Cultural Differences in Back-channeling Contents between English and Kurdish Languages

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Abstract
In order for a conversation to be communicated more efficiently, participants exchange back-channels as a method of transmitting knowledge to indicate states such as attention, comprehension, misunderstanding, approval and non-acceptance. Listener responses, more commonly referred to as back-channeling, have attracted attention from diverse scholarly disciplines including linguistics because of their importance in effective dialogue and communication. This study introduces back-channeling, conveys its importance, and discusses its implications across Kurdish and English cultures. The study aims at discovering most common Kurdish back-channels through analyzing authentic face-to-face interactions, and identifying their forms and function in conversation. For this purpose, a number of TV channel interviews and programs have been selected to be analyzed as study sample. As a result of this study, it is clearly understood that Kurdish back-channels are quite similar to English ones in having very various types and forms, yet when it comes to functioning in interactions amongst speakers, there are apparent differences in that same forms do not convey same communicative implications. This, undoubtedly, can be attributed to Kurdish and English cross-cultural and language nature differences.

Keywords: Conversation, Back-channeling, cross-cultural communications.

1. Introduction
Introducing Back-Channeling
According to Fishman (1980, p. 131) and Atmaja (2009, p. 6) back-channel is that listeners confirm that they are following speakers’ statements by producing back-channel as a response for the speakers such as *uh*, *yeah*, *really*, smiles and headshakes and their responses or feedback express agreement, disagreement, interest and attention which is important for persisting conversation. Sending attentional signals to the listener is commonly inferred as being non-judgmental; whereas, either granting or assenting signals can be coded as being judgmental (D’hondt, Östman and Verschueren, 2009, p. 105). Ward (2007) emphasizes that back-channels are known as "response tokens," "reactive tokens," "minimal responses," and "continuers". Yngve (1970, p. 569) adds that every interaction, regardless of the language in which it takes place, involves verbal and non-verbal feedback loops. For example, Back-channel cues are used by listeners to indicate that they do not wish to talk even though the speaker is displaying turn-yielding cues. Therefore, the listener stays in his/her position when there is an opportunity to become the speaker. For this purpose, appropriate vocal cues...
include reinforcers such as "Mm", "Oh", completion of a sentence by the listener, or requests for clarification. There are also non-verbal cues to be found, for example, postural shifts, head nods or, hand gestures. Kogure (2007, pp. 1243-1244) classifies back-channels into three main categories; namely, non-lexical, phrasal, and substantive. To elaborate, a non-lexical back-channel is a vocalized sound, carrying little or no referential meaning, which signals the listener’s attention. For example, in English, listener responses such as *uh-huh* and *hmm* serve this purpose. Secondly, a phrasal back-channel most commonly assesses or acknowledges what the speaker is saying. For example, in English, words like *really?* or *wow!* serve this purpose. Lastly, a substantive back-channel is frequently used for turn taking by the listener usually in the form of asking for clarifications or mirroring what the speaker is saying to ensure understanding. Here are some of the most typical back-channels in a few languages.

**Table 1: Most typical back-channels (Ward, 2007)**

|                | British English | American English | Mexican Spanish | Japanese | Iraqi Arabic | French | German |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|----------|-------------|--------|--------|
| 1 yes          | yeah            | si               | un              | aih      | oui         | ah     | (ach)  |
| 2 m            | *uh-huh*        | si               | si              | Na’m     | ouais       | ja     | (ahja, aja) |
| 3 no           | hm              | *ajá*            | aa              | repetition| humhum      | mhm    |
| 4 yeah         | right           | mjm              | laughter        | *mmm*    | hum         | nein (ne) |
| 5 really       | okay            | laughter         | hai             | *hmm*    | ah          | okay   |

In comparison with the languages mentioned above, in Kurdish language there is a variety of back-channeling used and produced by listeners in conversation, such as ‘Belê, raste, eha and head nodding, berast!, Na!, O, jwane, waye and tewawa’’. These are different from other languages culturally’. They are investigated thoroughly in this study by analyzing real life conversations and comparing them to the first two accents of English apparent in the table above.

**The forms of back-channels**

Knight (2009, p. 45) states that there are three main forms of spoken back-channels which are simple, double and complex. Firstly, simple forms are brief “‘mono or bi-syllabic utterances’” which consist of single words such as *yeah and mmm* (Knight, 2009, p. 45, cited in Gardner, 2011). Secondly, double back-channel forms embrace a series of a specific lexical form which is repeated two or more times such as *yeah-yeah*. Finally, complex back-channel forms include one of several items from different back-channel categories and/or one of several open-class lexical items’” such as yeah…right or yeah I know (Knight, 2009, p. 45-46.).

**The functions of back-channels**

Cutrone (2010, p. 31) says that Fries (1952), Yngve (1970) and Orestrom (1983) consider that back-channels are a method to transmit signals from non-primary speakers to the primary speakers which show that the non-primary speakers agree and understand to what the primary speakers say. Therefore, they could have supportive functions. Cutrone (2010, p. 31) argues that while someone speaks, listeners should show their more active listening responses at that moment. According to Cutrone (2010, p. 31-34), there are six functions of back-channel which are:
I. Continuers
Non-primary speakers need to provide opportunities to primary speakers in order to continue their turn of speaking such as:
A: I’ll pick it up from his place
B: Mm hm
A: At around 7 o’clock

II. Display of understanding content
It is the situation when non-primary speakers show their understanding of primary speakers’ utterances such as:
A: You have to go two blocks
B: Mm hm
A: Then turn left at the video store
B: Uh huh
A: you can’t miss it
B: I see

III. Agreement
It is the situation when the non-primary speakers show their reaction towards questions made by primary speakers such as:
A: you mean you heard the news already.
B: (Head Nod)
C: I was going to tell you.

IV. Support and empathy towards speakers’ judgment
It is the situation when non-primary speakers show their supporting and empathising to primary speakers’ evaluative utterances such as:
A: he quit his job again
B: it’s going to be hard to find a new one
A: Yeah
B: He’ll have to apply...

V. Strong emotional response
It is the situation when non-primary speakers show their response emphatically of primary speakers’ statements such as:
A: I got an A+ on my Chemistry test.
B: Fantastic!
A: I hope I can keep it up all semester.

VI. Minor addition or request for information
It is the situation that when non-primary speakers need to correct, add and clarify primary speakers’ utterances such as:
A: John will likely be back in April.
B: Really?
A: Yeah, the government is reducing troops in the Gulf.

Gender differences in back-channel feedback
According to Atmaja (2009, p. 7), as a listener, women seem to use more back-channel feedback than men. One difference is that as Fishman (1980, pp. 131-132) states that minimal responses such as mm or hmm might be generated more by women rather than men. Another difference is that Pellegrini (1980, pp. 97-104) shows that in the view of assent terms or
acknowledgments such as ‘yeah, right and uh-huh’ again are more excessively used by women than men. Atamaja (2009, p. 7) supports Pellegrini’ viewpoint by saying that assessments such as ‘wow, you are kidding and how horrible’ are produced more by women rather than men while listening to speakers.

A further difference is that laughter and smile are more often used by women rather than men in response to speakers (Duncan and Fiske, 1977, pp. 112-123). In brief, women are more active listeners than men in communication and conversation.

1. Purpose
Back-channels are a part of larger language category which is conversational strategies phrases. They are typically used in an ongoing conversation by listeners to show their attitude and reaction to the speakers. There are so many references available on English language back-channels that can be accessed easily. The researcher has designed intentional opportunities among family members to initiate courses of conversation so as to be recorded and used as a corpus for data collection and analysis. Regarding Kurdish language, almost no studies have been found by the researchers to be utilized as a source of back-channel for Kurdish readers, students, and researchers. Thus, this current study is being conducted expected to be a valuable work. And what distinguishes this study from the ones mentioned above is that this study uses spontaneous, authentic conversations, these conversation samples are not designed deliberately for research purposes; they are television programs which entails the originality of the language being worked on and validity of the work.

This study aims at identifying and categorizing Kurdish back-channels. It compares these conversation signals to those of English to see similarities and differences between the two languages in respect to their cultural function and linguistic structure. It is worthy to mention that the classification and categories terminologies that will be given to Kurdish back-channels are adopted from English language as it has been researched long before Kurdish language. Nevertheless, any different signal discoveries and mismatches will be mentioned and analyzed as unique Kurdish language phenomena.

This paper seeks answers to the following questions.

- To what extent are back-channel contents used in Kurdish?
- What are the most common back-channel signals used in Kurdish and what cultural meaning they convey frequently?
- Are there any cultural implication differences between Kurdish and English back-channel contents?

2. Methodology
This study is of a qualitative type in that it analyzes speeches of television talk programs and interviews after they have been transcribed into written form. The objective of the analysis is to find variables of listeners’ response tokens according to their function and structure. The shows have been accessed from their original TV website or YouTube channel. Total number of TV shows that have been taken as the study sample are eight, each of which contained a number of back-channel phrases or signals targeted by the researchers.

The researcher watched the videos to transcribe the speech examples that represented relevant data for analysis. Only short relevant utterances by speakers in the video have been
transcribed. The selected TV shows are of various types according to the content of speech, discussion topic, sources, and speakers’ gender and accent. In other words, they were chosen from various TV channels; the topics include personal biography, religious matters, villagers interviews, morning talk shows, and entertainment programs in which both genders were involved in the conversations. In the analysis, Kurdish back-channel examples were identified in authentic conversations, and then classified under the categories (non-lexical, phrasal, and substantive), forms (simple, double and complex), and functions (continuers, agreement, support, emotional response, request or addition of information, disagreement, interest, comprehension, misunderstanding and attention) according to the listeners’ intention in the context.

3. Results and Discussions
Eight TV programs have been taken as study samples. Each program has been selected from a different source (i.e. TV channel), and they are of various topics and speakers according to gender, age and background. A number of back-channel tokens were identified in each source. Only the short speech part, in each source, which contained a back-channel example has been transcribed for the purpose of analysis. The Kurdish back-channel signals are to be discussed below according to their function in conversation, not the order of the source number. They are arranged according to both categories and forms. All conversation sources are separately referenced at the end of this study. Below are the most common back-channels used in Kurdish language listed according to the source number order. The conversation samples are presented in Latin alphabet here (see same samples in Kurdish alphabet in the study appendix)

Source one
Pêşkeşkar: Dilşad Ehmed (Qsekerî jimare 1)
Miwan: xelkî ladê (qsekerî jimare 2)

#2: Baley Heme we ewe çê salê diwrat hatbê, dête Hanejale w Çrosane.
#1: Ella Weyş eşê eşê kwê?
#2: Min ta’kid nim, ëlên ewiş kûri heme bwe
#1: Başe (nore grtin bo qse krdin)
#2: Le hane sûren, newekanyan mawe w êsta ezanîn
#1: Başe (gorunî ton wek ewey pêy bilê biweste)
#2: Awa
#1: ba bizanîn newrol ..... 

Source two
Pêşkeşkar: Ebûlrehman (Qsekerî jimare 1)
Miwan: Xelki lade (qsekerî jimare 2)

#1: Emey destî min xakenasy destî çûtyarane, maweyekî be hokarî merzewê w ragwastintan lêre îhmaltan kirdê
#2: Belê
#1: Bo êsta destan pê krdwetewe be xakenas?
#2: Wela ka Ebûlrehman êste boye destman pe krdwetewe kesabetê le nemawe, salanî pêşû her lem merzey goredereve ta snûrî xoman girgaşê
#1: ‘ê
#2: Heta ewê se çwar merzî tiya bû
#1: ‘ê
#2: êste merzî tiya nemawe
گۆڤارى زانکۆ بۆ زانستە مرۆڤایەتییەکان
بەرگى. 24 ، ئ.زمارە.1 ، سالی 2020

Source three
Pêşkeşkar: Serkar (Qsekerî jimare 1)
Miwan: Eyyam Ekrem (qsekerî jimare 2)

#1: Kak Eyyam, dekrê bizanîn Eyyam Ekrem temenî çende?
#2: ‘a
#1: dekrê yan nakrê?
#2: 54 salim

#2: ke emin la me’hed texerûcm kird w hatne Hewlêr
#1: Base
#2: Hestim krd, yanî nazanim, fên zor ze’îfê…..

Source four
Pêşkeşkar: Herman (Qsekerî jimare 1)
Miwan: Deşnê Mûrad (qsekerî jimare 2)

#2: Bexwa min tirsam, min keyf xoq nebû, çûne wityan be min Herman nexoq le xestexane biwe, kisey awyan tékîrde. Demû çawi'estaș tewaw niye belam hatiwe bo bername, çepleyekî gewre bo sûper starî Kûrdistan kake Herman.
#1: Sûpas, bibûre, sax bi
#2: Min zor tûre bûm, min çûm.
#1: Berast!!
#2: To agaw la hîç nebû, hhhhh wa tegeyêsimek kird w hatme Hewlêrê

Source five
Pêşkeşkar: Herman (Qsekerî jimare 1)
Miwan: Jalya Sirwan (qsekerî jimare 2)

#2: hezekem em karakteryke ke xom bo xomî drûstekek tenha la şaciwana konebêtewanê
#1: belê
#2: belkû twanibêtîm xom drûstêrdîbê le rêgey bûn be şacwanîm
#1: dête meraq kirîn, dibêjin berî bibîte şacwan karê wî ci bû? Çî karê dikîr? Çewa dijiya?
#2: ê, raste, min wekû her kesêkî tîr xwêndkarekî asayî bûm, …

#2: minalêkî zor ’essebî w tûre bûm,
#1: ehe
#2: belam le heman katîşda, serkwûtû bûm
#1: eger bête pirsyar kirîn bêjin tú çewa büye şacwan? Emê çî bersiv ji te wergrîn?
#2: wate hokar çî bû ke min bûme şacwan?
#1: belê belê
#2: wekû hemûman prosekemân bînî, diwanze dadwerî çihanê Lewê bûm….?

#1: tû hez nakay ji bilî şacwaniyê pêşkeşkar bî yanji ekter bî?
#2: planekem keşf meke
#1: he?
#2: planekanîm keşf meke

Source six
Pêşkeşkar: Nezîr Kadanî (Qsekerî jimare 1)
Miwan: Ebdûlrehman Sîdîq (qsekerî jimare 2)

#2: benawî xûday bexîndey mihreban, le qûr’anda çend wişeyêk heye ciyawazin le manakan.
#1: ‘hm
#2: yeke lew wisan ke bley hawjini le qur’anda chi manayek heye, yeke le manakan ka be manay hawjinî de wişey ‘zewc’e. çend wişey trîş hatwe belam ew manaye nageyenê.
#1: belê
#2: kewate to temasahe be yeke biley ‘zewc’ yanî çi....

#2: mrov eger bigate astî pêxemberayetîş, eger natebayê hevû le nêwan ew û xêzanekeyda, be her hokarêk, xûda bomanî rûn krdotewe ke ew diwane heşta wekû zewc naja. Boye xûda defermiwê "ê ûzên Zamanî, ey bo neyfermû zewc?"
#1: nakok heye dinavbera wanda?
#2: ‘a, nakokîyêce çîye, ‘imran geystote astêk w ....

Source seven
Pêşkeşkar: Hiwa Cemal (Qsekerî jimare 1)
Miwan: D. Viyan Sebri (qsekerî jimare 2)

#1: başê, bas basî kûrde, yanî kûrd wekû basim krd ke xopişandan dekrêt bo ewey dabimezrên....
#2: weye
#1: yanî daway damezrandin deka, bekarî heye, keçî

#1: ezanim Diktore Viyan bastan krdiwe, le mwazeneya hatiwe, bîryarbû ke ‘îtr ‘îmzay bewekalet nexwat, waniye....
#2: belê
#1: bo esta müdeyêk drawe ta mangî 10.
#2: belê belê.

Source eight
Pêşkeşkar: Jîle (Qsekerî jimare 1)
Pêşkeşkar: Aheng (qsekerî jimare 2)
Miwanî bername (qsekerî jimare 3)

#1: Diwenê çiw kird?
#2: wela dûne digel hendêk hevali derketim....
#1: ‘him
#2: cewî xo piçek gûherd, we min tû li we cihê ditî
#1: hhhhhh waye levê bûm
#2: eca pêtiyê naka ev pirsyarey ji te bikem
#3: zor kes heye wek yarî encamy deden, delên ba temaşay roj bikeyn, bizânîn kê detwanê ziyatîr temaşay roj bikat
#1: le biçûkayetî zor waman kird
#2: ‘a, zor
#3: ‘a, weye....

These are all data collected from TV show conversations. The highlighted parts are examples of back-channeling. The examples could be analyzed by classifying them into the structural and formation categories identified in the theoretical background. This to find out if the Kurdish back-channeling fits into the same categorization of English ones or have other unique forms.
As mentioned before, Kogure has identified three main categories of back-channels. They are non-lexical, phrasal, and substantive, which have been defined in their own space. Knight (2009 cited in Gardner, 2011) states that there are three main forms of spoken back-channels
which are simple, double and complex. In light of these division, Kurdish back-channels are arranged in the table below accordingly.

A) Discussing categories and forms of Kurdish back-channels

Table 2: Categories of Kurdish Back-channels

| No. | Back-channel Signals | Categories |
|-----|---------------------|------------|
|     |                     | Non-lexical | Phrasal | Substantive |
| 1   | ێ (ê)               | yes        | -        | -          |
| 2   | ئەهە (ehe)          | yes        | -        | -          |
| 3   | ئێم (‘him)          | yes        | -        | -          |
| 4   | بەڕاست؟! (berast?!) | -          | yes      | -          |
| 5   | باشە (baše)         | -          | -        | yes        |
| 6   | ئێ راستە (ê raste)  | -          | -        | yes        |

As it appears from the table, just as in English language, Kurdish back-channels also have the three categories. To elaborate, one can easily determine that the first three listener tokens carry very poor or no semantic referential features; they are just vocal sounds conveying that the listener is paying attention. Number four is a phrasal signal. It is operated to express assessment to acknowledgement on the part of the listener surprisingly. The last two back-channels are of substantive form as they are an attempt to concrete turn taking by the listener usually in the form of mirroring to ensure understanding.

Table 3: Forms of Kurdish Back-channels

| No. | Back-channel Signals | Forms |
|-----|---------------------|-------|
|     |                     | Simple | Double | Complex |
| 1   | باشە (baše)         | yes   | -      | -       |
| 2   | بەڵە (balê)         | yes   | -      | -       |
| 3   | ێ (ê)               | yes   | -      | -       |
| 4   | بەڵە بەڵە (balê bale) | -     | yes    | -       |
| 5   | ‘ا وەیە (‘a weye)   | -     | -      | yes     |
| 6   | ئێ ... راستە (ê raste) | -     | -     | yes     |

Concerning the forms, Kurdish back-channel are quite similar to those of English. It seems that Kurdish listener tokens are of different forms just like English ones. Considering the examples shown in table 3, each form has been vividly represented by one or two concrete tokens. Number one, two and three are regarded as simple back-channels since they are brief mono- or bi-syllabic utterances which consist of single words. Number four is very typical Kurdish back-channel which is rare in type, but frequent in usage. Such type is called double back-channel because it contains lexical form which is repeated two or more times. This ‘bale-bale’ Kurdish one is identical to the English ‘yeah-yeah’ in formation. The form of the last two ones are complex because they as Knight (2009) explains “include one of several items from different back-channel categories and/or one of several open-class lexical items”. For instance, in Kurdish ‘ê…raste’ corresponds to “yeah…right” in English.
B) Discussing functions of Kurdish back-channels

In this part, all Kurdish back-channels obtained from the samples are attributed to the particular function they have performed in the conversations. In addition to all the functions mentioned in the first section of this study, any other unique ones will be discussed if found. It is also explained which form performs a specific function, whether or not they are equivalent to the same form and function in English. This is because sometimes one form can have more than one function, or more than one functions are represented by one form. With reference to table one by Ward (2007), there are times when there is a difference between accents of the same language regarding the form and function of back-channels. In the table, it is noticed that ‘yes’ in British English becomes ‘yeah’ in American English, likewise ‘mm’ becomes ‘uh-huh’. That’s the reason in taking the samples for this study speakers of different accents were targeted.

Function one: Continuers (interest, attention)

Source two: ئە - ئە

The listener seems very curious of what the speaker says and frequently uses (e) to keep the speaker going on.

Source six: ihm - ئە

Used as a sign for continuing

Source eight: ihm - ئە

Used as a sign for continuing

Function two: Display of understanding of content

Source three: base - باشە

This is just to let the speaker know that what he says in understood. The listener here seems very much encouraging.

Source five: balê - بەڵێ-بەڵێ

This signal seems to have more than one function. But in this context, it rather performs the one of understanding. By this, the listener tells the speaker I get what you mean and please go ahead. In this case, the signal also contains a feature of continuers.

Source five: ehe - ئەهە

An indication to the speaker to continue speaking.

Function three: Agreement

Source two: balê - بەڵێ

The listener is intrusive here and confirms the speakers’ speech.

Source five: raste - نئی ڕاستە

Listener verifies speaker’s speech.

Source six: a - ئا

Here it means ‘yes’ and is used for agreement

Source eight: Waye - وایە

Listener shows agreement

Function four: Support and empathy toward speakers’ judgment

Source three: aa - ئا
The listener says (aa) as a support for the speaker who is trying to request.
Source seven: wave + balê - بالێ + وایە
These two separate back-channel are found to back up the speakers’ explanations.

**Function five: Strong emotional response (interest, attention)**
Source four: berast?! - بەرەست؟! -
The listener astonishingly expresses his emotion as if what she (the speaker) says is important to know and unexpected.
Source five: بەڵێ - بەڵێ
this example in its own context has been uttered with such a tone that shows listeners attention and interest in the subject. It can also be attributed to the continuers as this back-channel in the most one and has multiple functions.
Source eight: a ...zor + a ...weye - تا ...ژۆر + تا ...وەیە
to three persons were engaged in this conversation, there were always one primary speaker and two non-primary speakers (who usually performed the role of listeners). So, each of the two highlighted signals above were articulated by a non-primary speaker to express their interest and attention emotionally.

**Function six: Minor addition or request for information**
Source eight: waye lawêbûm - وایە لە وێ بووم -
In this context, the speaker tells the listener “I saw somewhere”. And the listener adds to it by revealing to the audience that they have been together saying “that’s right, we were together” and paves the way for the primary speaker to finish his speech from has been recently disclosed by the listener.

**Function seven: misunderstanding**
Source five: ha? - ە؟
This back-channel shows misunderstanding and asking for explanation.

**Function eight: disagreement**
Kurdish speakers by nature project back-channels for disagreement since they are used and heard in conversation. Examples of disagreement tokens can be any of these ‘pêm waniye – پەم – وەنیە’, ‘birwa nakem – ەڵەکەم – وەنیە’, ‘heley – ەڵەی’. But, as it is apparent, no examples of disagreement back-channels were noticed in the eight samples of conversation. This might be due to that these tokens are very rarely used by Kurdish speakers. This can go back to the fact that these tokens are very direct or disrespectful to be used especially on a TV program where people try to conform good manner to their audience and viewers.

**Function nine: turn taking**
Source one: başe - باشە
Repeated two times with a change in tone of voice to show understanding and stop the speaker so that the listener can ask more questions or say his point.
This analysis of Kurdish back-channels was made depending on the three factors of different categories, forms and functions. On last comment at the very end of this section would be that Kurdish and English back-channels are very similar, if not the same, in terms of forms and
types, yet there is not a one-to-one correspondence in functioning. In other words, same phrases or vocal sounds from both languages are not necessarily conditioned to serve the exact purpose. Instead, the back-channel of each language can have a transformation in functioning according to the context.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations
Back-channeling crosses all language barriers and serves to either assess what the primary speaker is saying or to urge the primary speaker to continue (Goodwin, 1986 and Schegloff, 1982). Back-channeling indicates that the primary speaker is being heard and understood. Although back-channeling is a cross-cultural phenomenon, the types of back-challenge employed as listener responses and their frequency defers among cultures, which can lead to some miscommunication and misunderstanding. Overall, back-channeling is an effective way to facilitate communication, especially in face-to-face interactions within cultural groups.

This study has revealed that, similar to English language, Kurdish language contains such communication phenomenon. Moreover, both languages are very similar in having back-channel varieties when it comes to forms, types and functions. But there are a few contrasting aspects between the two languages. Kurdish has so many back-channels as English, but they differ in their usage frequency, in other words, only some of the Kurdish back are common in ordinary conversation. By this, one can deduce that Kurdish speakers’ verbal interactions are not as sophisticated as English conversation contents in terms of using back-channels. Among the common back-channels that are of much use, are ‘belê and ehe’. These two signals are not also common, but also multipurpose (i.e. can have different functions according to context).

Also, equivalent phrases in form and meaning from both languages can have different functions during speakers’ interaction. This lack of functioning match is not only between English and Kurdish, but also noticeable between British English and American English. To explain, ‘bale’ in Kurdish, ‘yes’ in British English, and ‘yeah’ in American English are very likely to serve a different purpose.

The study has addressed back-channeling in face-to-face interactions. However, with the dawn of the digital age, there are concerns over how people may communicate as listeners in a virtual word. According to Toledo and Peters (2007), “the advancement of information communication technologies in the last 40 years has digitized this practice of turn-taking to include both face-to-face and virtual interactions”. However, this study was restricted to the analysis of face-to-face interaction amongst Kurdish speakers since doing research on back-channels in virtual interactions is the matter of another type of study and out of the scope of the current work. Hence, this research gap is very much recommended for other researchers to fill in because of peculiarity and complexity of the digital context interactions.

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### Appendix I: Study Sample Sources

| No. | TV program | Presenter name | TV channel name | Access source and link | Publishing and access date |
|-----|------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1   | Zhyanaway Kurdistan | Dilshad Ahmad | Gal Kirkistan | GK youtube channel <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zb8ZNCHV5gE> | May 4th, 2019 |
| 2   | De ba De | Bdurahman | KNN | Presenter youtube channel <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fUEIZEXe34> | July 3rd, 2019 |
| 3   | Mn u To | Sarkar | AVA | AVA youtube channel <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w82oEjGv5s> | July 2nd, 2019 |
| 4   | Shayda | Harman | WAAR | WAAR youtube channel <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2SzTzP8umn > | June 23rd, 2017 |
| 5   | Shayda | Harman | WAAR | WAAR youtube channel <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rb78PJVbZSM> | May 25th, 2018 |
| 6   | BaKurd | Nazeer Kadani | K24 | K24 website <https://www.kurdistan24.net/so/program?dhdfe1f-ff3c-4158-8c5c-e0ff01fbb3> | June 27th, 2019 |
| 7   | Rudawi Amro | Hiwa Jamal | Rudaw | Rudaw Website <http://www.rudaw.net/soranin/onair/tv/episodes/episode/rudawy_emro_02072019 > | June 2nd, 2019 |
| 8   | Ava Cafè | Ahang & Zhula | AVA | AVA youtube channel <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5-5vH1UYSFU> | July 6th, 2019 |

### Appendix II: Study Samples in Kurdish Alphabet

**Source one**

&middot; بەشکەیەکان، دادەکان کەمەوەی (لەسەکە: تۆکەی)،
&middot; مەنی، حەچکرد ایکەتی (لەسەکە: تۆکەی)!

&middot; ئا، ئەوەAFE لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟

&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟

&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟

&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟

&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟

&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟

&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
&middot; ئا، ئەوەی تایبەتی لە سەکەیەکەی تایبەت؟
گوّواری زانکۆ بۆ زانستە مرۆڤایەتییەکان
بەرگى.
24
، ژمارە 1
، سالی 2020

Source Two

بعشکەئنەیە، خانەکانی (سەسکەئیە تەمام) 1

سەس: ەسکەئیە خانەکانی (سەسکەئیە تەمام) 2

۱: ەکسەئەیە نەکەیەنەیەیە، درمە دەبەینە، کەنەیەکی زۆر بە هۆکەرەوە و ڕاگەسەیەکی کە لە خەڵکەیەکی بەرگی.
۲: بەرگی.

Source Three

بعشکەئنەیە، سنەڵەینەیە (سەسکەئیە تەمام) 1

سەس: ەسکەئیە سنەڵەینەیە (سەسکەئیە تەمام) 2

۱: کاتی کەرەیە، دەدەکەیەنی بەرگی کە لە خەڵکەیەکی بەرگی.
۲: کە لە خەڵکەیەکی بەرگی.

Source Four

بعشکەئنەیە، سنەڵەینەیە (سەسکەئیە تەمام) 1

سەس: ەسکەئیە سنەڵەینەیە (سەسکەئیە تەمام) 2

۱: خەشەئیە خانەکەیە، لە خۆمی دزۆتەکەیە بەرگی لە ئەکسەئەیەنیەکەیە، کە لە خەڵکەیەکی بەرگی.
۲: خەشەئیە خانەکەیە، لە خۆمی دزۆتەکەیە بەرگی لە ئەکسەئەیەنیەکەیە، کە لە خەڵکەیەکی بەرگی.

Source Five

بعشکەئنەیە، سنەڵەینەیە (سەسکەئیە تەمام) 1

سەس: ەسکەئیە سنەڵەینەیە (سەسکەئیە تەمام) 2

۱: خەشەئیە پەیرەیە کە لە خۆمی دزۆتەکەیە بەرگی لە ئەکسەئەیەنیەکەیە، کە لە خەڵکەیەکی بەرگی.
۲: خەشەئیە پەیرەیە کە لە خۆمی دزۆتەکەیە بەرگی لە ئەکسەئەیەنیەکەیە، کە لە خەڵکەیەکی بەرگی.

بەرگى
.24، ژمارە 1، سال 2020

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Source Six

بەشکەکاران: شعیب گاندی (فیکسکی ژمارە 1)
(فیکسکی ژمارە 2)

ناحیه شکرە: شهیار میتریزی، تهیه کننده و تهیه کننده ژمارە 1
ناحیه شکرە: سیدفران خوشکی، تهیه کننده و تهیه کننده ژمارە 2

1: بیاناتی خوردن بی خشخاشی سهورگانه. له قزاق‌دان جدید و شیوه‌های جدید به مطالعه
2: له: بالعکس
3: به طور کلی، و نیز به عنوان یک ژن هم‌ارکیده که به مهم‌ترین انواع خاکستری و نیز از روی
4: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها
5: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po)
6: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po)
7: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po)
8: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po)
9: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها
10: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها
11: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها
12: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها

Source Seven

بەشکەکاران: نازیح جمیل (فیکسکی ژمارە 1)
(فیکسکی ژمارە 2)

ناحیه شکرە: د. فیکسکی ژمارە 1
(فیکسکی ژمارە 2)

1: در پیشنهاد دانستگی در پیشنهاد دانستگی در پیشنهاد دانستگی در پیشنهاد
2: و
3: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها
4: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها نیز به‌(po) این پژوهش‌ها
5: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها

Source Eight

بەشکەکاران: (فیکسکی ژمارە 1)
(فیکسکی ژمارە 2)

1: در پیشنهاد دانستگی در پیشنهاد دانستگی در پیشنهاد
2: و
3: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها
4: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها
5: به نظر می‌رسد که این پژوهش‌ها

مطلب‌های جدید و مهم که در هر فهرستی به آن‌ها اشاره می‌شود، به‌سوی این موضوعات مربوط می‌شوند:

1: روز روزگاری به‌سوی این موضوعات مربوط می‌شوند
2: روز روزگاری به‌سوی این موضوعات مربوط می‌شوند
3: روز روزگاری به‌سوی این موضوعات مربوط می‌شوند

(پژوهش ژمارە 2)
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.