Research Article

A Corpus-Based Comparative Analysis of *Dedikodu* and *Gıybet* in Turkish

Kadriye Aytaç-Demirçivi*

ABSTRACT

This study compares the frequency, connotations, and collocations of the words *dedikodu* and *gıybet* in Turkish. Turkish National Corpus and Spoken Turkish Corpus were utilized as the data source. Frequency analysis reveals that *dedikodu* is more frequently used compared to *gıybet* and several formulaic expressions were observed for *dedikodu*. With regards to the domains, *gıybet* is only used in written discourse and mostly in religious sources whereas *dedikodu* was observed in a variety of domains including prose, biography, scientific and non-scientific sources. Based on the discourse analysis that was carried out by a meticulous analysis and coding of the contexts of each occurrence, remarkable connotational differences were found out between *dedikodu* and *gıybet*. These words were also analyzed with reference to their semantic prosody by an examination of their collocations. Collocational analysis unveils that *gıybet* always co-occurs in negative contexts. Although mostly negative, *dedikodu* is collocated with words used in both positive and negative contexts.

Acknowledgments	-
Statement of Publication Ethics	Not Required
Authors' Contribution Rate **Conflict of Interest**	None

* Instructor Dr., ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9568-0496, Aksaray University, School of Foreign Languages, aytackadriye@gmail.com

Introduction

In the present study, two near synonymous words, *dedikodu* and *gıybet,* both of which might be translated as *gossip* in English, are analyzed. Considering near-synonyms, previous research revealed similar conclusions in that even if some words have similar cognitive or denotational meanings, some differences might be observed in terms of their collocational or prosodic behavior. Xiao & McEnery (2006) unveiled that synonyms are not collocationally interchangeable. Thus, focalizing on L2 English collocations, Barnbrook, Mason, & Krishnamurthy (2013, p. 67) underlined the significance of clearly understanding possible contexts where a word can be replaced by another, and the circumstances in which such a replacement decreases the degree of acceptability or naturalness. This situation is valid not only for English but other languages as well since near-synonymy is a universal phenomenon. Thus, with the purpose of contributing to near-synonymy research in Turkish, this study focuses on the words *dedikodu* and *gıybet*.

Corpus-Based Discourse Analysis

The term discourse has been used in various fields with different denotations. In sociology and philosophy, the term has been used to refer to a group of people's conversations and their underlying meaning. Sunderland (2004) defined discourse as ways of perceiving the world, with a reference to domination and power relations. In the field of philosophy, Foucault (1972) viewed discourse as "practices that systematically form the object of which they speak" (p. 49). In the field of linguistics, discourse is most widely regarded as language above the sentence and language in use. As regards to discourse analysis, Stubbs (1983) defined it as the analysis of naturally occurring discourse, spoken or written, in terms of linguistic patterns. The study of the organization of language above the sentence is the main purpose of discourse analysis. Broadly speaking, a range of research approaches focusing on the use of language is the definition for discourse analysis that has been put forward by most research. This method has been utilized to analyze a wide range of texts with spoken or written discourse. Discourse analysis is generally classified into two types: spoken and written discourse analysis. Examination of conversations, dialogues, spoken monologues, etc. are examples of spoken discourse analysis while the study of written texts such as essay, newsletters and e-mails are a part of written discourse analysis.

To investigate the relevant data for the study at hand, two different corpora have been utilized as in linguistics using corpus is one of the most widely utilized methodologies. Corpus linguistics might be defined as linguistic analysis carried out by means of large collections of machine-readable texts. When making linguistic analysis, the linguist's intuition or native speakers' intuition is one of the methods based on the assumption that native speakers of a specific language have a common mental grammar. However, this method is also considered to be a big simplification. Thus, examining naturally occurring language data is another alternative for linguistic analysis. Random collection of texts or utterances, or systematic collections of texts, in other words corpora are employed with this purpose. Since results might be verified by native speakers, corpus

analysis might be more valid than introspection. Besides, introspection might not be applicable for some specific types of language analysis such as word frequency and structure frequency. Concisely, corpus has become a convenient tool for various research purposes in linguistics.

Semantic Prosody

First coined by Louw (1993), semantic prosody is defined as "a consistent aura of meaning with which a word is imbued by its collocates" (p. 157). Adopting a pragmatic stance, Sinclair (1996) asserted that semantic prosody is not the features of a specific word, rather it is the discourse function of a linguistic string. Similarly, Stubbs (2002) underlined that existence of semantic relations between node word and its collocations, and he classified discourse prosody into three groups: positive, negative, and neutral. To exemplify, the verb *cause* often co-occurs with words such as crisis, accident, delay, etc. which have a negative meaning, whereas the verb *provide* is commonly observed with nouns like help, care, and food which have a positive meaning.

A closely related concept to semantic prosody is semantic preference which refers to the shared semantic categories of the common cooccurrences of a node word (Hunston, 2002, 2007; Partington, 2004). In spite of a fuzzy boundary between semantic prosody and semantic preference, one essential distinction between them is "semantic preference may be in favor of any definable semantic field, but semantic prosody is always either for positive or for negative evaluation" (McEnery & Hardie, 2011, p. 137). In other words, as underlined by Partington (2004) semantic prosody evaluates the topic and gives clues to the hearer about the functional interpretation of a specific part of an utterance. Thus, the term is related to "the spreading of connotational colouring beyond single word boundaries" (Partington, 1998, p. 68). Hunston (2002) unveiled three features of semantic prosody. First, the semantic prosody of a lexical item might only be deduced by the analysis of the string of words, not just a single word. Second, semantic prosody is a reflection of the connotation of a word within its context. As highlighted by Partington (1998) a positive or negative connotation is not always clearly deduced based on a single word but instead is implied by that specific word with its collocations. The third key feature of semantic prosody is the fact that the semantic prosody of a lexical item becomes apparent only in the analysis of large amounts of authentic data. For the current study, semantic prosody of the search words was also investigated as it is useful for analyzing the connotational differences of near-synonyms.

A number of similar studies have been carried out on near synonymous words in Turkish. Adıgüzel (2019) investigated the words *sadece, yalnızca* and *yalnız* and these words were found to be completely intersubstitutable and complete synonyms. On the other hand, it was observed that *yalnız* is polysemous and multifunctional and when it means *only*, it is synonymous with others. Similarly, Erk Emeksiz (2021) carried out a study on *görün-* and *gözük-* in TNC. The findings indicated that these words have some common features regarding their discoursal functions. However, results also showed that *görün-* displays a dichotomous structure from subjective to intersubjective forms. In addition, Gündoğdu (2019) analyzed the words *fiyat, ücret* and *bedel* and it was observed

that even though they share the same semantic field, they have distinct semantic extensions. In another study, Gündoğdu (2019) examined another pair of near-synonyms, *genis* and *bol*. According to the findings, although these words are considered as near-synonyms, their units have syntactically distinct extensions.

Methodology

This study aims to compare two near-synonymous words *gıybet* and *dedikodu* regarding their frequency, connotations and collocations in both spoken and written discourse. With this purpose, a corpus-based discourse analysis was utilized to reveal possible connotations of the words *gıybet* and *dedikodu* regarding their larger surrounding context in the corpora. Besides, collocational analysis was also implemented to investigate these words in terms of their semantic prosody as semantic prosody is considered to be a reflection of the connotations of a node word. Therefore, this study aims to answer two main research questions:

1. What is the difference between *dedikodu* and *gıybet* in terms of the frequency of occurrence and text domains they are used in the data?

2. What kind of connotations do *dedikodu* and *gıybet* have in terms of their surrounding contexts in the corpora?

The relevant data for the analysis of *gıybet* and *dedikodu* come from Turkish National Corpus (Aksan vd., 2012) and Spoken Turkish Corpus (Ruhi vd., 2010).

Turkish National Corpus

Composed of both written and spoken components with 50 million words, Turkish National Corpus (hereafter, TNC) is a representative corpus of Turkish. (Aksan vd., 2012). A variety of genres with a coverage of 20 years (1999-2009) are available in the corpus. Texts of different domains on various topics form the written part of the corpus and 2% of the corpus comprises of transcriptions from spoken data which includes every day conversations and speeches. The number of words in the corpus is distributed proportionally regarding the domains.

For the study at hand, to analyze the frequency and context of *gıybet* and *dedikodu*, TNC and STC interfaces have been used. Basic search query was used to display the data where search words were used. The frequency for each collocation of *gıybet* and *dedikodu* was retrieved. For collocation analysis, TNC has been employed as it provides the collocations of each word. The frequency of each domain where *gıybet* and *dedikodu* ocur will be given in the sections to follow. In order to carry out the discourse analysis of *gıybet* and *dedikodu*, the data has been exported to Excel. Discourse analysis was done by analyzing each of the contexts and extracts in which these words were used. Different connotations defined have been grouped and have been checked, rechecked and coded. Based on these codes, larger themes for connotations of *gıybet* and *dedikodu* have been identified.

Spoken Turkish Corpus

In this study, Spoken Turkish Corpus (hereafter, STC) 2.0 (institutional in-house version of the corpus) was also used as the data source and EXMaRALDA tools were utilized to annotate the connotations of search words. As a multi-media corpus, STC is representative of naturally occurring contemporary Turkish. It provides a linguistic resource composed of face-to-face and mediated interactions in Turkish. STC has been selected as one of the data sources for this study since it is one of the few corpora available for spoken Turkish. Even though STC is a relatively small-scale corpus, Ruhi (2011) highlighted that one of the strengths of STC is its wide range of speakers with various age and language features. Moreover, recordings and transcriptions in STC include both standard Turkish and dialectal forms of Turkish.

Results

Frequency Analysis

According to the analysis, as highlighted in Table 1, *dedikodu* is much more frequently used in the corpora. In TNC, there are 599 instances of *dedikodu* in written language and 9 instances in spoken language. Regarding *gıybet*, there are 64 instances in written part of TNC. However, no instance of *gıybet* was observed in spoken part of TNC. More frequent use of *dedikodu* in everyday language might account for its higher frequency of occurrence in the corpora.

Table 1. Frequencies of Search Words in TNC and STC

	TNC		STC
	Frequency in Written Part	Frequency in Spoken Part	Frequency
dedikodu	599	9	5
gıybet	64	0	0

Domain Analysis

This section presents the frequency of domains in which search words *gıybet* and *dedikodu* occur in written and spoken part of TNC. As illustrated in Table 2, *dedikodu* is most frequently used in unscientific texts and prose in the written part of TNC. These domains are followed by biography, scientific texts and blogs.

Table 2. Domains *Dedikodu* Used In TNC Written Part

Domain	Frequency of Occurrence
Unscientific	165
Prose	164
Biography	59
Scientific	57

Blog	41
Others	29
News	28
Religion	17
Essay	12
Drama/Theatre	8
Popular Culture	6
Forum	4
Spoken	3
Administrative	2
Commerce	2
Poem	2
Total	599

As shown in Table 3, there are only 9 occurrences of *dedikodu* in the spoken part of TNC and 5 of them were observed in chats. The other domains include interviews, broadcasts, prepared and spontaneous speech.

Table 3. Domains *dedikodu* Used in TNC Spoken Part

Domain	Frequency of Occurrence
Chat	5
Interview	1
Broadcast	1
Prepared speech	1
Spontaneous speech	1
Total	9

Table 4 highlights the domains *gıybet* occurs in written part of TNC. As presented in the table, *gıybet* is most frequently used in religious texts followed by nonscientific texts.

Table 4. Domains *gıybet* Used in TNC Written Part

Domain	Frequency of Occurrence
Religion	37
Nonscientific	10
Blog	5
Popular Culture	3
Scientific	3
Others	3
Drama/Theatre	1

Prose	1
News	1
Total	64

Connotational Analysis of 'dedikodu'

For connotational analysis, the extracts where the search words *dedikodu* and *gıybet* were used were carefully analyzed by paying special attention to the surrounding contexts. Specific codes were determined and at the end of the analysis, twelve main themes for *dedikodu* were identified based on the codes.

Association with Women

In the corpus data for *dedikodu*, there was an obvious focus on the association of *dedikodu* with women. The word *dedikodu* is commonly regarded as a habit of women, rather than men in the data. In Extract 1, the author describes a past scene in which men were talking about daily issues while women were relieving their tiredness by means of *dedikodu*. This example shows a direct contrast between men and women in terms of their different ways of blowing off steam and it highlights a clear association of *dedikodu* with women.

(1) W-LH09C2A-0276-383 Akşam yemeğinden sonra bahçelerin beton bölümlerine minderler serilirdi. Börekler, tatlılar, pastalar ve semaverde demlenen çay eğlencesi başlardı. Erkekler günlük işleri konuşurken, kadınlar **dedikodu** faslıyla günün yorgunluğunu atardı. Biz çocuklar saklambaç, köşe kapmaca gibi bahçe oyunlarıyla uğraşırdık.

(1) W-LH09C2A-0276-383 After dinner cushions would be laid on the concrete parts of the garden. The party of patties, desserts, cakes and the tea steeped in samovar would start. While the men would talk about daily issues, women would relieve their tiredness by means of **gossiping** session. As children, we would play garden games such as hide and seek and chevy.

The following extract is another example in which the author associates *dedikodu* with women by describing women positively and asking some questions. The author asks how many men can gossip as if they were rolling candies in their mouth and adds that he could only find three or four men who could do that.

(2) W-TE41C1A-0447-232 Kadınlar, hayatın yakasındaki birer hercai menekşe gibidirler. Düşünsenize, kaç erkeğin içinde şiir ve şarkı barınabilir? Kaç erkek ağzında şeker yuvarlar gibi **dedikodu** yapabilir? Bu kalabalıkta ben 3-4 erkek arkadaş bulabildim bu tanımlara uyan. Beni chate alıştıran nedenlerden biri de, eşimle yaşadığımız zorunlu ayrılıklardır.

(2) W-TE41C1A-0447-232 Women are like pansies in the collar of life. Just think, how many men can hold poems and songs inside them? How many men can **gossip** as if they are rolling candies in their mouth? I could find 3-4 men who fit these descriptions in

this crowd. One of the reasons that adjusted me to chat is the obligatory separations with my wife.

Extract 3 includes another direct comparison of the personality traits of men and women. The author indicates that men can easily deal with anger by pushing one another or by cursing. However, girls might be more unmerciful and freezing somebody out, *dedikodu* and laughing somebody down are weapons that are unique for girls.

(3) W-QA16B1A-1731-465 Kızlarla erkekler ne kadar farklıydı. Erkekler arasında kızgınlık ya itişerek, ya küfürleşerek gideriliveriyordu. Gerçekten kızlar kimi zaman erkeklerden daha acımasız olabiliyorlar. Dışlamak, **dedikodu,** dalga geçmek kızlara özgü silahlar. Bu silahlar kan dökmeden acıtır, üstelik yara izi görülmez. İç kanamadır söz konusu olan.

(3) W-QA16B1A-1731-465 How different girls and men were. The anger among men was quickly resolved by jostling or by trading barbs. Girls can really be more merciless than men from time to time. Excluding, **gossiping**, mocking are typical weapons of girls. These weapons hurt without spilling blood and also scars are not observable. It is internal bleeding.

Depiction of 'dedikodu' as an Enjoyable and Usual Activity

The analysis of the data unveils that the word *dedikodu* is also regarded as an enjoyable and a usual activity by the speakers. In the following extract, the author is talking about a person who has undertaken the administration of a hotel. The author adds that this person hosted them very well and accepts that they gossiped a lot in front of the fire place. This extract is an example for how gossiping is regarded as an enjoyable and usual activity.

(4) W-TE36E1B-3355-283 Grand Yazıcı Mountain Hotel&Club'ın Hotel&Club'ın işletmeciliğini üstlenmiş. Nasıl bir izzet ikramla ağırladı bizi anlatamam. Senin de kulakların çınlamıştır mutlaka, hepimiz şömine önü sohbetlerinde bol bol **dedikodu** yaptık. Başka kim vardı dersen, Hayri Kozakçıoğlu neredeyse tüm ailesiyle dağdaydı.

(4) W-TE36E1B-3355-283 He undertook the administration of Grand Yazıcı Mountain Hotel&Club. I cannot tell you how he hosted us with treats. Your ears must have burned as well since we **gossiped** a lot in front of the fireplace. If you ask me who else was there, Hayri Kozakçıoğlu was there with almost all of his family.

In Extract 5, the author is referring to a specific night when they drank coffee at Starbucks and gossiped a lot. The act of gossiping is specifically emphasized and accepted. Besides, it is also added that it was a very enjoyable night. In this example, *dedikodu* is also considered to be a usual and enjoyable activity.

(5) W-TI45F1D-4814-196 MAC makyaj malzemecisi açılmış, böyle başka adını unuttuğum çeşitli mağazalar açılmış, enteresandı. Bu güzel geceyi Starbuck's'ta kahve içip bol bol **dedikodu** yaparak tamamladık, çok eğlenceli bir akşamdı doğrusu, İstanbul'a yaz gelmişti artık. Kedi gözü Bu kedinin fotoğrafını internette buldum ve hemen masaüstü resmi yaptım.

(5) W-TI45F1D-4814-196 MAC Cosmetics and other stores whose names I cannot remember were opened, that was interesting. We finalized that beautiful night by drinking coffee and **gossiping** a lot at Starbucks. It was really an enjoyable night and summer had already come to İstanbul. Cats' eye. I found the photo of this cat and immediately made it my table top photo.

Frequent Occurrence in Magazine News

Corpus data for *dedikodu* highlight the frequent use of *dedikodu* in magazine news. Extract 6 is concerned with New York nights and the author indicates that New York nights have two hierarchies. The first one is people who are mentioned in gossip columns and whose lives are wondered. This example presents a common phrase used with gossip in magazine news, namely, gossip columns.

(6) W-PI09C3A-1078-567 Disko Geceleri New York gecelerinin iki farklı hiyerarşisi vardır. Birincisi özellikle New York Post ve Daily News'un **dedikodu** sütunlarında adı sık sık geçen, yaşamları merak edilen insanlardan oluşur. Çok ama çok önemlidir bu tabloid gazeteler.

(6) W-PI09C3A-1078-567 Disco Nights New York nights have two different hierarchies. The first one is people who are mentioned in **gossip** columns and whose lives are wondered. These tabloid newspapers are so important.

Extract 7 is also about magazine news. It is mentioned that a person was following what happened in İstanbul society day to day by means of society columns in daily newspapers and colorful gossip newspapers and magazines. In this extract, the place of *dedikodu* is also obvious in magazine news.

(7) W-FA16B2A-1037-593 Adamın ismi ona da hiç yabancı gelmedi. Evlerine hemen hemen eksiksiz gönderilen gündelik gazetelerin sosyete sayfalarından ya da renkli **dedikodu** gazete ve dergilerinden İstanbul sosyetesinde olup bitenleri günü gününe izlemekteydi. Varlık durumu ve toplum içindeki yeri bakımından önemli bir kişi sayılmamasına karşın...

(7) W-FA16B2A-1037-593 The name of the man did not sound unfamiliar to her. She was following what happened in İstanbul society day to day by means of society columns in daily newspapers and colorful **gossip** newspapers and magazines. Although he was not regarded as an important person in terms of his wealth and place in the society....

Consequences of 'dedikodu'

According to the analysis of the data, there is also a focus on the negative and strong consequences of *dedikodu*. In Extract 8, it is clearly underlined that *dedikodu* eliminates happiness and it is highly recommended not to gossip.

(8) W-TD37C2A-0304-35 İster beraber kalıyor olun, ister ayrı oturun; eşinizin anne babasına ve akrabalarına karşı saygı, sevgi ve merhamet gösterin. Hoşlanmadığınız yönlerine değil, iyi taraflarına odaklanın. **Dedikodu** mutluluğu yok eder Dedikodu

yapmayın ve dedikodulara kulağınızı tıkayın. İster istemez kulağınıza dedikodu gelse bile, doğru olmadığını düşünün.

(8) W-TD37C2A-0304-35 It does not matter whether you live together with your spouse's parents or relatives or not, show them respect, love and affection. Do not focus on the aspects that you don't like, focus on the positive ones. **Gossip** eliminates happiness. Don't gossip and close your ears to gossips. Even if you hear a gossip unavoidably, think that it is not true.

Extract 9 also focuses on the negative results of *dedikodu* and the author indicates that gossiping shrinks people's brains and gossiping is similar to an insect. It is also stated that there is an absolute regret after *dedikodu*.

(9) W-KI37C4A-0267-393 Beyin ...Ve dedikodu böceği! Beynin küçülüyor, çünkü dedikodu yapıyorsun... Dedikodu da bir başka böcek. Öyle enterasandır ki; istediğine sor, hiç kimseden "Ben **dedikodu** yaparım." şeklinde bir cevap alamazsın. Herkes dedikoduya karşıdır ama... Beyni küçülten bir başka unsur da dedikodudur. Çünkü sonunda mutlak bir pişmanlık vardır.

(9) W-KI37C4A-0267-393 Brain...and gossip insect! Your brain is shrinking as you are gossiping... Gossip is another insect. It is so interesting that whoever you ask, you will never get an answer like "I **gossip**". Everybody is against gossip though... Another factor that shrinks brain is gossiping as there is an absolute regret at the end.

Formulaic Expressions with 'dedikodu'

The analysis of the corpus data reveals that there are some formulaic expressions with *dedikodu*, which was not observed for *gıybet*. Even though defining formulaic expressions is rather controversial, various definitions have been proposed in literature. According to Kecskes (2007) formulaic language refers to multi-word collocations stored and retrieved holistically. Whereas Wray (2008) argues that single word units might be regarded as formulaic expressions, Fernandez-Parra (2008) asserts that they are not formulaic expressions. Collocations, lexical metaphors, idioms and situation-bound utterances might be considered as different forms of formulaic expressions (Howarth, 1998; Kecskes, 2000; Wray, 2008) in which word strings convey holistic meanings.

In this study, some of the collocations are regarded as formulaic expressions as they are fixed and they allow relatively few structural changes compared to the other collocates of the word *dedikodu*. These formulaic expressions are illustrated in Table 5.

Table 5. Formulaic Expressions with *dedikodu*

dedikodu Tanrısı (God of gossip)	dedikodu servisi (gossip service)
dedikodu zamanı (gossip time)	dedikodu kuşları (gossip birds)
politik dedikodu (political gossip)	dedikodu rüzgarı (gossip wind)
dedikodu malzemesi (gossip material)	dedikodu seansları (gossip sessions)
dedikodu ağı (gossip network)	dedikodu merkezleri (gossip centres)

dedikodu yazarı (gossip author)	dedikodu kulisleri (gossip lobies)
dedikodu konusu (gossip topic)	dedikodu faslı (gossip chapter)
dedikodu mekanizması (gossip mechanism)	dedikodu tufanı (gossip flood)
dedikodu çarkı (gossip wheel)	dedikodu böceği (gossip insect)
dedikodu kazanı (gossip boiler)	dedikodu kumkumaları (gossip pots)

A possible explanation for the existence of formulaic expressions with *dedikodu* and absence of these expressions for *gıybet* might be more frequent use of *dedikodu* in both written and spoken discourse. Another reason might be the fact that *dedikodu* has both positive and negative connotations and it is also regarded as a usual activity in some excerpts. On the other hand, *gıybet*, as will be discussed later in the paper, has usually negative connotations and a negative prosody.

Contrasting Expressions of 'dedikodu'

Analysis of the data shows that in some contexts there are direct contrasts between the word *dedikodu* and other concepts and words. These contrasts also help us in understanding the connotations of *dedikodu*. In Extract 10, a direct contrast between *dedikodu* and *reality* is provided. The author specifically indicates that his or her mother-in-law needs gossip topics, not the realities. This example clearly shows that gossip topics and realities are regarded as direct antonyms.

(10) W-KA16B4A-0470-214 nerden çıktı bu hastalık birdenbire?" Babam köpürdü: "Tanrının işi gücü yok da, milyarlarca tür canlının özel yaşamlarının çetelesini tutacak!.. Ama tabii benim kaynanama gerçekler değil, **dedikodu** malzemesi gerek!.." Annem, çok yerinde bir davranışla onları tekrar konuya çekti: "Allahaşkına, siz AİDS'ten mi söz ediyordunuz, uçan dairelerden mi?.."

(10) W-KA16B4A-0470-214 Where did this illness come from suddenly? My father came to a boil. The God has no other business, he will keep tallies of private lives of billions of living creatures!.. But my mother-in-law only needs **gossip** topics, not the realities!.. My mother properly drew their attention to the main issue: "For God's sake, are you talking about AİDS or flying saucers?

In the following extract, the author is angry with another person, Sema. She wants to say something but she can't since she does not want to hurt Sema. One of the things she would like to say is that Sema should produce something positive instead of gossip. In this sentence, the author makes a clear contrast between something positive and *dedikodu*.

(11) W-QA16B1A-1731-467 "Uf, ne sıkıcısın be Ecem!" Dilimin ucuna kadar geldi. "Sen de çok boşsun be Sema! Aklın sadece insanların hayallerini söndürmeye çalışıyor. Bir gün de **dedikodu** yerine olumlu bir şey üret," diyecektim, demedim. Gerek yok acıtmaya. Bazı devrimler sessiz oluyor.

(11) W-QA16B1A-1731-467 "Uf, how boring you are Ecem!" It was on the tip of my tongue. I was going to say "You are a goldbrick Sema! Your mind is only concerned

with destroying people's dreams. Instead of **gossip**, produce something positive just one day", but I did not. There is no need for hurting. Some revolutions happen quietly.

Extract 12 is related to Marxism and the author recommends making *sevgikodu* instead of gossiping about Marks. The word *sevgikodu* is used as a phonetic and semantical contrast for the word *dedikodu*. The word *sevgikodu* is produced from the root *sevgi* meaning *love*. Therefore, in this specific example, *love* and *dedikodu* are regarded as antonyms.

(12) W-GA16B3A-0789-108 Marksistlerin eğlenme haklarını en çok Marksistler ellerinden aldı gibi bir duygu var içimde. Yılın son, "solgünü"ne ramak kalmışken Marks üzerine **dedikodu** yerine birazcık sevgikodu yapmaya ne dersiniz? Gündelik hayattaki Marks'ın son derece mızmız bir ihtiyar olduğunu düşünenlerdenim.

(12) W-GA16B3A-0789-108 I feel that Marxists' right of having fun was taken away by Marxists at most. What do you think of making *sevgikodu* instead of **gossip** as there is little time left before the last "left day" of the year? I was one of those who believed that Marks was an extremely grouchy old man.

Association with Turkish Society

The word *dedikodu* is also associated with Turkish society in the corpus data. In the following extract, there is a quotation of a reporter and in this quotation, the reporter indicates that our biggest illness is gossip as the Turkish society. This example shows a direct association of Turkish society with gossip.

(13) W-LE39E1B-2840-373 Yorum katmadan yayınlıyoruz: "Millet olarak maalesef en büyük hastalığımız **dedikodu.** Manço toprağa verildiğinden beri özel hayatını içeren öyle dedikodular çıkarıldı ki üzülmenin ötesinde kahrolduk. Elbette cevap hakkı olmayan bir kişiyle ilgili haber yapmak çok zordu.

(13) W-LE39E1B-2840-373 We report it without any interpretation: "Unfortunately, our biggest disease is **gossip** as a society. Since Manço was laid to rest, there have been so bad gossips about his private life, we have been grieved let alone worry about that. Definitely, it was very challenging to make news about a person who has no chance to respond.

Extract 14 highlights another instance where Turkish society is associated with *dedikodu*. The author, addressing another person, says that s/he could not overcome the willingness for gossip even though that person became an English.

(14) W-TE36E1B-3354-290 Sonunda tatsız tuzsuz biri olup çıkacaksın. Hayır madem birini buldun ne bileyim şöyle İtalyan filan gibi daha Akdeniz ülkelerinden biri olabilirdi. İngiliz oldun ama şu **dedikodu** merakını yenemedin bir türlü. Tamam düğündeki tanıdıkları da sayıyorum. Gülay Kamaz, Cana-Sedat Sialom, Aslı-Berk Ekşioğlu ve diğerleri.

(14) W-TE36E1B-3354-290 You will be as dull as dishwasher in the end. Now that you have found somebody, he could be from Mediterranean countries such as Italy. You became English but you could not overcome your passion for **gossip**. Okay, I will also tell

you the acquaintances in the wedding ceremony; Gülay Kamaz, Cana-Sedat Sialom, Aslı-Berk Ekşioğlu and the others.

Association with Elders

Corpus data also reveal that *dedikodu* is considered to be a common habit of elderly people. In the following extract, the author emphasizes that *dedikodu* is an art for his/her grandmother. Even if you don't give any topics for gossip, she is able to turn what you say over and over and deduce just the opposite of what you said.

(15) W-KA16B4A-0470-217 diyebilirsiniz ki: "Eh, milletin de ağzı torba değil ki büzesin. Dedikodun yapılsın istemiyorsan, sen de sen ol, malzeme verme..." Hayıır! Kazın ayağı öyle değil. Anneannemde, **dedikodu,** başlıbaşına bir sanattır! Siz istediğiniz kadar malzeme vermeyin. O, sizin söylediğiniz laflardan birini evirir, çevirir; öyle bir hale getirir ki, dediğinizin tam tersi anlam çıkar.

(15) W-KA16B4A-0470-217 You can say: "It spreads like wildfire. If you don't want other people to gossip about you, mind yourself and don't give them any chances of gossiping…" Noooo! The truth of the matter is different. For my grandmother, **gossiping** is an art on its own! It does not matter how hard you struggle not to give any chances. She turns what you say over and over in such a way that just the opposite of what you said is deduced.

Extract 16 is another example in which grandmothers are associated with the act of gossiping. The author indicates that *dedikodu* is like a sport for his/her grandmother and if you don't do this sport, you become off form and become clumsy.

(16) W-KA16B4A-0470-216 ben ne bileyim, sizin ufacık şehrinizde kumarhane var mıdır, varsa nerdedir? Bilsem bile söyler miyim, çoluk çocuğun rızkını kumarlarda yiyecek!.." Yani, sizin anlayacağınız, anneannem için **dedikodu** bir spordur. Öyle bir spor ki, biraz yapmazsan formdan düşersin, hantallaşırsın. Kimseler yüzüne bakmaz bir daha.

(16) W-KA16B4A-0470-216 How do I know whether there is a casino in your tiny city and if there is, where is it? Even if I know, would I tell it, he will consume the offsprings' livelihood in gambling!.." As you see, **gossip** is sports for my grandmother. It is such a sport that if you don't do it, you become off form and clumsy. Nobody will look at your face.

Association with Neighbours

Another particular group of people that is commonly associated with *dedikodu* is neighbours according to the data. The following extract is concerned with parents. The author is questioning whether parents are wondering about what their children are doing or watching television, gossiping with their neighbours and trifling with daily and futile issues are more important than their children. In this instance, *dedikodu* and neighbours are mentioned together, which implies a close association between these two concepts.

(17) W-SI42E1B-2941-356 kızım-oğlum okuldan sonra neler yapıyor? Bazen çocuklarını izlemek, kimlerle görüştüğünü, kimlerle oturup kalktığını öğrenmek düşüncesi

geçmiyor mu içlerinden?!.. Yoksa televizyon ve dizi izlemek, komşularla oturup **dedikodu** yapmak, günlük beyhûde uğraşlarla vakit öldürmek; çocuklarından daha mı önemli geliyor?!. Çağın acımasız tuzaklarına düşmeden onlar için ne gibi tedbirler alınıyor?

(17) W-SI42E1B-2941-356 What does my daughter-son do after school? Don't they think of following their children, with whom they are contacting?! Or, are watching TV and series, **gossiping** with neighbours and diddling with daily futile staff more important than their children? What kind of measures are taken without falling into traps of merciless age?

In Extract 18, neighbourhood is described as consisting of several factors. According to this description, *dedikodu* is also one of these unifying factors. Therefore, based on this explanation, *dedikodu* is a usual and necessary feature of neighbourhood.

(18) W-VD02A1B-4621-225 Bir kompozisyondur, bir bütündür. Komşuluk grubunda birkaç faktör birleştirici rol oynar. Bunlar yer, yüz yüze ilişki, dayanışma ve yardımlaşma, mahremiyet, samimi konuşmalar, **dedikodu,** fısıltı, eğlence, boş vakitlerin beraberce geçirilmesi, ortak alâkalar, kültürel bağlar, milliyet, lisan, öğrenim ve eğitim derecesi, mali seviye, ekonomik tüketim gücü, karşılıklı yardımlaşma gibi faktörlerdir.

(18) W-VD02A1B-4621-225 It is a composition, it is a whole. Several factors play a unifying role in neighbourhood group. These are factors such as place, face-to-face relation, solidarity and cooperation, privacy, intimate conversations, **gossip**, whisper, entertainment, spending leisure time together, common interests, cultural connections, nationality, language, education degree, financial level, economic consumption power and mutual assistance.

An Emphasis on the High Amount of 'dedikodu'

The analysis of the data shows that *dedikodu* is done or it occurs in very large amounts and there are very common quantifiers used with the word *dedikodu*. The following extract is concerned with a topic of politics. According to the extract, there were thousands of gossips regarding the changing effect of Aydın Kirişoğlu's untimely death, which also highlights the large amount of *dedikodu*.

(19) W-TG09C3A-0019-449 Kulaktan kulağa, 9 Mart darbesi, Faruk Gürler'in son anda saf değiştirmesi, kilit adam Aydın Kirişoğlu'nun Londra'daki zamansız ölümünün değiştirici etkisi üzerine binlerce **dedikodu** fısıldanıyordu. Ne olduğunu tam olarak anlamaya imkân yoktu. Çok tedirgin olmuştum. Ülker'e ev değiştirmeyi teklif ettim.

(19) W-TG09C3A-0019-449 There were thousands of **gossips** about 9th of March coup, Faruk Gürler's changing sides at the last moment, modifying effect of Aydın Kirişoğlu's death in London. There was no possibility to understand what exactly it is. I was so perturbed. I proposed Ülker to change the house.

In Extract 20, which is also an example for the high amount of *dedikodu*, the topic is a new singer who is gaining popularity recently. The author indicates that even though the singer is becoming famous newly, there are millions of gossip and thousands of opinions about her.

(20) W-YI45F1C-5071-168 Born To Die şarkısıyla tanıyıp sevdiğim, aynı şarkıyı bıkmadan 390393290 kere dinletme potansiyeline sahip bambaşka bir kız. Yeni yeni meşhur olmasına rağmen hakkında çıkan milyonlarca **dedikodu,** binlerce görüş var. Biraz stil incelemesi yapalım, biraz da kimmiş bu adını sürekli duyduğumuz Lana Del Rey bi bakalım dedim.

(20) W-YI45F1C-5071-168 She is an utterly different girl who has the potential to make you listen to the same song 390393290 times obstinately. Even though she has recently become famous, there are millions of **gossips** and opinions about her. I said let's do a little style analysis, and also try to see who Lana Del Rey we have continuously heard of.

An Emphasis on the Insignificance of 'dedikodu'

The surrounding contexts of *dedikodu* also imply that *dedikodu* is something insignificant and should not be taken seriously. Extract 21 is related to an institution half of whose statements are gossip. Therefore, the author implies that it should be ignored.

(21) W-SD30D1B-2230-420 Genelkurmay'ın ciddiye aldığı, Demirel'in ise dedikodu olarak geçiştirdiği 25 olayın ne olduğuna dair bir fikrimiz yok. Sadece söylediklerinin yarısı **dedikodu** olarak görülen bir kurumu gözlerinizde canlandırın. Ancak 55'inin de gazete kupürlerine dayandığını biliyoruz. Demirel, gereğinin ifası için bu 30 olayı hükümete yazı ile ilettiğini söylüyor.

(21) W-SD30D1B-2230-420 We don't have any idea of what 25 events that the Command took seriously and Demirel passed over claiming that they are just gossips are. Imagine an institution half of whose statements are **gossip**. We also know that only 55 of them depend on press clippings. Demirel says that he has conveyed these 30 events to the government by means of official letter for further action.

In Extract 22, the author underlines that you should not pay heed to *dedikodu* and unreal news. In this example, unreal news and *dedikodu* are considered equal and it also pays attention to the insignificance of gossip.

(22) W-RE36E1B-3293-317 yapmanız gereken ve ihmal ettiğiniz işlere yönelmek için çok uygun bir zaman. Yarım bıraktığınız işleri bitirmek, eve daha çok uğramak, aile ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak gibi... Çevreden **dedikodu** ve yanlış haberlere kulak asmamalısınız. İnsanların size karşı tavrı değişebilir. Başkalarının hayatlarının daha iyi olmasına çalışırken bir yandan da kendiniz için faydalı olabilecek bir şeyle

(22) W-RE36E1B-3293-317 It is a very suitable time to focus on the things that you should do but have ignored such as finalizing your incomplete doings, visiting the house more often, meeting the needs...You should be deaf to **gossip** and wrong news. The attitude of people towards you might change. While trying to make other people's lives better, you should also do something beneficial for yourself.

Depiction of 'dedikodu' As a Useful Activity

In the data, *dedikodu* has also some positive connotations. In some extracts, it is implied that *dedikodu* is a useful activity. In Extract 23, the author compares writing and gossiping. It is claimed that both writing and *dedikodu* are types of therapy. However, writing is similar to giving birth while *dedikodu* is similar to vomiting.

(23) W-SH39C0A-0142-509 Dedikodu, insanın içinde kaldıkça bir ayran gibi köpürüp ekşiyen düşünce ve hislerin boşaltım ihtiyacından doğar. Yazmak da, **dedikodu** da bir çeşit terapidir. Ama yazmak doğurmaktır, dedikodu ise kusmaktır.

(23) W-SH39C0A-0142-509 Gossip results from the discharge need of thoughts and feelings which boil over and sour unless they are evacuated. Similar to **gossip**, writing is also a kind of therapy. However, writing is giving birth while gossiping is vomiting.

Similar to the previous extract, in Extract 24, it is emphasized that even though *dedikodu* seems to be a vanity, it helps women to feel themselves better by functioning as a healer. This extract also associates *dedikodu* with women directly.

(24) W-RI22C2A-0404-22 yasaklanmaya çalışılsa da dedikodunun bile kadının rahatlaması, içini dökmesi açısından önemli bir terapi olduğu belirtiliyor. Londra Üniversitesi'nde görevli araştırmacı Katherine Waddington yapmış olduğu araştırmanın raporunda **"Dedikodu** yapmak boş bir iş gibi görünse de tedavi etkisi yaparak kadınların kendilerini daha iyi hissetmelerini, rahatlamalarını sağlıyor." demişti.

(24) W-RI22C2A-0404-22 even if there are attempts to forbid it, it is stated that gossiping is a therapy for a woman to relax and bare their heart. In her rapport of research she carried out, Katherine Waddington, working at London University, said "Even though **gossiping** seems to be nonsense, it enables women to get relaxed and feel themselves better by treating them".

Connotational Analysis of 'gıybet'

Coding process was also implemented for the word *gıybet*. The extracts that include this word were carefully read by paying close attention to the surrounding context. After determining the codes, three main themes were identified for *gıybet*.

A Strong Association with Religion

As already mentioned, *gıybet* is mostly observed in texts related to religion. The fact that *gıybet* is not allowed in religion was highly underlined in the corpus data. According to Extract 25, bad suspicion, espial and *gıybet* are haram in religion.

(25) W-TH42C4A-0816-31 SUİZAN, TECESSÜS VE GIYBET HARAMDIR Kardeşlerimizin kusurlarını araştırmakla mükellef değiliz. Meselelerimize hüsnüzanla yaklaşmalı ve katiyen **gıybet** yapmamalıyız. İmam-ı Azam: "Bir insanın davranışları yüzde doksan dokuz küfre, yüzde bir imana ihtimal verecek durumda olsa; yüzde bir ihtimali dikkate alıp o kişinin mümin

(25) W-TH42C4A-0816-31 BAD SUSPICION, ESPIAL and GOSSIP ARE HARAM IN RELIGION. We are not obliged to find out flaws of our religious fellows. We

should give our problems the benefit of the doubt and we should by no means **gossip**. İmam-ı Azam: "If a person's attitudes are with 99% possibility sacrilege, with 1% possibility faith, we should consider this 1% possibility…

Similarly, in the following excerpt, providing a definition for *gıybet*, it is stated that one of the most essential features of religion is that it does not allow *gıybet*.

(26) W-GH41C4A-0887-17 Ve unutmayalım ki, Allah, abes iş yapmaz. **GIYBET** Dinimizin en önemli özelliklerinden birisi de gıybete izin vermemesidir. Gıybet nedir? Bir insana, o insanda bulunan bir özelliğin tarafınızdan yüzüne karşı beyan edilmesi ve bu…

(26) W-GH41C4A-0887-17 And we should not forget that God never does anything absurd. **GOSSIP** One of the most important features of our religion is that it never allows gossip. What is gossip? It is the declaration of a personality trait that a person has to his/her face by you and this…

Negative Connotations

The word *gıybet* is mostly associated and collocated with negative words. To illustrate, lie, slander, pretense, cheating, gambling, prostitution and theft, which usually have negative connotations, are collocates of *gıybet in* Extract 27.

(27) W-RH42E1B-2918-55 Fakat namaz kılan ve oruç tutan, dini ibadetlerini özenle yerine getiren gençler; yalan, **gıybet,** iftira, hile, aldatma, içki, kumar, uyuşturucu, fuhuş ve hırsızlık gibi haramlardan, kötü söz ve benzeri davranışlardan uzak dururlar.

(27) W-RH42E1B-2918-55 The young who perform prayer, fast, carry out religious services meticulously stay away from harams including lie, **gossip,** calumniation, fraud, cheating, alcohol, gambling, drugs, prostitution, theft and curse.

Extract 28 is also an example of the negative connotations of *gıybet*. Jealousy, hatred and cheating which have strong negative meanings and *gıybet* are collocated in Extract.

(28) W-ZI45E1C-5072-37 Kim olursa olsun, ne iş yaparsa yapsın, birbirleriyle ilişkileri ne olursa olsun bir grup insan bir araya geldiğinde ortaya çıkan kıskançlık, nefret, aldatmak, **gıybet** var karelerde. Allahım, işte tam istediğim hayat! İtalya'nın iç kısımlarında güneşten kavrulurken, muhteşem elbiseler, harika makyajlar, güzel oğlanlar, fitne kadınlarla saç saça baş başa girmek...

(28) W-ZI45E1C-5072-37 Whoever they are, whatever job they do, whatever relation they have, in these frames, there are jealousy, hatred, cheating and **gossip** that show up when a group of people come together. God, that is exactly the life that I want! Catching the sun in inner sides of Italy, amazing clothes, wonderful makeups, handsome boys, fighting factious women tooth and nail...

In Extract 29, *gıybet* is also associated with arrogance in the following extract and it is stated that *gıybet* results from arrogance and arrogant people look down on other people. Thus, arrogant people argue against other people.

(29) W-UI42E1B-2943-10 Ama işte bunu da muhakkak tekâmül ettirmek lâzım... Seher vakitleri kalkacağız, dersimizi yapacağız. Sonra herkesi kendimizden yüksek

göreceğiz. Gıybet kat'iyen yasak! **Gıybet** etmek demek, kibirden gelir. Kibirli insan ne yapar, kendini büyük gördüğü için herkesi küçük görür, ondan sonra başlar onun aleyhinde konuşmaya...

(29) W-UI42E1B-2943-10 But it is also necessary to make people understand this… We will wake up at dawn, carry out our tasks. We will regard everybody as superior to us. Gossip is definitely forbidden! **Gossiping** comes from arrogance. What does an arrogant person do? As s/he esteem himself or herself highly, s/he looks down on other people, and then starts disparage…

Consequences of 'gıybet'

As is the case with *dedikodu*, an obvious focus on the negative consequences of *gıybet* was also observed in the corpus data. In Extract 30, *gıybet* is likened to biting corpse of a fellow and it is highly recommended to avoid *gıybet*.

(30) W-TH42C4A-0816-36 Ey iman edenler, zandan çok sakının. Çünkü zanların bir kısmı günahtır. Birbirinizin gizli hallerini araştırmayın. Kiminiz kiminizi **gıybet** etmesin. Hiç sizden biriniz ölmüş kardeşinin cesedini dişlemekten hoşlanır mı? İşte bundan hemen tiksindiniz. Öyleyse Allah'ın azabından korkun da bu çirkin işten kendinizi koruyun.

(30) W-TH42C4A-0816-36 Believers! Avoid suspicion as some of the suspicion is sin. Don't try to find out secrets of each other. Don't **gossip** about anybody. Does any of you like to bite corpse of a fellow? You have immediately loathed this. Then, beware of God's torture and fend yourself from this bad habit.

Providing another remarkable example of the strong and drastic consequences of *gıybet*, the author of the following extract implies that a society with *gıybet* lapses, so Muslims should avoid those bad habits.

(31) W-TH42C4A-0816-3 Allah tevvabdır, rahimdir, tevbeleri kabul eder, merhamet ve ihsanı boldur." Unutmamak gerekir ki, suizan tecessüsün, tecessüs de gıybetin habercisidir ve bunlar iç içedir. **Gıybet** yapan bir toplum batar. Müslüman hüsnüzan etmeli, saf ve akıllı olmalıdır.

(31) W-TH42C4A-0816-3 God is merciful, accepts the pledges and has lots of mercy and beneficence. We should not forget that bad suspicion brings espial and espial brings gossip and they are interbedded. A society that **gossips** lapses. A Muslim should give someone the benefit of the doubt, be pure and wise.

Collocational Analysis of 'dedikodu'

TNC provides the collocations of the searched word. In this study, up to 5 words left to the search words and 5 words right were examined for the collocational analysis. For *dedikodu*, both written and spoken parts of TNC were examined for the collocation analysis.

Written Language

Collocation analysis of *dedikodu* in written language backs up the connotational analysis with the surrounding context. Collocation analysis also brings to light that there is an association between women and gossiping. As illustrated in Table 6, collocations with the roots *kadın* and *kız* are quite common in the corpus data. There also seems to be an association between elderly people and gossiping as the root *anne* is also frequently observed in the data. Based on the list, some negative words such as *iftira*, *kıskançlık*, *yalan*, *aşağılama*, *kötü*, *soytarı*, *fitne* and *alay* also co-occur with the word *dedikodu*.

Some expressions related to magazine news are also observed in the collocational analysis including *magazin*, *sütunlarında*, *dergilerinin*, *sosyete*, *yazarı*, *medya* and *gazetelerin*. There is also a focus on *köyde*, *mahalle* and *mahallede* which might suggest that *dedikodu* is associated with smaller living areas rather than big cities.

Collocational analysis also indicates that it is quite easy for *dedikodu* to get around as the words, *yayıldı*, *yayılmış*, *kulaktan kulağa* are collocates of this word. In alignment with the connotational analysis, some of the collocations of *dedikodu*, including *eğlenceli*, *yapıyoruz*, *yaptık*, *eğlence*, *iyi*, *tatlı* and *muhabbet*, imply that it is an enjoyable and usual activity.

Table 6. Collocations of *dedikodu* in Written Language in TNC

Word	Freq.	Word	Freq.	Word	Freq.
dedikodu (gossip)	31	yapıyoruz (we are doing)	5	karısı (his wife)	3
söylenti (rumour)	11	dalga (wave)	5	annesi (his/her mother)	3
iftira (slander)	9	magazin (magazine)	4	kadınların (women's)	3
malzemesi (topic)	9	mahalle (neighbourhood)	4	annem (my mother)	3
köyde (in village)	9	eleştiri (criticism)	4	kumkumaları (small pots)	2
yaptık (we did it)	9	kahve (coffee)	4	sütunlarında (in the columns)	2
yalan (lie)	9	tatlı (dessert)	4	kıskançlıklar (jealousies)	2
kadınlar (women)	8	kızı (girl)	4	aşağılama (humiliation)	2
iyi (good)	8	günlük (daily)	4	ballandıra (in glowing colors)	2
eğlence (entertainment)	7	güzel (nice)	4	ayaküstü (on the run)	2
yazarı (author)	7	dergilerinin (magazines')	3	soytarı (clown)	2
gıybet (calumny)	6	kazanı (boiler)	3	muhabbet (chat)	2
yayıldı (spread-past)	6	fitne (instigation)	3	eğlenceli (entertaining)	2
yayılmış (spread-	6	sosyete (society)	3	cinayet (murder)	2

past perfect)					
kötü (bad)	6	Tanrısı (god)	3	meraklı (curious)	2
konusu (topic)	6	kıskançlık (jealousy)	3	kadınla (with woman)	2
kadın (woman)	6	medyada (in media)	3	alay (mockery)	2
küçük (little)	6	anneannem (my grandmother)	3	fitnekar (intriguer)	2
kulaktan kulağa (auricularly)	5	gazetelerin (newspapers)	3	konken (cooncan)	1
mahallede (in the neighbourhood)	5	annesinin (his/her mother's)	3		

Spoken Language

Table 7 presents the collocations of *dedikodu* in spoken part of TNC. The words *bomba, vereyim* and *yapıyoruz* also support the results of connotational analysis as these words imply that *dedikodu* is regarded as a usual and entertaining activity. The word *yapıyoruz* clearly indicates an acceptance of the activity of making *dedikodu*.

Table 7. Collocations of *dedikodu* in Spoken Language in TNC

Word	Frequency
yazıyorum (I'm writing)	2
demiyorum (I am not saying)	2
yazdım (I wrote)	2
duyduk (we heard)	1
bomba (bomb)	1
vereyim (let me report)	1
programları (programs)	1
kavga (quarrel)	1
yapıyoruz (we are doing)	1

Collocational Analysis of 'gıybet'

The collocational analysis of *gıybet* is also in alignment with the discussions in connotational analysis part. As this word is most frequently associated with religion and commonly used in religion texts, most of the collocations are Arabic words such as *suizan*, *tecessüs*, *takbih* and *tezyif*. Some words including *günah, yasak, haram, kaçınmamız* and *kaçınılmalı* imply that *gıybet* is something negative and it should be avoided. Negative connotations of *gıybet* are also apparent in the collocational analysis as *yalan, zan, hile, günah, riya, itham, kanseridir* etc. are collocates of *gıybet* as illustrated in Table 8.

Table 8. Collocations of *gıybet* in Written Language in TNC

Word	Freq.	Word	Freq.	Word	Freq.
dedikodu (gossip)	6	ashabıyla (with companions of prophet)	1	sakınmalıdır (should be avoided)	1
suizan (bad suspicion)	5	hümeze (backbiter)	1	ayıplama (condemning)	1
tecessüs (espial)	4	hasetçi (jealous)	1	hüreyre (kitty)	1
yalan (lie)	4	maneviyatın (spirituality)	1	buyurmuşlar (they ordered)	1
din (religion)	3	günahı (sin)	1	buğz (animosity)	1
tecessüse (to espial)	2	takbih (decrial)	1	sûresinde (in sura)	1
zanda (in doubt)	2	cüneyd-i (junayd)	1	kirleri (dirties)	1
kat'iyen (by no means)	2	riya (hypocrisy)	1	ahsen (most beautiful)	1
jestlerle (with gestures)	2	şevklerini (eagerness)	1	behemehal (in any case)	1
velhasıl (for short)	2	tenkitten (from criticism)	1	kaçınılmalı (should be avoided)	1
haramdır (it is haram)	2	tenkitte (in criticism)	1	iffeti (chastity)	1
zan (doubt)	2	sû-i (antisocial)	1	tezyif (lampoon)	1
münir (man made of light)	2	şefaatine (to his intercession)	1	pelesenk (balsam)	1
hile (fraud)	2	aşağılanır (is belittled)	1	konuşmayalım (let's not talk)	1
nurettin (light of islam)	2	ehven (commodious)	1	hüsn-ü (good-natured)	1
kusur (flaw)	2	kanseridir (cancer of)	1	suçlayıp (blaming)	1
yasak (forbidden)	2	iftirada (in slander)	1	bilgiçlik (pedantry)	1
peygamber (prophet)	2	kibirden (because of arrogance)	1	cimrilik (stinginess)	1
itham (accusation)	1	kaçınmamız (avoiding)	1	ahiret (afterlife)	1
günah (sin)	1	perişan (miserable)	1		

Findings and Discussion

Connotational and collocational analysis of these two near-synonymous words, *dedikodu* and *gıybet*, uncover significant differences regarding their meanings and occurrences. In the first place, regarding the first research question which is related to the text domains and frequency of the search words, *dedikodu* is observed in both written and spoken language even if there are just a few examples in spoken language. However, *gıybet* is only observed in written language. Additionally, *gıybet* appears predominantly in

religious texts whereas *dedikodu* is observed in a variety of domains including unscientific and scientific texts, prose and biography. In terms of their frequency, in the corpus data, *dedikodu* is more frequently used compared to *gıybet*. Considering the spoken language data, an important limitation of the study is also acknowledged. TNC has limited data for its spoken part and STC is also a small-scale corpus even though it only includes spoken data. Therefore, this limited spoken language data might account for the rare instances of these words in spoken language.

The second research question is concerned with the connotations of the search words. According to the connotational and collocational analysis, a salient focus on religion is observed considering the occurrences of *gıybet*, which might account for its high co-occurrence with words which have an Arabic origin. In contrast to *gıybet*, *dedikodu* is not related to religion prominently and it is very commonly used in everyday language. Another remarkable difference between these words appears regarding their association with certain groups in the society. Though *gıybet* has no obvious association with a specific social group, *dedikodu* is highly associated with women, elderly people, neighbours and Turkish society. Unlike *dedikodu*, corpus data for *gıybet* shows no association of this word with a particular group of people in society.

As for their overall semantic prosody, compared to *dedikodu*, *gıybet* is more commonly used with negative connotations, so it might be possible to deduce that *gıybet* has a more negative prosody. Although *dedikodu* has also some negative connotations in the data, in some contexts, it is also used with more positive connotations implying that *dedikodu* is an enjoyable and a usual activity. Furthermore, as *gıybet* is frequently used in religious texts and rarely used in everyday language compared to *dedikodu*, *gıybet* does not have any common formulaic expressions in the data. However, since *dedikodu* is very frequently observed in everyday language and in various domains and sources, there are a number of formulaic expressions with *dedikodu* in the data.

Conclusion

As underlined by Barnbrook, Mason & Krishnamurthy (2013), it is important to clearly understand when replacing a word with another word with a similar meaning is possible without decreasing the degree of acceptability or naturalness, which is also valid for Turkish. This is exactly where the significance of this study lies: analyzing the words *gıybet* and *dedikodu* in terms of their frequency, text domains and semantic prosody based on their connotations and collocations in the data, revealing their semantic behaviors and deciding whether they can be used interchangeably in all contexts. Even though these two words, *gıybet* and *dedikodu* are considered to be near synonyms, a closer look into their usage in actual data from corpora highlights notable differences regarding their connotations and collocations. In terms of their semantic prosody, *gıybet* seems to have overwhelmingly negative connotations whereas *dedikodu* has both positive and negative connotations. In alignment with Xiao & McEnery (2006), these two near synonyms, *gıybet* and *dedikodu* are also not interchangeable in all of their occurrences based on their collocational and connotational analysis. Therefore, it is essential to grasp their semantic

differences in order not to sound unnatural or unacceptable. It is expected that the results of this study will contribute to vocabulary teaching and near-synonymy research by drawing the semantic boundaries of *gıybet* and *dedikodu*. The results of this study might prevent learners from making wrong generalizations about these search words based on contextual corpus data. Acknowledging the aforementioned limitations, this study also calls for further research on these words in larger amounts of spoken data.

References

Adıgüzel, M. F. (2019). Corpus-driven Lexical Profiles of the Turkish Synonym Set *Sadece*, *Yalnızca* and *Yalnız*. *Dilbilim Araştırmaları Dergisi, 30*(1), 1-41. doi: 10.18492/dad.456892

Aksan, Y., Aksan, M., Koltuksuz, A., Sezer, T., Mersinli, Ü., Demirhan, U. U., Yılmazer, H., Kurtoğlu, Ö., Atasoy, G., Öz, S., & Yıldız, İ. (2012). Construction of the Turkish National Corpus (TNC). N. Calzolari, T. Choukri & T. Declerck (Yay. haz.), *8th International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC 2012) içinde (s. 3223-3227).* İstanbul: Türkiye.

Barnbrook, G., Mason, O., & Krishnamurthy, R. (2013). *Collocation: Applications and implications*. Houndmills, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Erk Emeksiz, Z. (2021). Visual perception verbs and degrees of certainty in Turkish: The case of *görünmek* and *gözükmek*. *Dilbilim Araştırmaları Dergisi, 32*(2), 69-81.

https://doi.org/10.18492/dad.932329

Fernandez Parra, M. A. (2008). Translating Formulaic Expression in Instruction Manuals: A Corpus Study. *New Castle Working Papers in Linguistics*, *14*, 51-60.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge.* London: Routledge.

Gündoğdu, A. E. (2019). Anlam Tercihi Araştırmalarının Sözcük Öğretimine Katkısı: "fiyat/ücret/bedel" Sözcükleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, 36* (1), 75-84. https://doi.org/10.32600/huefd.429309

Gündoğdu, A. E. (2019). Türkçede Yakınanlamlılık Olgusu: "Geniş" ve "Bol" Sıfatları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme. *Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, (34)*, 39-46. https://doi.org/10.30794/pausbed.434255

Howarth, P. (1998). Phraseology and Second Language Proficiency. *Applied Linguistics, 19*(1), 24–44. Hunston, S. (2002). *Corpora in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hunston, S. (2007). Semantic prosody revisited. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 12*(2), 249-268.https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.12.2.09hun

Kecskes, I. (2000). A cognitive-pragmatic approach to situation-bound utterances. *Journal of Pragmatics, 32*(6), 605–625.

Kecskes, I. (2007). Formulaic language in English Lingua Franca. In I. Kecskes & L. Horn (Eds.), *Explorations in Pragmatics: Linguistic, Cognitive and Intercultural Aspects* (pp. 191-219). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Leech, G. (2007). New resources, or just better old ones? The Holy Grail of representativeness. In M. Hundt, N. Nesselhauf & C. Biewer (Eds.). *Corpus Linguistics and the Web* (pp. 133-149). Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Louw, B. (1993). Irony in the text or insincerity in the writer? In M. Baker et al. (Eds), *Text and technology* (pp. 157-176). City: John Benjamins.

McEnery, T., & Hardie, A. (2011). *Corpus linguistics: method, theory, and practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Partington, A. (1998). *Patterns and meanings. Using corpora of English language research and teaching.* City: John Benjamins.

Partington, A. (2004). Utterly content in each other's company: semantic prosody and semantic preference. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 9*(1), 131-156. http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.9.1.

Ruhi, Ş. (2011, October 6-7). *Creating a sustainable large corpus of spoken Turkish for multiple research purposes* [Paper presentation].Ulusal Konuşma ve Dil Teknolojileri Platformu Kuruluşu: Türkçede Mevcut Durum Çalıştayı, TÜBİTAK-TÜSSİDE, TÜBİTAK-BİLGEM, Gebze.

Ruhi, Ş., Hatipoğlu, Ç., Eröz-Tuğa, B., & Işık-Güler, H. (2010). *A Guideline for transcribing conversations for the construction of Spoken Turkish Corpora using EXMARaLDA and HIAT*. ODTÜ-STD: Setmer Basımevi.

Ruhi, Ş., Schmidt, T., Wörner, K., & Eryılmaz, K. (2011). Annotating for precision and recall in speech act variation. The case of directives in the Spoken Turkish Corpus. Working Papers in Multilingualism. *Proceedings of the Conference of the German Society for Computational Linguistics and Language Technology (GSCL)* 2011, 97, 203-206. http://www.corpora.uni-hamburg.de/gscl2011/ downloads/AZM96.pdf"

Sinclair, J. (1996). The empty lexicon. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, *1*(1), 99-119.

Stubbs, M. (1983). *Discourse Analysis: The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language.* Chicago: U of Chicago P. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Stubbs, M. (2002). Two quantitative methods of studying phraseology in English. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 7* (2), 215–244.

Sunderland, J. (2004). *Gendered discourses.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, England and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wray, A. (2008). *Formulaic language pushing the boundaries*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Xiao, R., & McEnery, T. (2006). Collocation, semantic prosody, and near synonymy: A cross-linguistic perspective. *Applied linguistics, 27*(1), 103-129.