A METAPRAGMATIC ACCOUNT OF *MADİLİK, MADİKOLİ* AND *GULLÜM* IN TURKISH QUEER COMMUNICATION

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ABSTRACT

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This study aims to explore the metapragmatic labels of *madilik, madikoli and gullüm* which belong to the Turkish queer argot/slang/language. These three labels are concepts describing certain interactional practices through which Turkish queer individuals (mis)manage their rapport with others. For the study, through the snowball sampling method, data was gathered from a participant group with diverse queer identities. With an interview prepared based on the Critical Incident Technique, incidents that the participants labeled as *madilik, madikoli and gullüm* were elicited. The analysis of the incidents was based on Spencer-Oatey's (2015) Rapport Management Model, which comprises rapport management orientations, face sensitivities, rights and obligations and interactional wants of the participants' lived experiences. The results revealed that *madilik* was related more to having a rapport challenge or neglect orientation along with situational face, want or rights threats, and impoliteness strategies. As for *madikoli* and *gullüm*, the data showed that a rapport maintenance or enhancement orientation with elements of mock impoliteness (Culpeper, 1996, 2011) and solidarity enhancement was prevalent.

Keywords: rapport management, madilik, madikoli, gullüm, Turkish queer, lubunya

ÖZ

MADİLİK, *MADİKOLİ* VE *GULLÜM'*ÜN TÜRK KUİR TOPLUMUNDAKİ META PRAGMATİK ANLATIMI

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Bu çalışma, bir Türk kuir argosu/dili olan *Lubunca*'ya ait olan ve birer metapragmatik etiket olan *madilik, madikoli ve gullüm*'ü incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu üç etiket, belirli etkileşimsel pratikleri, Türk kuir bireylerin diğer insanlarla olan ilişkilerini yönetme/yönetememesi üzerinden açıklayan kavramlaştırmalardır. Bu çalışma için kartopu örneklem yöntemiyle, kuir kimlik yönünden zengin bir katılımcı grubuna erişilmiştir. Kritik Olay Tekniği baz alınarak hazırlanmış bir mülakat süreci sonunda katılımcıların *madilik, madikoli ve güllüm* olarak belirlediği dilsel olaylar toplanmıştır. Çalışmanın verisi Spencer-Oatey'in İlişki Yönetim Modeline (Eng. Rapport Management Model) göre, olayların ilişki yönetim yönelimleri, yüz hassasiyetleri, hak ve zorunluluklar ve etkileşimsel istekleri açısından analiz edilmiştir. Analizin sonucunda, *madiliğin* ilişkiyi yok sayma ve meydan okuma oryantasyonlarını örnekleyen olaylar için kullanıldığı; *gullüm* ve *madikolinin* ise ilişki sürdürme ve ilerletme oryantasyonlarını işaret eden dilsel pratikler olduğu tespit edilmiştir. *Madilik* duruma bağlı olarak çeşitli yüz, hak ve istek tehditlerini ve çeşitli kabalık stratejilerini barındırmaktadır. *Madikoli* ve *gullüm* ise sahte kabalık (Culpeper, 1996, 2011) ve dayanışmayı artırıcı ve pekiştirici unsurlara sahiptir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: madilik, madikoli, gullüm, kuir, lubunya, ilişki yönetimi

for lubunya

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CIT	Critical Incident Technique
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer Plus
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
RMM	Rapport Management Model

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0.Presentation

In this chapter, the background of the study will be given. After that, the scope of the study and the interactional practices investigated will be introduced. Then, an account of Turkish queer history and life will be given to provide background for the context. Next, *Lubunca* (the secret Turkish queer language) from which the metapragmatic labels of the interactional practices have been taken from will be explained. Finally, the organization of the study will be discussed briefly.

1.1. Background of the Study

> "If sexuality is a pervasive element in human experience, any form of social analysis – including linguistic inquiry – is immediately rendered defective if it overlooks the sexual dimensions of social practice or fails to address the broader social discourses that surround and inform a specific sexual formation. Identity-centered discussions of language and sexuality engaged those social discourses in a very limited fashion" (Leap, 2015, p.661).

As also underscored by Leap, the inclusion of queer individuals in linguistic research has been relatively recent. The literature for years has been dominated by the binary distinction between male and female language use. Queer theory, which was a critical stance and discourse developed in order to deconstruct (or 'to queer') sexuality and gender in the wake of gay identity politics, found its place in the literature around the 70s and 80s as a reaction to the queer rights movement (Motschenbacher and Stegu, 2013, p.520). Historically, gender and language research first focused on women's

language and then it developed into the comparative studies between men and women's language use. As for queer individuals, research has gained momentum more recently starting with the work by Leap (1995) and there has been growing number of studies focusing on queer communication and queer identity. Certain aspects of queer communication style have been identified as a result of the research.

Although studies on queer communication styles have been increasing in number, many of these research studies were on the English-speaking queer context; namely playful putdowns (Jones, 2007), ritual insults (Murray 1979, Perez 2011), teasing (Heisterkamp & Alberts 2000), and mock impoliteness (McKinnon, 2017). However, as mentioned, the literature is dominated by English speaking data and is not particularly conducive to comparative studies. When it comes to queer interactional practices, the most salient forms that are of interest in the literature are *'reading'* (i.e., a humorous and creative comment about a true aspect of the target (Stanley, 1970; Johnson 1995; Jones, 2007)) and *'throwing shade'* (which is occasionally considered as the non-verbal form of reading). There is also a mention of *kiki* (Stanley, 1970) as a homosexual slang. A *kiki* is "a social gathering, usually for the purpose of casually "kicking back," gossiping, and sharing stories" and "is historically connected to LGBTQ communities" (Slang dictionary, 2018).

Turkish queer people may be separated by location; however, it is undeniable that they too have developed a sub-culture formed around the queer identity, *lubunya* (which is the equivalent of the term queer for Turkish context), in Türkiye. *Lubunya* sub-culture is supported by certain communities established around specific neighborhoods where queer people inhabit and around the activities organized by queer-focused non-governmental organizations. As a result of this subculture, certain interactional practices have emerged to (mis) manage rapport with individuals with queer or non-queer identities.

Thus, although unresearched, practices identified for English speaking queers such as playful putdowns, ritual insults, teasing, and mock impoliteness are evidently also apparent in the Turkish queer context. The research study foresees that they exist in the form of *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm* in Turkish. Turkish queer linguistics is

limited in nature overall and there is no research on such interactional practices or how they function in the community. There is only Kontovas's thesis (2012) on *Lubunca* which is the Turkish queer slang/argot/language. These three concepts are lexical items of Lubunca. However, since it was not the focus of his study, Kontovas did not go into detail of such interactional practices.

As for the Turkish queer interactional practices that were observed in the literature, *Madilik*, *madikoli* and *gullüm* are the foci concepts in this study. Nişanyan (2009) describes *madilik*'s origin as coming from the term *madik* with the phrase *madik atmak* (to trick); also probably borrowed from Armenian. In *Lubunca*, *madilik* is used to describe all negativity. It can be used as an adjective to describe a moment, a person or an action metalinguisticly. *Madilik yapmak/alıkmak* is also used to describe a more performative action, which is performed with the intention to harm the other in a specific way depending on the form of the performance. *Gullüm* is probably a transformation from the Turkish verb *gülmek* (to laugh) (Kontovas, 2012). *Gullüm* is also an umbrella term to describe a positive moment, a fun person or an enjoyable activity or memory. These definitions are the outcomes of *gullüm* performance, however, the topics of *gullüm* can be quite negative things as well. The most salient function of *gullüm* is defined as a coping mechanism used to alleviate pain and impact coming from traumas or bad experiences. Through *gullüm*, individuals somehow reach inner peace and feel more relaxed in queer social groups. Unfortunately, for the label madikoli, there has not been any mention in the literature. Following the *Lubunca* terms, it may be produced with the combination of *madi* which is mentioned above and *koli* which means sex, sexual partner etc. None of these practices were examined separately or together; and even the definitions listed above were found only in an end note of a study belonging to a different discipline.

For this reason, this study aims to fill in this gap by opening up a new research area for Turkish queer context by examining *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm* as metapragmatic labels referring to interactional practices performed by Turkish queer individuals to manage their rapport with others. Metapragmatics was first discussed by Eelen (2001) in relation to first order (laymen conceptualizations of) politeness. He stated that "metapragmatic politeness covers instances of talk about politeness as a

concept, about what people perceive politeness to be all about" (p.39). The definition adopted for the purposes of this study is a more general one by Overstreet (2012, p.1) "Metapragmatics is concerned with the human ability to reflect on the pragmatics of language use and, at a practical level, with the study of features of language that seem to be indicative of that reflexivity". The concepts of *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm* are metapragmatic labels used by Turkish queer individuals as part of their knowledge of *Lubunca* to describe interactions, behavior, personality, intention, and language use, much in the same as the definition above which underscores its reflexive nature.

By giving explanations of their metapragmatics labeling of interactional practices, the participants of this study were able to provide in-depth insight into their rapport management with other individuals. To gain insight into their strategies and applications of rapport management, the participants were asked to provide their emic perspectives of rapport by making use of the metapragmatic labels of *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm.* Through an interview process which follows the Critical Incident Technique (CIT), the participants narrated their experiences of rapport sensitive moments with extensive detail. The rapport management model (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, 2015) was seen as the most suitable model for evaluating the judgements of the participants because the rapport management model specifically deals with the individuals' dynamic judgements of interaction or critical incidents reported in queer communication.

1.1.1. Queer History and Life in Türkiye

Non-heteronormative identities have always been a part of Turkish cultural history. There might be an incorrect widely-held public assumption that these diverse gender identities are a result of globalization and urbanization in the recent times starting with the 20th century. However, the historical documentation of queer identities had existed way before that, in the Ottoman Empire. Hirschfeld (2000 as cited in Çetin, 2015) in 1914, describes Istanbul as "the homeland of European Urninge Colony (Urninge refers to an earlier term for gay people) of Constantinople". Hirschfeld referred to it as a place with "historical sites of homosexual pleasures" with voluntary participation. European gay individuals were described as frequent visitors as they did not have fear of 'being reported, persecuted or sent to prison'. With the end of 19th century and the

beginning of the 20th century, Türkiye had taken on the Europeanization process and the condemnation of homosexuality and transsexuality has begun.

Çetin (2015) provided an extensive historical account of queer communities in Türkiye. Until the 70s, the queer individuals were basically ignored by the state. This indifference in law and everyday life even contributed to the safe atmosphere enjoyed by national and international queer people in Türkiye. In the beginning of the 70s, with the change of the political climate, especially a coalition government with a pro-Islamic party, the repression on queers increased exponentially. There had been several queer scenes destroyed. As a result of repression and systematic campaigns of persecution, queers were driven out of their homes and workplaces. Thus, the rise of queer self-organizations started, however, it was short lived due to the military coup in 1980. Along with the coup, many restrictions came to be. There were many incidents of arbitrary detentions, violations of rights and deprivation of citizenship. This situation caused many queer and left-wing activists to migrate to the West. There, these activists met with new ecological, anti-militarist and feminist groups and it broadened their perspective and ushered new social movements in Türkiye as a result. With the new motivation along with the risks they experienced to their livelihoods, queer movement took up speed and many organizations of queers formed into communities. 90s was the beginning of first queer groups that were established around these communities such as Rainbows'92 (Gökkuşağı '92), LamdaIstanbul and KaosGL. With the Copenhagen political criteria taken as part of the political agenda, these initiatives became legal persons and became more active and visible. Nonetheless, in the following years, the political climate changed again for the worse for queers and the systematic discrimination and violence has been reportedly increasing exponentially.

According to the report by ILGA-Europe (2021), Turkey is 48th place among 49 countries on measures of equality, human rights, legal gender recognition, freedom of expression and asylum rights of LGBQ+ people. Also, another statistic provided by Transgender Europe states that Turkey constitutes more than a third of the trans murders, mostly sex workers, in Europe (2019). Against these threats, queer people form communities; in some cases, around neighborhoods populated by queer

individuals, non-governmental organizations and other groups that help each other for survival.

With the limited freedom and flexibility for queer individuals, they create or claim certain spaces as queer spaces such as NGOs and their activities, certain cafes and bars etc. Because of the NGOs activities, the queer groups from different locations socialize and contribute and become part of the queer culture. Before the NGOs that were established within the last thirty years, queers mostly socialized through parties, discussion groups and other social events. With the NGOs, the individuals found a safer space to gather and access the queer culture more easily.

Through these culture exchange activities, Turkish queer history and identities are communicated, and individuals have access to *Lubunca* which is a queer slang used by Turkish queers. Because of lack of written history and material and also oppression in the media, the queer culture inherited by these social exchanges and cumulated and has transitioned into today's form by oral exchange. Generally, *Lubunca* and other queer cultural elements are inherited from older queers, and it moves between generations as a tradition. In the trans community, especially sex workers, there is the concept of *anne* (mother) who is responsible with teaching the ways to younger and inexperienced sex workers. Other than the sex work, queers who are displaced also gather together and form chosen families for social, financial and emotional support. All through these bonds, Turkish queer culture is created and maintained.

1.1.2 Lubunca

Lubunca or *Lubunyaca* is a slang/argot/language that is used in Turkish queer communities. It first appeared among the (local, foreign, cis[1] and queer) sex workers that are deplored in the Beyoğlu region in Istanbul no later than around the earlier 20th century (Kontovas, 2012). Beyoğlu was a location where people from a lot of different ethnicities gathered at the time and all these ethnicities and sex workers were in constant contact. Kontovas discusses the origin of *Lubunca* as the contact between

[1] Cis is a term referring to individuals whose gender identity matches their biological sex. In other words, someone who does not identify as transgender.

these minorities. The evidence for *Lubunca* being a contact language is the collection of lexical items it has from mostly Romani, and French, Greek, English, Armenian, Ladino, Arabic, Italian, Bulgarian, Russian, Kurmanji and many items with unknown origins. Because of political and sociological movements, these minorities gathered around close clusters. Due to political limitations on these foreign minorities, their options for business and living spaces were extremely restricted and many turned to sex work. In similar times, many Turkish sex workers, trans and cis, were also forced to gather around the same regions. Kontovas (2012) gives the account of these historical events in detail and reaches the conclusion that all these minorities and sex workers had created a, in Bourdieu's terms, *habitus* and established a solidarity around being marginalized. Janssen also talks about *'köçek'* who were transvestite dancing boys were who were often Greek, Jewish, or Gypsy origin (1992). Also, at the time, some of these *köçek*s later identified as gay men or transexual women who probably contributed a lot of items to *Lubunca* as well. Overall, because of many reasons, around these several identities, *Lubunca* came to be.

In the past, *Lubunca* was used in these close communities in Istanbul and spread to other cities in Turkey through migration and has become popular with all queer communities around Turkey. However, as Kontovas stated, it has lost its popular use in the last fifty to sixty years. It is still spoken, but heavily by transexual sex workers and also queer individuals who identify with the marginalized Turkish queer culture. In the recent years, because of queer artists and certain social media influencers who identify and portray a queer personality using *Lubunca*, there has been an increase in the usage of some *Lubunca* items. Some of these items are *madilik* and *gullüm*, which are two of the concepts examined in this study, *koli* which means sex or sexual partner in *Lubunca*.

The structure of *Lubunca* is not a fully formed separate language. The official language of Türkiye is Turkish and *Lubunca* follows the phonological system of Turkish. Although for queer communication, there are phonological identity markers (e.g., using elongated vowels, 'yayma'), but they do not necessarily indicate *Lubunca* usage. However, as Kontovas (2012) stated, *Lubunca* is "a foremost lexical phenomenon" (p.10). Although the phonology followed is Turkish related, because of the social

space and different minorities and backgrounds, certain localizations are possible in terms of phonology. In terms of semantics, there is a difference between Turkish and non-Turkish items; non-Turkish items display more variation than their original meanings, which Kontovas comments as the original meanings of these borrowed items were probably not fully known. As its origin with sex work, many items are related to sex work (41.82%), age, beauty, body, crime, ethnicity, fun, gender, insults, money, scatological (Tr. müstehcen) and quotidian (Tr. gündelik). Morphologically, it is very similar to Turkish with a couple of differences. For example, the auxiliary "*alıkmak*" (Eng: do, perform, look) is very commonly used in *Lubunca* such as *madikoli alıkmak, gullüm alıkmak,* etc.

1.2. The Scope of the Study

In this study, the aim is to explore, in an in-depth fashion, the speech practices shaped by the concepts *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm* and their actualizations as linguistic performances from the emic perspectives of Turkish queer individuals. With the utilization of personal interviews during which lived experiences, conceptualizations and anecdotal data were probed in line with the Critical Incident Technique (CIT), a metapragmatic account of these concepts has been reached.

This study aims to look into the cultural elements and practices of queer individuals by the metapragmatic accounts of the participants given based on self-reporting of their lived experiences and judgements on the instances of m*adilik, madikoli and gullüm*. For the purpose, as an analytic tool, Spencer-Oatey's (2015) Rapport Management Model is a good fit for the study at hand, since it aims to provide insights into the relational ups and downs of social interaction, building on concepts in politeness theory in the field of pragmatics. It links the bases of rapport (face, sociality rights and obligations, interactional goals) and the factors that influence the rapport-maintenance, neglect, challenge and enhancement orientations of individuals in the (mis)management of their relations of others.

The three interactional practices *madilik, madikoli and gullüm* are born out of or lead to 'rapport sensitive incidents'. Rapport sensitive incidents involve social interactions which individuals find to be particularly noticeable and impactful (i.e., positively

eventful or negatively eventful in the Goffmanian sense, 1967) in some way, in terms of their relationship with others and the outcome of the event (Spencer-Oatey, 2002). They are also defined as "the moments where people feel particularly annoyed, happy etc." by Spencer-Oatey (2000). This study aims to explore the rapport sensitive incidents in relation to language use (either articulated by/to queers) which occurred in Turkish queer communities as reported by the participants. Upon review of literature of speech practices in other queer communities, it was apparent that 'reading' and 'throwing shade' in English speaking queers were conducive to such an investigation. However, for the Turkish context, such speech practices have not been identified or researched as foci. For this purpose, a pilot study was conducted with a group of the participants from this community and the interactional practices *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm* were determined as the most suitable labels for eliciting the rapport sensitive incidents in Turkish queer communication. Accordingly, the scope of the study was set.

1.3. The Significance of the Study

According to Heinz (2021), earlier studies focused on stereotyping, discrimination, stigma, coming out processes of gay men and then lesbians, and same-sex romantic and sexual relationships; the invisibility of bisexual and trans people was highlighted thereafter. While the earlier focus laid on sexual orientation, more recent studies address transgender issues and gender identity effects in interpersonal communication.

The studies on queer communication style has had a consensus that queer individuals use certain interactional practices in their circles; namely playful putdowns (Jones, 2007), ritual insults (Murray 1979, Perez 2011), teasing (Heisterkamp & Alberts 2000), and mock impoliteness (McKinnon, 2017). The aim with these practices has been reported to build solidarity in queer groups. However, how the relations among queer individuals are managed through these practices is understudied.

Especially, the Turkish context is very lacking in terms of queer linguistics research. There have been some studies focused on queer normative language uses such as the thesis on *Lubunca* by Kontovas (2012) and Acar's (2021) research on the translingual practices of Turkish queer youtubers on Turkish, English and *Lubunca*. Most of the

research conducted in other disciplines focused on identity construction of queer people such as transgender women in their communities and sex work; and queer spaces (Çalışkan, 2014; İlaslaner, 2015; Güler, 2022; Ozban, 2022; Sanders, 2022)

This study aims to explore the queer communication dynamics from the perspective of rapport management with a focus on metapragmatic accounts of linguistic practices and provide a base for further research on the Turkish context as it has not been researched before. Hopefully, this study will be a trailblazer for new and in-depth research on the field by bringing up the rich cultural background of the Turkish queer community under academic focus. The study will start filling in the gap in the literature by providing a data set from a different origin compared to the heavily Western dominated literature. It will help to ensure a more effective comparison in queer-normative practices on the global scale.

1.4. Limitations

Through the process of the study, there has been a couple of limitations that need to be mentioned, mainly issues regarding (a) the gathering of participants and (b) the generation and queer-cultural awareness gap of the participants.

The participants were reached through the snowball sampling technique. In the Turkish context it was difficult to reach and establish enough rapport with queer individuals due to trust and safety concerns. Individuals were not willing to participate in academic studies such as this due to their prior experiences where they had the feeling of being used as a lab rat. For this reason, although the sampling present is pretty diverse, there are some missing identities in the data set. There are no transexual sex workers in the data set because of a problem that arose about the gatekeepers designated for the population. Because of the aforementioned concerns of trust and safety, they couldn't be reached in the duration of data collection, thus the lack of transexual sex workers in the data set came to be. The attempts of contact without the gatekeepers did not give any results because of the lack of trust and prior experiences of abuse and threat that they have experienced from other researchers and society, and also the limited time for the data collection. It is understandable that they are not welcoming of the fetishizing feeling of the requests made by researchers. The

transexual sex worker identity would have been an important contribution to the data set as the origin of *Lubunca* and such practices are related to the identity and they have extensive practice of the language and the *madilik*, *madikoli* and *gullüm* in their daily routines.

Another limitation for the study was about the generational and queer-cultural variation among the participants. The interviews adopted the CIT for participants to share their experiences as detailed anecdotes. Even though an explanation of what is expected in the interview was provided to each participant prior the interview, some participants had difficulty recalling the moments that they can share. Also, some participants were not familiar with some of the concepts in their *Lubunca* labelling, which made it challenging to collect specific incidents about the related concept. Along with the nature of a semi-structured interview's nature, the researcher kept guiding the participants at the minimum not to affect the credibility and authenticity of the data. For these reasons, the interview durations of each participant is different because of the different amounts of contributions.

The age of the participants and the amount of queer culture exposure was also another factor affecting the contribution of the participants. Especially, with the label *madikoli*, as it created a problem that some of the younger participants or participants who had lesser queer-culture exposure and were not aware of such a label. Although they were not aware of the label, they were aware of the actual practices that corresponded to these practices. They recounted the *madikoli* incidents under the label madilik. Moreover, the participants who were not aware of the label *madikoli* suggested two sub-categories of madilik: *positive/good madilik* and *negative/bad madilik*. Through membership checking, the participants were later asked about the concepts again and after the explanation, all participants agreed on the description and updated their labeling of incidents as *positive madilik* to *madikoli*. The incidents with *negative/bad madilik* label were kept under the label madilik.

Some of the older participants who had knowledge of the label *madikoli* also reported that they used *madilik* for the instances of *madikoli* as well because of easier pronunciation and practicality. For this reason, the membership checking that was

done for all the participants was crucial in the correct and efficient categorization of incidents under the correct labels.

1.5. Organization of the Study

The chapters of the study were developed to explain the queer phenomenon of *madilik*, *madikoli* and *gullüm*. In the following Chapter 2, the literature review was gathered mainly on queer linguistics and rapport management along with the recent studies conducted which guided the study to its final shape. In Chapter 3, the methodology of the study was discussed along with the data collection tools, sampling strategy, the participants' demographic information and their stated identities. Chapter 4 presents the findings and analysis of the data along with the evaluation of the incidents provided based on the rapport management model suggested by (Spencer-Oatey, 2005; 2015). In Chapter 5, the final chapter, a conclusion is given based on the findings and discussion that has gathered during the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Presentation

In Chapter 2, first, an overview of language research from the perspective of queer theory will be provided followed by an account of predominantly English-speaking queer interactional practices. In the next section, the studies that were conducted on Turkish queer interactional practices will be given. In the final section, the framework used in the study, Rapport Management Model will be explained in detail and mock (im)politeness will be briefly discussed.

2.1. Queer Theory Approach to Language Research

The studies on gender and language primarily have focused on the usage of language by men and women, how the language in question is used to speak of the two genders or how the norms born in society shape and constitute gendered speech. Although the literature is highly dominated with studies focusing on the gender binary of men and women, the field in the later years has started to bring the attention to the fact that gender is not binary, and this binary puts a restriction to the credibility of the research. As mentioned by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) about the binary sex categories: "they are not entirely in synch with the reality of human diversity and some societies have more than two categories and may accept more fluid membership in sex categories" (p. 312). Considering the diversity in sex categories is not the only point of consideration that has emerged in the studies. Gender which is shaped and promoted in and by the society also needs to be taken into account when studying and explaining

phenomena emerging from such diversity. Gender is more performative in the sense that we *don't have* gender, but *we do* it (West and Zimmerman, 1987). This performance is affected by a lot of variables such as self-stated and in-context identities, the setting, topic, and addressees. Individuals are acculturated into communities where gender and gender performance are also circulated and constantly reproduced. They learn and mechanically reproduce specific and 'appropriate' ways of speaking related to their sex, and also support it with a larger set of gendered meanings that relates to different ways of speaking in a complex way; and their own behavior is produced accordingly as a result. Individuals feed off of all these ideologies to shape the gender performance for their claimed multilayered identity roles in a certain context. Moreover, in the discussion of gender, sexuality is a *sine qua non* or vice versa (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015, p.313). The sexual identities are not only explained from the scope of being heterosexual, gay, lesbian, transexual etc., they also include certain performances such as availability, promiscuity, asexuality, etc.

As a reaction to the binary natured approaches in the literature so far, queer theory brings the discussion of the diversity to its main focus. As Motschenbacher and Stegu (2013) state: "what makes Queer theory (and Queer Linguistics) distinct across the spectrum of critical academic paradigms is the fact that the realm of sexuality is used as a starting point for its questioning practice" (p.520). They lay out the long-term goal of Queer Theory as "the reconceptualization of dominant discourses which shape our understanding of gender and sexuality, often to the detriment of people who, for various reason, are judged as not meeting the heteronormative ideal" (p.520). The term "queer" has appropriated through time (Rauchut, 2008). At first it was used as a highly derogatory term to describe the LGBTQ+ individuals. However, now, it is used as a neutral umbrella term to refer to the aforementioned identities with a loss of the negative connotation of before. This change brings and supports the shift in the academic tendencies as well as the sense of the shift from the limited binary perspective to a more inclusive queer. Motschenbacher and Stegu (2013) underlines that the queer studies are not only about gay and lesbian studies, but it is open to a more contrastive approach including and comparing and contrasting the diversity with all possible identities with the aim of destroying the marginalization that comes from the restriction of the binary system. Barret (2002) also supports the idea as;

> [Q]ueer theory is important, if not for sociolinguistic theory, at least for understanding sociolinguistic practice. If we, as sociolinguists are content with a research paradigm that places individuals in exclusionary categories that simply reinscribe prejudiced cultural assumptions about appropriate and 'normal' behavior, then queer theory is not important at all. If, on the other hand, our desire is to truly understand the role of language in society without simply reproducing cultural ideology (and the prejudice, exclusionary practices, and methods of social domination inherent in that ideology) then queer theory might indeed prove to be very important. (p.39)

For these reasons, the participants of studies such as the one at hand need to be as diverse as possible to lay out a more inclusive comprehension of the interactional practices and the judgements of queer individuals of a speech community. The data for such a study must be representative of many different queer identities and participants need to be chosen from diverse social circles and among individuals with a satisfying level of queer sociality.

2.2. Queer Interactional Practices

As a subculture, queer communities are known to have their own set of rules, conventions and values. In the evaluation of interactional practices which are performed by queer people in a specific local community, it is important to consider the larger global macro homonormative or queer-normative practices as well to better explain any possible micro local queer-related phenomenon.

One of the most salient interactional practices for Western queer communities is 'reading' along with its nonverbal counterpart 'throwing shade' (Johnson, 1995; Jones, 2007). The 1990 documentary *Paris is Burning* is especially significant in providing a depiction of these practices. In the documentary, Dorian Corey who was an American drag queen and fashion designer differentiates shade and reading in the following way:

> Shade comes from reading. Reading came first. Reading is the real art form of insult. (…) You get a smart crack, everyone laughs and *kikis* because you found a flaw and you exaggerated it, then you got a good read going. (…) If it's happening between the gay world and the straight world it's not really a read, it's more of an insult. (…) but when you are all of the same thing, then you have to go to the fine point. In other words, if I'm the black queen and you're black then we can't call each other black queens 'cause we are black queens. That's not a read, that is just a fact. So then we talk about your ridiculous shape, your fat, saggy face, your tacky clothes (…) Then reading became a developed form where it became shade. Shade is, I don't tell you you're ugly, but I don't have to tell you, because you know you're ugly. And that's shade. (Livingstone, 1990)

Apart from this documentary definition, one of the first academic definitions for *reading* was given by Stanley (1970, p.52) as "to put someone down, to let someone have it verbally, to understand, to see through someone". Another more detailed definition provided for reading is "setting them straight, to put them in their place, or to reveal a secret about someone in front of others in an indirect way – usually in a way that embarrasses a third party" (Johnson, 1995, p.125). Mckinnon (2017) comments on these definitions that there is always a genuine impoliteness aspect to reading and points out the distinction made by Johnson (1995) as serious mode and non-serious mode.

Besides reading and throwing shade, playful putdowns (Jones, 2007), ritual insults (Murray, 1979; Perez, 2011) and teasing (Heisterkamp and Alberts, 2000), competitive spirit between verbal jousters (Murray 1979; Johnson, 1995; Jones, 2007), exploitative humor (Murray 1979; Heisterkamp and Alberts, 2000; Perez, 2011), solidarity-building and in group identity display (Jones, 2007; Perez, 2011), the possible evaluation of mock impoliteness as genuine (Heisterkamp and Alberts, 2000; Jones, 2007) and building thick skin against outside threats by making use of mock impoliteness has been other practices that have been noted down in the literature (see McKinnon, 2017).

Although all of these practices may be practiced by other non-queer communities, there are elements that make such practices queer-normative practices such as topic choices. The practices generally revolve around visibility of gayness (Heisterkamp and Alberts, 2000), sexual roles in relationships (Heisterkamp and Alberts, 2000) and sexual promiscuity (Heisterkamp and Alberts, 2000; Jones, 2007). This resonates with Kontovas (2012) who found these topics were also salient in Turkish queer communication.

Along with these practices, there are also other tendencies of queer communication reported. As observed by Murray (1976), queer individuals are more likely to encounter degrading remarks even by other queer individuals. Murray points out that a "sharp tongue is a weapon honed through frequent use and is a survival skill for those who function outside gentle circles, and it is for self-defense" (p. 218). As queer people

live under constant threats, the possibility of honing such a weapon can be observed in both queer groups and out-group practice and experiences.

2.2.1. Research on Turkish Queer Interaction

When it comes to the Turkish context, there have not been many studies that examine queer interactional practices. The most common mentions are about *madilik* and *gullüm*, which mostly are at a superficial, descriptive level. To date, there has not been any studies dedicated specifically to the interactional practices of *madilik*, *madikoli* and *gullüm*. Below the studies that briefly mention these three terms have been chronologically listed.

Sanders (2012) on her work regarding Kurdish LGBTT activism in Diyarbakır, Türkiye, defines *madilik* only as "the game of insults regularly practiced between transsexual women in the community". In other parts, she makes use of the read or shade to explain the interactional practices of *madilik*.

Çalışkan (2014) provides many stories of *madilik* which is given as a metapragmatic label by the participants in her study. However, she does not give any explanation of the interactional practice as she focuses on the role of queer kinship in everyday lives of trans sex worker women in Istanbul.

Taşcıoğlu (2015) conducted a study on how violence produces and shapes the lives and subjectivities of trans women in Istanbul, Türkiye. She defines *gullüm* as a "unique element in Türkiye's 'trans subculture' that basically means joking and having fun" and a "survival strategy" (p.1465). She maintains that *gullüm* is a tool for trans women to suspend and transcend unbearable moments and restore oneself and group mentally.

İlaslaner (2015) conducted a study on 'emotional habitus' of LGBTI activism in Türkiye and discussed Turkish queer activism in detail. He talks about the culture of madilik which is attributed to transexual women identity. He defines madilik as "one's being overreacting and engaging in aggressive behaviors not only over the political issues but as a lifestyle towards their immediate environment" (p.49). He also defines

gullüm in a end note as “a slang word, refers to joyous gatherings or parties among LGBTI people” (p.28).

Ozban (2022) in her article about media activism of trans people on an NGOs YouTube channel, mentions *madilik* and *gullüm*. Ozban describes madilik as multifunctional and considers the threats that queer people in Türkiye, lubunya, face as *madilik* and defines *gullüm* as a collective coping mechanism performed by the queer individuals in Türkiye.

As can be seen from the studies above, the concepts of *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm* has never been evaluated and described in an in-depth manner before but has appeared superficially in many queer focused studies from a wide range of disciplines. Even in the given studies, the terms were either given as a short definition to describe a metapragmatic label used by their participants in their narratives or found its place in an end note as a short definition. Therefore, this study aims to explore the conceptualization of *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm* as interactional practices that Turkish queer people make use of in their daily practices to manage their rapport with queer and non-queer individuals. It aims to contribute to the literature by filling this long-time gap. Another significance of the study in relation to the literature is that it adopts a special framework, the Rapport Management Model by Spencer-Oatey (2015) to examine the incidents provided by the participants regarding the metapragmatic labels in question. The framework of rapport management model has also never been used to evaluate queer communication styles.

2.3. Rapport Management Model

Even though the discussion on the nature of politeness has been going on for many years, a consensus has not been reached yet. There have been many attempts to explain it as marked behaviors that are appropriate; namely Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness strategies and accompanying concepts of positive and negative face, Leech (1983) and Gu’s (1990) politeness maxims, Fraser’s (1990) conversational contract, and Watts (2003) and Locher’s (2004) relational work. In the core of all of these suggestions, they all agree on the fact that there is a harmony and conflict relation in

the interpersonal communication that needs to be explained. This disequilibrium work is labeled as rapport management by Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2002).

Spencer-Oatey bases her discussion of *rapport management* on Fraser and Nolan's (1981) argument of "no sentence is inherently polite or impolite" (p.96). Instead of trying to explain the linguistic structures in relation to people's dynamic perceptions of rapport, their focus is more on the rapport management *judgements*. She proposes three key elements of rapport (mis)management: behavioral expectations, face sensitivities and interactional wants (Spencer-Oatey, 2005).

Spencer-Oatey (2005) defines rapport as "the relative harmony and smoothness of relations between people", and rapport management as "the management (or mis-management) of relations between people" (p. 96). During this management work, people can be oriented towards different goals. One of the orientations mentioned by Spencer-Oatey (2005, p. 96) is *rapport-enhancement* orientation, which refers to a desire to strengthen or enhance harmonious relations between the interlocutors. The second orientation given is *rapport-maintenance* orientation, which refers to a desire to maintain or protect harmonious relations. Third orientation is *rapport-neglect orientation*, which refers to a lack of concern or interest in the quality of relations, perhaps because of a focus on self. The fourth and final one is *rapport challenge orientation*, which refers to a desire to challenge or impair harmonious relations. Spencer-Oatey (2005) underlines that people's motivation for these orientations can change dynamically during the interaction(s). With these different orientations, rapport management not only takes in the enhancing or maintaining part of it, but also the challenging aspects.

2.3.1. Behavioral Expectations

In their work, Brown and Levinson (1987) state that the underlying drive for (im)politeness is face. They follow up with the claim that some actions are inherently face-threatening, e.g., requests, offers and compliments etc. For a person to be judged polite, they have to put in work to mitigate these possibly face-threatening acts. This perspective makes their approach "absolute" by prescribing certain types of responses that requires mitigation in its conveyance (emphasis added by Spencer-Oatey, 2005,

p.97). Leech (1983) is also rather strict in his approach by proposing politeness maxims (namely, the maxims of tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, sympathy). An individual is evaluated based on their performance through these maxims. The more a person tries to uphold, the more they are judged as polite.

These perspectives brought criticism upon themselves by many other authors as well. According to Spencer-Oatey (2005, p.97):

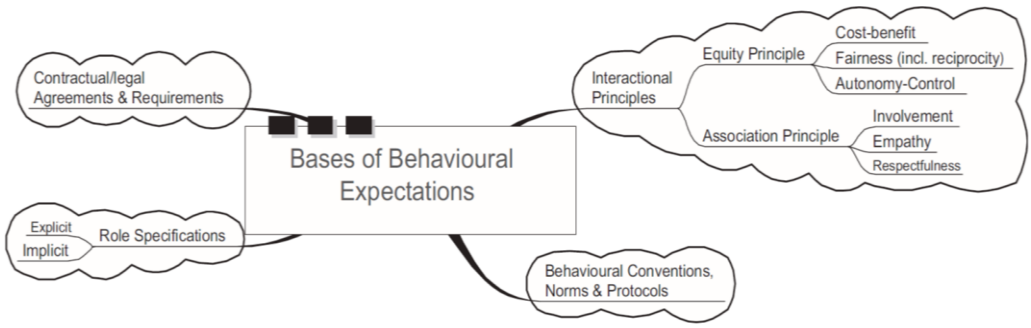
> Some pointed out that the illocutionary acts provided by Brown and Levinson's may not be always face-threatening (Gu, 1990; Spencer-Oatey, 2002) and the others (Spencer-Oatey and Jiang, 2003) put forward that the "universal valence" of the maxims provided by Leech can vary according to different cultures and settings. Many others (Fraser and Nolan, 1981; Holmes, 1995; Watts, 2003; Locher, 2004) have also brought about the argument that "politeness is a contextual judgment.", which can be elaborated as it is impossible to assign an inherently (im)polite status to a linguistic structure and also impossible to "predict when and how speakers of a language will produce linguistic politeness" (Watts, 2003).

With this perspective, Spencer-Oatey (2005) considers (im)politeness as "subjective judgements that people make about the social appropriateness of verbal and non-verbal behavior" (p.97). She uses (im)politeness as an umbrella term to cover all kinds of evaluative meanings, which can have positive, negative or neutral connotations.

Spencer-Oatey (2005) bases people's judgements on social appropriateness on their expectations which they categorize as *prescribed, permitted,* and *proscribed*. Prescribed behavior is defined as the actions which people must perform or others expect to experience; on the other hand, proscribed behavior is the forbidden actions which are not expected to be performed and people have the right not to experience them. If done otherwise, namely un-performed prescribed behavior and performed proscribed behavior are evaluated as "negatively eventful" (Goffman, 1967), which is also defined as "impolite" by Watts (2003) and "rude" by Kasper (1990). Permitted behavior is defined as the behavior that is allowed, which is separate from the prescribed or proscribed. These kinds of behavior are not socially expected; however, they are perceived as "positively eventful" when they are socially desirable (Spencer-Oatey, 2005). As for the situation where it is not very obvious, it is not marked and named as "politic" by Watts (2003) and "non-polite" by Kasper (1990). Moreover,

certain action have become very normative and common, and in the case that they are omitted, it can be considered impolite or rude (Spencer-Oatey, 2005).

Figure 1. The bases of behavioral expectations (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p.98)



When it comes to the bases of behavioral expectations, they are grounded on many interconnected notions as shown in Figure 1. One of these bases is Contractual/Legal Agreements and Requirements, which can be "provision of equal opportunities, and the avoidance of discriminatory behavior". Another base would be Role Specifications, which can be explicit as specified responsibilities given in an interpersonal (unwritten) contract or can have several implicit specifications (Spencer-Oatey, 2005). Behavioral Conventions, Norms and Protocols are other bases for the expectations, in that they can be group conventions developed for management of interaction such as topics to be discussed, turn-taking, seating, etc. Spencer-Oatey (2005) adds these conventions can "develop prescriptive and proscriptive overtones which then influence expectations about behavioral responsibilities and trigger (im)politeness judgements. Rituals are also very similar to conventions in that they are formulaic and/or ritualistic in nature that have a "social indexing function or show consideration for face" (p.99).

These conventions and protocols are generally contextual and are affected by several variables such as communication type, the setting, and nature of the relations in the communication. Spencer-Oatey (2005, p.99) also defines the domains that these conventions exist as:

-the *illocutionary domain* (the performance of speech acts such as apologies, requests, and compliments)

- the *discourse domain* (the discourse content and structure of an interchange, including topic choice and the organization and sequencing of information)

- the *participation domain* (the procedural aspects of an interchange, such as turn-taking [overlaps and inter-turn pauses, turn-taking rights and obligations], the inclusion/exclusion of people present, and the use/non-use of listener responses [verbal and non-verbal])

- the *stylistic domain* (the stylistic aspects of an interchange, such as choice of tone (for example, serious or joking), choice of genre-appropriate lexis and syntax, and choice of genre-appropriate terms of address or use of honorifics)

- the *non-verbal domain* (the non-verbal aspects of an interchange, such as gestures and other body movements, eye contact, and proxemics)

Spencer-Oatey (2005) also points out that interactional principles can cause the expectations, as well. She likens the interactional principles to the conversational maxims provided by Leech (1983) and Gu (1990), but also underlines that they are more related to values and/or beliefs; and "are scalar in nature and are very contextually dependent (Spencer-Oatey 2005, p.99). She defines two subordinate principles: *equity* principle and *association* principle. She maintains that they complement each other, however, based on the context and/or personal preferences, their role and power can vary.

For the equity principle, the independence of the individual is very crucial. A person is entitled to personal consideration from others and fair treatment. They cannot be unjustly ordered or imposed upon. It has three components: *cost-benefit considerations, fairness and reciprocity* and *autonomy-control*. The first creates the notion that a person "should not be exploited or disadvantaged". The second is "the belief that costs and benefits should be fair and kept roughly in balance". The last one is about people's independence that they "should not be unduly controlled or imposed upon" (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p.100).

As for the association principle, contrary to the equity principle which is about people's independent self, association principle is more about people's interdependent self. Individuals have the tendency to have "a belief that they are entitled to association

with others". It has three components: *involvement*, *empathy* and *respect*. The first one is about a requirement of a certain amount of connection people desire to have with others. The second prerequisites that people should have concerns about each other's feelings and interests. The last one, as its name suggests, refers to the need for a certain level of respect people should have for each other.

2.3.2. Face Sensitivities

Goffman (1967) talks about the tendency of humanity as being social beings with communal lifestyle. Through many interactions, interactants provide an expression of their perspective of the situation and also their assessment of other interactants with several verbal and non-verbal acts. Through these interactions, people act based on certain assumptions about themselves and the other parties. By these actions they try to claim faces which is a positive public image, and also protect self and other's face. Goffman (1955) gives the definition of face as "an image of self, delineated in terms of approved social attributes – albeit an image others may share" (p.213).

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1988) establish their notion of face based on Goffman's (1976) and states face as public self-image that people invest emotional energy in, that must constantly be attended to in interaction and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced in social contact situations. The notion of face by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1988) has gotten criticism in terms of being individually oriented and neglecting the group dynamics of at least some "non-western" cultures (cf. Matsumoto 1988; Gu 1990; Nwoye 1992; Mao 1994; Spencer-Oatey, 2005) (as cited in Culpeper 2011). Especially Matsumoto (1988) underlines the importance of social identity in the Chinese and Japanese context. She maintains that for a Japanese, instead of personal face, the level of their perception of other's faces is much more important. Gu (1998) also suggests that the aforementioned face concerns are specific to Western context, and they may be considered from the same perspective by Eastern context. Moreover, Ho (1994) points out that for Chinese, face is not situation specific and is more consistent and based on their social positions.

Following this, Mao (1994) points out that 'the ideal social identity' and 'ideal individual identity' are the deciding elements for our interactional behavior. The social

identity is the motivational force that encourages individuals to make connections with others. The ideal individual identity is the source of an individual's sense of freedom. Mao also defines the level of preference between the two identities as 'relative face orientation'.

Along with all the criticism to the existing literature about face, Spencer-Oatey (2005) suggested two fundamental types of face: *respectability face* and *identity face*. She explains the respectability face as "prestige, honor or 'good name' that a person or a social group holds and claims within a (broader) community." (Spencer-Oatey, 2005). In her explanation, the respectability face refers to biographical variables (age, sex etc.), relational attributes (e. g., marriage ties), social status indicators (e. g., educational attainment, occupational status, wealth), formal title/position/rank, personal reputation (moral or amoral) and integrity (Ho, 1994; Spencer Oatey, 2005). Ho (1994) underscores the possible variation in the perception of face in different nations and social groups as their cultures attribute different levels of importance to different aspects. On the other hand, the identity face was defined as "situation-specific face sensitivity, that is highly vulnerable". In her earlier work, Spencer Oatey (2005) made a binary distinction of face on individual and group levels. In her later work, she included interpersonal level of face as well (Specner-Oatey, 2002, 2015) and made a further distinction between quality face and social identity face. *Quality face* refers to individual attributes (such as personal traits, physical properties, being smart, etc.) whereas *social identity face* is more role related (such as being a teacher, a friend, a parent, etc.). She also maintained that with social identity face, individuals claim social group memberships (e.g., football clubs, religious groups etc.). According to RMM, the face threat, loss or gain is experienced at the individual level, however, the effects not only influence the individual but their interpersonal relationships and group memberships (Spencer-Oatey, 2015).

2.3.3. Interactional Goals

Another factor effecting rapport management is the interactional wants people may have during an interaction. Spencer-Oatey (2005) suggested two types of wants. The first one being a *transactional want* in that the purpose is to achieve a task such as 'obtaining an approval for something, clinching a deal, or leaving a get together at a

certain time'. The other want is *relational want* in that the purpose is the management of relationships effectively such as 'peacemaking, promoting friendship, currying favor or exerting control'. Spencer-Oatey maintained that these two wants might not be separate all the time, and it is possible for an individual to pursue both wants. As for the sake of achieving a task with a transactional goal, an individual might have to maintain or enhance a certain level of rapport at the same time.

2.3.4. The Relation between Face, Expectations and Wants

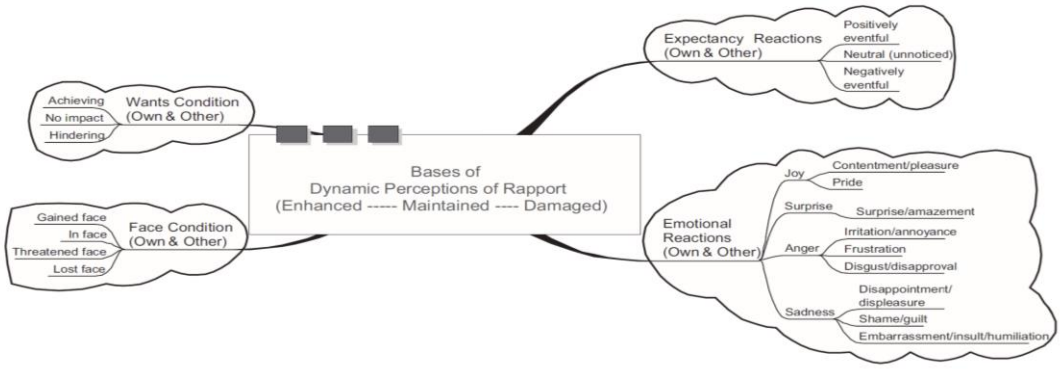
When it comes to rapport management the concepts of face, behavioral expectations and interactional wants are interconnected in many aspects. They can work independently or interdependently. In some cases, an action can be face threatening but may not be problematic in term o social appropriateness. Nonetheless, sometimes a violation of a behavioral expectation can also be face threatening or not depending on the perspective of the individuals. In the evaluation of such complicated relations of face, individuals considered the behavioral expectations as they give them a base to decide whether a face threat is intentional or not (Spencer-Oatey, 2005).

2.3.5. Dynamic Perceptions of Rapport

According to Spencer-Oatey (2005), people's judgements on whether rapport is challenged, maintained or damaged is very dynamic and these judgements are very related to the evaluation of three key bases: interactional wants, face sensitivities, and behavioral expectations.

According to the interactional want of an individual, people make dynamic judgements about the eventual positive or negative achievement in regard to their wants. If their focus is more on the relational side, then the focus of the evaluation may shift to face sensitivities. During the interaction, people can also be expectant of certain verbal or nonverbal behaviors. Depending on their judgements, they can consider these behaviors as positively eventful or negatively eventful, or completely ignore it. These evaluations can lead to certain emotional reactions and affect the people's perception of rapport.

Figure 2. The Base of Dynamic Perceptions of Rapport (Spencer-Oatey, 2005)



In an effective rapport management, the focus should be on both the self and the interlocutor. The interlocutor's face conditions, wants conditions, and their interactional expectations must be considered as much as the self's. In consideration of both parties' conditions, a balance should be aimed to be reached. Spencer-Oatey (2005) lists the factors that may affect the effectiveness of rapport management as personality, personal preoccupations and awareness of cultural differences.

2.3.6. Previous Studies on the Rapport Management Model

Although there are studies on the application of rapport management to different languages and cultural contexts, not even a single study has been conducted with a queer perspective on queer communication or on queer interactional practices using the model. The studies listed below are all attempts of using rapport management model for evaluating interaction in different discourse, stylistic and illocutionary domains.

Culpeper et. al. (2010) made use of rapport management model to analyze impoliteness perception on a cross cultural contexts of England, China, Finland and Turkey. The focus of the study was mostly on the face sensitivities and sociality rights of rapport management framework. Because of the nature of his data, he commented that rapport management model was able to account for their data and they made use of rapport management model in a quantitative analysis. He also pointed out that some parts of his data were not able to be explained by the model. He found it difficult to categorize the face threats and the breach of sociality rights.

Mullany (2011) explored the interplay between linguistic (im)politeness, gender and workplace culture via (im)politeness theories and making use of rapport management framework. She examined truck drivers' interaction with a data gathered from a program called *Ice Road Truckers.* Although she made use of rapport management model, she did not adopt it completely and as she commented she did not replace (im)politeness with rapport management but created a new form of discursive politeness analysis.

Cheng (2015) conducted research on seller-buyer relationships in Chinese context and examined their dynamic rapport management strategies. The study aimed to explore and explain the importance of rapport management and enhancement in a business situation. Cheng identified six common themes for rapport management in Chinese context as trust, talk, face, favor-giving, information and expectations; and also maintained that for Chinese rapport is an ongoing and dynamic concept with the aim of long-term relationships.

Abdulasalam and Ja'afar (2021) used rapport management framework in their analysis of racial humor and its effect on rapport management based on Twitter data. They made use of 312 racial jokes and 956 responses for the data set. Their aim was to examine the English as a Lingua France user's perceptions on the racially sensitive issues and how they manage such racial comments. The results indicated that the racial jokes and responses had mainly rapport challenge or enhancement orientations. The interactions were either interpersonal level between the account owner and their followers or an account owner and other users in societal level.

The difficulty mentioned by Culpeper, was also supported by some other researchers as they also had difficulty in categorizing the face and right threats efficiently. Spencer-Oatey (2015) provide an explanation for this that rapport management model does not aim to differentiate and categorize these threats but supports the interconnectivity of these incidents already and the subjective judgements of the interlocutors.

2.4. Impoliteness

Current dictionary definitions of impoliteness cannot give a collective and comprehensive representation of impoliteness which is more than just a linguistic element, but can be non-verbal social acts, as well. The emergence of impoliteness research stems from the theoretical framework of politeness research which in the early days, quite simplistically, equated the absence of politeness with impoliteness. Bousfield and Locher (2008) gives a basic definition of impoliteness as "behavior that is face-aggravating in a particular context" (p.3). Culpeper (2011) provides a more thorough definition of impoliteness including its complexity and elusive nature as:

> Impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviors occurring in specific contexts. It is sustained by expectations, desires and/or beliefs about social organization, including, in particular, how one person's or a group's identities are mediated by others in interaction. Situated behaviors are viewed negatively—considered "impolite"—when they conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be and/or how one thinks they ought to be. Such behaviors always have or are presumed to have emotional consequences for at least one participant, that is, they cause or are presumed to cause offence. (p.23)

Bousfield (2008) states the importance of hearer's understanding of speaker's intention of threat and damage to the face of the hearer for the impoliteness to be achieved. Mooney (2004) agrees and claims the intention of the speaker is reconstructed instead of retrieved by the hearer according to certain norms which Culpeper (2008) defines as acquired personal knowledge structures grounded on each individual's accumulative total life experience. However, in some cases, it may not be possible to reconstruct the impolite intention with the knowledge and experience of similar social incidents.

The evaluation of the intention is problematic in nature because it is hard to infer without enough evidence (Lötjönen, 2014). On the other hand, Culpeper et al. (2003) states that "plausible" intentions can be reconstructed with sufficient evidence although deciphering the exact intention may not be achieved. To achieve "plausible" evidence, "the discoursal roles of the participants, context, the activity type one is engaged in, previous events, affects between interactants and, of course, the power, rights and obligations of the interactants" can be considered as sources of evidence (Bousfield, 2008, p.74). For these reasons, the study made use of the Critical Incident

technique to get as much and as in-depth information about the incidents as possible including the judgements of the participants about the intentions of the speakers and perlocutionary effects on the hearers and their feelings and also insights of the third parties.

2.4.1. Culpeper's Impoliteness Framework

Culpeper et al. (2003, p.1545) define impoliteness as "communicative strategies designed to attack face, and thereby cause social conflict and disharmony". Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness framework is based on five super-strategies conforming with Brown and Levinson's (1988) super strategies to explain face threatening acts.

Table 1. Impoliteness super-strategies outlined by Culpeper (1996, p.356)

Bald on record impoliteness	**Positive impoliteness**	**Negative impoliteness**	**Sarcasm or mock impoliteness**	**Withhold politeness**
A face threatening act that is performed with the clear intention of damaging the addressee's face.	Impoliteness that attacks the addressee's positive face wants, that is, their desire to be accepted and appreciated by others.	Impoliteness that attacks the addressee's negative face wants, that is, their individualistic rights and freedom of action.	Insincere politeness used to either stir social disharmony (sarcasm) or promote intimacy (mock impoliteness).	Lack of politeness in contexts where it is expected.

Culpeper (1996) also recommends open-ended and context dependent output strategies to positive and negative impoliteness to correspond with Brown and Levinson's (1988) output strategies, which are meant to satisfy the strategic ends of the super-strategies of positive impoliteness and negative impoliteness, respectively (as cited in Bruun, 2018).

Culpeper (1996, p.357) elaborated on positive impoliteness output strategies as follows:

- Ignore, snub the other: fail to acknowledge the other's presence.
- Exclude the other from an activity
- Disassociate from the other: for example, deny association or common ground with the other; avoid sitting together.
- Be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic
- Use inappropriate identity markers: for example, use title and surname when a close relationship pertains, or a nickname when a distant relationship pertains.
- Use obscure or secret language: for example, mystify the other with jargon, or use code known to others in the group, but not the target.
- Seek disagreement: select a sensitive topic.
- Make the other feel uncomfortable: for example, do not avoid silence, joke, or use small talk.
- Use taboo words: swear, or use abusive or profane language
- Call the other names: use derogatory nominations, etc.

For the negative output strategies, Culpeper (1996, p.358) reports the following:

- Frighten: instill a belief that action detrimental to the other will occur.
- Condescend, scorn or ridicule: emphasize your relative power. Be contemptuous. Do not treat the other seriously. Belittle the other (e.g., use diminutives).
- Invade the other's space: literally (e.g., position yourself closer to the other than the relationship permits) or metaphorically (e.g. ask for or speak about information which is too intimate given the relationship).
- Explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect: personalize, use the pronouns "I" and "you".
- Put the other's indebtedness on record, etc.

Bousfield (2008) also provided a suggestion of two addendums to the output strategies provided by Culpeper. These are "avoid agreement" to Culpeper's "seek disagreement" and "threaten" to Culpeper's "frighten." Besides these, Bousfield also adds new super-strategies to encompass a broader scope for impoliteness:

- Criticize; dispraise action, inaction or some entity in which the hearer has invested face
- Hinder/block, either physically (block passage) or communicatively (deny turn, interrupt)
- Enforce role shift; force the recipient out of one social or discoursal role into another
- Challenge; ask the hearer challenging questions and question the hearer's beliefs, status, ethics etc.

Culpeper et al. (2003) underlines the similarity between politeness and impoliteness as they are both very dependent on the context and can appear out of multiple strategies

as well as a specific one. Furthermore, Culpeper (1996) states that intimacy of the participants is an important indicator of the level of impoliteness, namely if the participants of the interaction are relatively more distant, the imposition would be greater and as a result it would bring a greater face damage.

2.4.2. Banter and Mock Impoliteness

Culpeper (1996, 2005) defines mock impoliteness as "impoliteness that remains on the surface, since it is understood that it is not intended to cause offense", which "reflects and fosters social intimacy". Culpeper (1996) also regards mock impoliteness as a type of "superficial impoliteness".

Leech (1983) attempts to capture this kind of phenomenon within his Banter Principle:

> In order to show solidarity with h[earer], say something which is (i) obviously untrue, and (ii) obviously impolite to h[earer]" [and this will give rise to an interpretation such that] "what s[peaker] says is impolite to h[earer] and is clearly untrue. Therefore, what s[peaker] really means is polite to h and true". (p.144)

Culpeper (1996) cites Leech's *Banter principle* as a comparison of mock politeness and considers the concepts similar. Leech (1983) also suggests that banter or mock impoliteness reflects and enhances social intimacy and underlines that individuals should have a similar level of equality and close social distance. "The more intimate a relationship, the less necessary and important politeness is" (as cited in Culpeper, 1996).

Mills (2003) points out that it is possible for the speakers to provide their true feelings or at least closer to the true in exaggeration along with the presentation of the utterance as to be interpreted as non-serious. Brown and Levinson (1987) also note that an insult given in front of audience jokingly can be taken by the audience as "merely an assertion of intimacy", contrary to the speaker, the addressee who is "wounded by an accurate dart" may take it as non-genuine as they are pressured even though they are uncomfortable. In a casual social situation, banter may not be unconditionally "clearly untrue" (Haugh and Bousfield, 2012). Haugh and Bousfield (2012) also underline the problematic nature of taking speaker's intention as a reference for defining mock

impoliteness with the reason that differential effects of mock impoliteness cannot be explained in fullness especially for multiparty interactions.

Kienpointer (1997) suggests that mock impoliteness is "a means for implying that the relationship is so close and well-established that it cannot be endangered even by seemingly rude utterances". These assumptions create a problem on the ground that the possible connection between mock impoliteness and solidarity (Kotthoff, 1996). This claim is supported by the empirical study by Haugh (2010, 2011) which provides usage of teasing and mockery from interactions among Australian speakers of English who had not had a prior acquaintance.

Banter and mock impoliteness are evaluated as highly similar concepts also in other works. The concept of banter includes "joking around in a playful manner (Grainger, 2004), or "a rapid exchange of humorous lines oriented toward a common theme, though aimed primarily at mutual entertainment rather than topical talk" (Norrick, 1993), or teasing or mocking a particular target (Bousfield, 2008), or insulting others in a ritualized manner (Labov, 1972) (as cited in Haugh and Bousfield, 2012). Similarly, others add "humorous self-denigration or self-teasing" (Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997; Norrick, 1993). Bousfield (2007) suggests that there can be an underlying impoliteness in the instances of friendly banter.

Haugh and Bousfield (2012) suggest that mock impoliteness should be evaluated as "a social evaluation in its own right" instead of putting under the category of impoliteness. However, the theory they put forward has a lot of inspirations from Culpeper (2011).

When the definition of the term "mock" is examined according to the one provided by Merriam-Webster dictionary, it is given as "having the character of imitation", "simulated" or "feigned". In reference to an action, it explains the action as "done or performed to look like the real thing", and in reference to an attitude, "not based on real feelings". Culpeper (2011) defines mock impoliteness as "an understanding of the part of a participant that the contextual conditions that sustain genuine impoliteness do not apply" and adds "the recontextualization of impoliteness in socially opposite

contexts creates socially opposite effects, namely, affectionate, intimate bonds amongst individuals and the identity of that group" (p.207).

Culpeper (2011) provides a framework with multiple functions for mock impoliteness:

> *reinforcing solidarity – takes place between equals, typically friends, and is reciprocal
>
> *cloaked coercion – the use of humor in the service of power to minimally disguise the oppressive intent, i.e. as a repressive discourse strategy
>
> *exploitative humor – involves pain for the target, but pleasure for other participants

Culpeper (2011) also draws attention to the perceptions of the participants may vary; an act can be coded as genuine impoliteness by a participant regardless of the question of intentionality, on the other hand another participant can categorize it as mock impoliteness. Although mock impoliteness reportedly reinforces solidarity, it can also be used as a trojan horse for cloaked coercion for the amusement of others (Haugh and Bousfield, 2012).

In their conceptualization Haugh and Bousfield (2012) suggest that in the evaluation of mock impoliteness both the speaker and at least one recipient plays a role, so they think that the theory should be produced separately from social actions which include such evaluations. They consider banter and mock impoliteness as connected but different concepts, respectively the first one is an action, and the second is an evaluation. They define "social evaluation" as the judgement about a person or a relationship; as for "social evaluation", it is the judgement about "directed (non) verbal behavior". They draw the line, for the sake of a more effective analysis, between evidence for both evaluations. The evidence for "action" comes from a co-constructed or interactionally achieved place, and different from this, the evidence for "evaluation" comes from as a result of that action (Haugh, 2012). Haugh and Bousfield (2012) discuss that the analysis of banter is relatively easy because the evidence for banter can be obtained through looking at subsequent turns. However, the evidence for the participants to be able to evaluate the banter as (im)polite can be challenging for the analysist as it remains largely tacit which requires more inferential work.

With the rationale given, Haugh and Bousfield (2012) explain "mock impoliteness" as a term denoting evaluation of potentially impolite behavior as non-impolite" with a requirement of at least one participant in the interaction for impolite evaluation and/or at least two participants for non-polite evaluation. For this reason, in a multi-party interaction, there is no need for a consensus about the nature of the act as there can be participants who give a different evaluation. Nevertheless, this situation can create a pressure for the addressee to follow the dynamics and evaluate the act as non-impolite even with the opposite evaluation. It applies to not only the addressee, but also the other participants. Therefore, "mock impoliteness is neither an evaluation of politeness nor impoliteness, but something conceptually distinct, namely, non-impoliteness" (Haugh and Bousfield 2012).

Haugh and Bousfield (2012) use the term "allowable offence" to refer to the "non-impolite" notion. This evaluation of this offence is not polite or impolite, however, impolite evaluation is relatively more possible. They define this offence as "the talk or conduct involves a threat to the target's person or identity", which is "face" in Goffmanian terms. Identities are shaped by the assumptions and expectations of the individual. If these assumptions or expectations are not met because of an inconsistency in the conduct or talk, they would consider it as a face threat and sometimes the treat can be for the relationship between the parties itself. These threats to the person or the relationships can be evaluated as impolite if they "conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be, and /or how one thinks they ought to be" (Culpeper 2011). Notwithstanding, these evaluations can change to "allowable" "if the participants orient to the offence as being relationship supportive" (Haugh and Bousfield 2012). It is suggested that despite the evaluation of face threatening nature of mock impoliteness, "they are ultimately evaluated as supportive of relational connection" (Haugh and Bousfield 2012). However, the support may vary in multi-party interaction and one-to-one, being more variable in the former.

Haugh and Bousfield (2012) underscore certain types of talk or conduct that are evaluated as mock impoliteness and list the related studies as;

> -*teasing* (Butler, 2007; Drew, 1987; Everts, 2003; Grainger, 2004; Hay, 2000, 2002; Holmes, 2006; Holmes and Marra, 2002; Holmes and Schnurr, 2006; Lampert and

Ervin-Tripp, 2006; Mullany, 2004; Schnurr, 2009; Schnurr and Chan, 2011; Straehle, 1993)

-*jocular mockery* (Haugh 2010, 2011)

-*jesting or mild banter* (Grainger, 2004: 47--49; Hambling-Jones and Merrison, 2012; Haugh, 2011; Norrick, 1993:29--35

-*humorous self-denigration* (Holmes et al., 2012; Lampert and Ervin-Tripp, 2006; Norrick, 1993:45--57; Schnurr and Chan, 2011),

-*jocular abuse/insults* (Goddard, 2006; Haugh, 2009:77--78; Hay, 1994, 2002)

-*ritualized insults including sounding* (Eder, 1990; Kochman, 1983; Labov, 1972)

-*chanting insults* (Crowly,2007)

-*flyting* (Culpeper, 1996; Hughes, 1991), etc.

Of these, especially noteworthy for the analysis of the data in this study are: *Teasing* has been described as an utterance in which the speaker expresses ‘‘a potentially insulting/aggressive comment but simultaneously provides/relies upon cues that the utterance is to be understood as playful/nonserious’’ (Alberts, 1992, p. 155). *Jocular mockery* is a specific form of teasing where the speaker diminishes something of relevance to someone present (either self or the other) or a third party who is not co-present withing a non-serious or jocular frame (Haugh, 2010; Haugh and Bousfield, 2012). Self-denigrating humor describes instances in which the speaker rather than the listener is the butt of the humor (Zajdman, 1995). Lastly, jocular abuse is a specific form of ‘insulting where the speaker casts the target into an undesirable category or as having undesirable attributes using a conventionally offensive expression within a non-serious or jocular frame (Haugh and Bousfield, 2012).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0. Presentation

In chapter 3, the focus of the research will be presented along with the research questions. Following that, the sampling process, demographics, and queer identity definitions used as self-stated gender identity labels by the participants in the study will be explained. Then the data collection tools, and the design of the interview will be discussed. Finally, the analysis process will be presented.

3.1. Research Focus

This study has been designed as an exploratory emic metapragmatic investigation into the conceptualizations of queer interactional practices in relation to rapport (mis)management (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, 2015) experiences of Turkish queer individuals.

The written documented history of the Turkish queer community dates back to the beginning of the republic era and even further back according to Kontovas's (2012) work on *Lubunca*. With the birth of *Lubunca*, the separate pieces of the culture convened around the language and cultural conventions; and norms established more clearly. Among many other elements of Turkish queer culture, certain behavioral tendencies and ethos appeared. After a pilot study of queer people or *lubunya*s; *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm* were decided to be elements that queer people in Türkiye use to manage rapport and label their interactional rapport management strategies

accordingly. The study revolves around the conceptualization of these practices and the participants' dynamic rapport management judgements according to the evaluations of the incidents reported by the participants for the related labels.

In one study, Spencer-Oatey (2000) chooses to elicit rapport sensitive incidents from the participants with the definition of the incidents as the moments, behavior or any verbal/non-verbal action that made them happy, annoyed or face-threatened. She maintains that by quoting Nolan (1981) "no sentence or linguistic construction is inherently polite or impolite". She underlines that (im)politeness is a social judgment and it cannot be separated from the social context. Following the same perspective, the data collection strategies for this specific study is shaped around the requirements of the insights and reflections of the participants on their own experiences. The participants provided not only the incidents themselves, but also their *perceptions, judgments and feelings* along with them.

3.1.1. Research Questions

This study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. How are *madilik, madikoli, and gullüm* conceptualized from the perspectives of Turkish queer individuals?
2. What are the interactional functions and end-results of *madilik, madikoli, and gullüm* as reported by the participants?
3. What rapport management orientations and (im)politeness types do Turkish queer people associate more strongly with their experiences of *madilik, madikoli and gullüm*?

3.2. Sampling Procedure and Participants

3.2.1. Snowball Sampling

For this study, the sampling technique followed was the "snowball" sampling procedure. As Goodman (1961) also defines it: snowball sampling is "a random sample of individuals is drawn from a given finite population" (p. 148). The population that this study targets can be categorized as a marginalized minority with issues with

freedom, visibility, and accessibility. Because of the limitation inherently present in the population, the strategy followed had to be one that would increase the participation as much as possible. For this reason, gatekeepers were selected from the readily available network of the researcher. Among these gatekeepers, there were friends, acquaintances, individuals working in queer-focused non-governmental organizations, and individuals contacted via social media. After gatekeepers were contacted, they were asked to distribute the announcement about the study to their immediate circles and on their social media.

3.2.2. Participant Demographics

As a result of the networking process, in total 35 participants were contacted. However, because of the non-availability of the participants, only 22 fully realized interviews were conducted as a result and formed the data set for this study. Because of the nature of "snowball sampling" procedure, there weren't any limitations or pre-criteria for the participants, and all were welcomed to be a part of the study. The common feature of this population and sampling is that they are all queer speakers of Turkish. The demographics of the participants are shown in the table below along with certain personal details.

For the sake of anonymity, the participants are given codes (P1-P22). The information provided about the occupations and especially self-defined identities are given without any change for respecting the declaration of the participants. The question for identity was asked as "With which identity or identities do you define yourself or do you define at all?". The reason for this form of the question is not to force the participants for providing unrealistic identity declarations as some of the participants were not willing to give a specific identity label at all and some even defined themselves as human. However, all the participants underlined that they could define as queer and eligible for the study explicitly.

Although as can be seen in the table that not every participant defines themselves as queer or some does not want to define at all, it does not contradict the nature of this study as the participants were explained the nature of the study via membership checking and they declared to be eligible for the study.

Table 2. Participants' demographics

	Age	Occupation	Lives in	Self-stated identities
P1	28	Make-Up Artist	Eskisehir/Turkey	Gay Male
P2	21	Student-Social Work	Istanbul/Turkey	Non-Binary, Bi+, Human
P3	24	Student-Physics	Ankara/Turkey	Doesn't Define, Human
P4	34	Drag Queen	Istanbul/Turkey	Non-Binary
P5	32	NGO	Ankara/Turkey	Bisexual, Cis-Female
P6	28	Student	Istanbul/Turkey	Trans Woman
P7	20	Translator	Ankara/Turkey	Trans-Masculine, Queer, Lubunya
P8	21	Student-Psychology	Istanbul/Turkey	Queer
P9	20	Student-Economy	Istanbul/Turkey	Gay Male
P10	29	Instructor	Ankara/Turkey	Gay Male
P11	28	Researcher-Sociology Graduate	Berlin/Germany	Doesn't Define
P12	31	Environmental Specialist	Toronto/Canada	Gay Male
P13	34	Landscape Architect	Frankfurt/Germany	Lesbian Female
P14	28	Research Assistant	Ankara/Turkey	Gay Male
P15	27	English Teacher	Ankara/Turkey	Non Binary - Lesbian
P16	24	Doctor	Lüleburgaz/Turkey	Male, Bisexual
P17	30	Biologist	Ankara/Turkey	Queer, Human
P18	21	Student-Philosophy	Istanbul/Turkey	Gender Fluid, Homoflexible
P19	26	Copyrighter	Istanbul/Turkey	Bi+, Queer
P20	27	Activist	Ankara/Turkey	Non-Binary, Fluid
P21	45	NGO	Ankara/Turkey	Lubunya
P22	19	Student	Istanbul/Turkey	Gay Male

In keeping with the self-stated gender identities of the participants (in the last column above), throughout the study, pronoun reference used for the narrating participant was chosen accordingly (e.g., he/him, she/her, they/them).

3.2.3. Definitions of Queer Identities of Participants

In this section, a detailed definition for all the gender identities reported by the participants is shared below for clarification purposes.

> -*Queer* is a term used by those wanting to reject specific labels of romantic orientation, sexual orientation and/or gender identity. It can also be a way of rejecting the perceived norms of the LGBT community (racism, sizeism, ableism etc). Although

some LGBT people view the word as a slur, it was reclaimed in the late 80s by the queer community who have embraced it. *(List of LGBTQ+ terms, 2022)*

-*Gay* refers to a man who has a romantic and/or sexual orientation towards men. Also a generic term for lesbian and gay sexuality - some women define themselves as gay rather than lesbian. Some non-binary people may also identify with this term. (List of LGBTQ+ terms, 2022)

-*Homoflexible* people primarily identify as homosexual but are sometimes attracted to the opposite sex. Meanwhile, heteroflexible people primarily identify as heterosexual, or "straight," but are sometimes attracted to the same sex. (Webmd, 2021)

- *Non-binary* is an umbrella term for people whose gender identity doesn't sit comfortably with 'man' or 'woman'. Non-binary identities are varied and can include people who identify with some aspects of binary identities, while others reject them entirely. (List of LGBTQ+ terms, 2022)

-*Genderfluid* is someone who has or shows a gender identity that is not fixed and changes over time (Oxford Dictionary)

-*Bisexual*/*Bi+* is an umbrella term used to describe a romantic and/or sexual orientation towards more than one gender. Bi people may describe themselves using one or more of a wide variety of terms, including, but not limited to, bisexual, pan, queer, and some other non-monosexual and non-monoromantic identities. (List of LGBTQ+ terms, 2022)

-Cisgender or Cis is someone whose gender identity is the same as the sex they were assigned at birth. Non-trans is also used by some people. (List of LGBTQ+ terms, 2022)

-*Trans* is an umbrella term to describe people whose gender is not the same as, or does not sit comfortably with, the sex they were assigned at birth. Trans people may describe themselves using one or more of a wide variety of terms, including (but not limited to) transgender, transsexual, gender-queer (GQ), gender-fluid, non-binary, gender-variant, crossdresser, genderless, agender, nongender, third gender, bi-gender, trans man, trans woman, trans masculine, trans feminine and neutrois. (List of LGBTQ+ terms, 2022)

> -*Transgender man* is a term used to describe someone who is assigned female at birth but identifies and lives as a man. This may be shortened to trans man, or FTM, an abbreviation for female-to-male. (List of LGBTQ+ terms, 2022)
>
> -*Transgender woman* is a term used to describe someone who is assigned male at birth but identifies and lives as a woman. This may be shortened to trans woman, or MTF, an abbreviation for male-to-female. (List of LGBTQ+ terms, 2022)

-*Lesbian* refers to a woman who has a romantic and/or sexual orientation towards women. Some non-binary people may also identify with this term. (List of LGBTQ+ terms, 2022)

-*Lubunya* is an umbrella term that is used as an equivalent of queer in *Lubunca*. In the beginning, it is used to describe trans individuals and feminine gay males. However, in more recent years, it is used to cover all Turkish queer identities.

As mentioned earlier, for the study the term "queer" is used as an umbrella term to describe all LGBTQ+ identities and more which does not fit in the heteronormative and binary system present in the society. All the participants are categorized under the queer identity, and they are all speakers of Turkish. Another point is all the participants are either part of a queer social group or at least, queer-socializes occasionally at the minimum. However, because of the oppressive approach of Turkish government and society, the communities are established around non-governmental organization and their activities. Another form of society is generally established by transexual sex-workers who generally live in specific neighborhoods and form a community of themselves. The emergence of *Lubunca* is also realized as a result of contact of several of these queer and non-queer communities (Kontovas, 2012).

Some of the participants lived in a different country at the moment of the data collection, however, they were specifically asked about their Turkish queer sociality and accepted for the study as their level of sociality were satisfying and they have moved abroad in the recent years; the oldest was four years ago and the incidents they shared were from their time in Türkiye. Overall, all the participants have experience of queer solidarity in one form or another with a satisfying level of queer awareness.

3.3. Data collection

3.3.1. Data Collection Tools

To elicit the incidents labeled as *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm*, Critical Incident Technique (CIT) was used as the data collection method by making use of interviews (Flanagan, 1954). Flanagan first devised CIT for the purpose of job analysis aiming the identification of the "critical requirements for job success".

> Although it is a qualitative research method, the CIT was initially posed as a scientific tool to help uncover existing realities or truths so they could be measured, predicted, and ultimately controlled within the realm of job and task analysis – ideas that are rooted in the predominant quantitative research tradition of the day. […]. However, we currently find ourselves in a post-modern […], some would say post-structural […] research paradigm where qualitative methods are now commonly in use and accepted […]. (Butterfield et al., 2005 as cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2013)

As Butterfield et al. (2005 as cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2013) points out, although its quantitative origin, CIT has transformed into an important element of qualitative research along with the shift to a more post-structural approach. It is an important tool to "question the way things normally operate" (Trip, 1993).

The CIT is very suitable for the current study in terms of its focus on many expects of lived experiences and anecdotal evidence shared to get the underlying tacit rational behind the action in an incident. This is also important for the rapport management model in that it will evaluate the judgements of the participants themselves from an emic perspective and help to provide an etic explanation more thoroughly by providing many aspects of the incidents. The same issue was pointed out by Haugh and Bousfield (2012) about the evaluation of mock impoliteness. They said the action, which they defined as "banter", is relatively easier to comment because it can be observed with the subsequent terms. However, the evaluation, which they define as "mock impoliteness" is challenging for the analyst as it is tacit in the interaction and needs extra work for the analysis. The detail-oriented CIT remedies this challenge and helps with the analysis. Although the data will not be conversational data, the information gathered thorough anecdotes will give an in-depth source for the intent of the speakers or listeners depending on the incident shared. Spencer-Oatey (2005) also clearly states that the main purpose of the RMM is not to analyze the linguistic elements in a given situation but to collect and evaluate people's judgments about the specific experience.

3.3.2. Interviews

For the data collection, a semi-structured interview was designed and conducted individually with the participants online and face-to-face with the exception of 2 pairs of participants (P6 and P16; P5 and P21) who were interviewed together per their request. The structure of the interview is divided into five main parts, namely:

-The first part: Personal information, their familiarity with *Lubunca*

-The second part: participants' perception of their communication in and out of queer-focused groups

-The third part: The recounting of their experiences and anecdotes about Madilik, Madikoli and Gullüm

-The fourth part: The discussion of the metapragmatic conceptualization of Madilik, Madikoli and Gullüm

-The last part: overall discussion and follow-up

The consent form and interview schedule/questions (see Appendix B) were sent to the participants 1-2 days in advance.

Table 3. The duration of the interviews

Codes	Min
P1	42
P2	63,29
P3	35,48
P4	52,06
P5 – Pair 1	139,12
P6 – Pair 2	62
P7	67,36
P8	35,22
P9	43,46
P10	36
P11	72,59
P12	59
P13	45,51
P14	56,52
P15	37,25
P16 - Pair 2	62
P17	41,34
P18	48,3
P19	64,23
P20	53,1
P21 – Pair 1	139,12
P22	69,37
Total	**1123,20 mins**
	18,72 hours

The interviews were conducted face-to-face in cafes or restaurants according to the personal preferences of the participants, and on the Skype application for the online interviews. All interviews are recorded either as audio for face-to-face, and video for online interviews. The total interviews are 1123,20 minutes (18,72 hours). The distribution of the individual and total times is as shown in Table 3.

After the initial interview, with each participant, a *member-checking follow up meeting* was carried out. Since the study is about reaching emic conceptualizations, the researcher aimed to have his analysis 'checked' regarding the labelling of the incidents to ensure that the participants' precise judgements were reached. This was a very useful step especially for differentiating madilik and madikoli.

3.4. Data Analysis

3.4.1. Method of Analysis

All the interview files, audio or video, were transcribed verbatim on separate word files. After the transcription, the files were examined for common themes, then the findings are coded by the program Microsoft Excel on a spreadsheet where all the participants are listed and can be observed together on the same questions and concepts according to their contributions. All the anecdotes and stories they shared were coded on a different spreadsheet with categories of *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm*.

After the coding is completed, by following the rapport management model (RMM) provided by Spencer-Oatey (2005, 2015), the dynamics of queer communication in Turkish context are recounted. As suggested by the model, the behavioral expectations and what kind of bases are more salient in queer communication will be evaluated. Following a general descriptive part, the incidents will be evaluated according to their orientations, interactional goals, domains and any face sensitivities.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0. Presentation

In the Findings and Discussion chapter, first, queer perspectives on queer and non-queer communication, the participants' knowledge of and familiarity with *Lubunca*, culture transmission of *Lubunca* and *lubunya* will be presented. Next, the metapragmatic labels *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm*, their functions in queer communication will be discussed. The incidents reported by the participants for the mentioned metapragmatic labels *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm* will be examined according to the Rapport Management Model framework suggested by Spencer-Oatey (2005, 2015).

4.1. Queer Perception on Queer and Non-Queer Communication in the Turkish Context

The goal of queer linguistics has been for a decade to deconstruct heteronormative practices and also reconstruct normativity from a more inclusive standpoint. Discussions have also centered around *homonormativity* as "discourse, specifically about sexuality, and human communication in general, can be free of normative influences" (Motschenbacher and Stegu, 2013, p.523). The first group of findings of the study relate to emic conceptualizations of such narrativities regarding queer and non-queer interactions.

Some common themes of dissimilarity were observed in the perceptions of participants on communications they practice with queer and non-queer interactants in one-to-one or group communication in terms of stylistics (lexical choice, sense of humor), topics brought up, identities enacted, emotional connections (intimacy and sincerity). The differentiation mainly revolves around queer and non-queer identities, namely cis-heterosexual individuals, especially cis-heterosexual males. With queer identities, the participants reported that they feel 'more relaxed, freer, unfiltered and unapologetic'. As for the cis-heterosexual identities, the conversations were depicted as 'unfulfilling, superficial, and clogged'.

First of all, all of the participants stated that they find communication in a queer group and with queer people more 'relaxed' and 'freer' compared to cis-heterosexual groups or individuals. They mentioned that they can be themselves without any fear of unacceptance or being misunderstood. They define queer spaces or queer groups as safe, secure, and free places where they can exist with their authentic selves. They justified this perception with the common culture and background they have with other queer people. Through the shared history, they have a sense of relationality about their lifestyles and worldviews. Participants shared that the topics they talk about in a queer-dominated group as more diverse and that they can elaborate on many issues like their sexuality and their sexual practices which can be taboo topics in another group or with different identities, without any resistance or limitations. They can be more "unfiltered" or "unapologetic" in the queer conversation. The sense of being unfiltered and unapologetic also promotes certain communication conventions which develops among the members of the community. The participants also mentioned the instant connection they feel when they meet or see a *lubunya*. In such a situation, even if they have met someone for the first time, they can act the same way they act like with their very close and older friends even with a stranger. The feeling of solidarity and common history gets established in a very swift manner as there is a universal solidarity feeling integrated into their social/queer identities.

On the other hand, almost all of the participants express that communication with cis-heterosexual people is not very fulfilling for them. One of the main reasons behind this is reported as the phobia and prejudice against queer people in the Turkish society.

Participants mentioned that many times when they communicate with cis-heterosexual people (especially males), they cannot help but have the assumptions that the other party is homophobic, transphobic, etc. These assumptions even make them defensive in nature when they communicate and sometimes even offensive a priori even though the other party does not perform any offensive action or utterance. This is works as a linguistic shield, a guard in interaction.

Level of intimacy and sincerity were also of concern for them as they all have the feeling that they will not be able to have a real and deep connection with cis-heterosexual people. Their expectancy is that it will always stay on an artificial level. With the limited nature of the conversations and the timid attitude of the queer people in the presence of cis-heterosexual identity, they feel that they cannot share what they really think, and even if they do, they have the sense that the other party cannot relate to them or understand them. The reason for the timidness and reticence of queer individuals arises from the "vulnerable" nature of the cis-heterosexual identities as reported by P21 in Excerpt 1. The participant reported that the communication with cis-heterosexual people can be unfulfilling and unmotivating since the aforementioned unfiltered or relaxed mood is not available around a cis-heterosexual. With the vulnerable nature and a limited sense of humor, P21 explains that it is not possible to comment or joke about the cis heterosexuals as they (cis-heterosexuals) probably would be offended or disturbed by the remarks. On the contrary, queer communication is built upon the ethos 'not taking life seriously'. This helps them to challenge many values or ethical concerns, which may be impossible for a more normative identity such as heterosexuality.

> Excerpt 1. P.21 -You are having fun inside, but the other party … a part of the fun because, well, heterosexual identities are way more fragile than *lubunyalik (*identity as *lubunya)*. I mean, well, naturally, when the heterosexual identity is fragile, it is not possible to make fun of them as much as to make fun of you. They are sheltered."

As mentioned, for the majority of queer individuals, the feeling of unfiltered communication style is preferred and for all except one, they can experience this feeling in a queer or at least queer dominated group or conversation. There was only one participant who gave a different account, in which they reported the same experience in the opposite setting.

> Excerpt 2. P7. While I have a more politically correct circle around my *lubunya* network, in other places, I have a rather more relaxed… I am not talking about my workplace. For example, my partner's friends are much more relaxed and more dark humor… but I am not talking about appalling/terrible humor. There is an atmosphere where we can joke about things, which, I can say, provides a different form of relaxed feeling to me. I really felt accepted. For instance, I go to *lubunya* parties. "My love, you are so handsome" etc. which I find very disingenuousness. Because they already have to accept it anyway. Actually, the cis heterosexual men do not have to see me as a man, they do not have any awareness about the issue. They do not know what is trans or *dönme* (derogatory term for male to female transexual in Turkish). The acceptance there is a much more beautiful/fulfilling acceptance; much more real, more sincere. Because they say we are going to pick up girls with you etc. which are disgusting silly utterances, on the other hand, this is very good/nice because I feel accepted. They do not have to accept because they have no idea, they do not understand, so the relaxed feeling in the acceptance. There is another perspective. Another thing is that the circle that I am in is not an apolitical *lubunya* circle. It is political but sometimes I think we perform politically correctness barrenly. I am not such a person strictly speaking. What I mean is, we approach some things very theoretical that we must not forget that we are humans and that lack of politically correctness makes me relaxed.

The participant (P7) in question identifies themselves as trans-masculine, queer and *lubunya*. This participant's queer sociability is generally around the activism circle where politically correct statements are very crucial, and everyone must pay attention to use a more inclusive and non-offensive language. For this reason, P7 feels very entrapped around the politically correct talk. The participant also has another social group, which is cis-heterosexual male dominated. This network of friends was built with the connections of the significant other of P7. Contrary to other participants, P7 finds the feeling of being unfiltered, unapologetic and freedom in this specific cis-heterosexual male dominated group. As justification, P7 explains that the recognition of their (P7) sexual identity in a queer-dominated group is a given because of the activist nature of the queer network. However, the cis-heterosexual male dominated group does not have the necessity and obligation to recognize the trans-masculine identity as they do not have a very high awareness about such issues and have a heteronormative worldview. P7 comments that they find the acceptance by the community very fulfilling and more real although also comments about the detest they (P7) feel about the hegemonic heterosexual mindset present in this group. P7 also critiques the politically correct tendency of the queer group, which disturbs P7 as this politically correct attitude is sometimes too theoretical and promotes a very unrealistic standard compared to human nature.

4.2. Knowledge and Familiarity of *Lubunca,* and Queer Generations

The study made use of the metapragmatic labels *madilik*, *madikoli* and *gullüm* as a marker for eliciting rapport sensitive incidents from the participants. These labels are part of the lexicon of *Lubunca*. *Lubunca* is the queer argot/secret language that is spoken by queer minority in Türkiye. However, the findings suggest that variation in terms of knowledge and familiarity of Lubunca exists among individuals depending on the age, cultural exposure, and their assumed queer and other identities. According to their levels of sociality in the community and cultural exposure, participants' perceptions about *Lubunca* and its functions can show variance as well.

Younger participants reported less knowledge and a weaker repertoire of *lubunca* compared to relatively older and more queer-social participants; and they referred to a 'a queer generation gap'. Because of their relatively younger age and opportunities, the younger *lubunya* have less chance to meet and experience the queer culture. Some individuals also come out with their queer identities later in life, which also keeps them apart from the culture for a long time until they feel ready and powerful enough to participate in the community.

One participant among the youngest ones, P18, (aged 21) mentioned the related trends with queer teens who are 20 or less of age. Their interest in *Lubunca* appear to be very little as their queer circles are not very well established yet and their current circle is either from among high school friends or their peers from their universities, lacking the connections with larger queer communities. Other participants also shared that the younger age group circle tended to use alternative terms borrowed from English that function as queer code besides *Lubunca*, especially from programs or shows that are queer focused such as Rupaul's Drag Race (A TV show where drag queens complete different challenges every week, to win a crown and prize money). They use the terms "Slay!", "Slayler Slayi" (Eng: the slayest of the slays) and "Slayikasyon" (Eng. slayification) by morphologically and phonetically Turkifying the lexical items. These adaptations do not replace any items in the lexicon of *Lubunca*, but they are taken as pop-culture additions borrowed with other foreign queer cultural elements and concepts.

> Excerpt 3. P18. Well, errm, how can I say, they have witty answers. Besides, I see that they translate these witty answers to Turkish and use them, especially my friends who are younger than me. I have never experienced such a thing with people older than me. But for example. They make utterances like sileyifikasyon (Slay-ification), sileyler sileyi (The slayest of slays).

The same participant elaborated on the queer generation gap and mentioned the cultural transmission between the younger and older generations of *lubunya*. The queer culture and *Lubunca* is transmitted by the more experienced and knowledgeable to the young through oral tradition in queer communities. Forming such a community these days can be mostly observed around non-governmental organizations (NGO) and through their activities and events. Turkish queers socialize and have cultural and experiential exchanges in such gatherings. Some of the participants in the data set are also either official members on an NGO (for example, KaosGL, LamdaİstanbuI, Pembe Hayat) or have been one in the past; or works as a volunteer in an NGO. The younger generation also have access to certain websites of queer related NGOs, blogs and Youtube videos to learn about *Lubunca.*

> Excerpt 4. P18. For example, it is as if I have learned *Lubunca* from the older people and I teach it to the people who comes after me (younger). Thus, they learn it from me. That's why, I call it traditional. Or however an older friend of mine goes on Tiktok etc., I think they do not use the queer codes in their daily practice or life. But they use these queer codes when they recount an event or incident.

Another factor for variation in the knowledge and familiarity of *Lubunca* is the queer and other identities of participants and their level of willingness of participation in the community and the amount of exposure they have. An individual can have many identities situational/dynamic or pan-situational (Spencer-Oatey, 2005). Depending on the importance they attach to different identities, their willingness to learn and improve themselves on *Lubunca* changes. Lesbians for example, as participants reported, have a relatively different sociality. They are not willing to adopt *Lubunca* as much as other *lubunya* as they assign it with trans female identity and gay male identities mostly. The ideal lesbian identity show variation among participants, one participant who identified as lesbian showed relatively higher *Lubunca* knowledge, however, she was older compared to the other lesbian participants. The age and cultural exposure and queer presence around the older lesbian may have been the deciding factor for the higher familiarity.

It was also expressed on multiple occasions that *Lubunca* has become popular lately because some young queer influencers heavily use it in their social media and Youtube posts and the popularity is increasing with heterosexual individuals as well. Yet, many participants, shared their distaste about *Lubunca* becoming a pop-culture element. All participants except one, have negative attitudes towards the popularity as the nature and origin of *Lubunca* was an element of security and secrecy for many people, and for some it still is. They think that it violates the personal queer spaces and diminishes the sense of security people have when they use the jargon. The only participant who disagreed suggested that it was a visibility trend, which the participant was happy about since it contributed to the visibility and promotion of queer identity.

As for the metapragmatic labels, which are lexical items of *Lubunca*, that are discussed in this chapter have been identified as multifunctional practices. As shown in Table 3, the concepts are covering many functions in a continuum from mundane to more serious functions.

Table 4. The functions of *madilik, madikoli and gullüm*

Madilik	Madikoli	Gullüm
•**Functions of madilik** •(a) expressing hate •(b) resistance to phobia •(c) physical violence and verbal offense •(d) institutional violence •(e) exercising a toxic personality or conduct •(f) slandering •(g) seeking vengeance •(h) survival, and coping mechanisms. •**Responses to madilik** •(a) resistance •(b) counter-madilik •(c) defending self/peer •(d) unresponsiveness/silence.	•**Functions of Madikoli** •(a) warning and sending a message •(b) putting somebody in their place •(c) solving a conflict/problem and releasing tension •(d) following a ritualized convention •(e) teasing •(f) healing and honoring •(g) defending and/or saving face •(h) mock sincerity •(i) a resistance tool	•**Functions of Gullüm** •(a) feeling of freedom and authenticity •(b) resistance play against a threat •(c) self-denigration •(d) recognition/acknowledgement of a queer individual •(e) gossip •(f) preventive measure, coping mechanism and survival strategy •(g) marking inclusiveness or exclusiveness of an individual •(h) healing through repetitive mention and neutralization.

4.3. *Madilik* as an Interactional Practice in the Turkish Queer Community

The first of the rapport-management related metapragmatic labels investigated in the study is *madilik.* The actual term may not be uttered in the moment of the incident; however, it is used as a metapragmatic label to describe the incident afterwards or as a metapragmatic remark to point out the action, etc. The interviews have reiterated it is a multifunctional concept referring to a collection of concepts and it functions as an umbrella term. It can be used with Turkish auxiliary verbs and can take the form of a verb phrase as "*madilik atmak/yapmak*" which describes an action, a behavior performed or an utterance. *Madilik* can also be used as an adjective *madi* to describe an utterance, person, behavior, incident, thing etc. For all the possible meanings and functions, the common theme is the negativity and potential harm that is targeted to the subject/receiver of *madilik.* It has a very wide range of coverage from physical violence to a low-quality material (e.g., Tr: Bu kumaş çok *madi*., Eng: This fabric is too *madi*.) or service (e.g. Tr: Garson çok *madiydi*., Eng: The waiter was very *madi*.). Another point about its multifunctionality is that the participants find the label *madilik* very practical and concise in usage when giving an account of an incident or describing a person or an action. Participants commented that instead of a long explanation of incidents, saying *'madilik çıktı/yaptı, madi biriydi (madilik occured, they were a madi person)* provides enough relational knowledge that accounts for an extensive summary and saves time and energy. Also, in the form of a secret queer code, it provides the safe space to individuals who prefer a more covert communication style in the case of potential threat resulting from the conversation which may trigger a phobic reaction from the bystanders or because of the sensitive content of the conversation. For example, one can say "altım çok madi naşlayalım" which means the person next to me (altım) is problematic/rude/dangerous (madi), let's go (naşlayalım)" and will not be retaliated against if overheard, since the code is not shared by non *lubunya*. Moreover, along with the label *madilik*, other concepts of *Lubunca* and similar queer codes promotes a higher level of sense of solidarity for participants.

The topics which *madilik* covers are basically all the negativity one can think of from a basic disagreement to a very serious violence. Although there is a consensus on the

existence of the queer interactional practice of *madilik* and the scope of *madilik* in terms of its functions and the meanings it is refers to; a variation was observed in terms of the application and performance of *madilik* by the participants depending on their personal values and ethical concerns. Despite this variation, participants have a consensus on the issue that it is a very salient element of the Turkish queer culture, which is expected as the patterns shown in a cultural group may vary among the group members of the social group, in different social contexts, in the common manifestations in the given group (Spencer-Oatey, 2005). As will be seen in the incidents shared, a similar phenomenon can be evaluated very differently by the participants. The differences may be caused by the different types of identities adopted by the participants in a given context and interaction, which can be caused by the personal choice of adoption of the core membership identity, or their time spent in the given culture (Spencer-Oatey, 2005) and community.

Many of the participants identifies themselves as "not very *madi*" individuals, although providing incidents where they are the agent of *madilik*. From the narratives of the participants, it can be claimed that the *madilik* incidents they provided were situational and their performance of *madilik* was per the situation required not because it was a personality trait or tendency of the participants. Besides the participants' self-label 'not very *madi*', some participants also stated that some individuals in the queer community adopts the notion of *madilik* as a constant means of communication and utilizes it in everyday communication extensively. The participants express that this can be because of their personal preference, or because they are not aware of an alternative communication style. This surfaced in the interviews as 'lubunyalığı böyle birşey sanıyorlar' (Eng: They consider *lubunyalik* something like this.). For those individuals, the level of *madilik* is an indicator of their power and an identity marker or used as a tool to present and perform their queer identity capital.

When it comes to the agent (who performs the action) and subject (who receives the action) of *madilik*, the participants generally do not put any limitations. Anyone can do *madilik* and can be on the receiver end anytime and in any situation. When the agents are queer people, participants label this action as *madilik* without exception. In such a case the subject's identity does not matter. Any performance of *madilik* by

queers towards all individuals is categorized as *madilik*. However, they also mention a kind of hierarchy regulation for *madilik* in a queer-to-queer situation; if the subject is defined as more "*madi*" which is higher than the level of *madilik* of the agent or the potential danger level is high, the attempt for *madilik* is probably avoided for fear of a counter *madilik* from a more powerful subject. As for when the agents are the cis-heterosexual vs cis-heterosexual situation, some participants are reluctant to label it as *madilik*; some participants reported that they would label it with standard code as a fight, violence, bad etc. excluding the queer code. On the other hand, if the agent is a cis-heterosexual person and the subject is a queer person, there is a divide in the participants: some call it *madilik* as well, but some others prefer not to label it as *madilik* because they do not want to 'hollow out the gravity of the situation' as they label it as violence or phobia directly. They rationalize it by referring to a hierarchy in which the power levels of a more normative and dominant identity (cis heterosexual) and the marginalized minority (queer) is not equal. They raise the condition of a symmetrical power relation for the labeling of *madilik*, otherwise, it is direct physical or psychological violence. Although the participants who do not prefer labelling asymmetrical incidents as *madilik*, when the incidents provided are examined closely, it is seen that the labeling provided can still be *madilik* as well by these participants. However, their reference is not to describe the cis-heterosexual-to-cis heterosexual or cis heterosexual-queer interaction, but to define their feelings and risk in the situation. If the agent is a queer person and the receiver is a cis-heterosexual person, all the participants without exception labels it as *madilik*. Because of the aforementioned asymmetricality in identities which the participants equate also with a power hierarchy, it is possible for a ("daha aşağıdaki kimlik") lower-level identity (as minority) to perform *madilik* on the ("daha yukarıdaki normative kimliğe") higher order identity (normative cis-heterosexual) for reclaiming space and their rights or as a defensive measure. Also, according to some participants, this is a very justified kind of *madilik* since its function in such a case is probably for defense, coping with the danger at hand, or protecting oneself or a friend.

One other variation that was observed among the participants in the application of *madilik* is the content of *madilik*. The actions categorized as *madilik* are performed with the intention of harm and coded as "pure evil" by the participants. Just from the

basic definition, there does not seem to be an apparent limitation in terms of the content material to be made use of in the performance of *madilik*. However, majority of the participants reported certain individual limits in their performance of *madilik.* At the same time, they underscored that it was their own personal opinion which hints that this varies within the queer community. The common perspective of the participants was around the avoidance of triggering issues for individuals like traumatic experiences such as violence, rape, harassment, etc. The participants stated that they themselves would never make use of such experiences as a *madilik* content and are of the opinion that it should not be made by others as well. But the participants have stressed that this is not widespread among the community because the idea is to harm the other in some way, so they make use of whatever available material they have to use as a weapon.

The participants also point out two perspectives on the relevance of negativity and violence to *madilik* content. One group defines *madilik* as part of the Turkish queer culture and highly integrated in queer communication. They code it as an identity marker in some cases and find it very practical and an important element of interaction as they believe they have and will always use, experience and engage with the phenomenon. The other group advocates a more non-violent way of communication. Their justification is that there is already enough negativity and violence towards queer people in Türkiye from the society and the current political climate, thus they find it absurd and unnecessary to move all the negativity into the inner circle, as well. They advocate liberation from negativity as a queer community.

In the following section, the incidents that participants labeled as *madilik* will be evaluated. The data consists of the participants' judgements about these incidents along with their further agent or subject perspectives on the incidents. To analyze these incidents, Rapport Management Model (RMM) suggested by Spencer-Oatey (2005, 2015) will be used. When considered the data with an RMM perspective, *madilik* evidently has a rapport challenging orientation in its core along with rapport neglect orientation at other times. The interactional wants can be transactional or relational depending on the context and it can occur in many domains. In the analysis of the incidents, the necessary references will be made about the potential right and face

attacks, and any underlying conventions or behavioral expectations will be discussed. The incidents, actions or behaviors coded as *madilik* are all negatively eventful. When it comes to face, the threat can be individual (related to self and other) as well as relational-interpersonal (mutuality and connection/separation) and group level (group membership). However, when it comes to the membership of a queer group, considering the atmosphere and situation of Turkish context with a possible phobic orientation, the social (queer) identity faces of the individuals are relatively more sensitive and ensures a reaction or action more than the other faces. As *madilik* is a clearly intentional offense, Culpeper's impoliteness framework will also be made use of in specific incidents accordingly.

4.3.1. Critical, Rapport-Sensitive Incidents for *Madilik*

When the participants' recounting of critical incidents were analyzed, 8 main functions of madilik were identified. The functions of the interactional acts of madilik, as shown in Table 5, reported by participants are (a) expressing hate, (b) resistance to phobia, (c) physical violence and verbal offense, (d) institutional violence, (e) exercising a toxic personality or conduct, (f) slandering, (g) seeking vengeance, (h) survival, and coping mechanisms. Some functions repeated themselves through the incidents and there were cases with multiple functions integrated in the same incident. The responses to acts of madilik shared in the critical incidents were (a) resistance, (b) counter-madilik and (c) defending self/peer, (d) unresponsiveness/silence.

Table 5. The functions and responses to *madilik*

Madilik Functions	(**a) expressing hate** - comments or behaviors in the form of hate speech
	(b) resistance to phobia - a form of resistance performed through an offense
	(c) physical violence and verbal offense - comments or behaviors aimed to hurt the other in any way
	(d) institutional violence - the offence received from governmental bodies and/or policies
	(e) exercising a toxic personality or conduct - pan-situational and general negative attitude of individuals
	(f) slandering - untrue and unfair comments made for someone with the purpose of face and rights damage
	(g) seeking vengeance - an act causing harm to other to deal with a prior offence
	(h) survival and coping mechanisms - a method of dealing with the constant hate and injustice
Responses To Madilik	**(a) resistance** - the receiver may resist physically or verbally
	(b) counter-madilik - the receiver may resist by performing a counter offence
	(**c) defending self/peer** - the receiver may act to protect own or a friend's face or rights
	(d) unresponsiveness/silence - the receiver may ignore the act totally or prefer silence

4.3.1.1. Expressing Hate

The most prevalent function of *madilik* is expressing hate. This can be done through the use of several linguistic devices.

Incident 1 that was provided by P2, who is non-binary, Bi+ and human, is a *madilik* incident where the direction of the *madilik* is from other to self with a rapport-challenge orientation. The agents were some teenagers in the park where P2 and their (P2) queer friends were walking, who were the subjects of *madilik*. The *madilik* in this incident is the comment made by the teenagers "Lezbiyen orospu çocukları! (Eng. Lesbian, children of prostitutes!)" which goes under the illocutionary domain. From the account of P2, it can be inferred that the statement was not delivered with a clear addressee, however, as the self-stated identities of P2 and their friends are queer, and queerphobia and hate speech is an everyday occasion they experienced; P2 and their friends claimed the addressee of the offense position due to prior experience and history originating from their identities. The statement threatened their quality faces (being immoral) and social identity face (being a member of a lesbian community).

> Incident 1. P2. I was with my friend at Fethi Pasa Korusu. My friend is also queer. They (the friend) broke up with their beloved, we are walking, and they (the friend) are talking about the break-up. As for me, I wear my pins as usual, and rainbow bandana etc. We are walking side by side. Some people who pass by us shouted as "Lesbian, children of prostitutes!", which I am recounting apologetically. I turned and loudened saying "Who are you talking to?", exactly at this tone (loudly). Then, they cowered and said "We did not tell you.". This is for example a *madilik* for me. A *madilik* from a point that I got angry.

The *madilik* in this incident is a very clear statement of *hate speech* as homosexuality and prostitution has a negative moral placement in Turkish culture, such references are very salient in the hate speech towards queer individuals as it stems from a conservative and moralist mindset. The concept of *madilik* here covers the phobic behavior or utterance under its scope, which carry a proscribed tone. The agents perform positive impoliteness against the P2 and their friend by attacking them verbally using the sub-strategies of taboo words and swear/abusive or profane language via conventionalized impoliteness formulae in Turkish (Culpeper, 2011). The interactional want here is both relational and transactional. From the relational perspective, the agents are promoting a border between themselves and the others by

making use of the non-association (i.e., us and them, ahlaklı-ahlaksız (Eng: moral-immoral)) principle. Resulting from the non-association principle of RMM, shame or embarrassment is the feeling and reaction that must be felt by the participant and their friend from the perspective of the offender. They also violate the equity rights of P2 and their friends by the hate speech. As for the transactional side, the hate speech, alienation of the target, and psychological violence can be listed. This statement violates the empathy and respectfulness sub-principles of equity as well because of the homophobic mindset and the uninvited comment. The participant's reaction is caused by the face threat and also the violation of RMM's legal/contractual requirements which indicate the avoidance of any discriminatory behavior. The response chosen by P2 was to verbally retaliate which the P2 did not categorize as madilik specifically.

In some of the critical incidents reported in retaliation of the hate speech, rather than resistance, a fusion of mild defense and exclusion is exhibited.

In Incident 2, P10, who is a gay male, provides an incident where P10 and his boyfriend are the subjects of *madilik*. In this specific incident, there is an important insight into the rapport management orientations experienced by queer people. Because of the potential threats, P10 and the boyfriend takes up a rapport neglect orientation where they prefer to isolate themselves from the others, yet still want to be present and claim the space for themselves. On the other hand, rapport is also challenged by others with '*hate speech'* remarks which is the extension of the phobia function mentioned previously. Individuals are expectant of the threats that they assume a defensive stand all the time and ready for *madilik*. *Madilik* is also used to exclude individuals as mentioned, the attitude of the public is the agent of exclusion from the society for queer people.

> Incident 2. P10. First of all, I guess it was the second or third year of the university. We were at Istanbul with my boyfriend at the time and went to Istiklal Street for the first time. We said that these were the years when we needed self-esteem and when we discovered our sexual identities, at which time we were 20 or 21. I wanted to hold hands with my boyfriend on Istiklal Street and my boyfriend consented. We had sunglasses, I remember very clearly, we put on our sunglasses and said that let's not have eye contact with people because we had a fear actually about people's reactions as we did not know how they would react. Then, we started walking but at the same time we were shaking, which was very interesting. Later, two people came towards us and looked at us and made "cık cık cık" noise (which is the reaction in Turkish for

> disapprove or condemning). Of course, they used hate speech against us, for example "You will burn in hell, faggots, f*ck off, what are you doing here etc." For sure, we tried to walk without saying anything. However, we came across other people and they made similar utterances for example "You are bringing the society to this state, you faggots, the heathen". Many utterances like these. We went totally red out of anger. It took five minutes to get myself together, but so many incidents occurred, and we let go of our hands. The purpose of these utterances is that the society does not want to include the individuals who they deem different; people are actually throwing up their hate. Of course, this made us feel really bad because while a heterosexual couple can do this (hold hands) without care and with ease, why can't we, as homosexuals' do it? Unfairness etc. I was full of sadness and hate then. I mean, this is the incident that I can remember as *madi*. This is a *madilik* that I experienced, I can say.

In the incident, the participant (P10) and his boyfriend decided "to live their truth" by holding hands in a public place. Something very trivial for normative identities is a very challenging decision for the marginalized identities. As such in this case, P2 gives a very clear rationale for the action they wanted to take. The potential threat was so high that the consent should be taken from the partner. There was also the act of disconnecting from the others to claim a sense of security by the act of wearing sunglasses. Even with the superficial protection, they were shaking because they were sure of a reaction even in a very central part of the city.

In this incident, the main orientation of rapport and *madilik* is of course rapport challenge performed by the others towards the participant and the boyfriend; however, the act of putting on sunglasses by the participant and the boyfriend is for the neglecting of the rapport with others by putting up an obstacle. The interactional want here is transactional with the aim of having an experience of walking hand in hand with a significant other, which has a permitted tone from the perspective of the participant supported by their equity rights; the equity principle which indicates that they are entitled to personal consideration from others and to be treated fairly (Spencer-Oatey, 2005); however, from the perspective of the offenders, it has a proscribed tone as their rationale is based on their homophobia and their usage of their non-association rights. The agents, like the previous incident perform a case of positive impoliteness by the derogatory remarks and taboo words (Culpeper, 1996) and hindrance\blocking the P10 and the partner (Bousfield, 2008). Although it looks like a relational want, the real purpose here is the breaching of the social norms and claiming a space for their group and individual identity of the participant and the

boyfriend as they are aware of the anticipated threats are not only individual but are towards their group identity as well. Different from Incident 1 discussed earlier where P2 exhibited resistance and reciprocity, P10 and his boyfriend preferred unresponsiveness as a reaction to the madilik they received.

4.3.1.2. Resistance to Phobia via Madilik

In some cases, as in Incident 3 below, *madilik* is performed by queer individuals as a *resistance to a phobic action* made by others. However, differently from the previous incidents, in the interview P1 was not willing to put the phobic act under the category of *madilik,* but his own reaction. The resistance against phobia function is very commonly shared as *madilik* is generally triggered after a (potential) threat as a counterattack.

To exemplify this type of resistance, in Incident 3 below, P1, who is a gay male and HIV+ individual, is the agent of the *madilik*. As narrated by the participant, some time ago, an HIV+ friend of P1 went to a hospital for a blood test to start his HIV+ treatment. When the friend proceeded to give the blood, he faced the unprofessional conduct of the nurse who was overtly phobic. The nurse rejected to deliver the blood to the blood collection unit herself, which is her responsibility, after learning about the patient's medical condition and told him to take his own blood to the unit. This incident was shared with P1 by the HIV+ friend, and P1, distraught by the conduct of the nurse, went to the same hospital 'to see' the nurse and with the intention 'to do *madilik*'.

The critical incident reported in which P1 is the agent took place in the same blood collection unit between P1 and the same nurse:

> Incident 3. P1. They requested all the bloods samples that the doctors in the infection department were doctors I already knew. Then, I asked my friend about which nurse it was and he showed me, and I went to the nurse. When I gave blood, she asked the same question with the same curiosity and got the same answer (that he was HIV+) and showed the same reaction ("you have to take the bloods yourself"). I said that "Only, there is such a thing that I am a very clumsy person, and I can have an accident while I am taking the samples to the laboratory". She didn't get what I said and when she told me that I had to take the blood samples to the lab myself, I took the vials and threw them on the floor and broke them. Then, the hospital was in chaos because of the fact that she was an ignorant nurse. For example, one of the *madilik*s that I have experienced was this. I like doing madilik, especially to the deserved. This incident

> went up to the chief physician and there had been a meeting with the chief physician, then the nurse got temporary debarment. When she came back, there was another complaint, and she was prohibited from working in state hospitals."

In this incident, P1 defined his own actions as *madilik* when he (1) with a sarcastic tone, verbally implicated that the blood vials might drop out of his hand because he is clumsy and later (2) threw the blood samples to the floor and broke them, and finally (3) he made a complaint to the hospital about the nurse. P1 specifically stated that P1 does not consider the behavior done by the nurse as *madilik*. The reason was given as "If I say that it is *madilik*, then the concept of phobia would lose its meaning and would be hollowed out". According to P1 such cases, especially coming from a phobic origin should be defined separately to provide the full protest. Clearly, this reaction stems from a history of phobia which the P1 is very familiar with and have experience, which as a result catalyzed the *madilik*.

The rapport orientation in Incident 3 is clearly a rapport-challenge orientation. The action of *madilik* happens in illocutionary and stylistic domains with the polite toned remark about clumsiness disguised as a warning given by P1, which the nurse did not receive/comprehend the perlocutionary effect for. Although the nurse's action is not classified as madilik by P1, it is a clear positive impoliteness (attacking P1's positive face, his desire to accepted as is) via the sub-strategies (ignoring, snubbing, failing to acknowledge the other, disassociating from the other via avoidance) (Culpeper, 1996) which triggered the following act of madilik performed by P1. Also, there is the action of breaking the blood samples referring to the non-verbal domain. The interactional want in this case is transactional with the aim to trigger the nurse to repeat or perform the improper action, which is against their role specifications, as a nurse should treat all patients equally without any discriminative attitude and conduct. This also goes under the legal/contractual requirement of their position and is a prescribed behavior. Another want is making the nurse and others realize the phobic and improper conduct of the nurse against HIV+ patients. P1's performance of madilik can also be explained by sarcasm (Culpeper, 1996) as the comment about being clumsy is clearly untrue and can be considered as the first attempt to create a social disharmony with the nurse. In this incident, the rapport was destined to be challenged from the beginning as P1 shared that he went to the hospital to create 'a situation'. After the *madilik* event, the

nurse got a warning from the authorities and following a similar incident, she was banned from working in state hospitals. P1 defined the aftermath of the incident as a "kind of success" for the task, the message received, and the retribution served. In this incident, the *madilik* that was performed was to threaten the nurse's individual face as the phobic conduct was accepted as a solitary case for the specific nurse; however, the nurse's action obviously also threatens the quality and social identity face of P1. P1 did not perceive the hospital or the other personnel as such because P1 had prior experience with the hospital and the complaint was issued to the hospital.

4.3.1.3. Physical Violence and Verbal Offense

In the previous three incidents, the concept of *madilik* was coded as verbal attacks, however, often times, *'physical violence'* is also coded as *madilik*.

P3 shared Incident 4 which happened in their hometown. A *lubunya* was physically attacked during an outside sex trade. The sex trade for trans sex workers is not officially recognized in Turkey, and the sex workers have to conduct business on the streets. In *Lubunca*, doing sex trade on the street means "çarka çıkmak".

> Incident 4. P3. They (unknown) beaten up a *lubunya*. In Antalya (a city in Türkiye), there is Yüzüncüyıl (a district in Antalya) where *lubunyas* do sex trade (*Lubunca*: çarka çıkmak). There, some people took a *lubunya* and dragged her in the middle of the road. It was recounted as that some people did madilik to that *lubunya*. Generally, it is about using violence. It is not making innuendos, but some people use it. For example, a *lubunya* got hair extension and another didn't like it and commented. The first one reacts as "don't do *madilik* to me", like harassment.

In this incident, P3 recounted the labelling done by another *lubunya* about the incident of physical violence experienced by a third-party *lubunya*. P3 also shared that her take on the event was also as *madilik*. Following this narration, P3 also gave an example for another *madilik* which was not physical but committed as a verbal offence, but instead of out-group members, the example took place among queer group members. As mentioned previously, for the *madilik* action, the agent can be an outsider in terms of having a cis-heterosexual identity but also an individual with a queer identity. In the first *madilik* case of violence, there is the performance of negative impoliteness by the sub-impoliteness strategy, invading the other's space (Culpeper, 1996) and in the latter an example of a positive impoliteness *madilik* by the uninvited critique to the

other's hair. Regardless of the agent's identity, both cases have the rapport challenge orientation, first being in the nonverbal domain and the second in the illocutionary domain. Interactional want of the first incident is transactional with proscribed tone. The first *madilik* can be categorized as an RMM rights threat; however, the second comment about the hair is a face threat with a relational goal of threatening the targets quality face. The response against the *madilik* in this incident is resistance through verbal retaliation by pointing out the action with the metapragmatic label "Don't do *madilik* to me!".

4.3.1.4. Institutional Violence

The participants, when it comes to violence, categorized it not just as physical and psychological violence they receive from the individuals or groups of people as above, but also included the institutional kind, the 'state and police violence' under the category of the functions of *madilik*. The queers have always been in the receiving end of *madilik* as subjects in such cases of state and police violence.

The most frequent and visible one of the systematic oppression of queers in Türkiye is the ban of pride parades around the country. The Incident 5 given by P4, who is non-binary and drag-queen, refers to the latest bans issued by the government agencies and the disproportionate use of force by the police.

> Incident 5. P4. I mean, the first thing that comes to my mind is a little bit political, I mean one of the most *madi* moments is, well, the banning of the pride march, well, the attack of the police. For example, this is one of the most *madi* moments, you say "a great *madilik* occurred." I mean that mood is already *madi*, a mood I mean, to be and feel in that situation. Because, well, I mean, in fact, you nothing… there is nothing that you do that incurs the police attack. I mean, when you want to look at its essence, while it is a very basic thing that you can see and understand, it is a *madi* situation, you can use it (*madilik*) in such a situation. Well, you have to run around. Well, you inhale pepper gas. Your only desire is to live like a human, to defend your rights, I mean, well, to protect your basic rights. I mean there is nothing else to it. The problem is to use force on people whose only desire is to live in love and respect, well, I don't know, to take under custody, it is a situation which makes people feel bad. It is possible to see totally different kinds of protests or celebrations all over the world, here, the use of unjust force makes a human feel bad about themselves, well as a mood. I mean you can sink into pessimism. I mean, at that moment, we all sink into pessimism, I mean, even if you don't sink into pessimism, I mean, you feel negative about yourself. Because there is nothing to it. Well, the purpose of this, how do I read the situation; this is a very political thing, I mean, above all. Apart from this, there is a fear. Not from us but this fear is felt by the ones who attack us because they take an

> order. The people who give this order, I mean, gives a reaction such as this. Because there is fear, I think it proceeds like this because you can be afraid of the things you don't know and react to those things.

The labelled *madilik* here is also about the participant's general conception of the injustice experienced by Turkish queer people. It can be the injustice caused by policies and laws and their outcomes people experience, but also a relatively mild or smaller scale injustice received on a daily basis. The rapport is overly challenged here by the unfair violence with a clear example of negative impoliteness limiting the freedom of action (Culpeper, 1996). The base principle that was violated here is the equity principle with the sub principles cost-benefit and autonomy-imposition. The role expectations stemming from these principles is that the police and policies must make sure the wellbeing and freedom of the citizens regardless of any association or categorization. However, these role specifications and legal/contractual expectations were violated by the actions of the police and the attitude of governmental bodies. In such cases, according to RMM, the participants feel a threat to their 'rights' more than their 'face'.

4.3.1.5. Exercising a Toxic Personality and Conduct

As well as serious cases like violence, the 'feeling of injustice' that participants feel on a daily basis in mundane interactions, also goes under the category of *madilik*. The repetitive nature is underscored by the participants and referred to as toxic personality or conduct.

P18, who is gender fluid and homoflexible aged 21, shared Incident 6 about a feeling of '*injustice*' and about falling out with their roommate. The roommate in question is defined as "arızalı" by P18, which can be translated as mentally challenged, easily angered or aggressive. In the incident shared, *madilik* was used for the personality and attitude of the roommate in general and the label was given to the agent after repeated exposure to such conduct. In the subsequent member-checking meeting, P18 shared the reasoning behind the coding as they felt unjustly attacked and the toxic personality and conduct of the roommate. Many times, in the incidents shared and the conceptual elaboration by the participants, the toxic communication, personality or attitude/conduct of an individual was considered as *madi*.

> Incident 6. P18. Erm, I used to live in an eight-person dormitory. For example, there was a girl there who was 'arizali' (mentally challenged, easily angered, aggressive) and when I declared my discomfort consistently, she would yell at me. I once told her "You cannot yell at me!" She answered "I can! What's gonna happen? I am yelling, so what?" By saying this, she provoked me. Then, there was an incident where she threw a water jug to another roommate. When I recaount all this, for example, when asked about why I changed rooms, I say *madilik* occurred. (Tr. *madilik* oldu.)

The roommate who was in the agent position clearly had a default rapport-challenge tendency. These challenges, in other incidents, were reported as transactional and/or relational. It is not very clear in the given incident which one it was as the agent's want is inaccessible. Also, during a toxic encounter, the threat can come to the participant's face or rights. The participant P18 tried to enhance the rapport by talking about the problem in search of a solution, however, the rapport was challenged again by the roommate in a very explicit way. The remark "I can yell, so what?" (Tr: Bağırırım ne olacak?) is an example of negative impoliteness with frighten (Culpeper, 1996), threaten and challenge (Bousfield, 2008). The conventional behavior for a roommate would be to accommodate each other's behaviors (by view of association-sympathy in RMM) and respect their personal space; however, clearly the roommate did not follow the typical conventions and the normative behaviors that came with a shared accommodation. As a result of these challenges, the rapport collapsed totally, and the participant changed rooms and acted based on their non-association right. The response to madilik in this case, was eventually unresponsiveness as it was not promising to yield any result with the participant.

4.3.1.6. Slandering

The slandering function of *madilik* relates to falsely associating the subject with a negative aspect, or expression of damaging remarks about the subject via false claims. In Incident 7, the narrative is shared by P4, who is a well-established drag queen. In the incident reported, the *madilik* was used as a label for the slandering acts done by P4's friend. Also, with the examples of the slandering acts, P4 dubbed the person as "great evil". The slandering actions of this individual is labelled as *madilik* not only for those targeting third persons but also to self (P4) who is also the business partner and close friend of the agent.

> Incident 7. P4. The last time was a couple of years ago, I was going to organize a pride party. Well, I was like organizing a party. I had a common friend, like, with whom I organized parties, my partner I mean. Well, she is a girl… a transexual woman, this person exposed her that she (the girl) was a transphobic, misogynist. Because this girl was a bit problematic in terms of psychological disorders. Because she would generally go and fall in love with gay boys. When the gay boy doesn't give heed to her advances; because she is not what he wanted; then she falls in love and starts doing several *madiliks*. This person was a bit evil person. Another time, she would do *madiliks*, for example, from different profiles/accounts, she would get email accounts and send nonsense emails to the gay boy's workplace or to his family, well, for example, saying "Your employee is drugging children under 17 and have intercourse with them." I mean she was great evil. For example, I had to deal with this and finally, she went and complained about me to the police office. As she reported, I mentioned that she was getting psychological support in a public place to her face, which offended her. This upset her very much and she went and complained to the police because of this. Then, I had to go and give a statement to Bakirkoy Police Headquarters because of her. I think this was a great *madilik*, I mean. Then, anyway, I dealt with it. I am P4 here, I mean. Excuse me but, I would f*ck you up, do you understand? If you do something like this to me, you have to have b*lls or have great self-confidence or ignorant or you have to have real evidence that shows I did such a thing for real. Well, I mean this is such a nonsense thing without any reality to it. Even, when I gave a statement in the police office, the poor police officer even reacted like "What the h*ll am I reading?" when he read the statement. What a ridiculous thing! I put my signature and left. This was the greatest and most ridiculous *madilik* I have experienced.

As in the previous incident, the agent of *madilik* here has the tendency to challenge rapport due to an inconvenience they experienced (when her wants, her romantic advances are not met). The action of slandering (defamation by emailing false claims such as drugging minors, etc.) can be categorized as negative impoliteness by explicitly associating the subject with a negative aspect (Culpeper, 1996). The interactional want as reported is mostly relational, in that the triggers generally results from interpersonal relations. The agent also denies the equity principles in RMM (by creating social cost and treatment of others unfairly) many times and try to control and impose their wants/desires to others. The reaction taken by the participant is opting out completely, unresponsiveness by stopping any further interaction with the agent.

4.3.1.7. Seeking Vengeance

Another reason for the employment of madilik is the goal of taking 'revenge'.

> Incident 8. P9. Something like this comes to my mind. With my last boyfriend, there had been bad things, a bad breakup going on. He broke up with me in a bay way, I mean, let me say he hurt me psychologically. I said, well, "I have to do *madilik* to him.

> Well, he had an ex-boyfriend he wanted to turn back. Later, I started dating that person, which was to do *madilik* to him.

Incident 8 was provided by P9, who is a gay male, as a case of vengeance. With the motivation of revenge after an abusive relationship and breakup, P9 strategically and with a conscious decision, started a relationship with the abusive partner's ex-lover who he wanted to return to. P9 defined his action as settling accounts. In this incident, there is a relational goal with a rapport challenge orientation. The participant acts on the violation of the equity and non-association principle and unduly uses the ex-boyfriend as a source of revenge by invading their personal life with a want to cause social disharmony. The participant increased the psychological cost on the ex-boyfriend and denied their non-association right.

4.3.1.8. Survival Strategy and Coping Mechanism

When it comes to individual standpoints of *madilik*, for some it is an issue about personality, but for some others it is a way of 'resistance to the system and reclaiming a social position', surviving, also is a 'preventive measure' to that end.

The incident below took place in a club where the participant (P17, who is a queer and human) was with a transexual female friend. P17 was a witness of an interaction between his transexual female friend and a third-party, a total stranger at the club. The agent (the trans friend) in question acted *madi*, in a very offensive attitude towards a passer-by without any prior offence. The *madilik* act was performed as a 'survival strategy', 'preventative measure', a 'coping mechanism'.

> Incident 9. P17. It happened like this; remember I talked about somebody I got on well with and she got murdered. I once asked her "Why are people afraid of you so much?". I am getting rid of my phobia etc. I said "You are actually very lovely people (transexuals). She said "No, my love, we are not. If we were lovely, they would eat us up. We have to be a little bit *madi* so that we can survive." She used to say this was a survival mechanism. Then, I was trying to understand it. She did madilik to a girl; she asked the girl "Are you jealous? I would cut your face." etc. The girl was terrified. My friend started laughing hard, and the girl run away. She said such things. I asked my friend "What was the fault of the girl?"' and she said "What is our fault?"

At the club, during friendly chit-chat, P17 asked his trans friend: "Why are people afraid of you (the trans) so much?" in trying to understand society's negative prejudice

against the trans people. The friend gave a rationale that they were *madi* to survive, otherwise they would be in danger. Following that, the friend verbally attacked a stranger at the club, a woman who was just passing by with abrupt, out-of-the blue threats (I would cut your face. Tr: yüzünü keserim). After P17 asked what the fault of the woman was, she asked back "What is our fault?". The questioning remark was to point out the unjust hate they receive as trans people from the society. This directly refers to Murray's (1979) suggestion that queer people are more likely to encounter degrading remarks in or out of their queer circles and they develop 'a sharp tongue' as a weapon for defense through practice. The trans woman described this attitude as a survival and coping mechanism that it was not just a contextual or incident-based *madilik,* but a total rapport-challenging attitude in general. There is also a transactional and relational side to it. In terms of transactional want, the practice of madilik is performed as a defense mechanism, to show a strong front or as a precaution to a threat. In terms of relational, the establishment of such a rapport through such an attitude, creates the safe space and social distancing from others of the individual.

In relation to this function, in other incidents shared, participants reported that they *"put their head in the wolf's mouth (TR: kelle koltukta yaşamak)"* every day when they go out. Facing various forms of danger and threats makes them more sensitive to any remark or behavior they experience, and they develop certain strategies to cope with such situations and *madilik* is one of these. As exemplified by McKinnon (2017) in his paper 'Building Thick Skin for Each Other', this phenomenon can be considered as a universal perspective that queers not just in the Turkish context but other contexts may be up against similar situations; and individuals may develop certain tendencies such as being defensive by using offense along with similar interactional practices due to their experiences.

Other than the functions that are exemplified through the incidents discussed so far, there are some other functions that emerged from the accounts and narrative recollections of the participants. One of these functions is exclusion. In such a scenario the orientation is mainly to neglect the rapport by ignoring the existence of the subject or make remarks with the interactional goal to make the subject lose face or deny any association rights. By doing so, the agent performs a clear positive impoliteness

strategy by the performed exclusion (Culpeper, 1996). Besides a direct complaint or an explicit annoyance declaration, the agent can perform *madilik* to indicate their distaste in a covert way, as well.

4.4. *Madikoli* as Mock (Im)politeness in the Queer Community

The second metapragmatic label selected for the study was "*Madikoli*". In Lubunca, it is used with auxiliary verbs as "*madikoli atmak/alıkmak*" and it describes the utterances that are categorized as non-genuine offensive statements or mock (im)politeness in Culpeper's terms (1996). Unlike *madilik*, it does not have any negative connotations because it is built upon the condition that the statements must not carry the intention to damage or threaten the face of the subject. The aim is not to hurt, but have fun, break ice, or improve the relationship. *Madikoli* contributes to the sense of solidarity of the participants as it indicates a closer bond among the participants and their networks by making use of the secret queer code and queer-normative practices, which also corresponds with Culpeper's (2011) mock impoliteness framework.

In most cases, the *madikoli* practice is a speech event performed over multiple turns. Generally, the first turn is a trigger with a suitable content which provides the agent with material for *madikoli*. In the next turn, a clever remark is made about the material, which is generally in the form of an indirect comment with certain rhetoric patterns, etc. As Murray (1979) explicated, such indirect rhetoric remarks are useful for queer individuals as they hone their sharp tongues through such practices. In the subsequent turns, the subject is accepted to perform in a certain way to show that they did not take the *madikoli* as genuine impoliteness by performing a non-verbal action such as laughter or non-serious anger expressions which are different responses from the ones given after a genuine offense. In an ideal scenario, the subject is expected to perform counter *madikoli* about the agent, if possible, in a cleverer way and crafty material. The participants repeatedly reported that having multiple turns of witty *madikoli* exchange is the most fun and fulfilling speech practice for them.

For the topics of *madikoli*, like *madilik*, there is no apparent limitation. However, again, individuals can have personal taboos that sets their limits on which topics they

can perform the act with. The sensitive topics are off-limits, however, the definition of the sensitivity of the topics are decided by the subject. If the subject opens up the space where the traumatic experiences, etc. can be made fun, then it is possible for others to attempt *madikoli*. Unlike *madilik*, where participants defined themselves as 'not very madi', no such declaration was made about *madikoli*. On the contrary, this practice was embraced by the participants as a queer-only interactional practice. Nevertheless, some participants also underlined the hidden danger in the usage of *madikoli* in the form of '*cloaked coercion'* (Culpeper, 2011). They reported that they have experienced queer individuals perform *madikoli* with a hidden illocution of causing offense (*madilik*), but disguise it in the form of *madikoli*. In a multiparty situation, exploitative humor (Culpeper, 2011), may also be performed by the *madikoli* agents where the subject experience repetitive *madikoli* by the agent(s). In the form of its application, Turkish *madikoli* is very much like 'reading' or 'throwing shade' in English (Johnson, 1995; Jones, 2007).

Seen as a queer-only interactional practice, the agent is generally individuals with queer identities. Having said that, participants elaborated that the participation of cis-heterosexual individuals as an agent is very limited and possible only for the ones considered very close friends and the ones who are considered "queerized". Moreover, the subject of *madikoli* is also generally individuals with queer identities. In the cases that the cis heterosexuals are the subject of *madikoli*, the act may not reach the end successfully. In those cases where the cis heterosexuals become the subject of *madikoli*, participants reported the discontentment that they occasionally experience when a communication breakdown occurs because the cis-heterosexual individual considers the act as a genuinely face threatening act and take real offence. They do not perform the conventionalized follow up with a counter *madikoli* or give the desired reaction which may be the silent acceptance (play along) or a non-verbal, paralinguistic signal of acceptance such as laughter, smirk, etc. This notion was discussed previously earlier in this chapter in which the conversation with cis heterosexuals was reportedly found to be not fulfilling compared to conversations with queer dominant groups. The variation in the worldviews and sense of humor creates a hindrance for the queer-cis heterosexual interaction, thus the preference of queers for a queer dominated communication. Some participants commented on their experiences

with cis-heterosexuals when the interaction took the form of exploitative humor where they collectively targeted the cis-heterosexual individual. It is important to add the same problems that occur in queer-cis heterosexual interaction may arise in a queer-queer interaction as well due to the variation in the queer community as well in terms of the interactional practices that are discussed in this study and the varying levels of appropriation of these practices by the queer individuals.

The level of intimacy between the agent and subject is also an important indicator for the possibility of successful completion of *madikoli* besides the previous factors mentioned. The prior established rapport between individuals allows for the offence, which is taken as non-genuine impoliteness. Nonetheless, the participants stated that for queer individuals, there is always an instant connection that is established even when they meet for the first time. With this feeling of connection, individuals act upon the queer culture conventions and can have instances of *madikoli* without a well-established rapport and not have any problems about the continuation of a healthy conversation.

The label *madikoli* evidently has a rapport maintenance and enhancement orientation. In terms of interactional wants it generally emerges as relational in that the aim is to have fun with a friend, to break the ice or to reinforce the relationship and bonding. As it is not a concept like *madilik* which occurs in pretty much all rapport management domains, *madikoli* takes places mainly on at the illocutionary domain and in some cases non-verbal domain is possible especially in the subsequent turns of *madikoli*. Many times, participants mentioned a change in their tone in the cases of *madikoli*, thus stylistic domain can also be included; however, since the data at hand is not a naturally occurring conversation data, it is difficult to refer to the actual differences. In the evaluation of the incidents, the related face threats and behavioral expectations and conventions, if there are any, will be discussed. With the nature of madikoli, the quality and social identity faces of individuals can be threatened from the researcher's gaze, but the intention is not impoliteness.

4.4.1. Functions of *Madikoli* as an Interactional Practice in the Queer Speech Community

The 9 functions of madikoli, as shown in Table 6, found in the data set and discussed in this section are: (a) warning and sending a message, (b) putting somebody in their place, (c) solving a conflict/problem and releasing tension, (d) following a ritualized convention, (e) teasing, (f) healing and honoring, (g) defending and/or saving face, (h) mock insincerity, and (i) a resistance tool. As in *madilik*, the functions listed here were provided by the participants during the narration of their incidents from memory and in the discussion of the concepts that followed. Some of the functions appeared in a mixed fashion within the participant recollection of a single incident.

Table 6. Functions of *Madikoli*

Functions of Madikoli	**(a) warning and sending a message** - comment with a hidden illocution
	(b) putting somebody in their place - to point out an improper act or behavior
	(c) solving a conflict/problem and releasing tension - a form of expressing welled up feelings
	(d) following a ritualized convention - an interaction with multiple turn exchanges
	(e) teasing - jocular comments about the subject to have fun
	(f) healing and honoring - healing by devaluing the negative issues, honoring by referencing in-group values
	(g) defending and/or saving face - a soft form of defense of own or other's faces or rights that are threatened
	(h) mock insincerity - exaggerated distaste
	(i) a resistance tool - to resist against normative assumptions

4.1.1.1. Warning and Sending a Message

First of all, the function of ‘warning or sending a message’ appears to be a common function in the incidents listed as almost all cases of *madikoli* can also be evaluated as speech acts with an underlying illocution. Instead of a direct confrontation in such a case, a clever indirect remark can achieve the intended perlocutionary effect without any problems, all the more may enhance rapport as an aftereffect.

In Incident 10 shared by P1, who is a gay male, there is a case of *madikoli* for the purpose of ‘warning or sending a message’, which is a transactional goal. P1 described the place as a meeting room of a political party which P1 is a member and volunteer in the queer affairs committee. In the meeting, the discussion shifted out of the focus

of the meeting and P1 was clearly not happy with the ongoing and prolonged discussion that was taking place, which he saw as a waste of time. To re-focus on the meeting agenda, P1 described his action of using a false claim (Shut up, you moralist!) about the person who is taking the focus away from the actual meeting agenda by getting into personal topics as *madikoli*.

> Incident 10. P1. The last time, for example, in a general member meeting of the political party that I am a member of, in the last minutes of the meeting, in the last half an hour, I couldn't take somethings anymore and actually, because a topic was prolonged and went off topic, for example, I may have done *madikoli* (Tr: *madikoli* atmış olabilirim) to the municipality president a bit by doing *kür* him (Lubunca: *kürleyip* Eng: by telling a lie). I mean, it is like this; the topics that were being talked were more about their private life, that's why I said couple of things to him. For example, he is a nowhere near moralist person, but I said "Shut up, you public moralist!" By saying this, I did *madikoli* for example.

In this incident, the function of *madikoli* can be defined as sending a message or a warning. P1 uses the word "kürleyip" in the recounting of the *madikoli* action. The word "kür" in *Lubunca* means "lie/fake". From this point we can infer that the *madikoli* actions taken for this specific incident are untrue claims by P1, and that the intention of P1 was for it to be seen as such by the subject and the overhearers. As *madikoli* is categorized under mock impoliteness, it is seen in this incident that P1 uses an incorrect claim to attack the quality and social face of the addressee, however, as shared by P1, there was not any negative feedback/reaction from the addressee even though the expression was a clear attack. The participant acted upon the feeling that their equity rights in terms of cost principle was threatened by prolonging of the meeting. As the reaction of the subject shows, the *madikoli* here although only seemingly offensive, it was taken as non-genuine and resulted in rapport maintenance. The *madikoli* action here was realized in the illocutionary domain for a particular perlocutionary effect (i.e., returning back to the meeting topic). It can also be referred as a permitted behavior which is desirable in queer interaction and resulted positively eventful, although out of context it looks proscribed.

4.4.1.2. Putting Somebody in their Place

Another function of *madikoli* listed is *'putting somebody in their place'*. This function is especially very salient in the critical cases where the subject has a non-queer identity.

In Incident 11, P5, a bisexual cis female, gave an example to sending a message with the twist of '*putting somebody in their place'*. P5 and another queer friend, P21 who is a *lubunya*, were working in the same NGO and attended meetings together. In the meetings, some people P5 define as too talkative could be considered annoying by them because of their patronizing attitude. In those cases, the act of *madikoli* is used to put them in their place by reminding them the violation of their equity right in a 'jocular way' (Jones, 2007) and by making sure they do not take offence (Tr: "Komik komik bir yerden, o alınmadan, tatlı tatlı." Eng: "From a funny point, without offending the other person, in a sweet tone"). Sending a message can be categorized as a transactional want; however, it is obvious that there is a relational side to the interaction, in that P21 tries to adjust the style of the subject to better accommodate the group and institutional interactions.

> Incident 11. P5. In office groups, there is something I remember not for example, it always occurs like this in fact. Somebody writes something etc. "Ay, you smart aleck" etc. *madikoli* done like this. We have a friend who is working in the cis-heterosexual quota. We work closely with him in human rights program. Well, sometimes, it results from, well. It is not really related to him being a cis heterosexual, but some people speak too much etc., you can't stand it but because they are your colleagues, you have to be exposed to it. Because of all these factors and also being a cis heterosexual, P21 consistently tells him "My darling, if you know this much, I wish you had sent this as an email." etc. Even if these are small things like this about work, he is done such small *madiliks* like this all the time. This is putting somebody in their place (Tr: had bildirmek). It is from a funny place, without him getting offended.

In a previous account provided of P5, she mentioned that sometimes she acts upon the presupposition that cis-heterosexual males are phobic in nature or have strong public moral stands, which is a trigger for her to do *madilik*. However, in this specific incident, she gave an extra focus on the fact that the identity did not matter as probably she categorized the person in question as queerized and because of that she 'corrected' herself for this specific incident. She also underscored that in these cases of *madikoli*, the addressee should not be offended and the *madikoli* action should be executed in a

polite or soft manner. The target of madikoli here is the subject's quality face, which refers their competency and unduly patronizing attitude.

Madikoli is not always in the form of a non-genuine offensive statement as described above, but also can be a sarcastic remark disguised as a polite toned one with an offensive illocution. The Incident 12 shared by P21, who is aged 45 *lubunya*, is an example of the *'putting somebody in their place'* function of *madikoli* with this latter type of usage. Incident 12 again occurred in the same workplace as in Incident 11. This is an example for the *madikoli* P5 reports as happening in the office or meeting setting in their workplace occasionally.

In Incident 12, P21 shared their recollection of an email interaction with their 'subordinate' Cemil, the cis-heterosexual male who they work on projects with.

> Incident 12. P21. Cemil sent an email to me like this, he said "P21, you can send this to people like this." I am the general coordinator. For example, the head of the board of directors can write this to me. I can also understand/answer it. The place he (Cemil) is in is not that place. I do … meanwhile. I answer back saying "Oh, Ok, dear Cemil, I will pay attention to your instruction." This is like "stop please!".

P21 has a higher institutional status over Cemil and expects their subordinates to act accordingly. The problem defined in this incident is Cemil's use of inappropriate honorifics and an informal register with a patronizing attitude thorough "You can send this to people like this" (Tr: Bunu böyle yazabilirsiniz insanlara). The interactional wants are the same as the previous incident. P21 claimed that Cemil did not follow the protocol the hierarchy indicated for the e-mail interaction and disregarded the equity right of P21. The contractual/legal expectations, however, were not met by Cemil, and were openly violated. P21 defines their sarcastic toned comment "Dear Cemil, I will pay attention to your instruction" (Tr: Cemilcim talimatını dikkate alacağım." as *madikoli* because it threatens the quality face of the subject Cemil, but not with a rapport-challenge orientation but from a more diagnostic rapport correction ("stop please!" Tr: "bir dur istersen") and enhancement orientation as a superior.

4.4.1.3. Solving a Conflict and Releasing Tension

'Solving a problem/release tension' was observed as another very common function for *madikoli*. Queer conversations, with the use of *madikoli*, can escalate very quickly in tension as reported many times by the participants.

P6, who is a trans woman, shared the Incident 13 which took place in a queer-to-queer interaction as an example of *'solving a problem/releasing tension'* function, which corresponds with the reinforcing solidarity strategy of mock-impoliteness by Culpeper (2011). In the prior incidents, the subjects of *madikoli* were cis-heterosexual people. This incident took place between P6 and a friend, both of whom are transexual woman. In the first part of the incident, P6 and the friend were in a night club. The friend tried to flirt with a man, but the man was interested in P6 instead. Later that night, the two got into a heated argument.

> Incident 13. P6. Again, this friend "who sold me out" in quotation marks, previously, we had another transexual woman with us. This *madikoli* incident happened at home again. There was a man who this transexual woman was interested in. But the man is consistently showed interest in me, and I said, "Go to your friend." I didn't dance with the man. This other transexual woman's friend, we had a fight with her. "You wh*re" etc. "You perverted/seduced him." I said, "What does it mean? I said go away from me." She said "Of where schizophrenic are you? You are schizophrenic." Nothing like this happened, I didn't drink any alcohol. Later, we had laughed so hard with my friend.

P6 specifically stated that even though they had a fight during which a lot of derogatory statements referring to prostitution, having an affair and psychological problems were verbalized, the end result of the discussion was laughter. The terms used here attacked each other's quality faces in that they referred to each other's individual unethical and immoral conduct. Clearly, all the listed impolite utterances and actions were not considered genuine among friends that their relationship was maintained, if not enhanced. It can be considered that, their level of *solidarity* contributed to their impolite communication style to be taken as non-genuine. The utterances in this interaction were positively eventful and fulfilled the relational wants of the participants.

4.4.1.4. Madikoli as Following a Ritualized Convention

Madikoli is also considered as a very important element of queer interaction as a communicative 'ritualized convention' that is followed.

Incident 14 was shared by P12, who is a gay male, with queer people as agents and subjects. In this incident, P12 was invited to a regular dinner gathering which had been ongoing for some time between queer friends. In the setting, the participants commented on the performances of each other in terms of their cooking skills and the food[2] as a form of entertainment impoliteness (Culpeper, 2005). There were also references to their sense of taste in a derogatory way. P12 stated that the *madikoli* in this incident was not a one-case practice but had become a mainstream convention of these dinner parties.

> Incident 14. P12. For example, there is an event like inviting our friends to each other's houses. And generally, it is about criticizing the food constantly. Or I will connect in a far-fetched way, but I mean, I will introduce a little before. This tradition had been around way before I joined in. Every time we went to one of their houses, well, somebody performs a dislike performance. It is not a real dislike, but certain memories, certain stuff, well. Memories like she/he/they cooked something bad etc. I mean, "you did it like, I guess, you learned it from the previous one." It is more like acrimonious comments. This is the first thing that comes to my mind. It is a constant, repetitive acrimonious and nonstop acrimonious performance. He also, when he goes to the other's home, answers with a reference that the food was bought readymade. Or the person snaps back sardonically like "well, honey, even if I buy from somewhere, how can you understand with your no sense of taste?" or like "Have you ever eaten something like this? That you come here and talk about it."

The repetition of this specific *madikoli* practice also give the sense of shared history and common ground. This practice is so welcomed by the participants that it transformed into a repetitive action. In the discussions, during the interviews, participants also commented on the repetitive aspect of *madikoli* and *gullüm*. These repetitive actions open up a safe space for the participants to practice *madikoli* without any risk as it is a given that the action or utterance is not considered as offensive based on prior experience. The practice became a routine and a part of their group identity. Also, this refers back to the finding that *madikoli* is a speech event that spans over

[2] At the time of the data collection, there had been reality shows on TV (e.g. Yemekteyiz) in the Turkish setting in which people visit each other's houses and have a meal together while blatantly criticizing the host for their culinary skills/performance.

multi-turns in interaction and is a co-constructed phenomenon. Many participants specifically underlined that to have a successful and satisfying *madikoli* practice, it should not be one sided, but with a comeback from the addressee. In a sense, it becomes a competition to better each other in a clever and the wittiest way. As in Incident 14, *madikoli* utterances can be direct or indirect, or provided by the previous incidents. Also in this specific incident, *madikoli* is driven by what the interactants believe are false exaggerations as the dinner does not stop and everyone continues eating and having dinner parties despite the overabundance of negative comments. The interactional want here is totally relational with a rapport maintenance orientation. The attacks are on the subject's quality faces about their cooking competences. The role of the agent is attributed to the guests of the dinner party as they have the right to evaluate the host's skills.

4.4.1.5. Teasing

As the queer form of mock (im)politeness, 'teasing' is another important function of madikoli which intends to provoke or make fun of the other in a playful, jocular manner.

In Incident 15, P20 who self-identifies as non-binary/fluid, shared their experience of a pattern in their social circle. In the social network that P20 had, they had the alias a "princess" with a diva attitude. Their friends always started a meeting or a conversation by referring to the diva attitude of P20.

> Incident 15. P20. Well, I mean, they say that I am very *madi*, that I am passive aggressive. Reportedly, I do madilik as if I don't do it. Well, let me think of a more concrete example. I experience a lot… I am teased a lot. They consider me a little bit princess. Well, when we chose a place to go, they say that I am hard to satisfy; when we go to a hotel, I don't like the hotel etc. Generally, when we sit at a table in a meeting, when we go to an event, as soon as we enter the place, they start "Oh, she certainly wouldn't like it", well, "They (P20) doesn't deserve us, we don't deserve them." Everybody starts to mess with me, but it is like, they do *madilik*. This is especially, if there is a cute boy in the place, *lubunya*s do it specially to annoy me in front of that boy. Such things happen to me a lot at events. They mess with some of my "princessness" in quotation marks, a lot and they try to annoy me. And I generally do not respond or I answer normally.

The important point in this incident, besides the *teasing* by friends, is the reaction of P20. Although it is expected of the subject in *madikoli* cases to clap back with a clever

twist when faced with *madikoli*, P20 describes their reaction as silence or a normal response. The underlying reasoning behind this can be explained by "cloaked coercion" by Culpeper (1996). Although P20 codes the utterances as *madikoli*, it is obvious that there is not a full agreement on the P20's side. From P20's standpoint, the situation can be annoying as P20 did not accept the alias and the following *madikoli* instances; however, because of the peer pressure, P20 had to take *madikoli* as it was and since their friends knew this, they might have intentionally insisted on their attitude under the guise of *madikoli*. The teasing here is done with rapport maintenance orientation with a relational want. The threats are against P20's quality face. Although the judgment of P20 is in between taking the offense as genuine or non- genuine, the rapport is not jeopardized as the practice of *madikoli* has become a convention and integrated into group members' social identity performances. The practice is expected and the conventionalized aspect of it affects the individuals' (subject and third parties) judgements.

4.4.1.6. Healing and Honoring

Among many other functions, some participants reported the 'healing and honoring' functions of *madikoli*. The healing function refers to the ability to joke about traumatic experiences of the individuals on the condition that the subject permits it. The honoring function works with the material which can be demoting in social norms, however, in queer community and context, they are seen in a different light and are taken as a compliment.

Incident 16 reports a critical incident that occurred in multi-party interaction. P21, who is a *lubunya*, commented about a deceased friend in a joking manner, and the other participant in the conversation pointed out the fact that the third person in the conversation has paranoid tendencies. However, the person in question stated that the comment would not trigger their paranoia in any sense. From this reaction, P21 read this statement as the person had solved certain paranoid assumptions related to death and they are in a better and closer position.

> Incident 16. P21. For example, a friend of mine died and these two… A friend of us is a little bit paranoid. I made a joke. Mehtap said that "You are doing this but this person is paranoid, she would fixate on this and think over it too much. He/She/They

> said that "No, I would not think it over." Now, this means in basic terms, well, this (*madikoli*) makes the unspeakable speakable. There might be a problem in our relationship of three because of them being paranoid, for example, I understood from this comment: he/she/they closed that book (forgotten about it/ went past it). Naturally, it (*madikoli*) might have a healing aspect. You can also honor a *lubunya* by madikoli. Well, you can say to Alev "*Lubunya* is ugly but picks up nice guys (Lubunca: laço - a masculine man)." What does it mean? We are saying actually *lubunya* has coquettishness to her.

P21 pointed out that *madikoli* had a healing function by initiating and maintaining solidarity among individuals as the trust among them increases, the perceptions of *madikoli* also changes. By this way, a common judgement concerning the healing function of madikoli is established. When it comes to the limit of *madikoli* in terms of its topics, as can be seen in this incident and several others provided and stated by participants, even death can be a material for *madikoli* and it lessens the impact of a negative experience on the individual and group. In this incident, there is no face or right attacks. Joking about death is taken to fall within an acceptable boundary of topics that can be used for humor. Interactional want in such a case is transactional in the sense of healing (after repeated exposure to the topic) and lessening the pain felt over death and also relational with the sense that talk over death brings people closer and establish and enhance bonds among individuals with common history of traumas and experiences.

P21 also gave the function of *'honoring'* through "Lubunyayı onore de edebilirsin yani hani *madikoliylen"* (Tr: You can also honor a *lubunya* via *madikoli*.) in Incident 16. In the example provided by P21, it can be observed that the statement "*Lubunya* çirkin ama güzel laço götürüyor" ("*Lubunya* is ugly but popular with nice men") is very offensive out of context because it demotes the addresses physical and moral characteristics, thus attack their quality face; however, P20 provides the intention through the disclaimer as honoring the addressee since the affection received from others is mentioned and considered as a positive trait meeting the queer context convention. Contrary to the societal norms, it gains a face enhancement function and maintains and enhances rapport.

4.4.1.7. Defending and/or Saving Face

As in *madilik, madikoli* may also have a *'defensive'* nature and tendency as well. While the defense with *madilik* works against a potential threat, the defensive function of *madikoli* works more like a *'face saving'* manner.

P21, who is a *lubunya* working in an NGO, shared Incident 17 of *madikoli* with a more '*defensive'* function. The incident is about a rumor originated from a job interview that took place in the NGO where P21 was working.

> Incident 17. P21. In an event of an NGO, something happened. We were going to employ a person who was an NGO personnel, we couldn't compromise on the salary. Later, this nonagreement and the collogue who interviewed the person said "You can talk to our manager about the salary, I don't know about it." The "I don't know" was understood by the other party/third parties as the NGO personnel doesn't know about how much salary their personnel get. It came back to as such. And I said after such a comment "At least, they know that they are getting and will get a salary. There is no uncertainty about three months later." For example, this is madikoli. The last madikoli that I did.

For NGOs, transparency is a very critical policy in that if questioned, they have to answer with the actual facts and figures. For this reason, the possibility of an NGO personnel not being able to answer a question about the salary directly was seen as a validation about the NGO violating this policy and started being circulated as a rumor by this applicant, which was a threat for the professional image of the NGO. When received a comment ("the NGO personnel doesn't know about how much salary their personnel get") about this issue at an event, P21 answered by bringing up a different issue common with NGOs by saying "at least they know that they are and will get a salary" referring to the unprofessional conduct by a company or establishment, possibly the one which the comment owner is a member of, who has inconsistent and unreliable payment procedures.

About this specific incident, when asked about the intention, P21 stated that they wanted to protect the NGO's professional reputation and the shared institutional social identity face among members, against outsiders. Again, in this incident as well, the *madikoli* action as a reaction did not cause any disagreement with the parties although the interactional want here was transactional with a sense of criticism. The attack was evaded with a clever come back which was unexpected by the subject of *madikoli*. By

the performance of *madikoli* here, the face saved and also the institutional/social face of the other party is threatened. However, the rapport is maintained as expressed by the participant in the rest of the interview.

4.4.1.8. Mock Insincerity

Another form of *madikoli* that can be performed is in the form of 'mock insincerity' which refers to the utterances through which agents pretend to feel something that they do not really feel, or they do not mean what they say. For example, the agent can take up an unapologetic role and make cutthroat remarks about the subject by attacking their face. As in other forms of *madikoli*, the subject does not take the remarks as genuine as the subject reads into the illocution of the *madikoli*.

In Incident 18, P21 shares an example of '*mock insincerity'*. In this incident, P21 and some other friends goes to a friend's newly purchased house for helping with the cleaning. At a certain time, when they got hungry, they requested that the house owner buy food for them. The owner complained about their request by indicating that it was not their right to make such a request.

> Incident 18. P21. Gülay bought a house and we went to help her to move in. We were three people going. We had gotten hungry at some point, and we said, well, we want meat kebab or pide. She said "Ayol (an expression attributed to effeminate speech), if I had to buy this much food, I would have called for a cleaner instead. I am spending the money for your food, which is enough for a cleaner." By saying this, she did *madikoli*.

In this incident, by the seemingly insincere outburst uttered with a jocular tone, the owner enforced a slave like identity onto P21 and others, indicating that P21 and friend's request was inappropriate, or they were overly demanding because of the help they volunteered for. However, as informed by P21, the owner ordered the food without any delay after this exchange and no one in the incident took the comment as a genuine offense due to the shared history of the practice of *madikoli*.

4.4.1.9. Resistance Tool

When faced with a face or right threat from a cis-heterosexual individual, a *lubunya* can react with madilik as a resistance to the imposition that is directed towards them as mentioned in the madilik section. In such cases, a *lubunya* can also react with *madikoli*, which has a rapport maintenance orientation.

In the Incident 19 provided by P21, it can be observed that *madikoli* was used as a *'resistance tool'* for queer individuals. In this incident there are 3 interactants and the setting is a taxi journey. The subject of *madikoli* is the taxi driver. Selma, a transgender woman is the agent, who P21 was estranged from as they had a previous falling out. All three were in the taxi.

> Incident 19. P21. Let me tell you about Selma, as well. She now followed me on Instagram, she is older than me. We are estranged from each other, which is … in *lubunyalık*. Being estranged from does not mean that you cannot do *madikoli* to somebody who you don't do *gullüm*. You don't organize any events, you don't go to a bar together, you don't go to the hairdresser, but meanwhile I didn't know this, I thought we were estranged from and relaxed and not talking to each other. Something happened in 2003. There was a symposium for solution search, they (Selma and others) busted into the hall thinking they were not represented enough (because they are transexuals). She was shouting at me like "I am going to put my feet into you", which is the background of our story of being estranged from. We were like, I mean, I have a justified reaction to be estranged from. Anyway, we got out of the meeting one day. She was also going to Kizilay. She said that "You must be hungry because you have no money. The NGO wouldn't give you money for taxi, too." By the way, it was really the case, all true. She said "Come, let me give you a lift with taxi." She sat at the front. She had her hair cut short, in a suit. The driver asked "Where are we going, big brother?" She told the driver "Big sister, big sister! These hands roll leaves and open up dough, as well (relatively difficult recipes which are considered as feminine skills in Turkish culture). Come tonight, I am going to roll leaves (Tr: sarma) for you!"

As reported by P21, P21 and Selma did not keep in touch or have any relationship, however, as described by P21, for a *lubunya,* it did not mean that you would never communicate because of this. There may not be activities planned together, but there can be occasional interaction in the forms of *madikoli*. P21 stated that this was about the small community where you could come across with the individuals very often in certain queer spaces and also about an underlying solidarity that comes with belonging to a minority. This can also shed light on the practice of *madikoli* in that even in the cases of bad blood between individuals, the sense of solidarity allows for occasional

exchange and even in the cases of cloaked coercion, the queer individuals are seemingly more flexible and able to take *madikoli* graciously.

In this incident, Selma performed two cases of *madikoli*. The first was towards P21 by refereeing to the economic condition of P21 by making a demoting claim about P21 being poor and did not get any financial support from the NGO they are working for (You must be hungry because you have no money. The NGO wouldn't give you money for taxi, too. Tr: Açsındır paran yoktur, dernek sana taksi parası da vermez.), which P21 accepted as true. Here, the quality and social face of P21 was threatened. The second case of *madikoli* was Selma's reaction to the taxi driver's inappropriate identity marker of "abi" which means big brother. Selma felt her quality face was threatened since she self-identifies as a woman and reclaimed her gender identity as "abla", which means big sister, with an outburst of her skills about cooking which is stereotypically associated as female-related skills in Turkish culture. This is a very clear example of *resistance* to the assumptions of others about an individual's gender based on their choice of clothing, hair style, etc. Instead of a more aggressive way such as *madilik* with the intention to harm and challenge rapport, Selma reclaimed her gender identity by performing *madikoli* and left no room for comment from the taxi driver by providing supportive arguments for the claim, and maintaining rapport with the taxi driver at the same time. The interactional want here is transactional with the purpose of reclaiming identity and space for themselves; also relational in the sense that Selma provides the interactional frame and limits what kind of a communication frame the taxi driver can establish with her.

This *'resistance'* with *madikoli* is exemplified one more time by P21. P21 shared a memory from their earlier days within the queer culture about a protest against the police. For anonymity, the three NGO's names mentioned have been exchanged with numerals in the extract below.

> Incident 20. P21. For example, we used to do… it is in the archives of the NGO (1) or on the internet, *Somebody's* (not given because of anonymity) archives. Police used torture or disproportionate use of force, but we were gay and didn't understand because of it. On May 1st, we came in front of the police, before the trans-focused NGO (2), the NGO (3) used to say "We salute and applaud the police who brightens our nights and ensures our safety." And we thought the "police beat them up at night, what are these people doing/saying?" What should big sister do there? She did

> madikoli so well in the form of telling something untrue as if it is true. We, with our gay brains, thought the police was beating them up, why were they applauding the police? It turned out that it was *gullüm*.

In Incident 20 above, some transexual women of which a few were street sex workers, were applauding and cheering the police (who exerted disproportionate use of force on the queers) by stating "We are saluting and giving applause for the police who are lightening up our nights and ensure our safety." The *madikoli* here is coded by the participant as this statement and the action of cheering for the police. As P21 stated, when they were younger, they could not see the point that the police were being cheered on as they were the agents of madilik for many queer people and especially transexual sex workers themselves. P21 states that later they learned that this is a form of *madikoli*. By saying something untrue where being truthful will bring a legal change of state (e.g., to be taken into custody), the queers show resistance but in a way that they will not be subject to retribution. As discussed before, the concepts discussed here can show variation among members of the queer community based on their age, experience in the community, etc.

As seen in this example, the resistance function of *madikoli* creates a safe space for queer people to protest and challenge the oppression they face every day. Like the previous incident with the taxi driver, this incident shows a relatively non-violent way of communication. The real implicature may be otherwise, but on the outside the utterances are both polite but they serve a very clear purpose of resistance. Although there is no clear face threat here, the implicature is a covert attack on the group face of the police and points out that they violate the legal/contractual expectations of the queers as they are supposed to protect them rather than committing disproportionate use of force against queer individuals. The interactional want here is transactional with the aim to protest in a safer way for the protesters by eliminating any potential threat to their rights with the use of mock politeness.

Besides the functions exemplified with incidents, there is always the possibility of cloaked coercion with the *madikoli* practice where the agent can perform an intended offensive action covertly. Using Critical Incident Technique through the interview was useful in that the judgements of the participants could be elicited thoroughly and with the membership checking in the post interview part further elaboration was elicited.

4.5. Variation in the Evaluation of *Madilik* and *Madikoli*

In the evaluation of the incidents by the participants, the identities are important not just for the agent and the subject of madilik, but also for the audience (third parties) around in addition to the intimacy levels of the participants (Culpeper, 1996). The presence of third parties and their identities causes a variation in the evaluation and labeling of the incidents. Besides the third parties, (a) whether or not the act was performed in the private versus public domain, (b) the age of the interactants and their cultural exposure are other defining criteria for the evaluation of the incidents as madilik or madikoli.

The Incident 21 is provided by P5, who is a bisexual cis woman, whose partner is a transexual male. The incident took place in a bar, a public domain, where a friend of the partner worked as a bartender. P5 defined their relationships as close friends. In the time of the incident, there were also other people around who the partner identified as cis heterosexual people.

> Incident 21. P5. My partner is a transexual male. He has a very close friend who is cis heterosexual. With the level of intimacy between them, they can utter "Lan trv[3]....". They have such a level of intimacy. One day, my partner goes to the place his friend is working. At that time, there were other people in the place as well, it is a bar, the friend is a bartender. In the middle of all the people who are cis heterosexuals, his friend told my partner "What are you wearing? You look like a faggot!" My boyfriend got estranged from his friend for six or seven months and never talked to him. Who are you? I mean. As a person who knows me very well, the place and the people around affected the judgement of madilik or madikoli essentially, I think. As P21 said. When the utterance is performed in a heterosexual circle, well, humiliating him, maybe it is a place where his dysphoria is triggered the most or a place where he felt socially disturbed; he took it as very personal as it is done by somebody very close as well. I told my partner that it was probably not a big thing as they were probably doing such things when they were together already. He said no, it is very… He didn't talk to his friend for months but later they have gotten well. That time and space was very affective in the judgements.

The bartender friend commented about the P5's partner's fashion choice and said "What are you wearing, you look like a faggot!". The partner took this comment as very offending and broke up their relationship with the agent because of this. He evaluated the overly impolite comment as a *madilik*. In this incident, P5 commented that the same utterance could also be normally coded as *madikoli*, differently from the

[3] Trv is short for travesti (Eng. transvestite).

evaluation of the partner. However, P5 underlined that the audience, the fact that they were in a public place with many bystanders around, had a big effect on the evaluation of the utterance as *madilik* rather than *madikoli*. The presence of these cis-heterosexual people violated the conditions for a successful *madikoli* practice (which happens among the in-group) and instead the utterance was taken as an offense or *madilik* by the partner.

One other variation resulted from the amount of cultural exposure an individual has about the queer communication conventions.

P5 provided the Incident 22 about the level of culture exposure and its effect on the evaluation of these practices. P5 was an NGO personnel and was on constant contact with other NGOs and queer people. During the earlier times, when she received *madikoli*, she would not be able to understand the practice as she was lacking exposure. However, as she mentioned, through time and constant exposure, she had become more accustomed to the concepts and practices; and now she can read the situation and utterances effectively and comes up with a clever clap back in the cases of *madilik* or *madikoli*.

> Incident 22. P5. For example, when I had joined the NGO, I used to go to a lot of events. I wasn't familiar with the NGO's work etc. as much as now. Apart from this, I was also not familiar with people. The people that I was socializing were the people P21 were already familiar for years. I can't remember whether the person was an independent activist or not, but there was a transexual woman who was known as *madi*. She once told me in an event about funding. First, I said "We are also going to apply for the funding." She said "Ay, the NGO has eaten again and again but not full yet!" (Tr: Dernek de yedi yedi doymadı.) For example, this is *madikoli*, but at the time I took it as *madilik* and couldn't give an answer. However, after years, after I have gotten more experienced. If she said the same thing, but she didn't tell the same thing, but similar things happened. Now, I react as "If you had known, you would have written as well, sister (Tr: Siz de bilseydiniz siz de yazsaydınız abla)." This is another *madikoli* from my standpoint.

With both evaluations of the incidents, it can be stated that the labeling of the incidents from the perspective of the participants is very dynamic and situational. For a successful practice of the *madilik* and *madikoli*, there are many conditions to be met often influencing judgements interactionally as discussed before.

4.6. *Gullüm* as an Interactional Practice and Metapragmatic Label

The third and the last metapragmatic label that was the focus of the study was "*gullüm*". *Gullüm* is a Lubunca word used to describe a happy moment, story, and express positive feeling related concepts. It is usually used to describe a moment, the atmosphere and a person or an event. It is also used for evaluating certain utterances. The form that is used generally is "*gullüm atmak/alıkmak/yapmak/çevirmek*" with several auxiliary verbs. Moreover, it can be used with the same spelling as an adjective along with modifiers *çok* (very), *but* (a *Lubunca* word meaning big). The concept of *gullüm* corresponds well with the notion of *kiki* (Stanley, 1970) in the English-speaking context. As mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, queer individuals clearly separate their queer-only or queer-dominated interactions from others as the queer interactions are more fulfilling for them in terms of easier self-expression and relatable sense of humor.

The topics of *gullüm* is also very broad and generally there is no obvious limitation. Of course, it is on the condition that the participants of a *gullüm* moment allows a certain topic to be discussed. It can refer to a fun moment with friends, a gossip session, or any kind of activity where participants have fun. It is also used to describe a person as "*O çok gullüm biri."* (Eng: He/She/They is/are a very *gullüm* person.) meaning a very fun, humorous, easygoing and loveable person. In a *gullüm* episode, the topics which pose a triggering effect for individuals are avoided unless the person in question starts joking or sharing it first. Many times, a *gullüm* situation is a gathering where people share personal stories. As participants also shared, for gullüm, the repetition of shared stories is a very common as a strategy where the same story recurs in interaction very frequently. Participants stated the rationale for the recurring nature of the stories as to lessen the impact of the unpleasant memory on the individual or the group by eroding its pain and negative effect via constantly joking about it, in a way, neutralizing its effects. To be able to joke about the very serious and traumatic experiences help them to move on and establish group solidarity by sharing and laughing at difficult things at difficult times, thus jointly establish a closer rapport and/or maintain it.

Although the application and use of the label is general when it comes to describing a fun activity with a queer group, the participants provided a frame for a genuine *gullüm* activity where only queer or queerized cis heterosexuals can join. This queer domination is a key issue for *madikoli* as well, as it brings up the discussion of hierarchy again. Participants underlined the importance of "equal exchange" in a *gullüm* situation. The members of *gullüm* should make equal contribution to the event. They shared that if the group is not queer dominated, the likely result is a *pandalama* situation, which is very different from the *gullüm* case. A participant provided the term "*Pandalama*" which explains the situation where a queer person is fetishized by cis-heterosexual people as something exotic to have fun and listen interesting stories of, which creates the best gay friend stereotype. *Pandalama* is often times very triggering for the participants. In a *gullüm* situation, the idea is uplifting each other with the feeling of solidarity. However, in a *pandalama* case, the individuals are imposed upon certain identity roles and expected to act and speak in the liking of the others (cis-heterosexuals, especially female) with a pseudo ideal queer identity (e.g., Tr: "Ay senle ne güzel alışverişe gidilir, dedikodu yapılır." Eng: "Ow, it would be great to go shopping or gossip with you.").

If the session is about past experiences or memories, everyone in the *gullüm* should contribute with their own stories and experiences or at least be willing to share if the turn comes to them, which comes with the equal exchange condition. An individual who only listens and laughs at other people's stories is not acceptable and unwelcomed in a *gullüm* situation. For participation in *gullüm*, a person should get the covert permission of the agent/leader of *gullüm* who would be the relatively dominant character or the organizer of the event or the get together. In case of *madikoli*, it can be achieved with only two people, however, *gullüm* cases are generally multiparty interactions where a dominant moderator controls the flow, if there is one. The moderator or other *gullüm* members have the power to include or exclude a person as they deem fit. The inclusion can be managed with turn distribution to the newcomer or by initiating *madikoli* practice to break the ice and other enquiries. The exclusion can be achieved by denying turns or with covert *madilik* in the form of *madikoli* as in cloaked coercion. They also mentioned intimacy as a common denominator of these episodes. The members of *gullüm* should have a satisfying level of intimacy to let go

of their filters and have fun. On the other hand, as mentioned, for queer people establishing an instant connection is very easy and the necessary level of intimacy can be achieved very quickly and even a newcomer can be made part of *gullüm* directly if they present enough sincerity.

Gullüm space is generally defined as a safe space where individuals should not be threatened in any way. Nonetheless, all participants mentioned the most salient function of *gullüm* as "a coping mechanism" and exhibits a therapeutic aspect. The things that are being coped with can be personal traumas which happened in the past or in a recent time, but also the *gullüm* action can also happen during the course of a traumatizing event. One participant shared a memory of being taken into custody because of participation in a pride event at a university campus. In the police bus, all the people who were taken into custody because of their participation in the pride started dancing and singing. The participant specifically defined this memory as very *gullüm* and emphasized the coping function of *gullüm* under direct threat and where their freedoms and equity rights are withheld unjustly.

Differently from *madilik* and *madikoli*, as participants reported, there is not much variation in *gullüm* when it comes to the perceptions of participants. All participants agree about the functions and positive aspects of *gullüm* and have experiences that they can label as *gullüm*. *Gullüm* is categorized as a queer-only interactional practice and embraced by all. This is the activity which brings the participants the highest feeling of belonging and identity expression among the three metapragmatic interactional principles investigated in the study. Some participants defined it as a sanctuary from the outside world where the queer individuals struggle for visibility and basic survival needs.

In the following section, incidents that were elicited from the participants with the metapragmatic label *gullüm* will be analyzed. Mainly, *gullüm* practice has rapport enhancement and rapport maintenance orientations. The promotion of solidarity is very apparent in *gullüm* interactions. The interactions generally happen in multiple domains, and as mentioned before, it can include several practices of *madikoli* as well.

4.6.1 Thematic Functions of Rapport-Sensitive Cases for *Gullüm*

Table 7. The functions of *Gullüm*

Functions of *Gullüm*	**(a) feeling of freedom and authenticity** - a release from the social norms and sense of a realized self
	(b) resistance play against a threat - a tool to deal with threats in a fun way to lessen impact and fear
	(c) self-denigration - jocular way of self-targeting offensive humor
	(d) recognition/acknowledgement of a queer individual - an immediate ice breaker tool establishing solidarity
	(e) gossip - conversations about third parties outside of the interaction
	(f) preventive measure, coping mechanism and survival strategy - a form of coping mechanism for the received hate, discrimination or any injustice
	(g) marking inclusiveness or exclusiveness of an individual - an in-group space where others may be included or excluded
	(h) healing through repetitive mention and neutralization - healing by lessening the effect and load of negative experiences

In this section, the incidents reported by the participants for the metapragmatic label *gullüm* will be discussed. During the analysis of the incidents, certain themes and functions emerged for *gullüm*. The 8 thematic functions of *gullüm*, as shown in Table 7, that emerged are namely: (a) feeling of freedom and authenticity, (b) resistance play against a threat, (c) self-denigration, (d) recognition/acknowledgement of a queer individual, (e) gossip, (f) preventive measure, coping mechanism and survival strategy, (g) marking inclusiveness or exclusiveness of an individual, (h) healing through repetitive mention and neutralization. As with the other labels, the functions and themes here can appear together in the same incident.

4.6.1.1. Feeling of Freedom and Authenticity

One of the most salient themes for *gullüm* is the 'feeling of freedom and authenticity' in that the participants tend to label such feelings or the spaces they feel such feelings as *gullüm*.

P1, who is a gay male, shared Incident 23 in which P1 and some other friends were in Italy for some time and got bored with the heterosexual dominant group they were in and wanted to have fun with a couple of close friends.

> Incident 23. P1 When I went to Italy with friends, it was the fifth night and life was boring, we weren't doing anything. Because the group was formed by 98 percent cis heterosexuals, we would go to a club, but they were the clubs they chose. In the last couple of days, I told them "Guys, it is enough, see you later. Tonight, I am having fun on my own." Then, I took couple of friends. The *gullüm* there was because we were in a different country and the people were not going to see us again, so we went out as extreme as possible. We wore huge platform heels, and we went to the place like that and had crazy fun, we bothered others (Tr: başkalarına salça olmak), others bothered us, pole dances etc.

P1 defined the previous form of activities preferred by the cis-hetero majority of the group they travelled with as dull and unfulfilling because they were constantly going to heterosexual dominant type of clubs or places. P1 clearly stated his irritation about the choices made by others; and decided to have fun in his own style (by "gullüm atmak"), going rouge and doing his own thing. He gave the reasoning that they were in a safer and freer place now that they were in a different, European country with no familiar faces. For *gullüm*, many participants mentioned safe space as a pre-condition. The safe spaces were, as defined by P1, places where the pressure from others was felt less or in some other cases, the safe space was created or reclaimed in threating or difficult times and places (e.g., *gullüm* in a custody bus in Incident 25). With this feeling of freedom, P1 and his friends dressed up freely ("We went out as extreme as possible. We wore huge platform heels.") without paying attention to social norms and had a crazy night. In this specific incident, the rapport was neglected first with the cis-heterosexual friends by using the non-association right. Then, the participant and their friends acted separately revealing their genuine selves to perform their individual and group identities. The rapport of the participant and his queer or queerized friends was enhanced by reclaiming their own space and performance of their identities as a result of the experiences shared together.

In this incident, *gullüm* is defined as this *feeling of freedom and authenticity.* This feeling can arise in a place where the assumption is that they will not face any criticism, phobic, physical or verbal attack or threats. The same feeling arises in queer group situations as well, where the feeling of solidarity covers them with the invisible shield of protection and helps them open up their true feelings and authentic selves. The possibility of presenting the authentic self, triggers the coding of *gullüm*. They maintain their sociality rights and quality faces. By going through the adversities and

pleasant moments, their rapport is enhanced in RMM's discourse and participation domains.

4.6.1.2. Resistance Play against Threat

The feeling of freedom and authenticity discussed in the first incident cannot be accessible all the time for a *lubunya*. As mentioned before, queer people experience constant danger in their daily lives and such moments of freedom are marked because they are rare. Against constant threats, queer individuals show a strong front and resistance to the threat itself or the impositions they face by getting strength from their solidarity. Such moments when the feeling of belongingness and solidarity ensures and gives power to queer individuals to resist whatever threat they face in their own style, is labeled as *gullüm* by queers.

As mentioned before, *gullüm* can manifest in not just physically safe spaces but under a threating situation as well. As examples, P2, who is a non-binary, Bi+ and human, and P18, who is a gender fluid and homoflexible, shared their memories related to pride parades. In Türkiye, the pride parades are events where conflict with the police forces is customary, and there is always a physical and psychological tension and the strong possibility of being taken under custody if taken part in the parade. P2 talked about the preparation and participation in the pride parade in Incident 24.

> Incident 24. P2. In the pride march, I remember the moment before running away from the police basically. Before running away, we were having a *gullüm* moment. I mean shouting, shouting slogans, press briefing; at the same time, the flags were being waved, songs were sung, somethings were being done. The moment there was *gullüm*. Then, suddenly we were running away from the police. Well, where did our motivation come from when we were running away from the police? It came from that *gullüm*.

A protest where people came together under the same purpose gave the participants a very strong sense of solidarity who already had a certain level of solidarity because of their queer identities. P2 defined this participation and preparation together with other queer people and the feeling of belonging and happiness caused by those as *gullüm*. The pride parades or similar gatherings have a rapport enhancement orientation by bringing people together and establishing a unified front against external forces. The interactional want is relational with the aim of building up solidarity and also

socializing. Of course, there is the possibility of being subject to brutality and unfair treatment, which brings people closer by resisting the injustice together.

As for P18 below, they shared a pride memory after being taken under custody in Incident 25.

> Incident 25. P18. But for example, when we were taken into custody, on the bus, there was an instructor, he was also taken into custody and he and my friends were joking etc. This is probably *gullüm*. Or when in handcuffs, we tried to dance etc.

When taken under custody, on the police bus or when they were in handcuffs, which were very challenging situations for these individuals physically and mentally, they tried to have fun and even danced in handcuffs. The pride parade and these *gullüm* practices in these situations are a clear show of resistance and coping function of *gullüm*. As discussed in the previous paragraph, the adversity shared brought people closer and enhanced their rapport on a deeper level. Such incidents happen in discourse, participation, and nonverbal domains. Via the feeling of solidarity, they make sense of their queer identities and enhance their social identity faces.

4.6.1.3. Self-Denigration

As mentioned before, *gullüm* may inherently include the *madikoli* practice, as well. Apart from the functions listed under *madikoli*, when the agent is a queer person, the target was another queer individual or non queers. For a *gullüm* situation that is considered as safe zone for queer individuals, here *'self-denigration'* function is also possible, where the agent becomes the subject of *madikoli* at the same time.

P4, the drag queen among the participant group, shared Incident 26 about their sociality in their workplace. Reportedly everyone in the office was queer and P4 identified as *lubunya* and *Alevi* which is another marginalized minority in Turkey.

> Incident 26. P4. For example, I am Alevi. Well, I am both a *lubunya* and Alevi, but with me being Alevi, about this, they call me kızılbaş. … tell me "Ay, come on put out the candle", well, the electricity is gone. "Let's light the candles, but later we will do *mum söndü* because you are Alevi." For example, I can take this joke with laughter. However, I for example, cannot do this joke in a public place, do you know what I mean? I can explain it to you like this. I sometimes say "well, God damn it, I am an

> Alevi, I am a *lubunya*, I am a faggot. I lose from everywhere." I do *gullüm* (Tr: gullüm atıyorum) for example.

In the workplace, P4 described the jokes made about their (P4's) identity by referring to it directly and to a fallacy "mum söndü" (Eng: put out candle) about Alevi people, which is about their praying rituals that are done in candlelight. The false rumor is that after the ritual, the candles are put out and the participants have sexual activities, which is a slander caused by the marginalization in the society. P4 underlines the seriousness of this joke and mentions that this is normally a very harsh offense and cannot be mentioned in a public place as it is blatant discriminatory practice. However, with their common history, P4 says that they took this joke as *gullüm* and moved on with laughter. Moreover, they (P4) accepted and repeated the same identity markers with an introductory "God damn it" (used as a signal of strong wish for reversal of a state in Turkish; Tr: Allah kahretsin!) followed by "I lose from everywhere" (suggesting they accept these as traits which are markers of a disadvantaged position and loss of prestige; Tr: Her yerden kaybediyorum.) which were acts of 'self-denigration' as if he was at fault because of his Alevi and queer identities. In this incident the articulated statements were actually *madikoli*, but the situation and space which ensured these kinds of remarks taken as non-genuine offense was the *gullüm*. By making use of such practices, the rapport is maintained in the office. The threats are against the quality and social identity face of P4 by the office friends but more importantly, self-face threat via self-denigration. There is a relational want in such an exchange which is to improve or maintain the rapport by making use of offensive humor in the illocutionary domain.

4.6.1.4. Recognition/Acknowledgement of a Queer Individual

Another function of *gullüm* emerged in the form of *'recognition'.* Previously, the instant rapport and solidarity creation was mentioned among queer individuals. In the next incident, an example for such a situation will be examined more closely. For queer individuals, the shared history is not only related to their interpersonal relations, but its source is their social/group/queer identities.

P7, who is a trans-masculine, queer and *lubunya*, shared the Incident 27 they defined as *gullüm*. While P7 and a friend was walking on the street, they saw a reportedly gay

couple and shouted at them "Oww, Gays!". In the incidents examined for *madilik*, there were instances where similar labeling was used, and the participants took them as hate speech immediately and gave an offensive reaction to defend themselves. However, in this scenario, P7 identified their own outwards image as queer-identifiable and because of that, assumed that the couple also identified them (P7 and the friend) as queers and just laughed on, contrary to the reactions to the incidents defined as *madilik.*

> Incident 27. P7. … I was walking from there and was with a friend. Then, there was a couple coming hand in hand. They were holding hands and jumping up and down. Meanwhile I was welled up all day and involuntarily, I shouted at them "Oww gays!". They heard me, but I didn't shout in a negative way. It is already obvious from my appearance already, also my friend's appearance. They laughed, and I also laughed. I don't know the couple, but they were very cute. It was a fun moment for me…

As seen in this example, for the concepts of *madilik, madikoli and gullüm*, identity of the agent is obviously very critical in the evaluation of the practices. The same expression used in similar public situations but by different agents receives different labeling and reactions. The reason why this incident was defined as *gullüm*, came from the fact that the recognition was given to each other, reciprocally, by the queer individuals. In this case, the face attack was taken as a non-genuine offense and even produced the positive reaction of smile and enhanced rapport among individuals who were strangers to each other. By performing this phobic action in a *gullüm* way, there was also the reclamation of hate speech in that queer individuals reappropriate these usages as their own material for *gullüm* and disarm the real phobic individuals by taking away their offensive tools from them or at least lessening their impact. As identified by McKinnon (2017), queer individuals, through such practices are "building thick skin" for the outside world which is full of similar scenarios with the intention to hurt. The interactional want in such a remark is transactional in that it means 'I see you, and you see me!', the recognition given which is otherwise denied from the queer individuals by the violation of equity rights and principles by the society at large. It is also relational in that it is an example of sudden emergence of solidarity resulting from social identity of the individuals.

4.6.1.5. Gossip

Another function which was mentioned many times by the participants was *gossip*, which is casual/unconstrained talk or circulation of rumor, especially about the personal or private affairs of others.

In Incident 28, P10, who is a gay male, talks about a game that they played named "Fuck, Marry, Kill". In this game they were supposed to name people they all knew or were at least familiar with for the categories of 'the person I would fuck, marry, and kill'. As can be seen from this incident and many other examples and definitions, sexuality and sexual topics are very mainstream for queer individuals, which was described as normal and expected by other participants, as their identities are defined based on their sexuality; this has become a communication convention and norm for reiteration. This situation is also present with the nature of *Lubunca*, of which majority of vocabulary is related to sex or sexuality (Kontovas, 2012).

> Incident 28. P10.. We once played a game together with my friends. We were together with couple of friends and said "Let's do something fun and something that is *gullüm."* We thought about doing something a little different from the normal gossip that we do daily. We thought of a game, maybe you have heard of it, it is exactly "F*ck, Mary, Kill". There is a game like that. I mean, we said "Let's talk about people we know, well, who would we get married, have s*x, or who we would never want." For example, we did something like this and said that the people must be of the people we know, and the people we were not familiar with were exempted. We thought it would be more fun. Then, of course, when the turns came, when the f*ck part came, some very funny names were given, and even there were some confessions "well, I have already had something with that person." etc. and we would go "How come?? You are kidding!" Some features of the people were mentioned. We played such a game with a lot of laughter and shocks, and we talked about the familiar people. When you mentioned *gullüm,* this came to my mind as a definition.

In Incident 28, there is clearly a rapport maintenance orientation via gossip. Interactional want of the game played here is very relational. As a conventional behavior of *gullüm*, the participants follow the principle of equity in the form of equal sharing of gossip where all participants must contribute in the same level of content and be as unfiltered as possible without upholding ideas. This activity happens in the discourse and participation domains.

4.6.1.6. A Preventive Measure; a Coping and Survival Mechanism

The functions 'preventive measure' and 'coping mechanisms and survival' exist together in the following incident.

P12, who is a gay male, shared the Incident 29 about the process of getting a report for being unfit for military service (aka. pembe tezkere among queers). In Türkiye, there is a mandatory military service for all men from the age of 18. The time of the service can be postponed for several reasons such as education and health. As the legislations indicate, men with specific medical conditions can get a medical report to justify that they are unfit for military service. Homosexuality and transsexuality are defined as one of the many so-called 'pathological diagnoses' in the regulations. P21 and a friend applied for the procedure at the same time and the shared narrative was about their attitudes in general during this process where they tried to be intentionally overly flamboyant to perform and justify their identities.

> Incident 29. P12. Well, I thought about… we went on for defensive… During the process of *pembe tezkere* with my friend. It was one or two weeks and a big deal for us. If we can name something *gullüm*, we went to this hospital and during the getting the number for the doctor, or in the psychiatry department etc., we, of course, were a bit feminine and did … two friends. Well, I mean, we were loud, because that moment was a bit… We were at the hospital, at a state hospital. Well, of course it was 2018 when the LGBTI+ people were not targeted as much as now, so that was the only thing we could do from a survival and existence point. Well, we thought that with our actions, the people would put a little distance so that they cannot reach us. Well, I think, maybe there was a reflex like we wanted them to be a bit refrained from us. With a louder voice, with the usage of some *lubunca* words…Well, by joking each other etc. but even when we were waiting for our numbers, we would tell the secretary girl "Hey girl, is there any nice *laço* (masculine man) here?", who was obviously homophobic. Of course, she didn't understand etc. well, maybe we tried to claim the space; we were at a survival place, but we did something like this. Something like this was lived. A couple of times of course, not just once. That hospital process took about a year or so.

Although this process was defined as very stressful and challenging for them, they also had fun by displaying an exaggerated identity performance as *gullüm*. He described the rationale behind their own attitude and language practices utilized during the episode (e.g. Tr: "biraz da böyle feminen", "şakalaşarak", "yüksek sesle biraz daha böyle Lubunca keliemler kullanarak"; Eng: "a little bit feminine", "jokingly", with a loud voice and some *Lubunca* words") as a 'preventive measure' for a future threat of not being able to get the medical report, which can be considered as they 'armed'

themselves with their attitudes. The support and solidarity P12 and the friend felt for and from each other is the reason for the coding of *gullüm* just as in the incident where people were handcuffed for their participation in the pride parade. Facing an adversity and a threat together and standing up to it with a *gullüm* is very salient in the explanations of the participants, which forms the very core of *gullüm* as survival and coping mechanism. Through these adversities again, their rapport was enhanced with a common history. They tried to uphold their quality and social faces as much as possible to claim space for themselves in a situation where they were categorized as a pathological disorder. By their overly feminized flamboyant attitude, they were also trying to save their equity rights by reclaiming their autonomy and choosing their own mannerism. The interactional want here is transactional in that they are trying to get the medical report to get exempted from the military service. They are not trying to enhance rapport here with the medical personnel in a relational way, but they are trying to make sure that their identities as queers are recognized as claimed. As a result of the experience, the rapport between the participant and the friend is enhanced via *gullüm*.

4.6.1.7. Marking Inclusiveness/Exclusiveness of an Individual

It was mentioned previously, not every individual can be part of a *gullüm* situation and engage in the discursive practice of *gullüm*. The members of the group may *'include or exclude'* the newcomer depending on different situational criteria. If the members or the leader (can be in the form of a moderator who is generally the person with a dominant character) deem that the newcomer is eligible to be part of the group, the members may try to test the newcomer with specific instances of *madikoli* targeted to the newcomer.

P17, who is a queer and human, shared the Incident 30 that took place in a gay bar where they went with a reportedly "straight" woman. She was described as 'queer-like' by P17 because of her butch fashion choices and attitude. Because she was curious about the atmosphere in this gay bar, she asked P17 to take her to the place. There, they met with some other reportedly 'gay' friends. When Elif reacted with a masculine-oriented sexist slang *"am*na koyayım* (to f*ck, penetrate vagina)", the elderly gay friend, Eray responded by pointing out that Elif as a woman can perform the action "am*na koymak" but he could not do it because he is gay, in a jocular

manner (“Ay, good heavens! Even this girl is f*cking, I am this old and cannot do it” – Tr: “Ay üstüme iyilik sağlık kız bile koyuyor, ben şu yaşıma geldim koyamıyorum”).

> Incident 30. P17. For example, I had a friend named Elif. She said “I want to see (a gay bar), what is it, what kind of place is this?” At first, I reacted angrily because I was afraid. She once said “Get me into that environment.” We went to Tribal (a gay bar) with her after getting on well with some person. Elif liked that person a lot. She talked about that person for years. Elif is also like a queer person, she is straight but more like a boy. She is looking for adventure. She reacted to something, and other people there gave her something and said “Take and play with this, you are a girl, play with this.” She said “F*ck your vagina” and threw it away. Meanwhile, there was Eray who was around 60 years old. He said “Ay, good heavens! Even this girl is f*cking, I am this old and cannot do it.” Everyone had such a facial expression at first, a stillness, but then everybody burst out with laughter.

In this incident, the reaction of Eray, his utterance, can be coded as *madikoli* indicating how inappropriate the utterance given by Elif was or to tease her in a joking manner. Here it is the atmosphere and the whole exchange that unfolds over multiple turn that is *gullüm*. As discussed with P17, *madikoli* embedded in *gullüm* can be a kind of ritual of acceptance for Elif, a cis-heterosexual woman, into an all-queer group setting. Referring to the previous discussion at the beginning about *gullüm*, it is usually a practice or a moment among queer-only participants and if a non-queer person wants to join in, the person with the moderator role must include the person into the *gullüm*, and also that person should at least be ‘queerized’.

Within *gullüm* interactions, inclusiveness is attained through *madikoli*, and exclusiveness is attained via *madilik*. Depending on the humor level and sincerity of the *gullüm* candidate, the level of *madikoli* or *madilik* used in *gullüm* practice is adjusted. If the candidate cannot meet the expectations, they are kept away/declined member status by repetitive madilik.

The rapport with the newcomer is enhanced here in the RMM’s discourse domain and especially through participation and illocution domains. The moderator/initiator of *gullüm* can include or exclude a person from the *gullüm* situation per their (non)association rights. The interactional want here is transactional in the form of a ‘rite of passage’ for a newcomer; also, relational because as a result of the evaluation, the person can be inducted into the *gullüm* context. There is also the convention to check the attitude and personality of the newcomer, or namely push them to their limits

for their *madikoli* tolerance in a *gullüm* situation. The newcomer is made the subject of *madikoli* to understand the level of their sense of humor for a certain time. After it is deemed that their level and understanding of the practice is acceptable, then they are accepted to the *gullüm* practice. So, the willingness of Eray to perform *madikoli* against Elif in the first opportunity was not because from a distaste origin but from a rapport building and enhancement orientation.

4.6.1.8. Healing Through Repetitive Mention and Neutralization

Gullüm also carries the underlying function of *'healing'* in its core. By the repetition, the traumatic experiences are made ordinary and more manageable for the individuals.

In a *gullüm* situation there is pretty much no limit for a topic in general, as in Incident 31 provided by P20, who is a non-binary/fluid participant, was the subject of madikoli in an earlier incident discussed (Incident 15). In this specific incident, P20 talked about an instance where they fainted and had to be hospitalized and this incident was brought up repeatedly by their friends in later conversations.

In the episodes, P20's queer friends referred back to the alias that they had given them (P20), "the princess" to underscore how sensitive and fragile and diva they thought that P20 was. However, this time, differently from the previous incident given by P20 where they reacted in a normal way when faced against this given alias "the princes", P20 also joined in the laughter and accepted the intentions of the participants as *gullüm* in this incident. Even for the same topic and *madikoli* material, the reaction of the addressee can obviously vary according to many other variables such as context and personal choice.

> Incident 31. P20. I once fainted in an event. I was taken to a hospital and stayed there for a night. And the next day, I mean, it was joked about me fainting for days. And we still laugh about it, about me being a princess. Yes, it was a negative experience for me, but I also laughed a lot later. Reportedly, I fainted in a very funny way like this (demonstrates). For example, we still laugh about it. The story of me fainting in Izmir is still being told etc. This is actually a medical problem; we may look at it as something saddening etc. Maybe in another place, with another group, this may have been told in a more dramatic way. Today, everyone teases me about this etc. They say "Oh be careful, P20 may faint again" etc. about how I fainted. For example, I, the day after I fainted, we had *gullüm* about how I fainted, how I spent the night at the hospital, how we had struggled etc. Still, we talk about it, it is mentioned, I mean.

P20 underlines that this was a health problem and sensitive in nature, which in another group would be recounted in a more serious manner; however, in the queer group, it was mentioned repeatedly and as a very fun moment. In this explanation, P20 pointed out the *repetitive* nature of *gullüm* to a make light of an otherwise serious/heavy situation in terms of topic choice. Thus, the repetitive nature of the *gullüm* practice contributes to rapport maintenance and enhancement. Going back to previous stories helps to freshen up and remember the common history and improves the solidarity bonds between the individuals. There is an attack to the P20's quality face again by reminding the diva attitude and the fainting experience, but it is taken as a non-genuine offence. Thus, through *gullüm*, the individual is retracted from being 'the butt of a joke' and loosing face as in an *exploitative humor* (Culpeper, 2011), but quite contrarily, there is a creation of a shared source of humor, a shared joke added to the group repertoire as an end-result.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The study was a metapragmatic exploration into three queer interactional practices, namely, *madilik*, *madikoli* and *gullüm*, and their (a) respective functions and (b) alignment with rapport management orientations (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, 2015) along with their (c) mapping with types and sub-strategies of impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011).

The interview data was collected from participants through the snowballing technique. The final set of participants reached all self-identified as queer, which is used as an umbrella term for all the LGBTQ+ identities and identities that does not comply with heteronormative norms. All the participants had a certain level of queer presence in their social circles and different levels of familiarity with *Lubunca*, which is a vernacular used by Turkish queer people.

Certain variations were observed among queers/*lubunya*s' perspectives on their communication styles with queer and non-queer individuals. One of the most salient variations was that queer individuals in Türkiye felt more *'relaxed, freer, unapologetic and unfiltered'* in queer-to-queer interactions. The participants reported that they felt an easier communication with queer individuals or queer dominated groups because they felt they had the assumption that they came from the same place, and there was a presence of mutual understanding and shared history among queer individuals even without belonging to the same micro-communities or groups. Due to this assumption, participants mentioned the 'instant rapport establishment' among queer individuals even if they met the first time. As for the cis-heterosexual individuals or cis-

heterosexual dominated groups, participants had an opposite assumption in that they felt judged, and not accepted and had the feeling to control themselves excessively because of differences in the communication style, sense of humor etc. Only one participant gave a different account where they felt the same free style in a cis-heterosexual group because of their self-stated identity, which is trans-masculine.

Variation in the participants' knowledge and familiarity of *Lubunca* was another issue that was reported. The participants frequently mentioned a generation difference among queer individuals. In the past, *Lubunca* was used more as a secret language among queer individuals especially the trans sex workers in their local communities starting with Istanbul and then with mobility, the language also migrated to other cities. In the later years, *Lubunca* has become more accessible to all identities of *lubunya*. The older generation has more awareness about the functions of *Lubunca* as a safe discourse space for queer people and for the younger generation it has become a part of identity performance instead of the protection provided by the secret code. Since it is a code for a minority, the transmission of *Lubunca* along with other elements of queer culture followed the oral tradition where the older generation educated the young in the ways of the queer. In the newer times, with the inclusion of internet and non-governmental organizations, the transmission has become more multidimensional. Besides *Lubunca* and Turkish queer elements, the participants reported that the young generation started to adopt certain queer language and cultural elements from the TV shows and films such as RuPaul's Drag Race, etc. with English speaking origins. The level of knowledge and familiarity is also affected by the other identities of the queer individuals in Türkiye. Participants reported that the level of appropriation of queer culture may vary among the queer identities as well. The lesbian identity was given as an example by a couple of lesbian participants that lesbians in Türkiye do not prefer to use *Lubunca* as much as other identities because they do not relate to *Lubunca* as much as others. Participants also reported their distaste about *Lubunca* becoming a pop culture trend by pointing out that it destroys the nature of *Lubunca* as a secret code and safety tool: for some *lubunya*, it still is.

The study primarily aimed to explore the interactional practices *madilik*, *madikoli* and *gullüm* as metapragmatic labels belonging to *Lubunca*. The concepts were discussed

in terms of the topics that were preferred in the performance of the *madilik, madikoli* and *gullüm*, the participants' perspectives about the concepts, the agent (who does the action) and subject (who receives) of these practices, and the emergent functions of these practices and common discursive themes engaged in relation to these concepts by evaluating the incidents reported by the participants according to the Rapport Management Model by Spencer-Oatey (2005, 2015).

5.1. Madilik

The first label that was examined was *madilik*. *Madilik* is a multifunctional term that is used to define variety of negativities. It can be a very basic conflict or a serious act of violence. The people in *madilik* practice can be just anyone who has evil intentions or who at least uses an offensive conduct that harms others physically or psychologically with performances of varying impoliteness strategies (Culpeper, 1996). However, there were participants who limited the people in *madilik* practice to queer only identities, as they wanted to specify the violence and phobic attitude and acts they experience separately; not to lessen the importance of these issues. *Madilik* incidents followed the rapport challenge and rapport neglect orientations.

As for the topics of *madilik*, there were no apparent limitations that could be generalized as the intention is to harm the other, generally the material of *madilik* is chosen from a point that is critical and the addressee is sensitive about. The more sensitive the topic, the better the result and effect of *madilik*. Participants did not also specify a certain space for *madilik* as it can happen anywhere and anytime. The most frequent functions of *madilik* as identified in the data are *expressing hate, resistance to phobia, physical violence and verbal offense, institutional violence, exercising a toxic personality and conduct, slandering, seeking vengeance, survival strategy and coping mechanisms.* The responses to acts of madilik shared in the critical incidents were of four kinds: (a) *overt resistance*, (b) *counter-madilik* and (c) *defending self/peer*, or (d) *complete unresponsiveness/silence*.

In the practice of *madilik*, individuals mentioned the impact of the (a)symmetrical hierarchy relationships among the participants in the action and its judgement. To do *madilik*, individuals constantly assess the addressee in terms of the level of *madilik* the

other can perform. If they feel that the other party has a higher level of *madilik* skill or capability, then it is probably avoided. This is also the justification of participants who did not acknowledge an act as *madilik* when it comes from cis-heterosexual people to queer people, with the rationale provided by the participants themselves that there is a power unbalance between a more dominant/normative side and the marginalized minority. In their opinion this makes it impossible for a classification as *madilik* since it is conceived that it should be between equals, otherwise the term to be used for the cis-to-queer actions is "*şiddet*" (violence) or "*fobi*" (phobia), etc.

5.2. Madikoli

As for *madikoli*, it is an interactional practice performed by a combination of verbal or non-verbal communication strategies. The most basic explanation for the practice of *madikoli* is the mock (im)politeness by Culpeper (2011). In this practice, individuals use several strategies along with the notion of mock (im)politeness to perform variety of functions. The functions and some themes that were gathered with the incidents are as follows: *warning and sending a message, putting somebody in their place, solving a conflict/problem and releasing tension, following a ritualized convention, teasing, healing and honoring, defending and/or saving face, mock sincerity, and a resistance tool.*

Some other functions were also mentioned in the discussion part of the interview and later in the member-checking follow up interviews without a related incident. One of these functions, that was not exemplified through a narration of an anecdote but only mentioned/discussed was the overarching *directive*/*instructive* function of *madikoli*. Some of the participants mentioned that it is a way of teaching somebody queer manners by putting them into a correct place; or it is related to the resistance function, it can be performed in cases of phobia as an instructive reaction and defense to raise awareness of the agent.

In the practice of *madikoli*, contrary to *madilik*, participants defined *madikoli* as a queer-exclusive practice. Besides the queer identity, the level and sense of humor is also an extremely important factor for a successful *madikoli* performance. In the architype *madikoli* situation, the agent of *madikoli* targets another person and uses a

variety of mock (im)politeness strategies to make an offensive in nature comment and ideally, the receiver should understand the intention of *madikoli* and not take it seriously; even better, the subject would answer with another *madikoli* or accept it graciously.

The evaluation of *madikoli* also depends on the intimacy level of the participants in the *madikoli* action. On the other hand, there was a strong discussion about the immediate connection and intimacy among queer individuals even if they meet for the first time. Even though there would not be a shared history, individuals can use the immediate cues such as appearance or other sexual references to perform *madikoli* successfully. The reason behind this is *madikoli* is such a common practice that it allows for the immediate offense without any risk of social disharmony because individuals can easily and quickly bond and have a rough understanding of each other, which constitutes the ice-breaker function of *madikoli*.

When it comes to topic limitations, almost all of the participants agree that the sensitive topics for the addressee should be avoided. Afterall, the aim of *madikoli* is not to hurt or attack, but in a sense, fuel harmony by entertaining. Many participants underlined that if the addressee is unhappy about a comment and not taking *madikoli* as it is, then the performance stops. However, no participant denied that some individuals have no limits when it comes to *madikoli*. They all stated the avoidance of the sensitive topics, with the side note of personal preference. It was observed that *madilik* and *madikoli* are separated by a thin line. If the variables at the time are not considered properly, any *madikoli* can easily be evaluated as *madilik.* Thus, its critical, rapport sensitive nature. Moreover, there can be individuals using *madikoli* as a cloak to hide their real intentions. The *cloaked coercion* version of *madikoli* was also mentioned as a very common reason of annoyance and irritation for people who preferred a more non-violent form of communication, as they are aware of the possibility of a cloaked coercion since they have experience of it. Furthermore, the addressee has the power to decide whether an experience or topic about them can be used as a material for *madikoli*. Many times, participants stated that they look for the signals and cues from the subject about their self-rhetoric to decide whether a topic was accessible for

madikoli. If they open up the topic themselves or even start joking about something, then it is taken as appropriate to participate in the *madikoli* performance.

5.3. Gullüm

Finally, *gullüm* is both a practice and a label used to define happy moments or a bundle of several positive interactional sequences in queer dominant participation. The reason many participants insisted on queer-only participation is that *gullüm* is a safe space or a sanctuary for its members. However, the meaning of safe space is different from the dictionary meaning. The kind of safe space mentioned can be a friend's house, a custody bus, or a jail cell shared by friends, or more so, a psychological space in the minds of queers. The feeling of belonging and solidarity promotes the feeling of safe space for queer individuals.

Solidarity establishment even during first contact is an important aspect of *gullüm*. All the more, for newcomers into the queer culture, *gullüm* can even act like 'a rite of passage' into the community. There can be inclusion of cis heterosexual people on the condition that they are queerized, but again the population must be queer dominant in any case. Otherwise, a situation where there is a cis heterosexual dominancy, it is no longer *gullüm* but "*Pandalma*" which is the attitude taken by cis heterosexual, especially among females, who consider queer individuals as exotic playthings where they can have stereotypical activities such as shopping, gossip, etc., which are unwelcomed comments and stereotypical associations by the queer participants.

The core principle of a *gullüm* moment is equal exchange where participants share their experience proportionately. A situation where a participant only listens and laughs at other people's experiences and stories is not preferred and would probably be pointed out. The motto driven from the accounts of the participants do justice to *gullüm*, is "when doing *gullüm*, we laugh with each other, not at one another". As seen in many incidents given on the account of *gullüm*, they included *madikoli* extensively, which is also commented by the participants as a *gullüm* can be the whole activity or the moment and it can have several instances of *madikoli*. *Madikoli* is the speech act and evaluation of an utterance in discourse, on the other hand, *gullüm* is not just an activity but also a moment, a personal trait and/or a feeling activated by the interaction.

As for the topics of *gullüm*, again similar to *madikoli*, generalization is not possible as it is about having fun and at the same time coping with traumas or challenging experiences, so there is pretty much no limit in terms of topic. However, individuals have personal limits and preferences about the material for *gullüm*. Especially, if it is considered hurtful towards any of the participants, the topic is avoided by all without any explicit declaration.

The functions of *gullüm* that are elicited through the incidents are: *feeling of freedom and authenticity, resistance play against a threat, self-denigration, recognition/acknowledgement of a queer individual, gossip, preventive measure, coping mechanism and survival strategy, marking inclusiveness or exclusiveness of an individual, healing through repetitive mention and neutralization*.

Some of these functions can be applied to *madikoli* as well as they are interrelated. Inclusive and exclusive function is very salient for both concepts. Through these practices, acceptance and denial of an individual into the group or the community can easily be achieved. As mentioned before, the most prevailing function for *gullüm* is its adoption as a coping mechanism. One of the most common and fundamental definitions given for *gullüm* that also highlights its ritualized nature is: "it is a way to lessen the pain and impact of traumas and challenging experiences through mockery and repetition". Also, participants specified the crucial importance of *gullüm* by stating if they do not make fun about everything, then living would become unbearable, so it is a discursive source of survival for queer people that they hang on to and treasure.

5.4. Rapport Management in Queer Communication through *Madilik, Madikoli and Gullüm*

From the perspective of the rapport management model, there are very clear differences among the concepts that are examined in the study.

The incidents gathered under *madilik* all have rapport challenge or neglect orientations. The first concept *madilik*, has the underlying motivation to cause harm to other. Stemming from this motivation, in many cases rapport in the interactions were challenged from the beginning in the form of phobia, hate speech, exclusion, physical

violence, state and police violence, an injustice situation, slandering, toxic personality or conduct of individuals. In some cases, *madilik* was triggered as a reaction after a prior threat was experienced in the form of defense, revenge, survival strategy, coping mechanisms. *Madilik* can take place pretty much in all domains of rapport management, however, depending on the situation only one or multiple RMM domains can be considered. As a multifunctional concept, it has a wide range of application and scope. In terms of the interactional goals, *madilik* can have a transactional or relational goal, in many cases both. Because of its broad-spectrum functions, rapport can be challenged or neglected by a variety of face or right threats. As reported by participants, *madilik* can occur about any topic to anyone at anytime and anywhere.

As for the *madikoli*, differently from the concepts of *madilik* and *gullüm*, it is used to describe remarks made with the intention of mock (im)politeness. Although the remarks made with *madikoli* practice seem offensive and may jeopardize rapport, on the contrary, the rapport is enhanced or maintained by the use of *madikoli*. As Fraser and Nolan (1981) suggested "no sentence is inherently polite or impolite." *Madikoli*, having a more limited scope compared to *madilik* and *gullüm*, occurs mainly in the illocutionary domain as it is also considered as a speech act. However, references to other domains such as stylistic domain is also very possible as the participants gave certain comments on the delivery style of the *madikoli* statements. The interactional goals for a *madikoli* exchange are mostly relational in the form of putting somebody in their place, mock politeness, solving a problem, interactional convention, teasing, healing, honoring, mock sincerity; also transactional in the form of warning, sending a message, release tension, defense and resistance tool. A *madikoli* statement generally targets a subject's quality or social identity face by conventional (pan-situational) or conversational (situational) means of impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011; Spencer-Oatey, 2005), sometimes both.

When it comes to *gullüm*, as *madikoli*, it also has rapport enhancement or maintenance orientation. *Gullüm* is a multifunctional concept in that it can be used to describe an action, a behavior, an atmosphere, an utterance or a person. As reported by the participants, it has more of a positive connotation. It is mainly established on the discourse domain but depending on the description and labeling it can be present in

other domains as well. In a situation that is labeled as *gullüm*, the interactional want is relational mostly as it promotes solidarity among the members. The functions and themes that emerged for *gullüm* were feeling of freedom, authenticity, resistance, self-denigration, recognition, gossip, preventive measure, copping mechanism, survival strategy, inclusive, exclusive, repetitive, flexible, healing and equal exchange. In a *gullüm* situation, every member can take up the agent role with the condition of equal exchange. As for the subjects of *gullüm*, for the majority of the time, all group members are the subjects. In some cases, the agent and the subject can also be the same individual as in the self-denigration situation. The subject can also be an outsider in a gossip situation. As reported, *gullüm* can include many instances of *madikoli* as well. With the equal exchange and solidarity themes, the equity and association principles are upheld very carefully in *a gullüm* situation.

The three concepts of *madilik*, *madikoli* and *gullüm* are very important, never before studied elements of Turkish queer culture. They are more than just a good or bad deed and mockery. They are so integrated into the culture that many times it creates communication breakdowns between queer and cis-heterosexual individuals, as reported by participants in this study. The conceptualization of these terms may vary among queer individuals because of different variables such as education or socio-economic situation and the identities they pursue. However, it is undeniable that these practices appear as very salient and observable in the queer communities in Türkiye regardless of geographical location, forming a common repertoire of interactional practices for these communities established around their gender identities.

5.5. Implications and Further Research

This study was conducted as a trailblazer for the queer communication styles in the Turkish context, as the nature of the study was data on judgements of the participants of certain interactional practices in their communities. Hopefully, this will create a more inclusive and extensive research into the dynamics of Turkish queer communication as it is very rich linguistically and culturally. Not only are there established interactional practices, but also there are many interactional conventions and norms to be further examined.

For future studies, the following can be possible guiding questions: How is *Lubunca* transmitted among queer individuals? Is it similar to acquiring a language or is it something that is imposed upon individuals? Are there different tools and transmission strategies in play in the transmission of *Lubunca*? What are perceptions of different age groups of *lubunya* in terms of usage of *Lubunca*? Is there over exaggeration of usage for the sake of identity performance among young learners or are older individuals more held back in their usage of lubunca?

All of these questions will reveal the very essence of lubunca/lubunya, language policies of individuals and groups, and interactional phenomenon surrounding the community as whole. As for a more acquisition focused outlook, it would also be interesting to investigate how a new learner of *Lubunca* acquires the practices of madilik, madikoli and gullüm and how they respond when they meet such practices for the first time.

Apart from the questions, there are several possible research agendas to be looked at about the Turkish queer culture and *Lubunca*.

Since *Lubunca* as a queer argot/language is under threat and lacks adequate documentation as the literature review has noticeably showed, as a first step, its level of endangerment could be determined by a Language Vitality study specifically designed for *Lubunca*. Additionally, a corpus of Turkish queer communication can be created for a more systematic and comprehensive analysis which would support much research in terms of inclusivity of new perspectives and linguistic usages of queer individuals in their communication styles. Along with the Turkish corpus, comparative studies can be conducted on different sets of queer contexts to check for any universal patterns that queer individuals have as tendencies in their styles.

There is also very rich material on social platforms such as YouTube as some NGOs have channels and create queer content for their communities. Apart from the NGOs, there are also several queer influencers creating content for their followers. Acar's (2021) thesis on translingual practices of Turkish queer youtubers is a timely first contribution into the investigation of digital queer data which can be further explored in other social media platforms. Such media could also be compiled and investigated further in terms of its influences on the community and their interactional practices.

As done with many other communities of practice, an ethnographic approach would yield a more multidimensional data for research. Çalışkan (2014) conducted research on the queer kinship experiences with a fieldwork and interview process. Combination of many data collection tools and procedures with triangulation in a qualitative approach would answer for the problems of evaluation of the conversational data as the perception of both the speakers, hearers and third parties would be gathered through such a longitudinal and multidimensional study.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

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04 AĞUSTOS 2022

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Doç. Dr. Hale IŞIK GÜLER

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Galip KARABACAK'ın "Türkiye'de yaşayan ve Türkçe konuşan kuir kimlikli bireylerin dil kullanımda kabalığı bir kimlik performans aracı olarak kullanılan kavramların incelenmesi" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **0416-ODTUİAEK-2022** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
Başkan

Doç. Dr. İ.Semih AKÇOMAK
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Murat Perit ÇAKIR
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Süreyya ÖZCAN KABASAKAL
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi A. Emre TURGUT
Üye

B. THE CONSENT AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Merhabalar,

Öncelikle bu çalışmada bana yardımcı olduğunuz için şimdiden çok teşekkür ederim.

Ben Galip Karabacak. Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi İngiliz Dili Eğitimi Bölümünde yüksek lisans öğrencisiyim. Yüksek lisans tezimle ilgili bu ön çalışmayı yürütmekteyim. Bu çalışmada Türkiye'de bulunan kuir kimliklerin etkileşimlerine has, dilde ortaya çıkan bazı fenomenleri incelemeye çalışacağım. Yurtdışında kuir toplulukların kendilerine has dil özellikleri ve kullanımlarıyla ilgili pek çok çalışma bulunmasına rağmen Türkiye bağlamında ne yazık ki lubunca üzerine çalışılmış çok sınırlı bir literatür bulunmakta. Yürüttüğüm tez çalışmasına katılım için aktif olarak lubunca konuşmanıza gerek yok, aşağıda belirttiğim kavramlar hakkında fikriniz olması yeterli.

Ben bu araştırmada İngilizce'de "shading, reading etc."kavramlarına denk gelebilecek "madilik, madikoli ve gullüm"ün, Türkçe konuşan kuir camiasında ne anlama geldiğini, nasıl geliştiğini ve kullanıldığını görmek için yola çıktım. Bu amaçla sizlerin bu kavramları nasıl kavramsallaştırdığınızı ve nasıl anladığınızı, size ya da çevrenizde gerçekleşen bir durumu, bu kavramlarla etiketleyip etiketlemekte neye göre karar verdiğinizi görmek istiyorum. Bu sebeple bazı yaşanmışlıklarınız ve bunlarla ilgili düşünceleriniz hakkında sizinle bir mülakat gerçekleştirmek istiyorum. Bu mülakatı yüz yüze ya da online olarak gerçekleştirebiliriz. Sadece araştırmada bilimsel amaçlar için kullanılmak üzere bu görüşmeler kayıt altına alınacak olup, anonim bir şekilde (isminiz yerine rumuz kullanılarak) kodlanacak ve kullanılacaktır. Çalışmanın herhangi bir aşamasında katılımınızı bir sebep belirtmeden sonlandırabilirsiniz. Benimle iletişime geçtiğiniz anda eğer varsa kayıt ve bilgilerinizle birlikte hepsi silinecektir.

Çalışmaya katılımınız olumlu ise ve de herhangi bir görüş ve yorumunuz için aşağıdaki iletişim kanallarından bana ulaşabilirsiniz. Bu çalışmanın bir parçası olmak istediğiniz için şimdiden teşekkür ederim.

Hepinizin Onur Ayını kutlarım.

Galip Karabacak

Mobil: XXX XXXX XXX

Email: XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

A. Kişisel bilgiler:

Aşağıdaki bilgileriniz araştırmada bana analizimi kolaylaştırıcı veriler sağlayacaktır ve rumuzunuzla birlikte anonim olarak saklanacaktır. Paylaşmak istemediğiniz herhangi bir bilgiyi "Paylaşmak istemiyorum." Şeklinde belirtirseniz kazara boş bırakmadığınızı daha rahat ayırt etmiş olurum.

- Yaşınız?
- Mesleğiniz?
- İkamet ettiğiniz ülke ve şehir?
- Evinizi kimle paylaşıyorsunuz ve aile evinden kaç yaşınızda ayrıldınız?
- Kendinizi hangi kimlikle ya da kimliklerle tanımlıyorsunuz:
- Kuir sosyalliğinizden kısaca bahsedebilir misiniz? Arkadaş çevrenizde, işinizde ya da okulda çevrenizde kuir bireyler var mı?
- Katıldığınız düzenli ya da düzensiz herhangi bir kuir komünite/topluluk içinde faaliyetler/etkinlikler var mıdır? Nelerdir?
- Lubuncayla ne kadar aşinasınız?

*********Bu çalışma ve görüşme kapsamında "**kuir**" kelimesini tüm LGBTQ+ kimlikleri yerine bir şemsiye terim olarak hepsini kapsayan bir kavram olarak kullanılmaktadır.

B. Genel bir tartışma:

- Kuir bireylerin olduğu bir grup içerisinde olduğunuzdaki konuşmalarınızla grup dışındaki ya da daha çeşitli kimliklerden olan bireylerin olduğu gruplardaki konuşmalarınızda dil kullanımız arasında fark var mıdır? Varsa ne gibi farklılıklardan bahsedebiliriz?
- İçinde bulunduğunuz bir grup ya da ortamda bulunan bireylerin kimlikleri konuşma/iletişim tarzınızı etkiler mi? Ne derece etkiler? En belirgin 3 4 farkı ya da dil kullanımını örneklendirebilir misiniz?
- Herhangi kuir bir kimlikle özleştirdiğiniz bir dil kullanımı/söylem/davranış var mıdır? Varsa nelerdir?

- Yukarıda örneklendireceğiniz dildeki kullanım farklılıkların amaçları/sebepleri neler olabilir? Bireyler neden bu farklılıkları benimser ya da performe eder?

C. Madilik, Madikoli ve Gullüm Kavramları

Arkadaş grubu içerisinde geçmiş yaşantınızda kendinizin yaşadığı ya da şahit olduğunuz Madilik, Madikoli ve Gullüm diyebileceğiniz anları/anılarınızı, anekdotlar şeklinde ve olay örgüsünü tam olarak anlatarak açıklayınız:

Aklınıza gelen bu anılarda;

-diyaloglar kimler arasında geçti?
-ortamda bulunan kişiler tanıdık mıydı? Kimler vardı?
-bu kişilerin ortak geçmişi neydi?
-sevdiği/sevmediği biri miydi?
-bu anılar nerede ve ne zaman meydana geldi?
-madilik, madikoli ya da gullüm yapan kişi ne söyledi?
-madilik, madikoli veya gullümü deneyimleyen kişinin ve şahit olanların tepkisi nasıl oldu/ne dedi?
-bu anılarda yapılan/söylenen şeylerin amacı neydi?
-deneyimlenen ya da şahit olduğunuz bu söylemler size ne hissettirdi?

D. Son Tartışma

Bu kısımda kayıtta birlikte olduğunuz arkadaşlarınızla Madilik, Madikoli, Gullüm ve sizin de eklemek istediğiniz benzer kavramları da dahil ederek bir tartışma yürütmenizi istiyorum. Aşağıdaki soruları tartışmanızı kolaylaştırmak için kullanabilirsiniz.

Madilik, Madikoli, Gullüm vb kavramları için ayrı ayrı;

-Kim yapar/ yapabilir/ yapamaz?
-Kime yapılır/yapılabilir/yapılamaz?
-Nerede ve ne zaman olabilir, belirli bir zamanı ve mekânı var mıdır?

-Kişiler iletişim kurarken neden madilik, madikoli ve güllüm yapmayı/alıkmayı tercih eder?
-Bu amaçlar değişiklik gösterir mi? Neye göre değişiklik gösterir?
-Hangi konularda yapılır/yapılabilir/yapılamaz?
-Bir söylemi/eylemi hangi durumlarda madilik, madikoli ve gullüm olarak yorumlar, algılar ya da tanımlarsınız?
-Madilik, madikoli ve gullüm bazen karıştırılabilmektedir, sizce hangi durumlarda birbirinden ayrılır?

E. Kapanış

Çalışmama destek olduğunuz için tekrar hepinize çok teşekkür ederim. Her türlü yorum ve tavsiyelerinizi buradan ve tekrar vereceğim iletişim bilgilerinden iletebilirsiniz.

Galip Karabacak

Mobil: XXX XXXX XXXX

Email: XXXXXXXXXXXXX

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışma, etkileşimsel pratikler olan *madilik, madikoli* ve *gullüm* üzerine metapragmatik bir incelemeyle, bu kavramların (a) ilgili fonksiyonlarını, (b) bu pratiklerin ilişki yönetim modeline (Rapport Management Model) (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, 2015) göre oryantasyonları ve (c) kullanılan kabalık stratejileri ve alt stratejilerini (Culpeper, 1996, 2011) incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Görüşme verisi kartopu tekniği kullanılarak toplanmış katılımcılarla elde edilmiştir. Son olarak erişilen katılımcıların hepsi kendini kuir olarak tanımlamaktadır. Kuir, bütün LGBTİ+ kimlikleri kapsayan bir şemsiye terim olarak kullanılmıştır. Bütün katılımcıların sosyal çevresinde belirli bir düzeyde kuir ortam vardır. Katılımcıların değişen düzeyde *Lubuncayla* aşinalıkları bulunmaktadır. *Lubunca,* Türk kuir bireyler tarafından kullanılan bir dildir.

Katılımcıların kuir ve kuir olmayan bireylerle gerçekleştirdikleri iletişimlerde çeşitli farklılıklar saptanmıştır. En yaygın çeşitliklerden bir tanesi, kuir bireylerin, kuir bir ortam içindeyken daha serbest, özgür, vurdumduymaz ve filtresiz hissetmesidir. Katılımcılar, kuir bireylerle ya da kuir bireylerin domine ettiği ortamlarda daha rahat bir iletişim gerçekleştirebildiklerini bildirmiştir. Bu rahatlık, katılımcıların kuir insanlarla olan iletişimde hissettikleri ortak geçmiş, aynı yerden geliyor olma hissi ve birbirini anlayabilme hissinden ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu durum illaki aynı küçük gruplara dahil olmalarını gerektirmez, sadece kimlikleri üzerinden hissedilen bir durumdur. Bu varsayımlar sebebiyle, katılımcılar kuir bireyler arasında birdenbire gelişen bir ilişki kurulmasına atıfta bulunmuşlardır. Bu anı oluşan ilişki daha öncesinde bir tanışıklık gerektirmez. Cis-heteroseksüel insanlara ya da cis-heteroseksüel insanların domine ettiği ortamlara gelince katılımcılar tam karşıt bir görüşe ve varsayıma sahiptirler. Bu tarz ortamlarda, yargılandıklarını, kabul görmediklerini, kendilerini aşırı derecede kontrol etmeleri gerektiğini hissetmektedirler. Bu varsayımlar, kimlikler arasındaki mizah anlayışı ve iletişim

şeklindeki farklılıklardan kaynaklanmaktadır. Sadece bir katılımcı farklı bir durum öne sürmüştür. Kendisini trans maskülen olarak tanımlayan katılımcı, aradığı bu rahat ortamı kuir baskın gruplar yerine cis-heteroseksüel baskın ortamlarda bulmaktadır. Bu durumu, bu ortamda gördüğü kabulün daha geçerli olması üzerinden açıklamaktadır.

Katılımcıların *Lubuncayla* ilgili bilgileri ve aşinalık seviyeleri de ortaya çıkan farklılıklardan başka bir tanesidir. Katılımcılar sık sık kuir bireyler arasındaki bir jenerasyon farkından bahsetmektedir. Geçmişte, *Lubunca* daha çok, özellikle de trans seks işçileri tarafından, bir gizlilik ve güvenlik dili olarak kullanılmaktaydı. Çıkış noktası İstanbul olsa da sonrasında insanlarla birlikte bu dil de göç etti ve diğer şehirlere yayıldı. Sonraki yıllarda, *Lubunca* bütün kuir kimlikler tarafından erişilebilir bir hale geldi. Daha yaşlı olan jenerasyon, *Lubuncanın* kuir bireyler için bir güvenlik alanı olması konusunda daha fazla farkındalığa sahipken, daha genç olan jenerasyon, bu dilin getirdiği güvenlikten ziyade *Lubuncay*ı bir kimlik performansı aracı olarak kullanıyor. *Lubuncanın* bir azınlığın dili olmasıyla birlikte, *Lubunca* nesiller arası sözsel anlatı yöntemiyle nesiller arası aktarılmaktadır. Daha güncel zamanlarda, internetle birlikte birçok sivil toplum örgütünün kurulmasıyla *Lubuncanın* aktarımı daha çeşitlenmiştir. *Lubuncayla* ve diğer Türk kuir elementlerinin yanında, genç nesil Rupaul's Drag Race gibi kuir odaklı yabancı TV programlarından bazı dil kullanımlarını ve kültürel elementleri de alıp kullanmaktadır. *Lubunca* konusundaki bilgi ve aşinalık seviyesi, bireylerin diğer kimliklerinden de etkilenmektedir. Katılımcılar, kuir kültürün kuir bireyler tarafından benimsenmesinin kişiden kişiye değişiklik gösterebileceğini de rapor etmişlerdir. Örneğin, lezbiyen kimliği birkaç katılımcı tarafından örneklendirilmiştir ki, lezbiyen kimlikleri *Lubuncayı* daha çok trans kadınlar ve feminen gay erkek kimlikleriyle özdeşleştirdikleri için diğer kuir kimliklere nazaran çok fazla benimsememektedir. Katılımcılar ayrıca *Lubuncanın* bir popüler kültür unsura dönüşmesinden de rahatsızlıklarını bildirmişlerdir. *Lubuncanın* özünde olan güvenlik ve gizlilik ilkelerini ihlal ettiğini düşünmektedirler. Sadece bir katılımcı bunun görünürlük adına iyi bir hamle olduğunu ve daha fazlasını umduğunu belirtmiştir.

Bu çalışma ilk olarak birer etkileşimsel pratik olan *madilik, madikoli* ve *gullümü* incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu konseptler *Lubuncaya* ait olan birer metapragmatik

etikettirler. Bu kavramlar, pratik sırasında seçilen konular, katılımcıların bu kavramlarla ilgili yargıları, bu pratiği gerçekleştiren ve bunlara maruz kalan kişilerin perspektifinden ve ortaya çıkan ortak işlev ve temalar üzerinden incelenmiştir. Bu inceleme, bu etiketler üzerinden elde edilmiş katılımcıların paylaştığı anekdot ve olayların ilişki yönetim modeli (Rapport Management Model) kapsamında yapılmıştır.

Madilik

Madilik, pek çok negatif kavramı barındıran çok işlevli bir terimdir. Çok basit bir anlaşmazlıktan çok daha ciddi bir şiddeti anlatmak için kullanılabilir. *Madilik* pratiği içindeki insanlar kötü niyete sahip ya da saldırgan bir tutum içinde olan herkes olabilir. Ancak, *madilik* pratiğini sadece kuir bireylerle sınırlandıran katılımcılar da olmuştur. Bunun sebebi, dış dünyadan gelen şiddet, fobi ve nefret söylemlerini ayrıca tanımlamak istemeleridir. Bunun sebebi ise, bu şiddet, fobi ve nefret söylemlerini *madilik* olarak tanımlayarak içini boşaltmak istememeleridir. *Madilik* olayları genel olarak ilişkiyi meydan okuyan ya da göz ardı eden oryantasyonlara sahiptir.

Madilik konularına gelecek olursak, katılımcılar genel bir kısıtlama koymamıştır ki *madiliğin* amacı karşı tarafa bir şekilde zarar vermek olduğu için genellikle *madiliği* yapan kişi karşı tarafa zarar verebilecek herhangi bir konuyu *madilik* malzemesi olarak kullanabilmektedir. Konu ne kadar hassassa, *madiliği* etkisi o kadar etkili olur. Katılımcılar *madilik* için özellikle bir alan da vermemişlerdir ki *madilik* herhangi bir yerde ve zamanda olabilir. En yaygın işlevleri arasında nefret belirtimi, fobiye direniş, fiziksel şiddet ve sözlü saldırı, kurumsal şiddet, toksik kişilik ve tutum, iftira, intikam, hayatta kalma stratejisi ve baş etme mekanizması vardır. Bu işlevlere karşılık dört ana karşı tepki saptanmıştır ve bunlar: açık bir direniş, karşı *madilik*, kendini ya da arkadaşını savunma ve tepkisizlik ya da sessizliktir.

Madilik pratiğinde bireyler (a)simetrik bir hiyerarşiden bahsetmişlerdir. Bu hiyerarşi katılımcıların hareket ve yargılarını etkilemektedir. *Madilik* yapmak için bireyler sürekli olarak muhatap oldukları kişi ya da kişilerin yapabilecekleri *madilik*

potansiyelini değerlendirmektedir. Eğer karşı tarafın kendilerinden daha fazla ve şiddetli bir *madilik* yapma performansına sahip olduklarını düşünürlerse, *madilik* yapmaktan muhtemelen kaçınabilirler. Ayrıca katılımcılar bir davranış ya da hareketin bir cis-heteroseksüelden gelmesi durumunda, bunu *madilik* olarak adlandırmaktan kaçınmıştır. Bunun sebebi kimlikler arasındaki asimetrik hiyerarşidir. Katılımcılar cis-heteroseksüel kimliği daha normatif ve güçlü bir pozisyonda değerlendirirken, kuir kimliği bir azınlık olarak daha güçsüz bir konumda değerlendirmektedir. Bu şekildeki güçlü bir konumdan daha güçsüz bir konuma gelen bir davranışı direk olarak şiddet, fobi gibi net kavramlarla açıklamayı daha uygun bulmaktadırlar.

Madikoli

Madikoliye gelecek olursak, bu kavram sözsel ya da davranışsal iletişim stratejilerinin bir kombinasyonluyla performe edilen bir etkileşimsel pratiktir. *Madikoli* pratiğinin en temel tanımı yalancı kabalık/kibarlık (Culpeper, 2011) olarak düşünülebilir. Bu pratikte, bireyler çeşitli işlevleri gerçekleştirmek üzere yalancı kabalık/kibarlık stratejilerini kullanırlar. Analiz sonucunda ortaya çıkan işlev ve tamalar şuanlardır: uyarma, bir mesaj gönderme, birine haddini bildirme, bir sorun çözme, stres atma, ritüel haline gelmiş bir etkileşim konvansiyonu, dalga geçme, iyileştirme, onurlandırma, yüzünü savunma ya da kurtarma, yalancı samimiyetsizlik ve bir direniş aracı.

Diğer bazı işlevler yapılan görüşme sonrası toplantıda konuşulmuş ve teyit edilmiş ancak birer anekdotla örneklendirilememiştir. Bu işlevlerden bir tanesi öğretici işlevdir. Bazı katılımcılar *madikolinin* bireylere kuir normları öğretmek için *madikolinin* kullanılabileceğinden bahsetmiştir. Ya da *madikoli* bir fobik duruma karşı *madiliğe* nazaran daha ılıman bir tavırda *madilik* yapan kişinin ilgilini konuda bilincini artırmak için bir direniş amaçlı olarak da yapılabilmektedir.

Katılımcılar *madikoli* pratiğini sadece kuirlere has bir etkileşimsel pratik olarak tanımlamaktadır. Kuir kimliğin yanında, tatmin edici bir mizah seviyesi de başarılı bir *madikoli* performansı için gereklidir. İdeal bir *madikoli* pratiğinde ilk kişi *madikoli* olarak sınıflandırılacak bir söylemde bulunur ve karşı tarafın bu söylemi *madikoli* olarak algılayıp aynı şekilde hatta daha sivri dilli bir şekilde karşılık vermesi beklenir.

Ya da en azından söylemi ciddiye almadığını gösterir bir davranış, gülümseme gibi ya da yalancı bir sinir gibi, davranışta bulunması beklenir. İdeal olarak *madikoli* birkaç tur devam eden bir yarış şeklinde olabilir.

Madikoli konusundaki yargı kişiler arasındaki samimiyet derecesine de bağlıdır. Bir diğer yandan kuir bireyler arasında hiç tanışmamış olsalar dahi aniden gelişen bir ilişkiyle ilgili güçlü bir tartışma olmuştur. Ortak bir tarih olmasa da bireyler karşı tarafın görüşünden ya da konuşmasından referanslarla kimlikleri hakkında bir varsayım oluşturarak ani bir yakınlık hissedebilmektedirler ve başarılı bir *madikoli* performansı gerçekleştirebilirler. Bunun altında yatan sebep *madikoli* pratiğinin oldukça yaygın bir pratik olmasıdır ve bireylerin hızlı ve kolay bir şekilde ilişkilenebilmeleri dolayısıyla sosyal harmoniyi bozmadan görünüşte ofansif olan söylemleri başarılı bir şekilde iletişimi güçlendirici bir etkiyle kullanabilmelerine izin vermektedir. Ayrıca, bu sayede, *madikoli* bireyler arası ilişkide buz kırıcı bir işleve de sahip olmuş olur.

Konu sınırlaması noktasında ise neredeyse bütün katılımcılar muhatap olunan kişi açısından hassas olan konulardan uzak durulması konusunda hemfikirdirler. Ne de olsa, *madikolinin* amacı karşı tarafa zarar vermek değil, bireyler arasındaki sosyal harmoniyi ve ilişkiyi güçlendirmektir. Birçok katılımcı eğer muhatap alınan kişi durumdan rahatsız ya da mutsuz olursa ya da *madikoli* pratiğini anlamayıp bunu ofansif bir yerden değerlendirirse *madikoli* performansının duracağının altını çizmiştir. Ancak hiçbir katılımcı *madikoli* konusunda bazı bireylerin sınır tanımaz olduğunu inkâr etmemiştir. Bütün katılımcılar hassas konulardan kaçınmanın altını çizmişlerdir ve bunun bireysel tercihleri olduğunu belirtmişlerdir.

Madiliğin ve *madikolinin* çok ince bir çizgiyle ayrıştığı gözlenmiştir. Eğer iletişim esnasındaki değişkenler doğru şekilde değerlendirilmezse, herhangi bir *madikoli* performansı kolaylıkla *madilik* olarak değerlendirilebilir. Dahası, bazı bireyler *madikoliyi* asıl niyetlerini örtbas etmek için kullanabilirler. Katılımcılar bu ihtimalin altını çizmiş ve özellikle şiddetsiz bir iletişimi savunan katılımcılar bununla ilgili memnuniyetsizliklerini belirtmişlerdir. Ayrıca *madikoli* hedefindeki kişiler kendileriyle ilgili konularda *madikoli* malzemesi olarak kullanıp kullanılmayacağıyla

ilgili yegâne söz hakkına sahiptirler. Birçok kez, katılımcılar hedef olan kişilerden belirli sinyal ve söylemlerin gözlendiğini belirtmişlerdir. Eğer bu kişi hassas olan konularda rahatlığını belirtir hatta konular hakkında kendileri şaka yapmaya başlarsa ancak o zaman diğer kişiler bu konuları *madikoli* malzemesi olarak kullanabilirler.

Gullüm

Son olarak *gullüm*, kuir bireyler tarafından domine edilmiş bir grup içerisinde mutlu anlar ve çeşitli pozitif etkileşimsel pratikleri tanımlamak için kullanılan bir pratik ve etikettir. Katılımcıların *gullümün* bir kuirlere özgü bir pratik olması konusundaki ısrarı, bunu güvenli bir alan ve bir sığınma alanı olarak tanımlamalarındandır. Ancak *gullüm* için tanımlanan güvenli alanın anlamı sözlük anlamından farklıdır. Bahsedilen güvenli alan bir arkadaşın evi, bir gözaltı otobüsü ya da arkadaşlarla paylaşılan bir hapishane koğuşu olabilmektedir ve dahası kuir bireylerin zihinlerindeki psikolojik açıdan güvende ve birlikte hissettikleri her yer *gullüm* olarak tanımlanabilir. Aidiyet ve dayanışma hissi kuir bireyler için güvenli alan hissini artırır ve güçlendirir.

İlk iletişimde bile kurulabilen dayanışma ve birliktelik hissi *gullümün* de önemli bir özelliğidir. Bununla birlikte *gullüme* ve kuir kültüre yeni dahil olacaklar için, *gullüm* bir geçiş ya da kabul ayini olabilmektedir. Cis heteroseksüel bireylerin *gullüme* katılımı ancak bu bireyler kuirleşmişlerse mümkün olabilir. Ancak yine de *gullüm* ortamı kuir bireylerin domine ettiği bir ortam olmalıdır. Aksi takdirde cis heteroseksüel kimliklerin daha baskın ve ağırlıkta olduğu bir ortamda artık *gullümden* bahsedilmez ve katılımcılar böyle durumlarda yaşanabilecek bir "*Pandalama*" olayının ve ihtimalinin altını çizmiştir. Pandalama özellikle kadın cis heteroseksüel bireyler tarafından takınılan bir tavırdır ve kuir bireylerin fetişize edilip, seninle çok güzel alışveriş yapılır, sen çok güzel fal bakarsın gibi bazı stereotipik davranışların zorla empoze edilmesini adlandırır. Bu durum kuir katılımcılar tarafından hoş karşılanmamaktadır ve kabul edilemezdir.

Gullüm anının ana prensibi katılımcıların kendi hikayelerini eşit bir düzlemde ve ölçüde paylaşmalarıdır. Bir katılımcının kendi hikayesini paylaşmadığı ve sadece başka insanların anlattıklarına gülüp eğlendiği bir durum tercih edilmez ve büyük bir

ihtimalle dikkat çeker ve kişinin *gullüm* ortamından uzaklaştırılmasıyla sonuçlanır. Katılımcıların söylemleri üzerinden ortaya çıkan bir söylem vardır; "*Gullüm* yaparken, birlikte güleriz, birbirimize gülmeyiz." *Gullüm* etiketiyle verilmiş olaylar incelendiğinde, bu anların ve anıların aşırı derecede *madikoli* pratiği içerdiği de gözlemlenmiştir. *Gullüm* genel olarak bütün bir aktiviteyi, anı, ya da o andaki hissi anlatabilen çok işlevli bir kavramdır ancak *madikoli* ise yalancı kibarlık/kabalık stratejilerinin kullanıldığı birer dilsel söylemlerdir (speech act).

Gullümün konularına gelecek olursa, *madikoliye* benzer şekilde, bir genelleme mümkün değildir çünkü *gullümdeki* amaç eğlenmek ve aynı zamanda travma ve zorlayıcı tecrübelerle baş etmektir. Bu yüzden konu bakımından görünür bir sınırlama yoktur.

Analiz sonucunda *gullüm* ile ilgili ortaya çıkan bazı tematik fonksiyonlar şunlardır: özgürlük ve otantiklik hissi, bir tehlikeye karşı direniş, kendini iğneleme, kuir bir bireyi tanıma/kabul etme, dedikodu, engelleyici önlem, başa çıkma mekanizması, hayatta kalma stratejisi, dahil etme ya da dışlama, tekrarlı bahsetme ile iyileşme/iyileştirme ve nötrleme.

Bu fonksiyonlardan bazıları *madikoli* içinde geçerlidir çünkü pek çok anda ikisi birlikte var olabilir ve tanımlanır. İki konsept içine dahil etme ve dışlama fonksiyonları çok belirgindir. Bu pratiklerle, bir bireyin bir grup ya da komünite içine alınıp alınmamasına karar verilebilir ya da gerçekleştirilir. Daha önce bahsedildiği üzere, *gullüm* için en temel ve can alıcı işlev başa çıkma mekanizmasıdır. En temel ve yaygın *gullüm* tanımlarından biri de *gullümün* ritüel olmasının altını çizer: "*gullüm,* dalga geçme ve tekrar yoluyla zorlu tecrübelerin ve travmaların etkilerini ya da acılarını azaltma yoludur." Katılımcılar ayrıca *gullüm* önemini, eğer her şeyle dalga geçmelerse, yaşamanın onlar için katlanılamaz bir şey olacağını söyleyerek altını çizmişlerdir. Bu sebeple *gullüm* kuir bireyler tarafından bir hayatta kalma aracı olarak kabul edilir ve bireyler bu pratiğe bir hazine gibi sıkı sıkıya tutunur.

Kuir iletişimde *Madilik, Madikoli ve Gullüm* aracılığıtla ilişki yönetimi

İlişki yönetimi modeli (rapport management model) açısından çalışma kapsamında incelenen üç kavram arasında çok belirgin farklar bulunmaktadır.

Madilik etiketi altında toplanmış olayların genel olarak bir ilişki meydan okuma ve ilişki göz ardı etme oryantasyonu olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Konseptlerden ilki olan *madiliğin*, karşı tarafa bir çeşit zarar verme motivasyonuna sahip olduğunun altı çizilmiştir. Bu motivasyondan yola çıkarak pek çok olayda etkileşim sırasındaki ilişki en baştan meydan okunmuştur. Bunlar fobi, nefret söylemi, fiziksel şiddet, kurumsal şiddet, sözlü saldırı, haksız bir durum, iftira, toksik kişilik ve tavır olarak listelenebilir. Bazı durumlarda ise *madilik* daha önce maruz kalınmış bir tehlikeye karşı bir tepki olarak tetiklenebilmektedir. Bunlar ise savunma, intikam, hayatta kalma stratejisi ve başa çıkma mekanizmasıdır. *Madilik* ilişki yönetiminin bütün alanlarında (RMM domains) meydana gelebilir ancak duruma göre bazen tek bir alanda bazense birçok alanda birden mevcut olabilmektedir. Çok işlevli bir konsept olmasıyla birlikte *madiliğin* çok geniş bir kullanım ve çerçevesi vardır. Etkileşimsel hedefler (interactional goals) açısından *madilik* hem transaksiyonel hem de ilişkisel olabilir, hatta bazı durumlarda ikisi birden gözlemlenebilir. Geniş kapsamlı işlevleri sebebiyle, ilişki çeşitli yüz ve hak tehditleriyle meydan okunabilir ya da göz ardı edilebilir. Katılımcıların rapor ettiği üzre, *madilik* herhangi bir konuda, herhangi birine ve herhangi bir zaman ve yerde meydana gelebilir.

Madikoliye gelecek olursak, *madilik* ve *gullüm* konseptlerinden farklı olarak, yalancı kabalık/kibarlık niyetiyle yapılmış söylemleri tanımlamak amacıyla kullanılır. *Madikoli* pratiğiyle yapılan bu söylemler dışardan ofansif ve ilişkiye zarar verici görünse de, tam tersine ilişkiyi sürdürme ve güçlendirme oryantasyonlarına sahiptir. Fraser ve Nolan (1981) "hiçbir cümle özünde kibar ya da kaba değildir." *Madilik* ve *gullüme* nazaran daha kısıtlı bir çerçeveye sahip olan *madikoli* genel olarak edimsel alanda (illocutionary domain) meydana gelir. Ancak diğer alanlara referanslar da yapılabilir. Örneğin, söylem şekli ve tonuna bağlı olarak stil alanında (stylistic domain) ya da sözel olmayan (non-verbal domain) alanda bazı hareketler ve mimiklerle bulunabilir. *Madikoli* pratiği için etkileşimsel amaçlar genellikle ilişkisel olup birine haddini bildirme, yalancı kibarlık, problem çözme, etkileşimsel

konvansiyon, dalga geçme, iyileştirme, onurlandırma, yalancı samimiyet; bazen de transaksiyonel olup uyarma, mesaj gönderme, gerginlikten kurtulma, savunma ve direniş aracı olarak kullanılabilir. Bir *madikoli* söylemi genellikle hedef alınan kişinin kalite (quality) ve sosyal kimlik (social identity) yüzlerini konvensiyonel ve iletişimsel kabalık stratejileriyle (Culpeper, 2011; Spencer-Oatey, 2005) hedef alır, bazen de ikisini birden hedef alabilir.

Gullüme gelecek olursak, *madikoli* gibi ilişki sürdürme ve güçlendirme oryantasyonlarına sahiptir. *Gullüm* de bir aksiyonu, davranışı, atmosferi, bir söylemi ya da bir kişiyi açıklamak ya da betimlemek için kullanılabilecek çok fonksiyonlu bir kavramdır. Katılımcıların rapor ettiğine göre daha çok pozitif anlamlara sahiptir. Daha çok söylem (discourse domain) alanında olup tanım ve etiketlemeye göre diğer alanlarda da var olabilir. *Gullüm* olarak adlandırılan bir durumda, etkileşimsel amaç genel olarak ilişkisel olup amacı *gullüm* katılımcıları arasındaki dayanışma ve ilişkiyi perçinlemek ve güçlendirmektir. Analiz sonucunda ortaya çıkan tematik fonksiyonlar şunlardır: özgürlük ve otantiklik hissi, bir tehlikeye karşı direniş, kendini iğneleme, kuir bir bireyi tanıma/kabul etme, dedikodu, engelleyici önlem, başa çıkma mekanizması, hayatta kalma stratejisi, dahil etme ya da dışlama, tekrarlı bahsetme ile iyileşme/iyileştirme ve nötrlemedir. Bir *gullüm* durumda, bütün katılımcılar eyleyen (agent) olabilir ancak eşit katılım koşuluna uyması gerekmektedir. Özne (subject) ise çoğu zaman bütün *gullüm* katılımcıları öznelerdir. Kendini küçümseme gibi durumlarda hem eyleyen hem de özne aynı kişi olabilmektedir. Özne aynı zamanda grup katılımcılarının dışında biri olabilir özellikle dedikodu işlevi ön plandaysa. Aktarıldığı üzere *gullüm* içerisinde pek çok *madikoli* pratiğini de barındırabilmektedir. Ortak ve eşit katılım ve dayanışma temaları eşitlik (equity) ve ilişkisellik (association) prensiplerini bir şekilde karşılayan *gullüm* ilkeleridir.

Madilik, madikoli ve gullüm Türk kuir kültürünün daha önce üzerinde hiç çalışılmamış önemli birer elementidir. Sadece basit bir iyi, kötü ya da şakadan çok daha fazlasıdırlar. Kuir kültürüne ve benliğine öylesine yerleşmişlerdir ki cis heteroseksüel bireylerle olan iletişimlerde karşı bir anlam bulamamasından ötürü çoğu zaman iletişimin aksamasına ya da tamamen bozulmasına neden olabilmektedir. Bu kavramların, katılımcılar tarafından kavramsallaştırılmaları katılımcıların eğitim

seviyesi, sosyoekonomik durumları ve diğer kimliklerine bağlı olarak çeşitlilik gösterebilmektedir. Ancak, coğrafi lokasyondan bağımsız olarak Türkiye'deki kuir komüniteler içinde bu pratiklerin çok belirgin ve gözlemlenebilir olduğu inkâr edilemez. Bu pratikler kuir bireyler ve komüniteler için onlar cinsel kimlikleri çerçevesinde bir ortak repertuar oluşturmasına yardımcı olur.

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