

İlsu İrmeşe

Linguistics Department, Boğaziçi University

ilsu.irmese@gmail.com

Hearer Inclusion: the Interpersonal Function of the Turkish Discourse Marker *hani*

The rather limited number of works on the Discourse Marker *hani*, namely, Ozbek's (1995) and Akar and Ozturk's (2020) state that its prominent role is a "reminder", in that it refers to a shared knowledge between participants. However, the data I analyzed shows that the fraction of instances where *hani* fulfills this "reminder" function is not nearly as significant as has been observed in these works. Rather, it has one prominent function, what I call Hearer Inclusion, that is present in all of the instances I analyzed in naturally occurring conversation. In the lack of shared information, speakers use *hani* to invite the other participants to join them on their stance towards the presented novel information or its implications.

While *hani* does refer to a shared knowledge between participants as a wh- question word (Akar & Ozturk, 2020) or a modality marker (Erguvanlı-Taylan, 2000), it is rarely the case when it is a Discourse Marker in conversation (that is, reduceable from the utterance without changing the syntactic structure (Ozbek, 2000)). For my analysis, I worked on a total of 4 hours and 11 minutes of naturally occurring conversation and collected 179 instances of *hani* that are used as Discourse Markers. Among these instances, only 8 function as a reminder of shared information.

1 Bilge: Ab- şey bu (.) sana birini söylemiştim derste:,
2→ agustin, (0.6)**hani** üni[verste ortamı aynı] demiştim.
1 Bilge: B- um by (.) I told you (about) someone at class:,
2→ Augustin, (0.6) **hani** I said he had
3 the [same university] setting.

In this excerpt, the speaker clearly refers back to a piece of shared information and reminds the hearer of it. However, in the 171 remaining instances in my data, *hani* is used to introduce or connect novel information for the hearers. As in most other Discourse Markers, *hani* has different functions it

simultaneously carries out in different levels of conversation. The Hearer Inclusion Function explained below is the only one existent in all of the instances I analyzed.

Even in the lack of an epistemic common ground, speakers employ various strategies to ensure that all participants interpret the topic of conversation in a similar manner. This construction and maintenance of a common world is called intersubjectivity (Sidnell, 2010, p. 136). What *hani* does is to reassure the existence of intersubjectivity, to invite the hearers to take side with the speaker on the implied stance, and to emphasize the salience of the conveyed message; all of which make up the Hearer Inclusion Function. Below is a clear demonstration of this function, where the participant Kudret explains why she is hesitant about getting a Covid-19 vaccine.

1→ Kudret: (0.5) ya. ^bilmiyorum. şm şeye ba:lı. **hani** biraz, (.)
2 insanlar yaptırısın,
1 Kudret: (0.5) well. ^I don't know. >now< it depends on-
2→ **hani** after some people get it,

After explaining her hesitancy, Kudret presents her reasoning with *hani*, which opens a space for the hearer to show understanding. This interpretation is not present in the lack of the particle *hani*. As in many other instances in my data, the line above is followed by an agreement and support response, which further shows that this implication is well received by the hearer.

In the light of these findings, I have concluded that *hani*, along with various other Discourse Markers in Turkish, play a significant role in the interpersonal level of conversation via constructing and updating the common ground of interpretation.

References:

- Akar, D. & Ozturk, B. (2020) The discourse marker *hani* in Turkish. In Modicom, P.-Y., & Duplâtre, O. (eds) Information-structural perspectives on discourse particles. Amsterdam ; Philadelphia : John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Erguvanlı Taylan, E. (2000). Semi-grammaticalized modality in Turkish. In Studies on Turkish and Turkic Languages, Göksel, A. & Kerslake C. (eds), 113–143. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Özbek, N. (1995) Discourse Markers in Turkish and English: a comparative study. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Nottingham University.

Sidnell, J. (2010). *Conversation analysis: An introduction*. Chichester, U.K: Wiley-Blackwell.