Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of Linguistics

AN ANALYSIS OF CONVERSATIONAL NARRATIVES

IN TURKISH

Emel Kökpınar Kaya

A Ph.D. Dissertation

Ankara, 2014

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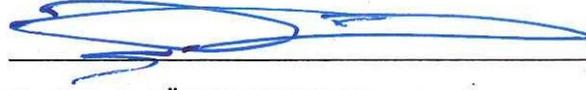Department of Linguistics

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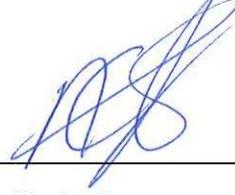
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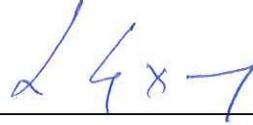
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15.07.2014

[İmza]

Emel Kökpınar Kaya

To my Family

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ÖZET

KÖKPINAR KAYA, Emel. Türkçedeki Etkileşimsel Anlatılar Üzerine bir İnceleme, Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2014.

Etkileşimsel anlatılar, anlatıcı(lar) ve dinleyici(ler) tarafından gerçekleştirilen doğal ve etkileşimsel üretimlerdir. Bu açıdan, Anlatı Çözümlemesi geleneği çerçevesindeki birçok çalışma değişik dillerdeki etkileşimsel anlatılara odaklanmıştır. Ancak, daha önce Türkçe üzerine yapılmış çalışmalar, sözlü anlatıların incelenmesine yönelmiş ve anlatıların etkileşimsel yönlerini göz ardı etmişlerdir.

Bu çalışma, Türkçedeki etkileşimsel anlatıların anlatı yapılarını ve etkileşimsel düzenlerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla, çalışma yöntembilimsel olarak Anlatı Çözümlemesi (Labov and Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1972; 1997) ve Konuşma Çözümlemesi (Jefferson, 1978; Sacks ve diğ., 1974) alanları arayüzünde yürütülmüştür. Çalışmanın verisi, doğal konuşmalardan toplanan 11 farklı ses kaydından alınan 100 basit ve 12 karmaşık etkileşimsel anlatıyı kapsamaktadır.

Çalışmanın bulguları Türkçedeki basit ve karmaşık etkileşimsel anlatıların Labov'un ulamları çerçevesinde belirli örüntüler içinde gerçekleştiklerini göstermektedir. Buna ek olarak, yapılarında birçok basit etkileşimsel anlatıyı bulundurabilen karmaşık etkileşimsel anlatıların konusal düzlemde iki farklı türe sahip oldukları ortaya konulmuştur. Bunlar İlerlemeci Karmaşık Anlatılar ve Bağlantısal Karmaşık Anlatılar olarak sıralanabilir. Karmaşık etkileşimsel anlatılar, metinsel düzlemde ise gömülü ve dizili metin formları oluşturmaktadırlar.

Çalışma, ayrıca, etkileşimsel anlatıların günlük konuşmaların sıra düzenleri ile açıklanamayacağını göstermektedir. Konuşma sırasında ortaya çıkan öykülemeler doğaları gereği tek bir sıra birimi içinde tamamlanamayabilir ve anlatıcılar genişletilmiş sıralara ve/ ya da birbirini takip eden nitelikteki sıra düzenlerine ihtiyaç duyabilirler. Bu noktada, çalışma etkileşimsel öykülerin kendilerine özgü sıra düzenine, ve sıra-alma ilke ve süreçlerine sahip olduğunu bulgulamıştır.

Çalışma Türkçe etkileşimsel öykülemelerde, anlatıcı ve dinleyiciler tarafından belirli amaçlar için kullanılan bazı dilsel yapıları da incelemektedir. Türkçe etkileşimsel anlatılarda, anlatısal,

etkileşimsel ve kişilerarası işlevler yüklenen dilsel yapılar 'ondan sonra', 'işte', 'şimdi' ve 'şey' gibi söylem belirleyicileri, soru yapıları ve zaman değişimleri olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu dilsel yapılar, çalışmanın verisinde sık görülmeleri ve etkileşimsel anlatıların genel yapılarında önemli roller yüklenmeleri dolayısıyla seçilmişlerdir.

Sonuç olarak, çalışma etkileşimsel anlatıların anlatı yapılarının konuşmanın akıcı doğasından kaynaklanan etkilere çok açık olduğunu ve bunlardan fazlaca etkilendiğini göstermiştir. Etkileşimsel faktörlerin anlatı yapıları üzerindeki etkileri yanında, anlatısal faktörlerin etkileşimsel düzen üzerindeki etkisinden de söz edilebilir. Bunlara ek olarak, dilsel yapılar da anlatısal ve etkileşimsel düzenekler arasında belirli görevler üstlenmektedir. Bu da bize, doğal konuşmalarda ortaya çıkan öykülemelerin anlatısal, etkileşimsel ve dilsel düzeneklerin ortak üretimleri olduğunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Etkileşimsel Anlatılar, Etkileşimsel Öyküleme, Anlatı Çözümlemesi, Konuşma Çözümlemesi

ABSTRACT

KÖKPINAR KAYA, Emel. An Analysis on Conversational Narratives in Turkish, A Ph.D. Dissertation, Ankara, 2014.

Conversational narratives are performed in conversations as the spontaneous and interactional achievements of the teller(s) and the listener(s). With this concern, many studies in narrative tradition focus on conversational narratives in various languages. However, most of the previous narrative studies in Turkish concentrate on the investigation of oral narratives by disregarding the conversational aspects.

This study aimed to investigate the narrative structures and conversational organizations of conversational narratives in Turkish. To this end, an analysis has been carried out in the interface of Narrative Analysis (Labov and Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1972; 1997) and Conversation Analysis (Jefferson, 1978; Sacks et al., 1974). The data of the study include 100 single conversational narratives and 12 complex conversational narratives gathered from 11 recordings of natural conversations in Turkish.

The findings of the study indicate that both single and complex conversational narratives in Turkish have certain organizational patterns in terms of Labovian categories. Furthermore, complex conversational narratives which are composed of several single narratives have two types in terms of their topical organizations. They are progressive complex narratives (PCNs) and hypertextual complex narratives (HCNs). In their textual organizations, complex conversational narratives (CCNs) depict embedded or integrated textual forms.

The study also revealed that conversational storytelling is problematic in terms of the sequence organization of ordinary talk. Telling stories may not be completed in a single turn by their nature and the tellers may need some extended and/or successive turns. In this concern, the study demonstrated that conversational storytelling has its own exclusive sequence organizations, and turn-taking principles and procedures,

The study emphasized some specific linguistic forms which are used by tellers and listeners to achieve specific purposes in conversational storytelling in Turkish. The linguistic forms which are used to achieve narrative, conversational and interpersonal purposes in Turkish conversational

narratives were identified as the discourse markers, 'ondan sonra', 'işte', 'şimdi' and 'şey', interrogative forms, and tense shifts. These linguistic forms have been identified in terms of their frequent existence and significant roles in the overall structures of conversational narratives in the data of this study.

As a concluding remark, the study indicated that narrative structures of conversational narratives are highly vulnerable and very open to the influences caused by the flowing nature of conversation. In addition to the influences of conversational features on narrative structures, the narrative features may influence the conversational organization of the conversational storytelling. In addition to this, linguistic forms mediate between the narrative and conversational mechanisms. That is to say, it is possible to figure out the storytelling activity in natural conversations as a combinatory achievement of narrative, conversational and linguistic mechanisms.

Key Words

Conversational Narratives, Conversational storytelling, Narrative Analysis, Conversation Analysis

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SCN   : Single Conversational Narrative

CCN   : Complex Conversational Narrative

PCN   : Progressive Complex Narrative

HCN   : Hypertopical Complex Narrative

A   : Abstract (Labovian Category)

O   : Orientation (Labovian Category)

CA   : Complicating Action (Labovian Category)

R   : Resolution (Labovian Category)

Co   : Coda (Labovian Category)

Eva   : Evaluation (Labovian Category)

TCU   : Turn Constructional Unit

TPR   : Turn Relevance Point

CHP   : Conversational Historical Present

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The last several decades have revolutionized the understanding of narratives and thus, narrative analysis has emerged as one of the major fields of research in linguistics. Narratives have attracted much attention from a variety of disciplines and have become a notable part of the repertoire of the human sciences since the very beginning of the second half of the twentieth century.

Narrative, which is "inescapably fundamental in human life" (Hymes and Cazden 1980, p. 131), can be accepted to be influential in understanding the nature of human language, communication and cognition; understanding the nature of narrative leads to an understanding of all these human potentials. Therefore, the increasing interest in narrative as an object and in narrative analysis as a study field is not just a coincidence but it is a consequence of scholarly attempts to understand the nature of human language, communication and cognition through narratives.

As a significant product and an indispensable feature of human language, narrative seams a link between past, present and even future. Here, displacement, one of the fundamental design features which differentiate human language from animal communication systems (Hockett, 1960, pp. 88-96), may be thought to have a direct access to narrative. Due to its sophisticating human language with a capability to produce narratives by retelling past events and creating future fantasies, displacement notifies an ability to produce and comprehend narratives. Yet, human beings are not the only creatures to have a capability to express things that are not present spatially and temporally. Some other species have narrative-like impulses in their certain kinds of communicative exchanges (Siguyama, 1996). According to Hockett (ibid.), "Man is apparently almost unique in being able to talk about things that are remote in space or time (or both) from where the talking goes on. This feature – 'displacement' – seems to be definitely lacking in the vocal signaling of man's closest relatives, though it does occur in bee-dancing." As it is also emphasised by Hockett, bees produce narrative-like practices through dancing in order to signal the location and potency of the nectar (Von Frisch, 1967). Toolan (2001, p. 6) upholds the idea that bee dancing overcomes just

spatial displacement, and cannot encompass temporal displacement; therefore it is not a proper narrative in our sense as Harris remarks: "Bees do not regale one another with reminiscences of the nectar they found last week, nor discuss together the nectar they might find tomorrow" (1981, p. 158). As most like humans in terms of their narrative competencies, some certain primates signal danger in some conventionalised alarm calls and these signals also communicate past and future events primitively (Ochs and Capps, 2001, p. 59).

However, narrative action of human is prominently divergent from these primitive narrative performances which are restricted to specific ends signalled in strictly and instinctively conventionalised ways. Human narrative has a rich array of motives and encompasses the performances of remembering, instilling cultural knowledge, grappling with a problem, rethinking the status quo, soothing, empathising, inspiring, speculating, justifying a position, disputing, tattling, evaluating one's own and other's identities, shaming, teasing, lauding, entertaining, and so forth. Besides, human narrators draw narratives in a diversity of formats including gossip, instigating stories, prayers, lamentations, reminiscences, agendas, plans, parables, jokes, eye-witness testimonies, confessions, reports, broadcasts, toasts, ballads, and certain forms of poetry (ibid., p. 60).

Narrative, which can be produced in an enormous range of formats, can be created through several communicative modalities such as spoken, written, kinaesthetic, pictorial and musical modes of representation (Ochs, 1997, p. 185). Barthes (1977, p. 79) explains the various and heterogenous motives, topics, forms and functions of narratives in stating that "Able to be carried by articulated language, spoken or written, fixed or moving images, gestures, and the ordered mixture of all these substances: narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella,epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting, stained glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, conversation …" All these divergent arrays of motives, topics, formats and modes of representation of human narratives are intriguing in the explanation of human language and communication.

Narrative is a significant part of the everyday lives of human beings and even the essense of humanness (Johnstone, 2001, p. 635). Toolan (2001, p. x) states that everything we do from making bed to making breakfast to taking shower can be seen, cast and recounted as a narrative. He further argues that future plans, inspirations, dreams, records of daily events, formal reports, diaries, letters, educational texts, stories of triumps and defeats, pieces of literature, and even news in media can be counted as the instances of narrative due to their being combined in a textual body with a temporal order. From such narratives, human beings learn about themselves and the world around them. Besides, via their tendency to tell stories, humans make sense of the world through narrative (Johnstone, 2001, p. 635).

Yet, narrative, as an undeniable part of human language and a way of communicating ideas among interlocutors, has a cognitive aspect as well. Human cognition provides human beings with an ability to transfer their past experiences to present time, to formulate future plans in present time, to convey them to others, and to comprehend the complex time-place relationships in narrative productions. In addition to these narrative abilities, human cognition is thought to entail a universal schema for human narratives. Researches on narratives with a developmental perspective (Bamberg, 1994; Bamberg and Moissinac, 2003; Hudson and Shapiro, 1991; Peterson and Mccabe, 1991; Aksu-Koç, 1988) and studies on the internal structure of narratives (Labov and Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1972; 1997) lead scholars to think of the existence of a common cognitive structure in the telling and remembering of events in a sequence.

To recap, narrative is a very significant part of human lives. " Narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society … Caring nothing present for the division between good and bad literature, narrative is international, transhistoral, transcultural …" (Barthes, 1977, p. 79). Even like life itself, it is simply there (ibid.). As a summary, owing to its place and importance in human lives, narrative is a pervasive concept for the explanation of the linguistic, communicative and cognitive capabilities of human beings.

1.1. DEFINITIONAL CRITERIA: NARRATIVE

The attempts to define narrative can be traced back as far as the Ancient Greek in Aristotle's Poetics. Aristotle, in fact, did not define what narrative is and even did not use the term 'narrative' but he made a definition of tragedy in which a plot is represented via selective series of connected events (Halliwell, 1995 cited in Lampropoulou, 2012, p. 28). Webster's (1971) defines narrative as a "discourse, or an example of it, designed to represent a connected succession of happenings" (p. 1503). Narrative is defined and explained by Trask (1999, p. 196) as "A text which tells a story... A narrative differs from most types of text in that it relates a connected series of events, either real or fictional, in a more or less orderly manner."

Narratives are usually interchangeably used with stories (Norrick, 2010, Georgakopoulou, 1997) which can be defined as the presenting of previous experiences that took place at a specific point or over a specific interval in a past time story-world (Polanyi, 1989, p. 41). One step further Polanyi (1985, p. 208) proposes that, "the linguistic encoding of past experiences in order to explain something about, or by means of, the events or states described; a story is thus an illusion. Berger (1997, p. 4) states that a narrative is a story which tells about things that have happened or are happening to people, animals, aliens from outer space, etc. At this point, what should be emphasized about stories is that they contain a sequence of events in a specific order.

Labov, one of the great contributors to narrative theory, defines narrative as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to a sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred" (1972, pp. 360 - 361). He claims that narrative is a text type in which it has a sequential organization and a temporal ordering according to which the actual events are considered to have happened. According to him, a minimal narrative is "a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered … there is temporal juncture between the two clauses, and a minimal narrative is defined as one containing a single temporal juncture." Later, Labov and Waletzky (1997, p. 21) define narrative in a quite simple way as "Any sequence of clauses that contains at least one temporal juncture is a narrative."

Peterson and McCabe (1991, p. x) depict narrative as a vital instrument for human beings in order to remember and warn others of lessons they have learned from their own experiences. As a matter of fact, narrative can be explained as the expression of past events like a storytelling activity; therefore, it can be coined the term 'storytelling'. Narrative, in other words, storytelling is talking about the events and situations human beings have experienced in their lives (Hymes and Cazden, 1980, p. 131), and it enables human beings to order and/or to reorder their experiences (Coates, 2003, p. 78). Depending upon the idea that matches narrative to human experience, Branigan defines narrative as (1992, p. 35) "A perceptual activity that organizes data into a special pattern which represents and explains experience". Richardson (1990, p. 118) supports the idea that narrative is a method of organizing past experiences by describing narrative as a ''primary way through which humans organize their experiences into temporally meaningful episodes''. As Bruner (1991, p. 4) suggests "we organize our experience and our memory of human happenings mainly in the form of narrative-stories, excuses, myths, reasons for doing and not doing and so on." By depending on this idea, it can be claimed that human beings chunk their experiences mainly in the form of narrative-like scripts.

Seen as a linguistic form that figures out the social stances and their organization as well, narrative has an influential role in social life (Johnstone, 1990; Goodwin and Duranti, 1992; Schiffrin, 1996; Georgakopoulou, 1997; Johnstone, 2001). Lampropoulou (2012, p. 27) propounds that narrative is "a multifaceted phenomenon, embedding and interconnecting concepts such as experience, construction, evaluation, the self and social world." According to Johnstone (2001, pp. 644-645), narrative constructs the individual selves. She argues that "like all talk and action, narrative is socially and epistemologically constructive; through telling we make ourselves and our experiential worlds (ibid.). Accordingly, Schiffrin (1996, p. 197) calls narrative as a tool for identity construction by coining narrative as "a linguistic lens through which to discover people's own views of themselves as situated in a social structure." De Fina (2003) is another scholar who argues the central role of narrative as the construction of identities by underlying that through narration, people perform and negotiate personal and social roles, relationships and construct their membership in specific communities.

Some scholars describe narrative by mentioning some typical characteristics of it. One of these scholars, Toolan (2001, p. 4) features narrative as stated below:

1. Narrative is pre-organized. Its sequence, emphasis and pace are usually planned.
2. There is a degree of prefabrication in narratives which means the kinds of things people do in narratives seem to repeat themselves over and over again. Yet, there are still important variations in narratives.
3. Narratives typically have a sequence. They have beginnings, middles and ends.
4. Narratives need a teller. In this respect, narrative is one type of verbal communication which requires a speaker and some sort of addressee.
5. Narratives are directly related with the design feature of language called displacement which is the ability of human language to be used to refer to things or events that are removed, in space or time, from either speaker or addressee.
6. Narratives involve the remembering of happenings that may be spatially and temporally remote from the teller and his audience.

Polanyi (1985, p. 209) asserts three kinds of information that stories contain. They are:

1. the narrative/event structure that communicate temporal context.
2. the descriptive structure that depicts information about the characters and setting.
3. the evaluative structure that includes why the story is worth mentioning.

Ochs and Capps (2001, p. 18) depict narrative as a "cognitively and discursively complex genre that routinely contains some or all of the following discourse components: *description*, *chronology*, *evaluation* and *explanation*". They credit settings with *description*, plots illustrating unfolding events with *chronology*, why a particular event chain is transpired with *explanation*, and moral and aesthetic assessments about actions, emotions, thoughts and worldly conditions with *evaluation*. In this schema, chronology is attributed to be the best candidate for distinguishing narrative due to the fact that "temporal sequencing of two or more events is considered by many to be a hallmark of narrative" (ibid.).

Finally, following qualities are identified by narrative scholarship as the ones which shape a narrative body (Ochs and Capps, 2001, p. 57):

- A coherent temporal progression of events that may be reordered for rhetorical purposes and that is typically located in some past time and place.

- A plot line that encompasses a beginning, a middle, and an end, conveys a particular perspective, and is designed for a particular audience who apprehend and shape its meaning.

Understanding narrative, however, compels going beyond these definitions and explanations to probe the different types and forms that pervade in less structured and less coherent samples of narratives. Therefore, in the next sections the types and forms of narratives will be taken into account in order to comprehend what narrative is.

1.2. TYPES OF NARRATIVES

Narratives which commonly have the features stated in the previous section may differ in terms of their themes and/or where they come from. Schank (1990, pp. 29-40) identifies the types of narratives and categorizes them into five basic categories:

1. Official stories: These stories are learnt from official sources such as school or the government.

2. Invented (adapted) stories: These are the stories which are created by people.

3. Firsthand stories: Firsthand experiential stories are the type of stories in which people tell about their own experiences.

4. Secondhand stories: Secondhand experiential stories reflect the experiences of others that we have heard and remembered. They depend on the retelling of a story told by another person or other people.

5. Culturally common stories: Culturally common stories are learnt from our environment. They do not belong to one person and no one person makes them up.

Official stories are those that the government, parents or anyone who has the authority instructs people to tell. Schank (1990, p. 30) has explained the official stories as "We

know official stories about the creation of universe, for example. Science has its versions and religions have theirs".

Schank (1990, p. 35) has notified the similar nature of invented stories and official stories by stating that: "Invented stories can also, of course, be official stories. In any case, the processes behind the creation of these two story types are remarkably similar". However, he has also differentiated invented stories from official stories by focusing on the difference in their purposes. According to him, the invented story is created for the purpose of entertainment, whereas the official story is "created in the same way, albeit for a different purpose".

Firsthand stories, in which people tell about their own experiences, are variously named; they are called as Personal Experience Narratives by Labov (Labov and Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972; 1997), personal stories by Georgakopoulou (1997) and Lampropoulou (2012), personal narratives by Norrick (2000). Labov (1997, p. 398) gives a definition for a narrative of personal experience as "a report of a sequence of events that have entered into the biography of the speaker by a sequence of clauses that correspond to the original events". According to him, upon drawing personal experience narratives, "the speaker becomes deeply involved in rehearsing or even reliving events of his past" (1972, p. 354). Georgakopoulou (1997, p. 4) supports the idea that personal stories are the "first person accounts of pinpointed events from an individual's personal life history." Engel (1995, p. 84) proposes that personal experience narratives are performed in order to share the thoughts, experiences and feelings with others, to give information about one's self, to reflect the experience of a past event and to find rational reasons for experiences people have experienced. She further claims that personal experience narratives: "are typically told in advance of the experience as a kind of summary reflection on the day's events. The organization of experience (what came first, what happened next and so on) drives the narrative, as does the mental push to set experience in a time and space framework" (ibid.). Moreover, personal narratives reflect how we make sense of ourselves as individuals and as members of social groups (Rosen, 1988).

Secondhand narratives count on the experiences of others, not on the teller's. Shiro (2003, p. 175) defines a secondhand narrative as "a personal narrative told from third person point of view". They can be also regarded as retelling of another one's story and can be named as other-person stories (Lampropoulou 2012, p. 42) or third person stories (Norrick 2000, pp. 149-151). These stories differ from personal narratives, in which the teller is the central protagonist or affected participant, in that they are "told not from events remembered first-hand but about someone else" (ibid., p. 149).

Culturally common stories provide the individuals of a community with a familiarity of the topics. These are the anonymous stories which are learnt from the environment and they may contain jokes and anecdotes. The members of a community in which these stories are produced are familiar with them and these familiar stories are utilizable for co-narration by allowing participants to modulate rapport and demonstrate group membership (Norrick 1997, p. 199).

Narratives which are in the written form are *written narratives*. They can be a piece of literature like novels, jokes in printed media or even elicited personal experience narratives in written means (see Özyıldırım, 2009; Stahl, 1979; and Tannen, 1982). Narrative in the form of a monophonic telling activity can be called as *oral narrative*. It mainly involves the narrative performances of an elicited story which is driven as a response to a particular request in an interview-style environment. *Conversational narratives* are the narratives performed in natural everyday conversations as an interactional achievement. It is a fact that conversational narratives are a part of oral language, however, they are different from oral narratives in terms of their being performed in natural contexts of language use. On the other hand, oral narratives are performed in a controlled context with the manipulation of the researcher and depend on the storytelling of one speaker.

1.3. CONVERSATIONAL NARRATIVES

Everyday talk is interwoven with stories about tales of shared past experience, reports of newsworthy happenings, joke and dream tellings, etc. Many conversational stories are

produced in talk in interaction; some of them support requests, claim a new idea, position in an argument, or gossip about the character of others, and so on. Clearly, narrative is a part of natural conversation; conversational stories are embedded in their contexts in conversations (Ochs and Capps, 2001, pp. 36-40), and their forms and functions developing from and reflecting these contexts.

Conversational storytelling is different from oral storytelling. Many researches on oral narrative depend on stories from non-conversational contexts. Research on oral storytelling has begun with Labov and Waletzky (1967); they have investigated the stories which are explicitly elicited in interviews. However, research on conversational narratives deals with the storytellings produced in talk-in-interaction and in natural everyday conversations. In his later work, Labov (1997, p. 397) supports the idea that if they emerge in different contexts, narratives may differ in terms of their forms and structures. He proposes:

> The narratives that form the focus of this work were normally told in the course of a sociolinguistic interview, where the interviewer formed an ideal audience: attentive, interested and responsive. Though they are fitted to some extent to the situation and often to a question posed by the interviewer, they are essentially monologues and show a degree of decontextualization. They exhibit a generality that is not to be expected from narratives that subserve an argumentative point in a highly interactive and competitive conservation. Such narratives are highly fragmented and may require a different approach. (ibid.)

On the contrary to the monologic and autonomous nature of elicited oral narratives, conversational narratives are polyphonic and embedded to the ongoing conversation (Ochs and Capps, 2001). According to Schegloff (1997, pp. 100-101), Labov's focus of oral narratives disregards the dynamic nature of conversation which embraces the preceding and following talk, audience participation and potential deviations like hesitations and silences. This credits the audience with an active participation in the course of narrative telling by depending upon constant interactions and negotiations rather than an elicitation by a passive interviewer. Thus, conversational storytelling could be accepted as an interactional achievement of the teller(s) and the listener(s) (Ochs and Capps, 2001; Schegglof, 1986). " … Narratives are shaped and reshaped turn by turn in the course of conversation … In these exchanges, narrative becomes an

interactional achievement and interlocutors become co-authors" (Ochs and Capps, 2001, pp. 2-3). Generally, one conversationalist becomes the story teller while the others become the listeners; it is difficult to determine the legitimate teller because of the fragments produced by separate speakers and random interruptions (Norrick, 2000).

The teller introduces the story; monitors syntactic, semantic and prosodic development of the story; and uses conversational strategies to secure listener interest, to gain control of the floor, to ensure understanding, to gain planning time, to organize the story telling performance. The listeners may interrupt the narration of the teller to encourage and correct the teller, to contribute details, to evaluate the story, to provide comments, and only to interact; they may use similar conversational strategies to redirect the story line, to reformulate its point and to become full-fledged co-tellers.

Story listeners can apparently understand and evaluate the story they hear rapidly enough to respond appropriately to it, perhaps matching stories of their own. Conversational storytelling often leads to a response story, fitted to the topic or type of the immediately preceding story. Goffman (1974, p. 510) states that "an illustrative story by one participant provides a ticket another participant can use to allow the matching of that experience with a story from his repertoire". Participants, in their interactions characterized by a series of stories, pick out some features from previous stories and work them into their ongoing story without bothering to frame each story a new (Ryave, 1978, pp. 113-132).

The basic tenets of conversational narratives have been summarised by Georgakopoulou (2007, pp. 4-5) as follows:

   1) Narrative telling is not a free standing and detached/detachable unit; it is enmeshed in local conversation.

   2) Narrative telling is sequentially managed; it emerges in on-line, moment-by-moment in the here-and-now of interactions. Because of this, tellings can be assumed to raise different types of action and tasks for different interlocutors (Goodwin 1984).

   3) Narratives cannot be postulated *a priori* but emerge as a joint enterprise and

as the outcome of negotiation by interlocutors. This leads to a process-oriented and elastic model of narrative.

4) Narratives are situational and locally occasioned; "a good part of [their] meaning is to be found in the occasion of their production, in the local state of affairs that was operative at that exact moment of interactional time" (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998, p. 4).

The analysis of the dynamics of storytelling in conversations, as a form of joint enterprise with the listeners playing a very active role, in the form of verbal and non-verbal backchanneling, supportive contributions and disruptive contributions are essential in understanding the nature of narrative. With his interactionist perspective to the analysis of narratives, Quasthoff (1997, p. 45) defends that narratives should be analysed via their bounds with social context. He states that: "The interactive moves of participants become highly relevant for the investigation of how a narrative comes to existence in an interaction, how it is maintained, and how it is terminated" (ibid). In this sense, considering narrative as talk-in-interaction and as a sequentially ordered activity can be associated with a conversation-analytic approach to narrative as Schegglof alludes by the words: "toward a differently targeted and more compelling grasp of vernacular storytelling" (1997, p. 101).

1.4. RELEVANT LITERATURE ON NARRATIVES

1.4.1. Narrative Analysis

Narrative analysis is accounted to be one of the most extensively researched areas of the multidisciplinary study of discourse (van Dijk, 1993, p. 121). Due to this, many approaches have emerged in the field throughout the time. The most fundamental approaches are grouped under two main titles: structural approaches and functional approaches.

Structural approaches mostly investigate how stories are constructed and developed in terms of their topics and forms, and can be traced back to three main sources:

morphological analysis of Propp (1968; 1984), structural anthropology of Lévi-Strauss and cognitive psychology of Piaget (Nicolopoulou, 1997, p. 182). Propp connected all Russian tales and defined them according to the structural components that he developed (Asher, 1994, p. 2680). With a formalised approach to the analysis of stories, Propp mentions 31 functions that contribute to each character and the location of those functions in fairy tales such as punishment, trickery, delivery, absentation, etc. In his model, some functions are labelled as preliminaries, then a 'complication' follows, a 'development' in which a donor and a helper acts comes after, finally there is a 'denouement' which can take an end with a marriage (Renkema, 1993, p. 119). Berger (1997, pp. 24-25) emphasises the importance of Propp's analysis depending on the idea that Propp's functions can still be applied to all narratives in modern situations such as novels, plays, comic strips, films, and television programs.

According to Lévi-Strauss, narrative depends on the creation of conflict and opposition; the plot is constructed by the achievement of binary oppositions such as good and bad, and narrative can only take an end with a resolution of the created conflict. Piaget is interested in the child's ability to reconstruct an ordered series of events; he deals with the children's narratives in terms of how children ordered the temporal events in a narrative body.

Another structural approach to narrative is rooted in sociolinguistics in the second half of the twentieth century. The narrative studies of William Labov and Joshua Waletzky (1967) took a completely different positioning than the previous ones. Their sociolinguistic analysis of narratives depends on the structure of everyday narratives. They have become the outstanding characters in the study of narrative throughout the years; many scholars have taken their motivation for narrative studies from the influential work of Labov and Waletzky. They focus on the use of narratives in oral language; they have studied on the interview-style narratives which are elicited from a single teller who talks about a personal story of the teller. The topic of the study is based on a particular question of the interviewer who does not take part in the performance of the narrative. The question is mostly about a past event that has influenced the interviewee deeply in terms of fear or embarrassment, in general; for

instance, a question of "What is the most frightening event in your life?" This interview-style technique has become an influential technique for further narrative studies.

Labov and Waletzky also aimed to find out the relationship between the social features of narrative tellers and the structure of the produced narratives. They focus on the social differences of narrative tellers and their personal experience narration. What Labov and Waletzky want to achieve is to define the common inner structure of the narratives and to find whether or not there is a relationship between social variables and the structure of narrative.

Labov and Waletzky have proposed an analytic framework for the investigation of the internal structure of narratives and it has become a key point in narrative studies. The framework of Labov and Waletzky consists of six components as the following:

1. *Abstract:* It is the summary of the whole story with one or several clauses at the very beginning of the narrative. It also provides signals to mark the transition to the narrative. In other words, it is the opening section of the narrative in the flow of conversation and answers the question "What is the story about?"

2. *Orientation:* This part reconstructs the context of the event by giving information about time, place and characters, situations. It gives answer to "Who, what, when, where?"

3. *Complicating Action:* This section informs the audience about what happened. Due to its constituting the core of the story, it is an obligatory section for the structure of narratives.

4. *Evaluation:* This part explains why the narrative is worth telling. It includes the feelings and attitudes of the teller(s) about the event. This part can be in various positions in the formation of the narratives, but its most frequent position is after complicating action.

5. *Result* or *Resolution:* How the complicating action was resolved and resulted is expressed in this part. "What finally happened?" is the question of this section.

6. *Coda:* This section constitutes the closing of the storytelling by bridging the narrative content and the present. It shows the influence of the event on the teller. (Labov, 1972, pp. 362-366)

Labov (1972, p. 369) summarizes the framework by stating that a narrative "begins with an orientation, proceeds to complicating action, is suspended at the focus of evaluation before the resolution, concludes with the resolution and returns the listener to the present time with coda".

In this schema, the place of the 'Evaluation' is controversial. Labov and Waletzky 1967) has specified the place of Evaluation between the categories of Complicating Action and Resolution. Labov (1972) restates its place in the same position, however, he suggests that Evaluation can be spread throughout the narrative. At this phase, the existence of internal and external evaluations can be stressed. Tellers make several evaluations in their storytelling practices and these evaluations can be in the form of an explicit category or they can be embedded in the other narrative categories as in an implicit way. Labov and Waletzky (1967, pp. 28-35) calls the former as 'explicit evaluation' and the latter as 'implicit' evaluation.

In addition to sociolinguistic perspective, it is possible to talk about a psycholinguistic perspective in structural narrative analysis, as well. Story grammar rules which are similar to the phrase structure rules suggested in generative grammar are studied with a psycholinguistis approach to the structure of a story. John Mandler and Nancy Johnson (1977) propose a structural analysis towards a story by focusing on a 'setting' plus an 'episode'. 'Setting', in some respects, is similar to the Labov and Waletzky's 'orientation' and 'episode' is to 'complication' (Renkema, 1993). However, 'episode' does not exactly match to Labov and Waletzky's 'complication' in that 'episode' is divided into 'beginning', 'development' and 'ending' whereas the last three are autonomous categories in Labov and Waletzky's model.

Interactive approach to narrative analysis can be listed under the title of structural approaches. Taking its roots from the ethnomethodologists and conversation analysis,

interactive approach focuses on the natural storytelling which is a cooperative act of conversationalists: how a narrative comes to existence in a conversation, how it continues and ends, and how its narrative structure becomes relevant to the investigation. The main aim is to understand how participants achieve the activity of narrating. The structure of the narrative and its contents are not the starting point for investigation, however, they can be derived from the narrating activity (Bamberg, 1997, p. 45).

Functional approaches to narrative analysis take impetus from functional linguistics and are mainly concerned with linguistic forms and their corresponding functions that serve to structure of narratives; for example, achievement of overall coherence, establishment of the causal and temporal sequence of events, and management of foreground-background relations (Bamberg and Moissinac, 2003, p. 409). In a functionalist approach, searching for the structural features of narratives or act of narrating is not enough. But, narrative is taken into consideration in terms of its functions such as its functions in explaining the stages in cognitive development and phases in identity construction. In functionalist terms, narrative analysis which is achieved in order to bring explanations for the stages and processes in human cognitive development can primarily be represented by the works of Bamberg, Slobin and their associates (Aksu-Koç, 1994; Bamberg, 1987; 1997; Berman & Slobin, 1994; Slobin, 1990). Other studies in functionalist terms can be claimed to be conducted in order to explain how people construct identities through the use of narratives (Archakis, 2012; Archakis and Tzanne, 2005; 2009; Bamberg, 1997; De Fina, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 1995; 1997; 1999; 2007; Lampropoulou, 2007; 2011; 2012).

1.4.2. Recent Studies on Narrative

In this section, the studies on narratives, especially elicited narratives in both oral and written forms will be presented. It can be underlined that there are numerous studies on elicited narratives with different point of view for different languages. One of the topics on which narrative studies are drawn is the narrative development. Among the narrative analytic studies on narrative development, Bamberg (1997), Eaton and others (1999),

Hudson and Shapiro (1991), Peterson and Mccabe (1991), Shiro (2003) and Stein and Albro (1997) can be given as examples. Besides, Aksu-Koç (1988), Furman and Özyürek (2006), Özcan (2005) and Slobin (1988) can be listed as the studies on narrative development.

Bamberg (1997) studies how children learn to construct events from the perspectives of the narrating self, a concrete other person and generalised other, and how the topic that is constructed has an influence on the perspective that is taken by the children.

Eaton and others (1999) have the aim of examining the use of evaluative devices by young children aged five, seven, nine and eleven by means of showing a silent video recording. The results of the study indicate that if the age increases, the use of evaluative expressions in narratives also increases.

Another study which focuses on narrative development is the research of Hudson and Shapiro (1991). They have found that as the age increased, children included more elements such as connective use.

Peterson and Mccabe (1991) aim at analysing the narratives of children in terms of connective use according to Labov's theoretical framework. They have indicated that children use certain conjunctions which mark positions in the framework of Labov.

Shiro (2003) has investigated the effect of age and social class on the development of narratives. The narratives of the children have been analysed according to evaluative devices such as emotion, cognition, perception, physical state, intention, relation and reported speech. The study concluded that the evaluative devices used in fictional narratives increased with age in different social groups but the use of evaluative devices seems different in personal experience narratives.

Stein and Albro (1997) focuses on children's comprehension of human intentionality and goal-directed action and searches for the ways in which children use this understanding to regulate content, structure and coherence of the stories they generate.

The results of the study illustrate that children are capable of relating the concept of a story with intentionality and goal- directed action.

Aksu-Koç (1988), who is an influential scholar in the field of narrative analysis, has studied the development of temporal elements in Turkish by concerning the narratives of 3-5 and 9-year-old children and adults. A child picture book was used to obtain narratives from the informants. As a result of the analysis, it has been found that 3-year-old children do not produce narratives, the majority of the 5-year-olds produce narratives; the 9-year-old children form well organized and coherent narratives and adults form more complex narratives that had a higher degree of cohesion.

Aksu-Koç (1992; 2005) has also studied the effect of education on the structure of narratives. She asserts that there are differences in the use of narratives of adults who had high educational level and who had low educational level. The participants from high educational level can tell narratives in an objective manner. However, low educational group are more subjective than the other group in their production of narratives.

Furman and Özyürek (2006) examine the development of discourse markers that occur in oral Turkish narratives by focusing on the narratives of 3-, 5- and 9-year-old Turkish children and 20 Turkish-speaking adults. As a result, they discuss that learning to use discourse markers in narratives goes beyond age 9, the frequency and functions of discourse markers change with age, and children use discourse markers with different functions than adults.

Another scholar who investigates the children's development of narratives is Özcan (2005). In his dissertation, children's and adults' use of temporal elements in order to arrange the macro temporal structure of narratives has been investigated. His study has shown that the temporal elements found in narratives differ according to age groups.

Slobin (1988) comments on the mastery of syntactic development of children and he underlies that only later than the age of 9 children can master the full range of narrative organization and its syntactic expression, packaging larger sequences of events as narrative units.

In addition to narrative development as a topic for the analysis of oral narratives, the evaluative language used in the production of oral narratives takes the attention of the narrative analysts. Wennerstrom (2001) depends on the hypothesis that intonational high points associate with emotionally prioritised texts. The main finding of the study is that intonation peaks are associated with evaluative language as proposed by Labov (1972). Another finding of the study shows that transitions from one narrative component to another are signalled with pitch range. This includes the notion that changes in pitch range accompany structural shifts in the progression of narratives.

Küntay and Nakamura (2004) investigate the evaluative devices used by Japanese and Turkish children and adults in their narrations of the story book, *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer, 1969). They identify four evaluative devices used by the Japanese and Turkish speakers in addition to the ones proposed by Bamberg and Damrad-Frye (1991). Bamberg and Damrad-Frye carried out a similar study with English-speaking children and identified five categories of evaluative devices. Some of the categories are: references to characters' mental and affective states, character speech, hedges, causal connectors, enrichment expressions, and intensifiers (Küntay and Nakamura, 2004, pp. 337-339).

Mischler (2008) targets to find out whether laughter and exhaled breath can serve the function which provides commantery and point of view for the narrative and communicate the story's tellability, and whether an advanced non-native speaker employs these evaluative features in personal oral narrative. As a result, it is found that laughter and exhaled breath are used in a systematic and strategic way to signal that the text is humorous. Since it is a form of evaluative language use, expressive phonology exhibits a comment on the narrative events and communicates tellability to the listener, and that the subject unconsciously used these features in personal oral narratives.

Another study which focuses on evaluative language in oral narrative is Blackwell's study in 2010. The study mainly analyses native Spanish speaker's oral narrations of a film in terms of Mey's (2001) "situated speech acts". It questions whether the narrators'retelling a film after watching it, the content of the film itself, and the conditions under which the narratives elicited are the same for all the narrators in the study, and how the differences among the narratives are with regard to the speaker's act of evaluation. The results illustrate that tendencies in the narrators'use of evaluation are constrained by the background knowledge of the narrators and the social relationships between the narrators and interlocutors.

Tannen (1979; 1980; 1982) is another scholar who examines film narrations. She analysed film narratives of Greek and American women by asking the same question: What happened in the movie? She compares how the same events in the film are shifted into narratives by Greeks and Americans, and she concludes that tendencies to use structures about objects and events in the film are usually culturally determined. She also stresses that depending on their background assumptions and experience, the expectations of Greek and American narrators have an influence on what they choose to talk about in their film narrations.

There are also studies on the structure of written and oral Turkish narratives. Among these, (Yemenici 1995; 2002; Akıncı-Oktay 2006; 2010; Özyıldırım 2009) can be listed. These narrative studies mostly depend on the personal experience narratives by taking an impetus from the studies of Labov and Waletzky (1967).

Yemenici (1995) has studied the oral narratives in which she has applied the narrative method of Labov into Turkish. She (2002) has also studied the categories of repetition used in Turkish oral personal narratives and how these repetitions function to create emotional involvement. She has aimed to identify the types, categories and functions of repetition utilized by the narrators to manipulate narrative structures at the level of syntax and discourse in the Turkish context. She has found that the narrators use repetition as a strategy to avoid ambiguity; by repeating different words and phrases, they emphasize the point of the story over and over again, using a variety of different

structures to persuade the listener that the point of their story is worth narrating. In addition to this, the narrators repeat previous utterances with different structures in order to clarify purposes and employ strategies to create an artistic effect to emphasize the point of the story. She has concluded that these functions contribute to the overall persuasive effect of their stories.

Akıncı-Oktay (2007) has analysed the linguistic and sociolinguistic structure of the personal fright narratives of Turkish children between the ages 9 to 10 years old. Furthermore, she has investigated child narratives and parental educational level by comparing two different groups of children. The findings of her study suggest that the educational level of the families influences the lexical, syntactic, temporal, semantic and macro choices of children; and it has been also found that as the educational level of the parents increases, the length of the narratives increases significantly.

Özyıldırım (2009) has compared the structure of oral and written personal experience narratives of Turkish University students in terms of Labov's categories and the use of evaluative language in both versions. She has also investigated the evaluative language according to the categories of Shiro (2003). She has given special emphasis to evaluative language since evaluative elements convey the point of the story. The findings of her study indicate that the personal experience narratives of Turkish university students show a similarity in their use of written and oral narratives. She has also found that the use of evaluative sentences is higher in written narratives.

1.4.3. Recent Studies on Conversational Narratives

Conversational narratives have taken the attention of many scholars nowadays. One of the study areas dealing with conversational narratives is Conversation Analysis (CA). As a field of study, narrative takes the attention of conversation analysts in terms of the fact that it is a part of human everyday interaction. Practitioners of CA (Goodwin, 1984; 1986; Goodwin, 1990; Sacks, 1972; Jefferson, 1978; Schegloff, 1997) have focused on spontaneous narratives by considering the context and the roles of active listeners and co-tellers.

One of the outstanding scholars of conversation analysis, Goodwin (1990) has studied the working class African-American children in Philadelphia and found that child storytellers construct their stories in a skillful manner by considering story characters and the participating audience of the moment. According to Goodwin (1990, p. 237), stories that emerge from conversations are interactive phenomena which are produced by a verbal and nonverbal collaboration between the teller and the recipients. He claims that the basic shape that stories take in conversations, the way in which they are articulated with the talk surrounding them and the events occurring in the mids of the telling itself are interactively organized; and conversation analysis demonstrates this interactional relationship.

Sacks (1972) has concluded that stories are sequenced objects articulating with the particular context in which they are told. Jefferson (1978) also focuses on sequential aspects of storytelling in conversation by concerning story beginnings and endings. She has depicted the emergence of stories from turn-by-turn talk by demonstrating that story contents and structures are sequentially implicated by earlier talk. The analysis has indicated that speakers have special strategies to display a relationship between the current story and prior talk. Schegloff (1997) has pointed out subsequent stories are mobilized in recipients'memory by a story's telling as they can serve as the displays of the understanding of prior stories. According to Schegloff (1997, p. 97), it is crucial to explore "the design and constructional features" of conversational narratives since they are shaped by the prior "trajectory of a conversation".

Tannen (1978) has investigated unsuccessful narratives which fail to match listener interests and expectations. She focuses on the ways in which expectations affect verbalization on the sentence level, but also on higher levels of discourse. She has studied a personal narrative told by a woman in a small group about her fainting experience on the New York subway. She has discussed three syntactic elements that mark statements which run counter to expectation and how expectations about storytelling and conversation may help to explain the elusive phenomenon of conversational style.

Polanyi (1979) has concentrated on that storytelling can be influenced by cultural diversity as a result of the fact that values, attitudes and beliefs which are in the canon of socio-cultural forces are mirrored through narrative performances. Polanyi (1985) has studied negotiated stories by claiming that all stories are negotiated to a greater or lesser degree. Exploring the structure of autobiographical stories, Polanyi has given emphasis to the storyteller's own evaluation of the events s/he is narrating by focusing on why it is being told, and what the audience is to learn by it. She has explained how in negotiating a story and negotiating the point of a story, false starts and repairs can emerge in the narrative.

Blum-Kulka (1993) has examined the degree of cultural diversity in the dinner-table conversation narratives of middle-class American and Israeli families. She has focused on both shared and unshared narratives by considering the multiple participation in telling, the prevalence of personal experience tales, and the respect for children's storytelling rights.

Georgakopoulou (1995; 1997) had remarks on the dominance of storytelling in everyday Greek conversations. She has discussed that Greek storytelling entices both tellers and audiences and especially non-Greeks by giving to them an impression of having dramatic, involving and enjoyable aspects. Besides, she has also put an emphasize on the evaluative devices employed in conversational storytelling of Greeks. According to her, evaluative devices like narrative historical present, direct speech, repetition, ellipsis, the deictics, some instances of expressive phonology take significant roles in the production of conversational narratives in terms of the impressiveness of them. Georgakopoulou (2004; 2007) underlies the notion of 'small stories' which are significantly apart from the 'narrative canon' of Labov (1972; 1997). She has focused on micro-stories which generate in conversations by depending on shared-past events, on unfolding events and even on projected-future events.

Ervin-Tripp & Küntay (1997) have observed the rounds of stories in the conversations of adults, where conversationalists offer their own narratives of dramatic personal experiences of a shared event such as a major earthquake. In this study, they have

presented a systematic relationship between conversational circumstances and certain story features, and their presence and absence changing according to certain conversational circumstances.

Norrick (1997; 1998; 2003; 2005) has described the retold conversational stories, and remembering and forgetfulness in conversational narratives. Norrick (1997) aims to show that the retelling of familiar stories has the functions of fostering group rapport, ratifying group membership, and conveying group values. Furthermore, he claims that familiar stories offer an opportunity for co-narration, and this allows participants to modulate rapport and demonstrate group membership. He (1998) has further proposed methods for analysing retold stories and investigated retelling in stories in spontaneous conversation by focusing on immediate retelling for a newly arrived listener, relating the same story for different audiences, and group reconstruction of a story already familiar to those participating. Norrick (2003) has studied signals of remembering and forgetfulness in conversations by depending on the psychological researches on remembering, metacognition and tip-of-the-tongue phenomena. Further, he (2005) has investigated interactional remembering in which storytellers deploy and the interlocutors orient to talk about remembering. He has emphasised that talk about remembering and forgetfulness is as significant for explaining interactional patterns as whatever it signals about internal cognitive processes. He (2000) has also analysed conversational storytelling by focusing on formulaicity and repetitions and extended his study by describing the varieties of conversational narratives and joketelling in conversations. In 2011, Norrick has studied conversational recipe tellings which are explained to be multi-unit turns with characteristic openings and closings by him. He characterised conversational recipe telling to be similar to narratives and to exploit conventions from written recipes.

Bamberg's (1997b) consideration of narratives in the locus of identity construction has shifted the emphasis in narrative analysis to how identities are constructed through the narrative performances. Based on the assumption that narrators position themselves to the current interactional context and to a wider socio-ideological one, Bamberg suggests three levels of positioning: the first one is between the narrator and the characters in the

narrative, the second one is between the narrator and the audience, and the last one is between the narrator and the wider social context to which s/he belongs.

Based on the social constructionism paradigm, Archakis (2012) has concentrated on the student identities of Greek youngters as social constructs. He has indicated how students construct their identities as individuals who are powerful enough to challenge teacher's authority and can resist towards the teachers in their peer talks. Archakis and Tzanne (2005; 2009) have pointed out the construction of identities through narrative positioning suggested by Bamberg (1997b). They have investigated the relationship between the stories told by young Greeks and the identity construction processes of these young people through the telling performance. In the first study (2005), they consider the 'in-group' identities constructed through the delegitimisation of established figures of power, through the legitimisation of their own group and the positive presentation of themselves; in the second study (2009) they have been concerned with the construction of in-group identities through the indices of Greekness. Archakis and Lampropoulou (2009) is another study about the construction of identities through storytelling performances. In this study, they have attempted to explain how Greek adolescents construct themselves through storytelling.

Lampropoulou (2007; 2011; 2012) has discussed speech representation emerging in conversational storytelling of young Greek people and the ways reported speech is influential in the representation of the self and the other(s). She has further argued that speech representation, especially direct speech can be assumed to be a significant narrative device which contributes to the identity construction and helps sustain social stereotypes.

In their outstanding book, *Living Narrative*, Ochs and Capps (2001) entraces less prototypical instances of personal narratives. In their study, they listed five dimensions of personal narratives. They are tellership, tellability, embeddedness, linearity, and moral stance. They compare the oral personal narratives of Labov (1972; 1997) with less prototypical ones that emerge in flowing talk in terms of the above listed five dimensions. According to them, Labov's PENs have one active teller, highly tellable account, a detached expression from the surrounding talk, linear temporal and causal

organization, and certain constant moral stance. However, conversational narratives which have multiple active co-tellers and moderately tellable account, are embedded in surrounding discourse, have nonlinear temporal and causal organisation, and have uncertain fluid moral stance (2001, p. 23).

The majority of narrative studies in Turkish concentrates on the developmental aspects of narrative structure, and written and oral versions of personal experience narratives. Moreover, very few studies on conversational narratives in Turkish have been conducted. The most known studies on conversational narratives in Turkish belong to Aylin Küntay (2002; 2004; Küntay and Şenay 2003). She mainly studies preschool children's conversational narratives with a developmental point of view. Küntay (2002) has explored Turkish children's conversationally occasioned narratives by investigating the conversational occasions that lead to provision or omission of the structure of problem resolution in children's narratives. The study has shown that Turkish preschool children organize their narratives in terms of a problem-resolution structure and this is dependent on the characteristics of the conversational factors rather than merely age-related competence.

Küntay (2004) has compared lists and narratives with respect to their internal structures, and their social functions in the participants' daily interactions. She has suggested that lists and narratives differ on structural grounds, but they overlap in the functions they serve for the tellers. They differ in that lists have a descriptive structure, although narratives are foregrounded temporality. Yet, the findings of the study suggest that, albeit lists and narratives are clearly differentiable genres, lists carry some features of narrativity in children's conversational interactions.

Küntay and Şenay (2003) have studied Turkish children's conversational narratives in terms of peer co-participation; they have investigated Turkish preschool children's rounds of narratives in multi-party talk-in-interaction. In their study, conversational narratives are accepted as linguistic structures that emerge from certain participation configurations and interaction management strategies. They have concluded that the rounds of stories provide preschool children with developing conversational skills,

enrich opportunities of practice of interactionally managed topic progression and manipulation of the turn-taking system.

1.5. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Conversational storytelling receives great attention and assumes special importance in narrative studies and conversation analysis, and the investigation of conversational storytelling will contribute both to narrative studies and to conversational analysis (Norrick, 2000). Hence, any study which sheds light to the description and explanation of conversational storytelling mechanisms will contribute to both fields.

Most of the previous narrative studies in Turkish (Aksu-Koç, 1988; 1994; Yemenici, 1995; 2002; Akıncı-Oktay, 2007; 2010; Özyıldırım, 2009) basically deal with the internal narrative structure of written and/or oral narratives by disregarding the conversational aspects of storytelling. As it is emphasized in the previous sections, the studies on oral narratives mostly depend on personal experience narratives of people who are interviewed for telling their fright or surprise experiences. The interviewees are manipulated by the researcher for a narrative action in an unnatural context and it makes this kind "an academically hybridized form" (Schegloff, 1997, p. 104). Clearly, the studies on oral narratives do not reflect the spontaneous production of narratives in natural contexts and there is a lack of an impetus of regarding the conversational dimension of narrative. Accordingly, the lack of studies on narratives in natural contexts emerges as a gap in the field of narrative analysis, especially for Turkish.

Furthermore, the field of narrative analysis also lacks an understanding of complex narratives which have not deeply been investigated previously. As Labov and Waletzky (1967, p. 12) suggest: "Little will be understood about the structure and function of complex narratives until the simplest and most fundamental narratives have been formally described and related to their social context". Also, Labov has already suggested that narratives which generate in different contexts than academic interviews need to be examined with a highly fragmented and different approach (1997, p. 397). In order to develop an understanding, methods and models for the analysis of narratives in

various forms and structures, new studies on conversational storytelling in different cultures and languages are needed.

In Turkish, very few studies have investigated the narrative structure and storytelling in interactional contexts. Yet, these studies (Küntay, 2002; 2004; Küntay and Şenay, 2003) are developmental in nature; however, other dimensions of conversational narratives are needed to be studied.

In addition to these, there is a need to carry out conversation analytic studies on the linguistic items, as well as narratives, in languages other than English. Levinson (1983, p. 296) draws attention to this issue, that almost all the work done on CA is based on English data: "we simply do not know at the present to what extent these findings extend to other languages and cultures. But although the findings here may be in part culturally specific, the methods employed should be of quite general application". Thus, any study carried out in a different language will have a contribution to the theoretical and methodological strength of conversation analysis which sophisticates the study of narrative with a dynamic dimension in terms of various useful tools for the investigation of different storytelling formats.

1.6. AIM OF THE STUDY

This study aims to investigate Turkish narratives which occur in everyday talk and are embedded with conversational patterns. It considers the storytelling in natural conversations in contrast to the narrative analysis tradition which depend on oral versions of elicited narratives. Rather than accepting narratives as a decontextualized form depending on the sequence of past events, this study considers narrative as a conversational event which has its own internal narrative and conversational organizations with particular forms and functions of them.

The main aim of the study is to examine the narrative structure and the conversational organization of conversational narratives in Turkish. Based on the narrative analysis of everyday storytelling, the study hypothesizes that in addition to the telling of one past

experience which results in a single narrative, there also exists complex narratives which are the combination of narrations based on several past experiences.

One of the specific aims of this study appeals to the analysis of the narrative structures of the conversational narratives. Thus, the study aims to describe the internal structure of single conversational narratives and to illustrate whether the internal structure of single conversational narratives are constructed through the categories that Labov and Waletzky (1967) proposed. In order to achieve this, the study considers that different types of narratives can be influential on the narrative structures of conversational narratives. Therefore, the study initially aims to define the basic types of conversational narratives in everyday interactional talk. After that, the identification of frequently used narrative patterns of single conversational narratives is targeted in terms of their narrative types.

Another aim is to find out the internal organization of complex conversational narratives in which there are two or more related narratives. The study also aims to show how the categories of Labov and Waletzky are structured and function in the organization of complex conversational narratives. Furthermore, the study also questions whether there are different types of complex conversational narratives in terms of their topical features. The textual organization of Turkish complex conversational narratives will be examined in the study, too. Moreover, the study also targets to provide models for the common patterns in the structures of single and complex conversational narratives according to their topical and textual organizations.

In addition to the analysis of narrative structure of conversational narratives, the study also regards the conversational practices taking place in the production of storytelling in conversation; and aims to find out what these conversational practices are, how they are organized and function in the construction of single and complex conversational narratives. The study will also discuss how the internal structure of narratives which can be in single or complex forms are influenced by the dynamic nature of conversation.

Last but not least, the study has the aim of identifying the frequent linguistic forms which take place in the conversational storytelling, how these frequent linguistic forms are influential in the narrative and conversational organization of conversational narratives, and what their interpersonal functions are.

In sum, the study will contribute to the fields of Narrative Analysis (NA) and Conversational Analysis (CA) bridging the gap between narrative and conversation analysis.

1.7. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions will be addressed in this study:

1. What are the basic types of Turkish conversational narratives in everyday interactional talk?

2. What is the internal structure of the Turkish single conversational narratives in terms of Labovian categories?
    a) What are the frequently used narrative patterns in firsthand single conversational narratives?
    b) What are the frequently used narrative patterns in secondhand single conversational narratives?
    c) What are the frequently used narrative patterns in culturally shared single conversational narratives?

3. What is the internal narrative structure of Turkish complex conversational narratives?
    a) What are the types of Turkish complex conversational narratives in terms of their topical features?
    b) What is the textual organization of Turkish complex conversational narratives?
    c) What is the narrative structure of Turkish complex conversational narratives in terms of Labovian categories?

4. Which conversational practices take place in Turkish conversational narratives?

    a) What is the conversational organization of story beginnings and endings?

    b) What are the conversational practices in sequence organization?

5) Which linguistic forms frequently occur in Turkish conversational narratives?

    a) In what ways do the frequent linguistic forms function in the narrative structure of conversational narratives?

    b) In what ways do the frequent linguistic forms function in the conversational organization of conversational narratives?

    c) What are the interpersonal functions of the frequent linguistic forms?

1.8. TERMINOLOGICAL ISSUES

In this section, some terminological issues about the study are addressed. In other words, the terms that have interchangeably employed in order to address the notions which are in relation to 'narrative' are presented. Besides, the terminologies which are proposed by this study for various narrative phenomena are also identified.

In particular, the terms 'narrative' and 'story' are used identically in this study. With regards to these terms, it can be seen in the relevant literature that some distinctions are made between the terms by some scholars (Atkinson, 1991; Genette, 1980; Le Guin, 1981; Solsken and Bloome, 1992). These distinctions can be exemplified by the words of Solsken and Bloome (1992, p. 4):

> A story is a chronological sequence of events abstracted from experience. That is, experiences are not inherently packaged as stories with beginnings, middles and ends nor do experiences necessarily provide coherent relationships between events. Rather, story transforms experience into events and imposes boundaries, a chronology, and a set of coherent relationships on experiences. This is axiomatically so regardless of whether story-construction occurs in reflective mode (constructing a story of past experience) or in real-time (constructing story during experiences as they occur), whether a group or individual is involved … When people construct a story they are constructing an abstraction that, by itself, has no realization. Rather it is realized in narrative. A narrative is the text of the story. the text may or may not present the story chronologically …

In spite of the stated distinctions and some more similar ones, the terms 'narrative' and 'story' are accepted to have the capability to be identically used in their places in different occasions. Besides, the acts of 'narrating' and 'telling' and 'storytelling' are also taken to be equal in the study.

Other terms which can be interchangeably used throughout the study are 'narrator', 'teller' and 'storyteller'. They are used for the representation of the agents who transform past experiences into a text with a sequenced order. The people who are the recipients of the narrated texts are expressed with the terms 'listener', 'recipient', 'interlocutor' and 'audience'. Finally, the participants of a conversation are often represented with the term 'conversationalists' in the study.

The narrative categories of Labov and Waletzky (1967) are named as 'Labovian categories' or 'narrative categories' in the study and they are represented with an initial capital letter in order to ensure an easy identification of them as Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Resolution, Coda and Evaluation.

The terminologies proposed by this study for various narrative phenomena can be listed as *single conversational narrative*, *complex conversational narrative*, *super-complex narrative structure*, *progressive complex narrative*, *hypertopical complex narrative*, *embeddedness*, *integratedness* and *secondary narrative*. These new terms will be explained in the analysis part of the study.

1.9. METHODOLOGY

1.9.1. Participants

The participants of the study are the conversationalists of natural conversations occurred and recorded in the social gatherings. The conversationalists whose conversational storytellings are analyzed in this study are familiar to each other and have a shared past: The conversationalists are family members and friends who are expected to produce more narratives owing to their familiarity.

Each set of group conversations used in the data contain participants ranging from four to eight in number. Besides, the total number of the conversationalists in the whole data is 56. However, because of the recurrent participation of some people, the number of different subjects is 53. The number of female conversationalists is 27 and the number of males is 28. The gender of the conversationalists seem to be equal in number; but gender is not a variable in this study. The ages of the participants are limited between the ages of 20 and 65.

All participants of the conversations are monolingual native speakers of Turkish who use standart variety of Turkish and are the inhabitants of Eskişehir, which is a big city in the northwest of Central Anatolia.

1.9.2. Data

The audio recordings of 11 different conversations have been used in this study. 100 single narratives have been randomly selected from a greater range of narratives which take place in these 11 different conversations. The recordings also include 12 complex conversational narratives which are composed of 32 single conversational narratives. All complex conversational narratives which were found in the recordings have been analysed in the study.

The duration of the conversational data collected is in total ten hours and eight minutes. The duration of conversations ranges from sixteen minutes to two hours and forty minutes.

1.9.3. Data Collection

The data of this study are unstructured, unmanipulated natural conversations in Turkish and have been collected by recording the talks of the native speakers of Turkish in everyday situations. All the spontaneous conversations in the data have been recorded in natural everyday conversations where people normally carried out their ordinary lives. The impromptuness of the conversations has been preserved; there is not a control of the researcher on their lengths and topics.

The informed consent which is proposed by various code of ethics of social sciences (i.e. Ethic Statement of Linguistic Society of America, Recommendations on Good Practice in Applied Linguistics by BAAL, APA- American Psychological Association, AAA- American Anthropological Association and ASA- American Sociological Association. For more see Appendix) has been referenced in this study during its data collection processes. The recordings of the conversations have been achieved by getting beforehand permission of the conversationalists for both recording and the use of these recordings in an academic research after the recording process.

A digital audio recorder has been used for recording of the ongoing conversations. The researcher has participated into the conversation during the data collection process with her recorder which is situated in a place where the conversationalists could easily see. The researcher has waited until everyone attends to the gathering and has informed the conversationalists about their being recorded for a scientific study at the very beginning of the conversation. The very early minutes of the conversations have been eliminated from the analysis in order to ensure the natural characteristic of the data. The conversationalists forgot about their being recorded a while later. The effects of recording, in other words, the moments when the conversationalists remember the recording process have been eliminated from the analysis. The newcomers are also informed about the recording process. However, the piece of conversation which is affected by the instructions given to the newcomers are also eliminated from the data.

The beforehand permission has a minimal influence on the naturalness of conversations because the participants have close relationships and they have generally talked about subjects, which are quite intimate to them. Moreover, the conversationalists intimately know the researcher; they are the family members and friends of the researcher. Due to this intimacy, they got used to being recorded. As Yılmaz (2004: 44) has noted, "the tape-recorder to be used for data collection had a minimal influence because the participants in natural conversations generally talked about subjects, which were quite intimate to them. This intimacy generally resulted in the participants' getting used to the presence of the tape-recorder". Besides, the conversationalists can orient themselves to the recording process after some time passes and their language use can be accepted as

natural in general in spite of some effects of the recording (Labov, 1972, Norrick, 2000, Yılmaz, 2004, Tannen, 2005, Kökpınar-Kaya, 2013). Labov proposes that the number of the participants is influential in the forgetting of the recording process and argues that "The effect of observation and recording was of course present, but the natural interaction of the group overrode all other effects" (1972, p. xviii-xix). Tannen (2005, p. 44) also supports this view by stating "If there is a relatively large number of participants who have ongoing social relationships, they soon forget the tape recorder. People play to the crowd."

In her study, Kökpınar-Kaya (2013) suggests that in order to eliminate the effects of recording (i.e. whispering, moving the recorder) on the naturalness of the language use, some period of time which comes after the effects of recording can be eliminated. The duration of the time period which is suggested to be ignored in order to ensure the naturalness of the language use can be decided by the researchers according to the data that they analyse. In other words, the duration may differ from data to data. In this study, the effects did not last too long.

During the conversations the researcher observes the participants, their moods and behaviours in order to specify the recording effects. However, there is not any manipulation or act of the researcher to the conversation. After the end of recording, she the problematic situations such as the acts of whisperings, touching to the the recorder have been noted down in order to identify the piece of data which cannot be used in the study. Since an effective way of recording everyday speech is via participant observation (Labov, 1984; Milroy, 1987; Norrick, 2000), the existence of the researcher in the conversation is essential.

One other effective way of recording vernacular speech is through the use of group recordings. In order to record abundant vernacular language use and observe spontaneous talk of the participants, group conversations have been used in this study.

Yet, the aim of the study is the analysis of narratives which take place in natural conversations, any ordinary form of everyday interactions may not be fruitful.

Storytelling can be realized in the conversations in which familiar people interact for familiar stories in respectively long periods. Hence, the conversations in the indoor social gatherings of family members and friends have been recorded. Obviously, conversations in family and friend gatherings are convenient for the participants to produce storytellings.

For the study, conversations occured in the indoor gatherings of family members and friends have been recorded, however, two recordings from outdoor gatherings are also used.

1.9.4. Transcription Conventions

After its collection, the data have been transcribed. Obviously, what is analysed in this study are the recordings, not the transcription itself. Yet, the transcription is just a representation of what is on the recordings. Transcription exhibits a transformed version of aural interaction in written form and sophisticates the analysts with a systematic schema which lists a plenty of tools for this sort of transformation.

The recordings which constitute the data of this study have been transcribed in terms of a simplified version of the Jeffersonian Transcription System as explained by Jefferson (2004a; 2004b). The basic transcription conventions that have been implemented in this study are illustrated below.

Participants in a single conversation are represented by capital letters which are the first letter of their genuine names. These capital letters also signal the beginning of a turn.

A single dash (-) has been used for an abrupt cutoff when a speaker hears an interrupting talk. An ellipsis (…) symbolises a repair of the speaker or rephrasing a sentence in progress. Colon (:) or colons (:::) signal prolongation of the sound that is followed. Sets of square brackets ([ ]) on successive lines are used for overlapping sequences. When a next utterance is latched by prior one with no gap, this will be indicated by an equals sign (=).

Double parenthesis indicates non-verbal activity, for example, laugher is represented as ((laughs)). Single parenthesis is used for incomprehensible stretch of talk.

Down arrow (↓) illustrates falling pitch or intonation whereas up arrow (↑) shows increasing pitch or intonation. Capitilized text indicates increased volume in speech. A full-stop (.) represents a brief pause, and a comma (,) signals continuing intonation.

The reported speech occurs in the internal structure of narratives is identified with bold characters and any piece of narratives which requires to be emphasized is illustrated by underlining.

The transcription of the utterances has been achieved by considering that spoken language is organized around intonation units and by depending on Chafe's (1986; 1994) description of prosodic phrases.

1.9.5. Data Analysis

This study is concerned with the interaction between narrative and conversational mechanisms, and their forms and functions in interactional contexts. It aims to achieve an analysis of the natural storytellings in everyday conversations by both focusing on the narrative organization of the storytellings and conversational elements interwoven in narrative construction. A point that can be emphasized about the conversational elements taking place in conversational narratives is that they are the key points in differentiating conversational narratives from oral narratives. Besides, it should be taken into consideration that what make complex conversational narratives come into life is the conversational practices. This study has an analytic approach to Turkish conversational narratives and interfaces Narrative Analysis and Conversation Analysis. The study also investigates the linguistic items which are generally used in conversational storytelling and reinforce the narrative and communicative mechanisms. Accordingly, the data have been analysed concerning three domains: *Narrative Domain Analysis*, *Conversational Domain Analysis* and *Linguistic Domain Analysis*.

1.9.5.1. <u>Narrative Domain Analysis</u>

In narrative domain analysis, firstly the study aims to describe how the internal structure of single conversational narratives is constructed and, then to find out how single narratives are organized in the construction of complex narratives taking place in conversations. In order to achieve this aim, firstly the narrative structure of the storytellings has been illustrated by excluding the audience contributions and eliminating non-narrative and conversational elements from the data. The purified narratives, called as "basic narratives" (Norrick, 2000, p. 32) have been analyzed in terms of the categories of the narrative model that Labov and Waletzky (1967) proposed. An example is given as the following:

<u>FLOWING WATER</u>

```
1    D:    valla bilmiyorum Burhan,
2          burada Eskişehir'de sıcak su yoksa          Abstract
3          hiç bir yerde yoktur.
4          sen hatırlarsın.
5          kaç seneleriydi,
6          biz de liseye giderken,                      Orientation
7          bu Hamam Yolu'nda,
8          şimdi Madımak Dondurmacısı var.
9    B:    tamam
10   D:    O'nun sokağının arasından
11         bir su çıkarttılardı.
12         hatırlıyor musun sen o suyu.
13         daha o zaman o şey
14         kanal falan -                                Complicating
15   B:    kanal akıyordu,                              Action
16         haa
17   D:    orada bir su çıkarttılar.
18         ben çok iyi hatırlıyorum,
19         haldır haldır haldır
20         böyle şey gibi su aktı oradan aylarca.
21         En sonunda o suyu
22         civa attılar da kapattılar orada.            Resolution
```

Basic narrative:

burada Eskişehir'de sıcak su yoksa
hiçbir yerde yoktur. **(Abstract)**

biz de liseye giderken,
bu Hamam Yolu'nda,
şimdi Madımak Dondurmacısı var. **(Orientation)**

O'nun sokağının arasından
bir su çıkarttılardı.
orada bir su çıkarttılar.
haldır haldır haldır
böyle şey gibi su aktı oradan aylarca. **(Complicating Action)**

En sonunda o suyu
civa attılar da kapattılar orada. **(Resolution)**
This simplification has shown how the internal structure of single conversational narratives is constructed. In the analysis of the data, the Labovian categories are represented as:

Abstract:	A
Orientation:	O
Complicating Action:	CA
Resolution:	R
Coda:	Co
Evaluation:	Eva

Having described the internal structures of single conversational narratives, the internal organization of complex narratives in conversations has been investigated by focusing on how single narratives come together in a sequence in complex narratives and whether they share Labovian categories or not. Again, the basic forms of single conversational narratives have been analysed in terms of the narrative categories of Labov and Waletzky. This has helped the researcher to identify the patterns in the internal narrative structures of complex conversational narratives.

1.9.5.2. <u>Conversational Domain Analysis</u>

In this section, the real form of conversational narratives, but not their basic narrative forms, has been analysed in terms of their conversational components. The main aim of this section is to define which conversational practices take place in conversational narratives and how they function in the internal organization of single and complex conversational narratives. In order to achieve this, the methodological implications of conversation analysis proposed by Jefferson (1978), and Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson

(1974) have been used. Besides, the procedures outlined by Heritage (2011) for the analysis of conversational interaction have been implemented in the analysis. Heritage gives an overview of conversation analytic methods by describing levels of analytic engagement: turn-taking organization, overall structural organization of the interaction, sequence organization, turn design, lexical choice, and forms of asymmetry. In this study, in order to have a relevant procedure for conversational storytelling, the levels of Heritage are organized into two sections which can include the other levels: (i) overall conversational structure of storytelling and (ii) sequence organization.

In the section of the analysis of overall conversational structure of storytelling, the structure of stories, their emergence in a flowing conversation and the conversational organization of complex conversational narratives will be analysed. The overall conversational structure of storytelling has been analysed according to the narrative structure of the stories. At this phase, there is an interface of narrative analysis of the stories with the conversational features of storytelling. The ways how the dynamic nature of conversational storytelling influences the narrative structure of the stories have been analysed through the missing Labovian categories.

The beginnings and endings of the stories in the flowing conversation have been studied in terms of the notions of Jefferson (1978) and three turn-taking principles listed by Sacks, Schegloff ve Jefferson (1974). The notions of Jefferson can be summarized as:

- Stories emerge from turn-by-turn talk, therefore they are *locally occasioned*.
- Stories re-engage turn-by-turn talk, therefore they are *sequentially implicative*.

The principles which are suggested by Sacks, Schegloff ve Jefferson (1974) are:
- If the current speaker somehow has identified, or selected, the next speaker, then that speaker has the right to take and initiate the turn.
- If no such selection has been made, then any speaker may self-select and the first self-selecting speaker will take the turn.
- If no speaker self-selected for the next turn, then the main speaker may continue talking. However, it is not an obligatory for him/her to keep the turn.

In the analysis of overall conversational structure of storytelling, the conversational organization of complex conversational narratives has also been examined according to the narrative structures and textual organizations of their single narratives. Besides, the emergence of complex conversational narratives in conversations in terms of their beginnings and endings has been examined.

In the analysis of sequence organization, the turn organization with the subcomponents of turn-takings, overlaps, adjacency pairs and repairs, and the conversational features of collaborative storytelling (co-narration) have been underlined in respect to the main tenets of Conversation Analysis and the sequence principles of Sacks et al. (1974) listed above. Besides, the analysis of overlaps have been reinforced with the ideas of Schegloff (2000) about overlapping talk. In the analysis of repairs in Turkish conversational storytelling, the notions which are proposed by Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) about self or other initiated self and other repairs have been focused on.

1.9.5.3. Linguistic Domain Analysis

The next step in the analysis of conversational narratives is the identification of frequently occurring linguistic forms and their functions in conversational storytelling. Firstly, the frequent linguistic forms have been identified. In order to achieve this, all the narratives have been scanned in order to have an idea about the frequent linguistic items which exist in them. In the scanning process, it has been found that some discourse markers, interrogative forms and tense shifts highly exist in Turkish conversational narratives.

In order to decide the discourse markers which will be analysed in this study, firstly discourse markers in Turkish have been listed by depending on the study of Özbek (1998a). From this list, the discourse markers which frequently exist in Turkish conversational narratives have been identified according to their frequency of occurrence in the data. Their occurrence of frequency has been calculated according to the number of narratives they take place in. In addition to this, a purposive selection has been achieved in order to specify the discourse markers for the analysis. The discourse

markers with narrative functions have been taken into consideration in the identification of the discourse markers for the analysis in order to examine their functions in narrative construction. To sum, the discourse markers which have both a high frequency of occurrence and narrative functions have been selected for the analysis.

After the identification of the frequent linguistic forms, the narrative, conversational and interpersonal functions of them have been analysed. In other words, the linguistic forms and how they function in conversational storytelling have been investigated in this section.

1.9.6. Limitations

In the broadest terms, the study aims is to analyse the narrative structure and the conversational organization of the storytelling in Turkish. Accordingly, the main interest of the study is to achieve a structural analysis rather than a cultural one. In other words, cultural norms of Turkish people are not taken into consideration in the study.

The main focus of the study is to examine the narratives which are completed in the flowing conversation. Incompleted narratives are not analysed in terms of their narrative constructions. However, the ways how they emerge in interactional talk are exemplified in the analysis section.

The study also focuses on linguistic forms which emerge in Turkish conversational narratives and specifies their functions in narrative constructions of conversational narratives and conversational organization of the storytelling acts. In this context, the linguistic forms which are to be analysed in this study have been identified as some discourse markers as 'ondan sonra', 'işte', 'şimdi', 'şey', interrogative forms and tense shifts. Some other discourse markers and linguistic forms are also worth studying about conversational narratives but the focus of this study have been limited with the listed ones.

The data of this study comprise of the 100 single conversational narratives and 12 complex conversational narratives taken from 11 audio recordings of everyday conversations. The findings of the study depend on the analysis of the relatively limited audial data.

The data of the study have been gathered from the everyday conversations of the family members and friends. The data do not include the talks which occur in everyday encounters such as greetings but contain the chats of people with a shared or familiar past. Besides, the data only comprise of the face-to-face conversations. The conversations occurring in different occasions such as telephone calls and internet blocks have not been used in this study.

The number of female and male conversationalists in the recordings are almost equal. However, gender differences have not been taken into consideration in this study. The age of the conversationalists have been restricted between 20 and 65. Similar to gender, the differences in age have been disregarded. In addition, education level and socio-economic and socio-cultural status of the conversationalists have not been considered as variables in the study.

CHAPTER 2: DATA ANALYSIS and DISCUSSION

The aim of the study is to mention the mutual connection between narrative and conversational mechanisms in everyday storytelling; in other words, it concerns the narrative forms which are engaged in interactional contexts and the conversational components which are employed in the construction of conversational narratives. The study also focuses on the key points in differentiating conversational narratives from oral narratives and aims to achieve an analysis of the natural storytellings in everyday conversations by both focusing on the narrative structure of the storytellings, conversational components and interactional elements interwoven in narrative construction. Meanwhile, the linguistic forms which are frequently used in the narrative body of conversational narratives, and the narrative and conversational functions of these linguistic items are also in the canon of the study. Accordingly, the data have been analysed and the findings have been discussed by concerning three domains. They are *Narrative Domain Analysis*, *Conversational Domain Analysis* and *Linguistic Domain Analysis*.

2.1. NARRATIVE DOMAIN ANALYSIS

In narrative domain analysis the narrative structure of the storytellings has been detected by excluding the audience contributions and conversational elements from the data; and their narrative organization has been analysed in terms of the categories of narrative model that Labov and Waletzky (1967) proposed.

In the data gathered from natural conversations in Turkish, there are two types of narratives in interactional talk: single and complex conversational narratives. A single conversational narrative (SCN), as its name indicates, includes the narration of just one past experience or story by one teller. However, complex conversational narratives (CCN) are mainly identified as the combinational storytelling of related past experiences. They are organized through the combination of several single narratives which are about the same topic and from the words of a single narrator. In narrative

domain analysis, single and complex conversational narratives have been examined in terms of their internal structures.

2.1.1. SINGLE CONVERSATIONAL NARRATIVES (SCNs)

The internal structure of single conversational narratives has been analysed through the simplification of conversational narratives into "basic narratives" which help the researcher to identify the temporally ordered events in a conversational narrative and to detect the Labovian categories. At this phase, it is observed in the data that narratives emerging in interactional contexts can be in different types. Therefore, various types of narratives have also been considered in the analysis due to their bringing about some differences in the structure of conversational narratives. In order to elicit these differences in narrative structures, the narratives have been categorized in terms of the categorisation of Schank (1990).

As it is stated in Section 1.2., Schank (1990) groups the narratives into five types: invented, official, firsthand, secondhand, culturally common stories. In this study, these categories are named with the term 'narrative' rather than 'story', and culturally common stories are called as culturally shared narratives. Furthermore, some small distinctions in the definitions of the categories are made in the analysis of the narratives. According to Schank, firsthand stories are the stories in which people tell about their own experiences and secondhand stories are the ones in which people talk about someone else's experiences. However, in this study, firsthand narratives are accepted as the tellers' narrations of their own experiences and familiar experiences of others. Firsthand narratives do not need to be about the experiences of the tellers but tellers can narrate some events which have been experienced by others and witnessed by the teller.

Secondhand narratives, on the other hand, are accepted as the retold versions of someone else's firsthand stories by their own words. They are not the stories about someone else's experiences which are witnessed by tellers but are the ones including events which are reported by others. In other words, they are the retellings of the firsthand narrations. Even, a teller may narrate events which are experienced by

himself/herself in the form of a secondhand narrative if s/he retells his/her own experiences which have previously been narrated in the form of firsthand stories. The main indicator of secondhand narratives is the use of reporting verbs such as 'demek' (to say) and the reported past tense which is expressed by the suffix –mIş in Turkish (Kornfilt, 1997, p. 337). Other types which are suggested by Schank have the same contents as specified by him.

2.1.1.1. Analysis of Internal Structures of Single Conversational Narratives

In the data, three different kinds of single conversational narratives have been observed. They are firsthand narratives which are the type of stories in which people tell about their experiences about themselves or others; secondhand narratives which report the narrations of others; and culturally shared narratives which are the anonymous stories learnt from the social environment and do not depend on the experiences of one specific person. It is also observed in the data that Labovian categories are organized into various narrative structures in single conversational narratives according to the different types of narratives. The narrative structures of single conversational narratives according to their different types are illustrated in Table 1. Both in the tables and in the narrative analysis the Labovian categories are represented as the following:

Abstract:	A
Orientation:	O
Complicating Action:	CA
Resolution:	R
Coda:	Co
Evaluation:	Eva

Table 1: The internal structures of single conversational narratives

Types of narratives	The commonly used internal structure of single conversational narratives	Frequency n: 100	Percentage
Firsthand narratives	A /O /CA /R /Eva	28	43.07 %
	A /O /CA /R	17	26.15 %
	O /CA /R /Eva	11	16.92%
	A /O /CA /Eva/R	6	9.23 %
	A /O /CA /R /Coda	2	3.07
	O /CA /R /Coda	1	1.53
	Total:	65	100%
Secondhand narratives	A /O /CA /R /Eva	12	44.44 %
	O /CA /R /Eva	7	25.92 %
	A /O /CA /R	7	25.92 %
	A /O /CA /R /Coda	1	3.7 %
	Total:	27	100%
Culturally Shared Narratives	[O] CA/ R	5	62.50 %
	A / [O] CA/ R	2	25 %
	[O] CA/Eva/ R	1	12.50 %
	Total:	8	100%

2.1.1.1.1. Analysis of Firsthand SCNs

It is found in the data that 65 out of the 100 single conversational narratives are firsthand SCNs. The data also show that firsthand narratives occurring in Turkish conversations exhibit six different internal structures by depending on Labov's narrative categories. As they can be seen in Table 1, the narrative formulae of firsthand single conversational narratives are (1) A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva, (2) A/ O/ CA/ R, (3) O/ CA/ R/ Eva, (4) A/ O/ CA/ Eva/ R, (5) A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co, and (6) O/ CA/ R/ Co. The most frequent of these formulae is A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva. It is used for 28 times by the tellers. The second frequent formula is A/ O/ CA/ R and 17 of the 65 firsthand SCNs have this formula. O/ CA/ R/ Eva is another formula seen in the data. Of the total of 65 firsthand SCNs, 11

narratives have this formula. A/ O/ CA/ Eva/ R formula can also be seen in the data; however, it is limited in number. Six of 65 firsthand SCNs have this structure. The firsthand SCNs with Coda are seldomly seen in the data; two of 65 firsthand SCNs are in the formula of A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co and only one of them is in the formula of O/ CA/ R/ Co. The formulae found in the data are exemplified and analysed below:

2.1.1.1.1. a) A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva:

As it is highlighted above, the most frequent internal organization of firsthand single conversational narratives is structured through the categories of Abstract (A), Orientation (O), Complicating Action (CA), Resolution (R) and Evaluation (Eva). This formula is shown in the narratives The *Bomb* and *Flying Car* below:

(1)

THE BOMB

1	A:	kiz benim durakta	
2		otobüs beklediğim durağa bomba koymuşlardı.	
3	B:	ne↑	
4	C:	ne zaman↑	**Abstract**
5	İ:	benim de annemin iş yerine koymuşlardı.	
6		yine Diyarbakır'da.	
7	A:	ne oldu biliyor musun↑	
8		gittik şimdi,	
9		yine Kırıkkale'ye geldiği sefer zamanları.	
10		şey zamanları Ankara seferleri zamanları.	
11		bekliyorum böyle minibüse bineceğim.	
12		otogara gideceğim böyle.	**Orientation**
13	İ:	ay Allah korusun.	
14	A:	duraktayım böyle.	
15		ondan sonra kenara bakıyorum,	
16		sağa bakıyorum, sola bakıyorum.	
17		birden o şeyler geldi.	
18		o olay yeri inceleme polisleri.	
19	İ:	Ahmet'i falan soruyorlarmış. ((laughs))	
20	A:	bir baktım etrafımı sarmaya başladılar.	
21		ondan sonra **çekil, çekil, çekil** ((acts))	
22		yaptılar bana böyle.	
23		**ne oluyor** yaptım ben böyle.	
24		**görmüyor musun** dedi.	
25	İ:	**bomba gibisin** demişler böyle. ((laughs))	
26	A:	**oturduğun şeyin durağın hemen yanında** dedi,	**Comp. A.**
27		**bombalı paket var** dedi.	
28		yanımda bombalı paket var ya.	
29	İ:	şeyi falan düşünmüşsündür.	
30		ya şu kutu boşsa götüreyim eve falan.	
31		alınır ya marketten.	
32	A:	ondan sonra bir döndüm baktım,	
33		hakkaten de böyle kutu içinde, ((laughs))	
34		sarmışlar sarmalamışlar.	

```
35            adam beni oradan da uzaklaştıramıyor.      ⎤
36            otobüs bekliyorsanız geçin şöyle dedi.     ⎟  Comp. A.
37            hemen il… iki metre ilerde bekleyin dedi.  ⎟
38            biz dedi fünye ile onu patlatacağız.       ⎦
39    B:      gerçekten de bomba mıymış↑
40    C:      patlattılar mı oradayken↑
41    A:      gittim ben(.)orada bekledim yani.          ⎤  Resolution
41            minibüs geldi bindim gittim.               ⎦
42            ama orada patlasa ölürüm yani.       ⎯⎯⎯→ Evaluation
```

The narrative *The Bomb* is about a personal experience of the teller about a bomb denunciation. The teller narrates what has happened during the bomb denunciation. He signals what will be narrated next by a story preface which includes a short summary of a past experience in the very first lines of the narrative (Line 1-2), and by a question which is posed in order to secure the attention of the other conversationalists. After this short summary, which can be termed as Abstract section, the teller explains the information about time and place of the narrated experience (Orientation). Then, the events of the narrated experience and how they have been resulted are narrated. Lastly, the teller makes his evaluation as a final point of the narration.

Flying Car is another narrative which reflects one of the past experiences of the teller and has a similar internal narrative structure with the previous narrative, *The Bomb*. However, the story preface, Abstract has a different structure from the previous one. One of the conversationalists talks about a traffic accident and asks a question about how that kind of an accident can occur (Line 6). The teller answers the question with a past experience of him; the story emerges as a response to the previous talk (Line 7). The teller gives a signal of his narration by his answering the question; this act also implies that an experience will be told next and can be considered as forming the Abstract (Line 7). This kind of Abstracts can only be observed in conversational narratives. The narrative *Flying Car* is given below.

(2)

FLYING CAR

```
1     F:      adam dümdüz yolda,
2             az bir şarampol,
3             yav düz bomboş,
4             dümdüz gidiyorsun,
5             şarampole uçuruyor arabayı.
6             Ne iştir bu↑
7     C:      bizim gözümüzün önünde oldu o.   ⎯⎯⎯→ Abstract
8     F:      [hayret].
```

```
9    C:    [buradan] İnönü'ye gidiyorsun.
10         Bozüyük'ten gelen yolu
11         atlayıp geçiyorsun ya.
12         nerede Otlubal'dan sonra mıydı o↑
13   V:    Otlubal he:
14   C:    aynen şimdi Otlubal'dan o yoldan
15         atlıyoruz şimdi.
16         buradan e:: Kütahya'dan
17         Bozüyük'e geçen yol var.
18         bir tane beyaz Tempra.
19         orası da biliyorsun o yol
20         [biraz şey] bir biraz.          ⎤
21   V:    [iniştir.]                      ⎟  Orientation
22   C:    yüksekte kalıyor.               ⎟
23         yan [taraf tarla].              ⎟
24   V:    [buradan Otlubal'dan]           ⎟
25         gelirken yüksektir.             ⎟
26         öbür tarafı da iniştir.         ⎟
27         ve bir viraj var orada.         ⎟
28   C:    yan tarafları da tarla ya.      ⎟
29         tarlalar yoldan çok düşük.      ⎟
30         şimdi biz geliyoruz öyle.       ⎟
31         Ömer de vardı yanımda.          ⎦
32         a:: bak bak ne yapıyor dedi     ⎤  Comp. A.
33         bu araba.                       ⎦
34         araba resmen uçtu               ⎤  Resolution
35         tarlanın ortasına.              ⎦
36   F:    uçtu aynen [öyle].
37   C:    [dümdüz] yolda geliyor.         ⎤
38         ulan dedim                      ⎟  Evaluation
39         uyudu herhalde bu.              ⎦
```

In the narrative above, after the Abstract (Line 7), the teller talks about the place where the events occurred and the people who took part in those events (Lines 9-31). Then, he shortly talks about what happened (Lines 32-33) and how the story takes an end (Lines 34-35). At the very end, between the lines of 37 and 39 the teller makes an evaluation.

2.1.1.1.1. b) A/ O/ CA/ R:

Another frequent structure of firsthand SCNs is Abstract (A), Orientation (O), Complicating Action (CA), and Resolution (R). The formula of A /O /CA /R can be seen in the narrative *Flowing Water*:

(3)

FLOWING WATER

```
1    D:    valla bilmiyorum Burhan            ⎤
2          burada Eskişehir'de sıcak su yoksa ⎥  Abstract
3          hiç bir yerde yoktur.              ⎦
```

```
4            sen hatırlarsın.                              ⎤
5            kaç seneleriydi↑                             |
6            biz de liseye giderken.          ⊢   Orientation
7            bu Hamam Yolu'nda                            |
8            şimdi Madımak şey… dondurmacısı var.         ⎦
9     B:     tamam.
10    D:     O'nun sokağının arasından                    ⎤
11           bir su çıkardılardı.                         |
12           hatırlıyor musun sen o suyu↑                 |
13           daha o zaman o şey                           |
14           kanal [falan...]                             |
15    B:     [kanal ak]ıyordu.                ⊢   Comp. A.
16           ha:                                          |
17    D:     orada bir su çıkarttılar.                    |
18           ben çok iyi hatırlıyorum                     |
19           haldır haldır haldır.                        |
20           böyle şey gibi su aktı oradan aylarca.       ⎦
21           en sonunda o suyu                            ⎤
22           civa attılar da kapattılar orada.    ⊢  Resolution
```

Another example for the internal formulation of A/ O/ CA/ R is the narrative *Car Crash*:

(4)

CAR CRASH

```
1     K:     valla kabak olmasına hiç gerek yok.   ⟶   Abstract
2            dişli lastiklerim.                           ⎤
3            Tepebaşı'ndan döndüm.                        |
4            kışın.                                       |
5            yol kenarlarında…                            |
6            asfaltları temizlemişler karını.            |
7            yolların kenarlarında                        |
8            hafif kar birinkintileri var.                |
9            o gün de güneş açıyor.                       |
10           güneş açınca tabi               ⊢   Orientation
11           karlar eriyor yola doğru                     |
12           ıslanıyor.                                   |
13           e: akşam [üzeride sertleşiyor].              |
14    B:     [sert tabi(.) dondu].                        |
15    K:     babamlardan geliyorum.                       |
16           Tepebaşı'ndan döndüm                         |
17           hastaneye doğru.                             |
18           orada da hafif bir meyil var.                ⎦
19           iki tane belediye otobüsü                    ⎤
20           önümde şey yaptı.                            |
21           birinci vites,                               |
22           ikinci vitese takamadım.                     |
23           daha birinci vites.                          |
24           belediye otobüsünün biri geldi sağda durdu.  ⊢  Comp. A.
25           birisi geldi yolun ortasında durdu mu↑       |
26    T:     hayda:                                       |
27    K:     yolcu indiriyorlar.                          |
28    T:     sen kaldın arada.                            |
29    K:     ben şimdi birinci vites.                     |
30           ne frene basabiliyorum ne bir şey.           ⎦
```

```
31              araba kaydı.
32              gidiyoruz belediye otobüsünün altına.
33      T:      gider.
34      K:      gitti.
35      T:      bildiği yere gider.
36      K:      gitti tam belediye otobüsünün
37              arkasına geldi.
38              kü::t sağ hafiften
39              biraz çevirebildim.
40              tek farı vurduk.
41              hemen polis…
42              bir tane de polis varmış arabada.
43              hemen indi.
44              trafiği arıyor.
45              tabi hiç tabi bize sormadı.
46              şey de dedi şoförde.
47              abi dedi ne yapacağız dedi.
48              bekleyelim mi trafiği dedi.
49              valla dedi beklersek dedi.
50              bir trafik cezası kesecek bir dedi.
51              artı: beni de yoldan alıkoyacaksın dedi.
52              sefer parası isterler senden [iki].
53      T:      [sef]er parası.
54      K:      abi dedi ne sen dur,
55              ne ben durayım bak herif dedi.
56              polis telefon ediyor,
57              sen de yürü ben de yürüyeyim.
58              hadi dedik yürü devam et.
59      T:      e::↑
60      K:      ben de hemen oradan kaptırdım.
61              doğru eve.
```

Comp. A.

Resolution

Both narratives *Flowing Water* and *Car Crash* are about the personal experiences of their tellers. In the first narrative, its teller narrates a sequence of events by not reporting any conversation. However, in the narrative *Car Crash* the teller talks about what has happened and also reports the conversation taken place during the event. In spite of these slight differences in the structure of the narratives, the internal narrative formula of both narratives is still similar and they both have an Abstract at the beginning, an Orientation, a section of Complicating Action and a Resolution at the end. Besides, both narratives are signalled by the tellers through the use of 'valla', a frequently used discourse marker in Turkish. Furthermore, both narratives lack an external Evaluation section.

2.1.1.1.1. c) O/ CA/ R/ Eva:

The narrative structure of Orientation, Complicating Action, Resolution and Evaluation is another formula found in the narrative structures of firsthand SCNs. It is the tailored

version of the most frequent formula of the firsthand SCNs which is A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva. As it is clear, it lacks the introductory section, Abstract. The lack of Abstract can be a result of the interactional character of the conversational narratives. The necessary introduction may be achieved in the previous conversation and the topic of the newly beginning narrative may be about what is being interacted at that moment. In addition to this, there is another pattern with a lack of Abstract in that tellers may jump into a narrative after a long pause or silence in order to ensure the continuity of the conversation. The narrative *Lieutenant Columbo* can be given as an example for the formula of O/ CA/ R/ Eva after a long pause:

(5)

```
LIEUTENANT COLUMBO
```

```
1     S:    şimdi.
2           geldik o Öküz Mehmet Paşa Kervansarayı'na Ahmet.
3           şey Kerim.
4     K:    hm::
5     S:    şimdi şeylerde var.
6           tabi yabancılarda var.
7           tabi yabancı çok.        (Embedded Evaluation)
8     K:    ziyadesiyle yabancı var.
9     S:    he: ondan sonra
10          bir hazırlıklar yapıyorlar,
11          ayna koyuyorlar,
12          bilmem ne yapıyorlar.
13          film [çevireceklermiş].
14    K:    [hazırlanıyorlar].
15    S:    yani film çek…çevirme hazırlıkları yapıyorlar.
16          he: şimdi bende salon gibi bir yer var orada,
17          lobi mi diyorlar ne diyorlar.              Orientation
18          oraya…
19          bir baktım adamın biri oturuyor.
20          o kadar tanıdık ki.    (Embedded Evaluation)
21          selam verdim.
22          oda selamımı aldı.
23          nızk ulan bu adamı düşünüyorum ben şimdi
24          nereden tanıyorum yav.
25          bir türlü düşünüyorum çıkaramıyorum
26          yani nereden tanıdığımı.
27          yav Eskişehir'den servisten mi↑
28          yok=
29    K:    nereden hatırlamıyorsun.
30    S:    teşkilattan mı↑
31          Ankara'dan mı↑
32          şuradan mı↑
33          buradan mı↑
34          o arada kı...ka... anne kızlı geldiler böyle.
35          a:: Kolombo'ya bak dedi kız.
36          ulen Kolombo'yu
37          Peter Falk mu ne? o herif.              Comp. A.
38          o zaman uyandım ben.
```

```
39          dedim bir fotoğraf çekeyim.          ⎤
40          çek... işaretle tarzanca             |
41          ingilizce bilmiyoruz.                |
42          olur dedi çekelim dedi.              ⊢  Comp. A.
43          Erdoğan çabuk...                     |
44          ulan makinada film bitmiş arkadaş.   |
45          koş film al mal gel derken           |
46          film çekimleri başladı.              ⎦
47          bir daha sokmadılar oralara.         ⎤
48          kaldı öylece.                        ⎦  Resolution
49          herif…                               ⎤
50          Kolombo ile tanıdık diye             |
51          selamlaşıyorum yani.                 ⊢  Evaluation
52          kız demese Kolombo'ya bak diye.      ⎦
```

The narrative directly begins with the Orientation section, more specifically with a discourse marker, 'şimdi'. As it can be seen in the narrative, a story preface does not exist. After a long silence in the conversation, the teller opens a narration by the discourse marker 'şimdi' which creates an effect on the listeners to feel as if they were present at the time of the experience. This section lasts till the line 19, and then the section of Complicating Action begins. The narrative have a Resolution in the lines 47 and 48. The teller gives place to Evaluation between the lines 49 and 52 after the Resolution section.

The narrative above has an external Evaluation category produced at the end of the narrative. The teller explicitly states his evaluation about the story after the section of Resolution. The teller also makes evaluations while he is giving background knowledge of the story and narrating the complicating events. More specifically, these embedded evaluations can be achieved in the sections of Orientation and Complicating Action. In Line 7, the teller makes an evaluation while he is talking about the situation in which the events happened. He produces an embedded evaluation in the section of Complicating Action, too. It can be seen in the Line 20.

The narrative *Car Tyres* is another example for the narratives lacking an Abstract with the narrative formulation of O/ CA/ R/ Eva in firsthand SCNs. This time, the teller initiates a narrative with a reference to the previous talk by directly giving information about the person to whom the narrative is about. The introductory section is not

necessary in such a situation since the audience is familiar with the topic of the forthcoming narrative. The narrative *Car Tyres* is given below:

(6)

```
CAR TYRES

1    M:    benim tekniker bir arkadaşım vardı.
2          hatta bu Yeston,
3          Yeston'u bilen varsa
4          O'nun… o beton direkleri,
5          yapan arkadaş bu.
6          beraber onunla YS'de çalıştık.
7          ondan sonra ayrıldı.
8          oraya gitti o.
9          sonra kendisi                              Orientation
10         o fabrikayı kurdu.
11         sonra da irtibatımız kayboldu.
12         bu zaten fazla binmez arabaya.
13         bir sene iki sene.
14         hep yeni alır.
15         aldığı günde lastikleri
16         hemen çıkartır,
17         Tofaş'ın taktığı lastikleri.
18         dubleks lastik takar.
19         yav Oğuz.
20         bir gün dedim O'na ben.
21   N:    niye böyle yapıyorsun ha↑
22   M:    he: niye dedim yani.
23         sen böyle…
24         ben rahatım e: patlamadan dolayı.         Comp. A.
25         bu patlamaz.
26         ötekinin tehlikesi var dedi.
27         ama…
28   B:    ama jantının [tutması lazım].
29   M:    [bu… ha… jan]tı değiştirme…
30         yav buna dubleks jant takmıyorsun sen,
31         normal jant takıyorsun.
32         oluyor dedi.                          ⟶  Resolution
33         ve yıllarca bu çocuk
34         böyle araba kullandı.                      Evaluation
```

As it is stated earlier, upon lacking an Abstract, the narrative begins with an Orientation which lies through the lines of 1 and 18. Then, the section of Complicating Action is narrated between the lines of 19 and 31. Before the Evaluation cited in the lines of 33 and 34, the Resolution is stated in Line 32.

2.1.1.1.1. d) A/ O/ CA/ Eva/ R:

The formula of A/ O/ CA/ Eva/ R is another pattern which can be observed in the narrative structure of firsthand SCNs. Rather than positioning after Resolution, in this structure Evaluation is articulated before the Resolution section as Labov and Waletzky

suggested in 1967. What Labov and Waletzky suggested about Evaluation in their earliest model is that it separates the sections of Complicating Action and Resolution in narrative structure. An example in which Evaluation is situated between the sections of Complicating Action and Resolution and in which it has the role of separating Complicating Action from Resolution can be seen in the following narrative:

(7)

BUILDING PLOT

```
1     K:    bir O'nun arsasını alayım dedim.        ———————→    Abstract
2           şurada.
3           üç milyara veririm çalışırken dediydi bana.
4           benim orada sana yakın bir arsam var,
5           vereyim sana diyordu o bana.
6     C:    e: işte bu şeyin oralarda.
7           bu e: Acıbadem'i geçiverince
8           o aralarda bir yerdeydi.
9     K:    şurada hemen.
10    C:    nerede↑
11    K:    bu bizim köprünün altından çıkıyorsun.
12          tamam mı↑
13    C:    he:
14    K:    sol tarafta son evler bitiyor.
15          sol tarafta.
16          o Devlet Demir Yolları'nın arazisine girmeden,
17          hemen az ileride.                                    Orientation
18          blok gibi bir şeyler var.
19          onlar bitiyor.
20          ondan sonra…
21    C:    Şoförler Derneği'ni geçince.
22    K:    [arkasında].
23    C:    arka[sında oralarda].
24          oralarda bir yeri tarif ediyordu bana.
25    K:    yanlız vereceği arsanın,
26          şimdi buradan yol geçiyor,
27          bu giden yol.
28          Belediye'nin önünden giden yol var ya.
29          onun önünden geçiyor.
30          tam da ona bakıyor o arsa.
31          iki yüz yetmiş metrekare arsası var.
32    C:    hayır şimdi
33          iki yüzünde hakkını vermiyor mu↑
34    K:    şimdi aldım ben O'ndan tapunun fotokopisini.
35          gittim belediyeden araştırdım.
36          arsanın yerini buldum.
37          arsa burası, buradan yol geçiyor.
38          fakat şuradaki arsa sahibi
39          burasını sahipsiz bellemiş,
40          evini yaparken,                                       Comp. A.
41          bu sokağın içerisine camlarını açmış,
42          kalkmış bu arsayı
43          kendi arsası olarak kabul ederek
44          giriş kapısını buradan vermiş,
45          camları açmış oraya.
46          Yavuz Abi'nin arsaya.
```

```
47              ulan gittim bu arsayı alacağım.              ⎤
48              adam çıktı dedi Bu arsa benim.               |    Comp. A.
49              ulan senin değil dedim.                      ⎬
50              bu arsanın sahibi var,                       |
51              ben burayı alacağım.                         ⎦
52              illa papaz olacağım oraya                    ⎤
53              bir şey yapmaya kalksam.                      |
54              çünkü adam girişi, çıkışı                     |
55              hepsini o arsaya vermiş.                      |
56      T:      alla alla.                                    |
57              hakkı olmadığı [halde].                      |    Evaluation
58      K:      [hakkı] yok he:                               |
59              e: şimdi gitsem,                              |
60              belediyeye gitsem,                            |
61              gelipte uğraşmaz.                             |
62              bir şey yapmaya kalksam                       |
63              adamla papaz olacağım.                       ⎦
64              sırf o yüzden arsayı almadım.  ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯→   Resolution
```

In the narrative above, the teller makes a short introduction in Line 1. Then, he gives background information about the narrative. The events are narrated between the lines of 34 and 51. The teller makes his evaluation (Lines 52-55 and Lines 58-63) before he talks about the resolution of the events (Line 64). The Evaluation spreads through a large space after the statement of complicating actions. Even, it includes the evaluation of one of the listeners and this participation enlarges the section of Evaluation. Obviously, the teller takes the turn after the listener's evaluation and by approving this evaluation the teller extends his turn.

Another example for the narratives in which the section of Evaluation seperates Complicating Action from Resolution is the narrative *TV Shows*. In this narrative, the Evaluation section only comprises the assessments of the teller, without listener participation. The narrative is:

(8)

TV SHOW

```
1       E:      kimmiş o↑
2       P:      başlamış ya anneanne senin şeyin.
3               programın.
4       E:      başlamış mı öyle↑
5       C:      bizim…
6       P:      bak.
7       C:      bizim şey de… e::: gü…
8       E:      he: o orada oturuyordu arkada.
9               bekliyordu o orada.

10      C:      Güzin Teyze var ya günde.    ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯→    Abstract
```

```
11    F:    hm:
12    T:    Esra mı↑
13    C:    Güzin Teyze'ye gittik.              ⎤
14    E:    he: başlamış.                       ⎥
15    P:    Esra Erol.                          ⎬   Orientation
16    C:    eltisi de oradaydı.                 ⎦
17    E:    a: ben O'nu ne zamandan beri görmüyorum.
18    P:    Atv'de.
19    E:    biliyorum da Atv'de olduğunu.
20          ama görmüyorum.
21    C:    ondan sonra bu kalktı.              ⎤
22          ben gideyim dedi.                   ⎥
23          e: otur falan dediler.              ⎥
24          ne yapacaksın dediler.              ⎥
25          işte eşi evdeymiş.                  ⎬   Comp. A.
26          aman ne yapacak,                    ⎥
27          bırak otursun dediler.              ⎥
28          yani ne yapıyor bu defa.            ⎥
29          ne yapacak↑                         ⎥
30          karılara bakıyor dedi.              ⎦
31          şimdi biz de şaşırdık.              ⎤   Evaluation
32          yaş… yaşlı adam.                    ⎦
33          burada kadın programları seyrediyormuş.  ⟶  Resolution
```

The narrative *TV Shows* begins with an Abstract in Line 10. The teller talks about the place and people of the events in Line 13 and 16. The section of Complicating Action begins with a discourse marker, 'ondan sonra' which means 'after then', and lasts until Line 31 which is the beginning of the Evaluation. Evaluation ends in Line 32 and the narrative continues with the Resolution (Line 33).

2.1.1.1.1. e) A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co

Another formula for the narrative structure of firsthand SCNs includes the category of Coda. It is a link between the past in which the narrated events actually occurred and the present in which the events are narrated. Due to this, Coda is a highly optional narrative category in conversational narratives. Tellers do not prefer to use such a past-present bridge in their storytellings. Hence, Coda emerges as the least observed Labovian category in firsthand SCNs. One example for the formula of A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co is given below:

(9)

THE FIRST CINEMA

```
1    Y:    sen çukurdaki eski Atlas'ı hatırlıyor musun↑
2          aşağı iniliyordu
3          Kılıçoğlu'nun şimdi bulunduğu yerde.
```

4	E:	hatırlamam mı.	**Abstract**
5		ilk sinemaya gidişimde orada.	
6		rahmetli Hacı Baba ile Ali Amca,	
7		Özcan Amca'nın babası	
8		sinemaya gitmeye karar vermişler.	
9		şimdi ben de duydum mu bunları konuşurken.	
10		annem de şey ör…	
11		boğazlı kazak istedim O'ndan.	
12		boğazlı kazak ördü bana da,	
13		eklerini eklemeye çalışıyor.	**Orientation**
14	Y:	he:	
15	E:	ben de **Çabuk ol**	
16		anneme **Çabuk ol** diyorum.	
17		şimdi gidiyorlar, hızlandılar gidiyorlar.	
18	Y:	yetişeceksin.	
19	E:	ben kazağı giyeceğim,	
20		takışacağım peşlerine.	
21		nitekim	
22		yarım yamalak elinden aldım annemin,	
23		kazağı geçirdim.	
24		hadi koşa koşa arkalarından.	
25		halin oraya kadar hiç görünmedim.	
26		halin orada kalabalıklaşmaya başlayınca,	
27		kaybederim bunları diye	
28		hemen geldim	
29		babamın elini tuttum.	
30		**sen nereden çıktın** dedi **yav**.	
31		bir gözüktü.	
32		ondan sonra yav şimdi	
33		**sen** dedi **dön** dedi bana.	**Comp. A.**
34		babam bana.	
35		amcam dedi	
36		**gelsin** dedi **ya**.	
37		**şimdi kaybolur falan oralarda** dedi.	
38		**çocuk** dedi **buraya kadar gelmiş**.	
39		**e: buraya kadar gelmiş o** dedi artık,	
40		**gidelim** dedi.	
41		**götürelim** dedi **abi** dedi.	
42		**yav takılıyorsunuz peşime**	
43		biraz şey yapacak oldu.	
44		artık ısrar etmedi	
45		amca da öyle deyince.	
46		işte o zaman gittik o sinemaya.	**Resolution**
47		aramızda Yaşayamazsın diye	
48		Turan Seyfioğlu'nun bir filmi.	**Coda**
49		ilk gittiğim film o.	

In the narrative *The First Cinema*, the teller begins the narrative with an Abstract (Lines 4-5), continues with an Orientation (Lines 6-20) and the section of Complicating Action (Lines 21-46). The narrative ends with the Resolution in Line 46 and a Coda section which lies between the Lines of 47 and 49. At the end of his narration, the teller uses a statement which bridges the past experience with the present time; the teller states that

the film about which he talks about his memories is the first film he has seen in the cinema.

2.1.1.1.1. f) O/ CA/ R/ Co:

The narrative structure of Orientation, Complicating Action, Resolution, Coda is another formula that occurs in firsthand SCNs. It is also one of the rare formulae of narrative structure with a Coda. It is the initially shortened version of the formula of A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co. As previously stated, the lack of Abstract can be a result of the interactional character of the conversational narratives. The narrative is performed by depending on a topic which is already initiated in the previous conversation. Therefore, the tellers do not need an introduction section in their narrative performances. The narrative *Sugar in Tea* can be given as an example for such an Abstract-lacking narrative with the structure of O/ CA/ R/ Co:

(10)

```
SUGAR IN TEA

1    R:    şimdi bizim bilgisayar kursunda        ⟶    Orientation
2          baktım kız böyle
3          bir avuç şeker.
4          ne yapıyorsun kızım sen↑
5          dedim ya.
6          şeker atıyorum Rıza Amca.               -    Comp. A.
7          şeker atıyorsun da
8          bu kadar şeker atılır mı↑
9          iki tane atarsın
10         yeter ona dedim.
11         e: ben böyle içiyorum.
12   Z:    hm:
13   R:    e: canım şeker fabrikasını
14         iflas ettirirsin.                       -    Resolution
15         böyle içme dedim ben de.
16         şimdi şeker alacak
17         ben varsam oralarda şey etmiyor.        ⌐    Coda
```

The narrative given above does not have an Abstract section because of its being directly related to the previous talk. The teller initiates the narrative with the discourse marker 'şimdi' in order to create a visualising effect of the past events for the listeners. The narrative beginning with an Orientation continues with a section of Complicating Action (Lines 2-11) and a Resolution (Lines 13-15), and ends with a Coda. For firsthand SCNs, that is the least frequent narrative structure found in the data.

2.1.1.1.2. Discussion of the Internal Structures of Firsthand SCNs

All of the six narrative categories of Labov are found in the internal structures of firsthand single conversational narratives. Some of these Labovian categories seem to be highly frequent; however, some others are less in number. The frequency of the Labovian categories in the firsthand SCNs is illustrated in Table 2:

Table 2: The frequency of the Labovian categories in firsthand SCNs

Labovian Categories	Frequency of Labovian Categories	Percentage of Labovian Categories
Abstract	53/ 65	81.53 %
Orientation	65/ 65	100 %
Complicating A.	65/ 65	100 %
Resolution	65/ 65	100 %
Coda	3/ 65	4.61 %
Evaluation	45/ 65	69.23 %

As it can be seen in the table, the most frequent Labovian categories are Orientation, Complicating Action and Resolution; they can be observed in the narrative structures of all of the firsthand SCNs. Thus, they can be considered as the obligatory sections of the firsthand single conversational narratives. Obviously, it is almost impossible to represent a past experience in a story without the reference of people and events. Furthermore, a story without a resolution becomes an incomplete story and incomplete stories are not the interest of narrative analysis.

Abstract which is placed at the very beginning of a narrative plays the role of a signal for the coming story or a short introduction about what the tellers will narrate. That is because Abstract is a frequent Labovian category in Turkish conversational narratives. Out of 65 firsthand SCNs, 53 of them have an Abstract; in a broader explanation, Abstract is a frequent category in the structure of firsthand SCNs.

Evaluation is also another frequent Labovian category. It can be found in 45 of the 65 firsthand SCNs. It is a fact that interactional character of conversational narratives provides the tellers with a suitable environment for their talking about what they have experienced or remembered, highlighting their thoughts and feelings about the events. Therefore, Evaluation becomes a substantial Labovian category for firsthand SCNs.

Coda is the least frequent category since it is a link between the past experience and the time of telling. The tellers do not need to use such a link between the past and present. In flowing talk, an overt link between past and present seems useless in the structure of conversational narratives which are substantially a link between the past experience and the time of telling. It is only observed in three of the 65 firsthand SCNs. This shows that Coda is the least frequent category for firsthand single conversational narratives.

2.1.1.1.3. Analysis of Secondhand SCNs

The data show that 27 out of 100 single conversational narratives are secondhand SCNs. Regarding the narrative categories of Labov and Waletzky, it can be seen in the data that secondhand narratives occurring in Turkish conversations exhibit five different internal narrative structures. As they can be seen in Table 1, the narrative formulae of secondhand single conversational narratives are (1) A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva, (2) O/ CA/ R/ Eva, (3) A/ O/ CA/ R, (4) O/ CA/ R, and (5) A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co. The most frequent of these formulae is A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva and out of 27 secondhand SCNs, it is used for 11 times by the tellers. Another formula which can be found in secondhand SCNs is O/ CA/ R/ Eva and 8 of the 27 secondhand SCNs have this internal structure. It is the tailored version of the narrative formula A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva which is the most frequent narrative formula for secondhand narratives. Six of 27 secondhand SCNs are in the formula of A/ O/ CA/ R and only one secondhand SCN has the formula of O /CA /R. As it is the case for the firsthand SCNs, Coda is seldom in the internal narrative structures of secondhand SCNs; only one of 27 secondhand SCNs has a Coda in its narrative structure. The narrative formula of the secondhand SCN with a Coda is A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co. The formulae found in the narrative structures of secondhand SCNs are exemplified and analysed below:

2.1.1.1.3. a) A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva:

As it is also the most frequent narrative formula of firsthand SCNs, the most frequent organization of Labovian categories in the internal narrative structures of secondhand single conversational narratives is Abstract (A), Orientation (O), Complicating Action (CA), Resolution (R) and Evaluation (Eva) formula. An example is:

(11)

<u>MATCH TICKET</u>

```
1     Ç:    en aşağı orada
2           yetmiş seksen bin seyirci var Kazım.
3           paraya bak.
4     K:    orada bizden pahalı.                          ──────→   Abstract
5     Ç:    he: ama bu İspanyollar,
6           gelirleri bu kadar fazla mı yani↑
7     K:    benim [oğlanlar]
8     Ç:    [stadları] hep dolu.
9     K:    Barcelona Es... Espanyol maçı vardı                     Orientation
10          Espanyol-Barcelona.
11          ikisi de Barcelona takımı takımı.
12          hadi demişler gidelim o maça.                           Comp. A.
13          fazla gelmez demişler.
14          gitmişler bilet yok                           ──────→   Resolution
15          bir de 40 Euro mu ne
16          bir bilet açığa.                                        Evaluation
17          yok.
```

The narrative *Match Ticket* is about some young men's efforts to buy match tickets to a football match in Spain and begins with an introductory expression (Line 4) which is produced by the teller as a response statement to the previous talk of one of the conversationalists. The teller tries to exemplify the situation expressed in the previous talk with the narration of a past experience. While the teller is narrating the events, the interlocutor overlaps with the teller. However, the teller guarantees an extended turn and finishes his telling.

The narrative *Peach Tree* is another example for the narrative formulation of A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva in secondhand SCNs. This narrative begins with a signalling statement (Line 3) which is again articulated as a response to the previous talk. Then, the teller continues with the Orientation (Lines 4-9), Complicating Action (Lines 10-13), Resolution (Line 14) and Evaluation (Lines 15-18). The narrative *Peach Tree* is stated below:

(12)

PEACH TREE

```
1     K:    komşular komşuluk yapacağı yere
2           bir ağaç için kavga eder mi↑                    ──────→  Abstract
3     A:    e: bizim komşular.
4           Berna Teyze ile Derya Teyze
5           kavga ediyor.
6           konu şu.                                                 Orientation
7           Derya Teyze'nin şeftalisi varmış.
8           büyümüyormuş.
9           Berna Teyze'nin çamı yüzünden.
10          diyor kes bunu
11          benim şeftalim büyümüyor.                               Comp. A.
12          tartışmanın konusunu görüyor musun↑
13          sen bu ağacı kes diyor.
14          benim şeftali büyüsün diyor.           ──────→  Resolution
15          tamam senin şu kadar
16          şeftalin büyüsün diye                                   Evaluation
17          kocaman fistık çamını
18          kökten kesecekler.
```

Another example for the narrative formulation of A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva in secondhand SCNs is the narrative *Falling Down*. This narrative is an example for an Abstract which is not a kind of summary of what will be narrated next but just an indication for a coming narrative. The teller begins the narrative by saying that she will tell a story (Line 1). The narrative *Falling Down* is given below:

(13)

FALLING DOWN

```
1     E:    ben anlatayım.                         ──────→  Abstract
2           ben bebekmişim.
3           yani bayağı bir küçük.
4           o yüzden hatırlamıyorum da
5           annemin anlattıklarıyla
6           [söyledikleriyle].
7     İ:    [anladık anladık].
8     E:    yine Ergani'deyiz.
9     S:    hm: Ergani.
10    E:    işte annemler
11          akşam gezmesine gitmişler böyle
12          bir arkadaşlarına.
13          ama ilk defa gidiyorlar.
14          hani bir akraba mıymış,                           Orientation
15          neymiş(.) tanıdıkmış.
16          işte gidince.
17          Ergani'de daha ilk yılları.
18          ben bebekmişim.
19          hani birbirinize şey olursunuz
20          destek olursunuz gibisinden.
21    S:    hah.
22    E:    artık annemler oturmuşlar.
```

```
23            bir de Ergani'nin
24            tore [olayları]
25    S:      [hm:]
26    E:      falan varmış o dönemlerde.
27            o yüzden erken kalkmışlar.
28            zaten belli bir saatten sonra
29            sokak lambaları falan
30            yanmıyormuş.
31            e: bizim arabamızda yok.
32            ondan sonra o zaman hani
33            yürüyerek falan gidilecek ama.
34            hani annemler bir şey olmaz.
35            hani biz [aileyiz gibisinden],
36    S:      [tabi tabi].
37    E:      düşünmüşler.
38            onunla ilgili bir durum değil bu.
39            ekstra bilgi.
40    S:      ekstra.
41    E:      o zaman ki koşullardan bahsediyorum.
42    S:      genel bir giriş yaptıktan sonra. ((laughs))
43    İ:      o zamanlar böyleydi diye.
44    E:      neyse annemler eve
45            gidecekler artık.
46            evin de korkulukları
47            yokmuş merdivenlerinin.
48    S:      hm:
49    E:      daha yeni mi yapılmış
50            bilmiyorum artık.
51            e::
52    İ:      bak korkuluk gene.
53    E:      belli[ bir saatten sonra
54            dedim ya hani].
55    S:      [korkuluktan korkmak lazım].
56    E:      apartmanın,
57            yok apartman da değil
58            merdiven dışarıdaymış bizim.
59            ben kafamda canlandıramıyorum.
60            onların anlattıklarıyla.
61            öyle evler oluyor ya.
62            dışarıda merdiveni oluyor.
63            şimdi merdiveni çıkıyorsun şöyle. ((acts))
64            ondan sonra şöyle dönüyorsun.
65            burada bir şöyle bir
66            boşluk [var].
67    S:      [ha ha]
68    İ:      [hıh]
69    E:      böyle çıkıyorsun.
70            babam beni almış kucağına
71            annemde arkadan geliyor.
72            şimdi babam demiş ki
73            sen şey yapma,
74            Elif'i alma demiş.
75            ben taşırım.
76            sen karanlıkta falan
77            göremezsin düşersin demiş.
78    İ:      boşluğa atmamış
79            inşallah seni.
80    S:      [bakalım].
```

Orientation

Comp. A.

```
81    E:    [babam] o merdivenden
82    İ:    Elif…
83    E:    buradan böyle
84          dönmesi gerekirken
85          düz devam etmiş.
86    S:    [o::]
87    İ:    [ikiniz bi]rden.
88    E:    aşağıda uçurum.
89          yani uçurum [dediğinde]
90    İ:    [boşluk].
91    E:    bayağı bir boşluk
92          yani bildiğin ya.
93          hani bir de boş anına
94          denk geliyor sonuçta.
95          hiçbir [şeyin]
96    S:    [hm:] pat diye [gidersin].
97    E:    [farkında de]ğilsin.
98          anlamıyorsun yani.
99    S:    şöyle gidip gidip ((acts))
100         [diye düşmüş].
101   İ:    [ayağın boşluğa] düşer.
102   E:    ses gelmiş zaten.
103         annem diyor ki
104         o an babanı düşünmedim de
105         seni düşündüm diyor.
106         tabi ki o yani.
107   İ:    [büyük adam].
108   E:    [şey yani].
109         beni korumuş herşeyden,
110         bana bir şey olmasın diye.
111         babam çıkmış ondan sonra zaten
112         üstü başı toz [yani].
113   S:    [bir şey] olmamış mı?
114   E:    baştan aşağıya.
115         babamın falan böyle
116         bayağı bir yara bere
117         içerisinde her tarafı.
118         ben de ağlamışım yani artık.
119   İ:    sarsılmışsın [yani].
120   S:    [toz] yutmuştur en azından.
121   İ:    belki sen de o yüzden
122         bu kadar zekisin.
123         hepimizde var [öyle].
124   E:    [bana bir] şey olmamış,
125         sadece ben ağlamışım yani.
126         o korkuyla belki hani.
127         babam belki bir şey
128         oldu diye mi hani.
```

Comp. A.

Resolution

Evaluation

After a signal which shows that a narrative is coming next, the teller gives the details about the context of the narrative between the lines of 2 and 71. Having talked about the context, the teller begins narrating the complicating events in Line 72 and the section of Complicating Action continues until the end of Line 112. A Resolution (Lines 114-118)

follows the section of Complicating Action. After the evaluations of several conversationalists, the teller makes her own evaluation at the end of the narrative.

This narrative is an example for the narrative structures in which the Evaluation section is produced by the teller as a response to the evaluations of the listeners about the story. As it can be seen between the lines of 119-123, two listeners make evaluations about the story and after them the teller makes her own evaluation (Lines 124-128).

2.1.1.1.3. b) O/ CA/ R/ Eva:

Another internal structure of Labovian categories in secondhand single conversational narratives is illustrated in the formula of O/ CA/ R/ Eva. There is a lack of Abstract in this formula because the role of abstract is played by the previous conversation. In other words, the initiation to the new narrative is collaboratively performed by the conversationalists as it is in the example below:

(14)

WORKING WOMAN

```
1    N:    hakikaten kızlar da sigara içiyor
2          buralara geliyor kenarlara.
3          valla şaştım ya.
4          çok bozuldu.
5    S:    yumruk kadar şeyler
6          valla oku git yahu.
7          annen baban seni okula gönderiyor,
8          onlar başka işler peşinde koşuyor.
9    N:    ama veli veli de kontrol etmiyor
10         edemiyor galiba.
11   B:    herkes sizin gibi şanslı değil ki.
12         millet sabah altıda evden çıkıyor
13         akşam altıda gelecek de
14         çocuklarla ilgilenecek.
15   A:    işte benim komşumun kızı
16         diyorum ya bankada çalışıyor diye.
17         bu sene kızı okula başladı.
18         onlar da Ortadoğu'yu bitirdiler ikisi de.
19         ondan sonra çoğu zaman
20         çocuk annesini görmeden uyuyormuş,
21         anne işten gelene kadar.
22         sabah zaten onu uyur bırakıyormuş.
23         skşam gelince de saat dokuz dokuz buçuk oluyor
24         İzmir gibi yerde.
25         çoktan Irmak uyuyormuş.
26         annesini görmüyormuş,
27         öyle hasret ki annesine diyor.
28         görmüyor annesini diyor.
```

Lines 15-18: **Orientation**
Lines 19-24: **Comp. A**
Line 26: **Resolution**
Lines 27-28: **Evaluation**

In the narrative above, the conversationalists talk about the children of working women. The narrative begins with the turn-taking of one of the conversationalists in Line 15. With this turn-taking, the conversationalist promotes to the teller position and by skipping out the Abstract position, she directly begins storytelling. In the very beginning of her narration, she uses a discourse marker 'işte' which is similar to 'şimdi' in its narrative function. It is used in order to make the listeners feel as if they were present at the time of the experience. After the Orientation (Lines 15-18), a section of Complicating Action begins with the use of another discourse marker, 'ondan sonra'. Then, the narrative continues with the Resolution (Line 26). The narrative ends with the evaluation of the teller as it is the case in the completed formula of this narrative structure, A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva.

2.1.1.1.3. c) A/ O/ CA/ R:

As it is also seen in firsthand SCNs, the narrative structure of Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action and Resolution can be observed in secondhand SCNs, too. An example for the narrative formula of A/ O/ CA/ R is the narrative *White Dog*:

(15)

```
WHITE DOG
```

```
1     M:    çıksa da bir şey yapamaz.
2           döverler onu.
3     F:    hm:
4     M:    köpeği.
5     S:    kaçmış ya Ta... bir kere.          ⎤
6     M:    anlattı şimdi anneannem de.         ⎬  Abstract
7     S:    bir kere kaçmış ya.                 ⎦
8           Tarık'ta düşmüş…                    ⎤  Orientation
9           arkasına takılmış.                  ⎦
10    M:    nerede buldu peki↑
11    S:    o oralarda geziniyormuş.            ⎤
12          çingeneler gel diyorlarmış.
13          hepsi çingeneler de
14          köpeğin arkasına.
15    M:    köpekte güzel bir köpek ya.(Embedded Evaluation)
16    S:    köpekte… he: şimdi
17          hiçbirine bakmıyormuş.
18          çingenelere falan.                  ⎬  Comp. A.
19          gel diyene de bakmıyormuş.
20          [kimseye de saldırmıyormuş].
21    A:    [hangisi yav hangi]↑
22    S:    bu beyaz.
23          kaçtı ya.
24    A:    he:
25    S:    [bir kere kaçmış].                  ⎦
```

```
26    A:    [bir ara çıkmış o] evet.
27    F:    biz olsak toplayamayacağız.(Embedded Evaluation)
28          sokamayız onu.
29    S:    Tarık artık
30    F:    hakkından gelinmez onun.     (Embedded Evaluation)
31    S:    köpek nereye o oraya.
32          Tarık'a da yüz vermiyormuş.
33          en kötüsü o.                              Comp. A.
34    M:    e: tanımıyor ki.       (Embedded Evaluation)
35    S:    a: Tarık'ı tanımaz mı.   (Embedded Evaluation)
36          buradaki suratını yalıyor.
37          [kapayacak diye].
38    M:    [gitti ya belki] küsmüştür. (Embedded Evaluation)
39    S:    hiç Tarık şey diyormuş
40          Köpük gel diyormuş
41          hiç bakmıyormuş.
42          o nereye, O nereye.
43          en sonunda yolu doğrultmuş
44          buraya gelmiş de.
45    P:    hm:                                    Resolution
46    S:    zorla kapamış şey.
```

This narrative begins with an Abstract in which there is a repetition of the initiation expression (Line 5, Line 7). Then, the teller states about whom the narrative is and begins narrating the complicating actions between the lines of 11 and 43. Between these lines, many audience participations can be observed. Even, the teller repeats what she has narrated previously (Lines 22 - 23, Line 25). In Line 43, the teller talks about what has happened at the end of the story. She signals that she will give the resolution by using the expression 'en sonunda' which means 'finally' in Turkish.

As it can be seen above, the narrative *White Dog* does not have an external evaluation section of the teller. This is because some of the listeners have participated to the telling activity via their evaluations (i.e. Line 15, Lines 27-28, Line 34, Line 38). As a result of these evaluations, as it can be seen between the lines of 35 and 37, the teller stops narrating the events and makes an embedded evaluation about what has been told by the previous speaker.

2.1.1.1.3. d) A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co:

The use of the Coda (Co) in secondhand SCNs is as seldom as its use in firsthand SCNs and the formula of A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co for secondhand SCNs can only be exemplified in the narrative *Deaf Girl*.

(16)

<u>DEAF GIRL</u>

```
1    F:    işte kızın biri çıkmış
2          o gün                                          ⎤
3          konuşmuş                                       ⎬  Abstract
4          Münevver Abla dedi.                            ⎦
5          sen dedi.
6          duymadın mı görmedin mi kızı dedi.
7          yoo dedim ben.
8          o felçli olan anlattıydı                       ⎤
9          onu dedim gördüm dedim.                        │
10         o kızda 18 yaşına kadar hani,                  │
11         bu körlüğün…                                   ⎬  Orientation
12         şey a:: körlük diyorum.                        │
13         kulakları duymuyormuş.                         ⎦
14         işitme kaybın olabilir hani                    ⎤
15         ameliyat da olamazsın demişler.                ⎬  Comp. A.
16         ya açılcağı da şey demişler.                   │
17         ondan sonra kız gelmiş iki ay.                 ⎦
18         hani şey yapmıyorum                            ⎤
19         duymuyorum duymuyorum                          ⎬  Resolution
20         dedikçe böyle                                  │
21         kulağı açılmış açılmış.                        ⎦
22         şimdi çok net duyuyorum.                       ⎤
23         ben artık kulağıma kavuştum                    │
24         sağlığıma kavuştum diye                        ⎬  Coda
25         o gün kız çıkmış konuşmuş.                     ⎦
```

This narrative is a secondhand telling of the words of a firsthand narrative teller; therefore, it includes reported speech. In order to determine the Labovian categories in such a narrative which reports the speech of the firsthand teller, the reported speech expressions are omitted and the firsthand narration is used for categorization. In the category analysis, it is seen that the teller initiates the narrative by using an expression which signals that a story is coming (Lines 1-3). Before the Orientation which can be seen between the lines of 10 and 13, the teller produces a piece of talk which is about the person to whom the firsthand narration of the current narrative belongs. After that, the teller gives the information about whom story is in Orientation (Lines 10-13) and narrates the complicating events (Lines 14-17). The Resolution is stated between the Lines of 18 and 21, and the narrative ends with a Coda section which can be seen between the lines of 22 and 25.

2.1.1.1.4. Discussion of the Internal Structures of Secondhand SCNs

The data show that six Labovian categories can be traced in the internal structures of secondhand single conversational narratives; however, some of the Labovian categories are frequently observed and some others are seldom. The frequency of the Labovian categories in the secondhand SCNs is illustrated in Table 3:

Table 3: The frequency of the Labovian categories in secondhand SCNs

Labovian Categories	Frequency of Labovian Categories	Percentage of Labovian Categories
Abstract	20/ 27	74 %
Orientation	27/ 27	100 %
Complicating A.	27/ 27	100 %
Resolution	27/ 27	100 %
Coda	1/ 27	3.70 %
Evaluation	19/ 27	70.37 %

As it can also be seen in the narrative structures of firsthand SCNs, the most frequent Labovian categories in secondhand SCNs are Orientation, Complicating Action and Resolution. All of the secondhand SCNs have the sections of Orientation, Complicating Action and Resolution. Due to this, these sections can be accepted as the obligatory sections of secondhand SCNs as they are for firsthand SCNs, too.

Abstract can be seen in 20 and Evaluation in 19 of the 27 secondhand SCNs. Both sections are frequently used Labovian categories, however, secondhand narratives in which these sections are omitted can also be observed in the data. Obviously, abstract plays the role of an introduction indicating what will happen next in the conversation in secondhand SCNs, too. Whether it externally exists as a section which is articulated by the teller or as a listener(s)'s participation, evaluation sophisticates the storytelling process with the information of why the narratives are worthtelling. Besides, both sections, Abstract and Evaluation, are essential sections for developing an

understanding about the narrative structure and conversational organizations of the narratives occurred in conversations.

Coda can only be observed in one of the 27 secondhand SCNs. It seems to be seen as the least frequent category; therefore, it is not an obligatory one. As it is stated before for firsthand narratives, since it is a link between the past experience and the time of telling, the tellers do not need to use such a link between the past and present. This is because Coda is not an essential category for conversational narratives.

2.1.1.1.5. Analysis of Culturally Shared SCNs

In the data, in addition to firsthand and secondhand single conversational narratives, culturally shared single conversational narratives have also been found. Only eight of the 100 single conversational narratives are culturally shared narratives which include jokes, anecdotes and anonymous stories. The data demonstrate that culturally shared single conversational narratives occurring in Turkish conversations elicit three different internal narrative structures. As they can be seen in Table 1, the narrative formulae of culturally shared single conversational narratives are:

- $_{[O]}$ CA/ R,
- A / $_{[O]}$ CA/ R
- $_{[O]}$ CA/Eva/ R.

The most frequent of these formulae is $_{[O]}$ CA/ R, and out of 8 culturally shared SCNs, it is used for five times by the tellers. Another formula observed in the internal narrative structures of culturally shared SCNs is A / $_{[O]}$ CA/ R. It is observed for two times in the total number of culturally shared SCNs. The formula of $_{[O]}$ CA/Eva/ R is also seen in the data; however, it is observed only once.

There is a peculiarity about the Orientation sections of culturally shared conversational narratives. It is the use of covert Orientation. In culturally shared narratives, the persona and setting of the story are given in the section of Complicating Actions in an embedded way since the people who take part in the story do not have referents in real life. However, they are known by the people of the culture to which the story belongs.

Moreover, it seems useless to produce a free category of Orientation at the very beginning of the culturally shared story which is typically short in nature.

The formulae of culturally shared SCNs found in the data are exemplified and analysed below:

2.1.1.1.5. a) [O] CA / R:

CA/ R formula represents the most frequent pattern of the structure of Labovian categories in the internal structure of culturally shared SCNs. It can be claimed that the typical narrative structure of culturally shared stories includes the categories of Complicating Action and Resolution. This formula is the prototypical structure of these kinds of stories. However, culturally shared SCNs have a covert Orientation which is integratedly given in the section of Complicating Action. The formula changes into [O] CA / R when the Orientation about the participants and setting is given in the section of Complicating Action in an embedded way. What distinguishes these types of narratives from the others which have an overt Orientation section that the people who take part in the story have no referents in real life. Besides, people to whom the story is narrated are the parts of a common culture and already know the persona of the stories. That is why they are not introduced in a separate section of Orientation. It is exemplified in the narrative *Credit Card*.

(17)

CREDIT CARD

1	D:	Temel Hoca'ya soru soruyor.	
2		**hocam** diyor.	
3		**kredi kartıyla kurban kesilir mi** diyor.	
4		**kesilir tabi** diyor.	
5		**neden kesilmeyecek** diyor.	
6		ondan sonra Temel gidiyor,	
7		bir tane kurban alıyor geliyor.	**Comp. A.**
8	Y:	kredi kartıyla mı kesmeye kalkıyor?	
9	D:	he: alıyor kredi kartını	
10		sürtüyor sürtüyor kesmiyor.	
11	E:	karton.	
12	D:	ondan sonra **ula Haso** diyor.	
13		**bu kesmiyodur**	
14		**he:** diyor **Has**… şey **Temel** diyor.	
15		**şifresini girdin mi da**↑	⟶ **Resolution**

The narrative begins with the initiation of the protagonist of the story. The presentation of Temel, who is the main character of a culturally known joke, is achieved in the presentation of complicating actions. In other words, the narrative which begins with the section of Complicating Action includes the information of the participants. The embeddedly presented covert Orientation is a highly frequent component of culturally shared narratives. Even, in culturally shared SCNs, all the covert Orientation sections are embedded in the section of Complicating Action.

Culturally shared narratives which frequently begin with a section of Complicating Action take an end with a Resolution section. All the culturally shared SCNs found in the data end with a Resolution. This is because the Resolution sections of this type have a slight difference from the Resolution sections of other narrative types found in the data. Rather than explicitly describing the outcomes of the Complicating Action, Resolution of culturally shared narratives includes a punchline because a detailed and explicit presentation of the outcomes would kill the effects of the joke (Tsakona, 2000 cited in Archakis and Tsakona, 2011, p. 65). The punchline, the Resolution section, of the narrative is exemplified in the narrative *Credit Card*.

The narrative formula of CA/ R with its peculiarities can also be seen in the narrative *Armageddon* which is a culturally shared narrative about Nasrettin Hodja, a character of many culturally known anecdotes in Turkish.

(18)

ARMAGEDDON

```
1    M:    işte o zaman büyük kıyamet kopar=          ⎤
2    S:    Nasrettin Hoca'ya sormuşlar                ⎬  Comp. A.
3          hoca kıyamet ne zaman kopacak diye         ⎦
4          valla demiş,                               ⎤
5          ben ölürsem küçüğü,                         ⎬
6          hanım ölürse                                    Resolution
7          büyük kıyamet kopacak.                     ⎦
```

As it is similar to the previous narrative, this narrative also begins with the presentation of the main characters in the section of Complicating Action. Its Resolution is again like a punchline which is the ending point with humorous effect.

2.1.1.1.5. b) A /[O] CA / R:

In addition to CA/ R structure, culturally shared stories could have an internal structure of Abstract, Complicating Action and Resolution (its formula as A / CA/ R). In this structure, the Resolution is given at the very beginning of the story as an Abstract. It can be seen in the example below:

(19)

<u>EATING SOAP</u>

```
1     F:    dünkü börek
2           bayatlamamıştır herhalde,
3     L:    yok gayet güzel,
4           ayrıca bayatlasa ne olur yeriz.
5     R:    paracık verdik                          ⎤
6           apırsa da yiyeceğiz köpürse de demiş herif. ⎦   Abstract
7     L:    Arnavut.
8           apırsan da yiyeceğim köpürsen de demiş.
9     F:    Sabunu mu yemiş↑
10    L:    hm::
11    B:    niye sabun yiyor↑
12    F:    şey diye yemiştir onu.
13    R:    peynir diye almış onu O.                 ⎤
14          bana şundan ver demiş.                   │
15          bakkalda vermiş onu.                     │
16          o peynir diye alıyor.                    ⎰  Comp. A.
17          yemeğe başlayınca                        │
18          köpürünce,                               ⎦
19          sana paracık verdim                      ⎱  Resolution
20          apırsan da yiyeceğim köpürsen de.        ⎰
21    L:    apırsan da yiyeceğim demiş para verdim
22          demiş sana.
```

In the narrative Eating Soap, the punchline expression, produced through the Resolution section (Lines 19-22), is represented at the very beginning of the joke as an Abstract section (Lines 5-6). Obviously, the teller knows the joke beforehand and uses the concluding remark of the joke for signalling that a narration of a joke is coming next. This practice is helpful for the conversationalists to figure out what they will listen and gives them a chance to remember the joke if they already know it. As a result, the listeners may promote to the co-teller positions.

2.1.1.1.5. c) [O] CA / Eva/ R:

The narrative structure of Complicating Action, Evaluation and Resolution can also be observed in culturally shared SCNs. In this formula, before the Resolution the teller makes an evaluation about the events in the story. Only one of the culturally shared

SCNs, the narrative *Cooking*, has this narrative structure; however, it is likely that more culturally shared SCNs in this structure can be found in a larger data.

(20)

<u>COOKING</u>

```
1     G:    insan dolma yapmış da
2           anlatıp anlatıp,
3           duruyorlar.
4           herşeyi yaparım yaparım
5           söyler dururmuş ya.                    Comp. A.
6           karşısındaki de cambazmış.
7           üstüne de bir de tezek.
8     L:    yaparım yaparım,
9           üstüne de tezek kaparım.
10    G:    e: sarmanın üstüne
11          o koyulur mu↑                           Evaluation
12          o da kapamış.
13          yapmış öyle.                            Resolution
```

Concerning the narrative *Cooking*, the teller begins narration by giving reference to the main character of the story as a typical introduction of culturally shared narratives. Then, the teller goes on by narrating the complicating events (Lines 1-7). After a listener interruption for an evaluation (Lines 8-9), the teller holds the turn and makes her evaluation about the events narrated (Lines 10-11). After her evaluation, she finishes the narrative with Resolution (Lines 12-13). This narrative is not a joke, it is an anonymous anecdote which is not humorous in nature but has some aspects about giving lessons. That is why the Resolution section of this kind does not include a punchline which creates a strong effect on the listeners.

<u>2.1.1.1.6. Discussion of the Internal Structures of Culturally Shared SCNs</u>

Only some of the Labovian categories can be found in the internal structures of culturally shared single conversational narratives. The frequency of the Labovian categories in the culturally shared SCNs is illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4: The frequency of the Labovian categories in culturally shared SCNs

Labovian Categories	Frequency of Labovian Categories	Percentage of Labovian Categories
Abstract	2/ 8	25 %
Orientation	0^*/ 8	0%
Complicating A.	8/ 8	100 %
Resolution	8/ 8	100 %
Coda	0/ 8	0%
Evaluation	1/ 8	12.50 %

As it can also be seen in the table above, the Labovian categories of Orientation and Coda are not notified in the internal structures of culturally shared SCNs. On the contrary, Complicating Action and Resolution can be seen in all of the culturally shared SCNs. Abstract can only be observed in two of the eight culturally shared SCNs. Evaluation is also seen in the data; however, it is limited to one in number.

Abstract has a peculiar use in culturally shared SCNs. Different from firsthand and secondhand SCNs, Abstract is not a summary of what will be narrated next but a repetition of the Resolution sentence of the story. By using the Resolution at the very beginning, the tellers implicate that they will narrate a culturally shared story, generally a well-known story.

Mostly an overt section of Orientation cannot be found in the narrative organization of culturally shared SCNs; however, the oriented knowledge is given in a covert way and it is integrated in the section of Complicating Action. Regarding that the people who take part in the story have no referents in real life and are generally known by the people, the tellers do not introduce the people of the story in a separate section of Orientation.

As generally known, Coda is a section in which the tellers formulate a link between past and present. Upon telling a joke or an anecdote, the tellers do not use a Coda section since such a past-present bridge is useless in achieving the real function of the culturally

shared stories which mostly aims at amusing the listeners, or enriching the topic of the conversation.

2.1.1.2. General Discussion of the Internal Structures of Single Conversational Narratives in Turkish

In the previous sections, the internal structures of single conversational narratives have been analysed and formulised by depending on the Labovian narrative categories. Various types of narratives have also been considered in the analysis since they bring about some differences in the structure of conversational narratives.

Three different kinds of single conversational narratives have been observed in the data of this study. They are firsthand, secondhand and culturally shared narratives. The other two kinds of narratives which are identified by Schank (1990, pp. 29-40) have not been found in the data. They are *official stories* which are learnt from official sources such as school or the government and *invented (adapted) stories* which are the stories created by people. The most frequent type of narratives occurred in conversations is firsthand narratives. 65 out of 100 single conversational narratives are firsthand narratives. By considering that they are the stories in which people tell about their own experiences, they seem more convenient to be used in everyday conversations. That is due to the fact that one's own experiences are more available and easily accessable for tellers to enrich the ongoing topic, to exemplify the situations, to amuse the listeners, etc.

Secondhand narratives have been found less in number than the firsthand ones. 27 of the 100 single conversational narratives are secondhand SCNs. Since they are the stories which reflect the experiences of others from their own words, and which are heard and remembered by the tellers, they are less available for the tellers to use conveniently.

The least frequent type of narratives taking place in conversations is the culturally shared narratives. Only 8 of the 100 single conversational narratives are culturally shared stories which can be a result of the limited repertoire of the individuals in knowing this kind of stories than the ones reflecting their own experiences.

It is also observed in the data that Labovian categories are organized into various narrative structures in single conversational narratives in terms of their types. Firsthand and secondhand SCNs exhibit similar narrative organizations of Labovian categories. The most frequent narrative formula found both in firsthand and secondhand SCNs is the formula of Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Resolution and Evaluation (A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva). The formulae of Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Resolution (A/ O/ CA/ R) and Orientation, Complicating Action, Resolution, Evaluation (O/ CA/ R/ Eva) are other narrative structures of firsthand and secondhand SCNs. The formula with a Coda as in A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co is also observed in the narrative structure of firsthand and secondhand SCNs. However, it is limited in number.

Culturally shared single conversational narratives have different narrative organizations from firsthand and secondhand SCNs. They have exclusive narrative structures which include a covert Orientation embedded in the section of Complicating Action. The emergence of a covert Orientation is a result of the fact that the people who take part in the story have no referents in real life. Moreover, people to whom the story is narrated are the parts of a common culture and already know the persona of the stories. In addition to this, the nature of the Abstract is different from the Abstract section of firsthand and secondhand SCNs. Rather than being a brief summary or only a signal for a forthcoming story, the Abstract of culturally shared narratives is the repetition of the Resolution. It is still a section which gives signals about the coming narrative, makes the audience ready for the narration and creates a chance for the audience to participate to the telling activity. Obviously, the participants are the ones who know the prospective story which is already a culturally shared one.

Coda which is a bridge between past and present is not commonly used in culturally shared SCNs. Coda-missing narrative structures in culturally shared SCNs emerge due to the fact that by telling a joke or anecdote, the tellers do not need to build a past-present bridge but to amuse the listeners or to enrich the topic of the conversation.

The data show that the categories of Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, and Resolution are frequent in the Turkish conversational narratives. However, the use of

Coda is highly limited. The data also show that tellers are in a tendency to make evaluations while they are narrating a story in conversations. Due to this, the category of Evaluation is highly used in Turkish conversational narratives. In addition to these evaluations which occur in narrative as independent categories, teller-oriented embedded evaluations which include evaluative clauses inserted in other categories such as Orientation and Complicating Action are commonly seen in the data. Besides, the listener(s)'s contribution to the narration via their evaluations can also be observed in Turkish conversational storytelling. The results of the frequency of the Labovian categories are shown in the Table 5:

Table 5: The Labovian categories in single conversational narratives

Type of Narratives / Labovian Categories	Firsthand Narratives n: 65	Secondhand Narratives n: 27	Culturally Shared Narratives n: 8	TOTAL n: 100
Abstract	53 (81.53 %)	20 (74 %)	2 (25 %)	75 (%)
Orientation	65 (100 %)	27 (100 %)	0^{*}	92 (%)
Complicating A.	65 (100 %)	27 (100 %)	8 (100 %)	100 (%)
Resolution	65 (100 %)	27 (100 %)	8 (100 %)	100 (%)
Coda	3 (4.61 %)	1 (3.70 %)	0	4 (%)
Evaluation	45 (69.23 %)	19 (70.37 %)	1 (12.50 %)	65 (%)

Abstract, which is placed at the very beginning of a narrative and plays the role of a short introduction about or a signal for what the tellers will narrate, is a common Labovian category in Turkish conversational narratives. Out of 100 conversational narratives 75 of them have an Abstract; 53 out of 65 firsthand single conversational narratives, 20 out of 27 secondhand SCNs and 2 out of 8 culturally shared SCNs have Abstract in their internal narrative structures. At this point, it is clearly seen that firsthand SCNs are the narrative types which give place to the Abstract most. There is a peculiarity of culturally shared SCNs about the use of Abstract. That is, the resolution sentence of the story can be given at the very beginning of the story and plays the role of an Abstract.

In some narratives, there is a lack of Abstract because the role of Abstract is played by the previous conversation, in other words, the initiation to the new narrative is collaboratively performed by the conversationalists, and the teller does not need to use an introduction and goes on the telling activity with an Orientation. Furthermore, some narratives lack an Abstract section because of their coming after a long pause or silence. In this case, Abstract plays the role of guaranteeing the continuity of the conversation.

It is seen in the data that 92 out of 100 conversational narratives have a category of Orientation; 65 out of 65 firsthand single conversational narratives and 27 out of 27 secondhand narratives have Orientations in their narrative formulas. However, a section of Orientation is omitted in culturally shared SCNs owing to the fact that it seems useless to give information about the people, setting and time of the culturally shared stories. It is obvious that people have already known about the people, setting and content of the story. But it is impossible to talk about any kind of complicating actions without referring to the person who performs these actions. Therefore, the agent of the actions is stated in the section of Complicating Action which means the oriented knowledge about the participants are given in the section of Complicating Action in an embedded way.

The data show that all narratives from various types have the sections of Complicating Action and Resolution. That is because the section of Complicating Action is the heart of a narrative due to its sequencing the occurences of the events and the section of Resolution is the narrative point in which the complicating actions are resolved and tension about what will happen at the end decreases.

The data demonstrate that three out of 65 firsthand SCNs and only one secondhand SCN have Coda in their narrative structures. Besides, none of the culturally shared SCN has a section of Coda. Depending on these findings, it can be claimed that Coda is the least observed Labovian category in single conversational narratives. Another finding about Coda can be discussed in terms of the existence of an external Evaluation. If Coda exists in a narrative body, Evaluation is missing and vice versa. None of the SCNs in the data has the sections of Coda and Evaluation together.This may occur since Coda

contains a kind of evaluation in its nature. Evaluation is a frequent category in conversational narratives in Turkish, therefore, Coda keeps seldom.

It is revealed in the data that tellers frequently make evaluations while they are narrating a story in conversations. Besides, the participants may also contribute to the ongoing storytelling with their evaluations. The evaluations of the legitimate teller who has taken the right to have an extended turn can be sectioned as a distinct category or embedded into other Labovian categories through the use of evaluative clauses. Both types of evaluation and participant evaluations in single conversational narratives are commonly seen in Turkish storytelling.

In the data, the total number of evaluation found in the narrative structures of SCNs is 65 out of 100 narratives. Evaluation is used as a section for 45 times in 65 firsthand SCNs. The most frequent place of Evaluation is notified as after the Resolution. It is seen after Resolution in 39 SCNs. It is also seen before the Resolution; however, the frequency is six out of 65. The frequency of Evaluation in secondhand SCNs is 19 out of 27 narratives and all of them settle in the position after Resolution. Only one culturally shared SCN has Evaluation and it is situated before Resolution.

The data reveal that the narrative model proposed by Labov and Waletzky (1967) is consistent with the narrative structure of Turkish conversational narratives. That is to say, Labovian categories seem to exist in Turkish conversational narratives and have a sequence of Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, (Evaluation), Resolution and Coda. The place of Evaluation is a peculiar point in the narrative structure of Turkish conversational narratives. Labov and Waletzky (1967) point out that the insertion of an Evaluation section between the sections of Complicating Action and Resolution is a structural marker without which "it is difficult to distinguish the complicating action from the result" (1967, p. 37). In the data, the Evaluation section of Turkish conversational narratives is identified as after the Resolution and very few narratives have an Evaluation section before the Resolution. This finding can also be supported by the narrative model of Labov in that the place of Evaluation in 'before Resolution'

position is revised later (Labov, 1972); it is argued that Evaluation can also spread throughout the narrative.

2.1.2. COMPLEX CONVERSATIONAL NARRATIVES (CCNs)

Complexity in narrative structure is mainly a result of the combination of the narration of two or more narratives which are produced around a temporal or topical relationship. The result of such a combination is the emergence of a Complex Conversational Narrative which consists of several single conversational narratives.. Complex conversational narratives are analysed and classified according to their topical and textual features.

2.1.2.1. Topical Analysis of Complex Conversational Narratives

As its name indicates, in topical analysis, the features of complex conversational narratives are considered in terms of their topics. According to the topical analysis, complex conversational narratives can be classified into two different groups. They are progressive complex narratives and hypertopical complex narratives. Sometimes the single narratives which construct the complex narrative are sequenced in a temporal continuum in which they seem as if they were the parts of a temporally continuous experience; that is a *progressive complex narrative* (PCN). Or some single narratives of past experiences having occurred in different times and in different places are organized in a higher narrative construction by not involving a temporal sequence; they are *hypertopical complex narrative*s (HCN). To recap, progressive complex narratives comprise of single narratives coming together in a temporal order and hypertopical complex narratives emerge by sphering around topical similarity.

In the data, the two different types of complex conversational narratives, *progressive complex narratives* and *hypertopical complex narratives* are identified: In 11 different conversations, 12 complex conversational narratives have been identified; five of them are progressive complex and seven of them are hypertopical complex narratives.

2.1.2.1.1. Progressive Complex Narratives

In progressive complex narratives (PCN), the single narratives in a complex narrative are sequenced in a temporal continuum. They are generally observed as a combination of related experiences which are following each other in terms of temporal order. At a first glance, a progressive complex narrative seems as if it is a single narrative; however, due to its complex formulation of related events, it includes two or more narratives which refer to that complex formulation of events. It can be exemplified in the narrative below:

(21)

UNIVERSITY

```
1    S:   ondan sonra ben şeye yazıldım.
2         Anadolu Üniversitesi'nin dil okulu var.
3    K:   hm::
4    S:   oraya.
5         şey de… müdürü de
6         Mr. Simmens diye biriydi.
7         O'nun da Fiatı vardı.
8         İlhan Canlar Akademi başkanıydı.
9    K:   O kim↑
10   S:   başkan yani.
11        O'da prof…slardan.
12        ben hepsi ile tanışıyordum yani.
13        oraya gitmeye başladık,
14        ve orada da bir kitap bitirdik.
15        ikinci kitaba başladık.
16        Ali Konur diye bir hoca var.
17        ödev verdi eve.
18   K:   hm:
19   S:   lan eve mis...misafir geldi bakamadım.
20        dedim yarın serviste bakarım.
21        o günde se... nasıl işler birbirinin üstüne yığıldı ki.
22        ensemi kaşıyacak vaktim yok.
23        ona da bakamadım.
24        akşamleyin geldik
25        kursa
26        çünkü adam keleğin teki.
27        [genç].
28   K:   [Konur]↑
29   S:   ama kelek yani,
30        kıl adam.
31        Kemal kapıda bekledim bunu.
32        dedim hoca bak
33        sen şimdi dedim içeri girince sorarsın,
34   K:   Durum [aynen böyle]
35   S:   [durum böyle].
36        çalışamadım.
37        bana bir şey sorma beni dedim.
38        sınıfın içinde mahçup etme dedim adama.
39        tamam dedi.
```

Orientation 1a (lines 1–16)

Comp. A. 1a (lines 17–39)

```
40        girdik ben de hemen,
41        hep başa otururum.
42        ödevini yapmayanlar,
43        Mr.Kara.
44        hemen kalktım,
45        kitabı defteri topladım.
46        hadi bana eyvallah.
47   K:   uyarmana rağmen yine oldu.
48   S:   he: adamın dersine gider miyim ben↑
49        çektim gittim tabi,
50        sınıftan.
51        bu sefer koştu önüme.
52        kusura bakma ben hata yaptım.
53        hoca dedim.
54        İ… İngilizce de senin olsun
55        üniversite de senin olsun.
56   K:   ya ama işte kaybeden yine sen oldun.
57        O olmadı.
58   S:   ben oldum tabi.

59        ondan sonra o şey geldi.
60        O Mr. Simmens geldi.
61        ama bir hafta filan geçti aradan.
62        olmaz,
63        öğrenebildiği kadar Türkçe ile,
64        yani bu yapılmaz dedi.
65        öğrenmiş sormuş soruşturmuş.
66        ben onu istesem atarım diyor okuldan.
67   K:   O O Konuru mu↑
68   S:   müdür oranın.
69        ama diyor.
70        yani O'nu atmam meseleyi çözmeyecek diyor.
71        sen diyor şeye git.
72        ben dedim devamsızlığım oldu,
73        gitmem.
74        çünkü dedim ki.
75        bak şimdi zincir,
76        ortadan kopmuş.
77        ama orada görüyorsun zinciri
78        ucundan çek,
79        gelir gelir,
80        bir kısmı kalır orada değil mi↑
81   K:   kopar
82        geri kalan kısmı kalır orada.
83   S:   tabi koptu.
84        ondan sonra olay
85        İlhan Canlar'a
86        akademi başkanına intikal etti.
87        ben götürmedim yani
88        adaylar götürmüşler.
89        hep geldiler rica ettiler.
90        yapma etme gel devam et diye.
91        ben de laf olsun diye konuştum yani.
92        dedim yani,
93        bana gelecek,
94        özür dileyecek ondan sonra.
95        geldi.
96        özür de diledi.
```

Comp. A. 1a

Resolution 1a

Evaluation 1a

Orientation 1b

Comp. A. 1b

```
97          ben… yani eşeklik ettim
98          sen etme ağabey diye.
99          dedim a: ben sana bir kere zıttım sıyrıldı.          Comp. A. 1b
100         sonra İlhan Canlar dedi,
101         dedi başka sınıfa vereyim.
102         Ve benim İngilizce orada kaldı yani.          Resolution 1b
```

The PCN *University* includes two single narratives which are about the teller's experience of troubling with an English teacher. It begins with an Abstract (Line 1) and continues with the Orientation section of the first single narrative (Lines 2-16). The Complicating Action category comes next (Lines 17-53) and continues with a Resolution situated between the lines of 53 and 55. By the use of an Evaluation (Line 58) the first single narrative ends. The second single narrative which is the continuation of the first single narrative begins with an Orientation stated between the lines of 59 and 61. The complicating events are narrated between the lines of 61 and 101, and by the Resolution category (Line 102) the second narrative ends. What labels the combination of these two single narratives as a Progressive Complex Narrative is the temporal order in which the events actually occur and are told by referring to it.

2.1.2.1.2. Hypertopical Complex Narratives

Hypertopical complex narratives (HCN) involve single narratives through a textual organization which does not require a temporal sequence as in progressive complex narratives. In a hypertopical complex narrative, some single narratives of past experiences having occurred in different times and places which are not actually related in real life are organized in a higher narrative construction through the relation of the topical similarity. For a further explanation, whereas the progressive complex narratives have a syntagmatic formulation of temporal sequence of the events, hypertopical complex narratives are in a paradigmatic relationship depending on the rule of having similar topics. One example of HCN is given below:

(22)

CUTTING GRASS

```
1    M:    güzel ot yoldun ama degil mi↑
2    A:    valla ot bile yoldurdular.                          Abstract
3    M:    [güzel ot yoldun ha].
```

```
4    A:    [millet dalga geçiyor]                              ⌉  Abstract
5          çavuşlara ot mu yolduruyorlar ya diye.             ⌋
6          gelen geçen çit çit kenarından,        ⟶  Orientation 1
7          biz yolmuyorduk diyorlar.                          ⌉
8          valla amca diyorum.                                │
9          yaşlı amcalar geliyor laf atıyor şimdi.            ⊢  Comp. A. 1
10   M:    kolay gelsin diye.                                 │
11   A:    he: kolay gelsin oğlum yapıyorlar şimdi.           │
12         bakıyor çavuş rütbesi var.                         ⌋
13         nızk oğlum diyor,                                  ⌉
14         size de mi ot yolduruyorlar diyor.                 ⊢  Resolution 1
15         bizde yoktu böyle bir şey ama diyor.               ⌋
16   Y:    çim makinaları var halbuki ama.

17   A:    ya onu bırak mahkumlar aşağıda.                    ⌉
18   Y:    koca şey.                                          │
19         [askeriye].                                        │
20   A:    [kuledeyim].                                       │
21   Y:    bir makina alamadı mı↑                             │
22   A:    mahkumun birisinin dikkatini çekmiş.               │
23         şimdi kulenin etrafında,                           │
24         canım sıkılıyor iki saat nasıl vakit geçireceksin, │
25         sağa dön sola dön.                                 │
26         kulede dört dönüyorum.                             │
27   M:    Asker                                              │
28   A:    Hı: şimdi dönünce,                                 │
29         aşağıda da,                                        ⊢  Orientation 2
30   Z:    [ot yoluyorlar].                                   │
31   A:    [şeyler]                                           │
32         havalandırmalar var                                │
33         şöyle bir geniş,                                   │
34         şey…                                               │
35         duvar duvar ayrılmış işte.                         │
36         şeyler mahkumlar,                                  │
37         orada,                                             │
38         geziyorlar.                                        │
39         şimdi bakıyorlar.                                  │
40         laf atıyorlar zaten                                │
41         asker ağa asker ağa diye bağırıyorlar.            ⌋
42         ondan sonra asker ağa dedi.                        ⌉
43   Y:    hıhı                                               │
44   A:    ne oldu dedim.                                     │
45         işaret ettim.                                      │
46         şimdi bizim burada jandarma yazıyor kıyafetlerimizde. │
47         burada da şey var ((shows))                        │
48         rütbe var.                                         │
49         ondan sonra                                        │
50         o çavuşluk rütbesi mi dedi.                        │
51         öteki de atladı                                    ⊢  Comp. A. 2
52         yanında ki mahkum da                               │
53         yok ya orada jandarma yazıyor dedi.                │
54         Ben de dedim.                                      │
55         burada jandarma yazıyor dedim, ((shows))           │
56         burada rütbe var dedim. ((shows))                  │
57         ondan sonra öyle deyince                           │
58         alla allah dedi,                                   │
59         çavuşlar nöbet tutuyor mu ya dedi.                 │
60         ondan sonra ben bir şey demedim.                   ⌋
```

```
61          fazla muattap almıyorum.
62          onlar konuşuyor kendilerine göre.
63          ben işaret ediyorum,
64          şey yapıyorum.
65          her yerde kamera var çünkü tepelerde.
66          yani sürekli seni çekiyor kameralar.
67    M:    e:: asker.
68    A:    [ondan sonra],
69    F:    [ne konuşsan]
70    A:    tabi ne konuşsan.
71          yani konuştuğun şey yapmaz ama
72          tek tek şeylere
73          kulelere zoom yapıyor
74    F:    [evet evet]
75    A:    [kameralar].                                    Comp. A. 2
76    F:    en iyisi konuşmamak
77    A:    hm:: ben öyle şey bakmıyorum onlar konuşuyor,
78          laf atıyor,
79          şey yapıyorlar.
80          bakıyorsun çok konuşacak oluyor,
81          işaret ediyorum,
82          şöyle yapıyorum susuyorlar.
83          anlıyorlar,
84          bir daha
85          şey yapıyorlar.
86    M:    tozuyorlar.
87    A:    kesiyorlar.
88          dedim yoksa diyor,
89          sizin diyor,
90          bütün herkes mi çavuş sizde diyor.
91          ben de herkes çavuş dedim,                     Resolution 2
92          kapattım.
```

The HCN *Cutting Grass* includes two single narratives about the absurd experiences of the teller's military service. It begins with an Abstract (Lines 2- 5) which commonly appeals to both of the single narratives. In other words, it is a category which is used by both of the single narratives taking place in the complex narrative. The first single narrative continues with the Orientation in Line 6 and the section of Complicating Action between the lines of 7 and 14. The Resolution comes afterwards (Line 15) and the first single narrative ends. The second single narrative with the narration of a similar experience is stated between the lines of 17 and 92. The background information about the people and the setting, namely Orientation, is given between the lines of 17 and 41. Then, the complicating events are narrated till the Line 91 and by the Resolution of the second narrative (Lines 91-92), the HCN *Cutting Grass* ends. The events told in both single narratives seem similar to each other and go around the same Abstract (Lines 2- 5); however, they are not ordered in a temporal sequence; not in the organization of one

experience following the other in its time reference of occuring in real life. On the contrary, the two narratives are bound to each other in terms of their similar topics which are about the teller's military experiences.

2.1.2.2. Textual Analysis of Complex Conversational Narratives

This section focuses on the organization of complex conversational narratives as a text and examines their textual features. As it can be seen in the previous chapters (Section 2.1.2.1.1. and Section 2.1.2.1.2), some single narratives come together and formulate complex narrative structures. Furthermore, single and complex conversational narratives can be combined in a super-complex narrative due to their having similar topics or sharing a Labovian category, generally Abstract. Or they can come together by being sequenced in one after another or embedded to one another. In other words, as a text, both progressive and hypertopical complex narratives can be combined with another complex narrative structure or with just a single narrative in an embedded or integrated way in their textual organization.

Embeddedness in complex narrative structures is achieved through the insertion of a new narrative to the ongoing one. Sometimes the tellers stop narrating a story and jump into another story or stories, then turn back to the already initiated one. Such an embedded telling of a complex narrative can be illustrated in the following narrative:

(23)

<u>WOMAN WITH PARKINSON'S DISEASE</u>

```
1      D:    şey parkinson hastalığı oluyor ya
2            titremeler falan                              ⎫
3            bir de onlardan bahsettiler.                  ⎬  Abstract 1a
4            onu da hafızayı normale şey yapıyormuş.       ⎭
5            onu da bir gün… kaset koymuşlardı.
6            İstanbul'da çekim yapmışlar.
7            video çekim yarışması yapmışlar bir de.
8            herkesin hastalarla arasındaki ilişkileri.
9            bir de bu patronları.
10           patronlar da bu Çin'den şey,
11           Kore'nin şeyi bu,
12           firması.
13           çok konuşunca boğazım acıyor.
14           de ondan sonra işte adam.
15           patronu da biz o gün tanıdıydık.
```

```
16          çok matrak bir adam.
17          ha şey yapıyor,
18          orada da çekimleri vardı.
19          burası şey olmuş.
20          en güzel video çekimi,
21          tanıtımı falan tezahüratı fazla yapıldığı için
22          hastalarıyla böyle,
23          şeylerin hani,
24          yatak sahiplerinin firmanın böyle çok
25          alakadar oluşu falan
26          böyle tezahürrat için,
27          sokak dışına taştığı için,
28          böyle çok yoğunluk olduğu için,
29          çok çoşku olduğu için,
30          Türkiye birincisi olmuşlar.
31          bu şube
32          onun için.
33          o:: sertifikaları falan var.
34          Münevver Abla'nın resimleri var.
35          sertifika almış.
36    A:    ha:::
37    D:    onlar he:::

38          bir de eşini getirmiş adam.        ⟶ Abstract 2a
39          kadın,                              ⎫
40          iki günde Türkçe'yi sökmüş.         ⎬ Orientation 2a
41          adam tembel diyor ama.              ⎪
42          kadın çok güzel Türkçe konu...      ⎭
43          ben girdim.                         ⎫
44          bir de ben misafirim tanımıyorum ya ben şimdi.
45          kadın gel... kadın böyle.           ⎬ Comp. A. 2a
46          hoş geldiniz efendim yapıyor.       ⎭
47          siz de hoş geldiniz dedim ben de.   ⟶ Resolution 2a
48          tahmin ettim yani.                  ⎫
49          ufak tefek çekik gözlü.             ⎬ Evaluation 2a
50          bir gün sonradan da gelecek dediler ya. ⎭

51          toplantı var o gün diye             ⎫
52          erken gel dedi Münevver Abla.        ⎪
53          çünkü erken toplanıyorlar dedi.      ⎬ Orientation 2b
54          ben gittim dokuzda.                  ⎭
55          a: yarısını konuşmuşlar zaten ama.   ⎫
56          dolu                                 ⎬ Comp. A. 2b
57          içerisi bütün dolmuş.                ⎭
58          biz yataklara geçtik yatakların üstünde oturduk artık Res. 2b
59          geçilmiyor yani o kadar kalabalık yoğunluk olmuş. Evaluation 2b

60          ondan sonra
61          bir şey anlatacaktım.
62          ha: parkinson şeyini anlatıyordum.
63          İstanbul CD sinde,                   ⎫ Orientation 1a
64          kadın diyor.                         ⎭
65          benim diyor.                         ⎫
66          parkinson hastalığım var diyor.      ⎪
67          ondan sonra unutuyordum diyor.       ⎬ Comp. A. 1a
68          yaptığım şeyi unutuyordum diyor.     ⎪
69          şunu şuraya koydum mu,               ⎪
70          onu almaya aklım ermiyordu diyor.    ⎭
```

```
71          bırakıyordum herşeyi diyor.                           ⎤
72          neyse beni hastaneye yatırdılar diyor.               │
73          ondan sonra,                                          │
74          hastanede diyor.                                      │
75          şeyler falan diyor.                                   │
76          böyle hep hastaların durumları kötü diyor.           │
77          böyle hepsi titriyor diyor.                           │
78          şey yapıyor yaşlı yaşlı.                              │
79          ben de kendimi onlardan daha kötü gördüm diye.       │
80          ben daha şeyim ya diyor.                              │
81          biraz aklım eriyor ama diyor.          Comp. A. 1a   │
82          kafamda pek toplamıyor diyor.                         │
83          kadın.                                                │
84    A:    ha:                                                   │
85          ondan sonra ben aklımı başıma toplayayım mı          │
86          demiş↑                                                │
87    D:    ondan sonra işte ben diyor.                           │
88          biraz diyor tedavi gördüm diyor.                      │
89          sonra bu yatakların şeyini duydum diyor.             │
90          teyzemin kızı ısrar etti buraya götürelim dedi diyor.│
91          geldik diyor (,) neyse diyor.                         │
92          ben diyor.                                            │
93          altı ay mı dedi beş ay mı devam ettim diyor.         ⎦
94          titremelerimde azalma oldu diyor.      ⎤ Resolution 1a
95          unutkanlığımda azalma oldu diyor.      ⎦

96          ondan sonra hatta diyor,               ⎤
97          beni diyor bir gün diyor,              ├ Orientation 1b
98          şeyden hastaneden gelirken diyor,      ⎦
99          şey diyor…                             ⎤
100         çöp torbasını diyor,                   │
101         eşya torbası diye diyor karıştırmışım diyor, │
102         çöpü almışım diyor eve kadar getirmişim diyor.│
103         içinde diyor kıyafetlerim var diye gece bir açtım diyor│
104         olan çöp çıktı karşıma diyor.           Comp. A. 1b
105   D:    kadın böyle elli beş altmış yaşlarında │
106         şişkoda bir şey.                       │
107         çok da matrak.                         │
108         baktım baktım diyor.                   ⎦
109         güldüm diyor.
110         ondan sonra allahıma şükür dedim.      ⎤ Resolution 1b
111         ben bu yatağa devam edeyim dedim diyor.⎦
112         ona karar verdim çok şükür o zamandan beri diyor
113         öyle hatalar yapmıyorum,               ├ Coda 1b
114         aklım başıma geldi diyor.              ⎦
```

The narrative about parkinson disease begins with an Abstract stated between the lines of 1 and 4. However, while the teller is giving information about the story, she begins telling some other narratives about a similar topic; the first narrative is between the lines of 38 and 50 and the second narrative is between the lines of 51 and 59. These two single narratives construct a hypertopical complex narrative in their own internal structure and they are embedded to another complex narrative which is also a

hypertopical complex narrative. At this context, two complex narratives come together in a super-complex narrative structure in a textually embedded way. Embedded structure of the narrative *Woman with Parkinson's Disease* is illustrated in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Embedded structure of the narrative *Woman with Parkinson's Disease*
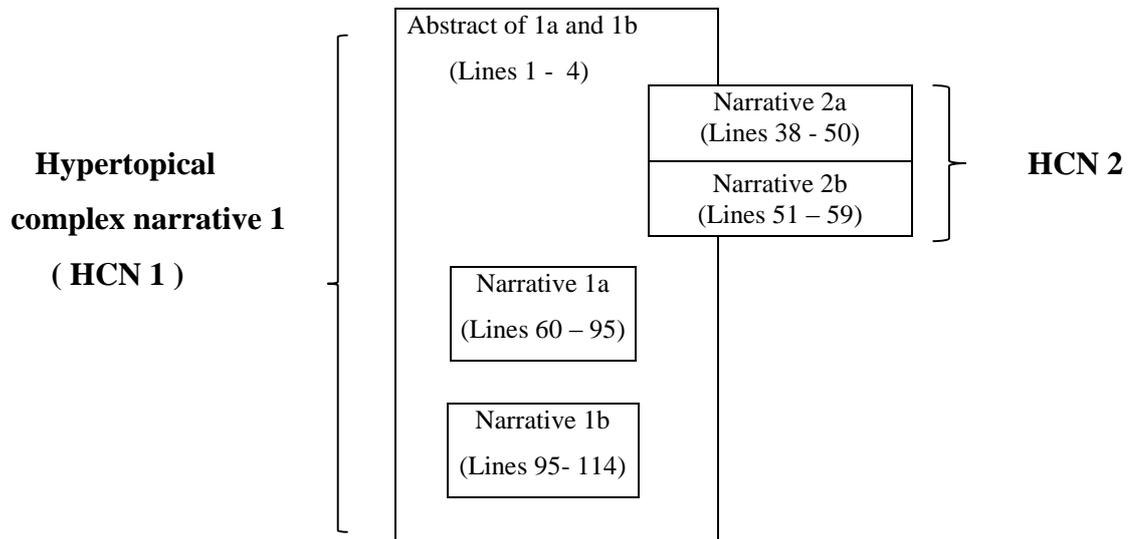
As it is illustrated in Figure 1, the teller initiates the complex narrative (*Woman with Parkinson's Disease*) which can be identified as Narrative 1 with an Abstract. Suddenly, she remembers a different experience and jumps into the narration of the complex Narrative 2. This results with an embedded storytelling which can be observed in the textual organization of the narrative. After the completion of HCN 2, the teller goes back to the telling of HCN 1.

Embeddedness in textual organization of complex narratives, as it is clear, is about how narratives come together in the linearity of textual structure. Thus, the term 'embeddedness' is used in a different way than its use in Ochs and Capps (2001, pp. 36-40). According to them, embeddedness is a feature of narratives in terms of their relationship with the surrounding discourse and social activity. In this study, in Conversational Domain Analysis (Section 2.2), conversational narratives are considered to be a part of ongoing talk and the social context in which the talk comes into life, as well.

Integratedness in complex narrative structures have somehow a similar organizsation to embedded narrative constructions; however, they are performed through a process of following one another by not interfering to the internal structure of an ongoing narrative. It is not an insertion process like embeddedness but it is a process of the combination of narrative structures in a linear sequence under a super-complex narrative body. Generally an introduction to the super-complex narrative is achieved with a common Abstract and afterwards, the tellers narrate some other stories in a following order. Integratedness in complex narratives can be shown in:

(24)

LEARNING ENGLISH

```
1     S:    biz Öğrenemedik be Kemal yani. ──────→  Abstract of the complex nar.
2     K:    bizim zamanımızda bu imkanlar yoktu ki Sedat.
3           biz okulu bitirdik
4           yabancı di… lisan geldi şeye.
5     S:    he:
6     K:    okula.
7           sonra İngilizce
8           bize o zamanlar ders öğretenlerin bile,
9           i… yabancı dilleri,
10    S:    [yoktu ki].
11    K:    [daha doğrusu] lisede bir kaç tane kalıplaşmış şey.
12          onları öğretiyorlardı.

13    S:    ben okulu bitirdim.
14          e:: Ardil.
15          nasıl oldu o↑
16          Ardil'e başladım mıydı ya↑
17    K:    Ardil ne ya↑
18    P:    Ardil'e ben
19          ben gittim Ardil'e ben baba.
20    S:    dil kursu.
21          hayır bende başladıydım herhalde.
22    P:    başlamışsın da bırakmışsın.                    Comp. A. 1
23    K:    teşekkür ederim canım.
24          sağol.
25    S:    hatta ilkokuldan bir arkadaşım vardı.
26    P:    şeker↑
27    K:    az bir şey.
28    S:    Cihan diye.
29          O liseyi bitirdiydi.
30    K:    he:
31    S:    ondan sonra orada karşılaştıydık.
32    K:    Ardil dediğin şey mi?
33    S:    dil okulu.
34    K:    kurs↑
35    S:    kurs.
36    K:    özel kurs.                                     Orientation 1
37          Eskişehirde mi↑
38    S:    burada yav.
39    K:    neredeydi o↑
```

```
40    S:    Şevket Oktay                                          ⌉
41          Dershaneler Sokakta.                                  |
42          postanenin karşısında.                               |
43    K:    he:                                                  |
44          o zamanlar bu kadar bo… bol dershane yoktu.          |
45    S:    [yoktu canım böyle dershane].                        ⊢   Orientation 1
46    K:    [Çene Kıran vardı bir tane].                         |
47          bir matematik dersanesi.                             |
48          üç tane daha vardı=                                  |
49    S:    Mehmet Ultav'ın.                                     |
50          he:                                                  ⌋
51          ondan sonra                                          ⌉
52          herhalde ben onu şeydemedim.                         ⊢   Resolution 1
53          askere mi gittik ne oldu bir şey oldu.               ⌋
54    K:    Çene Kıran yaşıyor mu↑
55    S:    Çene Kıran'ı konuşuyorlar da,
56          bilmiyorum yaşıyor mu yaşamıyor mu.

57          ondan sonra Ankara'ya gittik.                        ⌉
58          işte Ankara'da                                       ⊢   Orientation 2
59          ben Amerikan Kültür Derneği'ne gittim.               ⌋
60          birinci kitaba başladık                              ⌉
61          ikinci… yani bitirdim.                               ⊢   Comp. A. 2
62          ikinci kitaba başladık.                              ⌋
63          Tofaş'la anlaştım buraya geldim.         ⟶   Resolution 2
64    K:    hm::

65    S:    burada                                               ⌉
66          Perdin diye bir arkadaş vardı.                       |
67          Anadol servisinde.                                   |
68          YS'de de beraber çalıştıydık onunla,                 |
69          O da tekniker.                                       |
70          ben Tofaş Fiat servisi.                              ⊢   Orientation 3
71          O Ford servisinde Anadol servisinde.                 |
72          bir astsubay                                         |
73          o Amerikalılarla falan şey yapıyor,                  |
74          güzel de İngilizcesi var.                            ⌋
75          Astsubayla anlaştık.                                 ⌉
76          O'na da birinci kitabı bitirdik.                     |
77          herşeyde,                                            |
78          herkes başka başka kitap okutuyor.                   |
79          neyse                                                |
80          şeyde şarklıydı O.                                   |
81          Diyarbakırlı mı Gaziantepli mi öyle bir şey.         |
82          bir yakını ölmüş.                                    ⊢   Comp. A. 3
83          geldi ağabey dedi.                                   |
84          yav bana izin verinde,                               |
85          ben cenazeye gideceğim.                              |
86          o arada bayram mı geliyor, bir şey geliyor.          |
87          bayram geldi.                                        |
88          bir de dedi olmuşken olacak,                         |
89          şu senelik izinimi de kullanayım.                    ⌋
90    K:    he:
91    S:    O da senelik izine biz de senelik izine gittik.   Resolution 3
92          o da bitti.
```

```
93   S:   ondan sonra ben şeye yazıldım.
94        Anadolu Üniversitesi'nin dil okulu var.
95   K:   hm::
96   S:   oraya.
97        şey de… müdürü de
98        Mr. Simmens diye biriydi.
99        O'nun da Fiatı vardı.
100       İlhan Canlar Akademi başkanıydı.
101  K:   O kim↑
102  S:   başkan yani.
103       O'da prof…slardan.
104       ben hepsi ile tanışıyordum yani.
105       oraya gitmeye başladık,
106       ve orada da bir kitap bitirdik.
107       ikinci kitaba başladık.
108       Ali Konur diye bir hoca var.
109       ödev verdi eve.
110  K:   hm:
111  S:   lan eve mis...misafir geldi bakamadım.
112       dedim yarın serviste bakarım.
113       o günde se... nasıl işler birbirinin üstüne yığıldı ki.
114       ensemi kaşıyacak vaktim yok.
115       ona da bakamadım.
116       akşamleyin geldik
117       kursa
118       çünkü adam keleğin teki.
119       [genç].
120  K:   [Konur]↑
121  S:   ama kelek yani,
122       kıl adam.
123       Kemal kapıda bekledim bunu.
124       dedim hoca bak
125       sen şimdi dedim içeri girince sorarsın,
126  K:   Durum [aynen böyle]
127  S:   [durum böyle].
128       çalışamadım.
129       bana bir şey sorma beni dedim.
130       sınıfın içinde mahçup etme dedim adama.
131       tamam dedi.
132       girdik ben de hemen,
133       hep başa otururum.
134       ödevini yapmayanlar,
135       Mr.Kara.
136       hemen kalktım,
137       kitabı defteri topladım.
138       hadi bana eyvallah.
139  K:   uyarmana rağmen yine oldu.
140  S:   he: adamın dersine gider miyim ben↑
141       çektim gittim tabi,
142       sınıftan.
143       bu sefer koştu önüme.
144       kusura bakma ben hata yaptım.
145       hoca dedim.
146       İ… İngilizce de senin olsun
147       üniversite de senin olsun.
148  K:   ya ama işte kaybeden yine sen oldun.
149       O olmadı.
150  S:   ben oldum tabi.
```

Orientation 4a

Comp. A. 4a

Resolution 4a

Evaluation 4a

```
151        ondan sonra o şey geldi.                    ⎤
152        O Mr. Simmens geldi.                        ⎬  Orientation 4b
153        ama bir hafta filan geçti aradan.           ⎦
154        olmaz,                                      ⎤
155        öğrenebildiği kadar Türkçe ile,
156        yani bu yapılmaz dedi.
157        öğrenmiş sormuş soruşturmuş.
158        ben onu istesem atarım diyor okuldan.
159   K:   O O Konuru mu↑
160   S:   müdür oranın.
161        ama diyor.
162        yani O'nu atmam meseleyi çözmeyecek diyor.
163        sen diyor şeye git.
164        ben dedim devamsızlığım oldu,
165        gitmem.
166        çünkü dedim ki.
167        bak şimdi zincir,
168        ortadan kopmuş.
169        ama orada görüyorsun zinciri
170        ucundan çek,
171        gelir gelir,
172        bir kısmı kalır orada değil mi↑
173   K:   kopar                                          Comp. A. 4b
174        geri kalan kısmı kalır orada.
175   S:   tabi koptu.
176        ondan sonra olay
177        İlhan Canlar'a
178        akademi başkanına intikal etti.
179        ben götürmedim yani
180        adaylar götürmüşler.
181        hep geldiler rica ettiler.
182        yapma etme gel devam et diye.
183        ben de laf olsun diye konuştum yani.
184        dedim yani,
185        bana gelecek,
186        özür dileyecek ondan sonra.
187        geldi.
188        özür de diledi.
189        ben… yani eşeklik ettim
190        sen etme ağabey diye.
191        dedim a: ben sana bir kere zıttım sıyrıldı.
192        sonra İlhan Canlar dedi,
193        dedi başka sınıfa vereyim.                  ⎦
194        Ve benim İngilizce orada kaldı yani.    →  Resolution 4b
```

The narrative *Learning English* begins with the words of the teller about his failure in learning English. Line 1 is the Abstract of the complex narrative which combines several single narratives and a complex narrative about the same topic in an integrated way in its textual organization. The first single narrative is introduced with the section of Complicating Action (Line 13) and while the teller is narrating the complicating events, one of the listeners asks for information about some background knowledge
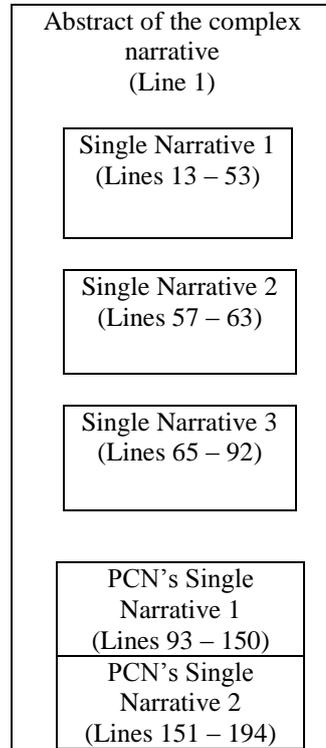
(Line 17). In Line 32, the listener repeats the question and the teller begins giving background information. The teller finishes the Orientation and turns back to the narrative by using 'ondan sonra' in Line 51 and puts an end to the narrative by a Resolution in Line 53. After the Resolution, conversation continues with a question of the listener about a person, the teller answers his question and immediately goes back to narration. The next single narrative begins in Line 57 and finishes in Line 63. It has a short Orientation (Lines 57-59), section of Complicating Action (Lines 60-62) and Resolution (Line 63). The third single narrative is between the lines of 65 and 92. There is the section of Orientation between the lines 65 to 75. The complicating events are narrated from the lines 75 to 91 and Resolution comes. The next narrative is a progressive complex narrative with two single narratives. It begins with Line 93 and continues till the end (Line 194). This complex narrative is another English learning experience of the teller, at this point, it is a part of the larger PCN due to the sharing of the same topic with the previous single narratives. It is a complex narrative which has two single narratives following a temporal sequence, a PCN. The first single narrative of it is stated between the lines of 93 and 150. In the lines 93 to 104, the teller gives information about the people and setting of the narrative. The section of Complicating Action is given between the lines of 104 and 145. Then, the Resolution (Lines 145-147) and the Evaluation is stated (Line 150). The next narrative begins with an Orientation in the Line 151; and in the Line 154 the section of complicating events begins to be narrated. The Resolution of the story puts an end to the narrative in the last line (Line 194). It is also the Resolution of the larger progressive complex narrative, *Learning English*.

The narrative *Learning English* is an example for the internal organization of an integrated PCN. It includes three single narratives and a progressive complex narrative. They follow one another in a temporal sequence about the same topic by not interfering another narrative. All narratives which integratedly come together in a complex narrative are completed without an insertion of another narrative or without being inserted to another one. This is one of the principles which guarantee the integratedness; the other is that it combines several single and a complex narrative structure under one Abstract. It could be formulated as:

PCN (*Learning English*) = S. Nar. 1 + S. Nar. 2 + S. Nar. 3 + (S. Nar. 4a + S. Nar. 4b)

This structure is presented in Figure 2:

Figure 2: Integrated structure of the narrative *Learning English*

```
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│   Abstract of the complex       │
│         narrative               │
│         (Line 1)                │
│    ┌───────────────────────┐    │
│    │  Single Narrative 1   │    │
│    │   (Lines 13 – 53)     │    │
│    │                       │    │
│    └───────────────────────┘    │
│                                 │
│    ┌───────────────────────┐    │
│    │  Single Narrative 2   │    │
│    │   (Lines 57 – 63)     │    │
│    │                       │    │
│    └───────────────────────┘    │
│                                 │
│    ┌───────────────────────┐    │
│    │  Single Narrative 3   │    │
│    │   (Lines 65 – 92)     │    │
│    │                       │    │
│    └───────────────────────┘    │
│                                 │
│    ┌───────────────────────┐    │
│    │    PCN's Single       │    │
│    │     Narrative 1       │    │
│    │   (Lines 93 – 150)    │    │
│    ├───────────────────────┤    │
│    │    PCN's Single       │    │
│    │     Narrative 2       │    │
│    │   (Lines 151 – 194)   │    │
│    └───────────────────────┘    │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
```

2.1.2.3. Discussion of Complex Conversational Narratives in Turkish

The analysis of the data reveals that single narratives may come together and formulate complex narrative structures. Besides, it is also seen in the data that it is possible for single conversational narratives to come together with complex conversational narratives in super-complex narrative structures. Moreover, several complex conversational narratives may be joint in super-complex narrative forms.

The two different types of complex conversational narratives, *progressive complex narratives* and *hypertopical complex narratives* are identified in the data: In 11 different conversations, 12 complex conversational narratives have been identified; five of them are progressive complex and seven of them are hypertopical complex narratives.

In addition to this, it is possible to talk about embedded and integrated complex narratives when the textual organization of the narratives is considered. These terms are not identical with different kinds of complex conversational narratives but represent the way by which the complex narratives come together with other complex narratives or single narratives. The result is a super-complex narrative structure; 2 out of 12 complex conversational narratives comprise super-complex structures in an embedded way and 3 out of 12 complex conversational narratives have an integrated super-complex construction.

Table 6 shows the internal narrative organizations of progressive complex narratives and hypertopical complex narratives. The first seven narratives demonstrate complex conversational narratives which combine two single narratives. Five complex conversational narratives which bring together one complex narrative with another or one complex narrative with a single narrative can also be observed in Table 6 after the first seven complex conversational narratives. The textual features of embeddedness and integratedness can also be seen in Table 6.

Table 6: The narrative organizations of complex conversational narratives

Name of the Complex Narrative	Type of the Complex Narrative	Number of Single Narratives	Labovian Categories				Type of Single Narratives
			Narrative Structure				
MILITARY SERVICE	HCN	2	A	O/ CA/ R			Firsthand
				O/ CA/ R	Eva		Firsthand
THE BLIND	HCN	2	O / CA/ Eva/ R				Firsthand
			O / CA/ R/ Eva				Firsthand
POLICE	HCN	2	A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva				Firsthand
			A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva				Firsthand
DISCUSSION	HCN	2	A/ O/ CA/ R				Firsthand
			A/ O/ CA/ R				Firsthand
DELETE ALL	PCN	2	O	CA/ R			Firsthand
				CA/ R	Eva	Co	Firsthand
CHICKEN	PCN	2	O	CA/ R			Firsthand
				CA/ R			Firsthand
UNIVERSITY YEARS	PCN	2	A/ O/ CA/ R				Firsthand
			A/ O/ CA/ R				Firsthand
WOMAN WITH PARKINSON DISEASE	Embedded HCN	2 (HCN 1)	A	O	CA/ R		Secondhand
					CA/ R	Co	Secondhand
		2 (HCN 2)	O / CA/ Eva/ R				Firsthand
			O / CA/ R/ Eva				Firsthand
BREAKING STONES	Embedded PCN	2 (PCN)	A	O	CA/ R		Firsthand
					CA/ R	Eva	Firsthand
		1 Single	A/ O/ CA/ R				Firsthand
LEARNING ENGLISH	Integrated PCN	3 (PCN)	A	O / CA/ R			Firsthand
				O / CA/ R			Firsthand
				O / CA/ R			Firsthand
		2 (PCN) *UNIVERSITY*		O / CA/ R/ Eva			Firsthand
				O / CA/ R			Firsthand
WAVES	Integrated HCN	1 Single	A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva				Firsthand
		2 (HCN)	A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva				Firsthand
			A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva		Co		Firsthand
CHANNEL	Integrated HCN	2 (PCN)	A	O	CA/ R		Firsthand
					CA/ R	Eva	Firsthand
		1 Single			O/CA/R/ Eva		Firsthand

As it is seen in Table 6, it is found that all complex conversational narratives which includes only two single conversational narratives are textually integrated. However, the super-complex narrative forms can have either embedded or integrated textual organizations. The narratives, *Woman with Parkinson Disease* and *Breaking Stones* are the super-complex narratives with an embedded textual organization whereas the narratives *Learning English*, *Waves*, and *Channel* are the ones with an integrated organization.

In the data, it has been found that both progressive complex narratives and hypertopical complex narratives can share a common narrative section. It has already been discussed that complex narratives have two or more single narratives in their internal narrative organizations. The Abstract or the Orientation sections of the first single narrative can be shared by the other single narrative(s) and they may become the narrative sections of a higher complex narrative body; or the Resolution, Coda or Evaluation sections of a single narrative can be the so-called sections of the complex structures. The narrative *Military Service* is an example for the sharing of the Abstract by two single narratives. This also means that it becomes the Abstract of the complex conversational narrative. An example for the sharing the section of Orientation can be given in the narratives of *Chicken* or *Delete All.* The narrative *Delete All* also exemplifies how the sections of Evaluation and Coda are used commonly by single conversational narratives taking place in a complex narrative structure.

It is not obligatory to have a shared narrative section for single narratives to come together and be organized in a complex narrative. The condition for the complexity in narrative organization is the temporal sequence or similarity of the topic. The single narratives whether they are sharing a narrative section or not are told by the tellers after one another by sharing a similar topic. Interactional character of the conversational narratives seems useful for tellers to combine two single narratives around the similar topics and to make a transition to the next narrative by the use of implicatures which give cues that the prospective single narrative is related with the previous one.

The internal narrative structures of single conversational narratives which come together with some others in complex narrative organizations may exhibit a parallelism in the order of Labovian categories. For example, the complex conversational narratives *Police, Discussion and University Years* have two single narratives whose narrative sections are sequenced in the same way. If there are differences in the sequence of Labovian categories, it is because of the Evaluation section. It has already been discussed in the previous chapters that Evaluation can take position in different places in the narrative organization of single conversational narratives. It can be exemplified in the narrative *The Blind*.

Another parellism in the single conversational narratives taking place in complex narrative structures is about the narrative type of the single narratives. As it can be seen in Table 6, the single narratives of a complex narrative structure are in the same narrative types. If the first single conversational narrative is a firsthand narrative, the following one is also firsthand.

Both progressive and hypertopical complex narratives can come together with single or other complex narratives and structure a super-complex narrative by integration or embedding process. Out of the 12 complex conversational narratives found in the data, five super-complex narrative construction have been observed. They are: one embedded progressive complex narrative, one embedded hypertopical complex narrative, one integrated progressive complex narrative and two integrated hypertopical narratives. They are demonstrated in Table 6 given in Page 96.

The narratives *Woman with Parkinson Disease* and *Learning English* have illustrated the combination of complex narratives under a higher complex one. In the narrative *Learning English*, two progressive complex narratives come together; while the first PCN has three single narratives in its narrative body, the second PCN is composed of two. The single narratives in these PCNs have the same narrative type; all of them are firsthand narratives. This can be a result of these narratives' coming together in a higher narrative structure in the integrated way. However, in another super-complex narrative, *Woman with Parkinson Disease*, narratives with different types become appealing. This

super-complex narrative is a combination of two secondhand single conversational narratives and the second complex narrative has two firsthand single conversational narratives in it. Here, it can be argued that it is not an obligatory condition for complex narratives to have the same narrative type with another complex narrative in order to come together and formulate a higher complex structure. On the contrary, if a complex narrative comes together with a single conversational narrative, same type of narratives is used as it can be exemplified in the narratives *Breaking Stones*, *Waves* and *Channel*. For example, in the narrative *Breaking Stones*, the complex conversational narrative consists of two firsthand SCNs. Another single conversational narrative embedded to the complex narrative is also a firsthand narrative.

Complex narratives can be combined with single narratives in higher structures. In this context, it is not a requirement for complex and single narratives to have narrative structures which seem totally similar. It can be seen in the narrative *Waves*; it has a single and a complex narrative which is a hypertopical one. The single narrative which is firstly told have a narrative structure of A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva, but the narrative formula of the single narratives which come together under a HCN have the categories of A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co.

Both complex-complex and complex-single (or single-complex) formulations can share narrative sections. In the narrative *Learning English* two complex narratives share the Abstract section of the first single narrative becomes the common Abstract of the first complex narrative. In the narrative *Channel* the Abstract of the first single narrative of the complex conversational narrative appeals to the higher complex narrative.

The single conversational narratives which come together under either complex or super-complex structures are mostly firsthand narratives. Only one of the hypertopical complex narratives of the super-complex narrative *Woman with Parkinson Disease* have secondhand narratives. None of the complex conversational narratives is observed to have culturally shared narratives in their narrative organizations. The high use of firsthand narratives in complex conversational narratives and in storytelling, in general, can be because of the fact that people are in a tendency to tell about their own

experiences or what they witness about others. At this point, it can be claimed that firsthand narratives are more available and accessible to the tellers than the other types of narratives.

2.2. CONVERSATIONAL DOMAIN ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the conversational practices that take place in conversational narratives and how they function in the internal organization of single and complex conversational narratives will be analysed. In this context, the sequence organization in which narratives take place and the narrative structure of conversational narratives which invest distinctive patterns of sequence are highlighted. In order to achieve this, a two-level analysis is targeted; firstly, overall conversational structure of storytelling has been analysed in terms of the narrative structures of stories, and their beginnings and endings. After that, sequence organization of conversational storytellings has been examined through the turn-takings, repairs, adjacency pairs and overlappings.

2.2.1. Analysis of Story Beginnings and Endings in Conversational Narratives

Stories in conversation are told in multi-unit turn-taking units which have extended and recurring turn organizations at talk. The telling of conversational stories may contain a turn which lasts for a long time or may include many successively organized turns. Besides, it is obvious that stories occur within turn-by-turn talk and they are both preceded and followed by a piece of talk. Furthermore, they can direct the conversation into new storytellings which make the tellers produce secondary narratives and complex conversational narratives.

The study of storytelling in conversation is not simply the study of the turn-taking organizations which occur in interactional talk. In order to understand the conversational features of the stories in conversation, it is important to examine the overall structural organization of storytelling. At first, the emphasis is on the fact that the narration of a story is not simply the act of a narrator, but also it is an act of both the teller and story recipients. In other words, stories are collaborative achievements of the teller and the listener(s). This interactional nature of conversational storytelling brings out different narrative structures and conversational organizations.

Secondly, the narrative structures of conversational storytellings are crucial for understanding the nature of turn organizations and other conversational practices in conversational storytelling. Moreover, the narrative structure of a story is significant in terms of its being influenced by the interactional nature of face-to-face talk. Some of the Labovian categories, which are accepted to construct the narrative body, may be omitted from the narrative structures of conversational narratives due to the interactional nature of conversation. In order to understand how experiences are structured as narratives through Labovian categories and how these narratives are placed in conversation, it is important to examine the talk which is preceding and following the story. This means that the analysis of the preceding and following talk is important for determining the story structure and sequence organization of storytelling.

In this section, the structure of stories, their beginnings and endings in ongoing conversation, and how these beginnings and endings are influential in the structure of narratives have been analysed.

2.2.1.1. Analysis of Story Beginnings and Endings in Single Conversational Narratives

Stories have internal structures which provide the tellers and the listeners with relevant interactional tools for the telling of the story and also for participating in it. In the previous chapter, namely in the section of Narrative Domain Analysis, a distinction between single and complex conversational narratives has been made and internal components of both narrative varieties have been analysed in terms of the narrative model of Labov and Waletzky (1967). The internal components which are used by the narrators as the resources for telling the story and by listeners for comprehending the overall structure of a narrative are simply a part for signalling that a storytelling is coming next, a part for the background information about the story, and a broader section for the complicating actions, a part for the resolution of these events and another part for the evaluations of the teller(s).

In the tradition of Conversation Analysis, the story components are known as *preface*, *background* and *climax* (Goodwin, 1984, pp. 226-228). However, in this study, in order to examine the narrative structures of the conversational stories, the narrative model of Labov

and Waletzky (1967) has been used. Labovian model includes the subcomponents of preface, background and climax proposed by Goodwin (1984); moreover, it enriches the narrative body of a story with extra categories such as *Evaluation* and *Coda*.

As it can be seen in the previous chapter of analysis, narrative structures of conversational narratives can differ according to narrative types. The narrative formulae which are relevant to the conversational organization of firsthand and secondhand conversational narratives are:

(1) Abstract/ Orientation/ Complicating Action/ Resolution/ Evaluation,
(2) Abstract/ Orientation/ Complicating Action/ Resolution,
(3) Orientation/ Complicating Action/ Resolution/ Evaluation,
(4) Abstract/ Orientation/ Complicating Action/ Resolution/ Coda,
(5) Orientation/ Complicating Action/ Resolution/ Coda.

In addition to firsthand and secondhand conversational narratives, culturally shared stories can be told in everyday conversations. The most frequent narrative structures of culturally shared stories are in the formula of:

(1) Complicating Action with a covert Orientation / Resolution
(2) Abstract/ Complicating Action with a covert Orientation / Resolution

As it is seen in the formulae given above, the narrative structures of the conversational stories differ in that they lack some of the Labovian categories. Obviously, conversational storytelling provides the tellers with relevant interactional tools for telling the story and listeners for participating in it. Moreover, stories have highly flexible narrative structures which are influenced by the interactional nature of conversation. As a result, narrative structures which are elliptical in terms of some Labovian categories emerge in conversational narratives. Especially, the lack of A*bstract* is highly significant about the beginning of a story in flowing conversation. Besides, narrative structures which lack Evaluation and Coda can bring new discussions about the endings of the conversational narratives. In this context, story beginnings and endings will be investigated in the next sections.

2.2.1.1.1. Story Beginnings

One important issue for stories in conversation is how those stories begin to be told in the flowing talk. Harvey Sacks (1972; 1974; 1978; 1992) outlines the pattern in which the stories emerge in talk-in-interaction; a teller signals his/her wish to tell a story and invades the floor through a series of turns, and participants either approve or disapprove the storytelling. It is obvious that conversational narratives are told in extended and recurring turns by reference to the talk which precedes them. Jefferson (1978) supports this idea by underlying that potential narrators may take broader turns to explain the relevance of the story and relate it to the previous talk. It is also possible for a story to be a complementary resource for the teller to streghten the topic. In some more cases, stories may be told as a response to a question by a prior speaker, or the prior talk may remind a participant of a particular story, which may or may not be topically coherent with the turn-by-turn talk (Jefferson, 1978, p. 220). In another case, a story may trigger another one. Sacks (1992, p. 706) has observed that "given the telling of a story, other stories may be forthcoming". This means that the story which is related to the topic with the preceding conversation is articulated as a continuum of the flowing talk and a complementary resource for tellers for various purposes.

In any of the situations given above, the narrative structures of stories are convenient to be elliptical in terms of Labovian categories. The Labovian category which is mostly influenced by the interactional practices occured in the beginning of storytellings is Abstract. It is a category whose main function is bridging the narrative to the preceding conversation. In a broader explanation, Abstract is a transition point which can be used by tellers to get permission from other conversationalists "to maintain the floor for extended turns" (Ochs and Capps, 2001, p. 117). Sacks (1992, p. 226) emphasizes that Abstract provides tellers with the tools for getting the attention of the participants to the story. However, in some cases, Abstract may be omitted by the speakers and the story may be initiated by the presentation of Orientation.

In addition to the importance of narrative structures of narratives, participant positions in the course of storytelling are highly influential in understanding the story beginnings of

conversational narratives. The exchanges in teller and listener positions determine how stories begin to be told in ongoing interactions. A story may begin with

- a participants's taking the turn and promoting himself/herself to the teller position,
- a speaker's interruption and promoting himself/herself to the teller position,
- the speaker's holding his/her turn and promoting himself/herself to the teller position,
- the teller's holding his/her turn and keeping himself/herself as the teller.
- a speaker's promoting himself/herself to the teller position after a long pause or silence.

These beginning patterns which depend on the changes in participant positions will be presented in the following section.

A participant's taking the turn and promoting himself/herself to the teller position:
One of the conversationalists may take the turn and by initiating a narration, the conversationalist may promote himself/herself to the teller position. It is possible to describe four patterns of story beginnings for this change of participant positions:

- A narrative may be told as a response to a question of a prior speaker (Liddicoat, 2011, p. 280),
- A narrative may be told as a result of previous talk's reminding,
- A narrative may be triggered by a previous narrative,
- A narrative may be told as a complementation of the previous talk.

The beginning pattern in which a narrative may be told as a response to a question of a prior speaker can be explained through the adjacency pairs of question-answer. A story which includes adjacency pairs of question-answer has a first pair part that is a question of one of the conversationalists and a second pair part that is the answer for the question. The answer, namely the second pair part can be accepted to be a story preface. An example for such a story beginning is given below:

(25)

THE FIRST CINEMA

```
1    Y:    sen çukurdaki eski Atlas'ı hatırlıyor musun↑
2          aşağı iniliyordu
```

```
3              Kılıçoğlu'nun şimdi bulunduğu yerde.
4     E:       hatırlamam mı.                                    ⎤   Abstract
5              ilk sinemaya gidişimde orada.                     ⎦
6              rahmetli Hacı Baba ile Ali Amca,
7              Özcan Amca'nın babası
8              sinemaya gitmeye karar vermişler.
9              şimdi ben de duydum mu bunları konuşurken.
10             annem de şey ör…
11             boğazlı kazak istedim O'ndan.
12             boğazlı kazak ördü bana da,
13             eklerini eklemeye çalışıyor.
14    Y:       he:
15    E:       ben de Çabuk ol
16             anneme Çabuk ol diyorum.
17             şimdi gidiyorlar, hızlandılar gidiyorlar.
18    Y:       yetişeceksin.
19    E:       ben kazağı giyeceğim,
20             takışacağım peşlerine.
21             nitekim
22             yarım yamalak elinden aldım annemin,
23             kazağı geçirdim.
24             hadi koşa koşa arkalarından.
25             halin oraya kadar hiç görünmedim.
26             halin orada kalabalıklaşmaya başlayınca,
27             kaybederim bunları diye
28             hemen geldim
29             babamın elini tuttum.
30             sen nereden çıktın dedi yav.
31             bir gözüktü.
32             ondan sonra yav şimdi
33             sen dedi dön dedi bana.
34             babam bana.
35             amcam dedi
36             gelsin dedi ya.
37             şimdi kaybolur falan oralarda dedi.
38             çocuk dedi buraya kadar gelmiş.
39             e: buraya kadar gelmiş o dedi artık,
40             gidelim dedi.
41             götürelim dedi abi dedi.
42             yav takılıyorsunuz peşime
43             biraz şey yapacak oldu.
44             artık ısrar etmedi
45             amca da öyle deyince.
46             işte o zaman gittik o sinemaya.
47             aramızda Yaşayamazsın diye
48             Turan Seyfioğlu'nun bir filmi.
49             ilk gittiğim film o.
```

This narrative above begins with an answer of the teller to a question of one of the conversationalists. Before the narrative, one of the participants of the conversation, Participant Y asks a question to another participant, Participant E (Line 1). For a response to the question of Participant Y, Participant E takes the turn (Line 4) and initiates a

narrative about one of his past experiences (Line 5). This kind of a narrative can be termed a response story.

Another example for a beginning organization with a response story is the narrative *Cutting Grass* which is given in Extract 26. In this narrative, Participant M asks a question to one of the conversationalists, to Participant A (Line 1). Then, Participant A takes the turn as it can be seen in the Line 2 and begins narrating a response story (Line 4).

(26)

<u>CUTTING GRASS</u>

```
1    M:    güzel ot yoldun ama degil mi↑
2    A:    valla ot bile yoldurdular.
3    M:    [güzel ot yoldun ha].
4    A:    [millet dalga geçiyor]
5          çavuşlara ot mu yolduruyorlar ya diye.
6          gelen geçen çit çit kenarından,
7          biz yolmuyorduk diyorlar.
8          valla amca diyorum.
9          yaşlı amcalar geliyor laf atıyor şimdi.
10   M:    kolay gelsin diye.
11   A:    he: kolay gelsin oğlum yapıyorlar şimdi.
12         bakıyor çavuş rütbesi var.
13         nızk oğlum diyor,
14         size de mi ot yolduruyorlar diyor.
15         bizde yoktu böyle bir şey ama diyor.
16   Y:    çim makinaları var halbuki ama.
...
```

Abstract (bracket grouping lines 2–5)

In both stories (*The First Cinema* and *Cutting Grass*), the teller begins to tell the story as a response to the question of a participant. Both stories have a section of Abstract. They include a real response to the question in the form of the section of Abstract which promotes to the second pair part of the adjacency pairs of question-answer. The section of Abstract is necessarily used in such occasions since by using it, the teller both gives a response to the question and orients the other participants to the narrative that s/he will tell. In other words, the use of Abstract promotes the conversationalist to the teller position and creates a legitimitized space for the telling activity.

In the second case in which one conversationalist promotes to the teller position by taking the turn, the prior talk may remind a participant of a particular story. The section of Abstract can be observed in the narrative structures of conversational stories which come into life in this beginning organization. Influenced by the prior talk, one of the participants

may remember a story and begin the storytelling by using an Abstract. It is necessary to use an Abstract for the teller in this situation since with the help of an Abstract he signals that he will tell a story and arranges space for his telling activity. In addition to this, in such a case, an Abstract creates a link between the prior talk and the incoming story. An example is given in Extract 27:

(27)

BUILDING PLOT

```
1    C:    benimde en korktuğum
2          işte bu servisten dolayı
3          maliye işi.
4          adamlar valla şeyi kaçırmıyor yav.
5          e: benim şirket öyle gitti işte elimden.
6          ortağın yüzünden...
7    K:    ne oldu şimdi Yavuz Bey↑
8    C:    ne bileyim ne oldu.
9    K:    görüşmüyorsunuz değil mi hiç↑
10   C:    görmüyorum.
11         görsemde yolumu değiştiriyorum.
12   K:    bir O'nun arsasını alayım dedim.          ──────→    Abstract
13         şurada.
14         üç milyara veririm çalışırken dediydi bana.
15         benim orada sana yakın bir arsam var,
16         vereyim sana diyordu o bana.
17   C:    e: işte bu şeyin oralarda.
18         bu e: Acıbadem'i geçiverince
19         o aralarda bir yerdeydi.
20   K:    şurada hemen.
21   C:    nerede↑
22   K:    bu bizim köprünün altından çıkıyorsun.
23         tamam mı↑
24   C:    he:
25   K:    sol tarafta son evler bitiyor.
26         sol tarafta.
27         o Devlet Demir Yolları'nın arazisine girmeden,
28         hemen az ileride.
29         blok gibi bir şeyler var.
30         onlar bitiyor.
31         ondan sonra…
32   C:    Şoförler Derneği'ni geçince.
33   K:    [arkasında].
34   C:    arka[sında oralarda].
35         oralarda bir yeri tarif ediyordu bana.
36   K:    yanlız vereceği arsanın,
37         şimdi buradan yol geçiyor,
38         bu giden yol.
39         Belediye'nin önünden giden yol var ya.
40         onun önünden geçiyor.
41         tam da ona bakıyor o arsa.
42         iki yüz yetmiş metrekare arsası var.
43   C:    hayır şimdi
44         iki yüzünde hakkını vermiyor mu↑
45   K:    şimdi aldım ben O'ndan tapunun fotokopisini.
46         gittim belediyeden araştırdım.
```

```
47        arsanın yerini buldum.
48        arsa burası, buradan yol geçiyor.
49        fakat şuradaki arsa sahibi
50        burasını sahipsiz bellemiş,
51        evini yaparken,
52        bu sokağın içerisine camlarını açmış,
53        kalkmış bu arsayı
54        kendi arsası olarak kabul ederek
55        giriş kapısını buradan vermiş,
56        camları açmış oraya.
57        Yavuz Abi'nin arsaya.
58        ulan gittim bu arsayı alacağım.
59        adam çıktı dedi Bu arsa benim.
60        ulan senin değil dedim.
61        bu arsanın sahibi var,
62        ben burayı alacağım.
63        illa papaz olacağım oraya
64        bir şey yapmaya kalksam.
65        çünkü adam girişi, çıkışı
66        hepsini o arsaya vermiş.
67   T:   alla alla.
68        hakkı olmadığı [halde].
69   K:   [hakkı] yok he:
70        e: şimdi gitsem,
71        belediyeye gitsem,
72        gelipte uğraşmaz.
73        bir şey yapmaya kalksam
74        adamla papaz olacağım.
75        sırf o yüzden arsayı almadım.
```

In the narrative *Building Plot*, two conversationalists talk about the business of one of them. In the conversation, the name of a person who is known by the participants is articulated by Speaker K. This reminds Speaker T of a past experience and he begins to narrate the events by giving a short introduction (Line 12) which links the previous talk and the story.

In the third case, a story triggers the telling of another story. After the teller finishes his narration, the recipient(s) of the story may wish to show an understanding of the story and may react by using another story. These stories are constructed as being in second position to a prior story. Therefore, they can be identified as the secondary stories which are realized as the telling of a relevant second story. The stories called as secondary stories in this study are named as second stories by Sacks (1974; 1992), Norrick (1997; 2000), Coates (2001; 2003); parallel narratives by Archakis and Tzanne (2009); successive stories by Coates (2003). Secondary stories are not only a piece of storytelling, but are also a sign of the recipient(s)'s understanding and approval of a prior story. These successive stories, in Coates's terms (2003, pp. 82-83), are contiguous and identified in

topic, and they reflect the evaluation of the second teller about the first story. Moreover, the emergence of a second story shows us that when a recipient is listening to the teller, part of this listening will involve a search for some relationship between the story and one's own experience (Sacks, 1992, p. 768). An example for secondary stories can be seen in Extract 28:

(28)

EARTHQUAKE

```
1     Y:    yav sen korkmuyor musun↑
2           yav nesinden korkacağım yani.
3           göçeceksek [göçeceğiz].
4     Z:    [biz de] göçdük.
5     Y:    korkmadım yani.
6           yalnız bir gün
7           o gün korktum işte Zeki.
8           okuldan çıktım.
9           ilkokul son sınıftaydım o sene o sene
10          eve doğru geliyorum.
11          tabi mart… mart ayıydı o.
12          güneş böyle daha yukarıda.
13    Z:    deprem şubatta oldu.
14    Y:    arkaları devam etti yani.
15    Z:    yaza kadar devam etti.
16    Y:    ha o işte o artçılardan birinde
17          kanaldan geçtim
18          o zaman çamur
19          böyle asfalt masfalt değil yani.
20    Z:    taş bile değil.
21    Y:    yav ayağımı atıyorum Zeki
22          geri geliyor.
23          ayağımı atıyorum geri.
24          nızk.
25          o zaman anladım deprem olduğunu yürürken bak.
26          bir çöktüm.
27          tabi hemen
28          kelime-i şahadet.
29          öyle öğrettilerdi ya hani.
30          onu getiriyorum.
31          Zeki
32          toprağa bir baktım.
33          hani göle suya taş atarsın ya
34          ne olur o↑
35          dalga dalga açılır böyle.
36          aynı.
37          aynen toprak öyle dalgalanıyor arkadaş.
38          onu dedim
39          tabi böyle olursa,
40          taş üstünde taş kalmaz.

41    Z:    tabi.
42          o zaman bizim biraderlere hep
43          şey vermişlerdi.
44          askerdi o zaman.
45          geldi İzmir'den geldi.
```

```
46              bir sabah gene öyle bir deprem.
47              kalkın diyor annem bağırıyor.
48      Y:      deprem de demiyorlar
49              hareket diyorlardı o zaman.
50              he: normal.
51      Z:      zelzele.
52      Y:      zelzele hareket.
53      Z:      hatta zelzele değil.
54              zerzele derlerdi.
55              "l"yi "r"yaparlardı.
56              yani ben de o zaman gördüm
57              toprağı bizim avlunun.
58              böyle. ((shows the water))
59      Y:      evet aynen öyle [dalgalanıyor].
60      M:      [dalgalanıyor].
61      Y:      toprak dalgalanıyor yav.
62              su gibi.
63      Z:      içerde ne oluyorsa artık.
64              altta.
```

In the narratives presented in Extract 28, after the teller of the first story finishes his narration (Line 40), a recipient of the first story takes the turn by saying *tabi* (Its English translation is 'of course') which is a sign of his approving the teller. By using *tabi* (Line 41) he also gurantees the extended turn for a new story. Then, he begins to narrate a story which deals with the topic developed by the prior talk. Both stories are on the experiences of the tellers about earthquakes and the waving ground. The second teller ties his own story to the previous one by using *Bir sabah gene öyle bir deprem* (It can be translated into English as 'one morning, again another earthquake like it'). The second story is also latched to the first in that its teller demonstrates the waves which are also emphasized by the teller of the first story with the water in a glass. In Line 58, the Speaker Z shows the water in the glass by raising and waving the glass. Both verbal and non-verbal devices help the teller to relate his story, namely his own experiences, to the previous one.

The forth case in which a narrative may be told as a complementation of the previous talk can be exemplified in the story below (Extract 29). In Extract 29, the conversationalists are talking about the working women and their children between the lines of 1 and 14. After this piece of talk, Speaker A takes the turn and begins a narrative with an Orientation, by not using the category of Abstract (Line 15).

(29)

WORKING WOMAN

```
1       N:      hakikaten kızlar da sigara içiyor
```

```
2              buralara geliyor kenarlara.
3              valla şaştım ya.
4              çok bozuldu.
5      S:      yumruk kadar şeyler
6              valla oku git yahu.
7              annen baban seni okula gönderiyor,
8              onlar başka işler peşinde koşuyor.
9      N:      ama veli veli de kontrol etmiyor
10             edemiyor galiba.
11     B:      herkes sizin gibi şanslı değil ki.
12             millet sabah altıda evden çıkıyor
13             akşam altıda gelecek de
14             çocuklarla ilgilenecek.
15     A:      işte benim komşumun kızı
16             diyorum ya bankada çalışıyor diye.        Orientation
17             bu sene kızı okula başladı.
18             onlar da Ortadoğu'yu bitirdiler ikisi de.
19             ondan sonra çoğu zaman
20             çocuk annesini görmeden uyuyormuş,
21             anne işten gelene kadar.
22             sabah zaten onu uyur bırakıyormuş.             Comp. A
23             skşam gelince de saat dokuz dokuz buçuk oluyor
24             İzmir gibi yerde.
25             çoktan Irmak uyuyormuş.
26             annesini görmüyormuş,                       Resolution
27             öyle hasret ki annesine diyor.
28             görmüyor annesini diyor.                    Evaluation
```

In the narrative *Working Woman*, one of the conversationalists (Participant A) would like to share her thoughts about the topic of ongoing conversation and by using a story she also exemplifies the situation and reinforces the topic (Line 15). The ongoing conversation is directly related to the topic of the story. Because of this, she does not use an Abstract. However, she gives a clue that she will be a teller. At the very beginning of the story, a discourse marker, *işte* (It can be translated into English as 'here') is used by the teller (Line 15) and this creates a space for the teller to guarantee the turn.

Another example for a complementary story is the narrative *Car Tyres*. It lacks an Abstract, since the topic of the story is directly relevant to the preceding conversation. The introduction to the story is achieved by the previous conversation. As a result, an independent Abstract section becomes unnecessary in the flowing conversation. The narrative *Car Tyres* is given below:

(30)

CAR TYRES

```
1      M:      şimdi benim konuma müdahale ediyorsunuz.
2              müsaade edin benim branşım o.
```

```
3      A:   heh teknik bir konu ama
4           muhtemelen onunla ilgilidir.
5      M:   o konuda ben sizi biraz aydınlatayım.
6           şimdi jant…
7           jantla lastik çok önemli.
8           tamam.
9           ama jantta dubleks olacak,
10          dubleks lastik için yapılmış jant olacak.
11          lastikler dubleks lastik olacak.
12          şimdi jant eski şamyelliye göre yapıldıysa,
13          sen de getirdin
14          dubleks taktıysan,
15          olur mu↑
16          olur.
17     B:   onunkisi de böyle olmuş olabilir.
18     M:   seninki de takla atanda böyledir.
19     B:   çünkü dediğin gibi=
20     M:   normal janta dubleks lastik taktı.
21     B:   Tofaşlar… Tofaşlar o zaman abi
22          bayağı vardı.
23          Tofaşlar hem şeyli de kullanılıyordu.
24          ondan sonra dublaksler çıkınca
25          dubleks de [takmaya başladılar].
26     A:   [takmaya başladılar].
27          demek ki uygun değil.
28     M:   benim tekniker bir arkadaşım vardı.
29          hatta bu Yeston,
30          Yeston'u bilen varsa
31          O'nun… o beton direkleri,
32          yapan arkadaş bu.
33          beraber onunla YS'de çalıştık.
34          ondan sonra ayrıldı.
35          oraya gitti o.
36          sonra kendisi
37          o fabrikayı kurdu.
38          sonra da irtibatımız kayboldu.
39          bu zaten fazla binmez arabaya.
40          bir sene iki sene.
41          hep yeni alır.
42          aldığı günde lastikleri
43          hemen çıkartır,
44          Tofaş'ın taktığı lastikleri.
45          dubleks lastik takar.
46          **yav Oğuz.**
47          bir gün dedim O'na ben.
48     N:   **niye böyle yapıyorsun ha↑**
49     M:   he: **niye** dedim yani.
50          **sen böyle**…
51          **ben rahatım e: patlamadan dolayı.**
52          **bu patlamaz.**
53          **ötekinin tehlikesi var** dedi.
54          ama…
55     B:   ama jantının [tutması lazım].
56     M:   [bu… ha… jan]tı değiştirme…
57          **yav buna dubleks jant takmıyorsun sen,**
58          **normal jant takıyorsun.**
59          **oluyor** dedi.
60          ve yıllarca bu çocuk
```

Orientation *(bracket spanning lines 28–45)*

Comp. A. *(bracket spanning lines 46–58)*

Resolution *(arrow pointing to line 59)*

61   böyle araba kullandı.   **Evaluation**

In the narrative *Car Tyres*, the conversationalists are talking about car tyres between the lines of 1 and 27. The conversation about tyres triggers a storytelling of one of the conversationalists. Participant M takes the turn and begins a narrative with the Orientation, by not using the category of Abstract in Line 28.

One of the ways of signalling that a story is coming is using an Abstract. Another way is to use a discourse marker such as *işte* (It can be translated into English as 'here'), *şimdi* (It denotationally means 'now' in English.) or *ondan sonra* (It can be translated into English as 'and then') in order to make the conversationalists ready for a storytelling. However, in situations like the narrative *Car Tyres,* tellers do not give a signal that they will narrate a story. The narratives which are produced in this context are under the risk of being interfered and becoming incompleted. However, tellers may manage to complete the stories as it is the case in the narrative *Car Tyres.*

A participant's interruption and promoting himself/herself to the teller position:
*I*n this beginning pattern, one of the conversationalists remembers a past experience upon a related topic to the ongoing talk, then interrupts a conversationalist and begins storytelling. An example for the beginning pattern of prior talk's reminding a story to one of the conversationalists, and with the help of an interruption, his/her taking the turn and beginning the storytelling can be seen in the narrative *TV Show.* It is given in Extract 31.
(31)

TV SHOW

```
1      E:    kimmiş o↑
2      P:    başlamış ya anneanne senin şeyin.
3            programın.
4      E:    başlamış mı öyle↑
5      C:    bizim…
6      P:    bak.
7      C:    bizim şey de… e::: gü…
8      E:    he: o orada oturuyordu arkada.
9            bekliyordu o orada.
10     C:    Güzin Teyze var ya günde.              ⟶        **Abstract**
11     F:    hm:
12     T:    Esra mı↑
13     C:    Güzin Teyze'ye gittik.
14     E:    he: başlamış.
15     P:    Esra Erol.
16     C:    eltisi de oradaydı.
```

```
17    E:    a: ben O'nu ne zamandan beri görmüyorum.
18    P:    Atv'de.
19    E:    biliyorum da Atv'de olduğunu.
20          ama görmüyorum.
21    C:    ondan sonra bu kalktı.
22          ben gideyim dedi.
23          e: otur falan dediler.
24          ne yapacaksın dediler.
25          işte eşi evdeymiş.
26          aman ne yapacak,
27          bırak otursun dediler.
28          yani ne yapıyor bu defa.
29          ne yapacak↑
30          karılara bakıyor dedi.
31          şimdi biz de şaşırdık.
32          yaş… yaşlı adam.
33          burada kadın programları seyrediyormuş.
```

Before the telling of the story, the conversationalists talk about a television show which orients one of the conversationalists (Speaker C) to tell a story about the same television show. After an unsuccessful trial for taking the turn (Line 5), Speaker C can grasp the turn with an interruption (Line 7) and still she cannot achieve to begin storytelling. In Line 10, she can initiate a narrative and create a space for her telling activity in the talk by using an Abstract. After two unsuccessful trials (Line 5 and 7) to get the approval of the other participants about her being a would-be teller, Speaker C promotes herself to the teller position. The Speaker F approves her being a teller by using the back chanelling *hmm* in Line 4 while the others continue their talk about a wedding programme. As this example illustrates, the would-be tellers may have a failure to secure the launching and telling of a narrative or to take the attention of all the conversationalists to the story. According to Ochs and Capps (2001, pp. 118-125), due to the listeners' disapproval of either the topic or the circumstances of the telling, a story may become a failure to keep the attention of the intended audience and incite the interest of the audience for a pending story. In the case of the narrative, *TV Show*, Teller C has some problems to incite the interest of the audience for a forthcoming story. But, eventually she manages to keep the interest of one of the participants, and launch the narrative with the help of an interruption and an Abstract.

The speaker's holding his/her turn and promoting himself/herself to the teller position:
In this pattern of story beginnings, the speaker holds his/her turn and begins a storytelling. This act promotes the speaker to the teller position and the result is a narration of related

experience of him/her with the topic of ongoing talk. For instance, in Extract 32, by holding his turn, the Speaker A begins producing a narrative about the topic of the preceding talk (Line 10).

(32)

RUBBISH

```
1    A:    herşey var yav.
2          mısır yiyor koçanını orada bırakıyor.
3          sigara içiyor sigarayı gömüyor.
4          kap… kapağını oraya atıyor.
5    Z:    kafayı çekiyor şişeleri atıyor.
6    A:    he: şişeleri atıyor.
7          bir de atıyor kırıyor şişeyi.
8    Z:    bir de kırıyor.
9    A:    yav hiç olmazsa koy onu oraya.
10         şimdi yazlıkta biz sahilde,
11         ben yürüyüşümü… gi… şim…
12         evden çıkıyorum.
```

In this narrative, it is seen that the teller begins his storytelling with an Orientation. He omits the whole introductory category but he still keeps an introduction which signals his storytelling. This is achieved by the use of the discourse marker *şimdi* (*now*).

The teller's holding his/her turn and keeping himself/herself as the teller:

Stories which are contiguous and similar in topics can be produced successively in the flowing talk. At this context, one story may trigger another; a narrative may remind the current teller another story about the same topic of the preceding story. If a story begins with the ending of another story and is produced by the same teller, the two stories come together under a larger narrative structure which can be called a complex conversational narrative. However, if one of the listeners takes the turn and begins a storytelling, the result is a secondary narrative. Both complex conversational narratives and secondary narratives are produced successively. However, they have some basic differences. What differs complex conversational narratives from secondary narratives is that complex conversational narratives are produced by the same teller. Secondary narratives are produced by different tellers in the situations in which one teller finishes his/her storytelling and another teller begins a narration. One example for complex conversational narratives can be seen in Extract 33 (for details, see 2.1.2.).

(33)

UNIVERSITY

```
1    S:    ondan sonra ben şeye yazıldım.
2          Anadolu Üniversitesi'nin dil okulu var.
3    K:    hm::
4    S:    oraya.
5          şey de… müdürü de
6          Mr. Simmens diye biriydi.
7          O'nun da Fiatı vardı.
8          İlhan Canlar Akademi başkanıydı.
9    K:    O kim↑
10   S:    başkan yani.
11         O'da prof…slardan.
12         ben hepsi ile tanışıyordum yani.
13         oraya gitmeye başladık,
14         ve orada da bir kitap bitirdik.
15         ikinci kitaba başladık.
16         Ali Konur diye bir hoca var.
17         ödev verdi eve.
18   K:    hm:
19   S:    lan eve mis...misafir geldi bakamadım.
20         dedim yarın serviste bakarım.
21         o günde se... nasıl işler birbirinin üstüne yığıldı ki.
22         ensemi kaşıyacak vaktim yok.
23         ona da bakamadım.
24         akşamleyin geldik
25         kursa
26         çünkü adam keleğin teki.
27         [genç].
28   K:    [Konur]↑
29   S:    ama kelek yani,
30         kıl adam.
31         Kemal kapıda bekledim bunu.
32         dedim hoca bak
33         sen şimdi dedim içeri girince sorarsın,
34   K:    Durum [aynen böyle]
35   S:    [durum böyle].
36         çalışamadım.
37         bana bir şey sorma beni dedim.
38         sınıfın içinde mahçup etme dedim adama.
39         tamam dedi.
40         girdik ben de hemen,
41         hep başa otururum.
42         ödevini yapmayanlar,
43         Mr.Kara.
44         hemen kalktım,
45         kitabı defteri topladım.
46         hadi bana eyvallah.
47   K:    uyarmana rağmen yine oldu.
48   S:    he: adamın dersine gider miyim ben↑
49         çektim gittim tabi,
50         sınıftan.
51         bu sefer koştu önüme.
52         kusura bakma ben hata yaptım.
53         hoca dedim.
54         İ… İngilizce de senin olsun
55         üniversite de senin olsun.
56   K:    ya ama işte kaybeden yine sen oldun.
57         O olmadı.
58   S:    ben oldum tabi.
```

```
59        ondan sonra o şey geldi.
60        O Mr. Simmens geldi.
61        ama bir hafta filan geçti aradan.
…
```

As it is illustrated in Extract 33, the Teller S produces a narrative about one of his experiences of learning English between the lines of 1 and 58. After finishing the narrative, he holds his turn and begins the telling of a new story about the same topic in Line 59. He uses a pragmatic marker, *ondan sonra* ('and then') in order to link the second narrative to the first one. This discourse marker also helps the teller to create a place for his storytellings.

After a long pause or silence, a participant's promoting himself/herself to the teller position:

One of the conversationalists may take the turn after a long pause or silence and begin storytelling. This storytelling is a result of the continuous and flowing nature of the daily conversations and it ensures the continuity of the ongoing talk. An example is given below.

(34)

```
LIEUTENANT COLUMBO

1    K:    sofradan önce el yıkama
2          bana  annemden kalmadır.
3    S:    e:: o [öyle].
4    K:    [zorlan] gider yıkar[tırdı].
5    S:    [e::]
6    M:    [ama] o kalk… baştan sonra bereket.
7    K:    evet.
8          git elini yıka da gel. (5.0)
9    S:    şimdi.
10         geldik o Öküz Mehmet Paşa Kervansarayı'na Ahmet.
11         şey Kerim.
12   K:    hm::
13   S:    şimdi şeylerde var.
14         tabi yabancılarda var.
15         tabi yabancı çok.
16   K:    ziyadesiyle yabancı var.
17   S:    he: ondan sonra
18         bir hazırlıklar yapıyorlar,
19         ayna koyuyorlar,
12         bilmem ne yapıyorlar.
13         film [çevireceklermiş].
14   K:    [hazırlanıyorlar].
…
```

The narrative Lieutenant Columbo is a representative narrative in terms of its beginning after a silence. The Teller S takes the turn and begins a storytelling after a silence of five seconds. As it is discussed before, narratives may begin with an Orientation without an Abstract. This narrative is an example of this kind in which an ellipsis of Abstract occurs. At that point, it can be discussed that the lack of Abstract may be a result of the existence of silence before the storytelling. The use of the discourse marker, *şimdi* ('now'), takes the role of the Abstract as it is explained before in previous chapters.

2.2.1.1.2. Story Endings

In addition to the different beginning patterns of conversational narratives, different patterns of story endings can also emerge in the production of conversational narratives. In ongoing talk, stories may have an end with

- a listener's taking the turn and promoting himself/herself to the speaker position,
- a listener's taking the turn and promoting himself/herself to the teller position,
- a listener's interruption and promoting himself/herself to the speaker position,
- the teller's holding his/her turn and keeping his/her speaker position, the teller's holding
- after a long pause or silence with a position change from participant to speaker.

These ending organizations are illustrated and discussed one by one in the following.

A listener's taking the turn and promoting himself/herself to the speaker position:
Conversational narratives may have an end in the way that one of the listeners takes the turn and promotes himself/herself to the speaker position; the potential speaker may initiate a related conversation or make an evaluation about the preceding story. In the narrative *First Cinema* presented in Extract 35, an example for the speaker's talking about a topic which is related to the previous story is given.

(35)

THE FIRST CINEMA

…
39   E: **e: buraya kadar gelmiş o** dedi artık,
40   **gidelim** dedi.

```
41        götürelim dedi abi dedi.
42        yav takılıyorsunuz peşime
43        biraz şey yapacak oldu.
44        artık ısrar etmedi
45        amca da öyle deyince.
46        işte o zaman gittik o sinemaya.
47        aramızda Yaşayamazsın diye
48        Turan Seyfioğlu'nun bir filmi.
49        ilk gittiğim film o.
50   Y:   Türk filmi.
51        benim ilk gittiğim sinema da Laledir.
52        ne zaman olduğunu biliyor musunuz↑
53        1950'lerde.
54   P:   Yediler'de miydi o↑
55   Y:   Sıcak Sulardaydı.
56   E:   hurdacıların yanında.
```

The narrative *First Cinema* ends with the Speaker Y's starting a topically related talk (Line 50) with the preceding story which is about the first cinema film seen by the teller. Immediately after the completion of the narrative by Teller E with a Coda (Line 49), Speaker Y expresses that the cinema building in which he has seen a cinema film first is in the same building.

An example for the story endings with the evaluation of a listener can be seen in Extract 36. Between the lines of 53 and 55, the teller gives the Resolution of the story and then, one of the listeners takes the turn for making his evaluation about the story (Line 56). After that, the teller makes his own evaluation (Line 58) and puts and end to the story.

(36)

UNIVERSITY

…
```
49   S:   çektim gittim tabi,
50        sınıftan.
51        bu sefer koştu önüme.
52        kusura bakma ben hata yaptım.
53        hoca dedim.
54        İ… İngilizce de senin olsun        ⎤  Resolution 1a
55        üniversite de senin olsun.         ⎦
56   K:   ya ama işte kaybeden yine sen oldun.
57        O olmadı.
58   S:   ben oldum tabi.                    ⟶  Evaluation 1a

59        ondan sonra o şey geldi.           ⎤
60        O Mr. Simmens geldi.               ⎬  Orientation 1b
61        ama bir hafta filan geçti aradan.  ⎦
…
```

A listener's taking the turn and promoting himself/herself to the teller position:

A conversational narrative may finish after one of the listeners takes the turn and begins the telling of a secondary narrative. In other words, a listener begins a new storytelling after a preceding story. This results in a secondary story and an example for a secondary narrative can be seen in the narrative Earthquake which is given in Extract 37 (for details see Page 109 -111).

(37)

EARTHQUAKE

```
1     Y:    yav sen korkmuyor musun↑
2           yav nesinden korkacağım yani.
3           göçeceksek [göçeceğiz].
4     Z:    [biz de] göçdük.
5     Y:    korkmadım yani.
6           yalnız bir gün
7           o gün korktum işte Zeki.
8           okuldan çıktım.
9           ilkokul son sınıftaydım o sene o sene
10          eve doğru geliyorum.
11          tabi mart… mart ayıydı o.
12          güneş böyle daha yukarıda.
13    Z:    deprem şubatta oldu.
14    Y:    arkaları devam etti yani.
15    Z:    yaza kadar devam etti.
16    Y:    ha o işte o artçılardan birinde
17          kanaldan geçtim
18          o zaman çamur
19          böyle asfalt masfalt değil yani.
20    Z:    taş bile değil.
21    Y:    yav ayağımı atıyorum Zeki
22          geri geliyor.
23          ayağımı atıyorum geri.
24          nızk.
25          o zaman anladım deprem olduğunu yürürken bak.
26          bir çöktüm.
27          tabi hemen
28          kelime-i şahadet.
29          öyle öğrettilerdi ya hani.
30          onu getiriyorum.
31          Zeki
32          toprağa bir baktım.
33          hani göle suya taş atarsın ya
34          ne olur o↑
35          dalga dalga açılır böyle.
36          aynı.
37          aynen toprak öyle dalgalanıyor arkadaş.
38          onu dedim
39          tabi böyle olursa,
40          taş üstünde taş kalmaz.

41    Z:    tabi.
42          o zaman bizim biraderlere hep
43          şey vermişlerdi.
44          askerdi o zaman.
```

```
45          geldi İzmir'den geldi.
46          bir sabah gene öyle bir deprem.
…
```

In the narrative Earthquake, after the end of the initial narrative produced by Teller Y between the lines of 1 and 40, Listener Z, takes the turn in Line 41 and begins a new storytelling activity (Line 42). With this act, he promotes to the teller position and the narrative that he has produced becomes a secondary narrative.

A listener's interruption and promoting himself/herself to the speaker position:
One of the listener's may interrupt the teller and take the turn while the teller produces a storytelling. In this situation, the turn transition in the story ending is not as smooth as in the narrative *The First Cinema* which can be seen in Extract 35. This time, the participation, in fact the interruption of the listener violates the flow of the narration. As a result, an incomplete narrative may emerge. Incomplete narratives can be exemplified in Extract 38.

(38)

```
WHEEL RIMS

1      E:    bir arkadaş üç dört takla attı.
2            Kütahya'dan geliyor.
3            viraja ani giriyor.
4            hiç lastiklerde bir şey yok.
5            şimdi girince
6            e: damakları janttan ayrılıyor.
7            havaları… havası gidiyor.
8      G:    yav işte abi ya.
9      E:    havası gidince
10           işte ne yapıyor↑
11           vi[rajı öyle girince]
12     G:    [dağ bayır ince iş ya]
13     F:    [allah allah]
14     G:    ben yavaşken yapıyo[rum]
15     H:    [abi o… ]
16     G:    seninki ne[yap… ]
17     H:    [şeydir ya].
18           şimdi ben
19           lastikçiye gidiyorum mesela.
20           diyor ki mesela on dört inç mesela kimileri
21           on altı inç falan işte.
22           abi bu on dört ama on beş de takılabilir,
23           on altı da takılabilir [diyor].
24     E:    [aslında] takılamaz.
25           [nasıl takılacak ki]
26     H:    [takılamaz tabi.]
…
```

In Extract 38, while Teller E is storytelling, Speaker G takes the turn by interrupting the teller (Line 12) and a new talk emerges. The story which Teller E is narrating cannot be completed and Teller E contributes to the new talk as a speaker (Line 24). At this context, the narrative initiated beforehand cannot be completed and becomes a failure to capture the intended audience's attention and interest of approval (Ochs and Capps, 2001, pp. 118-125).

The teller's holding his/her turn and keeping his/her speaker position:

Another pattern which can be observed in the endings of conversational narratives is the teller's holding his/her turn and keeping his/her speaker position. In this pattern, the talk which follows a story is in relation with the preceding story in terms of its topic and both the story and talk are produced by the same conversationalist in a successive way. An example can be seen in Extract 39:

(39)

BUILDING PLOT

…

```
69    K:    [hakkı] yok he:
70          e: şimdi gitsem,
71          belediyeye gitsem,
72          gelipte uğraşmaz.
73          bir şey yapmaya kalksam
74          adamla papaz olacağım.
75          sırf o yüzden arsayı almadım.
76          şimdi buradaki arsalar felaket değerlendi.
77          çok para ediyor buradaki arsalar.
78    C:    eder tabi.
79          şimdi buralar şehrin merkezi kalıyor.
80          bugün Batıkent'i gördükten sonra.
```

In the narrative *Building Plot*, Teller K completes his narration in Line 75 and continues talking about a related topic in Line 76. In this situation, the talk which comes after the narrative seems to be puzzling in terms of its being like an evaluation of the teller about the story. However, in the narrative an external Evaluation section already exists (Lines 70-74) before the presentation of the Resolution in Line 75. In other words, the talk of the Teller K in the lines of 76 and 77 is not an evaluation about the story but is a similar topic which leads the teller to tell a previous story about it.

The teller's holding his/her turn and keeping his/her teller position:

A teller may finish a narrative by holding his/her turn and jump into a new narration. At this point, it is possible to talk about two successive stories from the mouth of the same teller. If a story finishes with the beginning of another story by the same teller, the two stories come together under a larger narrative structure which can be called a complex conversational narrative. An example can be seen in Extract 40.

(40)

UNIVERSITY

```
1    S:   ondan sonra ben şeye yazıldım.
2         Anadolu Üniversitesi'nin dil okulu var.
3    K:   hm::
4    S:   oraya.
5         şey de… müdürü de
6         Mr. Simmens diye biriydi.
7         O'nun da Fiatı vardı.
8         İlhan Canlar Akademi başkanıydı.
9    K:   O kim↑
10   S:   başkan yani.
11        O'da prof…slardan.
12        ben hepsi ile tanışıyordum yani.
13        oraya gitmeye başladık,
14        ve orada da bir kitap bitirdik.
15        ikinci kitaba başladık.
16        Ali Konur diye bir hoca var.
17        ödev verdi eve.
18   K:   hm:
19   S:   lan eve mis...misafir geldi bakamadım.
20        dedim yarın serviste bakarım.
21        o günde se... nasıl işler birbirinin üstüne yığıldı ki.
22        ensemi kaşıyacak vaktim yok.
23        ona da bakamadım.
24        akşamleyin geldik
25        kursa
26        çünkü adam keleğin teki.
27        [genç].
28   K:   [Konur]↑
29   S:   ama kelek yani,
30        kıl adam.
31        Kemal kapıda bekledim bunu.
32        dedim hoca bak
33        sen şimdi dedim içeri girince sorarsın,
34   K:   Durum [aynen böyle]
35   S:   [durum böyle].
36        çalışamadım.
37        bana bir şey sorma beni dedim.
38        sınıfın içinde mahçup etme dedim adama.
39        tamam dedi.
40        girdik ben de hemen,
41        hep başa otururum.
42        ödevini yapmayanlar,
43        Mr.Kara.
44        hemen kalktım,
45        kitabı defteri topladım.
```

```
46          hadi bana eyvallah.
47    K:    uyarmana rağmen yine oldu.
48    S:    he: adamın dersine gider miyim ben↑
49          çektim gittim tabi,
50          sınıftan.
51          bu sefer koştu önüme.
52          kusura bakma ben hata yaptım.
53          hoca dedim.
54          İ… İngilizce de senin olsun
55          üniversite de senin olsun.
56    K:    ya ama işte kaybeden yine sen oldun.
57          O olmadı.
58    S:    ben oldum tabi.

59          ondan sonra o şey geldi.
60          O Mr. Simmens geldi.
61          ama bir hafta filan geçti aradan.
…
```

In Extract 40, a teller completes a storytelling between the lines of 1 and 58. After it, the teller holds his turn by using a discourse marker *ondan sonra* ('and then') in order to guarantee his would-be teller position and begins the narration of the story (Line 59).

After a long pause or silence with a participant's promoting to the speaker position:
A story which is produced in natural conversations may finish with a long pause or silence which is followed by a conversationalist's promoting himself/herself to the speaker position. An example can be seen in the narrative *Father* given in Extract 41.

(41)

FATHER

```
1     A:    şimdi
2           çocuk anasına sormuş.
3           tabi böyle,
4           şey de…
5           bir sürü şapka var.
6           anne bu kimin↑
7           babanın demiş.
8           bu kimin↑
9           babanın.
10          o ne↑
11          o şapka kimin↑
12          o da babanın.
13          benim kaç tane babam var demiş
14          anasına.
15          ha: demiş,
16          oğlum demiş,
17          Ali Veli demiş,
18          iki ondan evveli,
19          Recep Şaban Ramazan,
20          bir de rahmetli baban demiş.
```

```
21   K:      ((laughs))
22   A:      anan koca yüzü mü gördü demiş. (6.0)
23   K:      bundan bir tane değilmiş.
```

In the narrative, *Father*, the Teller A narrates a culturally shared narrative between the lines of 1 and 22. After he ends the narrative with a punchline in Line 22, there is a silence lasts for six seconds. Then, one of the participants of the story takes the turn for an evaluation (Line 23). Thus, this act promotes him to speaker position.

2.2.1.2. Analysis of Story Beginnings and Endings in Complex Conversational Narratives

Complex conversational narratives (CCN) are mainly identified as the combinational storytelling of related past experiences. They are organized through the combination of several single narratives which are about identical topics and they are successively or embeddedly told by the same teller. The first story taking place in a complex narrative organization begins with the procedures explained in the previous section. It may have a preface section, an *Abstract* which introduces the topic and the teller to the recipients. The following stories can be identified as bound stories in that they are related to the prior story. In other words, the topics of the stories show resemblance and the bound stories are triggered by the first. The bound stories do not need to be launched by an Abstract. They may begin with an announcement of a rememberence or with linguistic devices which give clues that there is a forthcoming story as can be seen in the complex narrative *Cutting Grass.*

(42)

CUTTING GRASS

```
1    M:      güzel ot yoldun ama degil mi↑
2    A:      valla ot bile yoldurdular.
3    M:      [güzel ot yoldun ha].
4    A:      [millet dalga geçiyor]
5            çavuşlara ot mu yolduruyorlar ya diye.
6            gelen geçen çit çit kenarından,
7            biz yolmuyorduk diyorlar.
8            valla amca diyorum.
9            yaşlı amcalar geliyor laf atıyor şimdi.
10   M:      kolay gelsin diye.
11   A:      he: kolay gelsin oğlum yapıyorlar şimdi.
12           bakıyor çavuş rütbesi var.
13           nızk oğlum diyor,
14           size de mi ot yolduruyorlar diyor.
```

15		**bizde yoktu böyle bir şey ama** diyor.
16	Y:	çim makinaları var halbuki ama.
17	A:	ya onu bırak mahkumlar aşağıda.
18	Y:	koca şey.
19		[askeriye].
20	A:	[kuledeyim].
21	Y:	bir makina alamadı mı↑
22	A:	mahkumun birisinin dikkatini çekmiş.
23		şimdi kulenin etrafında,
24		canım sıkılıyor iki saat nasıl vakit geçireceksin,
25		sağa dön sola dön.
26		kulede dört dönüyorum.
27	M:	Asker
28	A:	Hı: şimdi dönünce,
29		aşağıda da,
30	Z:	[ot yoluyorlar].
31	A:	[şeyler]
32		havalandırmalar var
33		şöyle bir geniş,
34		şey…
35		duvar duvar ayrılmış işte.
36		şeyler mahkumlar,
37		orada,
38		geziyorlar.
39		şimdi bakıyorlar.
40		laf atıyorlar zaten
41		**asker ağa asker ağa** diye bağırıyorlar.
42		ondan sonra **asker ağa** dedi.
43	Y:	hıhı
44	A:	**ne oldu** dedim.
45		işaret ettim.
46		şimdi bizim burada jandarma yazıyor kıyafetlerimizde.
47		burada da şey var ((shows))
48		rütbe var.
49		ondan sonra
50		**o çavuşluk rütbesi mi** dedi.
51		öteki de atladı
52		yanında ki mahkum da
53		**yok ya orada jandarma yazıyor** dedi.
54		Ben de dedim.
55		**burada jandarma yazıyor** dedim, ((shows))
56		**burada rütbe var** dedim. ((shows))
57		ondan sonra öyle deyince
58		**alla allah** dedi,
59		**çavuşlar nöbet tutuyor mu ya** dedi.
60		ondan sonra ben bir şey demedim.
61		fazla muattap almıyorum.
62		onlar konuşuyor kendilerine göre.
63		ben işaret ediyorum,
64		şey yapıyorum.
65		her yerde kamera var çünkü tepelerde.
66		yani sürekli seni çekiyor kameralar.
67	M:	e:: asker.
68	A:	[ondan sonra],
69	F:	[ne konuşsan]
70	A:	tabi ne konuşsan.
71		yani konuştuğun şey yapmaz ama
72		tek tek şeylere

```
73            kulelere zoom yapıyor
74    F:      [evet evet]
75    A:      [kameralar].
76    F:      en iyisi konuşmamak
77    A:      hm:: ben öyle şey bakmıyorum onlar konuşuyor,
78            laf atıyor,
79            şey yapıyorlar.
80            bakıyorsun çok konuşacak oluyor,
81            işaret ediyorum,
82            şöyle yapıyorum susuyorlar.
83            anlıyorlar,
84            bir daha
85            şey yapıyorlar.
86    M:      tozuyorlar.
87    A:      kesiyorlar.
88            dedim yoksa diyor,
89            sizin diyor,
90            bütün herkes mi çavuş sizde diyor.
91            ben de herkes çavuş dedim,
92            kapattım.
```

The narrative *Cutting Grass* is a hypertopical complex narrative which is about the military service of the teller. It has two single narratives in its complex narrative body. The first story (Lines 1-16) begins with an Abstract which summarizes what will be told next (Line 2 and 4). While narrating the first story, the teller remembers another past experience and would like to continue in a second one (Lines 17-92). At that point, he needs to secure the extended turn; therefore, he uses a linguistic pivot *Ya onu bırak* (It means '*Leave it aside*') (Line 17) in order to create a space for his telling the new story.

Another example for the story beginnings for complex conversational narratives is the narrative *Woman with Parkinson's Disease* given in Extract 43.

(43)

WOMAN WITH PARKINSON'S DISEASE

```
1     D:      şey parkinson hastalığı oluyor ya
2             titremeler falan                               ⎫
3             bir de onlardan bahsettiler.                   ⎬  Abstract 1a
4             onu da hafızayı normale şey yapıyormuş.        ⎭
5             onu da bir gün… kaset koymuşlardı.
6             İstanbul'da çekim yapmışlar.
7             video çekim yarışması yapmışlar bir de.
8             herkesin hastalarla arasındaki ilişkileri.
9             bir de bu patronları.
10            patronlar da bu Çin'den şey,
11            Kore'nin şeyi bu,
12            firması.
13            çok konuşunca boğazım acıyor.
14            de ondan sonra işte adam.
```

```
15          patronu da biz o gün tanıdıydık.
16          çok matrak bir adam.
17          ha şey yapıyor,
18          orada da çekimleri vardı.
19          burası şey olmuş.
20          en güzel video çekimi,
21          tanıtımı falan tezahüratı fazla yapıldığı için
22          hastalarıyla böyle,
23          şeylerin hani,
24          yatak sahiplerinin firmanın böyle çok
25          alakadar oluşu falan
26          böyle tezahürrat için,
27          sokak dışına taştığı için,
28          böyle çok yoğunluk olduğu için,
29          çok çoşku olduğu için,
30          Türkiye birincisi olmuşlar.
31          bu şube
32          onun için.
33          o:: sertifikaları falan var.
34          Münevver Abla'nın resimleri var.
35          sertifika almış.
36     A:   ha:::
37     D:   onlar he:::
```

```
38          bir de eşini getirmiş adam.              ⟶  Abstract 2a
39          kadın,                                   ⎤
40          iki günde Türkçe'yi sökmüş.              ⎬  Orientation 2a
41          adam tembel diyor ama.                   ⎟
42          kadın çok güzel Türkçe konu...           ⎦
43          ben girdim.                              ⎤
44          bir de ben misafirim tanımıyorum ya ben şimdi.
45          kadın gel... kadın böyle.                ⎬  Comp. A. 2a
46          hoş geldiniz efendim yapıyor.            ⎦
47          siz de hoş geldiniz dedim ben de.        ⟶  Resolution 2a
48          tahmin ettim yani.                       ⎤
49          ufak tefek çekik gözlü.                  ⎬  Evaluation 2a
50          bir gün sonradan da gelecek dediler ya.  ⎦
```

```
51          toplantı var o gün diye                  ⎤
52          erken gel dedi Münevver Abla.            ⎟
53          çünkü erken toplanıyorlar dedi.          ⎬  Orientation 2b
54          ben gittim dokuzda.                      ⎦
55          a: yarısını konuşmuşlar zaten ama.       ⎤  Comp. A. 2b
56          dolu                                     ⎦
57          içerisi bütün dolmuş.
58          biz yataklara geçtik yatakların üstünde oturduk artık Res. 2b
59          geçilmiyor yani o kadar kalabalık yoğunluk olmuş. Evaluation 2b
```

```
60          ondan sonra
61          bir şey anlatacaktım.
62          ha: parkinson şeyini anlatıyordum.
63          İstanbul CD sinde,                       ⎤
64          kadın diyor.                             ⎬  Orientation 1a
65          benim diyor.                             ⎤
66          parkinson hastalığım var diyor.          ⎟
67          ondan sonra unutuyordum diyor.           ⎬  Comp. A. 1a
68          yaptığım şeyi unutuyordum diyor.         ⎟
69          şunu şuraya koydum mu,                   ⎦
```

```
70        onu almaya aklım ermiyordu diyor.            ┐
71        bırakıyordum herşeyi diyor.                  │
72        neyse beni hastaneye yatırdılar diyor.       │
73        ondan sonra,                                 │
74        hastanede diyor.                             │
75        şeyler falan diyor.                          │
76        böyle hep hastaların durumları kötü diyor.   │
77        böyle hepsi titriyor diyor.                  │
78        şey yapıyor yaşlı yaşlı.                      │
79        ben de kendimi onlardan daha kötü gördüm diye.│
80        ben daha şeyim ya diyor.                      │
81        biraz aklım eriyor ama diyor.                │  Comp. A. 1a
82        kafamda pek toplamıyor diyor.                │
83        kadın.                                        │
84   A:   ha:                                          │
85        ondan sonra ben aklımı başıma toplayayım mı  │
86        demiş↑                                        │
87   D:   ondan sonra işte ben diyor.                  │
88        biraz diyor tedavi gördüm diyor.             │
89        sonra bu yatakların şeyini duydum diyor.     │
90        teyzemin kızı ısrar etti buraya götürelim dedi diyor. │
91        geldik diyor (,) neyse diyor.                │
92        ben diyor.                                    │
93        altı ay mı dedi beş ay mı devam ettim diyor. ┘
94        titremelerimde azalma oldu diyor.            ┐ Resolution 1a
95        unutkanlığımda azalma oldu diyor.            ┘

96        ondan sonra hatta diyor,                     ┐
97        beni diyor bir gün diyor,                    │ Orientation 1b
98        şeyden hastaneden gelirken diyor,            ┘
99        şey diyor…                                    ┐
100       çöp torbasını diyor,                          │
101       eşya torbası diye diyor karıştırmışım diyor, │
102       çöpü almışım diyor eve kadar getirmişim diyor.│
103       içinde diyor kıyafetlerim var diye gece bir açtım diyor │
104       olan çöp çıktı karşıma diyor.                │ Comp. A. 1b
105  D:   kadın böyle elli beş altmış yaşlarında       │
106       şişkoda bir şey.                              │
107       çok da matrak.                                │
108       baktım baktım diyor.                          │
109       güldüm diyor.                                 ┘
110       ondan sonra allahıma şükür dedim.            ┐ Resolution 1b
111       ben bu yatağa devam edeyim dedim diyor.      ┘
112       ona karar verdim çok şükür o zamandan beri diyor │
113       öyle hatalar yapmıyorum,                      ┤ Coda 1b
114       aklım başıma geldi diyor.                    ┘
```

This complex narrative includes four single narratives which have similar topics. The teller begins the complex conversational narrative by giving an Abstract (Line 1-3). Then, she recalls a related past experience and tells a new story (Lines 38-50) while she is trying to explain the topic of the CCN. The second story triggers a new one (Lines 51-59). After a long telling, she remembers that she has been narrating the initial story and she turns back to it by using *ondan sonra* ('and then') (Line 60). In order to secure the turn, she reports that she

would have been telling a story (Lines 61 and 62). After she has finished the story, she begins to a new one. Again she uses *ondan sonra* (Line 96) in order to continue her storytelling.

Since they are the combination of several single narratives, complex conversational narratives are successively or embeddedly told in the flowing talk. If a story is followed by another in a successive way, this means that story ends with another story. In the other context, if a story is produced in another story by interfering it, then the teller finishes it and continues with the interrupted one. In both cases, a story ends with a following one.

2.2.1.3. Discussion of Story Beginnings and Endings in Turkish Conversational Narratives

The different types of story beginnings indicate that the conversational stories are somehow relevant to the prior talk. They are also influential in the narrative structure of the stories. At this point, Abstract section can be underlined. It is a fact that stories may be introduced to the conversationalists by a summary of the story which is called as *Abstract* (Labov and Waletzky, 1967), or *story preface* (Goodwin, 1984; Sacks, 1992). This pre-telling is used by the tellers not only to introduce the topic but also to bridge the story to the preceding talk and to secure an interactional space in which the extended and/or multi-unit story turn can be hold. However, some narratives lack Abstract. If the topic of the story is directly relevant to the preceding conversation, the introduction to the story may be accepted to be achieved by the previous conversation. As a result, an independent Abstract section may become unnecessary in the flowing conversation and the teller may begin the narrative with an Orientation. At this context, Orientation sections usually begin with the discourse markers such as 'şimdi' and 'işte', or in some case with 'ondan sonra'. The former two linguistic devices help the tellers to reflect the situation in which the narrative events take place as similar as possible, and the last one is used in order to signal the incoming story.

In the beginnings of the conversational narratives, it is observed that changes in the participants' positions occur. In ongoing talk, conversational narratives begin with a role

transition from participant to teller, from speaker to teller, or from teller to teller. During the transition from participant to teller, one of the participants may take the turn and begin storytelling, or with an interruption to the current speaker, s/he may begin narration. Next, the current speaker may also hold his/her turn and continue his/her talk by a storytelling. Besides, it is possible for a current teller to continue telling with another story. In this context, the result is a complex conversational narrative which combines several stories from the words of the same teller in a broader narrative body. Lastly, a conversational narrative can be observed to be produced after a long pause of silence. Again, one of the participants may take the turn for a storytelling, or just for a piece of talk.

When the endings of the stories which are produced in natural conversations are considered, it can be claimed that the narratives which lack the sections of Evaluation and Coda emerge. These Evaluation- and Coda- elliptic narrative structures are the result of conversation's urging the speakers to complete their turns as soon as possible. Besides, interactional nature of face-to-face talk does not manipulate the tellers to produce a narrative structure with all Labovian categories as in the case of elicited narratives. This is because interactional talk provides the tellers and also the other participants with chances to make additions to the stories in any time of the ongoing storytelling and the conversation which covers the storytelling. Moreover, listener contributions to the narration of a story such as listeners' taking the turn and making evaluations about the narrated events are also influential in the emergence of the narratives with Evaluation- and Coda- elliptic narrative structures.

Conversational narratives have an end with changes in the participants' positions, as well. A story may end with the role transition from participant to speaker, participant to teller, teller to speaker, or teller to teller. One of the participants may take the turn from the teller after the presentation of the Resolution of complicating events and may continue in a related talk. Or one of the participants may interrupt the current teller and initiate a new piece of talk. In such a situation the story may remain incomplete.

Another pattern of story endings can be observed through the role transition from participant to teller; one of the conversationalists may take the turn and begin a storytelling. At that point, a secondary narrative which refers to a successive story from

a different teller may occur if there already is a current storytelling activity. Besides, the preceding story may remain incomplete. In the data, narratives which may end with an interruption of a participant and continues with ordinary talk can be seen. However, narratives which are interrupted by a listener for another narrative have not been observed. Generally, an interruption of a participant continues in a related talk rather than in an act of storytelling.

Another way of story endings is possible through the current speaker's finishing his/her storytelling and jumping into a new talk. As a result, the teller becomes a speaker. One other scenario of story endings is that a teller may continue his turn via another storytelling. This results with the emergence of a complex conversational narrative. Last pattern of story endings reveals that a conversational narrative may take an end with a long pause or silence in the conversation before a position change of participant to speaker occurs.

Complex conversational narratives have an initial story which begins with the procedures which were discussed in the story beginnings of single conversational narratives. Therefore, it may have an Abstract which introduces the topic. The following stories are the bound stories which are triggered by the first story. The bounded stories do not require to be launched by an Abstract since they have a direct relationship to the preceding story. They may begin with a signal of the recalling or with some other linguistic devices such as discourse markers which give clues that there is a forthcoming story. Stories in a complex conversational narrative end with another story. The last story in the complex structure ends with the procedures explained in the story endings.

What is peculiar about story beginnings and endings in terms of complex conversational narratives is their difference from secondary narratives. As it is previously discussed, a story may end with another story which may be produced by the same or different tellers. If the bound narrative is told by the same teller, the result is a complex conversational narrative. On the other hand, if it is told by another teller, the narrative can be called as secondary narrative. Hence, a narrative may begin after another and may end with a complex conversational narrative or a secondary narrative.

2.2.2. Sequence Analysis of Turkish Conversational Narratives

One of the most significant features of conversation is its interactional character as it is stated previously. This means that the overall structure of conversation is constructed by the participants and the participants promote to speaker and listener roles in a flowing way. In other words, in a conversation, transitions from speaker to speaker occur fluidly.

Speaker change is a natural process which is achieved by participants in the conversation. However, it does not incidentially occur. Turn-taking organization which dominantly determines the sequence organization of a conversation has a normative aspect. That is to say, turn-taking behaviour is socially constructed and there are cultural norms to obey in turn-taking acts.

The speaker change in a conversation is organized around the completion of a turn constructional unit (TCU) and a transition relevance place. A TPR (transition relevance place) is a place at which speaker change can legitimately occur. However, conversational storytelling is problematic in this model of speaker change. Telling stories and anecdotes cannot be completed in a single TCU by their nature and they extend beyond a single TCU. The principles and procedures of turn-taking organization of an ordinary interactional talk do not work for the turn-taking organization of conversational storytelling. It is obvious that conversational storytelling has its own turn-taking principles and procedures; namely it has differences from the other types of ongoing face-to-face conversational interaction. In order to analyse the organization of sequence in conversational storytelling, this section have focused on its turn organization which has the subcomponents of turn-takings, repairs, adjacency pairs, and overlappings. Furthermore, a specific feature of storytelling, co-narration, has also been emphasized due to its having exclusive turn-taking organizations.

2.2.2.1. Sequence Organization in Turkish Conversational Narratives

The design of turns in interactional talk is fundamental to understand the sequence organization of conversation. The turn-taking system operates sequentially through the

units of turns. Talk-in-interaction equips the participants with a sequence of units in which one participant talks at a time. Sacks et al. (1974) named these units as 'turn constructional units' (TCUs). A TCU is a conversational unit which "... has to have a projectable completion point" (Sacks et al. 1974: 702). A turn-taking process runs in a sequence of TCUs; first, a speaker is assigned to a TCU, then, the end of such a unit creates a point at which speaker change becomes relevant (TRP- transition relevance place) and the transition of the speaker occurs. The speaker who has the floor at any particular moment is generally clear in a conversation. However, there may be overlappings and interruptions which may cause a speaker transition or speaker's holding the floor. In addition to this, speakers may voluntarily give up the floor and hand over the turn to someone else in the flowing talk.

In conversational storytelling, there need to be a mutual agreement between the teller and the listeners for a longer turn which means telling a story or a joke. In such situations, both sides of the conversation are aware of the requirements of conversational storytelling; the teller narrates and the listeners respect to the talk of the teller by giving permission to teller for a longer turn and extended turn units; they do not interrupt the narration of the teller as possible as it is. In fact, in order to guarantee the space for multi-unit turns for a storytelling, conversationalists have to negotiate a space in which this talk can happen, and thus, they suspend the ordinary operation of turn-taking. However, this suspension is not an exception for the turn-taking rules of conversation, but it is a special application of these rules.

Firstly, stories are introduced to the participants with an Abstract which is constructed as a single TCU and it provides the teller with a larger space for the completion of telling the story. This late speaker change serves to suspend turn-taking organization in its ordinary way. Secondly, during stories, story recipients show their orientation to the story by the use of supporting expressions such as back chanelling. They take the turn for just a limited time and give it back to the legitimite teller. Thirdly, the turn-taking system becomes relevant again at the moment of a turn-taking in which the recipients would like to demand for extra information, to assist and to support the teller. In addition to these, the turn-taking system has importance in the story beginnings and endings as it can be

seen in the previous sections (for details see 2.2.1.1.1. and 2.2.1.1.2.). All these show us that despite the normal turn-taking system is suspended in conversational storytelling, participants continue to orient themselves to the turn-taking system in order to construct and secure their participation to the talk. At this point, it can be claimed that conversational narratives are interactively constructed; they are collaboratively achieved by the participants throughout the act of storytelling.

The exclusive uses of ordinary turn-taking rules of interaction in conversational storytelling is examined in the following section. In order to understand the turn-taking organization which is exclusive to conversational storytelling, this section will focus on the subcomponents of turn-taking organization. These subcomponents have different and exclusive interactional behaviours in sequence organizations and they are influential in the production of turn constructional units. These subcomponents of sequence organizations in a conversation are turn-takings, repairs, adjacency pairs and overlappings.

2.2.2.1.1. Turn-takings

2.2.2.1.1.1. Functions of Turn-takings:

Turn-takings which are inevitable parts of a conversation have been achieved for many different reasons in conversational storytelling. Tellers ensure the extended turns by signalling that a story is coming next in the conversation. However, listeners may yield the turn to the tellers or may participate into the flowing conversational storytelling. In the course of the telling activity, "those who are not currently narrating may accompany certain points of the story with minimal responses, repetitions, and/or appropriate comments that confirm their familiarity with the narrated events" (Archakis and Tzanne, 2005, p. 273). These listener-oriented turn-takings are achieved for many different reasons in conversational storytelling. Moreover, it is possible to highlight the teller-oriented turn-takings. After listener(s)'s taking the turns and producing a piece of speech, tellers need to take the turn back in order to continue the storytelling. Teller-oriented turn-

takings have some more functions in collaborative storytelling and they will be discussed later in the section 2.2.2.2.

Listener-oriented turn-takings have several different functions in conversational storytelling. They are (1) assisting the teller, (2) giving extra information, (3) predicting the next talk of the teller, (4) approving the teller, (5) responding to a question, (6) requesting for extra information and (7) evaluating.

Assisting the teller:

Assisting the teller is achieved by the listeners when the teller cannot remember something, retrieve a word from his/her memory or clarify his/her thoughts in ongoing talk. Listeners help tellers by reminding the word which they seek for or by making clear what they want to say with a short explanation. The listener-oriented turn-takings for assisting the teller can be exemplified in Extract 44.

(44)

```
1    S:    olmadı tuttuk adam getirdik.
2          makina getirttirdik.
3          her bloğun önüne onar tane
4          artık e::: kaçtı metre↑
5          otuz metre miydi↑
6          kırk metre miydi derinliğe
7          şöyle-
8    T:    sondaj vuruldu.
9    S:    he: delik açtırdık.
10   T:    sondaj.
11   S:    ondan sonra onların üzerini kapattık.
```

In the example in Extract 44, Teller S narrates a story and needs some extra time to remember the situation (Lines 4-7). At that point, one of the listeners, Listener T assists the teller by clarifying the situation which is being narrated (Line 8) by the word the teller needs (Line 10). This kind of listener-oriented turn-takings can be identified with self initiated other repair which can be seen in the section 2.2.2.1.2.

Giving extra information:

Giving extra information is another listener-oriented function of turn-takings in conversational storytelling. While a teller is performing a narration, the listeners may

interrupt him/her and take the turn in order to talk about what they know about the topic of the story. An example is given in Extract 45.

(45)

```
1      K:    bir O'nun arsasını alayım dedim.
2            şurada.
3            üç milyara veririm çalışırken dediydi bana.
4            benim orada sana yakın bir arsam var,
5            vereyim sana diyordu o bana.
6      C:    e: işte bu şeyin oralarda.
7            bu e: Acıbadem'i geçiverince
8            o aralarda bir yerdeydi.
9      K:    şurada hemen.
…
```

In Extract 45, Teller K is talking about a place which is the topic of the narrated story as well. Then, Listener C takes the turn and as the current speaker, he gives some extra information about the place (Lines 6-8). After that, the legitimate teller takes the turn back in order to continue his storytelling.

Making predictions:

Listeners may take the turns in order to make a prediction about what is coming next. This also shows their attention to the narrated story as in the example in Extract 46. While Teller C is narrating a story, Listener K makes a prediction about the next event in the story by taking the turn (Line 5).

(46)

```
1      C:    oradan gelirken ben şimdi.
2            hemen bu…
3            uçuşan bir sürü poşet var.
4            poşetin bir tanesini alıyorum Na… Kadir.
5      K:    onun içine dolduruyorsun.
6      C:    sahilden ne bulduysam.
7            kenarda.
8            içine atıyorum.
9            doğru çöp sepetine.
```

Approving the teller:

While the teller is narrating, the listeners may show their attention to the storytelling process by approving what the teller says. This may be performed by repeating the previous talk of the teller or by paraphrasing it. Turn-takings by the use of a paraphrase can be exemplified in Extract 47.

(47)

```
1    M:    bizimkilerin canlarına çok şükür hiç bir şey olmadı.
2          ablası kardeşinin evini tanıyamamış.
3          perişan olmuş.
4          dönüyormuş, dönüyormuş, dönüyormuş,
5          evler hep yıkılmış.
6          camdan perdesi çıkmış da
7          perdesinden tanıyor.
8    K:    oradan tanıyor evet.
9    M:    oradan tanıyor.
```

In Extract 47, it can be seen in Line 9 that Participant K approves the words of Teller M by paraphrasing her previous speech. Then, the teller also approves Participant K's words by repeating it.

Approving the teller by paraphrasing the words of him/her can also be exemplified in Extract 48 in Lines 8 and 14 below:

(48)

```
1    S:    şimdi.
2          geldik o Öküz Mehmet Paşa Kervansarayı'na Ahmet.
3          şey Kerim.
4    K:    hm::
5    S:    şimdi şeylerde var.
6          tabi yabancılarda var.
7          tabi yabancı çok.
8    K:    ziyadesiyle yabancı var.
9    S:    he: ondan sonra
10         bir hazırlıklar yapıyorlar,
11         ayna koyuyorlar,
12         bilmem ne yapıyorlar.
13         film [çevireceklermiş].
14   K:    [hazırlanıyorlar].
…
```

In Line 8 of the Extract given above, Listener K shows his interest to the storytelling by approving the teller. He paraphrases the teller's previous words cited in Lines 6 and 7. After this, in Line 14, Listener K takes the turn for showing approval to the teller with a paraphrase. He reformulates what has been stated by the teller in Line 12 and 13.

An example for the listener-oriented turn-takings with the function of approving the teller via the repetitions of the previous words which are produced by one of the participants can be seen in Extract 49.

(49)

```
1    F:    dünkü börek
2          bayatlamamıştır herhalde,
```

```
3      L:     yok gayet güzel,
4             ayrıca bayatlasa ne olur yeriz.
5      R:     paracık verdik
6             apırsa da yiyeceğiz köpürse de demiş herif. ┐
                                                          ├  Abstract
7      L:     Arnavut.                                    ┘
8             apırsan da yiyeceğim köpürsen de demiş.
9      F:     Sabunu mu yemiş↑
…
```

In Extract 49, the teller of the story, who is Participant R, gives an Abstract of a culturally-shared story which begins with the words in Lines 5 and 6. Participant L approves the telling by repeating the words of the teller in Line 8.

Responding a question:

Listeners may take the turn in order to give an answer to the question of the teller, as it can be seen in Extract 50.

(50)

```
1      N:     kapıya baktım polis.
2             ben bunu açmam dedim.
3             acaba gerçekten polis mi yani↑
4             bile… yabancı yerdesin.
5             o arada kızım uyanır gibi oldu.
6             Anne ne oldu↑
7             tuvalete kalktım sen yat yavrum dedim.
8             ben…
9             o ben öyle deyince
10            yattı.
11            ama nasıl basıyorlar zile nasıl basıyorlar zile.
12     A:     e: ne ki↑
13     N:     şimdi…
14     A:     polis miymiş gerçekten↑
15     N:     gerçekten polismiş.
16            bir tane öğrenci neydi O↑
17            Ayten miydi↑
18            intihar edeceğim diye.
19            nişanlısıyla.
20            bizden sonraki blokta oturuyordu.
21     P:     Aysel,
22     N:     Aysel miydi↑
23     P:     Aysel (,) Aysel Hancı.
24     N:     hıh Aysel Hancı.
…
```

In Lines 21 and 23 of the extract given above, Participant P takes the turn in order to give the answer of the question of the teller, Teller N.

Requesting for extra information:

During the stories of the teller, listeners may perform turn-takings for requesting for extra information. This turn-takings may be in the form of questions as it can be seen in Extract 50 given above. Participant A asks questions to the teller in order to get some extra information about what is being told (Line 12 and 14).

Evaluating:

Another function of turn-takings is that listeners may take turns for expressing their thoughts and feelings about the events which are narrated. As it is discussed in 2.2.1.1.2., a story may end with the evaluation of one of the listeners. However, it is not obligatory that listeners wait until the end of the story. They may take the turns at any place in the narration of a story and make their evaluations. An example illustrating the turn-takings which are used for the evaluation of the listeners can be seen in Extract 51. In Lines 8 and 9, Participant D makes an evaluation about the story by taking the turn.

(51)

```
1    E:    bizim bir arkadaşın annesini
2          elektrik çarpmıştı.
3    İ:    of:
4    E:    şeyin içinde.
5          ama o komik biraz ya.
6    S:    elektrikli battaniye. ((laughs))
7    E:    elektrikli battaniye. ((laughs))
8    D:    ama onlar çok tehlikeli
9          ben korkarım.
10   E:    Bitlis'te mi oturuyorlar
11         Van'da mı oturuyorlar ne.
…
```

2.2.2.1.1.2. Place of Turn-takings:

The place of turn-takings in conversational narratives is also crucial for understanding the organization of turns in a story. As it is stated above, the recipients of a story take the turns for different purposes. In accordance with their purposes, the turn-takings which are performed by the recipients correspond to different parts of the story. It can be observed in the data that there are 211 listener-oriented turn-takings in 100 narratives; nine turns in the section of Abstract, 52 turns in Orientation, 141 turns in the section of Complicating Action and nine turns in Resolution. In Coda and Evaluation, any listener-oriented turn-takings are not observed in the data of the study. The distribution of turn-takings and their places in conversational narratives are given in Table 7.

Table 7: The distribution of turn-takings

Function of Turn-Taking \ Place of Turn-Taking	Abstract	Orientation	Complicating Action	Resolution	Coda	Evaluation	TOTAL
Assisting the teller	-	2	14	-	-	-	16
Giving extra information	2	15	24	-	-	-	41
Predicting the next talk	-	5	29	1	-	-	35
Approving the teller	-	16	24	5	-	-	45
Responding to a question	4	4	7	-	-	-	15
Requesting extra information	2	10	25	2	-	-	39
Evaluating	1	-	18	1	-	-	20
TOTAL	9	52	141	9	-	-	**211**

As it is seen in Table 7, there are nine turns in the section of Abstract; two turns for giving extra information, four turns for responding to a question, two turns for requesting extra information and one turn for evaluating. Turn-takings for assisting, predicting and approving are not observed in the data for Abstract sections. This may be a result of the use of an Abstract at the very beginning of the story. In fact, an Abstract has the role of story prefacing which is constructed as a single TCU and it provides the speaker with a space for the telling of the story. This means that recipients are informed about the forthcoming story with the help of an Abstract and it is unlikely to assist to and approve of the teller, and to make any predictions about something at that point. That is why turn-takings in the Abstract section is limited in number.

Orientation sections of conversational narratives also include turn-takings; in the data, it is found that listeners take turns for 52 times in Orientation sections. Many functions of turn-takings through Orientation can be seen in the data in various numbers except for the function of evaluating. It is an unexpectable result that Orientation lacks listener-oriented turn-takings for evaluation since it seems possible that listeners may take turns and make evaluations about the place, time and participants of the past experience. Another peculiarity of Orientation in terms of listener-oriented turn-takings is about its having

almost the same number of turn-takings with the function of giving extra information and approving the teller. This result is highly remarkable for that listeners may take turns for giving extra information about the background of the experience when the intimacy between the conversationalists is taken into consideration. Besides, it is highly possible for the listeners to approve the words of the teller and showing their interest to the storytelling activity. Listener-oriented turn-takings for requesting extra information from the teller are observed in Orientation in high numbers. Orientation is quite convenient for listener-oriented turn-takings in that listeners may demand for extra information about the place, time and the participants of the events which are being narrated in the course of storytelling. Throughout the narration of Orientation, listeners may take turns for a prediction of the next talk and a respond to a question which is articulated mostly by the teller. Obviously, Orientation is a highly convenient part of a story for speaker changes since it is the section which gives background information about the setting and participants of a story. Yet, Orientation does not have turn-takings as many as the section of Complicating Action does.

The Labovian section which contains the most frequent number of speaker changes can be identified as the section of Complicating Action. It is obvious that this section gives the information about what has happened in a story. This makes it an obligatory section of conversational narratives. Generally it is the largest part of a story and is quite open to turn-takings for any purpose. In accordance with this, 141 turns which contain all the functions of turn-takings have been found in the data. The most frequent listener-oriented turn-takings are performed for the functions of giving extra information, predicting the next talk, approving the teller, and requesting extra information. It is highly reasonable for listeners in ongoing conversation to give and demand extra information about the events being narrated. Listeners may take turns in order to make predictions about the next events and approve the tellers; in both situations, listeners reveal their interest to the ongoing storytelling activity. Furthermore, turn-takings for assisting to the teller and making evaluations can be observed in the section of Complicating Action in respectively higher numbers. The least frequent listener-oriented turn-taking is responding to a question. It is obvious that turn-takings for the function of responding to a question can

only be performed if there is a question of the teller. Therefore, if there is no question, this function will not appear.

Similar to Abstract, the number of turn-takings performed by listeners in Resolution is nine. They are for prediction for the next talk, approval for the teller, request for extra information and evaluation about the resolution of the complicating events. The functions of assisting, giving extra information and responding are not found in the data about the section of Resolution.

For considering the different types of functions of turn-takings, Table 7 shows that the most frequent function is approving the teller. This may be the result of the cultural norms of Turkish society; the participants may want to show their interest to the storytelling activity and to reinforce tellers in their storytellings. In order to achieve this, listeners may take turns and after an approval, they give the turns back to tellers for their storytelling. These turns last respectively short in their nature since they are not competitive turn-taking acts. Besides, participants may not want to disturb tellers who have already guaranteed the extended and/or multi-unit turn for their storytelling. Obviously, a storytelling activity can be achieved as a result of other conversationalists'giving permission to it. At this context, Turkish people may be in a tendency to help tellers to complete their storytelling.

The function of approving the teller is observed in the sections of Orientation, Complicating Actions and Resolution. The approving activity may be in the form of a repetition, a back chanelling or just a sentence which has a meaning of approval. A turn which is taken for an approval for the teller has not been found in the section of Abstract. This may be because there is less for the listeners in a story preface to approve the teller.

The least frequent function of listener-oriented turn-takings is responding to a question. It is evident that this function directly depends on the acts of the teller and it formulates adjacency pairs. This function can only be used in occasions where the teller asks a question or seeks for a piece of information which can be assured by the listeners.

The function which is used in all of the four narrative sections, Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, and Resolution is requesting extra information. It is because this function is totally listener-oriented and it is the function which supplies necessary information for listeners to satisfy their curiosity.

2.2.2.1.2. Repairs

At any point in a conversation some problems and difficulties, such as grammatical or lexical errors, hesitations, pauses or just hearing problems have the potential to arise. However, interactional talk has available mechanisms for solving these problems. Repair, one of these mechanisms, refers to the conversational processes of dealing with the problems which can emerge during the conversation. It is relevant to the sequence organization of conversation in that it arranges spaces for unexpected turn-takings. Therefore, it appeals to the overall organization of sequence in a conversation and in conversational storytelling.

Repair is not a tool for just the correction of errors in talk and for replacing an incorrect form with a correct one (Jefferson, 1987; Schegloff et al.,1977). It has a broader sense which emphasizes the practice of *repair* which captures the more general domain of occurences rather than *correction* (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 363). The act of correcting is not synonymous fort he term *repair*. This means that many cases of repair are observed in the situations in which there are not any errors made by the speaker to be corrected. However, repairs are broadly used in the situations in which there are problems to be repaired as it is the case when a speaker seeks for a word which is not available at the time when it is needed.

Repair is also essential for the understanding of the sequence organization in storytelling. It is a fact that in the course of storytellings, tellers produce extended pieces of talk and may experience problems in reminding, have hesitations, or just make errors. In such a situation, tellers may repair themselves and story recipients may repair tellers. Furthermore, repair is a conversational component which can be widely observed in the context of familiar stories. If a story is familiar to the recipient, they may repair the teller

by correcting the errors, or helping the teller in his/her shortcomings. An example for a repair in a familiar story can be seen in Extract 51 on the page 139. Teller E cannot remember a word and repair himself by using 'şey' in Line 4. He uses this discourse marker for getting extra time. Here, one of the participants who is familiar to the story which is narrated takes the turn and provides the teller with the name of the object which the teller cannot retrieve. This repair can be seen in Line 6 of the Extract 51.

Schegloff et al. (1977) have proposed different types of repair in conversation which differentiate the producer of the repair. A repair can be made by the speaker himself which is a *self-repair* or it can be made by the recipients which is an *other-repair*. The one who performs a repair does not need to be the one who has initiated the repair operation (ibid.,p. 364). Both self- and other repairs can have different types of repair initiation. The different types of repair with their initiations can be listed as self-initiated self-repair, other-initiated self-repair, self-initiated other-repair and other-initiated other-repair.

The types of repair is significant for turn-taking organization in that they determine the next turn. In the case of storytelling, if the teller makes a self-repair, then a speaker change will not occur. However, if the recipients repair the teller, this means that a speaker change will occur. Examples for self-repair can be seen in Extract 52 and 53.

(52)

```
1     F:     işte kızın biri çıkmış
2            o gün
3            konuşmuş
4            Münevver Abla dedi.
5            sen dedi.
6            duymadın mı görmedin mi kızı dedi.
7            yoo dedim ben.
8            o felçli olan anlattıydı
9            onu dedim gördüm dedim.
10           o kızda 18 yaşına kadar hani,
11           bu körlüğün…
12           şey a:: körlük diyorum.
13           kulakları duymuyormuş.
14           işitme kaybın olabilir hani
15           ameliyat da olamazsın demişler.
16           ya açılcağı da şey demişler.
17           ondan sonra kız gelmiş iki ay.
18           hani şey yapmıyorum
19           duymuyorum duymuyorum
20           dedikçe böyle
21           kulağı açılmış açılmış.
22           şimdi çok net duyuyorum.
```

```
23          ben artık kulağıma kavuştum
24          sağlığıma kavuştum diye
25          o gün kız çıkmış konuşmuş.
```

In Extract 52 the teller makes a self-repair in Line 12 by using *şey aaa körlük diyorum* (It denotationally means 'thing aaa I keep saying deafness'. Here 'şey' may translate into English as 'well'). This expression helps the teller to secure the turn. Besides, it is possible to coin this expression with a self-initiated self-repair which occurs in the same turn. The repair is initiated and performed by the teller herself.

In Extract 53, the teller has been producing a narration, but at a point she experiences a discontinuation and needs some more time to continue storytelling. This problem is repaired by the teller with some expressions (Lines 60 - 62) with which the teller has a chance to remember what she has been narrating previously. She uses *ondan sonra* (It can be translated to English as 'and then') which signals that a piece of telling is forthcoming and also she uses a pivot expression *bir şey anlatacaktım* (Its translation into English is 'I would tell something') in order to gain some time for her recalling process. By the help of the filler *Haa* and the pivot expression *parkinson şeyini anlatıyordum* (It denotationally means 'I was telling about the Parkinson thing'. At this context 'şey' can be translated into English as 'well'), she reports the listeners that she has remembered the point and prevents them to invade the turn. These self-initiated self-repair practices permit the speaker to continue as the legitimate teller by hindering the listeners'interruption. Therefore, she guarantees the turn in which she can continue her storytelling. The Extract 53 is given below:

(53)

```
…
51          toplantı var o gün diye
52          erken gel dedi Münevver Abla.
53          çünkü erken toplanıyorlar dedi.
54          ben gittim dokuzda.
55          a: yarısını konuşmuşlar zaten ama.
56          dolu
57          içerisi bütün dolmuş.
58          biz yataklara geçtik yatakların üstünde oturduk artık
59          geçilmiyor yani o kadar kalabalık yoğunluk olmuş.

60          ondan sonra
61          bir şey anlatacaktım.
62          ha: parkinson şeyini anlatıyordum.
63          İstanbul CD sinde,
```

```
64          kadın diyor.
…
```

Another type of self-repair is the one in which the initiation of the repair is performed by a party except of the teller. This other-initiated self repairs can be exemplified in the narrative *Earthquake* given in Extract 54.

(54)

```
…
41    Z:    tabi.
42          o zaman bizim biraderlere hep
43          şey vermişlerdi.
44          askerdi o zaman.
45          geldi İzmir'den geldi.
46          bir sabah gene öyle bir deprem.
47          kalkın diyor annem bağırıyor.
48    Y:    deprem de demiyorlar
49          hareket diyorlardı o zaman.
50          he: normal.
51    Z:    zelzele.
52    Y:    zelzele hareket.
53    Z:    hatta zelzele değil.
54          zerzele derlerdi.
55          "l"yi "r"yaparlardı.
56          yani ben de o zaman gördüm
57          toprağı bizim avlunun.
58          böyle. ((shows the water))
59    Y:    evet aynen öyle [dalgalanıyor].
60    M:    [dalgalanıyor].
61    Y:    toprak dalgalanıyor yav.
62          su gibi.
63    Z:    içerde ne oluyorsa artık.
64          altta.
```

In Extract 54, Line 51, the teller begins performing a repair by depending on the previous talk of the listener. Hence, the repair becomes as a self-repair which takes its source from others.

In conversations, other-repairs also frequently occur. However, in conversational storytelling, other-repair is not as frequent as self-repairs. It can be due to the unwillingness of the listeners to violate the extended turn of the legitimate tellers. It is a fact that other-repairs are achieved through an interruption to the overall body of a storytelling. In other words, listeners should take the turn in order to perform an other-repair and they are in a tendency not to take the turns from the tellers. That's why other-repairs are not so frequent as self-repairs in conversational storytelling. Besides, most of

the other-repairs are self-initiated other-repairs in which the trouble source of the repair is initiated by the teller and the repair is performed by listeners. An example for an other-repair can be seen in the Line 10 below:

(55)

```
1     S:    olmadı tuttuk adam getirdik.
2           makina getirttirdik.
3           her bloğun önüne onar tane
4           artık e::: kaçtı metre↑
5           otuz metre miydi↑
6           kırk metre miydi derinliğe
7           şöyle-
8     T:    sondaj vuruldu.
9     S:    he: delik açtırdık.
10    T:    sondaj.
11    S:    ondan sonra onların üzerini kapattık.
```

In the narrative given above, from Line 1 to Line 7, the teller gives some information about a past experience. In Line 4, a disfluency of the teller emerges. He tries to remember a specific information. Then, in Line 8, he is interrupted by the Listener T who assists the teller. At that point, the teller still tries to explain the situation (Line 9) and he is repaired by Listener T in Line 10.

2.2.2.1.3. Adjacency Pairs

Another issue which is important for the sequence organization of conversational storytelling is that some turns at talk determine the next turn; they constraint who will speak next and what the next contribution will be. For example, a greeting is conventionally followed by another greeting, a farewell by a farewell, a question by an answer (Liddicoat, 2011, p. 106). The turns in such kind of pairs are highly frequent in conversations and they are called as *adjacency pairs* by Schegloff and Sacks (1973). These pairs, as their name indicates, have two turns which generally occur immediately together with no intervening talk by different speakers. However, it is possible to have insert expansions in which there is a piece of talk between the pairs. In addition to this, one of the pairs always comes first and the other always follows it; for instance, a question always precedes its answer.

Adjacency pairs are noticeable for understanding the turn-taking organization in conversation because they realize speaker changes in a relevant next action. Adjacency pairs come into life in a process that a recognizable *first pair part* (FPP) occurs first and then a *second pair part* (SPP) of the relevant type is produced by the next speaker. These pairs may be categorized according to their performers as well. Both first part pairs and second part pairs can be teller-initiated or listener-initiated.

Adjacency pairs such as greetings or farewells are not likely to occur in conversational storytellings as they are common in daily encounters. Question-answer pairs are the most frequent adjacency pairs in conversational storytelling. The first part of a question-answer, as it is clear in its name, is the question and the second pair part is the answer. Both pairs can be teller or listener- initiated.

When a question is asked by the teller, a teller-initiated first pair part of an adjacency pair emerges. An example for teller-initiated first pair part of a question- answer pair can be seen in Extract 56 given below.

(56)

```
1    N:    kapıya baktım polis.
2          ben bunu açmam dedim.
3          acaba gerçekten polis mi yani↑
4          bile… yabancı yerdesin.
5          o arada kızım uyanır gibi oldu.
6          Anne ne oldu↑
7          tuvalete kalktım sen yat yavrum dedim.
8          ben…
9          o ben öyle deyince
10         yattı.
11         ama nasıl basıyorlar zile nasıl basıyorlar zile.
12   A:    e: ne ki↑
13   N:    şimdi…
14   A:    polis miymiş gerçekten↑
15   N:    gerçekten polismiş.
16         bir tane öğrenci neydi O↑
17         Ayten miydi↑
18         intihar edeceğim diye.
19         nişanlısıyla.
20         bizden sonraki blokta oturuyordu.
21   P:    Aysel,
22   N:    Aysel miydi↑
23   P:    Aysel (,) Aysel Hancı.
24   N:    hıh Aysel Hancı.
…
```

In Line 17 of Extract 56, the teller while narrating the story, asks a question to one of the listeners in order to get some information about a person whose name she cannot remember. She produces a piece of talk which can be accepted as insert expansion between the Lines 18 and 20. One of the listeners, Listener P gives the answer of the question of the teller in Line 21. At this phase, the second pair part is an answer.

If a teller-initiated first pair part emerges, in other words, if a question is performed by the teller, it means that any of the listeners is addressed to answer. Thus, a listener-initiated second pair part emerges in the conversational storytelling as it can be seen in the previous example in Extract 56.

The narrative which is given in Extract 56 involves a teller-initiated second pair part, as well. Teller N answers a question of one of the listeners in Line 15. That means there is a listener-initiated first pair part before the answer of Teller N. In line 14, while the teller is narrating, Listener A asks a question to the teller. Then, the teller-initiated second pair part emerges.

In addition to the participant-oriented analysis of adjacency pairs, an analysis on the adjacency pairs in conversational storytelling in terms of story beginnings can be considered. In this context, it can be claimed that the beginnings of the stories can be explained by adjacency pairs of question-answer. As it is discussed in previous sections, a story can be told as a response to a previous question of a second part pair due to its being an answer to a question. In other words, stories can be produced as a response to a question of a prior speaker. It can be exemplified in Extract 57 below:

(57)

PEACH TREE

```
1    K:    komşular komşuluk yapacağı yere
2          bir ağaç için kavga eder mi↑
3    A:    e: bizim komşular.
4          Berna Teyze ile Derya Teyze
5          kavga ediyor.
6          konu şu.
7          Derya Teyze'nin şeftalisi varmış.
8          büyümüyormuş.
9          Berna Teyze'nin çamı yüzünden.
10         diyor kes bunu
11         benim şeftalim büyümüyor.
```

```
12          tartışmanın konusunu görüyor musun↑
13          sen bu ağacı kes diyor.
14          benim şeftali büyüsün diyor.
15          tamam senin şu kadar
16          şeftalin büyüsün diye
17          kocaman fıstık çamını
18          kökten kesecekler.
```

In Extract 57, it can be observed that by using an Abstract (Line 3) which is a response to a previous question (Lines 1-2), one of the participants gains the floor and promotes himself to the teller position, and orients the others to the position of listeners. Besides, the whole story which is produced in an extended turn by the approval of the listeners can be accepted to be a teller-initiated second pair part as a whole. In such a situation, the story which is produced as a second pair part of an adjacency pair can be named as a response story (for details see 2.2.1.1.1.).

As it is stated previously, two turns which construct adjacency pairs in talk, normally occur immediately together with no intervening talk. However, it is not a strict requirement for adjacency pairs to be immediately adjacent to each other. Sometimes some other talk can be produced between the two turns, but the talk which can occur between the adjacency turns is quite limited. In fact, this situation can be claimed to be exclusive to the adjacency pairs of question-answer.

The situation in which a piece of limited talk that takes place between the two adjacency pairs can be explained with the term 'insert expansion'. An example for insert expansion is given in Extract 58.

(58)

```
1     N:    kapıya baktım polis.
2           ben bunu açmam dedim.
3           acaba gerçekten polis mi yani↑
4           bile… yabancı yerdesin.
5           o arada kızım uyanır gibi oldu.
6           Anne ne oldu↑
7           tuvalete kalktım sen yat yavrum dedim.
8           ben…
9           o ben öyle deyince
10          yattı.
11          ama nasıl basıyorlar zile nasıl basıyorlar zile.
12    A:    e: ne ki↑
13    N:    şimdi…
14    A:    polis miymiş gerçekten↑
```

```
15   N:    gerçekten polismiş.
16         bir tane öğrenci neydi O↑
17         Ayten miydi↑
18         intihar edeceğim diye.
19         nişanlısıyla.
20         bizden sonraki blokta oturuyordu.
21   P:    Aysel,
22   N:    Aysel miydi↑
23   P:    Aysel (,) Aysel Hancı.
24   N:    hıh Aysel Hancı.
…
```

In Extract 58, Teller N asks a question to a specific listener in Line 17. After her question, she produces a piece of talk (Lines 18-20). The answer is eventually given by one of the listeners in Line 21. Another example for insert expansion can be seen in Extract 59.

(59)

```
1    Y:    sen çukurdaki eski Atlas'ı hatırlıyor musun↑
2          aşağı iniliyordu
3          Kılıçoğlu'nun şimdi bulunduğu yerde.
4    E:    hatırlamam mı.
5          ilk sinemaya gidişimde orada.
6          rahmetli Hacı Baba ile Ali Amca,
7          Özcan Amca'nın babası
8          sinemaya gitmeye karar vermişler.
9          şimdi ben de duydum mu bunları konuşurken.
10         annem de şey ör…
11         boğazlı kazak istedim O'ndan.
…
```

In Extract 59, one of the conversationalists (Speaker Y) asks a question to one of the listeners (Line 1). Then, by not waiting for the requested answer immediately, he gives some extra information about the place he asks in order to make the next speaker remember the place about which the question is (Lines 2-3). After these extra remarks, the second pair part is produced (Line 4) as an Abstract of a forthcomig story. At this point, the narrative in Extract 59 arises as a response story.

2.2.2.1.4. Overlappings

In a conversation, as it is discussed above, speaker changes occur with the help of transition relevance places (TRP) in which a possible speaker change is determined. Speaker change becomes a relevant next action at such a place with turn-yielding and turn-taking practices. According to Schegglof (2000, p. 1), the turn-taking organization

is "an organization of practices designed to allow routine achievement of what appears to be overwhelmingly the most common default 'numerical' value of speakership in talk-in-interaction: one party talking at a time." However, in daily conversations there are occurences which are problematic in such an organization in that more than one person may talk at once. This results in overlappings and interruptions. In order to develop a full understanding of how turn-taking organization works in a conversation, overlappings and interruptions become crucial.

In a conversation, when more than one person is speaking at a time, it is generally the case that there are two people talking at a time, regardless of the number of participants in the conversation (Schegloff, 2000). This interactional activity is called as overlapping and it is not simply a case that the speaker interrupts the talk and suspends the speaker who currently has the floor. But, it is an interactional phenomenon which is produced by speakers together. Some studies have revealed that participants precisely time both when and how to begin their talk relative to an on-going turn (Jefferson,1974; Sacks et al. 1974; Zuraidah and Knowles, 2006). Hence, in most cases, overlappings do not occur as a result of the mistiming of the participants. At that point, an analysis of the nature of interruptions which are the fundamental resources for the emergence of competitive and non-competitive overlappings would be beneficial in understanding the nature of overlapping behaviour.

The term *interruption* welcomes a number of different interactional features of overlappings which can be either competitive or non-competitive. Some overlappings are not comprehended as problematic by the teller who is interrupted. These overlappings are non-competitive and they are coined with the term *overlap* in this study. On the other hand, there are competitive overlappings which signal to secure the efforts of those who talk for taking the turn from the current teller. At this point, the teller whose talk is interrupted may either relinquish the turn to the competitor or go on his/her talk. If the teller who is interrupted attempts to continue talking in order to hold his/her turn back, an *overlapping talk* comes into life. Both overlaps and overlapping talk emerges with interruptions and they are inevitable in conversational storytelling which occurs in extended turns invaded by the teller. An example for a non-competitive overlap is given

in Extract 60. In this example and in any other examples of storytellings in this study, overlappings are signalled with square brackets.

(60)

```
1     B:     biri geldi durdu gene.
2            O da bir hav…
3            havalı bir herif.
4            yav dedi.
5            hep de dedi böyle oluyor dedi.
6            işte yolda kalıyorlar dedi.
7            bilmem ne dedi falan.
8            dedim Arkadaş götürmeyeceksen
9            konuşma bari yani.
10           bırak çek şuradan.
11           ben başkasıy[la giderim].
12    C:     [a… aldın] madem
13           [sesini çıkarma].
14    B:     [bir sürü laf] söylüyorsun.
…
```

In the Extract 60, Speaker B is telling about some past events and Speaker C interrupts him with an overlap (Line 12). This interruption does not aim to secure the turn for some extra talk but to show the Speaker C's support for the speaker and the interrupter's orientation to the talk. This overlapping is non-competitive in its nature since the interrupter is aware of the ongoing storytelling and yields the turn to the teller immediately.

In Extract 61, another example for a non-competitive overlap is given.

(61)

```
1     K:     biraz sert viraj aldım.
2            las… şeye…
3            dönmesi için mecbur[en öyle]
4     D:     [keskin].
5     K:     dönmem lazım he:
6            şimdi lastikler yatık ya,
7            şimdi dubleks lastiği,
8            sert viraj alınca
9            yanağı sıyırmış.
10    B:     hah en kötü yer.
11    K:     he: hadi:
12           ben daha kapıdan çıkmadan
13           ulan dedim.
14           bu araba niye böyle yapıyor dedim.
15           indim bir b[aktım],
16    D:     [sertleşti] bu direksiyon ha.
17    K:     lastik gitmiş.
18    P:     ya:
19    K:     he:
…
```

This time the interrupter overlaps with the teller (Speaker K) in order to give extra information about the situation (Lines 4 and 16). In both lines after having given the information, the interrupter (Speaker D) leaves the turn and yields it to the teller (Teller K). Therefore, these overlappings are not competitive in their nature.

In conversations, in addition to non-competitive overlaps, competitive interruptions and overlapping talk can also be observed. In fact, competitive overlappings, which are in the form of overlapping talk, are more common in the turn-taking organizations of storytellings. Interrupters have some strategies to secure their overlapping turns; they can use pivoting expressions such as *lafını balla kestim* (it denotationally means 'I interrupt your words with honey'. However, it can be translated into English as 'I'm sorry, I interrupt you') or they can increase pitch and the volume of their voice. An example for an interruption with a linguictic pivot is given in Extract 62:

(62)

```
1     S:    yemin teşviğini O olacak he.
2           sigorta parasını ölürse mölürse
3           O alacak.
4           sigorta edecek.
5           biz↑
6           biz inek gibi çalışacağız.
7           valla sen bulursan öyle bir enayi
8           buyur ver dedim adama.
9     N:    Semih Ağabey,
10          senelerce çalıştırdılar milleti böyle.
11          Köy Tavuk niye battı↑
12          sahtekarlıktan battı.
13    T:    Köy Tavuk he.
14    N:    evet.
15          ne yapıyordu biliyor musun↑
16          sana şimdi diyordu.
17          sen yemini ha[zırlıyorsun].
18    S:             [veriyor durma]dan.
19          sen lafını unutma.
20          ben dedi istesem dedi adam
21          yem de vermeyiz dedi.
22          zehirleriz öldürürüz dedi.
```

In Extract 62, Speaker S is telling a story and finishes it in Line 8. Then, another speaker (Speaker N) gains the turn and by using an Abstract (Line 15), he gives the signal that he begins a narration. While he is telling the story, the prior teller (Speaker S) interrupts him with an overlapping talk (Line 18). By using a pivot which is *Sen lafını unutma* (Its English translation is 'Don't forget your words') in Line 19, he both secures his turn and

signals that he will leave the turn to Speaker N after he finishes his telling. However, he still grasps the turn and continues his talk.

An example for a multi-speaker overlapping talk which is highly competitive is given in Extract 63.

(63)

```
1      A:     hayır yani nereye akıyor yani.
2             Porsuk'a mı akıyor, Sakarya'ya mı akıyor?
3             hangi SU ↓    o?=
                   <>H <>L
4      B:    =YA ↓ Bozüyük'te ...
               <>H

                      [
5      C:              TUT ...
                   <  >H
                        [
6      K:               YA ↓ neresi mi var
                      <>H
7             neresinde olduğunu bilmiyorsun.
                        [
8      C:               ÖYLE ↓ bir su yani
                      <H H>
9             Eskişehir'de
                 [
10     K:      VAR YA ↓ adam televizyonda gösterdi.
               <H    H>
```

In this example, three speakers are talking at the same time by overlapping with the others (Lines 4 - 6). The teller of the story is Teller K who has initiated a narrative previously. However, Speaker A interrupts the storytelling with a question. In this context, one of the listeners take the turn in order to give answer, but he is interrupted by Speaker C (Line 5) and Teller K (Line 6). Eventually, Teller K can manage to hold the turn for a while, but, he is interrupted by Speaker C. Then, Speaker K who has the highest pitch and voice volume secures the turn (Line 10) as Kökpınar-Kaya and Yağlı claims by depending on the prosodic analysis on the same example (2013, p. 192).

In a conversation, because of the interruptions of multi-speakers which resulted in an overlapping talk, the main teller can lose the turn and his story may be left incompleted as it can be seen in Extract 64.

(64)

```
WHEEL RIMS
1    E:    bir arkadaş üç dört takla attı.
2          Kütahya'dan geliyor.
3          viraja ani giriyor.
4          hiç lastiklerde bir şey yok.
5          girince
6          e: damakları janttan ayrılıyor.
7          havaları... havası gidiyor.
8    G:    yav işte abi ya.
9    E:    havası gidince
10         işte ne yapıyor↑
11         vi[rajı öyle girince]
12   G:    [dağ bayır ince iş ya]
13   F:    [allah allah]
14   G:    ben yavaşken yapıyo[rum]
15   H:    [abi o… ]
16   G:    seninki ne[yap… ]
17   H:    [şeydir ya].
18         şimdi ben
19         lastikçiye gidiyorum mesela.
20         diyor ki on dört inç mesela lastiklerin
21         on altı inç falan işte.
…
```

Teller E is narrating a story but he is interrupted by Speaker G in Line 12. However, he is not the only speaker at that point. Speaker F interrupts Speaker G in Line 13, but Speaker G invades the turn again in Line 14. However, Speaker H interrupts but cannot continue (Line 15). Again Speaker G takes the turn in Line 16, but Speaker H takes the turn back with an interruption and secures his turn in the lines between 17 and 21. The teller E loses the right to narrate his story in Line 12 and his story remains incomplete.

2.2.2.2. Sequence Organization of Co-Narration (Collaborative Storytelling) in Turkish Conversational Narratives

Stories are not necessarily the production of a single teller, but other participants in the conversation may contribute to the telling activity (Ochs et al. 1992; Sacks 1974). In this context, a distinction between narratives produced by a single teller and narratives by multiple tellers can be made. The former ones, monologic narratives, emerge when a single teller holds the floor for a long time; on the other hand, the latter, polyphonic narratives take place when two or more tellers co-narrate a story in a collaborative way (Edelsky,1981). Cheshire also distinguishes between singly-told narratives which are produced by a single teller through an extended turn, and multiply-told narratives jointly

told by two or more tellers (2000, p. 240). These distinctions underline the idea that "narrative becomes an interactional achievement and interlocutors become co-authors" (Ochs and Capps, 2001, p. 3).

At this point, the distinction between 'teller' and 'listener' becomes problematic in the description of the sequence organization of conversational storytelling. That is because such a distinction disregards the collaborative nature of conversational narratives and the emergence of co-participants. In conversational storytelling, co-participants or in other words, co-tellers share the responsibility of the development of the story, the direction the story takes, and its conclusion (Monzoni, 2005, pp. 198-199). This means that two or more conversationalists may share the role of the teller in the storytelling.

In the course of storytelling, co-tellers jointly participate in the development of a narrative in order to give background information, to provide dialogues or to offer their own evaluations about the story narrated (Archakis and Tzanne, 2009). Furthermore, according to Tannen (1983), collaborative telling contributes to the development of the plot, the presentation of the elements of orientation and/or of addition of evaluative comments. The listener participation which may result in co-narration can especially occur in culturally-shared stories and stories of shared experience which is named as "telling one's day stories" by Blum Kulka (1997, pp. 113-115).

In collaborative storytelling, the presence of two potential tellers may cause a competition for the role of the legitimate narrator of the story. A speaker may orient himself as a legitimate teller by beginning to tell a story and another potential teller may begin to compete with him. In such cases, there are two possible outcomes of the competition; the current teller keeps his/her legitimate teller position and the other becomes a collaborative and secondary teller, or a change for the legitimate teller occurs. This change can be due to the legitimate teller's leaving this position and willingly giving it to the competing one or the secondary teller's invasion of the extended telling turn for storytelling. Extract 65 illustrates the situation of secondary teller's invasion of the extended turn and her emergence as the legitimate teller.

(65)

HOUSE WORKS

```
1    F:   bir irmik helvası yapamadıysa
2         ne var onda↑
3    C:   [süt koyunca olmuyor].
4    L:   [şimdi bana şikayet] etse
5         be… ben diyeceğim,
6    A:   konuşmuyorum ben.
7    L:   ((laughs)) Funda Teyzemin dediğini.
8         böyle yapıyorum. ((covers her mouth))
9    M:   he: her horoz
10        kendi çöplüğünde ötermiş.
11        o hesaba [döndü].
12   A:   [doğru].
13   M:   neyse ben senden taraf olayım da
14        [arada kalmayayım].
15   C:   [Oğuz Enişte mi]↑
16        Oğuz Enişte mi yaptıydı onu↑
17        Ayşe Teyze'ninki mi yaptıydı↑
18   L:   hı hı.
19   C:   sen kızı kaçır.
20   L:   ge… gelinin işte anne...
21   C:   he işte. Çağatay'ın.
22        ama nasıl seviyor yani.
23        her fırsatta önüne çıkıyor.
24        şöyle yapıyor,
25        böyle yapıyor.
26        neyse en sonunda
27        zor bela
28        isteye, isteye, isteye, isteye,
29        kaçır dediğim o
30        bıktırmış yani.
31        evleniyorlar.
32        belli bir zaman sonra
33        Oğuz Enişte arıyor Funda Teyze'yi.
34        senin kızın şunu şunu şunu
35        yapmayı bilmiyor.
36   M:   kaçmayı biliyor mu demiş↑
37   L:   a:: Funda Teyzem…
38        kim yalvardı sana.
39   C:   getir demiş getir.
40   L:   getir, getir, getir demiş.
41        malımızdan bezginliğimiz yok.
42   T:   Funda Teyze mi↑
43   L:   [Funda Teyzem]
44   T:   [kime]↑
45   L:   Oğuz'a.
46        Küçük Oğuz damada.
47   T:   he he.
48   C:   [zorla mı verdik]↑
49   L:   [yalvardık mı]↑
50        zorla mı verdik [sana demiş.]
51   C:   [getir demiş].
52   L:   teyzem zaten yazık…
53   M:   çok [espritüeldir].
54   C:   [çok şakacıdır].
55   F:   [yüzüne çok konuşur] valla.
56   C:   valla [görümcesi oluyor].
57   L:   [getir kızı getir]
```

```
58           getir kızı demiş.
59           getir.
60    C:     [görümce… ]
61    L:     [tamam tamam] demiş
62           Oğuz bir daha.
```

In the telling of the story presented in Extract 65, Speaker C begins the story (Line 19), and for some time she narrates the events. However, in Line 37 Speaker L takes the turn and starts to compete with Speaker C. The competition ends with the words of Speaker L (Lines 57 − 62) who takes the legitimate teller position from Speaker C who has already left the floor and talks about another topic (Lines 54, 56 and 60).

The next extract (Extract 66) illustrates the speaker change in which the legitimate teller willingly leaves the legitimate teller position by giving it to the competing one. Speaker G is the legitimate teller, however, she gives the position to Speaker M by not competing for it (Line 36) and Speaker M takes the turn and continues telling.

(66)

JOKE OF THE THIEVES

```
1     M:     çünkü yazlıkta da bizim bir
2            a... ablamın bitişiğindeki
3            komşuya girmişler.
4            evin içinde gezineni
5            hepsi görüyormuş ama
6            kim olduğunu o diyormuş
7            abim geziniyor,
8            o diyormuş
9            kardeşim geziniyor.
10    A:     aygın aygın [baygın hesabı].
11    G:     [sizinki gene] iyi işte.
12           Mert'in abisi poliste.
13           o zaman Ankara'da polislik yapıyordu.
14           Antalya'da değildi.
15           olay şu.
16           yani bir davaya gidiyorlar,
17           soyguna.
18           şimdi hırsızlar uyuttukları için spreyle.
19           girmişler sıkmışlar.
20           zaten millet uyuyor.
21           evi soyuyorlar bir güzel.
22           pek de bir şey bulamamışlar herhalde.
23           karşılıklı ama.
24           iki komşuyu soyuyorlar.
25    M:     ay bizim gibi.
26    G:     he: evet.
27    M:     Zafer'i benim [yanıma].
28    G:     [bu evin] kadınını alıp
29           bu yatağa,
30           bu evin kadınını o yatağa=
```

```
31    A:    iyisi mi böyle yapalım dediler.
32    G:    hıh bırakıp gidiyorlar.
33          evde bir uyanıyor,
34          [komşunun yanında].
35    A:    [hıh].
36    M:    [evde… evde] bir şey bulamadıkları için
37          kızmışlar.
38          ne yapmışlar↑
39          kadınları değiştirmişler.
40    G:    ay: uyanınca [bir daha].
41    A:    [ama::n]
42          ay ne kötü.
43          [Allah kahretsin].
44    N:    [Allah Allah] değiştir... yav...
45    M:    Metin'e ne güldüydük.
46          O'nun karakolunda.
47          ne gülmüştük.
```

In some cases, the teller may make another potential teller participate in the story by eliciting collaboration of the information told in the story through the means of a question or a repair (Goodwin, 1987). In the narrative, *University Years*, a participant (Teller S) introduces the story with a question (Line 1 and 2). After her introduction which appeals to a specific conversationalist, she asks a new question to the participant who involved in the same past experience (Line 5) and the participant, Participant P, promotes to the teller position (Line 4). Both tellers contribute to the narration together by correcting and assisting each other throughout the storytelling. The narrative is initiated by Teller S in Lines 1 and 2. The sections of Orientation and Complicating Action are narrated collaboratively with excessive use of turn-takings, and the story takes an end with the words of Participant P in the lines between 91 and 94. Many turn-takings, both listener- and teller-oriented turn-takings occur in this collaborative telling activity given in Extract 67.

(67)

UNIVERSITY YEARS

```
1     S:    biliyor musun ben sana
2           yarım günde etek dik… diktiydim.
3           bütün herkes şaşırmıştı.
4           biz de yolla… iki…kitapla neydi↑
5     P:    e::: sözlük işte.
6           sözlüklerim.
7           o iki ciltti.
8           etek.
9           ay içine şeker koymuştu. ((cheers)
10    B:    eteğin içine mi↑
11    P:    he: [o Meybonlar var ya.
12          onlardan bir küçük pakette
```

13		şeker koymuştu].
14	S:	[akşam bana telefon açtı.
15		o etek ne için lazımdı]↑
16	P:	staj içindi.
17		ikinci [sınıfta].
18	B:	[bak] hıh.
19	P:	237 bize birden staj çıkardılar.
20		**gideceksiniz gitmeyeceksiniz,**
21		**gideceksiniz** [**gitmeyeceksiniz**],
22	B:	[şey yani] ha:
23	P:	**gideceksiniz** dediler.
24		eyvah hep kot var.
25		giyecek etek yok.
26		odadakilere baktık.
27		hiçbirimizin öyle eteği yok.
28		kimden isteyeceksin yani.
29		nereden gidip alacaksın↑
30		şey… Kızılay'a mı ineceğim onun için↑
31		**anne** dedim.
32		**benim eteğim yok**
33		**ne yapacağım ben**↑
34		ondan sonra,
35		bu sabah 10-11 gibi falan konuşuldu.
36		annem otur.
37		eteği dik.
38		götür.
39		Aşti'ye ver.
40		dedi ki bana
41		işte
42		**kaç otobüsü** dedi.
43		dö… altı otobüsü
44	S:	altı otobüsü müydü↑
45		dört otobüsü müydü↑
46	P:	hayır ben 5 gibi aldım.
47		iki otobüsüne yetiştirmiş eteği.
48	S:	bak şimdi baban diyor ki
49		**sen ne yapacaksın** diyor=
50		dikiliyor,
51		**ne yapacaksın sen** diyor.
52	P:	11'de ara…
53		10 gibi aradım herhalde.
54	S:	**Pelin eteklik istedi** dedim.
55		ben hemen girdim.
56		kumaş buldum.
57		kestim.
58		tangır tangır dikiyorum.
59		o her yeri dağıttım.
60		karıştırdım.
61	P:	[fermuar…]
62	S:	[kitapları] hazırladım.
63		kitap… evden kitap istedi.
64	P:	galiba 2 otobüsüne yetiştirmiş.
65		o zaman kampüsün önünden
66	S:	kampüsün önünden
67	P:	dış yol yoktu.
68		[kampüsün önünde iniyorduk].
69	S:	[bir firmaya rica ettim].
70	P:	Ceytur'a.
71	S:	**götürmem** dedi.

```
72              ondan sonra Cey…
73      P:      Antur götürmem demiş.
74      S:      götürmem dedi.
75      B:      Allah Allah.
76              e::↑
77      P:      sonra Ceytur'a vermiş.
78      S:      Ceytur'a.
79      P:      [ben orada bekledim].
80      S:      [dedim yani]
81              istersen bunu
82              bilet parasına götür.
83              ama çok acil bu gidecek.
84              ne var içinde dedi.
85              açın bakın dedim.
86              ne olduğunu açın bakın.
87      P:      kitaplar var.
88              iki tane ansiklopedik [sözlüğüm vardı].
89      S:      [ben gene poşedi] bantlarım.
90              ama yetiştirdim o gün akşama.
91      P:      ben de dersten çıktım
92              saat iki dersinden
93              dört buçukta.
94              aşağı [kadar yürüdüm].
95      B:      [beşte gittin] aldın.
96      P:      he:
```

A co-narration of a culturally shared story is given in Extract 68. The story is told by a legitimate teller (Speaker R) and a secondary teller (Speaker L) as a collaborative achievement.

(68)

EATING SOAP

```
1       F:      dünkü börek
2               bayatlamamıştır herhalde,
3       L:      yok gayet güzel,
4               ayrıca bayatlasa ne olur yeriz.
5       R:      paracık verdik
6               apırsa da yiyeceğiz köpürse de demiş herif.
7       L:      Arnavut.
8               apırsan da yiyeceğim köpürsen de demiş.
9       F:      Sabunu mu yemiş↑
10      L:      hm::
11      B:      niye sabun yiyor↑
12      F:      şey diye yemiştir onu.
13      R:      peynir diye almış onu O.
14              bana şundan ver demiş.
15              bakkalda vermiş onu.
16              o peynir diye alıyor.
17              yemeğe başlayınca
18              köpürünce,
19              sana paracık verdim
20              apırsan da yiyeceğim köpürsen de.
21      L:      apırsan da yiyeceğim demiş para verdim
22              demiş sana.
```

Co-tellers in collaborative storytelling participate into the telling activity by taking the turns for many purposes as it is discussed before in 2.2.2.1.1.. These listener-oriented turn-takings are inevitable in collaborative narration. In addition to them, it is possible to talk about teller-oriented turn-takings, too. Obviously, in co-narration one or several of the listeners may take the turns and make their contribution to the telling activity. After that, the main teller takes the turn in order to keep the story continue and to complete it.

The basic function of teller-oriented turn-takings is ensuring the continuity and completion of the narrative which is being told. Main tellers of co-narration try to keep the stories take an end. Otherwise, they give up storytelling by quitting the teller position or yielding it to other co-tellers. In the former situation, the narrative may be completed or may become incomplete; on the other hand, in the latter, the position of main teller passes to one of the co-tellers and storytelling continues.

Different functions of listener-oriented turn-takings are also available for teller-oriented turn-takings; tellers may take the turns for assisting the co-tellers in their storytellings, giving extra information about what is narrated, predicting the next, approving the co-teller, responding a question, requesting extra information, and making evaluations. Besides, main tellers may take the turns for asking questions to tellers in order to receive a help or extra information.

The function of assisting the co-teller already exists in the nature of collaborative storytelling. Main tellers and co-tellers perform storytellings and produce narratives together by assisting each other. At that point, a narrative emerges as a collaborative achievement of both a main teller and (a) co-teller(s) as a result of the turn-takings with the function of assisting each other(s).

The function of giving extra information can be performed in collaborative storytelling with the main teller's taking the turn for giving a piece of information. In this context, main tellers interfere the narration of co-tellers. This can be performed after a series of turn-takings of the participants, as well. However, in any case, main tellers take the turns from the co-tellers in order to assist him/her. Both the functions of assisting the co-teller

and giving extra information can be exemplified in Extract 65 given in Pages 158 and 159. Teller C is the main teller and Teller L is the co-teller of the storytelling activity. In the narrative, Teller C initiates the narrative in Line 19 and between the lines of 21 and 36 she continues her narration. However, in Line 37, one of the participants takes the turn and continues telling the events from the point where Teller C leaves. Then, Teller C takes the turn back and assists her by telling the following event (Line 39). At this phase, Teller L takes the turn again and continues narrating the following events (Line 40-41). The talk between the lines of 48 and 51 is a good example of collaborative achievement of a part of a narrative. Both parties by assisting to each other narrate events. When the Co-teller L begins making an evaluation in Line 52, one of the participants takes the turn and after a series of turn-takings, the main teller C grasps the turn for giving a piece of extra information (Line 56). After that, the co-teller invades the turn and puts an end to the current telling activity.

The functions of approving the co-teller, responding to a question and requesting for extra information can be exemplified in Extract 67 given between the lines of 161 and 163. In the narrative given in Extract 67, the main teller is Teller S and the Co-teller is Participant P. In Lines 64 and 65, Participant P, namely the co-teller, narrates a series of events which belong to the same past experience. The main teller takes the turn just to approve the words of the teller (Line 66). This approval activity is performed with the repetition of the last words of the Participant P and it is also main teller' acceptance of the emergence of Participant P's as a co-teller. As it is explained, in the section of 2.2.1.1.1., the listener-oriented function of approving can be achieved through the repetition or paraphrase of the previous words. Therefore, as it is the case for listener-oriented turn-takings with the function of approve the teller can be performed in a similar way in teller-oriented turn-takings, too.

The function of requesting extra information is also appealing for teller-oriented turn-takings. As it can be seen in the lines between 1 and 3, Teller S initiates a narrative. She asks several questions to a specific participant and these questions promote that participant to co-teller position. While the Co-teller P narrates the events, the main teller

S overlaps with her and takes the turn for requesting extra information between the lines of 14 and 15.

Teller-oriented function of evaluating can be seen in Line 40 of Extract 66. The main teller, Teller G initiates a narrative in Line 11. The telling activity becomes a co-narration with the participation of Participant M to the telling activity in Line 36. Between the lines of 36 and 39, the co-teller Participant M narrates the events. However, in Line 40, the main teller takes the turn for making an evaluation about the events.

Examples for teller-oriented turn-takings with the functions of responding a question and predicting the next talk are not found in the data of this study. The function of responding a question would be expected to exist in collaborative storytelling. However, the function of predicting the next talk does not seem to be likely in collaborative storytelling. It is a fact that collaborative tellings emerge if two or more than two participants perform the narration of a familiar past experience. This means that the parties who participate into the telling activity know about the narrated events beforehand. In this context, it is not possible for the function of predicting the next talk to occur.

2.2.2.3. Discussion of Sequence Organization of Conversational Narratives in Turkish

Turn-takings which are inevitable parts of a conversation have been achieved by both tellers and listeners for many different purposes in Turkish conversational storytelling. During the conversational storytellings, both listeners and tellers perform turn-takings in accordance with the nature of the storytelling activity. All the turn-takings have harmonious functions with the conversational storytelling; for instance, nobody takes turns for greeting the others or exchanging farewell in the course of storytellings. The listener-oriented functions of turn-takings which are highly relevant to storytelling are assisting the teller, giving extra information, predicting the next talk of the teller, approving the teller, responding a question, requesting for extra information and evaluating.

The functions of listener-oriented turn-takings are available for teller-oriented turn-takings, as well. In addition to the turn-takings for continuing the storytelling and completing it, tellers may take turns for assisting the teller, giving extra information, predicting the next talk of the teller, approving the teller, responding a question, requesting for extra information and evaluating. The functions of assisting the teller, giving extra information, approving the teller, requesting for extra information and evaluating are observed in the data. However, the functions of predicting the next talk and responding a question are not observed.

The data reveal that the most frequent listener-oriented function of turn-taking is approving the teller which is observed to be achieved by a backchanelling, repetition and paraphrase of the teller's words. The least frequent function is responding to a question. That is why this function can only be used in occasions where tellers or listeners ask a question or seek for a piece of information which can be assured by the listeners.

It is a fact that listener-oriented turn-takings are inevitable in collaborative narration. In addition to them, teller-oriented turn-takings emerge in co-narration, too. In co-narration one or several of the listeners may take the turns and make their contribution to the telling activity as secondary tellers. After the contributions of the listeners, the main teller takes the turn in order to keep the story continue and to complete it. The basic function of teller-oriented turn-takings is ensuring the contunity and completion of the narrative which is being told.

It is found in the data that, listener participation which may result in co-narration can especially occur in culturally-shared stories and stories of shared experience. Obviously, if a story is co-narrated, this means that tellers of the story already know about what is narrated in the story. At this point, the culturally-shared narratives and the narratives of shared experiences are subjects of collaborative telling.

The Labovian sections which contain the most frequent number of turn-takings can be identified as Orientation and Complicating Action. It is obvious that these sections give the general information about the story and what has happened in it. This makes these

sections obligatory sections of conversational narratives. Generally they are the largest part of a story and are quite convenient to turn-takings for any purpose.

The listener-oriented turn-takings may occur in Abstract and Resolution, as well. However, they are limited in number. In Abstract, recipients are informed about the forthcoming story and it is unlikely to take the turns for the purposes such as assisting to, approving of the teller, and making any predictions about something at that point. Due to its being the ending point of the events that are narrated in the story, Resolution is not a convenient part for listener participations. In other words, listeners may be in a tendency to learn about the resolution of the events by not interfering the teller. In Coda and Evaluation, any listener-oriented turn-takings are not observed in the data of the study.

The data illustrate that both types of repair, self-repair and other-repair exist in Turkish conversational narratives. Both self-initiated and other-initiated self repairs have been observed in the data of this study. Besides, it is found in the study that self-repairs are generally achieved by the discourse marker 'şey'. Self-initiated other-repairs in conversational storytelling have been also identified in the data of the study. Yet, other-initiated other-repairs have not been observed. It is a fact that this type of repairs emerge between the two other parties than the tellers. In conversational storytelling, tellers gain the floor for their storytelling activities by depending on the permission given by the listeners. In this context, the listeners may hesitate to interfere the narration process. Hence, they may not interrupt the storytelling for a repair for another party.

In conversational storytelling, the frequent adjacency pairs are question-answer pairs. Other types of adjacency pairs such as greetings or farewells are not likely to occur in conversational storytellings as they are likely for daily encounters. Both parts in a question-answer pair can be teller or listener-oriented; the one who asks the question or gives the answer can be the teller or the listener. In addition to these, a story can be told as an extended answer of a question of one of the conversationalists. In other words, stories can be produced as a response to a question by a prior speaker.

In conversational storytelling, the conversational practice, *interruption* occurs and welcomes the existance of overlappings which can be either competitive or non-competitive. Some overlappings are not used to invade the turn. They are just produced to show interest to the storytelling, to help the teller, etc. Because of this, these overlappings are non-competitive and they can be named with the term *overlap*. On the contrary, there are competitive overlappings which signal to secure the efforts of those who talk for securing the turn from the current speaker. If the speaker who is interrupted attempts to hold his/her turn, an *overlapping talk* emerges. Both speakers and interrupters have some strategies to secure their turns. Pivoting expressions such as *lafını balla kestim* and increased pitch and volume of their voice can be used to invade and secure the turn.

Overlappings can mostly be observed in collaborative storytelling. The presence of two or more would-be tellers may result in a competition for the role of the legitimate teller. A story may begin by a speaker who promotes to the position of legitimate teller. However, another potential teller may begin to compete with him in the storytelling. This results in two cases; the current teller keeps his/her legitimate teller position and the other becomes a collaborative and secondary teller or a change for the legitimate teller emerges. The legitimate teller may voluntarily leave the position and give it to the competing speaker or the secondary teller invade the extended turn for storytelling.

The analysis of the sequence reveals that conversational storytelling has its distinctive patterns of sequence organizations. In a general overlook, it is found that tellers request for extended turns for their storytellings and conversationalists approve their storytellings by permitting them to use longer turns. In the course of storytellings, listeners are in a tendency to let the tellers continue their tellings and complete the stories. Therefore, they do not interrupt the stories as much as possible. In the case of turn-takings, listeners are not competitive for securing the turn, they take turns just to assist, to make some contributions or to ask questions and then, yield the turn back to the teller. In sum, except for collaborative storytellings, listeners are not competitive in their turn-takings performed for any purpose in Turkish conversational storytelling.

2.3. LINGUISTIC DOMAIN ANALYSIS

The linguistic domain analysis of the present study focuses on the use of some specific linguistic forms which are used by tellers in their storytelling activities. These specific linguistic forms which are the main focus of this chapter have been analysed in some parts of the previous chapters; however, they have not been examined in detail. In this section, the use of some frequent linguistic forms will be analysed in terms of their teller- or listener-oriented narrative, conversational and interpersonal functions.

Narrative functions of linguistic forms can be identified with the roles of these forms in constructing a narrative body. The ways narratives are initiated and sequenced in larger narrative forms, and how events are sequenced and distinguished in narratives are highlighted as the narrative functions.

Conversational functions of the linguistic forms are specified as the roles of these forms in the sequence organization of a conversation. In other words, how tellers or listeners take and hold turns, signal that they will perform a storytelling and request a larger space for their storytelling in a conversation can be identified as the conversational functions.

Interpersonal functions of linguistic forms are relevant to the purposes of tellers to orient listeners for a storytelling, to manipulate them for giving permission for an extended turn and to make listeners feel as if they experience the events from the eyes of the teller. At that point, acts of attracting the attention of the listeners to the storytelling activity and visualizing the situation emerge as the interpersonal functions.

In linguistic forms, these functions may appear in a way free from the others or in generally, they jointly emerge in a single linguistic form. In the following sections, these linguistic forms and their various functions in conversational storytelling are examined in details.

2.3.1. Description of Linguistic Forms and Their Functions in Turkish Conversational Narratives

In conversational storytelling, some specific linguistic forms are frequently used by tellers to trigger for a storytelling, to produce a narrative body, to guarantee their teller positions, and to ensure the flowing of storytelling in a conversation and so on. The linguistic forms which are considered to be frequently used in Turkish conversational narratives and to achieve the various functions in the production of Turkish conversational narratives have been specified as some discourse markers, interrogative forms, and tense shifts. These linguistic forms have been selected due to their frequency of occurence and their various functions, especially the narrative ones, in the narrative structures of conversational narratives in the data of this study.

For the identification of the frequent discourse markers, a list of discourse markers has been prepared by depending on the study of Özbek (1998a). The discourse markers which frequently exist in Turkish conversational narratives have been identified according to their frequency of occurrence in the data. The discourse markers, 'ondan sonra' and 'şey', which are in the top of the list have been specified for the analysis. In addition to them, two discourse markers have been selected from the list in terms of their narrative functions. These frequent discourse markers with specific narrative functions are 'şimdi' and 'işte'. Other discourse markers which have a high frequency of occurrence like 'yani' have been disregarded since they may not have narrative functions as 'şimdi' and 'işte' have. At total, four discourse markers have been identified for the analysis in terms of their frequency of occurrence and narrative functions.

In addition to the discourse markers, interrogative forms and tense shifts have been identified as the frequent linguistic forms which take place in Turkish conversational narratives. Out of 100 single conversational narratives, 82 of them have the use of interrogative forms and 77 of them have tense shifts in their narrative bodies. Both linguistic forms have significant functions, especially narrative functions, in their narrative constructions.

The linguistic forms and their functions which are identified in the data are summarized in Table 8 and they will be explained in the following sections:

Table 8: The linguistic forms and their functions in conversational storytelling

The Linguistic Forms		Orientation	Functions	
Discourse Markers	ondan sonra	Teller-Oriented	Sequencing the events temporally	*Narrative*
			Connecting the bound narratives to the first one	
			Initiating the category of Complicating Actions	
			Initiating the category of Resolution	
			Initiating the turn	*Conversational*
			Holding the floor	
			Attracting the attention of the listeners to a specific point	*Interpersonal*
		Listener-Oriented	Initiating the turn	*Conversational*
			Showing interest	*Interpersonal*
	şimdi	Teller-Oriented	Initiating narrative	*Narrative*
			Taking the turn	*Conversational*
			Signalling an extended turn	
			Detailing the situation	*Interpersonal*
	Işte	Teller-Oriented	Initiating a narrative	*Narrative*
			Initiating the category of Resolution	*Narrative*
			Signalling an extended turn	*Conversational*
			Detailing the situation	*Interpersonal*
	şey	Teller-Oriented	Verbal planning	*Conversational*
			Repairing the self	
			Preventing the interruption	*Interpersonal*
Interrogative Forms		Teller-Oriented	Initiating a narrative	*Narrative*
			Constructing a co-narration	
			Signalling an extended turn	*Conversational*
			Verbal planning	
			Ensuring the attention of the listeners	*Interpersonal*
		Listener-Oriented	Triggering a storytelling	*Narrative*
			Taking the turn for requesting for extra information	*Conversational*
			Taking the turn for predicting the next	
Tense Shifts		Teller-Oriented	Separating the Labovian categories	*Narrative*
			Separating the events	
			Attracting the attention of the listeners to a specific point	*Interpersonal*

2.3.1.1. Discourse Markers

Discourse markers have significant roles in conversations and they are used by tellers for many purposes. They also achieve many narrative, conversational and interpersonal functions in conversational storytelling. For example, they may have the function of initiating a narrative, taking and holding the turn in the course of storytelling, and requesting extra information about the narrated events. Or even they may perfom the function of removing the events out of their past frame and locating them into the time of speaking. As a result, listeners feel as if they experience the narrated events by themselves. Georgakopoulou (1997, pp. 141-142) suggests that linguistic devices like discourse markers create a sense of proximity between the story world and immediate conversational situation. Thus, the listeners become involved with the teller as discourse markers create the feeling of witnessing the narrated experience (ibid., p.143). Besides, as Schiffrin (1987) proposes, with the help of discourse markers speakers can locate themselves in the ongoing conversation

The most frequent discourse markers found in the data are *ondan sonra* (It can be translated into English as 'and then') and *şey* (It denotationally means 'thing' in English, however it can be translated into English as 'well'). In addition to them, *şimdi* (It denotationally means 'now' in English) and *işte* (It can be translated into English as 'here') have been identified as other frequent discourse markers in Turkish conversational narratives. These discourse markers have various narrative, conversational and interpersonal functions. These functions can be seen in Table 8 in Page 175.

2.3.1.1.1. Ondan Sonra

'Ondan sonra' (It denotationally means 'and then') is a discourse marker which is frequently observed in the data. It is seen that 'ondan sonra' may exist in different places and for various functions with different orientations in conversational storytelling. The narrative functions of 'ondan Sonra' can be listed as a) sequencing the events temporally, b) connecting the bound narratives to the first one in a CCN, c)

initiating the category of Complicating Action and d) initiating the category of Resolution. Its conversational functions are a) initiating the turn and b) holding the floor. These are teller-oriented conversational functions of 'ondan sonra'; however, it has a listener-oriented conversational function. It is the function of initiating the turn in storytelling. 'Ondan sonra' has also an interpersonal function. It is the function of attracting the attention of the listeners to a specific point in the storytelling.

a) Narrative Functions of 'Ondan Sonra'

'Ondan sonra' can be accepted as a continuity marker which indicates that some more talk is incoming in conversation. With a narrative point of view, it may be identified as a marker which shows the continuity of events in a narration. In this context, it can be claimed that 'ondan sonra' has a function of sequencing the events in a temporal continuum. The narrative function of sequencing the events temporally can be exemplified in the narrative *Cutting Grass* given below in Extract 69. (The linguistic forms which are examined both in this example and the others are represented with underlining in the examples).

(69)

CUTTING GRASS
…

```
44    A:    ne oldu dedim.
45          işaret ettim.
46          şimdi bizim burada jandarma yazıyor kıyafetlerimizde.
47          burada da şey var ((shows))
48          rütbe var.
49          ondan sonra
50          o çavuşluk rütbesi mi dedi.
51          öteki de atladı
52          yanında ki mahkum da
53          yok ya orada jandarma yazıyor dedi.
54          Ben de dedim.
55          burada jandarma yazıyor dedim, ((shows))
56          burada rütbe var dedim. ((shows))
57          ondan sonra öyle deyince
58          alla allah dedi,
59          çavuşlar nöbet tutuyor mu ya dedi.
60          ondan sonra ben bir şey demedim.
61          fazla muattap almıyorum.
62          onlar konuşuyor kendilerine göre.
63          ben işaret ediyorum,
64          şey yapıyorum.
65          her yerde kamera var çünkü tepelerde.
```

```
66          yani sürekli seni çekiyor kameralar.
…
```

The function of 'ondan sonra' for sequencing the events temporally can be seen in the lines of 49, 57 and 60 in the narrative given in the previous page. In these lines, the teller puts the events in a temporal order by using 'ondan sonra'.

In Extract 70, in the narrative *Learning English,* another narrative function of 'ondan sonra' can be observed. This narrative function is connecting the bound narratives to the previous ones in a complex conversational narrative. An example of the use of 'ondan sonra' for this function can be seen in Extract 70 in the lines of 57, 93 and 151

(70)

LEARNING ENGLISH

```
…
13    S:    ben okulu bitirdim.
14          e:: Ardil.
15          nasıl oldu o↑
16          Ardil'e başladım mıydı ya↑
17    K:    Ardil ne ya↑
18    P:    Ardil'e ben
19          ben gittim Ardil'e ben baba.
20    S:    dil kursu.
21          hayır bende başladıydım herhalde.
22    P:    başlamışsın da bırakmışsın.
23    K:    teşekkür ederim canım.
24          sağol.
25    S:    hatta ilkokuldan bir arkadaşım vardı.
26    P:    şeker↑
27    K:    az bir şey.
28    S:    Cihan diye.
29          O liseyi bitirdiydi.
30    K:    he:
31    S:    ondan sonra orada karşılaştıydık.
32    K:    Ardil dediğin şey mi?
33    S:    dil okulu.
34    K:    kurs↑
35    S:    kurs.
36    K:    özel kurs.
37          Eskişehirde mi↑
38    S:    burada yav.
39    K:    neredeydi o↑
40    S:    Şevket Oktay
41          Dershaneler Sokakta.
42          postanenin karşısında.
43    K:    he:
44          o zamanlar bu kadar bo… bol dershane yoktu.
45    S:    [yoktu canım böyle dershane].
46    K:    [Çene Kıran vardı bir tane].
47          bir matematik dersanesi.
48          üç tane daha vardı=
```

```
49   S:   Mehmet Ultav'ın.
50        he:
51        ondan sonra
52        herhalde ben onu şeydemedim.
53        askere mi gittik ne oldu bir şey oldu.
54   K:   Çene Kıran yaşıyor mu↑
55   S:   Çene Kıran'ı konuşuyorlar da,
56        bilmiyorum yaşıyor mu yaşamıyor mu.

57        ondan sonra Ankara'ya gittik.
58        işte Ankara'da
59        ben Amerikan Kültür Derneği'ne gittim.
60        birinci kitaba başladık
61        ikinci… yani bitirdim.
62        ikinci kitaba başladık.
63        Tofaş'la anlaştım buraya geldim.
64   K:   hm::
…

93   S:   ondan sonra ben şeye yazıldım.
94        Anadolu Üniversitesi'nin dil okulu var.
95   K:   hm::
96   S:   oraya.
97        şey de… müdürü de
98        Mr. Simmens diye biriydi.
99        O'nun da Fiatı vardı.
100       İlhan Canlar Akademi başkanıydı.
101  K:   O kim↑
102  S:   başkan yani.
103       O'da prof…slardan.
104       ben hepsi ile tanışıyordum yani.
105       oraya gitmeye başladık,
106       ve orada da bir kitap bitirdik.
107       ikinci kitaba başladık.
108       Ali Konur diye bir hoca var.
109       ödev verdi eve.
110  K:   hm:
111  S:   lan eve mis...misafir geldi bakamadım.
112       dedim **yarın serviste bakarım.**
113       o günde se... nasıl işler birbirinin üstüne yığıldı ki.
114       ensemi kaşıyacak vaktim yok.
115       ona da bakamadım.
116       akşamleyin geldik
117       kursa
118       çünkü adam keleğin teki.
119       [genç].
120  K:   [Konur]↑
121  S:   ama kelek yani,
122       kıl adam.
123       Kemal kapıda bekledim bunu.
124       dedim **hoca bak**
125       **sen şimdi** dedim **içeri girince sorarsın,**
126  K:   durum [aynen böyle]
127  S:   [**durum böyle**].
128       **çalışamadım.**
129       **bana bir şey sorma beni** dedim.
130       **sınıfın içinde mahçup etme** dedim adama.
131       **tamam** dedi.
132       girdik ben de hemen,
```

```
133        hep başa otururum.
134        ödevini yapmayanlar,
135        Mr.Kara.
136        hemen kalktım,
137        kitabı defteri topladım.
138        hadi bana eyvallah.
139   K:   uyarmana rağmen yine oldu.
140   S:   he: adamın dersine gider miyim ben↑
141        çektim gittim tabi,
142        sınıftan.
143        bu sefer koştu önüme.
144        kusura bakma ben hata yaptım.
145        hoca dedim.
146        İ… İngilizce de senin olsun
147        üniversite de senin olsun.
148   K:   ya ama işte kaybeden yine sen oldun.
149        O olmadı.
150   S:   ben oldum tabi.

151        ondan sonra o şey geldi.
152        O Mr. Simmens geldi.
153        ama bir hafta filan geçti aradan.
154        olmaz,
155        öğrenebildiği kadar Türkçe ile,
156        yani bu yapılmaz dedi.
157        öğrenmiş sormuş soruşturmuş.
158        ben onu istesem atarım diyor okuldan.
…
```

The narrative *Learning English* is a progressive complex conversational narrative which includes three single narratives and a progressive complex narrative. In the lines of 57, 93 and 151, it is seen that new narratives which are bound to the prior ones are initiated by the teller with the discourse marker 'ondan sonra'. These examples of 'ondan sonra' seem as if they just sequence the events, however, they also sequence the different narratives in a higher narrative body in terms of their temporal order. Obviously, progressive complex conversational narratives contain narratives that are sequenced in a temporal order. In this narrative, the initial and bound narratives follow one another in a temporal sequence with the help of 'ondan sonra'.

It can also be discussed that 'ondan sonra' functions as a narrative initiator. It gives signals that a new storytelling will be performed. However, this idea can only account for the bound narratives which are connected to an initial narrative in a complex conversational narrative. In the data, any examples for the initiation of free single narratives with 'ondan sonra' have not been found. Therefore, 'ondan sonra' can be identified as an initiator of bound narratives in conversational storytelling.

'Ondan sonra' which functions as an initiator of bound narratives has mostly been observed in turn-medial positions in the telling of complex conversational narratives as it can be seen in Line 57 and 151 of Extract 70. In these lines, the teller initiates the bound narratives with 'ondan sonra' which is performed after a piece of talk of the teller in the middle of a turn. In this context, these bound narratives are initiated by the teller by holding his teller position.

In addition to the use of 'ondan sonra' in progressive complex narratives, it can also be used to initiate the single conversational narratives in a hypertopical complex conversational narrative. The function of 'ondan sonra' for initiating bound narratives in hypertopical complex narratives can be exemplified in Extract 71:

(71)

WOMAN WITH PARKINSON'S DISEASE

```
1     D:    şey parkinson hastalığı oluyor ya
2           titremeler falan
3           bir de onlardan bahsettiler.
…
38          bir de eşini getirmiş adam.
39          kadın,
40          iki günde Türkçe'yi sökmüş.
41          adam tembel diyor ama.
42          kadın çok güzel Türkçe konu...
43          ben girdim.
44          bir de ben misafirim tanımıyorum ya ben şimdi.
45          kadın gel... kadın böyle.
46          hoş geldiniz efendim yapıyor.
47          siz de hoş geldiniz dedim ben de.
48          tahmin ettim yani.
49          ufak tefek çekik gözlü.
50          bir gün sonradan da gelecek dediler ya.

51          toplantı var o gün diye
52          erken gel dedi Münevver Abla.
53          çünkü erken toplanıyorlar dedi.
54          ben gittim dokuzda.
55          a: yarısını konuşmuşlar zaten ama.
56          dolu
57          içerisi bütün dolmuş.
58          biz yataklara geçtik yatakların üstünde oturduk artık
59          geçilmiyor yani o kadar kalabalık yoğunluk olmuş.

60          ondan sonra
61          bir şey anlatacaktım.
62          ha: parkinson şeyini anlatıyordum.
63          İstanbul CD sinde,
64          kadın diyor.
65          benim diyor.
66          parkinson hastalığım var diyor.
```

```
67            ondan sonra unutuyordum diyor.
68            yaptığım şeyi unutuyordum diyor.
69            şunu şuraya koydum mu,
70            onu almaya aklım ermiyordu diyor.
71            bırakıyordum herşeyi diyor.
72            neyse beni hastaneye yatırdılar diyor.
73            ondan sonra,
74            hastanede diyor.
75            şeyler falan diyor.
76            böyle hep hastaların durumları kötü diyor.
77            böyle hepsi titriyor diyor.
78            şey yapıyor yaşlı yaşlı.
79            ben de kendimi onlardan daha kötü gördüm diye.
80            ben daha şeyim ya diyor.
81            biraz aklım eriyor ama diyor.
82            kafamda pek toplamıyor diyor.
83            kadın.
84    A:      ha:
85            ondan sonra ben aklımı başıma toplayayım mı
86            demiş↑
87    D:      ondan sonra işte ben diyor.
88            biraz diyor tedavi gördüm diyor.
89            sonra bu yatakların şeyini duydum diyor.
90            teyzemin kızı ısrar etti buraya götürelim dedi diyor.
91            geldik diyor (,) neyse diyor.
92            ben diyor.
93            altı ay mı dedi beş ay mı devam ettim diyor.
94            titremelerimde azalma oldu diyor.
95            unutkanlığımda azalma oldu diyor.

96            ondan sonra hatta diyor,
97            beni diyor bir gün diyor,
98            şeyden hastaneden gelirken diyor,
99            şey diyor…
100           çöp torbasını diyor,
101           eşya torbası diye diyor karıştırmışım diyor,
102           çöpü almışım diyor eve kadar getirmişim diyor.
…
```

The narrative *Woman with Parkinson* is a hypertopical complex conversational narrative which contains two single and one complex conversational narrative. As it is mentioned in 2.1.2.1.2., the single narratives build a hypertopical complex narrative by coming together in terms of their identical topics not the temporal order. Despite this, 'ondan sonra' may still be used for initiating the bound narratives and connecting them to the prior ones. As it can be observed in the lines 60 and 96 of the narrative presented in Extract 71, the teller jumps into new narrations and initiates new single narratives by using 'ondan sonra'. By this act, she also achieves to bridge a connection between the narratives of a complex conversational narrative.

Another narrative function of the discourse marker 'ondan sonra' is initiating the Labovian category of Complicating Action. Tellers may pass through the narration of complicating events from Orientation by signalling this transition via the use of 'ondan sonra'. An example to the initiation of Complicating Action through 'ondan sonra' can be seen in Extract 72 which is a part of the narrative *Cutting Grass* given in Extract 69.

(72)

```
…
17    A:    ya onu bırak mahkumlar aşağıda.
18    Y:    koca şey.
19          [askeriye].
20    A:    [kuledeyim].
21    Y:    bir makina alamadı mı↑
22    A:    mahkumun birisinin dikkatini çekmiş.
23          şimdi kulenin etrafında,
24          canım sıkılıyor iki saat nasıl vakit geçireceksin,
25          sağa dön sola dön.
26          kulede dört dönüyorum.
27    M:    Asker
28    A:    Hı: şimdi dönünce,
29          aşağıda da,
30    Z:    [ot yoluyorlar].
31    A:    [şeyler]
32          havalandırmalar var
33          şöyle bir geniş,
34          şey…
35          duvar duvar ayrılmış işte.
36          şeyler mahkumlar,
37          orada,
38          geziyorlar.
39          şimdi bakıyorlar.
40          laf atıyorlar zaten
41          **asker ağa asker ağa** diye bağırıyorlar.
42          <u>ondan sonra</u> **asker ağa** dedi.
43    Y:    hıhı
44    A:    **ne oldu** dedim.
45          işaret ettim.
46          şimdi bizim burada jandarma yazıyor kıyafetlerimizde.
47          burada da şey var ((shows))
48          rütbe var.
…
```

In Line 42 of Extract 72, the teller uses 'ondan sonra' in the beginning of his telling of the complicating events. With the help of 'ondan sonra' in the context exemplified in Line 42, the teller quits giving details about the background of the narrative events and separates narrative events from non-narrative ones, Orientation from Complicating Action. In this context, the use of a tense shift is also influential in the separation process. Both the use of 'ondan sonra' and a tense shift helps to differentiate the events narrated in Orientation and the ones narrated in Complicating Action.

'Ondan sonra' may also signal the initiation of the Labovian section, Resolution. Tellers may differentiate the complicating events from the resolution by the help of 'ondan sonra'. It can be exemplified in Extract 73 which is a part of the narrative *Woman with Parkinson Disease* given in Extract 71.

(73)

...

```
97      D:      beni diyor bir gün diyor,
98              şeyden hastaneden gelirken diyor,
99              şey diyor…
100             çöp torbasını diyor,
101             eşya torbası diye diyor karıştırmışım diyor,
102             çöpü almışım diyor eve kadar getirmişim diyor.
103             içinde diyor kıyafetlerim var diye gece bir açtım diyor
104             olan çöp çıktı karşıma diyor.
105             kadın böyle elli beş altmış yaşlarında
106             şişkoda bir şey.
107             çok da matrak.
108             baktım baktım diyor.
109             güldüm diyor.
110             ondan sonra allahıma şükür dedim.              ⎤ Resolution 1b
111             ben bu yatağa devam edeyim dedim diyor.        ⎦
112             ona karar verdim çok şükür o zamandan beri diyor
113             öyle hatalar yapmıyorum,                        ⎤ Coda 1b
114             aklım başıma geldi diyor.                       ⎦
```

In Extract 73, the teller seperates the section of Complicating Action from Resolution by using 'ondan sonra' which can be seen in Line 110. 'Ondan sonra' distinguishes narrative events from the ones which indicate the results of them.

b) Conversational Functions of 'Ondan Sonra'

In addition to the narrative functions of 'ondan sonra', conversational functions of this discourse marker can also be observed in the data. As it can be seen in Table 8 (on Page 175), they are initiating the turn and holding the floor. The first function, namely initiating the turn can be specified in terms of its being teller-oriented or listener-oriented. However, the function of holding the floor is a teller-oriented one. First, the teller-oriented conversational functions of 'ondan sonra' will be explained and then, the listener-oriented function will be exemplified.

The first teller-oriented conversational function of 'ondan sonra' is initiating the turn. Tellers may take the turns in order to continue storytelling with 'ondan sonra' in conversations. An example can be seen in Extract 74 given below:

(74)

```
...
74          hastanede diyor.
75          şeyler falan diyor.
76          böyle hep hastaların durumları kötü diyor.
77          böyle hepsi titriyor diyor.
78          şey yapıyor yaşlı yaşlı.
79          ben de kendimi onlardan daha kötü gördüm diye.
80          ben daha şeyim ya diyor.
81          biraz aklım eriyor ama diyor.
82          kafamda pek toplamıyor diyor.
83          kadın.
84    A:    ha:
85          ondan sonra ben aklımı başıma toplayayım mı
86          demiş↑
87    D:    ondan sonra işte ben diyor.
88          biraz diyor tedavi gördüm diyor.
89          sonra bu yatakların şeyini duydum diyor.
…
```

In Line 87 of Extract 74 which is a part of the narrative *Woman with Parkinson Disease* given in Extract 71, it can be seen that there is a teller-oriented turn-taking act. After a participant's interruption (Participant A) for a prediction, Teller D takes the turn and continues storytelling by using 'ondan sonra'. Here, 'ondan sonra' emerges as a device for the teller in order to take the turn back and go on storytelling. Furthermore, by using it, the teller incites the interest of the interrupter and the other audience to the story.

Teller's taking the turn with 'ondan sonra' after a participant contribution can also be observed in the data. It can be seen in Extract 75:

(75)

```
...
61          fazla muattap almıyorum.
62          onlar konuşuyor kendilerine göre.
63          ben işaret ediyorum,
64          şey yapıyorum.
65          her yerde kamera var çünkü tepelerde.
66          yani sürekli seni çekiyor kameralar.
67    M:    e:: asker.
68    A:    [ondan sonra],
69    F:    [ne konuşsan]
70    A:    tabi ne konuşsan.
71          yani konuştuğun şey yapmaz ama
72          tek tek şeylere
```

```
73          kulelere zoom yapıyor
…
```

In line 68 of Extract 75, Teller A takes the turn back with the use of 'ondan sonra' after a listener (Participant M) participates into the storytelling with an evaluation (Line 67). However, the teller cannot manage to continue storytelling immediately after 'ondan sonra'. Another participant overlaps with the teller, takes the turn and makes a contribution to the narrated events (Line 69). Then, the teller eventually takes the turn back and finishes the narrative.

The other teller-oriented conversational function of 'ondan sonra' is holding the floor. Holding the floor with 'ondan sonra' can be achieved by tellers in situations in which they talk about something different from the topic of the story in the course of their storytelling activity. They immediately need to turn back to the narration of the events in order to complete their stories. Otherwise, participants may interrupt to the storytelling and the story may remain incomplete in the flowing talk. In order to prevent this, tellers are in a tendency to take the control of the conversation and by using some signals they indicate that they will continue storytelling. 'Ondan sonra' is one of these signals which helps tellers to hold floors for their telling activities. The function of holding the floor can be exemplified in Extract 76.

(76)
```
...
46    K:    [Çene Kıran vardı bir tane].
47          bir matematik dersanesi.
48          üç tane daha vardı=
49    S:    Mehmet Ultav'ın.
50          he:
51          ondan sonra
52          herhalde ben onu şeydemedim.
53          askere mi gittik ne oldu bir şey oldu.
54    K:    Çene Kıran yaşıyor mu↑
55    S:    Çene Kıran'ı konuşuyorlar da,
56          bilmiyorum yaşıyor mu yaşamıyor mu.
...

167   S:    bak şimdi zincir,
168          ortadan kopmuş.
169          ama orada görüyorsun zinciri
170          ucundan çek,
171          gelir gelir,
172          bir kısmı kalır orada değil mi↑
173   K:    kopar
174          geri kalan kısmı kalır orada.
175   S:    tabi koptu.
```

```
176        ondan sonra olay
177        İlhan Canlar'a
178        akademi başkanına intikal etti.
179        ben götürmedim yani
180        adaylar götürmüşler.
181        hep geldiler rica ettiler.
…
```

In Line 51 and 176 of the extract given above, Teller S may aim at holding the floor in order to prevent listener interruptions and keep his storytelling continue; therefore, he uses 'ondan sonra' to signal his turning back to the storytelling after a brief talk which is out of the narration.

In the data, it is possible to observe a listener-oriented conversational function of 'ondan sonra'. It is a listener-oriented conversational function with the help of which listeners may take turns for their contributions, questions or predictions in the course of storytelling. Furthermore, they locate and link their contributions, questions, etc. to the story by using the continuity marker, 'ondan sonra'. An example can be seen in Extract 77.

(77)

```
...
80          ben daha şeyim ya diyor.
81          biraz aklım eriyor ama diyor.
82          kafamda pek toplamıyor diyor.
83          kadın.
84    A:    ha:
85          ondan sonra ben aklımı başıma toplayayım mı
86          demiş↑
87    D:    ondan sonra işte ben diyor.
88          biraz diyor tedavi gördüm diyor.
89          sonra bu yatakların şeyini duydum diyor.
…
```

In Line 85 of the narrative above, Participant A takes the turn for a question form with the help of a filler 'haa' and discourse marker 'ondan sonra'. The use of 'ondan sonra' in this context helps her to relate her question with the narrative events which have been previously stated. After the question of Participant P, the teller goes back to the storytelling by taking the turn back with the help of 'ondan sonra' (Line 87).

c) Interpersonal Functions of 'Ondan Sonra'

The functions of linguistic forms in conversational storytelling cannot be thought in isolation when the interpersonal functions of them are considered; any form can have either one of the narrative or conversational functions and an interpersonal function. This means that interpersonal functions of linguistic forms are not autonomous from their narrative and conversational functions in conversational storytelling. For example, a discourse marker can be used both for initiating a narrative and attracting the attention of the listeners to the storytelling. The former function, a narrative one and the latter, an interpersonal function can be realized in the same linguistic body.

Except its narrative and conversational functions, 'ondan sonra' has interpersonal functions. Tellers may use it in attracting the attention of the listeners to the storytelling and listeners may use it to show their interest to the storytelling.

In any of the teller-oriented use of 'ondan sonra' can be claimed to have the function of attracting the attention of listeners to the narration. Tellers use 'ondan sonra' to manipulate listeners to pay attention to what is narrated at that point and to make them leave the floor to tellers for the storytelling activity. If listeners use 'ondan sonra', they may aim to show their interest to storytelling activity by using it. Both functions can be illustrated in Extract 77. In Line 87, Teller D takes the turn back by using 'ondan sonra'. In addition, she attracts the attention of the listeners to the storytelling. In Line 84, one of the participants, Participant A interferes into the storytelling activity by taking the turn and she shows her interest to the story (Line 85).

2.3.1.1.2. Şimdi

'Şimdi' is used for initiating a narrative, initiating the turn, signalling an extended turn and detailing the situation. The first function, initiating a narrative, is a narrative function of 'şimdi'. The second and third are the conversational functions of 'şimdi'. The last one is its interpersonal function. All these functions are teller-oriented; any listener-oriented function of 'şimdi' has not been found in the data.

a) Narrative Functions of 'Şimdi'

The narrative function of 'şimdi' is iniating a narrative in the ongoing conversation. It functions as an initiator of the narrative; in other words, using 'şimdi' at the beginning of a narrative is a strategy of putting an end to the previous talk or silence and opening a new talk, especially the new storytelling. At this context, 'işte' holds the role of an Abstract which is used for prefacing the storytelling in terms of signalling that a narrative will be told successively. An example of 'şimdi' at the very beginning of a narrative is given in Extract 78 below:

(78)

<u>SUGAR IN TEA</u>

```
1     F:    valla reçel.
2           hiç olmazsa hiç aramam yani.
3     Z:    benim hatun çok yer.
4           O da seviyor işte.
5     M:    tatlıyı seviyor.
6     Z:    ondan sonra çayı kahveyi
7           şekersiz içer.
8     R:    şeker ihtiyacını
9           o şekilde karşılıyor işte.
10    R:    şimdi bizim bilgisayar kursunda      ⟶   Orientation
11          baktım kız böyle
12          bir avuç şeker.
13          ne yapıyorsun kızım sen↑
14          dedim ya.
15          şeker atıyorum Rıza Amca.
16          şeker atıyorsun da
17          bu kadar şeker atılır mı↑
18          iki tane atarsın
19          yeter ona dedim.
20          e: ben böyle içiyorum.
21    Z:    hm:
22    R:    e: canım şeker fabrikasını
23          iflas ettirirsin.
24          böyle içme dedim ben de.
25          şimdi şeker alacak
26          ben varsam oralarda şey etmiyor.
```

The narrative given in Extract 78 does not have an Abstract section but the teller initiates the narrative with the discourse marker 'şimdi'. With the help of 'şimdi', the teller manages to indicate that he will begin a storytelling. At that point, the function of an Abstract is operated by 'şimdi'. In addition to the previous talk which is highly relevant to the narrative, the use of 'şimdi' is also influential in the emergence of Abstract-elliptic narrative structures. This act also helps the teller to gain an extended

turn for his storytelling and to create a visualising effect of the past events for the listeners.

In addition to the narrative function of 'şimdi', the teller achieves both a conversational and an interpersonal outcome by using it, as well; the former is because of the conversational function of signalling an extended turn, and the latter is due to the interpersonal function of detailing the situation. As it is discussed previously, the functions of linguistic forms are not autonomous in their nature; they can function for narrative, conversational and interpersonal goals in the conversational storytelling.

In the narrative given in Extract 78, 'şimdi', which initiates the narrative by holding the role of an Abstract in terms of signalling a forthcoming story, is produced by the teller in turn-medial position. This means that the narrative begins to be told somewhere in the middle of the turn. At that point, the narrative can be resorted with a story beginning in which the present speaker holds his/her turn and promotes to the teller position (for details see 2.2.1.1.1.). 'Şimdi' can also be used in turn-initial positions when it is used for initiating a narrative. The narrative *Lieutenant Columbo* has a story beginning with 'şimdi' in turn-initial positions. It can be seen in Extract 79.

(79)

LIEUTENANT COLUMBO

```
1     K:     sofradan önce el yıkama
2            bana  annemden kalmadır.
3     S:     e:: o [öyle].
4     K:     [zorlan] gider yıkar[tırdı].
5     S:     [e::]
6     M:     [ama] o kalk… baştan sonra bereket.
7     K:     evet.
8            git elini yıka da gel. (5.0)
9     S:     şimdi.
10           geldik o Öküz Mehmet Paşa Kervansarayı'na Ahmet.
11           şey Kerim.
12    K:     hm::
13    S:     şimdi şeylerde var.
14           tabi yabancılarda var.
15           tabi yabancı çok.
16    K:     ziyadesiyle yabancı var.
17    S:     he: ondan sonra
18           bir hazırlıklar yapıyorlar,
19           ayna koyuyorlar,
12           bilmem ne yapıyorlar.
13           film [çevireceklermiş].
…
```

In the narrative given above, one of the participants takes the turn and signals that he begins a storytelling by using 'şimdi' at the beginning of the narrative. As it can be seen in Line 9, 'şimdi' is in the turn-initial position which is also the narrative-initial position.

b) Conversational Functions of 'Şimdi'

'Şimdi' has the conversational functions of initiating the turn and signalling for an extended turn. In the course of conversational storytelling, tellers may use 'şimdi' in order to take the turn back after a listener participation. This function can be exemplified in Extract 80:

(80)

```
1    K:    bir O'nun arsasını alayım dedim.
2          şurada.
3          üç milyara veririm çalışırken dediydi bana.
4          benim orada sana yakın bir arsam var,
5          vereyim sana diyordu o bana.
6    C:    e: işte bu şeyin oralarda.
7          bu e: Acıbadem'i geçiverince
8          o aralarda bir yerdeydi.
9    K:    şurada hemen.
10   C:    nerede↑
11   K:    bu bizim köprünün altından çıkıyorsun.
12         tamam mı↑
13   C:    he:
14   K:    sol tarafta son evler bitiyor.
15         sol tarafta.
16         o Devlet Demir Yolları'nın arazisine girmeden,
17         hemen az ileride.
18         blok gibi bir şeyler var.
19         onlar bitiyor.
20         ondan sonra…
21   C:    Şoförler Derneği'ni geçince.
22   K:    [arkasında].
23   C:    arka[sında oralarda].
24         oralarda bir yeri tarif ediyordu bana.
25   K:    yanlız vereceği arsanın,
26         şimdi buradan yol geçiyor,
27         bu giden yol.
28         Belediye'nin önünden giden yol var ya.
29         onun önünden geçiyor.
30         tam da ona bakıyor o arsa.
31         iki yüz yetmiş metrekare arsası var.
32   C:    hayır şimdi
33         iki yüzünde hakkını vermiyor mu↑
34   K:    şimdi aldım ben O'ndan tapunun fotokopisini.
35         gittim belediyeden araştırdım.
36         arsanın yerini buldum.
```

…

In Extract 80, Teller K begins telling a narrative and Participant C interferes his storytelling to demand for extra information about the building plot which the narrative is about. Thus, many turn-takings are performed by both parties during the narration of the events. A teller-oriented turn-taking which is performed by the use of 'şimdi' can be seen in Line 34. In this example, the teller uses 'şimdi' to take the turn back for storytelling after the listener participation. Upon doing this, the teller prevents the emergence of some extra talk which may cause a failure of him in completing the story.

In addition to the conversational function of initiating the turn, the other teller-oriented conversational function of 'şimdi' can be identified as signalling an extended turn. It can be exemplified in Extract 81.

(81)

```
LIEUTENANT COLUMBO
…
9     S:    şimdi.
10          geldik o Öküz Mehmet Paşa Kervansarayı'na Ahmet.
11          şey Kerim.
12    K:    hm::
13    S:    şimdi şeylerde var.
14          tabi yabancılarda var.
15          tabi yabancı çok.
16    K:    ziyadesiyle yabancı var.
17    S:    he: ondan sonra
18          bir hazırlıklar yapıyorlar,
19          ayna koyuyorlar,
12          bilmem ne yapıyorlar.
13          film [çevireceklermiş].
…
```

The teller of the narrative *Lieutenant Columbo* introduces the narrative by using 'şimdi' after a silence. In the first line of the narrative *Lieutenant Columbo*, the function for signalling an extended turn can be seen. Moreover, by using 'şimdi', the teller guarantees a broader space for his storytelling at the beginning of the narrative. Besides, the use of 'şimdi' helps the teller to visualize the situation in which the events took place.

c) Interpersonal Functions of 'Şimdi'

The interpersonal function of 'şimdi' is detailing the situation. By using it, tellers may aim to visualize the situation in which the story has taken place. Besides, it is possible for tellers to locate the listeners to the past situation by reflecting the situation in details. In other words, tellers use 'şimdi' to create an illusion for the listeners to make them feel as if they were present at the time of experience. The interpersonal function of 'şimdi' which is detailing the situation can be observed in Extract 82.

(82)

```
...
21   C:    Şoförler Derneği'ni geçince.
22   K:    [arkasında].
23   C:    arka[sında oralarda].
24         oralarda bir yeri tarif ediyordu bana.
25   K:    yanlız vereceği arsanın,
26         şimdi buradan yol geçiyor,
27         bu giden yol.
28         Belediye'nin önünden giden yol var ya.
29         onun önünden geçiyor.
30         tam da ona bakıyor o arsa.
31         iki yüz yetmiş metrekare arsası var.
32   C:    hayır şimdi
33         iki yüzünde hakkını vermiyor mu↑
...
```

In the narrative which is given in Extract 82, the function of detailing the situation of 'şimdi' can be seen in Line 26. Teller K uses 'şimdi' in order to make the participants to visualize the place about which the narrative is told.

Also in Line 5 of the narrative *Lieutenant Columbo* given in Extract 81, 'şimdi' is used to transmit the past events to the present day; by using 'şimdi' the teller takes the events out of their past frame and pastes them into the time of storytelling. Thus, 'şimdi' creates a frame for the listeners to make them feel as if they were present at the time of experience. Some other examples for the same interpersonal function can be observed in the narrative *Flying Car* given in Extract 83:

(83)

```
FLYING CAR

1   F:    adam dümdüz yolda,
2         az bir şarampol,
3         yav düz bomboş,
4         dümdüz gidiyorsun,
5         şarampole uçuruyor arabayı.
6         Ne iştir bu↑
7   C:    bizim gözümüzün önünde oldu o.
8   F:    [hayret].
```

```
9    C:    [buradan] İnönü'ye gidiyorsun.
10         Bozüyük'ten gelen yolu
11         atlayıp geçiyorsun ya.
12         nerede Otlubal'dan sonra mıydı o↑
13   V:    Otlubal he:
14   C:    aynen şimdi Otlubal'dan o yoldan
15         atlıyoruz ṣimdi.
16         buradan e:: Kütahya'dan
17         Bozüyük'e geçen yol var.
18         bir tane beyaz Tempra.
19         orası da biliyorsun o yol
20         [biraz şey] bir biraz.
21   V:    [iniştir.]
22   C:    yüksekte kalıyor.
23         yan [taraf tarla].
24   V:    [buradan Otlubal'dan]
25         gelirken yüksektir.
26         öbür tarafı da iniştir.
27         ve bir viraj var orada.
28   C:    yan tarafları da tarla ya.
29         tarlalar yoldan çok düşük.
30         ṣimdi biz geliyoruz öyle.
31         Ömer de vardı yanımda.
32         a:: bak bak ne yapıyor dedi
33         bu araba.
34         araba resmen uçtu
35         tarlanın ortasına.
36   F:    uçtu aynen [öyle].
37   C:    [dümdüz] yolda geliyor.
38         ulan dedim
39         uyudu herhalde bu.
```

In Line 15 and 30 of the narrative *Flying Car*, the teller uses 'şimdi' to detail the situation in order to create the feeling of witnessing the narrated experience and to make the listeners become involved in it.

2.3.1.1.3. İşte

'İşte' a grammatical item in Turkish, is emphasized by Yılmaz (1994) and Özbek (1995) that it is among the most frequently used discourse markers in Turkish. As a demonstrative pronoun in Turkish, 'işte' is explained by TDK's online dictionary as a deictic expression when someone refers to or points at something. In storytelling, it has a similar use; it is used for visualizing a specific situation in which the narrated experience takes place in the past. This can be claimed to be the interpersonal function of 'işte'. In addition to it, it is possible to specify narrative and conversational funtions of 'işte'. All these functions are teller-oriented functions; any listener-oriented functions of 'işte' have not been found in the data of the present study.

a) Narrative Functions of 'İşte'

The narrative functions of 'işte' are initiating a narrative and initiating the section of Resolution as it can be seen in Table 8. The narrative function, initiating a narrative, is similar to the narrative function of 'şimdi' in that both discourse markers are used for an initiation of storytelling. Extract 84 is an example for the narratives being initiated by the use of 'işte'.

(84)

<u>DEAF GIRL</u>

```
1     F:    çünkü
2           arasındaki fark dedi
3           titreşimli böyle
4           titreşim verince dedi,
5           boyun kaslarını
6           ve bel kaslarını zedeliyor olabilir dedi.
7           onu tavsiye etmem=
8           ama diğer rahatsızlıklarınız için
9           kullanabilirsiniz,
10          onunda
11          sıcaklık fizik özelliği falan var dedi.
12          öyle bir konuşma geçti.
13          işte kızın biri çıkmış
14          o gün
15          konuşmuş
16          Münevver Abla dedi.
17          sen dedi.
18          duymadın mı görmedin mi kızı dedi.
19          yoo dedim ben.
20          o felçli olan anlattıydı
21          onu dedim gördüm dedim.
22          o kızda 18 yaşına kadar hani,
23          bu körlüğün…
24          şey a:: körlük diyorum.
…
```

In the Extract above, the narrative begins with the use of 'işte' in Line 13; it has the function of initiating the narrative by holding the role of an Abstract which is used for prefacing the storytelling. Therefore, with the help of 'işte', the teller signals that she will narrate a story. At this point, it can be claimed that similar to 'şimdi', 'işte' may be influential in the emergence of Abstract-elliptical narrative structures in Turkish conversational narratives.

In the narrative *Deaf Girl,* 'işte' initiates the narrative with the role of an Abstract by signalling a forthcoming story and it is used by the teller in turn-medial position. Thus, the narrative begins with a change in participant positions. 'İşte' signals a story beginning with a pattern in which the present speaker holds his/her turn and promotes to the teller position (for details see 2.2.1.1.1.). In addition to this, 'işte' can also be used in turn-initial positions when it is used in initiating a narrative. The narrative *Working Women* has a story beginning with 'işte' in turn-initial position.

 (85)

<u>WORKING WOMAN</u>

```
1     N:    hakikaten kızlar da sigara içiyor
2           buralara geliyor kenarlara.
3           valla şaştım ya.
4           çok bozuldu.
5     S:    yumruk kadar şeyler
6           valla oku git yahu.
7           annen baban seni okula gönderiyor,
8           onlar başka işler peşinde koşuyor.
9     N:    ama veli veli de kontrol etmiyor
10          edemiyor galiba.
11    B:    herkes sizin gibi şanslı değil ki.
12          millet sabah altıda evden çıkıyor
13          akşam altıda gelecek de
14          çocuklarla ilgilenecek.
15    A:    işte benim komşumun kızı
16          diyorum ya bankada çalışıyor diye.
17          bu sene kızı okula başladı.
18          onlar da Ortadoğu'yu bitirdiler ikisi de.
19          ondan sonra çoğu zaman
20          çocuk annesini görmeden uyuyormuş,
21          anne işten gelene kadar.
22          sabah zaten onu uyur bırakıyormuş.
23          skşam gelince de saat dokuz dokuz buçuk oluyor
24          İzmir gibi yerde.
25          çoktan Irmak uyuyormuş.
26          annesini görmüyormuş,
27          öyle hasret ki annesine diyor.
28          görmüyor annesini diyor.
```

In the narrative *Working Women*, one of the participants (Participant A) takes the turn and signals that he begins a storytelling by using 'işte' at the beginning of the narrative. As it is in Line 15, 'işte' is in both the turn-initial and narrative-initial positions.

The other narrative function of 'işte' is initiating the Labovian category of Resolution. In other words, 'işte' can be used by tellers to separate the events in Complicating Action and Resolution. An example can be seen in the narrative *The First Cinema*.

(86)

THE FIRST CINEMA

```
1    Y:    sen çukurdaki eski Atlas'ı hatırlıyor musun↑
2          aşağı iniliyordu
3          Kılıçoğlu'nun şimdi bulunduğu yerde.
4    E:    hatırlamam mı.
5          ilk sinemaya gidişimde orada.
6          rahmetli Hacı Baba ile Ali Amca,
7          Özcan Amca'nın babası
8          sinemaya gitmeye karar vermişler.
9          şimdi ben de duydum mu bunları konuşurken.
10         annem de şey ör…
11         boğazlı kazak istedim O'ndan.
12         boğazlı kazak ördü bana da,
13         eklerini eklemeye çalışıyor.
14   Y:    he:
15   E:    ben de Çabuk ol
16         anneme Çabuk ol diyorum.
17         şimdi gidiyorlar, hızlandılar gidiyorlar.
18   Y:    yetişeceksin.
19   E:    ben kazağı giyeceğim,
20         takışacağım peşlerine.
21         nitekim
22         yarım yamalak elinden aldım annemin,
23         kazağı geçirdim.
24         hadi koşa koşa arkalarından.
25         halin oraya kadar hiç görünmedim.
26         halin orada kalabalıklaşmaya başlayınca,
27         kaybederim bunları diye
28         hemen geldim
29         babamın elini tuttum.
30         sen nereden çıktın dedi yav.
31         bir gözüktü.
32         ondan sonra yav şimdi
33         sen dedi dön dedi bana.                    ─    Comp. A.
34         babam bana.
35         amcam dedi
36         gelsin dedi ya.
37         şimdi kaybolur falan oralarda dedi.
38         çocuk dedi buraya kadar gelmiş.
39         e: buraya kadar gelmiş o dedi artık,
40         gidelim dedi.
41         götürelim dedi abi dedi.
42         yav takılıyorsunuz peşime
43         biraz şey yapacak oldu.
44         artık ısrar etmedi
45         amca da öyle deyince.
46         işte o zaman gittik o sinemaya.    ────→    Resolution
47         aramızda Yaşayamazsın diye
48         Turan Seyfioğlu'nun bir filmi.            ─    Coda
49         ilk gittiğim film o.
```

In Extract 86, the teller seperates the section of Complicating Action from Resolution
by using 'ondan sonra' which can be seen in Line 46. 'Ondan sonra' distinguishes

narrative events which are difficult to be identified as the ones that narrate the main events and indicate the resolutions of them.

a) Conversational Functions of 'İşte'

Conversational function of 'işte' is signalling an extended turn as it is also identified for another discourse marker 'şimdi'. Besides, by using 'işte' at the beginning of the storytelling, tellers secure the extended turn that they need for a storytelling activity. This function can be exemplified in Extract 87 below:

(87)

WORKING WOMAN

```
1    N:    hakikaten kızlar da sigara içiyor
2          buralara geliyor kenarlara.
3          valla şaştım ya.
4          çok bozuldu.
5    S:    yumruk kadar şeyler
6          valla oku git yahu.
7          annen baban seni okula gönderiyor,
8          onlar başka işler peşinde koşuyor.
9    N:    ama veli veli de kontrol etmiyor
10         edemiyor galiba.
11   B:    herkes sizin gibi şanslı değil ki.
12         millet sabah altıda evden çıkıyor
13         akşam altıda gelecek de
14         çocuklarla ilgilenecek.
15   A:    işte benim komşumun kızı
16         diyorum ya bankada çalışıyor diye.
17         bu sene kızı okula başladı.
18         onlar da Ortadoğu'yu bitirdiler ikisi de.
19         ondan sonra çoğu zaman
20         çocuk annesini görmeden uyuyormuş,
21         anne işten gelene kadar.
22         sabah zaten onu uyur bırakıyormuş.
23         skşam gelince de saat dokuz dokuz buçuk oluyor
24         İzmir gibi yerde.
25         çoktan Irmak uyuyormuş.
26         annesini görmüyormuş,
27         öyle hasret ki annesine diyor.
28         görmüyor annesini diyor.
```


In Extract 87, it can be seen that the narrative *Working Woman* begins with the use of 'işte' in Line 15. Here, 'işte' has the narrative function of initiating the narrative by holding the role of an Abstract which is used for prefacing the storytelling. Moreover, 'işte' has also the conversational function of signalling for an extended turn for the storytelling. By using 'işte', the teller manipulates the participants to orient themselves

to the storytelling activity. Upon signalling that she will narrate a story, she covertly demands for the permission of the participants for her storytelling which requires an extended turn.

c) Interpersonal Functions of 'İşte'

'İşte' has the interpersonal function of detailing the situation in many of the narratives in the data. The tellers use 'işte' in order to detail the situation in the narrative as real as possible and create an effect on the listeners to make them feel as if they were experiencing the narrated events. The function of detailing the situation can be seen in Extract 88.

(88)

```
...
31    A:    [şeyler]
32          havalandırmalar var
33          şöyle bir geniş,
34          şey…
35          duvar duvar ayrılmış işte.
36          şeyler mahkumlar,
37          orada,
38          geziyorlar.
39          şimdi bakıyorlar.
40          laf atıyorlar zaten
…
```

In the Extract above, in Line 35 'işte' is used for describing the place in order to make the participants visualize it in their minds. At that point, by using 'işte' the teller makes the participants feel as if they perceive the place from the eyes of the teller.

2.3.1.1.4. Şey

Another frequent discourse marker observed in the data is 'şey'. It is different from the other frequent discourse markers used in conversational narratives in terms of its functions. It is observed in the data that 'şey' has only teller-oriented conversational and interpersonal functions in Turkish conversational storytelling. Any narrative functions of 'şey' have not been found in the data of this study. Besides, 'şey' has not been

observed in any situation in which it has listener-oriented narrative, conversational and interpersonal functions in Turkish conversational storytelling.

a) Conversational Functions of 'Şey'

'Şey' which is a frequent discourse marker with the denotational meaning of 'thing' in Turkish, has the conversational functions of verbal planning and repairing the self. The function of verbal planning of 'şey' is very frequently observed in most of the narratives in the data of this study. Tellers may use 'şey' when they experience disfluencies in their narrations. In other words, in the course of the storytelling 'şey' specifies the teller's mental effort of retrieving the linguistic information which is needed from the memory. Situations in which tellers cannot find the appropriate words or cannot retrieve any piece of information about the narrated events can be controlled through the use of 'şey' by the tellers. Some representative examples of 'şey' in similar contexts can be seen in Extract 89 which is a part of the narrative *Cutting Grass* given in Extract 69.

(89)
```
...
31   A:     şeyler
32          havalandırmalar var
33          şöyle bir geniş
34          şey
35          duvar duvar ayrılmış işte
36          şeyler mahkumlar
37          orada
38          geziyorlar.
…
```

In Line 34, in order to monitor and control the flow of information, the teller produces 'şey'. By using 'şey', she gains some extra time for his mentioning the place where the narrative takes place.

In addition to the function of verbal planning, another conversational function which is repairing the self can be observed in Extract 89. As it is previously stated by Yılmaz (1994; 2004), 'şey' can be used as a repair initiator in Turkish conversations. In the data of the study, it is seen that 'şey' is used by tellers in order to make a self-repair.The function of repairing the self can be seen in the lines of 31 and 36. In this example, the teller cannot retrieve the words he is looking for and by using 'şey', he takes some time

for repairing these disfluencies. As a result, a self-initiated self-repair emerges in the story of the teller.

Another example for a self-initiated self-repair which emerges as a result of the use of 'şey' can be illustrated in Line 12 of the Extract 90 which is a part of the narrative *Woman with Parkinson Disease* given in Extract 71.

(90)
```
...
10    D:    O kızda 18 yaşına kadar hani.
11          Bu körlüğün
12          şey a:: körlük diyorum.
13          Kulakları duymuyormuş.
…
```

In this extract, the teller realizes what she has just said is not correct. As soon as she realizes this, she immediately produces 'şey', and then she states the correct expressions that she is searching.

b) Interpersonal Functions of 'Şey'

The interpersonal function of 'şey' is manipulating the listeners not to interrupt the storytelling. Whether it is used for verbal planning and self repairs, 'şey' also functions for preventing listener interruptions. In all the examples given in Extract 89 and 90, 'şey' is also used to prevent listener interruption. By producing 'şey', the teller continues speaking and he signals that he is still the legitimate teller who performs the storytelling activity. In other words, by filling the pauses in their storytellings with the use of 'şey', tellers manipulate listeners not to interrupt the storytelling activity.

2.3.1.2. Interrogative Forms

Question forms have many functions in the organization of narratives which take place in conversations. These functions can be narrative, conversational and interpersonal functions, on the one hand, and they can be teller-or listener-oriented on the other.

a) Narrative Functions of Interrogative Forms

Narrative functions of interrogative forms are initiating a narrative, constructing a co-narration and triggering a storytelling as Table 8 illustrates. The former two are teller-oriented functions whereas the last one is a listener-oriented narrative function of interrogative form in conversational storytelling.

In conversational storytelling interrogative forms are used by tellers in order to initiate a narrative and construct a co-narration, and by listeners in order to trigger a storytelling. The teller-oriented narrative function of initiating a narrative can be seen in the narrative *The Bomb* given in Extract 91.

(91)

THE BOMB

```
1     A:    kiz benim durakta
2           otobüs beklediğim durağa bomba koymuşlardı.
3     B:    ne↑
4     C:    ne zaman↑
5     İ:    benim de annemin iş yerine koymuşlardı.
6           yine Diyarbakır'da.
7     A:    ne oldu biliyor musun↑
8           gittik şimdi,
9           yine Kırıkkale'ye geldiği sefer zamanları.
10          şey zamanları Ankara seferleri zamanları.
11          bekliyorum böyle minibüse bineceğim.
12          otogara gideceğim böyle.
13    İ:    ay Allah korusun.
14    A:    duraktayım böyle.
15          ondan sonra kenara bakıyorum,
16          sağa bakıyorum, sola bakıyorum.
17          birden o şeyler geldi.
18          o olay yeri inceleme polisleri.
…
```

In Line 7 of Extract 91, the teller signals that he is beginning a storytelling by using a question. In this context, the question holds a role in the Abstract. In addition to this narrative function, the question functions for signalling an extended turn. The teller arranges an extended space for his storytelling and orients the listeners to the storytelling activity with the help of the question in Line 7.

Another narrative function of question forms in storytelling is constructing the co-narration. Obviously, throughout the co-narration, the main teller and secondary teller(s)

contribute to the telling activity together. The turn transitions in co-narration may occur fluidly with turn-yielding and turn-taking practices. Furthermore, co-tellers may demand extra information or any sort of help in their tellings from each other by using questions. In the narrative *University Years*, some examples for interrogative forms in the construction of a collaborative storytelling are given below.

(92)

UNIVERSITY YEARS

```
1     S:    biliyor musun ben sana
2           yarım günde etek dik… diktiydim.
3           bütün herkes şaşırmıştı.
4           biz de yolla… iki…kitapla neydi↑
5     P:    e::: sözlük işte.
6           sözlüklerim.
7           o iki ciltti.
8           etek.
9           ay içine şeker koymuştu. ((cheers)
10    B:    eteğin içine mi↑
11    P:    he: [o meybonlar var ya.
12          onlardan bir küçük pakette
13          şeker koymuştu].
14    S:    [akşam bana telefon açtı.
15          o etek ne için lazımdı]↑
16    P:    staj içindi.
17          ikinci [sınıfta].
18    B:    [bak] hıh.
19    P:    237 bize birden staj çıkardılar.
20          gideceksiniz gitmeyeceksiniz,
21          gideceksiniz [gitmeyeceksiniz],
22    B:    [şey yani] ha:
23    P:    gideceksiniz dediler.
24          eyvah hep kot var.
25          giyecek etek yok.
26          odadakilere baktık.
27          hiçbirimizin öyle eteği yok.
28          kimden isteyeceksin yani.
29          nereden gidip alacaksın↑
30          şey… Kızılay'a mı ineceğim onun için↑
31          anne dedim.
32          benim eteğim yok
33          ne yapacağım ben↑
34          ondan sonra,
35          bu sabah 10-11 gibi falan konuşuldu.
36          annem otur.
37          eteği dik.
38          götür.
39          Aşti'ye ver.
40          dedi ki bana
41          işte
42          kaç otobüsü dedi.
43          dö… altı otobüsü
44    S:    altı otobüsü müydü↑
45          dört otobüsü müydü↑
46    P:    hayır ben 5 gibi aldım.
```

```
47          iki otobüsüne yetiştirmiş eteği.
48    S:    bak şimdi baban diyor ki
49          sen ne yapacaksın diyor=
50          dikiliyor,
51          ne yapacaksın sen diyor.
52    P:    11'de ara…
53          10 gibi aradım herhalde.
54    S:    Pelin eteklik istedi dedim.
55          ben hemen girdim.
56          kumaş buldum.
57          kestim.
58          tangır tangır dikiyorum.
59          o her yeri dağıttım.
60          karıştırdım.
61    P:    [fermuar… ]
62    S:    [kitapları] hazırladım.
63          kitap… evden kitap istedi.
64    P:    galiba 2 otobüsüne yetiştirmiş.
65          o zaman kampüsün önünden
66    S:    kampüsün önünden
67    P:    dış yol yoktu.
68          [kampüsün önünde iniyorduk].
69    S:    [bir firmaya rica ettim].
70    P:    Ceytur'a.
71    S:    götürmem dedi.
72          ondan sonra Cey…
73    P:    Antur götürmem demiş.
74    S:    götürmem dedi.
75    B:    allah allah.
76          e::↑
77    P:    sonra Ceytur'a vermiş.
78    S:    Ceytur'a.
79    P:    [ben orada bekledim].
80    S:    [dedim yani]
81          istersen bunu
82          bilet parasına götür.
83          ama çok acil bu gidecek.
84          ne var içinde dedi.
85          açın bakın dedim.
86          ne olduğunu açın bakın.
87    P:    kitaplar var.
88          iki tane ansiklopedik [sözlüğüm vardı].
89    S:    [ben gene poşedi] bantlarım.
90          ama yetiştirdim o gün akşama.
91    P:    ben de dersten çıktım
92          saat iki dersinden
93          dört buçukta.
94          aşağı [kadar yürüdüm].
95    B:    [beşte gittin] aldın.
96    P:    he:
```

In the narrative *University Years*, it can be seen that the main teller (Teller S) makes one of the listeners (Participant P) promote to the co-teller position by addressing her a question in Line 4. In Lines 15, 44 and 45 of the same narrative, the teller asks questions to the co-teller for extra information about the narrated events. The production

of these teller-oriented questions results in the contribution of Participant P into the storytelling, an encouragement for Participant P to hold the position of co-teller, and the construction of a co-narration at the end.

The listener-oriented narrative function of interrogative forms is triggering a narrative. In the storytelling, situations in which one of the participants asks a question and the answer to this question is given by one of the participants in the form of a narrative can be observed. In other words, one of the participants begins a storytelling in order to answer the question of another. An example to such a situation can be seen in the narrative *Peach Tree*:

(93)

PEACH TREE

```
1     K:    komşular komşuluk yapacağı yere
2           bir ağaç için kavga eder mi↑
3     A:    e: bizim komşular.              ──────────→   Abstract
4           Berna Teyze ile Derya Teyze
5           kavga ediyor.
6           konu şu.
7           Derya Teyze'nin şeftalisi varmış.
8           büyümüyormuş.
9           Berna Teyze'nin çamı yüzünden.
10          diyor kes bunu
11          benim şeftalim büyümüyor.
12          tartışmanın konusunu görüyor musun↑
13          sen bu ağacı kes diyor.
14          benim şeftali büyüsün diyor.
15          tamam senin şu kadar
16          şeftalin büyüsün diye
17          kocaman fıstık çamını
18          kökten kesecekler.
```

In Extract 93, it can be observed that as a response to a previous question (Lines 1-2), one of the participants begins a storytelling by using an Abstract (Line 3) by which the teller gains the floor and promotes herself to the teller position. In this context, the question of Participant K triggers the stoytelling of Teller A; the answer of the listener-oriented question is a response story.

b) Conversational Functions of Interrogative Forms

Teller-oriented conversational functions of interrogative forms are signalling an extended turn and verbal planning; and listener-oriented conversational functions are turn-takings for requesting extra information and predicting the next talk.

Narratives may begin with the questions of tellers as an Abstract for the forthcoming narrative. At that point, in addition to its narrative role of initiating the story, the question may function for signalling an extended turn for the storytelling activity. This function of questions in conversational storytelling can be exemplified by the narrative *The Bomb* given below.

(94)

```
THE BOMB

1     A:    kiz benim durakta
2           otobüs beklediğim durağa bomba koymuşlardı.
3     B:    ne↑
4     C:    ne zaman↑
5     İ:    benim de annemin iş yerine koymuşlardı.
6           yine Diyarbakır'da.
7     A:    ne oldu biliyor musun↑
8           gittik şimdi,
9           yine Kırıkkale'ye geldiği sefer zamanları.
10          şey zamanları Ankara seferleri zamanları.
11          bekliyorum böyle minibüse bineceğim.
12          otogara gideceğim böyle.
13    İ:    ay Allah korusun.
14    A:    duraktayım böyle.
15          ondan sonra kenara bakıyorum,
16          sağa bakıyorum, sola bakıyorum.
17          birden o şeyler geldi.
18          o olay yeri inceleme polisleri.
19    İ:    Ahmet'i falan soruyorlarmış. ((laughs))
20    A:    bir baktım etrafımı sarmaya başladılar.
21          ondan sonra çekil, çekil, çekil ((acts))
22          yaptılar bana böyle.
23          ne oluyor yaptım ben böyle.
24          görmüyor musun dedi.
25    İ:    bomba gibisin demişler böyle. ((laughs))
26    A:    oturduğun şeyin durağın hemen yanında dedi,
27          bombalı paket var dedi.
28          yanımda bombalı paket var ya.
29    İ:    şeyi falan düşünmüşsündür.
30          ya şu kutu boşsa götüreyim eve falan.
31          alınır ya marketten.
32    A:    ondan sonra bir döndüm baktım,
33          hakkaten de böyle kutu içinde, ((laughs))
34          sarmışlar sarmalamışlar.
35          adam beni oradan da uzaklaştıramıyor.
```

```
36            otobüs bekliyorsanız geçin şöyle dedi.
37            hemen il… iki metre ilerde bekleyin dedi.
38            biz dedi fünye ile onu patlatacağız.
39    B:      gerçekten de bomba mıymış↑
40    C:      patlattılar mı oradayken↑
41    A:      gittim ben (.) orada bekledim yani.
41            minibüs geldi bindim gittim.
42            ama orada patlasa ölürüm yani.
```

In Extract 94, the teller signals that he is beginning a storytelling by using a question (Line 7). In this context, the question form has the role of an introduction which indicates that a story will be told. By using a question at the beginning of the narrative, the teller also manipulates the participants to orient themselves to the storytelling activity. Upon signalling that he will narrate a story, he implicatively demands a permission for his use of an extended turn in his storytelling.

The other teller-oriented conversational function of questions in storytelling is verbal planning. Through a question, tellers may take some time for retrieving the information they are looking for from the memory. An example of verbal planning performed through the use of a question form can be seen in Extract 95.

(95)

FLOWING WATER

```
1     D:      valla bilmiyorum Burhan
2             burada Eskişehir'de sıcak su yoksa
3             hiç bir yerde yoktur.
4             sen hatırlarsın.
5             kaç seneleriydi↑
6             biz de liseye giderken.
7             bu Hamam Yolu'nda
8             şimdi Madımak şey… dondurmacısı var.
9     B:      tamam.
10    D:      O'nun sokağının arasından
11            bir su çıkardılardı.
12            hatırlıyor musun sen o suyu↑
13            daha o zaman o şey
14            kanal [falan...]
15    B:      [kanal ak]ıyordu.
16            ha:
17    D:      orada bir su çıkarttılar.
18            ben çok iyi hatırlıyorum
19            haldır haldır haldır.
20            böyle şey gibi su aktı oradan aylarca.
21            en sonunda o suyu
22            civa attılar da kapattılar orada.
```

In the narrative above, the teller uses an interrogative form in Line 5 in order to gain some extra time for retrieving the information that he is looking for. In fact, the teller asks the question to himself. This act seems as if it is the teller's loud thinking. With the help of this act, he reveals that he will continue his words and both gains the time that he needs and prevents the others to interfere his storytelling.

In addition to the teller-oriented conversational functions of interrogative form, it is also possible to identify some listener-oriented functions. Interrogative forms can be used to take turns in conversational storytelling with the purpose of requesting extra information from the teller and predicting the next talk.

The first listener-oriented conversational function of interrogative form is taking the turn for requesting extra information. It is a very common conversational event in the narration of conversational stories. In most of the narratives in the data of this study, these question forms are frequently observed. Some examples can be seen in Extract 96.

(96)

```
...
13   S:    ben okulu bitirdim.
14         e:: Ardil.
15         nasıl oldu o↑
16         Ardil'e başladım mıydı ya↑
17   K:    Ardil ne ya↑
18   P:    Ardil'e ben
19         ben gittim Ardil'e ben baba.
20   S:    dil kursu.
21         hayır bende başladıydım herhalde.
22   P:    başlamışsın da bırakmışsın.
23   K:    teşekkür ederim canım.
24         sağol.
25   S:    hatta ilkokuldan bir arkadaşım vardı.
26   P:    şeker↑
27   K:    az bir şey.
28   S:    Cihan diye.
29         O liseyi bitirdiydi.
30   K:    he:
31   S:    ondan sonra orada karşılaştıydık.
32   K:    Ardil dediğin şey mi?
33   S:    dil okulu.
34   K:    kurs↑
35   S:    kurs.
36   K:    özel kurs.
37         Eskişehirde mi↑
38   S:    burada yav.
39   K:    neredeydi o↑
40   S:    Şevket Oktay
41         Dershaneler Sokakta.
```

```
42          postanenin karşısında.
…
```

Line 32, 37, and 39 in Extract 96 which is a part of the narrative *Learning English* given in Extract 70 exemplify the use of interrogative forms by a listener in order to take the turn for requesting extra information from the teller. While Teller S is narrating the complicating events, Participant K asks questions in order to get some extra information about the place of the narrative.

Another listener-oriented conversational feature of questions is taking the turn for predicting the next talk. In the course of a storytelling, listeners may take turns in order to make some predictions about the flowing events. This sort of a turn-taking is generally seen in the section of Complicating Action in conversational narratives. An example is below:

(97)

```
…
76    D:    böyle hep hastaların durumları kötü diyor.
77          böyle hepsi titriyor diyor.
78          şey yapıyor yaşlı yaşlı.
79          ben de kendimi onlardan daha kötü gördüm diye.
80          ben daha şeyim ya diyor.
81          biraz aklım eriyor ama diyor.
82          kafamda pek toplamıyor diyor.
83          kadın.
84    A:    ha:
85          ondan sonra ben aklımı başıma toplayayım mı
86          demiş↑
87    D:    ondan sonra işte ben diyor.
88          biraz diyor tedavi gördüm diyor.
89          sonra bu yatakların şeyini duydum diyor.
90          teyzemin kızı ısrar etti buraya götürelim dedi diyor.
91          geldik diyor, neyse diyor.
92          ben diyor.
93          altı ay mı dedi beş ay mı devam ettim diyor.
94          titremelerimde azalma oldu diyor.
95          unutkanlığımda azalma oldu diyor.
…
```

In the Extract above, one of the listeners (Listener A) takes the turn and asks a question in order to express her prediction about what will happen next. This example can be seen in Line 85 and 86.

c) Interpersonal Functions of Interrogative Forms

The interpersonal function of question forms in conversational storytelling is ensuring the attention of the listeners. As its name indicates, it is a teller-oriented function. Yet, any listener-oriented interpersonal functions of interrogative form can be found in the data.

Tellers may ask questions to the audience not for demanding answers from them but just for inciting their attention. In this context, this sort of questions are null questions which functions just for ensuring the attention of the audience for the continuity of the storytelling. An example can be seen in Extract 98.

(98)

<u>FLOWING WATER</u>

```
1      D:     valla bilmiyorum Burhan
2             burada Eskişehir'de sıcak su yoksa
3             hiç bir yerde yoktur.
4             sen hatırlarsın.
5             kaç seneleriydi↑
6             biz de liseye giderken.
7             bu Hamam Yolu'nda
8             şimdi Madımak şey… dondurmacısı var.
9      B:     tamam.
10     D:     O'nun sokağının arasından
11            bir su çıkardılardı.
12            hatırlıyor musun sen o suyu↑
13            daha o zaman o şey
14            kanal [falan...]
15     B:     [kanal ak]ıyordu.
16            ha:
17     D:     orada bir su çıkarttılar.
18            ben çok iyi hatırlıyorum
19            haldır haldır haldır.
20            böyle şey gibi su aktı oradan aylarca.
21            en sonunda o suyu
22            civa attılar da kapattılar orada.
```

In the extract above, the teller (Teller D) asks a question to one of the participants to attract the attention of him on the story. He does not wait for an answer and immediately continues his storytelling after the question. This indicates that his main aim is not to get an answer but to direct the attention of the participant(s) to the storytelling.

2.3.1.3. Tense Shifts

Tense shifts are used for establishing temporal order in conversational narratives. In other words, by shifting the current tense with another, the teller achieves the seperation of flowing events by distinguishing the narrative and non-narrative events. Wolfson's (1982, p. 36) proposal which is supported by Shiffrin (1981, p. 52) points out that tense shifts serve to "partition off important events or points in the story from each other".

Two main use of tense can be identified in conversational narratives; one of them is simple past tense and the other is the use of the present tense to refer to the past which could be named as conversational historical present (Shiffrin, 1982; Wolfson, 1982). The conversational historical present (CHP) is distinguished from other uses of the present tense in terms of its being restricted to conversational narrative and being potential to be replaced by the past tense without any change in time reference. The events narrated with CHP are always in the past, refering to the time at which the events took place.

According to Schiffrin (1981, p. 51), the CHP is almost exclusive to narrative and it occurs in the section of Complicating Action of a narrative in which there is a clear temporal order. The most typical pattern for narratives containing CHP is that there can be several tense shifts in a narrative; the Complicating Action may begin in the past tense, switches to CHP, switches a few more times back and forth and ends in the past tense. Or Orientation may be in CHP, then Complicating Action section may begin in past tense which is an indicator of the narrative events. In both situations and maybe in further potential patterns of tense-shifts in narrative, the function of the tense shifts is separating events: more important events from less important ones, narrative ones from non-narrative, etc. By separating events, tellers also create an opportunity for themselves to attract the attention of the listeners to a specific point in the narrative.

It is observed in the study data of this study that two main use of tense are frequent in Turkish conversational storytelling. One of them is the simple past tense which can be accounted as the definite past expressed by means of the suffix -DI and the other is the

progressive present form with a representation of the suffix -Iyor. Both forms approve the findings of Shiffrin (1982) and Wolfson (1982) in terms of the identification of the tense forms in conversational storytellings. The conversational historical present (CHP) in Turkish conversational narratives can be specified as the progressive present which differ from other uses of the present tense in terms of its refering to the past.

In the conversational narratives investigated in this study, it is observed that tellers frequently use tense shifts in Turkish conversational storytelling. These tense shifts are in the direction of CHP to past tense or just the opposite. Even, tellers may switch between CHP and past tense again and again during the process of narrating the events. An example for the recurring tense shifts can be the narrative *Cutting Grass*. The teller switches to CHP and past tense for several times in order to separate the events. One extract (Extract 99) from the narrative *Cutting Grass* is given in order to exemplify the tense shifts in Turkish conversational narratives.

(99)

```
...
17    A:    ya onu bırak mahkumlar aşağıda.
18    Y:    koca şey.
19          [askeriye].
20    A:    [kuledeyim].
21    Y:    bir makina alamadı mı↑
22    A:    mahkumun birisinin dikkatini çekmiş.
23          şimdi kulenin etrafında,                        Orientation
24          canım sıkılıyor iki saat nasıl vakit geçireceksin,
25          sağa dön sola dön.
26          kulede dört dönüyorum.
27    M:    Asker
28    A:    Hı: şimdi dönünce,
29          aşağıda da,                                      Orientation
30    Z:    [ot yoluyorlar].
31    A:    [şeyler]
32          havalandırmalar var
33          şöyle bir geniş,
34          şey…
35          duvar duvar ayrılmış işte.
36          şeyler mahkumlar,
37          orada,
38          geziyorlar.
39          şimdi bakıyorlar.
40          laf atıyorlar zaten
41          asker ağa asker ağa diye bağırıyorlar.

42          ondan sonra asker ağa dedi.
43    Y:    hıhı                                             Comp. A.
44    A:    ne oldu dedim.
```

```
45          işaret ettim.
46          şimdi bizim burada jandarma yazıyor kıyafetlerimizde.    ⎤
47          burada da şey var ((shows))
48          rütbe var.
49          ondan sonra
50          o çavuşluk rütbesi mi dedi.
51          öteki de atladı
52          yanında ki mahkum da
53          yok ya orada jandarma yazıyor dedi.
54          Ben de dedim.
55          burada jandarma yazıyor dedim, ((shows))
56          burada rütbe var dedim. ((shows))
57          ondan sonra öyle deyince
58          alla allah dedi,
59          çavuşlar nöbet tutuyor mu ya dedi.
60          ondan sonra ben bir şey demedim.
61          fazla muattap almıyorum.
62          onlar konuşuyor kendilerine göre.
63          ben işaret ediyorum,
64          şey yapıyorum.
65          her yerde kamera var çünkü tepelerde.
66          yani sürekli seni çekiyor kameralar.                     ⎦
67    M:    e:: asker.                                                  ⎤  Comp. A.
68    A:    [ondan sonra],
69    F:    [ne konuşsan]
70    A:    tabi ne konuşsan.
71          yani konuştuğun şey yapmaz ama
72          tek tek şeylere
73          kulelere zoom yapıyor
74    F:    [evet evet]
75    A:    [kameralar].
76    F:    en iyisi konuşmamak
77    A:    hm:: ben öyle şey bakmıyorum onlar konuşuyor,
78          laf atıyor,
79          şey yapıyorlar.
80          bakıyorsun çok konuşacak oluyor,
81          işaret ediyorum,
82          şöyle yapıyorum susuyorlar.
83          anlıyorlar,
84          bir daha
85          şey yapıyorlar.
86    M:    tozuyorlar.
87    A:    kesiyorlar.
88          dedim yoksa diyor,
89          sizin diyor,
90          bütün herkes mi çavuş sizde diyor.                       ⎦
91          ben de herkes çavuş dedim,              ⎤  Resolution
92          kapattım.                               ⎦
```

In the extract above, the teller uses Conversational Historical Present in different places between the lines of 17 and 41. In the line 40, he formulates a sentence with CHP and in Line 41 he switches into the simple past tense. This tense shift has the teller-oriented narrative function of separating the Orientation from the section of Complicating

Action. Line 41 is the place where the section of Complicating Action is initiated. At this point, the complicating events are separated from the ones which are used for the description of the situation.

In the same narrative, in the course of the telling the complicating events, the teller jumps into CHP from simple past tense in the line 61. Between the lines 61 and 90, the teller uses CHP; this tense shift in line 61 functions for separating the less important events from more important ones. In line 91, the teller again shifts into simple past tense in order to continue narrating the complicating events. In this case, the tense shift seperates the Labovian category Complicating Action and Resolution. By Line 91, the teller begins telling the resolution of the narrative. With the use of these tense shifts, the teller guarantees the interest of the listeners and manipulates them to pay attention to the events which are narrated.

2.3.2. Discussion of Linguistic Forms and Their Functions in Conversational Narratives in Turkish

The linguistic forms which are frequently seen in Turkish conversational narratives are some discourse markers such as, 'ondan sonra', 'şimdi', 'işte', 'şey', interrogative forms and tense shifts. Obviously, due to its narrative and conversational aspects, conversational storytelling is a linguistic activity. Therefore, it cannot be considered as a seperable phenomenon from language. This results in an abundancy in the linguistic forms occuring in conversational storytelling. In this study, the most frequent linguistic forms which have significant roles in the storytelling have been analysed in terms of their narrative, conversational and interpersonal functions.

The discourse marker, 'ondan sonra' can be accounted to be highly exclusive to the storytelling. It has many functions in the production of conversational narratives. In her study, Özbek (1998a) indicates that 'ondan sonra' is a continuity marker with the function of sequencing the events. In the present study, it is also supported that 'ondan sonra' is a discourse marker which functions as a continuity marker. The narrative functions of sequencing the events, connecting the bound narratives to the prior ones,

and conversational functions of initiating the turn and holding the turn reinforce the idea that 'ondan sonra' operates in conversational storytelling as a continuity marker which bridges a link between the present talk and the preceding talks. On the other hand, in Turkish conversational storytelling, it is also found that 'ondan sonra' functions as a separation marker. It separates the telling of non-narrative events of Orientation from narrative events of Complicating Action, or events of complication from events of resolution.

In addition to be a continuity and a separation marker, 'ondan sonra' can also be coined with the term narrative initiator. It gives signals that a new storytelling will be performed. However, this idea can only account for the bound narratives which are connected to an initial narrative in a complex conversational narrative. In the data, any examples for the initiation of free single narratives with 'ondan sonra' have not been found. Therefore, 'ondan sonra' can be identified as an initiator of bound narratives in conversational storytelling. 'Ondan sonra' which functions as an initiator of bound narratives has mostly been observed in turn-medial positions in the telling of complex conversational narratives.

'Şimdi', another frequent discourse marker which occurs in conversational narratives in Turkish has the functions of initiating a narrative, initiating the turn, signalling an extended turn and detailing the situation. Initiating a narrative, as its name indicates, is a narrative function of 'şimdi'. The functions of initiating the turn and signalling an extended turn are conversational functions, and detailing the situation is an interpersonal function. These functions are teller-oriented; any listener-oriented function of 'şimdi' has not been found in the data.

The narratives which 'şimdi' initiates, generally lack of an Abstract and may be produced by the teller in turn-initial or turn-medial positions. This means that the narrative begins to be told at the very beginning of the turn or in somewhere in the middle of the turn. In the first situation, one of the participants may take the turn and by using 'şimdi', s/he announces that s/he will tell a story. By doing this, s/he promotes to

the teller position. In the second situation, the current speaker may begin a storytelling by holding his/her turn and promote to the teller position.

The data of the study indicate another discourse marker 'işte'. It is previously analyzed by Özbek (1995; 1998b) and Yılmaz (1994; 2004). In these studies, 'işte' is used as a marker of extended turns, turn and floor claimer, marker of topic closure, detail giver, highlight marker, and marker of reported speech, marker of information tie-back and answer preface to questions. Since this study focuses on the use of discourse markers in conversational storytelling, some of these functions of 'işte' have been found. In other words, the results of the present study about the various functions of 'işte' intersect with the findings of the previous studies. Moreover, in addition to its conversational and topical functions underlined in Özbek (1995; 1998b) and Yılmaz (1994; 2004), its narrative and interpersonal functions in storytelling are emphasized in the present study. Also in this study, the functions of 'işte' are classified as teller-oriented functions. Obviously, it is possible to consider listener-oriented functions of 'işte' in Turkish conversational storytelling, but any listener-oriented functions of 'işte' have not been found in the data of the present study.

According to the findings of the present study, 'işte' has the teller-oriented narrative functions of initiating the narrative and separating the sections of Complicating Action and Resolution. It has a teller-oriented conversational function which is signalling the extended turn and interpersonal function which is detailing the situation. Upon considering these functions, it can be claimed that 'işte' seems to be similar to 'şimdi' in its narrative, conversational and interpersonal functions in storytelling. What specify the difference between the functions of 'işte' and 'şimdi' are the narrative function of 'işte' for initiating the category of Resolution and the conversational function of 'şimdi' for initiating the turn. Except these, 'işte and 'şimdi' have the same functions in Turkish conversational storytelling.

Another finding about 'işte' and 'şimdi' is about their functions of initiating a narrative. Both discourse markers can signal the beginning of a storytelling in the flowing talk. At that point, they settle in the narrative-initial positions. In other words, 'işte' and 'şimdi'

can be observed at the very beginning of the narratives. In this context, the narrative-initial 'işte' and 'şimdi' can be in turn-initial positions, as well. This means that the teller takes the turn and initiates a narrative by using 'işte' and 'şimdi'. In addition to this, it is possible for both discourse markers to emerge in narrative-initial but in turn-medial positions. That is to say, narratives may begin in a place in the middle of the turn. In the former situation, the narrative begins with a position change of participants in the direction of participant to teller. In the latter, the participant positions change in the direction from speaker to teller.

Last but not least about the use of 'işte' and 'şimdi' in Turkish conversational storytellings, they are used in the initial position of Abstract-elliptical narrative structures which may occur because of the topically relevant previous talk. Tellers may not need to use an Abstract which may initially summarize the topic of the story or just may signal the forthcoming story and begin the narratives with an 'işte' and 'şimdi' just at the very beginning of the Orientation. At this point, 'işte' and 'şimdi' hold Abstract's function of signalling that a storytelling will be performed.

'Şey' is another discourse marker which can frequently be seen in conversational storytelling. Several studies have been conducted on the use of 'şey' in Turkish conversations (Özbek, 1995; 1998b; Yılmaz, 1994; 2004). According to Özbek (1995), 'şey' is a planning marker. Yılmaz (2004) supports the idea that 'şey' is a planning marker; besides, he specifies several more functions of 'şey'. They are verbal planning, initiator of self and other repair, turn initiator, floor holder, and politeness marker. In the present study, it is also found that 'şey' is a planning marker which is used as a tool of verbal planning by tellers. 'Şey is also identified as the repair initiator of self-initiated self-repairs in Turkish conversational narratives. Until this point, the results of the present study match the findings of the study of Yılmaz (2004). However, it is found in the present study that 'şey' do not have the function of repair initiator for other-repairs. It is a fact that everyday conversations have different conversational patterns and linguistic forms from conversational storytelling. In conversational storytelling, tellers are mostly involved in their telling activities, not deeply involved in the words of the others. Therefore, other-repairs are limited in number in conversational storytelling.

Because of this, 'şey' may not be accounted as a repair initiator for other-repairs. In addition to the lack of the function of initiating other-repair, 'şey' also lacks the function of initiating a turn of holding floor. Yet, the mutual turn-takings also occur in limited numbers in conversational storytelling. Upon this, any turn-takings by the initial use of 'şey' may not emerge in the tellings of conversational narratives. Besides, 'şey' as a politeness marker is not observed in conversational narratives. This can be a result of the nature of conversational narratives in the present study which are exclusively produced in the talks between highly familiar people such as family members and friends. Hence, a politeness marker is not needed between these people.

In accordance with its teller-oriented conversational functions, 'şey' is claimed to have a teller-oriented interpersonal function; it is preventing the participant interruption. In conversational storytelling, tellers may experience some disfluencies which results in gaps. By using 'şey', tellers may fill the gaps which provide listeners to have chances to interrupt the storytelling. Hence, they may prevent the listeners to interrupt the telling activity.

In the present study, it is also found that the functions of 'şey' is different from 'ondan sonra', 'şimdi' and 'işte'. The difference lies in that any narrative functions of 'şey' have not been found in the study. However, the other discourse markers which have been analysed in the present study have narrative, conversational and interpersonal functions. Furthermore, any different functions from the ones which are identified by Erdoğan (2013), Özbek (1995; 1998a; 1998b) and Yılmaz (1994; 2004) cannot be found in the present study. The functions of 'şey' found in the data of this study are teller-oriented conversational functions of verbal planning and repairing the self.

Interrogative forms have several functions in Turkish conversational storytelling. It is possible to talk about narrative, conversational and interpersonal functions of interrogative forms, as well. Question forms can be used by tellers for narrative purposes such as initiating a narrative and constructing a co-narration. In addition to these narrative functions, teller-oriented conversational functions can also be listed. They are signalling an extended turn and verbal planning. The teller-oriented

interpersonal function of interrogative form is ensuring the attention of the listeners. There also exist listener-oriented functions of question forms; the listener-oriented narrative function of interrogative forms is triggering a storytelling and the conversational functions are taking turns for requesting extra information from the teller and for predicting the next talk.

Tense shifts are other linguistic forms which are observed in Turkish conversational storytelling. They are mainly used for establishing temporal order in conversational narratives. The tellers achieve putting the past events in an order in the textual linearity of a narrative by shifting the current tense with another. Therefore, they separate the complicating events from the events of resolution or events which give background information from the complicating events. Besides, as Shiffrin (1981; p. 52) points out tellers achieve the separation of important events or points in the story from each other with the help of tense shifts. By separating events, tellers also create an opportunity for themselves to ensure the attention of the listeners.

As Shiffrin (1982) and Wolfson (1982) claim, there are two tenses which are used in conversational narratives; one of them is the simple past tense and the other is the use of the present tense to refer to the past which could be named as Conversational Historical Present. The data of the present study reveals that both the simple past tense and conversational historical present also occur in Turkish conversational storytelling. According to Schiffrin, (1981, p. 51), CHP mostly occurs in the section of Complicating Action. However, it is found in the present study that CHP also emerges in the section of Orientation in Turkish conversational narratives, and seperates Orientation from the section of Complicating Action. Furthermore, it is observed that tellers frequently use tense shifts in Turkish conversational narratives. These tense shifts can occur in the direction of CHP to past tense or vice versa. Even, tellers may switch between CHP and past tense again and again during the process of narrating the events.

CHAPTER 3: CONCLUSION

This study has specified the basic types of Turkish conversational narratives and their narrative structures in terms of the narrative categories of Labov and Waletzky (1967). In addition to the analysis of narrative structure of Turkish conversational narratives, the study has regarded the conversational practices taking place in the production of Turkish narratives in flowing conversation. It has also found out how these conversational practices are organized and function in the construction of single and complex conversational narratives. The study has discussed how the internal structure of narratives which can be in single or complex forms are influenced by the dynamic nature of conversation, as well. Furthermore, the frequent linguistic forms which take place in Turkish conversational storytelling, how these frequent linguistic forms are influential in the narrative and conversational organization of conversational narratives, and which interpersonal functions that they operate have also been identified in the study.

This chapter summarizes the findings of the analysis of Turkish conversational narratives in terms of their narrative, conversational and linguistic features, gives the overall point of the study and discusses implications for future studies.

3.1. A General Overview

The summary of findings will be presented through the research questions of the study.

1. What are the basic types of Turkish conversational narratives in everyday interactional talk?

The study has revealed that the telling of one past experience in the flowing conversation results in a single conversational narrative and the combination of the narration of several temporally or topically related past experiences leads to the emergence of complex conversational narratives in the flowing talk.

Three different kinds of single conversational narratives have been observed in the data of this study; firsthand, secondhand and culturally shared narratives. The other two kinds of narratives which are identified by Schank (1990, pp. 29-40) have not been found in the data. These types of narratives are *official stories* which are learnt from official sources such as school or the government and *invented (adapted) stories* which are the stories created by people for specific purposes.

The most frequent type of narratives occurred in conversations has been identified as firsthand narratives. By considering that they are the stories in which people tell about their own experiences, firsthand narratives seem more convenient to be used in everyday conversations; one's own experiences are more available and easily accessible for tellers to enrich the ongoing topic, to exemplify the situations, to amuse the listeners, etc. Secondhand narratives have been found less in number than the firsthand ones. Since they are the stories which reflect the experiences of others in their own words, and which are heard and remembered by tellers, they are less available for tellers to use conveniently. The least frequent type of narratives taking place in conversations of the present study is the culturally shared narratives. This can be a result of the limited repertoire of the participants in knowing this kind of stories than the ones reflecting their own experiences.

2. What is the internal structure of the Turkish single conversational narratives in terms of Labovian categories?

It is found in the data that firsthand narratives occurring in Turkish conversations have six different internal structures by depending on Labov's narrative categories. The narrative formulae of firsthand single conversational narratives are (1) A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva, (2) A/ O/ CA/ R, (3) O/ CA/ R/ Eva, (4) A/ O/ CA/ Eva/ R, (5) A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co, and (6) O/ CA/ R/ Co. The occurence frequency of these formulae is as they are listed above: The most frequent of these formulae is A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva and the least frequent formulae are the ones with Coda. They are A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co and O/ CA/ R/ Co.

The data also show that secondhand narratives occurring in Turkish conversations exhibit five different internal narrative structures. They are (1) A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva, (2) O/ CA/ R/

Eva, (3) A/ O/ CA/ R, (4) O/ CA/ R, and (5) A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co. The most frequent of these formulae is A/ O/ CA/ R/ Eva and the narrative formula with a coda is the least frequent narrative structure of secondhand SCNs. It is A/ O/ CA/ R/ Co.

In the data, it has been observed that culturally shared single conversational narratives occurring in Turkish conversations elicit three different internal narrative structures. The narrative formulae of culturally shared single conversational narratives are (1) $_{[O]}$ CA/ R, (2) A / $_{[O]}$ CA/ R, (3) $_{[O]}$ CA/Eva/ R. The most frequent of these formulae is $_{[O]}$ CA/ R and the least frequent is $_{[O]}$ CA/Eva/ R.

Depending on the findings of the study, it can be discussed that firsthand and secondhand SCNs exhibit similar narrative structures in terms of the existance and organization of Labovian categories. However, culturally shared SCNs have different narrative organizations from firsthand and secondhand SCNs. They have exclusive narrative structures which definitely include the section of Complicating Action and Resolution, and a covert Orientation embedded in the section of Complicating Action. In this context, the persona and setting of the story are given in an embedded way since the people who take part in the story do not have referents in real life and are known by the people of the culture to which the story belongs.

The data show that the categories of Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Resolution and Evaluation have frequently been observed in Turkish conversational narratives. However, the use of Coda is highly limited. The sections of Orientation, Complicating Action and Resolution are obligatory sections for firsthand and secondhand narratives. The obligatory sections of culturally shared narratives have been identified as the sections of Complicating Action and Resolution.

Abstract, which is placed at the very beginning of a narrative and plays the role of a short introduction or a signal for what the tellers will narrate, is a highly used Labovian category in Turkish conversational narratives. Abstract sections of culturally shared narratives have a peculiar use in that the resolution sentence of the story can be given at

the very beginning of the story and plays the role of an Abstract in terms of signalling a forthcoming story.

The data have indicated that Abstract does not exist in narrative structures of some narratives. It is because the role of Abstract is played by the previous conversation. In other words, the introduction to the new narrative is collaboratively performed by the conversationalists in terms of topical relevance, and the teller does not need to use an introduction and goes on the telling activity with an Orientation.

The data demonstrate that Coda is seldom in the narrative structures of firsthand and secondhand SCNs and it does not exist in the narrative structures of culturally shared stories. That is to say, Coda is the least observed Labovian category in single conversational narratives. Its being fairly seldom can be a result of the existence of an external Evaluation. If Coda exists in a narrative body, Evaluation is missing and vice versa. None of the SCNs in the data has the sections of Coda and Evaluation together. This may happen due to the fact that Coda contains a kind of evaluation in its nature. Evaluation is a frequent category in conversational narratives in Turkish, therefore, Coda keeps seldom. Besides, tellers of culturally shared SCNs do not need to bridge between past and present since their aim is to amuse the listeners or to enrich the topic of the conversation through telling a joke or anecdote.

The study approves that the narrative model proposed by Labov and Waletzky (1967) is consistent with the narrative structure of Turkish conversational narratives. Labovian categories seem to exist in Turkish conversational narratives as in the order that Labov and Waletzky proposed; Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Resolution and Coda. However, the place of Evaluation is a peculiar point in the narrative structure of Turkish conversational narratives; its place in Turkish conversational narratives is identified as after the Resolution and very few narratives have an Evaluation section before the Resolution. This finding contradicts with the place that Labov and Waletzky (1967) proposed (between Complicating Action and Resolution), but supports Labov's later work (1972) in that Evaluation can also be spread throughout the narrative.

3. What is the internal narrative structure of Turkish complex conversational narratives?

a) What are the types of Turkish complex conversational narratives in terms of their topical features?

The study has identified two different types of complex conversational narratives when their topical relevance is considered. They are *progressive complex narratives* and *hypertopical complex narratives*. In progressive complex narratives, the single narratives which construct the complex narrative are sequenced in a temporal continuum. They seem as if they were the parts of a temporally continuous experience. However, in hypertopical complex narratives, the single narratives of past experiences having occurred in different times and in different places are organized in a higher narrative construction by not involving a temporal sequence but a topical relevance.

b) What is the textual organization of Turkish complex conversational narratives?

Upon considering the textual organization of narratives, it is possible to mention embedded and integrated complex narratives. These terms represent the way by which the complex narratives come together with other complex narratives or single narratives. If a single or a complex narrative come together with another single or complex narrative by interfering in the narrative structure of the other, an embedded narrative organization emerges. If the single or complex narratives in a higher complex organization come together by following each other in a regular way, then it means that narratives are organized integratedly. In the first case, one of the narratives of a complex narrative is interrupted and it can only be completed after the completion of the interfering narrative. In the second case, the narratives follow each other and any interfering of another narrative does not exist.

The study has found that super-complex narratives emerge if a complex narrative comes together with other complex narratives. Yet, as their names indicate, they are still complex narratives. Both progressive and hypertopical complex narratives can come together with

other complex narratives and structure a super-complex narrative by an integration or embedding process.

c) What is the narrative structure of Turkish complex conversational narratives in terms of Labovian categories?

Single narratives in a complex narrative can share common narrative sections. Besides, both complex-complex and complex-single (or single-complex) formulations can share narrative sections. The most frequent Labovian categories which are commonly used by the narratives in a complex narrative are Abstract, Coda and Evaluation. In addition to this, Orientation and Resolution can also be commonly used by the narratives constructing a higher narrative structure.

The internal narrative structures of single conversational narratives which come together in complex narrative organizations may exhibit a parallelism in terms of their organization of Labovian categories. If there are slight differences in the sequence of Labovian categories, it is because of Evaluation. Evaluation can emerge in different places in the narrative organization of single conversational narratives.

The essential condition for the complexity of narrative organization is not the commonly used Labovian categories, but the temporal sequence or relevance of the topic. Interactional character of the conversational narratives seems useful for tellers to combine two single narratives around the similar topics and to make a transition to the next narrative by the use of implicatures which give cues that the prospective single narrative is related with the previous one.

4. Which conversational practices take place in Turkish conversational narratives?

a) What is the conversational organization of story beginnings and endings?

The study has indicated that changes in the participants' positions occur in the beginnings of the conversational narratives. In ongoing talk, conversational narratives begin with a

role transition from participant to teller, from speaker to teller, or from teller to teller. These different organizations of story beginnings indicate that the conversational stories are relevant to the prior talk. They are also influential in the narrative structure of the stories in terms of Labovian categories. The study has put an emphasis on Abstract which is used to introduce the topic, to bridge the story to the preceding talk and to secure an interactional space in which the extended and/or multi-unit story turn can be hold. However, the study claims that some narratives lack Abstract. If the topic of the story is directly relevant to the preceding conversation, the introduction to the story may be achieved by the previous conversation. As a result, an independent Abstract section may become unnecessary in the flowing conversation and the teller may begin the narrative with an Orientation.

Upon considering the endings of the conversational narratives, the present study claims that conversational narratives have an end with the role transitions from participant to speaker, participant to teller, teller to speaker, or teller to teller. In addition, conversational narratives may lack Evaluation and Coda. These Evaluation- and Coda- elliptical narrative structures are the results of conversation's urging the speakers to complete their turns as soon as possible. Furthermore, interactional nature of face-to-face talk does not urge the tellers to produce a narrative body with all Labovian categories as in the case of elicited narratives. That is to say, interactional talk provides tellers and also the other participants with chances to make additions to the stories in any time of the ongoing storytelling. Moreover, listener contributions to the narration of a story such as listeners' taking the turn and making evaluations about the narrated events are also influential in the emergence of the narratives with Evaluation- and Coda- elliptical narrative structures.

The study puts forward a distinction between complex conversational narratives and secondary narratives when successive stories are considered in terms of their beginnings and endings. In the flowing talk, a story may end with another story which may be produced by same or different tellers. If the bound narrative which comes after the initial one is told by the same teller, the result is a complex conversational narrative. On the other hand, if it is told by a different teller, the narrative can be called as a secondary

narrative. To sum, a narrative may begin and end with a complex conversational narrative or a secondary narrative.

b) What are the conversational practices in sequence organization?

By depending on the assumptions that conversational storytelling has its own turn-taking rules and the principles of turn-taking organization of an ordinary interactional talk may not work for the turn-taking organization of conversational storytelling, the study has analyzed the conversational practices of conversational storytelling in terms of turn-takings, repairs, adjacency pairs and overlappings

It is claimed in this study that turn-takings which are inevitable parts of a conversation have been achieved by both tellers and listeners for many different purposes in conversational storytelling. The study has pointed out that teller-oriented turn-takings mainly function for taking the turn back after a listener's participation in order to continue the storytelling and complete the narratives. Besides, the teller-oriented turn-takings highly occur in collaborative storytelling in which one or several of the listeners may take the turns and make their contribution to the telling activity as co-tellers.

Listener-oriented turn-takings have been identified to have several different functions in conversational storytelling. They are (1) assisting the teller, (2) giving extra information, (3) predicting the next talk of the teller, (4) approving the teller, (5) responding a question, (6) requesting for extra information and (7) evaluating. It has also been emphasized in the present study that these functions are also available for teller-oriented turn-takings in collaborative storytelling. The study has determined that the most frequent listener-oriented function of turn-taking is approving the teller which is observed to be achieved by a backchanelling, repetition and paraphrase of the teller's words. The least frequent function is responding to a question. It is because this kind of turn-takings emerge only if there is a question of the teller.

The study has proposed that turn-takings emerge in different parts of the story; thus, they correspond to different Labovian categories. Since they are the most informative sections

in a narrative body and available for listener contribution, the sections of Complicating Action and Orientation have been observed to permit turn-takings in high numbers. In Coda and Evaluation, any turn-takings have not been found in the study.

It is illustrated in the study that both types of repair, namely self-repair and other-repair, exist in Turkish conversational narratives. Furthermore, both types of self-repair, self-initiated and other-initiated self repairs have also been found in the data of this study. In the emergence of other-repairs, the listeners help the teller in what they need such as a word or a phrase. At this point, it is possible to underline the emergence of self-initiated other-repairs in conversational storytelling. Yet, other-initiated other-repairs are not be observed in the data of the study.

The data of the present study demonstrates that in Turkish conversational storytelling, the most frequent adjacency pairs have been identified as the question-answer pairs. It has also been signalled by the study that both parts in a question-answer pair can be teller- or listener-oriented; the one who asks the question or gives the answer can be the teller or a listener. In addition to these, a story can be told as an extended answer of a question of one of the conversationalists; as a result, response stories emerge.

In Turkish conversational storytelling, two kinds of overlappings have been emphasized by the present study. Since some overlappings are produced to show interest to the storytelling or just to help the teller, these overlappings are non-competitive. However, there are competitive overlappings which is produced to secure the turn from the current speaker. The study has identified the non-competitive overlappings as overlaps and competitive overlappings as overlapping talk. The study has further indicated that overlappings can mostly be observed in collaborative storytelling. The presence of two or more would-be tellers may result in a competition for the role of the legitimate teller. As a result, the legitimate teller may keep his/her turn, voluntarily leave the position and give it to the competing speaker or the secondary teller invade the extended turn for storytelling.

5) Which linguistic forms frequently occur in Turkish conversational narratives?

The study has identified the linguistic forms which are frequently seen in Turkish conversational narratives as some discourse markers, such as 'ondan sonra', 'şimdi', 'işte', 'şey', interrogative forms and tense shifts. These linguistic forms have been attibuted to have significant roles in the storytelling and have been analysed in terms of their narrative, conversational and interpersonal functions.

> a) In what ways the frequent linguistic forms function in the narrative structure of conversational narratives?

The present study has demostrated that 'ondan sonra' is a very frequent discourse marker which is highly exclusive to the storytelling. It has the teller-oriented narrative functions of sequencing the events temporally, connecting the bound narratives to the initial one in a complex narrative structure, and initiating the categories of Complicating Action and Resolution. Any listener-oriented narrative functions of 'ondan sonra' has not been identified in the study.

According to the findings of the present study, 'şimdi' and 'işte' have the teller-oriented narrative function of initiating the narrative. Both discourse markers can signal the beginning of a storytelling in the flowing talk. At that point, they can be observed in Abstract-elliptical narratives and take place at the very beginning of these narratives. It is claimed in this study that tellers may not need to use an Abstract which may initially summarize the topic of the story or just may signal the forthcoming story and begin the narratives with the discourse markers, 'işte' and 'şimdi' at the beginning of the Orientation. In this context, 'işte' and 'şimdi' hold Abstract's function of signalling a forthcoming storytelling. In addition to the narrative function of initiating the narrative, 'işte' has the function of separating the sections of Complicating Action and Resolution. 'Şimdi' has not been observed with this function in the data; therefore, it can be claimed that what differs 'işte' from 'şimdi' is the narrative function of separating the sections of Complicating Action and Resolution. Any teller- or listener-oriented narrative functions of 'şey' has not been observed in the study.

It is stressed in this study that question forms can also be used by tellers for narrative purposes such as initiating a narrative and constructing a co-narration. A listener-oriented narrative function of question forms have been specified by the study; it is the function of is triggering a storytelling.

Tense shifts are other linguistic forms which have teller-oriented narrative functions in Turkish conversational storytelling. They are mainly used for establishing temporal order in conversational narratives and separating the complicating events from other events which give background information or present the resolution of the complicating events.

The present study has revealed that the mostly used tenses in Turkish conversational storytelling are the simple past tense and conversational historical present. It has also been found in the study that conversational historical present are used by tellers to seperate Orientation from the section of Complicating Action or Complicating Action from the Resolution. Furthermore, it is observed that tellers frequently use tense shifts in the direction of conversational historical present to past tense or vice versa in Turkish conversational narratives.

   b) In what ways the common linguistic forms function in the conversational
      organization of conversational narratives?

The study has also identified the conversational functions of linguistic forms. 'Ondan sonra' has been observed to have the teller-oriented conversational functions of initiating the turn and holding the floor, and listener-oriented functions of initiating a turn in order to predict the next talk and to show their interest to storytelling. It has been emphasized in the study that 'şimdi' has the teller-oriented conversational functions of initiating the turn and signalling an extended turn. 'İşte' has been claimed to have the teller-oriented conversational functions of signalling the extended turn in Turkish conversational storytelling. The discourse marker 'şey' has been determined to have only teller-oriented conversational functions; it is used for verbal planning and repairing the self in conversational stroytelling in Turkish. The last linguistic form with conversational functions is the interrogative forms. They have been assigned to have the teller-oriented

conversational functions of signalling an extended turn and verbal planning, and listener-oriented functions of requesting extra information and predicting the next. Any conversational functions of tense shifts have not been detected in the data.

c) What are the interpersonal functions of the frequent linguistic forms?

The frequent linguistic forms have been identified to have apparent interpersonal functions in Turkish conversational narratives. All the interpersonal functions of these linguistic forms have been specified to be teller-oriented; that is to say, any listener-oriented interpersonal functions have not been observed in the data. The teller-oriented interpersonal function of 'ondan sonra' is taking the attention of the listeners to a specific point in the narrative. 'Şimdi' and 'işte' have been observed to be used by tellers in order to detail the situation about the events of the narrative. It has been demonstrated in the study that 'şey' has the function of preventing listener interruption in storytellings. Lastly, it is possible to enlist the interpersonal function of question forms and tense shifts. Question forms can be claimed to function for ensuring the attention of the listeners and tense shifts for taking the attention of the listeners.

As a conclusion, the study has revealed that narrative structures of conversational narratives are highly vulnerable and very open to the influences caused by the flowing nature of conversation. In addition to the influences of conversational features on narrative structures, the narrative features may influence the conversational organization of the Turkish conversational storytelling. In this context, it is clearly seen that narrative and conversational mechanisms go hand in hand in conversational storytelling. In addition to this, linguistic forms mediate between these two mechanisms and reinforce the storytelling activity. That is to say, it is possible to figure out the storytelling activity in natural conversations as a combinatory achievement of narrative, conversational and linguistic mechanisms.

3.2. Significance of the Study

This study advances an analysis of conversational narratives in Turkish in terms of their internal narrative structure. That can be considered as one of the first attempts to describe the internal narrative structures of Turkish conversational narratives. Furthermore, the study has verified that the narrative structures of conversational narratives fit the model of Labov and Waletzky (1967).

The way that this study handles narratives is different from the previous narrative studies in Turkish. It accepts narratives as an interactional achievement of the teller and the listener(s). This approach distinguishes the present study from the previous studies of narrative analysis tradition whose main interest is on the literary or elicited narratives in Turkish. Moreover, the study also contributes to the field of narrative analysis by focusing on complex narrative structures which are the artifacts of the interactional nature of the conversational narratives and have not deeply been investigated previously.

The study integrates new insights into the scientific analysis of storytelling by concerning the conversational aspects of narratives. Thus, conversation analytic studies on Turkish may also benefit from the present study. Obviously, there is a great need to carry out conversation analytic studies in various languages. In addition to these, the description of some linguistic forms which are employed in Turkish conversational storytelling with various functions and crucial roles in the construction of narrative body and conversational organization of Turkish conversational narratives is identified in this study.

Last but not least, the study is prominent in that it suggests new terminologies about various narrative phenomena. These narrative phenomena and their corresponding terms are innovative in terms of their being firstly identified in this study.

3.3. Implications for Further Studies

This study has been conducted with the use of a relatively large corpus of data which have been able to provide sufficient evidence in order to fullfil the aims of the study. However, more studies with larger corpus of narratives may justify the results of this study.

The corpus of conversational narratives used in the present study comprises the storytellings of participants who are from Eskişehir, a city in the Central Anatolia. A larger corpus of Turkish conversational narratives which are gathered from the different regions of Turkey may also reinforce the results of this study. Further studies would probably help to describe the structure of Turkish conversational narratives in a more detailed way. Moreover, the findings of this study may be compared to the identical studies in different cultures and languages in order to reach universal generalizations.

Some more studies on the narrative structures and conversational organizations of conversational narratives which are produced by different teller groups such as men and women, or childen or the old may give an impetus to conversation-analytic narrative studies. Besides, studies on the use of evaluation in conversational narratives in terms of gender or socio-economic differences may help to bring explanations about the storytelling preferences of different groups.

More future studies on the frequent linguistic forms can enlighten the direct relationship between language and narrative/conversational mechanisms. For example, they could easily include other discourse markers such as 'yani' or fillers such as 'hmm' which are also used in Turkish conversational storytellings. An attempt for these further studies is sure to help for a more detailed description of Turkish and may provide further impetus and motivation for potential researchers to broaden the scope of conversation analytic studies.

Another point of interest about conversational narratives can be the narrative structure and conversational organization of storytellings in other languages. The organization of Labovian categories and the emergence of complex narratives can be examined in different languages. More empirical studies on conversational narratives in the world's languages are needed before any generalizations can be made about their nature.

Lastly, it is obvious that narratives are an essential part of naturally occurring talk and they signal a certain degree of informality between the participants. By underlining their apparent interactional significance, conversational narratives may be examined in more

specific occasions such as discussions, patient-doctor talks, or in court defenses. More focus on specif narrative data will mean more explanations about human interaction.

This study, regardless of its relative shortcomings, and any further studies about conversational data of storytellings will enhance the conversation analytic studies in Turkish Linguistics and reinforce the prospective researchers who are interested in conversational phenomena.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Code of Ethics

Ethics Statements of Linguistic Society of America (2009)

Responsibility to individual research participants:
- Research participants have the right to control whether their actions are recorded in such a way that they can be connected with their personal identity. They also have the right to control who will have access to the resulting data, with full knowledge of the potential consequences.
- Linguists are responsible for obtaining the informed consent of those who provide them with data (regardless of whether and how that consent is documented), for maintaining any expected confidentiality in storing data and reporting findings, and for ensuring that any individual's participation in their research is completely voluntary at every stage.

Recommendations on Good Practice in Applied Linguistics by BAAL (2006)

General responsibility to informants:
- Applied linguists should respect the rights, interests, sensitivities, and privacy of their informants. It is important to try to anticipate any harmful effects or disruptions to informants' lives and environment, and to avoid any stress, undue intrusion, and real or perceived exploitation.

Obtaining informed consent:
- Relationships with informants should be founded on trust and openness. Nevertheless, the idea of informed consent is increasingly recognized as a complex one. Informants, for example, are rarely familiar with the nature of academic activities such as publication or conference presentations, making it difficult for them to give fully informed consent to the use of data. Despite this, researchers should endeavour to provide sufficient information about all aspects of the research that might reasonably be expected to affect informants' willingness to participate. The information given at the outset of a project should cover the objectives of the research, its possible consequences, and issues of confidentiality and data security.

Respecting a person's decision not to participate:
- Informants have a right to refuse to participate in research.

Deception and covert research:
- This is an area of particular concern in applied linguistics. Covert research and deliberate deception are unacceptable to the extent that they violate the principle of informed consent and the right to privacy. Observation in public places is a particularly problematic issue. If observations or recordings are made of the public at large, it is not possible to gain informed consent from everyone. However, post-hoc consent should be negotiated if the researcher is challenged by a member of the public. A useful criterion by which to judge the acceptability of research is to anticipate or elicit, post hoc, the reaction of informants when they are told about the precise objectives of the study. If anger or other strong reactions are likely or expressed, then such data collection is inappropriate.

Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct (2010 Amendments)

Respect for People's Rights and Dignity:
- Psychologists respect the dignity and worth of all people, and the rights of individuals to privacy, confidentiality, and self-determination. Psychologists are aware that special safeguards may be necessary to protect the rights and welfare of persons or communities whose vulnerabilities impair autonomous decision making.

Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association (2009)

Responsibility to people and animals with whom anthropological researchers work and whose lives and cultures they study:
- Anthropological researchers should obtain in advance the informed consent of persons being studied, providing information, owning or controlling access to material being studied, or otherwise identified as having interests which might be impacted by the research. It is understood that the degree and breadth of informed consent required will depend on the nature of the project and may be affected by requirements of other codes, laws, and ethics of the country or community in which the research is pursued. Further, it is understood that the informed consent process is dynamic and continuous; the process should be initiated in the project design and continue through implementation by way of dialogue and negotiation with those studied. Researchers are responsible for identifying and complying with the various informed consent codes, laws and regulations affecting their projects. Informed consent, for the purposes of this code, does not necessarily imply or require a particular written or signed form. It is the quality of the consent, not the format, that is relevant.

Code of Ethics and Policies and Procedures of the ASA Committee on Professional Ethics (1997)
Informed Consent:
- Sociologists do not involve a human being as a subject in research without the informed consent of the subject or the subject's legally authorized representative, except as otherwise specified in this Code.

Scope of Informed Consent:
- Sociologists conducting research obtain consent from research participants or their legally authorized representatives (1) when data are collected from research participants through any form of communication, interaction, or intervention; or (2) when behavior of research participants occurs in a private context where an individual can reasonably expect that no observation or reporting is taking place.

Use of Recording Technology:
- Sociologists obtain informed consent from research participants, students, employees, clients, or others prior to videotaping, filming, or recording them in any form, unless these activities involve simply naturalistic observations in publbic places and it is not anticipated that the recording will be used in a manner that could cause personal identification or harm.

APPENDIX 2: English Translations of the Narratives

(1)
THE BOMB
A: girl in the bus stop/ someone has put a bomb to the busstop in which I was waiting for a bus.
B: what↑
C: when↑
İ: someone has put one in my mother's work place, too./ again in Diyarbakır.
A: do you know what has happened↑/ we went şimdi,/ again in times of Kırıkkale routines./ şey times Ankara routine times./ I'm waiting I will take on the bus like this./ I will go to the bus terminal like this./
İ: ay Allah saves us.
A: I'm at the busstop like this./ ondan sonra I'm looking at the nearbys./ I'm looking at the right and the left./ suddenly şey(s) come./ the scene investigation cops.
İ: they would ask for Ahmet.
A: I just saw that they began/surrounding me./ ondan sonra **go go go**/ they did to me like this./**what is happening** I asked like this./ **don't you see** he said.
İ: they said like this **you're like a bomb.**
A: **near the şey the bus stop you are sitting** he said,/ **there is a box with a bomb** he said./ there is a box with a bomb near to me ya.
İ: you would think şey. ya if this box were free I would take it to home./ as people take from the supermarkets.
A: ondan sonra I turned and looked,/ really in the box like this,/ they had rolled and rolled it./ the man couldn't make me go away./ **if you wait fort he bus, goto this side** he said./ **just wait t… two metres away** he said./ **we** he said **will make it blow up with a bomb squad**.
B: was it really a bomb↑
C: did they blow it up when you were there↑
A: I went away I waited there I mean./ a minibus came and I took on and went away./ but it blows there I would die.

(2)
FLYING CAR
F: the man in a flat road,/just a small stockade,/yav flat pretty flat,/ you are driving ahead,/ he maket he car fly to the stockade./ how is it possible↑
C: we experienced it.
F: astonishing.
C: while you're going to İnönü from here./the road coming from Bozüyük/ you just drive through it./ where is it after Otlubal↑
V: Otlubel he:
C: just şimdi from Otlubal from that road/we are driving through it./ here e:: from Kütahya/ to Bozüyük there is a road./ a White Tempra./ there you know that road/ a little şey little.
V: downgrade.
C: keeps high./nearbys are farming fields.
V: from here from Otlubal/ when coming there it is high./ the other side is downgrade./ and there is a curve there.
C: nearbys are the farming fields ya./ the fields are too low than the road./ şimdi we're coming like this ./ there was ömer with me./ **a:: look look what it is doing** he said/ **this car**./ the car definitely flew/ into the middle of the field.
F: it flew like this.
C: it is coming in the free flat road./ **ulan** I said/ **he slept I suppose**.

(3)
FLOWING WATER
D: valla I don't know Burhan/ if there is not hot water in here in Eskişehir/ there is any nowhere./ you can remember./ when was it↑/ when we were in highschool years./ in this Hamamyolu/ now there is Madımak Icecreams.
B: okay.
D: through its street/ they found a water spring./ do you remember that spring↑/ yet in those times that şey/ channel and so…

B: the channel was flowing./ha:

D: they found there a water spring./ I can remember it very well/ haldır haldır haldır./ like şey water flowed there for months./ finally that spring/ they closed the spring by injecting quiksilver there.

(4)

CAR CRASH

K: valla it does not need to be flat./ my tyres have strong treads./I turned from Tepebaşı./ in winter./ near the roads…/ they cleaned the roads from snow./ near the roads/ there are small snow hills./ that day the sun shines./ of course, when it shines/ the snow melts through the roads/ roads get wet./ e: in the early evening the surface gets hard.

B: of course hard it froze.

K: I'm coming from my father's./ I turned by Tepebaşı/ towards the hospital./ there is a little rise there./ two buses of municipality/ did şey in front of me./ the first gear,/ I couldn't gear up into the second./ It is still on the first gear./ one of the buses came and stopped in the right./ the other one came and stopped in the middle of the road.

T: hayda:

K: they are leaving passengers.

T: you got stucked between them.

K: I şimdi the first gear./ I could neither jam on or do anything./ the car slipped./ we are going under the bus.

T: it does.

K: it did.

T: it goes where it wants.

K: it did. it comes till the back/ of the bus./ kü:t from the near right/ I managed to turn the car./ we hit one of the headlights./ immediately police…/ there was a policeman in the car./ he immediately took of the bus./ he is calling the traffic police./ of course any of course he asked none of us./şey said the bus driver./ **my brother** he said **what will be do** he said./ **would we wait for the traffic police** he said./ **valla** he said **if we wait** he said./ **first they will give you traffic punishment** he said./ **plus you will prevent me from my way** he said./ **second they will get the money for journey**.

T: money for journey↑

K: **my brother** he said **nor I stop look the man is calling**,/ you go and I go as well./ **hadi** we said **drive and go.**

T: e::↑

K: I immediately escaped from there./towards home.

(5)

LIEUTENANT COLUMBO

S: şimdi./ we came to Öküz Ahmet Paşa Kervansaray Ahmet./ şey Kerim.

K: hm::

S: şimdi there are şey(s)./ of course there are foreigners./ of course many foreigners.

K: there are excessive foreigners.

S: he: ondan sonra/ they are getting prepared,/ they are locating mirrors,/ they are doing bla bla./ they would record a film.

K: they are getting prepared.

S: namely they are getting preperations for film ma… recordings./ he: şimdi I there is a place like a saloon there, they call it what call it lobby./ there…/ I just saw that a man was sitting./ he is so familiar./ I greeted him./ he greeted me as well./ nızk ulan I think about this man şimdi/ from where I know him./ I can't recall/ namely where I know him./ yav from Eskişehir from the garage↑/ no.

K: you can't remember where you know him.

S: from the State↑/ from Ankara↑/ from there↑/ from here↑/ at that point gi… wo… a girl and her mother came like this./ **a:: look at Columbo** the girl said./ ulen to Columbo he is Peter Falk or what that man./ at that point I got awake./ I said to take a photo./ ta.. with gestures like Tarzan./we don't know English./ **okay** he said **let's have a photo** he said./ Erdoğan hurry up…/ ulan in the camera there was no films my friend./run buy a film come back/ the film recordings started./ they didn't let us go in./ it ended so./ the man…/ as he is a acquaintance with Columbo/ I greeted him I mean/ if the girl didn't say **look at Columbo**.

(6)

CAR TYRES

M: I have a firend who is a technician./ even this Yeston,/ if there is anybody who knows Yeston/ its... those concrete posts,/ the friend who produce them./ we used to work with him in YS./ ondan sonra he left./ he went there./ then he/ founded that factory./ then we lost each other./ he doesn't drive a car so much./ one or two years./ he always buys a new one./ the day that he buys the car/ he gets rid of the tires,/ the tires that Tofaş has put on./ he puts on dublex tires.**/ yav Oğuz.**/ one day I said to him.**/ why do you do this**↑/ he: **why** I said I mean./ **you like this**…/ **I'm comfortable e: because of punctuation./ this does not punctuate.**/**the other is dangerous** he said./but...
B: but wheel rims should hold the tires.
M: this ha… change… rims/ yav you don't put on dublex rims,/ you put on normal rims.**/ it works** he said./ and for years this guy/ drove the car like this.

(7)
<u>BUILDING PLOT</u>
K: once **I would buy his building plot** I said./there./ **I give it to you for three billions** he said to me while I was working.**/ I have a building plot there which is near to yours**,/ **I would give it to you** he used to say to me.
C: e: işte it is near this şey./it was there when you pass through the Acıbadem/ it was somewhere there.
K: just there.
C: where↑
K: you go under our bridge./okay↑
C: he:
K: in the left the last houses dissappear./in the left./before entering the zone of State's Railways,/ just a little further./ there are something like blocks./ they dissappear./ ondan sonra…
C: when you pass through the Drivers Association.
K: in the behind.
C: somewhere in the behind of it. / he was talking about a place there.
K: but the building plot where he will sell,/ şimdi a road passes there,/ this is the road which goes through./the road that goes in front of the municipality./ it passes in front of it./ the building plot exactly faces there./ it has two hundred and seventy metre squares.
C: no şimdi/ does he pay fort he two sides of the plot↑
K: şimdi I took the photocopy of its land register from him./ I went to the municipality and researched./ I found the place of the plot./ here is the plot there is a road here./ but the owner of the plot over there/ considers here as a place without owner,/ while he was building his house,/ he built the windows in this street,/ he attempts this plot/ by accepting this plot as if it were his/ he built the entrance from here,/ he puts the windows there./ towards the plot of brother Yavuz./ ulan I went there I would by this plot./ The man comes and said **this plot is mine**.**/ ulan it's not yours** I said.**/ there is an owner of this plot**,/ **I will buy this plot**./ definitely we will be in trauble with him/ in any case I would build something there./ because the man built the entrance and exit/ all of them in that plot./
T: alla alla./ despite he doesn't have the right.
K: he doesn't have the right he:/ e: şimdi if I go/ to the municipality,/ it does not try to solve the problem./ if I attempt to build something/ I will get trouble with the man./ just since I didn't buy the plot.

(8)
<u>TV SHOW</u>
E: who is she↑
P: grandma your thing has begun./ your TV programme.
E: so has it begun↑
C: our…
E: he: she has been sitting there, at the behind./ she has been waiting there.
C: Aunt Güzin in our day meeting.
F: hm:
T: esra↑
C: we went to Aunt Güzin's.
E: ya. it has begun.
P: Esra Erol.
C: the wife of her brother-in-law was there, as well.
E: a: I haven't seen her for a long time.
P: on ATV.

E: I know it is on ATV,/ but I haven't seen her.

C: after that she stood up,/ **I am going** she said,/ **e:: stay** they said,/**what will you do** they asked./ well, her husband was at home./ **oh what will he do**,/**leave him alone** they said./**what is he doing** they asked again./ w**hat he would do**↑/ **he watches women she** said./we all got puzzled./ o… old man./ on TV he watches wedding programmes.

(9)

THE FIRST CINEMA

Y: do you remember the old Atlas in the hollow↑/ it was downwards/ it was in the place where Kılıçoğlu is now.

E: is it possible not to remember./ the first time I have gone to the cinema was there./ my father and Uncle Ali,/ the father of Uncle Özcan/ decided to go to the cinema./ şimdi I heard them talking./ My mother şey was knitting a j…/ I asked her for a jumper./ she knitted a jumper for me,/ and she is trying to attach the parts.

Y: he:

E: I said **hurry up, /**to my mother **hurry up** I say./th**ey are departing they are going./**

Y: you will catch them.

E: I will take on the jumper,/ follow them./ So,/ I got the jumper from my mother's hands,/ took on the jumper./ hadi by running I went behind them./ I didn't show myself until the bazaar./ when it became crowded by the bazaar, in case I lose them/ immediately I came/ and hold my father's hand./ **where did you come yav** he said./ he showed his anger./ ondan sonra yav şimdi/ **you** he said **turn back** he said to me./ my father said to me./ my uncle said/ **let the child come with us** he said **ya./ he may get lost there** he said./ **the kid** he said **has come till here**./ **e: he came till here** he said./ **let's go** he said./ **let's get him together** he said **my brother** he said./ **you are always following me**/ he got angry a bit./ he didn't insist on /after my uncle said so./ then we went to that cinema building./ **a** film called "Aramızda Yaşayamazsın"/ by Turan Seyfioğlu./ that's the first film I have seen.

(10)

SUGAR IN TEA

R: şimdi in our computer course/ I saw that the girl likes that/ a punch of sugar./ **what are you doing my girl**↑/ I said ya./ **I'm putting sugar to my tea Uncle Rıza./ you are putting sugar but/ is it good to put so much sugar**↑/ **you can put two pieces**/ **it would be enough** I said./ **e: I drink like this.**

Z: hm:

R: **e: honey sugar factories**/ **you would make them bankrupt**./ **don't drink like this** I said./ şimdi when she takes sugar/ if I'm nearby she doesn't şey.

(11)

MATCH TICKET

Ç: at least there/ there are seventy of eighty thousand audiences Kazım./ look at the money.

K: it is expensive there than here.

Ç: he: but the Spanish people,/ are their incomes so much I mean↑

K: my sons

Ç: their stadiums are always full.

K: There was Bar… Espanol's match/ Espanol-Barcelona./ both of them are the teams teams of Barcelona./ hadi they said let's go that match./ that does not cost so much they said./ they went to the stadium no tickets/ even they are 40 Euros or something like it/ one ticket to open./ no ticket.

(12)

PEACH TREE

K: is it good for the neighbours instead of having good relations/ to quarrel for a tree↑

A: e: our neighbours./ Aunt Berna and Aunt Derya/ are quarelling./ the topic is this./ there was a peach tree of Aunt Derya./ it did not grow up./ because of the stonepine tree of Aunt Berna./ she says **cut it down**/ **my peach tree does not grow up**./ can you see the topic of the quarrel↑/ cut this tree she says./ my peach tree would grow up she says./ okay in order that your little/ peach tree grows up/ the huge stonepine tree/ they will cut down it from its roots.

(13)

FALLING DOWN

E: I would tell./ I was a baby./ namely pretty small./ that's why I couldn't remember but/ I know through tellings of my mother/ what she told./

İ: we see we see.

E: we are in Ergani.

S: hm: Ergani.

E: işte my parents/ they go for a evening visit like this/ to one their friends./ but it is the first time they have visited them./ hani they were relatives or something like it./ they were what they were acquiantances./ işte when they went./ it was in their first years in Ergani./ I was a baby./ hani you would be şey/ would support each other and something like it./

S: hah.

E: my parents had stayed for a time./ moreover Ergani's/ traditional problems

S: hm:

E: they exist in those days. / because of it they set off early./ yet after late hours/ the lamps on streets/ didn't work/ e: we haven't got a car yet./ ondan sonra at those times hani/ but they would go on foot./ hani my parents nothing happens./ hani we are a family and so,

S: of course of course.

E: they thought. / it is not a relevant situation with it./ extra information.

S: extra.

E: I'm talking about the conditions in those days.

S: after a general introduction.

İ: those days were like this.

E: anyway my parents/ would go back home./ the stair barriers of the house/ the house didn't have them.

S: hm:

E: the house has newly been built or what/ I don't know exactly./ e::

İ: look stair barriers again.

E: after the late hours/ as I said before.

S: it is necessary to get afraid of.

E: the apartment's,/ no not the apartment/ our stairs were outside./ I can't visualize it./ just with they told about./ there exist such houses./ have stairs outside./ şimdi you go up the stairs like this./ ondan sonra you turned like this./ there is a hollow space here.

S: ha ha.

İ: hıh.

E: you go upstairs like this./ my father hugged me./ my mother was coming afterwards./ şimdi my father said/ don't do anything,/ don't carry Elif./ I would carry her./ in the dark/ you may not see well and might fall down he said.

İ: I hope he hadn't throw you to the hollow.

S: we'll see.

E: my father from those stairs

İ: Elif…

E: from here like this/ instead of turning like this/ he had göne through.

S: o:::

İ: both of you.

E: there is a cliff downwards./ namely it is

İ: a hollow space.

E: a big hollow space/namely it is./ to his absense of mind/ it correspond as a result./ nothing

S: hm: you fall down this.

E: you are aware of it./ you don't realize it I mean.

S: by going like this/ he fell down like this.

İ: your foot slips down.

E: yet a noise came./ my mother say that/ at that moment I didn't think about your father/ I thought about you she says./ of course she thoughts.

İ: big man.

E: namely şey./ he protected me from everything,/ in order to prevent a harm./ my father came out then/ his clothes were full of dust.

S: nothing happened↑

E: from head to toe./ my father's like it/ had many wounds and hurts/ his body./ I had cried.

İ: you got shocked I mean.

S: at least you swallowed dust.

İ: maybe that's why you/ are so intelligent./ we all experienced like it.
E: nothing happened to me,/ only I had a cry./ maybe with that fear./ maybe because I thought that/ something happened to my father.

(14)
WORKING WOMAN
N: really girls smoke as well/ they come here near surroundings./ I swear I got surprised./ The time corrupted.
S: children as small as a punch/ go to your school I mean./ your parents send you to school,/ they are dealing with other things./
N: but the parents the parents don't control them/ they can't I guess.
B: everyone isn't as lucky as you are./ people leave their home for at six o'clock in the morning/ in the evening they will come home and take care of their children.
A: işte the daughter of my neighbour/ as I always say she is working in a bank./ her daughter began the school this year./ they are both graduates of Metu./ ondan sonra usually/ the child goes to sleep without seeing her mother,/ before her mother comes at home./ in the mornings she leaves her child at home while she is sleeping./ when she comes home in the evenings the time is nine or half past nine/ in a place like İzmir./ Irmak has already gone to sleep./ she doesn't see her mother./ s**he misses her mother so much** she says./ s**he doesn't see her mother** she says.

(15)
WHITE DOG
M: if it goes out, it cannot do anything/ they beat it.
F: hm:
M: the dog.
S: once he had escaped ya Ta…
M: şimdi my grandma has told it.
S: once he had escaped ya./ Tarık had followed it./ gone behind.
M: where did he find it↑
S: it had been wandering there./ the gypsies had been saying **come**./ all the gypsies/ had been going behind the dog.
M: the dog is a very beautiful one ya.
S: the dog… he: şimdi/ had looked none of them./ to the gypsies./ he hadn't looked to the ones who said **come**./ it hadn't attacked to anyone.
A: which one yav which↑
S: the white one./ it escaped ya.
A: he:
S: it escaped for once.
A: it had escaped sometime yes.
F: If we have to find it we can't bring it back./ we can't put it into its cage.
S: so Tarık
F: it is impossible to control it.
S: where the dog went he went there/ he hadn't looked to Tarık either./ it is the worst.
M: e: it doesn't know him.
S: is it possible for it not to know Tarık./ the other dog licks his face./ since he would close it up.
M: since he went away maybe it is crossed with him.
S: none Tarık had been saying/ **come Köpük** he had been saying/ it hadn't even looked./ where the dog went, he went there./ finally it had found the way/ and come here.
P: hm:
S: şey had eventually closed it in.

(16)
DEAF GIRL
F: işte a girl had come out/ that day/ and talked./ Sister Müzeyyen said./ **you** she said./ **didn't you see and hear the girl** she said./ **no** I said./ **the one who has apoplexy had told**/ **I saw her** I said./ that girl until the age of 18,/ this being blind…/ şey a:: I say blindness./ she can't hear./ **you might have hear loss hani**/ **you cannot have an operation** they had said./ **it is not clear that you will hear** they had said./ ondan sonra the girl had come for two months./ hani **I can't şey**/ **I can't hear can't hear**/ by saying like this/ her ear

had recovered recovered./ **Now I hear very clear**/ **I finally had my ear**/ **I had my health** by saying/ the girl had come out and told that day.

(17)
CREDIT CARD
D: Temel asks a question to the hodja./ **my hodja** he says./ **is it okay to cut a sacrifice animal via credit card** he says/ **of course it's okay** he says./ **why not** he says./ ondan sonra temel goes,/ buys a sacrifice animal and comes back.
Y: does he attempt to cut it with the credit card↑
D: he: he takes the credit card/ rubs and rubs it doesn't cut./
E: compressed paper.
D: ondan sonra **ula Haso** he says./ **this does not cut**/ **he:** he says **Has…** şey Temel he says./ **did you enter its password**↑

(18)
ARMAGEDDON
M: işte at that time the biggest Armageddon happens=
S: they asked to nasrettin Hodja/ **hodja when will the Armageddon happen**/**valla** he said,/ **if I die the smaller one**,/ **if my wife dies**/ **the bigger Armageddon happens**.

(19)
EATING SOAP
E: yesterday's pastry/ I suppose it hasn't got staled,
L: no very good,/ it's not a problem that it gets staled we eat it.
R: **we give it money**/ **we will eat it whether it rises or bubbles** the man said.
L: the Albanian./ **I will eat it whether it rises or bubbles** he said.
F: did he eat the soap↑
L: hm::
B: why had he eaten a soap↑
F: he had eaten it by thinking şey.
R: he had bought it as he thought it is cheese./ **give me a piece of that** he had said./ the shopkeeper had given it./ he is buying it by thinking that it is cheese./ when he had begun eating it/ when it had bubbled/ **I gave you money**/ **I will eat you whether you rise or bubble**./ **I will eat you if you rise** he had said **I gave you money**/ he said **to you**.

(20)
COOKING
G: the woman cooked some leaf rolls/ saying and saying,/ they keep saying./ **I do everything I do**/ she had kept saying ya./ the other woman had been like a fox./ **a piece of turd on it**.
L: **I do it I do it**,/ **I put a piece of turd on it**.
G: e: on the leaf rolls/ is it okay to put it on it↑/ she had put it on it./ she did it like this.

(21)
UNIVERSITY
S: ondan sonra I registered to the the thing./ there is a language school of Anatolian University.
K: hm::
S: there./ şey… its administrator/ was a man called Mr. Simmens./ he also had a Fiat./ İlhan Canlar was the president of the academy.
K: who is he↑
S: the president, I mean./ he is one of the profs./ I mean I used to know all of them. / we began going there,/ and we finished a book there./ we began to the second book./ there is an instructor called as Ali Konur./ he gave a home assignment.
K: hm:
S: lan g…guests came I couldn't deal with it./ I said I will deal with it tomorrow at the garage./ that day y… it became so busy that./ I had no time to stratch my neck./ I didn't deal with it either./ in the evening we came/ to the course/ because the man is a stupid./ young.
K: Konur↑

S: but stupid I mean,/ a moody man./ Kemal I waited for him at the door./ I said **hodja look,/ you would ask when we go inside**,

K: the situation is like this.

S: **the situation is like this**./ **I couldn't study**./ **don't ask a question to me** I said./ **don't put shame on me** I said to him./ **okay** he said./ we went inside I immediately,/ I always sit in front./ **the pupils who didn't do their homework,/ Mr.Kara**./ immediately I stood up,/ I packed all the books and notebooks./ **come on, good bye to me**.

K: although you warned him, it happened like this.

S: he: do I attend to the course of that man↑/ of course I gave up and went out,/ the classroom./ then he ran on my way./ s**orry I had a mistake**./ **hodja** I said./ t**ake your E… English away**/ **take your university away as well**.

K: ya but the person who lost was you./ he was not.

S: It was me of course. // ondan sonra he…şey came./ Mr. Simmens came./ but it was nearly one week later./ **no way,**/ in his limited Turkish,/ **it is impossible** he said./ he learned about the case and investigated it./ **if I want I would dismiss him from the school** he says.

K: he… he… dismiss Konur↑

S: the administrator of there./ **but** he says./ **namely dismissing him doesn't solve the problem** he says./ y**ou** he says **attend to şey**./ **I** I said **have missed courses,/ I don't continue it**./ **because** I said that./ **şimdi imagine a chain,/ it is broken in the middle**./ **but you see the chain lying there**/ **pull it from one side**,/ **it comes and comes,/ but a piece of it remains there, doesn't it**↑

K: It breaks off/ the rest of it remains there.

S: of course, it broke off./ ondan sonra the case/ was transferred to İlhan Canlar/ the president of the academy./ I mean I didn't tell it to him/ the classmates had told it./ they all came and asked for my return./ d**on't do that come and continue** as like this./ I spoke in order just to speak I mean./   I said I mean,/ **he would come me and apologize ondan sonra**./ he came./ he apologized too./ **I…I mean did it wrong/ don't leave the course** as it is./ I said **a: I got angry with you once**./ then İlhan Canlar said,/ **I would send you to another class**./ and I gave up English at that moment, I mean.

(22)
CUTTING GRASS

M: you plucked lots of grass didn't you↑

A: valla they make us even pluck the grass.

M: you plucked lots of grass ha.

A: people are kidding us/ by saying **do they pluck grass to the sergeants** as it is./ the pedestrians near the fences,/ say **we didn't pluck grass**./**valla**, **my uncle** I say./ the old men come and say şimdi.

M: take it easy.

A: he: şimdi they act in **take it easy my son**./ he sees there is a sergeant sign on me./ **nızk my son** he says,/ **do they also make you pluck grass** he says./ **there wasn't such a regulation in our time** he says.

Y: despite there are lawn movers.

A: forget that there are convicts below.

Y: huge şey./ military area.

A: I am in the watchtower.

Y: can't they buy a lawn mover↑

A: it takes the attention of one of the convicts./ şimdi around the watchtower,/ I get bored for two hours how is it possible to spend time,/ turn right turn left./ I am turning around in the watchtower.

M: soldier.

A: hı: şimdi when I turn around,/ in the downwards,

Z: they are plucking grass.

A: şey(s)/ there are ventilations/ a huge as/ şey…/ seperated wall by wall./ şey(s) the convicts,/ there/ are wandering./ şimdi they look at me./ they shouted at me/ by saying **soldier, soldier**./ ondan sonra he said **the soldier**./

Y: hıhı

A: I said **what happened**./ I signalled./ şimdi on our clothes it is written gendarme./ there is also a şey here/ signal of rank./ ondan sonra/ **is it the rank of sergeancy** he said./ another jumped into the conversation/ the convict near him/ **no it is written gendarme** he said./ I also said./ **it is written gendarme here** I said,/ there is a rank signal here I said./ ondan sonra when I said so/ he said **alla alla,/ do the sergeants have watch duty** he said./ ondan sonra I didn't say anything./ I don't take them into consideration too much./

they are talking by their own./ I signal,/ by acting./ there are cameras everywhere in the tops./ I mean they are always recording./
M: e:: soldier.
A: ondan sonra,
F: what you say↑
A: of course what you say./ I mean it is not important that you speak to them but/ it one by one the şey(s)/ zooms the watchtowers one by one.
F: yes yes.
A: the cameras.
F: it is better not to talk
A: hm: I didn't look at them they speak,/ they call me,/ they do şey./ I look if they talk too much,/ I signal,/ I signal like this they shut up./ they understand,/ as a result/ they do şey./
M: disappear.
A: they shut up./ **I said** he says,/ **you** he says,/ **are all of you sergeants** he says./ **everyone is sergeant** I said,/ I closed the conversation.

(23)
WOMAN WITH PARKINSON'S DISEASE
D: şey there exists an illness parkinson's disease/ tremblings and so on/ they also talked about it./ it recovers the memory to the normal şey./ one day… they played a cassette./ they had made a recording in Istanbul./ they had a recording competititon./ the relationships of the companies with the patients./ besides the owners of the company./ the owners are from the China şey,/ it's a şey of Korea,/ company./ my throat hurts when I talk to much./ ondan sonra işte the man./ we met him that day./ a very funny man./ ha he does şey,/ there was a recording there./ here had been şey./ the best video recording,/ the advertisement and cheers were so much/ with their patients like this,/ the şey(s) hani,/ the owners of the beds and company so much like this/ are more involved in/ for the cheer ups,/ for their overflowing to the streets,/ since there exists so much crowd,/ since there exists so much joy,/ they had become the champion of Turkey./ this department/ because of it./ o:: they have certificates and so on./ there are photos of Sister Münevver./ she had been nominated with a certificate.
A: ha:::
D: they he:::/ moreover the man had brought his wife./ the woman/ had learnt Turkish in two days./ the man says **she is lazy** but./ the woman spe… Turkish very well/ I entered/./ since I am a guest I don't know her ya şimdi./ the woman come… she is like this./ you're also welcome I said./ I guessed I mean./ she is tiny and with slant eyes./ the day before they had said that she would come ya./ there was a meeting that day/ **come early** Sister Münevver said./ **because they met early** she said./ I went there at nine./ but a: they had already spoken the half./ full/ the shop was full./ we went to the beds sat on them as a result/ it's impossible to pass through I mean it was so crowded./ ondan sonra/ I was talking about something./ ha: I was talking about Parkinson şey./ in the CD of İstanbul,/ the woman says./ **I** she says./ **have Parkinson's disease** she says./ ondan sonra **I used to forget things** she says./ **I used to forget about what I did** she says./ **did I put that there,**/ **I couldn't achieve to take it there** she says./ **I used to leave things around** she says./ **anyway they made me stay in the hospital** she says./ ondan sonra,/ **in the hospital** she says./ **şey(s)** she says./ **the situations of the patients are bad** she says./ **they all tremble like this** she says./ she acts şey **the olds.**/ since **I feel that I am worse them.**/ **I'm more şey ya** she says./ **I can understand things but** she says./ **my mind doesn't work well** she says./ the woman.
A: ha:/ ondan sonra did she say that I should take control of me/ she had said↑
D: ondan sonra **işte I** she says./ **for some time** she says **I had a cure** she says./ **then I heard about the şey of these beds** she says./ the daughter of my aunt insisted **let's take her here she said** she says./ **we came** she says **anyway** she says./ **I** she says./ **six months** she says or **five months I went there** she says./ **there existed a decline in my trembles** she says./ **there existed declines about my forgettings** she says./ ondan sonra **even** she says./ **me** she says **one day** she says./ **while I was coming from the hospital** she says,/ **şey** she says./ **the rubbish bag** she says,/ **by regarding that it is the bag of clothes she says I had confused them** she says,/ **I had taken the garbage** she says **I had brought it till home** she said./ **in it** she says **by regarding that there were my clothes in it I opened it** she says./ **all the garbage came out** she says./ the woman is nearly fifty five sixty years old/ she is a fat woman./ also very funny./ **I looked and looked** she says./ **I laughed** she says./ **ondan sonra thanks to God I said.**/ **I would continue using this bed** she says./ **I decided in it until that time** she says./ **I haven't done such errors** she said./ **I take control of me** she says.

(24)

LEARNING ENGLISH

S: we weren't able to learn it Kemal I mean.

K: we hadn't these opportunities in our times Sedat./ we graduated from the school/ foreign lang… language education was added to the şey.

S: he:

K: to the school./ then English/ the people who taught/ E… foreign languages of them,

S: they don't have knowledge.

K: in fact in high school several drills./ they used to teach them.

S: I graduated from school./ e:: Ardil./ Did I begin to Ardil ya↑

K: what is Ardil↑

P: to Ardil/ I attended to Ardil dad.

S: language course./ no I also began there I guess.

P: you had begun but you had quitted.

K: thank you my dear./ thanks.

S: even I had a friend from the primary school./

P: sugar↑

K: a little

S: called Cihan./ he graduated from the high school.

K: he:

S: ondan sonra we came across there.

K: this Ardil is şey↑

S: language school.

K: course↑

S: course.

K: private course./ in Eskişehir↑

S: here yav.

K: where was it↑

S: Şevket Oktay/ in Dersaneler Street./ opposite to the post Office.

K: he:/ those days there weren't so abundant courses.

S: there weren't so much courses my dear.

K: there was a Çene Kıran./ a course of mathematics./ there were three more.

S: Mehmet Ultav's./ he:/ ondan sonra/ I suppose I couldn't şey it./ did we go to our military service something happened then.

K: is Çene Kıran alive↑

S: people talk about Çene Kıran but,/ I don't know whether he's alive or not./ ondan sonra we went to Ankara./ işte in Ankara/ I attended to American Kültür./ we began to the first book/ second… I mean I finished./ we began to the second book./ I made a contract with Tofaş and came here.

K: hm::

S: here/ I had a friend called Perdin./ in Anadol garage./ we had worked in YS together with him./ he was a technician too./ I'm responsible for Tofaş Fiat garage./ he is responsible for Ford Anadol garage./ an officer/ he şey(s) with the Americans,/ he had good English./ we bargained with the officers./ in every şey,/ they made us use a different book./ anyway/ he was from şey the East./ from Diyarbakır or Gaziantep or something like it./ one of his relatives had died./ he came **my brother** he said./ yav **give me permission in order that**,/ **I will go to the funeral**./ in those days bayram or something like it is coming./ bayram came./ something more he said if I go I would take my annual holiday.

K: he:

S: he took on annual holiday we took annual holidays too./ it ended too.

S: ondan sonra I registered to the the thing./ there is a language school of Anatolian University.

K: hm::

S: there./ şey… its administrator/ was a man called Mr. Simmens./ he also had a Fiat./ İlhan Canlar was the president of the academy.

K: who is he↑

S: the president, I mean./ he is one of the profs./ I mean I used to know all of them. / we began going there,/ and we finished a book there./ we began to the second book./ there is an instructor called as Ali Konur./ he gave a home assignment.

K: hm:

S: lan g…guests came I couldn't deal with it./ I said I will deal with it tomorrow at the garage./ that day y… it became so busy that./ I had no time to stratch my neck./ I didn't deal with it either./ in the evening we came/ to the course/ because the man is a stupid./ young.

K: Konur↑

S: but stupid I mean,/ a moody man./ Kemal I waited for him at the door./ I said **hodja look**,/ **you would ask when we go inside**,

K: the situation is like this.

S: **the situation is like this**./ **I couldn't study**./ **don't ask a question to me** I said./ **don't put shame on me** I said to him./ **okay** he said./ we went inside I immediately,/ I always sit in front./ **the pupils who didn't do their homework**,/ **Mr.Kara**./ immediately I stood up,/ I packed all the books and notebooks./ **come on, good bye to me**.

K: although you warned him, it happened like this.

S: he: do I attend to the course of that man↑/ of course I gave up and went out,/ the classroom./ then he ran on my way./ s**orry I had a mistake**./ **hodja** I said./ t**ake your E… English away**/ **take your university away as well**.

K: ya but the person who lost was you./ he was not.

S: It was me of course. // ondan sonra he…şey came./ Mr. Simmens came./ but it was nearly one week later./ **no way**,/ in his limited Turkish,/ **it is impossible** he said./ he learned about the case and investigated it./ **if I want I would dismiss him from the school** he says.

K: he… he… dismiss Konur↑

S: the administrator of there./ **but** he says./ **namely dismissing him doesn't solve the problem** he says./ y**ou** he says **attend to şey**./ **I** I said **have missed courses**,/ **I don't continue it**./ **because** I said that./ **şimdi imagine a chain**,/ **it is broken in the middle**./ **but you see the chain lying there**/ **pull it from one side**,/ **it comes and comes**,/ **but a piece of it remains there, doesn't it**↑

K: It breaks off/ the rest of it remains there.

S: of course, it broke off./ ondan sonra the case/ was transferred to İlhan Canlar/ the president of the academy./ I mean I didn't tell it to him/ the classmates had told it./ they all came and asked for my return./ d**on't do that come and continue** as like this./ I spoke in order just to speak I mean./   I said I mean,/ **he would come me and apologize ondan sonra**./ he came./ he apologized too./ **I**…**I mean did it wrong/ don't leave the course** as it is./ I said **a: I got angry with you once**./ then İlhan Canlar said,/ **I would send you to another class**./ and I gave up English at that moment, I mean.

(25)
THE FIRST CINEMA

Y: do you remember the old Atlas in the hollow↑/ it was downwards/ it was in the place where Kılıçoğlu is now.

E: is it possible not to remember./ the first time I have gone to the cinema was there./ my father and Uncle Ali,/ the father of Uncle Özcan/ decided to go to the cinema./ şimdi I heard them talking./ My mother şey was knitting a j…/ I asked her for a jumper./ she knitted a jumper for me,/ and she is trying to attach the parts.

Y: he:

E: I said **hurry up, /**to my mother **hurry up** I say./ th**ey are departing they are going./**

Y: you will catch them.

E: I will take on the jumper,/ follow them./ So,/ I got the jumper from my mother's hands,/ took on the jumper./ hadi by running I went behind them./ I didn't show myself until the bazaar./ when it became crowded by the bazaar, in case I lose them/ immediately I came/ and hold my father's hand./ **where did you come yav** he said./ he showed his anger./ ondan sonra yav şimdi/ **you** he said **turn back** he said to me./ my father said to me./ my uncle said/ **let the child come with us** he said **ya./ he may get lost there** he said./ **the kid** he said **has come till here**./ **e: he came till here** he said./ **let's go** he said./ **let's get him together** he said **my brother** he said./ **you are always following me**/ he got angry a bit./ he didn't insist on /after my uncle said so./ then we went to that cinema building./ **a** film called "Aramızda Yaşayamazsın"/ by Turan Seyfioğlu./ that's the first film I have seen.

(26)
CUTTING GRASS

M: you plucked lots of grass didn't you↑

A: valla they make us even pluck the grass.

M: you plucked lots of grass ha.

A: people are kidding us/ by saying **do they pluck grass to the sergeants** as it is./ the pedestrians near the fences,/ say **we didn't pluck grass**./**valla**, **my uncle** I say./ the old men come and say şimdi.

M: take it easy.

A: he: şimdi they act in **take it easy my son**./ he sees there is a sergeant sign on me./ **nızk my son** he says,/ **do they also make you pluck grass** he says./ **there wasn't such a regulation in our time** he says.

Y: despite there are lawn movers.

(27)

BUILDING PLOT

K: once **I would buy his building plot** I said./there./ **I give it to you for three billions** he said to me while I was working./ **I have a building plot there which is near to yours**,/ **I would give it to you** he used to say to me.

C: e: işte it is near this şey./it was there when you pass through the Acıbadem/ it was somewhere there.

K: just there.

C: where↑

K: you go under our bridge./okay↑

C: he:

K: in the left the last houses dissappear./in the left./before entering the zone of State's Railways,/ just a little further./ there are something like blocks./ they dissappear./ ondan sonra…

C: when you pass through the Drivers Association.

K: in the behind.

C: somewhere in the behind of it. / he was talking about a place there.

K: but the building plot where he will sell,/ şimdi a road passes there,/ this is the road which goes through./the road that goes in front of the municipality./ it passes in front of it./ the building plot exactly faces there./ it has two hundred and seventy metre squares.

C: no şimdi/ does he pay fort he two sides of the plot↑

K: şimdi I took the photocopy of its land register from him./ I went to the municipality and researched./ I found the place of the plot./ here is the plot there is a road here./ but the owner of the plot over there/ considers here as a place without owner,/ while he was building his house,/ he built the windows in this street,/ he attempts this plot/ by accepting this plot as if it were his/ he built the entrance from here,/ he puts the windows there./ towards the plot of brother Yavuz./ ulan I went there I would by this plot./ The man comes and said **this plot is mine**./ **ulan it's not yours** I said./ **there is an owner of this plot**,/ **I will buy this plot**./ definitely we will be in trauble with him/ in any case I would build something there./ because the man built the entrance and exit/ all of them in that plot./

T: alla alla./ despite he doesn't have the right.

K: he doesn't have the right he:/ e: şimdi if I go/ to the municipality,/ it does not try to solve the problem./ if I attempt to build something/ I will get trouble with the man./ just since I didn't buy the plot.

(28)

EARTHQUAKE

Y: **yav don't you get frightened**↑/ yav from what of the earthquake do I get frightened I mean./ if we would immigrate, we will immigrate.

Z: we have immigrated as well.

Y: I didn't get afraid I mean./ but one day/ I got afraid that day Zeki./ I went out the school./ I was on the fifth grade that year that year/ I was coming towards my home./ of course it was ma… march./ the sun was just above.

Z: the earthquake happened in february.

Y: the follow attacks continued I mean.

Z: they continued till the summer.

Y: ha in işte one of that follow attacks/ I walked across the bridge on the channel/ it was muddy/ it wasn't like this asphalt I mean.

Z: even it wasn't made of stone.

Y: yav I am putting a step Zeki/ it comes back./ I put a step it comes back./ nızk./ at that moment I realized it was an earthquake./ immediately I crouched down./ of course immediately/ kelime-i şahadet./ it was taught us to do so hani./ I am repeating it./ Zeki/ I looked at the ground./ hani you throw a stone into the lake or water ya/ what happens↑/ it waves one by one like this./ same./ the ground waves like that my friend./ I said so/ of course it happens like this,/ a stone can't stay on another one.

Z: of course./ those days to our brothers/ they gave şey to them./ he was on his military service those days./ he came he came from İzmir./ one morning an earthquake like it again./ **wake up** my mother says she shouts.

Y: They didn't call it "deprem"/ they called it "zelzele" in those days./ he: normal./

Z: zelzele.

Y: zelzele movement.

Z: even not "zelzele"./ they called it "zerzele./ they used to transform /l/ to /r/./ I mean I saw in that time/ the ground of our garden./ it is like this.

Y: yes it waves like that.

M: it waves.

Y: the ground waves yav./ like water.

Z: what happens inside./ underground.

(29)
WORKING WOMAN
N: really girls smoke as well/ they come here near surroundings./ I swear I got surprised./ The time corrupted.

S: children as small as a punch/ go to your school I mean./ your parents send you to school,/ they are dealing with other things./

N: but the parents the parents don't control them/ they can't I guess.

B: everyone isn't as lucky as you are./ people leave their home for at six o'clock in the morning/ in the evening they will come home and take care of their children.

A: işte the daughter of my neighbour/ as I always say she is working in a bank./ her daughter began the school this year./ they are both graduates of Metu./ ondan sonra usually/ the child goes to sleep without seeing her mother,/ before her mother comes at home./ in the mornings she leaves her child at home while she is sleeping./ when she comes home in the evenings the time is nine or half past nine/ in a place like İzmir./ Irmak has already gone to sleep./ she doesn't see her mother./ s**he misses her mother so much** she says./ s**he doesn't see her mother** she says.

(30)
CAR TYRES
M: şimdi you are interfering my own subject./ let me explain it is my field.

A: heh it is a technical subject/ most probably it is about it.

M: I would clear you up about that topic./ şimdi rim… wheel rims and tires are very important./ okay./ but the wheel rims will be dublex as well,/ it will be a wheel rim for dublex tires./ the tires will be dublex./ şimdi if the wheel rims are made for tubed tyres,/ you bring/and put a dublex rim,/ is it okay↑/ it is.

B: his situation can be this.

M: yours the saulting one is also likes this.

B: because as you have said=

M: he put a dublex tyre to a normal rim.

B: Tofaş cars… Tofaş cars in those days my brother/ are rather abundant./ they were used with şey./ ondan sonra when dublex tyres were introduced/ they began to put dublex tyres as well.

A: they began to put them./ this shows that they are not applicable .

M: I have a firend who is a technician./ even this Yeston,/ if there is anybody who knows Yeston/ its... those concrete posts,/ the friend who produce them./ we used to work with him in YS./ ondan sonra he left./ he went there./ then he/ founded that factory./ then we lost each other./ he doesn't drive a car so much./ one or two years./ he always buys a new one./ the day that he buys the car/ he gets rid of the tires,/ the tires that Tofaş has put on./ he puts on dublex tires./ **yav Oğuz**./ one day I said to him./ **why do you do this**↑/ he: **why** I said I mean./ **you like this**…/ **I'm comfortable e: because of punctuation**./ **this does not punctuate**./**the other is dangerous** he said./but...

B: but wheel rims should hold the tires.

M: this ha… change… rims/ yav you don't put on dublex rims,/ you put on normal rims./ **it works** he said./ and for years this guy/ drove the car like this.

(31)
TV SHOW
E: who is she↑

P: grandma your thing has begun./ your TV programme.

E: so has it begun↑
C: our…
E: he: she has been sitting there, at the behind./ she has been waiting there.
C: Aunt Güzin in our day meeting.
F: hm:
T: esra↑
C: we went to Aunt Güzin's.
E: ya. it has begun.
P: Esra Erol.
C: the wife of her brother-in-law was there, as well.
E: a: I haven't seen her for a long time.
P: on ATV.
E: I know it is on ATV,/ but I haven't seen her.
C: after that she stood up,/ **I am going** she said,/ **e:: stay** they said,/**what will you do** they asked./ well, her husband was at home./ **oh what will he do**,/**leave him alone** they said./**what is he doing** they asked again./ w**hat he would do↑/ he watches women she** said./we all got puzzled./ o… old man./ on TV he watches wedding programmes.

(32)
RUBBISH
A: there is everything around yav./ he eats corn leaves its cobs there./ he smokes buries its remain./ the throws the cov… its cover there.
Z: he drinks alcohol throws the bottles.
A: he: he throws the bottles./ even he throws and breaks the bottle.
Z: even he breaks them.
A: yav at least leave it there./ şimdi in the summer house's in the beach,/ I have a walk… go… şim…/ I set off home.

(33)
UNIVERSITY
S: ondan sonra I registered to the the thing./ there is a language school of Anatolian University.
K: hm::
S: there./ şey… its administrator/ was a man called Mr. Simmens./ he also had a Fiat./ İlhan Canlar was the president of the academy.
K: who is he↑
S: the president, I mean./ he is one of the profs./ I mean I used to know all of them. / we began going there,/ and we finished a book there./ we began to the second book./ there is an instructor called as Ali Konur./ he gave a home assignment.
K: hm:
S: lan g…guests came I couldn't deal with it./ I said I will deal with it tomorrow at the garage./ that day y… it became so busy that./ I had no time to stratch my neck./ I didn't deal with it either./ in the evening we came/ to the course/ because the man is a stupid./ young.
K: Konur↑
S: but stupid I mean,/ a moody man./ Kemal I waited for him at the door./ I said **hodja look,/ you would ask when we go inside**,
K: the situation is like this.
S: **the situation is like this**./ **I couldn't study**./ **don't ask a question to me** I said./ **don't put shame on me** I said to him./ **okay** he said./ we went inside I immediately,/ I always sit in front./ **the pupils who didn't do their homework,/ Mr.Kara**./ immediately I stood up,/ I packed all the books and notebooks./ **come on, good bye to me**.
K: although you warned him, it happened like this.
S: he: do I attend to the course of that man↑/ of course I gave up and went out,/ the classroom./ then he ran on my way./ s**orry I had a mistake**./ **hodja** I said./ t**ake your E… English away**/ **take your university away as well**.
K: ya but the person who lost was you./ he was not.
S: It was me of course. // ondan sonra he şey came./ Mr. Simmens came./ but it was nearly one week later.

(34)

LIEUTENANT COLUMBO
K: washing hands before meal/ is a heritage from my mother.
S: e:: it is so.
K: she obliged me to wash my hands .
S: e::
M: but it finish…blessing is from the beginning to the end.
K: yes./ go and wash your hands.
S: şimdi./ we came to Öküz Ahmet Paşa Kervansaray Ahmet./ şey Kerim.
K: hm::
S: şimdi there are şey(s)./ of course there are foreigners./ of course many foreigners.
K: there are excessive foreigners.
S: he: ondan sonra/ they are getting prepared,/ they are locating mirrors,/ they are doing bla bla./ they would record a film.
K: they are getting prepared.

(35)
THE FIRST CINEMA
E: **e: he came till here** he said./ **let's go** he said./ **let's get him together** he said **my brother** he said./ **you are always following me**/ he got angry a bit./ he didn't insist on /after my uncle said so./ then we went to that cinema building./ **a** film called "Aramızda Yaşayamazsın"/ by Turan Seyfioğlu./ that's the first film I have seen.
Y: Turkish Film./ The first cinema I have gone is the Lale./ Do you know when was it↑ İt was in 50s.
P: was it in the Yediler↑
Y: it was in Sıcak Sular.
E: near the metal shop.

(36)
UNIVERSITY
S: of course I gave up and went out,/ the classroom./ then he ran on my way./ s**orry I had a mistake**./ **hodja** I said./ t**ake your E… English away**/ **take your university away as well**.
K: ya but the person who lost was you./ he was not.
S: It was me of course. // ondan sonra he…şey came./ Mr. Simmens came./ but it was nearly one week later.

(37)
EARTHQUAKE
Y: **yav don't you get frightened**↑/ yav from what of the earthquake do I get frightened I mean./ if we would immigrate, we will immigrate.
Z: we have immigrated as well.
Y: I didn't get afraid I mean./ but one day/ I got afraid that day Zeki./ I went out the school./ I was on the fifth grade that year that year/ I was coming towards my home./ of course it was ma… march./ the sun was just above.
Z: the earthquake happened in february.
Y: the follow attacks continued I mean.
Z: they continued till the summer.
Y: ha in işte one of that follow attacks/ I walked across the bridge on the channel/ it was muddy/ it wasn't like this asphalt I mean.
Z: even it wasn't made of stone.
Y: yav I am putting a step Zeki/ it comes back./ I put a step it comes back./ nızk./ at that moment I realized it was an earthquake./ immediately I crouched down./ of course immediately/ kelime-i şahadet./ it was taught us to do so hani./ I am repeating it./ Zeki/ I looked at the ground./ hani you throw a stone into the lake or water ya/ what happens↑/ it waves one by one like this./ same./ the ground waves like that my friend./ I said so/ of course it happens like this,/ a stone can't stay on another one.
Z: of course./ those days to our brothers/ they gave şey to them./ he was on his military service those days./ he came he came from İzmir./ one morning an earthquake like it again.

(38)
WHEEL RIMS

E: one of my friends saults with the car for three or four times./ he comes from Kütahya./ he enters the road curve abruptly./ there is nothing wrong with the tyres./ şimdi when he enters the curve/ e: its wear bars depart from the wheel rims./ its airs… air has blown down.

G: yav işte my brother ya.

E: when it air flows down/ işte what it does↑/ when he enters the curve like it.

G: mountains hills it is a detailed business.

F: alla alla

G: I experience it when I'm slow

H: my brother he…

G: what does your do…

H: it is şey ya./ şimdi I/ go to the tyre sellers. they say for example 14 inch for example/ 16 inch işte./ **my brother it is 14 but it is possible to use 15,**/ 16 is also okay they say.

E: in fact, it is impossible./ how is it possible↑

H: of course it is not possible.

(39)
BUILDING PLOT

K: he doesn't have the right he:/ e: şimdi if I go/ to the municipality,/ it does not try to solve the problem./ if I attempt to build something/ I will get trouble with the man./ just since I didn't buy the plot./ now the building plots here got extreme values./ the building plots over here are very expensive.

C: of course they are./ now hereby is accepted as city center./ today after I saw Batıkent.

(40)
UNIVERSITY

S: ondan sonra I registered to the the thing./ there is a language school of Anatolian University.

K: hm::

S: there./ şey… its administrator/ was a man called Mr. Simmens./ he also had a Fiat./ İlhan Canlar was the president of the academy.

K: who is he↑

S: the president, I mean./ he is one of the profs./ I mean I used to know all of them. / we began going there,/ and we finished a book there./ we began to the second book./ there is an instructor called as Ali Konur./ he gave a home assignment.

K: hm:

S: lan g…guests came I couldn't deal with it./ I said I will deal with it tomorrow at the garage./ that day y… it became so busy that./ I had no time to stratch my neck./ I didn't deal with it either./ in the evening we came/ to the course/ because the man is a stupid./ young.

K: Konur↑

S: but stupid I mean,/ a moody man./ Kemal I waited for him at the door./ I said **hodja look,**/ **you would ask when we go inside**,

K: the situation is like this.

S: **the situation is like this.**/ **I couldn't study.**/ **don't ask a question to me** I said./ **don't put shame on me** I said to him./ **okay** he said./ we went inside I immediately,/ I always sit in front./ **the pupils who didn't do their homework,/ Mr.Kara.**/ immediately I stood up,/ I packed all the books and notebooks./ **come on, good bye to me**.

K: although you warned him, it happened like this.

S: he: do I attend to the course of that man↑/ of course I gave up and went out,/ the classroom./ then he ran on my way./ s**orry I had a mistake.**/ **hodja** I said./ t**ake your E… English away**/ **take your university away as well**.

K: ya but the person who lost was you./ he was not.

S: It was me of course. // ondan sonra he şey came./ Mr. Simmens came./ but it was nearly one week later.

(41)
FATHER

A: şimdi/ the boy asked her mother./ of course like it,/ şey he sa…/ there are many hats./ **mama whose is this**↑/ **your father's** she said./ **whose is this**↑/ **your father's.**/ **what about it**↑/ **whose hat is it** ↑/ **it's your father's too.**/**how many fathers do I have** the boy said/ to his mother./ **ha:** she said,/ **my boy** she said,/ **Ali Veli** she said,/ **two before them,**/ **Recep, Şaban, Ramazan,**/ **and one more your father** she said.

K: ((laughs))

A: **your mother has not have any husbands** she said.
K: not one husband.

(42)
CUTTING GRASS
M: you plucked lots of grass didn't you↑
A: valla they make us even pluck the grass.
M: you plucked lots of grass ha.
A: people are kidding us/ by saying **do they pluck grass to the sergeants** as it is./ the pedestrians near the fences,/ say **we didn't pluck grass**./**valla, my uncle** I say./ the old men come and say şimdi.
M: take it easy.
A: he: şimdi they act in **take it easy my son**./ he sees there is a sergeant sign on me./ **nızk my son** he says,/ **do they also make you pluck grass** he says./ **there wasn't such a regulation in our time** he says.
Y: despite there are lawn movers.
A: forget that there are convicts below.
Y: huge şey./ military area.
A: I am in the watchtower.
Y: can't they buy a lawn mover↑
A: it takes the attention of one of the convicts./ şimdi around the watchtower,/ I get bored for two hours how is it possible to spend time,/ turn right turn left./ I am turning around in the watchtower.
M: soldier.
A: hı: şimdi when I turn around,/ in the downwards,
Z: they are plucking grass.
A: şey(s)/ there are ventilations/ a huge as/ şey…/ seperated wall by wall./ şey(s) the convicts,/ there/ are wandering./ şimdi they look at me./ they shouted at me/ by saying **soldier, soldier**./ ondan sonra he said **the soldier**./
Y: hıhı
A: I said **what happened**./ I signalled./ şimdi on our clothes it is written gendarme./ there is also a şey here/ signal of rank./ ondan sonra/ **is it the rank of sergeancy** he said./ another jumped into the conversation/ the convict near him/ **no it is written gendarme** he said./ I also said./ **it is written gendarme here** I said,/ there is a rank signal here I said./ ondan sonra when I said so/ he said **alla alla**,/ **do the sergeants have watch duty** he said./ ondan sonra I didn't say anything./ I don't take them into consideration too much./ they are talking by their own./ I signal,/ by acting./ there are cameras everywhere in the tops./ I mean they are always recording./
M: e:: soldier.
A: ondan sonra,
F: what you say↑
A: of course what you say./ I mean it is not important that you speak to them but/ it one by one the şey(s)/ zooms the watchtowers one by one.
F: yes yes.
A: the cameras.
F: it is better not to talk
A: hm: I didn't look at them they speak,/ they call me,/ they do şey./ I look if they talk too much,/ I signal,/ I signal like this they shut up./ they understand,/ as a result/ they do şey./
M: disappear.
A: they shut up./ **I said** he says,/ **you** he says,/ **are all of you sergeants** he says./ **everyone is sergeant** I said,/ I closed the conversation.

(43)
WOMAN WITH PARKINSON'S DISEASE
D: şey there exists an illness parkinson's disease/ tremblings and so on/ they also talked about it./ it recovers the memory to the normal şey./ one day… they played a cassette./ they had made a recording in Istanbul./ they had a recording competititon./ the relationships of the companies with the patients./ besides the owners of the company./ the owners are from the China şey,/ it's a şey of Korea,/ company./ my throat hurts when I talk to much./ ondan sonra işte the man./ we met him that day./ a very funny man./ ha he does şey,/ there was a recording there./ here had been şey./ the best video recording,/ the advertisement and cheers were so much/ with their patients like this,/ the şey(s) hani,/ the owners of the beds and company so much like this/ are more involved in/ for the cheer ups,/ for their overflowing to the streets,/ since there exists so much

crowd,/ since there exists so much joy,/ they had become the champion of Turkey./ this department/ because of it./ o:: they have certificates and so on./ there are photos of Sister Münevver./ she had been nominated with a certificate.

A: ha:::

D: they he:::/ moreover the man had brought his wife./ the woman/ had learnt Turkish in two days./ the man says **she is lazy** but./ the woman spe… Turkish very well/ I entered/./ since I am a guest I don't know her ya şimdi./ the woman come… she is like this./ you're also welcome I said./ I guessed I mean./ she is tiny and with slant eyes./ the day before they had said that she would come ya./ there was a meeting that day/ **come early** Sister Münevver said./ **because they met early** she said./ I went there at nine./ but a: they had already spoken the half./ full/ the shop was full./ we went to the beds sat on them as a result/ it's impossible to pass through I mean it was so crowded./ ondan sonra/ I was talking about something./ ha: I was talking about Parkinson şey./ in the CD of İstanbul,/ the woman says./ **I** she says./ **have Parkinson's disease** she says./ ondan sonra **I used to forget things** she says./ **I used to forget about what I did** she says./ **did I put that there**,/ **I couldn't achieve to take it there** she says./ **I used to leave things around** she says./ **anyway they made me stay in the hospital** she says./ ondan sonra,/ **in the hospital** she says./ **şey(s)** she says./ **the situations of the patients are bad** she says./ **they all tremble like this** she says./ she acts şey **the olds.**/ since **I feel that I am worse them.**/ **I'm more şey ya** she says./ **I can understand things but** she says./ **my mind doesn't work well** she says./ the woman.

A: ha:/ ondan sonra did she say that I should take control of me/ she had said↑

D: ondan sonra **işte I** she says./ **for some time** she says **I had a cure** she says./ **then I heard about the şey of these beds** she says./ the daughter of my aunt insisted **let's take her here she said** she says./ **we came** she says **anyway** she says./ **I** she says./ **six months** she says or **five months I went there** she says./ **there existed a decline in my trembles** she says./ **there existed declines about my forgettings** she says./ ondan sonra **even** she says./ **me** she says **one day** she says./ **while I was coming from the hospital** she says,/ **şey** she says./ **the rubbish bag** she says,/ **by regarding that it is the bag of clothes she says I had confused them** she says,/ **I had taken the garbage** she says **I had brought it till home** she said./ **in it** she says **by regarding that there were my clothes in it I opened it** she says./ **all the garbage came out** she says./ the woman is nearly fifty five sixty years old/ she is a fat woman./ also very funny./ **I looked and looked** she says./ **I laughed** she says./ **ondan sonra thanks to God I said.**/ **I would continue using this bed** she says./ **I decided in it until that time** she says./ **I haven't done such errors** she said./ **I take control of me** she says.

(44)

S: it doesn't work we hired some men./ we hired machines./ in front of every blocks ten/ e::: how many metres↑/ was it thirty metres↑/ forty metres deep↑/ like this-/

T: drilled.

S: he: we made them a hole.

T: drill.

S: ondan sonra we closed on them.

(45)

BUILDING PLOT

K: once **I would buy his building plot** I said./there./ **I give it to you for three billions** he said to me while I was working./ **I have a building plot there which is near to yours**,/ **I would give it to you** he used to say to me.

C: e: işte it is near this şey./it was there when you pass through the Acıbadem/ it was somewhere there.

K: just there.

(46)

C: when I'm coming back from there şimdi./ immediately this…/ there are many nylon bags flying around./ I take one of the nylon bags Na… Kadir.

K: you fill into it.

C: what I found in the beach./ nearby./ I put inside./ immediately to the rubbish basket.

(47)

M: thanks to God nothing happened to our relatives./ the elder sister couldn't recognize her younger sister's house./ she went down./ she turned turned turned,/ all the houses have broken down./ from the window her curtain moved out/ she recognized by the curtains.

K: she recognized by it yes.
M: she recognized by it.

(48)
S: şimdi./ we came to Öküz Ahmet Paşa Kervansaray Ahmet./ şey Kerim.
K: hm::
S: şimdi there are şey(s)./ of course there are foreigners./ of course many foreigners.
K: there are excessive foreigners.
S: he: ondan sonra/ they are getting prepared,/ they are locating mirrors,/ they are doing bla bla./ they would record a film.
K: they are getting prepared.

(49)
E: yesterday's pastry/ I suppose it hasn't got staled,
L: no very good,/ it's not a problem that it gets staled we eat it.
R: **we give it money/ we will eat it whether it rises or bubbles** the man said.
L: the Albanian./ **I will eat it whether it rises or bubbles** he said.
F: did he eat the soap↑

(50)
N: I looked out the door police./ **I don't open the door** I said./ are they really policemen I mean↑/ I don't kn… we are in a foreign place./ at that moment my daughter got a little awake./ **mama what has happened↑/ I got out the bed for toilet my baby go to bed** I said./ I…/ she after I said like this/ she went to bed./ but they kept ringing the door.
A: e: what↑
N: şimdi…
A: are they really policemen↑
N: they are really policemen./ a student what was her name↑/ was it Ayten↑/ by saying I will commit suicide./ with her fiance./ she was living in the next block.
P: Aysel,
N: was it Aysel↑
P: Aysel… Aysel Hancı.
N: hıh Aysel Hancı.

(51)
E: the mother of one of my friends/ got an electric shock.
İ: of:
E: in the şey./ but it is a bit funny ya.
S: electric blanket.
E: electric blanket.
D: but they are very dangerous/ I'm afraid of them.
E: they live in Bitlis/ or in Van or something like it.

(52)
<u>DEAF GIRL</u>
F: işte a girl had come out/ that day/ and talked./ Sister Müzeyyen said./ **you** she said./ **didn't you see and hear the girl** she said./ **no** I said./ **the one who has apoplexy had told/ I saw her** I said./ that girl until the age of 18,/ this being blind…/ şey a:: I say blindness./ she can't hear./ **you might have hear loss hani/ you cannot have an operation** they had said./ **it is not clear that you will hear** they had said./ ondan sonra the girl had come for two months./ hani **I can't şey/ I can't hear can't hear**/ by saying like this/ her ear had recovered recovered./ **Now I hear very clear/ I finally had my ear/ I had my health** by saying/ the girl had come out and told that day.

(53)
D: there was a meeting that day/ **come early** Sister Münevver said./ **because they met early** she said./ I went there at nine./ but a: they had already spoken the half./ full/ the shop was full./ we went to the beds sat on them as a result/ it's impossible to pass through I mean it was so crowded./ ondan sonra/ I was talking about something./ ha: I was talking about Parkinson şey./ in the CD of İstanbul,/ the woman says

(54)
Z: of course./ those days to our brothers/ they gave şey to them./ he was on his military service those days./ he came he came from İzmir./ one morning an earthquake like it again./ **wake up** my mother says she shouts.
Y: They didn't call it "deprem"/ they called it "zelzele" in those days./ he: normal./
Z: zelzele.
Y: zelzele movement.
Z: even not "zelzele"./ they called it "zerzele./ they used to transform /l/ to /r/./ I mean I saw in that time/ the ground of our garden./ it is like this.
Y: yes it waves like that.
M: it waves.
Y: the ground waves yav./ like water.
Z: what happens inside./ underground.

(55)
S: it doesn't work we hired some men./ we hired machines./ in front of every blocks ten/ e::: how many metres↑/ was it thirty metres↑/ forty metres deep↑/ like this-/
T: drilled.
S: he: we made them a hole.
T: drill.
S: ondan sonra we closed on them.

(56)
N: I looked out the door police./ **I don't open the door** I said./ are they really policemen I mean↑/ I don't kn… we are in a foreign place./ at that moment my daughter got a little awake./ **mama what has happened↑/ I got out the bed for toilet my baby go to bed** I said./ I…/ she after I said like this/ she went to bed./ but they kept ringing the door.
A: e: what↑
N: şimdi…
A: are they really policemen↑
N: they are really policemen./ a student what was her name↑/ was it Ayten↑/ by saying I will commit suicide./ with her fiance./ she was living in the next block.
P: Aysel,
N: was it Aysel↑
P: Aysel… Aysel Hancı.
N: hıh Aysel Hancı.

(57)
PEACH TREE
K: is it good for the neighbours instead of having good relations/ to quarrel for a tree↑
A: e: our neighbours./ Aunt Berna and Aunt Derya/ are quarelling./ the topic is this./ there was a peach tree of Aunt Derya./ it did not grow up./ because of the stonepine tree of Aunt Berna./ she says **cut it down/ my peach tree does not grow up**./ can you see the topic of the quarrel↑/ cut this tree she says./ my peach tree would grow up she says./ okay in order that your little/ peach tree grows up/ the huge stonepine tree/ they will cut down it from its roots.

(58)
N: I looked out the door police./ **I don't open the door** I said./ are they really policemen I mean↑/ I don't kn… we are in a foreign place./ at that moment my daughter got a little awake./ **mama what has happened↑/ I got out the bed for toilet my baby go to bed** I said./ I…/ she after I said like this/ she went to bed./ but they kept ringing the door.
A: e: what↑
N: şimdi…
A: are they really policemen↑
N: they are really policemen./ a student what was her name↑/ was it Ayten↑/ by saying I will commit suicide./ with her fiance./ she was living in the next block.
P: Aysel,

N: was it Aysel↑
P: Aysel… Aysel Hancı.
N: hıh Aysel Hancı.

(59)
Y: do you remember the old Atlas in the hollow↑/ it was downwards/ it was in the place where Kılıçoğlu is now.
E: is it possible not to remember./ the first time I have gone to the cinema was there./ my father and Uncle Ali,/ the father of Uncle Özcan/ decided to go to the cinema./ şimdi I heard them talking./ My mother şey was knitting a j…/ I asked her for a jumper.

(60)
B: one man came and stopped./ he is a sno…/ a snobbish man./ **yav** he said./ **always** he said **happens like this** he said./ **people punctuate on the road somehow** he said./ I said **my friend if you won't take me/ don't speak to much I mean**./ **get away from here**./ **I would go with someone else**.
C: if you t… took me on the car/ shut up./
B: you keep saying words.

(61)
K: I entered in the road curve in a harsh way./ tyr… şey…/ obligatorily in order to turn
D: sharp.
K: I should turn he:/ şimdi my tyres are lying ya,/ şimdi the dublex tyre,/ when entering the curve in a harsh way/ it shaved the sidewall.
B: hah the worst place.
K: he: hadi:/ before I went out the door/ **ulan** I said./ **why does this car move like this** I said./ I got off the car and looked,
D: the wheel got hard ha.
K: the tyre punctuated.
P: ya:
K: he:

(62)
S: he will take the support of the bait./ if they die he will take the money from insurance/ he will take it./ he will make the insurance of them./ we↑/ we will work as cows./ **valla if you find such a stupid**/ **give it to him** I said to the man.
N: Brother Semih,/ they made people work like this for years./ why did Köy Tavuk bankrupt↑/ it bankrupted due to forgery.
T: Köy Tavuk he.
N: yes./ do you know what they did↑/ it used to say you that./ you prepare the bait.
S: he makes them eat./ don't forget your words./ **I** the man said **if I want/ we wouldn't give bait to them** he said./**we would poison and kill them** he said.

(63)
A: no I mean where does it pour down I mean./ to Porsuk or to Sakarya↑/ which river is it↑
B: ya in Bozüyük…
C: hold…
K: ya still where it is./ you don't know where it is.
C: a river like it I mean/ in Eskişehir.
K: there exists they showed it on TV.

(64)
WHEEL RIMS
E: one of my friends saults with the car for three or four times./ he comes from Kütahya./ he enters the road curve abruptly./ there is nothing wrong with the tyres./ şimdi when he enters the curve/ e: its wear bars depart from the wheel rims./ its airs… air has blown down.
G: yav işte my brother ya.
E: when it air flows down/ işte what it does↑/ when he enters the curve like it.

G: mountains hills it is a detailed business.
F: alla alla
G: I experience it when I'm slow
H: my brother he…
G: what does your do…
H: it is şey ya./ şimdi I/ go to the tyre sellers. they say for example 14 inch for example/ 16 inch işte.

(65)
HOUSE WORKS
F: if she couldn't make semolina dessert/ what is the problem there
C: when milk is added it does not work.
L: şimdi if he complaints to me/ I… I will say that,
A: I don't speak.
L: what Aunt Funda said./ I do like this.
M: he: each coq/ crows in its dump./ it turns to that topic.
A: right.
M: anyway I favor you/ thus I don't get torn between you.
C: Uncle Oğuz↑/ Was it Uncle Oğuz who did it↑ was it the husband of Aunt Ayşe↑
L: hı hı.
C: kidnapped the girl.
L: işte bride the mother of the bri…
C: he işte. Çağatay's./ he loves so much I mean./ everywhere he meets her./ he does that,/ he does this./anyway at last/ with lots of problems/ by coming coming coming coming,/ that I mean kidnapped/ he make them disturbed I mean./ they gets married./ after some time/ Uncle Oğuz calls Aunt Funda./ **your daughter that that that/ she doesn't know how to cook that**.
M: did she say **she knows going with you↑**
L: a:: Aunt Funda…/ **who begged to you./ bring her** she said **bring./ bring, bring, bring** she said./ **we aren't unpleased from our wealth**.
T: Aunt Funda↑
L: Aunt Funda
T: to whom↑
L: to Oğuz./ to young Oğuz the broom.
T: he he.
C: **did we make you marry the girl↑**
L: **did we beg for it↑/ did we make you marry the girl** she said.
C: **bring the girl** she said.
L: my aunt what a pity for her.
M: she is too funny.
C: she is joyful.
F: she talks to one's face valla.
C: valla she is her sister-in-law.
L: **bring the girl bring her** she said./ **bring her** she said./ bring.
C: sister-in-law…
L: **okay okay** she said./ Oğuz no more time.

(66)
M: since in the summer house one of our/ a… next door of my sister's/ thieves knocked off the neighbours./ the person who wanders in the house/ they all had seen him but/ who he is one of them had said./ **my brother is wandering around**/ another had said**/ my sister is wandering.**
A: dazzled.
G: your story is better işte./ the elder brother of Mert is a policeman./ in those days he was working in Ankara./ not in Antalya./ the story is this./ I mean they go to a case,/a burglary./ they knock out the house./ they couldn't find so many things I suppose./ the opposite doors./ they knock out opposite two neighbours.
M: ay like us.
G: he: evet.
M: Zafer is near me.
G: they take the woman of a house/ to the other bed,/ the other woman to other bed=

A: let's do it like this they would say.
G: hıh they leave them and go./ in a house the woman gets awake,/ she is near the neighbour.
A: hıh.
M: since they couldn't find anything in the house/ they had got angry./what had they done↑/ they had changed the woman.
G: ay: when they get awake.
A: ama::n/ ay what a pity./ Allah damn it.
N: Allah Allah change… yav…
M: we laughed at Metin so much./ in his police station./ we laughed so much.

(67)
UNIVERSITY YEARS
S: Do you know I/ had sewed a skirt in a half day./ every had got shocked./ we sen… two… boks what were they↑
P: e::: dictionary işte./ my dictionaries./ they were two volumes./ skirt./ ay she put some sweets in it.
B: in the skirt↑
P: he: those Meybons./ from them a small packet as well/ she put them.
S: she phoned me the evening before./ what was fort hat skirt↑
P: it was for probation./ in my second grade.
B: look hıh.
P: suddenly they decided on a probation./ **you will go you won't go**,/ **you will go you won't go**,
B: şey I mean ha:
P: they said **you will go**./ eyvah I have just jeans./ no skirt to wear./ we searched for it in the room./ none of use have a skirt like it./ from whom you would ask for it I mean./ from where you would go and buy↑/ şey… would I go to Kızılay for it↑/ **mama** I said./ I haven't got a skirt/ what will I do↑/ ondan sonra,/ this was spoken at ten or eleven in the morning./ my mother sat down./ sewed the skirt./ took it/ to Aşti and gave it./ she said to me that/ işte/ which bus did she said./ fo… six o'clock bus./
S: was it six o'clock bus↑/ was it four o'clock bus↑
P: no I took it nearly at five o'clock./ she was able to catch two o'clock bus.
S: look şimdi your father says that/ **what will you do** he says/ he stands over me./**what will you do** he says.
P: at eleven o'clock I ca…/ I called nearly at 10 o'clock I suppose.
S: Pelin wants a skirt I said./ I immediately began./ I found a piece of cloth./ I cut it./ I sewed it loudly/ I scatter everything to everywhere./ I mixed up.
P: zip…
S: I prepared the books./ books… she wanted from home.
P: I think she managed to catch the two o'clock bus./ in those times in front of the campus/ in front of the campus/ there was no outer road./ we used to take off the bus in front of the campus.
S: I asked for a travel company.
P: to Ceytur.
S: **I wouldn't take it** it says./ ondan sonra Cey…
P: Antur had said **I wouldn't take it**.
S: **I don't take it** it said.
B: Allah Allah/ e::↑
P: then she had given it to Ceytur.
S: to Ceytur.
P: I waited there.
S: I said I mean/ **if you want**/ take it for a ticket price./ **but it will immediately go**./ **what is there in it** he said./ **open and see** I said./ **what there is in it open and see**.
P: there are books./ I had two volumes of an encylopedic dictionary.
S: **I would close up the packet again**./ but I was able to send it until that evening.
P: I came out the course/ from the two o'clock session/ at half past four./ I walked downwards.
B: you went and took it at five o'clock.
P: he:

(68)
EATING SOAP
E: yesterday's pastry/ I suppose it hasn't got staled,

L: no very good,/ it's not a problem that it gets staled we eat it.
R: **we give it money**/ **we will eat it whether it rises or bubbles** the man said.
L: the Albanian./ **I will eat it whether it rises or bubbles** he said.
F: did he eat the soap↑
L: hm::
B: why had he eaten a soap↑
F: he had eaten it by thinking şey.
R: he had bought it as he thought it is cheese./ **give me a piece of that** he had said./ the shopkeeper had given it./ he is buying it by thinking that it is cheese./ when he had begun eating it/ when it had bubbled/ **I gave you money**/ **I will eat you whether you rise or bubble**./ **I will eat you if you rise he had said I gave you money**/ he said **to you**.

(69)
<u>CUTTING GRASS</u>
A: I said **what happened**./ I signalled./ şimdi on our clothes it is written gendarme./ there is also a şey here/ signal of rank./ ondan sonra/ **is it the rank of sergeancy** he said./ another jumped into the conversation/ the convict near him/ **no it is written gendarme** he said./ I also said./ **it is written gendarme here** I said,/ there is a rank signal here I said./ ondan sonra when I said so/ he said **alla alla**,/ **do the sergeants have watch duty** he said./ ondan sonra I didn't say anything./ I don't take them into consideration too much./ they are talking by their own./ I signal,/ by acting./ there are cameras everywhere in the tops./ I mean they are always recording.

(70)
<u>LEARNING ENGLISH</u>
S: I graduated from school./ e:: Ardil./ Did I begin to Ardil ya↑
K: what is Ardil↑
P: to Ardil/ I attended to Ardil dad.
S: language course./ no I also began there I guess.
P: you had begun but you had quitted.
K: thank you my dear./ thanks.
S: even I had a friend from the primary school./
P: sugar↑
K: a little
S: called Cihan./ he graduated from the high school.
K: he:
S: ondan sonra we came across there.
K: this Ardil is şey↑
S: language school.
K: course↑
S: course.
K: private course./ in Eskişehir↑
S: here yav.
K: where was it↑
S: Şevket Oktay/ in Dersaneler Street./ opposite to the post Office.
K: he:/ those days there weren't so abundant courses.
S: there weren't so much courses my dear.
K: there was a Çene Kıran./ a course of mathematics./ there were three more.
S: Mehmet Ultav's./ he:/ ondan sonra/ I suppose I couldn't şey it./ did we go to our military service something happened then.
K: is Çene Kıran alive↑
S: people talk about Çene Kıran but,/ I don't know whether he's alive or not./ ondan sonra we went to Ankara./ işte in Ankara/ I attended to American Kültür./ we began to the first book/ second… I mean I finished./ we began to the second book./ I made a contract with Tofaş and came here.
K: hm::
S: here/ I had a friend called Perdin./ in Anadol garage./ we had worked in YS together with him./ he was a technician too./ I'm responsible for Tofaş Fiat garage./ he is responsible for Ford Anadol garage./ an officer/ he şey(s) with the Americans,/ he had good English./ we bargained with the officers./ in every şey,/ they made us use a different book./ anyway/ he was from şey the East./ from Diyarbakır or Gaziantep or

something like it./ one of his relatives had died./ he came **my brother** he said./ yav **give me permission in order that,**/ **I will go to the funeral**./ in those days bayram or something like it is coming./ bayram came./ something more he said if I go I would take my annual holiday.

K: he:

S: he took on annual holiday we took annual holidays too./ it ended too.

S: ondan sonra I registered to the the thing./ there is a language school of Anatolian University.

K: hm::

S: there./ şey… its administrator/ was a man called Mr. Simmens./ he also had a Fiat./ İlhan Canlar was the president of the academy.

K: who is he↑

S: the president, I mean./ he is one of the profs./ I mean I used to know all of them. / we began going there,/ and we finished a book there./ we began to the second book./ there is an instructor called as Ali Konur./ he gave a home assignment.

K: hm:

S: lan g…guests came I couldn't deal with it./ I said I will deal with it tomorrow at the garage./ that day y… it became so busy that./ I had no time to stratch my neck./ I didn't deal with it either./ in the evening we came/ to the course/ because the man is a stupid./ young.

K: Konur↑

S: but stupid I mean,/ a moody man./ Kemal I waited for him at the door./ I said **hodja look,**/ **you would ask when we go inside,**

K: the situation is like this.

S: **the situation is like this.**/ **I couldn't study.**/ **don't ask a question to me** I said./ **don't put shame on me** I said to him./ **okay** he said./ we went inside I immediately,/ I always sit in front./ **the pupils who didn't do their homework,/ Mr.Kara**./ immediately I stood up,/ I packed all the books and notebooks./ **come on, good bye to me**.

K: although you warned him, it happened like this.

S: he: do I attend to the course of that man↑/ of course I gave up and went out,/ the classroom./ then he ran on my way./ s**orry I had a mistake**./ **hodja** I said./ t**ake your E… English away**/ **take your university away as well**.

K: ya but the person who lost was you./ he was not.

S: It was me of course. // ondan sonra he…şey came./ Mr. Simmens came./ but it was nearly one week later./ **no way,**/ in his limited Turkish,/ **it is impossible** he said./ he learned about the case and investigated it./ **if I want I would dismiss him from the school** he says.

(71)

WOMAN WITH PARKINSON'S DISEASE

D: şey there exists an illness parkinson's disease/ tremblings and so on/ they also talked about it.

…

D: moreover the man had brought his wife./ the woman/ had learnt Turkish in two days./ the man says **she is lazy** but./ the woman spe… Turkish very well/ I entered/./ since I am a guest I don't know her ya şimdi./ the woman come… she is like this./ you're also welcome I said./ I guessed I mean./ she is tiny and with slant eyes./ the day before they had said that she would come ya./ there was a meeting that day/ **come early** Sister Münevver said./ **because they met early** she said./ I went there at nine./ but a: they had already spoken the half./ full/ the shop was full./ we went to the beds sat on them as a result/ it's impossible to pass through I mean it was so crowded./ ondan sonra/ I was talking about something./ ha: I was talking about Parkinson şey./ in the CD of İstanbul,/ the woman says./ I she says./ **have Parkinson's disease** she says./ ondan sonra **I used to forget things** she says./ **I used to forget about what I did** she says./ **did I put that there**,/ **I couldn't achieve to take it there** she says./ **I used to leave things around** she says./ **anyway they made me stay in the hospital** she says./ ondan sonra,/ **in the hospital** she says./ **şey(s)** she says./ **the situations of the patients are bad** she says./ **they all tremble like this** she says./ she acts şey **the olds.**/ since **I feel that I am worse them**./ **I'm more şey ya** she says./ **I can understand things but** she says./ **my mind doesn't work well** she says./ the woman.

A: ha:/ ondan sonra did she say that I should take control of me/ she had said↑

D: ondan sonra **işte I** she says./ **for some time** she says **I had a cure** she says./ **then I heard about the şey of these beds** she says./ the daughter of my aunt insisted **let's take her here she said** she says./ **we came** she says **anyway** she says./ **I** she says./ **six months** she says or **five months I went there** she says./ **there existed a decline in my trembles** she says./ **there existed declines about my forgettings** she says./ ondan sonra **even** she says./ **me** she says **one day** she says./ **while I was coming from the hospital** she says,/ **şey**

she says./ **the rubbish bag** she says**,/ by regarding that it is the bag of clothes she says I had confused them** she says,/ **I had taken the garbage** she says **I had brought it till home** she said.

(72)

…

A: forget that there are convicts below.

Y: huge şey./ military area.

A: I am in the watchtower.

Y: can't they buy a lawn mover↑

A: it takes the attention of one of the convicts./ şimdi around the watchtower,/ I get bored for two hours how is it possible to spend time,/ turn right turn left./ I am turning around in the watchtower.

M: soldier.

A: hı: şimdi when I turn around,/ in the downwards,

Z: they are plucking grass.

A: şey(s)/ there are ventilations/ a huge as/ şey…/ seperated wall by wall./ şey(s) the convicts,/ there/ are wandering./ şimdi they look at me./ they shouted at me/ by saying **soldier, soldier**./ ondan sonra he said **the soldier**./

Y: hıhı

A: I said **what happened**./ I signalled./ şimdi on our clothes it is written gendarme./ there is also a şey here/ signal of rank.

(73)

…

D: **me** she says **one day** she says./ **while I was coming from the hospital** she says,/ **şey** she says./ **the rubbish bag** she says**,/ by regarding that it is the bag of clothes she says I had confused them** she says,/ **I had taken the garbage** she says **I had brought it till home** she said./ **in it** she says **by regarding that there were my clothes in it I opened it** she says./ **all the garbage came out** she says./ the woman is nearly fifty five sixty years old/ she is a fat woman./ also very funny./ **I looked and looked** she says./ **I laughed** she says./ **ondan sonra thanks to God I said**./ **I would continue using this bed** she says./ **I decided in it until that time** she says./ **I haven't done such errors** she said./ **I take control of me** she says.

(74)

…

D: **,in the hospital** she says./ **şey(s)** she says./ **the situations of the patients are bad** she says./ **they all tremble like this** she says./ she acts şey **the olds**./ since **I feel that I am worse them**./ **I'm more şey ya** she says./ **I can understand things but** she says./ **my mind doesn't work well** she says./ the woman.

A: ha:/ ondan sonra did she say that I should take control of me/ she had said↑

D: ondan sonra **işte I** she says./ **for some time** she says **I had a cure** she says./ **then I heard about the şey of these beds** she says.

(75)

…

A: I don't take them into consideration too much./ they are talking by their own./ I signal,/ by acting./ there are cameras everywhere in the tops./ I mean they are always recording./

M: e:: soldier.

A: ondan sonra,

F: what you say↑

A: of course what you say./ I mean it is not important that you speak to them but/ it one by one the şey(s)/ zooms the watchtowers one by one.

(76)

K: there was a Çene Kıran./ a course of mathematics./ there were three more.

S: Mehmet Ultav's./ he:/ ondan sonra/ I suppose I couldn't şey it./ did we go to our military service something happened then.

K: is Çene Kıran alive↑

S: people talk about Çene Kıran but,/ I don't know whether he's alive or not.

…

K: **şimdi imagine a chain,**/ **it is broken in the middle**./ **but you see the chain lying there**/ **pull it from one side**,/ **it comes and comes**,/ **but a piece of it remains there, doesn't it**↑
K: It breaks off/ the rest of it remains there.
S: of course, it broke off./ ondan sonra the case/ was transferred to İlhan Canlar/ the president of the academy./ I mean I didn't tell it to him/ the classmates had told it./ they all came and asked for my return.

(77)
…
I'm more şey ya she says./ **I can understand things but** she says./ **my mind doesn't work well** she says./ the woman.
A: ha:/ ondan sonra did she say that I should take control of me/ she had said↑
D: ondan sonra **işte I** she says./ **for some time** she says **I had a cure** she says./ **then I heard about the şey of these beds** she says.

(78)
SUGAR IN TEA
F: valla jam./ I don't remember it if I haven't got any.
Z: my wife eats it too much./ she loves it işte.
M: she loves sweet.
Z: ondan sonra tea coffee/ she drinks them without sugar.
R: her need to sweet/ she satisfies it like this işte./ şimdi in our computer course/ I saw that the girl likes that/ a punch of sugar./ **what are you doing my girl**↑/ I said ya./ **I'm putting sugar to my tea Uncle Rıza**./ **you are putting sugar but**/ **is it good to put so much sugar**↑/ **you can put two pieces**/ **it would be enough** I said./ **e: I drink like this.**
Z: hm:
R: **e: honey sugar factories**/ **you would make them bankrupt**./ **don't drink like this** I said./ şimdi when she takes sugar/ if I'm nearby she doesn't şey.

(79)
LIEUTENANT COLUMBO
K: washing hands before meal/ is a heritage from my mother.
S: e:: it is so.
K: she obliged me to wash my hands .
S: e::
M: but it finish…blessing is from the beginning to the end.
K: yes./ go and wash your hands.
S: şimdi./ we came to Öküz Ahmet Paşa Kervansaray Ahmet./ şey Kerim.
K: hm::
S: şimdi there are şey(s)./ of course there are foreigners./ of course many foreigners.
K: there are excessive foreigners.
S: he: ondan sonra/ they are getting prepared,/ they are locating mirrors,/ they are doing bla bla./ they would record a film.
K: they are getting prepared.

(80)
K: once **I would buy his building plot** I said./there./ **I give it to you for three billions** he said to me while I was working./ **I have a building plot there which is near to yours**,/ **I would give it to you** he used to say to me.
C: e: işte it is near this şey./it was there when you pass through the Acıbadem/ it was somewhere there.
K: just there.
C: where↑
K: you go under our bridge./okay↑
C: he:
K: in the left the last houses dissappear./in the left./before entering the zone of State's Railways,/ just a little further./ there are something like blocks./ they dissappear./ ondan sonra…
C: when you pass through the Drivers Association.
K: in the behind.
C: somewhere in the behind of it. / he was talking about a place there.

K: but the building plot where he will sell,/ şimdi a road passes there,/ this is the road which goes through./the road that goes in front of the municipality./ it passes in front of it./ the building plot exactly faces there./ it has two hundred and seventy metre squares.

C: no şimdi/ does he pay fort he two sides of the plot↑

K: şimdi I took the photocopy of its land register from him./ I went to the municipality and researched./ I found the place of the plot.

(81)

S: şimdi./ we came to Öküz Ahmet Paşa Kervansaray Ahmet./ şey Kerim.

K: hm::

S: şimdi there are şey(s)./ of course there are foreigners./ of course many foreigners.

K: there are excessive foreigners.

S: he: ondan sonra/ they are getting prepared,/ they are locating mirrors,/ they are doing bla bla./ they would record a film.

K: they are getting prepared.

(82)

…

C: when you pass through the Drivers Association.

K: in the behind.

C: somewhere in the behind of it. / he was talking about a place there.

K: but the building plot where he will sell,/ şimdi a road passes there,/ this is the road which goes through./the road that goes in front of the municipality./ it passes in front of it./ the building plot exactly faces there./ it has two hundred and seventy metre squares.

C: no şimdi/ does he pay fort he two sides of the plot↑

(83)
FLYING CAR

F:the man in a flat road,/just a small stockade,/yav flat pretty flat,/ you are driving ahead,/ he maket he car fly to the stockade./ how is it possible↑

C: we experienced it.

F: astonishing.

C: while you're going to İnönü from here./the road coming from Bozüyük/ you just drive through it./ where is it after Otlubal↑

V: Otlubel he:

C: just şimdi from Otlubal from that road/we are driving through it./ here e:: from Kütahya/ to Bozüyük there is a road./ a White Tempra./ there you know that road/ a little şey little.

V: downgrade.

C: keeps high./nearbys are farming fields.

V: from here from Otlubal/ when coming there it is high./ the other side is downgrade./ and there is a curve there.

C: nearbys are the farming fields ya./ the fields are too low than the road./ şimdi we're coming like this ./ there was ömer with me./ **a:: look look what it is doing** he said/ **this car**./ the car definitely flew/ into the middle of the field.

F: it flew like this.

C: it is coming in the free flat road./ **ulan** I said/ **he slept I suppose**.

(84)
DEAF GIRL

F: because/ **the difference between them** he said/ **vibrant like this**/ **when giving the vibration** he said,/ **the muscles in the neck**/ **and in the spin it may give harm to them** he said./ **I don't suggest them**/ **but for your other illnesses**/ **you can use it**,/ **it** / **also has the feature of being warm** he said./ a speech like it came into life./ işte a girl had come out/ that day/ and talked./ Sister Müzeyyen said./ **you** she said./ **didn't you see and hear the girl** she said./ **no** I said./ **the one who has apoplexy had told**/ **I saw her** I said./ that girl until the age of 18,/ this being blind…/ şey a:: I say blindness.

(85)
WORKING WOMAN

N: really girls smoke as well/ they come here near surroundings./ I swear I got surprised./ The time corrupted.

S: children as small as a punch/ go to your school I mean./ your parents send you to school,/ they are dealing with other things./

N: but the parents the parents don't control them/ they can't I guess.

B: everyone isn't as lucky as you are./ people leave their home for at six o'clock in the morning/ in the evening they will come home and take care of their children.

A: işte the daughter of my neighbour/ as I always say she is working in a bank./ her daughter began the school this year./ they are both graduates of Metu./ ondan sonra usually/ the child goes to sleep without seeing her mother,/ before her mother comes at home./ in the mornings she leaves her child at home while she is sleeping./ when she comes home in the evenings the time is nine or half past nine/ in a place like İzmir./ Irmak has already gone to sleep./ she doesn't see her mother./ s**he misses her mother so much** she says./ s**he doesn't see her mother** she says.

(86)

THE FIRST CINEMA

Y: do you remember the old Atlas in the hollow↑/ it was downwards/ it was in the place where Kılıçoğlu is now.

E: is it possible not to remember./ the first time I have gone to the cinema was there./ my father and Uncle Ali,/ the father of Uncle Özcan/ decided to go to the cinema./ şimdi I heard them talking./ My mother şey was knitting a j…/ I asked her for a jumper./ she knitted a jumper for me,/ and she is trying to attach the parts.

Y: he:

E: I said **hurry up, /**to my mother **hurry up** I say./th**ey are departing they are going./**

Y: you will catch them.

E: I will take on the jumper,/ follow them./ So,/ I got the jumper from my mother's hands,/ took on the jumper./ hadi by running I went behind them./ I didn't show myself until the bazaar./ when it became crowded by the bazaar, in case I lose them/ immediately I came/ and hold my father's hand./ **where did you come yav** he said./ he showed his anger./ ondan sonra yav şimdi/ **you** he said **turn back** he said to me./ my father said to me./ my uncle said/ **let the child come with us** he said **ya./ he may get lost there** he said./ **the kid** he said **has come till here.**/ **e: he came till here** he said./ **let's go** he said./ **let's get him together** he said **my brother** he said./ **you are always following me**/ he got angry a bit./ he didn't insist on /after my uncle said so./ then we went to that cinema building./ **a** film called "Aramızda Yaşayamazsın"/ by Turan Seyfioğlu./ that's the first film I have seen.

(87)

WORKING WOMAN

(88)

…

A: şey(s)/ there are ventilations/ a huge as/ şey…/ seperated wall by wall./ şey(s) the convicts,/ there/ are wandering./ şimdi they look at me./ they shouted at me

(89)

…

A: şey(s)/ there are ventilations/ a huge as/ şey…/ seperated wall by wall./ şey(s) the convicts,/ there/ are wandering.

(90)
…
F: that girl until the age of 18,/ this being blind…/ şey a:: I say blindness.

(91)
THE BOMB
A: girl in the bus stop/ someone has put a bomb to the busstop in which I was waiting for a bus.
B: what↑
C: when↑
İ: someone has put one in my mother's work place, too./ again in Diyarbakır.
A: do you know what has happened↑/ we went şimdi,/ again in times of Kırıkkale routines./ şey times Ankara routine times./ I'm waiting I will take on the bus like this./ I will go to the bus terminal like this./
İ: ay Allah saves us.
A: I'm at the busstop like this./ ondan sonra I'm looking at the nearbys./ I'm looking at the right and the left./ suddenly şey(s) come./ the scene investigation cops.
(92)
UNIVERSITY YEARS
S: Do you know I/ had sewed a skirt in a half day./ every had got shocked./ we sen… two… boks what were they↑
P: e::: dictionary işte./ my dictionaries./ they were two volumes./ skirt./ ay she put some sweets in it.
B: in the skirt↑
P: he: those Meybons./ from them a small packet as well/ she put them.
S: she phoned me the evening before./ what was fort hat skirt↑
P: it was for probation./ in my second grade.
B: look hıh.
P: suddenly they decided on a probation./ **you will go you won't go**,/ **you will go you won't go**,
B: şey I mean ha:
P: they said **you will go**./ eyvah I have just jeans./ no skirt to wear./ we searched for it in the room./ none of use have a skirt like it./ from whom you would ask for it I mean./ from where you would go and buy↑/ şey… would I go to Kızılay for it↑/ **mama** I said./ I haven't got a skirt/ what will I do↑/ ondan sonra,/ this was spoken at ten or eleven in the morning./ my mother sat down./ sewed the skirt./ took it/ to Aşti and gave it./ she said to me that/ işte/ which bus did she said./ fo… six o'clock bus./
S: was it six o'clock bus↑/ was it four o'clock bus↑
P: no I took it nearly at five o'clock./ she was able to catch two o'clock bus.
S: look şimdi your father says that/ **what will you do** he says/ he stands over me./**what will you do** he says.
P: at eleven o'clock I ca…/ I called nearly at 10 o'clock I suppose.
S: Pelin wants a skirt I said./ I immediately began./ I found a piece of cloth./ I cut it./ I sewed it loudly/ I scatter everything to everywhere./ I mixed up.
P: zip…
S: I prepared the books./ books… she wanted from home.
P: I think she managed to catch the two o'clock bus./ in those times in front of the campus/ in front of the campus/ there was no outer road./ we used to take off the bus in front of the campus.
S: I asked for a travel company.
P: to Ceytur.
S: **I wouldn't take it** it says./ ondan sonra Cey…
P: Antur had said **I wouldn't take it**.
S: **I don't take it** it said.
B: Allah Allah/ e::↑
P: then she had given it to Ceytur.
S: to Ceytur.
P: I waited there.
S: I said I mean/ **if you want**/ take it for a ticket price./ **but it will immediately go**./ **what is there in it** he said./ **open and see** I said./ **what there is in it open and see**.
P: there are books./ I had two volumes of an encylopedic dictionary.

S: **I would close up the packet again**./ but I was able to send it until that evening.
P: I came out the course/ from the two o'clock session/ at half past four./ I walked downwards.
B: you went and took it at five o'clock.
P: he:

(93)
PEACH TREE
K: is it good for the neighbours instead of having good relations/ to quarrel for a tree↑
A: e: our neighbours./ Aunt Berna and Aunt Derya/ are quarelling./ the topic is this./ there was a peach tree of Aunt Derya./ it did not grow up./ because of the stonepine tree of Aunt Berna./ she says **cut it down**/ **my peach tree does not grow up**./ can you see the topic of the quarrel↑/ cut this tree she says./ my peach tree would grow up she says./ okay in order that your little/ peach tree grows up/ the huge stonepine tree/ they will cut down it from its roots.

(94)
THE BOMB
A: girl in the bus stop/ someone has put a bomb to the busstop in which I was waiting for a bus.
B: what↑
C: when↑
İ: someone has put one in my mother's work place, too./ again in Diyarbakır.
A: do you know what has happened↑/ we went şimdi,/ again in times of Kırıkkale routines./ şey times Ankara routine times./ I'm waiting I will take on the bus like this./ I will go to the bus terminal like this./
İ: ay Allah saves us.
A: I'm at the busstop like this./ ondan sonra I'm looking at the nearbys./ I'm looking at the right and the left./ suddenly şey(s) come./ the scene investigation cops.
İ: they would ask for Ahmet.
A: I just saw that they began/surrounding me./ ondan sonra **go go go**/ they did to me like this./**what is happening** I asked like this./ **don't you see** he said.
İ: they said like this **you're like a bomb.**
A: **near the şey the bus stop you are sitting** he said,/ **there is a box with a bomb** he said./ there is a box with a bomb near to me ya.
İ: you would think şey. ya if this box were free I would take it to home./ as people take from the supermarkets.
A: ondan sonra I turned and looked,/ really in the box like this,/ they had rolled and rolled it./ the man couldn't make me go away./ **if you wait fort he bus, goto this side** he said./ **just wait t… two metres away** he said./ **we** he said **will make it blow up with a bomb squad**.
B: was it really a bomb↑
C: did they blow it up when you were there↑
A: I went away I waited there I mean./ a minibus came and I took on and went away./ but it blows there I would die.

(95)
FLOWING WATER
D: valla I don't know Burhan/ if there is not hot water in here in Eskişehir/ there is any nowhere./ you can remember./ when was it↑/ when we were in highschool years./ in this Hamamyolu/ now there is Madımak Icecreams.
B: okay.
D: through its street/ they found a water spring./ do you remember that spring↑/ yet in those times that şey/ channel and so…
B: the channel was flowing./ha:
D: they found there a water spring./ I can remember it very well/ haldır haldır haldır./ like şey water flowed there for months./ finally that spring/ they closed the spring by injecting quiksilver there.

(96)
…
S: I graduated from school./ e:: Ardil./ Did I begin to Ardil ya↑
K: what is Ardil↑
P: to Ardil/ I attended to Ardil dad.

S: language course./ no I also began there I guess.
P: you had begun but you had quitted.
K: thank you my dear./ thanks.
S: even I had a friend from the primary school./
P: sugar↑
K: a little
S: called Cihan./ he graduated from the high school.
K: he:
S: ondan sonra we came across there.
K: this Ardil is şey↑
S: language school.
K: course↑
S: course.
K: private course./ in Eskişehir↑
S: here yav.
K: where was it↑
S: Şevket Oktay/ in Dersaneler Street./ opposite to the post Office.

(97)

the situations of the patients are bad she says./ **they all tremble like this** she says./ she acts şey **the olds./** since **I feel that I am worse them**./ **I'm more şey ya** she says./ **I can understand things but** she says./ **my mind doesn't work well** she says./ the woman.
A: ha:/ ondan sonra did she say that I should take control of me/ she had said↑
D: ondan sonra **işte I** she says./ **for some time** she says **I had a cure** she says./ **then I heard about the şey of these beds** she says./ the daughter of my aunt insisted **let's take her here she said** she says./ **we came** she says **anyway** she says./ **I** she says./ **six months** she says or **five months I went there** she says./ **there existed a decline in my trembles** she says./ **there existed declines about my forgettings** she says.

(98)
<u>FLOWING WATER</u>
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B: okay.
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(99)
…
A: forget that there are convicts below.
Y: huge şey./ military area.
A: I am in the watchtower.
Y: can't they buy a lawn mover↑
A: it takes the attention of one of the convicts./ şimdi around the watchtower,/ I get bored for two hours how is it possible to spend time,/ turn right turn left./ I am turning around in the watchtower.
M: soldier.
A: hı: şimdi when I turn around,/ in the downwards,
Z: they are plucking grass.
A: şey(s)/ there are ventilations/ a huge as/ şey…/ seperated wall by wall./ şey(s) the convicts,/ there/ are wandering./ şimdi they look at me./ they shouted at me/ by saying **soldier, soldier**./ ondan sonra he said **the soldier**./
Y: hıhı
A: I said **what happened**./ I signalled./ şimdi on our clothes it is written gendarme./ there is also a şey here/ signal of rank./ ondan sonra/ **is it the rank of sergeancy** he said./ another jumped into the conversation/ the convict near him/ **no it is written gendarme** he said./ I also said./ **it is written gendarme here** I said,/

there is a rank signal here I said./ ondan sonra when I said so/ he said **alla alla**,/ **do the sergeants have watch duty** he said./ ondan sonra I didn't say anything./ I don't take them into consideration too much./ they are talking by their own./ I signal,/ by acting./ there are cameras everywhere in the tops./ I mean they are always recording./

M: e:: soldier.

A: ondan sonra,

F: what you say↑

A: of course what you say./ I mean it is not important that you speak to them but/ it one by one the şey(s)/ zooms the watchtowers one by one.

F: yes yes.

A: the cameras.

F: it is better not to talk

A: hm: I didn't look at them they speak,/ they call me,/ they do şey./ I look if they talk too much,/ I signal,/ I signal like this they shut up./ they understand,/ as a result/ they do şey./

M: disappear.

A: they shut up./ **I said** he says,/ **you** he says,/ **are all of you sergeants** he says./ **everyone is sergeant** I said,/ I closed the conversation.