TURKISH AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE:
DIACHRONIC CHANGE AND SYNCHRONIC VARIATION
OF TURKISH IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
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ABSTRACT

Turkish as a Heritage Language:

Diachronic Change and Synchronic Variation of Turkish in the United Kingdom

In this study, I investigate certain morpho-syntactic changes emerging in Turkish spoken as a heritage language in the United Kingdom. I mainly focus on object pronoun use and the use of the plural marker -lAr both on verbs and nouns in this variety, based on data collected from members of the Turkish community in the United Kingdom. First, I show that Turkish heritage speakers tend not to omit direct objects even in environments in which they are judged redundant or optional by the baseline speakers, native speakers of Turkish in Turkey. Second, I reveal that heritage speakers of Turkish prefer plural marking on nouns even when the latter are modified by quantifiers and numerals - configurations that are judged in the literature as ungrammatical in Standard Modern Turkish. Third, I present that the same speakers use -lAr as third person plural marker in their natural speech more than the baseline speakers, overriding certain strong tendencies in Standard Modern Turkish, such as a tendency to omit -lAr when the controller is a nonhuman or inanimate plural subject. I claim that these differences cannot be wholesale attributed to one or the other mechanisms of change. Instead, I argue that there are different motivating factors for these changes, which are mainly the dominant language transfer effect, silence and distance problems in binding, complex structure avoidance, and the tendency to adopt a more regularized and analytic structure.

ÖZET

Bir Miras Dil Olarak Türkçe:
Birleşik Krallık'ta Konuşulan Türkçenin Artsüremli Değişimi ve Eşsüremli Çeşitliliği

Bu çalışmada, Birleşik Krallık'ta miras dili olarak konuşulan Türkçede ortaya çıkan biçim-sözdizimsel değişimleri araştırılmaktadır. Birleşik Krallık'taki Türk topluluğu üyelerinden toplanan verilerinden yapılan bu çalışmada, esas olarak cümle içerisinde nesne zamirlerinin kullanımına ve -lAr çoğul ekinin kullanımına odaklanılmıştır. İlk bulgular, anadili Türkçe olan Türkiye'deki konuşurlar tarafından gereksiz veya isteğe bağlı olarak değerlendirilen koşullarda bile, ana dili Türkçe olan miras dil konuşurlarının cümle içinde nesne zamirlerini atmama/gizli nesne kullanmama eğilimlerini göstermiştir. İkinci olarak, çalışma, Türkçeyi miras dil olarak konuşanların, adlar nicelik belirteçleri ve rakamlarla birlikle kullanıldığında adlara çoğul eki getirmeyi tercih ettiklerini ortaya koymuştur. Üçüncü olarak, miras dil konuşurlarının Standart Modern Türkçe'deki cansız veya insan dışı canlı çoğul öznelerde fiile üçüncü çoğul şahıs eki ekleme gibi bazı reddedilen yapıları da konuşmalarında tercih ederek doğal konuşmalarında üçüncü çoğul şahıs belirteci olarak -lAr'ı temel konuşmacılardan daha fazla kullandıklarını göstermiştir. Bu farklılıkların tek bir faktöre atfedilemeyeceği belirlenmiştir. Bunun yerine, bu değişikliklerin sebebi olarak çeşitli faktörlerin olduğunu savunulmaktadır ve bu faktörlerin ağırlıklı olarak baskın dil aktarım etkisi, yapısal bağlamlarda gizlilik ve mesafe sorunları, karmaşık yapıdan kaçınma ve daha düzenli ve analitik bir yapıya uyum sağlama eğilimi olabileceği tartışılmıştır.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	First person singular
1PL	First person plural
2SG	Second-person singular
2PL	Second-person plural
3SG	Third-person singular
3PL	Third-person plural
ABIL	Ability modality
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
AOR	Aorist
COM	Comitative
COND	Conditional
DAT	Dative
DECL	Declarative
EV	Evidential
F	Female gender marker
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
HT	Heritage Turkish
INF	Infinitive
INST	Instrumental case
L1	The first language
L2	The second language

LOC	Locative
M	Male gender
NEG	Negation
NP	Noun Phrase
NOMIN	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
OPT	Optative
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PROG	Progressive
PAST	Past tense
RELCL	Relative clause
SLL	Second language learner
TR-TR	Standard Turkish
VP	Verb Phrase
Q	Question marker

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will present the aim of the thesis, previous literature and methodology applied in collecting and analyzing the data together with the results and reasons for the observed changes. I will finish the chapter with an outline of the thesis.

1.1 Setting the scene

Massive waves of immigration in the modern World brought along studies on immigrant communities, languages not being exempted from this. The notions of 'heritage languages' and 'heritage speakers' emerged from such studies to define languages of immigrant minorities although the term is generally applied to speakers of any minority language, whether they are varieties spoken by immigrant societies or colonial languages, or indigenous languages all over the world as heritage languages (Fishman 2001, 2006). Recent years have seen a shift in studies on heritage languages from the perspective of bilingual language maintenance and literacy development to a formal analysis of change to find out vulnerable or stable aspects of natural languages in contact and attrition (Polinsky and Kagan, 2007; Montrul, 2010; Montrul, 2016).

Turkish is one of the prevalent minority languages spoken across the European continent, and the British islands. It has today come to be one of the biggest minority languages in numerous countries, such as Germany, the Netherlands or France since the labor migration started in the 1960s (Backus, 2012). The United Kingdom (hereafter the UK) is also one of those countries where Turkish people

mostly migrated, especially after the agreement signed between Turkey and the European Economic Community in 1963 (known as the Ankara Agreement).

As in other countries, Turkish spoken in the UK for over 50 years has undergone changes that are not visible in (Standard Modern) Turkish spoken in Turkey (Küppers & Şimşek & Schroeder 2015). The second and the last generation Turkish speakers, who are born in the UK, meet English at a much earlier age than the previous generation, are exposed to it at their schools and through media, and create a social network with local English-speaking people. It is in their language code-switching and structural changes are the most expected. As is the case in numerous other immigrant communities in the world, for these speakers as well their second language, namely English, becomes the dominant language, and they use Turkish in a much limited fashion, often restricted to family or friends. It is only natural for such asymmetrical bilinguals to form new structures or use the existing structures in a different way than the previous generation of immigrants or the than the variety spoken in the home country. It is in fact these changes in their L1 that enable today's formal linguists to talk about "heritage speakers" and "heritage languages".

This MA thesis is a case study on the diachronic changes that have emerged in heritage Turkish spoken by the second and third-generation immigrants in the UK under the effect of English as the dominant language, under language attrition, and hence simplification, and regularization processes. The heritage Turkish corpus that I created (see section 1.5 for its details) reveals several structures that might be potentially deemed as 'diverging' from the baseline Turkish. These include, among others, increased use of post-verbal elements (objects specifically) as in example (1), differences in lexical uses as in example (2), and the use of "*çünkü"* (because) and "*için"* (for) simultaneously in premise/reason adverbial clauses as in example (3).

(1) Yok hepsi değil-di Türk.

No all.of.them is.not-PAST Turkish

No, not all of them were Turkish.

(2) Mesela dışarı çık-ınca maske giy-iyor-uz.

For.example outside go-CONV mask wear-PROG-1PL

For example, we wear masks when we go out.

(3) Fazla düşün-e-m-iyor-um çünkü fazla gel-me-diğ-im için**.**

Much think-ABIL-NEG-PROG-1SG because much come-NEG-NOMIN-1SG for

I can't think much because I don't come much.

In example (1), we observe that "*Türk"* is used after postcopular predicate which has a restricted use in standart Turkish. Example (2) shows that there are some instances that speakers use resumptive pronoun "*onu"* even the object "*bir seneyi"* exists in the sentence overtly. Example (3), on the other hand, is an instance of calque in heritage Turkish since "mask" is used with "wear" as in English even if it is not in standart Turkish. Finally, example (4) shows the overuse of "*çünkü"*, which is an instance doubly marked adverbial clause in heritage Turkish.

Further to these cases, it is observed in the data that heritage speakers of Turkish have some uses proving the avoidance from embeddings as in example (4), avoidance from null objects as in example (5), incorrect case marking as in example (6), and overuse of plural marker under quantifiers and numerals as in example (7). Some of these have been noted in HT data that were collected in other European countries (see examples from Pfaff 1999; Montrul, 2002; Polinsky, 2006 and 2018; Doğruöz, 2007).

(4) Ne ist-iyor-sa-n var, o güzel ol-uyor, çok değişik kültür-ler var.

What want-PROG-COND-2SG exist, that good become-PROG, very different culture-PL exist

You have what you want, it is beautiful, there are many different cultures.

(5) Armud-u sepet-in içine koyuyor, armud-u şimdi temizl-iyor.

Pear-ACC basket-GEN inside-DAT put-PROG-3SG, pear-ACC now clean-PROG-3SG

He puts the pear in the basket, cleans the pear now.

(6) *Ora-sı çok insan gid-iyor.

There-POSS many person-PL go-PROG

Many people are going there (intended)

(7) Orada çok bayağı bir banka-lar var.

There-LOC many a lot of bank-PL exist

There are a lot of banks there.

In example (4), and many similar cases, while a complex structure could be used instead of seperate sentences, the speaker constantly avoids complexity. Additionally, while in example (5) "*armut"* is used redundantly two times instead of using a null object, examples (6) and (7) have ungrammatical structures with an incorrect case on "*orası"* and ungrammatical plural marker on "*banka".*

In this study, we restrict our attention on the overt use of object pronouns and plural marker in HT spoken in the UK for the following reasons:

i. Both structures are relatively understudied in the previous research.

ii. Both structures have optional and irregular patterns in Turkish that might be confusing for heritage speakers and may arise different uses.

iii. The data impressionistically showed that heritage speakers may adopt different patterns in these structures.

iv. These are the structures in which we can make observations about the dominant language effects since English and Turkish have contrastive patterns in both structures.

For this motivation, I seek answers to the following questions in this study:

i. Are the object pronouns overused in heritage Turkish? What might be the possible reasons for that?

ii. Is the plural marking -lAr overused in heritage Turkish? What might be the possible reasons for that? How does it reflect comprehension data?

In order to answer these questions, I conducted a study by creating a corpus with recordings obtained from both heritage speakers of Turkish residing in the UK, and the baseline speakers born and raised in Turkey. Participants (see 1.5.1 for details) were selected based on their sociolinguistic background and linguistic skills (calculated with a speech rate test) in Turkish. Recordings from participants include both semi-structured interviews and elicited tasks that the speakers completed. The target uses were examined statistically based on the data collected and the results were compared with the baseline data as it is described in Chapter 2 and 3 in detail.

At the end of the study, the results statistically illustrated that heritage Turkish diverges from the baseline Turkish in terms of null object use and plurality marking which may be motivated by several factors. Firstly, it is observed from the corpus that heritage Turkish is not in the same line as standard Turkish in using null objects. Heritage speakers are observed to prefer overt objects more in most cases, and they even choose them over null elements in redundant and optional cases. Secondly, HT differs from standard Turkish in terms of plural marking use. Turkish heritage

speakers use ungrammatical plural markers on NPs and redundant or rejected third-person plural markers on VPs.

In order to detect and understand the possible reasons for these divergent uses, I analyzed the previous explanations based on them and concluded that HT has parallel results with other heritage languages in the literature. First, they tend to switch to more regular and analytic structures in their heritage languages, which causes fewer preferences for irregular items or overgeneralization of them. This accounts for the tendency for increasing overt uses of objects and overuses of plural markers. Second, the dominant language is effective in these changes. The speakers are under the effect of English especially in irregular forms since they have more regular pattern counterparts in these target structures. Therefore, even though the dominant language is not the sole cause responsible for these changes, it is seen as one of the crucial factors. All in all, considering these reasons, it is concluded that HT is more likely to change to a systematic and regularized pattern rather than to create a totally different structure.

Before elaborating on the data and the results, in the remainder of this chapter, I will define heritage languages and speakers more elaborately and give the characteristics features of them.

This section continues with the definition and characteristics of heritage speakers in 1.2 and 1.2.1, together with language attrition in 1.2.2, transfer effect in 1.2.3 and the basic differences between a second language learner and a heritage speaker in 1.2.4. I will also provide details about the Turkish diaspora in Europe and in the UK in 1.3, heritage Turkish in previous work in 1.4, data collection in 1.5, procedure in 1.6 and the organization of the thesis in 1.7.

1.2 Heritage languages and heritage speakers: Definitions and characteristics

The terms “heritage language” and “heritage speaker” have gained attention in the last two decades and now hold an important place in linguistic terminology. As one of the pioneers in the field, Polinsky (2018) gives “Literate and Illiterate Speech” (1927) by Leonard Bloomfield as a reference for the definition of heritage speakers (although not for the term itself) and describes them as “unbalanced bilinguals” with a weaker first language.[1] This is an umbrella term for all heritage speakers. Even if these speakers are seen as a heterogenous group in general, their main distinction from other bilingual groups is that they have an “unbalanced” linguistic proficiency in their respective languages. In this context, the first language refers to the language acquired at home at an early age and used in limited areas, often in the home environment, and the second or the dominant language refers to the language that is spoken dominantly in the country of residence. The term “heritage speaker” has been equated in numerous studies with the terms “semispeakers”, “incomplete acquirers” or “pseudo-bilinguals” (Dorian, 1981; Montrul, 2002; Polinsky, 2006 in Polinsky & Kagan, 2007), and the term “heritage speakers” was first used in Canada by Cummins. (Cummins, 2005)

According to Rothman’s (2007) and Polinsky’s (2018) descriptions, a language can be called a heritage language when it is not the majority language of the community and when there is a “conquering” or “dominant language”, which is almost always the majority language, in which a new generation of bilinguals feels more comfortable. In parallel to the definition, a heritage speaker should have acquired the minority or family language naturally at home with the family members but should have a greater command of the majority language of the society.

[1] Referring to the US context only, Clyne (1991) uses the term ‘languages other than English LOTEs’ to refer to the same group of languages.

According to Valdés's (2000) definition, heritage speakers are "individuals raised in homes where a language other than English is spoken and who are to some degree bilingual in the dominant language, and the heritage language." In both Valdes' and Polinsky's definitions, the crucial point is that speakers begin to acquire their first language (hereafter 'L1') earlier, at birth, however, the acquisition state is not convergent with the language of their parents since they switch to using another language actively early in their lives. Benmamoun et al. (2010) further point out the interruption of the acquisition process of heritage speakers. Similar to other studies, these authors define heritage speakers as speakers who are "interrupted or incompletely acquired" in their L1 in some cases. Interruption or incomplete acquisition means the incompetence a speaker has in certain areas of the language, which is mostly the result of these speakers not receiving education in their L1, almost always due to L1's having no official status in the respective country. The acquisition process, therefore, can be interrupted as they grow up and start schooling, and therefore, limit their time at home where they are exposed to L1 systematic primary linguistic data (hereafter "PLD"). Consequently, their competence in the L1 weakens, which results in the turnover of dominance in their languages: the L1 of these speakers become their secondary language, while the second language (hereafter L2) becomes their primary language before adolescence.

As defined by many studies (Rothman 2007, Polinsky 2018, Polinsky & Kagan, 2007 among many others), heritage speakers are a subset of bilinguals, and not every bilingual is a heritage speaker. There are some specific social situations that typically characterize a heritage speaker. Mainly, since there should be a "dominant" language in the society other than L1, heritage speakers are mostly from an immigrant society where their ancestral languages are not spoken by the majority

of society. Spanish in the USA (Montrul, 2012), for instance, can be an example of a heritage language. Montrul (2012) states that Spanish people constitute the largest community in the USA, therefore, they are the largest immigrant society which makes Spanish the most used immigrant language there. With the high Spanish speaking immigrant community living in the USA, and Latino people who reside and have education in English, Spanish is regarded as a heritage language in the USA now.

Montrul (2012) points out the importance of linguistic proficiency at some level that a heritage speaker should have while defining them. As stated in 1.2, a heritage language is not completely acquired as a result of restricted exposure. Consequently, they have deficient or non-standard language use. On the other hand, they do have some competence in comprehension and production in their heritage language since they have some degree of bilingualism. (Montrul, 2012, Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). Rothman (2007) also adds the differences between baseline speakers and heritage speakers; accordingly, there should be seen some solid differences in terms of competence levels between these two communities since they have major differences as a result of "unequal formal education" and low input.

Majority-minority language relationship can be seen as a crucial factor in describing heritage languages. Montrul (2012) defines a majority language as the language which has power and official status in society and is used in social and official platforms like media or education. Official languages of the countries like English in the United States, German in Germany or Turkish in Turkey can be examples of the majority languages according to this narrow criterion. Minority languages, on the other hand, are the ones spoken by a minority group in the country and have lower status or recognition in terms of culture, politics, and society.

Indigenous languages and minority languages in the world, like Basque and Catalan in Spain or Welsh in Wales, can be defined in this group. (Montrul, 2012). Any children of the immigrant groups mentioned, therefore, can experience the weakening of their first (minority) languages naturally as a result of the use of the dominant majority language and restricted use of their L1, which results in their L1s becoming secondary or heritage languages. Polinsky and Kagan (2007) discuss that any language which is recognized as a majority language in a specific region can also be a heritage language in a different society and they state that in some cases, even if it is observed very rarely, English is one of the languages that can be regarded as a minority language.

To sum up, even though heritage languages and their speakers have been examined from several aspects and defined in different contexts, previous literature has mostly focused on the differences between baseline speakers and these speakers while defining the latter and their languages. These differences mostly focus on identity, family, educational background, society, and language which are taken together with their bilingualism differences and the input they receive in their L1. In the following section, I will discuss the typical characteristics that are essential in identifying heritage speakers.

1.2.1 Typical characteristics of heritage speakers

Heritage speakers are not a homogenous community. Notwithstanding, there are some basic characteristics that are useful in defining them. As mentioned in 1.2.1, one of the essential characteristics of a heritage speaker is that they belong to an immigrant or indigenous community. Bayram and Wright (2018) provide a fine-grained list of features of heritage speakers. According to these authors, heritage

speakers by and large possess the following three main characteristics: i) They have a minority language spoken in a majority language environment, ii) They are bilingual speakers iii) Their dominant language is the official or dominant language of the community where they live. In addition to these main features, Bayram and Wright (2018) also state that heritage speakers have a high level of linguistic competence in their L1 at an early age, yet they experience a language shift when they start school in the dominant language. In addition to these properties, Montrul (2016) points out the different levels of linguistic competence in their respective languages. According to Montrul's (2016) characteristics definition, a heritage speaker's ancestral language proficiency can be quite broad; it can be only receptive or fully fluent. The spectrum of proficiency in the majority language is restricted, however. Typically, most heritage speakers are native or native-like in their dominant language.

Heritage speakers are typically individuals born in the country of the dominant language or moved there at a young age. Cho et al. (2004) and Benmamoun et al. (2010) state that the critical age to start being exposed to the dominant language is approximately age four or five. Therefore, the biographical information about the speakers is taken to be an acceptable indicator in identifying them as heritage speakers or not, while it may be insufficient to detect their language proficiency. In addition to this, the lack of literacy in the heritage language may be counted as another shared feature among heritage speakers (Benmamoun et al. 2010). This is not only valid for endangered languages but can be observed in any language in a minority language position. Since enough schooling may not be provided in their L1, heritage communities living outside of the large cities may not have the chance to develop their writing and reading skills in L1. The absence of written, audio or visual

media in these languages, additionally, may result in writing and reading issues or illiteracy in the L1 (cf. Fishman 2006).

Another characteristic feature observed in most heritage speakers is the lack of self-assessing skills and metalinguistic awareness (Benmamoun et al. 2010). Since heritage speakers may not define or rate themselves correctly in terms of their linguistic competence, a misjudgment can be commonly observed in self-reporting or self-assessing tasks. Therefore, in some cases, while they rate their language capacity with higher grades, their production levels may stay very low.

Defining the characteristics in terms of the degree of bilingualism and proficiency for heritage speakers is a challenging issue. Since the communities have high varieties inside and there are several external factors that affect the language proficiency of individuals, it is not easy to define someone as a heritage speaker immediately and with surety. As Montrul (2011; 2012) states, one of the best ways to characterize heritage speakers and their degree of bilingualism is to describe them based on their generation. Accordingly, the first generation is the community that moved to the host country after a certain age, mostly when they are adults. Therefore, they are generally monolingual speakers, and they maintain to use their L1 as their native/dominant language. The second generation, the children of the first generation, is the group that was born in the host country and raised there, naturally had their education in the dominant language, and had a social life in which mostly the dominant language is used. Therefore, they basically were exposed to the first language in their first 4-5 years, then switched to the majority language. The third generation, on the other hand, acquires the majority language as their native language since their input and exposure to the L1 is considerably low compared to the first two generations. This is commonly referred to in the literature as the ‘three-generation

rule' (Fishman, 1991; Winford 2003). The focus of the studies of heritage languages has generally been on the second generation since the basic features of heritage speakers are observed clearly in this generation; including their first and second language use and their shift from one language to another.

Compared to the first and the third generations, the second generation is the only group that could have and preserve bilingualism; since the first generation mostly does not acquire the dominant language completely, while the third generation has significantly high L1 attrition or sometimes complete loss of the L1 therefore eventually, they convert to monolinguals in the dominant language (Montrul, 2012). The second generation of the community can be either a sequential bilingual who are raised by hearing and speaking one language before the other (mostly their L1 at home) at an early age and starts to learn the other after a certain age, or they can be simultaneous bilinguals who start to hear and acquire the two languages at the same time period (Benmamoun et al. 2010).

Benmamoun et al. (2010) give an overview of the characteristics of heritage speakers and analyze the points that differentiate them from the baseline speakers of that language. Mainly, according to studies (Anderson 1999, Benmamoun et al. 2008, Bolonyai 2007, O'Grady et al. 2001, Polinsky 2008 in Benmamoun et al. 2010) there are some specific areas that are vulnerable to change. Some grammatical aspects, inflectional morphology, and some aspects of syntax can be examples of these areas. Furthermore, they state in their analyses that heritage speakers mainly differ from baseline speakers in phonology, lexical knowledge, morphology, syntax, case marking, and code-switching. While they are phonologically proficient, they may have a non-standard accent based on the input and exposure they have. Differences between a baseline speaker and a heritage speaker become more salient in terms of

lexical access, morphology, and case marking. In their analysis, Benmamoun et al. (2010) state that these areas are particularly weak in heritage speakers compared to baseline speakers. Especially lexical categories, inflectional morphology, and inherent case marking may be among the most affected areas. Syntax is the area mostly acquired by heritage speakers although the advanced structures and dependencies such as relative clauses may still stay incomplete. As a result, the changes and divergent structures specified here may cause attrition, which will be discussed in 1.2.2, or incomplete acquisition in heritage speakers.

Lastly, code-switching is a quite common phenomenon among heritage speakers. (Backus, 2012) People code-switch while they are speaking; they switch from one language to another or use words from one language in another language's syntax. This phenomenon does not pertain to only heritage speakers without doubt; nonetheless, as Benmamoun et al. (2010) state, it can be a good sign to inquire about the heritage speakers' language knowledge.

1.2.2 Language attrition

Language attrition is defined as "loss of linguistic skills in the bilingual environment" (Polinsky, 2018), "any structural deviation from the standard" (Vago, 1991 in Yılmaz, 2013), or a process of losing or forgetting the language (Schmid, 2008). It can be regarded as any kind of weakening in the L1 under the effect of the dominant language or as a result of the disuse of the language.

Previous work on bilingual studies (Backus, 1992; Thomason & Kaufman, 2001; Gürel, 2004; Schmid, 2011 among others) showed that L1 attrition is a typical characteristic of and inevitable for heritage speakers. Virtually all aspects of languages including morphology, syntax, phonology, semantics, and lexicon can

undergo attrition depending on the background and external factors. This can emerge as both borrowing (Backus, 1992 & 2012) from the dominant language, and restructuring (Yılmaz, 2013) by replacing the properties in their L1 with the L2/dominant language. Montrul (2004) and Benmamoun et al. (2013) state that early bilinguals have the strongest attrition since they are exposed to the dominant language and start to disuse the first language at a very early age. In the process of restructuring, speakers mostly choose simplified or more generalized structures. Simplification, as a less-costly process, is one the most preferred methods in structuring systems at the morphosyntactic level among heritage speakers. It is generally observed as a decreasing number of complex structures like binding properties or embedding clauses preferred in the L1 (Karayayla, 2018). By decreasing the complex structures in use, speakers reach a more "simplified" and analytic structure in their L1 and this process can be the result of an attrition or transfer effect from the dominant language.

1.2.3 Transfer from the dominant language

Another basic characteristic feature of most heritage speakers is that their L1 is highly under the influence of their dominant language, L2. The density of the dominant language use and the attrition in the L1 make interference inevitable for heritage speakers. Benmamoun et al. (2013) suggest that some simplified forms observed in heritage grammar can result in this transferring process between languages. For instance, the lack of nominal and verbal inflection or the tendency to use overt subjects in Russian and Spanish heritage languages are seen as a result of the effect of their dominant language, English.

In addition, Polinsky (2018) examines heritage Korean quantifiers and finds that heritage Korean-English heritage speakers use and accept ungrammatical quantifier uses in Korean which are acceptable in English structurally. Doğruöz and Backus (2007) and Doğruöz (2007) similarly examine Turkish heritage speakers in the Netherlands and find Dutch patterns in their Turkish in terms of word order and non-pro-drops.

Polinsky (2018) discusses that while in some aspects, the effect of transfer from the dominant language can be observable, there can also be some cases in which these effects are avoided or resisted. She states that in order to be able to recognize the scope or effect of the dominant language, more language dyads should be investigated since the current studies are mostly focused on English as a dominant language.

1.2.4 Differences and similarities between second language learners and heritage speakers

Heritage speakers and L2 learners are both bilinguals sharing some common properties as well as basic distinctions. The differences between the two groups have gained attention lately especially in the field of education since methods and approaches applied to L2 learners do not fit exactly with heritage speakers in the classroom. (Montrul, 2010)

Firstly, the basic differences between the two groups stem from language dominance and the learning process (Montrul, 2016). While L2 learners are dominant in their L1, heritage speakers become more proficient in their L2, especially after schooling. Additionally, typical L2 learners undergo formal education in their L1

first while most heritage spears are educated in the dominant language/L2, which changes their linguistic capacity in a dramatic way.

According to Polinsky and Kagan (2007), there are some motivational factors determining the differences between an L2 learner and a heritage speaker. While there are some similarities between these two groups in terms of language competencies, they become distinct in terms of their relationship with the language and their language learning process since heritage speakers are motivated to learn and maintain their L1 most possible due to the fact they see it as a connection to their roots. As stated by Backus (2012) and Polinsky and Kagan (2007) “cultural heritage motivation” and “family relevance” for heritage speakers, which are parallel to the concept of “language maintenance”, are among the significant factors affecting their connection with their L1. One of the basic motivating factors for heritage speakers is their connection to the culture and family background while an L2 learner may not have a cultural history with the language they would like to learn.

In addition, Polinsky and Kagan (2007) and Benmamoun et al. (2010) state that a second language learner starts to learn the target language at school and crucially after a certain age, while a heritage speaker begins to be exposed to the language at home and at an early age, which means they are exposed to the language in the critical period. This gives heritage speakers a greater advantage in the learning process. Similarly, the process continues for an L2 learner until a certain age -until adulthood mostly-, though, the exposure for a heritage speaker generally stops or decreases when they start school. Therefore, while a certain level of erosion is observed in the L1 of heritage speakers, L2 learners do not undergo such a typical process. On the contrary, Karayayla (2019) and Polinsky and Kagan (2007) state that with the help of early exposure, heritage speakers always have advantages in terms of

learning their L1 again, especially phonologically and lexically, while L2 learners may not have a process of "relearning" an L2.

Furthermore, Benmamoun et al. (2010) point out the linguistic capacity of heritage speakers in complex structures compared to L2 learners. The results obtained from heritage speakers and L2 learners show that heritage speakers have more advantages in learning and using some structures like the subject-verb agreement that may require specific prefixation or suffixation depending on the languages. In her study about Spanish heritage speakers and L2 learners, Montrul (2010 in Benmamoun et al. 2010) concludes that heritage speakers have a higher error tendency in written tasks and higher capacity in oral tasks than L2 learners. This creates an assumption that heritage speakers are good at implicit tasks while L2 learners have a better performance at explicit tasks.

On the other hand, Benmamoun et al. (2010) discuss the importance of comparative studies between heritage languages and L2 learner varieties and claim that heritage language speakers and Ll2 learners share some common properties. For example, since the heritage community varies in the range of linguistic competence and proficiency, some of them may have good receptive and productive skills while some of them show non-native aspects of language knowledge. In this respect, they seem similar to adult L2 speakers, and they can have similar language classes together with second language learners. Further to this, while heritage speakers are observed as more competent in their L1 in the domains of phonology when they are compared based on a morpho-syntactic use of the language, it has been observed that they do not have a performance that makes them stand out. In fact, it is stated that in written and linguistic awareness tasks, L2 learners may have better performance than heritage speakers.

Overall, since they both share some common properties with L2 learners and they have also some distinctions moving them closer to baseline speakers of the language, heritage speakers can be classified somewhere between baseline speakers and second language learners.

In the next sections, I will explore the Turkish diaspora both in Europe and the UK. I will also discuss the previous literature based on HT in those areas.

1.3 Turkish diaspora in Europe and the Turkish community in the UK

Turkish diaspora is one of the largest diaspora communities in Western Europe. Starting with the labor migration in 1960s and 1970s, citizens of Turkey, especially male workers, started to move to countries including Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France (Backus, 2012).[2] Since it began with the aim of working there, they were seen as only temporary workers in these countries. However, after the increasing number of family reunions and permanent residences, Turkish people turned into a larger immigrant community in those countries. Backus (2012) also states that Germany and the Netherlands have the largest Turkish population; however, there are also a significant number of Turkish people living in Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Austria, as well.

Immigration to the UK has a similar history as in the outer countries in Western Europe. While most of the Turkish community consists of Turkish Cypriots as a result of the British colonial period (Backus, 2012), Turkish people coming from Turkey also have a relatively large population, especially in bigger cities like London, and a smaller proportion compared to other nations in the UK. The migration from Turkey to the UK started in a similar period with other European

[2] As a matter of course, not everyone had Turkish as L1; many minority language speakers in Turkey also immigrated to Europe in the given period.

countries with the aim of seeking jobs there. However, the migration continued and increased with the Ankara agreement (1963) signed between Turkey and the European Economic Community, allowing Turkish citizens to found and employ small businesses in the UK. Even though the agreement was repealed after Brexit, it induced a larger number of migrants in the UK from Turkey and resulted in an immigrant population there, as well. (King et al., 2008, Karayayla, 2018) As in Western Europe, people have had family reunions in the UK, and they have the second and third generations which are classified as heritage speakers and will be discussed further in this study.

1.4 Previous work on heritage Turkish

Previous studies on heritage Turkish (hereafter 'HT') generally focus on bilingual aspects of heritage Turkish in contact-induced changes and mainly focused on communities living in Germany and the Netherlands due to the high number of Turkish speakers in these countries (Pfaff, 1999; Backus, 1992; Rehbein & Karakoç, 2004; Treffers-Daller et al. 2007; Backus & Doğruöz 2007; Backus, 2012 among others) As one of the pioneers of Turkish immigrant language studies, Backus (1992, 2012) primarily focuses on Turkish as an immigrant language in the Netherlands and Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers and language contact effects in terms of structural aspects, code-switching, language attrition, and maintenance. In his study, Backus (2012) emphasizes one of the characteristics of the Turkish immigrant community in terms of language maintenance. He states that as a result of the way they are committed to their native language, strong communication with other family members and the hometown and lower international marriage rate, language shift in this community does not emerge in a rapid way. Similarly, Bayram and Wright

(2018) focus on Turkish heritage speakers living in Germany and examine the effect of education and family on their language maintenance by collecting data both from heritage speakers and their parents. They examined different aspects including case, relative clauses, passives, and word order in Turkish. They conclude that parental approaches and the frequency of use of Turkish are crucial in language maintenance together with the positive perspective of the speakers toward their heritage language. In addition, they point out the importance of formal education by stating that it is the crucial factor that affects linguistics proficiency levels HT.

In their studies, Backus and Doğruöz (2007) and Doğruöz (2007) concluded that one of the areas that are affected by contact is the word order in Turkish. It is stated that with the effect of Dutch word order, Turkish people opt for the Subject-Verb-Object basic order more and use unconventional post-verbal elements that are not used or used rarely in standard Turkish, which originally has Subject-Object-Verb word order.

Another aspect that is also discussed in work on heritage Turkish is that the speakers tend to avoid subordination or clausal structures. Gürel and Yılmaz (2011) concluded that Dutch-Turkish bilingual speakers tend toward using Dutch binding patterns of pronouns while they are speaking in HT. Both in Dutch-Turkish (Doğruöz, 2007, Gürel & Yılmaz, 2011, Backus, 2012) and in German-Turkish (Rehbein & Karakoç, 2004), it is observed that bilingual speakers prefer smaller and more analytic structures in Turkish. Similarly, Treffers-Daller et al. (2007) compare heritage Turkish speakers in Germany with monolingual Turkish speakers and bilinguals who returned to Turkey. They found that HT speakers in Germany have crucial challenges in acquiring different aspects of Turkish, especially complex structures like embeddings, as a result, they tend to use more analytic and simple

structures. Akıncı (1999) reached similar results in his study with French-Turkish heritage speakers while looking at the narrative structure and interclausal connectivity. His results showed that French-Turkish bilingual children are far behind in using narrative and clause-linkage compared to their monolingual peers.

Rehbein et al. (2009)'s study on the Turkish immigrant community in Germany shows that HT in the country may be in a process of restructuring at the morphosyntactic level like converting the null-pro properties into non-null-pro characteristics, observed both in subjects and objects. They further claim that HT in Germany have reduced the domain of or *-miş* evidential marker, "deactivating" some of its properties, while they expanded some domains, such as using wh-subordinating elements. They speculate that reductions emerge since they do not have counterparts in German and, likewise, expansions can be induced by the dominant language effect.

Karayayla (2018) examines HT speakers living in the UK in terms of their use of evidentiality, L1 attrition and its relationship with the age of onset, and finally morphological productivity within the scope of the age of onset. The results of her study indicate that the past tense (evidentiality) use of heritage speakers is unstable as a result of a lack of sufficient input in L1 and high dominance of L2. She further concluded that L1 accent and attrition are also sensitive to age together with other external factors. Finally, in terms of morphological productivity performance, the results obtained showed that some predictors like frequency measures affect the heritage speakers' performance, which makes their morphology performance vulnerable.

To sum up, studies on HT across Europe have been prevalently carried out in many Western Europe countries including Germany, the Netherlands, France, and the UK. The results mostly showed that while heritage Turkish show some level of resistance to structural changes with certain external factors such as family, education, or cultural commitment, changes especially at the morpho-syntactic level are too observed as in many other heritage languages. Family background, attitude towards the L1, education, and literacy in Turkish are the most effective factors causing language maintenance or attrition in this community.

In the following section, the data collection process used in this study will be discussed with details about the participants, items, and procedure.

1.5 Data collection

This chapter presents the methodological design of the study including participants, items, data collection procedure, transcription, and annotation processes. In section 1.5.1, I will present the participants and their backgrounds, in section 1.5.2, 1.5.3, 1.5.4 and 1.5.5, I will provide all items and tasks used in the process. In 1.6, I will provide a detailed procedure of the data collection and corpus-creating process together with the transcription and annotation steps. Finally, in section 1.7, I will present the organization of the thesis.

1.5.1 Participants

In this study, in total, 20 Turkish people living in the UK were interviewed and they are subdivided as 8-12 participants for two different interviewing processes. The participants were aged between 18-25 (14 women, 6 men) and all of them were born and raised in the UK. All participants in the group defined their primary language as

English and stated they felt more competent and fluent while they were speaking in English.

The study and recruiting of the participants process started with the ethical approval from SOBETIK (The Ethics Committee for Master and Ph.D. Theses in Social Sciences and Humanities) at Boğaziçi University (Appendix A). Candidate participants were recruited via online announcements and a flyer (Appendix B). Those that responded to the announcement were provided with a consent form (Appendices C and D), and a sociolinguistic questionnaire (Appendices E and F) which requires information about their family and personal background, their educational and linguistic levels. With this information, we decided on suitable participants based on their backgrounds.

The actual participants were mainly selected on the basis of their language competence, their age, and the places where they were born and raised. I expected them to have a native level of English and use it actively and dominantly in their daily lives including at school and in their social life. On the other hand, I did not specify their Turkish level in detail, however, I expected them to have the basic competence in the language in terms of using it at some level like communicating with their family, friends, or relatives in their daily lives. For this aim, together with the questionnaire, I applied a speech rate test and detected the suitability of the participants for the study. I did not include participants who were significantly below or above the average. I also excluded the participants who were bilinguals in other languages like Kurdish or Arabic since it could affect the language competence and the contact-induced changes. Among speakers, the ones who were born and raised in a country other than the UK for more than 5 years or who lived in another country for more than 10 years from their birth were not selected for the study. Additionally, the

participants who took formal education in Turkey in their primary or secondary education years for more than 5 years were not included in the study either.

As Doğruöz (2007) stated, in language contact, or bilingualism studies data from a group without having any contact can be crucial in making a comparison in order to be able to observe whether the changes emerge in the non-contact language or not. Therefore, the study also includes a control group consisting of monolingual speakers of Turkish. The control group members, which I take here as the baseline speakers, were completely selected from Turkey. After the evaluating process, 12 participants were selected to form the control group (6 women and 6 men) and they are subdivided into two groups like the heritage group. Participants in the control group were between 18-25 years old and all of them were born and raised in Turkey. The participants knew English at varying degrees; however, they did not define themselves as bilinguals in any language. The basic criteria to select the members for this group were again their social and educational background, their age, and their linguistic competence. All participants were only native speakers in Turkish and the only language they actively use was Turkish. The ones who were born outside of Turkey, or who spent their lives outside of Turkey for more than 10 years were not selected for the study. The whole procedure of data gathering applied for the heritage group described in 1.5 was applied for the control group, as well.

1.5.2 Items for selecting the participants

The items used in the experiment were similar in both the heritage group and the control group. Both groups were subdivided into two distinct groups and two different item groups were presented for them.

Overall, the tasks and items were designed to select and test the natural and spontaneous speech of the speakers. For both groups, a picture to describe (Appendix G) was shown in the speech rate process in order to select the proper candidates before it was followed by the interview questions (Appendices H, I, J and K) together with pictures, photos and a story for elicited tasks (Appendices L and M).

1.5.2.1 Sociolinguistic questionnaire

In order to obtain information about the linguistic background of the speakers and be precise about their suitability for the study, we designed a sociolinguistic questionnaire with the approval of the Ethical Committee of Boğaziçi University. The questionnaire was basically based on the linguistic capacity and the metalinguistic awareness of speakers about their language competence in both languages. It also includes questions regarding the family members and friends of the speakers and their language proficiencies in order to make sure about their L1, Turkish, is still preferred in the family and limited contexts.

The questionnaire first asks questions about the main background information such as speakers' ages, education levels, birthplace, and languages they and their family members speak. As the primary aim of the study, the questionnaire demands information from speakers to detect if they can be classified as heritage speakers. With this aim, it follows with the questions asking about the overall time they spend in the UK and in Turkey, their educational background and countries they had their education, the way they define themselves in terms of bilingualism, the time they started to learn and speak English and Turkish, the frequency of their uses of these languages, and the language in which they feel more comfortable using. In addition to these personal questions, it also consists of questions asking information about the

language proficiency levels and language choices of their families and friends in their daily lives and while communicating with them. Being aware of the difficulty in having metalinguistic awareness, the focus was mainly to explore the exposure rate to Turkish and English that they have and in what ways they are exposed to these languages, which can be directly effective in deciding the suitable participants.

1.5.2.2 Speech rate

Benmamoun et al. (2010) state that assessing heritage speakers' linguistic competence is hard to accomplish since they do not have high metalinguistic awareness in most cases; therefore, applying a self-assessment language level test or grammaticality judgment tasks may not show the correct results. Their possible low metalinguistic awareness may result in a "misjudgment" process and they may define themselves as "fluent" in their L1 while they have low-level knowledge or while they are fluent they may assume they are not proficient enough, as stated in 1.2.

As mentioned by Benmamoun et al. (2010), cloze tests have advantages in terms of adaptability, rating, and administering. Nonetheless, as opposed to these advantages, they are not preferable in most cases, especially for heritage speakers for two main reasons. Firstly, as mentioned before, heritage speakers are a community mostly known as illiterate in the first (heritage) language. This makes the cloze tests impractical for most participants since they include reading/writing component assessments. Secondly, as Polinsky (2018) states, there is uncertainty about which language components such tests target, which makes using these tests on heritage speakers a controversial issue.

Speech rate is another assessment type used to detect the linguistic proficiency of speakers. As Benmamoun et al. (2010) mention, in using speech rate

tests, a direct correlation is sought and the immediate effects including pauses, repetitions, and false starts give us a clue about the competence of speakers. Basically, since it is generally assumed that a speaker with lower proficiency can have problems accessing lexical items, it makes them slower in spontaneous speech, which gives clear speech rate differences between the two languages of speakers. They also claim that since lexical item knowledge and grammatical proficiency are correlated, the speech rate test can give results about the overall linguistic proficiency of speakers.

With this motivation, we tested the speech rate in order to reach the linguistic proficiencies of speakers and select them accordingly in this study. This test was especially effective in the cases where the speakers did not have a metalinguistic awareness and could not provide a correct or certain answer regarding their language proficiency in the questionnaire. In calculating the speech rate, a picture was introduced to the speakers at the beginning of the study and demanded them to describe what they can see in this picture in two or three minutes. No participant had any visual impairment. They were asked to describe the picture in Turkish, and the same process for calculating the speech was applied at the end of the interview in English, to compare the rates in Turkish and English. In the end, participants who did not have a significantly different results with the average Turkish (76 words in 1 min.) and English (100,8 words in 1 min. excluding prepositions and articles) speech rates were recruited for the study. The ones who had major differences from the group's average, who had the same results in their own Turkish and English speech rates or who had very similar Turkish speech results with the control group (98,1 words in 1 min.) were excluded from the study.

1.5.3 Interview

Karayayla (2018) states that natural and spontaneous speech is the main area where one can observe linguistic knowledge, changes, and attrition fully in a speaker since it is seen as the most affected area. Studying with the speech data is especially significant in bilingual studies since the group may have certain difficulties and challenges in other skills in their L1 which makes the study inapplicable in most cases.

Being aware of the importance of natural speech data, this study was mainly conducted on the natural speech of heritage and baseline speakers of Turkish. Speakers were asked several questions that they can answer without having to have any specific terminology or background knowledge. The questions were open-ended and open to discussion mostly. They were mainly asked about their daily activities, routines, and opinions about life and culture in Turkey and the UK based on their own experience. Depending on the answers provided by them, the questions had little changes in order to maintain the natural conversation environment. Even though the natural speech data were not adequate to be able to reach the final conclusions and investigations, it successfully provided results about the target uses of speakers in natural contexts and guided us to detect them and how to focus on them in elicited tasks. The interviews were carried out by me.

1.5.4 Picture description

The picture description tasks were a part of semi-structured interviews and mainly focused on detecting the uses of plural markers while describing people and the uses of direct and indirect objects in this context.

Speakers were presented several pictures including more than one person and asked about the possible stories and backgrounds regarding them. Speakers described the pictures mentioning the actions of people without any intervention and speculated about the backgrounds or stories of these pictures and the figures in them.

1.5.5 Acceptability and felicity judgment tasks

Acceptability and felicity judgment tasks are common elicitation task types mostly used in heritage language data. They can be applied in various ways to detect the speakers' tendency to accept specific forms and structures as optional or ungrammatical (Bowern 2008).

In this study, the second group of both heritage and baseline speakers were asked to complete an acceptability judgment task on a Likert scale (Appendix N) which will be discussed in detail in chapter 3. These groups had exactly the same tasks before with the former groups and the additional video narration, story summarization and acceptability judgment tasks later. Speakers were shown certain sentences in Turkish with specific contexts and asked to rate from 1 (unacceptable) to 5 (totally acceptable).

The acceptability judgment task was intended to see results about heritage speakers' acceptability rate in plural markers of Turkish in several contexts. These include both ungrammatical uses of -lAr Turkish plural marker, and also the optional uses of them in certain contexts. This judgment task was also considered quite significant in detecting and comparing their natural uses of -lAr and their acceptability rates in elicited tasks since sometimes these two areas can provide controversial results.

1.6 Procedure

With the completion of the ethical approval, forms, and questionnaire, the interview and corpus preparation process began with suitable participants in both the heritage and the control groups. The participants were subdivided into two groups in the interview step, and they were either presented with semi-structured interviews with picture descriptions or with semi-structured interviews with storytelling and video narrating, and finally with the acceptability judgments.

In the semi-structured interview, all participants started the interview with a picture description which was designed to calculate the speech rate and being precise about the participant suitability. Each participant was asked to describe one picture in 2 or 3 minutes. After completing this task, it was followed by the interview which had several questions regarding their background, daily routines, activities, and their opinions about different topics. The aim of this part is to be able to examine their natural speech in spontaneous questions. Speakers answered each question in a detailed way in Turkish. Following the interviews, the first group was given pictures again to describe. In these pictures, they saw different photos that they could speculate the background or the story regarding them.

In the second group, since we detected the target uses to be investigated more precisely, the process was enlarged. It began with the speech rate task and was followed by the same interview, as well. After they completed the interview, they were asked to read a story in English and summarize it in Turkish. In this task, the expected speech was not a word-for-word translation, it was targeted for speakers to understand and summarize in an organized way in Turkish. In the next step, they were asked to watch a video named “Pear Story” and narrate it simultaneously and in detail. The video had no voice except for some background sounds; therefore,

speakers could talk about the details in the video while they were watching it. After they completed this part, the acceptability judgment task on plural uses was presented to them to rate. In the final step, they were presented with the same picture, in the beginning, to describe it in English. Different than the heritage group, all members rated in the acceptability judgment task in the baseline group to have the balanced participant number (therefore 12 people in the heritage group, 12 people in the baseline group rated the sentences).

The whole process was completed via Zoom and all sessions were recorded. The participants were interviewed separately each time and each interview lasted approximately one hour. After the meeting and recording process, the audio obtained from the meetings was transcribed, annotated, and double-checked by the human transcribers who were students at Boğaziçi University, Department of Linguistics.

At the end of study, I obtained an approximately 30-hour speech data from both the heritage and the baseline group, with the approximate 7500 annotated sentences in total. The written corpus was created at the end of this process and the target uses were detected manually in the first step. After the first observation, the target uses in the corpus, object uses and plurals, which will be mentioned in chapters 2 and 3, were extracted via Python using the “Stanza” package, checked and tested manually again.

1.7 The organization of the thesis

This thesis continues with the aspects and properties of object omissions in heritage Turkish in chapter 2. I will give an introduction in section 2.1, and baseline facts of null arguments in Turkish in section 2.2, null arguments in English in 2.3, and an interim summary in 2.4. Section 2.5 will provide objects non-omission cases in

heritage Turkish together with the possible speculations referring to the silent and distance problem and case avoidance in heritage Turkish, and finally a summary and conclusion in section 2.6 and section 2.7.

The third chapter of the thesis focuses on the plurality and plural marker uses in heritage Turkish. I will present an introduction in 3.1, baseline facts about plurality in Turkish in 3.2, plurals in English in 3.3 and an interim summary in 3.4. Section 3.5 focuses on plural uses in heritage languages, 3.6 presents challenges in heritage Turkish with the necessary data results and the subsections about aims and methodology in 3.6.1, plurality on NPs in 3.6.2, and plurality on VPs in 3.6.3. The chapter ends with a discussion and a conclusion in 3.7.

Chapter 4 is on general discussions and conclusions regarding the data results and studies worked on them.

CHAPTER 2

OBJECT USE IN HERITAGE TURKISH

2.1 Introduction

The empirical domain of this chapter covers overt direct object NPs in Turkish heritage speakers in the UK. It has been observed since at least Lewis (1967:65) that pronominal objects can be left unexpressed in Turkish provided that their referents are recoverable in the context.

(1) a. Kitab-ı$_i$ geçen yıl al-mış-tı-m ama daha oku-ma-dı-m.
book-ACC last year buy-EV-PAST-1SG but yet read-NEG-PAST-1SG
I bought the book last year but have not read (it) yet.

b. #Kitab-ı$_i$ geçen yıl al-mış-tı-m ama daha o-(n)u$_i$ oku-ma-dı-m.
book-ACC last year buy-EV-PAST-1SG but yet it-ACC read-NEG-PAST-1SG
I bought the book last year but have not read it yet.

c. *Daha ()/o-(n)u oku-ma-dı-m. (out-of-blue utterance)
yet ()/it-ACC read-NEG-PAST-1SG
I have not read (it) yet.

(1a), in which the object is omitted, is a pragmatically unmarked sentence with respect to (1b), where there is an overt pronominal object. (1b) can be felicitous in a pragmatically marked sentence, for instance when the object is emphasized or contrasted. In an out-of-blue utterance, as in (1c), neither the overt nor the covert pronominal is appropriate as there is no referent in the immediate context.

The corpus of HT reveals, even impressionistically, that speakers of heritage Turkish choose overt pronominal objects rather than omitting them even in

environments which would favor their deletion in the baseline, while it does not specifically provide that there is change in subject uses between heritage and the baseline groups.

(2) Bir armud-u$_i$ göster-iyor ve o-(n)u$_i$ kopar-ıyor dalından.
one pear-ACC show-PROG and it-ACC pluck-PROG branch-POSS-ABL
He is showing a pear and plucking it from its branch.

(3) Çiftçi de yer-e in-iyor o-(n)u almak için, hayır o-(n)u al-m-ıyor aslında yok unut-tu galiba o-(n)u.
farmer too ground-DAT go down-PROG it-ACC take for, no, it-ACC take-NEG-PROG actually no forget-PAST probably it-ACC.
The farmer also goes down to get it, no, he doesn't take it, actually, he probably forgot it.

That speakers of HT are bilinguals in HT and English immediately brings to mind that the rise in the frequency of overt objects is a result of cross-linguistic influence. English being a non-object drop language (at least in Holmberg, 2010), in an environment such as (1a) it expresses objects throughout:

(4) I bought the book last year, but I have not read *(it) yet.

It may be possible that the contrast between Turkish and English pushes the speakers to use more objects than monolinguals in their speech and creates an erosion in the null subject and object use in their Turkish. In this scenario, the rise in the frequency is then reduced to (an on-line) contact phenomenon. In this chapter, while I take it that interference of English is an undeniable fact, the use of overt pronominal objects cannot be simply reduced to this based on the examples extracted from the data. I will present that object pronoun retention is rooted in the silent problem as a

result of transfer effects, the distance problem resulting in the complex structure avoidance or eluding case morphology.

Pro-dropness challenge is not the only factor for heritage speakers in overusing pronominal elements. As stated by Polinsky (2018) and Polinsky and Scontras (2020), as a result of their attrition and simplification processes, heritage speakers start to switch to more basic and simple structures in their heritage languages, and this switching may sometimes result in a reduction in complex structures like embedding clauses or long-distance dependencies and increase in subject and object use to compensate the dependency or binding gaps.

The chapter is organized as follows: In section 2.2, the baseline facts regarding null arguments in Turkish including direct and indirect objects will be discussed. In the following, an overview of null arguments in English will be investigated in section 2.3 and an interim summary will follow in section 2.4. In section 2.5, there will be a discussion based on the silence in heritage Turkish together with the analysis of Polinsky on silence and distance problems and the possible reasons for the object non-omission tendency of Turkish heritage speakers within the framework of the analyses presented before, and there will be a summary in 2.6 and a general conclusion in section 2.7.

2.2 Baseline facts: Null arguments in Turkish

Turkish has anaphoric expressions to indicate coreferentiality relations. It allows patterns in which anaphors may appear both as overt or zero representations. This situation may be observed virtually for all arguments, subjects, and (direct/indirect) objects. This boils down to state that Turkish is a Null Argument Language (NAL) language as done by Kornfilt (1984, 1997), Öztürk (2005), and Öztürk (2006).

In other words, Turkish allows referential null arguments both in the subject and object positions provided that their content is recoverable. To simplify grossly, they are allowed either when their discourse referent is specified, or pragmatic situations show the referent clearly.

Regarding having null subjects, Holmberg (2010) distinguishes languages as consistent null-subject languages (NSL), partial null-subject languages, and non-null-subject languages. (non-NLS). Accordingly, consistent NSL is the class in that languages allow all and only definite (he/she) null subjects such as Italian (5) (Rizzi, 1986). Partial NSLs, on the other hand, allow indefinite (one) and expletive (it) null subjects; Brazilian Portuguese and Finnish can be shown as examples to them. Non-NSLs are languages that require overt subjects in definite, indefinite or expletive subjects. He points out that English (6), Swedish or French can be classified as a non-NSL in this regard since it does not allow a null subject.

(5) Verrà. [Italian]

come-FUT-3SG

(He) will come. (Holmberg, 2010)

(6) *will come. [English]

Holmberg (2010) also discusses the differences between partial and consistent NSLs by specifying the features of both groups of languages. Mainly, they differ in some situations where a null subject is required in consistent NSLs but can be optional in partial NSLs. Further, there can also be some contexts where null subjects are not used in partial NSLs and can be allowed in consistent NSLs. Specifically, consistent NSLs require a null subject as long as there is not a contrast or topic-shifting in arguments (7), while they can be optional in partial NSLs.

(7) Gianni$_i$ non ha detto niente, ma Paolo$_k$ ha detto che ()$_i$ vuole comprare una macchina nuova.

Gianni$_i$ hasn't said anything, but Paolo$_k$ says that he$_{i/k}$ wants to buy a new house. (Holmberg, 2010)

Given the fact that Turkish allows referential null subjects that are recoverable and makes an overt subject redundant in cases where there is not a contrasting argument or topic-shifting, it is classified as consistent NSL like Italian, Spanish or Arabic.

2.2.1 Subject omission in Turkish

The use of null elements, their licensing environment, and comparative distribution with overt pronouns in Turkish have been central issues discussed in the literature. The topics including whether there are null arguments in Turkish, whether they are in free variation and used interchangeably with overt pronouns, or whether there are situations or preferences requiring zero or overt pronouns are some basic issues discussed several times. (Taylan, 1986 & Enç, 1986 & Özsoy, 1988 among others)

Turkish uses a subject agreement suffix on the verbal elements, which makes the use of overt pronouns as subjects optional. According to Taylan (1986), the person suffix on verbal elements enables null subject pronouns if there is not a contrast or topicality introduced. In examples(8a) and (8b), we can observe that the subject pronoun is not an obligatory element.

(8) a. Ben iş-e gecik-ti-m.

I work-DAT be late-PAST-1SG

I am late for work.

b. İş-e gecik-ti-m.

work-DAT be late-PAST-1SG

(I) am late for work.

Taylan (1986) states that there are some specific conditions that make a null subject possible pragmatically. As a typical feature of consistent NSLs (Holmberg, 2010), emphatic and contrastive situations or topics newly introduced make overt subjects obligatory while in other cases, they can be optional or require null subjects in Turkish.

(9) Okul-a gid-iyor-um.

school-DAT go-PROG-1SG

(I) am going to the school.

(10) Ben okul-a gid-iyor-um.

I school-DAT go-PROG-1SG

I am going to the school

(11) Ben okul-a gid-iyor-um, sen iş-e gid-iyor-sun.

I school-DAT go-PROG-1SG, you work-DAT go-PROG-2SG

I am going to school, you are going to work.

(12) *Okul-a gid-iyor-um, iş-e gid-iyor-sun.

school-DAT go-PROG-1SG, work-DAT go-PROG-2SG

(I) am going to school, (you) are going to work. Taylan (1986)

As shown in the examples (9) and (10) above, while the use of an overt subject is optional when there is not a contrastive expression, a null subject is ungrammatical in (12) since it includes contrast, therefore makes an overt subject necessary (11). In addition to contrast, as Taylan (1986) discusses, in the cases of

introducing new information, the null subject is ungrammatical as shown in (13b) and the use of an overt subject as in (13a) is obligatory.

(13) Bu-(n)u kim yap-tı?

this-ACC who do-PAST

Who did this?

a. Ben yap-tı-m.

I do-PAST-1SG

I did (it).

b. *Yap-tı-m.

do-PAST-1SG

*(I) did (it). Taylan (1986)

As a similar approach to Taylan (1986), for the null subject elements, Enç (1986) states that, as observed in some other null subject languages, there are two specific conditions for a subject pronoun to be used overtly otherwise seen as unnecessary. Firstly, the subject pronoun should give a sign about a topic introducing or changing (as in example (13)), which suggests that the null subject shows the continuation of the previous topic. Secondly, it should include contrast in the discourse. (as in example (11)). She also presents related examples from Japanese, showing that as another pro-drop language, it also needs topic change to include an overt subject pronoun; in this example ano hito.

(14) a. Mary wa kyoo osoi ne.

Mary TOPIC today late tag

Mary's late today, isn't she?

b. Ano hito wa kinoo akai doresuo katta yo.

that person TOPIC yesterday red dress OBJ bought

She bought a red dress yesterday. (Enç, 1986)

(15) Bu rapor-u kim yaz-dı?

this report-ACC who write-PAST

Who wrote this report?

a. Ben yaz-dı-m.

I write-PAST-1SG

I wrote (it).

b. *Yaz-dı-m.

write-PAST-1SG (Taylan, 1986)

The examples above clearly show that Turkish as a consistent NSL presents a parallel pattern with other consistent NSLs like Italian and Japanese, allows null subjects, and does not require an overt subject pronoun obligatorily on certain occasions. It also does not allow the null subject in the situations like topic introducing (15), as parallel with the Japanese example. Since it is a Null Argument Language, the use of null elements is not confined to subjects, it also has certain patterns allowing direct or indirect object omission, which will be shown in the following sections and will be one of the main topics of the thesis since unconventional cases related to object omission is highly observed from the corpus yet understudied previously in the literature compared to the subject omission.

2.2.2 Direct object omission in Turkish

As in the subject pronouns, Turkish allows the omission of objects (mostly marked with accusative -yI) in certain cases. The omission of objects is possible with a

specific reference (Kornfilt 1987, 1997; Aygen 2002; Öztürk 2005, among others). As Gürcanlı et al.(2007) stated, differently than subject omission, object omission can be realized in limited situations. Object omission is possible when there is a specific antecedent mentioned previously in the sentence or at the discourse level since, unlike the case of the subject, there is not an agreement marker on the verb that indexes the object. As we see in examples (16) and (17) below, there is not an object suffix on the verbal elements, and the examples in (18) show that it is possible to omit the object pronoun if there is a specific antecedent as a reference.

(16) O-(n)u bul-du-m.
It-ACC Find-PAST-1SG
(I) found it.

(17) Bul-du-m.
Find-PAST-1SG
(I) found (it).

(18) a. Kitab-ı bitir-di-n mi?
book-ACC finish-PAST-2SG Q
Did you finish the book?
b. Hayır, () bitir-e-me-di-m
no finish-ABIL-NEG-PAST-1SG
No, I couldn't finish (it)

As stated before, whether zero and overt representations can be used interchangeably is another issue discussed in Turkish. In some cases, Turkish allows the free variation of zero or overt elements use. (Taylan, 1896, Turan, 2001). When the sentence and discourse do not include a contrast, a new topic or information, and anaphors have an antecedent previously presented, they can appear as overt or null

pronominals. In the examples below (19a) and (19b), using overt pronouns or zero objects does not lead to an ungrammaticality or a change in coreferentiality. The examples show the grammaticality of overt and null anaphora. In both examples, we can only assume that Nazan is the one taken to the dinner.

(19) a. Erol Nazan'-ı$_j$ her akşam iş-in-den al-ır, ve o-(n)u$_j$ yemeğ-e götür-ür.
Erol Nazan-ACC every evening work-POSS-ABL take-AOR and she-ACC dinner-DAT take-AOR
Erol picks up Nazan$_j$ from her$_j$ work every evening and takes her$_j$ to dinner.
b. Erol Nazan'-ı$_j$ her akşam iş-in-den al-ır, ()$_j$ ve yemeğ-e götür-ür.
Erol Nazan-ACC every evening work-POSS-ABL take-AOR and dinner-DAT take-AOR
Erol picks up Nazan$_j$ from (her)$_j$ work every evening and takes (her)$_j$ to dinner. (Taylan, 1986)

Taylan (1986) states that in the cases of free variation of zero or pronominal representations, zero elements are preferable among speakers since the use of an overt element would be seen as redundant. Therefore, baseline speakers of Turkish tend to prefer null subjects and objects when the use of them seems to be optional as in the examples above.

Like in sentence level, there are some basics of pronominal anaphors in specific discourse contexts, as well. While a pronominal or zero anaphor seems to be in free variation, zero representations are the ones mostly chosen to use. In these examples, presupposition, recoverability, and predictability play a significant role in choosing the anaphors.

(20) Erol'-u_i bu şirket-te kim sev-er?

Erol-ACC this company-LOC who like-AOR

Who likes Erol in this company?

Ahmet'in işe al-dığ-ı kız-lar$_i$ (o-(n)u_i) sev-er-ler.

Ahmet-GEN work-DAT take-NOMIN girl-PL (him) like-AOR-3PL

The girls that Ahmet hired like him.$_i$ (Taylan, 1986)

(21) Hasan Istakoz-u pişir-di, Ali de () ye-di.

Hasan lobster-ACC cook-PAST Ali and eat-PAST

Hasan cooked the lobster and Ali ate (it) (Kornfilt, 1997)

In example (20), as presupposed from the context, the speaker is going to talk about Erol. Similarly in example (21), lobster is predictable and recoverable from the context. Thus, even if the use of an overt object would seem to be grammatical, zero anaphora is mostly likely to be preferred as the reference can be easily presupposed and predictable.

2.2.3 Indirect object omission in Turkish

Indirect objects (marked with dative case -yA) can too be omitted in similar conditions as direct objects (Kornfilt, 1997). As can be observed from examples (22) and (23), the overt indirect objetcs are not obligatory if the topic remains the same.

(22) Ali-ye gazete-yi mi ver-di-n?

Ali-DAT newspaper-ACC Q give-PAST-2SG

Did you give the newspaper to Ali?

(23) Hayır, () kitab-ı ver-di-m.

no book-ACC give-PAST-1SG

No, I gave the book (to him). (Kornfilt, 1997)

Taylan (1986) also states that, as in direct object omission, indirect objects can be omitted in the case of an antecedent existence preceding the anaphor. The examples in (24) display the possibility of indirect object omission when there is a specific antecedent that eases the predictability and recoverability from the context.

(24) a. Erol Nazan'-ın$_i$ evi-ne git-miş, ama o-na$_i$ hediye-yi vermeden geri dön-müş.
Erol Nazan-GEN house-3SG- POSS-DAT go-EV but she-DAT gift-ACC give without return-EV
Erol went to Nazan's$_i$ house but returned without giving her$_i$ the gift.

b. Erol Nazan'-ın$_i$ ev-i-ne git-miş, ama ()$_i$ hediye-yi vermeden geri dön-müş.
Erol Nazan-GEN house-POSS-DAT go-EV but gift-ACC give without return-EV
Erol went to Nazan's$_i$ house but returned without giving ()$_i$ the gift.

Overall, as it is observed from several examples and relevant research, Turkish is one of the languages that can allow null arguments in certain situations and present overt elements as optional or mostly redundant in the cases of null argument possibility. Structural and discourse-based recoverability play an important role in the use of null elements.

2.3 Null arguments in English: an overview

Unlike NSLs including Italian, Spanish and Turkish, English has strong restrictions in null subjects in finite clauses and using null pronominal subjects leads to ungrammaticality (as in example (25)). (see Haegeman, 1997 & Nanyan, 2013)

(25) a. I study English.

b. *(I) study English.

As stated before, null subjects in Turkish or Italian can be recovered from the morphological agreement or thematic information, which is unlikely in English and therefore creates challenges in terms of the availability of null elements. Hence, as Haegeman and Guéron (1999) stated, English, as a non-NSL, allows null subjects only in certain limited genres such as diaries, letters, or e-mails for mostly pragmatical reasons:

(26) Spent the day at work. (Truman's Diary, 1947, 1 Jan. in Nanyan, 2013)

(27) Hasn't bought a car since the 70's. (commercial) Sounds as if Mr. X has a lot in common with those nuts who parade around the countryside at night in white sheets, ... (a letter to the editor in Cote, 1996)

As for the null objects, as Sadock (1974) and Turan (2001) present, null objects in English are observed in cases including specific genres or instructions, as well:

(28) Persons with high fever should not use. (Sadock 1974:601 in Turan, 2001)

(29) Do not take internally. (Sadock 1974 :602 in Turan, 2001)

In addition to these specific contexts, English contains some verbs that can be used without an overt object:

(30) I've just eaten.

(31) Bill called.

According to Cote (1996), silent object pronouns may depend on the verbs themselves and discourse constraints. She states that even if they are restrictive in use, English null objects can have formal properties. She discusses that a null object may appear in English in "Salient Object Alternation" contexts, which suggests the necessity of a salient discourse antecedent for null objects (32), "Indefinite Object Alternation" which has a discourse entity rather than a discourse antecedent (example

33), “Generic Object Alternation” which does not include any additional information except the one that meets the semantic restrictions of the verb (34), “Arbitrary Object Alternation”, which requires an arbitrary reference and generic time reference (35), “Reflexive Object Alternation”, which has lexically-constrained null objects (36), and finally “Habitual Object Alternation”, which emerges in the habitual or repetitive actions (37).

(32) The vice-president called ().

(33) Rich sang () for the crowd.

(34) Sue slept ().

(35) This dog bites ().

(36) Greg dressed () after his shower.

(37) You wash () and I'll dry () (Cote, 1996,)

2.4 Summary

Based on the analyses and studies discussed above, Turkish is a null argument language and has null element options in many contexts. Null elements are interpreted as *pro* (see examples from Öztürk, 2001 & 2006) or Topic Drop (see examples from Meral, 2014). Depending on the discourse and syntactic properties, Turkish null elements can replace overt subjects and objects if the recoverability conditions are met. In addition to their free variation instances, there may be certain cases promoting null element uses since overt elements seem redundant. As Taylan (1986), Enç (1986), Öztürk (2006) and Meral (2014) describe the use of overt subjects and objects can be counted as a redundancy if (i) they can be predicted, presupposed or recovered from the context or structure (ii) if there is not a case presenting topic-shifting/initiating or contrast.

English, on the other hand, has a quite restricted null element tendency as a result of its being a null argument language. Any apparent null elements are mostly genre-specific or have discourse constraints.

When the topic is introduced before or there is a previous antecedent in the discourse, Turkish allows and prefers null objects regardless of the lexical property of verbs. In English, on the other hand, the internally licensed objects do not have the anaphoric property and they cannot be null in the same discourse when the object is introduced before, in other words, in the case of a referential interpretation, the null object cannot be used in English. (see also Turan, 2001 and Cummins and Roberge (2004)) It is possible, though, if there is not a forcing reference in the context and if there is a reference introduced as discourse salient, arbitrary, generic, or repetitive as discussed above.

2.5 Object non-omission in heritage Turkish and its possible reasons

It can a priori be claimed from the data we obtained that Turkish heritage speakers have a tendency not to omit objects in the situations the baseline speakers would possibly and preferably can. The instances of overt object use by Turkish heritage speakers, in this aspect, are observed to have parallelism with the general tendency of heritage speakers (Polinsky, 2018); they have the basic knowledge of null objects in Turkish and use them in most cases, yet they still have remarkable preference patterns in using overt elements in several cases. Their use of overt objects is not only peculiar to readings with several possible antecedents, which possibly cause ambiguous cases and using overt object may become necessary to solve these cases. On the contrary, they commonly prefer to use an overt object when there is a certain referentiality and strict reading is the only option. In the latter case, using overt

pronouns does not have a function like recovering ambiguity and using overt pronouns seems mostly redundant.

(38) HT: Bir kez bi Bodrum'-da bi otel-e git-miş-ti-k, ilk defa git-miş-ti-k$_i$, o-(n)u$_i$ çok sev-miş-ti-m.

once a Bodrum-LOC a hotel go-EV-PAST-1PL first time go-EV-PAST-1PL it-ACC very love-EV-PAST-1SG

Once we went to a hotel in Bodrum, [we went there for the first time]$_i$, and I loved it$_i$.

(39) HT: Bi armud-u$_i$ göster-iyor ve biri o-(n)u$_i$ kopar-ıyor dal-ı-ndan.

a pear-ACC show-CONT-3SG and someone it-ACC pluck-CONT-3SG branch-POSS-ABL

It shows a pear$_i$ and someone is plucking it$_i$ from its branch.

(40) Control group data: İlk adam armut-lar-ı$_i$ topla-ma-ya devam ed-iyor. Yine ()$_i$ ceb-i-ne koy-ma-ya başla-dı.

first man pear-PL-ACC pick-NOMIN-DAT continue again ()$_i$ pocket-3SG-POSS-DAT put- NOMIN-DAT start-PAST

The first man continues to pick the pears$_i$. He began to put (them)$_i$ in his pocket again.

(41) Control group data: Mavi gömlekli çocuk yer-de şapka$_i$ fark et-ti ve ()$_i$ diğer çocuğ-un olduğu-nu düşün-dü. Sanırım o-(n)a ()$_i$ geri ver-ecek.

blue shirt with boy floor-LOC hat notice and ()$_i$ other boy-GEN belong-ACC think-PAST I.think he-DAT ()$_i$ give back-FUT

The boy in the blue shirt noticed a hat$_i$ on the floor and thought (it)$_i$ belongs the other boy. I think he will give (it)$_i$ back to him.

Examples (38) and (39) from the heritage speakers given above include the overt use of objects in the case of strict readings, where a bound variable is not possible to be interpreted in their silent use alternatives. In all examples, readings maintain coreferentiality between the object and some argument in the immediate sentence; coindexation between this object and an extrasentential antecedent does not seem to be counted as an option. In addition, the instances do not include any topic-shift or contrast which mainly requires the overt use of objects. They are all examples of free variation of overt and null objects in Turkish in which null objects are preferable since overt ones seem redundant. However, conforming to the discussion in previous literature, we do not observe the use of overt objects in redundant places in the control data. When we compare examples (38) and (39) from heritage data and the baseline (control) data (40) and (41), it is observable that the control group tends to select null arguments where appropriate.

To sum up, we judge that HT speakers, at least impressionistically, tend to overuse object pronouns or to reverse omit pronominal objects less than Standard Turkish speakers. Before discussing the possible reasons for this, I would like to summarize the current literature on silent elements in heritage languages in the next sections.

2.5.1 The “silent problem” in heritage languages

The frequency in which subjects and objects appear overtly in otherwise null subject languages, even in configurations that would yield pragmatically odd utterances in the baseline language is a well-noted phenomenon in heritage languages, and there are a number of studies that address this.

Several studies offer ample data on speakers of heritage languages that prefer overt elements over null/silent elements (Polinsky & Scontras, 2020; Montrul 2002, 2008, 2016; Müller and Hulk 2001; Tsimpli et al. 2003, 2004; among others) A number of explanations stand out for why this would be the case. Among the most alluded ones are structure simplification, clearness, or easier processing, besides it is not ungrammatical to replace the null arguments with them in the standard uses of languages.

As mentioned in Polinsky (2018), since heritage speakers tend to match the form and meaning of languages, covert forms can be a challenge for them in terms of associating the meaning and recovering from the structure or context. As a result, difficulty in interpreting or evaluating the null elements can be observed as a notable problem among heritage speakers, which is called “the silent problem” by Laleko and Polinsky (2017). It is as a solution to this problem that heritage speakers tend to use overt elements in many cases to be able to ease the process. Polinsky and Scontras (2020) point out that the rise in using overt pronouns starts with the first-generation immigrants, who are the basic source of input to the next generations, as a result, a noticeable decline in null elements is observed in the second and third generations, somehow attributing this to attainment that diverges from the preparental generation’s language. She also states that this phenomenon can be a result of language contact rather than a transfer due to the fact that it is also observable in pro-drop dominant and heritage language dyads.

Several studies illustrate that even if there is an increase in the use of overt elements in the case of contact with non-pro-drop languages, heritage speakers still have the knowledge of silent elements (Keating, et al. 2016:39 in Polinsky, 2018).

They further point out that the silent problem may arise even in two pro-drop language dyads, Spanish-Catalan can be an example of this (Prada Pérez, 2009 in Polinsky, 2018).

As stated by Polinsky (2018), heritage speakers do not lose the null elements completely and they have the overt-null contrast inherently, rather they show a different pattern than monolinguals of the language in linking null and overt elements to the antecedents. It is quite likely for them to be confused about recoverability and referential biases in which monolinguals are experts, for this reason, it is noted that, as opposed to monolinguals, heritage speakers prefer to use overt pronouns at a higher level in all contexts, regardless of being in embedded or indicative contexts, or being able to be recovered at structure or discourse level or not.

2.5.1.1 Heritage Turkish and silent elements

Overt object use observed in HT data supports Polinsky's (2018) assumption regarding the use of objects in heritage speakers and can present details about their preferences. As Polinsky (2018) stated, their overt object use patterns seem to be detected in all contexts including embedded and main clauses; or referential and bound variable contexts.

Further, in the given examples (38) and (39) above, because there is no change in topicality, one would expect instances of so-called topic-drop (Meral, 2014) which would require silent objects to be used instead of overt ones preferred to be inserted in presenting a new topic each time. This would be the case independent of the factors licensing them. HT speakers, therefore, can be stated to have a different perspective on the use of overt or covert objects in terms of Topic Drop. It can be speculated that they may have either completely lost the function of silent objects in

Topic Drop instances, or they can be in a restructuring process including overt objects in these instances to be able to ease the processing for themselves, as found in heritage Russian by Polinsky (2016). Based on the data we obtained, and studies previously shown, it is not possible to mention a complete loss of null elements. Instead, heritage speakers are shown to maintain their knowledge of null elements in contact situations (see also Doğruöz, 2007).

When the data are taken into consideration and the other heritage data are reviewed and compared, one would also assume this gradual change as a transferring process from a nonpro-drop language pattern to a pro-drop system under the effect of a dominant non-pro-drop language. Given the fact that heritage speakers never violate the complementary distribution of null and overt objects, and they have a heterogenous tendency in using overt objects in free variation patterns, the effect of the transfer process has a higher likelihood among speakers rather than assuming a complete change or restructuring as in the Russian case.

The richness of object-dropping cases in Turkish and the limits of it in English is a controversial and confusing issues for Turkish-English heritage speakers. The contrast in the features of both languages leads them to situations which foster "unnecessarily" overusing objects in HT or ungrammatically object omission in their official language based on their dominance in languages. This further supports the emergence of a silent problem in HT. As Polinsky (2018) stated, heritage speakers who have difficulties in object-dropping in their pro-drop heritage languages are actually still aware of silent objects and prefer to use them in some cases, which shows that they do not completely transfer another use by only selecting overt objects, or they do not violate the object omission limitations in languages, rather they mostly struggle in the cases of free variation and choose to use overt pronouns

in sentences where baseline speakers would probably prefer the null elements. The examples, therefore, regarding the use of overt objects in heritage Turkish show parallelism with the literature. In the examples obtained from the data, we do not observe any violation of the use of null and overt objects, rather they struggle with the use of null objects in some cases and prefer to use overt elements. Examples (42) – (44) present related sentences from the data of HT.

(42) HT: Şey yapar-ım sonra o-(n)un yan-ı-nda salata$_i$ ben o-(n)u$_i$ çok sev-iyor-um.
thing do-AOR-1SG then it-GEN side-POSS-LOC salad I it-ACC very love-CONT-1SG
I do the thing then, salad$_i$, with it, I love it$_{i,\ k*}$ so much

(43) HT: Çiftçi de yer-e in-iyor ım o-(n)u$_i$ al-mak için. Hayır o-(n)u$_i$ al-m-ıyor aslında yok unut-tu galiba o-(n)u$_i$ gör-me-di.
farmer too go.down-CONT it-ACC get-INF for no it-ACC take-NEG-CONT actually no forget-PAST i.guess it-ACC see-NEG-PAST
The farmer also goes down to get it$_i$. No, he didn't take it$_{i,k*}$, actually, he forgot, I guess he didn't see it$_{i,k*}$.

(44) HT: Anne-m-in amca-lar-ı teyze-ler-i falan o-(n)lar$_i$ toplan-ıyor, o-(n)lar-la$_i$ hep beraber yemek falan yi-yor-uz.
mother-1SG-GEN uncle-PL-POSS aunt-PL-POSS so on they gather-CONT they-PL-COM together meal or.so eat-CONT-1PL
My mother's uncles, aunts and so on, they$_i$ gather, we eat together with them$_i$.

The examples shown above illustrate the tendency of overt object use in Turkish-English heritage speakers. In examples (42) and (43), the repetition of the overt direct object pronouns is observed, which seems to be redundant in natural speech since the environment is suitable for null objects due to having an antecedent

previously presented and there is no contrast or new information given in the discourse. In example (44), a similar situation is noticed for an overt, comitative-marked element. While the speaker used an antecedent before, both as NP and pronoun in the subject position, she preferred to use an overt pronoun referring to the subject of the sentence.

To conclude, it is obvious for heritage Turkish speaker data that they are in a process in terms of null arguments, they have not lost it completely, yet decreased the usage in certain cases in order to be able to make the process easier for them.

2.5.2 The "distance problem" in heritage languages

As discussed by Polinsky and Scontras (2020) and Frank (2020), there can be four basic areas in heritage languages that seem to be vulnerable and divergent from the baseline speakers of the language, which are morphology, distance, silence, and ambiguity. As discussed before, case marking and agreement morphemes are quite challenging for heritage speakers, especially for agglutinative languages like Turkish.

Studies on heritage speakers clearly show that distance and distance-related topics can also be regarded as problematic in heritage languages, largely being a reflection of economy considerations in processing. Therefore, one of the primary areas observed as vulnerable in heritage languages is seen as dependency processing. Primarily, Polinsky and Scontras (2020) define the situation as "A general, high-level observation concerning vulnerabilities in heritage grammars concerns heritage speakers' difficulty with dependencies at a distance. These dependencies can be of different types: antecedent-gap dependencies in relative clauses or wh-questions, the binding of anaphors, or agreement phenomena" (p. 13).

In the study applied to Korean and Russian heritage speakers (Polinsky, 2018, Polinsky & Scontras, 2020), it has been observed that heritage speakers face challenges in building a dependency relationship between long-distance dependent elements.

There are some studies proving that heritage speakers tend to simplify the structure to ease the process, as mentioned before. Albirini and Benmamoun (2014) tested the relative clause use of Egyptian and Palestinian Arabic heritage speakers and observed the long-distance dependencies, gap-filling, or resumptive strategy. They concluded that while the control group did not have any problem regarding the relative clauses, heritage speakers had problems with the correct use of complementizers and dropping or replacing them. They concluded that rather than the resumptive strategy heritage speakers use the gap strategy, which they assumed to be a result of their simplification tendency. They speculated that in challenging cases in terms of dependency, they try to access and apply their dominant language structures. On the other hand, Polinsky (2018) states that there are several cases where heritage speakers use and accept resumptions more than monolinguals.

A study on Korean heritage speakers and Korean anaphors caki and caki-casin (Kim et al., 2010) showed that Korean heritage speakers are aware of the differences of clausal and cross-clausal anaphors, yet they face problems in binding anaphors at a longer distance. The two anaphors are different in terms of locality, while caki-casin is a local anaphor, caki is preferably a long-distance anaphor which can be bound with an antecedent outside of the clause, its local binding is also possible. Kim et al. (2010) state that Korean heritage speakers are aware of the differences between these two anaphors, nevertheless they have challenges in binding

caki by a long-distance antecedent and tend to interpret it more locally than the baseline speakers.

Resumptive elements can also be common for heritage speakers and dependency issues appear in this aspect, as well. According to Polinsky's (2018) and O'Grady, Lee, and Choo (2001)'s studies on Russian and Korean heritage speakers, resumption use is common in heritage speakers' relative clause formation and compared to subject relative clauses, they have more errors in object relative clauses, while children or adult native speakers nearly do not have any errors in both. Similarly, English heritage speakers highly prefer to replace gaps with overt resumptive pronouns as in examples (45) and (46).

(45) I have a friend [that she wants me to speak with her English].

(46) I have like two of them like [that I really speak with them]. (Viswanath 2013: 46 in Polinsky, 2018)

In sum, it can be stated that heritage speakers have challenges with complex structures and complicated dependencies based on the structural properties of their heritage languages. These challenges mainly cover long-distance dependencies or relative clauses that may result in the overuse of resumptive elements. In the next two sections, the distance problem and complexity in structures, and their reflection on object overuse in heritage Turkish will be discussed.

2.5.2.1 Distance problem in heritage Turkish

Turkish heritage speakers face some similar difficulties in dependency and binding as other heritage speakers. Their difficulties may have a triggering role in the enhanced use of objects as anaphors.

As mentioned earlier, like other heritage speakers, Turkish heritage speakers have challenges in using silent elements. The results seem to comply with other studies, the speakers are aware of the complex structures and binding possibilities, yet they have still a tendency to use the less complicated and more economical one which requires fewer long-distance dependencies. Therefore, one of the areas they overuse object appears in cases where they are supposed to use is dependencies.

While several cases have shown us that, instead of using dependencies and embedding sentences, heritage speakers avoid creating complicated structures and make them as simple as they can (like avoiding embedding), which arises the issue of object overuse again, once more. In cases where the baseline can form complex structures, heritage speakers mainly attempt to separate the structures into discrete units of discourse and apply topicalization in most of these cases (see (47-48)).

(47) HT: Ama ikinci yıl-da galiba [Fransızca-yı bir daha çalış-abil-ir-im]$_i$, yani o-(n)u$_i$ yap-mak çok ist-iyor-um.

but second year-LOC probably French-ACC again study-ABIL-1SG I.mean it-ACC do-INF very want-CONT-1SG

But in the second year, I guess, [I could study French again]$_i$, I mean I want to do it$_i$

TR-TR: Ama ikinci yıl-da galiba Fransızca-ya bir daha çalış-ma-yı çok ist-iyor-um.

but second year-LOC probably French-DAT again study-INF-ACC very want-CONT-1SG

But in the second year, I guess, I would like to study French again.

(48) HT: [Fazla geri-ye doğru gid-iyor Türkiye eski-si-ne göre]$_i$, [o-(n)u]$_i$ olumsuz gör-üyor-um.

too.much back-DAT go-CONT-3SG Turkey old-POSS-DAT compared.to it-ACC negative see-CONT-1SG

[Turkey is getting really worse compared to past]$_i$, I see it$_i$ as a negative thing

TR-TR Türkiye'-nin eski-si-ne göre daha geri-ye git-me-si-ni olumsuz gör-üyor-um.

Turkey-GEN back-POSS-DAT compared.to more back-DAT go-INF-ACC negative see-CONT-1SG

I see negatively that Turkey is getting worse compared to the past.

As seen from examples (47) and (48) above, Turkish allows embedded clauses with morphology, whereas speakers seem to avoid embedded clauses and tend to use object pronouns by splitting the sentences.

2.5.3 Case as a crucial factor

Another speculation that may potentially and indirectly affect frequent object pronouns in HT is their tendency to reduce case marking. Polinsky (2018) states that losing sensitivity to case morphology is a general observation among heritage speakers; instead of a rich morphological system, they prefer to transfer to a system that has a more static and poor morphological system helping them simplify the processing. As a result of the absence of case morphology, they may need to restructure the patterns. In the study in which she examined Russian heritage speakers, Polinsky (2018) observed that, unlike native adults or children, heritage speakers made errors in object relative clauses by treating them as subject-gap

relative clauses, which is a sign showing that they do not use case morphology as a clue for reconstruction.

Loss of rich morphological systems especially affects languages that are agglutinative and have a morphological case system like Turkish. (Kornfilt, 1997) Turkish has a system that assigns both structural and lexical cases to its direct objects, this does not change in embedding or distance clauses in object positions as shown in examples (47) and (48). (Kornfilt, 1997)

As observed in other heritage speakers, Turkish heritage speakers seem to also have issues in assigning cases to objects, which may be another reason for the overuse of object pronouns. This may be due to the lack of a counterpart of case morphology in English or their general tendency to avoid structures that seem complex at morphosyntactic level. The data we obtained showed us that compared to the control group, Turkish heritage speakers try to avoid using case markers in the objects, rather they prefer to use them in a bare form and insert an object pronoun with a case marker. This tendency results in object pronoun overuse and sometimes double or redundant objects in the same clause.

(49) HT: [Ora-da anane-m, dede-m, teyze-ler-im]$_i$, o-nlar-ı$_i$ ziyaret et-ti-m.
There-DAT grandmother-POSS grandfather-POSS aunt-PL-POSS they-ACC visit-PAST-1SG
There, my grandmother, grandfather, aunts, I visited them.
TR-TR: Orada ananem, dedem ve teyzemleri ziyaret ettim.
There-DAT grandmother-POSS grandfather-POSS aunt-POSS-PL-ACC visit-PAST-1SG
I visited my grandmother, grandfather, and aunts there.

(50) HT: Iım, Türkiye'-de ol-sa-m belki hani [matematik, fen]$_i$, bu-(n)lar-a$_i$ zorlan-abil-ir-dim, hani büyük ihtimal-le.

Well Turkey-LOC be-COND-1SG maybe you.know maths science they-DAT have.difficulty-ABIL-PAST-1SG you.know most.probably

Well, if I was in Turkey, maybe, well, math, science, I could have difficulties in them, well most probably. (incorrect dative instead of locative)

TR-TR: Türkiye'-de ol-sa-m belki matermatik ve fen'-de zorlan-abil-ir-di-m büyük ihtimal-le.

Turkey-LOC be-COND-1SG maybe maths science-LOC have.difficulty-ABIL-PAST-1SG most.probably

If I was in Turkey, I most probably could have difficulties in math, and science.

(51) HT: Hukuk, [hukuk fakültesi-nde avukatlık bölümü]$_i$, bura-da o-(n)u$_i$ oku-yor-um.

Law law faculty-LOC attorneyship department here-LOC it-ACC study-PROG-1SG

Attorneyship department in the law, law school, I study it here.

TR-TR: Bura-da hukuk fakültesi-nde avukatlık bölümü-nde oku-yor-um.

Here-LOC law faculty-LOC attorneyship department-LOC study-PROG-1SG

I study in the attorneyship department of law school here.

In the (49) above, the speaker uses direct objects "ananem, dedem, teyzelerim" without the direct object marker, which is the accusative case marking -yI in this case and merges an anaphor that holds the case and coreferentiality with the main object. Similarly, in example (51), the main direct object lacks the accusative marker.

In example (50), the speaker needs to include an object with the location marker, nevertheless, we again observe an object without any marking and another anaphor holding an ambivalent dative case.

2.6 Summary

It is clearly stated in the literature that heritage speakers tend to employ various strategies that ease their processing in their immigrant languages. Primarily, using silent elements in pro-drop heritage languages and establishing correct binding dependencies are major challenges for most of the heritage speakers, HT speakers being no exception. As a result, overt subject and object uses are observed to increase in their heritage languages. Nevertheless, this process does not violate the null/overt element use in pro-drop languages, they rather enhance their overt element use in various cases. As Polinsky (2018) mentions, they do not exhibit a difference in using overt elements in embedded or main clauses, but they have the basic challenge of recovering null arguments at a distance, as in the example of Korean caki (see section 2.5.2 for the Korean case). Therefore, it can be concluded that the problems arising from recoverability and processing lead to the overuse of overt elements in heritage speakers, the more the distance increases, the more they have trouble in binding anaphors to antecedents, which creates the main reason for overusing in overt objects.

Turkish heritage speakers show a parallel tendency with the heritage speakers of other pro-drop languages. As obtained from the data, it can be claimed that Turkish heritage speakers are aware of the null subjects and objects, yet they particularly prefer to use overt elements in most cases, even if the use of them seems to be unnecessary in the standard Turkish and avoided by the monolinguals. There

are some basic motivating factors that especially trigger the overt object use in heritage Turkish. Among them, problems that heritage speakers have with the silent elements and their recoverability come first. Even in cases where standard Turkish allows the omission since there is no potential ambiguity because of the obvious coreferentiality, they still choose overt elements to use, which leads us to assume that HT speakers may be in the process of eliminating pro or Topic Drop properties of Turkish under the effect of a non-prodrop language, English. They may also not have strong contrast or presupposition insights in their heritage language and prefers to use what is easier and obvious for them. Together with this and with the same motivation, distance and complex case system in Turkish can be counted as other factors enhancing the overuse of objects, which reduces the complexity in the structures and helps them eliminate complex case structures they need to deal with.

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the structures, and null argument uses of Turkish and English have been discussed separately. The structure in Turkish is mainly analyzed based on the features of *pro* in most studies since it is classified as a pro-drop language in the literature and null arguments have pronominal features (see Taylan, 1986, Enç, 1986, Özsoy, 1988, Kornfilt, 1997, Öztürk, 2006). There are also other possible analyses like Topic Drop (see Meral, 2014) based on the idea that Turkish has both pronominal features and variables in its null arguments.

Sentences with pronominal objects extracted from the data reveal that HT speakers have a high tendency to overuse/unconventional use of objects, they also seem to try to avoid complex structures of Turkish by using different strategies like topicalization and adding pronominal anaphors to reduce case assigning to the NP

objects, which may be an indicator of the simplification or transfer processes of the heritage speakers. The inserting object pronoun strategies that they choose both help them elude using long-distance dependencies and adding case morphology to NP objects each time. Even though it does not seem to be economical for them to insert an extra element, it seems to ease the processing in binding the elements and using the anaphors that they are used to in their dominant language, English. Assigning a case marker to an object pronoun does not seem to be strange or unfamiliar to them as opposed to assigning it to an NP object owing to the case marker property of object pronouns in English. Since they already acquire the case marking feature of object pronouns in their dominant language, applying or transferring it into Turkish is a lot more practical than having a case marker in NP objects which English does not allow. All in all, it can be concluded that Turkish heritage speakers are in a process parallel to the heritage speakers around the world in most cases. They seem to be in a transferring phase that triggers overt object use in some cases. They apply this by using structures closer to English and having a simplification process by limiting complex structures like distant dependencies and staying away from the complicated morphology as possible in a consistent and accurate structure that their heritage language, Turkish, allows. Since these assumptions are the results of an impressionistic analysis, future studies with a comparative and statistical analysis will be able to present more solid outcomes regarding the object non-omission tendency of the speakers.

CHAPTER 3

PLURALITY IN HERITAGE TURKISH

3.1 Introduction

Turkish plurality marking has both compulsory and optional uses. In the number marking system of Turkish, plurality is indicated mainly with the plural marker -lAr (1) while singularity has no overt marker, i.e. it appears as a bare morpheme (2). (Göksel & Kerslake, 2004, Kornfilt, 1997). [3]

(1) Ağaç-ta-ki elma-lar

Tree-LOC-RELCL apple-PL

Apples on the tree

(2) Ağaç-ta-ki elma

Tree-LOC-RELCL apple

The apple on the tree

The verbal plural, third person plural marker, shows the subject-verb number agreement. As shown in example (3) below, the use of verbal plural is optional depending on the pragmatic constraints in certain cases and can be used or omitted from the verb without changing the meaning or grammaticality of the sentence. (Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel & Kerslake, 2004)

(3) Öğrenci-ler okul-dan çık-tı-(lar).

Student-PL school-ABL leave-PAST-(3PL)

Students left the school.

[3] There are many different uses of plural -lAr in Turkish including associative meanings, abstract states or types of a substance. (see Göksel&Kerslake, 2005 for examples). Here, I am only focusing on the plural as a grammatical category of number and agreement on the predicate.

In some contexts, on the other hand, the overt use of plurality is either marked or not allowed even if the controlling noun phrase is plural. There are specific conditions that create the optionality in the use of a third-person plural marker, while its use is deemed infelicitious if the controlling NP is inanimate like (4). (Kornfilt, 1997)

(4) */? Sokak lamba-ları yan-dı-lar.
Street light-PL turn.on-PAST-PL
Street lights have turned on.

As stated by Polinsky (2018) and Polinsky and Scontras (2020), and elaborated on in section 2.6.3, morphology, especially morphological irregularities, can be a major challenge for heritage speakers. Most irregular cases can be eliminated or regularized by heritage speakers. Plurality, as an example of this, may become a difficulty for some languages and heritage speakers of those since they have exceptions or several optionality. Some rules may become apparent or easily adaptable while some of them may disappear or be disrupted in the learning or transferring processes. In this aspect, Polinsky (2018) discusses the common possible effects of transfer from the dominant language of heritage speakers and its probable results such as losing or adding a feature that the heritage language does not have originally. (Benmamoun et al., 2014).

Having optionality in both the uses of subject plural with quantifiers and in subject-verb agreement in Turkish can be a challenge in processing for heritage speakers of Turkish, in this aspect. The effect of English, which has a compulsory plural marker in both numerals and quantifiers (Jespersen, 2013) may reinforce the overuse of plural markers on NPs or third plural markers on VPs in order to be able to regularize and simplify the patterns.

Previous research (Bamyacı et al, 2014; Bamyacı, 2016; Uygun & Felser, 2021; Felser & Uygun, 2022) and current data we obtained have shown that heritage Turkish spoken in the UK show some ambivalent patterns in plurality compared to baseline Turkish. Speakers seem to be in a transfer process with the contact influence of English and simplification/regularization tendency, therefore they show an overused pattern in using plural markers in both NPs and VPs.

This chapter presents results and discussions regarding the plural uses of HT speakers. The main claims are that HT includes certain divergent and some ambivalent structures regarding plural uses compared to baseline speakers; mainly, ungrammatical quantifier/numerals combinations with NP, and overuse of optional third-person plural marking and unfavored uses with nonhuman NP subjects at some level. Examples (5) and (6) present these sets of structures obtained from heritage Turkish.

(5) a. HT: *Çok park-lar var ya park-lar bura-da güzel oluyor.
A.lot.of park-PL exist park-PL here-DAT beautiful become-PROG
There are many parks, the parks are beautiful here

b. HT: *Yani o-(n)lar iki genel şehir-ler-im.
Well they-PL two general city-PL-POSS
Intended: They are two cities of mine.

(6) HT: (?) Bazı okul-lar otuz tane ders-i sana sun-abil-iyor-lar.
Some school-PL thirty item class-ACC you-DAT offer-ABIL-PROG-3PL
Intended: Some schools may offer you 30 courses.

The chapter is organized as follows: In section 3.2, I will present the baseline facts about the plural marker and plurality in Turkish including plural markers on NP and third person plural agreement marker on VP. Following this, plurality and

obligatory plural markers of English will be discussed in section 3.3, together with a summary in section 3.4. In section 3.5 and 3.6, the facts and studies about the plural uses of heritage speakers and plurality in HT based on the corpus data analysis will be discussed. Section 3.7 will present a summary and discussion about the possible reasons regarding the ambivalent uses of plurals in heritage Turkish and an overall conclusion.

3.2 Baseline facts: plurals in Turkish

3.2.1 Plurals on NP

Turkish plurality shows some irregular patterns since it includes optionality and restrictions in certain contexts. As shown in examples (7) - (9), Turkish nouns do not allow overt plural marking if modified by a numeral and certain quantifier including "birçok" (several), "birkaç" (some), "bir sürü" (many), or "çok"[4] (a lot of) (Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Ketrez, 2003; Görgülü, 2018). The situation does not change when a classifier, such as "tane" (item), accompanies the modifier, as given in example (10).

(7) Beş çocuk (*lar)
Five child
Five children

(8) Birçok çocuk (*lar)
Many child
Many children

[4] There are some examples that "çok" (a lot of) can appear with the plural marker -lAr in Turkish (e.g. "çok memleketler gezdim" (I traveled to many countries). It is stated that these examples are counted as idiosyncratic instances. (Lewis, 1968 in Ketrez, 2003)

(9) Birkaç/ bir sürü / çok kitap (*lAr)

A few / a lot / many book (-*lAr)

A few / a lot of/ many books (Ketrez, 2003)

(10) a. Beş tane elma

five item apple

five apples

b. Üç demet havuc

tShree bunch carrot

three bunches of carrot (Kornfilt, 1997)

In contrast, quantifiers like “bazı” (some) or “bütün” (all)[5] are used with an overt plural marker on the noun phrase obligatorily. ((11) and (12))

(11) Bazı çocuk-*(lar)

Some child-PL

Some children

(12) Bütün çocuk-*(lar)

All child-PL

All children (Kornfilt, 1997)

Kornfilt (1997) states that in the cases of nonreferentiality, if the NP does not have a determiner, plurality becomes optional rather than obligatory. Examples in (13) below show both possibilities for the nonreferential poem NP.

[5] The intended meaning here for bütün is only “all” since the meaning of “the whole” changes the structure and requires singularity on the NP. “Bütün sınıf ayağa kalktı” (The whole class rose to its feet) (Göksel&Kerslake, 205)

(13) a. Hasan şiir yaz-ar.

Hasan poem write-AOR

Hasan writes poems (poetry).

b. Hasan şiir-ler yaz-ar.

Hasan poem-PL write-AOR

Hasan writes poems. (Kornfilt, 1997)

3.2.1.1 Ketrez (2003)'s analysis

In her analysis on the -lAr suffix in Turkish, Ketrez (2003) proposed that there are three different readings of -lAr, which are multiple-singulars (MS), multiple-events (ME) and multiple-types (MT). Among them, only one type, MS, has a function of emphasizing the amount, and the others, ME and MT, do not have this function. Rather, they stress the events or types that the nominals bear. The primary motivation for this interpretation is that nominals do not require -lAr for marking the plurality in most situations, as illustrated before, including some quantifiers and cardinal numbers.

For a nominal with the -lAr suffix to be interpreted as plural, it must have the MS reading, and MS readings are commonly marked with a case as shown in example (14).

(14) Ayşe kitap-lar-ı oku-du.

Ayşe kitap-PL-ACC read-PAST

Ayşe read the books. (MS) (Ketrez, 2003)

In the example in (15), the noun kitap (book) has the plural marker and it shows the plurality of books. On the other hand, in the cases where the NP does not bear an overt case marker, the plural markers can be attributed to the book-reading

event or the types of books rather than the amount of them. According to Ketrez (2003), these structures do not specify the plurality of NPs and cannot be interpreted as MS structures. This is illustrated in (15).

(15) Ayşe kitap-lar oku-du.

Ayşe book-PL read-PAST (literally: Ayşe books-read)

(i) Multiple events of book-reading (ME)

(ii) Ayşe read different types of books (MT)

(iii) *Ayşe read (the) books. (*MS) (Ketrez, 2003)

In example (15), it can be seen that the books can have different types (15ii), or Ayşe can have attended different book-reading events (15i), and the book can be interpreted as singular in this case.

Ketrez (2003) suggests that the main motivation for the different readings of -lAr can stem from the contrast of their structures. She claims that each reading is associated with different structures. MS is under the projection of DP and NumP, which gives the referentiality and definiteness/specificity features together with a number interpretation. MT reading, on the other hand, is represented under DP and ClP rather than NumP, thus, it does not have a plurality feature. Finally, ME is generated also under the ClP head and gains a classifier feature; there is not a DP or NumP projection for it to give plurality or referentiality features, though. They are adjacent to the verb in this structure and form a "complex predicate" together. This type of predicate can only allow adjacent forms like (15), therefore, scrambled or intervened structures are not allowed as illustrated in (16) and (17).

(16) *Ayşe oku-du kitap-lar.

Ayşe read-PAST book-LAR

Ayşe read books.

(17) *Ayşe kitap-lar dün oku-du.

Ayşe book-PL yesterday read-PAST

Ayşe read yesterday books. (Ketrez, 2003)

Together with adjacency restriction, ME reading does not allow pronominalization, ellipsis and modification with relative clauses so that it does not lose its non-referential property and maintains its complex predicate formation with the verbs. MS structures, on the contrary, are always associated with plurality property and they do not have complex structure formation with the verbs since they have DP projection, and they do not have to be adjacent to the verbs. As shown in (18), scrambled forms are grammatical in MS readings.

(18) Ayşe oku-du kitap-lar-ı.

Ayşe read-PAST book-PL-ACC

Ayşe read the books. (Ketrez, 2003)

Ketrez (2003) also states that the MT structure does not have plurality features since they are not generated under NumP even if they have a DP projection. In this case, the ME reading is not allowed since it has a full DP and MS reading is blocked because of the lack of NumP. Different from ME reading, MT can be pronominalized and can have gapping. (see (19) and (20) from Ketrez, 2003)

(19) Ayşe kitap-lar oku-yor, sonra onlar hakkında eleştri-ler yaz-ıyor.

Ayşe book-PL read-PROG, then they about review-PL write-PROG

Ayşe read books, then writes reviews about them

(MT-reading/ *ME-reading/ *MS-reading)

(20) Ayşe kitap-lar oku-du, Mehmet dergi-ler.

Ayşe book-PL read-PAST, Mehmet journal-PL-ACC

Ayşe read books, Mehmet journals.

(MT-reading/ *ME-reading/ *MS-reading) (Ketrez, 2003)

Overall, in her analysis, Ketrez (2003) presents that -lAr does not only show plurality, but it may also emphasize the events or types, therefore, it has different readings depending on the projections it has and properties that vary accordingly. It may also seem both insufficient and unnecessary to illustrate the plurality in certain cases since it seems redundant and restricted in some cases. Plurality, as a result, can be displayed with MS featured -lAr, or numerals and quantifiers without the overt use of it.

3.2.2 Third-person plural marker and number agreement

Turkish is a language marking person and number features of the subject on the verb, thus requiring singular verbs with singular nouns and plural verbs with plural nouns. Predicates in Turkish take the third person plural -lAr marker to present the agreement between subjects in the case of plurality for this reason. (Sezer, 1978; Kornfilt, 1997) However, marking the predicate with the third-person plural marker agreeing with a third-person subject[6] seems either optional or to be subject to certain constraints, as well. In certain conditions, the use of third person-plural marker may seem optional or redundant. In addition, it may also be restricted, and the overt use of the marker may lead to ungrammaticality. It is basically affected by semantic/pragmatic reasons. (Sezer, 1978; Kornfilt, 1997) Animacy, especially having the [human] feature on the subject can allow the overt use of it, yet it keeps its

[6] In more archaic use, a third singular subject (associated with titles) also evokes -lAr on the predicate which shows politeness. “Ayşe hanim nasillar?” (How is Ms. Ayşe?)

optionality property. (Görgülü, 2018) The use of it with plural non-human subjects decreases, even if it is not rejected completely. Accordingly, speakers mostly do not prefer the overt use of third-person plurals for reasons of economy; furthermore, they mostly reject the overt use of it when the subject is not animate, especially [human]. Examples (21) and (22) show the optional plural markings with humans while (23), (24), and (25) show the preferable and unpreferable uses of it with non-humans.

(21) Ögrenci-ler bahçe-ye gir-di-Ier.

student-PL garden-DAT enter-PAST-3PL

The students entered the garden.

(22) Ögrenci-ler bahçe-ye gir-di.

student-PL garden-DAT enter-PAST

The students entered the garden.

(23) Köpek-Ier bahçe-ye gir-miş.

dog-PL garden-DAT enter-EV-PAST

They say that the dogs entered the garden.

(24) ? Kopek-Ier bahçe-ye gir-miş-ler.

dog-PL garden-DAT enter-EV-PAST-3PL

They say that the dogs entered the garden.

(25) ?/* Taş-Iar yamaç-tan vadi-ye doğru yuvarlan-dı-Iar.

stone-PL slope-ABL valley-DAT.towards roll-PAST-3PL

The stones rolled down the slope (of the mountain) towards the valley.

(Kornfilt, 1997)

Felser and Uygun (2022) argue that, in addition to semantic and pragmatic constraints like animacy, word order can also affect the overt plural marker on a predicate. Turkish word order is flexible (Göksel & Kerslake 2005 in Felser &

Uygun, 2022) and among many possible configurations is also the one in which subjects immediately precede verbs. Standard Turkish speakers avoid short-distance plurality repeating; therefore, they avoid using overt plurals on VP if the subject appears in the immediate pre-verbal position. Example (26) is judged the most natural without the plural suffix on the predicate.

(26) Deri-yi en çok Romen-ler al-ıyor.(-lar)

Leather-ACC the.most much Romanian-PL buy-CONT-(-PL)

It is the Romanians who buy most leather. (Felser & Uygun, 2022)

Felser and Uygun (2022) thus claim that the linear distance between subject and verb plays a role in the overt appearance of plural marking on the predicate and further state that if the distance is long, the third person plural may be required even if the subject is not animate as in (27).

(27) Kitap-lar ya dün akşam-ki deprem-in şiddet-in-den ya da o eski kütüphane zaten çürük ol-duğ-u için yer-e düş-müş-ler.

Book-PL leither last night-RELCL earthquake-GEN force-POSS-ABL or that old library already rickety be-NOMIN-POSS because floor-DAT fall-EV-PL

The books have fallen on the floor either owing to the force of last night's earthquake or because that old library was rickety anyway.

(Felser & Uygun, 2022)

3.3 Plurals in English

Unlike the optionality of plurality and different readings associated with it in Turkish plural, English has a quite straightforward form of plurality. The regular form of the plural marking, -s, on nouns (and its allomorphs, including the irregular forms) presents the plural amount. Countable nouns in English can be pluralized with

numerals and quantifiers such as few, many, or plenty of and plural suffix appears with both of them. (Jespersen, 2013)

(28) Two apples, many trees, few eggs

Generic noun phrases represent the kinds of nouns, and they are used with the definite article in English both as singulars and plurals. Jespersen (2013) states that English may have plurality readings without any articles and with -s marking or with the definite article without -s marking to imply or represent the whole class or group i.e. genericity. Adjectives as well as nouns can have the generic sense and be used to represent plurality with the definite article. Examples (29), (30), and (31) display the distinct forms of generic noun plurality.

(29) The plural without any article: dogs are vigilant

(30) The plural with the definite article: the English are fond of out-door sports (English people)

(31) The old are apt to catch cold" (old people) (Jespersen, 2013)

Additionally, English does not present optionality in terms of the noun-verb agreement in plurality. While we observe irregularity and optional uses in plural agreement in Turkish, English displays no person/number distinction on the verbs except for the third person singular in the presence of lexical verbs, some modals, and be- and have- auxiliaries (Jespersen, 2013). Indefinite and definite subjects alike control plurals on the verb. As Stroik (1994) states, English indefinite and non-referential nouns must agree with the subject. In example (33), we cannot use an indefinite article to refer to the plural pronoun.

(32) We consider her a fool/*fools.

(33) We consider them *a fool/fools. (Stroik, 1994 in Ghomeshi, 2003)

Lastly, as mentioned before, Turkish has different readings in -lAr representation, and they are not always attributed to plurality, thus, may not be realized under NumP. (Ketrez, 2003) On the other hand, number marking, and plural nouns appear under the NumP in English and always refer to plurality, this covers plural, indefinite singular NPs, and mass NPs. (Ghomeshi, 2003) Therefore, it is not a possibility to insert optional plural marking in countable nouns in English since they are always represented under NumP together with a DP. Example (34) from Gomeshi (2003) shows the structure of the three books that she adopted.

(34) [dp[the [cardp[three [nump[np[book]s]]] (Ghomeshi, 2003)

3.4 Summary

Based on the analyses made for the two languages, we can conclude that plurality has quite different patterns in Turkish and English in many aspects. The primary properties of Turkish plural marking on NPs and VPs are (1) irregularity depending on numerals and quantifiers and (2) optionality. While it is restricted with the use of numerals, it is allowed with quantifiers like “bazı” (some) or “bütün” (all), some quantifiers restrict the use of -lAr including birçok (several), birkaç (some), bir sürü (many), or çok (a lot of) (Kornfilt, 1997). English, in this aspect, does not present an irregular structure and conditions plural marking with numerals and quantifiers in countable nouns. (Jespersen, 2013).

In addition, both languages have subject-verb agreement patterns in plurality. Yet, while Turkish presents optionality in the uses of third person plural in [human] NPs and restricts its use with inanimate NPs, English shows a more regular pattern by presenting an obligatory agreement in singular-plural NPs in present tenses and in the verb “to be”.

The analysis of Ketrez (2003) shows that since Turkish has three different readings in plural marker -lAr and two of them do not specifically give a plural reading, they are not realized under the NumP projection and, therefore, lack plural meaning denoting directly the amount. Hence, it is not possible to state that -lAr has a straightforward plural meaning and it is sufficient to show plurality, which may be an explanation of the optionality of it in certain situations. Plural -s marking in English (and its allomorphs and irregular plural forms) does not have the distinction that Turkish -lAr has, thus it can be stated that it is represented under NumP and bears the plurality reading in each case (Ghomeshi, 2003), which, again, may be a sign to explain the regular distribution of it.

Overall, Turkish and English display two distinct structures in the encoding of plurality and they do not follow similar patterns in the use of plural markers. The structures are more irregular in Turkish plural marking, which can create a confusing situation for L2 learners or heritage speakers of Turkish and make it difficult to master this structure. Especially since they have a much more regular pattern in their dominant language, the Turkish pattern may seem like a challenge for them. In the following sections, I will present HT examples from my data that show the ambivalent uses of plurality in HT and heritage speakers' regularization tendencies in these patterns, together with the studies on the use of plurals in heritage speakers of other languages.

3.5 Plurality and challenges in heritage languages

Previous studies (Polinsky, 2006; Montrul, 2010; Benmamoun et al., 2013; Polinsky, 2018 among others) show that one of the most vulnerable areas that heritage languages have is morphology and morphosyntax including case, agreement, or

gender marking. Among them, irregular patterns may result in ambivalent or challenging cases for heritage speakers. The use of plurals, plurality marking, and plurality agreement, therefore, can cause these challenges in some languages, as well. Consequently, they may tend to use more "analytic" or more "economic" structures.

While Polinsky (2018) discusses the common possible effects of transfer from the dominant language of heritage speakers, she mentions overgeneralizing or deleting the features. In the example of English heritage speakers who are dominant in Japanese, they are claimed to be losing the obligatory plural agreement, largely due to interference from Japanese, which lacks obligatory plural marking. However, she adds the French-English heritage speakers' example, in which speakers have the same loss in plural marking even if French has a nominal plural marking, showing that there may be other factors determining losing features.

In their study, Scontras et al. (2018) analyzed the baseline and English-dominant heritage Spanish in terms of number and gender agreement to be able to understand whether they are in line with the baseline Spanish in the agreement or whether they are in the process of switching to another structure. The speculations for heritage Spanish were mainly on either to be more analytical, which is defined as the split representation of number and gender markers (i.e. [$_{\text{NumP}}$...[$_{\text{GenP}}$...]] as shown by Scontras et al. (2018)). Alternatively, it may turn into a more economical structure, which is the bundled representation of number and gender (i.e. [$_{\text{NumP}}$...[Num{$_{\text{Number,Gender}}$}]] as shown by Scontras et al. (2018)). In other words, Spanish heritage speakers may be in a process of separating the representations of number and gender markers; or they may try to reach a structure in which they represent both number and gender in one marker. The difference in the representation

may sometimes cause challenges in agreement valuation and cause agreement attraction problems as shown in example (35).

(35) a. El niño considera la noticia en las

The-M-SG boy consider-PROG-3SG the-F-SG news.item-F-SG in the-F-PL revistas terriblemente aburridas.

magazine-F-PL terribly boring-F-PL

Intended: 'The boy considers the news item in the magazines to be terribly boring.'

b. *El niño considera la noticia en los

The-M-SG boy consider-PROG-3SG the-F-SG news.item-F-SG in the-M-PL periódicos terriblemente aburridos.

Magazine-M-PL terribly boring-M-PL

Intended: 'The boy considers the news item in the magazines to be terribly boring.' (Scontras et al. 2018)

The results showed that heritage speakers of Spanish have certain divergent structures from baseline Spanish speakers. They restructure their agreement use with simpler features by using single-valued (bundled) number and gender features as a result of their representational economy tendency instead of splitting them. In order to test this change, they applied an auditory sentence-rating task to baseline Spanish speakers and heritage speakers. The sentences were designed to test the ungrammaticality acceptance of agreement attraction by using NP1 ("la noticia" in example (35), NP2 ("revistas" or "periódicos" in example (35)), and ADJ (aburridos/-as in example (35)) which is supposed to agree with NP1 and speakers were tested on ungrammatical sentences with ADJs aligning with NP2 in terms of features. Even though the results were similar between the baseline Spanish and

heritage Spanish speakers in the sentences with singular NP1, heritage Spanish speakers were reported to show a greater acceptance in ungrammatical structures with plural NP1 and singular ADJ. Moreover, when gender is also included, they preferred to choose the bundling model which allows the representation of gender and number as a single value. These two divergent structures in heritage Spanish are regarded as an indication of heritage Spanish speakers leaving the multi-valued baseline of Spanish for singular and plurals or gender and number and transferring to a more economical representation.

In Benmamoun et al.'s (2014) studies about concatenative (inflectional) and nonconcatenative (derivational) plural nouns in heritage Arabic, the oral tasks on Egyptian and Palestinian Arabic heritage speakers in the United States and native speakers were applied and they were compared in terms of plural formation performance. The results showed that even if they have a good grasp of root formation, heritage speakers avoid using nonconcatenative plural nouns in their speech compared to baseline speakers and their errors related to plural formation are mostly observed in nonconcatenative forms. They also found ungrammatical examples in heritage Arabic, their speech data include overextension of default concatenative feminine plural marking -aat instead of nonconcatenative forms or incorrect nonconcatenative plural form, which can be a sign that they have difficulties in retrieving the marked plural form (nonconcatenative form) and have a tendency to replace them with the unmarked one (concatenative forms). According to Benmamoun et al. (2014), these tendencies may be regarded as a result of language attrition or incomplete acquisition due to the low input in heritage Arabic.

Another study, conducted on heritage Korean by Suh et al. (2008), showed that heritage speakers of Korean also have a different structure from baseline

speakers in using the Korean plural marker -tul. Korean plural marker -tul has some morphosyntactic and discourse-based restrictions, which is similar to Turkish in this context and different from English -s. As in Turkish plurals, the Korean plural marker is preferable in human nouns and not preferred with unhuman or inanimate nouns; its use with classifiers, on the other hand, is optional. It is obligatory for specific nouns and nouns with demonstratives (Sohn, 1999 in Suh et al., 2008) Example (36) shows the obligatory use of the plural, and examples (37) and (38) present its optional uses in standard Korean.

(36) Haymi-ka ku ai-#(tul)-ul towa-cwu-ess-ta.
Haemi-NOM that child-#(PL)-ACC help-give-PST-DECL
Haemi helped the/those children.

(37) Hyenswu-ka chinkwu-(tul)-ul manna-ss-ta.
Hyun-Soo-NOM friend-(PL)-ACC meet-PST-DECL
Hyun-Soo met his/some friends.

(38) Minwu-ka salam-(tul) ney myeng-ul manna-ss-ta.
Min-Woo-NOM human-(PL) four CL-(*PL)-ACC meet-PST-DECL
Min-Woo met four people. (Suh et al., 2003)

In order to examine the plural production, Suh et al. (2008) applied an elicited production task with sentence completion and gap-filling activities, and then an acceptability task with sentences to be rated from -2 to 2. The results of both tasks show that heritage speakers treat -tul plural marker in a different way from baseline speakers and the difference appears in context-based situations. They reached a significant difference in high-level heritage speakers' use of -tul in plural animal subjects, while the values were similar in human subjects. In the nouns with demonstratives where -tul is required, they reached a similar result again: high-level

heritage speakers use -tul more often in neutral and specific nouns. In the acceptability judgment tasks, on the other hand, the results proved that low-level heritage speakers show differences which can be clearly regarded as the dominant transfer effect. Based on the acceptability results, they concluded that heritage speakers, especially those with a low level of Korean, performed a weaker proficiency depending on their proficiency levels in Korean and proved that they are influenced by English even if they are aware of the restrictions and optionality patterns of -tul.

Overall, the previous studies showed that in addition to other morphological categories such as person, gender or case marking, plural marking and using plurality can also show distinct features and patterns from baseline languages. It sometimes can appear as an attrition as in the Japanese-English case, or can appear as a restructuring, either as an analytic and more regular form as in heritage Arabic, or simpler and economic structure as in the heritage Spanish gender and number agreement. Apart from these, heritage speakers may show another heterogeneous distribution in the structures under the influence of the dominant language: heritage Korean can be a valid example of this situation.

3.6 Plurality in heritage Turkish

Even though there are several studies on morphosyntactic changes and variations of the Turkish heritage language (Doğruöz, 2007; Doğruöz & Backus, 2010; Backus et al., 2010; Backus, 2012; Karayayla, 2018 among others), studies on plurality and number agreement are quite limited (Bamyacı et al, 2014; Bamyacı, 2016; Uygun & Felser, 2021; Felser & Uygun, 2022).

In her analyses of Turkish-German heritage speakers, Bamyacı et al. (2014) and Bamyacı (2016) conclude that animacy has a strong influence on selecting marked or unmarked plural markers on VPs for both heritage and baseline speakers, and heritage speakers tend to overgeneralize and are more ready to accept the plural marker on VPs if the NP is animate. Felser and Uygun (2021), on the other hand, analyzed the effect of subject animacy and position on Turkish-German heritage speakers with an acceptability judgment task and suggest that there is not a significant difference between the uses of plural agreement markers of baseline speakers and higher-level heritage speakers, yet heritage speakers with a lower level of proficiency display more sensitivity to animacy and position of the subjects.

In their other study, Felser and Uygun (2022) examined the plural agreement marker preferences of German-Turkish heritage speakers based on the linear distance between the subject and the verb and on information structure restrictions by using a sentence completion task. The results of their analysis indicated that both baseline speakers' and heritage speakers' use of third-person plural markers are affected by the information structure status of subjects. In a nutshell, they claim that when the subject is in the focus position, speakers are less likely to prefer a plural marker on VPs. They also concluded that heritage speakers showed a higher preference for using the plural marker on predicates in general.

In the current study, we both examined speakers' tendency to use the plural marker -lar on NPs in restricted cases i.e. numerals and certain quantifiers, and their preferences on using optional verb agreement (third person) plural marker. The predictions were on finding overuse of plural markers in restricted cases of NPs under the influence of the dominant language structure to be able to reach a more analytic pattern, however, the predictions on the third-person plural marker were

multiple. We assumed that they might either prefer to overuse it by eliminating optionality in order to create a regular pattern, or they might avoid preferring it in optional cases to be able to construct a representational economy as in the Spanish-English example (Scontras et al., 2018).

3.6.1 Aims and methodology

In this study, we examine the use of -lar plural marker of Turkish heritage speakers and detect whether they use it in ambivalent cases by deleting it more than baseline speakers in order to make a representational economy. As an alternative speculation, we investigated whether there is an overgeneralization process in order to make the plural marker use more analytic and regular. The final speculation was that, instead of more economical or more analytical uses, whether heritage Turkish has a restructuring process in a completely divergent way with or without the effect of English as the dominant language.

We separately examined the use of plural markers in order to be able to observe the plural marker distribution on NPs and their agreement with the use of the third-person plural marker. The results indicated that the heritage Turkish plural has a relatively different pattern from the baseline including ambivalent uses of plural NPs and overgeneralization of the third-person plurals.

In order to extract the plural uses, we examined the speech corpus of 20 English-Turkish heritage speakers and 12 baseline Turkish speakers that we created with online interviews. We enriched our data with two semi-structured elicitation tasks: (a) picture description, video narrating and (b) story translation/summarization. The corpus was again significant in this study to be able to reach the spontaneous and uncontrolled uses of -lar and compare them with the baseline. In this step, we used

the “Stanza” package in Python to extract the sentences from the corpus that includes plurality with the help of morphological analysis and POS-tagging. The results were compared manually after this step and the ambivalent sentences based on standard Turkish structure and overall preferences were detected.

Together with the examination of an approximately 30-hour speech corpus, we administered an acceptability judgment task adapted from Suh et al. (2008)’s acceptability task, differently, we included a Likert scale rating from 1 (completely ungrammatical) to 5 (completely grammatical). In the acceptability task, the target patterns examined were plural NPs preceding a quantifier or a numeral which are accepted as ungrammatical with the plural marker in Turkish, (see examples (39) and (40)) and sentences including “herkes”, meaning everybody and requiring singularity in plural agreement (see example (41)).

(39) Context: Yesterday your sister spent some time in the garden. When she came back, your brother asked her what she was doing and she said:

*Bahçe-den üç armut-lar topla-dı-m.

Garden-ABL three pear-PL pick-PAST-1SG

I picked three pears from the garden.

(40) Context: Yesterday you spent some time in the garden. When you came back, your brother asked what you were doing and you said:

*Bahçe-den birçok elma-lar topla-dı-m.

Garden-ABL many pear-PL pick-PAST-1SG

I picked many pears from the garden.

(41) Context: You asked your friend why she was unhappy and she said:

Kimse konuş-mu-yor, herkes sürekli iş-ler-i-ne yoğunlaş-ıyor- (*lar).

Nobody talk-NEG-PROG everybody always work-PL-POSS-DAT concentrate-PROG-(*-PL)

Nobody is talking, everybody is always concentrating on their work.

We further presented sentences to be rated that include plural NPs and third-person plural or singular VPs which can be either accepted as optional or rejected because of the animacy restrictions of plurals in Turkish. (Kornfilt, 1997) The examples below show the plural NPs with [+human] in example (42), [+animate, -human] in example (43) and [-animate] in example (44) with their acceptability and constraints.

(42) Context: You came home tired from work and your kids messed up the house, you called your friend and said:

Çocuk-lar her yer-i dağıt-mış(lar), topla-ma-m lazım.

Children every place-ACC scatter-EV-(3PL) collect-NOM-1SG-have.to

The children have scattered all over the place, I have to collect it.

(43) Context: Your friend said she couldn't sleep at night, you asked why and she said:

Köpek-ler tüm gece havla-dı-(?lar), ondan uyu-ya-ma-dı-m

Dog-PL all night bark-PAST-(PL) from.it sleep-ABL-NEG-PAST-1SG

The dogs barked all night, that’s why I couldn't sleep.

(44) Context: Your friend can only sleep in the dark and she said she couldn't sleep at night, you asked why and she said:

Sokak lamba-lar-ı tüm gece yan-dı-(*lar), ondan uyu-ya-ma-dı-m.

Streetlight-PL all night on-PAST-3PL from.it sleep-ABL-NEG-PAST-1SG

The streetlights were on all night, that’s why I couldn't sleep.

Sentences with third-person plurals were always presented with their singular options (example (45)), whereas sentences with the plural marker on NPs were given either as only plurals or with their grammatical singular options (examples (46), (47) and (48)).

(45) a. (?) Kediler sürekli oda-m-a girdi-ler, o yüzden uyu-ya-ma-dı-m.

Cat-PL always room-POSS-DAT enter-3PL so sleep-ABIL-NEG-PAST-1SG

b. Kediler sürekli odama girdi, o yüzden uyuyamadım.

Cat-PL always room-POSS-DAT enter so sleep-ABIL-NEG-PAST-1SG

Cats were constantly in my room, so I couldn't sleep.

(46) *Bahçe-den üç armut-lar topla-dı-m.

Garden three pear-PL pick-PAST-1SG

(47) a. *Bura-da beş Türk restoran-ları daha var.

Here-DAT five Turkish restaurant-PL more exist

b. Bura-da beş Türk restoranı daha var.

Here-DAT five Turkish restaurant-PL more exist

There are five more Turkish restaurants here.

(48) a. Birçok insan bu alan-a yoğunlaş-tı, bence iyi fikir.

Many person this area-DAT focus-PAST I.think good idea

b. *Birçok insan-lar bu alan-a yoğunlaş-tı, bence iyi fikir.

Many person-PL this area-DAT focus-PAST I.think good idea

Many people focused on this area, I think it's a good idea.

In addition to the grammatical and ungrammatical sentences with plurals, we included grammatical filler sentences without plurals, as well, to verify participants have basic knowledge of the sentence structure in Turkish (as in example (49)).

(49) Bu alan-da staj yap-mak bence iyi fikir.

This field-LOC internship do-INF I.think good idea

I think doing an internship in this field is a good idea.

Each participant rated sentences separately on Zoom and the rating process took approximately 20 minutes. After we completed the response collecting process, we used the Kruskal-Wallis test (McKight & Najab, 2010) on the results to obtain p-values and to be able to observe if there is a significant difference in the ratings of the two groups.

3.6.2 Plural marking in heritage Turkish: quantifiers and numerals

As stated before, Turkish has both grammatical and ungrammatical quantifiers and plural NP combinations. In this study, we mainly had two questions 1) Do heritage speakers of Turkish have ungrammatical plural marked cases on NPs? 2) Do they apply these cases under the influence of English or are they in a distinct restructuring process?

The examined data showed that heritage Turkish includes unconventional and ungrammatical cases in the use of quantifiers with plural markers. Among them, bayağı (bir)(example (50) and (51)) (a lot of), birçok (several) , birkaç (some) (example (52), bir sürü (many) (example (53), çoğu (most)(example (54) or çok (a lot of)(example (55) are quantifiers which are counted as ungrammatical when they are followed by a marked plural noun whereas are preferred to be used with marked plural NPs mostly in heritage Turkish. The results from the data below present cases with ambivalent uses of quantifiers with plural NPs which are rejected by baseline speakers.

(50) HT: *Bayağı şey-ler ol-uyor bu resim-de.

A.lot.of thing-PL happen-PROG this picture-LOC

There is a lot of stuff going on in this picture.

(51) HT: *Bayrak, ondan sonra bayağı bir insan-lar var.

Flag then a.lot.of person-PL exist

Flag, then, there are a lot of people

(52) HT: *Benim tanı-dığ-ım birkaç saf beyaz İngiliz arkadaş-lar-ım anne-ler-i-ne küfürlü konuş-(u)yor-lar.

My know-NOMIN-1SG some pure white British friend-PL mother-PL-POSS-DAT abusive talk-PROG-3PL

A few of my pure white British friends I know are abusive to their mothers

(53) HT: *Bir tane kadın var, el-i-nde bir sürü alışveriş-ler var.

One item woman exist hand-POSS-LOC many shopping-PL exist

There is one woman, she has got a lot of shopping

(54) HT: *Zaten çoğu İngiliz-ler zaten pub-a gid-iyor.

Already most British-PL already pub-DAT go-PROG

Most British go to the pub anyway

(55) HT: *Bura-da çok Türk lokanta-ları olduğu için genelde Türk yemeği ye-nil-iyor

Here-LOC a.lot.of Turkish restaurant-PL is for usually Turkish food eat-PASS-PROG

Since there are many Turkish restaurants here, Turkish food is usually eaten

In addition to nouns with quantifiers, it has been interestingly observed that even if it is not as common as quantifier combinations, plural marked NPs can be preferred with numerals in heritage Turkish, as well. The numerals with plural NPs

appear more with classifiers like tane “item” than their sole use[7]. The sentences with numerals and plural nouns were mostly from elicited tasks. Examples (56) and (57) below show the examples from the story translation/summarization task of heritage speakers.

(56) HT: *Ve dördüncü adam fil-in ayağ-ı-nı elle-dik-ten sonra o da sor-du üç arkadaş-lar-ı-na

And fourth man elephant foot-POSS-ACC touch-NOMIN-ABL after he too ask-PAST three friend-PL-POSS-DAT

And after the fourth man touched the elephant's foot, he asked his three friends.

(57) HT: *Aynı şekil-de altı tane görme engelli adam-lar aynı şekil-de yine gün-ler-i-ne devam ed-iyor-lar.

Likewise six item visual impaired man-PL same way-LOC again day-PL-POSS-DAT continue-PROG-3PL

Likewise, six visually impaired men continue their day in the same way.

In the examples above, even though the nouns should be marked as singular in the baseline, they are combined with nouns with overt plural marker -lAr iteratively in the HT. Further, the situation reflects the judgment task results, as well. While the baseline speakers strongly disagree with the acceptability of plural nouns with specified quantifiers and numerals, it has a higher acceptance rate in their uses as shown in Figure 1.

[7] In some evaluations during the acceptability judgment task, speakers especially tried to reformulate sentences by adding tane “item” to the sentences with numerals.

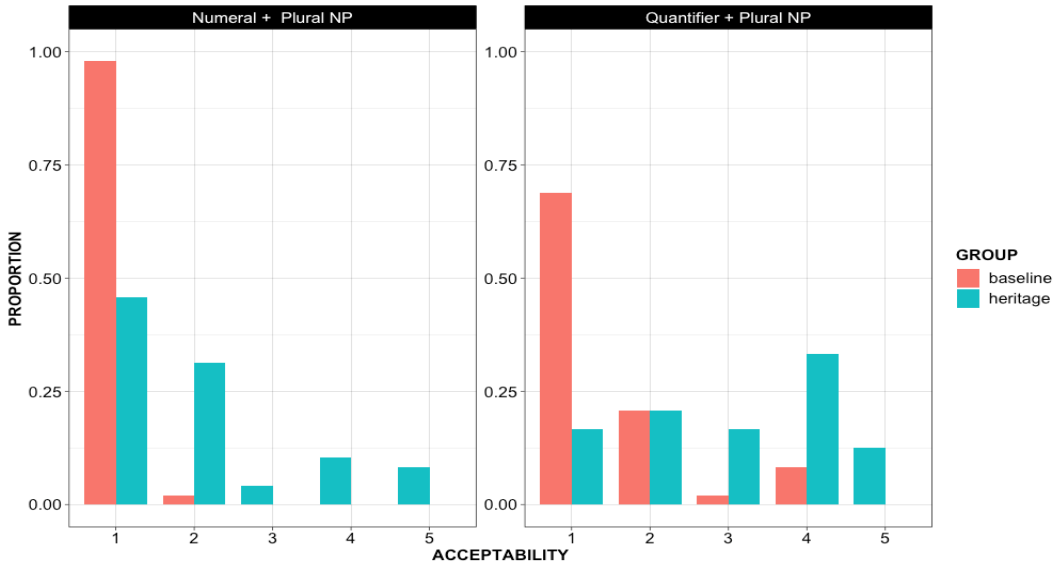


Figure 1. The acceptability rates in quantifier and numeral + NPs between baseline and heritage speakers

When we used the Kruskal-Wallis test, we observed that the difference among speaker rates is significant in both numeral and quantifier + NP combinations. Table 1 presents the statistical differences between heritage and baseline responses.

Table 1. Comparison of Values Between Heritage and Baseline Speakers Response Rates in Quantifier and Numeral + NP Structures

Structure	P-value	Degree of freedom	Chi-Square
Quantifier + Plural NP	0.000000016573	1	31.859551616
Numeral + Plural NP	0.000000019411	1	31.552571276

Overall, the corpus examples from the spontaneous speech or elicited tasks and acceptability judgment results showed parallelism and presented that heritage speakers have a general tendency to use plural marked nouns with quantifiers and numerals which can be counted as ungrammatical in standard Turkish and they are more willing to accept these uses than the baseline speakers.

3.6.3 Plural agreement in heritage Turkish

In the examination of number agreement, we focused mainly on three questions: i) Do heritage speakers prefer marked plural agreement suffixes on VPs more than the baseline speakers in optional cases? ii) Does this preference apply to less acceptable structures like non-human subjects? iii) What do the results show in terms of more economical or more analytic representations?

In order to study the plural agreement on predicates in HT we used the same data by observing the results in speech corpus with spontaneous speaking, elicited tasks, and acceptability judgment results. First, the data from the interview proved that they have a high tendency to use third-person plural markers with human subjects when they include an overt subject and even the subject is not distant from the verb, whereas its use is quite limited in baseline speakers and observed rarely with the overt subjects in their spontaneous speech since it is seen as redundant in these cases. Examples (58) and (59) present heritage speaker uses with an overt plural marking on VPs in optional cases.

(58) HT: Ondan sonra değiş-iyor hep çoğu İngiliz-ler otur-uyor-lar.
Then change-PROG always most British-PL sit-PROG-3PL
Then it changes, most of the English are living (there)

(59) HT: Ama çoğu zaman Türk-ler çok meraklı ol-uyor-lar.
but most time Turkish-PL very curious be-PROG-3PL
But most of the time Turkish people are very curious.

In the examples above, the subjects are overt. They are further either immediately preverbal (58) or separated by the inflected auxiliary by the adjectival predicate (59). In terms of information structure, the subject of example (58) is in the focus position which generally rejects the plural marking on VPs. In these cases, the

third-person plural can be counted as redundant for most baseline speakers. (Felser & Uygun, 2022) The data show that the optional uses are preferred mostly in the overt way for heritage Turkish and the sentences which include third person plural marker (extracted from the data) mostly include human plural NP. However, it is not only limited to the grammatical/optional overuses, the speech data obtained include certain restricted uses in heritage Turkish, which include non-human and non-animate subjects as can be seen from examples (60), (61) and (62).

(60) HT: Köpek-ler de owner gibi aynen baba anne gibi gör-ür-ler aynen.
Dog-PL too owner like exactly father mother like see-AOR-3PL exactly
Dogs see them just like an owner, just like the father and mother.

(61) HT: Geçen sene-ki sınıf-lar yap-ma-dı-lar bizim sınıf hala yap-acak bu sene.
last year-RELCL class-PL do-NEG-PAST-3PL our class still do-FUT this year
Last year's classes didn't do it, our class will still do it this year.

(62) HT: Her yer-de otobüs var, trenler çok üç dakika-da bir mesela gel-iyor-lar.
everywhere-LOC bus exist train-PL very three minute-LOC one for.example come-PROG-3PL
There are buses everywhere, trains come every three minutes, for example.

Similar to the cases with quantifiers and numerals, number agreement rating questions in the acceptability judgment task showed parallelism with the speakers' spontaneous speech. They do not seem to reject the number agreement marker on VPs in human and non-human subject conditions, yet their results are not significantly different than the baseline speakers; both groups' acceptance rates are quite close in the rejected sentences with non-human NPs as well as accepted sentences with human NPs. These rates show that both groups seem not to be

unfamiliar with these uses but still do not accept or reject them completely. Figure 2 shows the results of the percent of participants' answers in plural nonhuman (i.e., animal) NP + plural VP, human NP + plural VP and inanimate NP + plural VP. Even though the heritage group shows a relatively higher acceptance rate, a noticeable difference is not observed between the two groups' acceptance rates towards third-person plural markers in the given contexts.

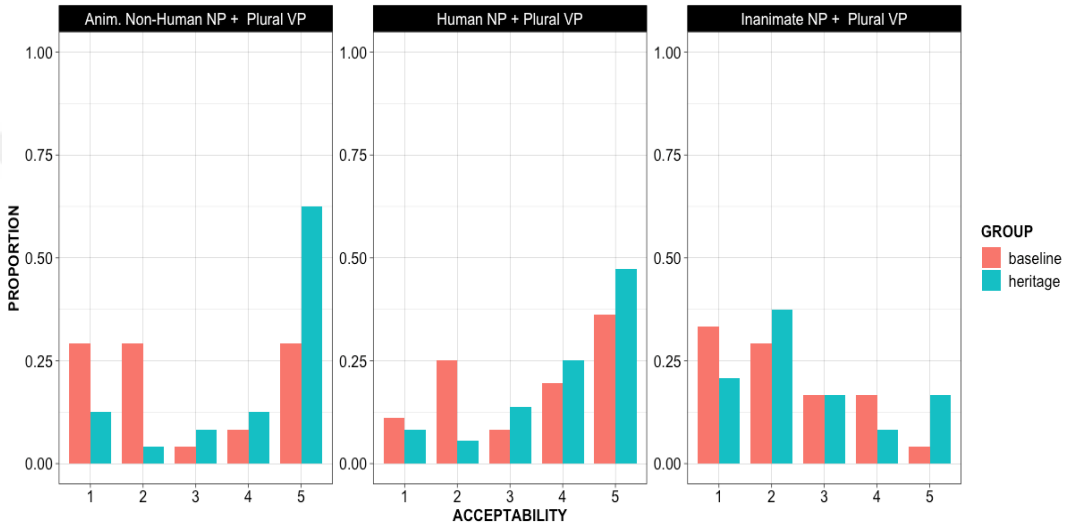


Figure 2. The acceptability rates in human/nonhuman/inanimate NP + plural VP between baseline and heritage speakers

Table 2, similarly, summarizes that the differences between the two groups' responses are not significantly different in optional and unfavored VP uses. The p-values and chi-squares show that the two groups do not have a statistically different use tendency in these structures.

Table 2. Comparison of Values Between Heritage and Baseline Speakers Response Rates in Optional and Unfavored Plural VP Structures

Structure	P-value	Degree of freedom	Chi-Square
Human NP + Plural VP	0.1418205	1	2.15809375055154
Nonhuman NP + Plural VP	0.01018357	1	6.60250050875052
Inanimate NP + Plural VP	0.3998128	1	0.708889178895271

To sum up, it is concluded from the natural speech data results that heritage speakers have a tendency to overuse the optional number agreement marker on the predicate compared to baseline speakers. This reflects non-human subject and plural marking verb combinations, as well. Even if their uses are limited, the rejected cases can be preferred by Turkish heritage speakers in their natural speech. Nevertheless, a considerable difference is not observed in the acceptance task, since the rating results of both groups are close to each other and do not have a significant divergence. Therefore, our first two questions are answered as followed: i) HT includes a higher preference in using marked plural suffix on VP only in their natural speech, even in cases where its use seems redundant, ii) This situation applies to the non-human subject cases in their natural speech, even if the acceptance task does not display a significant difference. Consequently, the results and obtained values helped us to come to a conclusion about our estimations regarding the plural uses of heritage speakers. Accordingly, 1) heritage speakers' use of plural NPs with quantifiers and numerals is significantly higher than baseline speakers ($p = 0.0000000165$ for quantifiers and $p = 0.0000000194$ for numerals) 2) heritage Turkish includes overuse of optional third-person plural marker and rejected uses of it in natural contexts, however, it does not reflect in the acceptability judgment as a significant difference, probably because there are no cases of complete acceptance and rejection in these structures. ($p=0.1418$ for human NPs, $p = 0.0101$ for nonhuman NPs and $p = 0.399$ for inanimate NPs).

3.7 Conclusion

The current study focused on the plural use of Turkish heritage speakers by examining the natural and elicited speech data and relevant acceptability judgment. I specifically focused on plural marking on argument NPs with preceding numeral and quantifiers and plural agreement on predicates. For the plurals on NPs, we intended to understand if heritage Turkish accepts the irregular or ungrammatical uses by combining them with numerals or quantifiers which are rejected with plural NPs in standard language. For the plural agreement on predicates, we aimed to detect if there is a significant difference between the groups in using and accepting optional markers or unfavored sentences.

Both the speech corpus and the judgment results displayed that heritage speakers are more likely to use the ungrammatical plurality structures in baseline Turkish. They are eager to accept plurality when they come across them within a context. Based on the results, it can be speculated that language contact or the effect of the dominant language can play an important role in this preference. English has a much more systematic and analytic structure in comparison with Turkish. It accepts and conditions the plurals with both numerals and quantifiers like “many”, “a lot of” or “most”. The examples from heritage Turkish have a matching use with English in these cases; they are in a process that adopts the more systematic and English-like quantifier/numeral and NPs combinations even if it is regarded as ungrammatical in standard Turkish.

Another speculation would be on the different reading types of plurality and their elimination process in heritage Turkish. It seems like heritage speakers prefer to select overt plurals more on NPs than baseline speakers, even if it violates the restricted uses of ME and MT reading types. This may be regarded as a clue that they

may lose the reading differences of MT, ME and MS or bundle them since they lost the functional differences of them and regularize the uses with respect to their representation to create a pattern with fewer irregularities. In order to observe the representational differences and understand the main reasons for these ambivalent cases, heritage Turkish should be investigated deeply in these three types of readings in further studies.

The cases with plural number agreement markers on VPs are also acceptable and preferable for heritage Turkish, as the data indicated. In the optional uses, i.e., with human subjects, heritage speakers are willing to use them more, compared to baseline speakers, even if they use an overt subject in the focus position. Moreover, as understood from the data results again, the structures that are less acceptable or rejected by the baseline speakers are more likely to be used by the heritage speakers in spontaneous speaking. They may prefer to use a third-person plural marker even if the subject is “köpek-ler” dogs, or “tren-ler” trains as presented above. This is not the case for baseline speakers since their spontaneous speech data do not contain any examples including a non-human subject and a verb with the overt marker of the third-person plural. Even though there is a strict difference between the two groups in these uses when the data are observed, it is not concluded from the acceptability task since their acceptability ratings do not have a statistically significant difference. The task shows that heritage Turkish accepts mostly cases with non-human subjects and unmarked third-person plural, like the baseline Turkish, however, they still accept the marked use to a certain extent. When we consider both the data and the task together, their preference rates for marked plurals are high and they have more acceptability and use rates of these structures in their speech compared to the baseline speakers.

As for the third question regarding the overuse or elimination of number agreement marking in optional and restricted cases, we can conclude that heritage speakers seem to be in a process in which they are more likely to accept and prefer marked forms in several cases. Their preferences and results from the natural and elicited data showed that they add the third-person plural marking overtly in their speech at a higher rate and this includes the examples that are regarded as less acceptable. This situation conflicts with the representational economy strategy of Spanish-English heritage speakers (Scontras et al., 2018) since Turkish heritage speakers choose to have an additional marker instead of deleting the redundant uses in optional cases. It also creates a conflicting result with the general tendency of baseline speakers since they avoid using the redundant markers to reach a more economical use. At this point, we can infer that, as opposed to the baseline speakers, they may select to have a more regular and analytic pattern compared to the irregularity that Turkish has. By using the plural agreement marker each time, they may target to reach a more systematic structure in plurality, as English has. With both the effect of general simplification and regularization tendency in heritage speakers and the influence of regular patterns of English as a dominant language, heritage Turkish creates specific divergent structures differing from its baseline counterparts. The reason why they try to adopt an analytic structure rather than an economical structure should be investigated deeply, nevertheless, the primary reason to select the analytic one may result from the amount of irregular and optional forms in Turkish which can create more challenging situations in the case of selecting economical representation. As a result, it may foster speakers to tend to select the simpler, more regular, and more familiar (because of the dominant languages) system. For further studies, speakers' acceptance and use rates for economical

representations should be investigated deeply and compared with the more analytical alternatives in both elicited and natural tasks.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to detect certain structural patterns in heritage Turkish spoken in the United Kingdom that are absent or different from standard Modern Turkish and provided corpus-based results about these differences.

In order to investigate the possible changes in the structure of heritage Turkish in English-Turkish heritage speakers, I conducted the study with a corpus-based methodology. The data include 20 English-Turkish heritage speakers from the UK and 12 Turkish monolingual speakers from Turkey. I applied the same procedures for both the bilingual group and the monolingual group, which is regarded as the baseline in comparison. I created the speech data including all speakers and we, together with some students of Bogazici University Linguistics Department, transcribed and annotated them in order to create a speech corpus. In the end, data became available to be reviewed and examined. The focus was on the object and plural marker uses of heritage speakers and the possible differences in their uses compared with the monolinguals. Based on the focus of the thesis, I primarily tried to answer the basic questions on these uses. These were: i) Are the object pronouns overused in heritage Turkish? What might be the possible reasons for that? ii) Is the plural marking -lAr overused in heritage Turkish? What might be the possible reasons for that? How does it reflect comprehension data? In addition to these main questions and in the light of the results, I investigated if Turkish heritage speakers are in a process of creating divergent structures under certain effects or do they adopt structurally simpler or more regularized patterns observed in use.

Although there are relatively few studies on heritage Turkish in the UK, the results of this study showed that the changes and speakers' tendencies to use simplified and regularized structures are quite similar to the ones given in the literature on other heritage Turkish varieties. Overall, it is observed that they have a structurally changing process in these two aspects of the language, and this process can be triggered by many external factors including language transfer, low input, or a tendency to switch to a more analytic structure.

4.1 Pronominal direct and indirect objects in heritage Turkish

Previous studies on Turkish have proposed quite efficient perspectives both on null arguments and their irregular patterns.

After determining the aspects of the null elements based on the analyses, we extracted sentences with the overt object uses from the data, detected the overuses and speculated the possible reasons for the redundant or divergent uses of objects based on the analyses of Polinsky (2018; 2020) and Polinsky and Laleko (2017) on silent elements and distance problem among heritage languages.

The results I obtained provided that the tendency to use overt objects instead of null ones is higher in heritage speakers than in monolinguals. While monolinguals prefer null arguments in the case of redundant uses and prefer them mainly in topic introducing or shifting, it has not been observed such a strict difference in heritage speakers' choices, and even though the overt use seems redundant and can be easily omitted from the context, they still prefer to include them. In this aspect, while baseline speakers seem to opt for economic uses as much as possible, heritage speakers tend to avoid this preference.

Based on the results, I focused on certain possible reasons for this tendency. First, to investigate whether this is an interference phenomenon, we compared the English structures with or without null arguments. Since English is not defined as a null argument language, object omission is a rare case (Haegeman, 1997). Therefore, one of the most powerful speculations about object non-omission cases in heritage Turkish is the dominant language effect. Accordingly, heritage Turkish may be under the effect of English and in the process of switching from a null argument language to a non-null argument language pattern.

Secondly, speakers have a high tendency to keep objects in sentences in optional cases, which is actually regarded as a typical property among heritage speakers by Polinsky (2018; 2020). Since it is a common case among most heritage speakers, the results directed us to review other reasons in addition to the transfer effect, as well. Heritage speakers' silence and distance problems gained attention at this point. Since heritage speakers prefer more analytic and regularized forms in most cases, the silent problem arises in these situations. Additionally, as mentioned in section 1.2, long-distance binding and complex sentences have always been structures that heritage speakers avoid using. In some cases, case marking results in complex structures, as well. Based on the sentences obtained from the data, we can also conclude that long-distance or case-marking avoidance can be among the possible causes that bring about higher usage of overt objects. The data also provided examples supporting these problems in heritage Turkish. Therefore, we concluded that there may be some possible noteworthy speculations regarding the higher rate of overt object use in heritage Turkish, which are the transfer effect, silent problem, distance or case marking problems. Nevertheless, all speculations can clearly induce more systematic and regularized structures in heritage Turkish, which negatively

affect the irregularity of Turkish null and overt object use patterns or possibly eliminate this distinction at the end of the process. In the end, we answered the questions: i) Turkish heritage speakers have some morphosyntactic variations in object uses and they tend to overuse object pronouns compared to their baselines. ii) Language contact can be effective in this variation, yet it may not be the sole cause. Based on the examples, we can claim that silent element and distance problems among heritage speakers may have been reflected in Turkish heritage speakers, as well. Complex case marking structures may also be triggering to the overusing of object pronouns. As a result of these effects, heritage speakers of Turkish may tend to transfer to a more systematic and regular pattern than standard Turkish, rather than an economic or simplified version by preferring to use overt objects.

4.2 Plural marker use in heritage Turkish

Turkish plural, as in the null object use, has irregular patterns stemming from optionality and semantic restrictions. For this reason, it was one of the topics that I intended to examine. Even though there are many studies about morphosyntactic variations in heritage Turkish, previous work rarely focused on plural marker use and the possible effects of its optionality. (Bamyacı et al, 2014; Bamyacı, 2016; Uygun & Felser, 2021; Felser & Uygun, 2022). Ketrez's (2003) analysis guided us to grasp the different readings of the plural marker -lAr in Turkish and enabled us to analyze the results in a better way.

In order to reach answers to our questions, I again compared the plurality patterns of English and Turkish, which gave the first insights into the dominant language effect. Then, I reviewed and examined the data and plural marker uses in both the plural NPs and third-person plural markers on VPs. In standard Turkish,

plural NPs cannot be combined with numerals and certain quantifiers. I, therefore, prioritized these ambivalent uses in heritage Turkish. The data provided that heritage Turkish has these uses, on the contrary, baseline data do not hold any sentence with these compounds. Moreover, heritage speaker acceptability rates provided parallel results with the natural data. The p-value tests applied to the acceptability judgment data showed that heritage speakers' tendency to use ungrammatical compound nouns with numerals or quantifiers and plural NPs are at a significantly higher rate compared to the baseline speakers. While baseline speakers never use these quantifier/numeral and NP compounds in their natural speech and do not accept them in the judgment task, heritage speakers of Turkish both use and accept them at a certain rate. Hence, the results helped us answer the first question as "yes" again; heritage speakers have an overusing tendency in plural marker uses and it can be statistically proved since the plural in Turkish has certain restrictions that baseline speakers can clearly reject. Secondly, we speculated that this tendency can be rooted in the English effect since English as the dominant language has obligatory uses in these types of combinations. Since speakers can easily find a counterpart to this irregular pattern in their dominant language, they may have started to copy this structure from English. This helps them create more familiar patterns, at the same time, delete the irregular structures from the first language. Hence, taken all together, this current structure can be categorized both as a transfer effect and a regularization process, as well.

Third-person plural marker, on the other hand, does not have an exact counterpart in English. In Turkish overt plural subjects, its use is optional, and it is only compulsory when the subject is null. Whereas English does not condition such a distinction since it lacks null arguments. This optionality in Turkish is freely applied

to human subjects, while the use of a third-person plural marker is not preferable together with nonhuman and inanimate subjects. (Kornfilt, 1997)

The data gave several examples regarding the third-person plural marker in both heritage and baseline speeches. It showed that in optional cases, heritage speakers have again a higher tendency not to omit the third-person plural marker; on the other hand, since it is seen as redundant, it is mostly not preferred by baseline speakers in their speech. The restricted uses also appeared in the natural speech data of heritage speakers, while we did not observe any sentence examples that contain inanimate or nonhuman subjects and third-person plural markers in the baseline speech.

The acceptability judgment results, on the other hand, did not provide a significant difference in terms of the acceptance rates. The tests applied on the rates of speakers resulted that both the heritage group and the baseline group rated the optional and restricted uses nearly with the same scores and the difference was not statistically significant. Hence, we concluded that since these structures are not completely rejected or regarded as ungrammatical, both groups tend to accept the existence of the sentences in Turkish. However, practically, it is observed that baseline speakers do not prefer to use them in their natural speech while the heritage group would rather use them. It is not quite possible to conclude from these results that this structure can be chosen with the effect of English since it does not include an exact counterpart. Yet, we can still understand that they prefer to transfer to a more regular form by including plural markers in optional and unfavored cases.

In this study, I provided speech data of heritage and monolingual Turkish and aimed to understand and provide explanations about structural divergences between the two groups. I preferred to use both descriptive and statistical analyses depending

on the nature of the structures. Since most of the previous literature mostly focused on other countries of continental European, the data from the UK will be helpful and advantageous to extend the aspects and compare the variations with other Turkish heritage data. More detailed and extended work with more statistical results on the data and the community living in the UK will be constructive for this study and will guide us to explore diverse variations and changes in the heritage language of Turkish.

APPENDIX A
ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

Evrak Tarih ve Sayısı: 19.12.2021-43503

T.C.
BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL VE BEŞERİ BİLİMLER YÜKSEK LİSANS VE DOKTORA TEZLERİ
ETİK İNCELEME KOMİSYONU
TOPLANTI KARAR TUTANAĞI

Toplantı Sayısı : 25
Toplantı Tarihi : 15.12.2021
Toplantı Saati : 15:00
Toplantı Yeri : Zoom Sanal Toplantı
Bulunanlar : Prof. Dr. Ebru Kaya, Prof. Dr. Fatma Nevra Seggie, Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen
Bulunmayanlar :

Ezgi Sanıyar
Dilbilimi

Sayın Araştırmacı,
"Bir Miras Dil Olarak Türkçe: Birleşik Krallık'ta Konuşulan Türkçenin Artsüremli Değişimi ve Eşsüremli Çeşitliliği" başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığınız SBB-EAK 2021/81 sayılı başvuru komisyonumuz tarafından 15 Aralık 2021 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.
Bu karar tüm üyelerin toplantıya çevrimiçi olarak katılımı ve oybirliği ile alınmıştır. COVID-19 önlemleri kapsamında kurul üyelerinden ıslak imza alınamadığı için bu onay mektubu üye ve raportör olarak Fatma Nevra Seggie tarafından bütün üyeler adına e-imzalanmıştır.
Saygılarımızla, bilgilerinizi rica ederiz.

Prof. Dr. Fatma Nevra SEGGIE
ÜYE

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr.Fatma Nevra SEGGIE
Raportör

SOBETİK 25 15.12.2021

Bu belge 5070 sayılı Elektronik İmza Kanununun 5. Maddesi gereğince güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

APPENDIX B

FLYER

Are you a Turkish-English bilingual person aged between 18-25?

We are looking for Turkish participants for our study which uses voice recordings of Turkish-English bilinguals living in the UK. We will have approximately 45-50-minute meetings with participants and you will be asked some general questions and tasks in Turkish.

If you are a Turkish-English native speaker, born in the UK or moved there at a very young age, generally communicate with people in English, and if you think you can express yourself better in English, we invite you to contribute to our study. The project is run by Bogaziçi University - Department of Linguistics researchers.

For details, you can contact me via DM or e-mail:

e-mail: ezgi.saniyar@gmail.com

Thank you!

APPENDIX C

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Institution supporting the research: Boğaziçi University

Title of the study: Turkish as a Heritage Language: Turkish as a Heritage Language: Diachronic Change and Synchronic Variation of Turkish in the UK

Project Coordinator: Dr. Metin Bağrıaçık

E-mail address: metin.bagriacik@boun.edu.tr

Phone:

Name of the researcher: Ezgi Saniyar

E-mail address: ezgi.saniyar@boun.edu.tr

Phone:

Project subject: In this study, it is aimed to examine the structural changes in the mother tongue of the Turkish people living in the United Kingdom. In order to be able to conduct this research, we request to take audio recordings with face-to-face or online interviews with individuals aged 18 -25 who were born in the UK or moved to the UK with their families at a very young age. The main qualifications sought in the people who will participate in this study are to comply with the age criteria, to be bilingual in Turkish-English with a good language level of English, to use Turkish in a limited way in family or friends environment, and to use English mostly in school and social environment. The study will be carried out by the Department of Linguistics with the approval of Boğaziçi University Social and Human Sciences Master's and Doctoral Theses Ethics Review Committee.

Consent: Dear participant, we invite you to an online interview for this research. Before making your decision, we would like to inform you about what is expected

from you in the study and your rights as a participant. If you want to participate in our research after reading this information, we expect you to sign this form.

The aim of the project is to observe the structural change of Turkish spoken by people who were born in the UK or who moved to the UK at a very young age. For this purpose, we ask the participants to participate in a survey we will conduct and ask them to confirm that we take audio recordings during the interviews with them. Our interviews will take approximately 45-50 minutes. Records received with your approval will be kept at Boğaziçi University. These records will be transcribed and examined by the researcher and will be used for the master's thesis, conference proceedings and academic articles to be produced by the researcher. The same data can be used in other researches after the end of the project and it can be shared with other researchers by keeping your personal information confidential, if you give your consent below.

Other Turkish-English bilingual person or persons who meet the same conditions can attend each interview. The study is completely voluntary. In addition, if you agree to participate in the study, you can withdraw from the study at any time without giving any reason. In such a case, all written and verbal data received from you so far will be deleted. You have the right not to answer any questions that you do not consider appropriate during the interviews and survey process and not to talk about anything you do not want during the interviews. Information that will reveal your identity or personal information will not be stored in any of the recorded files. During registration, you can request from the researcher and other participants to be addressed by another name. If you think that the records obtained from you contain information that will reveal your name or any personal information, you can request

that these parts be deleted from the record or the whole record to be deleted completely.

Before signing this form, you can let us know if you have any questions about the study. If you have any questions during or after the process, you can ask Professor Metin Bağrıaçık, whose contact information is given above, and researcher Ezgi Sanıyar. You can contact Boğaziçi University Social and Human Sciences Master's and Doctorate Thesis Ethics Review Committee – SOBETİK (sbe-ethics@boun.edu.tr) regarding your rights about the research.

I understood what was told to me and what was written above. I have / do not want to receive a sample of this form. I agree to participate in the study.

Participant Name-Surname:……..

Signature: ……..

Date (day/month/year):……/……/……..

	YES	NO
[1] I consent to the sharing of audio recordings and their notes with other researchers.	☐	☐
[2] I consent to the use of data obtained from me during this research in any future scientific study.	☐	☐

APPENDIX D

KATILIMCI BİLGİ VE ONAM FORMU

Araştırmayı destekleyen kurum: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Araştırmanın adı: Bir Miras Dil Olarak Türkçe: Birleşik Krallık'ta Konuşulan Türkçenin Artsüremli Değişimi ve Eşsüremli Çeşitliliği

Proje Yürütücüsü: Dr. Metin Bağrıaçık

E-mail adresi: metin.bagriacik@boun.edu.tr

Telefonu:

Araştırmacının adı: Ezgi Sanıyar

E-mail adresi: ezgi.saniyar@boun.edu.tr

Telefonu:

Proje konusu: Bu çalışma kapsamında Birleşik Krallık'ta yaşayan Türklerin ana dillerindeki yapısal değişimlerin incelenmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Bu araştırmayı yürütebilmek için Birleşik Krallık'ta doğmuş veya çok küçük yaşta ailesiyle Birleşik Krallık'a taşınmış 18 üstü-25 yaş altı bireylerle yüz yüze veya çevrimiçi görüşmeler yapıp ses kaydı almayı talep etmekteyiz. Bu çalışmaya katılacak kişilerde aranan başlıca nitelikler yaş kriterine uyması, Türkçe-İngilizce iki dilli olması ve İngilizcesinin ana dil seviyesinde olması, Türkçeyi aile ortamında veya arkadaş ortamında kısıtlı olarak kullanması, okul ve sosyal çevresinde yoğunlukla kullandığı dilin İngilizce olmasıdır. Çalışma Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Yüksek Lisans ve Doktora Tezleri Etik İnceleme Komisyonu onayı ile Dilbilimi bölümü tarafından yapılacaktır.

Onam**:** Sayın katılımcı, sizi bu araştırmamız için ses kaydı vermeye davet ediyoruz. Kararınızı vermeden önce çalışmada sizden beklenenler ve bir katılımcı olarak sahip olduğunuz haklarınız hakkında bilgi vermek istiyoruz.Bu bilgileri okuduktan sonra

araştırmamıza katılmak isterseniz bu formu imzalamanızı beklemekteyiz.

Projenin amacı, Birleşik Krallık'ta doğmuş veya çok küçük yaşta ailesiyle Birleşik Krallık'a taşınmış kişilerin konuştuğu Türkçenin yapısal değişimini gözlemlemektir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, katılımcılardan, kendileriyle yapacağımız bir ankete katılmalarını diliyor ve kendileri ile yapılacak görüşmeler esnasında ses kayıtları almamızı onaylamalarını rica ediyoruz. Görüşmelerimiz ortalama 40 dakika sürecektir. Onayınız ile alınan görüşme kayıtları Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'nde saklanacaktır. Bu kayıtlar yazıya geçirilip araştırmacı tarafından incelenecek ve araştırmacının üreteceği Yüksek lisans tezi, konferans bildirileri ve akademik makaleler için kullanılacaktır. Aynı veriler siz aşağıda onay verirseniz proje bitiminden sonra başka araştırmalarda da kullanılabilecek ve kişisel bilgileriniz gizli tutularak başka araştırmacılar ile de paylaşılabilecektir.

Her bir görüşmeye aynı şartları sağlayan Türkçe-İngilizce iki dilli başka kişi veya kişiler de katılabilir. Çalışma tamamen gönüllülük esasına bağlıdır. Ayrıca çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde de çalışmadan dilediğiniz an hiçbir sebep göstermeden çekilebilirsiniz. Böyle bir durumda, sizden o ana dek alınan bütün yazılı ve sözlü veriler imha edilecektir. Görüşmeler ve anket sürecinde uygun görmediğiniz hiçbir soruyu cevaplamama ve görüşmeler esnasında istemediğiniz hiçbir konuda konuşmama hakkına sahipsiniz. Kayıtlı olan dosyaların hiçbirinde kimliğinizi veya kişisel bilgilerinizi belli edecek bilgiler saklanmayacaktır. Kayıt esnasında araştırmacıdan ve diğer katılımcılardan size başka bir isimle hitap edilmesini talep edebilirsiniz. Sizden alınan kayıtların isminizi veya kişisel herhangi bir bilginizi ifşa edecek bilgiler içerdiğini düşünürseniz bu kısımların kayıttan silinmesini veya bütün kaydın tamamen silinmesini isteyebilirsiniz.

Bu formu imzalamadan önce, çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız varsa bize iletebilirsiniz.

Süreç içerisinde veya dahasonra sorunuz olursa, yukarıda iletişim bilgileri verilen Doktor Öğretim Üyesi Metin Bağrıaçık'a ve araştırmacı Ezgi Sanıyar'a sorabilirsiniz. Araştırmayla ilgili haklarınız konusunda Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Yüksek Lisans ve Doktora Tezleri Etik İnceleme Komisyonu – SOBETİK'le (sbe-ethics@boun.edu.tr)iletişime geçebilirsiniz

Bana anlatılanları ve yukarıda yazılanları anladım. Bu formun bir örneğini aldım / almak istemiyorum.Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Katılımcı Adı-Soyadı:……..

İmzası: ……

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

	EVET	HAYIR
[1] Ses kayıtlarının ve bunlara ait notların başkaları ilepaylaşılmasına izin veriyorum.	☐	☐
[2] Bu araştırma süresince benden alınan verilerin gelecekte yürütülecek herhangi bir bilimsel çalışmada kullanılmasını uygun görüyo	☐	☐

APPENDIX E

SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Participant Information:
a) Name Surname:
b) Educational Status:
c) Age:
d) Date of birth:
e) Place of birth:
f) Languages spoken:
g) Mother's mother tongue and other languages spoken:
h) Father's mother tongue and other languages spoken:

1) At what age did you move to the UK? (Please indicate if you were born there.)
2) Did you stay in Turkey for more than a year until you were 10 years old?
3) How long do you spend time on average when you go to Turkey?

   Less than 2 weeks 2-4 weeks 4-8 weeks 2-3 months More (Please Specify):
4) If you have studied in Turkey, please indicate the level(s) and duration of your education. (Please indicate if you have not been studied in Turkey at all.)

   Primary School Secondary School High School University Other .....
5) If you studied in the UK, please indicate the level(s) and duration of your education. (Please indicate if you have not been studied in the UK.)

   Primary School Secondary School High School University Other .....
6) Do you describe yourself as bilingual? What is your proficiency in Turkish and English?

   Turkish: 1: Very bad 2: Bad 3: Fair 4: Good 5: Very good

   English: 1: Very bad 2: Bad 3: Fair 4: Good 5: Very good
7) When and how did you start learning English? (Ex: 8 years old, at school)
8) What was the language you spoke with your friends in preschool?

   Turkish English Both Other.....

9) Are your family members Turkish-English bilingual? Please indicate their language competencies.

Mother (Turkish): 1: Very bad 2: Bad 3: Fair 4: Good 5: Very good

Mother (English): 1: Very bad 2: Bad 3: Fair 4: Good 5: Very good

Father (Turkish): 1: Very bad 2: Bad 3: Fair 4: Good 5: Very good

Father (English): 1: Very bad 2: Bad 3: Fair 4: Good 5: Very good

Other.....

10) In which language do your parents prefer to communicate with you at home?

Turkish English Other.....

11) In which language do your siblings prefer to communicate with you at home?

Turkish English Other.....

12) Where do you speak Turkish apart from your family? (Ex: with friends, school, association etc.)

13) How often do you speak Turkish?

1:Rarely 2:Every day 3:Several times a week 4:Several times a month

5:Several times a year

14) Are there more Turkish or English in your circle of friends?

Turkish Only Mostly Turkish Equally Mostly British British Only Other .....

15) What is the frequency of your voice calls with your relatives in Turkey?

1:Rarely 2:Every day 3:Several times a week 4:Several times a month

5:Several times a year

16) In which language do you think you express yourself better?

Turkish English Both

THANKS!

Date/Signature

APPENDIX F

SOSYOLİNGUİSTİK ANKET

Katılımcı Bilgileri:
a) Ad Soyad:
b) Eğitim Durumu:
c) Yaş:
d) Doğum tarihi:
e) Doğum yeri:
f) Bildiği diller:
g) Anne anadili ve bildiği diğer diller:
h) Baba anadili ve bildiği diğer diller:

1) Birleşik Krallık'a kaç yaşında taşındınız? (Orada doğduysanız belirtiniz.)

2) Doğumunuzdan sonra 10 yaşınıza dek Türkiye'de bir yıldan uzun süre kaldınız mı?

3) Türkiye'ye gidişinizde ortalama ne kadar süre geçiriyorsunuz?

   2 haftadan az 2-4 hafta 4-8 hafta 2-3 ay Daha fazla (Belirtiniz):

4) Türkiye'de eğitim gördüyseniz eğitim gördüğünüz seviye(leri) ve süresini belirtiniz. (Eğitim görmediyseniz belirtiniz.)

   İlkokul Ortaokul Lise Üniversite Diğer.....

5) Birleşik Krallık'ta eğitim gördüyseniz eğitim gördüğünüz seviye(leri) ve süresini belirtiniz.(Eğitim görmediyseniz belirtiniz.)

   İlkokul Ortaokul Lise Üniversite Diğer.....

6) Kendinizi iki dilli olarak tanımlıyor musunuz? Türkçe ve İngilizcede yetkinliğiniz nedir?

   Türkçe: 1: Çok kötü 2: Kötü 3:Orta 4:İyi 5:Çok iyi

   İngilizce: 1: Çok kötü 2: Kötü 3:Orta 4:İyi 5:Çok iyi

7) İngilizceyi ne zaman ve nasıl öğrenmeye başladınız? (Örn: 8 yaşında, okulda)

8) Okul öncesi dönemde arkadaşlarınızla konuştuğunuz dil hangisiydi?

   Türkçe İngilizce İkisi de Diğer.....

9) Aile fertleriniz Türkçe-İngilizce iki dilli mi? Dil yetkinliklerini belirtiniz.

   Anne (Türkçe): 1: Çok kötü 2: Kötü 3:Orta 4:İyi 5:Çok iyi

Anne (İngilizce): 1: Çok kötü 2: Kötü 3:Orta 4:İyi 5:Çok iyi

Baba (Türkçe): 1: Çok kötü 2: Kötü 3:Orta 4:İyi 5:Çok iyi

Baba (İngilizce): 1: Çok kötü 2: Kötü 3:Orta 4:İyi 5:Çok iyi

Diğer.....

10) Ailenizde ebeveynleriniz sizinle ev içinde hangi dilde iletişim kurmayı tercih ediyor?

Türkçe İngilizce Diğer.....

11) Kardeşleriniz sizinle ev içinde hangi dilde iletişim kurmayı tercih ediyor?

Türkçe İngilizce Diğer.....

12) Türkçeyi aileniz dışında konuştuğunuz bir ortam var mı? (Örn: arkadaş çevresi, okul, dernek)

13) Ne sıklıkla Türkçe konuşuyorsunuz?

1:Nadiren 2:Her gün 3:Haftada birkaç kez 4:Ayda birkaç kez 5:Yılda birkaç kez

14) Arkadaş çevrenizde daha çok Türk mü var İngiliz mi?

Sadece Türk Çoğunlukla Türk Eşit Çoğunlukla İngiliz

Sadece İngiliz Diğer.....

15) Varsa Türkiye'deki yakınlarınızla sesli görüşme sıklığınız nedir?

1:Nadiren 2:Her gün 3:Haftada birkaç kez 4:Ayda birkaç kez 5:Yılda birkaç kez

16) Kendinizi hangi dilde daha rahat ifade ettiğinizi düşünüyorsunuz?

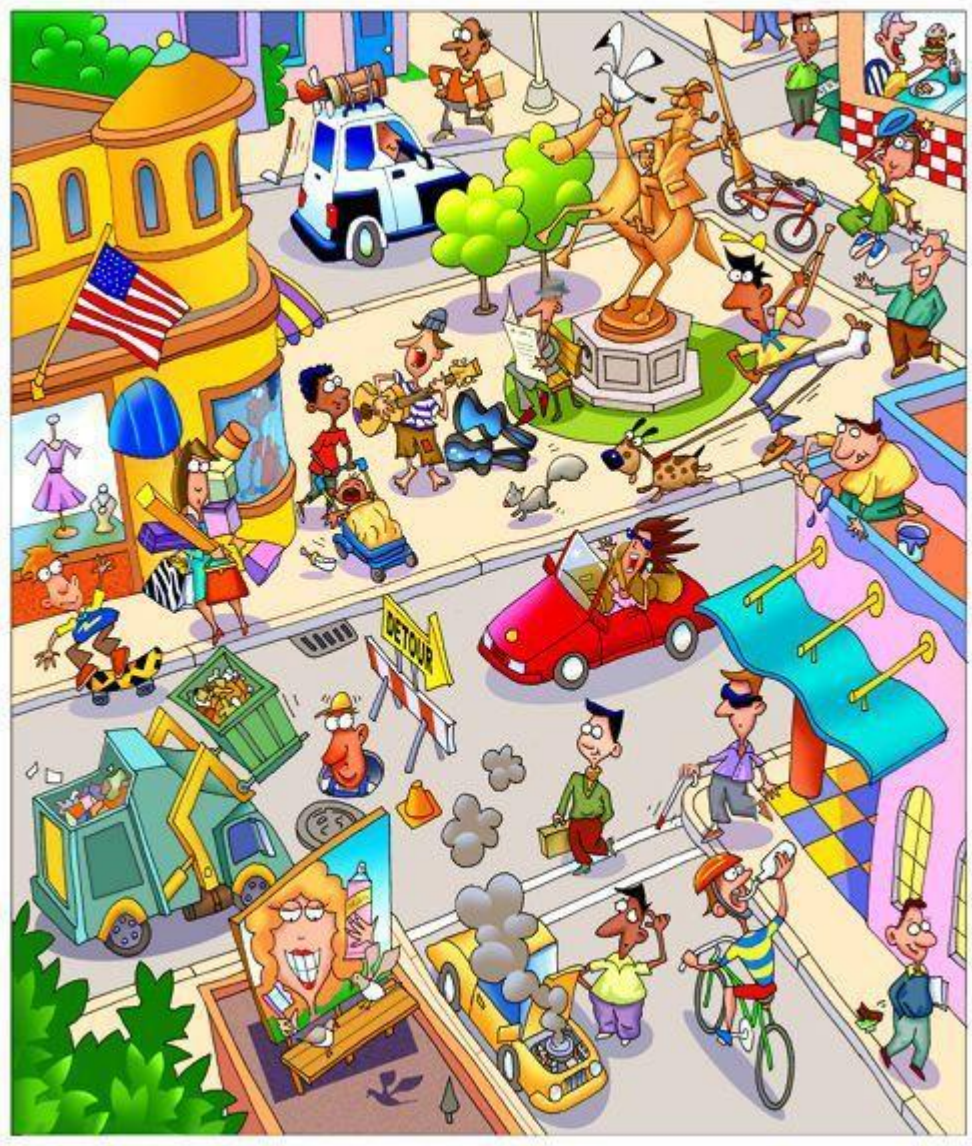
Türkçe İngilizce İkisi de

TEŞEKKÜRLER!

Tarih/İmza

APPENDIX G

SPEECH RATE TEST IMAGE



APPENDIX H

UNITED KINGDOM TURKISH IMMIGRANTS INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1) Could you briefly introduce yourself?

2) When and why did you come to the UK?

3) Are you satisfied with living in the UK? Would you consider moving in the future? Why?

4) What do you think about the UK's education system? Are you satisfied?

5) What are your favorite and least favorite things about the UK?

6) Do you often travel to Turkey? Do you enjoy your stay in Turkey?

7) What are your favorite and least favorite things about Turkey?

8) Can you tell us about your last trip to Turkey (or abroad)?

9) What do you like to do most during the holidays? Can you tell us about your last vacation?

10) What is your next vacation plan?

11) Do you like to cook? What is your favorite food?

12) Do you like Turkish food? What are your favourites?

13) What do you think about British and Turkish food cultures? Which do you prefer more? Why?

14) Where do you like to spend time in the UK?

15) What activities and hobbies do you enjoy?

16) Could you tell me about your daily routine?

17) Could you tell me about the most interesting or funniest thing you have experienced recently?

18) Could you tell me about your career plan?

19) Do you think it is better to live in the UK or in Turkey? What are your reasons?

20) What has the pandemic changed in your life, in your daily life, what has it affected?

APPENDIX I

BİRLEŞİK KRALLIK TÜRK GÖÇMENLER MÜLAKAT SORULARI

1) Kendinizi kısaca tanıtır mısınız?

2) Birleşik Krallık'a ne zaman ve ne sebeple geldiniz?

3) Birleşik Krallık'ta yaşamaktan memnun musunuz? İleride ülke değiştirmeyi düşünür müsünüz? Nedenleri nedir?

4) Birleşik Krallık'ın eğitim sistemi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Memnun musunuz?

5) Birleşik Krallık'la ilgili en sevdiğiniz ve en sevmediğiniz şeyler nelerdir?

6) Türkiye'ye sıklıkla seyahat eder misiniz? Türkiye'de kaldığınızda keyif alıyor musunuz?

7) Türkiye'yle ilgili en sevdiğiniz ve en sevmediğiniz şeyler nelerdir?

8) En son Türkiye (veya yurtdışı) seyahatinizden bahseder misiniz?

9) Tatillerde en çok ne yapmaktan hoşlanırsınız? Son tatilinizi anlatır mısınız?

10) Bir sonraki tatil planınız nedir?

11) Yemek yapmayı sever misiniz? En sevdiğiniz yemek nedir?

12) Türk yemeklerini sever misiniz? Favoriniz nedir?

13) İngiliz ve Türk yemek kültürleri hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Hangisini daha çok tercih edersiniz? Neden?

14) Birleşik Krallık'ta nerede vakit geçirmeyi seviyorsunuz?

15) Keyif aldığınız aktiviteler ve hobileriniz nelerdir?

16) Bana rutin bir gününüzü anlatabilir misiniz?

17) Son zamanlarda yaşadığınız en ilginç veya en komik olayı anlatabilir misiniz?

18) Kariyer planınızdan bahseder misiniz?

19) Sizce Birleşik Krallık'ta mı yaşamak daha iyi Türkiye'de mi? Nedenleriniz nedir?

20) Pandemi hayatınızda, günlük yaşantınızda neler degiştirdi, neleri etkiledi?

APPENDIX J

CONTROL GROUP INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1) Could you briefly introduce yourself?

2) What are you studying, what is your major? Why did you choose that department? And what is your career plan?

3) Do you think there is a difference in living standards between cities in Turkey?

4) Could you tell me about where you were born?

5) Are you satisfied with living in Turkey? Would you consider moving abroad in the future? Why?

6) Where do you like to spend time in Istanbul? What activities and hobbies do you enjoy?

7) How do people usually spend their time? Students? Employees?

8) What do you think about Turkey's education system? Are you satisfied?

9) Do you travel often? Where have you visited?

10) What are your favorite and least favorite things about Turkey?

11) What do you like to do most during the holidays?

12) Can you tell us about your last trip to Turkey (or abroad)?

13) What is your next vacation plan?

14) Do you like to cook? What is your favorite food?

15) Do you like Turkish food? What are your favourites?

16) What do you think about Turkish food culture?

17) Could you tell me about your routine day?

18) Could you tell me about the most interesting or funniest thing you've had with your close friend recently?

19) Do you think it is difficult for young people to live in Turkey? What are your reasons?

20) What has the pandemic changed in your life, in your daily life, what has it affected?

APPENDIX K

KONTROL GRUBU MÜLAKAT SORULARI

1) Kendinizi kısaca tanıtır mısın?

2) Ne okuyorsunuz, bölümünüz ne? Neden o bölüm? ve kariyer planınız ne?

3) Türkiyede şehirler arası yaşam standartı farkı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

4) Doğduğunuz yerden bahseder misin?

5) Türkiye'de yaşamaktan memnun musunuz? İleride ülke değiştirmeyi düşünür müsünüz? Nedenleri nedir?

6) İstanbul'da nerede vakit geçirmeyi seviyorsunuz? Keyif aldığınız aktiviteler ve hobileriniz nelerdir?

7) İnsanlar genelde nasıl vakit geçiriyor? Öğrenciler? Çalışanlar?

8) Türkiye'nin eğitim sistemi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Memnun musunuz?

9) Sıklıkla seyahat eder misiniz? Nereleri gezdiniz?

10) Türkiye'yle ilgili en sevdiğiniz ve en sevmediğiniz şeyler nelerdir?

11) Tatillerde en çok ne yapmaktan hoşlanırsınız?

12) En son Türkiye (veya yurtdışı) seyahatinizden bahseder misin?

13) Bir sonraki tatil planınız nedir?

14) Yemek yapmayı sever misiniz? En sevdiğiniz yemek nedir?

15) Türk yemeklerini sever misiniz? Favorileriniz nedir?

16) Türk yemek kültürü hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

17) Bana rutin bir gününüzü anlatabilir misiniz?

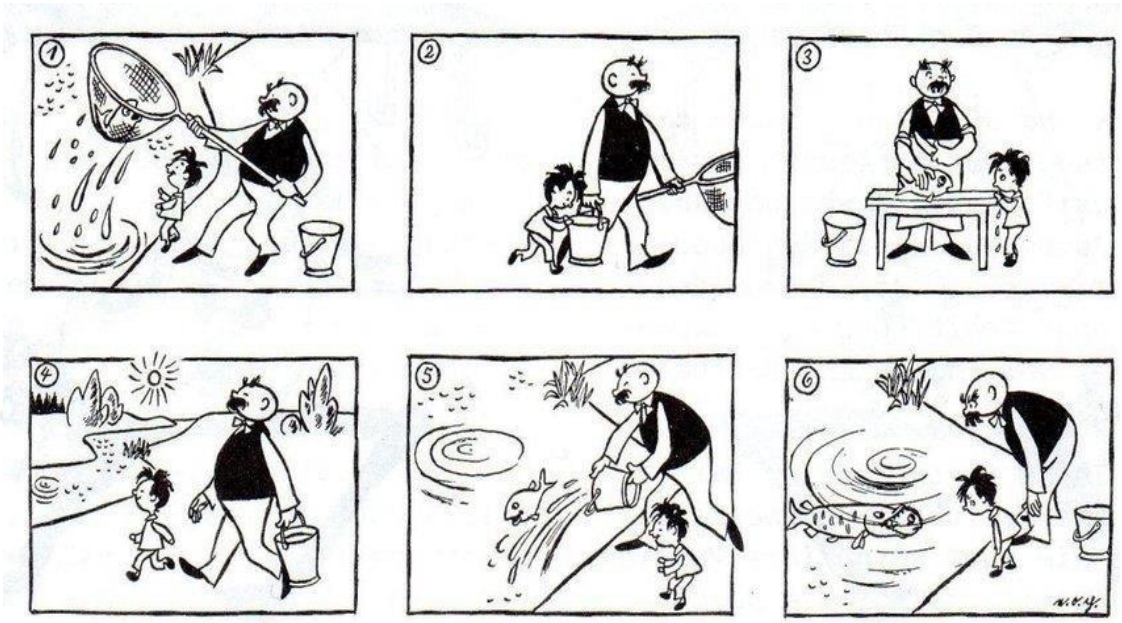
18) Son zamanlarda yakın arkadaşınla yaşadığınız en ilginç veya en komik olayı anlatabilir misiniz?

19) Sizce gençler için Türkiye'de yaşamak zor mu? Nedenleriniz nedir?

20) Pandemi hayatınızda, günlük yasantınızda neler degiştirdi, neleri etkiledi?

APPENDIX L

ELICITED TASK IMAGES





APPENDIX M

ELICITED TASK STORY

The Blind Men and the Elephant

James Baldwin

There were once six blind men who stood by the road-side every day, and begged from the people who passed. They had often heard of elephants, but they had never seen one; for, being blind, how could they?

It so happened one morning that an elephant was driven down the road where they stood. When they were told that the great beast was before them, they asked the driver to let him stop so that they might see him. Of course they could not see him with their eyes; but they thought that by touching him they could learn just what kind of animal he was.

The first one happened to put his hand on the elephant's side. "Well, well!" he said, "now I know all about this beast. He is exactly like a wall."

The second felt only of the elephant's tusk. "My brother," he said, "you are mistaken. He is not at all like a wall. He is round and smooth and sharp. He is more like a spear than anything else." The third happened to take hold of the elephant's trunk. "Both of you are wrong," he said. "Anybody who knows anything can see that this elephant is like a snake."

The fourth reached out his arms, and grasped one of the elephant's legs. "Oh, how blind you are!" he said. "It is very plain to me that he is round and tall like a tree."

The fifth was a very tall man, and he chanced to take hold of the elephant's ear. "The blindest man ought to know that this beast is not like any of the things that you name," he said. "He is exactly like a huge fan." The sixth was very blind indeed, and it was some time before he could find the elephant at all. At last he seized the

animal's tail. "O foolish fellows!" he cried. "You surely have lost your senses. This elephant is not like a wall, or a spear, or a snake, or a tree; neither is he like a fan. But any man with a particle of sense can see that he is exactly like a rope."

Then the elephant moved on, and the six blind men sat by the roadside all day, and quarreled about him. Each believed that he knew just how the animal looked; and each called the others hard names because they did not agree with him. People who have eyes sometimes act just as foolishly.

APPENDIX N

ACCEPTABILITY JUDGEMENT TASK

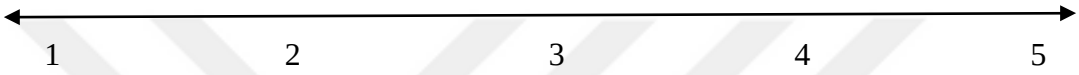
1: Kabul edilemez/Hatalı cümle. (Unacceptable/Ungrammatical sentence.)

2: Garip/Ben kullanmam. (Weird/I wouldn't use it.)

3: Emin değilim. (I'm not sure.)

4: Kullanırım, ama bunun yerine şöyle derdim. (I can use it, but with a slight difference.)

5: Çok iyi. (Very good.)



Context1: Yesterday your brother spent some time in the garden. When he came back, you asked what he was doing and he said:

- Bahçeden elma topladım. Rate:

Context2: Yesterday you spent some time in the garden. When you came back, your brother asked what you were doing and you said:

- Bahçeden birçok elmalar topladım. Rate:

Context3: Yesterday you spent some time in the garden. When you came back your mother asked you what you were doing and you said:

- Bahçeden altı elma topladım. Rate:

Context4: Yesterday you spent some time in the garden. When you came back your father asked you what you were doing and you said:

- Bahçeden armut topladım. Rate:

Context5: Yesterday your father spent some time in the garden. When he came back, your mother asked him what he was doing and he said:

- Bahçeden birçok armut topladım. Rate:

Context6: Yesterday your sister spent some time in the garden. When she came back, your brother asked her what she was doing and she said:

- Bahçeden üç armutlar topladım. Rate:

Context7: One of your friends has decided to open a bar. You want to encourage him and say:

- Bence deneyebilirsin, güzel fikir. Rate:

Context8: One of your friends has decided to open a Turkish restaurant. You want to encourage him and say:

- Bence deneyebilirsin, çoğu İngilizler zaten Türk yemeği sever. Rate:
- Bence deneyebilirsin, çoğu İngiliz zaten Türk yemeği sever. Rate:

Context9: One of your friends has decided to open a cafe. You want to encourage him and say:

- Bence deneyebilirsin, çoğu kafeler iyi para kazandırıyor. Rate:

Context10: Your classmate is interested in finance. She wants to do an internship, she asks your opinion and you say:

- Bu alanda staj yapmak bence iyi fikir. Rate:

Context11: Your classmate is interested in finance. She wants to do an internship, she asks your opinion and you say:

- Son zamanlarda herkes bu alanda iş arıyorlar, bence iyi fikir. Rate:
- Son zamanlarda herkes bu alanda iş arıyor, bence iyi fikir. Rate:

Context12: Your classmate is interested in finance. She wants to do an internship, she asks your opinion and you say:

- Birçok insan bu alana yoğunlaştı, bence iyi fikir. Rate:
- Birçok insanlar bu alana yoğunlaştı, bence iyi fikir. Rate:

Context13: You want to support your friend to do an internship and you say:

- Bence bankada staj yapmak iyi fikir. Rate:

Context14: You want to support your friend to do an internship and you say:

- Birçok banka artık staja yoğunlaştı, bence iyi fikir. Rate:

Context15: While you were walking down the street, you looked at the people around and said:

- Burası güzel, bence insanlar sana yardımcı olabilirler. Rate:

Context16: While you were walking down the street, you looked at places around and said:

- Burası restoran açmak için ideal bir yer. Rate:

Context17: When you talked to people in this street, you realized there are Turkish people working there. You said:

- Burada beş Türk restoranları daha var. Rate:
- Burada beş Türk restoranı daha var. Rate:

Context18: When you entered a Turkish restaurant, you saw people and said:

- Bu restoranda on Türk çalışanlar var. Rate:
- Bu restoranda ayrıca beş İngiliz çalışan var. Rate:

Context19: Your friend said she is not happy with her job and she said:

- Bu şirkette çalışmak istemiyorum. Rate:

Context20: You asked your friend why she was unhappy and she said:

- Kimse konuşmuyor, herkes sürekli işlerine yoğunlaşıyorlar. Rate:
- Kimse konuşmuyor, herkes sürekli işlerine yoğunlaşıyor. Rate:

Context21: You advised your friend to take people out for lunch and she said:

- Kimse yemeğe çıkmıyor, insanlar sürekli çalışıyorlar. Rate:
- Kimse yemeğe çıkmıyor, insanlar sürekli çalışıyor. Rate:

Context22: You came home tired and when you opened the door you saw that the house was messy,you said:

- Ev yine dağılmış, toplamam lazım. Rate:

Context23: You came from school tired and when you entered your room you saw your brother messing up the room. You said to him:

- Oyuncakların her yere dağılmışlar, topla onları. Rate:
- Eşyaların her yere dağılmış, topla onları. Rate:

Context24: You came home tired from work and your kids messed up the house, you called your friend and said:

- Çocuklar her yeri dağıtmışlar, toplamam lazım. Rate:
- Çocuklar her yeri dağıtmış, toplamam lazım. Rate:

Context25: Your friend said she couldn't sleep at night, you asked why and she said:

- Gece gürültü vardı, ondan uyuyamadım. Rate:

Context26: Your friend said she couldn't sleep at night, you asked why and she said:

- Köpekler tüm gece havladılar, ondan uyuyamadım. Rate:
- Kediler tüm gece miyavladı, ondan uyuyamadım. Rate:

Context27: When your teacher entered the classroom, he noticed that some students were missing and asked you why. You said:

- Üç arkadaşlarım okul servisini kaçırmış. Rate:
- Dört arkadaşım okul servisini kaçırmış. Rate:

Context28: Your friend can only sleep in the dark and she said she couldn't sleep at night, you asked why and she said:

- Oda karanlık değildi, ondan uyuyamadım. Rate:

Context29: Your friend can only sleep in the dark and she said she couldn't sleep at night, you asked why and she said:

- Sokak lambaları tüm gece yandılar, ondan uyuyamadım. Rate:
- Sokak lambaları tüm gece yandı, ondan uyuyamadım. Rate:

Context30: Your friend can only sleep alone and she said she couldn't sleep at night, you asked why and she said:

- Kediler sürekli odama girdiler, o yüzden uyuyamadım. Rate:
- Kediler sürekli odama girdi, o yüzden uyuyamadım. Rate:

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