeness to the [ɪ] variant in their community of practice. Similarly, as for the Ankara (and also Karabük, Kayseri and Konya) participants in the interview data, their rejection of having a social encounter with the speaker can be explained with reference to how the speaker persona whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɪ] variant has been constructed and projected.

The third theme of the current analysis is (iii) authenticity of the speaker. This theme belongs to the interview instances which have been triggered by the interviewer when he has let the listeners know about the authenticity of the speaker as *tiki* and/or *Pelinsu*. The preliminary aim of the current theme is to uncover whether the listeners have identified the speaker or not. Contrary to the previous two themes, the present theme does not involve social cues given about the speaker prior to the listening task. In this regard, the following extracts (16), (17) and (18) can be given.

The (16) below is an extract from an interview conducted in Ankara with four participants. In the interview, the listeners have listened to the [ɪ] variant.

(16) RECG6 | 04:36 – 05:29

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Arkadaşlar bu kişi arkadaş	GE	This person is described as
2		çevresinde <u>tiki</u> olarak tanımlanıyor		<u>tiki</u> in her friend circle.
3		yani arkadaşları bu kişi için böyle		Thus, her friends use this
4		bir sıfat ya da tanım kullanıyorlar.		adjective in describing this
5		(0.6) Bu açıdan hiç düşündünüz mü?		person. Have you ever thought
6	G6A	Ay eve:t dedim ((<u>isim veriyor</u>)) gibi		like that?
7		işte ((Gülme)) Diyorum andırıyor	G6A	Ah! Yes. I said this. Like
8		((Gülme))		((Provides a name))
9		((Birlikte gülme))		((Laughter)) It reminds me
10	GE	Siz hocam? (.) Böyle düşünmüş	GE	that ((Laughter))
11		müydünüz?	GE	What about you? Have you
12	G6B	Şimdi görünüş ve- sesi düşününce-		thought like that?
13		(.) Evet doğru bir tiki sesi	G6B	Now that I think of the
14		olabilir ((Gülme))		appearance and voice... Yes,
15	G6C	Benim de gözüme şey ((Ortak arkadaş		this might be a tiki voice
16		adı)) geldi (((Gülme))		((Laughter))
17	G6D	[((Gülme)) Tek bir kelimeden	G6C	It has reminded me of
18		çıkarmak zor ama hani tiki <u>nasıl</u>		((exemplifies a friend))
19		<u>konuşur</u> falan da hiç aklımda yok		((Laughter))
20		böyle şeyler.	G6D	((Laughter)) It is hard to
				infer this from only one word
				and I do not have anything in
				my mind about <u>how a tiki</u>
				<u>talks</u> .
G6 – Ankara – 4 participants (G6A=F19, G6B=M20, G6C=F18, G6D=M23) GE=interviewer				

In (16) above, upon having been provided by the authenticity of the speaker as *tiki*, the participant G6A has referred to the previous conversation occurred in the sociolinguistic group interviews and provided a friend in the classroom environment (line 6). Similarly, G6C has pointed out a person who is not in the very environment of the interview (line 15). By referring to what he has visualized, the listener G6B has also associated the speaker with a *tiki* (line 13). In the above extract, since the *tiki* phenomenon is not salient in the perception of the participant G6D, he has not confirmed the other participants of the interview (line 18).

However, in the (17) below, when they have been informed about the authenticity of the speaker as *tiki*, the listeners have responded through addressing the speaker persona as *Pelinsu*. This instance has been observed in some of the sociolinguistic group interviews. As an example for that, the (17), which has been extracted from an interview conducted in İzmir with three participants, can be given as follows:

(17) RECG19 | 15:50 – 16:15

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Şimdi az önceki ses ile ilgili	GE	Assume that you have not heard
2		hiçbir şey duymadığınızı düşünün		anything about the previous
3		arkadaşlar (.) Gözünüzde bir <u>tiki</u>		sound clip. Have you imagined
4		sesi canlandı [mı?		a <u>tiki</u> voice?
5	G19B	[<u>Pelinsu</u> (((Gülme))	G19B	<u>Pelinsu</u> ((Laughter))
6	G19C	(((Gülme))	G19C	((Laughter))
7	GE	Pelinsu? (0.5)	GE	Pelinsu?
8	G19B	Tiki <u>Pelinsu</u> oldu.	G19B	Tiki turns out to be <u>Pelinsu</u> .
9	G19A	[Hocam bu böyle	G19A	It actually is. <u>Even</u> there is
10		gerçekten (.) <u>Hatta</u> şarkısı da var		a song called Yansın Geceler
11		Yansın Geceler Pelinsu Eceler diye.		Pelinsu Eceler.
G19 – İzmir – 3 participants (G19A=F26, G19B=F23, G19C=M28) GE=interviewer				

The above (17) is an extract from the interview in which the notion *Pelinsu* was first mentioned during the sociolinguistic group interviews of the study. As have been stated, the notion *tiki* has become less salient over the years and the notion *Pelinsu* has started to replace it in the social meaning making process. The (17) above provides an instance for this meaning change.

In the line 5, the listener G19B has pointed to this emerging label and provided a description that goes in the same line with the emerging trend. In addition, the *laughter* by the listener G19C can be interpreted as he has confirmed what has been stated by the G19B (line 6). Furthermore, in the lines 8-11, the listener G19B has also referred to the song *Yansın geceler Pelinsu Eceler* that was popular in the early 2017 on YouTube and popular culture.

In the (18) below, the listeners have been provided with both *tiki* and *Pelinsu* as the authenticity of the speaker and asked to comment on it. A similar observation has been made on the (18) that the listeners are well-aware of the *tiki* and/or *Pelinsu* social persona. The following is an extract from an interview that has been conducted in Ankara with four participants.

(18) RECG5 | 13:10 – 13:43

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Benim size bu şekilde çaldığım	GE	The person you have listened
2		seslerin sahibi arkadaşları arasında		to
3		<u>tiki</u> ya da <u>Pelinsu</u> olarak		is called as <u>tiki</u> or <u>Pelinsu</u>
4		[tanımlanıyor.		among her friends.
5		((Birlikte gülme))		
6	G5A	Aklıma gelmiş[ti ((Gülme))	G5A	((Laughing together))
7	G5D	[[Yanındakine bir şey	G5D	It has occurred into my mind
8		söylüyor)) Bu ((<u>isim veriyor</u>)) gibi	G5D	((Laughter))
9		konuşmuyor tam olarak ama Pelinsu		((Saying something to one of
10		[evet ((Gülme))		the listeners in the
11	G5B	[Doğru bilmişim=		interaction)) This person is
12	G5C	=Bana lisedeyken tiki derlermiş		talking like ((<u>exemplifies a</u>
13		((Gülme)) Böyle mi konuşuyormuşum		<u>name</u>)) and it is actually
14		ben ya o zaman ((yanındaki kişiye	G5B	Pelinsu ((Laughter))
15		hitap ediyor))	G5C	I know it.
				People have called me tiki in
				the high school ((Laughter))
				((Addressing the other
				participants in the
				interaction)) Have I been
				talking like that?
G5 – Ankara – 4 participants (G5A=M19, G5B=M19, G5C=F23, G5D=F23) GE=interviewer				

In the above extract, by referring to what they have made up in their mind, the listeners G5A and G5B have confirmed the authenticity of the speaker (line 6 and 11 respectively). In addition, the listener G5D has endorsed the notion *Pelinsu* through distinguishing the style of the speaker from a common friend in their entourages (lines 7-10). G5C, on the other hand, has asserted that she used to be called as *tiki* in her high school years, which has also pointed to the social meaning change from *tiki* to *Pelinsu*.

In the (16), (17) and (18) above, in uncovering how listeners identify the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɪ] variant, the listeners have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as *tiki* and asked to yield their impressions over it. In the course of the interviews, it has been observed that the listeners are well-aware of the social persona called *tiki* and/or *Pelinsu*. In addition, they are also aware of the social meaning making process with reference to the how the persona has been labelled as *tiki* and *Pelinsu*. Considering this, the interview data

have shown that the listeners have pointed to their friend circles and community of practices in exemplifying a person whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɪ] variant.

The next theme of the current analysis is (iv) locus of practice. The aim of this theme is to uncover the places associated with the speaker as a part of the [ɪ]'s social meanings. In this regard, the listeners have been asked *Where would this person visit in free times?* In response to this question, listeners have provided specific names for cafes, places and districts. In interpreting the locus of practice associated with the [ɪ] variant, (19) and (20) below have been employed. While the (19) exemplifies a conversation that occurs in the absence of social cues, the (20) involves a list of responses given by the participants who have taken part in the interviews.

The (19) below is an extract from an interview conducted in Ankara with four participants.

(19) RECG1 | 04:31 – 05:16

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Peki bu kişi Ankara'da en çok	GE	Well, where would this person
2		nerelerde takılır? (.) Ya da gezer,		spend time in Ankara? Or hangs
3		ziyaret eder.		around?
4		(0.6)		
5	G1A	Hm (.) <u>Tunalı</u> , Bahçelievler, Emek	G1A	Mm. <u>Tunalı</u> , Bahçelievler, Emek
6		geliyor aklıma ((Gülme))		appear in my mind ((Laughter))
7	G1B	<u>Atılım</u> Üniversitesi ((Gülme))=	G1B	<u>Atılım</u> University ((Laughter))
8	GE	= <u>Beytepe</u> 'de olmaz mı hiç? (.)	GE	Not Beytepe?
9	G1B	Olur tabi <u>ama daha çok</u> özel	G1B	It might be <u>but</u> this voice
10		üniversiteye giden biri sesi- zengin		studies in private
11		yani.		universities. It is a voice of
12	GE	Sizin hocam? =		a rich person.
13	G1C	= <u>Benim de</u> aklıma Tunalı geldi mesela	GE	What about you?
14		<u>Esat</u> 'ta oturur ((Gülme))	G1C	It reminds <u>me</u> of Tunalı. For
15	G1D	<u>Bilkent</u> , Ufuk, Atılım bunları		instance, she lives <u>in Esat</u>
16		söyleyebilirim hep ayrıca Yedinci		((Laughter))
17		Cadde, Ankamall, Cepa, Kentpart	G1D	I can say <u>Bilkent</u> , Ufuk,
18		böyle alışveriş yerleri de olur		Atılım and also such shopping
19		gittiği yerler açısından falan=		malls as Yedinci Cadde,
20	GE	=Alışveriş demişken o zaman şöyle		Ankamall, Cepa, Kentpark.
21		sorayım (.) Bakkaldan mı yoksa	GE	Let me ask you about shopping.
22		süpermarketten mi alışveriş yapar? =		Would this person prefer
23	G1D	= <u>Kesinlikle</u> süpermarket.		groceries or supermarkets?
24	G1C	Süpermarket (.)	G1D	<u>Definitely</u> supermarket.
25	G1B	<u>Evet</u> (.) Süpermarket.	G1C	Supermarket.
			G1B	Yes, supermarket.
G1 – Ankara – 4 participants (G1A=F24, G1B=F26, G1C=M23, G1D=M23) GE=interviewer				

In (19), in which there is an extract from the interview conducted with the participants from Ankara, the locus of practice has been addressed. What have been provided by the listeners involve such specific districts of Ankara as *Tunalı*, *Bahçelievler*, *Emek* and *Esat*. In addition,

listeners have also pointed to such shopping malls as *AnkaMall*, *Cepa* and *Kentpark*. As a response to the question in the line 20, the listeners have been asked whether the person would shop in grocery stores or shopping malls, the participants have chosen the shopping malls. Furthermore, as a locus of practice, the participants have also provided such private universities as *Atılım*, *Bilkent* and *Ufuk University* in Ankara.

The above responses given by the participants point to what has been brought in the literature on the *tiki* phenomenon. Specifically, as have been stated by Lüküslü (2005), Korkmaz (2006), Deniz (2012), Cankurtaran-Öntaş et al. (2013) and Uygun (2016), the term *tiki* has been coined to refer to young people who have actively taken part in the culture of consumerism. In addition, these studies, by referring to luxury consumption, also point to shopping malls as a locus of practice for the members of the *tiki* subculture and/or *tiki* persona. In line with this, the above given districts of Ankara (i.e., Tunalı, Bahçelievler, Emek and Esat) are known with the streets and/or avenues on which stores on luxury products are located. Thus, the listeners' construction of *tiki* persona during the interaction can be interpreted along with above given depictions by the literature.

What can be added on the above mentioned studies is the presence of private universities as a locus of practice. Providing an evidence from the current perception task, it can be argued that the *tiki* persona has also been associated with private universities. In Turkey, higher education can be grouped into two as state and private universities. After the university entrance exam in the last year of the high school, students make a choice between state and private universities depending on their score. Those who carry on their educational career in private universities pay tuition fees while the ones who prefer state-owned universities do not. Thus, in relation with the purchasing power associated with the *tiki* persona, which is presumed to have a wealthy background (Korkmaz, 2006; Lüküslü, 2005), private universities have been provided by the listeners as a locus of practice for the *tiki* persona.

In the interview data, it has been observed that the listeners have associated the [1] variant with popular districts of the cities that the interviews have taken place, shopping malls, specific cafés and private universities. In overviewing the responses given by the listeners in the sociolinguistic group interviews, the (20) below can be given.

(20) Places and universities given as response to the question *Where would this person visit/hang around?*

City	Place	University
Ankara	Esat, Emek, Bahçelievler, Tunalı, Yedinci Cadde, Karum, AnkaMall, Cema, Kentpark	Bilkent University, Atılım University, Ufuk University, Başkent University
Çanakkale	Troypark, adalar, <i>shopping malls</i>	-
İzmir	Alsancak, Kordon, Çeşme, Alaçatı, Karşıyaka, adalar, <i>shopping mall</i>	İzmir University of Economics, İzmir University
Karabük	Cafes in Safranbolu	-
Kayseri	<i>Shopping malls</i>	-
Konya	<i>Shopping malls</i>	Mevlana University

The (20) above involves the overall responses given to the question *Where would this person visit in free times?* In this regard, it can be said that the responses have shown similarity with what have been given by the scholars in the literature. However, while the participants have named specific places in big cities, the same trend has not been observed considering smaller cities when compared to İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. For instance, the participants from Ankara have pointed to such districts as *Esat*, *Emek* and *Bahçelievler* alongside specific streets *Tunalı* and *Yedinci Cadde*, both of which host luxurious shops, cafés and bars. Furthermore, the participants have also provided such shopping malls as *Cema*, *Karum* and *Kentpark* where one can find various famous brands ranging from clothing to makeup, to electronics.

Although the interview data do not involve interviews conducted in İstanbul, during the interviews, the same question has been addressed to those whose home city is İstanbul. Notwithstanding that the responses involve specific districts of İstanbul such as *Emirgan*, *Kadıköy*, *Levent*, *Beşiktaş*, *Nişantaşı* and streets like *İstiklal*, *Nispetiye* and *Bağdat*, they have also yielded names of the specific cafes such as *Lucca* and *Ulus* 29.

In some interviews, the kinds of shops have been asked in following the responses of the participants (see, e.g., the line 20 in the extract 19), the majority of the listeners' responses have centred on shopping malls and shops that sell branded products. In short, in the responses that involve districts and streets, it has been observed that the listeners have provided a wide range of places as a locus of practice. However, the same trend has not been observed considering the smaller cities. In the smaller cities, the listeners have only provided names of the big shopping malls.

In interpreting the responses that involve private universities, the participants' responses cover a range of universities. What should be noted concerning this is that although the higher education has not been mentioned in the interviews, the listeners have explicitly referred to private universities as the locus of practice associated with the [ɪ] variant. Hence, private universities can be regarded as one of the most stable and salient elements in the indexical field of the [ɪ] when it is associated with the *tiki* persona.

The interview data on the (iv) locus of practice associated with the [ɪ] variant have shown that the [ɪ] is salient in perception. What can be regarded as an interesting finding is that the social cues given about the speaker have not affected the perception in associating the [ɪ] variant with specific places.

Following the theme on (iv) the locus of practice associated with the [ɪ] variant, the next theme covers (v) the home city associated with the speaker persona. In this regard, the listeners have been asked the question; *Where would be the home city of this speaker?* The (21), (22) and (23) below have been employed to interpret how listeners associate the [ɪ] variant with cities in Turkey. While the (21) is an extract from an interview conducted in Ankara, the (22) and (23) have been extracted from two interviews conducted in İzmir and Çanakkale respectively.

The (21) below is an extract from a sociolinguistic group interview conducted in Ankara with four participants. The listeners have listened to a speaker employing the [ɪ] variant.

(21) RECG2 | 11:30 – 11:44

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Dinlediğimiz bu kişi nerelidir?= =Net İstanbul. (0.7)	GE	Where would this person from? Surely, İstanbul.
2	G2D		G2D	
3				
4	G2C	Ankara'da yaşarsa da Ankaralı değildir (.) <u>İzmirli</u> olabilir= =İzmir (.) evet. (0.8)	G2C	Although she lives in Ankara, she cannot be from Ankara. She might be from İzmir.
5				
6	G2A		G2A	Yes, İzmir.
7				
8	G	Sen?= =Hocam ben de <u>İstanbul</u> derim ((G2D'nin adını veriyor)) gibi.	G	You?
9	G2B		G2B	I can also say it is İstanbul like ((Addressing G2D)).
10				
G2 – Ankara – 4 participants (G2A=F24, G2B=F18, G2C=M19, G2D=M19) GE=interviewer				

In the (21) above, the listeners have pointed to İstanbul and İzmir in response to the question focusing on the home city of the speaker persona. In the lines 2 and 9, the listeners G2D and G2B have associated the speaker persona with İstanbul, and in the lines 4-5 and 6, the participants G2C

and G2A have pointed to İzmir. As an instance for his reasoning, the listener G2C has noted that ‘Even [the speaker] lives in Ankara, [the speaker] is not from Ankara.’

The extract (21) can be regarded as a representative of the interviews that have taken place in Ankara, Karabük, Kayseri and Konya. In the interviews conducted in those cities, the listeners have mostly associated the speaker with either İstanbul or İzmir. However, the listeners from İzmir have brought different interpretation on the home city associated with the speaker. In order to instantiate this, the (22) below can be employed. The extract (22) belongs to an interview conducted in İzmir with three participants.

(22) RECG24 | 17:54 – 19:13

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Nereli olabilir bu? Böyle sorayım	GE	Where would be this person
2		bu?		from? Let me ask this.
3	G24A	Bir kere- <u>Eskişehir</u> falan diyorum	G24A	I say that this person is from
4		ben [ya		somewhere like <u>Eskişehir</u> .
5	G24C	[Sen de- nerede böyle tip	G24C	I have my 6 years in Eskişehir
6		konuşan varsa Eskişehir’de yaşadım		and I haven’t seen anybody
7		ben altı sene böyle konuşan birini		talking like that there.
8		gör[medim		
9	G24A	[Bu şey değil mesela- (.) Oraya	G24A	This a person who lives in
10		okumaya gelmiş bir kız [mesela		Eskişehir for education.
11	G24C	[Ama işte	G24C	This means that she is <u>not</u>
12		Eskişehirli <u>değil</u> o (.) Sonradan		from Eskişehir. She has
13		gelmiş=		arrived there later in her
14	G24A	=Bursa falan öyle <u>Balıkesir</u> gibi=		life.
15	G24C	=Ha Bursa olabilir işe ((İsim	G24A	Like Bursa or so... Like
16		veriyor)) konuşmasına benziyor.		<u>Balıkesir</u> .
17		((Birlikte gülme))	G24C	Aha! Bursa is probable. [This
18	G24A	<u>Bursa</u> falan olabilir çünkü <u>İzmir</u>		person] is talking like
19		<u>değil</u> bence		((Exemplifies a shared
20		-- (18:41)		friend))
21		-- (18:58)		((Laughter together))
22	GE	Sende var mı şehir?	G24A	Like <u>Bursa</u> or so... Because
23	G24B	İşte Bursa Balıkesir diyorum ben.		she is not from <u>İzmir</u> .
24		<u>Her yerde</u> bulurmuşum gibi geliyor		...
25		böyle birini.	GE	...
			G24C	Do you have any idea?
				It seems I might come across
				with this voice in almost
				anywhere.
G24 – İzmir – 3 participants (G24A=F36, G24B=M30, G24C=M27) GE=interviewer				

In (22), the participants from İzmir have negotiated the home city of the speaker and associated the variant with one of the neighbouring cities, e.g., *Balıkesir* (lines 3-14). In addition, by giving reference to one of their shared friends, they have also associated the speaker persona with *Bursa*, which is also close to İzmir. In the line 18, the listener G24A has asserted that the speaker is not

from *İzmir* by stressing that the speaker is from *Bursa*. Although the listeners have not pointed to *İstanbul* as the home city of the speaker, the other *İzmir* interviews involve responses in this sense.

The above observation has also shown similar patterns with the interviews conducted in *Çanakkale*, which is a city close to *İzmir*. As an instance for this observation, the (23) below has been extracted from an interview conducted in *Çanakkale* with four participants.

(23) RECG21 | 02:30 – 02:48

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Nereli sizce bu kişi?	GE	Where would this person from?
2	G21D	Marmara bölgesi (.)	G21D	Marmara region
3	G21C	Ege, Mar[mara	G21C	Aegean, Marmara regions.
4	G21D	[Yani evet yani batı	G21D	Yes, we can say that she is
5		diyebiliriz.		western.
6	GE	Ne bunu yaptı? (.)	GE	How did you conclude that?
7	G21C	<u>Yani</u> düzgün konuşuyor böy[le	G21C	<u>Well</u> , she has a clean speech.
8	G21D	[<u>Yani</u>	G21D	<u>Well</u> , she is saying
9		görmüyom gibi değil de <u>görmüyorum</u>		' <u>görmüyorum</u> ', not 'görmüyom'.
10		daha böyle biraz daha düzgün gibi		It appears to me clearer.
11		geldi bana (.)		
12	G21B	<u>Yani</u> özel bir bölgeye ait olmadığı	G21B	Well, it is evident that her
13		belli.		speech does not belong to a
14	GE	<u>Yani</u> standart bir konuşması [var.		specific region.
15	G21B	[<u>İstan-</u>	GE	Well, you say that she is
16		<u>bul</u> Türkçesi konuşuyor böyle		employing a standard variety?
17		eğitimli biri.	G21B	She is employing <i>İstanbul</i>
				Turkish. She is like an
				educated person.
G21 – Çanakkale – 4 participants (G21A=F23, G21B=F24, G21C=F22, G21D=F22) GE=interviewer				

In (23), in which the participants have been interviewed in *Çanakkale*, another city in the Aegean part of Turkey, participants have referred to Marmara region, in which there are *İstanbul* as the biggest city and *Bursa* and *Balıkesir* as the smaller ones. In addition, their justification has been based on the speaker's using *İstanbul* Turkish that also denotes an educated persona as a part of its social meaning (e.g., the listener G21d in lines 8-11 and the G21B in lines 12-13 and 15-17).

As a response to the question *What would be the home city of this person?*, the participants have related the speaker to big cities that is further specified as *İstanbul* and *İzmir*. However, the same fashion has not been widely observed among the participants from *İzmir*. In the interviews conducted in *İzmir*, the participants have mainly associated the speaker with Marmara region through bringing a rationale that the speaker employs a Standard Turkish accent which is known as *İstanbul Turkish* in the public sphere. In further inquiries on uncovering the opinions of the participants on *how an İzmir person talks*, the listeners have exemplified a regional style that

involves pronunciation patterns of Western Anatolian accent. Thus, it can be concluded that while the speaker persona with the [ɪ] variant has been associated with *mainly* İzmir and İstanbul by the listeners from the inner parts of Turkey, through having been rationalized that the western people employ regionally salient speech, it has been associated with Marmara region alongside emphasis on İstanbul, Bursa and Balıkesir by the listeners from the western part (i.e., İzmir and Çanakkale in the context of this study).

The next theme of the analysis focuses on (vi) the clothing style associated with the speaker. In uncovering the social meanings associated with the clothing, the listeners have been asked; *What would be the clothing choice of this person?* In this regard, the (24) below involves a set of selected responses given by the participants to the question on the clothing style associated with the [ɪ] variant.

(24) On “clothing” as a response to *What would be the clothing choice of this person?*

Turkish	English
“Marka giysiler tercih eder.”	<i>This person prefers branded clothes.</i>
“Gözümde parlak giysiler canlandı.”	<i>Someone who wears shiny clothes has occurred to my mind.</i>
“Pahalı giysiler giyer.”	<i>This person wears expensive clothes.</i>
“Alışverişini AVM’lerden yapar.”	<i>This person buys in shopping malls.</i>
“Marka giydiğini göstermeye çalışır.”	<i>This person tries to show that she wears branded clothes.</i>
“Beyaz ceket ve son moda boyalı saçlar geldi gözümün önüne.”	<i>I got the mental picture of someone with white jacket and trendily dyed hair.</i>
“Trendyol gibi İnternet sitelerindeki indirimlerden giyinir.”	<i>This person prefers such websites as Trendyol.</i>
“Kendine ait seçtiği dükkanlar vardır, onlardan alışveriş yapar.”	<i>This person has specific choices of shops and shops from these places.</i>
“UGG bot, böyle tüylü montlar giyer.”	<i>This person wears UGG and feathered coats.</i>
“Altına bir şey giyiyorsa kot pantolon dışında bir şey olmaz.”	<i>This person wears blue jeans”</i>

In the interview data, it has been observed that the speaker with the [ɪ] variant has been described considering specific clothing preferences. Participants have mostly referred to specific places and shops that can also be regarded as the speaker’s locus of practice, e.g. ‘[This person] buys in shopping malls’ and ‘has specific choices of shops and shops from these places.’ In addition, the clothing style of the speaker has also been described with respect to branded and expensive clothes, e.g., *branded clothes, expensive clothes, jacket, UGG, blue jeans, trendily dyed hair*. In similar vein, the participants have also attributed the speaker to someone who has specific clothing choice and does not wear ordinary outfits.

The responses outlined in the (24) above show similar pattern with the theme of (iv) the locus of practice. Considering the locus of practice, as have been stated, the listeners have mostly associated the speaker persona with shopping malls and luxury stores. In the theme of (vi) clothing style, the listeners have also projected a persona who buys clothes in shopping malls and *specific shops*. Here, the term *specific shops*, which has been provided in the context where the listeners do not know much about the speaker persona, refers to shops that sell luxury and branded clothes and accessories.

The findings given for the themes (iv) locus of practice and (vi) clothing style show that there is an interrelation between the social meanings associated with these themes. In this regard, these can be interpreted along with what have been given by Lüküslü (2005), Korkmaz (2006) and Cankurtaran-Öntaş et al. (2013). As have been stated, Lüküslü (2005) describes *tiki* subculture as “passive observers of consumer society” (p. 33). Similarly, Korkmaz (2006) puts forward that the members of the subculture prefer attractive streets and shops. Cankurtaran Öntaş et. al (2013) refer to the coinage of the term in relation with how Turkey is familiarized with the culture of consumerism.

In regard to the effect of social cue in perception, it can be stated that social cues have not been strong determinants in perceiving the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [I] variant.

The next theme of the current analysis is (vii) free time activities associated with the speaker. In this regard, the listeners have been asked *What would be the free time activities of this person?* Considering this, the (25) and (26) below can be given. While (25) overviews the responses in the contexts <[I]+no social cue> and <[I]+socioeconomic level>, the (26) features the responses for the context <[I]+education level>.

(25) Overall responses to the question *What would this person do in her free times?* in the contexts

<[1]+no social cue> and <[1]+socioeconomic level>:

- *Shopping*
- *Talking to friends*
- *Self-care*
- *Watching television*
- *Travelling*
- *Hanging out with friends (in popular places)*

(26) Overall responses to the question *What would this person do in her free times?* in the context

<[1]+education level>:

- *Reading*
- *Self-improvement*
- *Hanging out with friends*
- *Travelling*

In comparing the (25) and (26) above, which involve the overall responses given in the contexts <[1]+no social cue> & <[1]+socioeconomic level>, and <[1]+education level> respectively, it can be stated that listeners' perceptions have shown differences depending on the social cue presented to them. That is, in the contexts <[1]+no social cue> and <[1]+socioeconomic level>, the participants have yielded similar projections. As an instance for this observation, while the listeners have depicted a persona who hangs out with friends in popular places in the contexts where they have not been provided with social cue about the speaker, they have excluded *popular places* in their projections in the contexts where they have been provided with a speaker who has high educational background.

As another observation, different from that of given in the context <[1]+no social cue>, listeners have constructed a persona who spends free times with *reading* and *self-improvement*. The only similarity between these social cues has been observed with regard to the activity of *travelling*.

The last theme of the current interpretation is (viii) the favourite TV programs associated with the [1] variant. Similar to that of given for the previous theme (i.e., free time activities), the current theme also employs summaries of the responses given by the listeners. In uncovering the favourite TV programs associated with the speaker person whose sociolinguistic style involves the [1]

variant, the question that has been addressed to the listeners is; *What would this person prefer on TV?* In line with this, the (27) and (28) involve the overall responses given for <[I]+no social cue> & <[I]+socioeconomic level>, and <[I]+education level> respectively:

(27) Overall responses to the question *What kind of TV programs would this person watch?* in the contexts <[I]+no social cue> and <[I]+socioeconomic level>:

- *Magazine shows*
- *Daytime programs*
- *Dramas, love dramas*
- *Television programs for women*
- *What I wear shows*

(28) Overall responses to the question *What kind of TV programs would this person watch?* in the contexts <[I]+education level>:

- *News*
- *Discussion shows*
- *Documentaries*

The (27) and (28) above list the TV programs associated with the speaker who employs the [I] variant in her sociolinguistic style. As the first observation, it can be stated that the TV programs listed in (27) and (28) differ with regard to their audiences. For instance, in the contexts where the listeners have not been provided with a social cue or they have been provided with regard to the high socioeconomic level about the speaker (i.e., 27), they have featured a persona who prefers *magazine shows, daytime programs, dramas, television programs for women* and *what I wear shows*. On the other hand, those listeners who have been provided with high education level about the speaker as a social cue have projected a persona who prefers *news programs, discussion shows* and *documentaries*.

Considering what has been yielded in terms of the favourite TV programs associated with the [I] variant by the listeners in the interview data, it can be stated that only the presence of education level as a social cue has affected the perception of the listeners. In that vein, the listeners have projected a persona whose high educational background is a determinant in selecting TV programs and/or shows to watch, or follow. However, there has not been any difference noted in the contexts <[I]+no social cue> and <[I]+socioeconomic level>.

The analysis that has been conducted so far has tackled the social meanings associated with the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɹ] variant. In this regard, it has been observed that in some of the themes employed, social cues on high educational background or high socioeconomic level have affected the perception. However, the effectiveness of the social cues have shown differences with respect to the themes employed. For instance, in the theme of (i) the personality traits associated with the speaker, it has been observed that both social cues have affected the perception of the listeners, while their responses have not been affected by the social cues in the themes of (iv) the locus of practice, (v) home city and (vi) clothing. Hence, it can be concluded that social cues provided to the listeners about the speaker interact with the themes. In other words, listeners employ social cues depending on the themes of interaction.

In reference to the findings obtained in the above interpretations, the next subsection lays out the indexical field (Eckert, 2008) associated with the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɹ] variant.

4.2.1.2. Discussion

In this subsection, the findings given in 4.2.1.1 have been discussed by referring to the *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008) found in the perception of the listeners. In this regard, first of all, the social meaning of the [ɹ] variant has been mapped on an *indexical field* (see Figure 4.2) and then factors affecting and challenging this indexical field have been discussed.

The *indexical field* mapped on the [ɹ] variant involves circles associated with the themes employed in the analysis. In addition, these themes intersect with the contexts adopted in the interviews, e.g., from left-to-right, <[ɹ]+high socioeconomic level>, <[ɹ]+high education level> and <[ɹ]+no social cue>. As a starting point for the current discussion, the Figure 4.2 below features the *indexical field* of the [ɹ] variant in the perception of the listeners:

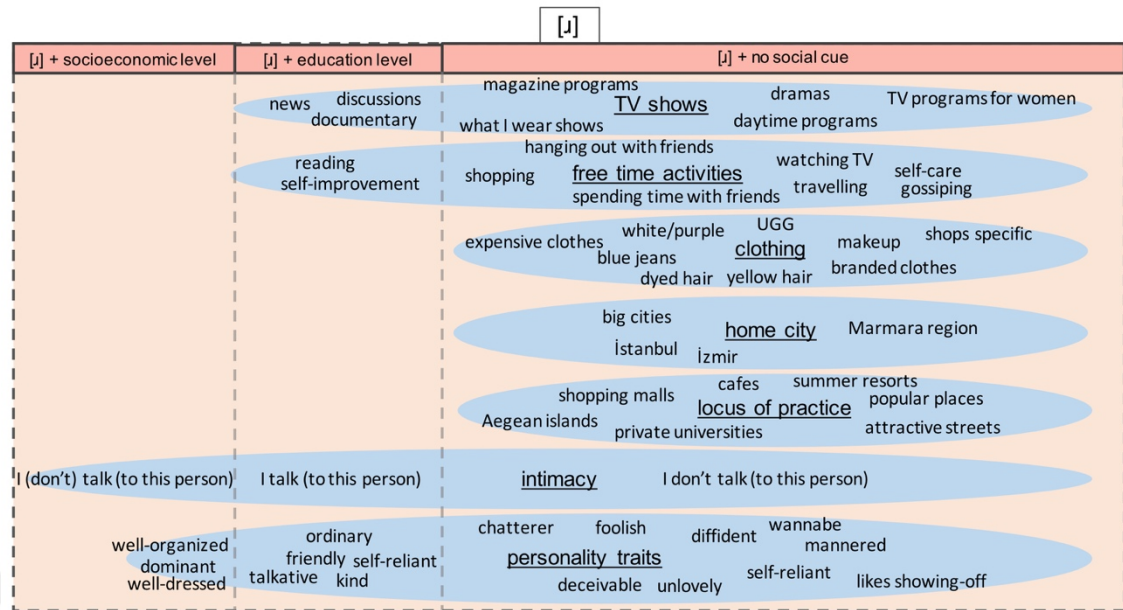


Figure 4.2. The indexical field of [I] indexing tiki persona. Circles=indexical frames, dashes=boundaries of the social cues, [I]+socioeconomic level=socioeconomic level as a social cue about the speaker, [I]+education level=education level as a social cue about the speaker, [I]+ no social cue=no social cue about the speaker

Based on the indexical field drawn on the [I] variant, the following discussion has been laid out in relation with three phenomena: the social cues that affect perception and social information employed by the listeners in perceiving the speaker.

Considering the social cues that affect the perception of the [I] variant, the initial argument that can be brought on the above indexical field can be summarized as follows:

- Social cues are not determinant in listeners' associating the speaker with such social meanings as (i) personality traits, (ii) intimacy, (iv) locus of practice, (v) home city, (vi) clothing, (vii) free time activities and (viii) favourite TV shows,
- <[I] + high education level> is a determinant in the perceptions of the listeners in respect of (i) personality traits, (ii) intimacy, (vii) free time activities and (viii) favourite TV shows,
- <[I] + high socioeconomic level> is a motivation in describing the speaker with regard to (i) personality traits and (ii) intimacy.

In relation with the above listed observation on the interrelationship between the social cues and the themes of the interpretation, it can be stated that indexical meanings perceiving process of the [ɪ] shifts considering personality traits, intimacy, free time activities and favourite TV shows depending on the social cues presented to the listeners. That is, in the context of the performative act of perceiving the [ɪ], the social meanings change. This can be regarded as an inherent property of *indexical meaning*, where “the reference ‘shifts’ regularly, depending on the factors of the speech situation” (Silverstein, 1976, p. 24). Similarly, Eckert (2008) states that “meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings” (p. 454), and thus, it is dynamic.

Furthermore, it has also been observed that social cue on the high educational background about the speaker has overridden the social cue given on the high socioeconomic background. This occurrence can also be affected by the theme of interaction. For instance, in the theme in which the listeners have yielded their projections on the free time activities associated with the [ɪ] variant, listeners’ perceptions in the contexts <[ɪ]+no social cue> and <[ɪ]+socioeconomic level> have shown similarities. However, when they have been informed about the education level of the speaker, their projections have changed. Thus, it can be argued that social cues about the speaker is dependent on the topic (i.e., theme) of the interaction.

The effect of social cues on perception and how *certain* social cues affect perception in *certain* themes can be explained with reference to *context-sensitive* and *context-creating* nature of indexicality (Kiesling, 2009). In this regard, it can be stated that while the *context-sensitive* nature of indexicalities are *conventional*, the *context-creating* property refers to *emergent* indexicalities (Kiesling, 2009, p. 177). That is, since the [ɪ] is a widely observed, widespread and stable variant in the sociolinguistic style of a *tiki* persona and thus *conventional*, listeners have yielded their projections which are *context-sensitive*. Thus, in certain themes such as locus of practice, home city and clothing style, the listeners have not employed social cues given about the speaker. However, when they have been provided with the [ɪ] variant along with high education level as a social cue, there has *emerged* new social meanings. In other words, the social cue on the education level has been employed by the listeners to interpret the speaker persona along with other emerging social meanings in the indexical field of the [ɪ] variant.

The second part of the present discussion focuses on what social information has been employed by the listeners during perception. Here, the term *social information* refers to the resources

employed by the listeners in perceiving the speaker. These resources might cover a close friend in the shared community of practice, as well as a sociophonetic variable or a clothing style. Thus, the following lines of the current subsection tackle the social information employed during the perception.

The interview data has shown strong implications on the social information used by the listeners in perceiving the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɹ] variant. As for the first instance, in the course of extracting (i) the personality traits associated with the [ɹ] variant in the absence of social cues, the listeners have been asked about their reasonings, e.g., *What did you think in associating the speaker with these personality traits?*³¹ In response to this question, the listeners have exemplified their shared friends found in their community of practices.³² These observations show that listeners are well aware of the *tiki* persona whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɹ] variant and employ social information related to their awareness of *tiki* phenomenon in the social sphere.

In relation with the above, it can also be stated that along with the [ɹ] variant, the *tiki* persona is also a salient phenomenon in perceiving the speaker. That is, listeners have been well-aware of the *tiki* subculture and its association with the [ɹ] variant in perceiving the speaker. In the interview data, this occurrence has been noted when the listeners have specifically referred to *tiki* and such popular culture phenomena as specific characters in TV dramas and YouTubers. For instance, in the theme that focuses on uncovering how listeners identify the speaker (i.e., (iii) authentication of the speaker), it has been observed that listeners have explicitly referred to either *tiki* or *Pelinsu* in identifying the speaker with the [ɹ] variant.³³ Similar to that of (i) the personality traits, the listeners have referred to their shared friends.³⁴

³¹ Instances for this can be found in the extracts (1) and (2). Specifically;

- In (1), see e.g., the line 17
- In (2), see, e.g., the line 13

³² The extracts (1) and (2) involve representatives of this observation. Specifically;

- In (1), see, e.g., line 18 “I have known these kinds of people.”
- In (2), see, e.g., line 17 – *The listener exemplifies a friend.*
- In (2), see, e.g., line 21 – *The listener exemplifies a friend.*

³³ An instance for this is found in the extract (16).

³⁴ In the extract (16), specifically;

- Line 6,
- Line 15.

Besides that, in some of the interviews, the listeners who are around and/or above their thirties, have pointed to a specific character in a TV drama that was broadcasted between 2004 and 2009, namely the character *Selin* in the TV drama *Avrupa Yakası* (trans. European Side).³⁵ In the TV drama *Avrupa Yakası*, *Selin* is a character known with her sociolinguistic style that involves slang and specific pronunciation patterns. Among the pronunciation patterns employed by the character, the [ɪ] variant is one of the salient ones. Similarly, in some of the interview settings, the listeners have referred to sociolinguistic styles of Youtubers. In addition, those who are below their thirties have referred to the term *Pelinsu* in identifying the speaker. This also contributes to the argument that listeners access social information found in their social sphere and employ this social information in perceiving the speaker. That is, listeners also employ social information that has been created and reproduced by the popular culture.

Another evidence that the listeners have employed social information in perceiving the speaker can be given with regard to the theme of (v) home city associated with the [ɪ] variant. The interview data have shown that while the listeners from the inner parts of Turkey associate the [ɪ] variant with either İstanbul or İzmir, the listeners from İzmir ascertain this sociolinguistic style to a persona who is from İstanbul and neighbouring cities. In other words, it has been observed that listeners have not associated the speaker with their own home city. Thinking that social cues about the speaker have not played any role in the perception of (v) the home city of the speaker, it can be argued that as for this theme, social information found in the social sphere of the listener override the social cues presented to them. Interpreting this along with what has been given by Tıǧlı (2012) and Cankurtaran-Öntaş et al. (2013) as the term *tiki* has been employed as a form of stigmatization, it can be stated that the participants in the interview have firstly employed the social information of *tiki* as a stigmatized term and later projected a persona who is ‘far away’ from their social sphere.

The other observation on how social information affect the perception can be discussed with reference to the *laughter* in interaction. Considering the *laughter* that has been observed in some

³⁵ Avrupa Yakası (European Side) is a TV drama that was aired between 2004-2009 for six seasons. The character Selin Yerebakan is the daughter of Saadetin Yerebakan, who is the owner of the fashion magazine *Avrupa Yakası*. The character Selin, who is featured in the first three seasons of the drama, is known as the originator of popular culture expressions that are formed through slang words with authentic pronunciation: *Oha falan oldum yani* (I am amazed), *oldu gözlerim doldu* (Okay) and *kal geldi* (Be tongue tied) (Çalışlar, 2004; Kocaer, 2006). For a short clip of the character’s sociolinguistic style, see e.g., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rTXjcQHRpos>.

instances of the interview data³⁶, it has been observed that *laughter* itself can signal the fact that the listeners employ social information in perceiving the speaker. When they employ the laughter to put stress on their shared experiences, it signals that they are making use of social resources available in their environments, e.g., friend circle, families, relatives, etc. For instance, in the theme of (ii) the probable intimacy with the speaker, when the listeners have given their responses to the question *Would you talk to this person in a three-hour bus trip?*, they employed *laughter* in rejecting this hypothetical social encounter with the speaker persona. Similarly, in the theme of (iii) authenticity of the speaker, in which the speaker's persona has been uncovered to obtain reflections of the listeners, they have responded with *laughter*. These exchanges of *laughter* might indicate that by accessing the social information that involves a stigmatized *tiki* persona, the listeners have constructed a stance against the speaker persona and thus both rejected a social encounter with her and projected a home city which is 'not' their own.

On the *laughter* that has been employed in interaction, Glenn (2003) asserts that *laughter* is a social activity rather than solo, and helps to construct social bonds among the members (pp. 30-31). In addition, Linstead (1985) states that *laughter* is displayed by interlocutors in a conversation as a form of constructing solidarity (p. 742). Similarly, Hay (2000) notes that laughter in conversation "can be classified in three broad labels as solidarity-based, power-based and psychological based" (p.709). In line with these arguments brought on the *laughter* in interaction, it can be argued that the listeners, by forming a solidarity and thus creating an *anti-tiki* group identity, have taken a stance against the speaker persona. Following what has been stated by Jaffe (2016, p. 4) as stance "is uniquely productive way of conceptualizing the process of indexicalization that are the link between individual performance and meaning making", listeners' stances against the *tiki* persona is salient in the indexical field drawn on the [ɪ] variant.

However, the above argument on *laughter* and (ii) probable intimacy with the speaker cannot be brought for the İzmir participants in the interviews. In the interviews conducted, notwithstanding the perceptions of the non-İzmir participants, the İzmir participants stated their closeness and intimacy with the speaker that employs the [ɪ] variant in a conjectural bus trip context. One may think that there is a high likelihood that the social meanings associated with the [ɪ] variant in İzmir community might have been practiced in various contexts and thus remain as a salient social

³⁶ Some instances of *laughter* can be found in the extracts;

- In (5) on the personality traits associated with the speaker,
- In (8) on the probable intimacy with the speaker,
- In (16), (17) and (18) in authentication of the speaker.

information. However, thinking that the İzmir participants associated the [ɪ] variant with neighbouring cities in the theme of (v) the home city challenges the current finding. Hence, although there are strong implications that the İzmir participants tackle the [ɪ] variant in their communities of practice different from the non-İzmir participants, this can be regarded as the topic of a further study that focuses on the social meaning of [ɪ] in İzmir community.

The current analysis has tackled the perception of the [ɪ] variant along with its social associations with *tiki* subculture. In the next analysis of this chapter, the same linguistic variant has been interpreted alongside its social meanings associated with *gay men*.

4.2.2. /r/ Variation Indexing Gay

The analysis in this subsection deals with perception of the [ɪ] variant that indexes *gay men*. For this purpose, the indexical interpretation of the [ɪ] has been brought by referring to two distinct contexts that yield diverse indexical meanings: (a) the group of participants who describe themselves as heterosexual and do not have explicit heteronormative judgements (i.e, Group-A) and (b) the participant groups which consist of heterosexual males who are members of a youth organization in which homosexuality is disapproved and regarded as ‘immoral’ (i.e., Group-B).

The first subsection interprets the sociolinguistic group interviews that have been conducted with the groups A and B (see, e.g., the subsection 4.2.2.1). Following the interpretations brought on the social meanings associated with the [ɪ] variant, the subsection 4.2.2.2 involves the discussion brought on the findings.

4.2.2.1. The interpretation of the Interviews

The present analysis reports from 24 out of 30 sociolinguistic group interviews in which the /r/ variation has been addressed. While 20 of them have been conducted with the Group-A, four interviews have been administered with the Group-B. In that vein, the below analysis draws on the social meanings associated with the variant pronunciation (i.e., [ɪ]) of the /r/ variable in the presence and absence of social cues.

In the interviews, the listeners have listened to speech stimuli that involves both [ɹ] and [ɹ̥] as variants of the /r/ variable. These speech stimuli have been produced by four male informants. In the speech of three informants, the [ɹ] is a salient sociophonetic variable. On the other hand, one informant's speech involves the [ɹ̥]. Hence, in the interview setting, the listeners have been made to listen to both variants depending on the theme of interaction. In addition, these themes have been accompanied by social cues provided about the speaker. Both social cues presented to the listeners involve *high* education and socioeconomic level.

The interpretation given in the current subsection has been divided into two based on the groups that have taken part in the interviews. In that vein, the following interpretation starts with the sociolinguistic group interviews that have been conducted with the Group-A (see, e.g., the subsection 4.2.2.1.1). The participants in the Group-A are either classmates, or colleagues and thus share similar community of practice. After interpreting the interview data that have been obtained through the Group-A, the second set of interpretations tackle the interviews that have been performed with the Group-B (see, e.g., the subsection 4.2.2.1.2). The Group-B is composed of heterosexual males who are members of two different youth organizations in which homosexuality is disapproved and regarded as 'immoral'. In addition, these youth organizations are known with their heteronormative judgments in the general public.

4.2.2.1.1. Interpretation of the interviews conducted with Group-A

The below analyses start with the indexical interpretation of (a) the Group-A, which focuses on a group of participants that describe themselves as heterosexuals. The analysis follows from the thematic organization provided in the Figure 4.3. below. The first aims to uncover listeners' perceptions on the personality traits associated with the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɹ] variant. The second theme endeavours to uncover whether listeners identify the speaker or not. The third theme tackles the listeners' probable intimacy with the speaker in a hypothetical bus trip context. The fourth theme draws on the listeners' association of the speaker with specific places. The fifth theme focuses on the home city associated with the speaker and in the sixth theme, how listeners ascertain specific clothes to the speaker has been tackled. Finally, the last theme draws on the free time activities associated with the speaker who employs salient [ɹ] variant.

The Figure 4.3 highlights the themes employed in interpreting the interviews conducted with the Group-A as follows:

i	personality traits
ii	authenticity of the speaker
iii	probable intimacy with the speaker
iv	locus of practice
v	home city
vi	clothing
vii	free time activities

Figure 4.3. Themes employed in the interpretation of the interview data – Group-A

The Figure 4.3 above involves the outline of the analysis adopted in interpreting the sociolinguistic group interviews on the [ɹ] variant. The first phase of the current analysis starts with the interpretation of the (i) personality traits in the presence and absence of social cues, which is limited to *high* education level and *high* socioeconomic status. In that vein, the first theme of the analysis challenges the presence and absence of social cue in the perception (see, e.g., the extracts 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34). The second theme focuses on how listeners (ii) authenticate the speaker, the aim is to uncover how listeners use social information in perceiving the speaker (see, e.g., the extracts 35 and 36). In the third theme (i.e., (iii) probable intimacy with the speaker) an interpretation on whether the listeners accommodate themselves with the speaker has also been provided, (see, e.g., the extracts 29, 30, 37, 38, 39, 40). The rest of the analysis addresses the social meanings associated with the [ɹ] variant in regard to (iv) locus of practice (see, e.g., the extracts 41, 42, 43), (v) home city (see, e.g., 44 and the Figures 4.4 and 4.5), (vi) clothing (see, e.g., the extracts 45, 46 and 47) and (vii) free time activities (see, e.g., the extracts 41 and 42, and 48).

The (29) and (30) below involve extracts from two interviews conducted in Ankara with four participants each and feature a setting in which listeners have not been provided with a social cue about the speaker. In both interview setting, the listeners have listened to a speaker who employs the [ɹ] variant. In addition, the listeners have negotiated the social meaning of the [ɹ] variant with respect to (i) personality traits and (ii) intimacy. Although the below lines involve interpretations

on listener's (ii) probable intimacy with the speaker, that theme has been tackled in comparison with (37-40) in the later lines of the current analysis.

The initial observation that can be brought for the following (29) and (30) is that the listeners have projected a persona who possesses 'positive' personality traits. Moreover, they have responded positively to a probable social encounter with the speaker persona in a conjectural bus trip context.

The (29) below is an extract of an interview that has been conducted in Ankara with four participants.

(29) RECG1 | 07:15 – 07:53

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Aynı soruyu bu sese sahip kişi için sorayım.	GE	Let me ask the same question for this person.
2		(1.2)		
4	G1A	<u>Sıradan</u> biri (0.5)	G1A	An <u>ordinary</u> person.
5	G1D	Aslında sıradan biri <u>değil</u> (.) Böyle kendine <u>has</u> (.) Kendi huyları olan diğerlerine pek benzemek istemeyen ya da benzemiyor da olabilir (.) biri.	G1D	Actually, it is <u>not</u> an ordinary person. He is like someone who has specific manners <u>peculiar</u> to himself or someone who does not seem like the others.
10	GE	Sizde bir fikir var mı?	GE	Do you have any idea?
11	G1C	Yani (.) Özgüvenli biri dinlediğim kişi, <u>dostane</u> ve arkadaş canlısı. (.) Arkadaş grubu içinde sevilen biri=	G1C	Well, this is a self-confident, <u>friendly</u> and easy-going person. This is someone who is favoured in the friend circle.
15	G1D	=Evet aranır böyle insanlar arkadaş ortamlarında.	G1D	Yes, these kind of people are needed in friend environment.
17	GE	Daha fazla kişilik özelliği var mı aklınızda?	GE	Any other personality traits in your mind?
19	G1D	Yok ya (.) Sizin benim gibi bir insan. Gözümde böyle olumsuz bir kişilik canlanmıyor. (0.7)	G1D	No. He is like you and me. No negative personality traits appear in my mind.
23	G1B	Aynı fikirdeyim.	G1B	I agree.
24	GE	Bu kişiyle üç saat konuşmak durumunda kalsanız (.) Konuşur musunuz?	GE	Would you talk to this person for three hours?
27	G1A	Konuşurum [tabi.	G1A	Sure I talk to.
28	G1B	[<u>Ben</u> de konuşurum. (.)	G1B	I talk to, too.
29	G1C	Konu[şurum.	G1C	I talk to.
30	G1D	[Tabi (.) Konuşurum.	G1D	Sure, I talk to.
G1 – Ankara – 4 participants (G1A=F24, G1B=F26, G1C=M23, G1D=M23) GE=interviewer				

In the (29) above, in which the participants have not been provided with social cue about the speaker, they have described the speaker as 'ordinary', 'someone with idiosyncratic personality

traits', 'someone who does not like to resemble others', 'self-reliant', 'friendly' and 'someone who is liked in friend environment'. In addition, it can also be observed that the participants in the interview have negotiated the social meaning. For instance, upon hearing the listener G1A's comments on the speaker as an 'ordinary person' (line 4), the participant G1D has created a contrast by saying that the speaker is not an 'ordinary person' (line 5). In addition, he has further asserted such personality traits as 'someone with idiosyncratic personality traits' and 'someone who does not like to resemble others' (lines 11-14). In one of the following lines (lines 19-21), the same listener, G1D, also states that the speaker cannot be associated with negative personality traits. In the rest of the extract (29), the other participants in the interview have confirmed the G1D on the account of positive personality traits.

Between the lines 24-30, the participants have been asked whether they would talk to the speaker in the course of a three-hour bus trip. Aiming to uncover how participants accommodate themselves in the context of the indexical pronunciation of the [ɪ] variant, it can be said that in the absence of social cue about the speaker, the participants' social meaning making process in the interview has resulted in a probable convergence with the speaker.

The extract (30) below goes in line with the (29) above in the sense of 'positive' personality traits associated with the speaker persona. The following (30) involves a part of the interview that has been conducted in Ankara with four participants.

(30) RECG2 | 08:23 –09:13

Turkish			English		
1	GE	Dinlediğimiz bu kişi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?	GE	What do you think about the person you listened to?	
2					
3	G2A	Evet farklı konuşuyor böyle	G2A	Yes, he is talking differently	
4		<u>yuvarlayarak</u> konuşuyor.		like <u>jabbering</u> the sounds.	
5	GE	Ne gibi kişilik özellikleri	GE	What are personality traits	
6		canlanıyor yani?		that appear in your mind?	
7	G2A	<u>Cana</u> yakın, samimi (.) mutlu=	G2A	<u>Friendly</u> , sincere and happy.	
8	G2B	= <u>Ben</u> de mutlu bir insan düşündüm.	G2B	<u>I</u> also thought that this	
9	G2C	Hırsları <u>olmayan</u> , insanlara zarar		person is friendly.	
10		<u>vermeyecek</u> bir insan ama ben mesela	G2C	This is a person who <u>does not</u>	
11		bu sestən güven almadım (.) Yani		have any greed or who is <u>not</u>	
12		bana güven vermedi=		<u>harmful</u> . However, I don't feel	
13	G2D	= <u>Tam</u> tersi bana göre. Güvenilebilir		any confidence with this	
14		bu insana sonuçta <u>samimi</u> bir ses		voice. That is, this voice did	
15		tonu var ve insanlarla konuşmayı		not give confidence to me.	
16		seven biri gibi görünüyor.	G2D	For me, it is quite the	
17	GE	Peki (.) Bu yargılara nasıl		opposite. He is a trustworthy	
18		vardınız?		person because he has a	
19	G2D	Yani- tam (.) Böyle bir şey değil		<u>sincere</u> voice and seems like a	
20		(.) <u>Anlık</u> gelenler aklıma bunlar.		person who likes to talk to	
21		(1.2)		people.	
22	GE	Yani?	GE	Well, how did you get that	
23	G2D	= <u>Hayır</u> ben hatırlamıyorum.		impression?	
24	G2C	Ya- benim sınıf arkadaşlarım vardı	G2D	Well... These are my instant	
25		önceleri (.) Onu hatırlattı bu kişi.		impressions.	
26	G2A	Bende bir fikir yok=	GE	How?	
27	G2B	=Bende de.	G2D	No, I don't remember.	
28		(1.0)	G2C	I used to have classmates.	
29	GE	Peki bununla konuşur musunuz		This person reminds me of	
30		yolculuk sırasında?		them.	
31	G2A	Konu[şurum.	G2A	I don't have any idea.	
32	G2B	[Konuşurum=	G2B	Me too.	
33	G2C	Ben de.	GE	Well, would you talk to this	
34	G2D	Evet.		person?	
			G2A	I talk to [this person].	
			G2B	I talk to.	
			G2C	Me too.	
			G2D	Yes.	
G2 – Ankara – 4 participants (G2A=F24, G2B=F18, G2C=M19, G2D=M19) GE=interviewer					

In the above (30), the listeners have associated the speaker with such personality traits as ‘friendly’, ‘sincere’, ‘happy’, ‘unambitious’, ‘someone who does not harm people’, ‘unreliable’ and ‘talkative’. Irrelevant to the research inquiry on (i) personality traits and (ii) intimacy, the participant G2A has joined the conversation by stating that the speaker employs distinct pronunciation, e.g., ‘[the speaker] is jabbering [the sounds].’ Upon having been asked about the personality traits of the speaker, G2A has described the speaker as ‘friendly’, ‘sincere’ and ‘happy’ (line 7). In the following line, the participant G2B has granted G2A and characterized a ‘happy’ persona. Forming a contrast with the previous listeners G2A and G2B that have associated the speaker with positive personality traits, the participant G2C has depicted the

speaker as ‘someone who is unambitious and does not harm people’ and ‘unreliable’ (lines 9-12). In the social meaning making context of the interview, there has occurred another contrast between G2C and G2D, in which the participant G2D has stressed his point by putting forward the perception that the speaker is a ‘reliable’, ‘sincere’ and ‘talkative’ (lines 13-16).

In (30), the lines 29-34 focus on the probable intimacy of the listeners towards the speaker in the conjectural bus trip context. Upon having been asked whether they would talk to the speaker or not, all of the listeners have submitted their convergence with the speaker.

The (30) above has also tackled what social information is used by the listeners. In this regard, the participants have been asked about the determinants that lead them in yielding specific personality traits for the speaker. Although most of the participants have remained silent, the participant G2C has referred to one of his classmates (lines 24-25). In the overall interview data, similar trend has also been observed. That is, in perceiving the speaker with the [ɪ] variant, a considerable part of the participants have mentioned people in their friend environment. In addition, there have also been participants who have referred to popular culture icons in the context of Turkey.³⁷

The above extracts (29) and (30) feature how social meaning is negotiated in a sociolinguistic group interview in the absence of the social cue about the speaker. The below extracts (31), (32), (33) and (34) exemplify a context in which participants were provided with such social cues as *high* education level and *high* socioeconomic level. In this line, the extracts (31) and (32) feature how the participants associate the speaker with (i) personality traits in the presence of education level as a social cue. Similarly, the extracts (33) and (34) highlight the same inquiry with respect to socioeconomic level as a social cue. Related to this inquiry, the analyses have shown that such social cues as education level and socioeconomic level have not formed a determinant in associating the speaker employing the [ɪ] variant with different personality traits than that of given in the contexts in which there is no social cue. That is, the social cue presented to the listeners have not differed with respect to two polarized social meanings, e.g., *positive* or *negative*.

³⁷ An instance can be observed in the extract (35) in which a listener points to TV dramas.

In the below extract (31), which belongs to the interview conducted with four participants from Ankara, the participants have been provided with *high* education level as a social cue about the speaker with the [I] variant.

(31) RECG6 | 11:03 – 11:38

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Ben önce bu kişiyle ilgili size	GE	Let me firstly provide you
2		birkaç bilgi vereyim, sonra sorumu		with some information about
3		sorayım. (0.5) Arkadaşlar bu kişi		this person then ask you about
4		doktoradan yeni mezun olan biri ve		it. This person has just
5		şu an hatırlamadığım bir işi var. Bu		completed his PhD and has an
6		kişiyle ilgili (.) Yani bunun		occupation that I do not
7		konusmasıyla ilgili ne		remember for now. What do you
8		düşünüyorsunuz? Böyle mizacı ya da		think about this person's
9		kişilik özellikleri hakkında.		speech? Like his manner or
10	G6C	<u>Neşeli</u> ((Gülme)) (.) Yani arkadaş	G6C	<u>Cheerful</u> ((Laughter)). I mean,
11		canlısı ve çevresindekileri <u>mutlu</u>		someone who is friendly and
12		<u>eden</u> ve hep bunu amaçlayan biri		<u>entertaining</u> has appeared in
13		canlandı gözümde.		my mind.
14		(0.6)		
15	GE	Sizde?	GE	What about you?
16		(0.7)		
17	G6A	Yani (.) Bende bir şey canlanmıyor	G6A	Well, I don't have any idea or
18		böyle <u>çok spesifik</u> bir kişi		<u>a very specific</u> person but I
19		getiremiyorum ama sanırım ben de		can say similar impressions as
20		((mülakattaki arkadaşının adını		((referring to a participant
21		veriyor)) aynısını söyledim (.)		in the interaction)).
22		<u>Mutlu</u> bir insan duydum diyebilirim.		
23		(0.5)		
24	G6B	<u>Empatik</u> konuşuyor karşısındakini	G6B	This person talks
25		<u>önemsiyor</u> bu kişi.		<u>empathetically</u> and <u>minds</u> his
26	G6D	Canlanmadı bir şey (.) <u>Sıradan</u> bir	G6D	interlocutor.
27		insan.		Nothing specific occurred in
				my mind. This is an <u>ordinary</u>
				person.
G6 – Ankara – 4 participants (G6A=F19, G6B=M20, G6C=F18, G6D=M23) GE=interviewer				

In (31), in which the participants have been provided with a social cue of education level, it can be seen that the participants have affiliated the speaker with a persona that shows positive personality traits, e.g., ‘happy’, ‘friendly’, ‘empathetic’, ‘ordinary’ and ‘someone who cares for his peer’. The participant G6C has provided a list of positive personality traits of the speaker with the [I] variant, e.g., ‘happy’ and ‘friendly’ (lines 10-13). Further, the participant G6A has confirmed G6C (lines 17-22). In the line 24, G6B has depicted a persona who ‘talks empathetically’ and ‘someone who cares for his peer’. However, the participant G6D remains silent (line 26).

In line with the (31) above, the (53) below exemplifies a similar setting in an interview in which there are three participants from İzmir.

(32) RECG19 | 04:10 – 04:29

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Doktorasını yeni tamamlamış bir	GE	We listened to a person who
2		konuşmacıyı dinledik arkadaşlar. Bu		has just finished his PhD.
3		kişiye dair hangi kişilik		What would you say about the
4		özelliklerini söyleyebilirsiniz?		personality traits?
5		(1.4)		
6	G10C	Üzgüvenli ve samimi.	G10C	Self-confident and sincere.
7	G10D	<u>Eğlenceli</u> biri (.) Arkadaşlarıyla	G10D	This is an <u>entertaining</u>
8		eğlenmeyi ve mutlu olmayı sever=		person. He likes to have fun
9	G10A	<u>Ben de</u> aynısını diyebilirim. (.) Bol	G10A	and be happy with his friends.
10		bol arkadaşlarıyla dışarıya çıkan ve	G10A	<u>I</u> can say the same. This is a
11		eğlenen biri mutlu biri bu.		person who usually goes out
12	G10B	Arkadaş canlısı diyeyim.	G10B	and have fun with his friends.
				Let me say that he is
				friendly.
G19 – İzmir – 3 participants (G19A=F26, G19B=F23, G19C=M28) GE=interviewer				

The participants in the extract (53) have yielded such personality traits as ‘self-reliant’, ‘sincere’, ‘entertaining’, ‘friendly’ and ‘someone who likes to have fun with friends and be happy’. In the line 6, G10C has depicted a persona who is ‘self-reliant’ and ‘sincere’. Upon G10D’s reflections on the speaker as ‘entertaining’ and ‘someone who likes to have fun with friends and be happy’ (line 7), G10A has confirmed these personality traits and further added that the speaker is ‘friendly’ and ‘happy’, and is someone ‘who likes to go out with friends’.

Similar to (31) and (32) that occur in the context where the speaker has been presented as someone who has high educational background, the extracts (33) and (34) below, which have occurred in a context in which the speaker has been presented alongside socioeconomic level as a social cue, do not show sharp difference with respect to the personality traits. In both of the below extracts, the listeners have listened to a speaker who employs salient [1] variant. In exemplifying this observation, the (33) below can be given. (33) is an extract from an interview that was conducted in İzmir with three participants.

(33) RECG19 | 21:02 – 21:35

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Yaklaşık sekiz bin lira maaş alan	GE	We listened to a manager who
2		bir yöneticiyi dinledik. Bu kişinin		earns around 8000 Turkish
3		mizacı ya da kişilik özelliklerine		Liras. Can you say anything
4		dair bir şey söyleyebilir misiniz		about the personality traits
5		arkadaşlar?		of this person?
6	G19C	Yani <u>mutlu</u> (.) Ayrıca arkadaş	G19C	Well, he is <u>happy</u> . And [this
7		canlısı ve onlarla bol bol vakit		is] a person who is friendly
8		harcayan biri. İşten çok		and spends most of the time
9		arkadaşlarına zaman ayırır bile		with friends. I can say that
10		diyebilirim ((Gülme))		he spares his time for his
11	G19B	Hocam <u>anlayışlı</u> , düzenli, neşeli,		friends more than his job
12		kibar, beyefendi bir kişilik		((Laughter))
13		duyuyorum hocam bu seste.	G19B	I hear someone who is
14		(1.2)		<u>understanding</u> , orderly, happy,
15	G19A	Arkadaşlarım gibi düşünürüm. Aynı		kind and gentleman.
16		özellikler belki tek ekleyeceğim şey	G19A	I think like my friend. I can
17		bu kişinin çok sıradan bir insan		say similar personality
18		<u>olmadığıdır</u> ama gerisi aynı		traits. What I add is that
19		özellikler.		this person is <u>not</u> an ordinary
G19 – İzmir – 3 participants (G19A=F26, G19B=F23, G19C=M28) GE=interviewer				person. The rest is the same.

In the (33) above, the listeners were provided with socioeconomic level as a social cue and asked to yield their impressions about the speaker using the [I] variant. The overall persona has been given as someone who is ‘happy’, ‘friendly’, ‘tactful’, ‘neat’, ‘polite’, ‘gentle’ and ‘not an ordinary person’. In addition, these positive personality traits have been negotiated between the listeners G19B and G19A (line 15). Hence, it can be said that the listeners of the above extract have not shown major differences considering the personality traits associated with the [I] variant.

A similar point can be observed in the following extract (34) that involves four participants from Ankara.

(34) RECG11 | 14:51 – 15:32

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Arkadaşlar bu kişi gelir seviyesi	GE	The level of income of this
2		yüksek biri. Bir şirkette yönetici		person is high. He is a
3		ve yaklaşık yedi sekiz bin lira maaş		manager in a company and earns
4		alıyor (.) Ne söyleyebilirsiniz		around 7000-8000 Turkish
5		böyle ilk izlenimleriniz olarak?		Liras. What would you say
6		(0.7)		about your initial
7	G11A	<u>Mutlu</u> ve huzurlu ((Gülme))		impressions?
8	G11B	Paradan mı? =	G11A	<u>Happy</u> and peaceful
9	G11A	= Yok sesten (.) Yani sesten çıkarım		((Laughter))
10		yapmıyor muyuz?	G11B	Because of money?
11	G11B	<u>Bence de</u> dinlediğimiz kişi çok	G11A	No, because of his voice. Are
12		neşeli biri hocam. Huzurlu da		not we are inferring from the
13		diyebiliriz. <u>İnsanlara</u> ve		voice?
14		çevresindekilere (.) <u>hayvanlara</u> önem	G11B	<u>For me</u> , the person that we
15		veren şefkatli biri duyuyorum ben.		have listened to is cheerful.
16		(0.8)		We can also say that he is
17	G11C	<u>Eğlenmeyi</u> seven ve hem kendi		peaceful. I hear a
18		mutluluğu hem de arkadaşlarının		compassionate person who pays
19		mutluluğu için bir şeyler yapmaya		attention to <u>people</u> , his
20		çalışan biri.		environments and <u>animals</u> .
21	G11D	<u>Bende de</u> aynı fikirler canlandı. Bu	G11C	This is someone who likes to
22		kişiyi samimi buluyorum denebilir.		<u>have fun</u> , and who tries to do
			G11D	The same ideas <u>also</u> came up in
				my mind. Let's say that this
				is a sincere person.
G11 – Ankara – 4 participants (G11A=M27, G11B=F24, G11C=F27, G11D=F32) GE=interviewer				

Similar to that of given in (33) above, the above extract (34) starts with the social cue that is limited to socioeconomic level of the speaker, e.g., *someone who has high socioeconomic background, a board member in a company and earns 7.000-8.000 liras monthly*. Having been provided with this social cue, the participants have reflected the speaker as someone who is ‘happy’, ‘peaceful’, ‘cheerful’, ‘compassionate’, ‘sincere’, and someone who ‘cares for the people and animals around him’ and ‘tries to make people happy’. In the conversational setting above, two participants have referred to the previous listeners in reflecting the speaker as a persona that exhibits positive personality traits. For instance, in the line 11, the participant G11B has affirmed the G11A, who has projected the speaker as ‘happy’ and ‘peaceful’, and further elaborated the speaker persona as someone who is ‘cheerful’ and ‘compassionate’. In the line 21, G11D has confirmed the previous listener’s (G11C in line 17) reflections on the speaker and brought in another reflection that the speaker is ‘sincere’.

It can be observed in the above extracts (29-34) that notwithstanding the social cue about the speaker, the listeners reflected a persona who bears *positive* personality traits. Upon hearing the same speaker with the [ɹ] variant alongside different social cues, e.g., no social cue (in 29-30), education level (in 31-32) and socioeconomic level (33-34), the participants have shown similar trends in reflecting the persona, e.g., such positive personality traits as ‘friendly’, ‘happy’, ‘sincere’, among others.

The next theme of the current analysis draws on (ii) the authenticity of the speaker as gay. The aim of the present theme is to uncover listeners’ reactions when they are provided with the speaker’s authenticity as *gay*. In addition, this theme also endeavours to extract what social information is used by the listeners associating the [ɹ] variant with specific social meanings. In interpreting this, the extracts (35) and (36) have been employed. In the extract (35) the listeners have listened to a speaker whose speech involves salient instance of [ɹ], while in (36), the linguistic variant that has been presented to the listeners is [r]. As for initial observation, it can be stated that the listeners have been well-aware of the fact that the [ɹ] variant is one of the aspects of the sociolinguistic style of gay men.

Below (35) is an extract from an interview that was conducted with four participants in Ankara.

(35) RECG2 | 12:31 – 14:26

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Arkadaşlar bir süredir dinlediğimiz	GE	I am providing you with a
2		kişi ile ilgili bir bilgi daha		further information about the
3		veriyorum size. Bu kişi gey. (.)		speaker that you have been
4		Şimdi bu bilgiyi aldığınızı		listening for a while. This
5		düşündüğünüzde önceden		person is a gay. Would your
6		söylediklerinizde (.) yani az önceki		previous statements on the
7		kişilik özelliklerinde bir		personality traits on this
8		değişiklik oluyor mu?		person change when you receive
9	G2A	<u>Bende</u> olmuyor (.) O zaman <u>zaten</u>		this information?
10		böyle bir şey düşünmüştüm=	G2A	Not for <u>me</u> . I have <u>already</u>
11	GE	=Sesten tanıyabiliyorsunuz yani=		thought that.
12	G2A	= <u>Evet</u> . Mesela dizilerde gey	GE	Well, you inferred from the
13		karakterler olunca onların da r'leri		voice.
14		bu şekilde olur. <u>R harfi</u> belirgin	G2A	<u>Yes</u> . For instance the r sounds
15		bence gey konuşmasında.		of the characters in TV dramas
16	G2B	Aa- ben hiç böyle düşünmedim (.)		are like this. I think the <u>R</u>
17		<u>Yani</u> gey olabileceğini düşünmedim		<u>letter</u> is salient in gay
18		ama şimdi bununla dinlesem yine (.)		speech.
19		yani aynı şeyleri söylerim (.) Yani	G2B	Ah! I haven't thought like
20		o ses de mutlu bu ses de mutlu.		this. <u>I mean</u> I haven't thought
21	G2D	Ben böyle bilgi gelince hiçbir şey		that this person is a gay. If
22		düşünemedim ((Gülme)) <u>Gey</u> demeseniz		I listen this again, I will
23		söylediklerimden daha da emin		say the same. I mean both
24		olurdum ((Gülme))		voices are happy.
25		(1.4)	G2D	I haven't thought anything
26	G2C	Olur (.) yani gey olabilir bu insan.		specific when I have received
				this information ((Laughter))
				I would be more sure if you
				were not say that he is <u>gay</u>
				((Laughter))
			G2C	It is okay. I mean this person
				can be gay.
G2 – Ankara – 4 participants (G2A=F24, G2B=F18, G2C=M19, G2D=M19) GE=interviewer				

In (35) above, the listeners have listened to a phrase produced by a gay who employs alveolar approximant [ɹ]. Upon having been provided by the authenticity of the speaker, the participants have been asked if their perceptions of the personality traits of the speaker change in the presence of the speaker's authenticity (lines 1-8). The listener G2A have stated that there is not any change in her previous arguments on the speaker. Furthermore, she has also affirmed her previous arguments on the personality traits of the speaker. Following this confirmation, a follow-up question has been asked in order to find out whether the pronunciation features of the speaker have been used by G2A in bringing that argument. Concerning this, G2A has stated that she has made use of the pronunciation in identifying the speaker (line 11).

What should be noted in this regard is that the G2A have pointed to the TV dramas that involve gay characters (lines 11-15). As have been stated, popular culture icons that are portrayed in TV

dramas are one of the social information which the listeners make use of in identifying the gay persona. In addition, G2B have referred to her previous perception on the speaker which stays the same, e.g., ‘happy’ (lines 16-20). However, the listener G2D have formed a contrast by commenting on the information provided about the speaker (lines 21-24). Finally, G2C’s comments on the speaker have involved his confirmation on the relationship between the [ɾ] variant and speaker’s authenticity, without referring to his previous perceptions.

Different from the (35) above, in the (36) below, listeners heard a different speaker whose pronunciation involves the [ɾ] variant. Furthermore, listeners have been informed that they had heard a phrase from someone who is gay. In this regard, the below (36) can be given as an extract from an interview conducted with four participants in İzmir.

(36) RECG18 | 14:08 – 14:26

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Şöyle bir ek bilgi vereyim.	GE	Let me provide you with
2		Dinlediğimiz bu kişi gey (.) Bunu		further information. The
3		düşündüğümüzde kişilik özellikleri		person that we are listening
4		bakımından ne söyleyebilirsiniz?		to is a gay. What would you
5	G18D	<u>Yani</u> mutlu biri neşeli biri=		say about the personality
6	G18C	= <u>Evet</u> neşeli ve samimi diyorum bu		traits when you see this
7		kişi için.		information?
8	G18B	= <u>Tabi</u> (.) Ya- aynı yani.	G18D	<u>Well</u> , this is a happy and
9		(0.8)		cheerful person.
10	G18A	Evet hocam <u>arkadaş canlısı</u>	G18C	<u>Yes</u> , I say that this one is
11		((Anlaşılmayan konuşma)) Ben de-		cheerful and sincere.
12		((Anlaşılmayan konuşma)) aynı şeyi	G18B	<u>Sure</u> , the same.
13		demıştim.	G18A	Yes, this is a friendly
				person. I have also said the
				same.

G18 – İzmir – 4 participants (G18A=M29, G18B=M31, G18C=F31, G18D=F36) GE=interviewer

In the above (36), the participants have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as *gay* along with the [ɾ] variant, and asked about the personality traits of the speaker. In the current interview setting, listeners have yielded such a persona who is ‘happy’, ‘cheerful’, ‘sincere’ and ‘friendly’. In the negotiation of the social meaning that is found in a context in which the listeners know the authenticity of the speaker, it has been observed that there is not any sharp variance when compared with the previous settings in which participants have not been provided with authenticity of the speaker.

As for the (35) and (36) above, which are representatives of the contexts in which the listeners have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as *gay* and asked to yield their perceptions,

it can be stated that the [ɪ] variant, among others, is one of the salient phonetic variable in the sociolinguistic style of gay men. This observation shows that listeners, being aware of the saliency of the [ɪ], make use of social information found in their environment.

The next theme of the current analysis focuses on listeners' (iii) probable intimacy with the speaker in a conjectural bus trip context. In uncovering their responses, the listeners have been asked; *Would you talk to this person in a three-hour bus trip?* This question has been addressed in three contexts and listeners' reactions have not shown major differences. In dealing with this theme, the extracts (29), (30), (37), (38), (39) and (40) have been employed. In the (29) and (30), the listeners have not been provided with social cues about the speaker. The (37) and (38) exemplify the contexts in which the listeners have been provided with *high* education level as a social cue. In (39) and (40), the social cue has been presented as *high* socioeconomic level.

The initial interpretation can be brought over the extracts (29) and (30) that are representative for the contexts of the interviews in which the listeners have not been provided with social cues. In these extracts, which have also tackled (i) the personality traits associated with the speaker, it has been observed that listeners have responded positively to a hypothetical social encounter with the speaker.

The (37) and (38) below exemplify the contexts in which the speaker has been presented as someone who has *high* education level. In both of the following extracts, it can be observed that listeners have remained positive to 'talk to' the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɪ] variant.

(37) RECG2 | 09:35 – 09:45

Turkish			English	
1	G2A	Konuşurum.	G2A	I talk to [this person].
2	G2C	Konuşurum=	G2C	I talk to.
3	G2D	=Ben de konuşurum.	G2D	I talk to, too.
4		(0.6)		
5	G2B	Tabi (.) Konuşurum.	G2B	Sure, I talk to.
G2 – Ankara – 4 participants (G2A=F24, G2B=F18, G2C=M19, G2D=M19) GE=interviewer				

(38) RECG4 | 07:21 – 07:34

Turkish			English	
1	G4A	Konuşmam sanırım (.) Yani o kadar	G4A	I think I don't talk to. I
2		uzun konuşmam bence olay merhaba		mean I do not talk to that
3		merhaba ((Gülme))		long. It would be just
4	G4B	Ben konuşurum.	G4B	greeting pairs ((Laughter))
5	G4C	Ben de konuşurum.	G4C	I talk to.
	G4D	Evet.	G4D	I talk to, too.
				Yes.
G4 – Ankara – 4 participants (G4A=F25, G4B=M25, G4C=F31, G4D=M27) GE=interviewer				

In the (37) above, while all of the participants have yielded their probable convergence with the speaker, in (38), except for G4A, the rest of the participants stated that they would talk to the speaker.

Similar to that of observed in (37) and (38) above, the listeners in the extracts (39) and (40) have also responded positively to the conjectural bus trip context in the presence of *high* socioeconomic level as a social cue. The following (39) and (40) report from two interviews the first of which has been conducted in Çanakkale with four participants and the latter involves three participants from Karabük.

(39) RECG20 | 08:41 – 08:48

Turkish			English	
1	G20A	Konuşurum.	G20A	I talk to [this person].
2	G20D	Konuşurum.	G20D	I talk to.
3		(0.6)		
4	G20B	Konuşuru[m.	G20B	I talk to.
5	G20C	[Ben de konuşurum.	G20C	I talk to, too.
G20 – Çanakkale – 4 participants (G20A=M23, G20B=M25, G20C=F30, G20D=F21) GE=interviewer				

(40) RECG30 | 13:22 – 13:25

Turkish			English	
1	G30A	Konuşurum.	G30A	I talk to [this person].
2	G30B	Yani abi.	G30B	Sure.
3	G30C	Konuşurum.	G30C	I talk to.
G30 – Karabük – 3 participants (G30A=M20, G30B=M21, G30C=M24) GE=interviewer				

As can be seen in the (39) and (40) above, all of the participants have asserted their convergence with the speaker in the hypothetical bus trip context presented to them.

Throughout the analysis on (29-40), it has been observed that participants have employed limited but distinct social information in perceiving the speaker whose stylistic repertoire involves the [ɪ]

variant. Such social information is restricted to the participants' friend environment and popular culture icons that have been constructed and presented in TV programs and/or dramas.

The theme of the following analysis is (iv) locus of practice. In the below extracts of the sociolinguistic group interviews, the listeners have been asked; *Where/what would this person visit/do in free times?* Although the question employed for the present theme is linked to the free time activities associated with the speaker, the current interpretation only refers to locus of practice ascertained to the speaker employing the [ɪ] variant. Thus, the social meanings associated with the free time activities of the speaker persona have been dealt with in the later parts of the current analysis (see, e.g., the theme (viii) free time activities).

Considering (iv) the locus of practice associated with the speaker, it has been found that social cues have not been a determinant in the perception process. In line with this finding, the following extracts do not make a distinction on the social cues employed. Instead, they exemplify three interview settings in the absence and presence of the authenticity of the speaker as gay. Thus, in (41), the listeners have not been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as a gay, while in (42) and (43), they have been made to know about the authenticity. The main rationale behind employing these contextual differences is to uncover the social information employed by the listeners during perception.

The (41) below is an extract from an interview that has been conducted with four participants in Çanakkale. The listeners have listened to a speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɪ] variant.

(41) RECG22 | 04:13 – 04:35

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Boş zamanlarında ne yapar? Nereye	GE	What would this person do and
2		gider?		visit in the free times?
3	G22D	Birkaç kulübe üyedir (.) <u>fitness</u>	G22D	He would be a member of some
4		yapabilir.		clubs and do <u>fitness</u> .
5		(1.2)		
6	G22A	<u>Köpeğiyle</u> gezer.	G22A	He would take his <u>dog</u> for a
7	GE	Sende bir şey var mı yanıt olarak?		walk.
8	G22B	Ya- ben bir şey anlamadığımı	GE	Can you say something about
9		düşünüyorum. Boş zamanlarında		it?
10		<u>arkadaşlarıyla</u> takılır=	G22B	Well, I think I don't
11	G22D	=Bir kere hiç clublardan çıkmaz		understand anything. He would
12		hocam arkadaşlarıyla takılır böyle		hang out <u>with his friends</u> .
13		cıstık cıstık ((Gülme))	G22D	<u>At least</u> he would be part of
14	G22A	<u>Öğüvenli</u> bir insan bu yüzden		the furniture of the clubs,
15		<u>istediğini</u> yapar.		and hang out with friends
				((Laughter))
			G22A	This person would do anything
				he want because this is a
				self-confident person.
G22 – Çanakkale – 4 participants (G22A=F23, G22B=F24, G22C=F23, G22D=F25) GE=interviewer				

The (41) above is an excerpt from an interview in which the locus of practice associated with the speaker employing the [ı] variant has been yielded. In the line 3, the listener G22D has established a persona whose free time activities involve ‘membership to a club/associations’. In this regard, clubs and/or associations can be regarded as a locus of practice for the speaker G22D. In the line 11, G22D has taken the turn of the previous speaker G22B and further built the persona as ‘someone who likes to be in night clubs’. Again, ‘night clubs’ can also be regarded as a locus of practice for the speaker persona in the context of (41) above.

Different from the (41) above, the below (42) and (43) have taken place in a context in which the listeners have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as gay. The listeners have listened to the same speech stimuli as those in (41). Considering this, (42) below is an extract of an interview that has been conducted with four participants in Ankara.

(42) RECG11 | 13:19 – 14:04

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Peki dinlediğimiz bu kişi boş	GE	Well, what would the person we
2		zamanlarında ne yapabilir? Nerelere		listened to do in his free
3		gider?		times? Where would he spend
4	G11A	Hmm- <u>hocam</u> kendine bakımlıdır (.) Bu	G11A	his time?
5		yüzden de spor salonlarına üye olmuş		Well, this person is well-
6		olabilir=		groomed. Thus, he might have
7	G11D	=Ben de öyle düşünüyorum. Biraz		become a member of fitness
8		önceki ((anlaşılamayan ifade))		clubs.
9		hareketle böy- (.) <u>zaten</u> arkadaş	G11D	I think so. This one, <u>after</u>
10		insanı.		<u>all</u> , is a friend person.
11		(1.3)		
12	GE	Şey olsa (.) <u>Ankara'da</u> nerelerde	GE	Well. Let me ask that where
13		takılır diye sorsam? <u>Yani</u> Ankara'da		would this person hang out <u>in</u>
14		bu kişi vaktinin büyük bölümünü		<u>Ankara</u> ? <u>I mean</u> in which
15		hangi semtlerde ya da yerlerde		districts of Ankara would this
16		geçirir?= =Esat, Tunalı olur ama bence Bahçeli	G11D	person spend his times?
17	G11D	olmaz.		It would be <u>Esat</u> , Tunalı but
18		(1.2)		not Bahçeli.
19				
20	G11B	<u>Çok spesifik</u> yerler (.) Bizim bile	G11B	<u>Very</u> specific locations. He
21		bilmediğimiz yerlerde takılır (.)		would hang around places even
22		Cid[diyim.		we do not know. I am serious.
23	G11D	<u>Doğru</u> (.) Yani kendine ait	G11D	<u>True</u> . I mean he has some
24		belirlediği yerler vardır.		places for himself.
G11 – Ankara – 4 participants (G11A=M27, G11B=F24, G11C=F27, G11D=F32) GE=interviewer				

In (42), as an answer to the question *What would this person do in free times?* and *Where would this person visit [in the free times]?*, the listeners G11A and G11B have yielded similar locus of practice, e.g., ‘fitness centres’. Aiming to narrow down the perceptions of the participants, a follow-up question has been asked in the physical context (i.e., Ankara) of the participants, e.g., *Where would this person hang out in Ankara?* As an answer, G11D has provided such districts of Ankara as *Esat* and *Tunalı* (line 17). Furthermore, the same listener has created a contrast among the districts of Ankara, e.g., ‘It would be Esat and Tunalı but not Bahçeli.’ Moreover, the listener G11B has stressed that the speaker would visit specific places that even the other participants in the interview do not know (line 20). G11D, confirming the previous speaker G11B, has narrowed down the probable locus of practices that the speaker would be present, e.g., ‘This person have specific places peculiar to himself.’

Another interpretation on the interaction occurring among the participants in the (42) above can be brought by considering how the listeners access additional information linked to the previous knowledge about the speaker. Specifically, in the context in which the listeners know the authenticity of the speaker as *gay* and hear the [ɪ] variant, the participants in (42) have been somehow unable to provide an exact locus of practice. For instance, the listener G11B has

forwarded that '[a gay persona] would hang out in specific places that even we do not know' (lines 20-22). Similarly, G11D has pointed to probable locus of practices by narrowing down her options as, '[a gay persona] would have time in places peculiar to him' (lines 23-24). A similar observation can also be found in the (43) below.

The (43) below is an extract from an interview that has been conducted in Ankara with four participants. In the extract, participants have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker and asked *Where would this person visit in Ankara?* It has been observed that the participants' responses have gone hand in hand with those given in the above (43).

(43) RECG1 | 12:57 – 13:38

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Peki nerelere gider bu kişi? (0.5)	GE	Well, where would this person visit? You can think about Ankara?
2		Ankara'yı düşünebilirsiniz		
3		arkadaşlar.		
4	G1A	<u>Bir kere</u> arkadaşlarıyla gider bir	G1A	<u>First of all</u> , this person
5		yerlere yani ben geylerin Ankara'da		would visit places with his
6		nerelere gideceğini <u>bilmiyorum</u> hocam		friends. That is, I <u>don't know</u>
7		(.) Ama belirli yerlere giderler.		places where gays spend time
8		(1.7)		in Ankara. But those places
9	G1B	Se- ((yanındaki katılımcıya soruyor		are specific sites.
10		ve isim veriyor)) düşün=	G1B	Think about ((Asking to the
11	G1A	=İşte arkadaşlarıyla=		participant sitting next to
12	G1C	=Evet.		her and exemplifies a name))
13	G1B	Bence bizim <u>bilmediğimiz</u> yerler (.)	G1A	That is, with friends.
14		<u>Mesela</u> arkadaşlarıyla gider.	G1C	Yes.
15	G1D	Genel ortamlarda <u>tepki</u>	G1B	As for me, those are places
16		görebileceklerini düşünebilirler ve		that we <u>don't know</u> . [This
17		<u>bu yüzden</u> her yerde bulunmaz bu		person] visits those places
18		kişi.		with his friends.
			G1D	They may think that they may
				get reactions by the people in
				the public places and <u>thus</u>
				they don't spend time in
				anywhere.
G1 – Ankara – 4 participants (G1A=F24, G1B=F26, G1C=M23, G1D=M23) GE=interviewer				

The participants in the (43) above have been limited to the context of Ankara in their responses. In the line 4, G1A has stated that she does not know where a gay visits and/or hangs out in Ankara. Following this response, she has added that '[a gay persona] would visit specific places'. Congruent with G1A, G1B has asserted that those places cannot be regarded as mainstream that everybody knows, especially the interlocutors in the conversation (line 13). In addition, G1B has further projected a speaker persona who would visit those places with his friends. G1D, interpreting the responses provided by G1A and G1B, has enunciated that since a gay persona

may get some reactions in those mainstream places, he cannot visit those places that everybody knows well.

As can be seen in the (42) and (43) above, in which the participants' responses have centred around 'specific places to visit and/or hang out' as (iv) the locus of practice, an interpretation on this observation can be brought with respect to the participants' awareness on the homophobia in the society. By referring to 'specific places', they have not been able to associate the speaker persona with a wide set of locus of practice. Thus, this observation hints that listeners in (42) and (43) have employed social information. Based on this social information, they might have thought that a gay persona, aiming to stay away from getting reactions related to homophobia, would prefer 'specific' places that the general public do not know. In other words, participants might have assumed that places which are not 'specific', e.g., the mainstream ones, are not a 'safe house' for gays in the society.

Again, by referring to 'specific places' about which they cannot provide specific district/café/bar/club name, the participants cannot access further social information other than <[I]+gay> about the speaker during perception.

In dealing with the social meanings associated with the [I] variant, which is a salient aspect of the sociolinguistic style of gay men in Turkey, the next theme of the current analysis is (v) the home city ascertained to the speaker persona. In uncovering this social meaning, the listeners have been asked; *What would be the home city of this person?* In obtaining listeners' responses to this question, social cues have not been employed in the interviews. In addition, the current theme has not been interpreted by employing extracts. Instead, following the (44) below, listeners' responses have been interpreted with reference to the map of Turkey. As for initial observation on the interview data, the listeners have mostly associated the speaker persona with big cities such as İstanbul and İzmir and seaside cities.

As a starting point for the current interpretation, the (44) below involves the overall responses given by the participants to the question *What would be the home city of [the speaker]?*

(44) Overall responses to the question *What would be the home city of [the speaker]?*

- (a) *Big cities,*
- (b) *Seaside cities,*
- (c) *Marmara and Aegean region,*
- (d) *İzmir, İstanbul, Bursa, Ankara and Balıkesir*

In regard to the (44) above, the participants have negotiated a persona who lives in and/or is from (a) big cities, (b) seaside cities, (c) Marmara and Aegean regions, and specifically such cities as (d) İzmir, İstanbul, Bursa, Ankara and Balıkesir.

Considering (a) big cities, although the responses given by the participants have not pointed to specific ‘big city’, in the context of the current work, İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Bursa can be regarded as ‘big cities’.³⁸

Similarly, the listeners have not referred to specific cities in ascertaining the speaker persona with (b) seaside cities. This, in turn, can be interpreted as the cities found in either Aegean or Mediterranean regions although Turkey covers a peninsula in which there are other ‘seaside’ regions such as Marmara and Black Sea. In visualizing this argument, the Figure 4.4 can be employed. In the Figure 4.4 below, the ‘seaside’ regions of Turkey have been plotted on the map.

³⁸ People in Turkey implicitly refer to population when denoting a city as ‘big city’. According to the latest report TS24638 (December 2016) that was published by Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK) (Turkish Statistical Institute), the population metadata of the provinces in (d - cities) was estimated as follows (TÜİK, December 2016):

- #1 İstanbul – 14.804.116
- #2 Ankara – 5.346.518
- #3 İzmir – 4.223.545
- #4 Bursa – 2.901.396
- Total – 79.814.871

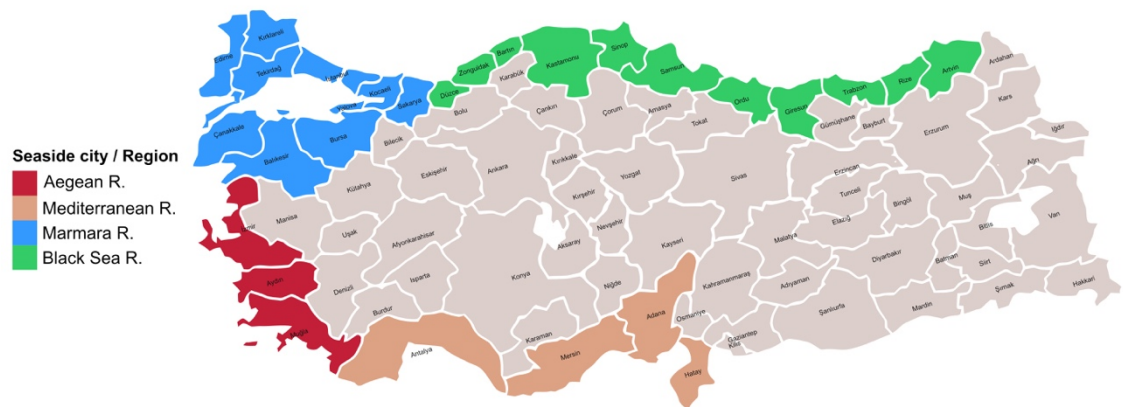


Figure 4.4. (b) Seaside cities

In order to minimize the ambiguity that arise with the term ‘seaside city’, it should be noted that in the public discourse, the concept ‘seaside city’ refers to cities found in either Aegean and Mediterranean regions.

Another observation on the home city associated with the speaker persona is (c) Marmara and Aegean regions. Tackling this observation along with the cities given in (d), e.g., İzmir, İstanbul, Bursa, Ankara and Balıkesir, the projection yielded by (c) can be narrowed down. That is, except for Ankara, the rest of the cities provided in the (d) are located in either Marmara or Aegean regions. In visualizing this finding, the Figure 4.5 can be employed to highlight both (c) Marmara and Aegean regions and (d) İzmir, İstanbul, Bursa, Ankara and Balıkesir as follows:

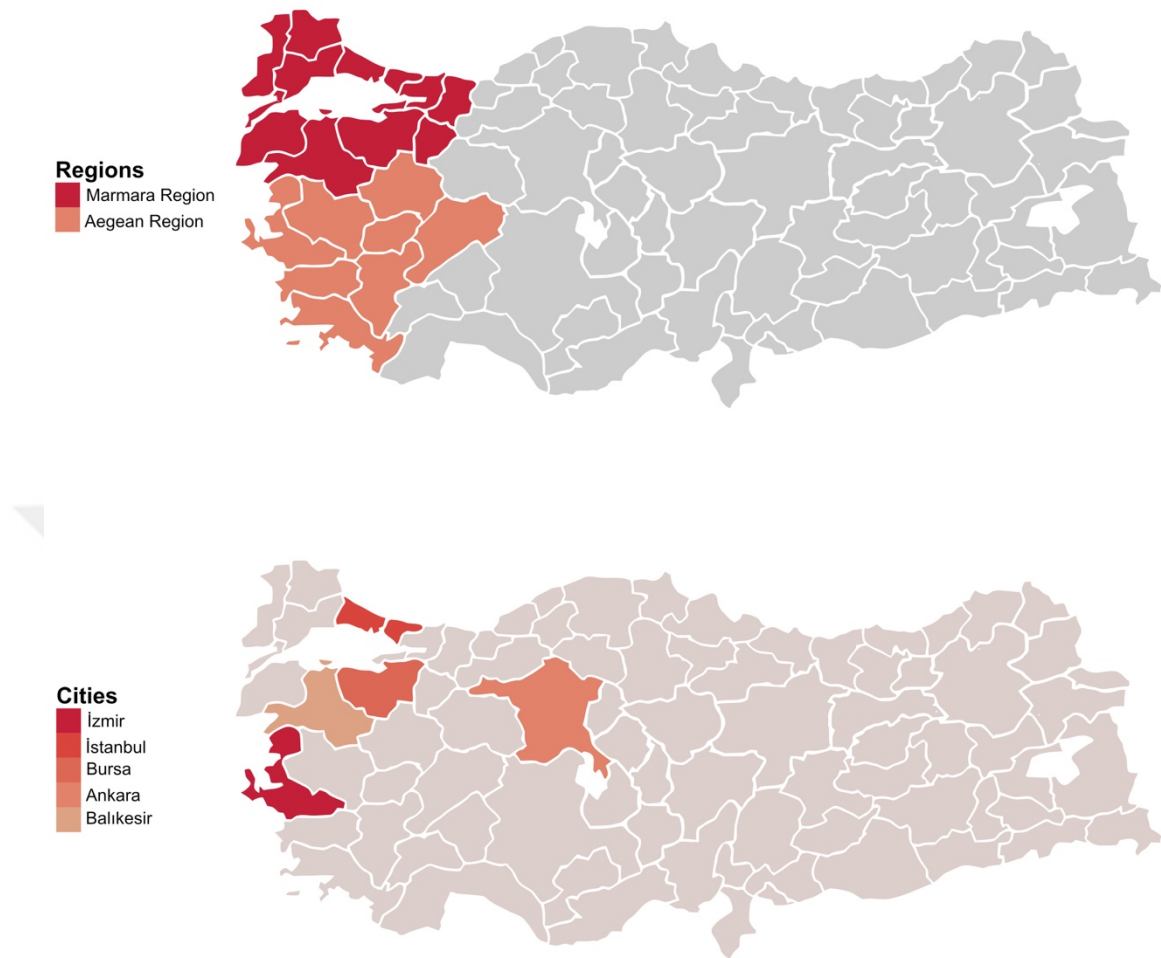


Figure 4.5. (c) Marmara and Aegean regions and (d) İzmir, İstanbul, Bursa, Ankara and Balıkesir

The Figure 4.5 above involves the maps that feature the responses given to (c) the regions and (d) the cities. What is common between (c) the regions and (d) the cities is that except for Ankara, the rest are either found in Marmara or Aegean regions. As have been shown in the Figure 4.4 above, the listeners have also associated the speaker persona with (b) seaside cities. Although this geographical index involves group of cities that range from the Eastern Mediterranean to Aegean cities, and from Marmara to the Eastern Black Sea coast in Turkey that form a peninsula in the intersection between Europe and Asia, in Turkey, by referring to the (b) seaside cities, the inference is mostly on either Mediterranean or Aegean cities (and sometimes some Marmara cities

relatively).³⁹ Furthermore, based on the maps given above, it can be concluded that it is only İzmir that is connoted with the ‘seaside city’ index.

Following the analysis on (v) the home city, the following analysis tackles (vi) clothing style associated with the speaker. In uncovering the indexes related to the [I] variant, the listeners have been asked; *What would be the clothing style of this person?* and *What would this person wears in daily life?* It has been observed that the social cues presented to the listeners are determinant in negotiating social meanings ascertained to the speaker persona. That is, when the listeners have been presented with high socioeconomic level as a social cue, their projections on the speaker have changed. However, in the presence of high education level as a social cue, the perceptions have shown similar trend with that of given in the contexts in which the listeners have not provided with a social cue about the speaker.

In interpreting the social meanings associated with the [I] variant, the extracts (45), (46) and (47) have been given. The (45) below is a representative for the context in which the listeners have not been provided with social cue about the speaker. In (46), the social cue has been given with regard to high education level and in (47), the social cue has been limited to high socioeconomic level of the speaker.

The following (45) is an extract of an interview that has been conducted in İzmir with three participants. The listeners have listened to a speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [I] variant.

³⁹ The main motive behind this reference may be the fact that the Mediterranean and Aegean parts of the country are connoted as the ‘seaside + holiday places’.

(45) RECG24 | 19:15 – 19:30

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Aynı kişi (.) Ne giyer?= 2 G24A =Çok spesifik şeyler giyer (.) 3 <u>pastel</u> renkler (.) <u>bilinmedik</u> 4 markalar. 5 (0.7) 6 G24C <u>Düz</u> (.) Ben ne giyersem <u>onu</u> giyer 7 öyle çok uç şeyler aklıma gelmedi. 8 (0.5) 9 GE Sende? 10 G24B <u>Bende</u> de aynı kot pantolon, tişört 11 hava soğuksa hırka (.) yani standart 12 giysi işte (.) <u>Açık</u> renk ama.	GE Same person. What would he wear? G24A [This person] would wear <u>very</u> specific stuff, for instance, <u>pastel</u> colours and <u>unknown</u> brands. G24C <u>Ordinary</u> . I cannot give very specific examples but this person might wear what I do. GE What about you? G24B Same here. He would prefer ordinary clothes such as jeans, t-shirt, and sweater if the weather is cold. But <u>light</u> colours.	
G24 – İzmir – 3 participants (G24A=F36, G24B=M30, G24C=M27) GE=interviewer				

In the (45) above, the listeners have featured a speaker persona who prefers ‘specific’ and ‘ordinary’ clothes, ‘pastel’ and ‘light’ colours, ‘unfamiliar brands’, ‘blue jeans’ and ‘t-shirt’. A similar observation can also be made in the (46) below in which the interaction has taken place in the presence of education level as a social cue.

(46) RECG2 | 19:03 – 10:27

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Peki giysi söyleseniz (.) giyim tercihi açısından bu kişiye ne dersiniz? 2 3 (0.6) 4 5 G2A <u>Normal</u> derim hocam= 6 GE =Nasıl? 7 G2A Yani <u>günlük</u> giysiler mesela az 8 önceki gibi beni sesten giysiye 9 götürecek bir şey yok bu kişide. 10 (.) 11 G2C <u>Bence</u> de günlük temiz açık renk giysiler giyer= 12 =Ben de ayırım yapmıyorum hocam 13 ((G2A’nın adını söylüyor)) gibi? 14 GE Belli ((anlaşılamayan konuşma)) 15 G2B yani.	GE What would you say about the clothing preference of this person? G2A I say it is <u>ordinary</u> . GE How? G2A That is to say, <u>casual</u> clothes. Contrary to the previous speaker, I don’t get any impression that forms links to clothing style for this person. G2C <u>Me too</u> . This person would prefer clean, light coloured casual clothes. GE Like ((Refers to G2A))? G2B Like ((incomprehensible utterance)) that is to say.	
G2 – Ankara – 4 participants (G2A=F24, G2B=F18, G2C=M19, G2D=M19) GE=interviewer				

In the (46) above, the listeners have featured a persona whose clothing style involves ‘ordinary’ and ‘daily’ clothes and ‘light’ colours.

The (45) and (46) above can be compared with the extract (47) below in regard to high socioeconomic level as a social cue. In that vein, listeners have employed a social cue on the socioeconomic level to project a persona who has ‘buying power’ and thus prefer ‘branded’ clothes.

The (47) below is an extract of an interview that has been conducted with four participants in Ankara.

(47) RECG11 | 21:13 – 21:51

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Şimdi bu kişi için, geliri yüksek	GE	This is a person who has high
2		biri mesela 10 bin civarında maaşı		income, for instance, earns
3		olduğu bilgisi var (.) Ne tür		10000 Turkish Liras per month.
4		giysiler giydiğini düşünürsünüz?		What would you say about the
5		(0.5)		clothing associated with [this
6	G11C	Bence takım el[bise		person]?
7	G11D	[Koyu bir takım elbise	G11C	As for me, it is suit.
8		düşünürüm ben de.	G11D	I think it is <u>dark</u> suit.
9		(0.9)		
10	GE	Sizin hocam (.) fikriniz?= =Yani (.) hocam (.) ciddi giysiler	GE	Your impression?
11	G11D	olabilir yönetici falansa bu	G11D	Well, it might be <u>suit</u> and
12		dinlediğimiz kişi takım elbise		<u>serious</u> clothes if the person
13		olabilir (.) Evet= =Evet ama onun yanında <u>markalı</u>	G11A	I listened to is a manager.
14		giysiler= =Var mı aklında marka?		
15	G11A	(0.6)	G11A	Yes but besides it, [this
16				person] might prefer <u>branded</u>
17	GE		GE	clothes.
18				Do you have any brand in your
19	G11A	Ben pek marka bilmem ama <u>markalı</u>	G11A	mind?
20		giydiğini düşünürüm.	G11A	I am not good at brands but I
				think [this person] might
				prefer <u>branded</u> clothes.
G11 – Ankara – 4 participants (G11A=M27, G11B=F24, G11C=F27, G11D=F32) GE=interviewer				

The responses given by the listeners in the (47) above involves ‘dark suit’, and ‘serious’ and ‘branded’ clothes.

It has been observed in the interview data that social cue on the socioeconomic level of the speaker affects the perception of the listeners in terms of the clothing style associated with the [I] variant. This effect, however, is limited to ‘branded’ clothes, ‘suits’ and ‘darker’ colours.

The last analysis of this subsection deals with how the listeners have associated the speaker persona with (vii) free time activities.. In this regard, the participants have been asked *What would*

this person do in free times? As have been stated in the preceding lines of the analysis in this subsection, the same question has also been employed to uncover what and how the participants associate the persona with (iv) the locus of practice (see, e.g., the extracts 41 and 42). Concerning this, the extracts (41) and (42) can be reinterpreted in relation with (vii) the free time activities. In addition, in order to cover the overall responses given by the participants, the (48) below outlines the responses given by the listeners who have taken part in the study.

Reinterpreting the (41) and (42) with regard to (vii) free time activities associated with the speaker, it has been observed that in the extract (41), the listeners have associated the speaker with such free time activities as ‘membership to clubs’, ‘doing fitness’, ‘taking the dog out for a walk’, ‘having time with friends’ and ‘goes to clubs/discos’. In (42), the participants have yielded a persona who ‘pays attention to his self-care’, ‘becomes member to fitness clubs’, ‘has time with his friends’ and ‘goes out to have fun with friends in specific places’.

In the contexts in which the participants are not provided with any social cue about the speaker but made to listen to ‘someone’ with the [ɪ] variant, they have negotiated a persona whose free time activities involve the ones given in (48) below. However, when the listeners have been made to know that they are listening to a gay whose linguistic style involves the [ɪ] variant, they have employed additional social information in forming the gay persona, e.g., the homophobia or heteronormativity in the society. Thus, they have recontextualized the probable free time activities associated with the ‘someone’ with the [ɪ] variant and limited them to ‘activities that can be performed with close friends and in specific places’.

The (41) and (42) have provided an evidence on how listeners’ perception change depending on the presence of the authenticity of the speaker as gay. In featuring the overall responses given by the participants in the interviews, the (48) below lists the responses obtained for the theme (vii) free time activities in the absence of social cues.

(48) Overall responses to the question *What would this person do in free times?*

- *Spends time with friends,*
- *Hangs out with friends,*
- *Self-care,*
- *Takes his dog out for a walk,*
- *Goes to clubs/discos/bars,*
- *Does what other people do (e.g. reading books, watching TV).*

The (48) above involves a set of responses given by the participants in the context in which they have not been provided with the social cue about the speaker employing the [ɹ] variant. It can be seen that although there are associations that go in line with the general public, e.g., ‘does what other people do’, and thus do not create a contrast, most of the responses have depicted a persona who is ‘entertaining’, ‘joyful’ and ‘friendly’. This leads the analysis to a conclusion that the persona constructed in the contexts <[ɹ]+no social cue> have been projected by reference to a series of interrelated social meanings with respect to (i) the personality traits, (iv) locus of practice and (vii) free time activities, e.g., *A person who is ‘friendly’ (personality traits) can spend time in ‘clubs/discos’ (locus of practice) with ‘friends’ in his free-times (free time activities).*

By referring to the thematic organization given in the Figure 4.3 above, the overall findings of the first analysis on (a) the Group-A, which consists of groups of participants who describe themselves as heterosexuals and do not have any explicit heteronormative judgements, have been given in the following lines.

Considering (i) the personality traits of the speaker that employs the [ɹ] variant, it can be said that the presence of the social cue about the speaker (e.g., high education level and high socioeconomic level) is not a determinant in ascertaining distinct personality traits to the persona in question. Notwithstanding what the social cue is, the participants have constructed a persona whose personality traits involve ‘positive’ connotations. Moreover, in the context in which the listeners have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as *gay*, it has been observed that the linguistic variables (e.g., alveolar approximant [ɹ] or fricated alveolar flap [ɹ̥]) have not been a motive in ascertaining distinct (i) personality traits to the speaker. That is, regardless of the linguistic variable that they hear, the listeners pay more attention to the authenticity of the speaker in yielding personality traits for the speaker.

In negotiating the social meanings of the [ɹ] with regard to (i) personality traits and (ii) intimacy, the listeners employ social information which is limited to their communities of practices and popular culture icons on TVs. The same observation has been made when the listeners (iii) authenticate (i.e. identify) the speaker employing the [ɹ] variant. Specifically, listeners have exemplified either their friends or characters in TV dramas or movies in providing (i) personality traits and forming (ii) intimacy (i.e. convergence and/or divergence) in the instances in which the [ɹ] is used. Furthermore, it can also be said that the alveolar approximant [ɹ] is salient in the perceptions of the listeners when they (iii) authenticate the speaker as *gay*.

In regard to (iv) the locus of practice associated with the speaker, the listeners' responses have not shown variation. However, when they have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as *gay*, they have projected specific locus of practice that the speaker would spend time. In that vein, it can be said that the listeners employ the social information related to the homophobia and/or heteronormative constructs in the society. This shows similarity with (vii) the free time activities linked to the speaker. On the free time activities associated with the speaker persona, the listeners have provided limited and specific free time activities when they have known the authenticity of the speaker.

Another theme in which the social cues are not a determinant is (v) the home city of the speaker. The majority of the responses have pointed to big cities. However, in terms of (vi) clothing, the social cue on the high socioeconomic level presented to the listeners affect their perceptions.

Following the above interpretation brought on the interviews conducted with Group-A, the following analysis tackles the interactional context administered with the Group-B.

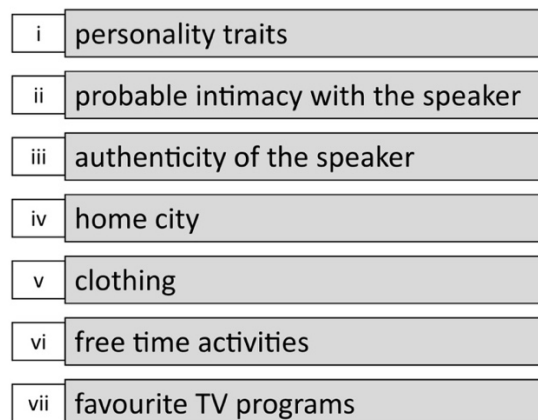
4.2.2.1.2. Interpretation of the interviews conducted with Group-B

In the second part of the analysis, the focus is on the Group-B. Group-B of the analysis is composed of heterosexual males who are members of a youth organization which is known with its heteronormative judgements in the society and which regards homosexuality as 'immoral'.

Different from the previous analysis in which the interpretations are based on 20 sociolinguistic group interviews, the following analysis focuses on four sociolinguistic group interviews. However, two of them (RECG8 and RECG26), which involve the same interview design, and

thus thematic movement, have been featured in the below analysis. The main rationale behind the number of sociolinguistic group interviews analysed in this subsection is to keep the analysis in a manageable size while remaining as descriptive as possible.

The below analysis starts with the indexical interpretations of RECG8 that consists of three listeners from Ankara. After RECG8, a similar interpretation has been brought on RECG26, which was conducted in Karabük with four participants. In this regard, below Figure 4.10 highlights the thematic organization that has been employed in interpreting the two sociolinguistic group interviews. The initial theme of the present analysis is (i) personality traits and it aims to uncover social attributions associated with the speaker. In the second theme (i.e., probable intimacy with the speaker), the aim is to bring an understanding to how listeners accommodate themselves with the speaker in a hypothetical bus trip context. The third theme (i.e., authentication of the speaker) endeavours to obtain reflections of the participants in the contexts where they have been made to know about the authenticity of the speaker as gay. In the fourth theme (i.e., home city), the home city associated with the speaker have been tackled and in the fifth theme (i.e., free time activities) the focus is on the free time activities ascertained to the speaker. The last theme (i.e., favourite TV programs) of the current analysis draws on the favourite TV programs associated with the speaker persona.



i	personality traits
ii	probable intimacy with the speaker
iii	authenticity of the speaker
iv	home city
v	clothing
vi	free time activities
vii	favourite TV programs

Figure 4.6. Themes employed in the interpretation of the interview data – Group-B

Based on the characteristics of the groups with whom the sociolinguistic group interviews have been conducted, the present analysis follows a different fashion when compared with the previous two analyses performed in this chapter. Thus, the following paragraph overviews the architecture of the current analysis.

In order to uncover whether social cues about the speaker is a determinant in the perception or not in the current case, the first analysis dwells on (i) the personality traits of the speaker. In the course of this first inquiry, the effect of the authenticity of the speaker has also been enquired (see, e.g., the extracts 49-51, 53, 54-56, 58). The second theme employed in the current analysis is (ii) the probable intimacy with the speaker that has been formed as a hypothetical bus trip context (see, e.g., the extract 52). The third analysis focuses on how the listeners (iii) authenticate the speaker during the interviews (see, e.g., the extracts 52 and 56, and the Figures 4.7 and 4.8). Following the third analysis, such social meaning making on (iv) the home city and (v) the clothing style of the speaker have been addressed (see, e.g., the extracts 52 and 57). Linked to each other, the last part of the analysis attends to the (vi) free time activities and (vii) favourite TV programs associated with the speaker (see, e.g., the extracts 52 and 57). Although both of the interview groups (i.e., RECG8 and RECG26) share most of the contexts, they only differ in the themes (ii) intimacy and (vi) free time activities. That is, while the interview RECG8 involves interpretations on (ii) intimacy, the RECG26 draws on (vi) free time activities.

The following lines involve the interpretation of the first interview context, RECG8, which has been conducted in Ankara with three participants. Upon having been asked about themselves (e.g., *How would you describe yourself?*), the participants have described themselves as ‘nationalists’, ‘statists’ and ‘respectful to the traditions and values of the country’. With this regard, the interview has been conducted in an epistemic context in which the ‘conservativeness’ of the participants has been a determinant in the social meaning perceiving process. In addition, the physical context of the interview RECG8 is the office of the interviewer.

(49), (50) and (51) below address (i) the personality traits of the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the alveolar approximant [ɹ]. In uncovering the personality traits associated with the speaker, the listeners have been asked; *What would you say about this person?* The (49) occurs in a context in which the participants have not been provided with any social cue about the speaker. Furthermore, while the (50) involves education level as a social cue, the (51) employs socioeconomic level as a social cue. Moreover, in the extract (52), the social meanings associated with alveolar approximant [ɹ] have been interpreted with reference to (ii) intimacy, (iv) home city, (v) clothing and (vii) favourite TV programs. In addition, in the extract (53), related to the inquiry on (i) the personality traits, the listeners have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as gay but made to listen to the variant [r] instead of the [ɹ]. In this regard, whether the authenticity of the speaker is a determinant or not has been tested in the perceptions of the listeners.

As for (i) the personality traits associated with the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [I] variant, it can be stated that the listeners have not employed social cues presented along with the speaker. In interpreting this observation, the following extracts (49), (50) and (51) involve contexts <[I]+no social cue>, <[I]+education level> and <[I]+socioeconomic level> respectively.

In the extract (49) below, the participants have been asked *What would you say about this person?* in uncovering (i) the personality traits in the absence of social cue about the speaker.

(49) RECG8 | 04:13 – 04:36

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Haydi bakalım. Bu kişi hakkında ne söyleyebilirsiniz?	GE	Let's start. What would you say about this person?
2				
3	G8B	((Gülme)) <u>Bu kişi</u> mi hocam?= =Evet.	G8B	((Laughter)) <u>This person</u> ?
4	GE		GE	Yes.
5	G8B	Aklıma bir şey gelmedi ama <u>sevmedim</u> . Huysuz bir insan duydum.	G8B	I don't have any specific in my mind but <u>I don't like [this person]</u> . I heard a bad-tempered person.
6				
7	G8A	Sayın hocam <u>bunun</u> arkadaşı yoktur. Etrafındakilerin de bu arkadaşı <u>pek seveceğini</u> düşünmem ((Gülme))	G8A	My dear teacher, <u>this person</u> does not have any friends. Also I don't think that he is <u>fairly liked</u> by his environment ((Laughter))
8				
9	GE	Sizin?	GE	What about you?
10		(1.8)		
11	G8C	Şi- ((Gülme)) Ne diyeyim ki ((Gülme)) bende öyle <u>sabit</u> bir huyu davranışı canlanmadı. Ama benim de gözüm tutmadı bu konuşan arkadaşımızı.	G8C	((Laughter)) What would I say? It does not appear to me as for <u>specific</u> personality traits. But I don't think much of this person.
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
G8 – Ankara – 3 participants (G8A=M27, G8B=M30, G8C=M22) GE=interviewer				

In the above (49), the listeners have negotiated (i) personality traits of the speaker. In this regard, they have featured a persona who is 'bad-tempered', 'unlovable', and who 'does not have any friend'. In the line 3, the listener G8B has projected his amazement by inserting a further question into the conversation alongside with a laugh, e.g., *This person?* Following his previous utterance, in the line 5, he has created a contrast and constructed a persona who has such negative personality traits as 'bad-tempered'. In addition, he has also stated that he 'has not liked the speaker'. Furthermore, G8A has formulated a persona who 'does not have any friend' and further rationalized it by saying that the speaker is a person who is 'unlovable' (the lines 7-9). In the line 12, the listener G8C, stating that there are not salient personality traits in regard to the speaker, has also asserted that he does not fancy the speaker.

What should be noted considering the (49) is that the utterances of G8B and G8C have substantiated *laughter* in interaction, which can be interpreted as a form of ridiculing and/or mocking the speaker. In this regard, Linstead (1985, p. 742) and Hay (2000, p. 709) note that laughter in conversation is a tool for constructing a solidarity among interactants. In addition, among its other functions, Glenn (2003) states that *laughter* is a social activity rather than solo, and helps to construct social bonds among the members (pp. 30-31). He also refers to *superiority theory* and states that “people laugh when comparing themselves to others and finding themselves stronger, more successful, or at some advantage” and adds that when one perceives the weaknesses and setbacks of others, s/he utilizes the laughter to feel superior (ibid, p. 19). As a result, the listeners ridicule, mock or belittle the speaker (ibid, p. 1). Thinking the conversational setting of the current analysis in which the participants’ social backgrounds have been shaped by a heteronormatively institutionalized knowledge (e.g., that being homosexual is regarded as ‘immoral’), the function of the laughter in (49) – which also shows similar patterns in the following extracts – can be regarded as a form of creation of a contrast between the listeners and the speaker, and thus a tool to reserve a ground for further social meanings associated with the speaker.

In the following extract (50), the listeners have been provided with high education level as a social cue and asked to associate the speaker with (i) personality traits.

(50) RECG8 | 08:21 – 09:03

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Arkadaşlar şimdi bu kişi doktora	GE	This person is a PhD student,
2		yapıyor. Ankara'da yaşıyor ve		teacher and lives in Ankara.
3		öğretmen. Bu bilgilerle		Regarding these information,
4		düşündüğünüzde mizacı hakkında ne		what would you say about the
5		söylersiniz?		manner of this person?
6		(1.6)		
7	G8A	Hmm. <u>Hocam</u> benim düşüncem-	G8A	Mm. What I think is
8		((Anlaşılamayan konuşma)) (.)		((Incomprehensible utterance))
9		<u>Öğretmen</u> mi? Öyle dediniz hocam=		Is he a <u>teacher</u> ? You said so.
10	GE	Evet öğretmen ve doktora öğrencisi.	GE	Yes, he is a teacher and a PhD
11	G8A	Öğretmen gibi konuşmuyor ondan		student.
12		söyledim. Seste <u>havalı</u> bir insan	G8A	He is not talking like a
13		duydum ayrıca şeyi yok hocam yani		teacher. That is why I said
14		benim güvenilebileceğim biri <u>değil</u>		so. I heard a <u>dashy</u> person and
15		hocam.		also this person <u>is not</u>
16		(0.8)		someone that I can trust.
17	GE	Sizin düşünceniz?	GE	What about you?
18		(1.9)		
19	G8B	Hocam benim de ((G8A'nın adını	G8B	I think like ((Addressing
20		veriyor)) ile düşüncem aynı. Doktora		G8A)). Everybody can pursue a
21		yapan biri bilmem herkes yapar da		PhD but I <u>don't think that</u>
22		<u>öğretmen olduğunu</u> düşünemedim		<u>this person is a teacher</u>
23		((Gülme)) Ben de güvenmem.		((Laughter)) I don't trust,
24		(1.3)		too.
25	GE	Sizin fikriniz?	GE	Your impression?
26		(0.7)		
27	G8B	Fikrim yok ((Gülme))	G8B	I don't have any idea
				((Laughter))

In the (50) above, the social cue provided to listeners is; *a person who is a Ph.D. student and teacher, and lives in Ankara*. Having received the social cues linked to the speaker, the participant G8A has questioned the probability of the speaker as being a teacher (the lines 7-9). He has further asserted that the speaker is not talking 'like a teacher' (the line 11). Similarly, in the line 19, the listener G8A has confirmed what has already been given by G8A and stated that he has not associated the speaker with someone who is a teacher. Tackling the personality traits of the speaker, G8A has provided such traits as someone who likes to 'show-off' and 'unreliable' (the lines 11-15). Again, G8B has also confirmed the G8A with regard to the 'untrustworthiness' of the speaker by inserting a *laughter* at the end of his utterance. Upon having been asked about what he would say about the person, G8B remains silent but laughs.

Following the (50) that has taken place in presence of high education level as a social cue, the (51) below features how the participants have negotiated the speaker that has been presented as someone who is a manager in an engineering company and earns ten thousand Turkish Liras per month.

(51) RECG8 | 10:21 – 10:32

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Dinlediğiniz bu kişi de bir yönetici	GE	The person you listened to is
2		arkadaşlar. Mühendislik şirketinde		a manager. He is working in an
3		çalışıyor. Sanıyorum on bin		engineering company. I think
4		civarında da maaş alıyor. Bu kişinin		he earns around 10000. What
5		kişilik özellikleri ya da mizacı		would you say about the
6		hakkında ne söylersiniz?		personality traits or manner
7		(1.5)		of this person?
8	G8A	((Gülme)) Bir şey gelmiyor aklıma.	G8A	((Laughter)) I think of
9		(.) Yani hocam bu ses için <u>söyle</u>		something. Well, it is
10		<u>biridir</u> demek mümkün değil=		impossible say specific traits
11	G8C	=Ya bol bol <u>para harcayan</u> eğlenen		for this person.
12		biridir ((Gülme))	G8C	[This person] is someone who
13	G8B	Bende de bir fikir yok.	G8B	<u>spends</u> plenty of money
				((Laughter))
				I don't have any idea.

G8 – Ankara – 3 participants (G8A=M27, G8B=M30, G8C=M22) GE=interviewer

In (51), both the G8A and G8B have stated that they cannot access any social meaning associated with the speaker. However, G8C, implicitly referring to the monthly salary of the speaker, has asserted that the speaker is someone who spends money abundantly. In regard to the laughter in the lines 8 and 12, the first of which has been the initiator of the turn and the other has been the ending, it can be inferred that the listeners have downplayed the personality traits of the speaker, whose authenticity is thought to be salient in the perceptions of the listeners.

The (52) below involves a long extract from the same interview. By employing the (52), the social meanings associated with alveolar approximant [ɹ] have been interpreted with reference to (ii) intimacy, (iv) home city, (v) clothing and (vii) favourite TV programs. As have been stated, the social meaning associated with (vi) the free time activities has not been tackled in the extract below. Furthermore, the (52) also focuses on how the listeners identify the speaker (i.e., (iii) authenticity of the speaker). In the course of the authentication of the speaker as *gay* by the listeners, the social information used by them has also been addressed in the below interpretation. In order to specify the above given themes in the interview data, the following paragraph involves direct references to the relevant question.

In uncovering the (ii) probable intimacy with the speaker, the listeners have been addressed the question on the hypothetical bus trip context in the line 38. The theme of (iv) home city of the speaker has been tackled in the line 9 with the question; *Where would this person from?* In regard to (v) the clothing, the listeners have been asked; *What would be the clothing preference of this*

person? in the line 14. Lastly, (vii) the favourite TV shows associated with the speaker have been addressed through the question *What would this person watch on TV?* in the line 25. In this regard, the following indexical interpretation follows the above given themes.



(52) RECG8 | 05:05 – 06:41

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Başlayalım o zaman. Bu kişi nereli olabilir?	GE	Let's start. Where would this person from?
2		(0.8)		
3				
4	G8A	((Gülme)) <u>İzmir</u> lidir. Büyük şehirli	G8A	((Laughter)) From <u>İzmir</u> . From big cities.
5		[belli		
6	G8B	[Evet büyük şehirden hocam.	G8B	Yes, from big cities. It might be <u>İstanbul</u> .
7		<u>İstanbul'dan</u> olabilir.		
8		(0.7)		
9	GE	Sence nereden olabilir bu konuşan?	GE	What about you?
10	G8C	<u>Ankaralı</u> değildir ((Gülme)) Ankaralı olmaz. Anadolu'dan da değildir (.)	G8C	[This person] might not be from <u>Ankara</u> ((Laughter)), and not from Anatolia. He may be from <u>İzmir</u> or <u>İstanbul</u> .
11		<u>İzmir</u> lidir ya da <u>İstanbul'dandır</u> .		
12		(0.6)		
13				
14	GE	Ne tür giysiler giyer bu kişi? (.)	GE	What would this person wear? Let's start with you this time.
15		Senden başlayalım bu kez.		
16		(0.8)		
17	G8A	Kot pantolon gömlek giyer.	G8A	Jeans and shirts.
18	G8B	Aklımda bir şey çıkarmıyor ama gömlek yerine <u>tişört</u> giyer.	G8B	Nothing specific appears in my mind but he may wear <u>t-shirt</u> instead of shirt.
19		((Gülme)) <u>Pembe</u> tişört giyer.		
20	G8C	((Gülme)) <u>Pembe</u> tişört giyer.	G8C	((Laughter)) <u>Pink</u> t-shirt.
21	GE	Kot pantolon giyiyor yani onda fikirleriniz ortak.	GE	So, he prefers jeans. You share your points on that.
22				
23	G8A	Hocam (.) evet hocam.	G8A	Yes.
24		(0.6)		
25	GE	Şey düşünün (.) Ne tür televizyon programları izler?	GE	Think about this. What kind of TV programs would this person prefer?
26		(0.9)		
27				
28	G8A	Aşk dizisi ((Gülme)) gündüz programları [hocam	G8A	Love drama ((Laughter)). Daytime programs.
29				
30	G8B	[<u>Twitter'dan izler</u>	G8B	[This person] watches Twitter. It may be his regular fixture ((Laughter))
31		çıkamaz Twitter'dan ((Gülme))		
32	G8C	((G8B'ye bir şey söylüyor)) <u>Moda</u> programı izler bu ((anlaşılamayan konuşma)) tiplerin olduğu programlar.	G8C	((Telling something to G8B)) This person watches <u>style shows</u> . And such programs like ((Incomprehensible utterance)) people.
33				
34				
35				
36	G8A	Hocam dizi de izler.	G8A	[This person] may also watch TV dramas.
37		(1.5)		
38	GE	Otobüs yolculuğu senaryosunu bu kişi için düşünün bir de (.) Ne söylersiniz?	GE	Think about the bus trip scenario for this person. What would you say?
39				
40				
41	G8A	((Gülme)) <u>Konuşmam</u> hocam (0.4)	G8A	((Laughter)) <u>I don't talk to</u> . I ask deputy to change my seat.
42		Muavine yerimi değiştir derim		
43		((Gülme))		
44	G8B	<u>Ben de</u> konuşmam. Şimdi aklıma başka bir şey geliyor bir şey hatırlıyorum bakıyorum.	G8B	I don't talk, <u>too</u> . Something appears in my mind, I remember something now.
45				
46				
47	GE	Kişilik özellikleri bakımından mı konuşmuyorsunuz arkadaşlar? Yani neden?	GE	Why don't you talk to this person? Because of personality traits?
48				
49				
50		Bu konuşan arkadaşımız umursamaz.		
51	G8A	<u>Samimi gelmedi</u> bana yapay konuşuyor ne dediği de anlaşılmıyor hocam.	G8A	<u>I don't find [this person] sincere</u> . Also I cannot make out what he say.
52		(0.9)		
53				
54	G8B	Hocam sesi benim konuşacağım ses değil.		
55				

56	GE	Hmm (0.4) Çevrende böyle konuşan (.)	G8B	For me, this is not a person
57		ya da bu dinlediğin kişi gibi		to talk to.
58		konusan insanlar var [mı?	GE	Mm. Do you know anybody who
59	G8B	[Yok hocam.		talks like this person?
60	GE	Hiç bu sesi bir yerlerde duydunuz mu	G8B	No.
61		peki arkadaşlar? Hepiniz için?	GE	Well, have you ever heard a
62		(0.9)		voice like this?
63	G8C	<u>Yani</u> (.) Benim çevrede böyle konuşan	G8C	<u>Well</u> , I don't know anybody
64		biri yok=		talking like this.
65	G8A	= <u>Televizyonda</u> görüyoruz <u>dizilerde</u>	G8A	My experiences are based on
66		sokak röportajlarında görüyorum		TVs, dramas and street
67		mesela hocam=		interviews.
68	G8B	=Tip tip <u>ben de</u> görüyorum.	G8B	<u>I also</u> experience this voice
69		(1.2)		few and far between.
70	GE	Arkadaşlar dinlediğimiz kişi kendini	GE	The person you listened to has
71		bana gey olarak tanıtmıştı=		introduced himself to me as
72	G8B	= <u>İşte</u> demiştim ben ya ((Gülme))		gay.
73	G8A	Hocam ((Gülme)) bak ben de <u>gavur</u>	G8B	<u>Well</u> I said so ((Laughter))
74		İzmirli derken düşündüm. Haklıymışım	G8A	((Laughter)) I think of this
75		hocam.		when I say <u>giaour</u> İzmir. I was
76		(0.9)		right.
77	G8C	Olabilir.	G8C	It can be
G8 – Ankara – 3 participants (G8A=M27, G8B=M30, G8C=M22) GE=interviewer				

Considering the (52) above, the first interpretation can be given on (ii) the probable intimacy of the listeners in the context of a hypothetical bus trip. In the line 38, the listeners have been asked *Would you talk to this person in a bus trip?* As a response to the inquiry on the intimacy constructed between the listeners and the speaker, the participant G8A has put forward his unwillingness in the social encounter in the context of a bus trip. In addition, he has also asserted that he would ask the host/hostess to change his seat (lines 41-43). In the course of his reply, he employs laughter both at the beginning and end of his utterance, which can be interpreted as the listener's construction of a contrast between him and the speaker. Similar to G8A, the listener G8B has also rejected the probable social encounter with the speaker (lines 44-46). Moreover, he has also signalled the social information used by him, e.g., 'Something comes up in my mind, I remember something', which is implicit but foregrounded. In the line 54, the listener G8B has referred to his previous response to the current inquiry and substantiated why he does not want to talk to the speaker, e.g., '... his voice is not the one that I like to talk to'.

The second interpretation on the (52) has been made on (iv) the home city of the speaker. At the very beginning of the interaction, the listeners have been asked *What would be the home city of the speaker?* What can be regarded as a striking finding is that the responses show similarity to the analyses conducted with the Group-A (i.e. the previous subsection 4.4.2.1.1). In the line 4, the listener G8B has constructed a persona who is from İzmir. The following turn by G8A has involved a confirmation of the previous listener G8B. That is, in the line 6, G8A has asserted that

the home city of the speaker would be a ‘big city’, and specifically İstanbul. When the same question has been addressed to the participant G8C, notwithstanding the similarity to the previous responses, he has created a contrast and forwarded that the persona in question would not be from Ankara and any Anatolian city (line 10).

In regard to the third interpretation on the (52), (v) the clothing style of the persona constructed during the interview has been addressed. In the line 14, the participants have been asked *What would be the clothing preference of the speaker?* In response to this inquiry, the participants have constructed a persona who wears ‘jeans’, ‘shirt’, ‘t-shirt’ and ‘pink t-shirt’. It can be said that the participants have provided their perceptions without any pauses and/or stops and thus negotiated the social meaning of the [1] in a very short time. For instance, in the line 17, the participant G8A has pointed to a clothing style that involves ‘jeans’ and ‘shirts’. The listener G8B by excluding ‘shirt’ in his response, has asserted that ‘instead of shirts, [the speaker] prefers t-shirts’ (line 18). G8C, adding on what has been provided by the G8B, has further asserted that the speaker would prefer ‘pink t-shirts’. The consecutive social meaning making process on (v) the clothing style has been observed to end in the colour ‘pink’, which has been associated with the femininity with regard to its symbolism. It can be said that as in most cultures, this modern cultural association of the colour *pink* is also salient in Turkey when it comes to the perceptions of gay persona. When the colour *pink* is interpreted along with the gender symbolism, this response implies that the listeners have employed social information.⁴⁰

In relation to (vii) which TV shows are associated with the speaker, the participants have yielded ‘love dramas’, ‘daytime shows’, ‘style shows’ and ‘dramas’ in general. In the line 28, the participant G8A has created a persona who favours ‘love dramas’ and ‘daytime shows’. In the course of his reply, G8A has also employed laughter right after his response, e.g., ‘love dramas’.

⁴⁰ It is known that the colour pink has been employed by capitalist idealizations to construct a market for girls and boys since the 1950s. According to Paoletti (2012), this colour symbolism has been formulated alongside with gender symbolism in creating a space in the markets, and thus minimizing the colour range according to genders, e.g., pink for girls and blue for boys. See Chapter 5 of Paoletti (2012) for a detailed overview of the history of the colours pink and blue in symbolizing genders.

Another process has been linked to LGBT+ movements. It is also known that in Nazi Germany, homosexual prisoners were forced to wear pink triangles in the concentration camps. The gay community, together with the LGBT+ movement, appropriated the colour pink in the form of a colour symbolism to index its conceptual value as ‘survival’, ‘resistance’ and ‘solidarity’. See the book *The pink triangle: The Nazi war against homosexuals* by Plant (1988) for a detailed explanation on the process.

This may result from how the listener has differentiated himself from the speaker in the interview context.

In regard to the concept ‘daytime shows’, it can be stated that it has been a widely known phenomena since the very beginning of 2000s. In these TV shows, topics ranging from tragedies of ordinary people to health, and to cooking have been involved with specific references to women. Thus, most of these daytime shows has been called ‘women talk shows’ (Gün, 2008). By referring to ‘daytime shows, the participant G8A has constructed a strong implication that indexes femininity. Taking the turn of the G8A, G8B has referred to Twitter and states that the speaker would ‘watch’ Twitter instead of TV, again accompanies his response with a laughter (line 30). In addition, G8C, negotiating his perception with the listener G8B, has asserted that the person would favour ‘style shows’, which are popular among young girls in Turkey, and in which there are stylists - as juries - some of whom has previously declared that they are gay. This response also contributes to the finding that the listeners have employed social information in perceiving the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɹ] variant.

In uncovering what social information has been employed by the listeners in associating the speaker with social meanings, the listeners have been asked; *Are there anyone who talks like the person you have listened to?* in the line 56. In response to this inquiry, the participants have pointed to the TV dramas and/or shows. Tracking what has been provided by the listener G8B throughout the interview, it can be said that he has implicitly pointed to what social information he is using in perceiving the speaker. For instance, in the line 44, the listener G8B’s response involves implicit but foregrounded judgements about the speaker, e.g., ‘Something comes up in my mind, I remember something’. In addition, he has also referred to TVs in the line 68 in response to the question that addresses his familiarity with the [ɹ] variant (line 60). These two instances show that in perceiving the speaker with the [ɹ] variant, the listener G8B has employed social information that is available through TV dramas and/or shows.

In uncovering how the listeners (iii) authenticate the speaker employing the [ɹ] variant as *gay*, the interpretation focuses on how and what the listeners have referred to their previous discourses in the interview. For instance, in the line 70, the listeners have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as *gay*, e.g., ‘This person has introduced himself as *gay*’. Upon hearing this initiator, the listener G8B has taken the turn and asserted that he has previously mentioned this while responding to the question on the home city of the speaker. Although G8B has stated that

he has previously mentioned the authenticity of the speaker, it is not explicit in the interview data. In this regard, it can be inferred from the interview that G8B's response to this question might point to what he has previously mentioned in the line 44, e.g., 'Something comes up in my mind, I remember something'. Furthermore, G8A has also mentioned his previous response that he has given about the home city of the speaker (line 6), e.g., 'I also thought this when I say that [this person] is from İzmir'. Following G8A but remaining noncommittal, G8C has confirmed the authenticity of the speaker.

In order to bring an understanding on how the listeners G7A and G8B have referred to their previous discourse and thus employed social information in authenticating the speaker has been shown in the Figure 4.7 as follows:

Turkish			
1	GE	Başlayalım o zaman. Bu kişi nereli	
2		olabilir?	
3		(0.8)	
4	G8A	((Gülme)) <u>İzmirlidir</u> . Büyük şehirli	→ authentication
5		[belli	
6	G8B	[Evet büyük şehirden hocam.	
7		İstanbul'dan olabilir.	
8		(0.7)	
..		..	
..		..	
43		((Gülme))	
44	G8B	<u>Ben de konuşmam</u> . Şimdi aklıma başka	→ authentication
45		bir şey geliyor bir şey hatırlıyorum	
46		bakıyorum.	
..		..	
..		..	
69		(1.2)	
70	GE	Arkadaşlar dinlediğimiz kişi kendini	
71		bana gey olarak tanıtmıştı=	
72	G8B	= <u>İşte</u> demiştim ben ya ((Gülme))	→ justification
73	G8A	Hocam ((Gülme)) bak ben de <u>gavur</u>	
74		İzmirli derken düşündüm. Haklıymışım	→ justification
75		hocam.	
76		(0.9)	
77	G8C	Olabilir.	

Figure 4.7. Map (i) of the authentication and justification process by the listeners: Red=G8B, Blue=G8A, Black=Interviewer

It can be seen in the Figure 4.7 that the listeners have referred to their previous discourses in justifying their authentication of the speaker. For instance, in the line 72, G8B has justified his authentication of the speaker as gay by pointing to his previous response, which is unclear at the

time of the utterance. Upon scanning what has been introduced by G8B in the lines 44-46, it is evident that he has employed social information about the speaker, e.g., ‘Something comes up in my mind, I remember something’.

Similarly, G8A also refers to his previous response which has been on the home city of the speaker. Contrary to that of given by the G8B, the G8A’s response is implicit, e.g., ‘[This person] is from İzmir’.

What should be noted here is that G8A, in yielding his justification, has also brought in another social meaning associated with the speaker, e.g., ‘Gavur İzmir’. This social meaning making process can be regarded as listener’s stance-taking against the speaker. In bringing an understanding for that, the social meaning associated with the word *gavur* (infidel) needs to be given. In this regard, it can be stated that the word *gavur* (infidel - *giaour*) was a pejorative term for non-Muslims during the Ottoman period and is commonly used to refer to the city of İzmir in derogatory context (Kinglake, 1844/1911, p. 38; Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 2005, p. 25).⁴¹ During the Ottoman period, among the other names used to refer to the non-Muslims, *gavur* was the dominant one throughout the Empire. In the context of the city İzmir, as most of its inhabitants were non-Muslims and because of the city’s economic and socio-cultural life had been centred around non-Muslims, it was started to be called ‘gavur İzmir’. Today, people pejoratively refer to the city of İzmir as *gavur* since it is known with its ‘easy’ and ‘peaceful’ lifestyle (Efe-Güney, Ayhan-Selçuk, & Ergin, 2014, p. 596).

In line with the above argument on *gavur*, it can also be stated that in some heteronormative contexts, this pejorative term has also been observed in connotation with the LGBT communities. As a response, the LGBT+ movements in Turkey have also tried to reappropriate the pejorative term *gavur* in referring to the city with respect to its LGBT+ inhabitants. In this regard, the listener G8A’s response can be interpreted in relation to its recently emerging heteronormative denominations for the city.

⁴¹ According to Kolluoğlu Kırlı (2005, p. 42), during the Ottoman period, various terms had been used to refer to non-Muslims in the Empire. Among them, *zimmi*, which was a legal term comprising Christian people, was one of the most common of these terms. Another term, *reayya*, which was a category to refer to non-Muslim people who pay taxes, came to be used to refer to all the non-Muslims. On the other hand, *gavur*, which was not an official term to categorize non-Muslims, was used alongside with its pejorative connotations in pointing to non-Muslim communities.

In the later parts of the interview, the context presented between the lines 49-51 has also been repeated with the [ɾ] variant. That is, the listeners have listened to a speaker involving the [ɾ] and asked to yield their perceptions on (i) the personality traits in the presence of the authenticity of the speaker as gay. The (53) below is an extract that features this setting.

(53) RECG8 | 07:24 – 07:42

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bu da başka bir gey katılımcım. Buna	GE	This is another gay
2		dair kişilik özellikleri söyleseniz		participant. What would you
3		ne dersiniz?		say about the personality
4		(1.2)		traits of this person?
5	G8A	Hocam <u>itici</u> . Bir şey söylemek mümkün	G8A	It is a <u>repellent</u> person. It
6		değil (.) Takılıyor işte ((Gülme))		is impossible to say anything.
7	G8B	<u>Güvenilmez</u> , bence de itici ayrıca bu		He is sticking around
8		kişi samimi de gelmiyor.		((Laughter))
9		(1.2)	G8B	This person is <u>unreliable</u> ,
10	G8C	Fikrim yok ((Gülme)) Söylemiyorum		repellent and insincere.
11		bir şey.	G8C	I don't have any idea. I don't
				say anything.
G8 – Ankara – 3 participants (G8A=M27, G8B=M30, G8C=M22) GE=interviewer				

In regard to the responses by the participants in the presence of the authenticity of the speaker as gay, it can be said that the participants have constructed a persona who has negative personality traits, e.g., ‘uninviting’, ‘unreliable’, ‘insincere’. These negative personality traits show similarity with the ones given in (49) <[ɾ] + no social cue>, (50) <[ɾ] + education level as a social cue> and (51) <[ɾ] + socioeconomic level as a social cue>. For instance, in the line 5, the listener G8A has created a gay persona who is ‘uninviting’ and ‘someone not to talk about’. In the following turn, by confirming the G8A that the speaker is someone who is ‘uninviting’, G8B has also constructed the gay persona as someone who is ‘unreliable’ and ‘insincere’. It has been observed in the context given in the (53) that the authenticity of the speaker as gay is a determinant in constructing a gay persona by the listeners.

Similar to (49-53) above, in which the social meaning perceiving process on the [ɾ] has been interpreted on the interviews conducted with the RECG8, the below (54-58) tackle similar social meanings through the interviews conducted with the RECG26.

In the RECG26, there are four male participants who are members of another youth organization which is also known with its conservative and heteronormative idealizations. In (54), (55) and (56) below, (i) the personality traits of the speaker employing the alveolar approximant [ɹ] have been interpreted in three contexts, e.g., <[ɹ]+no social cue>, <[ɹ]+education level> and

<[ı]+socioeconomic level>. In the extract (57), the social meanings associated with the [ı] variant have been uncovered with reference to (iv) home city, (v) clothing style, (vi) free time activities and (vii) favourite TV programs. In addition, in the extract (58), related to the inquiry on (i) the personality traits (see, e.g., the extracts 54, 55 and 56), the listeners have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as gay but made to listen to the variant [r] instead of the [ı]. In this regard, whether the authenticity of the speaker is a determinant or not has been tested in the perceptions of the listeners. In this sense, the previous social meanings associated with the [ı] variant have been challenged with respect to [r].

The current interpretation starts with the (54), (55) and (56) in which (i) the personality traits associated with the [ı] have been addressed through the question; *What would you say about this person?* In that vein, the (54), (55) and (56) below can be given with regard to the contexts <[ı]+no social cue>, <[ı]+education level> and <[ı]+socioeconomic level> respectively.

The below (54) is an extract that focuses on (i) the personality traits of the speaker in the absence of social cue about the speaker.

(54) RECG26 | 01:23 – 01:51

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bu kişi hakkında konuşalım	GE	Let's talk about this person.
2		arkadaşlar (.) Bu kişinin mizacı (.)		What would you say about
3		ya da kişilik özellikleri bakımından		personality traits or manner
4		ne söyleyebilirsiniz? (0.6) Nasıl		of this person? What kind of
5		biri bu insan?		person is this?
6	G26A	Çok (.) böyle oturup konuşmak	G26A	This is not a person that I
7		istediğim biri değil. <u>Samimi</u> değil=		would like to talk. [This
8	G26B	=Bilerek böyle konuşuyor. Yapay		person] is not <u>sincere</u> .
9		konuşma.	G26B	[This person] intentionally
10		(1.6)		talks like this. This is an
11	G26C	Şeyi de var (.) dikkat etmez		artificial style.
12		<u>umursamaz</u> bir tavrı da var ayrıca	G26C	[This person] has also a
13		yapmacık.		manner which is <u>reckless</u> and
14	GE	Sende bir fikir var mı?		careless. This is also a
15		(0.7)		mannered person.
16	G26D	<u>Özensiz</u> ve ((Gülme)) kibarcık	GE	Do you have any idea?
17		((Gülme))	G26D	<u>Careless</u> and kid-glove
				((Laughter))
G26 – Karabük – 4 participants (G26A=M27, G26B=M19, G26C=M23, G26D=M25) GE=interviewer				

Considering the extract (54) above, it can be stated that the participants have constructed a persona whose personality traits have 'negative' connotations, e.g., 'insincere', 'reckless', 'mannered' and 'careless'. In the line 6, the listener G26A has provided a persona who is 'insincere' and thus,

‘not a person to talk to’. Following the G26A’s turn, G26B has asserted that the speaker is ‘mimicking the talk’ and thus, the speaker’s manner in the talk is ‘artificial’ (line 8). In addition, G26C has created a persona by referring to the speaker as someone who is ‘reckless’, ‘careless’ and ‘mannered’ (line 11). In the last turn of the extract above, the listener G26D has constructed the speaker persona as ‘careless’ and ‘kid-glove’ (line 16). The trait ‘kid-glove’, which is given as *kibarcık* in Turkish, can be interpreted as a form of disdain since the suffix *-cık* in Turkish is employed in diminutive purposes. This use of the diminutive suffix, together with the *laughter* by the listener G26D, can be interpreted as a form of stance-taking against the speaker.

Considering the extract (55) below, in which the participants have been provided with high education level as a social cue about the speaker, it can be said that the personality traits that have been yielded by the listeners bear negative connotations, and thus, goes in line with the extract (54).

(55) RECG26 | 07:48 – 08:31

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Ben sizlere az önceki kişi hakkında	GE	Let me provide you with some
2		biraz bilgi vereyim. Bana o bilgiler		information about the person
3		çerçevesinde yanıt verin (0.6) Bu		you listened to and you can
4		kişi doktora mezunu arkadaşlar.		respond to my question
5		Ayrıca şu anda öğretmenlik yapıyor.		according to these
6		Bunları düşündüğünüzde ne		information. This person is a
7		söylersiniz?		PhD graduate and now is a
8		(1.8)		teacher. Thinking about these,
9	G26C	Pek fikrim olmadı ama <u>çok</u> da farklı	G26C	what would you say?
10		bir şey söylemektense (.) ya- şey		I don’t make <u>any</u> sense but
11		diyebilirim işine gider gelir gibi		this person is an ordinary
12		bir insan.		commuter.
13		(1.2)		
14	G26D	Yine kibar bir insan var gibi geldi	G26D	A kind person has emerged in
15		karşımda hocam (.) <u>Ayrıca</u> yapmacık		my mind. Also, this is a
16		gibi=		<u>mannered</u> person.
17	G26A	= <u>Evet</u> mesela ben güvenmem bu sese	G26A	<u>Yes</u> . That is why I don’t trust
18		sahip birine iş de yapmam onunla.		and work with this person.
19		(2.1)		
20	G26B	<u>Mutlu</u> kişi sesi var kişilik özelliği	G26B	As for personality traits,
21		bakımından (0.4) da ((Gülme)) çok		this person has a <u>happy</u> voice
22		yakın arkadaş olmaz bundan (.) Bu		((Laughter)) This person
23		kişiden.		cannot be a close friend for
G26 – Karabük – 4 participants (G26A=M27, G26B=M19, G26C=M23, G26D=M25) GE=interviewer				

In the context in which the participants have been provided with the education level as a social cue about the speaker with the [I] variant, they have yielded a persona who is ‘kind’ but ‘mannered’, ‘unreliable’ and ‘happy’. Although there have been positive personality traits

observed in the perceptions of the listeners, those traits have been employed to form a contrast with their negative peers, e.g., ‘kind BUT mannered’ (lines 14-16), ‘happy BUT not to be friends’ (lines 20-23). In the line 9, the listener G26C has constructed an ordinary persona, e.g., ‘[This person] is a commuter’ (lines 9-12). G26D has referred to his previous response given in the interview (see the lines 16-17 in the extract 54), e.g., ‘kind’, but added that the speaker is ‘mannered’ in his speech. The listener G26A, taking the turn of the previous listener G26D, has portrayed an ‘unreliable’ persona with whom he does not run a business (lines 17-18). Lastly, the listener G20B has featured a ‘happy’ persona, however, following his laugh, he further states that one cannot be a close friend with the speaker.

As can be seen in the extracts (54) and (55), the first of which has featured a context in which the listeners have not been provided with any social cue about the speaker and the latter involves education level as a social cue, the social cue on education level is not a determinant in perceiving the speaker. Continuing to uncover what personality traits to be attributed by the listeners, the below (56) highlights a context in which the listeners have been provided with socioeconomic level as a social cue.

(56) RECG26 | 10:51 – 11:49

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bu dinlediğimiz de bir işi var	GE	The person we have listened to
2		arkadaşlar (.) Bu kişi yaklaşık on		has also a job. This person
3		on iki bin lira maaş alıyor ve bir		earns around 10000-12000 per
4		şirkette üst düzey yönetici. Bunun		month and holds a managerial
5		kişilik özellikleri ne olur? =		position in a company. What
6	G26D	=Bana- ((Anlaşılamayan konuşma))		would you say about the
7		((Yanındakine bir şey söylüyor))		personality traits of this
8		yine aynı [geldi.		person?
9	G26C	[Bu biraz daha derli toplu	G26D	To me- ((Incomprehensible
10		ama <u>güvenilmez</u> ve çok pasif etkisiz		utterance)) ((Telling
11		((Gülme))		something to another
12		(1.7)		listener)) It is the same.
13	GE	Sen?	G26C	This one is tidier but
14		(0.5)		<u>unreliable</u> and impotent
15	G26B	<u>Şeyi düşündüm</u> ama çok yönetici değil		((Laughter))
16		bizim ((Yanındakine bir şey	GE	What about you?
17		söylüyor)) şeyi derim iyi giyinen	G26B	<u>I think about that</u> but this
18		biri ama kişilik özellikleri bende		one is not a manager ((Telling
19		pek <u>fikir</u> yapmıyor hocam bundan pek		something to another
20		çıkarmadım iyi insan kötü insan gibi		listener)). [This person] is
21		((Gülme))		someone who wears nicely but
22		(1.3)		his personality traits do not
23	G26A	Buna <u>ben de</u> güvenmem biraz da tuhaf		make sense to me like good or
24		biri etkisiz çelimsiz biri		bad person ((Laughter))
25		arkadaşlık yapsan sana destek çıkmaz	G26A	<u>I also</u> don't trust this
26		arasan gelmez bu satar arkadaşını		person. This is a kind of
27		((Gülme)) (.) Çok şey aklıma geldi		strange and impotent person
28		anında ((Gülme))		who does not help you. Also,
				this person may try to get rid
				of his friend ((Laughter))
				Lots of ideas come in my mind
				((Laughter))
G26 – Karabük – 4 participants (G26A=M27, G26B=M19, G26C=M23, G26D=M25) GE=interviewer				

In the (56) above, the social cue presented to the listeners has been limited to high socioeconomic level of the speaker, e.g., *someone who earns ten/twelve thousand Turkish Liras per month and senior manager in a company*. In terms of the personality traits, the listeners have negotiated a persona who is ‘neat’, ‘unreliable’ and ‘ineffective’. In the line 6, the listener G26D has referred to his previous discourse, which is not explicit in the current context of the interview. Taking the turn of the G26D, the listener G26C has asserted that although the speaker seems ‘neat’, he is also ‘unreliable’ and ‘ineffective’ (lines 9-11). The listener G26B, stating that the speaker does not sound ‘manager’, has remained silent with regard to the personality traits of the speaker (lines 15-20). Lastly, the listener G26A has projected a persona who is ‘unreliable’ and ‘ineffective’. Furthermore, he has also created a persona who does not give a hand to his friend. (lines 23-28)

Out of all of the personality traits yielded by the participants in the (56) above, the only positive trait is ‘neat’ (line 9 by G26C). Thinking that the social cue provided to the listeners involve a well-paid manager, constructing a persona who is ‘neat’ (or ‘tidy’) might have been resulted from the employment of the social cue during the perception. However, thinking that the same listener (i.e., G26C) has employed a contrast (e.g., ‘ama’ – *but*), and thus a hedge in the response, this observation can further be interpreted as the listener is less assertive in his arguments on the ‘neatness’ of the speaker persona.

The (57) below involves a long extract from the same interview. By employing the (57), the social meanings associated with alveolar approximant [ɹ] have been interpreted with reference to (iv) home city, (v) clothing style, (vi) free time activities and (vii) favourite TV programs. In addition, the (57) also deals with how the listeners have promoted (iii) the authenticity of the speaker. In the course of the authentication of the speaker as *gay* by the listeners, the social information used by them has also been addressed in the below interpretation.

Considering the above given themes, the extract below starts with (iv) the home city of the speaker triggered by the question; *Where would be this person from?* (line 1). In regard to the (v) clothing style, the listeners have been asked *What would be the clothing preference of this person?* in the lines 38-40. On (vi) the free time activities, they have been asked *What would this person do in free times?* in the line 17. In addition, (vii) the favourite TV shows associated with the speaker have been tackled through the question *What would this person prefer on TV?* in the lines 17-18. Lastly, (ii) the authenticity of the speaker has been uncovered in the line 64 to obtain their reflections.

(78) RECG26 | 02:53 – 05:11

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Şimdi ilk soru nereli bu insan?	GE	As for the first question.
2		(1.0)		Where would this person from?
3	G26A	<u>İstan</u> [bul.	G26A	<u>İstanbul</u> .
4	G26D	[<u>İstanbul</u> .	G26D	<u>İstanbul</u> .
5	G26B	<u>Büyük</u> şehirli <u>İzmir</u> li <u>İstanbullu</u> .	G26B	<u>From big cities</u> , <u>İzmir</u> or
6	GE	Ankara olmaz mı? Ya da Karabük		<u>İstanbul</u> .
7		olabilir mi?	GE	What about Ankara? Or Karabük?
8	G26B	<u>Karabük</u> olmaz. Ankaralıyım ben	G26B	Not from <u>Karabük</u> . I am from
9		<u>Ankara</u> da olmaz (.) Tabi şimdi		Ankara, and <u>Ankara</u> is also
10		Ankara'da yaşar ama <u>Ankaralı</u> <u>olmaz</u>		impossible. Well, what I tried
11		onu demek istedim büyük şehir daha		to mean is that this person
12		akla yatkın bu ses için.		may live in Ankara but <u>it is</u>
13		(0.8)		<u>not Ankara</u> . I associate this
14	G26C	<u>İzmir</u> ya da <u>İstanbul</u> ((Gülme))		voice with big cities.
15		<u>Marmara</u> şehirlerinden ((Gülme))	G26C	<u>İzmir</u> or <u>İstanbul</u> ((Laughter))
16		(0.8)		That is, <u>Marmara</u> cities.
17	GE	Şunu düşünün o zaman boş	GE	Then think about this. What
18		zamanlarında ne yapar?		would this person do in the
19	G26C	Hayvan gezdirir ((Gülme))		free times?
20		((Birlikte gülme))	G26C	[This person] may take his dog
21	G26C	<u>Spor</u> da yapar ((Gülme))		out for a walk ((Laughter))
22		(1.2)		((Laughter together))
23	G26A	Hocam açıkçası çok canlanan bir şey	G26C	[This person] may also do
24		yok. Ben <u>İstanbulluyum</u> doğma büyüme		sports ((Laughter))
25		oralıyım <u>İstanbul'da</u> yaşar bu insan=	G26A	Actually, nothing specific
26	GE	=Ne yapar <u>İstanbul'da</u> yaşayan bu		comes into my mind. I was born
27		insan?		and breed in <u>İstanbul</u> . This
28	G26A	<u>Eğlenceye</u> gider boş zamanında		person lives in <u>İstanbul</u> .
29		değerli iş (.) yapmaz yani kitap	GE	What would this person do in
30		okumaz arkadaşlarıyla tartışmaz		<u>İstanbul</u> ?
31		<u>değerlendirmez</u> =	G26A	He may go out to <u>have fun</u> and
32	G26C	=Ülke olaylarını konuşmaz ((Gülme))		does not do anything
33	G26D	Ben televizyon izler derim dizi		worthwhile. I mean reading
34		izler=		books, <u>discussing</u> with
35	G26C	=Ha bak <u>tartışma programı</u> izlemez		friends.
36		abi.	G26C	[This person] does not discuss
37		(1.6)		country's affairs ((Laughter))
38	GE	Şunu düşünün (.) Ne giyiyor olabilir	G26D	I think this person watches TV
39		bu kişi yani (.) Günlük olarak ne		and dramas.
40		tür giysiler giyer?	G26C	Ah yes, [this person] does not
41	G26C	Abi <u>kot pantolon</u> giyer mesela bana		follow <u>discussion shows</u> on TV.
42		göre=	GE	Think about this. What would
43	G26A	=Takım elbise giymez.		this person wear?
44		(0.6)	G26C	For me, this person prefers
45	G26B	<u>Müzik</u> dinler dans eder ona göre de		<u>jeans</u> .
46		giyer elbise.	G26A	Not suits.
47	GE	Sende fikir var mı?	G26B	[This person] listens to
48	G26D	Bende yok hocam ((Gülme))		<u>music</u> , dances and wears
49	GE	Tamam (1.2) Çevrenizde böyle konuşan		clothes that fit with these
50		biri oldu mu hiç? Yani dinlediğimiz		activities.
51		bu kişi gibi konuşan birileri hiç	GE	Do you have any idea?
52		arkadaşınız falan oldu mu okuldan	G26D	I don't have any idea
53		üniversiteden ya da iş yerinizden		((Laughter))
54		falan?	GE	Okay. Have you ever
55		(1.9)		experienced someone who talks

56	G26A	<u>Lisede</u> İstanbul'da vardı okulda ama		like this person? Any friends or colleagues?
57		pek aramız yoktu tanışmazdık ama		
58		vardı ama bana tuhaf gelen tipler.	G26A	I used to have some in <u>high school</u> in İstanbul but I did not get to know with those strange people.
59	G26C	Olmadı.		
60		(0.4)		
61	G26D	Olmadı.		
62		(1.2)	G26C	No.
63	GE	Bu ses kayıtlarını alırken insanlara soruyorum ben mesela kendinizi	G26D	No.
64		tanıtın diyorum (.) Bu kişi de	GE	When I obtain these recordings, I ask people to introduce themselves. This person has introduced himself to me as <u>gay</u> . What would you say about this? <u>Like</u> personality traits of this person.
65		kendini <u>gay</u> olarak tanıtmıştı bana.		
66		Bu çerçevede ne yorum yaparsınız?		
67		<u>Mesela</u> kişilik özellikleri [gibi		
68				
69	G26C	[Ha- yok		
70		abi ama ((Yanındakine sesleniyor))		
71		düşünür insan ben de düşündüm mesela	G26C	But ((Talking to the other listener in the interaction)) This is not a person like the <u>one from Ankara</u> that we listened to previously.
72		Az önceki <u>Ankaralı</u> gibi değil.		
73	G26D	Bu ((Gülme)) hayatta ((Gülme)) güven vermez ((Gülme))		
74				
75	G26A	<u>Kibar insan</u> işte ((Gülme))		
76		(1.7)		
77	GE	Senin söyleyeceğin bir şey var mı?	G26D	This ((Laughter)) person is ((Laughter)) unreliable ((Laughter))
78	G26B	Sanatçı falan <u>mı</u> dansçı bu? =		
79	GE	=Onu bilmiyorum.		
80	G26B	Bana meslek olarak onu andırdı da	G26A	<u>Kind person</u> ((Laughter))
81		(.) Yani dansçı olur ne olacak.	GE	Do you have anything to say?
			G26B	<u>Is</u> this person an artist or dancer?
			GE	I don't know that.
			G26B	This reminds me of that. So, this one may be a dancer
G26 – Karabük – 4 participants (G26A=M27, G26B=M19, G26C=M23, G26D=M25) GE=interviewer				

Considering (iv) the home city of the speaker with the [ı] variant, the participants have yielded a persona who is from 'big cities', *İstanbul*, *İzmir* or *cities in the Marmara region*. In the lines 3 and 4, the participants G26A and G26D have constructed a persona who is from *İstanbul*. Referring to big cities, the listener G26B has associated the speaker with either *İzmir* or *İstanbul* (line 5). Having been asked about the city of Ankara, which is the second big city in Turkey, the G26B has formed a contrast between *Ankara* and *İzmir/İstanbul*. At the same time, the G26B has also created a contrast between *İzmir/İstanbul* and *Karabük*, which is the physical context of the interview.

Taking the above projections into account, it can be stated that the second interview of the Group-B overlaps with the first interview (i.e., RECG8) in that the participants yield a persona who is from either *İstanbul* or *İzmir*. Specifically, it can be observed from the interview data that the term 'big city' excludes *Ankara*.

On the (v) clothing style of the speaker, the listeners have depicted a persona who ‘wears jeans but not suits’. In addition, a listener in the interview has also constructed a persona who listens to music and prefers clothes that fit this activity. For instance, in the line 41, upon having been asked about the clothing style of the speaker, the listener G26C has projected a persona who wears jeans. Taking the turn right after the G26C, the participant G26A has created a contrast on the clothing preferences of the speaker, e.g., ‘[This person] does not wear suits’ (line 43). Further negotiating the social meaning of the alveolar approximant [ɹ], the listener G26B has introduced an aspect that goes hand in hand with his idealization of the persona, e.g., music. That is, in the line 45, G26B has asserted that the persona may listen to music and dance and prefer clothes that conform with this activity. Lastly, the listener G26D, employing a laugh in the meaning making process, has refrained from commenting on the clothing preferences of the speaker.

Another social meaning that has been tackled is (vi) the free time activities associated with the variant in question. In the line 17, the listeners have been asked about the free time activities of the speaker with the [ɹ] variant. Following the question *What would be the free time activities of this person?*, in the lines 19-21, a collective *laughter* has been observed, which can be interpreted as a reaction that results from the stances taken against the speaker and his free time activities. The listener G26C, who is the initiator of the meaning making process in terms of the free time activities, has depicted a persona who ‘takes his dog for a walk’ and ‘does sports’. In the next turn, the listener G26A has projected a persona who likes to go out to have fun. He has finished his turn by asserting two more free time activities, e.g., ‘[this person] does not read books and discuss something with his friends’ (lines 28-31). Taking the turn of the previous participant, and probably triggered by the last comment of the G26A, the listener G26C has stated that the speaker ‘does not discuss country’s problems’ (line 32).

Although they have not been directly asked, the participants have yielded comments on (vii) the favourite TV programs associated with the speaker employing the [ɹ] variant. For instance, when the listener G26D has projected a persona who likes to watch TV and dramas, G26C has taken the turn and justified what he has said in response to the free time activities associated with the speaker, e.g., ‘[but] [this person] does not prefer discussion programs.’ In brief, the listeners G26C and G26D have constructed a persona who likes to prefer dramas but discussion programs on TV.

In uncovering whether the participants employ social information found in their own community of practice in perceiving the speaker with the [ɹ] variant, the question; *Have you ever had a friend*

who talks like the speaker? has been addressed (line 49). In response to this inquiry, two participants (G26C and G26D) have stated that they do not have any friend employing the similar linguistic variable as the speaker does. However, the listener G26A has referred to some of his peers in his high school years, which in further, can be interpreted as a form of social information employed by him.

In line with this, what can be regarded as a social information exploited by the listeners in the RECG26 is the heteronormative background knowledge of the speakers. That is, the instances of laughter that has occurred during the interview can be interpreted as a form of stance-taking against the speaker, and thus a tool for foregrounding the weaknesses and/or setbacks of the speaker. Simply saying, in the institutional setting of the participants, e.g., the youth organization that reproduces heteronormative discourses, the alveolar approximant [ɹ] is salient and when they hear it, they recall and introduce their homophobic and/or heteronormative knowledge in the social meaning making process during the perception.

In regard to how the listeners (iii) authenticate the speaker, an interpretation has been brought on the listeners' reference to their previous discourses. When the listeners have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker (line 64), it has been observed that the listeners either imply their previous discourse or repeat what they have already yielded about the speaker. This observation have shown similarities with that of given for the RECG8. For instance, in the line 70, the listener G26C, taking the turn of the interviewer, has stated that he has previously thought that the speaker is a gay. In addition, he has also referred to the previous task in the interview that focuses on the /k/ variable and compares the speaker's linguistic style with that of the previous speaker (i.e. informant) in the interview, e.g., [This person]'s is not talking like the previous [speaker] from Ankara.'

Furthermore, the listeners have also repeated what they have already provided in response to the previous questions in the current task. For instance, in the line 78, the listener G26B has asked a question that goes in line with what has already been yielded by him, e.g., 'Is [this person] an artist or dancer?' Tracing what has been provided by the G26B in the previous discourse, it can be seen that in the line 45, responding to the question on the clothing style of the speaker, the G26B has already stated that the speaker would listen to music and dance and prefer clothes that fit this activity. In order to highlight these justifications made by the listeners, the Figure 4.8 can be employed as follows:

Turkish		
38	GE	Şunu düşünün (.) Ne giyiyor olabilir
39		bu kişi yani (.) Günlük olarak ne
40		tür giysiler giyer?
41		..
42		..
45	G26B	Müzik dinler dans eder ona göre de
46		giyer elbise.
47		..
48		..
63	GE	Bu ses kayıtlarını alırken insanlara
64		soruyorum ben mesela kendinizi
65		tanıtın diyorum (.) Bu kişi de
66		kendini gey olarak tanıtmıştı bana.
67		Bu çerçevede ne yorum yaparsınız?
68		Mesela kişilik özellikleri [gibi
69	G26C	[Ha- yok
70		abi ama ((Yanındakine sesleniyor))
71		düşünür insan ben de düşündüm mesela
72		Az önceki Ankaralı gibi değil.
73	G26D	Bu ((Gülme)) hayatta ((Gülme)) güven
74		vermez ((Gülme))
75	G26A	Kibar insan işte ((Gülme))
76		(1.7)
77	GE	Senin söyleyeceğin bir şey var mı?
78	G26B	Sanatçı falan mı dansçı bu? =
79	GE	=Onu bilmiyorum.
80	G26B	Bana meslek olarak onu andırdı da
81		(.) Yani dansçı olur ne olacak.

Figure 4.8. Map (ii) of the authentication and justification process by the listeners: Red=G26B, Blue=G2C

In the Figure 4.8 above, the speaker G26C has justified how he has accessed the authenticity of the speaker as gay. In the line 71, the listener has referred outside the text and rationalized that he has already identified the speaker as gay, e.g., ‘... I thought so, for instance, this one [speaker] is different from the previous speaker, who is from Ankara.’ That is, the authentication process lead by the listener G26C lies outside the very context of the current interview. In the line 78, the listener G26B has asked a question to uncover how he has authenticated the speaker as gay. In doing so, he has referred to his previous perception on the clothing style of the speaker in the line 45. Following this attempt, he has further rationalized himself, e.g., ‘So, he would be dancer’ (line 81).

In the following parts of the interview with the group RECG26, the context presented in the extracts (54), (55) and (56) have also been repeated with the voiced fricated alveolar flap [r]. In this regard, the listeners have made to listen to a speaker whose linguistic style involves the [r] variant instead of the [ɾ]. Later, they have been asked to yield their perceptions considering (i) the personality traits of the speaker. What makes this setting different is that the listeners have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as gay. The below (58) features this context.

(58) RECG26 | 06:01 – 06:29

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bu da gey olduğunu ifade eden	GE	This speaker is also one of
2		katılımcılarımdan (.) Bu kişi		the participants who stated
3		hakkında kişilik özelliği verseniz		that he is gay. What would you
4		ne derdiniz?		say about the personality
5	G26A	<u>Güvenilmez</u> ama yakından tanımadığım		traits of this person?
6		için ((Gülme)) bir şey de denmiyor=	G26A	[This is] an <u>unreliable</u> person
7	G26C	= <u>Yapmacık</u> derim abi.		because I don't know him
8		(0.5)		closely ((Laughter))
9	G26B	Fikir yok.	G26C	I say that he is <u>mannered</u> .
10	G26D	Ben- de yani tanımam etmem bir şey	G26B	I don't have any idea.
11		diyemem.	G26D	I don't know [this person] and
G26 – Karabük – 4 participants (G26A=M27, G26B=M19, G26C=M23, G26D=M25) GE=interviewer				say anything, too.

In the extract (58), listeners have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as gay, whose linguistic style involves the [r] variant as a guise for the [ɹ]. It has been observed that when the speaker, who employs the [r] variant, has been presented to the current interview group as gay, their responses on (i) the personality traits of the speaker have shown similarity to what they projected in (54-56). In this regard, the listeners in the (58) above have featured a persona who is 'unreliable' and 'mannered'. In the line 5, the listener G26A has projected a persona who is 'unreliable'. He has further justified his perception by saying that he does not know the speaker in person, and thus, he has refrained from yielding further personality traits about the speaker. In the line 7, the listener G26C has constructed a persona who is 'mannered'. In this respect, this trait (e.g. 'a mannered persona') has been observed to be one of the mostly associated one in referring to a gay persona.

In the extracts (49-58) above, two interviews from the Group-B have been interpreted with reference to the social meanings associated with the alveolar approximant [ɹ]. As have been stated, the interview groups in the Group-B consist of participants who are members of two different youth organizations. These youth organizations have been known with their conservative idealizations of the society and thus, have constructed institutional knowledge that has been shared by its members. It has been observed in the interviews with the members of the Group-B that the institutional knowledge, which is *heteronormativity*, has an effect on the perception of the [ɹ] variant.

In addition, this heteronormative knowledge is salient when the listeners (i.e. the members of these youth organizations) have been provided with the social cue about the speaker. Notwithstanding the social cue, the members have yielded a series of social meanings which have

shown a similar trend. For instance, considering (i) the personality traits, the members have constructed a persona who has negative assets. Furthermore, none of the members have projected their convergence (i.e. the context of (ii) intimacy) with the speaker with the [1] variant in a hypothetical bus trip context. As a striking finding, it can also be said that the participants have authenticated the speaker earlier in the interview and when they have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as gay, they have started to justify their authentication process.

In regard to the fourth theme, (iv) the home city, they have constructed a persona who is either from İzmir or İstanbul. Considering (v) the clothing style of the speaker, they have featured a narrow-set of clothing style, which have feminine implications and which can be further interpreted as that they are unable to access the social information about a gay persona. Another trend has been observed in the themes (vi) free time activities and (vii) favourite TV programs of the speaker with the [1] variant. As an instance for this observation, it can be stated that members have projected a persona who likes to ‘have fun’ and watches TV. Related to the TV shows, they have created a contrast between the TV shows. Consistently, the members have yielded a persona whose television behaviour is limited to those which have mostly been associated with women in the society.

The last part of the current analysis draws on the comparison between the Group-A and Group-B, the first of which consists of participants who are either classmates or colleagues, and the latter involves members of two youth organizations. In bringing an understanding for this comparison, the Table 4.1 below has been employed. The table below involves themes and observations for each group. While the *themes* refer to what has been adopted as the steps of the analysis, the term *observation* refers to the overall finding (i.e., a generalized finding for practical purposes). In addition, whether listeners have employed social cues or not has also been marked onto the observations.

The key interpretation that can be brought on the Table 4.1 is that while the Group-B have employed social information in the entire perception process, the Group-A have exploited the social information when they have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as a form of social cue. In similar vein, it can also be noted that the Group-B have not made use of social cues presented to them. On the other hand, in the responses given by the Group-A, there have been strong implications that they have employed social cues in ascertaining social meanings to the speaker persona.

Table 4.1

Comparison of the Group-A and Group-B

Group-A			Group-B		
Theme	Observation		Observation		Theme
(i) Personality traits	SOCIAL CUE X	Positive	SOCIAL CUE X	Negative	(i) Personality traits
				SOCIAL INFO used	
(ii) intimacy	SOCIAL CUE X	Probable convergence	SOCIAL CUE X	Probable divergence	(ii) intimacy
				SOCIAL INFO used	
(iii) authenticity	[I] is salient + late authentication		[I] is salient + early authentication		(iii) authenticity
				SOCIAL INFO used	
(iv) locus of practice	SOCIAL CUE ✓	[nothing in particular] on [I] BUT SOC. INFO. used when [I] + gay is available			
		SOCIAL INFO used			
(v) home city	Big cities (İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir) + seaside cities + Aegean and Marmara Regions		İzmir and İstanbul		(iv) home city
				SOCIAL INFO used	
(vi) clothing	SOCIAL CUE ✓	Perceptions differ according to SOC. CUE	SOCIAL CUE X	Limited set of clothes + the colour pink	(v) clothing
				SOCIAL INFO used	
(vii) free time activities	SOCIAL CUE ✓	[nothing in particular]	SOCIAL CUE X	Having fun, watching TV	(vi) free time activities
		SOCIAL INFO used		SOCIAL INFO used	
			SOCIAL CUE X	Women shows, dramas	(vii) favourite TV programs
				SOCIAL INFO used	

Considering the Table 4.1 above, which overviews how the listeners have undertaken the meaning making process on the /r/ variable, notwithstanding what social meanings associated with the

speaker, the Group-A and Group-B differ in how they have employed social cues and social information in perceiving the speaker.

With regard to (i) the personality traits, it has been observed that the social cues presented to the listeners have not been a determinant in yielding distinct personas. However, the Group-A and Group-B have differed in the personality traits. That is, while the listeners in the Group-A have projected positive personality traits, the ones in the Group-B constructed a persona who possesses negative personality traits.

A similar observation has been made on (ii) the probable intimacy with the speaker employing the alveolar approximant [ɹ]. Although both groups have been provided with two distinct social cues about the speaker, e.g., *high* education level and *high* socioeconomic level, they have not credited the social cues. Nonetheless, each group have shown consistency in their responses on the probable intimacy with the speaker in a hypothetical bus trip context. That is, while the listeners in the Group-A have yielded their probable convergence with the speaker, the ones in the Group-B have projected a persona with whom one does not interact.

On how the listeners have (iii) authenticated the speaker as gay, it has been observed that there is a clear-cut difference. That is to say, although both listener groups have justified the speaker as a gay persona and thus the [ɹ] variant is salient in their perceptions, the period of the authentication (i.e. identification) has differed. In the Group-A, the participants' identification of the speaker as gay occurred in the later parts of the interview. However, in the Group-B, the participants have identified the speaker in the initial phases of the interview, which has given rise to the implication that the listeners in the Group-B have employed social information about the speaker which is available to them in a short span of time.

Regarding (iv) the locus of practice associated with the speaker which has only been tackled in the interviews with the Group-A, the listeners' perceptions differ when they have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as gay. Thus, based on this, they have narrowed down their projections through employing social information.

The listeners' perceptions on (v) the home city of the speaker has shown variation between the both groups. Although the listeners in both groups have yielded a persona who lives in big cities, the listeners in the Group-B have limited the term 'big city' to İzmir and İstanbul.

Considering (vi) the clothing style associated with the speaker, it has been observed that the listeners in the Group-A have drawn upon the social cues presented to them. However, the listeners in the Group-B have been unconcerned with the social cues. In the Group-A, the participants have constructed a persona whose clothing style differs when he has a high socioeconomic background. The same observation has not been made when the social cue has been presented on the education level. Nonetheless, the participants in the Group-B have ignored the social cues presented to them. This observation on the clothing style has also been evident when the listeners have been asked about (vii) the free time activities associated with the persona in question. On (viii) the favourite TV programs that has only been tackled in the interviews with the Group-B, the listeners have remained nonreactive to the social cues.

A comparison between the Group-A and Group-B is also possible with reference to *what social information has been used in perceiving the speaker*. In uncovering what social information has been used by the listeners, two distinct procedures, the first of which is explicit and the latter is implicit, have been employed.

Considering the first procedure, which aims to uncover the social information with an explicit question, the participants of the both interview groups have been asked to identify the persona with respect to their experiences. In this regard, the participants in the Group-A have referred to either their communities of practices (e.g., a friend in their friend circle) or popular culture icons on TV (e.g., a character in a movie, drama, etc.). However, the participants in the Group-B have only pointed to what they have seen on TVs. Thus, it can be said that there is a difference between the Group-A and Group-B in the social information employed. Because of the fact that the Group-B consists of participants that are members of youth organizations that obtain heteronormative judgements on the homosexuality, their community of practice excludes homosexual individuals, and thus, a gay persona is not accessible in their own community of practice.

Related with the first procedure, when the participants in the Group-A have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as gay and further asked about the locus of practices and free time activities associated with the gay persona, they have employed the social information related to homophobic and/or heteronormative judgements in the society. Employing this social information, the participants have dissociated from their previous perceptions on the locus of practice and free time activities for the speaker and started to yield specific places/streets for locus of practices, and distinct endeavours for free time activities.

In regard to the second procedure, which is implicit and has been traced throughout the interviews that have been conducted with the Group-B, it has been observed that the participants of the Group-B have employed social information which have been salient in their own community of practice, e.g., the youth organization. The social information used by the listeners in the Group-B can be given as the heteronormative judgements of the youth organizations towards the homosexuality. As have been stated, these youth organizations have been known with their conservative idealizations and their membership ties have been constructed on this social conservatism. Thinking that "... social conservatism does not overtly make a distinction between gender and biological sex" (Vavrus, 2015, p. 123), it is highly probable that these kind of organizations/associations put heteronormative resources into use in perceiving a homosexual persona. This occurrence can also be regarded as the ground for earlier identification of the gay persona in the interviews. Linked to this, when the listeners in the Group-B have been provided with the authenticity of the speaker as gay, they have suddenly started to justify how they have previously authenticated the speaker as gay.

The following section (4.2.2.2) involves a discussion on the findings presented above. In doing so, such concepts as *indexical field*, *stance* and *iconization* have been employed as analytical tools in bringing an account with respect to the theory of indexicality.

4.2.2.2. Discussion

In this section, the findings presented in the subsections (4.2.2.1.1) and (4.2.2.1.2) have been discussed. In this regard, first of all, the social meaning of the [ɹ] variant has been mapped on an *indexical field* (see, e.g., the Figure 4.9) and then factors affecting and challenging this indexical field have been discussed.

The indexical field given in the Figure 4.9 involves themes on the right part of the map. For each theme, there are two columns denoting the participant groups, e.g., Group-A and Group-B. At the top of the indexical field, there are social cues which have been provided to listeners in the course of perception, e.g., *from left-to-right*; ɹ+education level, ɹ+socioeconomic level and speaker's authenticity as gay. In addition, the red arrow denotes the stances taken by the listeners. The red rectangle in the mid-top of the indexical field stands for the ignorance of the social cues by the members of the Group-B.

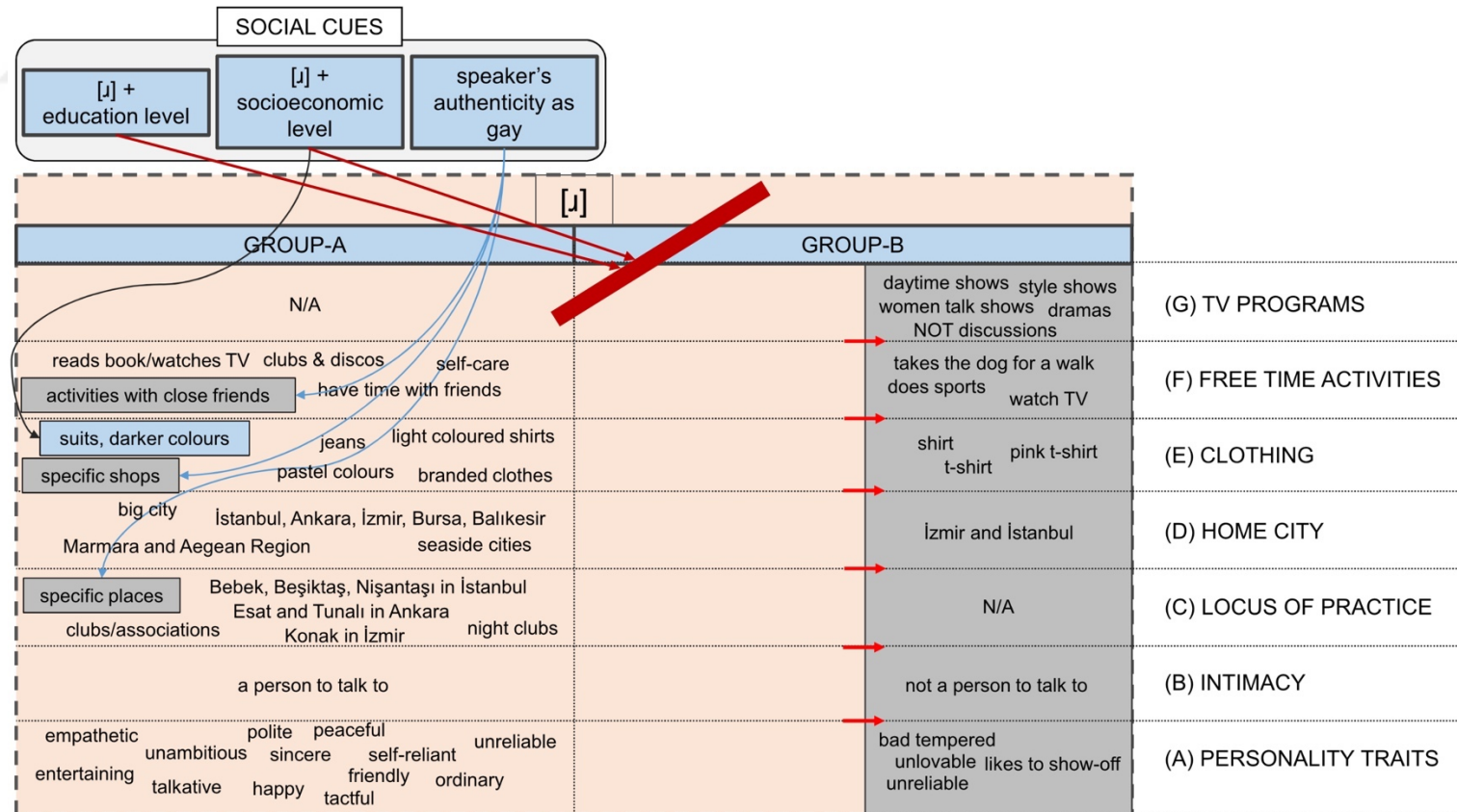


Figure 4.9. The indexical field of [ɪ] indexing gay persona. blue boxes=social cues, grey boxes=social information, red arrow (→)=stances, floating arrows (↔ & ↗)=link to either social cue or social information

The below discussion has been organized with reference to the contexts in which the meaning perceiving process occurs, for example, how and when contexts can be ignored by the listeners during the perception, what social information is employed in perceiving the listeners, and how the different stances of the listeners affect speech processing.

The interpretation of above indexical field can be made by referring to the context in which the speaker is presented to the listeners. In regard to the theory of indexicality, Silverstein (1976) states that “the referential contribution of a [a linguistic feature]⁴² - depends on the specific value of one or more of the variables being realized” (p. 25). That is, denotation of a sign, which is alveolar approximant [ɹ] here, is determined by the contextual factors and its limitations in the physical sphere of the interpretation (ibid.). Silverstein calls this relationship between the sign and the contextual factors as “converse properties of implication between contextual variable and indexical token” (ibid.). That is, the referential meaning of a sign is mediated by the relationship between context and the linguistic variable.

Tackling Silverstein’s (2003) notion of *indexical order*, Eckert (2008) investigates the ways how exactly indexes pattern across communities (e.g. What exactly is the determinant in the establishment of an indexical meaning of a sign vehicle in a particular community). Addressing this, Eckert argues that in a community “meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings” (ibid., p. 453). That is, meanings travel in an indexical field which are ‘ideologically related’ and prone to change following the needs of the community (ibid.). In this study, the social cues presented to the listeners, e.g., education level, socioeconomic level and the authenticity of the speaker as gay, and social information employed by the listeners are the contexts in which the perception occurs. In addition, the listeners form a community of practice which leads to a ground in which its members use and reproduce the stylistic properties found in the society. In this regard, the two settings and/or participant groups (i.e., The Group-A and Group-B) form their own community of practices, in which participants share similar semiotic systems and social resources.

⁴² *Shifter* in Silverstein (1976, p. 25). Silverstein (1976) tackles his advisor Roman Jakobson’s work on what he calls *shifters*. *Shifters* are linguistic features like deictic expressions where the reference of a word ‘shifts’ regularly depending on various determinants in a speech situation (p. 24). See the Chapter 1 Theoretical Framework for a detailed overview of the theory.

Considering the perception, when a new person emerges into the social sphere of a person (i.e., listener/hearer), one starts to observe his/her style “that helps to place this person in the social landscape and predict how he or she might think and act, both in the present situation and in others” (Eckert, 2016b, p. 77). Linking perception and context, listeners start to interpret linguistic features according to their resources that range from who is speaking to what particular variant is evident, and to where it occurs.

In regard to the Group-A, which consists of participants that are either classmates or colleagues, it has been observed that participants have not reacted to the context provided as <[I]+education level>. The only context in which the interpretations on the speaker vary is <[I]+socioeconomic level>. However, this is evident only when the listeners interpret the speaker with regard to his (E)⁴³ clothing preferences. Thus, it can be said that the interpretation of the speaker by the listeners is limited in the sense of what context intersects with which specific social meaning is in question, e.g., (A) personality traits, (B) intimacy, etc. One of the ways of showing this for instance, when the listeners use the semiotic resources related to (A) personality traits, they have not used contextual cues and/or contexts presented to them. However, when the semiotic resources have been directed towards (E) clothing, they have used contextual cues. That is, it can be said that the listeners treat social cues distinctively according to what social meanings are asked to be yielded about the speaker.

When the listeners in the Group-A have been provided with the context <[I]+authenticity of the speaker as gay>, they have started to use social information available in their social landscape and interpreted the speaker according to it. This is evident when the listeners have been asked to yield their perceptions regarding (C) locus of practice, (E) clothing and (F) free time activities. This shows that the contextual cues presented to the listeners have the probability of evoking social information employed to interpret the listener. For instance, when the listeners have been asked to yield their perceptions on (C) the locus of practice associated with the speaker in the context that they know the authenticity of the speaker as gay, they have employed the social information of homophobia and/or heteronormative judgements over homosexuality in the social sphere of Turkey. Either explicitly or implicitly referring to this, the participants have revisited and thus reconstructed the persona and projected another social sphere, e.g., [The persona] would spend time in famous places to [the persona] would spend time in specific places.

⁴³ Such notations as (A), (B), (C), etc. follows from the indexical field given in the Figure 4.8.

When compared with the Group-A, the participants in the Group-B, who are members of two different youth organizations that are known with their socially conservative ideologies, have yielded similar interpretations regardless of the contexts presented to them. This occurrence can be initially explained by referring to Bourdieu's (1967) *habitus*. Seeing that perceiving the others is a social practice, *habitus* is a system of unconscious patterns of thought and perceptions which operate between structures and practice (Bourdieu, 1973, p. 72). Following this line, *habitus* is a system of tendency that "produces practices in accordance with the schemes engendered by history" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 82). Concerning this, the youth organizations, which have built upon and reproduce similar semiotic systems, provide its members with similar tendencies to perform practices in perceiving the others, and thus, the participants yield similar perceptions regardless of the contexts (i.e. social cues) presented to them. Ruling out the contexts presented to them, the members follow the social information that has been institutionalized in their communities of practices. Here, the institutional knowledge, which is the social information employed in perceiving the others, can be regarded as the heteronormative knowledge constructed and further reproduced by the members.

The above observations show that during perception, the listeners pay attention to the context by using the context either as a social resource or through creating further contexts. That is to say, the listeners in the Group-A have employed the context <[ɹ]+socioeconomic level> to draw upon other social resources found around this context. In addition, they have also piloted the context <[ɹ]+authenticity of the speaker as gay> to create another one, which is the social information that they access during the perception, e.g., heteronormative judgements over the homosexual individuals in the society.

As another observation, the listeners of the Group-B, who have disregarded the contexts presented to them with respect to their *habitus*, created their own context when they access the indexicality of the alveolar approximant [ɹ], which can be formulated only as <[ɹ]> in this sense. This finding goes in line with Kiesling (2009) that indexicality is "central to the understanding of linguistic practice as *context-sensitive* and *context-creating*" (p. 177). Furthermore, Jaffe (2016, p. 86) refers to the *context-sensitive* nature of indexicality as *conventional* process, which is evident in the social meaning perceiving process considering (E) the clothing preferences of the speaker with the [ɹ] variant. That is, the listeners, having been provided with the context <[ɹ]+socioeconomic level>, have associated the speaker with a 'conventional' clothing style. Regarding the *context-creating* nature of indexicality, Jaffe (2016, p. 86) also states that it is *emergent*. That is, when the listeners are provided with a context in the course of the perception,

they have the probability of creating another context in which they interpret the speaker. For example, when the listeners in the Group-A have been provided with the context <[I]+authenticity of the speaker as gay>, there has ‘emerged’ another context in their social sphere, e.g., heteronormative judgements over homosexual individuals in the society, and have started to interpret the persona alongside with this *emergent* context.

When the indexical interpretations in the society become highly conventional, they can become *iconic* (Gal, 2016; Irvine & Gal, 2000). Irvine and Gal (2000) call this process *iconization*,⁴⁴ where ‘by picking out qualities supposedly shared by the social image and the linguistic image, the ideological representation – itself a sign – binds them together in a linkage that appears to be inherent” (p. 38). Thinking that the listeners in the Group-B have disregarded the contexts presented to them, they have ruled out the *context-sensitive* and *context-creating* nature of indexicality, and instead, they have started to employ a pre-established context, which is claimed to be the heteronormative discourses that have been constructed and reinterpreted in these youth organizations. This observation can be explained by referring to the process of *iconization*.

In interpreting the path or degree from an *index* to an *icon*, following Peircian formalization, it can be said that while *indexes* have ‘pointing’ relationship with what they represent, *icons* have ‘integrated’ resemblance with their objects. Thus, when an *index* and an *icon* are compared by referring to these descriptions, it is evident that *icons* are more ‘merged’ with their assets than *indexes*. In the sociolinguistic literature on how indexical interpretations develop into icons through iconization, among others, Coupland (2007) deals with ‘styles’, Eckert (2008) refers to ‘persona styles’ and Agha (2007) tackles ‘registers’. In this regard, a point can be forwarded with reference to Eckert (2008) as follows:

⁴⁴ Gal (2016) refers to this as *rhematization*.

Persona style is the best level for approaching the meaning of variation, for it is at this level that we connect linguistic styles with other stylistic systems such as clothing and other commoditized signs and with the kinds of ideological constructions that speakers share and interpret and that thereby populate the social imagination. Ideology is at the center of stylistic practice: one way or another, every stylistic move is the result of an interpretation of the social world and of the meanings of elements within it, as well as a positioning of the stylizer with respect to that world (Eckert, 2008, p. 456).

Tackling what is argued by Eckert (2008) in regard to the perception, it can be said that it is the ideology of the listener that also provides the listener with preset social resources to interpret a linguistic variable or a speaker. Inherent to the nature of indexical field, Eckert (2008) also asserts that “the meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings –an *indexical field* or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable” (p. 454). Hence, it can be said that the social meaning perceiving process occurred among the members of the Group-B has a salient ideologically loaded knowledge. Their ideologically loaded knowledge over the linguistic variable and/or the speaker have resulted in similar interpretations. Formally, this has been shown with an empty area in the centre-right part of the indexical field proposed in the Figure 4.9.

Tracing how the ideologically loaded interpretations by the members of the Group-B have been yielded through the process of *iconization* instead of *indexicalization*, the recent sociolinguistic literature refers to *stance*, in which the agency (i.e. authenticity in the sense of the above interpretations) of the listener is foregrounded to explain indexical meaning.⁴⁵ That is, speakers and listeners can also work with the indexical resources in their environment to create and perceive social meaning. According to Jaffe (2009), stance “is uniquely productive way of conceptualizing the process of indexicalization that are the link between individual performance and meaning making” (p. 4). By reviewing notions given by Silverstein (2003) and Eckert (2008), stance can also account for how indexicals at one order are interpreted or carried to subsequent orders and how indexicals are organized into fields (Jaffe, 2016, p. 86).

⁴⁵ The term *stance* has been tackled from various perspectives by a number of linguistic traditions which range from text linguistic (e.g., authorial stance in distinct genres), to critical discourse analysis (e.g., embedded stances in political and persuasive texts). See Englebreton (2007) and Jaffe (2009) for a detailed overview on the history of stance in the broad literature of linguistics.

In reviewing the above terms *indexical order* (Silverstein, 2003), *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008), *iconization* (Irvine and Gal, 2000) and *stance* (Jaffe, 2009), indexing social meaning with probable stances can draw on stereotypical figures, i.e. “entextualized figures of personhood whose recognition depends on distinct metasemiotic processes” (Agha, 2005, p. 43). That is, a sign vehicle may gain indexical value that may result from various interactional resources available to speaker and/or listener in his/her physical context. Related to the observation that the listeners in the Group-B have justified their earlier authentications of the speaker as a gay (see, e.g., the Figures 4.7 and 4.8), it can be said that in the social sphere of the members of the Group-B, the alveolar approximant [ɹ] possesses stereotypical realizations.

Following this argument, it can be further stated that instead of forming indexical associations based on the context in which the [ɹ] variant has been presented to them, the listeners in the Group-B employ semiotic resources which are iconic in their own community of practice. To put it another way, the ideological (and also the indexical) past and constructions of these youth organizations actively take part in how its members perceive a linguistic variable and/or a person using that linguistic variable.

How the ideological past of these communities has constructed iconic connections can be accounted by referring to what Bakhtin (1981) stated as *dialogism*. That is, language users, by implying new meanings in the words uttered by a speaker and interpreted by a listener in a continual dialogue, negotiate and construct meanings. In addition, by interacting with previous information in this continual dialogue, language users are situated in a dynamic social meaning making process. Thus, the ideological past of these youth organizations can be said to involve these dialogic processes in the construction of gay persona along with its sociolinguistic styles. These processes show their traces in the stances of the listeners in the Group-B. Through taking a stance against the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [ɹ] variant, the listeners in the Group-B have taken part in the dialogic process that provides the future interpretations with ‘a previous information’. That is, it can be stated that the analysis given in the previous subsection depicts a point in time in which the youth organizations like the Group-B attend to this dialogic meaning making process.

The continuous dialogic process provides the communities with contexts created through the negotiation and construction of social meanings. In this process, stances of the listeners can be regarded as one of the salient items. On this, Goodwin (1998) states that the stances taken during

the interaction have the role of creating contexts and forming reference points for the further utterances (p. 443). These reference points, as laid out by Jaffe (2009, 2016), are produced and interpreted by the utterances that occur beforehand. Hence, these stance-takings are shaped and institutionalized by the political nature of intergenerational relationships (Goodwin, 1998, p. 443). The recursive practice performed in the institutionalized form of an ideology has the potential to create different contrasts in the society. These contrasts, or different levels of contrasts, are visible in the sociolinguistic practice of language users (Ducrot, 1984). What this study evidences in regard to the visible sociolinguistic practice is the stance taken by the listeners in the Group-B.

Turning back to how the listeners in the Group-B disregard the contexts presented to them and instead, employ the contexts found in their institutional knowledge, it can also be stated that the dialogic social meaning making process occurring in these youth organizations has the potential to erase the indexical (i.e., contextual) associations. Irvine and Gal (2000) refer to this process as *erasure* in which the contexts associated with ‘the other’ in the society are extensively saturated and erased. That is, in the youth organizations associated with the Group-B, the indexical past of a gay persona has been erased and at the end, the persona has been constructed further along with its iconic connections.

In this regard, the institutionalized form of heteronormative ideologies is the main semiotic resource of the members of these youth groups and it further functions as a tool for the members in socially differentiating themselves from the others in the context of the heteronormativity in the society. This finding goes in line with what is proposed by Gal (2016) that an indexical sign may become iconic due to ‘axes of differentiation’ which results from recurrent stances taken by the speakers/listeners. As a result of this social differentiation, they use different resources than those who do not possess any heteronormative judgements when it comes to the alveolar approximant [ɹ].

The above findings and interpretations are based on the phonetic cues which are not used by the listeners in their productions. This goes in line with what Thomas (2000) found. According to Thomas (2000), individuals can have the ability to make use of the phonetic cues during perception although they do not use those cues in production.

The overall conclusion for the analysis on the [ɹ] variant that indexes *gay men* can be given as; First of all, it can be said that the listeners treat social cues about the speaker distinctively

according to what social meanings are requested to be yielded about the speaker. Secondly, contextual cues presented to the listeners have the probability of arousing further contexts during the perception. As a result of the arousal of the new context, which comes to exist as a social information, a new perception phase on the linguistic variant starts and listeners reinterpret both the linguistic variable and the speaker. Thirdly, listeners sometimes have the probability of ruling out the contexts presented to them. When they rule out the contexts, they make use of social information that has an institutionalized and/or conventional status in their own community of practices.



CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL MEANING OF /k/

5.1. OVERVIEW

This chapter focuses on the voiceless velar fricative [x] and voiced velar stop [g] realizations of /k/ in Turkish and aims to uncover the indexical fields associated with the [x] and [g] variants, which have been linked to the Inner and Eastern Anatolian accents in Turkey by the studies given in the field of Turkish dialectology (Caferoğlu, 1951, 1963; Gemalmaz, 1978; Olcay, 1963; Sağır, 1995). Hence, tackling the phenomena which has been associated with regional variation, by referring to the qualitative and quantitative data, the current chapter claims that the /k/ variation is also a social phenomenon with respect to its social meanings. In addressing the social meaning of the /k/, the initial research question is: *(i) How do the indexical pronunciations of /k/, which have been reported to show regional variation, interface with the perception of the listeners?*

Linked to the above given research inquiry, the current chapter also deals with the resources found in the social sphere of the listeners and addresses the following research question: *(ii) What social resources (i.e., social information and social cues) are used in perceiving the others?*

In dealing with the first research question, the analytical tools brought by the theory of indexicality have been employed. In view hereof, the term *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008) has been tackled to bring an understanding to the major research inquiry of the chapter. In the recent

sociolinguistic literature, the term *indexical field* has been regarded as one of the tools in uncovering the potential and competitive meanings yielded by the sociolinguistic variables. Thus, it has been forwarded that these potential meanings have the possibility of shifting according to contextual factors (Silverstein, 1976, p. 24) and are not definite and stable (Eckert, 2008, p. 454). It should be noted that the present analysis does not treat the [x] and [g] as distinct phenomena and thus, it does not focus on the difference between them. Rather, the analysis addresses them as a unified phenomenon with respect to their social meanings.

The main rationale behind the existence of the second research question is one of the widely observed phenomena in the broad literature of sociolinguistics: listeners also exploit the social resources (e.g., speaker's appearance as a visual stimuli, dialect, socioeconomic status, age and ethnicity of the speaker) in perceiving the others (Drager, 2011; Hay, Nolan, et al., 2006; Hay, Warren, et al., 2006; Koops, Gentry, & Pantos, 2008a; Niedzielski, 1999; Staum Casasanto, 2008; Strand, 1999). In this respect, it can be said that the social resources employed during the perception has a key role in forming the *indexical field*.

A tripartite experimental setting has been designed to uncover the social meanings associated with the /k/ variable. In the first phase, three sociolinguistic data elicitation methods have been adopted to create the stimuli: Sociolinguistic interviews, map task and read speech. In the second stage, the extracted stimuli have been stabilized with regard to their environmental features (e.g., intensity and duration of the preceding and the following sounds) and target tokens, which are voiceless velar fricative [x] and voiced velar stop [g], have been determined. In the last stage, sociolinguistic group interviews and matched-guise survey have been employed to obtain qualitative and quantitative data. The interactional qualitative data have been analysed by employing the ethnomethodological conversation analysis (Sacks et al., 1974) and quantitative survey data have been interpreted by employing exploratory factor analysis.

The next subsection deals with the findings and discussion of the /k/ variation.

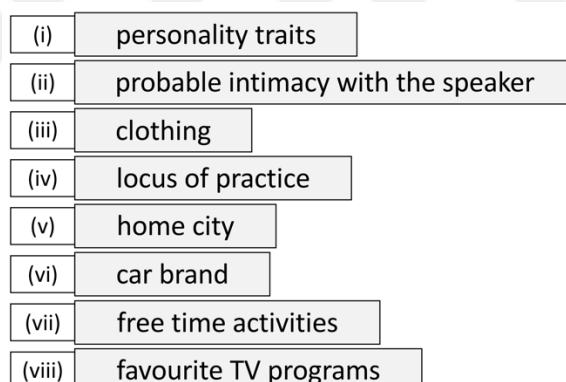
5.2. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This subsection involves the analyses conducted on the qualitative and the quantitative data. In this regard, the subsection 5.2.1 involves the interpretation of the qualitative data, 5.2.2 tackles the quantitative survey data and 5.2.3 engages in the discussion of the findings with reference to the indexical field associated with the /k/ variation.

5.2.1. Interpreting the Interviews

The below analysis reports from 19 out of 30 sociolinguistic group interviews that involve the interactional context of the perception task, and bring an indexical interpretation on the qualitative interview data. The data consist of sociolinguistic group interviews in which listeners have been provided with the variable pronunciations of /k/ along with(out) social cues.

The interview data have been tackled with respect to the themes given in Figure 5.1 below:



(i)	personality traits
(ii)	probable intimacy with the speaker
(iii)	clothing
(iv)	locus of practice
(v)	home city
(vi)	car brand
(vii)	free time activities
(viii)	favourite TV programs

Figure 5.1. Themes employed in the interpretation of the interview data

The Figure 5.1 above depicts the flow of the analysis on the interpretation of the interactional qualitative data. The first stage of the analysis starts with interpretation of (i) the personality traits in the presence and absence of social cues that have been limited to education level and socioeconomic status (see, e.g., the extracts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6). Following the inquiry on the personality traits, and in order to discover what social information is used in perceiving the speaker, the extracts (7), (8) and (9) have been given. In uncovering (ii) the probable intimacy of the listeners with the speaker, a hypothetical bus trip context have been inserted to the group interviews and the listeners have been asked if they would talk to the speaker in a bus trip (see,

e.g., the extracts 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16). In uncovering the general style of the speaker, the rest of the themes have been organized as; (iii) the locus of practice (see, e.g., the extracts 17, 18 and 19), (iv) clothing (see, e.g., the extracts 20, 21 and 22), (v) home city, (vi) car brand, (vii) free time activities (see, e.g., the extracts 23 and 24) and (viii) favourite TV shows associated with the speaker.

The following (1-6) involve extracts in which (i) the personality traits of the speaker have been addressed to the listeners in three contexts. In the first context, there is not any social cue about the speaker and the listeners have been made to listen to a speaker employing the [x] and [g] variants (see, e.g., the extracts 1 and 2). In the second context, the listeners have been provided with the education level of the speaker as a social cue (see, e.g., the extracts 3 and 4) and in the last context, they have been provided with the socioeconomic level of the speaker as a social cue (see, e.g., the extracts 5 and 6). In uncovering (i) personality traits associated with the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves [x - g] variants, the listeners have been asked; *What would you say about [the manner of] this person?* and *What is your initial thoughts about the speaker?*

The (1) below involves an extract from one of the sociolinguistic group interviews conducted in Ankara with four participants. In the below extract, in the absence of social cue, the listeners have been made to listen to a sentence involving the [x] variant.

(1) RECG4 | 17:11 – 17:42

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bu kişiye dair genel düşüncelerinizi	GE	What would be your general
2		alayım arkadaşlar?		points about this person?
3		(1.3)		
4	G4D	<u>Babacan</u> biri orta yaş civarında	G4D	A <u>fatherly</u> person who is
5	G4A	[Yaşı		middle-aged.
6		var yani orta yaşlarında ya (.)	G4A	He has some sort of old age,
7		sıradan biri.		like middle-aged, and an
8		(1.4)		ordinary person.
9	G4D	<u>Yetkili</u> abi ((Gülme)) Her şeyi	G4D	A <u>responsible</u> one ((Laughter))
10		bildiğini iddia eden bir ses var.		He has such a voice which
11		(0.8)		claims that this person knows
12	G4B	<u>Tabi</u> (.) soğuk biri değil		everything.
13		etrafındakilerle <u>iyi</u> anlaşır (.)	G4B	Sure he is not a stony person,
14		uyar onlara=		as well, he is <u>easy-going</u> and
15	G4C	= <u>Uyar</u> (.) uyumludur arkadaşları		agreeable.
16		tarafından <u>sevilen biri</u> olabilir.	G4C	He may be a person who is
				agreeable and <u>liked</u> by his
				friends.
G4 – Ankara – 4 participants (G4A=F25, G4B=M25, G4C=F31, G4D=M27) GE=interviewer				

In the (1) above, in the absence of any social cue about the speaker, the listeners have been asked about the personality traits of the speaker. As an answer to the question, the participants depict a persona who is ‘fatherly’ ‘good natured’, ‘old’ ‘smart aleck’, ‘sympathetic’, ‘good mixer’, ‘agreeable and ‘dear’. For instance, in the line 4, the participant G4D has projected the speaker as someone who is ‘fatherly’, ‘good natured’ and ‘middle-aged’. Taking the turn of the listener G4D, G4A has confirmed that the speaker is a ‘middle-aged’ person (the lines 5-7). Again, the listener G4D has continued his projections of the persona as ‘He has a voice which claims he knows everything about anything.’ G4B, confirming the G4D, has constructed a persona who is not ‘introverted’ and on the contrary, ‘friendly and socially confident’, and ‘good mixer’. Lastly, the listener G4C has characterized the speaker as a person who is ‘agreeable’ and ‘dear’. The overall social meaning negotiated in the (1) involves positive personality traits associated with the speaker employing the [x] variant.

In the following (2), the listeners have listened to the same sound clip as in (1) and asked to yield their projections on the personality traits of the speaker. The below (2) involves an extract from the interview that have been conducted in Ankara with four participants.

(2) RECG5 | 14:23 – 14:58

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bu çaldığım kişinin mizacına ne dersiniz peki? Sen.	GE	What would you say about the manner of this voice? What about you?
2		(2.1)		
4	G5C	Eğitimsiz birini duyuyorum hocam (.)	G5C	I hear an <u>uneducated</u> but
5		ama zararlı biri gibi de değil (.)		harmless person. <u>But</u> he may be
6		ama <u>yalnızdır</u> çok sıradandır=		<u>lonely</u> and very ordinary.
7	G5D	= <u>Bana da</u> yalnızdır gibi geldi ben de	G5D	It <u>also</u> appears to me a lonely
8		öyle düşünüyorum (.) <u>ayrıca</u> (.) çok		person. I think so. <u>In</u>
9		büyük bir mutluluğu huzurluluğu		<u>addition</u> , this person does not
10		yoktur derim.		have big happiness.
11		(0.8)		
12	G5A	Abimiz samimi durmuyor ya ((Gülme))	G5A	This one is not sincere
13		böyle esnaf gibi geliyor bakkal		((Laughter)) It appears to me
14		kasap gibi biri her lafa lafla cevap		as a someone who talks a lot
15		veren biri ((Gülme))		like esnaf, grocer or butcher
16		(1.5)		((Laughter))
17	G5B	Ya- (.) şeyi yok mesela (.) böyle	G5B	[This person] is not like
18		<u>oturaklı değil</u> kendinden emin değil		someone who is <u>well-chosen</u> and
19		(.) <u>ayrıca</u> (.) <u>bence de</u> eğitimsiz		self-reliant, and also he is
20		biri.		uneducated.
G5 – Ankara – 4 participants (G5A=M19, G5B=M19, G5C=F23, G5D=F23) GE=interviewer				

In the extract (2) above, the listeners have interpreted the speaker with the [x] variant as someone who is ‘uneducated’, ‘unoffending’, ‘lonely’, ‘ordinary’, ‘not very happy’, ‘insincere’, ‘small tradesmen’ ‘grocer’, ‘butcher’, ‘smart aleck’, ‘distracted’ and ‘nonassertive’. In the line 4, the

listener G5C has projected a persona who is ‘uneducated’, ‘lonely’, ‘ordinary’ and ‘unoffending’. Confirming the previous listener G5C with respect to the speaker’s ‘loneliness’, the listener G5D has further highlighted a persona who is ‘not very happy’ (lines 7-10). Accompanying his projection of the persona with a laughter, the listener G5A has stated that the speaker is a person who is ‘insincere’ and ‘smart aleck’. The G5A has also equipped his description of the speaker with such occupations associated with ‘small tradesmen’ as ‘grocer’ and ‘butcher’ (lines 12-15). In the above flow of the interaction, the listener G5B has granted the G5C’s assertion that the speaker is ‘uneducated’. In addition, the G5B has also stated that the speaker is ‘distracted’ and ‘nonassertive’.

Following the extracts (1) and (2) above, in which the listeners have been made to listen to a sound clip of a speaker with the [x] variant without any social cue attached to it, in the (3) and (4) below, the listeners provide their initial impressions about the speaker employing the [x] and [g] variants in the presence of education level as a social cue.

The (3) below is an extract from a sociolinguistic group interview conducted in Ankara with four participants. In the below extract, listeners have been asked about the personality traits of the speaker with the [x] variant in the presence of high education level as a social cue:

(3) RECG1 | 21:02 – 21:28

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Şimdi bu dinlediğimiz sesle ilgili	GE	Let me provide you with some
2		şunu söyleyeyim (0.5) Biz öncelikle		information about the voice
3		doktora mezunu bir kişiyi dinledik		that we listened to. We
4		(.) Kişilik özellikleri bakımından		listened to someone who is a
5		ne söyleyebilirsiniz arkadaşlar?		PhD graduate. What would you
6		(1.3)		say about the personality
7	G1A	Aa (.) <u>İşi</u> vardır o zaman		traits?
8		(.) önem verdiği <u>kendi</u> arkadaş	G1A	Mm. [This person] has a <u>job</u>
9		ortamı kurmuş olabilir=		and he also has a friend
10	G1C	=0 zaman bilerek böyle konuşuyor		circle for <u>himself</u> .
11		<u>kendisiyle barışık</u> biri olduğu için	G1C	Then he talks like this on
12		bilerek (.) yani.		purpose because he is <u>at peace</u>
13		(1.0)		<u>with himself</u> .
14	G1B	<u>Evet</u> tabi (.) böyle tarihine bağlı	G1B	<u>Yes</u> sure. This person may be
15		biri olabilir ya da dinlediğimiz		one who adheres to the history
16		kişi geldiği yere bağlı biri		or his roots.
17		olabilir.		

G1 – Ankara – 4 participants (G1A=F24, G1B=F26, G1C=M23, G1D=M23) GE=interviewer

In the (3) above, the participants have listened to the same sound clip as in (1) and (2). In addition, they have been provided with a social cue about the speaker with respect to education level, e.g.,

The person you listened to is a Ph. D. graduate. The overall percepts of the listeners can be given as; ‘someone who has a job’, ‘have a friend circle’, ‘someone who is at peace with himself’, ‘someone who respects (his) history’. In the line 7, the listener G1A has responded to the social cue about the speaker with an interjection that endorses her surprise, e.g., ‘Aa’. Following this, she has projected a persona ‘who has a job’ and ‘a friend circle that he pays attention to’ (lines 7-9). A similar fashion can also be observed in the response by the participant G1C. Taking the turn right after the G1A, the G1C, probably with the aim of repairing what has occurred in his mind in the absence of social cue about the speaker, has stated that the speaker employs [the [x] variant] on purpose (line 10), and has justified himself through constructing a persona who is ‘at peace with himself’ (lines 10-12). In turn, the G1B has sustained the overall flow of the construction of the persona and confirmed the previous speaker G1C (e.g., ‘yes’), and has further depicted the speaker as a person ‘who respects his own past and history’.

In the extract (4) below, the participants have listened to a speaker with the [g] variant and yielded their perceptions of the speaker in the presence of high education level as a social cue. The interview has been conducted in Ankara with four participants.

(4) RECG4 | 22:05 – 22:41

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Eğitim seviyesi yüksek birini	GE	We listened to someone whose
2		dinledik (.) Yani şöyle diyeyim bu		education level is high. That
3		kişiye dair sahip olduğum bilgi		is to say, this person is a
4		doktorasını yapmış biri olduğu		PhD graduate. What do you
5		yönünde. Böyle bir ortamda ne		think along with these
6		düşünürsünüz? (.) Kişilik		information? About personality
7		özellikleri olarak.		traits.
8	G4B	<u>Bu da</u> sevilen biri olur. (.) Öyle	G4B	<u>This is also</u> someone who is
9		çok yalnız kalan biri değildir benim		favoured. In my impression,
10		düşüncemde (0.5) yani arkadaşları		this is not a lonely person.
11		vardır sosyaldır diyorum=		That is, this one is sociable
12	G4C	= <u>Ben</u> de (.) öyle olumsuz şeyler	G4C	and has friends.
13		düşündürmüyor.		This <u>also</u> does not remind me
14		(1.5)		negative traits.
15	G4D	Bana yakın geldi hocam ya bu	G4D	[This person] seems close to
16		((Gülme)) Tam konuşmalık insan		me ((Laughter)). This is a
17		((Gülme))		person to talk to ((Laughter))
18	G4A	Ben de <u>özüne bağlı</u> sevilen biri diye	G4A	I think similar to ((Addresses
19		düşünüyorum ((G4B’nin adını		the listener G4B)) as this
20		veriyor)) gibi.		person is <u>faithful to his</u>
				<u>essence</u> .
G4 – Ankara – 4 participants (G4A=F25, G4B=M25, G4C=F31, G4D=M27) GE=interviewer				

In the (4) above, the participants have projected a persona who is ‘dear’, ‘not lonely’, ‘sociable’, ‘people person’ and ‘cling to his past’. For instance, in the lines 8-11, the listener G4B forwards

a persona who is ‘dear’ and ‘sociable’ and thus, ‘a person who is not lonely’. Confirming what has been introduced by the listener G4B, the participant G4C has stated that the speaker does not have any negative impressions (lines 12-13). Furthermore, the listener G4D has pointed to the intimacy of the speaker and highlighted a persona who is ‘sincere’ and ‘people person’ (lines 15-16). In the line 19, through an explicit reference to the listener G4B in the course of the conversation, the listener G4A has mentioned what has been projected by the G4B, and further yielded a persona who is ‘respectable in his friend circle’ and ‘cling to his past’.

As have been seen in the extracts (3) and (4) above, when they have been provided with the education level of the speaker with the variant pronunciations of the /k/ variable, the participants, by either referring to a person in the conversation (e.g., line 19 in the extract (4)) or pointing to the previous discourse through the linguistic units (e.g., *ben de* (me too), *bu da* (this person too) and *o zaman* (then), collaboratively have justified that the speaker employs the variant on purpose. It can be noted that this is a widely observed phenomena in the interviews on the /k/ variation. The same motivation has not been observed in the contexts in which the listeners have been provided with high socioeconomic level as a social cue.

In consideration with the above finding, the following (5) and (6) involve extracts from two sociolinguistic group interviews in which the listeners have been provided with high socioeconomic level of the speaker as a social cue. In both extracts, the listeners have been asked to listen to a sound clip involving the [x] and [g] variants respectively.

The (5) below involves an extract from a sociolinguistic group interview that has taken place in Ankara with four participants. In the interview, the listeners have listened to a speaker with the [x] variant in the presence of socioeconomic level as a social cue.

(5) RECG5 | 19:35 – 20:09

Turkish			English		
1	GE	Buna kişilik özelliği yüklemek ya da	GE	What would you say about the	
2		versek ne dersiniz? (.) Bu kişiye		personality traits of this	
3		dair bildiğim şey yaklaşık on bin		person? What I know about this	
4		civarında maaş aldığı (.) Nasıl		person is that he earns around	
5		biridir bu konuşan?		10000 Turkish Liras. What kind	
6		(1.8)		of person is this?	
7	G5A	İçerisi dışarı bir biri diyeceğim ama (.)	G5A	I would say that this person	
8		kendi iş yeri vardır yani kendi		is a straight-out one. He may	
9		işini yapıyordur hocam=		have his own business and	
10	G5C	=Kendine maaş veriyor ((Gülme)) Ya-	G5C	follows it.	
11		miras falan kalmış olabilir hocam.		He pays for <u>himself</u>	
12		(0.8)		((Laughter)) That is, he might	
13	G5D	Pek bir şeyi canlanmadı (.) <u>yani</u>	G5D	have inherited from elders.	
14		herkesten farklı şu özelliği var		<u>Not much stuff</u> have appeared	
15		diyemiyorum.		in my mind. <u>That is to say</u> , I	
16	G5B	Ben <u>güvenilmez</u> görürüm bunu mesela		cannot give specific traits	
17		bunun dükkanı varsa alışveriş yapmam		that are different from the	
18		eğer tanıdıysam yani önceden		others.	
19		alışveriş yapmışsam tekrar alışveriş	G5B	I see an <u>unreliable</u> person.	
20		yapmam bu dükkandan (.) Ama dediğim		That is, I don't buy from his	
21		gibi çok fazla bir şey demek için		shop. If I get to know this	
22		bana yetersiz ses daha doğrusu		person beforehand and buy from	
23		tanımiyorum sesi.		his shop, I don't do it again.	
				But as I said, this voice is	
				too insufficient for me to	
				comment on it.	
G5 – Ankara – 4 participants (G5A=M19, G5B=M19, G5C=F23, G5D=F23) GE=interviewer					

When the social cue about the speaker exists in the conversation concerning the speaker's high socioeconomic level, e.g., *This person earns ten thousands Turkish Liras per month*, the listeners have yielded a persona who is 'doing his own business', 'inheritor', 'ordinary' and 'unreliable'. For instance, in the line 7, the participant G5A has created a contrast with himself, e.g., 'I am going to say that this is a straight-out guy but', and asserted that the speaker is doing his own business instead of earning money by workforce. Similarly, in the line 10, the listener G5C has established her perceptions on the same grounds with the G5A and stated that the speaker pays for his own salary or inherited money from his [grandparents], and thus does his own business, probably a small tradesmen. For short, the percepts given by the G5A and G5C can be interpreted as the speaker is not a person who can find a job and earn a monthly salary, but someone who has his own business.

In addition, the listener G5D has focused on the personality traits of the speaker and projected a persona who is 'ordinary', e.g., 'I cannot say that [this person] has distinctive qualifications/traits that differentiate himself from the others.' Based on the similar justifications given by the G5A and G5C, the listener G5B has firstly constructed a persona who is 'unreliable' and then linked

his argument to a context of shopping (lines 16-23). In that, he has stated that he would never shop in the speaker's shop/store. It should also be noted that the listener G5B has found the sound clip insufficient to bring in specific perceptions on the speaker.

Going in the same direction with the (5) above, the following (6) is an extract from the interview that has been conducted with four participants in Kayseri. In the below excerpt, the listeners have listened to a speaker who employs the [g] variant in his sociolinguistic style.

(6) RECG13 | 14:37 – 15:01

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Dinlediğimiz bu kişi on bin	GE	The person you listened to
2		civarında maaş alıyor. Bu bilgiyi		earns 10000 per month.
3		düşünürseniz bu kişi hakkında ne		Thinking about this
4		söyleyebilirsiniz? Kişiliği, mizacı		information, what would you
5		gibi şeyler hakkında örneğin.		say about the personality
6	G13A	<u>Kayseri</u> esnafı		traits of this person? For
7		((Birlikte gülme))		instance, his character or
8	G13B	<u>Normal insan</u> ya bu hani herkeste		manner.
9		olmayan bir özelliği var falan	G13A	An esnaf based in <u>Kayseri</u> .
10		demezsiniz hocam.		((Laughter together))
11		(0.6)	G13B	This <u>an ordinary</u> person on
12	G13D	<u>Kayserili</u> bence de buradaki esnaflar		which you cannot ascertain
13		gibi konuşuyor=		specific traits that are
14	G13C	=Güvenilmez ((Gülme))		shared by everybody.
			G13D	I think [this person] is from
				<u>Kayseri</u> since he is talking
				like them.
			G13C	<u>Unreliable</u> ((Laughter))
G13 – Kayseri – 4 Participants (G13A=F24, G13B=M22, G13C=F23, G13D=M23) GE=interviewer				

In the (6) above, one of the key projections about the speaker is his being a small tradesmen, or namely, *esnaf*. In the line 6, when the listener G13A has associated the speaker's sociolinguistic style with 'Kayseri tradesmen', there occurs a collective laugh among the participants. Similar to what has been yielded about the speaker in the previous contexts (e.g., <[x - g] + no social cue> and <[x - g] + education level>), the listener G13B has constructed a persona who is 'ordinary' (lines 8-10). Furthermore, the listener G13D has stressed that the speaker is from Kayseri and adopts a style similar to the small tradesmen in Kayseri (lines 12-13). Lastly, the listener G13C has projected a persona who is 'unreliable' (line 14).

In comparing the contexts that have been employed on the /k/ variation (e.g., <[x - g] + no social cue>, <[x - g] + education level> and <[x - g] + socioeconomic level>), in the interviews conducted, it can be asserted that regardless of the context, the listeners mostly associated the [x

- g] variants with an ‘ordinary’ person. However, there is a distinct observation in the contexts where the education level of the speaker appears as a social cue (i.e., <[x - g] + education level>). In these contexts, the participants have projected a persona who employs the sociolinguistic style on purpose, whereas in the other contexts (i.e., <[x - g] + no social cue> and <[x - g] + socioeconomic level>), the listeners have regarded the /k/ variation as an elemental piece of the speaker’s sociolinguistic style.

Another observation in the interviews is that in the contexts <[x - g] + no social cue> and <[x - g] + socioeconomic level>, the listeners have constructed a persona who is a small tradesmen or namely *esnaf*.⁴⁶ Here may arise an ambiguity when one calls or translates the word *esnaf* as ‘small tradesmen’ in the very context of Turkey. Specifically, the word *esnaf* is an Arabic loanword (*aşnāf*) that was borrowed into Turkish with the meanings ‘guild’ or ‘corporation’.⁴⁷ In modern Turkish, it is described as a person who owns small business with small capital and whose primary thought is to make more money through deceiving other people and thus setting a bad example ("Büyük Türkçe Sözlük," 1998, pp. 729-730). Denoting the speaker with its referential meaning in the course of the conversation, the listeners also construct the speaker persona by referring to its social meaning, e.g., someone who has the probability of deceiving people.

The extracts (1-6) above have been employed to bring an understanding on how listeners perceive the speaker’s personality traits along with specific social meanings. In sum, it can be stated that high education level as a social cue overrides the social cues on the high socioeconomic level of the speaker with regard to the theme of personality traits.

⁴⁶ See the extracts;

- Line 13 of (2)
- Line 8 of (5)
- Lines 16-23 of (5)
- Line 6 of (6)
- Line 12 of (6)

⁴⁷ During the early modern period, involving guildsmen and handicraft producers, *esnafs* were connected to each other through social, political and economic ties (Faroqhi, 2006, p. 336) as a class. In addition, *esnafs* varied among societies during the Ottoman period. The main aim of the *esnaf* system in the Ottoman Empire was to provide the people with basic daily needs, e.g., food, clothes, etc. With the impetus of industrial revolution in Europe and advancement of technology in mass production in the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire sought new production patterns and systems, and thus *esnaf* system was weakened (İnalçık & Arı, 2005, p. 48). Today, with the name *Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Odası Birliği* or *Türkiye Esnaf ve Sanatkarları Konfederasyonu* (Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Craftsmen), *esnaf* groups sustain their collaboration in official basis.

In uncovering the social information employed during the perception, in the extracts (7), (8) and (9) below, the listeners have been asked about their justifications, e.g., *How did you infer this [social meaning]?* The setting of the below extracts does not involve any social cue about the speaker. Instead, the below extracts aim to uncover what social information is employed in perceiving the speaker with the [x - g] variants. In this regard, it has been observed that in perceiving the speaker, the listeners exploit the social information found either in their community of practice (e.g., families, friend circles, etc.) or popular culture (e.g., TV dramas, popular figures, YouTube videos, etc.).

In that vein, the below (7) is an extract from an interview that has been conducted in Ankara with four participants.

(7) RECG5 | 14:59 – 15:24

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Nasıl böyle bir sonuca vardınız (.)	GE	How did you attain this
2		yani bunları söylerken neyi		impression? That is, what did
3		düşündünüz arkadaşlar?		you think in giving these
4		(0.6)		traits?
5	G5B	<u>Sokak röportajları</u> (.) YouTube'daki	G5B	I remembered <u>street interviews</u>
6		aklıma geldi orada da böyle konuşan		on YouTube. There are plenty
7		çok çıkıyor konuşuyor hocam.		of people talking like [the
8		(0.7)		speaker].
9	G5A	Yani (.) <u>akrabalar</u> var benim (.)	G5A	Well, I have <u>relatives</u> . I see
10		başka (.) dışarı çıkınca görüyoruz=		people [talking like this]
11	G5C	=Benim de YouTube (.) ve televizyon	G5C	when I go out.
12		tabi.		Also YouTube and televisions
13		(0.5)		for sure.
14	G5D	Benim çevremde böyle konuşan yok ama	G5D	I don't have anybody around me
15		<u>biliyorum</u> (.) böyle konuşanları		talking like that but I know
16		onları düşündüm.		people. I thought about them.
G5 – Ankara – 4 participants (G5A=M19, G5B=M19, G5C=F23, G5D=F23) GE=interviewer				

In response to the question *What did you think in yielding these traits?*, the listener G5B has referred to street interviews broadcasted on various YouTube channels (lines 5-7). Similarly, the listener in the line 11 has also referred to YouTube and TVs. In regard to the community of practice of the listeners, it is only the participant G5A that points to the family and/or relatives. In the line 14, the listener G5D has not indicated any specific instance in her very environment.

The same inquiry can also be found in the (8) below, which has been extracted from an interview that has been conducted with four participants in Ankara.

(8) RECG4 | 17:43 – 18:01

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bunları derken neyi düşündünüz	GE	What did you thought in giving
2		arkadaşlar?		these traits?
3		(1.4)		
4	G4A	Bizimkiler <u>böyle</u> konuşur <u>dayım</u>	G4A	My relatives talk <u>like that</u> ,
5		amcam=		for instance my <u>uncle</u> .
6	G4D	= <u>Evet</u> bizimkiler de.	G4D	Yes, mine, too.
7		(0.5)		
8	G4B	Kızılay'a gitsek de görürüz sokakta	G4B	When we go to Kızılay, we see
9		(.) Ankara'da <u>çok var</u> böyle konuşan.		those people. There are <u>plenty</u>
10		(1.5)		of people talking like that in
11	G4C	Benim tanıdığım yok (.) Ailemi falan		Ankara.
12		da düşünüyorum (.) <u>da yok</u> bizim	G4C	I don't have anybody [who
13		ailede böyle konuşan.		talks like this]. Thinking
				about my family, there is
				nobody talking like this.
G4 – Ankara – 4 participants (G4A=F25, G4B=M25, G4C=F31, G4D=M27) GE=interviewer				

In the (8), similar to that of given by G5A in (7), the listeners G4A and G4D have referred to their families. In the line 8, the listener G4B has introduced her daily experience, e.g., ‘We can see [people talking like this] when we visit Kızılay [district of Ankara]’. On the contrary, the listener G4C has not specified anything related to her family or experience.

The (9) below involves an extract from an interview conducted in İzmir with four participants. What is contrasting in the context of the (9) below is that not any participant explicitly refers to his and/or her own community of practice.

(9) RECG18 | 19:24 – 19:45

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bu kişilik özelliklerini söylerken	GE	What did you think in
2		ne düşündünüz arkadaşlar?		providing these personality
3		(1.4)		traits?
4	G18C	Yani (.) Öyle söyledim=	G18C	Well, I said so.
5	G18D	=Çok <u>tipik Anadolu insanı</u> işte değil	G18D	Isn't this one is <u>a very</u>
6		mi ((G18C'nin adını veriyor))?		<u>typical Anatolian person</u>
7		(0.6)		((Addressing G18C)).
8	G18C	Hiç düşünmedim.	G18C	I haven't thought that.
9	GE	Sizin hocam?	GE	What about you?
10		(0.4)		
11	G18A	Düşünüyorum (.) da pek yok yani (.)	G18A	Although I think, I cannot
12		nerede gördüm böyle konuşan falan		exemplify a specific one. I
13		aklıma gelmiyor bir şey (.)		don't remember anything. Maybe
14		<u>televizyon</u> =		<u>television</u>
15	G18B	= <u>Televizyon</u> (.) <u>Behzat Ç.</u> ((Gülme))	G18B	<u>Television</u> , <u>Behzat Ç.</u>
				((Laughter))
G18 – İzmir – 4 participants (G18A=M29, G18B=M31, G18C=F31, G18D=F36) GE=interviewer				

In the (9) above, when the listeners have been asked about the justification of their perceptions, they have not pointed to any specific community of practice. However, a similar pattern can be observed when compared to the previous (7) and (8), e.g., TVs (G18A and G18B in the lines 14 and 15 respectively). In the context of the (9) above, in the line 5, the listener G18D has projected a persona who is a ‘typical Ankara person’. Alike, the listener G18B has pointed to a TV drama that took place in Ankara, *Behzat Ç.*⁴⁸, in which several characters employ the voiceless velar fricative [x] and voiced velar stop [g] variants of the /k/ variable.

In comparing the extracts (7), (8) and (9), it can be said that while the participants in the (7) and (8) have referred to their close social sphere explicitly by pointing to friends and families, the participants in the (9) have only indicated TVs and dramas as the social information employed in perceiving the speaker. Similarly, the same occurrence has been observed in the other interviews conducted. Specifically, it can be said that in the interviews conducted in Ankara, Karabük, Kayseri and Konya, the participants have explicitly pointed to their communities of practices such as friends, classroom, school and family. However, in the interviews conducted in Çanakkale and İzmir, the same motivation has not been observed and the participants’ experiences with the variant pronunciations of the /k/ variable are limited to TV programs, dramas and YouTube. This finding, however, does not mean that it goes hand in hand with the finding that the variant pronunciations of the /k/ variable are associated *only* with the geography. As can be seen in the extracts (1-6), the listeners *also* employ social cues about the speaker and they further ascertain social meanings to the /k/ variation. Thus, it is evident in the interviews that regardless of its being a friend circle or TV drama, in perceiving the speaker, the listeners draw upon the semiotic resources available to them in their social sphere as a part of social information.

The following (10-16) involve extracts in which the listeners’ (ii) probable intimacy with the speaker in a conjectural bus trip context has been addressed. In this regard, the listeners have been asked *Would you talk to this person in a three-hour bus trip?* Similar to the previous theme on (i) the personality traits of the speaker, the current theme also employs three context, e.g., <[x - g] +

⁴⁸ *Behzat Ç. Bir Ankara Polisiyesi* (Behzat Ç. An Ankara Detective Story) is a TV drama based on the novel *Her temas iz bırakır* (Every contact leaves a trace) and *Son hafriyat* (Last excavation) by Emrah Serbes. It was aired between 2010-2013. The plot centres around a rough and morally ambiguous police officer who is working in the homicide department in Ankara Police Office. In the TV drama, male actors are known with their salient Ankara and Inner Anatolian accents.

no social cue>, <[x - g] + education level> and <[x - g] + socioeconomic level>. In the extracts (10), (11), (12) and (13), the listeners have listened to a speaker with the [x] and [g] variants respectively in the absence of social cue. In (14), the listeners have been provided with education level as a social cue and in (15), the social cue has been presented with regard to the socioeconomic level of the speaker. In bringing an understanding on the very general nature of the listeners' accommodating themselves in the contexts where they hear a participant with the [x- g] variants, it can be said that the social cue about the speaker is salient in perception. In addition, it can also be asserted that the listeners employ social information related to the social and physical distance between themselves and the speaker, e.g., *how* and *to what extent* they know a person employing the [x- g] variants.

The (10), (11), (12) and (13) take place in a context where the listeners have not been provided with a social cue about the speaker. In (10) and (11), the listeners have listened to a speaker employing the [x] variant and in (12) and (13), the featured variant is [g].

(10) RECG16 | - - -

Turkish			English	
1	G16B	Konuşurum.	G16A	I talk to [this person].
2	G16A	Konuşurum.	G16B	I talk to.
3	G16C	Konuşurum.	G16C	I talk to.
G16 – Konya – 3 participants (G16A=F35, G16B=M27, G16C=F28) GE=interviewer				

(11) RECG24 | 21:35 – 21:40

Turkish			English	
1	G24A	Konuşmam.	G24A	I don't talk to [this person].
2	G24B	Konuşmam=	G24B	I don't talk to.
3	G24C	=Şimdi ben kimseyle konuşmam.	G24C	Now I don't talk to anybody.
G24 – İzmir – 3 participants (G24A=F36, G24B=M30, G24C=M27) GE=interviewer				

(12) RECG6 | 19:39 – 19:46

Turkish			English	
1	G4A	Konuşmam=	G4A	I don't talk to [this person].
2	G4B	=Hayır ben konuşurum.	G4B	No, I talk to.
3	G4D	Evet.	G4D	Yes.
4	G4C	Konuşurum tabi.	G4C	Sure I talk to.
G6 – Ankara – 4 participants (G6A=F19, G6B=M20, G6C=F18, G6D=M23) GE=interviewer				

(13) RECG22 | 18:21 – 18:30

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Peki konuşur musunuz bu kişiyle?	GE	Would to talk to this
2		(0.7)		person?
3	G22A	<u>Konuşurum</u> .	G22A	<u>I talk to</u> .
4		(0.9)		
5	G22D	Ben konuşmam.	G22D	I don't talk to.
6	G22C	<u>Hayır</u> .	G22C	No.
7	G22B	Konuşmam.	G22B	I don't talk to.
G22 – Çanakkale – 4 participants (G22A=F23, G22B=F24, G22C=F23, G22D=F25) GE=interviewer				

In the extracts above, the listeners have been asked *Would you talk to this person in a three-hour bus trip?* As can be seen in the extract (10), all of the listeners have positively responded to the question. When compared with (10), the participants in (11) have rejected the probable interaction with the speaker with the [x] variant. A similar trend can be seen in (12) and (13) in regard to the likelihood of the listeners' interaction with the speaker. In (12), while the listeners (except G4A in line 1) have projected their readiness to talk to the persona with the [g] variant, the listeners in (13) have rejected the probable social encounter with the speaker.

It is evident in the extracts (7), (8) and (9) that the listeners employ social information that exists in their social sphere. Remembering that the listeners in (7) and (8), who are from or living in Ankara, have mostly pointed to their friend and family circles in exemplifying the representative pronunciation patterns of the /k/ variable, there is a strong implication that a similar motivation is also present in (10) and (12), in which there are participants from Ankara and Konya, which are two neighbouring cities. In that vein, the observation that İzmir and Çanakkale listeners in (11) and (13) have mostly rejected the probable social encounter with the speaker can be explained by referring to the amount of social information employed during the perception. That is, since the social sphere (e.g., listeners' own community of practices) of the listeners in (11) and (13) does not involve salient aspects of the [x- g] variants that help them to construct a proximity or predisposition, they are less prone to employ social information escorting any kind of intimacy with the speaker.

On the contrary, the salience of social information during the perception has been observed to be backgrounded by the listeners from İzmir and Çanakkale when they have been provided with social cue considering the education level of the speaker as a 'Ph.D. graduate'. In this regard, below (14) and (15) can be employed to interpret this finding.

The (14) and (15) below are excerpts from two interviews conducted in İzmir. While the social cue of the extract (14) is on the high education level of the speaker (e.g., ‘This person is a Ph.D. graduate), the (15) involves socioeconomic level as a social cue, e.g., ‘This person earns 12000 Turkish Liras monthly.’

(14) RECG18 | 21:10 – 21:19

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Otobüs yolculuğu senaryosunu	GE	Thinking about the bus trip
2		düşünseniz (.) bu kişiyle konuşur		context, would you talk to
3		musunuz?		this person?
4	G18C	Konuşu[rum.	G18C	I talk to.
5	G18D	[Konuşmam ben kimseyle	G18D	No, I don't talk to anyone.
6		konusmam=		
7	G18A	= <u>Konuşurum</u> .	G18A	<u>I talk to</u> .
8	G18B	Konuşurum.	G18B	I talk to.
G18 – İzmir – 4 participants (G18A=M29, G18B=M31, G18C=F31, G18D=F36) GE=interviewer				

(15) RECG19 | 25:53-25:57

Turkish			English	
1	G19B	Yine konuşmam ((Gülme))	G19B	Again, I do not talk to
2		(.)		[this person] ((Laughter))
3	G19A	Konuşmam.	G19A	I do not talk to.
4	G19C	Konuşmam.	G19C	I do not talk to.
G19 – İzmir – 3 participants (G19A=F26, G19B=F23, G19C=M28) GE=interviewer				

In the (14) above, which can be provided as a representative of the context in which the listeners have been asked about their probable intimacy with the speaker in a bus trip context in the presence of education level as a social cue, except for the listener G18D, who has rejected to take part in a conversation with the speaker, the rest of the listeners have positively reacted to the interaction in a hypothetical bus trip context. In this regard, the extract (14) shows a different pattern with that of given in (11) and (13) above, which are also excerpts of the interviews conducted in İzmir, in the sense of the social cue presented to the listeners. That is, it has been observed that when the listeners in İzmir (and also Çanakkale) have not been provided with any social cue about the speaker, they have shown a tendency of keeping a distance between themselves and the speaker in the bus trip context. However, in the presence of high education level as a social cue, they have reacted positively to a hypothetical social encounter with the speaker in the same bus trip context.

Comparing this finding with (15), which is an extract of one of the interviews conducted in Çanakkale, and in which the listeners have been provided with high socioeconomic level as a social cue, it has been observed that listeners have rejected a probable interaction with the speaker employing the [x - g] variants. In summarizing the above given interpretations on the extracts (7-

15) in consideration with the cities that the interviews have taken place, below observations can be listed:

- a) In Ankara, Karabük, Kayseri and Konya, in the context <[x - g] + no social cue>, listeners have used social information found in their very environment, e.g., friend circle, families, etc.
 - and they have reacted *positively* to a probable social encounter with the speaker employing the [x - g] variants.
- b) In Çanakkale and İzmir, in the context <[x - g] + no social cue>, listeners have not employed social information found in their very environment and instead, they pointed to TV dramas, YouTube videos, etc.
 - and they have reacted *negatively* to a probable social encounter with the speaker employing the [x - g] variants.
- c) In Çanakkale and İzmir, in the context <[x - g] + education level>,
 - listeners have reacted *positively* to a probable social encounter with the speaker employing the [x - g] variants.
- d) In Çanakkale and İzmir, in the context <[x - g] + socioeconomic level>,
 - listeners have reacted *negatively* to a probable social encounter with the speaker employing the [x - g] variants.

Taking the finding of the Turkish dialectology that /k/ variation is mostly associated with the Inner and Eastern Anatolian accents (see, e.g., Caferoğlu, 1951, 1963; Gemalmaz, 1978; Olcay, 1963) in regard to the findings given in (a) and (b) above, one may think that the use and amount of social information, and how listeners accommodate themselves with speakers employing the variant pronunciations of /k/ variable would *only* be explained with reference to geographical variation. However, the observations given in (c) and (d), in which listeners have perceived the speakers in the presence of social cues such as education level and socioeconomic status, provide a strong evidence that social cues about the speakers override the use of social information found in the very environment of the listeners. The social meaning of /k/ variation hereof is social, not *purely* geographical.

In uncovering the social meanings associated with the /k/ variation, the third theme of the interpretation focuses on (iii) the clothing style of the speaker. In this regard, during the interviews, the listeners have been asked *What would be the clothing style of this person?* In the interviews conducted, it has been observed that the clothing style associated with the speaker acts

upon the social cue pertained to the speaker with the [x - g] variants. In interpreting the social meanings linked to the clothing style of the speaker, the below extracts (16), (17) and (18) have been employed. The (16) reports from an interview setting in which no social cue is presented to the listeners. In the (17), the listeners have been provided with education level as a social cue and in the (18), the social cue has been given considering the socioeconomic level of the speaker. In all of the below extracts, the listeners have heard the same sentence that involves a speaker employing the [x] variant. As a preliminary finding, it can be stated that listeners have constructed different personae with regard to what social cues have been associated with the speaker.

The below (16) is an excerpt from an interview that has been conducted in Ankara with four participants in the absence of social cue about the speaker.

(16) RECG4 | 28:12 – 28:39

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bu dinleyeceğimiz kişi ne giyiyor	GE	What would the person you are
2		olabilir?		going to listen wear?
3		(11.2)		
4	G4A	Takım el[bise	G4A	Suit
5	G4C	[kravat takmıyor=	G4C	Not ties on.
6	G4A	=Evet ((Gülme)) Siyah takım elbise	G4A	Yes ((Laughter)) Black suit,
7		siyah gömlek kundura ayağında hafif		black shirt, brogan shoes,
8		göbek biraz büyük ((Gülme))		bellied and some moustache
9		(0.6)		((Laughter))
10	GE	Senin? =	GE	What about you?
11	G4B	=Çizgili tişört görüyorum hocam	G4B	I see striped t-shirt and
12		altında da kot pantolon=		jeans.
13	G4D	=Ben de gömlek kot pantolon diyorum	G4D	I also say shirt and jeans,
14		ben kısa saç da ((anlaşılamayan		and also short hair
15		konusma))		((Incomprehensible utterance))
16		(0.5)		
G4 – Ankara – 4 participants (G4A=F25, G4B=M25, G4C=F31, G4D=M27) GE=interviewer				

In (16), which has taken place in a context in the absence of a social cue about the speaker, the listeners have projected a persona who wears ‘(black) suit’, ‘brogan (shoes)’, ‘(black) shirt’, ‘stripe t-shirt’ and ‘jeans’. It can be observed in the above extract that the listeners’ depictions of the clothing style have also been accompanied by descriptions on the physical appearance of the speaker persona. For instance, in the line 8, the listener G4A has projected a ‘ventricose’ persona with a ‘moustache’ who wears ‘black suit’ without any ‘tie’, and who wears ‘brogan’ shoes. Similarly, the listener G4C have constructed a speaker who has ‘short’ hair (in line 14). Furthermore, during the inquiry, a contrast has occurred between the listeners G4A-C and G4B-D in the sense of overall clothing style. In relation with that, while the listeners G4A-C have

projected a persona whose overall clothing style involves a ‘suit’, the listeners G4B-D have characterized a speaker who prefers ‘striped t-shirt’ and ‘jeans’.

The (17) below reports from an interview that has been conducted in Ankara with four listeners. In the below interview context, the listeners have been provided with education level as a social cue, e.g., *This person is a Ph.D. graduate.*

(21) RECG5 | 30:04 – 30:29

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bu bilgiyle buna baksak ne giydiđi	GE	Thinking about this
2		hakkında neler söyleyebilirsiniz		information, what would you
3		arkadaşlar?		say about this person’s
4		(0.6)		clothing?
5	G5C	Hocam (.) <u>normal</u> günlük giysilerini	G5C	[This person] wears casual
6		giyen sıradan bir insan gibi giyer		clothes as a kind of ordinary
7		hocam.		person.
8		(0.9)		
9	G5A	<u>İyi</u> giyinir (.) <u>Yani</u> düzenli giyinir	G5A	[This person] dresses <u>well</u> .
10		benim de aklıma böyle çok böyle çok		<u>That is</u> , he wears neatly. I
11		farklı böyle giysiler gelmedi=		don’t have much about this in
12	G5B	=Normal giysiler (.) <u>günlük</u> giysiler		my mind.
13		gibi.	G5B	Like ordinary and <u>casual</u>
14		(0.5)		clothes.
15	G5D	<u>Yani</u> (.) Herhangi bir şey giyebilir		
16		(.) Bu kişi biliyordur ne giydiđini	G5D	<u>That is to say</u> , this person
17		sonuçta.		knows how to wear and thus may
G5 – Ankara – 4 participants (G5A=M19, G5B=M19, G5C=F23, G5D=F23) GE=interviewer				

In the (21) above, the listeners have not yielded specific clothes in projecting the speaker. However, they have highlighted a persona who ‘knows how to wear’ and wears ‘clean’, ‘regular’ and ‘ordinary’ clothes. In illustrating the speaker persona, the listeners have implicitly referred to the social cue presented to them. For instance, in the line 9, the listener G5A has featured a persona who wears ‘nice clothes’. In a similar fashion, the listener G5D has also portrayed a persona who ‘knows how to wear’. Thus, the listeners have negotiated a social meaning that may follow from the reflection that *people who have high educational background knows what to wear*.

The extract (22) below highlights a widely observed pattern in the interviews conducted on the /k/ variation. That is, in the presence of socioeconomic level as a social cue, the listeners have been inclined to feature a persona whose overall clothing style resembles to that of projected in the absence of social cue. In this direction, the below (22) is an excerpt from an interview that has been conducted in Ankara with four participants.

(22) RECG2 | 28:39 – 29:08

Turkish			English		
1	GE	Dinlediğimiz kişinin aylık on on iki	GE	The person you listened to has	
2		bin arası bir geliri var. Bu		around 10000-12000 monthly.	
3		bilgiyle bakarsanız bu kişinin		Thinking about this	
4		giysisi hakkında ne gibi yorumlar		information, what would you	
5		yapabilirsiniz?		say about the clothing of this	
6		(1.2)		person?	
7	G2A	<u>Siyah</u> ya da lacivert takım elbise	G2A	[This person] wears <u>black</u> or	
8		giyiyor (.) <u>sonra</u> sivri ayakkabı		dark blue suit, <u>and</u> also	
9		giyiyor=		pointy-toed shoes.	
10	G2C	=Oo şimdi şey (.) söylüyorum (.)	G2C	Ah, now I say... ((Laughter))	
11		((Gülme)) <u>Beyaz</u> gömlek, <u>mokasen</u>		<u>White</u> shirt, <u>moccasin</u> shoes	
12		ayakkabı <u>ama</u> altından beyaz çorap		<u>and</u> white socks. He wears suit	
13		görünüyor ama takım elbise garanti		but this may not be with a	
14		giyiyor ceket giymiyor da olabilir.		jacket.	
15		(1.0)			
16	G2D	<u>Az önceki</u> insan gibi küçük yerde	G2D	I can say that this person,	
17		yaşayıp iyi giyindiğini düşünüyor		<u>like the one we listened to</u>	
18		diyebilirim=		<u>before</u> , lives in a small town	
19	GE	=Ne gibi?		but thinks that he wears	
20		(0.5)		nicely.	
21	G2D	<u>Şey</u> gibi (.) hocam (.) normal günlük	GE	Like what?	
22		giysiler ama diğer insanlardan daha	G2D	<u>Like</u> ... [This person] wears	
23		şık (.) giyindiğini düşünür=		ordinary casual clothes but he	
24	G2B	= <u>Beyaz</u> gömlek <u>siyah</u> takım (.) Kendi		may think that he is more	
25		işi var bence işe gider gibi		stylish than others.	
26		((anlaşılamayan konuşma))	G2B	<u>White</u> shirt and <u>black</u> suit. It	
				seems he has a job and goes to	
				his job like that	
				((Incomprehensible utterance))	
G2 – Ankara – 4 participants (G2A=F24, G2B=F18, G2C=M19, G2D=M19) GE=interviewer					

In (22), the listeners have been provided with socioeconomic level as a social cue, e.g., *The person that you have listened to earns around 10-12 thousand Turkish Liras monthly*. In response to the inquiry on the clothing style of the speaker, the listeners have yielded a persona who specifically wears ‘(black or blue) suit’, ‘pointy-toed (brogan) shoes’, ‘(white) shirt’ and ‘moccasin shoes’. Specifically, in the line 7, the listener G2A has projected a persona who wears black or blue suit accompanied by ‘pointy-toed shoes’. Following the G2A, the listener G2C has depicted the persona further by inserting his percept that involves ‘white shirt’, ‘shoes’ and ‘socks’. In addition, the G2C has confirmed what has been projected by the G2A in terms of ‘suit’ (the lines 10-14). In the line 16, the listener G2D has employed social information regarding one of the previously introduced speaker and constructed a persona who lives in a small town. In addition, the listener G2D has further clarified his points concerning the overall clothing style of the person, e.g., ‘[This person] prefers casual clothes but thinks that he is more well-dressed than any other person.’ Lastly, the listener G2B has favoured what has been introduced in the conversation by the G2A and G2C, and yielded a persona who wears ‘white shirt’ and ‘black suit’ (lines 24-26).

In the inquiries conducted on (iii) the clothing style of the speaker, what has been predominantly observed is that in the contexts <[x - g] + no social cue> and <[x - g] + socioeconomic level>, the [x - g] variants point to a persona who wears 'black suit'. However, in the contexts where the listeners have been provided with high education level as a social cue, e.g., <[x - g] + education level>, the listeners have been inclined to deviate from the 'black suit' to 'casual clothes'. This can stem from the fact that in the presence of socioeconomic level as a social cue, the monthly salary, which has been given as 10-12 thousand Turkish Liras in the interviews, might have motivated the listeners to project a persona who is a business person. Regardless of this presumptive social meaning of the [x - g] variants, it can be said that in the interviews conducted, listeners have employed both social information and social cue in associating the speaker with a specific (iii) clothing style.

The following interpretation focuses on (iv) the locus of the practice of the speaker employing the /k/ variation. In this regard, the listeners have been asked *Where would this person visit in free times?* The initial observation on the social meaning regarding (iv) the locus of practice is that listeners have employed social cues in associating the speaker with specific places, e.g., streets, cafes, activities. The extract (23) below occurs in a context in which the listeners have not been provided with any social cue about the speaker. In addition, (24) is an excerpt from an interview in which the listeners have listened to the speaker in the presence of education level as a social cue and in (25), the social cue has been presented in terms of the socioeconomic level of the speaker. Moreover, in (23) and (25), the listeners have heard a speaker with the [g] variant and in (24), the speaker's sociolinguistic style involves the [x] variant.

Below (23) has been extracted from an interview that is conducted in Ankara with four participants.

(23) RECG6 | 25:45 – 26:38

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Çalacağım sesteki kişinin nerelerde	GE	I am going to ask you to
2		vakit geçirebileceğini söylemenizi		provide your thoughts on where
3		isteyeceğim.		this person spends his time.
4		-		
5		(12.3)		
6		-		
7	GE	Ne dersiniz? Nerelerde takılır bu	GE	What would you say? Where
8		kişi?		would this person hang around?
9		(0.5)		
10	G6A	Herhangi bir yerde takılabilir ama	G6A	Anywhere but If a need to give
11		çok spesifik bir şey söylemem		a very specific site, I can
12		gerekirse <u>oto</u> sanayi ((Gülme))		say that this is <u>car mechanics</u>
13		(0.6)		((Laughter))
14	G6B	Hocam gözümün önüne dükkanının	G6B	This reminds me of an elder
15		önünde oturan bir abi geldi=		brother who is sitting in
16	GE	= <u>Ankara'yı</u> düşün (.) Ankara'da bu	GE	front of his shop.
17		kişiyle eşleşen belirli semtler		Think about <u>Ankara</u> . Do you
18		aklına geliyor mu?		have any districts of Ankara
19		(0.5)		in your mind that associates
20	G6B	<u>Sıhhiye</u> , <u>Ulus</u> .		with this person?
21	GE	Ümitköy (.) Çayyolu gibi? =	G6B	<u>Sıhhiye</u> , <u>Ulus</u> .
22	G6B	=Hayır hocam oralarda takılmaz bu	GE	Like Ümitköy and Çayyolu?
23		abimiz.	G6B	No, this elderly brother does
24	GE	Sen ne dersin?		not hang around there.
25	G6C	<u>AVM'lerde</u> takılır (.) kahvede	GE	What about you?
26		takılır.	G6C	[This person] hangs around
27		(0.8)		<u>shopping malls</u> and kahvehanes.
28	G6D	Şey yapar belki (.) Dolaşır sokakta	G6D	[This person] may just walk
29		benim aklıma ya- şey (.) pek dükkan		around streets. This reminds
30		falan gelmiyor ama sürekli bir şeyle		me of a person who always
31		uğraşan biri de gelmiyor sürekli bir		deals with something.
32		yerde bir işle uğraşan bir insan		
33		gibi.		

G6 – Ankara – 4 participants (G6A=F19, G6B=M20, G6C=F18, G6D=M23) GE=interviewer

In the (23) above, the listeners have been asked about the places that the speaker would visit and/or spend time. The overall responses given by the participants involve such places as 'car mechanics', 'one's own shop', 'shopping malls' and 'coffee houses', and such districts of Ankara as Sıhhiye and Ulus. For instance, in the line 10, the listener G6A has projected a persona who spends his time in a small industrial area that is concerned with repairing the cars, namely 'car mechanics'. Following the G6A, the listener G6B has also associated the speaker with a 'shop' (lines 14-15).

Upon having being asked about specific districts of Ankara in relation with the probable locus of practice of the speaker, the listener G6B has asserted such districts of Ankara as Sıhhiye and Ulus. Those districts, Sıhhiye and Ulus, are commercial districts of Ankara in which there are small

shops for hardware, electronics and spare parts. In addition, those places are also known with their owners' low socioeconomic backgrounds, which in turn, bear the probability that the listener G6B has employed social information in perceiving the speaker. An evidence for this can be found in the following question by the interviewer in the line 21, e.g., *What about Ümitköy and Çayyolu?* The districts Ümitköy and Çayyolu, which have been introduced to the listener G6B as an option, are known with their residents' high socioeconomic background. Furthermore, those districts are not commercial zones in Ankara. In this regard, it can be seen in the line 22 that the listener G6B has not associated the speaker persona with these districts.

Another participant in the conversation that has yielded a perception is G6C. In the line 25, the listener G6C has projected a persona who visits shopping malls and 'coffee houses'. Here, different from the ordinary 'coffee house', the term here refers to *kahvehane*, which is a compound word formed by bringing two loanwords *kahve* (Arabic) and *hane* (Persian). Considering this, *kahvehane* is a public place in which tea (mostly), coffee and other alcohol free drinks are served. In addition, the customers consist of men in these public places.⁴⁹ Lastly, the listener G6D in the line 28, through creating a contrast for 'shops', has yielded a persona who spends his time on the streets.

Different from the (23) above, which has taken place in a context where no social cue is present, the below (24) is an excerpt from an interview in which the listeners have been provided with education level as a social cue. In addition, the below interview has been conducted in Ankara with four participants.

⁴⁹ There is also another word *kıraathane* that is used synonymously with *kahvehane*. It is also a compound word formed by bringing two loanwords (i) *kıraat* (Arabic) and *hane* (Persian) together. A Google image search with the keywords "kahvehane fotoğrafları" can fetch photos which are representative of the 'coffee house' referred in the context of the extract (23).

(24) RECG1 | 29:11 – 29:42

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Dinlediğimiz sesin sahibi	GE	The person you listened to is
2		doktorasını tamamlamış biri		someone who has just finished
3		arkadaşlar. Size böyle bir bilgi		his PhD. Having been provided
4		versem (.) bu çerçevede bu kişinin		with this information, what
5		nerelerde vakit geçirdiğini (.)		would you say about where this
6		nerelerde takıldığını nasıl		person spends his time and
7		söyleyebilirsiniz?		hang around?
8		(0.8)		
9	G1C	Bakkal, kasap, manav, tamirci falan	G1C	I would say grocer, butcher,
10		derdim ama (.) yani <u>işi vardır</u> işine		greengrocer or mechanics but
11		gider hocam. (0.5) Arkadaşlarıyla		this person <u>has a job</u> and
12		oturup politika siyaset		deals with his job. He hangs
13		konusabileceği kafelerde takılır.		around cafes in which he can
14		(0.5)		<u>sit</u> discuss politics with his
15	G1A	<u>İşine</u> gider (.) Aklıma başka bir şey		friends.
16		gelmiyor.	G1A	He deals with <u>his job</u> . Nothing
17	G1B	Küçük şehirde yaşıyordur (.)		appears in my mind.
18		Kafelerde kahvelerde oturur=	G1B	[This person] would live in
19	GE	=Neden küçük şehir diye düşündün?		small towns and spend his time
20	G1B	Yani (.) Küçük şehir işte (.) insanı		in cafes and kahvehanes.
21		ola[rak	GE	Why did you think about small
22	G1D	[Öğretmen falan da olabilir ya da		towns?
23		kendini (.) bilerek kendini	G1B	Well, this is a person of a
24		karşısındakine yakın (.) böyle		small town.
25		konusmuş olabilir.	G1D	[This person] may be a teacher
				and talk like this in order to
				form closeness with his mate.
G1 – Ankara – 4 participants (G1A=F24, G1B=F26, G1C=M23, G1D=M23) GE=interviewer				

In the (24) above, the listeners have yielded their perceptions of the speaker who is a Ph. D. graduate. Following this social cue about the speaker, the listener G1C starts her projections through creating a contrast between the context of the previous extract (23). That is, she has constructed a persona who does *not* spend his time in ‘grocery store’, ‘butcher’, ‘greengrocer’ and ‘car mechanics’. Following this, she has projected the speaker persona as someone who ‘has a job’ and ‘spends his time at work’. In addition, the listener G1C has also asserted that the speaker would spend his time at cafes and discuss political affairs with his friends (lines 9-13). In the line 15, the listener G1B has confirmed the previous participant and stated that the speaker would ‘go to work’.

What can be regarded as an interesting finding is that the listener G1B, through introducing the initial implication that the speaker persona ‘would live in a small city’, has further projected him as someone who spends his time at ‘cafes’ and ‘coffee houses’ (lines 17-19). This projection can be interpreted along with what has been introduced during the listener G1B’s turn, e.g., ‘[This person] would live in a small city’ and thus it differs from the ‘coffee house’ phenomena observed

in the previous extract (23) (See line 25). That is, in the very context of the current extract, the listener G1B has employed a social information that coffee houses are found in small cities. Another evidence that the current ‘coffee house’ phenomena differs from that of (23) is the listener G1B’s use of the word ‘café’ together with ‘coffee house’ (i.e., *kafelerde kahvelerde oturur*, trans. *[This person] spends time in cafes and *kahves*). In this regard, these two words involve both concordance and near minimal pair relationships. The last participant in the conversation, the listener G1D, has yielded a persona who is a ‘teacher’. Moreover, he has also added that the speaker persona employs the linguistic variable on purpose, e.g., ‘[This person] purposefully talks like this in order to make his peer feel comfortable with him.’

Another observation on the extracts (23) and (24) is found in what has been introduced by the listeners G6A, e.g., in line 10 of the extract (23) and G1C in line 9 of the extract (24). That is, in the absence of any social cue about the speaker, the listener G6A in the extract (23) has constructed a persona who spends his time in ‘car mechanics’. However, in the presence of education level as a social cue, the listener G1C in the extract (24) has yielded a persona who does not spend his time in ‘grocery store’, ‘butcher’, ‘greengrocer’ and ‘car mechanics’. That is, acknowledging that the /k/ variation is more salient in the sociolinguistic style of the Inner Anatolian Accents (especially in Ankara Accent) and seeing that Ankara hosts one of the biggest sites for car mechanics in Turkey, it is probable that the listener G6A has employed this social information.

On the other hand, the listener G1C has employed a social cue (e.g., education level of the speaker). In that vein, this observation also bears a strong implication about the education level of the speaker. In the very context of Turkey, there is a saying that if a child is unwilling to study (i.e. unsuccessful in getting high scores in the exams), he/she would work in car mechanics and/or hairdresser. Concerning this saying, the ‘car mechanics’ context is used for boys, whereas the ‘hairdresser’ context is employed for girls. Hence, in the perceptions of above mentioned two listeners, ‘car mechanics’ has been employed as a semiotic resource to refer to the education level of the speaker persona, and thus, listeners have employed this semiotic resource differently in the absence and/or presence of education level as a social cue.

The last extract of the current theme is the following (25). The below (25) is an excerpt from an interview conducted in İzmir with three participants. In the below extract, the listeners have been provided with socioeconomic level as a social cue.

(25) RECG24 | 27:51 – 28:29

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Şimdi ne söylersiniz?= 2 G24A =Kendi işi var o zaman (.) Öyle mi? 3 (1.2) 4 G24B Ya işte ya <u>spor yapar</u> (.) Spor 5 salonuna gider ((Anlaşılamayan 6 konuşma)) ((Gülme)) 7 (0.7) 8 G24C <u>Kafeye</u> gidebilir <u>restoranda</u> 9 arkadaşlarıyla oturur ya da çok 10 çalışıyordur arkadaşlarıyla vakit 11 geçirmek için pek vakit bulamaz= 12 G24B = <u>Nasıl</u> ya (.) sen şimdi sosyalleşir 13 diyorsun (.) ben bu adamda 14 <u>sosyalleşecek</u> bir şey görmedim. 15 (1.4) 16 GE Hocam sizde belirgin bir yer var mı? 17 <u>Mesela</u> İzmir’de bir semt gibi bir 18 şey var mı? Bu semtlerde mekan adı 19 yer adı gibi bir şey verebiliyor 20 musunuz? 21 (0.6) 22 G24A <u>Konak</u> tarafında deniz kenarındaki 23 kafeler işte oralarda vakit 24 geçiriyor olabilir <u>lüks</u> yerlere de 25 gidiyor olabilir (.) Olabilir yani 26 gözümün önüne böyle çok spesifik yer 27 adları gelmiyor.	GE What would you say now? G24A So, this person has his own business, isn’t it? G24B As you see, he <u>does sports</u> . He goes to fitness clubs ((Incomprehensible utterance)) ((Laughter)) G24C He may spend his time at <u>cafes</u> or <u>restaurants</u> , or he works a lot. He cannot find enough time to spend with his friends. G24B <u>How?</u> Now you say that this person socializes. I don’t see anything <u>sociable</u> for this person. GE Do you have any specific districts in your mind? For instance a district of İzmir. Can you name a specific district? G24A This person spends his times at cafes on the seaside around <u>Konak</u> , or hangs around fancy places. These could be. This does not remind me specific district or place names.	
G24 – İzmir – 3 participants (G24A=F36, G24B=M30, G24C=M27) GE=interviewer				

The first interpretation that can be brought for the above extract is that the listeners have employed social cue in perceiving the speaker. In this regard, the listeners have yielded a persona who spends his time in such places as ‘gym’, ‘restaurants’, ‘cafés’ and ‘luxurious neighbourhoods’, and such district of İzmir as Konak. For instance, the listener G24B has constructed a persona who does sports and spends his time in gyms (lines 4-6). Furthermore, the listener G24C has yielded a persona who spends times at cafés and restaurants with his friends (lines 8-11). Following the G24C, the listener G24B has taken the turn and negotiated the social meaning by referring to the socializing aspect of cafés and restaurants. In this regard, the listener presupposes that the speaker persona is not a ‘sociable’ person (lines 12-14). Upon having been asked about specific districts of İzmir that the speaker would spend time, the listener G24A has constructed a persona who spends his time at cafés and luxurious neighbourhoods of Konak district of İzmir.

What is evident in the sense of the extract (25) is that the social cue presented with respect to the high socioeconomic level of the speaker affects the perception of the listeners in regard to (iv) the

locus of practice. In sum, it has been observed that listeners pay attention to the social cues presented to them in the context of the locus of practice associated with the speaker.

The following theme of the analysis focuses on (v) the home city of the speaker. In uncovering the social meanings associated with the home city of the speaker, the listeners have been asked *Where would be the home city of the speaker?* In the interpretation of the current theme, instead of extracts from the interviews, below maps have been employed. Before tackling the interpretation, the below (26) can be given as the overall responses of the participants in the interviews:

(26) Overall responses to the question *Where would be the home city of [the speaker]?*

- (a) Small towns/cities – *‘[This person] is living in a small city.’*
- (b) The four cities that the interviews take place, e.g., Ankara, Karabük, Kayseri and Konya – *‘[This person] is from here.’*
- (c) Ankara – *‘[This person] is from Ankara / a typical Ankara person.’*
- (d) Inner Anatolia – *‘[This person] is from Inner Anatolia.’*
- (e) Eastern Anatolia – *‘[This person] is from Eastern Anatolia.’*

The first interpretation that can be brought over (v) the home city of the speaker is that the geographical orientation of the speaker is a salient social information employed during the perception, e.g., (b-e) above.

In the first instance, the participants have associated the speaker with (a) small cities, (b) the cities that the interviews take place, e.g., Ankara, Karabük, Kayseri and Konya, (c) Ankara, (d) Inner Anatolia and (e) Eastern Anatolia. Except for (a) the small cities, the overall responses given for (b-e) follows from the well-established finding in the literature of Turkish dialectology; the variant pronunciations of the /k/ variable is associated with the Inner and Eastern Anatolian Accents (Caferoğlu, 1951, 1963; Gemalmaz, 1978; Olcay, 1963). In this regard, it can be said that the listeners have employed social information to project a speaker persona who is from these cities and/or regions.

With reference to the (26b) above, (i.e. the four cities that the interviews take place), it can be said that all of the above mentioned cities are located in (or close to) Inner Anatolia. In relation

with the cities given in (26b), the below Figure 5.2 features these cities on the map of Turkey as follows:

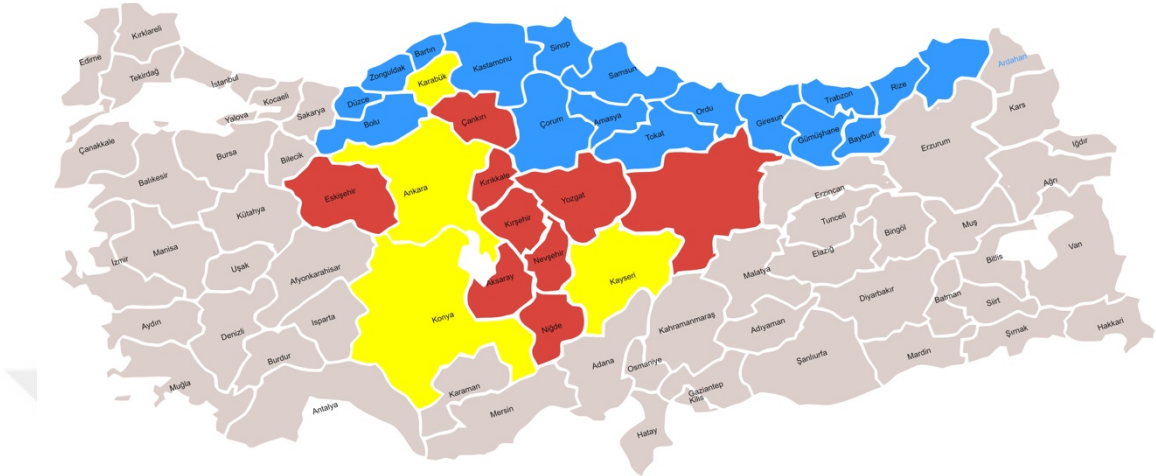


Figure 5.2. Map of Turkey highlighting the geographical distribution of the cities Ankara, Karabük, Konya and Kayseri | Yellow=The cities that the interviews have taken place, Red=Inner Anatolian Region, Blue=Black Sea Region

Following the map given in the Figure 5.3, the Inner Anatolian Region is marked with red, involving three cities shown in yellow that the interviews take place, e.g., Ankara, Kayseri and Konya, and the Black Sea Region is marked as blue, comprising one city shown in yellow that as the site of the interviews, e.g., Karabük. As can be seen in the above map, regardless of its being in the Black Sea Region, Karabük is a neighbouring city to the Inner Anatolian Region. Furthermore, the same [x - g] variation has also been reported to be observed in Karabük (Demir, 2000/2007; Eren, 1997).

Considering the (26c), e.g., ‘[This person] is from Ankara / a typical Ankara person’, it can be said that the listeners have revealed the same motivation in using the social information of the regional variation. This can be interpreted with reference to some of the earlier extracts given in this subsection. In reference to the (7) and (8) above,⁵⁰ which are extracts from the interviews that

⁵⁰ Specifically;

- Line 9 of the extract (7), e.g., ‘My relatives talk like this...’,
- Lines 4-10 of the extract (8).

have been conducted in Ankara, it has been observed the listeners tackle the semiotic resources around them (e.g., Speeches of relatives, family members, friends, etc.) in order to access the social information. Furthermore, in the extract (9),⁵¹ one of the participants in the conversation has established a link between the speaker persona and a character in one of the TV dramas that takes place in Ankara.

In regard to the (26d-e) that the listeners have associated the speaker with Inner and Eastern Anatolian regions, the below map in the Figure 5.3 can be employed to highlight Inner and Eastern Anatolian regions as follows:

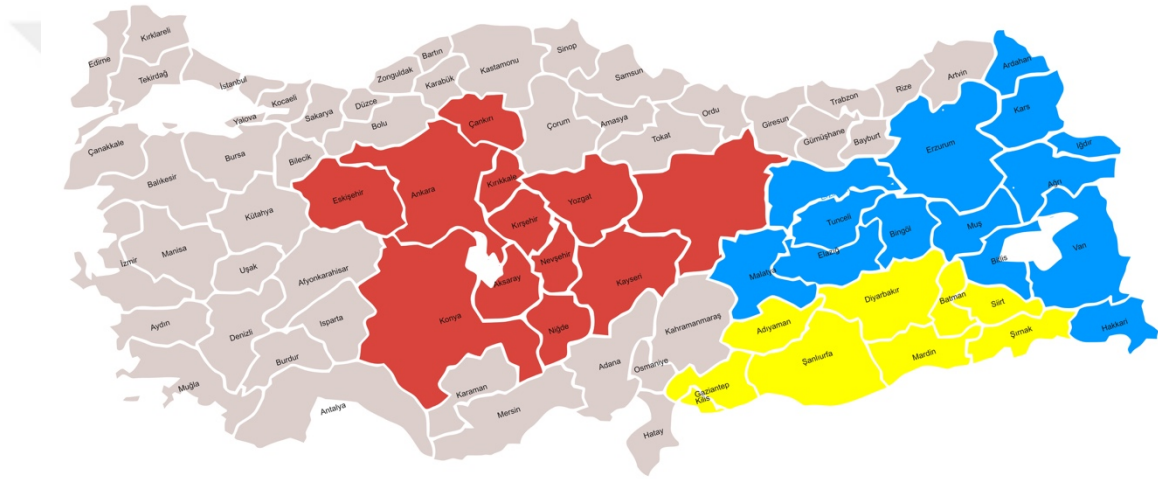


Figure 5.3. Map of Turkey highlighting the Inner, Eastern and South-Eastern Regions | Red=Inner Anatolian Region, Blue=Eastern Anatolian Region, Yellow=South-Eastern Anatolian Region

On the map given in the Figure 5.4, the Inner Anatolian Region is marked with red, Eastern Anatolian Region is highlighted as blue and the South-Eastern Anatolian Region is shown as yellow. Although the literature on the /k/ variation in Turkish refers only to the Inner and Eastern Anatolian Region, it is highly probable that the authors might have employed the term Eastern Anatolia to cover the geography involving the South-Eastern Anatolia. In addition, a similar /k/ variation (i.e., [k - x]) has also been noted in regard to Gaziantep accent (Banguoğlu, 1977, p. 133).

⁵¹ Specifically;

- The line 15.

In regard to the (26a) above, e.g., small cities, it can be said that the listeners have the probability of referring to small towns/cities found in the regions highlighted in the Figure 5.3. Again, it can also be noted that the listeners have employed social information about the speaker in terms of what has been pointed out by the Turkish dialectology, e.g., /k/ variation is salient in [the cities/towns of] these regions.

However, this interpretation is not only based on what has been laid out by the Turkish dialectology, but it has also strong implication with respect to the urbanization of the society. That is, although the urbanization movement in Turkey has started in the very beginning of 20th century, like any other developing country, its motivation and/or process differs seeing the lifestyle of the people living in the cities. Apparently, the urbanization in Turkey does not show any parallelism with the industrialization and thus, the urbanization trend resulted in cities with residents who are unemployed, who does not have chance to obtain sufficient education and/or training services, and who cannot settle in the cities and thus, sustain strong links with countryside (Keleş, 1962, p. 36; Sezal, 1997, p. 74; Tekeli, 1998, p. 16).⁵² Therefore, it seems plausible to bring an interpretation on the social meaning that a speaker persona who employs [x - g] variants of the /k/ variable would come from small towns and/or cities.

The next theme of the current interpretation on the perception of the /k/ variation focuses on (vi) the car brand of the speaker persona. In this regard, the listeners have been asked *What would be the brand [and/or model] of this person's car?* In relation to this inquiry, it has been observed that although there are not any sharp contrast with respect to what social cue is presented to the listeners, there has been instances in which the listeners' perceptions involve motivations considering the social cue presented to them. In this regard, it can be said that the social cue presented to the listeners has the probability of affecting the perception. The below (27) has been given as a representative for the overall responses in the interviews yielded by the listeners on (vi) the car brand of the speaker:

⁵² It should be noted that, in the literature on Turkish Dialectology, there are not any study focusing on urban-rural distinction and/or merger with respect to *urbanization in dialect geography*.

(27) Overall responses to the question *What would be the brand [and/or model] of this person's car?* in three contexts

- In the contexts $\langle [x - g] + \text{no social cue} \rangle$, *the speaker's car would be '(White) Şahin', '(Fiat) Doblo', '(Renault) Kangoo', 'Ford Transit Connect'.*
- In the contexts $\langle [x - g] + \text{education level} \rangle$, *the speaker's car would be 'Honda', 'Opel', 'an ordinary automobile', and 'teacher's car'.*
- In the contexts $\langle [x - g] + \text{socioeconomic level} \rangle$, *the speaker's car would be 'company car', 'branded cars', '(Fiat) Doblo', 'Ford Transit Connect'.*

Following the (27) above, first of all, it can be said that in the contexts where the listeners have not been provided with any social cue about the speaker, they have associated the speaker with specific cars and models, e.g., *TOFAŞ (white) Şahin, (Fiat) Doblo, (Renault) Kangoo, and (Ford) Transit Connect*. Except for the *TOFAŞ Şahin*, the other car models in the list are known with their commercial purpose, which in turn, supports the interpretation that the listeners employ social information in perceiving the speaker.

Furthermore, these panel van cars (e.g., *(Fiat) Doblo, (Renault) Kangoo and (Ford) Transit Connect*) are also labelled as *light commercial vehicle* in the market. That is, taking the *esnaf* phenomena that has been brought in the previous lines of the current analysis into account, this observation conforms with the consideration given for the extracts (2) and (6). In the (2) and (6)⁵³, which are extracts from the interviews that have taken place in two distinct contexts (i.e., $\langle [x - g] + \text{no social cue} \rangle$ and $\langle [x - g] + \text{socioeconomic level} \rangle$), the listener have projected the speaker persona as a small tradesmen, namely *esnaf*. Seeing that the car models *(Fiat) Doblo, (Renault) Kangoo* and *(Ford) Transit Connect* are being used for commercial purposes by the small tradesmen, and also called *light commercial vehicles*, it can be said that listeners have constructed a speaker persona with a distinct social meaning (e.g., using specific cars) that builds upon their previous projections of the speaker (e.g., being a small tradesmen).

The same observation is also evident in the context where the social cue is limited to socioeconomic level, e.g., *This person earns around 10-12 thousands Turkish Liras monthly*. Again, this observation also corresponds to the interpretation brought on the extracts (5), (22) and

⁵³ Specifically;

- Line 13 in (2)
- Lines 6 and 12 in (6).

(25)⁵⁴, all of which take place in the context <[x - g] + socioeconomic level>. As have been stated, in these extracts, the listeners have highlighted a speaker persona who has his own business. That is, the listeners have associated the speaker with small tradesmen, and/or *esnaf*.

Considering the *TOFAŞ (white) Şahin*, which is a member of the *bird series*⁵⁵ produced by TOFAŞ (Türk Otomobil Fabrikası Anonim Şirketi), it is one of the versions of the old Fiat 131. One of the members of the *bird series*, namely the *Şahin*, is mostly represented through its default white colour. According to Yavuz (2015), the *bird series* by TOFAŞ have been employed by a specific subculture that consists of men as a tool for legitimization of their masculinity that have been regarded outside the boundaries of urban space. This can be interpreted along with the reading brought for (v) the home city of the speaker in terms of the urbanization process in Turkey. That is, *TOFAŞ Şahin* here bears a strong implication that the listeners employ a specific semiotic resource in perceiving the speaker with the [x - g] variants. This semiotic resource can be further clarified as; ‘a man who is from rural area but lives in cities, and has problems with adapting the norms required by the city life’. Furthermore, the subculture described by Yavuz (2015) can also be seen in the popular culture practices associated with Ankara, e.g., YouTube videos featuring modified *Şahin*, songs, photos, etc.⁵⁶ This observation, in turn, also implies that the listeners make use of the social information related with the regional variation, since [x - g] variants are salient features of Ankara accent (Demir, 2013).

Another observation in the contexts where the listeners have been provided with the socioeconomic level of the speaker is that the listeners feature a persona who uses a ‘company car’ and ‘branded cars’. This occurrence puts forward the idea that in some instances, the social cue about the speaker overrides the previously established social information around the listeners. That is, when the listeners have known that the speaker earns a salary which is above the average in Turkey, they have primed the income of the speaker and associated the speaker persona with ‘branded cars’. Regarding the ‘company car’, the listeners have referred to the cars rented by the companies and put into use by their employers.

⁵⁴ Specifically;

- Lines 7-9 and line 10 in (5)
- Lines 24-25 in (22)
- Line 2 in (25)

⁵⁵ *Şahin* (falcon) is one of the members of the ‘bird series’ produced by TOFAŞ in Bursa, Turkey between 1977 and 2002. The other members of the family are *Doğan* (hawk) and *Kartal* (eagle).

⁵⁶ For a reflection of the *TOFAŞ* subculture, see the video clip of the song *I LoVe TOFAŞ'k* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Az0r3Ga9jvM>). *TOFAŞ'k* is a blended word formed by bringing *TOFAŞ* and *aşk* (love) together. In the song, the singer employs salient features of Ankara accent.

Lastly, in the presence of education level as a social cue, it has been observed that there occurs a difference in the social meanings associated with the [x - g] variants. For instance, the listeners feature a persona whose car's brand is *Honda*, *Opel*, 'an ordinary automobile' and 'a teacher's car'.

Considering the phenomena of 'teacher's car', it is evident that the listeners treat the social cue associated with the education level of the speaker, e.g., *This person is a Ph. D. graduate*. In addition, thinking of the average salary of the teachers in Turkey, there also arises an implication about the brand and/or model of the car associated with the speaker. For instance, the aforementioned car cannot be a branded one, e.g., *Ferrari* or *Maserati*, but an *Opel* or *Toyota*. This in turn, also explains the projection that the speaker persona would own *Honda* and *Opel*. In addition, there is also a phenomena related with the 'teacher's car' in the second hand car market in Turkey. In this vein, a Google search with the keywords 'Öğretmenden satılık' (For sale by a teacher) may fetch notices and/or advertisements involving specific cars either classified in B and/or C segments.

In uncovering the social meanings associated with the [x - g] variants, the next theme of the interpretation is (vii) the free time activities of the speaker. In uncovering the social meanings associated with the free time activities of the speaker persona, the question that has been addressed is; *What would this person do in his free times?* In interpreting the overall responses regarding the free time activities, the below extracts (28) and (29), in which the listeners have heard a speaker employing the [g] variant, have been given. The initial interpretation on the current theme is that education level as a social cue overrides the contexts in which socioeconomic level of the speaker has been primed.

The below (28) is an extract from an interview conducted in Ankara with four participants. In the below excerpt, two contexts (i.e. <[g] + no social cue> and <[g] + education level>) have been performed consecutively.

(28) RECG6 | 35:15 – 36:10

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Şimdi <u>çalacağım</u> kişinin boş zaman	GE	I am going to ask about the
2		aktivitelerini soracağım size		free time activities of the
3		arkadaşlar.		following person.
4		(14.0)		
5	GE	<u>Ne yapar</u> bu kişi boş zamanlarında? =	GE	What would this person <u>do</u> in
6	G6C	= <u>Televizyon</u> izler (.) arkadaşlarıyla		his free times?
7		oturur (.) Sadece oturur ((Gülme))	G6C	[This person] watches
8	G6D	Yani <u>sinemaya</u> gidebilir [hocam		<u>television</u> and hangs with his
9	G6C	[sinema (.)		friends. Only hangs around
10		<u>bence</u> sinemaya gitmez gündüz gece		((Laughter))
11		televizyon izler.	G6D	Well, he may go to <u>cinema</u> .
12		(1.2)	G6C	<u>For me</u> , he does not go to
13	G6A	<u>Maç</u> izler programlar izler spor		cinema. He always watches TV.
14		programları izler <u>haber programları</u>	G6A	He prefers <u>football games</u> ,
15		gibi [mesela		sports shows and <u>news</u> for
16	G6B	[Hocam <u>futbol</u> programları		instance.
17		izleyebilir (.) futbol maçı da izler	G6B	[This person] would watch
18		ama bana daha çok gündüz kuşağında		<u>football</u> shows and games. But
19		işsizse gündüz televizyon gece		for me, [this person] mostly
20		televizyon izler (.) gibi gibi yani		prefers daytime shows. If he
21		hocam ((anlaşılamayan konuşma))		is unemployed, he may watch TV
22		(1.2)		all the time
23	GE	Peki (.) Bu kişi hakkında biraz		((Incomprehensible utterance))
24		bilgi vereyim. (.) Arkadaşlar bu	GE	Okay. Let me provide you with
25		kişi 30'lu yaşlarında doktorasını		some information about this
26		yeni bitirmiş bir kişi. Hala aynı		person. This person, who is
27		şeyi düşünür müsünüz? =		around his 30s, has just
28	G6C	= <u>Nasıl</u> ya (.) Tabi (.) değişir =		finished his PhD. Do you still
29	GE	=Ne dersin mesela?		think the same?
30	G6C	[((anlaşılamayan konuşma))	G6C	<u>How?</u> Well, it changes.
31	G6B	[<u>Yine</u> futbol izler ama gündüz	GE	What would you say for
32		programı izlemez ama siyaset		instance?
33		programı izler bu kez de tartışma	G6C	<u>Again</u> he would prefer football
34		programı gibi hocam.	G6B	games but not the daytime
35	G6D	Ben değiştiririm =		shows. This time, he would
36	G6C	= <u>Aynen</u> ben de (.) spor yapar kendini		watch discussion shows on
37		geliştirmek için <u>hobi</u> yapar (.)		politics.
38		vardır hobisi.	G6D	I would change my points.
			G6C	<u>Same</u> for me. He may do sports
				as a <u>hobby</u> in order to improve
				himself. He may have hobbies.
G6 – Ankara – 4 participants (G6A=F19, G6B=M20, G6C=F18, G6D=M23) GE=interviewer				

In the extract (28) above, the listeners have been provided with two successive contexts. In the first context, the interaction has taken place in the absence of social cue about the speaker (between the lines 1-21). Following this, they have been provided with education level as a social cue about the speaker (lines 23-36).

In the contexts where no social cue is present, the listeners have projected a persona who ‘watches TV’, ‘spends time with friends’, ‘goes to cinema’ and ‘watches football matches’. For instance,

the listener G6C has yielded a persona who watches TV and spends time with his friends (lines 13-15). The listener G6D, taking the turn of the G6C, has featured the speaker as someone who can also go to cinema (line 15). However, the listener G6C has taken the turn and created a contrast between what he has yielded and the G6D's projection, e.g., '[This person] would not go to cinema but watch TV day-and-night.' In the line 13, the listener G6C has negotiated the social meaning projected by the other participants in the conversation and provided specific TV programs associated with the speaker persona, e.g., 'football broadcasts, 'sports programs' and 'newscasts'. Following the G6C, the listener G6B takes the turn and figures some other TV programs alongside what has been introduced by the G6C, e.g., 'daytime shows'.

When the listeners have been provided with education level as a social cue in the line 23, and asked, *Would you go along with the same thoughts if this person were a 30 years-old Ph. D. graduate?*, they have indicated that they would revise what they have yielded for the speaker persona. For instance, the listener G6B has reviewed what he has yielded, and featured a persona who watches 'discussion programs on politics' instead of 'daytime programs' (lines 31-34). Moreover, in the lines 36-38, the listener G6C has projected a persona who 'does sports', 'improve himself' and 'have hobbies'.

Thus, in negotiating the social meaning about the speaker, the (28) above exemplifies an instance in which social cue is a determinant in ascertaining the speaker with specific free time activities.

The below (29) illustrates a context in which the listeners have been provided with the socioeconomic level of the speaker. The (29) is an excerpt from an interview conducted in Ankara with four participants.

(29) RECG2 | 33:41 – 34:20

Turkish			English	
1	GE	Bu dinlediğimiz kişinin de	GE	The person we listened to has
2		arkadaşlar aylık geliri on binin		a salary that is above 10000.
3		üzerinde (.) böyle bir bilgim var.		I have this information.
4		Bunu da göz önünde bulundurduğunuzda		Thinking about this, what
5		bu kişinin boş zaman aktiviteleri		would you say about the free
6		bakımından ne söylersiniz.		time activities of this
7		(1.4)		person?
8	G2A	<u>Kendi</u> işyeri varsa işyerinde orada	G2A	If he has <u>his</u> own business, he
9		vakit geçiriyordur (.) <u>Yani</u> (.)		spends his time there. <u>Well</u> ,
10		hocam dinlediğim kişinin herkesten		this person does not possess
11		<u>farklı</u> (.) ya da şöyle diyeyim (.)		any free time activities that
12		diğer insanlardan ayrılan boş zaman		differentiate him from others.
13		faaliyeti yoktur diye düşünüyorum		
14		ben.		
15	G2B	Aynı <u>yoktur</u> yani. Ama evindeyse	G2B	That is to say, he does <u>not</u> .
16		<u>televizyon</u> izler siyasi içerikli		But when he is at his home, he
17		programlar politika tartışmaları		watches such TV programs on
18		falan=		politics on <u>TV</u> .
19	G2D	=Siyaset, futbol, ekonomi kuşağı	G2D	Politics, football, economy
20		falan=		for instance.
21	GE	=Sadece televizyon mu izler o	GE	Does he prefers only TV then?
22		zaman? =		
23	G2D	=Yani <u>hayır</u> hocam ama (.) Ya- başka	G2D	Well <u>not</u> but... This does not
24		aklıma (.) bir şey gelmiyor başka.		remind me some other free time
25		(0.7)		activities.
26	G2C	<u>İşinde gücündedir</u> yapamaz bir şey	G2C	He <u>gets on with his business</u> .
27		(.) <u>Tabi</u> ben de bu abimizin		<u>Well</u> , I cannot think any
28		yapabileceği faaliyetleri (.) Yani		specific free time activities
29		(.) çok farklı başka bir aktivite		for this elder brother.
30		düşünemiyorum.		
G2 – Ankara – 4 participants (G2A=F24, G2B=F18, G2C=M19, G2D=M19) GE=interviewer				

In the presence of socioeconomic level as a social cue, the participants in the context of (29) have constructed a persona who ‘spends time in his workplace’, ‘watches TV’ and ‘does not have any specific free time activity that differentiates himself from the others in the society’. Specifically, in the lines 8-14, the listener G2A has featured a persona who would spend time in his workplace. By inserting this projection into conversation, the G2A has also asserted that the speaker would not have any specific free time activity that distinguishes him from others. By confirming the G2A, the listener G2B has further noted that the speaker would watch discussion programs on politics on TV in his free times (lines 15-18). A similar projection has also been brought by the listener G2D in the lines 19-20. In the line 21, when the listener G2D has been asked about his projection that the speaker would *only* watch TV in his free times, the listeners G2D and G2C have stated that they have no idea regarding the likelihood of any other free time activities pertained to the speaker.

The extract (29), when compared to (28) (i.e., the conversation between the lines 1-21), in which the listeners have not been provided with a social cue, it has been observed that the listeners have yielded similar social meanings associated with the speaker persona, e.g., 'watch TV', 'watch sports broadcasts' and 'have time with friends'. This observation also shows that socioeconomic level as a social cue is not a determinant in the perception with regard to the (vii) free time activities ascertained to the speaker.

The last theme of the current interpretation is (viii) the favourite TV programs associated with the speaker. In this regard, the listeners have been asked *What would this person watch and/or prefer on TV?* The major observation is that the social cues do not show an overall trend during the perception. The below (30) involves the overall responses considering (viii) the favourite TV programs in relation to the speaker:

(30) Overall responses to the question *What would this person watch and/or prefer on TV?*

- Daytime programs
- Football broadcasts, discussions on politics, panel discussions, TV dramas

In (30), 'daytime programs' is the only contrast observed between the contexts $<[x - g] + \text{education level}>$ and $[x - g] + \text{no social cue}>$ & $<[x - g] + \text{socioeconomic level}>$. That is, in the contexts where the listeners have either been provided with socioeconomic level as a social cue or no social cue, they have been prone to project persona who prefers watching daytime programs on TV. Here, the term 'daytime programs' refers to TV shows whose topics range from tragedies of ordinary people to health, and to cooking with specific references to women.

However, in the presence of education level as a social cue, the listeners have been more inclined to exclude 'daytime programs' from a set of TV habits associated with the speaker. Apart from this observation, the rest of the responses have not shown variation depending on the context of the conversation.

In the extracts and lists given in (1-30) above, the social meanings associated with the speaker that employs the $[x - g]$ variants of the /k/ variable have been interpreted. Before tackling the statistical interpretation that has been obtained through a matched-guise survey, the below lines highlight the overall interpretation with reference to the themes employed.

First of all, in all of the themes employed, it can be said that the listeners employ social information about the speaker with the [x - g] variants. Specifically, the social information, or the semiotic resource, is mostly associated with the regional variation that is present in the very context of Turkey, e.g., Inner and Eastern Anatolia. Furthermore, those listeners who live in Ankara, which is a city in the Inner Anatolian region, exploits the semiotic resources found in their own community of practice, e.g., family, relatives, close friends, whereas the listeners who live outside Ankara, e.g., Çanakkale and İzmir, only refer to popular culture phenomenon (e.g., YouTube videos, songs, TV dramas) that highlight people who employ the [x - g] variants as part of their sociolinguistic style. In addition, the effect of social information in perception can also be traced through the distinct themes employed during the interviews. That is, depending on the question (and thus, the theme) addressed to the listeners, they have tendency to infer social information out of the social cue presented to them.

In regard to (i) the personality traits associated with the speaker with the [x - g] variants, it has been observed that education level as a social cue is a salient determinant in perceiving the speaker with distinct social meanings. On the contrary, there has not been any remarkable difference between the contexts <[x - g] + no social cue> and <[x - g] + socioeconomic level>.

Considering (ii) the probable intimacy with the speaker in a hypothetical bus trip context, it has been observed that while the listeners living in the Inner Anatolian region (e.g., the cities Ankara, Karabük, Kayseri and Konya) are more eager to have a social encounter with the speaker with the [x - g] variants, those living in Çanakkale and İzmir remain abstaining regardless of the social cue presented to them. This finding can also be regarded as an evidence for the listeners' use of social information during the perception.

In relation with (iii) the clothing style of the speaker, the diverging point of the social cues emerges out of the education level. That is, when the listeners have been provided with education level as a social cue, they construct a persona that differs in the contexts where they have been provided with either no social cue or socioeconomic level.

On the contrary, the same observation has not been made in terms of (iv) the locus of practices associated with the speaker. Here, it has been found that both education and socioeconomic level of the speaker as a social cue are determinant during the perception.

Concerning (v) the home city of the speaker, a preset social information has been observed to come by the social cues presented to the listeners. More clearly, the listeners employ the regional variation as a social information and thus feature a persona who is from the Inner and Eastern Anatolian regions, and thus, disregard the social cues presented to them.

With regard to (vi) the car brand and/or model associated with the speaker, both education level and socioeconomic level have been observed to bear a defining role in the perception. In addition, based on the question addressed to the listeners, they have tendency to infer social information out of the social cue presented to them. Specifically, firstly, the listeners have been observed to employ the social cue presented to them (e.g., ‘This person is a Ph. D. graduate’ as an education level), then yield an occupation for the speaker (e.g., ‘This person is a teacher’), following this, they exploit the social information present in their environment (e.g., ‘The average salary of teacher’) and lastly, they project a car model/brand for the speaker persona.

The effect of education level as a social cue has also been noted in the theme (vii) free time activities. In this regard, when the listeners have been provided with the education level of the speaker as a social cue, the listeners’ projections have differed. Although the similar trend has not been observed consistently in the theme (viii) favourite TV programs, it can be said that education level as a social cue has the probability of becoming another determinant when projecting the speaker with the [x - g] variants as someone with specific TV audience behaviours.

Lastly, the qualitative interview data have also shown that there is an inherent association between the /k/ variation and education level. This association has shown strong implications with respect to the social cues presented to the listeners.

This subsection has reported from 19 sociolinguistic group interviews and interpreted how the listeners have negotiated the social meaning associated with the [x - g] variants. With the same aim, the following subsection (5.2.2) tackles the quantitative data obtained through matched-guise survey.

5.2.2. Interpreting the Survey

This subsection involves the interpretation brought on the matched guise survey that constitutes the second part of the perception experiment on the /k/ variable. Based on the responses given by the listeners during the sociolinguistic group interviews, a matched guise survey has been designed to obtain the perception of the listeners on the variant pronunciations of the /k/.⁵⁷ The survey contributes to the current work on two accounts; first of all, it triangulates the perception data that have been obtained through the sociolinguistic group interviews and secondly, it quantitatively provides an evidence on how social cues about the speaker affect the perception.

The matched guise survey has consisted of three sections. In the first section, the demography of the listeners have been attained. In the second part, a Likert scale based on the personality traits has been employed and in the third part, checkbox variables that involve wide range of social cues such as age, education level, personality traits, social status and regional orientation have been presented to the listeners.

The survey has been conducted with 228 participants online. The linguistic stimuli of the survey have been determined as guises. The concept ‘guise’ in the matched guise surveys has been addressed as the stimuli (e.g., a sound, word or a grammatical form) which bear implicit and/or hidden matchings that reside outside the consciousness of the participants. In this regard, the guises of the current work have been determined on the basis of the linguistic variable and social cue. Considering the linguistic variables, one of the guises of this study is the variant pronunciations of the /k/ variation, specifically the [x - g] vs. [k]. That is, the participants have been asked to listen to two speech stimuli that differ only in [x - g] and [k]. Furthermore, the second guise of the study has been determined as the social cues. In this regard, the same speech stimulus has been presented to the listeners along with two distinct social cues, specifically the *low* and *high* education level. The motivation behind the insertion of *high* and *low* education level into the current perception experiment is its being one of the salient and most preferred social cues by the listeners in the sociolinguistic group interviews.

The first guise of the survey has been presented to the listeners through adjective-based Likert scale, which involves a series of presumptive social meanings about the speaker, e.g.,

⁵⁷ Readers can see either the Appendix 3 or the Figures 3.12-14 for the matched guise survey employed in the current work.

watchfulness, easy-goingness, educatedness, sensitiveness, agreeableness, formality, responsibility, extro-/introversion and consciousness. The aim of employing the Likert scale is to uncover the differences between the perception of [x - g] and [k]. In order to uncover the difference, an exploratory factor analysis has been conducted.

In dealing with the second guise, the interpretation has been brought on the basic descriptives that have been yielded through the checkbox variables. Moreover, a simplistic Pearson correlation matrix has been adopted to bring an understanding to the effect of social cues on perception.

Considering the analysis of the quantitative data that have been extracted out of the survey, *R programming language* (R Core Team, 2013) has been implemented. On R environment, an exploratory factor analysis has been conducted on the Likert variables by using the *psych* package (Revelle, 2018). Along with the *psych*, the other package that has been used is *GPARotation* (Bernaards & Jennrich, 2005). In transforming the quantitative raw data into statistical data, the factor analysis has been performed by employing *MinRes* (Minimum Residuals) method (Harman, 1960). The factor analysis employed in the current work aims to uncover the implicit relationships among the adjective scales presented to the listeners in terms of [x - g] and [k]. In this regard, it groups similar variables as factors and brings an insight on the underlying determinants in ascertaining specific personality traits to speakers. Thus, in the factor analysis, the preliminary aim has been to uncover the interrelations among the response variables that have been presented as 1=positive : 5=negative Likert scale to the participants of the survey.

In regard to the checkbox variables, a simplistic Pearson correlation matrices have been employed to uncover the dependency between the variables. The Pearson correlation matrices have been formed by employing the packages *reshape* (Wickham, 2007) and *hmisc* (Harrell, 2018).

Lastly, in visualizing the statistical data, *ggplot2* (Wickham, 2009) has been run on the R environment. These statistical transformations have been further employed to uncover the social meanings associated with the speaker and the effect of social cues in perception. In the light of this statistical approach, the following lines lay out the interpretation of the survey data.

In its paradigmatic nature, the below quantitative interpretation differs from the qualitative interpretation brought on the sociolinguistic group interviews that has been tackled by referring to such themes as personality traits, probable intimacy with the speaker, clothing, locus of

practice, home city, car brand, free time activities and favourite TV programs. That is, the below lines interpret the survey data on the grounds of two phenomenon: differing personality traits on the [x - g] and [k] variants and social cues that affect the speech perception. In that vein, the below subsections have been organized as 5.2.2.1 factor analysis and 5.2.2.2 social cues as guises that affect the perception.

5.2.2.1. Factor Analysis

In the first part of the present interpretation, factor analysis has been employed to tackle the Likert scales presented to the listeners on the basis of two guises. In the first guise, the listeners have listened to a speech stimulus *Kaymakamlıktan sola dön* (Turn left near the building of the district governorship) in which the stimulus involves both [x] and [g] variants of the /k/ variable. In the second guise, the listeners have been provided with the speech stimulus *Bakarız* (We will see) with only [k] variant of the /k/ variable. These speech stimulus has been produced by the same person and the only difference has been the variant pronunciations of the /k/ variable.

In reducing the Likert data into interpretable factors, the Tables 5.1 and 5.2 can be given. In the tables below, factor matrices provides the relationship of each adjective with the factors inside columns listed as factor 1, factor *n*. In these tables, larger weights (i.e., large numbers) show that the adjective is more heavily associated with that factor. The minus sign '-' indicates that there is a negative correlation. The adjectives whose value of factor weight is lower than 0.3 have been excluded from the tables and thus the interpretation. The initial interpretation that can be brought on the below tables is that although the factor distribution show different patterns, there is a consistent matchup with regard to the first factor.

Table 5.1

Factor loadings of the variants [x- g]

N=228	Factor 1	Factor 2
Educatedness	0.851	
Agreeableness		0.557
Sensitiveness	0.676	
Responsibility		0.550
Consciousness	0.830	
The root mean square of the residuals (RMSR)		0.03
Tucker Lewis Index of factoring reliability (TLI)		1.014
The root mean square Error of Approximation (RMSEA)		0

Table 5.2

Factor loadings of the variant [k]

N=228	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Watchfulness			0.507
Easy goingness		0.869	
Educatedness	0.832		
Sensitiveness	0.691		
Responsibility	0.607		
Extro-/introversion		-0.359	
Consciousness	0.714		
The root mean square of the residuals (RMSR)			0.03
Tucker Lewis Index of factoring reliability (TLI)			0.977
The root mean square Error of Approximation (RMSEA)			0.028

The factor loadings given in the tables above have been interpretable in the sense that for the Table 5.1, RMSR=0.03, TLI=1.014 and RMSEA=0<RMSR and for the Table 5.2, RMSR=0.03, TLI=0.977 and RMSEA=0.028<RMSR.

It has been observed in the tables above that while the adjective scales given on [x - g] has yielded two factors, the one given on [k] has supplied three factors. This can be interpreted as while the participants who have listened to the [x - g] variants have yielded their perceptions by considering two underlying reasons, those who are scoring the adjectives associated with the [k] variant have employed three elemental logic. Although this constitute a difference between the perception of the two variants (i.e., [x - g] and [k]), the relevant point here is the Factor 1, in which *educatedness*, *sensitiveness* and *consciousness* have shown a trend.

The interrelation among the adjective scales on *educatedness*, *sensitiveness* and *consciousness* can be interpreted as they are the preliminary social meanings associated with the [x - g] and [k] variants. That is, listeners, in perceiving the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves these variants, firstly construe the speaker persona in consideration with how he and/or she is *educated*, *sensitive* and *conscious* then draw on the other social meanings.

Another observation can be given with reference to the factor weights of the adjective scales given in the tables above. In this regard, it can be said that in both tables speaker's *educatedness* has been marked as the strongest association with the Factor 1. Similarly, in both analyses, speaker's *consciousness* has been another adjective that bears strong closeness with the first factor. This

observation asserts that there might be inherent social meaning of the [x - g] and [k] variants considering the *(un)educatedness* of the speakers. Thinking that the participants in the sociolinguistic group interviews have firstly interpreted the speaker along with his education level, this finding can be regarded as one of the strongest cases and/or findings of the current quantitative analysis.

In consideration with the above interpretation on the factor loadings of the [x - g] and [k] variants, the Table 5.3 below can be given. The Table 5.3 involves the mean ratings of the adjective scales uncovered in the factor analysis and they have been presented as *positive* (i.e., 1←) and *negative* (i.e., → 5) range of social meanings. The adjectives which have been clustered in the Factor 1 have been bolded. In addition, those which have not shown a common trend in the factor analysis have been shaded. As for the initial interpretation that can be brought on the table below, it can be stated that while listeners have rated the speaker of the [x - g] variant along with negative scores (i.e., close to 5), those who listened to the [k] variant have rated the speaker with positive scores (i.e., close to 1).

Table 5.3

Means for [x - g] and [k]

1 ←	[x - g] mean	[k] mean	→ 5
Educated	4.289	2.048	Uneducated
Conscious	3.974	2.325	Unconscious
Sensitive	4.009	2.096	Insensitive
Responsible	3.496	2.482	Irresponsible
Watchful		2.386	Careless
Easy-going		3.601	Shy
Extrovert		3.018	Introvert
Agreeable	3.724		Unwilling

In the Table 5.3 above, it can be seen that the means for the [x - g] variants are close to :5, which suggest that the listeners have perceived the speaker alongside negative personality traits. On the contrary, except for speaker's being *shy* and *introvert*, which have not shown a trend in the factor analysis and thus can be regarded irrelevant, the means for the [k] variants are close to :1, which in turn, denote that the listeners have perceived the speaker along with positive personality traits.

It can be said that while the listeners have perceived the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [x - g] variants as someone who is *uneducated* (i.e.,

1=educated:4.289:5=uneducated), those who have listened to the [k] variant perceived the speaker as someone who is *educated* (i.e., 1=educated:2.048:5=uneducated). Similarly, while the [x - g] variants have been perceived as *unconscious* (i.e., 1=conscious:3.974:5=unconscious), the [k] variant has been realized as close to *being conscious* (i.e., 1=conscious:2.325:5=unconscious). Furthermore, the participants who have taken the survey have rated the speaker with the [x - g] variants as someone who is *insensitive* (i.e., 1=sensitive:4.009:5=insensitive) while their judgments have been on the positive side with regard to the same social meaning, e.g., *sensitive* as 1=sensitive:2.096:5=insensitive. As for the other means in the Table 5.3, it has been observed that the [x - g] variants have been associated with such social meanings as *irresponsibility* (i.e., 1=responsible:3.496:5=irresponsible) and *unwillingness* (i.e., 1=agreeable:3.724:5=unwilling). On the contrary, the [k] variant has been realized along with such social meanings as *responsibility* (i.e., 1=responsible:2.482:5=irresponsible) and *watchfulness* (i.e., 1=watchful:2.386:5=careless).

Below Figures 5.4 and 5.5 visualize the above observation on the means of the [x - g] and [k] variants and brings an insight on the trends on how the listeners have rated the speaker depending on the variant perceived. In the interpretation of the figures, the x axis involves the adjective scales in the Likert scale, y axis denotes the number of participants ranging from 1 to 228. The ratings, which have been annotated in the right part of the bar graph, are ordered as 1=positive and 5=negative personality traits.

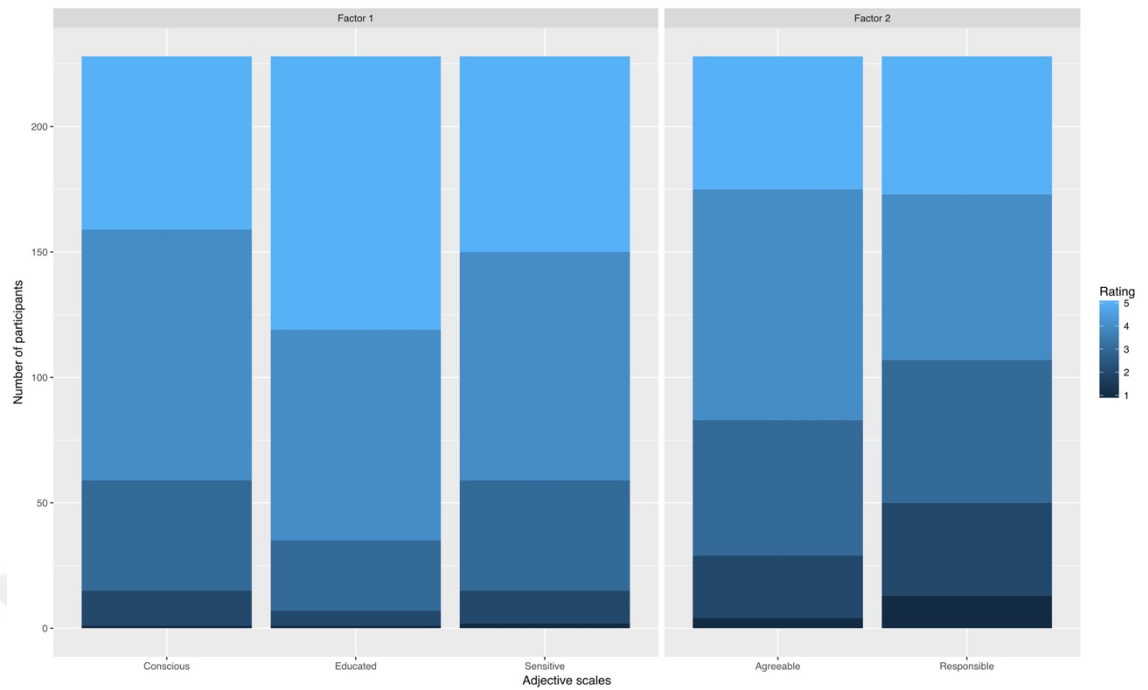


Figure 5.4. Stacked bar graph of the ratings on the variants [x - g], x=adjective scales, y=number of participants, Ratings=1-positive vs. 5-negative

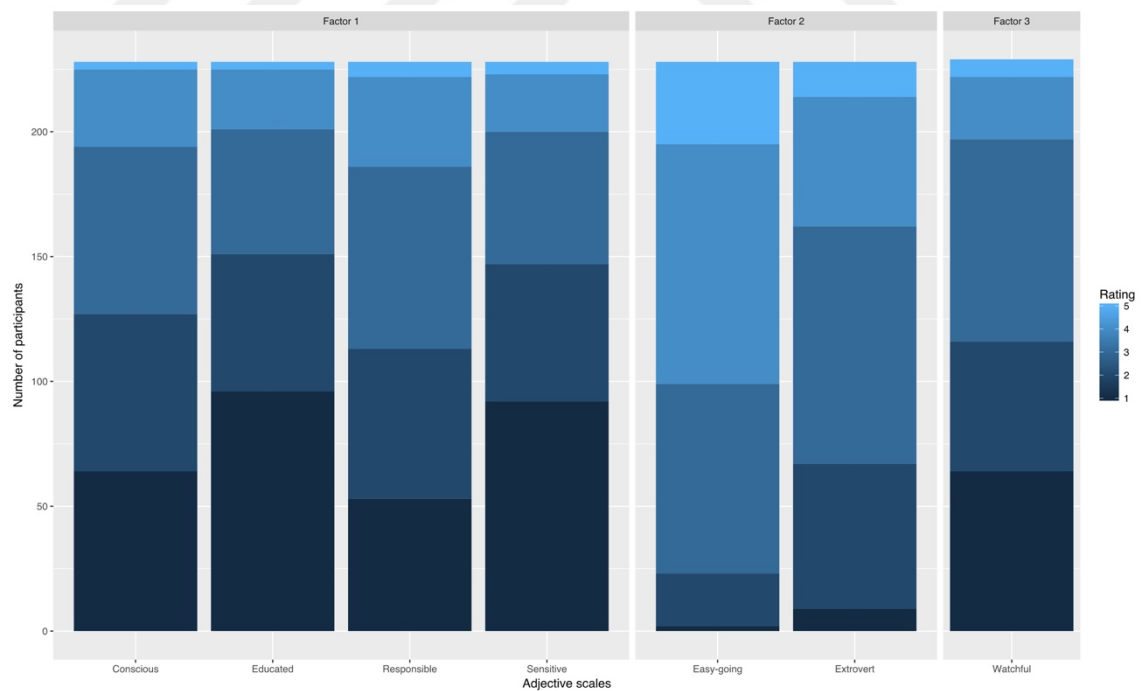


Figure 5.5. Stacked bar graph of the ratings on the variant [k], x=adjective scales, y=number of participants, Ratings=1-positive vs. 5-negative

Based on the Figures 5.4 and 5.5 above, an evident observation can be asserted as while the figure given on the [x - g] variants involves a tendency on lighter blue, which in turn means negative personality traits, the figure given on the [k] consists of darker blue boxes which intensify around the bottom part of the graph that denote positive personality traits. Hence, it can be concluded that the listeners have made a clear cut distinction between the [x - g] and [k] variants with regard to their social meanings, and thus, they have ascertained distinct social meanings on these variants.

5.2.2.2. Social Cues as Guises

The second interpretation of the current analysis draws on the guises on the social cues presented to the listeners. The aim of the employment of this guise is to uncover the effect of social cue in perception. In the survey, two distinct social cues have been provided to the listeners before they listen to the same speech stimuli, specifically the [x] in the utterance *Bakarız* (We will see), and they have been asked to rate the speaker through the checkbox variables which consists of social meanings associated with regional (e.g., *Inner Anatolian*, *Eastern Anatolian*, *Aegean*, *Thracian*, *Southern* and *Black Sea*), income (e.g., *low*-, *mid*- and *high-income*) and settlement (e.g., *urban* and *rural*). The social cues provided to the listeners involve the education level. In the first guise, the social cue on the education level is *high-school graduate* while the second guise involves the social cue as *Ph. D. graduate*.

In order to interpret the effect of social cue on perception, basic descriptives (see, e.g., the Figures 5.6 and 5.7) and simplistic Pearson correlation matrices (see, e.g., the Figures 5.8 and 5.9) have been employed.

As a starting point for the current interpretation, the Figures 5.6 and 5.7 below can be employed. These figures involve the frequency of the checkbox variables for each guises. While the Figure 5.6 belongs to the speech stimuli that has been presented along with the social cue of *high school graduate*, the 5.7 involves the social cue of *Ph. D. graduate*. These cues can be regarded as low (i.e., *high school graduate*) and high (i.e., *Ph. D. graduate*) with respect to each other. As an initial observation, it can be stated that the participants' behaviour on the checkboxes vary depending on the social cues presented to them.

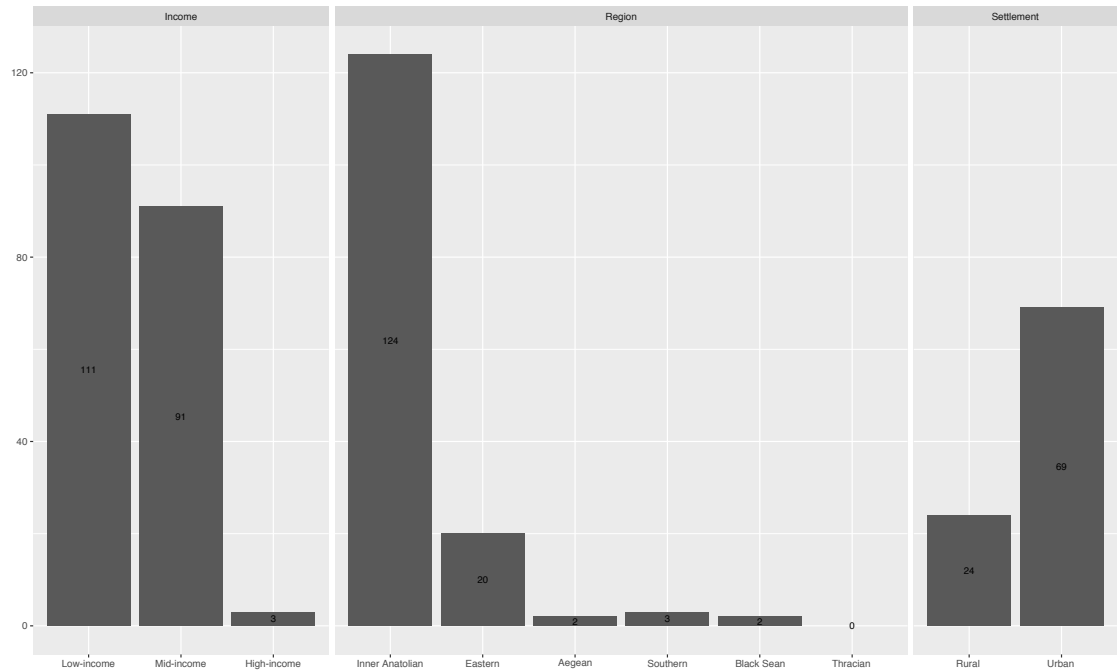


Figure 5.6. The frequency of the responses for [x] as in <[x]+high school graduate>

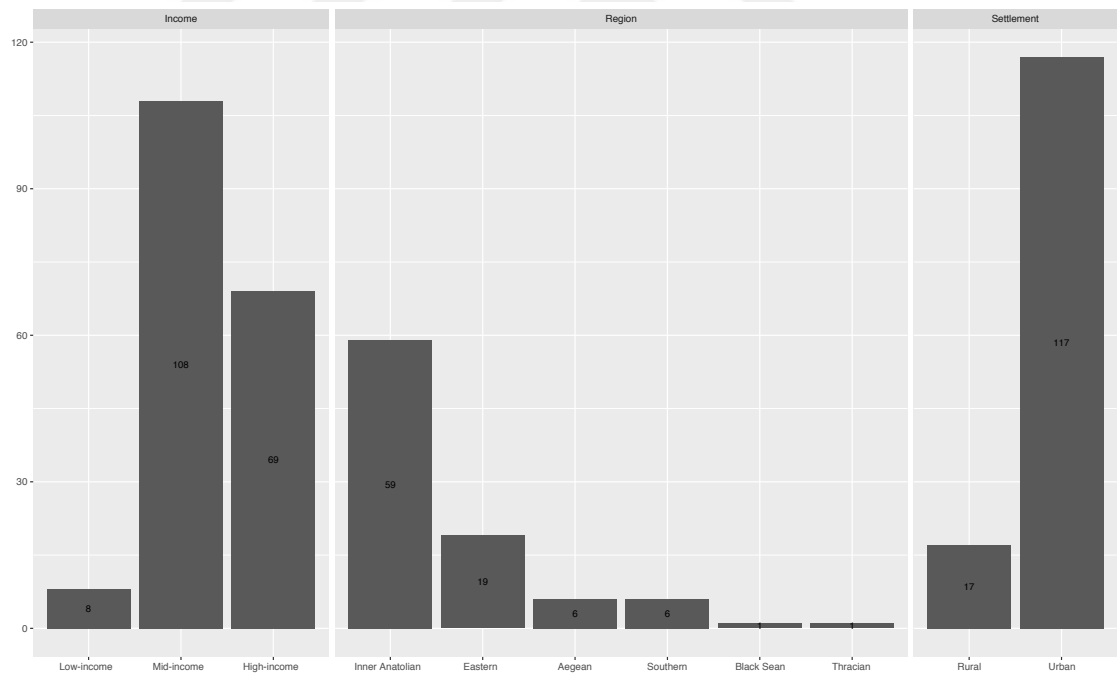


Figure 5.7. The frequency of the responses for [x] as in <[x]+Ph.D. graduate>

As an instance for the response variation depending on the social cue, it has been observed that in the presence of *high school graduate* as a social cue, the listeners have been more prone to rate the speaker as someone who has *low-income* ($f=111$). On the contrary, their rates on the social

meaning of *low-income* have decreased when they have been provided with *Ph. D. graduate* as a social cue ($f=8$). In the same direction, their rate on the checkbox variable *high-income* have also mediated by the social cue. For instance, in the presence of *high school graduate* as a social cue, they have not ascertained *high-income* to the speaker ($f=3$) while their responses have been high in the presence of *Ph. D. graduate* as a social cue ($f=69$). In that vein, it can be stated that the listeners' perception on the speaker's income has varied depending on the social cue.

Considering the region associated with the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [x] variant, the initial observation can be interpreted along with what has been given in the regional dialectology of Turkish, in that, the /k/ variation is common in the Inner and the Eastern Anatolian regions (see, e.g., Caferoğlu, 1951, 1963; Gemalmaz, 1978; Olcay, 1963; Sağır, 1995, among others). However, the figures given above involve some implications on how social cues about the speaker can override the argument given on [x]'s being a regional variant. As for this, when the social cues presented about the speaker are compared, a difference on the frequency of the checkbox variable *Inner Anatolian* can be observed. For instance, in the presence of *high school graduate*, the listeners have rated the speaker as *more Inner Anatolian* than when they have been informed about the education level as a *Ph. D. graduate*, e.g., $f=124$ vs. $f=59$ respectively.

A similar trend has also been observed with regard to the settlement associated with the speaker. That is, the listeners have been more liable to rate the speaker as *more urban* in the presence of *Ph. D. graduate* than *high school graduate*, e.g., $f=117$ vs. $f=69$ respectively. These observations show that social cues provided prior to the listening affect the perception.

The above observations given on the perceived income, region and settlement of the speaker can also be supported by the employment of simplistic correlation matrices. In this direction, the Figures 5.8 and 5.9 can be addressed. In these figures, Pearson correlation matrices of the same speech stimuli (i.e., [x]) and contexts (i.e., <[x]+high school graduate> and <[x]+Ph. D. graduate>) have been given. These matrices are composed of x and y axes and the corresponding correlation value found in the intersection gives the weight of the correlation. Thus, when the social meanings associated with the income, region and settlement that lie on both the x and y axes intersect on a point, the value (i.e., weight of the correlation) of the intersection point can be employed to be interpreted as either weak, medium and strong correlation. When the weight of the correlation is close to 1, it suggests that the behaviour in participants' choosing the checkboxes shows similar trends and thus the correlation is higher. In this regard, while the Figure 5.8

involves the social cue of *high school graduate*, the 5.9 belongs to the speech stimuli that has been presented along with the social cue of *Ph. D. graduate*.

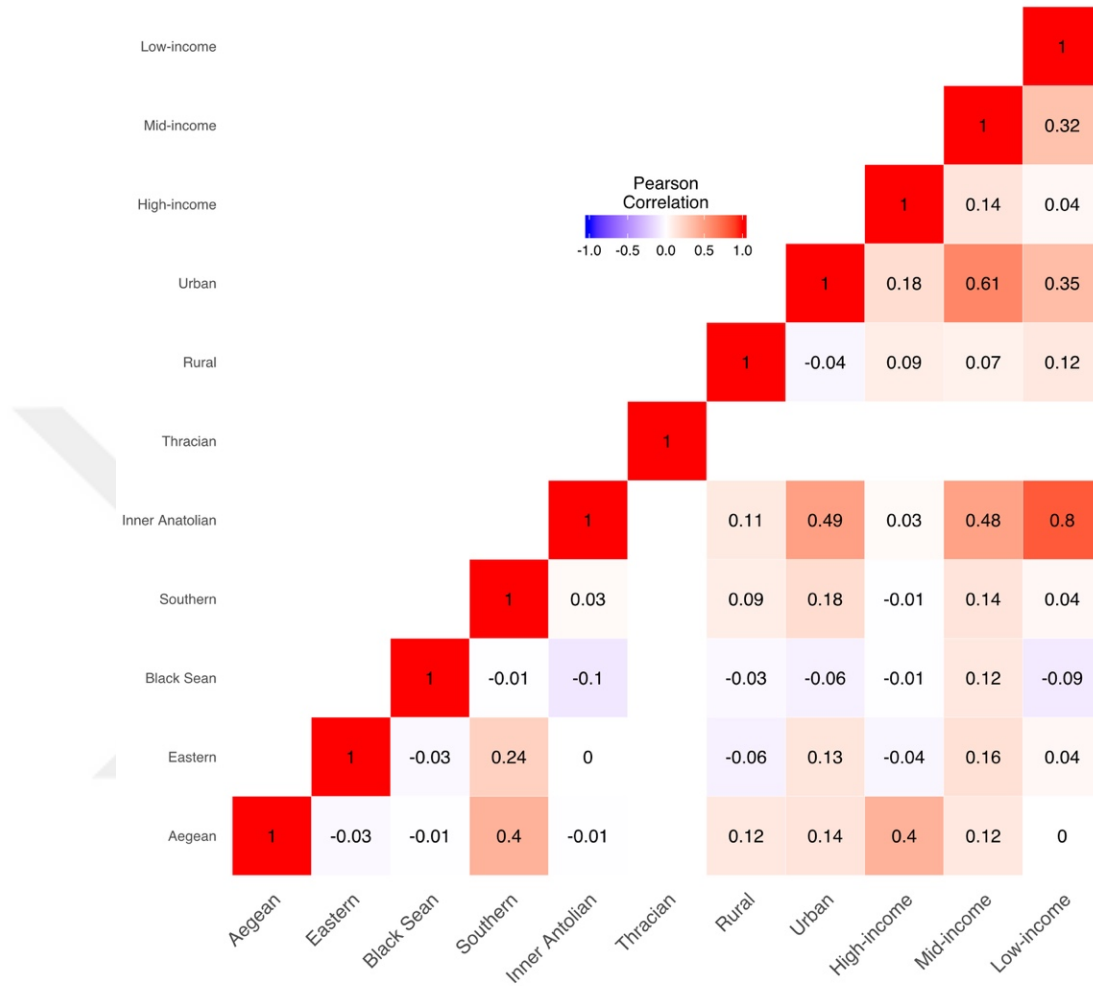


Figure 5.8. Pearson correlation matrix of [x] as in <[x]+high school graduate>

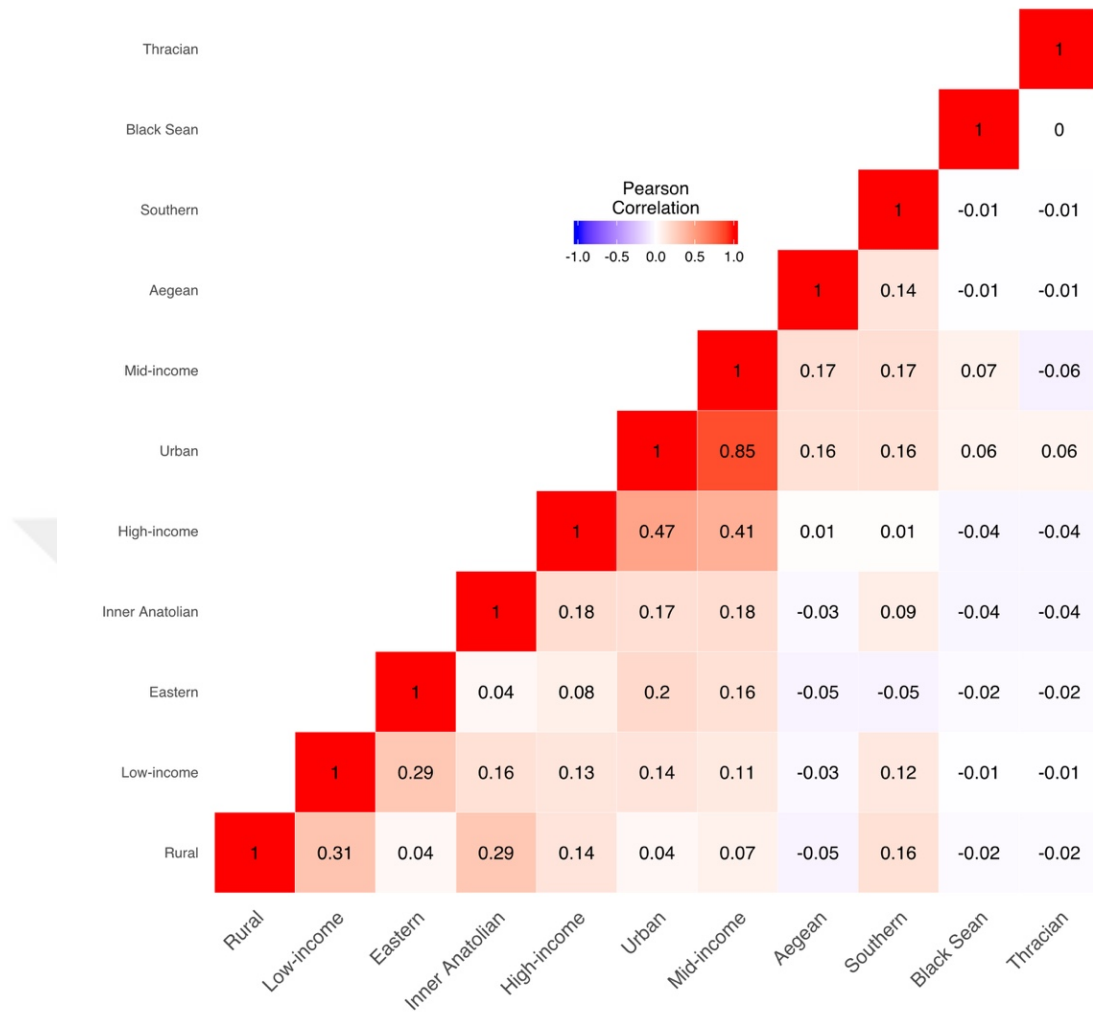


Figure 5.9. Pearson correlation matrix of [x] as in <[x]+Ph. D. graduate>

At first, it can be stated that the strongest correlations have been recorded between *Inner Anatolian* and *low-income* (Cor=0.80, $p<0.05$) in the Figure 5.8, and *urban* and *mid-income* (Cor=0.85, $p<0.05$) in the Figure 5.9. This can be interpreted as; when the listeners have been provided with the social cue as *high school graduate*, they have shown similar trends in selecting the checkboxes of *Inner Anatolian* and *low-income*. Similarly, in the presence of *Ph. D. graduate* as a social cue, they show similar behaviours in picking the checkboxes of *urban* and *mid-income*.

In comparing the Figures 5.8 and 5.9 above, it has been observed that when the listeners have been provided with *high school graduate* as a social cue, there has occurred a strong correlation (i.e., Cor=0.80 $p<0.05$) between *Inner Anatolian* and *low-income*. On the other hand, when the

listeners have been provided with the social cue as *Ph. D. graduate*, there has not been a significant correlation between *Inner Anatolian* and *low-income* (i.e., $\text{Cor}=0.16$).

As another evidence for the effect of social cue on perception, the correlation between *urban* and *mid-income* can be forwarded. In this regard, the correlation between *urban* and *mid-income* has also been observed in the Figure 5.8, i.e., $\text{Cor}=0.61$, $p<0.05$. However, it is weaker when compared with the Figure 5.9.

These findings suggest that providing the speakers with social cues has changed their behaviours on selecting the relevant checkboxes and thus, it supports the finding that social cues about speaker affect the perception.

The current interpretation on the quantitative survey data have employed factor analysis on the Likert variables and correlation matrices on checkboxes. Based on the above given interpretation, it has been found that the listeners have perceived the speaker with the [x - g] variants along with a series of social meanings. Considering these variants, notwithstanding the fact that the listeners have perceived the speaker as 'Inner Anatolian' that supports the findings given in the literature on the Turkish dialectology, there have also been other social meanings. As instances of these social meanings, *educatedness* is the preliminary one ascertained to the speaker. That is, speakers with the [x - g] variants have been perceived as someone who has low educational backgrounds. Building on this social meaning (i.e., 'uneducated persona'), the listeners have also perceived the speaker as someone who is 'less conscious', 'insensitive', 'unwilling', 'irresponsible', 'has mid and/or low socioeconomic backgrounds'.

In addition, the survey data have shown that social cues presented to the listeners have affected the perception. For instance, education level as a social cue has been observed as a determinant during the perception of the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the [x - g] variants. What is more, the quantitative data have also shown that the amount of social cue on the education level of the speaker has also influenced the perception. That is, the perceptions of the listeners have varied according to the degree of education level, e.g., high school graduate vs. Ph.D. graduate.

These findings show that the /k/ variation is not only geographical and/or dialectological, but it is also social. Considering this, the next section involves the discussion brought on the findings

given with respect to the sociolinguistic group interviews and matched guise surveys and lays out the *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008) built on the variant productions of the /k/.

5.2.3. Discussion

Building on the findings of the sociolinguistic interviews given in 5.2.1 and matched guise survey in 5.2.2, and by referring to the notion *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008), the current subsection draws on the discussion of the social meanings associated with the /k/ variation in Turkey.

The below Figure 5.10 involves the indexical fields associated with the /k/ variation.



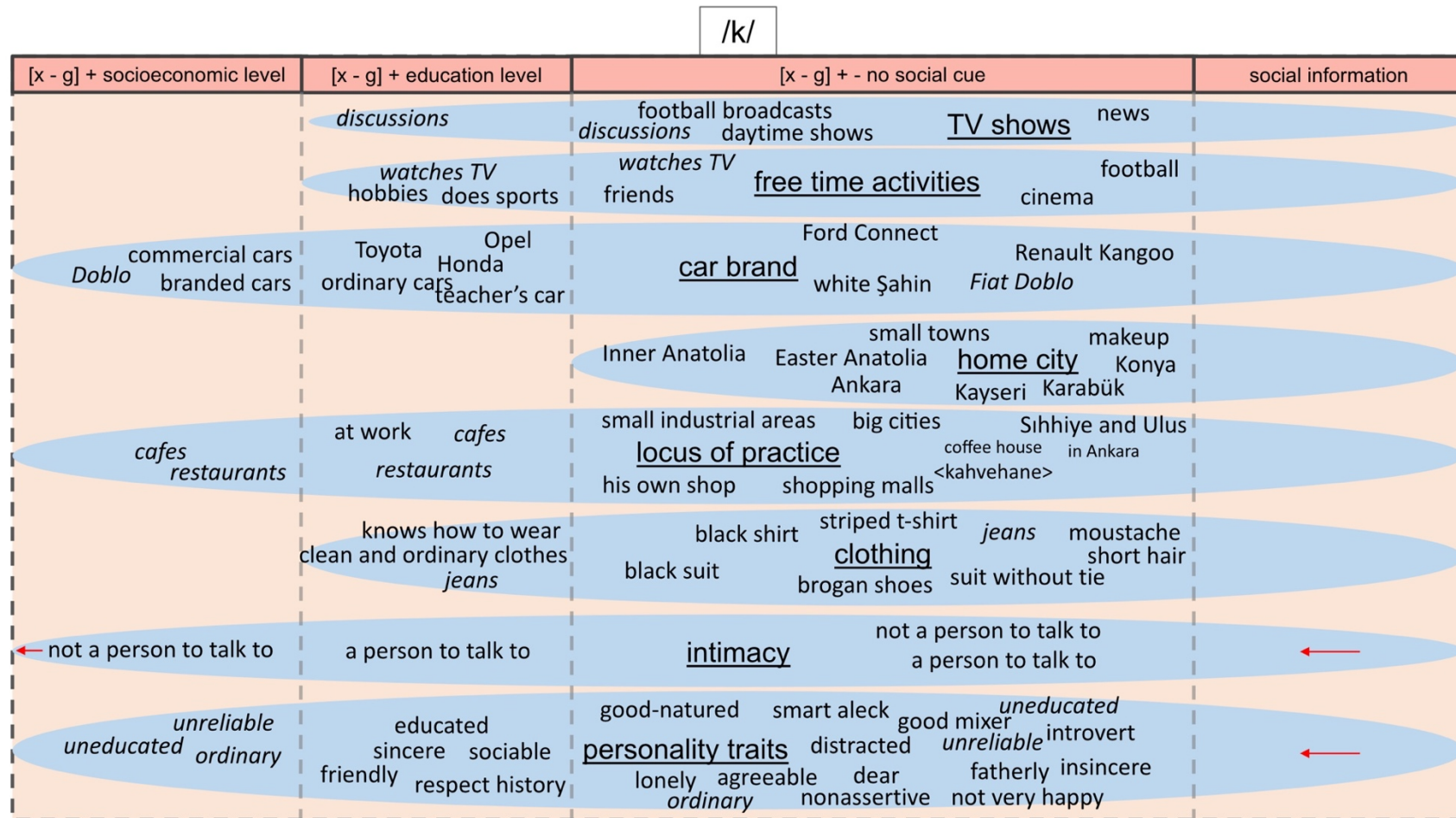


Figure 5.10. Indexical field of [x - g]. Blue circles=indexical frames, dashes=boundaries of social cues and social information, [x - g]+socioeconomic level=socioeconomic level as a social cue, [x - g]+education level=education level as a social cue, [x - g]+ no social cue=no social cue about the speaker, social information=social information used in perceiving the speaker, ←=stances observed.

In the Figure 5.10, the indexical field associated with the variant pronunciations of the /k/ variable has been given. In this regard, blue circles denote the indexical frames. The vertical dashes mark both the social cues presented to the listeners and social information employed by the listeners. That the blue circles lie over the dashed parts mean that social cue and social information are determinant in the formation of the indexical field. In addition, the red left arrow (←) stands for the stances that prevail in the social information as a resource for meaning perceiving process.

The findings suggest that listeners employ social information in perceiving the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves the variant pronunciations of the /k/ variable. In featuring the effect of social information in perception, the blue circles have been extended to the rightmost edge of the indexical field given in the Figure 5.10. In addition, in some themes (e.g., clothing, home city, free time activities and favourite TV shows), it has been found that socioeconomic level as a social cue has not been a determinant. Considering this, the blue circles do not cover the column denoting the contexts <[x - g]+socioeconomic level>. Similarly, in one theme (e.g., home city), social cues have not been observed to be a determinant in perceiving the speaker, and thus, that theme has not been covered by a blue circle. Furthermore, the red left arrow (←) that has been placed inside the intersection of indexical frames and social information marks that the listeners have developed a stance in perceiving the speaker.

Following the above given architectural descriptions on the current indexical field in the Figure 5.10, the interpretation of the indexical field has been brought with reference to three phenomena: (i) indexical field of /k/, (ii) social information used in perceiving the speaker and (iii) social cues that affect the perception.

Building on Silverstein's (1976) notions of *indexicality* and *indexical order* (Silverstein, 2003), the above representation follows the concept (i) *indexical field* elaborated by Eckert (2008). In Silverstein (2003), indexicality has been given with respect to the diachronic nature of social meaning, namely the *indexical order*. That is, social meanings range from 1st to nth order. Providing an instance for the concept *indexical order* with reference to the abstraction given in the above Figure 5.10, a 1st order indexicality can be viewed as a surface meaning, e.g., *using [x] in speaking*. This first order indexicality has the probability of carrying a social meaning, e.g., *an Inner Anatolian person*. This initial association, in turn, can be the starting point of further social meanings, e.g., *[x] employed by those who are from the Inner Anatolian region*. Again, on this initial meaning, another indexical association can be added, e.g., *Those Inner Anatolian people*

who employ [x] in their speech are not educated. Thinking of the interview and survey data, an interpretation in the sense of Silverstein (2003) can be brought. However, the framework adopted in the current work departs from Silverstein with regard to how indexicalities reflect the social meaning.

In bringing an account to the very general nature of social meaning, Eckert (2008) argues that n^{th} and n^{+1} order meanings reside within the same indexical field. Eckert's motivation in this argument underlies the fact that while the n^{th} order meaning "simply indexes membership in population", n^{+1} meaning flourishes through accumulations in the perceived attributes of the n^{th} order meaning (p. 463). In this regard, Eckert questions the ways how indexes pattern and organize across communities. As an answer to this metatheoretical inquiry, Eckert states that indexes float in "a fluid and ever-changing ideological field" (p. 464). Addressing the 'ever-changing nature' of the indexical field, she further points to the meaning making/perceiving process in the community; "meanings of variables are not precise or fixed, but rather constitute a field of potential meanings" (ibid., p. 453). In that vein, the social meanings associated with the /k/ variation have been abstracted with respect to the concept *indexical field*. In doing so, the current work enounces that the /k/ variation does not bear fixed social meaning, instead, it has the probability of changing based on the ideologies, social movements and social cues presented.

In the matter of the very general nature of the concept *indexical field*, which is not static but fluid, the interpretation given following Silverstein's (2003) *indexical order* can be revisited. For instance, instead of bearing a 1st order indexicality as *using [x] in speaking* and initial meaning as *[x] employed by those who are from the Inner Anatolian region*, it can be said that there might be such instances as social movements, stances, social types, social information and social cues that affect the social meaning making and/or perceiving process. As an instance for the social cues that are present during the perception, an occurrence of [x] in speech might be perceived as *educated and reliable* when the listeners know that the speaker has a high educational background and *uneducated and unreliable* in the absence of this social cue.

Another example on the fluidity of the indexical field can also be given in consideration with how stances affect the perception. Following Jaffe (2016), it can be stated that stance "is a uniquely productive way of conceptualizing the process of indexicalization that the link between individual performance and meaning making" (p. 4). That is, listeners bear the possibility of exploiting the semiotic resources in their social sphere to create and perceive social meaning. In the context of

the current analysis, it has been observed that in the themes personality traits (i.e., what personal characteristics are associated with the /k/ variation) and intimacy (i.e., whether listeners feel close to the speaker employing the /k/ variation), the listeners have developed a stance against the speaker. In this regard, they have yielded different interpretations. For instance, those listeners who are from Aegean part of Turkey (e.g., İzmir) have ascertained such social meanings as *unreliable* and *uneducated* while those from the Inner Anatolian region have associated the speaker with such traits as *good-natured*, *dear* and *fatherly*. In interpretation, it can be stated that the physical (i.e., geographical orientation) and social (i.e., closeness) distance between the listeners and speakers create a new context in which stances reproduce different personae.

On (ii) the social information used in perceiving the speaker, Niedzielski (1999) states that “social information is used by the listeners to calibrate the phonological space of speakers” (p. 83). Similarly, referring to and reviewing the previous studies given in the literature of sociolinguistics and/or sociophonetics, Campbell-Kibler (2010) and Drager (2010) note that listeners employ social information in perceiving the speaker. In the context of the perception of /k/ variation, the leading social information has been observed to be the regional variation. In this sense, these findings build upon what has been found by Bowie (2000) and Clopper and Pisoni (2004), in that, the amount of previous exposure to a regional variety affects speech processing and social traits attributed to the speaker. In the current work, it can be said that listeners’ regional backgrounds (i.e., where they live) affect what social information is used. However, this finding alone does not mean that the /k/ variation is purely geographical and/or dialectal since previous exposure to a regional variety does not simply imply geographically motivated social meaning.

In explaining the above argument, it can be stated that there have been instances where both social cue presented to and stances developed by the listeners override the social information on the regional variation. This observation can be linked to Bourdieu’s (1973) *habitus*, which is a system of intuitive patterns of thought and perceptions that operate between structures and practice (p. 72). In this regard, it can be said that perceiving the other is a social practice. In this social practice, it is impossible to set a diverging point between the *social* and *geographical*. Furthermore, *habitus* also involves a system of tendency that “produces practices in accordance with the schemes engendered by history” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 82). That is, regarding the regional variation as a specific point in time might keep the current effort away from its aims to bring an understanding on how social information affects the perception. Thus, in the formation of the indexical field associated with the /k/ variation, an explanation on the historical development of stances and

social resources (i.e., social information and social cues) are needed. This explanation, in turn, adds up to the social aspect of the information used in perception.

As it is evident in the interview data, by developing a stance in interaction, the participants who are from the Aegean Region (i.e., İzmir and Çanakkale) have responded negatively to a probable social encounter with the speaker in the hypothetical bus trip context. In addition, the same listeners have noted that they have not known a person whose sociolinguistic style involves variant pronunciations (i.e., [x - g]) of the /k/ variable. Instead, they have pointed to specific TV dramas and YouTube videos. In uncovering the historical trajectory of this observation, an interpretation can be brought with reference to the *social mobility* of the listeners who live in İzmir and Çanakkale.

The concept of *social mobility* here refers to the “orientation to oneself, to others and to the world” (Adey, 2010, p. xvii) and thus, it does not go in the same line with Labov (1966) who tackles the mobility phenomenon with regard to language users’ static nature that can be uncovered through quantitative correlational perspectives. That is, as Pennycook (2012) states, mobility does not only refer to the actual movement of people, it also denotes the mobility of linguistic and sociolinguistic resources. Considering this, mobility can be regarded as the interaction through which sociolinguistic and semiotic resources, and styles are organized (Theodoropoulou, 2015, p. 55). In that vein, it is impossible to state that the listeners develop a stance just because of the fact that there are not anybody who employ the variant pronunciations of the /k/ variable in their very environment, or they have been in a city in which the /k/ variable is salient. In addition, their stances can also be affected by a popular figure and/or persona that has been constructed in TV dramas and/or popular culture. Hereby, the semiotic resources linked to the constructed persona become an inherent part of the listeners’ *habitus*.

In supporting the argument that the /k/ variation is social, another evidence can be given with regard to how social cues override social information in certain contexts. For instance, the /k/ variable, which carries such social meanings as *Inner Anatolian*, *rural* and *uneducated* with regard to its inherent social information, has been associated with an *urban*, *educated* and *reliable persona* in both the interviews and survey when the listeners have been provided with a high educational background for the speaker. Considering this, it can be stated that attributing social traits (i.e., high educational background) to speaker have changed the inherent social meanings associated with the speaker.

On the effect of (iii) social cue (i.e., additional information about the speaker) on perception, the current work has employed three contexts; in the first context, the listeners have not been provided with a social cue about the speaker. In the second context, the listeners have been provided with education level as a social cue (e.g., This person is a Ph.D. graduate) and in the third context, the social cue has been presented with regard to socioeconomic level of the speaker (e.g., This person earns 10000 Turkish Liras per month). Following the indexical field given in the Figure 5.10, it has been observed that social cues about the speakers behave differently with regard to the themes employed. For instance, while both of the social cues have been at work in perceiving the speaker along with specific intimacy relations (i.e., whether one talks to the speaker or not), locus of practice (i.e., where the speaker visits and/or has time in his free times) and car brand, none of them have affected the perception considering the home city (i.e., where the speaker is from) of the speaker. In addition, socioeconomic level as a social cue has not been a determinant in four contexts, e.g., personality traits (i.e., social attributes on the speaker), clothing (i.e., the clothing preference associated with the speaker), free time activities and favourite TV programs. Below lines discuss these findings in regard to two phenomena: the employment of social cue in relation with the themes and the precedence of education level over socioeconomic level as a social cue.

Considering how speakers employ the social cues presented to them in distinct themes, it can be stated that social cues about the speaker interact with the themes in which the perception occurs. That is, listeners pay attention to the social cues depending on the theme in which they evaluate the speaker. For instance, it has been observed that while the listeners have relied on social cues in the theme of locus of practice (i.e., where the speaker visits and/or has time in his free times), they disregarded the social cues presented to them in the theme of the home city of the speaker (i.e., where the speaker is from). This shows that there is an inherent indexical association between the variant pronunciations (e.g., [x - g]) of the /k/ variable and regional variation (e.g., Inner Anatolian region). This can be explained by referring to *context-sensitive* nature of indexicality (Kiesling, 2009). That is, the indexical interpretation on the [x - g] by the listeners is highly sensitive to the theme and/or context of the home city of the speaker. Thus, when the listeners have been asked to yield their perceptions on the speaker whose sociolinguistic style involves [x - g] variants, they are liable to associate the speaker to the Inner Anatolian region regardless of the social cues presented to them. In this regard, it can be forwarded that social cues on the education and socioeconomic level do not interact with the theme of the home city (of the speaker).

Another interpretation on the ineffectiveness of the social cues in associating the speaker with a home city can be brought with reference to how indexicalities are conventionalized. That is, indexical meaning making and/or perceiving process, which is contextual, can become conventionalized and thus perceived as *iconic*. In this regard, it can be stated that the [x - g] variants are *iconic* in their interpretation. Hence, when a listener first hears those variables uttered by a speaker, he and/or she has strong evidences and thus links in associating the speaker with Inner Anatolia. Considering this, it can be concluded that the design of the current work does not involve a social cue on the home city of the speaker. Thus, as a note for further studies, this observation can be challenged by inserting a social cue about the home city of the speaker during perception.

Thinking of the home city of the speaker with regard to urban vs. rural distinction, it has been observed that the amount and/or type of similar social cue has affected the perception. That is, ascribing low educational background (i.e., high-school graduate) to speaker has resulted in a social meaning that the speaker lives in rural parts of the Inner Anatolia. However, when the speaker has been presented as someone who has high educational background (i.e., Ph. D. graduate), the listeners have perceived the speaker as someone who lives in Inner Anatolian cities. Hence, this finding evidences that although social meanings associated with the [x - g] variants are *iconic* in its geographical distribution, it is *indexical* when it comes to urban vs. rural judgment. This finding provides an evidence for the argument that the /k/ variation is social.

Considering the themes of the locus of practice (i.e., where the speaker visits and/or has time in his free times) and car brand, the listeners have relied on the social cues presented to them. That is, the cues on the education and socioeconomic level have affected listeners' perception of the speaker. In this regard, it can be stated that social cues presented to the listeners have created a new context in perceiving the locus of practice and car brand of the speaker. For instance, In the presence of education and socioeconomic level as a social cue, the listeners have interpreted the [x - g] variants by taking the speaker persona's education level into account, e.g., An educated speaker would spend his time in a *restaurant* instead of *kahvehane*. Thus, the listeners have formed associations between the customer profile-pricing and education and socioeconomic level of those places. Similarly, in the presence of socioeconomic level as a social cue, the listeners have yielded a car brand depending on the income of the speaker.

In regard to the precedence of education level on socioeconomic level as a social cue, it has been observed that social cue on the education level of the speaker has overridden the socioeconomic level in the themes of personality traits (i.e., social attributes on the speaker), clothing (i.e., clothing preferences associated with the speaker), free time activities and favourite TV programs. Both the interview and survey data have shown that education level is one of the inherent associations of the /k/ variation in Turkey. In that vein, when the listeners have been provided with a social cue about the education level of the speaker, they have revisited their previous perceptions. For instance, in the case of personality traits, interview and survey data have shown that perceived education level of the speaker have been accompanied by other social meanings within the same indexical field, e.g., trustworthiness, sensitiveness, responsibility and consciousness.

This chapter, which has attempted to bring an understanding on the social meaning perceiving process of the /k/ variation in Turkey, concludes that listeners employ semiotic resources in their environments during perception. Those semiotic resources, which have been tackled in terms of social cues and social information, interact with the contexts in which speakers are perceived. Hence, it can be stated that depending on the context, listeners decide on which semiotic resources are employed. This finding suggests that regional variation is not the sole semiotic resource in perceiving the speaker, there are also social aspects that affect the perception. In conclusion, /k/ variation in Turkey is not *purely* geographical and/or regional, it is *also* social.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The present perception study has attempted to uncover the social meaning perceiving process of two sociophonetic variables in Turkish and in this regard, established a starting point for the future research inquiries in the very context of Turkish sociolinguistics. Hypothesizing that variant pronunciations of alveolar flap /ɾ/ and velar stop /k/ variables are salient in perception, the current work has revealed the social meanings associated with these variables through a perception experiment. With respect to these preliminaries, the current chapter has been organized as follows: In the following section 6.1, a brief overview of the work process has been laid out. In 6.2, the research questions have been addressed. The section 6.3 puts forward the significance of the current attempt in relation with the research questions. In 6.4, limitations of the dissertation have been highlighted and the section 6.5 points to some recommendations for future research.

6.1. OVERVIEW

In uncovering the social meanings associated with alveolar flap /ɾ/ and velar stop /k/ variables in Turkish, the alveolar flap /ɾ/ has been tackled in consideration with its alveolar approximant [ɹ] variant, and velar stop /k/ has been addressed regarding its velar fricative [x] and velar stop [g] variants. By employing three sociolinguistic data elicitation tasks (i.e., map task, sociolinguistic interviews and read speech), the speech stimuli have been constructed as phrases and sentences and later presented to the perception of listeners through sociolinguistic group interviews and matched guise survey. While the sociolinguistic group interviews have been conducted on the /ɾ/ and /k/ variables, the survey has only tackled the social meanings associated with the /k/ variable.

Considering the /t/ and /k/ variables, which are thought to be one of the most salient sociophonetic variables in everyday interaction, the /t/ is a phenomenon that has not drawn the attention of the scholars in the field. On the other hand, the /k/ variation has been a popular phenomenon in the field of Turkish dialectology (see, e.g., Caferoğlu, 1951, 1963; Demir, 2013; Gemalmaz, 1978; Olcay, 1963 among others).

Thirty sociolinguistic group interviews have been conducted with 110 listeners in five cities. In the interviews, the participants have been purposefully sampled with regard to the cities that the interviews take place. Furthermore, three contexts have been employed in the group interviews. These contexts have been determined with regard to the presence and/or absence and type of the social cues (i.e., additional information about the speaker presented to the listeners) that have been presented verbally. In the first context, the listeners have only listened to the speech stimuli and asked about their implications on the variables in the absence of social cues. In the second context, the listeners have been informed about the education level (i.e., high and/or low educational background) of the speaker prior to the listening task and in the third context, the listeners have been provided with the socioeconomic level (i.e., high and/or low average salary) of the speaker.

In the matched guise surveys that have focused on the /k/ variable, listeners (N=228) have been asked to rate the speaker through Likert and checkbox variables. Similar to that of interviews, the listeners have been provided with social cues about the speaker. The social cues have been presented as texts.

In interpreting the qualitative data that have been obtained through sociolinguistic group interviews, analytical tools provided by the ethnomethodological conversation analysis (Sacks et al., 1974) have been adopted. Furthermore, in interpreting the quantitative survey data, exploratory factor analysis has been conducted.

The interpretations have later been tackled with respect to the theoretical framework followed in the dissertation. In this regard, a reading in line with the theory of *indexicality* has been brought. In that vein, such terms as *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008), *stance* (Jaffe, 2009, 2016; Kiesling, 2009) and *iconization/rhematization* (Gal, 2016; Irvine & Gal, 2000) have been addressed in discussing the findings.

Following the above given brief outline, the next section addresses the research questions of the present work.

6.2. ADDRESSING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The current research motivation draws on four research questions. The initial two research questions address the social meanings associated with the /r/ and /k/ variables. The third research question aims to bring an understanding to the semiotic resources employed during the perception and the last research question addresses the concept of *stance* in the meaning perceiving process.

In regard to the first research inquiry that focuses on the perception of the alveolar approximant /r/ variation, the research question that has been addressed is;

- 1) How does the indexical pronunciation of /r/ (and its variant) interface with the perceptions of listeners on the accounts of;
 - c) tiki subculture,
 - d) sexual orientation.

Responding to the above research question on the /r/, it can be stated that the hypothesis laid out prior to the study has been verified. That is, variant pronunciation of the /r/, which is alveolar approximant [ɹ] in the context of the current study, is salient in the perception of listeners. In this regard, a single variant denotes distinct social meanings with regard to two particular social personae, (a) *tiki* and (b) *gay men*.

In regard to the perception of /r/ along with (a) the *tiki* subculture, which is formed by wealthy young people – mostly girls – or those who want to be and thus seem like that, and (b) gay men, it has been found that the social meaning perceiving process is bound to the context in which the interaction occurs. In the current work, the context of interaction has been set by themes (e.g., personality traits, locus of practice, home city, clothing, etc.) that come with questions (e.g., *What is your initial thoughts and/or impressions of the speaker?* or *What would you say about the clothing style of this speaker?*, etc.), social information (i.e., the information used by the listeners in perceiving the speaker) and social cues (i.e., the information presented to the listeners prior to the listening task). Thus, for instance, in a context *COMX*, while listeners bear the probability of relying solely on their social sphere to extract social information, in another context *CONY*, they have the probability of prioritizing the social cues presented to them through disregarding the

social information found in their social sphere. This finding asserts that social meaning perceiving process is dynamic.

The dynamic nature of social meaning perceiving process corresponds to Eckert's (2008) notion of *indexical field* as "meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings" (p. 453). In the context of this study, it can be stated that different social meanings of a single variable emerge depending on the context of interaction.

By taking the dynamicity of the social meaning perceiving process, it can be said that listeners have perceived the [ɪ] variant of the /ɪ/ variable along with *tiki* subculture and projected a female persona who has such diverse personality traits as 'deceivable', 'unlovely', 'friendly', 'kind', 'talkative', 'wannabe', 'showboat', 'diffident'; whose locus of practice involves 'shopping malls', 'cafes', 'summer resorts', 'attractive streets' and 'private universities'; who is from 'big cities', 'İstanbul', 'İzmir' and 'seaside cities'; whose clothing preference involves 'white', 'purple', 'branded clothes', 'expensive clothes', 'UGG', 'makeup', 'dyed and yellow hair'; who spends her time with 'watching TV', 'self-care', 'gossiping', 'shopping', 'travelling' and 'reading'; and who prefers 'magazine programs', 'what I wear shows', 'daytime programs' and 'TV programs for women' on TV. These social meanings contribute to what has been provided by Lüküslü (2005) and Korkmaz (2006), and provide an evidence from a perception study.

In the same consideration, it has been observed that the listeners have perceived the [ɪ] variant of the /ɪ/ variable alongside gay men and constructed a persona whose personality traits are 'empathetic', 'talkative', 'polite', 'peaceful', 'sincere', 'friendly' and 'happy'; who spends his time in such places as 'specific places', 'clubs/associations', 'night clubs' 'Bebek, Beşiktaş and Nişantaşı districts of İstanbul' and 'Konak district of İzmir'; who is from 'Marmara and Aegean regions', 'seaside cities' and 'big cities'; whose clothing preference involves 'pastel colours', 'light coloured shirts', 'jeans' and 'branded clothes'; whose free times activities range from 'clubs and discos' to 'self-care', and to 'reading books'; and who prefers 'daytime shows' and 'dramas' on TV.

Considering the [ɪ] variant of the /ɪ/ variable that indexes gay men, a distinct observation has been noted among a group of people who are members of a youth organization that share socially conservative heteronormative judgments over homosexuality. In the interactional context that has taken place among this group, by disregarding the social cues presented to them, the listeners

have employed the social information associated with heteronormativity and projected a gay persona whose sociolinguistic style indexes negative social meanings. One might think that this observation opposes to the dynamic nature of meaning perceiving process since the listeners have yielded a range of similar ‘negative’ social meanings. However, when the entire meaning perceiving process is tackled with respect to the single variant, it is saliently observable that the same single variable has the probability of bearing ‘positive’ social meanings in different interactional contexts. Thus, it builds up to the argument that social meaning perceiving process is dynamic.

The second research question of the dissertation bears the same motivation with the first inquiry. However, different from the first research question, it has tackled an already-established phenomenon in Turkish dialectology:

- 2) How do the indexical pronunciations of /k/ (and its variants), which have been reported to show regional variation, interface with the perceptions of listeners?

The second research inquiry has addressed a regional phenomenon in Turkey, the [x] and [g] variants of the /k/ variable. Similar to that of given for the first question, the context of interaction has been observed to be a determinant for the social meanings associated with the /k/ variation. That is, the indexical associations of the /k/ variable is dynamic in the sense of the interactional context in which perception takes place.

Furthermore, it has been found that the regional associations of the /k/ variation have saturated when the listeners have been provided with social cues. For instance, when the listeners have been equipped with additional information (i.e., social cue) about the speaker such as high educational background, they have changed their perceptions. This shows that social cues override the regional information about the speaker. In that vein, it can be argued that the /k/ variation is not a pure regional phenomenon, it is also social.

In the social meaning perceiving process of the /k/ variation, and in consideration with the dynamic nature of the social meaning perceiving process, it can be stated that the listeners have yielded a persona whose personality traits involve such social attributes as ‘good-natured’, ‘smart-aleck’, ‘good-mixer’, ‘ordinary’, ‘sincere’, ‘uneducated’, ‘respectful to the past’, ‘unreliable’, ‘introvert’, ‘fatherly’, ‘nonassertive’ and ‘friendly’; whose clothing style consists of ‘black shirt’, ‘jeans’, ‘black suit’, ‘suit without tie’, ‘short hair’ and ‘moustache’; who spends his time at such

places as ‘traditional coffee houses’, ‘cafes’, ‘restaurants’, ‘small industrial areas’, ‘his own shop’ and ‘Sıhhiye and Ulus districts of Ankara’; who is from ‘Inner Anatolia’, ‘Eastern Anatolia’, ‘Ankara’ and ‘small towns’, whose car brands and classes involve ‘commercial cars’, ‘Doblo’, ‘white Şahin’, ‘Toyota’, ‘Opel’ and ‘ordinary cars’; whose free times activities include ‘watching TV’, ‘going to cinema’, ‘watching football broadcasts’ and ‘having times with friends’; and who prefers ‘football broadcasts’, ‘discussion programs’, ‘daytime shows’ and ‘news’ on TV.

The third research question of the dissertation addresses the social resources employed by the listeners during perception. The term ‘social resources’ is employed to refer to social information and social cues. While ‘social information’ refers to the already-existing knowledge of the listeners, ‘social cue’ denotes the additional information given to the listeners prior to the listening task. The third research inquiry can be given as follows:

- 3) What social resources (i.e., social information and/or social cue) are used in perceiving the others considering /t/ and /k/?

Considering the above research question, it has been found that listeners employ both the social information and social cues in perceiving the speaker. In this regard, this finding follows the well-established phenomenon in the sociolinguistic literature (see, e.g., Drager, 2011; Hay, Nolan, et al., 2006; Hay, Warren, et al., 2006; Koops et al., 2008a; Niedzielski, 1999; Staum Casasanto, 2008 among others). However, they exploit these social resources by taking the context of interaction into account. This finding can be addressed with specific references to the social information and social cues.

First of all, it has been found that the listeners exploit the semiotic resources found in their social sphere. For instance, in the perception of the variables that have been tackled in the current work, the listeners have referred to various semiotic resources such as their community of practice (e.g., a close friend, colleague or family member, etc.) and popular culture (e.g., a specific character in TV series, YouTube videos, etc.). These semiotic resources, which are regarded as the social information used by the listeners, have been determinant in the social meaning perceiving process.

Secondly, in the current work, listeners have been provided with social cues about the speaker before they listen to the speech stimuli. These social cues have been presented with respect to education level (i.e., educational background as high and/or low) and socioeconomic level (i.e., average salary as high and/or low). In this regard, it can be asserted that in addition to the social

information, the listeners have also employed social cues in perceiving the speaker. However, this observation cannot be taken for granted or generalized for the entire perception process because semiotic resources (i.e., social information and social cues) compete in the context of interaction.

The competition between the social information and social cues is dependent on both the sociophonetic variable and the context in which the variable is employed. For example, on the one hand, in a context *CONX* in which the sociophonetic variable *VARX* is presented to the listeners with respect to the perceived home city of the speaker, the social cues equipped with the education level (e.g., high educational background) of the speaker might not draw the attention of the listeners and thus, not employed. On the other hand, in a different context *CONY*, in which the same variable *VARX* is presented to the listeners considering the clothing style of the speaker, the same social cue on the education level of the speaker might be employed to ascertain specific social meanings to the speaker.

Similarly, the social cues have also been in competition depending on the context of interaction. In the current work, the major finding that can be given in this regard is that social cues on the education level of the speaker have overridden the cues on the socioeconomic level.

The last research question addresses one of the theoretical constructs of the dissertation, *stance*. Considering this, the fourth research question can be given as;

- 4) How do different stances of the listeners affect speech processing with respect to /t/ and /k/?

The above research question draws on the concept *stance* (Jaffe, 2009; Kiesling, 2009) which is visible in the interactional context of the meaning perceiving process. Jaffe (2009) describes stance as a constructive mediator between the indexicalization and individual performances (p. 4). In line with this, listeners' stances have been observed to be permeable to the indexical field drawn on the /t/ and /k/ variables. However, depending on the context of interaction, these stances have been observed to get involved in the process of indexicalization in two distinct fashions. On one hand, while stances of the listeners have affected the indexical weight and thus formed another indexical association, on the other hand, they saturated the indexicality of the sociophonetic variables to form *iconic* connections.

Considering how the stances of the listeners affect the indexical weight of a variable, the current work provides an evidence from the meaning perceiving process through which listeners ascertain specific personality traits to speaker. As an instance for this evidence, it has been found that ‘positive’ personality traits bear the probability of adopting ‘negative’ weights when listeners put their stances in the perception process. For example, in the interviews, a speaker who has previously been associated with such positive personality traits as ‘honest’ has later been projected as someone who is ‘mannered’ when the listeners have put their stances forward.

On how stances saturate the indexicality of the sociophonetic variables and thus create purely iconic connections, the present study provides an evidence from an interactional context in which the listeners are formed by a group of people whose community of practice primes socially conservative and heteronormative judgments on the sociophonetic variable which is found in the sociolinguistic style of gay men, specifically the [ɪ] variant of the /ɪ/ variable. In other words, it can be said that in these contexts, the ‘pointing’ relationship of the variant has the probability of turning out to be an ‘integrated’ one. Hence, it can be said that when an indexical sign becomes conventional, it develops into an iconic sign. That is, when a listener hear a linguistic variable, he and/or she, instead of making use of contextual cues (e.g., social information, social cues, etc.) and recalling indexical associations, rely on already-established knowledge and form ‘direct’ and iconic connections.

The ‘already-established knowledge’ of the listeners, which is institutionalized heteronormativity in the context of the present work, can be regarded as the source of stances taken by the listeners. Hence, linguistic variables, when interpreted through the stances of the listeners, bear conventional and stereotypical associations and these associations help listeners in forming further iconic and/or stereotypical connections between linguistic variables and social meanings. In relation with this finding, it can be noted that stance-taking is inherent to the culture-bound ideology and becomes institutionalized throughout the intergenerational interaction (Coupland, Coupland, & Giles, 1991; Giles, Fox, & Smith, 1993). In addition, as Agha (2003; 2005) states, stance-taking is performed in a systematic and ritualized ways in specific contexts. Thus, it can be concluded that the listeners, who make use of institutionalized knowledge of heteronormativity, have laid out their stereotypical and iconic interpretations on the sociophonetic variables employed in the current work.

6.3. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS

The current work, which is an initial attempt in the sociolinguistic literature on Turkish with regard to social meanings associated with sociophonetic variables, has yielded findings that carry importance in consideration with certain notions in the sociolinguistic literature.

First of all, the current work has tackled two distinct series of social meanings associated with the single sociophonetic variant, e.g., the [ɪ]. These social meanings have been uncovered in relation with two distinct social meanings, e.g., *tiki* subculture and *gay men*. When produced by a female speaker, listeners have perceived the [ɪ] variant as a salient component of the sociolinguistic style of a *tiki* persona, while they have perceived the same variant along with a *gay* persona when produced by a male speaker.

Secondly, building on the argument given on the literature of Turkish dialectology, this study has established that the /k/ variation is not purely geographical, but also social. Evidence for this finding has been given with regard to how listeners attend to social information and social cues in ascertaining specific social meanings to the /k/ variable.

Thirdly, the sociolinguistic group interviews conducted in the present study have uncovered the relationship between the sociophonetic variant perceived, the context of interaction and the perceived persona of the speaker. That is, listeners' perception of the speaker persona interacts with the context of interaction. In other words, it can be stated that context of interaction, which has been formulated through social cues, themes and listeners' backgrounds in the current work, is a mediator between listeners' perception and the social persona of the speaker.

Another significance of the study arises from the research inquiry on how stances of the listeners affect the perception. In this regard, this study has found that listeners' stances are mediators in the social meaning perceiving process. In this process, listeners' stances and their level of stance-takings calibrate whether a sociophonetic variable bear indexical or iconic associations. Thus, it can be stated that in the presence of an institutional knowledge that possesses inherent stances against a social persona, the perception of sociophonetic variables might be interpreted stereotypically and/or iconic. However, when there is not an inherent stance associated with a variant and/or persona, the social meaning perceiving process might remain contextual and/or indexical.

Lastly, this initial work provides an insight for the future studies on Turkish sociolinguistics with respect to its research questions and methodology. Related with this, the current work points to further research inquiries that needs to be addressed and proposes a methodology for how to employ these research questions.

6.4. LIMITATIONS

Because of the fact that the current inquiry has tackled an untouched phenomenon in the very context of Turkey, it has faced with several limitations. These limitations can be addressed by referring to the variables, hypothesis and methodology.

The present perception study has drawn on variant pronunciations of two sociophonetic variables, e.g., /ɾ/ and /k/, which have not been tackled in speech production literature in Turkey. Although the /k/ variation has been described in the literature of the Turkish dialectology, those descriptions remain unsatisfying in the context of the current work. In that vein, the fact that the current work has not addressed and/or pointed to any speech production study with regard to the sociophonetic variables employed constitute the first limitation.

The above mentioned limitation on the sociophonetic variables has also imposed another limitation that can be forwarded in relation with the hypothesis of the current work. Since the present study has not addressed a production study that deals with the social meanings associated with the variables, the hypothesis on the saliency of the variables in perception has been formulated through the researcher's own observations and the pilot study conducted prior to the current work.

The last limitation of this study originates in the methodology. Since the current work has been given along with the sociolinguistics tradition in Turkey, where there have not been any endeavour in bringing a sociolinguistic account into language variation, this limitation has been overcome by employing a year-long pilot study. With the experiences obtained through the pilot study, the experimental design of the current work has been constructed to minimize the limitations.

6.5. FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings yielded by the current work suggest further studies that bring an insight on the sociolinguistic variation in the social sphere of Turkey. These motivations for the further research inquiries can be given by referring to four phenomena: need for production studies, addressing regional variation as a starting point, the interrelationship between interactional context, the variable and social persona, and findings that address the literature of social psychology.

Firstly, in order to bring a well-established account for a perception phenomenon, there is a need for obtaining evidences from production studies. This need for evidence, which is also a limitation for the current work, might provide a perception study with fine-grained research questions. In this regard, as the first step in bringing an account into the sociolinguistic variation in Turkey, studies focusing on *how* and *why* people adopt and/or transmit certain sociolinguistic styles can be conducted to establish a groundwork for future perception studies.

Although there have not been any study focusing on the sociolinguistic variation in term of Turkish, the literature on the Turkish dialectology involves ample descriptions on the regional variation. As a starting point for the future perception studies, the researchers can also address the findings and/or descriptions given by the scholars working on the dialectology of Turkic languages.

Building on the findings of the current work and addressing them in future research inquiries, studies focusing on the interrelationship between the interactional context, the sociophonetic variable and social persona can be conducted. As an instance for this in the current work, it has been stated that perception of the speaker persona interacts with the context of interaction. In order to bring more insights into this interrelationship, future studies can tackle similar social personae in different interactional contexts and thus, have the probability of adding on and/or challenging the findings given by the current work.

Lastly, along with such social attributes as where speaker is from, what educational background that speaker possesses and what socioeconomic background that the speaker is from, the current work has also tackled speaker's perceived personality traits, which has been the concern of social psychology. Although this study has dealt with personality traits with respect to relative attitudes of listeners on two linguistic variables, it has yielded implications for psychosocial nature of mental processes that occur during perception. Thus, the findings can also be addressed by future

inquiries in the field of social psychology that aims to uncover what kind of information and/or mental processes occur in perceiving speech in the very context of Turkey.



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Appendix 1

Participant consent form of the sociolinguistic group interviews

Toplumsal anlamı dizinleme: Toplumsesbilgisel değişkenler ve Türkçe üzerindeki dinleyici algısı

Hacettepe Üniversitesi İngiliz Dilbilimi Bölümü'nden Prof. Dr. Işıl Özyıldırım ve Arş. Gör. Emre Yağlı tarafından yürütülmekte olan ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Etik Komisyonu tarafından onaylanmış *Toplumsal anlamı dizinleme: Toplumsesbilgisel değişkenler ve Türkçe üzerindeki dinleyici algısı* adlı bu çalışmanın amacı, dilsel birimler üzerinde gerçekleşen söyleyiş farklılıklarının hangi toplumsal anlamlar çerçevesinde algılandığını ortaya çıkarmaktır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda bireyler ile mülakatlar yapılmaktadır.

Çalışma kapsamında sizden istenecek demografik bilgiler çalışma açısından önemli olduğu için ilgili bilgileri eksiksiz doldurmanızı önemle rica ederiz. Bilimsel araştırma yöntemi dâhilinde yürütülen bu çalışmada veriler toplu bir şekilde değerlendirileceği için kişisel ya da kişiye yönelik bir çözümleme yapılmayacaktır. Kimlik bilgisi olmadan toplanan bu veriler büyük bir gizlilik içinde saklanacak ve kimseyle paylaşılmayacaktır.

Bu mülakatta Türkçe konuşan bireyler tarafından üretilmiş olan bir dizi ses ve bu seslere yönelik sorular bulunmaktadır. Çalışmaya katılmak ve soruları yanıtlamak tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Soruları yanıtlarken özel bulduğunuz ya da yanıt vermek istemediğiniz soruları lütfen cevaplamayınız.

Çalışmaya katılmayı kendi isteğinizle kabul etmeniz durumunda araştırmaya gönüllü olarak katılmayı onayladığınızı ifade eden kutucuğu işaretlemeniz bilimsel araştırma etik ilkeleri açısından büyük önem taşımaktadır.

Bu araştırmaya katılımınız için çok teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Hacettepe Üniversitesi İngiliz Dilbilimi Bölümü'nden Araştırma Görevlisi Emre Yağlı ile (0312 780 7283 – yagli@hacettepe.edu.tr) ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

1. Araştırmaya katılmayı onaylıyor musunuz?

Evet ☐

Hayır ☐

2. Yaş

3. Cinsiyet	
4. Beş yıldan fazla yaşadığınız şehir(ler)	
5. Meslek	
6. En son mezun olduğunuz okul düzeyi	
İlköğretim	☐
Lise ve dengi	☐
Ön lisans	☐
Lisans	☐
Lisansüstü	☐

Appendix 2

Ethics permit

The experimental design adopted in the dissertation has been approved by Hacettepe University Academic Ethics Board. Below is the ethics permit which was issued in March 22, 2016 with an issue number of 431/893.



**T.C.
HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ**
Rektörlük

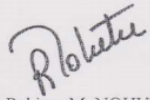
Sayı : 35853172/ 431-893

28 Mart 2016

EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ DEKANLIĞINA

Fakülteniz İngiliz Dilbilimi Bölümü öğretim üyesi **Prof. Dr. Işıl ÖZYILDIRIM** danışmanlığında doktora programı öğrencilerinden **Arş. Gör. Emre YAĞLI**'nin yürüttüğü **"Toplumsal Anlamı Dizinleme: Toplumsesbilgisel Değişkenler ve Türkçe Üzerindeki Dinleyici Algısı"** başlıklı tez çalışması, Üniversitemiz Senatosu Etik Komisyonunun **22 Mart 2016** tarihinde yapmış olduğu toplantıda incelenmiş olup, etik açıdan uygun bulunmuştur.

Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini rica ederim.



Prof. Dr. Rahime M. NOHUTCU
Rektör a.
Rektör Yardımcısı

Hacettepe Üniversitesi Rektörlük 06100 Sıhhiye-Ankara
Telefon: 0 (312) 305 3001 - 3002 • Faks: 0 (312) 311 9992
E-posta: yazimd@hacettepe.edu.tr • www.hacettepe.edu.tr

Ayrıntılı Bilgi için:
Yazı İşleri Müdürlüğü
0 (312) 305 1008

Appendix 3

The matched guise survey employed in the dissertation

In obtaining the listeners' perceptions on the velar stop /k/ variable and its variants, the below matched guise survey has been designed.

1	Katılım Onayı	2	Bilgileriniz	3	Ses Parçası 1	4	Ses Parçası 2	5	Ses Parçası 3	6	Ses Parçası 4	7	Ses Parçası 5
8	Ses Parçası 6	9	Ses Parçası 7	10	Ses Parçası 8	11	Ses Parçası 9	12	Ses Parçası 10	13	Ses Parçası 11	14	Ses Parçası 12
15	Ses Parçası 13	16	Ses Parçası 14	17	Ses Parçası 15	18	Ses Parçası 16	19	Ses Parçası 17				

Toplumsesbilgisel değişkenler ve dinleyici algısı

Hacettepe Üniversitesi İngiliz Dilbilimi Bölümü'nden Prof. Dr. Işıl Özyıldırım danışmanlığında Arş. Gör. Emre Yağlı tarafından yürütülmekte olan ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Etik Komisyonu tarafından onaylanmış *Toplumsal anlamı dizinleme: Toplumsesbilgisel değişkenler ve Türkçe üzerindeki dinleyici algısı* adlı bu çalışmanın amacı, dilsel birimler üzerinde gerçekleşen söyleyiş farklılıklarının hangi toplumsal anlamlar çerçevesinde algılandığını ortaya çıkarmaktır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda bireylerden bu formu doldurmaları istenmektedir.

Çalışma kapsamında sizden istenecek demografik bilgiler çalışma açısından önemli olduğu için ilgili bilgileri eksiksiz doldurmanızı önemle rica ederiz. Bilimsel araştırma yöntemi dâhilinde yürütülen bu çalışmada veriler toplum bir şekilde değerlendirileceği için kişisel ya da kişiye yönelik bir çözümleme yapılmayacaktır. Kimlik bilgisi olmadan toplanan bu veriler büyük bir gizlilik içinde saklanacak ve kimseyle paylaşılmayacaktır.

Bu formda Türkçe konuşucular tarafından üretilmiş olan bir dizi ses ve bu seslere yönelik sorular bulunmaktadır. Çalışmaya katılmak ve soruları yanıtlamak tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Soruları yanıtlarken özel bulduğunuz ya da yanıt vermek istemediğiniz soruları lütfen cevaplamayınız.

Çalışmaya katılmayı kendi isteğinizle kabul etmeniz durumunda araştırmaya gönüllü olarak katılmayı onayladığınızı ifade eden kutucuğu işaretlemeniz bilimsel araştırma etik ilkeleri açısından büyük önem taşımaktadır.

Bu araştırmaya katılımınız için çok teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Hacettepe Üniversitesi İngiliz Dilbilimi Bölümü'nden Araştırma Görevlisi Emre Yağlı ile (0312 780 7283 – yaqli@hacettepe.edu.tr) ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

1	Katılım Onayı	2	Bilgileriniz	3	Ses Parçası 1	4	Ses Parçası 2	5	Ses Parçası 3	6	Ses Parçası 4	7	Ses Parçası 5
8	Ses Parçası 6	9	Ses Parçası 7	10	Ses Parçası 8	11	Ses Parçası 9	12	Ses Parçası 10	13	Ses Parçası 11	14	Ses Parçası 12
15	Ses Parçası 13	16	Ses Parçası 14	17	Ses Parçası 15	18	Ses Parçası 16	19	Ses Parçası 17				

VERİLERİNİZİ SAKLAYIN

3 Yaş

4 Cinsiyet

5 Beş yıldan fazla yaşadığınız şehir(ler)

6 Meslek

7 En son tamamladığınız okulun düzeyi

☐ İlköğretim
 ☐ Lise ve dengi
 ☐ Ön lisans
 ☐ Lisans
 ☐ Lisansüstü

Aşağıda duyacağınız sesler kişilerden yaptıkları yol tarifi sırasında alınmıştır.

Bu çerçevede, "X caddesinden sola dön, ilerle, Z'nin yanında sağa dön, çık vb." ifadeler duyacaksınız.

Dinleyeceğiniz bazı ses parçalarında konuşan kişiye dair bilgiler verilecektir.

Ses parçasını dilediğiniz kadar tekrar dinleyebilirsiniz.

8 Duyduklarınız kadıyla aşağıdaki kutucuklardan size uygun olanı seçiniz.

0:00

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
çok dikkatlidir	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok utangaçtır	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok eğitilidir	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok sıradandır	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok uyumludur	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok duyarlıdır	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok sorumludur	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok içedönüktür	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok sakindir	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5
çok bilinçlidir	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5

9 Duyduğunuz kadarıyla bu kişinin eğitim seviyesi

▶ 0:00

☐ İlköğretim
☐ Lise ve dengi
☐ Lisans
☐ Lisansüstü

12 Duyduklarınız kadarıyla bu kişi kaç yaşında?

▶ 0:00

Bu kişi öğretmen, İstanbul'da yaşıyor

☐ 15-20
☐ 21-30
☐ 31-40
☐ 41-50
☐ 51 ve üzeri

17 Duyduklarınız kadarıyla bu kişi... (Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz)

▶ 0:00

☐ Tembel
☐ Çalışkan
☐ Rahat
☐ Kendinden emin
☐ Küçümseyici
☐ Şefkatli
☐ Konuşkan
☐ Dindar
☐ Yalnız
☐ Can sıkıcı
☐ Eğlenceli
☐ Aile odaklı
☐ Güvenilir
☐ İçkili
☐ Metroseksüel
☐ Sportif
☐ İnek
☐ Kendini üstün gören
☐ Evli
☐ Bekar
☐ Çekici
☐ İltici
☐ Şişman
☐ Zayıf
☐ Eğitilmiş
☐ Eğitimsiz

18 Duyduklarınız kadarıyla bu kişi ...

▶ 0:00

☐ Ege'li
☐ Doğu'lu
☐ Karadenizli
☐ Güneyli
☐ Orta Anadolu'lu
☐ Trakyalı
☐ Kırsalda yaşıyor
☐ Şehirde yaşıyor
☐ Yüksek gelirli
☐ Orta gelirli
☐ Düşük gelirli

Appendix 4

Participant profile of the sociolinguistic group interviews

In obtaining listeners' evaluations on the linguistic variables, 30 sociolinguistic group interviews have been conducted in 6 cities.

Table A.X

The participant profile (N=110) [sociolinguistic group interviews]

Age	Min=18, max=41, Mean=24.7, St. Dev.=4.37
Gender	Male=62, Female=48
Education level	High school=71, BA=34, MA=3, Ph.D.=2
City	Ankara=41, Karabük=19, İzmir=18, Çanakkale=16, Kayseri=8, Konya=8

The below table involves the detailed participant profile of the participants who have taken part in sociolinguistic group interviews.

Detailed participant profile (N=110) [sociolinguistic group interviews]

#	Interview Code	Place	Participants	Age	Gender	Education level
1	RECG1	Ankara	G1A	24	F	High School
2			G1B	26	M	Bachelor
3			G1C	23	F	High School
4			G1D	23	M	High School
5	RECG2	Ankara	G2A	24	F	Bachelor
6			G2B	18	F	High School
7			G2C	19	M	High School
8			G2D	19	M	High School

9	RECG3	Ankara	G3A	26	M	Bachelor
10			G3B	32	M	Bachelor
11			G3C	30	F	MA
12			G3D	41	F	MA
13	RECG4	Ankara	G4A	25	F	Bachelor
14			G4B	25	M	Bachelor
15			G4C	31	F	Bachelor
16			G4D	27	M	Bachelor
17	RECG5	Ankara	G5A	19	M	High School
18			G5B	19	M	High School
19			G5C	23	F	High School
20			G5D	23	F	High School
21	RECG6	Ankara	G6A	19	F	High School
22			G6B	20	M	High School
23			G6C	18	F	High School
24			G6D	23	M	High School
25	RECG7	Ankara	G7A	22	M	High School
26			G7B	19	M	High School
27			G7C	23	F	High School
28	RECG8	Ankara	G8A	27	M	Bachelor
29			G8B	30	M	Bachelor
30			G8C	22	M	High School
31	RECG9	Ankara	G9A	25	F	High School
32			G9B	24	M	High School
33			G9C	23	M	High School
34			G9D	23	M	High School
35	RECG10	İzmir	G10A	22	M	High School
36			G10B	24	M	High School
37			G10C	19	F	High School
38			G10D	23	F	High School
39	RECG11	Ankara	G11A	27	M	Bachelor
40			G11B	24	F	High School
41			G11C	27	F	Bachelor
42			G11D	32	F	Bachelor
43	RECG12	Kayseri	G12A	21	F	High School
44			G12B	23	F	High School
45			G12C	23	M	High School
46			G12D	24	M	High School

47	RECG13	Kayseri	G13A	24	F	High School
48			G13B	22	M	High School
49			G13C	23	F	High School
50			G13D	23	M	High School
51	RECG14	Konya	G14A	32	M	Bachelor
52			G14B	25	F	High School
53	RECG15	Konya	G15A	23	M	High School
54			G15B	24	F	High School
55			G15C	23	M	High School
56	RECG16	Konya	G16A	35	F	Bachelor
57			G16B	27	M	High School
58			G16C	28	F	Bachelor
59	RECG17	İzmir	G17A	25	F	Bachelor
60			G17B	18	M	High School
61			G17C	23	F	High School
62			G17D	23	M	High School
63	RECG18	İzmir	G18A	29	M	Bachelor
64			G18B	31	M	Bachelor
65			G18C	31	F	Bachelor
66			G18D	36	F	Bachelor
67	RECG19	İzmir	G19A	26	F	Bachelor
68			G19B	23	F	Bachelor
69			G19C	28	M	Bachelor
70	RECG20	Çanakkale	G20A	23	M	High School
71			G20B	25	F	High School
72			G20C	30	F	Bachelor
73			G20D	21	M	High School
74	RECG21	Çanakkale	G21A	23	F	High School
75			G21B	24	F	High School
76			G21C	22	F	High School
77			G21D	22	F	High School
78	RECG22	Çanakkale	G22A	23	F	High School
79			G22B	24	F	Bachelor
80			G22C	23	F	Bachelor
81			G22D	25	F	Bachelor
82	RECG23	Çanakkale	G23A	23	M	High School
83			G23B	22	F	High School
84			G23C	28	M	High School
85			G23D	23	F	High School

86	RECG24	Ankara	G24A	36	F	PH.D.
87			G24B	30	M	PH.D.
88			G24C	27	M	MA
89	RECG25	Karabük	G25A	23	M	High School
90			G25B	23	M	High School
91			G25C	21	M	High School
92	RECG26	Karabük	G26A	27	M	Bachelor
93			G26B	19	M	High School
94			G26C	23	M	High School
95			G26D	25	M	Bachelor
96	RECG27	Karabük	G27A	19	M	High School
97			G27B	22	M	High School
98			G27C	23	M	High School
99			G27D	21	M	High School
100	RECG28	Karabük	G28A	35	M	Bachelor
101			G28B	24	M	Bachelor
102			G28C	23	M	High School
103			G28D	25	M	Bachelor
104	RECG29	Karabük	G29A	30	F	High School
105			G29B	36	F	High School
106			G29C	25	M	High School
107			G29D	30	M	Bachelor
108	RECG30	Karabük	G30A	20	M	High School
109			G30B	21	M	High School
110			G30C	24	M	High School

Appendix 5

Transcription conventions

The transcription conventions employed to interpret the sociolinguistic group interviews can be given as follows. The below transcription conventions follow the Jeffersonian (2005) transcription system in a limited sense for practical reasons.

Symbol	Description
(.)	Tiny gap used to annotate the silence no more than one third of the utterance
(0.4)	Numbers in parentheses indicate elapsed time in silence.
[	Overlap; Left bracket indicates the point at which two utterances overlap.
=	Equal sign indicates that there is no gap between the two interlocutors.
<u>stress</u>	Underlined word indicates the stress.
((Gülme))	'Laughter' in parentheses indicate the interlocutor(s) ((Laughter)) at a time in the interaction.
((word or phrase))	Author's descriptions are given in double parentheses.
-	Hyphen after a word indicates that there is a cut off or self-interruption in the interlocutor(s) utterance.

Appendix 6

Originality report



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HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
İNGİLİZ DİLBİLİMİ ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA

Tarih: 27/06/2018

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