



THE INTERACTIONAL FUNCTIONS OF *tamam* IN SPOKEN TURKISH

Konuşma Türkçesinde *tamam*'ın Etkileşim İşlevleri

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Özet: Bu çalışma *tamam* sözcüğünü derleme dayalı ve niteliksel bir yöntemle Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi'ndeki (STD) görünüşleriyle birlikte ele almaktadır. *Tamam*'ın sözcüksel anlam olarak konuşmada daha önce geçen sözel veya toplumsal bir eylemin tamamlanmışlık ögesinin, sözcüğün etkileşim belirleyicisi (EB) anlamına geçtiği görülmektedir. Çalışmanın son bölümünde *tamam* ve *peki*'nin kısa bir karşılaştırması yapılmaktadır. Çalışma, *tamam*'ın diğer EBye göre yüksek bir sıklıkla kullanıldığını bulgulamakta ve bu bulguyu EBlerin bilgisellik değerleri ile değişen incelik anlayışları çerçevesinde yorumlamaktadır. Çalışma, bilgisel anlamın EBlerin belirleyici özellikleri olan işleme ve yükümlülük anlamlarına değişebileceği sonucuna varmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: *Anlaşma, Anlaşmazlık, Duyuşsal anlam, Etkileşim belirleyicisi, Konuşma konusu kapatma, peki, Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi, tamam*

Abstract: The paper presents a corpus-driven, qualitative investigation of the interactional marker (IM) *tamam*, in the Spoken Turkish Corpus (STC). The study observes that the lexical meaning of *tamam* as the 'completion' of a previous verbal or non-verbal social activity spills over into its pragmatic

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meaning. The last section of study briefly compares *tamam* and *peki*. It finds that tokens of *tamam* far outnumber the occurrence of *peki* in STC, and interprets this finding within changing cultures of politeness and the epistemic values of the IMs. The paper concludes that epistemic meaning can acquire deontic and procedural meaning, which is a hallmark of IMs.

Key words: *Affective meaning, Agreement, Disagreement, Interactional marker, peki, Spoken Turkish Corpus, tamam, Topic closure*

1. INTRODUCTION ²

The present study builds on a previous investigation of the pragmaticization of *tamam* (Ruhi, 2011) to explore its usage in spoken Turkish discourse with data retrieved from the publishable version of the Spoken Turkish Corpus (STC; Ruhi et al., 2012). The paper begins with a brief summary of the earlier study and analyzes the pragmatic functions of the entity, showing how *tamam* as an acknowledgment token can index agreement and signal disagreement. The last section of the study makes a brief comparison between *tamam* and *peki* in regard to their use as compliance markers and comments on possible motivations for the prevalence of the former marker in STC. It shows that the non-subjectivity of *tamam* compared to the subjectivity of *peki* makes it a good candidate for a whole array of communicative intentions.

The study is an initial probe into the pragmatics of *tamam* and makes no claims as to statistical significance across conversational domains but it does offer some observations on contextual features. Although the analysis of the data was guided by conversation analytic principles (see Schegloff, 2007), for reasons of space excerpts are presented in the form of illustrations so as to cover more pragmatic ground.

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2. FROM LEXICAL TO PRAGMATIC MEANING

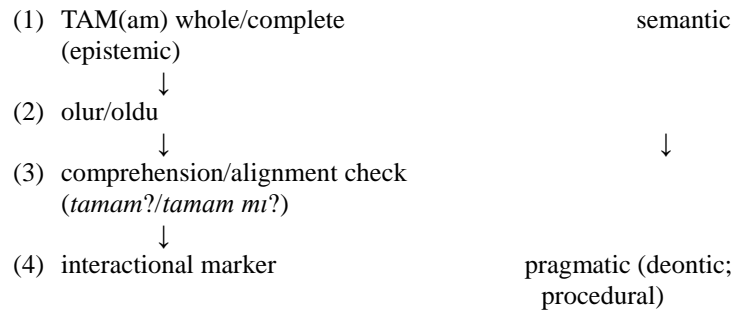
In STC *tamam* is twentieth in frequency rank order, which suggests that it deserves special attention in researching interactional markers (IM) in Turkish. Amongst the IMs it ranks seventh in order, after non-lexical backchannels (e.g. *ha*, *hm-hm*, and *hi*), *ya(a)*, *yani*, *şey*, *evet*, and *ama*. TDK dictionary lists the following meanings for the entity: As an adjective it means ‘whole’, ‘complete’, ‘correct/true’ (*bütün*, *tüm*; *eksiksiz*; *yanlış ve yalan olmayan*, *doğru*). The dictionary specifies an adverbial usage as an equivalent of *evet* ‘yes’, and also classifies it as an interjection indicating depreciation.

A number of points are worth noting in this description. First, it distorts the pragmatic difference between *tamam* and *evet* as second pair parts in adjacency pairs. Second, our native speaker intuitions suggest that *tamam* and *peki* also likely occur in similar sequential positions and fulfill similar pragmatic functions. Finally, the negative evaluativity of *tamam* as an interjection arises from the co-text and non-verbal cues (e.g. voice quality and intensity). The move from a semantics of positive evaluation (i.e. ‘complete’) to negative evaluation thus calls for an investigation of the entity in naturally occurring data.

Inspired by Traugott and Dasher’s (2002) semasiological approach to change in semantic meaning, Ruhi (2011) proposed the following cline for *tamam*: A process of increasing performative function appears to have taken place in terms of indexing interpersonal meaning, from a positively evaluative lexical item toward a pragmatic marker that states completeness/completion in conversational topic or queries alignment in the addressee’s stance (as in *tamam mı?*) (see Figure 1). The discussion will show that the lexical meaning of ‘completeness’ carries over into displaying alignment or the solicitation of alignment with the epistemic and deontic stance of conversational turns, and that this makes *tamam* a candidate for a wide range of communicative intentions. It is owing to its multi-functionality that we consider *tamam* to be not simply a

pragmatic marker, but an interactional marker (see Ruhi, this issue). As underscored in Traugott and Dasher, though, as linguistic forms start carrying new meanings “old ones need not disappear” (2002: 27). We will observe that this applies to *tamam*. Figure 1 draws the pragmatic cline, with illustrative excerpts from STC.

Figure 1. *tamam*: a lexical to pragmatic meaning cline



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- (1) **tamam** benim işlemim.
'My job's done.'
- (2) Shopkeeper: (...) Pazartesi uğrarsınız ben size sulu zeytin getireyim.
Customer: ((0.7)) **tamam**.
Shopkeeper: 'Drop by on Monday (and) I will bring you juicy olives.'
Customer: 'Fine.'
- (3) şimdi eline o dambılları vereceğiz biz. **tamam mı?**
'Now we will give you those dumbbells. **Okay?**'
- (4) o adam kapıyı kapatırken ((0.1)) **tamam mı** ben onu izliyorum nasıl kapatıyor
'While that man is closing the door **right** I watch how he closes it.'

Moving from (1) to (4), we observe that the entity becomes an item encoding pragmatic meaning. In the next section, we take a brief look at forms of *tamam* in STC.

3. *tamam* IN STC

STC was searched for tokens of *tamam*, using the EXAKT tool in

EXMARaLDA (Schmidt & Wörner, 2009). The search retrieved 372 tokens, of which 308 were included in the analysis. Adjectivals, tokens in reported speech, and those whose pragmatic function could not be identified owing to insufficient contextual detail were excluded. This resulted in 372 tokens.

Tamam occurs nearly as frequently as part of a multi-word unit (MWU) or a cluster (CL) as it does as an isolate unit. The entity has not received attention in reference grammars of Turkish or studies on word types (see, e.g., Göksel & Kerslake, 2005), but the high number of pragmatically enriched *tamam* shows that it is primarily an IM, and needs to be described accordingly in a grammar of spoken Turkish.

Table 1. Classification of tokens of *tamam*³

Types	Token samples	Examples	No. of tokens
Isolate	tamam; tamam?	(1) Domain: <i>conversation between family members</i> ben daha dikkatli olurum. ◌ tamam. 'I'll be more careful. Alright. '	161
MWU/CL	MWU: iyi tamam; tamam da; tamam o zaman; tamam mı?; tamam be ya!; e tamam; peki tamam; tamam oldu; hı-hı' tamam	(2) Domain: <i>service encounter (doctor-patient talk)</i> DOC000374: Protex'i tercih ederseniz. NUR000373: peki. tamam. DOC: 'You (should) prefer Protex.' NUR: ' Right. Okay. '	147
	CL: haa' tamam	(3) Domain: <i>conversation between family members</i> OZG000105: okuyamayacağım. orası benim anlamadığım bir dilde. SEM000691: haa' ((0.6)) tamam. OZG: 'I can't read it. It's in a	

³ Filled pauses (e.g. *ee*), some non-lexical backchannels, a few non-lexical interjections, and a number of pragmatic markers (*ya*, *işte* and *şey*) have not been translated.

	language I don't understand.' SEM: 'Oh! Alright.'	
content word	(4) Domain: <i>service encounter</i> tamam benim işlemim. 'My job's done.'	23
reported speech	(5) Domain: <i>conversation between family members</i> ya yemedim dedim. Çal terliği tamam . 'Look I didn't eat it I said. (Here) take your slippers. Fine .'	12
unidentified		10
total no. of tokens included		308
<i>raw total</i>		372

Drawing the distinction between a MWU and a CL is a matter requiring consideration of prosodic features and word order. Although we can only offer observational data at this moment, it seems to be the case that *tamam* and certain non-lexical backchannels co-select to form a MWU. For instance, *hi-hi* has an affinity with *tamam* in indexing compliance to request, as the former also occupies conversational turns of indexing agreement in STC. For the purpose of this study, the presence of pauses between *tamam* and the other entities were taken to be a defining feature of CLs, but there are cases where the same entities are uttered with no intervening pause (see *peki tamam* and *tamam peki* in Table 1, (2) and Table (2), (9)). Also an open issue is the identification of the core, that is, the invariable formal component in the unit (Sinclair, 2004). More data are required for investigating these issues before we can say that these lexical patterns are candidates of meaning-shift units (see Sinclair (2004) and Cheng, Greaves, Sinclair and Warren (2008) on co-selection and meaning-shift units).

4. FROM ACKNOWLEDGMENT TO SPEECH ACTS AND (IM)POLITENESS

This section describes the interactional functions of *tamam* in a manner that will show the entwining of acknowledgment and agreement, on the one hand, and the pragmatic effect of the IM in disagreement sequences, on the other. The question forms of *tamam* are discussed in the last subsection.

4.1 ACKNOWLEDGING PRIOR TURNS AND AGREEING

Irrespective of whether they mark agreement or signal a disagreement, the tokens of *tamam* as isolates and in MWUs and CLs acknowledge the conversational turn of a previous speaker or seek acknowledgment of the current speaker's conversational turn/utterance. The IM thus displays interactional attention devoted to a prior turn or the solicitation of attention to the current speaker's immediately preceding or current utterance (see Table 2, (7); Table (4), (19)). This explains why *tamam* forms MWUs with non-lexical backchannels that index awareness of a prior conversational turn (see Table 1,(3)) or those that indicate that the prior turn is lacking in some respect (e.g. *e tamam*) (see Table 2, (8)). We will see that acknowledgment is pragmatically related to the performance of both agreement and disagreement, and because the entity relates to both it becomes ambiguous in its (im)politeness effect. In other words, like other IMs *tamam* and its lexical patterns function at multiple levels (see, e.g., Yilmaz, 2004). They are backchannels and markers claiming or displaying attention to previous turns or utterances, and they project common ground in the (linguistic) social activity. As we will see below, the attention may be directed to propositions, to discursive topic management, and to relational indexing.

The acknowledgment of a prior utterance with *tamam* leads into expressing agreement and/or comprehension of a previous turn owing to its lexical meaning. Table 2 presents tokens of *tamam*, which display varying 'degrees' of agreement.

Table 2. Acknowledgements and agreements

	Sample Excerpts
Backchanneling / indicating comprehension	(6) Domain: <i>brief encounter between strangers (asking for directions)</i> XMA000366: üç kilometre falan ilerde. EMI000246: tamam. XMA: 'It's about three kilometers ahead.' EMI: ' Okay. '
Intensifying assertion	(7) Domain: <i>conversation between family members</i> ISA000058: • anne bak. �ben paylařmayı severim. �neyi severim? �mesela bilgi paylařmayı severim. ((0.5)) ((inhales)) tamam. �sey • duygu/ e em • eęlenmeyi severim. ((0.4)) neřeli sohbet etmeyi. ((0.6)) biřeyi ęrenmeyi severim. ama • dertleřmeyi sevmem. 'Look mother. I like to share. Want do I like (to share)? I like to share knowledge, for instance. Right. �ey feelings e em I like to have fun. To have a cheerful chats. I like to learn. But talking about troubles. I don't like (that).'
(Partial) Agreement	
propositional	(8) Domain: <i>conversation between family members</i> MEH000126: ((inhales)) bir • atlama olduęu zaman yani • fay hattı felan gaz sızdıęı zaman ((inhales)) misal řul/ řurdan sızıyor. ((0.1)) hepsi deęil. ZEY000073: • e tamam. burda sızan bunu rahatlatmaz mı? MEH: 'When there is a crack, I mean, when gas leaks from the fault line for instance it leaks from here. Not all of it (leaks).'
compliance with a (implicit) directive	(9) Domain: <i>service encounter (shopping)</i> SEV000329: ((1.2)) (bug�n ayın dokuzu). MEH000328: ((0.5)) tamam. ((0.2)) peki. ben vereyim mi? ⁴ SEV: 'It's the ninth today.' MEH: Okay. Fine. Shall I pay?

Displaying agreement with *tamam* carries the acknowledgment action described above such that the IM gains a meaning that can be paraphrased as 'I see your point' rather than indicating a total alignment with a previous proposition. Thus *tamam* may index

⁴ *peki* does not form a tone unit with the question *ben vereyim mi?* 'Shall I pay'; therefore it has not been analyzed as a discourse connective.

perfunctory agreement. This is especially apparent in the MWU *e tamam* in (8).

Display of alignment with a previous utterance by deploying *tamam* is observed after utterances functioning as directives and commissives. These uses are observed especially in service encounters. The deployment of *tamam* in (10) is typical of the domain. The interaction takes place in a tailor's shop, and MEL is the customer, requesting from XFE that the length of her sweatpants be adjusted.⁵

- (10)
- | | | | |
|------|---------------|--|--|
| [1] | MEL000637 [v] | ((0.3)) merhaba! • kolay gelsin. | benim bi ((0.2)) |
| [2] | MEL000637 [v] | ((inhales)) ((0.3)) eşofman altım var da bunun kısılması | |
| [3] | MEL000637 [v] | gerekiyor. | söyle versem! • ne zaman |
| [4] | MEL000637 [v] | alabilirim peki? | ((0.1)) on |
| | XFE000638 [v] | | ((0.7)) on beş dakika sonra falan. |
| [5] | MEL000637 [v] | beş dakika sonra. • tamam. ((0.2)) | poşet de bırakayım ben |
| | XFE000638 [v] | hi-hi | |
| [6] | MEL000637 [v] | size! | ((1.6)) o hiç yıkanmadı yalnız |
| | XFE000638 [v] | tamam. | |
| [7] | MEL000637 [v] | • çekme yapar mı sizce o kumaş? | |
| | XFE000638 [v] | | ((0.6)) ((first name)) abla çekme |
| [8] | MEL000637 [v] | | ((0.5)) pek sanmıyorum ama! |
| | XFE000638 [v] | yapar mı bu • penye? | |
| | SUN000639 [v] | | ((1.2)) yo |
| [9] | MEL000637 [v] | | Tiffany'den aldım bunu. |
| | SUN000639 [v] | yo. • çekme ((0.1)) yapmaz. | ((1.7)) yok |
| [10] | MEL000637 [v] | | ((1.0)) tamam. ((0.3)) tamam o zaman • ben |
| | SUN000639 [v] | yok. ((0.7)) çık | |
| [11] | MEL000637 [v] | bi yirmi dakika sonra falan gelirim. iyi günler! • kolay | |
| | XFE000638 [v] | | tamam. |
| [12] | MEL000637 [v] | gelsin. | |

The IM occurs five times in the interaction. The first *tamam* occurs in line 5 and partially overlaps with XFE's backchannel. It marks an agreement that she come back to the shop fifteen minutes later to pick

⁵ In the discussion, line numbers refer to those given in square brackets. For reasons of space, whole excerpts are not translated but references to the interaction provide the gist.

up the sweatpants, and actually signals confirmation of the information provided by XFE and repeated in line 5. It is this use that shows how *tamam* always carries its function as an acknowledgement token. The second *tamam* in line 6 is uttered by XFE as an agreement to MEL's offer to leave a plastic bag. The next conversational topic is initiated by MEL's concern that the pants may shrink after washing (lines 6-7). After she receives the reassurance that this most probably will not happen, MEL displays acceptance of the proposition with *tamam* (line 10). She initiates the final move in the transaction with a MWU, *tamam o zaman* 'okay then', to which the service provider also agrees in line 11 with *tamam*.

The task-orientedness of service encounters might be the reason why *tamam* occurs often in this domain (91 tokens in twenty different interactions, which amount to 47 mins. and 54 secs. of recordings, which make up barely a tenth of the total duration of the recordings in the data). However, as will become apparent in Excerpt (11), in highly interactive and argumentative sequences in conversations *tamam* is used frequently and serves as a floor claimer rather than purely indexing alignment in stance (in Jefferson's (1984)'s terms "imminent speakership"). As suggested in the pragmatic cline, this is made possible owing to the sense of 'completeness'. This meaning also serves to intensify speaker stance by its use in turn medial positions, where the speaker strengthens assertive force (see Table 2, (7)).

Excerpt (11) is from a conversation between university students. The duration of the recording is 16 mins. 43 secs., and *tamam* occurs 35 times. The participants are discussing how best to introduce the notion of 'designing' to students in the first session of a workshop series on the topic. Throughout the interaction KOR, MEL and OZA are also concerned about maintaining the interest of the workshop participants. Prior to (11) there has been much discussion on the nature of practical work to be done at the workshops. In the following I dwell only on the IMs deployed by OZA.

(11) STC 091_091021_00089

[52]	OZA000249 [v]	öylesine yazmış olmak oluyor?
	MEL000250 [v]	((0.3)) hayır. basic dizayndan
[53]	MEL000250 [v]	da ((2.0)) ((short laugh)) önce hani ((0.4)) adama bi
[54]	OZA000249 [v]	tamam işte!
	MEL000250 [v]	tasarım nedir onu ((0.4)) anlatmak ((2.2)) gerekmiyor mu?
[55]	KOR000248 [v]	((0.4)) ((inhal)) ya onu vermek onu anlatmak ((0.3)) bi
[56]	KOR000248 [v]	anda yapılacak şeyler değil bence. _ süreç içinde öğrenir.
	KOR000248 [c]	yapılacak
	OZA000249 [v]	evet.
[57]	KOR000248 [v]	((0.6)) öğrenebilirse. _ ki öğre/ öğrenilmek de değil işte.
	OZA000249 [v]	tamam.
	MEL000250 [v]	hem işte süreç içinde bişey
[58]	KOR000248 [v]	ki ((0.4)) o süreç de katılması için ((0.2)) ona
	MEL000250 [v]	yapması gerekiyor o adamın.
[59]	KOR000248 [v]	bişeyler vermen lazım. _ yoksa dediği gibi ikinc i haftaya
	OZA000249 [v]	evet.
[60]	KOR000248 [v]	((0.8)) çok hızlı bi şekilde ((0.3)) katılımcı sayısı düşe
	OZA000249 [v]	i işte.
[61]	KOR000248 [v]	bilir yani.
	OZA000249 [v]	((0.4)) vermen lazım. _ en ufak şeyden başlayacaksın. _ sonra

The utterance of *tamam işte* in line 54 is followed up by two tokens of *evet* and one token of *tamam* at turn transition relevant points until line 60. At that point OZA secures an extended turn with the resumptive marker *işte* (Kerslake, 1992), which runs into 73 secs. of uninterrupted speech. Comparing the use of the IMs, we observe that alignment with KOR's opinions that learning designing is a gradual process are indexed with *evet* (lines 56, 59), while *tamam işte* and *işte* index OZA's imminent speakership. The cue to the analysis of *tamam işte* as a floor claimer rather than a pure agreement token is supported by the fact that MEL at that turn utters a reversed polarity question that prefers an affirmative response (Koshik, 2002), 'Well even before basic design isn't it necessary to talk about design a bit to the participant?' The MWU indexes an affirmative response but creates the implicature that more may follow. Had OZA uttered *evet* in the turn, it would have functioned as a continuer backchannel (see lines 56 and 59). Another cue that OZA is claiming floor is evidenced by the use of *tamam* in line 57, which overlaps both with KOR's and MEL's utterances. A comparison of this token with others in the data reveals that *tamam* can project imminent speaker contributions to the conversational topic

being developed by the prior speaker (see Table 3, (12) and (13)). The IM thus functions to accomplish topic closure, which can project a conversational move into a new topic or an aspect of the ongoing topic. Because these uses interweave with disagreeing, they are discussed in the next section.

4.2 TOPIC CLOSURE AND DISAGREEMENTS

Tamam is observed to proffer a conversational topic boundary marker that can index the current speaker's move into a new topic or activity, as in (12) and (13) in Table 3. Before the turn in (13), the conversation revolved around graphic communication and the role of posters. The speaker introduces his viewpoint by offering alternatives on how to make a poster appealing.

The topic/activity closure function serves in turn-taking management, and because the closure is projected by the current speaker, it becomes an IM in displaying agreement as a pre-sequence to a disagreement (see Table 3, (14)). The token in (14) shows that *tamam* need not co-occur with interjections or particles such as *e* or *da* to index disagreement.

Table 3. Disagreement and (im)politeness⁶

Topic/Activity closure	(12) Domain: <i>Conversation between friends</i> MEL000250: ((1.4)) tamam . ˘o zaman řu an řeyi konuřalım mı? ((0.2)) yirmi beř kiřiden ˘c˘ kaldı. ((0.4)) ne yapacađımızı konuřalım mı? 'Okay. Then shall we now talk about řey'? Let's say three people out of twenty-five stayed on. Shall we talk about what to do (in that case)?
Introducing new Topic / viewpoint / activity	(13) Domain: <i>Conversation between friends</i> OZA000249: tamam! ((0.9)) ilgi ˘ekmek hani fontu b˘yle... ((0.1)) ˘ok acayip font kullanarak mı olur? ((0.1)) iřte řeyle mi olur? (...) ee • g˘zel bi g˘rselliđi orda kullanarak mı olur?

⁶ For ease of presentation, prosodic annotation has been given in double parantheses next to the relevant words or utterances.

‘**Alright!** Does one attract attention by using the font like ... (Is it done) by using very strange fonts? Is it done by *şey?* (...) *ee* (is it done) by using a beautiful image there?’

Pre-sequence to disagreement	<p>(14) Domain: <i>Conversation in the family</i></p> <p>ISA000058: ((0.1)) anne! √hiçbişey değişmiyor ki burda. ((0.6)) hiçbişey değişmiyor. (...)</p> <p>ZEY000073: tamam. √birşey değişmiyor ama içimizde bizde çok şeyler değişiyor onarılıyor.</p> <p>ISA: ‘Mother! Nothing really changes here. Nothing changes.’ (...)</p> <p>ZEY: ‘Right. Nothing changes but inside us, in us, a lot of things change and are patched up.’</p>
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Silencer	<p>(15) Domain: <i>Conversation in the family</i></p> <p>ZEY000073: ((0.3)) ((inhlaes)) <i>riccel</i> yani... ee koca (...)</p> <p>ISA000058: tamam anne ((loudly)). erkek! <i>hı-hı</i> (...)</p> <p>ZEY000073: mesela ((XXX)) ((XXX))</p> <p>ISA000058: tamam. √Allah Allah sen de! ((loudly))</p> <p>ZEY: <i>riccel</i> that is <i>ee</i> husband</p> <p>ISA: Okay mother. A man! <i>hı-hı</i></p> <p>ZEY: For instance ((XXX)) ((XXX))</p> <p>ISA: Alright! Gosh spare me!</p> <p>(16) Domain: <i>Conversation between friends</i></p> <p>MEL000250: karşı çıkmıyorum. √ya uf! • tartışmayalım artık ya! √hadi sem/ eğitim dedik. √tamam ((loudly)). ((0.5)) bunları anlatacağız.</p> <p>OZA000249: ((0.2)) evet.</p> <p>MEL: ‘I’m not objecting to what you’re saying. <i>Ya uf!</i> Let’s not argue any more <i>ya!</i> Come on sem/ we mentioned education. Fine. We’re going to talk about these.’</p> <p>OZA: yes.</p>
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The stepping up of non-alignment in stance or conversational ongoing to outright conflict which may receive impoliteness attributions can be accomplished by using *tamam* as a silencer (see Culpeper (2011a) on silencers as impoliteness). In (15) we observe that both tokens are uttered loudly, and that the second one co-occurs with a complex interjection, *Allah Allah sen de!* The second part of the interjection (*sen de*, lit. ‘you too’) is dismissive of the prior speaker’s conversational turn and poses a positive-face threat (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

In (16) however we observe that the silencing co-occurs with the speaker's negatively evaluative, complex interjection (*ya uf!*), which consists of a pragmatic marker that solicits attention and the non-lexical interjection that may indicate an array of emotions such as weariness and boredom (Atabay et al., 1983: 193), and an explicit directive in the 1st person optative form to discontinue the argument, which is also modified with *ya* and has an exclamatory tone. Expression of negative emotions is considered a face-threat in Brown and Levinson (1987) and may thus be attributed impoliteness. In this context however MEL's tone of voice does not express irritation. The IMs and the prosody serve to intensify the deontic force of her utterances. That the uptake does not attribute impoliteness to MEL is evidenced by the agreement token uttered by OZA (*evet* 'yes'). As mentioned in Section 2, we see that the negative evaluativity of *tamam* does not reside in the IM but on how it is said and the co-text.

4.3. QUESTION FORMS

The number of tokens of *tamam*+question particle and *tamam* uttered with a rise is 53. These tokens can query alignment in the purpose of the interaction (what we have termed comprehension check) and seek compliance with directives and commissives (see Table 4, (17) and (18)). The IMs also accomplish turn management and can emphasize conversational contributions.

Excerpt (19) is from the narration of an incident in a flight, and the speaker is describing her fear of sitting near exit doors. *Tamam mı* is multi-functional in that it draws attention to the propositional content and holds the floor after the short pause.

Table 4. Questions

Comprehension check / Seeking agreement/compliance	(17) Domain: <i>Education (seminar)</i> EME000226: ((inhales)) şimdi eline o dambılları vereceğiz biz. tamam mı? 'Now we're going to hand over to you the dumbbells. Okay? '
---	--

	(18) BUR000030: ben yemek gönderirim. ◌ tamam mı? ‘I’ll send you dinner. Okay? ’
Discourse marker / Highlighting / Turn holder	(19) Domain: <i>Conversation between family members</i> ZEY000073: ((inhales)) o adam kapıyı kapatırken ((0.1)) tamam mı ben onu izliyorum nasıl kapatıyor. ‘While that man is closing the door right I watch how he closes it.’
Seeking topic/activity closure	(20) Domain: <i>Service encounter (institutional)</i> BIR000154: o da olur. o da olur. ◌hiç fark etmez. ((0.7)) tamam? başka bişey yok herhalde? ‘Either one would be fine. It won’t make a difference. Okay? I guess there is nothing else (to talk)?’

In (20), *tamam* projects an exchange unit boundary, which is expanded explicitly in the question after the IM. As can be predicted from the previous discussion on the IM in service encounters, question form *tamam* is frequent in transactional communication. Educational discourse also gives evidence of its use as topic/activity boundary markers.

Taking stock of the descriptions above, we will highlight a number of implications. It was mentioned in Section 4.1 that *tamam* occurs with high frequency in interactive and argumentative sequences in conversational interaction and that this shows that the IM is not specific to the transactional domain. In our view, the distribution shows that the occurrence of certain types of IMs may not be reliable indices of register types or text typologies in spoken corpora on their own.

Nevertheless, one lesson to be drawn from the analysis is that *tamam* indexes modes in (linguistic) interaction that are either highly transactional (as in Excerpt 10) or highly interactional in negotiating propositional and relational issues (as in Excerpts (11) and (15)) (see also Ruhi, in press). This shows that *tamam* is an IM that is oriented toward indexing the organization of and stancetaking toward social

actions. It is thus an index of the empowerment of the speaker, which is enhanced by the sense completeness of the (social) action projected by the IM. These actions may be task-oriented as in public sphere activities or ideationally and/or relationally geared as in conversational data.

The frequent use of *tamam* in non-transactional discourse creates an involved style in communication, where speakers display collaborative and assertive stances (Arndt and Janney, 1991). That is, speakers proffer agreement but also mark their own stances. On an analogy with Tannen and Kakava's (1992) classic study on "disagreeing to agree" in Greek conversations, I would suggest that *tamam*, along with IMs that project common ground (e.g. *hani* and *ya*), develops a style of 'agreeing to disagree' in the conversational domain in Turkish.

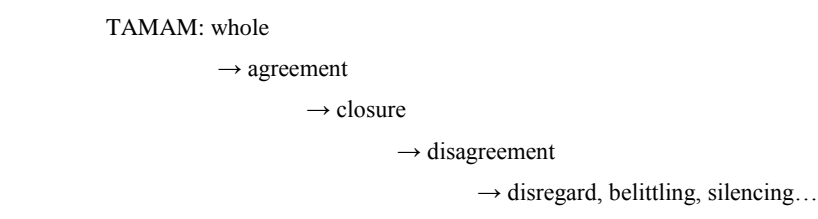
The picture that seems to be emerging for *tamam* is that it is not a simple 'OK' in all domains in spoken Turkish. It may be best described as a conversational move to create a common discursive space where distinction is given to both self's and other's epistemic stances and their direction of co-constituting the social activity.

5. FROM AGREEMENT TO DISAGREEMENT: THE CASE OF *tamam* AND *peki*

For reasons of space this section presents only a very brief comparison between *tamam* and *peki*, and focuses on the relational tenor created by the two IMs.

5.1 RELATIONAL MANAGEMENT AND *tamam*

The discussion in the previous section suggests *tamam* forms a relational cline from agreement to disagreement. Depending on prosodic cues and the presence of other IMs, disagreement may receive impoliteness attributions. Figure 2 represents the cline, moving from the relationally positive to the relationally negative meanings.

Figure 2. *tamam*: The relational cline from agreeing to disagree

The cline from positively evaluative to negatively evaluative (social) action resides in two closely related meanings of *tamam*. I suggest that a conventional implicature (Grice, 1989) created by the sense of completeness, namely, closure of a conversational topic/activity is the root pragmatic meaning that enables *tamam* to be used both in maintaining or disrupting comity. Closing a social activity is an action that exercises (discursive) power. *Tamam* thus has deontic meaning in its organization both of conversation and of activities. However the fact that it retains the meaning of completeness gives the IM a sense of objectivity. We will see below that this last feature is especially what distinguishes the pragmatics of *tamam* from *peki*.

5.2 RELATIONAL MANAGEMENT AND *peki*

In STC, tokens of *tamam* far outnumber the occurrence of *peki*. There are 87 tokens of the latter IM, of which one was excluded from the analysis because its function could not be identified. TDK dictionary identifies two functions of *peki*: a compliance and agreement marker; and adding the meaning of *pekala, madem öyle* ‘alright, in that case’ to sentences that function as challenges. Göksel and Kerslake study *peki* under adversative discourse connectives. They too state that *peki* marks agreement “with a proposal or instruction articulated by the addressee” but their reading of *peki* that challenges a prior proposition is restricted to questions. They state that *peki* “indicates that the speaker is not satisfied with the information conveyed in a previous statement, and requires more information” (2005: 449).

In TDK the second meaning is an implicature derived from the whole sentence/utterance that uses *peki*. This implicature is present only for questions in Göksel and Kerslake (2005). The excerpts below will show that *peki* does indeed function as a compliance marker. In this function it occupies the same conversational slots as *tamam*. Contrary to the description of the second function in TDK dictionary and Göksel and Kerslake (2005), however, *peki* has a broader range of pragmatic functions.

Let us dwell on the first function. Excerpt (21) offers a useful way of comparing the compliance/agreement function of *tamam* and *peki*. In the interaction, which takes place in a work setting, SEL, MUS, SEN and HUM are making plans for a number of social events.

(21) STC 023_100304_00181

[66]	MUS000518 [v]	<u>benim için</u> de. <u>benim için</u> de.	
	MUS000518 [c]		((lengthening))
	SEN000519 [v]	o zaman on	u da bi Çarşamba
	NIL000520 [v]	nasıl size uvarsa	
[67]	HUM000467 [v]		<u>ta m a m.</u>
	SEN000519 [v]	<u>diyelim benim çünkü boş günüm Çarşamba.</u>	((0.6))
	IND000002 [v]		((0.6))
	IND000002 [c]		((softly))
[68]	MUS000518 [v]		((0.2)) <u>peki hocam.</u>
	SEN000519 [v]	<u>t a m a m.?</u>	• Nisan ((exhales))
	NIL000520 [v]	<u>t a m a m.</u>	

In line 66 SEL suggests a Wednesday for a certain event and seeks agreement with question form *tamam*. HUM and NIL formulate their agreement with *tamam*, while MUS utters *peki* followed by a deferential address form, *hocam*, lit. ‘my teacher’. The pragmatic meaning of *peki* leans strongly toward compliance whereas compliance is not inherently part of the pragmatics of *tamam*. In contrast to *peki*, even though compliance is the term for the positive response to utterances that have directive illocutionary force, *tamam* does not connote a power differential between the requester and the requestee.

In Excerpt (22) we turn to *peki* as a signal to projecting an assessment. The excerpt comes from the immediately preceding sequence to that in Table 3, (16). *Peki* is used as a pre-sequence to a critical assessment of the prior speaker's contribution in line 236.

(22) STC 091_091021_00089

[234]	OZA000249 [v]	bir şey yapmazsan nasıl kazanacaksın o adamı? ((0.3)) yani
[235]	OZA000249 [v]	hiç yapmadın grafik.
	MEL000250 [v]	i şte ((0.1)) doğru şeyi yapmak var. ıbi
[236]	OZA000249 [v]	peki yan
	MEL000250 [v]	de yanlış şeyi yaparak adamı kaçırmak var. ((0.6)) ama
[237]	OZA000249 [v]	İş şeyi yapmadın. ıh içbişey yapmadın.
	OZA000249 [c]	((emphatically))
	MEL000250 [v]	bak ... hala... kar şı

In line 234 OZA utters a wh-question as to how a participant's interest can be maintained if no practical work is done at the design workshop. MEL is concerned about doing the right thing (lines 235-236), and OZA's rejoinder is that if you do nothing wrong you have actually done nothing (line 236-237). In OZA's assessment *peki* is seemingly an agreement token; however, I would argue that, like *tamam*, it is an acknowledgement token, with the difference that it also accomplishes an assessment owing to its lexical meaning. If *tamam* can be paraphrased as 'I see your point', I would suggest that *peki* in this function is 'I take your point'. In other words, *peki* is a weaker marker of agreement than *tamam*. The sample also shows that the IM is not restricted to questions and that it may function as a pre-sequence to disagreeing.

Like *tamam*, *peki* is not inherently negatively evaluative. It may signal negatively evaluative propositions or index further topical development, without implying that prior speaker turns are incomplete or unsatisfactory. This is evident in the fact that nearly 40% of the tokens are from broadcasts where the metacommunicative intention is informative (e.g. documentaries and entertainment programs in the form of interviews). It would be hard to reconcile an inherently

negative implicature with the question-answer format of such interactions. That the use of *peki* acknowledges a prior turn and projects a new sequence of conversational contributions that falls within the same (linguistic) activity or that introduces a new topic is apparent in lines 4-5 of Excerpt (10) too. In this regard, *peki* is similar to *tamam* in projecting a topic/activity boundary.

Excerpt (23) illustrates a case from a consultation session between three dieticians and a patient. The dietician MIN utters *peki* in line 50 as a closure to the question-answer sequences on the patient's eating habits and the current state of her health.

(23) STC 180_091221_00186

[49]	DUR000527 [v]	ya bir ısırdktan sonra genelde gerisini
	AYL000528 [v]	doğrusu?
	[nn]	((honking))
[50]	MIN000526 [v]	((0.3)) ((inhales)) ((0.4)) peki.
	DUR000527 [v]	iyemiyorum.
	AYL000528 [v]	((0.4)) tamam.
	AYL000528 [c]	((softly))
	[nn]	
[51]	MIN000526 [v]	((0.1)) teşekkür ediyoruz. sağ olun.

Notice that *tamam* and *peki* occupy contiguous positions in line 50. Although the relevant parts of the interaction have not been included in the excerpt, it is significant that AYL, who is the dietician that asked about the patient's eating habits, deployed *peki* and not *tamam* in her questions. In my view, this shows that *peki* is the preferred IM for subtopic shifts in question-answer sequences because it offers a positive assessment of the respondent's act of having contributed to the ongoing conversation. *Tamam* does not perform a positive assessment in this sense.

Based on these brief remarks on *peki*, I argue that the following features distinguish *peki* from *tamam*:

1. the lexical semantics of *peki* encodes subjective evaluativity, stemming from 'very good';

2. its inherent subjectivity makes *peki* a positive assessment marker. It therefore raises the discursive power of the speaker in Q-A sequences but in compliances to directives it raises that of the addressee, owing to the fact that the compliance act describes what is actually a negative-face threat (Brown and Levinson, 1987) as something desirable by the requestee;
3. based on (2), *peki* creates an interactional imbalance in relational management, which makes it compatible with hierarchical social relations;
4. partly owing to (3), *peki* appears to prefer public domain interaction, where social relations are marked by distance; and
5. *peki* signals a topic/activity shift mainly in questions.

With respect to these points, *tamam* is non-subjective in evaluativity and does not create an interactional imbalance, with the caveat that prosodic features do not imply impoliteness (see Culpeper, 2011b). This seems to be the underlying motivation for deploying *tamam* in a broader range of domains of interaction, where indexing ‘inequality’ might not be the preferred relational management strategies of the participants. In this respect *tamam* stands out as the more ‘neutral’ IM in indexing politeness.

In the following, I dwell on the implications of the foregoing analyses for investigating the pragmatics of IMs.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present study is obviously limited in its scope, first and foremost because it has focused on the deployment of *tamam*, while *peki* has received less attention. The study has also remained silent on the difference between *tamam* and *evet*. A study on IMs that function as acknowledgement tokens would need to consider both lexical and non-lexical backchannels and interjections. The analysis of MWUs and CLs has also been sporadic. I leave these for further exploration, but note that the restrictions arose owing to the nature of the analytic

procedures. Because the paper has attempted to bridge the quantitative bias to corpus linguistic methodology with the qualitative orientation of conversation analysis (CA), it has discussed the IMs from the perspective of the participants' orientation to the entities.

Nonetheless, the study has revealed a number of significant findings regarding the IMs under scrutiny. Amongst the interactional functions of *tamam* I would highlight the conversational turn management and the relational meanings that it indexes. In the context of the present data, spoken Turkish interaction appears to be characterized as a culture that is marked by equality in discursive roles. IMs in Turkish have not been investigated much in this respect but the analyses show that it is a topic of inquiry on its own right.

The last finding to be underscored concerns shifts in meaning. Studies on diachronic semantic change have repeatedly found that the direction of change is from the deontic to the epistemic (see Traugott and Dasher, 2002). Owing to the nature of the entities examined in the present paper the focus has been on pragmatic meaning, so it is to be expected that performative meanings may work differently. In the case of IMs which have procedural functions, the change can be from epistemic to deontic meanings. IMs perform social, discursive functions. As has been observed in the case of *tamam*, silencing or opening up discursive space are deontic acts and meanings par excellence. In this regard, studies on IMs need to re-consider data analytic methodologies and explore the socio-pragmatic acts that they realize in discourse.

APPENDIX

Transcription conventions

- (...) words deleted in excerpt
- ((0.7)) pause length in seconds
- pauses shorter than 0.1 sec.

- ∩ latches
- ... utterance cut-off by current speaker or an interruption by another speaker
- non-lexical contributions such as laughs and backchannels
(e.g. *hmm*)
- / self-repair
- . full-stop, marking declarative utterance unit boundaries
- ! exclamatory utterance, and utterance with rising intonation
- ? utterance functioning as a question
- ((XXX)) Undecipherable speech

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