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# Social Meaning Making Process from Tiki to Pelinsu: A Case of Ekşi Sözlük

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## Abstract

This work aims to bring an understanding to an ongoing process of social meaning making on a youth persona called tiki, which refers to young people, mostly girls, who have wealthy backgrounds or who want to be, and thus, seem like that. Since the very beginning of the 1990s, the term tiki has acquired different social meanings that refer to such personae as ciks, tiki and Pelinsu that cover both men and women. However, in the course of this diachronic process, the term has recently been labelled as Pelinsu, which is a female given name, and thus, has acquired social meanings that denote only the women. To make sense of the mechanism behind this process, the study draws on Ekşi Sözlük descriptions of tiki and Pelinsu and applies analytical framework developed under the theory of indexicality, namely the indexical field. The findings are important for two reasons; firstly, social meaning making process is dynamic in the sense that how Ekşi Sözlük users project and construct social personae of tiki and Pelinsu. In addition, this study provides an analytical framework to the future studies that aim to bring an understanding to how youth identity in Turkey is socially constructed and projected.

**Keywords:** Indexicality, Indexical Field, Social Meaning, Social Persona, Tiki, Pelinsu.

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İNCELEME / ARAŞTIRMA

# Tiki'den Pelinsu'ya Toplumsal Anlamlandırma Süreci: Ekşi Sözlük Örneği

***Emre Yağlı\****

## Öz

Bu çalışma, varlıklı bir arka plana sahip ya da öyle olmayı dileyen ve bu nedenle de varlıklı görünmek isteyen, çoğunlukla kadınlardan olmak üzere gençlerden oluşan bir alt kültürü temsil eden tiki gençlik karakteri üzerinde gerçekleşen toplumsal anlamlandırma sürecine açıklama getirmeyi amaçlar. 1990ların başından bu yana kavram, hem erkek hem de kadınları kapsayan ciks, tiki ve Pelinsu gibi toplumsal karakterlere gönderimde bulunmak için kullanılmıştır. Fakat bu artzamanlı sürecin son dönemlerinde bu kavram bir kadın adı olan Pelinsu çerçevesinde adlandırılmaya başlanmış ve sadece kadınlara yönelik bir gönderimsellik kazanmıştır. Bu sürecin ardında bulunan mekanizmayı açıklamak için bu çalışma Ekşi Sözlük'teki tiki ve Pelinsu tanımlarına odaklanmakta ve belirtisellik kuramı üzerinden belirtisel alanları bulgulamaktadır. Çalışma iki açıdan önemli bulgulara sahiptir: İlk olarak, çalışmanın bulguları Ekşi Sözlük kullanıcılarının tiki ve Pelinsu toplumsal karakterlerini nasıl yansıttıkları ve inşa ettikleri bağlamında toplumsal anlamlandırma sürecinin devimsel doğasını ortaya koymaktadır. Bunun yanında çalışma, Türkiye'deki gençlik kimliği üzerine benzer toplumsal anlamlandırma olgularına açıklama getirmeyi amaçlayan gelecek çalışmalara analitik bir çerçeve sağlamaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Belirtisellik, Belirtisel Alan, Toplumsal Anlam, Toplumsal Karakter, Tiki, Pelinsu

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## Introduction

The term social meaning refers to the knowledge encoded in sounds, morphemes, words or constructions that are explicated by the language users' assets, stances and identities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, 2008; Eckert, 2000, 2012; Labov, 1963). In this regard, Eckert (2016) states that "social meaning in variation is an integral part of language and that macrosocial patterns of variation are at once the product of, and a constraint on, a complex system of meaning" (p. 68). Similarly, it can also be forwarded that social meaning is found in the society in a dynamic and cumulative way (Agha, 2003; Eckert, 2008; Silverstein, 2003). In that vein, this work draws on the social meaning making process on a widely-established label and/or lexical item that is used to denote a youth group called *tiki*, which refers to young people, mostly girls, who have wealthy backgrounds or who want to be, and thus, seem like that (Deniz, 2012; Kocaer, 2006; Korkmaz, 2006; Lüküslü, 2005).

In the course of social meaning making process on *tiki* that refer to young men and women, the term has recently labelled as *Pelinsu*, which is a female given name, and started to denote only the women. In bringing an understanding to this social meaning making process that has not been dealt with in an academic fashion, the current work draws on *Ekşi Sözlük* users' descriptions and projections of both *tiki* and *Pelinsu*, and employs the theoretical framework developed under the theory of indexicality (Silverstein, 1976), namely the *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008). In that vein, the current work aims to uncover the mechanism behind the social meaning making process from *tiki* to *Pelinsu* personae and lays out the semiotic resources used to project and construct these youth personae.

In bringing a preliminary account on this social meaning making process, the current section has been organized as follows: In the next subsection, the literature on *tiki* has been introduced. Following the literature on *tiki*, the priori framework on the theory of indexicality has been laid out.

## Tiki 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.<sup>1</sup> 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, 1992). By referring to the term *yuppie*<sup>2 3</sup> as a group of people who hit the headlines in 1980s, Lüküslü (2005) describes *tiki* as a group of young people

1 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 article.

2 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).

3 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.

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).<sup>4</sup>

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, Tiğlı (2012) notes that in order to distinguish themselves from other social personae as *kıro* as lower class people who migrated from rural Anatolia to bigger cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, and *varoş* and *maganda* as people who live in slums that bear negative associations, a group of young people call themselves as *tiki* (p. 114).

Cankurtaran-Öntaş, Buz, and Hatiboğlu (2013) argue that the term *tiki* bears negative connotations and add 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 young people who have material and monetary wealth (p. 69).

In line with *tiki*, *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’

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<sup>4</sup> *Italicized* emphasis by Kocaer (2006).

(meaning ‘water’ and a girl given name) as a compound. According to Duman (2018)<sup>5</sup>, 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 *-nur*, *-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.

## Indexicality

In the current work, the social meanings associated with the label *tiki* has been grounded on the theory of *indexicality* that has been a recent endeavour in the field of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. Specifically, in bringing an understanding to the social meaning making process at work, this work draws on the concept *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008).

Interpreting both semantic and social meaning, 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).

Silverstein (1976) draws on Peirce’s (1901) trichotomy on *signs* as *icons*, *indexes* and *symbols*, and features *indexes* as “signs where the occurrence of a sign vehicle token bears a connection of understood spatio-temporal contiguity to the occurrence of the entity signalled” (p. 27). In Peirce (1901), an *icon* is the copy-relationship between the two edges of the sign vehicle, e.g., an onomatopoeic expression, *Su şırıl şırıl akıyor* ‘The water runs with a pleasant noise’. 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’, etc. Lastly, a *symbol* refers to the conventional relationship between the signifier and the signified, e.g., the logogram 4 meaning *four*, and the letter *A* representing a specific sound.

<sup>5</sup> Personal correspondence with Derya Duman.

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 1<sup>st</sup> to n<sup>th</sup> order. For instance, a 1<sup>st</sup> indexical order can be viewed as a surface meaning, e.g., using the word *X* in speech. 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., The word *X* 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 Eckert's (2008) *indexical field*, it can be said that the word *X*, 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.

## Methodology

In the current work that deals with how Ekşi Sözlük users project the *tiki* persona, the data consist of Ekşi Sözlük users' descriptions on *tiki* and *Pelinsu* between the years 1999 and 2018. In addition, the data has been qualitatively analysed by adopting the tools given in line with the theory of indexicality, namely the *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008). In this regard, this section provides the readers of this article with descriptions on data collection and data analysis method.

## Data Collection

The data of the study have been extracted from Ekşi Sözlük (Literally, *sour dictionary*), a collaborative hypertext dictionary in which users and/or authors, who are also called *suser* as a blended form of *sözlük user* ‘dictionary user’, have been describing words, events or people in their own perspectives since it was founded in 1999.<sup>6</sup> In Ekşi Sözlük, the users collaboratively build and negotiate knowledge as *entries* associated with diverse topics that are organized as *threads*. In emphasizing its informal, ironic and playful characteristics, this knowledge is projected as ‘sacred knowledge’ as for the motto of the website.

In the context of the current work, the data consist of 736 entries in 17 threads associated with *tiki* and *Pelinsu*. The Table 1 below lists the threads and number of entries:

**Table 1. Entries and Threads on Tiki and Pelinsu**

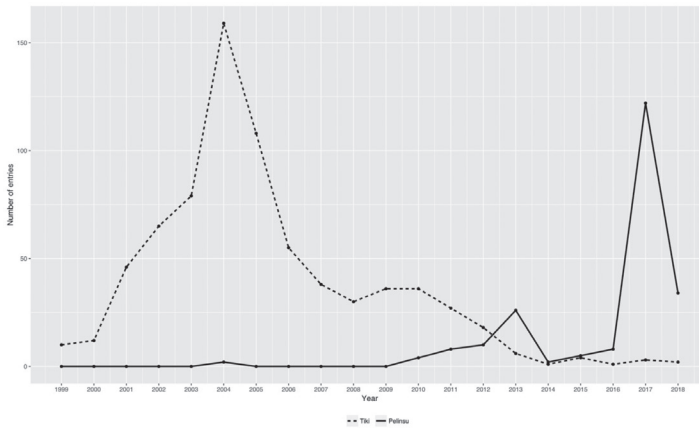
Turkish	Thread		Number of entries
	English		
<i>Tiki</i>	Tiki		179
<i>Tiki aksanı</i>	Tiki accent		11
<i>Tiki atasözleri</i>	Tiki proverbs		118
<i>Tiki Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü</i>	Department of Tiki Language and Literature		19
<i>Tiki dili</i>	Tiki language		16
<i>Tiki dili ve edebiyatı</i>	Tiki language and literature		25
<i>Tiki muhabbetleri</i>	Tiki conversations		115
<i>Tiki kızı aksanı</i>	Tiki girl accent		3
<i>Tiki Türkçesi</i>	Tiki Turkish		61
<i>Pelinsu</i>	Pelinsu		28
<i>Pelinsu ile soru cevap</i>	Q-A with Pelinsu on		34
<i>Babaannenin isminin Pelinsu olması</i>	The probability that [your] grandmother's name is Pelinsu		32
<i>Pelinsu itemleri</i>	Pelinsu items		31
<i>Pelinsu nine</i>	Grandmother Pelinsu		8
<i>Pelinsu üniversitesi</i>	Pelinsu university		11
<i>Yansın geceler Pelinsu Eceler</i>	Song: Yansın geceler Pelinsu Eceler		30
<i>Pelinsu Eceler</i>	Song: Pelinsu Eceler		15
<b>Total number of entries</b>			<b>736</b>

In determining the threads on *tiki* and *Pelinsu* that have been listed in the Table 1 above, Ekşi Sözlük users describe *tiki* and *Pelinsu*. In the thread ‘Tiki’, users describe *tiki* in broad

<sup>6</sup> As for May 2018, *Ekşi Sözlük* is ranked as 15<sup>th</sup> in Turkey and 721<sup>st</sup> in global by Alexa.

perspectives. The threads ‘tiki accent’, ‘tiki girl accent’, ‘tiki language’ and ‘tiki Turkish’ involve the stylistic features employed by the *tiki* youth, and related to its style, in the threads ‘tiki proverbs’, ‘Department of Tiki Language and Literature’, ‘tiki language and literature’ and ‘tiki conversations’ Ekşi Sözlük users feature the conversational aspects of *tiki* subculture. Considering the threads on *Pelinsu*, the threads ‘Pelinsu’, ‘the probability that [your] grandmother’s name is Pelinsu’, ‘grandmother Pelinsu’, ‘Pelinsu university’ and ‘Pelinsu items’ comprise broad projections on *Pelinsu*. The thread ‘Q-A with Pelinsu on involves the descriptions on the conversational aspects and stylistic features associated with *Pelinsu* persona and the ones listed as ‘Song: Yansın geceler Pelinsu Eceler’ and ‘Pelinsu Eceler’ contain entries written to describe the song ‘Yansın geceler Pelinsu Eceler’<sup>7</sup> that was first published in YouTube in January 2017 and then went viral.

In describing the data further, the Figure 1 below can be employed. the Figure 1 features the trend on the frequency of entries written on *tiki* and *Pelinsu*:



**Figure 1. The Trend of the Entries Written on Tiki and Pelinsu: Dotted Line=Tiki, Solid Line=Pelinsu**

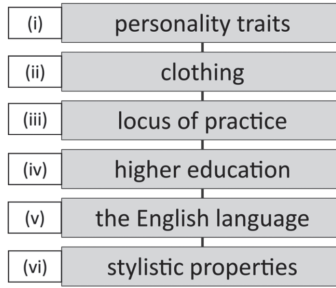
It can be seen in the Figure 2 that the number of the entries given on *tiki* have declined regularly since 2004, while those written on *Pelinsu* have shown an increase starting from 2009. This shows that the data of the study involves a visible trend on the social meaning making process on a youth identity called *tiki*. This trend observed on the data has taken into consideration in the data analysis.

### Data Analysis

The data obtained from Ekşi Sözlük have been analysed by adopting an interpretivist approach provided in line with the theory of indexicality. Thus, the semiotic resources used by the Ekşi Sözlük users have been interpreted with respect to the thematic organization provided in the Figure 2 below.

7 The song by two rappers Heijan (Doğan Tarda) and Muti (Mücahit Doğan) from Bağcılar, İstanbul. The video has been played over 173 million times (200 million together with its clones) on YouTube, see, e.g., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jgENJPTgyvY>





**Figure 2. Themes Employed in the Descriptions on Tiki and Pelinsu**

In interpreting the entries written by Ekşi Sözlük users, six different themes have been employed. In addition, these entries given under the threads listed in the Table 1 have been interpreted diachronically. That is, the interpretations cover a time span from 1999 to 2018. At the end of the analysis, the social meanings associated with *tiki* and *Pelinsu* personae have been laid out in an *indexical field* (Eckert, 2008).

Building on the descriptions on *tiki* by (Cankurtaran-Öntaş et al., 2013; Deniz, 2012; Kocaer, 2006; Korkmaz, 2006; Lüküslü, 2005; Uygun, 2016), the thematic organization given in the Figure 2 above involves (i) personality traits, (ii) clothing, (iii) locus of practice, (iv) higher education, (v) the English language and (vi) stylistic properties. Considering (i) the personality traits, the analysis focuses on how Ekşi Sözlük users construct *tiki* and *Pelinsu* personae along with distinct personal attributes. In terms of (ii) clothing, the analysis draws on the clothing preferences associated with *tiki* and *Pelinsu* personae. In (iii) the locus of practice, the places that one visits and shares experiences have been addressed. In the theme (iv) higher education, the universities ascertained to *tiki* and *Pelinsu* personae have been dealt with. The theme (v) the English language draws on a salient element in the pronunciation pattern adopted by *tiki* and *Pelinsu* while (vi) stylistic properties tackles the sociolinguistic style associated with *tiki* and *Pelinsu* personae.

## Discussion

In the current work that draws on how Ekşi Sözlük users construct and project a youth persona called *tiki*, which refers to young people, mostly girls, who have wealthy backgrounds or who want to be, and thus, seem like that, this section involves diachronic interpretation and discussion of Ekşi Sözlük entries written on both *tiki* and *Pelinsu* by following the thematic organization provided in Figure 2 and adopting the analytical tools provided in the tradition of the theory of indexicality. In this regard, the following analysis starts with interpretation of the entries written on *tiki*. Following the analysis on *tiki*, the entries written on *Pelinsu* have been interpreted in order to uncover how a youth persona called *tiki* has later be termed as *Pelinsu* by employing similar semiotic resources.

Covering a timeline between 1999 and 2018, (1.18) below involve a diachronic interpretation on the entries written on *tiki* by Ekşi Sözlük users. In the (1) below involves a selection of the entries focusing on (i) the personality traits associated with *tiki* persona:

(1) Thread: Tiki [personality traits] <sup>8</sup>

Turkish	English
(a) August 7, 1999 <i>maddi olarak sahip olduklarının ağırlığını taşıyamayan, ya da sahip olmadıklarını kapaticam diye kendini komik duruma düşüren salaklar topluluğu...türkçe'sine özentî desek de yanlış olmamalı aslında su durumda</i>	A group of idiots who cannot sustain what s/he has materially, or those who are being ridiculed because of their efforts in glossing over what they do not have. It would not be wrong if we call them wannabes.
(b) June 15, 2000 <i>bilgi, kültür ve deneyimleriyle dış görünüşü ters orantıda olan insan çeşidi.</i>	A kind of person whose appearance show inverse proportionality with his/her knowledge, culture and experiences.
(c) January 2, 2004 <i>tiki artık günümüzde bence çok fazla parası olup sadece görünüşe harcayan değil, belirli bir gruba ait olma dürtüsüyle dürtülmüş insanların dürtülerine kapılmalarından başka bir şey değildir. [...]</i>	To me, tiki does not refer to the people who spend their money for their appearance just because they have money, it is a stimulation in which people try to show their solidarity with a specific group. [...]
(d) March 15, 2005 <i>görgüsüz, zengin, yada fakir ama marka düşkünü, sapıklık derecesinde metaya (maddeye) değer veren (tapan), çocuk yetiştirmeye ehliyeti olmayan, dünyaya gelişinin, hatta hatta varoluş nedeninin farkına varmamış, günümüz asimile, ucube ve iğreti toplum haşerelerinin genel sıfatıdır. tiki sözcüğünün yanında ciks de kullanılır. bazı tiki sempatzanları ya da bizzat tikiiler, zaman zaman tikiileri savunmaya çalışırlar, fakat doğrudan savunulacak bir yanları olmadığından: "onları bizler yetiştirdik, her tiki giyinen tiki değildir" gibi yandan yandan laf ederler (bkz: <u>biz de yedik</u>). konu hakkında bir şiir bile yazmışlığım olan sözcüktür: ciks takıl free yaşa tiki ol şekil yap</i>	An adjective used for social insects who are impolite, fond of brandy clothes no matter how they are poor or rich, perversely value (and worship) goods, ineligible for raising a child, unaware of his/her existence in the world, assimilated, freak and fake. The word <i>ciks</i> is also used alongside with tiki. Sometimes, tiki people or tiki followers defend tiki. However, since there is not any positive aspect to defend, they talk like, "We made it happen, those who wear tiki-like clothes are not tiki" (See: <u>Yes, we buy it</u> ). I have also written a poem about this word: Hang out like ciks, Live free, Be tiki, Show off.
(e) June 20, 2005 <i>genellikle gençlerde (kızlar yoğunlukta) görülen bilinçsiz tüketim hastalığı. [...]</i>	It is a disease of unconscious consumption that can be observed among young people (especially girls). [...]
(f) June 22, 2006 <i>(bkz: <u>lumpenburjuvazi</u>)</i>	(See: <u>lumpen bourgeoisie</u> )
(g) January 14, 2008 <i>insanların karakter özelliklerinin kullandıkları markalar, gittikleri mekanlar, tanıdıkları insanların çokluğu olduğunu sanan ve bunlar ne kadar pahalyısa o kadar önemli kişiler olduklarını düşünen insancıklar.[...]</i>	A type of human beings who think that character traits depend on the brands that one wears, places that one visits, and the number of rich friends that one have. [...]
(h) October 1, 2012 <i>benim zamanımdan önce bunlara <u>ciks</u> denirmiş. bizim zamanımızda <u>tiki</u> deniyordu. [...]</i>	Way before my time, they were called <u>ciks</u> . In my time, they are called <u>tiki</u> . [...]
(i) October 8, 2016 <i>artık pek kullanılmayan sıfat.</i>	An adjective that is not used anymore.

<sup>8</sup> In the extracts provided, stylistic choices of the users/authors remain intact and hyperlinks are underlined.

In (1) above, a selected set of entries from the thread ‘Tiki’ that focuses on (i) personality has been provided. The initial observation that can be made on the given set in (1) is that users exhibit their reflexivity in describing the *tiki* phenomena and thus, developed various stances. For instance, in (1a), the user associates *tiki* with a group of people who are described in terms of their materials/possessions with reference to the words ‘idiot’ and ‘wannabes.’ A similar trend can be observed in (1c, d, g) in which *tiki* persona is yielded concerning what a *tiki* possess or as if s/he possessed, e.g. “... *tiki* does not refer to the people who spend their money for their appearance just because they have money, ...” as given in (1c).

In (1b), *tiki* is described as “a kind of person whose appearance show inverse proportionality with his/her knowledge, culture and experiences.” A similar portrayal is given in (1f) through a hyperlink, e.g., “lumpen bourgeoisie” and thus, users feature a group of people whose intellectual knowledge and wealth contrast.

In regard to the above interpretations, the initial descriptions given by the users adds upon what Lüküslü (2005) and Korkmaz (2006) state, *tiki* does not only refer to group of people who come from high socioeconomic backgrounds, it also refers to people who behave as if they were or be like that.

In (1c, d), users picture *tiki* as a group of people which form a community in which they show solidarity with the others in the group, e.g., “It is a stimulation in which people try to show their solidarity with a specific group” as given in (1c) and “Sometimes, *tiki* people or *tiki* followers defend *tiki*” as in (1d). Here, calling and thus stigmatizing a group of people as *tiki* lead to a community of practice in which members defend their shared values to form solidarity.

In addition to the above traits attributed to *tiki*, the users in (1h, i) bring a diachronic characterization and state that calling someone as *tiki* and using it as an adjective are temporal in their nature, e.g. (1h) “In my time, they are called *tiki*” and (1i) “An adjective that is not used anymore.” (1i), which is posted on 8 October 2016, is one of the latest dictionary entries in *Ekşi Sözlük* on *tiki*. The entry in (1i) can be regarded as an indicator of the overall decline in the Figure 1 above.

In (1), *Ekşi Sözlük* authors’ descriptions also involve projections on (ii) clothing (1b, c, d, g) which, together with (i) personality, constitutes a key part in the indexical field of *tiki*. Linking the descriptions on (i) personality to (ii) clothing, below (2) highlights a set of entries about (ii) clothing from the thread ‘Tiki’:

(2) Thread: *Tiki* – [clothing]

Turkish	English
(a) November 18, 1999 <i>gömlekleri benim butun elbiselerimden pahalli olan insan toplulugu</i>	A group of people whose shirts are expensive than that of mine.
(b) June 15, 2000 <i>kendi kazanadigi parayla hava atip fütursuzca harcayan kimse, marka budalasi.</i>	A person who is a brand slave that spends all s/he has earned jauntily and show off.
(c) May 27, 2001 <i>bazi markalari uniforma haline getirmis insan toplulugu</i>	A group of people who wear some brands as uniforms.
(d) February 21, 2002 <i>problem:boş bir kafa+gereksiz bir kişilik+bol miktarda para+giyim markası+cadde adı=tikky</i>  <i>solution:flame thrower</i>	Problem: empty-headed + a dead loss + a bunch of money + clothing brand+street name = tikky  Solution: Flame thrower
(e) May 19, 2004 <i>marka giyen değil, marka giydiğini göstermeye çalışan; bol paralı az kafalı insan</i>	A narrow-minded person with a lot of money that tries to show off his/her branded clothes instead of someone who wears them.
(f) March 16, 2006 <i>hayatını paris hilton özentisi şeklinde yaşamayı tercih eden insanlar topluluğu</i>	A group of people who prefer to live as a <u>Paris Hilton</u> wannabe.
(g) February 11, 2009 <i>erkekleri için resmi kıyafeti eşorfan altı, abercrombie sweatshirt ve new york knicks şapka, sakal ve sarkmış gıdirdir. resmi ideolojileri tembellik ve para yemek, sembolleri ise sigara paketi üzerine cep telefonu üzerine araba anahtardır. yemek kültürleri soslu soğanlı dürümden oluşur.</i>	For boys, the official dress involves track pants, Abercrombie sweatshirt, New York Knicks cap, beard and saggy jowl. The official ideology is laziness and playing ducks and drakes with money, and their symbols are car keys, cell phones and cigarette box in one hand. Their food culture is composed of sauced oniony wrap.
(h) July 1, 2010 <i>(bkz: tuhaf giyimli insanlar)</i>	(See: <u>Weirdly dressed people</u> )

In (2) above, which involves a selected set of entries about (ii) clothing, it can be seen that the users sketch *tiki* by referring to a specific clothing style that goes in combination with specific expensive brands. For instance, in (2c), by stressing the choice of brands, *tiki* clothing is described as a uniform that can be interpreted as an overall clothing style. In (2d), the author provides a list of brands covering such products and popular brands. The entry given in (2f) visualizes the clothing style by referring to Paris Hilton. Similar to that of given in (2d, f), (2g) depicts *tiki* men clothing through providing a specific clothing combination with specific brands. Further, entries given in (2a, d, e) draw attention to the

high prices that a *tiki* spend for branded clothes. The author in (2h), through employing a hyperlink and thus putting stress on the description, characterizes *tiki* clothing style as ‘weird.’

Revisiting (2d), in which the author provides a set of ‘equations’ in forming a *tiki* description, s/he involves a name of an attractive and popular street in Istanbul. Consistently with the description given by Korkmaz (2006), *tiki* groups are associated with attractive streets and places of cities. In line with this, the following analysis features (iii) the locus of practice of *tiki* youth that focuses on the places where Ekşi Sözlük users associate *tiki*.

(3) Thread: *Tiki* – [locus of practice]

Turkish	English
(a) February 21, 2002 <i>ayrıca basımdan geçen baska bi olayda bunların neden sihhiye ve ulusa gitmiyosun sorusuna “cünkü ordakiler fakir” cevabi vermesidir; [...]</i>	In another incident that took place, upon being asked about why they do not prefer Ulus or Sihhiye, their replied was, “Because the people there are poor.” [...]
(b) November 3, 2002 <i>1.dinleri imanlari baba parasi, peygamberleri [marka adi] gunluk ibadet yerleri [cadde adi] hac mekanlari [alışveriş merkezi] olan kimselere verilen isim [...]</i>	1. A noun used to refer to a group of people whose religion is father’s money, prophet is [brand name] the place for daily prayer is [street name] and the place for pilgrimage is [shopping center]. [...]
(c) January 16, 2009 <i>[...] daha çok [cadde adi] [yer adi] [alışveriş merkezi] civarında kümelenirler. [...]</i>	[...] Mostly, they gather around [street name] [place name] [shopping center]. [...]

(4) Thread: *The Department of Tiki Language and Literature* – [locus of practice]

Turkish	English
February 15, 2004 <i>dönem ödevi: [cadde adi] kafelerde sipariş verilirken kullanılan terimlerin örneklendirilip terminolojik ve psikolojik altyapısının araştırılması.</i>	Term paper: A research on the terminological and psychological background of the terms used while ordering drinks in cafes in [street name].

In (3) and (4) above, entries written under the threads ‘Tiki’ and ‘The Department of Tiki Language and Literature’ have been provided. The [street name] in (3b, c) and (4a) is located in the Anatolian side of the city of İstanbul and involves an avenue-like section where visitors can find glamorous and luxurious shops. The authors of the abovementioned entries refer to the *street* as a locus of practice for the *tiki* group. In this line, the *street* can be regarded as a representative of the luxurious and attractive streets found in any city. In detail, the user in (3b) also refers to a shopping mall in the Etiler part of Beşiktaş district in İstanbul. Opened in the early 1990s, the *shopping center* can be regarded as

the first attraction centre for world-renowned brands in Turkey. Interpreting its emergence with the representations brought on *tiki* (i) personality and (ii) clothing, which possess an indexical history of ‘having money’ and ‘wearing branded clothes’, the locus of practice of *tiki* groups has been described in coordination with both (i) and (ii).

In a similar fashion, the description in (4a) proposes a term paper which can be assigned in a so-called ‘the Department of Tiki Language and Literature.’ Stressing the presence of the *street given in line with the previous descriptions*, the author pinpoints to *tiki* locus of practice in regard to the everyday conversations that take place in cafes. In (3c), the author provides such places as *attractive and popular places in İstanbul*. The *shopping center named in (3c)*, which is another shopping mall in İstanbul, is bigger in size than the *the shopping center named in (3b)* and is known as another attraction centre. Moreover, it is located in the intersection of crowded business centres of İstanbul, namely Levent and Maslak. Yeşilköy, which is one of the historic centres of İstanbul, is a neighbourhood in the district of Bakırköy. It is known as another site of attraction that has an affluent population. And Nişantaşı, which is one of the shopping and residential districts of İstanbul, hosts several fashion shops, department stores, cafes, pubs and night clubs. All in all, as have been stated, the locus of practice portrayed and put forward by the users in *Ekşi Sözlük* can be regarded as representative in its indexical nature and in every city in Turkey, the notion *tiki* can be linked to attractive streets considering its locus of practice.

Building upon the above given indexical nature of *tiki* (i) personality, (ii) clothing and (iii) locus of practice, another observation can be asserted considering universities that *tiki* group study, namely (iv) the higher education. The below extracts (5), (6) and (7) have been given in uncovering the indexical meaning making of *tiki* with regard to (iv) the higher education.

(5) Thread: *Tiki* – [Higher education]

Turkish	English
(a) April 6, 2000 <i>[vakıf üniversitesi adı] hatunların “life style”i</i>	The ‘life-style’ of the girls studying in [name of a private university]
(b) March 30, 2008 <i>[vakıf üniversite adları] gibi özel üniversitelerin öğrencilerinin büyük bir çoğunlunu oluşturan cıvalı bir dış görünüşe sahip kesimdir.</i>	It refers to a group of shiny people who forms the high proportion of students studying in such private universities as [names of private university names]
(c) March 28, 2015 <i>[vakıf üniversitesi adı] işgal etmiş güruhtur.[...] aralarında parayla pulla derslerden gecme de dahil herseyi yapabileceğini zannettikten sonra durumun böyle olmadığını gorup depresyona girenleri de yok degildir. [...]</i>	A band of people who invaded the [name of a private university]. [...] There are ones among them who think that they are capable of passing a course with money and by doing other things. However, when they fail to do so, there are also ones who get into depression.

(6) Thread: *Tiki Turkish* – [Higher education]

Turkish	English
May 15, 2012 <i>ingilizce-türkçe karışımı konuşmaya da denen şeydir. oluşum nedeni başta busel 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.

Rethinking the interpretation on *tiki* (i) personality that builds upon indexical field of ‘wealthiness’ and (ii) clothing that counts on ‘luxury’ and ‘purchase power,’ in the descriptions given in (5) and (6) above, (iv) the higher education linked to *tiki* groups has been described in regard to private universities. In Turkey, higher education can be grouped into two as state and private universities. After the university entrance exam held in the last year of the high school, students make a choice between state and private universities depending on their score. Those who are carrying on their educational career in private universities pay tuition fees while the ones who prefer state-owned universities do not. In the entries given in (5) and (6) above, authors refer to private universities as a locus of higher education.

The entries featured in (5) and (6) index private universities as a locus of higher education, which interact with the previous indexical account brought in terms of (i) personality, (ii) clothing and (iii) locus of practice considering such descriptions gathered around ‘wealth,’ ‘luxury’ and ‘attraction.’ What should be traced further is the depiction given in (6) under the thread ‘Tiki Turkish.’ By referring to *Bilkent University School of English Language* (BUSEL), the user in (6) features 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. Following this line that indexes *Tiki Turkish* as a style that emerges out of the contact between Turkish and English in educational setting, the current analysis has also aimed at bringing an indexical account into (v) the English language. The below (7), (8), (9) and (10) involve descriptions written under the threads ‘tiki’, ‘tiki language’, ‘tiki language and literature’ and ‘tiki Turkish’ respectively:

(7) Thread: *Tiki* – [the English language]

Turkish	English
January 14, 2008 <i>[...] ayrıca kelimeleri yuvarlayıp,yutunca veya gerektiğinden fazla uzatınca ingilizce konuştuklarını da sanabiliyorlar. [...]</i>	[...] In addition, they think that they are speaking English when they jabber or lengthen a word. [...]

(8) Thread: *Tiki language* – [the English language]

Turkish	English
(a) December 13, 2011 (bkz: <i>tikkish</i> )	(See: <i>Tikkish</i> )

(9) Thread: *Tiki language and literature* – [the English language]

Turkish	English
(a) March 28, 2004 <i>hızla gelişmekte olan ve popüler müzik ve kişilerin ağzından çıkan her cins kelime ile daha da zenginleşen dejenere dildir tikky dili. edebiyatına gelince de her geçen gün daha da genişleyen pop müzik arşivi ile “şarkı sözü” dalında bolca eser yayınlamaktadır. adına bölüm açılması türkçe'nin ölümü olur.</i>	It is a degenerated language which is further enriched by ever-developing popular music and any sort of word uttered by people. Considering tiki literature, with the impetus of emerging pop music, there have been increasing number of literal works in the branch of 'song lyrics'. It will be a death of Turkish when people found a department for Tiki.

(10) Thread: *Tiki Turkish* – [the English language]

Turkish	English
(a) March 31, 2004 <i>arkadışler ile <u>borgırda</u> buluşcaaz.</i>	We are going to meet in the burger house.
(b) 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 lisanıdır. [...]</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> '. [...]

The entries given in (7-10) involve descriptions on 'Tiki,' 'Tiki language,' 'Tiki language and literature' and 'Tiki Turkish' in frame of (v) the English language, which is salient in the indexical field of *Tiki*. In (8), the author coins the term 'Tikkish' to refer to a style in which *tiki* group adopts English-like pronunciation patterns and lexicon in their everyday conversations. Adopting an overt stance towards how *tiki* groups use Turkish, the author in (9) stresses the effect of popular culture and pop music on the *tiki* speech style and features it as a degenerated form of language use. In this vein, the author reaches a conclusion that this would cause a death for the Turkish language.

In (10a), as an example given under the thread *Tiki Turkish*, alongside with the pronunciation patterns described above, the user also exemplifies a lexical use, e.g., 'borgır' which is written in Turkish spelling convention. Similar to that of given in (7), the author in (10b) also features specific stylistic features of *Tiki Turkish*, e.g., inserting (and also extracting) letters into words in spelling, pronouncing r-sound (used as a 'r-letter' by the author) in a lax manner. Here, the definitions on the pronunciation patterns given in (7) and (10b) are central to the *tiki style vis-à-vis* 'how a *tiki* person speaks.' Hence, the following lines of this study tackle more descriptions like (7) and (10b) in interpreting the (vi) stylistic properties of *tiki* groups. The descriptions given in (11-14) below can be employed to ascertain how (vi) stylistic properties of *tiki*-group have been projected:



(11) Thread: *Tiki girl accent* – [stylistic properties]

Turkish	English
(a) November 13, 2011 <i>belirgin, ağır ve yayvan bir şivedir. bir tikiyi 100 metre öteden tanımanızı sağlar. istisnasız bütün tiki kızlar kısa sürede evrim geçirerek bu şiveyi kazanır.</i>	It is a distinct, slow and open accent. It helps you to identify a tiki in a hundred meters' distance. All the tiki girls adopt this accent through evolving in a short time. [...]
(b) December 13, 2011 [...]. <i>çok farklı etnik ve coğrafi kökenlerden gelen bu hanım kızlarımızın aynı biçime konuşmaları, aynı biçimde telaffuz hataları yapmaları... bilimsel açıdan açıklanmaya muhtaç. birisi bu merakımı giderebilirse gerçekten çok sevinicem. bu kızlar neden böyle konuşmaktalar? ve nasıl topluluk gibi muamele görüp “şive” adını alıyor konuşmaları?</i>	[...] That girls from various ethnic and geographic backgrounds speak in the same manner should be explained by the science. I would be very happy if one satisfies my curiosity. Why do these girls talk like that? And how can their speech style be regarded as an ‘accent’?

(12) Thread: *Tiki language* – [stylistic properties]

Turkish	English
May 16, 2004 <i>türkçeden farklı olarak yumuşak “r”, uzun “a,e,o..” harflerini de içerir.</i> [...]	As distinct from Turkish, it involves soft ‘r’ and long ‘a, e, o’ letters. [...]

(13) Thread: *The Department of Tiki Language and Literature* – [stylistic properties]

Turkish	English
October 2, 2004 <i>avrupa yakasındaki selin gibi konuşmanın ön şart olduğu, konuşamayanların bir ya da binbir yıl hazırlık okuduğu bölüm..</i>	It is a department whose prerequisite is talking like Selin in Avrupa Yakası (A TV drama) and whose students have a preparatory class for one or many years unless they can speak like Selin.

(14) Thread: *Tiki Turkish* – [stylistic properties]

Turkish	English
(a) November 6, 2008 <i>türkçenin yaygınlaştırılmı, yayılarak, ağızda yuvarlayarak kullanılan halidir!</i>	A form of Turkish which is spoken in crooked and jabbered manner.
(b) February 14, 2010 <i>bu dil, normal türkçe’deki kelimelerin sonundaki dar ünlüleri barındırmaz. dar ünlüler geniş ünlülere dönüşür ve uzatılır.</i> [...]	This language does not involve close vowels found in the final position of Turkish words. Those narrow vowels transform to wide and are extended. [...]

The above extracts (11-14) from the threads ‘Tiki girl accent’, ‘Tiki accent’, ‘Tiki language’, ‘the Department of Tiki Language and Literature’ and ‘Tiki Turkish’ exhibit (vi) the stylistic properties adopted by *tiki* groups.

In interpreting (11a, b), which involve descriptions on ‘Tiki girl accent,’ the users feature a speech style which shows sharp distinctions when compared to other speech styles in the society, e.g. ‘slow’ (11a) and ‘an adoptable speech style notwithstanding of any ethnic and geographic backgrounds’. Similar to that of given in (11), the user in (15a) also describes *tiki style* as displaying crooked and jabbered speech.

On the thread ‘Tiki language,’ the author in (12) gives detailed explanation and examples on the pronunciation patterns of *tiki style*, e.g., softened form of /i/ and prolonged /a/, /e/ and /o/ vowels. The user in (14b) confirms the descriptions given in (12) that in *tiki style*, people prolong the close short vowels /u/, /i/, /u/ and /y/. These alternations can also be observed in the stereotypical perception of how an English-speaking person speaks Turkish. That is, it can be said that the pronunciation patterns of English have a strong influence on the pronunciation of Turkish words when it comes to *tiki style*.<sup>9</sup> Thus, in the indexical interpretation, the link between (iv) the higher education and (vi) the stylistic properties of *tiki* groups have been formed and/or determined through (v) the English language.

In (13), the author points to a specific character in a television sitcom, Avrupa Yakası (European Side) which was aired between 2004-2009 in Turkey. In the entries on *tiki* in *Ekşi Sözlük*, it has been observed that users have exemplified the character ‘Selin’ several times to describe various aspects of *tiki* ranging from personality to speech style.

So far, the current analysis has dwelled on the indexical interpretation of *tiki* by *Ekşi Sözlük* users/authors. As have been stated considering the Figure 1, the number of entries on *tiki* have been in decline and the number of entries describing *Pelinsu* are on the rise. Thus, depending on the age and the mobility of the participants and/or listeners, the indexical field of *tiki* has shown the probability of becoming less salient in the public sphere. In that vein, the rest of the current analysis focuses on the interpretation of *Pelinsu* by employing the *Ekşi Sözlük* data.

The (15, 16, 17, 18) below involve a set of selected entries from the threads ‘Pelinsu’, ‘Pelinsu items’, ‘Grandmother Pelinsu’ and ‘Pelinsu University’ and follows the same thematic organization employed for *tiki*:

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<sup>9</sup> It is not clear at this point since there are not any studies descriptive enough to support this initial observation. However, future evidences can be given from the studies on the phonological adaptation of English loanwords in Turkish to instantiate this vowel change in pronunciation.

(15) Thread: *Pelinsu*

Turkish	English
(a) October 10, 2004 <i>en kral tiki isimlerden bir tanesi, diğerleri için (bkz: tiki isimleri)</i>	It is one of the names that can be given for a tiki. For the others: (See: <a href="#">Tiki names</a> )
(b) April 25, 2010 <i>henüz tanışma şerefine nail olamadığım kız ismi. şahsen bu isme sahip kızların çok güzel, ve tikky olduklarını hayal ederim. eğer olurdu karşıma şişko ve çirkin bir pelinsu çıkarsa yakarım bu gezegeni...</i>	It is a name of the girl with whom I haven't honoured yet to meet. Personally, I imagine that girls with this name would be beautiful and tiki. If I meet with a fat and ugly <a href="#">Pelinsu</a> , I would blow out the world.
(c) April 29, 2016 <i>temsili olarak: [görse]</i>	Representatively: [image]
(d) September 16, 2017 <i>iki cümleyi biraraya getiremeyen, ağızda sakız varmış gibi konuşan, dış görünüşü dışında bi özelliği olmayan kaşar ruhlu (bkz: pelinsu) lar kadar değerimiz olmadı. bu dünyanın adaletini..</i>	I have never been valued as a stager (see: <a href="#">Pelinsu</a> ) who scarcely exchange more than two words with someone, talk as if she had a chewing gum in her mouth and does not have any trait other than her appearance. This is not fair.

(16) Thread: *Pelinsu items*

Turkish	English
February 7, 2017 <i>tavşan kulak iphone kılıfı aşırı abartı ve renkli topluklu ayakkabı double pelinsu item packet</i>	<a href="#">I-phone cover with rabbit ears</a> <a href="#">Puffy and colourful high heeled shoes</a> <a href="#">Double Pelinsu item package</a>

(17) Thread: *Grandmother Pelinsu*

Turkish	English
October 5, 2016 <i>bayramlarda elini öpmek yerine her haftasonu beraber club'a gitme isteği yaratan anneanne, babaanne'dir pelinsu.</i>	A grandmother who would bring the idea to go to clubs together instead of kissing her hands in religious holidays. Pelinsu is a grandmother.

(18) Thread: *Pelinsu University*

Turkish	English
(a) May 8, 2012 <i>bkz: [özel üniversite adı]</i>	See: <a href="#">[name of a private university]</a>
(b) May 8, 2012 <i>bkz: [özel üniversite adı]</i>	See: <a href="#">[name of a private university]</a>
(c) May 8, 2012 <i>bir iddiaya göre kapısında "iphone'u ve beyaz çizgili yeşil adidas eşofman altı olmayan giremez" şeklinde bir yazı varmış.</i>	According to a claim, there is such a saying in the entrance: "Those who do not have iPhone and <u>white-lined green Adidas tracksuit</u> cannot enter."

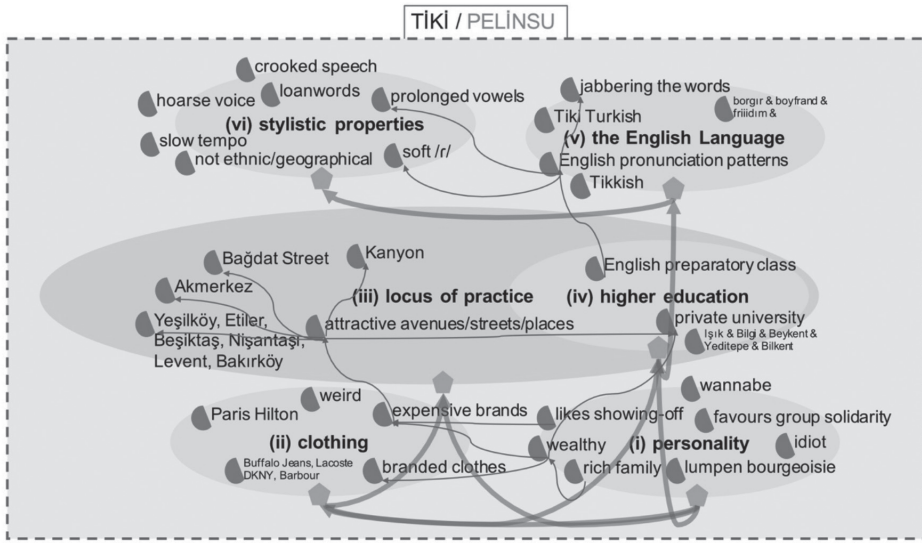
For the thread 'Pelinsu' in (15), users provide descriptions over *Pelinsu*, (16) draws on accessories and clothing, (17) features a future projection on the indexical field of *Pelinsu*, which this study claims to build in the same indexical field of *tiki* and (18) involves projections given on higher education, which forms direct ties to the previous definitions on *tiki*.

In the entries given in (15a), which was written in 2004, the authors refer to *Pelinsu* as a *tiki* name. In this regard, it can be said that *Pelinsu*, which emerged in the same indexical field of *tiki*, was salient at that time. Moreover, (15c) provides an image representative of *Pelinsu*, which in turn, conforms with the previous descriptions on (i) personality and (ii) clothing of *tiki*, e.g., a photo of a girl with glasses, a branded jacket and accessories, and makeup. In (15d), the user refers to the appearance that can be linked to previous descriptions on (i) personality and (ii) clothing. Furthermore, the expression provided by the author '... as if she had a chewing gum in her mouth' goes along with (vi) stylistic features of *tiki* that was previously described as 'crooked' and 'jabbered.'

The author of the entry given in (16) foregrounds a description on (ii) clothing and provides the readers with two hypertexts and/or links. A similar description can also be found in (18c), e.g. 'I-phone and white-lined green Adidas tracksuit.' In (17), in which the authors bring their own characterization on the probability of a grandmother whose name is *Pelinsu*, the author points to (iii) the locus of practice by forwarding so-called future activity with a grandmother, e.g., going to club with a grandmother instead of visiting her in religious holidays.

In (18a, b, c), which can be interpreted alongside previous descriptions on *tiki* considering (iv) the higher education, the featured two entries in (18a) and (18b) provide two private universities.

In interpreting the notions *tiki* and later *Pelinsu* considering (i) personality, (ii) clothing, (iii) locus of practice, (iv) higher education, (v) the English language and (vi) stylistic properties, the below indexical field in Figure 3 can be given:



**Figure 3. The Indexical Field of Tiki. Circles=Indexical Frames, Pentagons=Ports, Arrows=Indexical Links**

Based on the analysis on the entries by *Ekşi Sözlük* users, the Figure 3 above maps the indexical field of *tiki* and *Pelinsu* personae. Building upon the descriptions given by Lüküslü (2005), Kocaer (2006), Korkmaz (2006) and Deniz (2012) on (i) personality, (ii) clothing and (iii) the locus of practice, the indexical field above has been further elaborated to cover (iv) the higher education, (v) the English language and (vi) the stylistic properties. Each of these indexical frames has been shown with circles with a purple pentagon that links each frame to related frames.

Considering the descriptions of the authors given on (i) personality, *tiki* groups' having wealthy (families) backgrounds is a major determinant in interpreting their personality alongside (ii) clothing. In a similar fashion, *Ekşi Sözlük* authors' projection on *tiki* as a 'person who likes to show-off' is also a matter in the formation of the link between (i) personality and (ii) clothing. Here, what should be regarded as one of the substantial arguments on *tiki* clothing is that the authors mostly refer to girls in describing a clothing style. As an indicator of the overall clothing style of *tiki* groups, users put forward strong references to 'branded' and 'expensive clothes', which in turn, can be regarded as a major transition from (ii) clothing to (iii) the locus of practice, where they refer to attractive avenues/streets/places. Concurrently, the same link between (i) personality and (ii) clothing is also present between the indexical frames (i) personality and (iii) the locus of practice, e.g., 'people having wealthy background can visit attractive/luxurious avenues/streets/places.'

In regard to (iv) the higher education, which is thought to be located in the indexical frame (iii) the locus of practice, private universities have come to the fore in the projections made by the users. In addition, it can be stated that private universities have also been regarded as one of the attractive places by the authors. The existence of English preparatory classes in those private universities advances a new indexical frame, namely (v) the English language. Characterizing *tiki* groups who pronounce Turkish words by adopting an English-like fashion alongside with employing loanwords during conversations, another linkage emerges between (v) the English language and (vi) the stylistic properties. Interrelated with the variable pronunciation of /r/ which has been presented to the listeners to obtain their percepts during the sociolinguistic group interviews in this study, the authors' examples on conversational features of *tiki* groups involve prolonged vowels and a 'different' form of /r/.

The indexical field given in Figure 3 also shows that depending on the shared sociolinguistic knowledge, which covers a time span between 1999 and 2018 in the current work, *tiki* and *Pelinsu* youth have been projected differently over time. Hence, the term *tiki*, which refers to both men and *mostly* women in the late 90s and very beginning of 2000s, was later employed as *Pelinsu* to refer to only women. This finding goes hand in hand with what has been argued by Jaffe (2016) that social indexicalities bear indeterminacy between signs and social meanings. That is, social indexicalities are contextual and emergent and thus prone to change depending on the sociolinguistic knowledge. The emergent nature of indexicalities can also be tackled along with what has been stated by Eckert (2008) as social indexicalities are prone to change according to the trends and/or needs of the community.

Put in another way, semiotic variables (i.e., personality traits, clothing, places that one visits, etc.) associated with particular subject (i.e., *tiki* and *Pelinsu* in the context of this work) change over time. In that vein, the above analysis also uncovers the indexical histories associated with the social personae that is the subject of this study. This indexical history is traceable with respect to what has been associated with either *tiki* or *Pelinsu* in the entries written by Ekşi Sözlük authors.

In addition, it has been observed in the Ekşi Sözlük data that users highlight their *stances* in associating the youth personae with distinct semiotic variables. By employing social indexicalities that are deployed as a comic material (i.e., Ekşi Sözlük users' projections on *tiki* along with their jokes, burlesque, etc.), language users hold a reflexive position in which they reflect their stances towards either *tiki* or *Pelinsu* personae. Thus, stances adopted by Ekşi Sözlük users are central to the indexical field given in the Figure 3, in that, as Jaffe (2009) states, 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).

## Conclusion

In uncovering the indexical fields associated with a youth group in Turkey, namely *tiki*, which has later been termed as *Pelinsu*, the current work has drawn on Ekşi Sözlük descriptions that have been written in a time span covering the years between 1999 and 2018. In that vein, this study has brought an indexical account on how youth persona is projected and constructed in online communities.

The findings of the study is important for two reasons; firstly, social meaning making process is dynamic in the sense that how *Ekşi Sözlük* users project and construct social personae of *tiki* and *Pelinsu*. In addition, this study provides an analytical framework to the future studies that aim to bring an understanding to how youth identity in Turkey is socially constructed and projected.

The dynamic nature of social meaning making process comes from Ekşi Sözlük users' descriptions on *tiki* with respect to several topics (i.e., threads in the sense of Ekşi Sözlük). That is, users project and construct *tiki* persona by attributing specific traits, clothing style, locus of practice and stylistic properties that varies over the years. Along with these specific attributions, the analysis also shows that users also employ different labels for the same persona. In this regard, the current work shows that *tiki*, which used to refer to both men and *mostly* women, has later been termed as *Pelinsu* in order to denote only the women.

Secondly, this study, which uncover the semiotic resources employed to project and construct a youth persona in Turkey, provides future studies with an analytical framework that can be employed to bring an understanding to how youth identity in Turkey is socially constructed.

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