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COHERENCE IN NARRATIVES OF TURKISH-SPEAKING

CHILDREN: THE ROLE OF NOUN PHRASES.

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To the beloved memory of mum and dad

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ABSTRACT

This study was designed as a cross-sectional study to investigate how Turkish-speaking children at the ages of 3, 5 and 7 and a group of adults employed noun phrases to achieve coherence in their narratives. Noun Phrase Coherence was studied in three aspects: reiteration of the referents; creating, maintaining and switching referents; and pronominalization.

The results suggested that discourse awareness started in children as early as 3. Children starting from that age were capable of weaving their narratives around a number of referents. However, this ability was limited to main characters in the narrative only. With increasing age, children started to involve secondary characters in their narratives as well.

In addition to reiteration of the referents, creating referents by means of appropriate linguistic expressions was a gradual development. The fact that children at 3 used indefinite linguistic expressions to create reference to referents on rare occasions suggested that the acquisition of this ability started around these ages but was not completed until later ages.

Finally, the analysis of pronominalization of the referents showed that children were able to use pronouns anaphorically at all ages. The strategies adopted for pronominalization, though, changed with the increasing age. While younger children considered referents individually, older children chose pronominal forms, either null subjects or overt pronominal subjects, considering the referent which the reference was switched to as well as the characteristics of the referents which was being maintained.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study investigates noun phrase coherence in narratives of Turkish-speaking children. We first survey the background to the issues focusing particularly on children's communicative competence and then set out some research aims in order to address the research issue.

Different aspects of the language development from first words to the communicative abilities of children have been studied. Language acquisition, especially in the early days of language research, has most often been considered as the learning of the grammatical and phonological system or the learning of a vocabulary of the language. Since language is the main tool of communication, the ability to use these linguistic skills appropriately in order to communicate in different contexts, in other words, communicative competence has gained importance. Communicative competence, which was originally introduced by Hymes (1967, 1972) is the ability to employ the type of language that is appropriate to the situation. Crystal (1992) defines communicative competence as:

> "A person's unconscious knowledge of the rules governing the appropriate use of language in social situations. It is usually contrasted with linguistic competence which is the person's unconscious knowledge of the formal patterning of language."
>
> (p. 74)

According to this definition, the speaker has a certain amount of linguistic knowledge as well as the cognitive

awareness to choose the most appropriate linguistic form to fulfil various communicative needs.

Schiefelbusch and Pickar (as quoted in Foster, 1990: 9) characterize the communicative competence as *"the totality of ... knowledge and skill that enables a speaker to communicate effectively and appropriately in social contexts."*

Hymes (1972) approaches the notion of communicative competence in terms of speaker's competence which consists of the speaker's knowledge of the linguistic rules; the speaker's performance which involves production of the linguistic knowledge of appropriateness that leads the speaker to decide on what is appropriate in what situations. Based upon these criteria, he characterizes the acquisition of communicative competence as:

> *"We have then to account for the fact that a normal child acquires knowledge of sentences, not only as grammatical but also as appropriate. He/she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner, In short, a child becomes able to accomplish a repertoire of speech acts, to take part in speech events, and to evaluate their accomplishment by others. This competence, moreover, is integral with attitudes, values, and motivations concerning language, its features and uses, and integral with competence for and attitudes toward the interrelation of language, with the other codes of communicative conduct."* (p. 277—278)

The switch in emphasis towards communicative competence led towards a consideration of children's abilities to construct texts. Spoken texts may be in a form of a monologue like narratives or of a conversation between two or more people. The analyses of children's conversations are to reveal the ability of the child to use the language in the interactive contexts in which the language is used since children do not acquire the language in forms of isolated utterances but in interactive situations with other people. These conversations of children have been analysed both in terms of the development of linguistic structures such as case system and topic-comment relations (Bruner, 1975) and of discourse relations to reveal the ability of children to construct a coherent dialogue by employing surface linguistic forms, in other words, cohesive devices (Keenan, 1974; Keenan and Klein, 1975; McTear, 1985). Repetition of the preceding utterance/utterances partly or completely is one of the earliest cohesive devices. With increasing age, anaphoric reference to the previously mentioned nouns (Ervin-Tripp, 1978) and ellipsis, conjunctions and proforms (McTear, 1985) develop to connect the utterances to the previous ones to maintain a coherent dialogue.

However, the study of children's production of language has not been exclusively limited to conversational interaction. Monologues are known as a common activity of young children. Weir (1962) analysed pre-sleep monologues which she terms as 'soliloquies' from a

linguistic point of view describing the sound system, grammatical features such as verbs, pronouns, nouns, syntactic patterns, vocabulary as well as the function of these linguistic features in discourse.

Another aspect of children's discourse that has been of interest to the researchers is narrative discourse. Story-telling and children seem to go together. Fairy tales and bedtime stories are all narrative forms that are common to the activities of children. Narrative discourse is an important type of discourse in preschool children's language learning environment (Hicks, 1991: 55). Narratives are described as *"one of the first uses of language and one of the most skilled "* (Kemper, 1984 as quoted in Preece, 1987: 353). As children transfer most of the knowledge they have developed into narratives, narratives provide plenty of information about the growth of linguistic and cognitive skills of children. Linguistic aspects of narratives interact with development in other areas which are generally controlled by cognitive factors; i.e., pragmatics, knowledge about other people such as taking the listener's point of view, memory span which should contribute to the narratives. The emphasis may seem to be on psycholinguistic factors but linguistic factors of the product have importance since the output of those psycholinguistic factors is presented linguistically. Bennett-Kastor (1983:135) characterizes narratives as *"a fertile source of data"* since the way in which the text is organized will reveal

the lexical, grammatical and discourse ability of the child. One approach to the analysis of children's stories is to handle them independent of the linguistic content of the story. This approach considers that stories are formed of several parts which are conceptually separable and the structure of the stories is outlined in the form of a grammar which is referred to as a story grammar. On the other hand, some researchers have approached narratives from a linguistic point of view considering how the events, either real-life or fictional, are represented through linguistic means in narrative discourse. Narratives are not formed by stringing together a random selection of unrelated ideas, but their ideas form parts of a larger and coherent whole, they are characterized by a coherent location, coherent temporal sequence, coherent character configuration and coherent event structure which requires the knowledge about the linguistic means in order to meet the listener's needs (Hudson and Shapiro, 1991: 93). They consist of information, which is organized in a continuous way, that makes sense to the listener. This information is organized in a continuous way by means of linguistic markers at the microstructure level. This continuity is defined as *cohesion* and these linguistic markers by which cohesion is provided are called *cohesive ties* which, consequently, leads to the coherence of the text. Story grammars and linguistic notions of coherence and cohesion will be reviewed in detail in Chapter 2.

As we saw, children's conversational development has been studied with reference to discourse coherence (Keenan and Klein, 1975; Ervin-Tripp, 1978; McTear, 1985). We might well wonder whether children's linguistic development parallels their conversational development in terms of coherence. Do children develop narratives by incorporating their ability to use cohesive devices?

Children's conversational discourse is scaffolded by certain kind of interaction with interlocutors. What happens in narratives, which depends on only the narrator, when this scaffolding is taken away?

Naturally, the ability to develop a coherent discourse requires the acquisition of some linguistic skills such as knowledge of syntax. These are what an adult is expected to do in using the language to communicate with others as part of his/her language competence. As mastering these skills is a matter of time and language is acquired in its own time, the extent that children employ their linguistic knowledge in their narratives leads us to the following questions:

-Do children acquire narrative structure as they acquire syntactic, phonological and semantic aspects of the language?

-If they do, how does the ability to develop a coherent narrative take place?

-What evidence is there to mark this development?

Although the linguistic features which facilitate the coherence of texts may be basic and common to many languages, some specific syntactic and morphological characteristics of different languages might have different effects on the developmental issues in one particular language than the other. The concern is on Turkish in this study. The acquisition of Turkish grammar at early ages is almost error-free as a result of the regular agglutinative morphological system of the language (Aksu-Koç and Slobin, 1985). Again, because of this regularity of the morphology, early utterances are not telegraphic and are usually grammatical compared with the adult language. Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1985: 845) showed that not only children's morphology but also their word order, which shows flexibility according to pragmatic purposes, reflect the adult model in children's speech as well. The fact that children younger than 2 can employ different word orders to emphasize the new information by placing this new information before the verb and given information after the verb shows their awareness of pragmatic requirements and of the necessity of organizing the language production accordingly. Turkish-speaking children are also able, in conversations, to manipulate overt pronominal subjects for pragmatic and referential purposes. Yet, some differences

between adult and child discourse are apparent. Compared to adult language, children use overt pronominal subjects where adults normally use null subjects in conversations (Slobin and Talay, 1984).

Therefore, this study has been motivated by two major questions which are:

When do the children, who are in the process of acquiring different skills of the language, start to become aware of what is needed for producing a coherent text and how long does the process of being able to produce adult model of narratives take?

If Turkish-speaking children can reflect the adult model at early ages in the acquisition of morpho-syntactic features of Turkish, does this early acquisition of language favour the production of coherent narratives, in other words, can they transfer these features into narratives?

This study will seek answers to these questions by means of both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The purpose of the qualitative analysis is to describe the specific features we aim to look into while quantitative analysis will

reveal whether there are any developmental differences between the age groups since the data is collected from different age groups taking into consideration the fact that the acquisition of language skills is a gradual process.

The thesis is organized as follows:

Chapter 2 reviews the linguistic notions of cohesion and coherence, and the literature related to the development of narratives from a wider perspective as well as the literature on producing coherent narratives both in English and Turkish. Research questions which are formulated as a result of these reviews are also stated.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the discourse features in Turkish to facilitate understanding of the findings of the study.

Chapter 4 presents the design of the study to give a detailed account of the subjects, data collection and the analysis frameworks which are adopted for data analysis.

In Chapters 5, 6, and 7, the findings are illustrated by means of qualitative and quantitative analysis and the results are discussed in relation to existing linguistic and developmental theories.

Chapter 8, which is the concluding chapter of the thesis, summarizes the results from Chapters 5, 6 and 7 with reference to the research questions set out in Chapter 2. This chapter also contains the theoretical implications which are drawn from this study and suggestions for further studies.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE

As we have briefly discussed in Chapter 1, the child's development of narrative skills has been of interest to researchers in recent years. Children's ability to deal with narrative language in comprehension and production tasks has recently received much attention from cognitive and developmental psychologists and from linguists. Questions have arisen as to how children understand, recall and produce narratives. What kind of skills do they employ and how do they create their own stories?

A variety of measures have been adopted in an attempt to characterize children's narratives. In this review, particular attention is paid to the different measures adopted as well as the review of the theoretical background of the issues in question.

2.1 APPROACHES TO THE CHARACTERISTICS OF NARRATIVES

Narratives are not merely a detailed account of events. A narrative consists of a structure which represents not only the sequence of events about a particular topic and different participants, but involves the emotions and feelings of both the narrator and the participants in the events. It starts at one point happening at a certain place and time; events follow successively and have an ending in which the actions and the feelings reach a resolution. This structure represents the mental organization of the narrative in the narrator's mind.

On the other hand, since this underlying mental organization is represented linguistically, narratives can be characterized by linguistic analysis rather than by the story structure.

Grimes (1978) characterizes narratives in terms of three themes which are:

- content which reflects the macrostructure of the narrative;

- cohesion which reflects the linguistic relationship between the utterances;

- staging which reflects how the speaker plans the content and how he/she conveys this to the speaker.

Among these three themes, content has been analysed in terms of story grammars while cohesion is characterized by linguistic approaches. These two approaches will be elaborated in this section.

2.1.1 Story Grammars

The underlying structures of stories have been formalized in a type of grammar which is specific to narrative discourse. The grammar represents the structure of a simple story; each episode of which has a single protagonist. Events are related to each other by either causal or temporal relations or by their places in the structures (Mandler and Johnson, 1977; Thorndyke, 1977). Story grammars are based on the assumption that there is a particular schema which is determined by social and

cultural requirements about a narrative (Brown and Yule, 1983). These requirements come from firstly world knowledge related to the previous knowledge about how the stories start, develop and end which is acquired by listening to many stories and secondly from the knowledge about how causal relations and action sequences are related to each other (Mandler and Johnson, 1977). The narrative discourse, accordingly, must include "hierarchially organized components" which can be specified as:

(1)   STORY ⎯⎯⎯⎯→ SETTING+THEME
                               +PLOT+RESOLUTION

(2)   SETTING ⎯⎯→ CHARACTERS+LOCATION+TIME

(3)   THEME ⎯⎯⎯→ (EVENT)*+GOAL

(4)   PLOT ⎯⎯⎯→ EPISODE*

(5)   EPISODE ⎯⎯→ SUBGOAL+ATTEMPT*+OUTCOME

(6)   ATTEMPT⎯⎯→ ⎧EVENT*
                             ⎨
                             ⎩EPISODE

(7)   OUTCOME ⎯⎯→ ⎧EVENT*
                               ⎨
                               ⎩STATE

(8)   RESOLUTION ⎯→ ⎧EVENT
                                 ⎨
                                 ⎩STATE

(9)   SUBGOAL⎫ ⎯⎯→ DESIRED STATE
        GOAL   ⎬

        CHARACTERS⎫
(10) LOCATION   ⎬ →STATE
        TIME   ⎭

(Thorndyke, 1977: 79)

Each step provides the rules of the narrative syntax. These rules are independent of the linguistic content of the story. The top-level structure of the story is characterized by setting, theme, plot and resolution which are essential components of all stories. Setting consists of the information about the time, location and the characters. The theme of the story is often the goal that the main character achieves. Several events lead up to the goal. Events may be optional which is signified by the brackets or may be repeated as signalled by the asterisk (*).

The plot of the story is formed by a number of episodes. Each episode should consist of a subgoal for the main character to achieve, attempt(s) to achieve this subgoal and the result of these attempts. These attempts to achieve the subgoal may either be in series of events or may form an entire episode.

The resolution is the final statement of the story with respect to the theme. This final statement consists of the main character reaching the goal or responding to the final state of the events.

An application of the grammar to the analysis of a story is included to exemplify these rules of the story grammar as illustrated by Thorndyke (1977: 80-81).

The text of the story is as follows:

(1) Circle Island is located in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, (2) north of Ronald Island. (3) The main occupations on the island are farming and ranching. (4) Circle Island has good soil, (5) but few rivers and (6) hence a shortage of water. (7) The island is run democratically . (8) All issues are

decided by a majority vote of the islanders. (9) The governing body is a senate, (10) whose job is to carry out the will of the majority. (11) Recently, an island scientist discovered a cheap method (12) of converting salt water into fresh water. (13) As a result, the island farmers wanted (14) to build a canal across the island's central region. (17) Therefore, the farmers formed a procanal association (18) and persuaded a few senators (19) to join. (20) The procanal association brought the construction idea to a vote. (21) All the islanders voted. (22) The majority voted in favor of construction. (23) The senate, however, decided that (24) the farmers' proposed canal was ecologically unsound. (25) The senators agreed (26) to build a smaller canal (27) that was 2 feet wide and 1 foot deep. (28) After starting construction on the smaller canal, (29) the islanders discovered that (30) no water would flow into it. (31) Thus the project was abandoned. (32) The farmers were angry (33) because of the failure of the canal project. (34) Civil war appeared inevitable.

And the plot structure of the story is illustrated by using the story grammar as shown in Figure 2.1.

Therefore, story grammars are intended to reflect how the speaker facilitates comprehension by informing the hearer about certain aspects of the incoming material so that the listener can keep track of what has gone before.
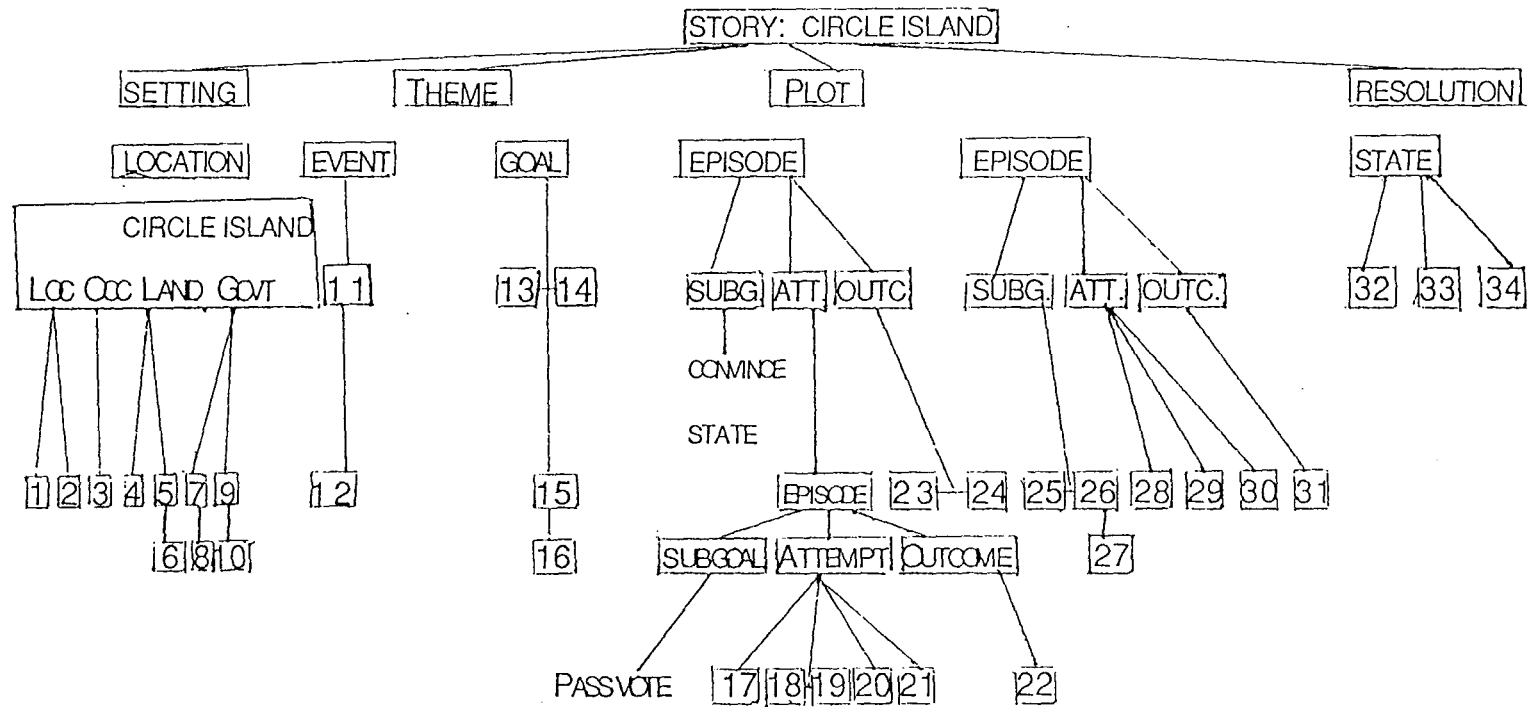
(Thorndyke, 1977: 80-81)

Figure 2.1 An illustration of a text according to the story grammar

2.1.2   Linguistic Approaches

Narratives are characterized by linguistic requirements as well as by cognitive tasks. Linguistic task will draw on linguistic knowledge about devices such as causal and temporal linkers, connectives, pronominal reference which are neccessary to connect the text at the micro-structure level. Studies of the linguistic content of narratives will reveal the linguistic development of the child which is the concern of this study rather than cognitive development (section 2.3.2).

One of the linguistic tasks which is an important feature of a piece of discourse is the ability of the speaker to relate the forthcoming utterances to the former ones by linguistic means.

The study of these microlinguistic relations, in other words, cohesion will lead to the understanding of how children incorporate their linguistic knowledge with discourse on one hand and how they reach a more global continuity in narratives, which is coherence, on the other.

Before reviewing the existing literature on these particular issues in the acquisition of narratives, we would like to explain these two linguistic notions, cohesion and coherence.

2.2 LINGUISTIC NOTIONS OF COHESION AND COHERENCE

2.2.1 Cohesion

A text is defined as a *"communicative occurrence when it meets the standards of textuality "* (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981: 3). Structural and semantic unity of a particular text contributes to its stability. The stability of a text as a system is maintained by the continuity and the connectivity of linguistic forms; that is, the units of a text are required to link together in a specific way to display texture, which is a property that distinguishes a text from a non-text (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981; Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Van Dijk, 1977).

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976) the texture is created by means of cohesive relations between the sentences of the text. These cohesive relations are expressed through linguistic features which are referred to as 'cohesive ties'. They further categorize cohesion as grammatical cohesion and lexical cohesion. Grammatical cohesion is created by:

- additive, adversative, causal, temporal conjuctions;
- reference;
- substitution;
- ellipses;

while lexical cohesion is achieved through the repetition of lexical items.

(1)   Wash and core six cooking apples. Put the
      apples into a fireproof dish.

(Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 3)

In example (1),   these two sentences are connected with
both grammatical and lexical cohesion.   The grammatical
cohesion is achieved through reference while the lexical
cohesion is achieved through repetition.   The item *'the
apples* ' functions cohesively.   The determiner *'the* ' in the
second sentence signals   an anaphoric reference back to *'six
cooking apples* ' in the first sentence and thus,   functions as
a cohesive tie.   Secondly,   the lexical repetition of the item
'apples ' in both sentences serves as a lexical cohesive tie.
Therefore,   cohesion occurs between these two sentences
because of the existence of the cohesive ties;   hence,   these
sentences form a text.   Consequently,   as Halliday and Hasan
summarizes,   cohesion depends on:

> *"where the interpretation of some element in
> the discourse is dependent on that of another.
> The one presupposes the other,   in the sense
> that it cannot be effectively decoded except by
> recourse to it.   When this happens,   a relation
> of cohesion is set up,   and the two elements,
> the presupposing and the presupposed,   are
> thereby at least potentially integrated into a
> text "*

(1976: 4)

However,   this surface tightness provided by these cohesive
ties may not be enough to produce a coherent text although
cohesive ties contribute to the coherence of the text (Hasan,

1984; Mc Culley, 1985). Van Dijk (1977) exemplifies that cohesive ties do not create a global coherence but local coherence with the following example.

(2)   I bought this typewriter in New York. New York

        is a large city in the U.S.A. Large cities often

        have serious financial problems.

                                    (Van Dijk, 1977: 149)

In example (2) we recognize the lexical cohesion through the repetition of lexical items ' *New York* ' '*large city* '. So, these sentences are treated as a text because of these cohesive ties. However, the existence of cohesive ties does not necessarily guarantee a semantic relation between this set of sentences to form a coherent text.

In the light of these arguments, we would like to characterize cohesion as a syntactic relationship between the sentences of a text which is created by syntactic or lexical local cues. The sentences in a text are connected by cohesive ties in a way that what has been said before is related to what is to be said. In that sense, cohesion is considered to *"be local and to deal with the connectivity between subsets of events* " (Trabasso, Seca, van der Broek, 1984: 83-84). Although cohesion itself is not sufficient for the coherence, cohesive ties certainly contribute towards the coherence of a text.

Then, if coherence is the primary requirement of a text, and it requires more than cohesive ties to produce a coherent text, what does it take to produce a coherent

narrative? In the next section, what gives a text coherence is discussed.

2.2.2   Coherence

In the last section, we have discussed how surface linguistic elements such as anaphoric expressions, connectives and lexical items link the previous segments of the text to the following parts to form the relevance between these parts of the text. Previously mentioned items provide basis for the next ones. The primary determinant of whether a set of sentences constitutes a text or not, depends on relations among not only surface elements but by the ideas as well. Therefore, we need not only the linguistic ties but the conceptual relations that are expressed by these cohesive ties. The unity of a particular text is also strengthened by its contextual tightness. A text makes sense when the knowledge is conveyed in a continuous way by means of the expressions occurring in the text. This continuity of knowledge activated by the expressions is defined as *"the foundation of coherence, being the mutual access and relevance within a configuration of concepts and relations "* (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981: 84).

The concept of coherence, which is the basic standard of textuality, is a semantic property of discourses based on the interpretation of any individual sentence relative to the interpretation of other sentences. The notion of continuity

covers *"the immediate, pairwise relations between subsequent propositions taken as 'wholes' "* (Van Dijk, 1977: 93) as well as the conceptual connectedness of the syntactic and semantic elements on different levels of the text (Randquist, 1985: 201).

Lyons (1981), as well, regards coherence as a matter of content rather than form stating that *"what is being given in any one text unit should be related to what has just been given in the preceding text units "* (p. 119). However, the property of texture is also due to certain linguistic features in the text. Coherence is created by the linguistic sources of the language. It is a semantic process with syntactic effects; therefore if a text has unity, this will be the result of the linguistic features that bond the ideas and concepts together (Carrell, 1982; Goodins and Perkins, 1982). Halliday and Hasan (1989) define coherence with linguistic point of view saying that *"a text is characterized and hangs together by coherence "*. A set of linguistic sources such as reference, substitution and ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion that every language has, contribute to coherence providing semantic relations between the propositions. By means of these semantic relations, one part of the text functions as the context for the other part. These linguistic sources mark the conceptual connectivity of the text. Lack of these markers which indicate that a semantic unit is carried over from one proposition to the following one leads to incoherence of a particular text. It is both the surface cohesion and the relatedness of the ideas that enable the

reader to perceive that a piece of discourse is a coherent text.

Givon (1983) states that there are three major aspects of discourse continuity which are **thematic continuity**, **action continuity** and **topic/participant continuity**. **Thematic continuity** means that the same theme is developed through the text and is coded by subordination and word order. **Action continuity** is the temporal sequentiality within a thematic paragraph. **Topic/Participant continuity** is the continuity of the referent or referents involved in the actions. The characters are introduced into the discourse as discrete entities and then traced through the evolving text. When the clauses are thematically centred around the number of referents, these clauses form a connected discourse. Referents mentioned in a narrative are important for organizing coherence. This aspect of coherence is created by permanence of referents among the propositions. The continuity of the referents should be established. This is achieved by reiterating the referents which are expressed through linguistic forms such as anaphoric expressions including pronouns. Reiterated referents establish blocks of cohesive information units. These information units contribute to the overall coherence of the text (Bamberg, 1987). The reiteration of the referents is necessary to facilitate textual coherence providing the unity of the text, which consequently allows comprehension of a piece of text. Repeated referents throughout the text enable the listener to attach the new information to the previous and to build a frame of

discourse, placing the information in the propositions to the previously introduced referents.

The contribution of the repetition of the referents to textual coherence has been demonstrated empirically by Haviland and Clark, 1974; Kintsch et al. 1975; and Manelis and Yekovich, 1976.

Haviland and Clark (1974) approached this phenomenon in terms of a comprehension strategy, called the 'Given-New Strategy'. They found that employing the Given-New Strategy, the hearer takes in a sentence, breaks it into its syntactically defined Given-New information and then attempts to add the new information to memory. The speaker's purpose is to provide new information to the hearer with some linguistic clues such as indefinite noun phrases and the hearer's is to extract the new information and integrate it with old information already in the memory depending on these linguistic markers. The speaker syntactically identifies what he thinks the hearer already knows, and similarly identifies what he thinks the hearer does not know, yet. The hearer's strategy is to identify the syntactically marked Given and New information to treat the given information as an address to information already in memory, and then to integrate the new information into memory. The hearer's understanding depends on the speaker's success with the provided information. The new information must have an antecedent in the memory.

(3) We got some beer out of the trunk. The beer
     was warm.

(Ibid.: 514)

The definite noun phrase *'the beer '* in the second sentence
has an antecedent in the first sentence as an indefinite noun
phrase 'some beer' which posits the existence of the
referent. Once the referent is specified, the repetition
makes comprehension easier. The hearer treats each piece
of information relevant to all knowledge that he already
has in mind, and attaches the new information to the given.

As revealed in Haviland and Clark (1974), the
syntactic forms of the full noun phrases affect coherence as
well. When the speaker mentions a referent in his/her
discourse, he/she should choose the referring expression so
carefully that the hearer should be able to recognize that the
referent in question is a new one and opens a new file for
that newly introduced referent or is a referent which has
been mentioned before so can be recovered from the
previous mention. This situation is created by the speaker
by using appropriate linguistic expressions. Syntactically,
new information is characterized by indefinite expressions
and given information is introduced by either definite or
anaphoric expressions.

Manelis and Yekovich (1976) tested the effect of
repetitions on reading time for adults by comparing
sentences whose propositions contain very few repetitions.
The results showed that the repetition of referents across
propositions does facilitate the immediate processing of

sentences. Repetitions were shown to reduce reading time and to improve immediate call. Another effect of repetitions is on retrieval. The propositions for a sentence containing repetitions can be connected in memory by means of the repeated elements, whereas the ones that do not contain repetitions require a longer time to establish connections. Thus, the number of repetitions of the referents affects the text itself increasing the number of connections among the propositions, making the text more coherent and easier to process.

As mentioned before, referents are reiterated through the texts by means of different linguistic expressions according to the discourse requirements. Using anaphoric expressions, the previously mentioned referents can be maintained in the text. Werth (1984: 61) characterizes anaphora as *"a special case of coherence "* in the sense that anaphoric expressions set up textual relations between various parts of the text.

2.3 REVIEW OF STUDIES OF CHILDREN'S ACQUISITION OF
NARRATIVES

2.3.1 Understanding and Development of Story
Structure

Children's understanding of narratives may be as
important as their production of narratives. Bamberg points
out *"the empirical basis for the study of child language
acquisition is actually twofold "* (1986: 229). What children
hear forms the basis of what they produce. Therefore,
studies of how children recall narratives they have heard
before might reveal what children expect to hear and
whether they organize their narratives in the same way.

Brown's (1975) study was designed to measure the
effect of the existence of linguistic causal relations on
children's recall of narratives. In her study, children at the
ages of 5 and 7 could not manage to reconstruct and recall
series of pictures when pictures were described without
specific causal relations; whereas when the descriptions
included specific causal relations relating the two pictures.,
children in both age groups showed better performance in
reconstructing and in recalling the pictures.

Stein and Glenn (1979) tried to find answers to certain
questions about children's organizations of story
information, in their experimental study. They aimed to
examine the effects of age and time on the recall and
organization of stories with children aged 6;5 and 10;6. The
children were required to retell the story immediately after

they had heard it.   The same procedure was repeated one week later to test the effect of time on different age groups using three measures which were 1)   total amount of accurate information recalled;   2)   recall of internal responses which refer to the feelings,   goals and thoughts of character after an event;   3)   the number of inferences they added to recall.   Stein and Glenn observed significant development differences which occurred with these three measures.   The effect of time was also significant in their study.   More accurate information was included in the immediate recall than in the delayed recall.   Moreover,   the amount of new information added in recall significantly increased in the delayed recall.   This was a result of the fact that memory for specific detail increases over time.   While there were significant differences in these aspects,   no developmental differences were found when the temporal organization of story recall was examined.   This may be because the stories used in this study consisted of simple constructed sentences.   Therefore,   according to their study, children as young as 6 did not have any difficulty in temporally sequencing story information in simple constructed narratives involving temporal markers such as *'one day '*, *'later '*, *'then '* (p. 99).

Researchers are interested not only in children's understanding and recall of story structure but in their story productions as well.   In production,   the child has to put all the linguistic input he/she has gained until the time of production into the text.

Applebee (1978) investigated children's concept of story over a wide age range. He pointed out an early development of a child's sense of story. From a very early age, as early as 2, the child could provide the cultural and conventional frame of the story mode. By 5, they began to absorb common story characters into the stories they told. However, organization and complexity were a matter of developmental change. Several stages have been defined in the developmental scale.

The first stage is characterized by stories leaping from one thing to another. There are not any cohesive devices to tie the parts of the study together. Each part remains isolated without being connected to either the previous or the forthcoming parts. The second stage is named as *"prenarrative developmental sequences "*. Each story has a character and a setting which are conceptually related to each other. In the next stage, the true developmental stage starts with the production of primitive narrative which has a macrostructure with a character and events in it. The linguistic phenomenon finally starts emerging in the narratives by linking the individual elements together in cause-effect relationships.

After going through all those stages, a new stage starts around the age of 5 at which the ability to link several action sequences as a form of one episode starts. The elements which go into a story grow more complex with age; that is, the number of characters they introduce into the story, the number of words and the number of events show a consistent and significant rise with age.

Bates (1966) analysed stories which were told more or less spontaneously by nursery children aged 2 to 5. She approached children's narratives in terms of themes and topics which concerned preschool children and the characters they are likely to discuss. All the narratives were considered specifically with regard to age and sex differences in their expressions. Developmental differences were investigated from different angles. Stories told by children of both sexes tended to grow longer with age until 4;6 years of age. At 5, girls' stories continued to increase in length, however, stories by 5-year-old boys became shorter than the stories of 4-year-olds. Introducing individuals, permanence of individuals and maintaining the same theme throughout the story increased with age as well, depending on the grammatical and semantic development of children. Younger children had difficulty in introducing new characters into the story or in keeping the unity of the characters even if they told rather short stories. When they got older, they became more capable of providing a certain unity, in terms of topics and referents in their stories.

Peterson and McCabe (1983) analysed children's narratives in terms of three different analyses, namely 'High-Point Analysis', 'Episodic Analysis' and 'Dependency Analysis' addressing different ideas in child development.

High-Point analysis, developed by Labov, (cited in Peterson and McCabe, 1983: 3), grasps the overall coherence of a narrative and shows how narratives centre around meaningful events. In this approach, narratives are broken into narrative clauses. Within each narrative clause,

the main clause is scored as belonging to one of the patterns such as:

- orientation, which are the statements that provide the setting or context of narratives;

- complicating actions, which are specific events that occur before the evaluative high point of the narrative;

- resolutions, which are specific events that occur after the high point resolving the high point action;

- evaluation, which include the narrator's own thoughts about an event or a person;

- appendages, which summarize the narrative that occurs at the beginning.

According to the results of this analysis, children passed through three stages of development:

1) jumping from one event to another;

2) reaching a high point;

3) building to a high point and resolving it.

Up to the age of 5 and 6, children tended to jump from one event to another. 5-year-olds and 6-year-olds could build up their narratives to a high point and then ended them without reaching any solution. Only older children, at 9 or above, could produce narratives which built up to a high point and then resolved this point.

There were also sex differences in terms of orientation and evaluation at all ages. Boys and girls preferred different sorts of contextual information and evaluation. While boys were more oriented to location and to conditions, girls were more oriented to general case, present and future

events. Boys were more concerned with the physical environment than girls.

Likewise, episodic analysis, developed by Stein and Glenn (Ibid.; 93), analyses narratives concerning their content, what information they convey and the order of the information. It is loosely tied to linguistic forms. It investigates the child's cognition of events and the role of themselves and other people in causing these structures produced and in the types of structures they prefer. Although children at all ages beginning from the age of 4, could produce at least one complete episode, there was a steady increase in production with the increase in age.

Dependency analysis, developed by Deese (Ibid.; 109), examines narratives primarily with respect to their syntactic forms. It captures the overall coherence in a number of ways, focusing on discourse, which are important for a coherent narrative. This kind of analysis into children's narratives revealed that discourse became more coherent in various ways as children grew older. It became more fluent at older ages as the children uttered relatively fewer false starts and internal corrections. In some ways, discourse tended toward an ideal hierarchy as children grew older. They reached increasingly greater depths of discourse with age. As children increasingly expanded their narratives, there was a decrease in the production of simple coordinate sequences.

Preece (1987) states that other studies related to children's narratives are concerned with those which were told upon adult request in limited settings. She also claims

these stories do not enlighten how children develop narrative thinking. Therefore, she analysed narratives spontaneously produced in conversations by children whose ages ranged from 5;1 to 5;6. Preece concluded that narrative language played a significant role in the conversations of young children who employed a great variety of narrative forms; i.e. personal anecdotes; anecdotes of vicarious experience; tattle-tales; retellings-visual media source; retellings-print media source; original fantasies; original fictions; cons; narrative jokes; narrative parodies; hypothetical narratives; repeat performances; replays; and collaborative narratives during their spontaneous interactions with each other.

As seen in this review, the studies on children's understanding and production of story structure have shown that narratives are part of their linguistic and cognitive development as a very common activity. Even quite young children have some understanding of story structure which is developed gradually related to the growing cognitive ability of the child.

2.3.2 Development of Linguistic Aspects of Narratives

In addition to the studies of the overall organization of children's narratives, specific linguistic issues in the development of narratives have been studied. In the following two sections, we will be reviewing the researches

which have looked into narratives of children in terms of coherence, which is the linguistic issue being the focus of this study. Empirical studies on the development of narratives of children speaking other languages than Turkish will be reviewed and then studies on the narrative development of Turkish-speaking children will be given in a separate section since the target language to be studied is Turkish.

2.3.2.1 Studies in Development of Narratives of Children

The issue of coherence has been addressed from different ways. In some researches, coherence is handled in a more global way studying the information flow in the overall content of narratives. However, in others, linguistic ties that are employed to create coherence have been studied in order to investigate the narratives as a part of the linguistic development. As reviewed in section 2.2.2, the referents in a story should be introduced and then reiterated throughout the story in order to form a coherent whole. Reiteration itself is not enough unless this information is linguistically well-established for future reference. Therefore, there are other researches which have looked into the development of certain linguistic phenomena contributing to the production of coherent narratives.

Bennett-Kastor (1983) studied the grammatical and semantic means by which children achieve textual coherence in narratives. She pursued grammatical studies using narrative data and observed the relationship of grammatical structure to text structure in language. Particular attention was paid to noun phrases which were introduced in the narrative and reiterated at least once in the rest of the text. This analysis was designed to discover grammatical features of the noun phrases which were introduced and repeated throughout the story since these reiterated noun phrases represented elements which the child perceived as playing a more important role in the story. Noun phrase coherence is the most common type of coherence to emerge from a study of discourse. It is characterized by a noun phrase (henceforth NP), which is typically the agent in a narrative and is introduced relatively early in the discourses. This NP also receives the narrator's focus participating regularly in the events of which the story is composed forming successive story clauses. These NPs make the story coherent.

In her study, she examined the narratives of children ranging in age from 2;3 to 5;5. Children were capable at a remarkably early age of achieving textual coherence in narrative. The children were exposed to narratives so frequently that they learned as early as two years, how to introduce NPs into a story, how to reiterate them in successive story clauses to reflect that they were given (p.148). After 4, there was a significant difference in the control of the number of NPs which functioned in coherence.

5-year-olds were able to introduce NPs both in initial clauses of the narrative and deep into the story as well. They could reiterate any NP they introduced across many more clauses than younger children could. The stories became adult-like at 5. She further examined the grammatical and semantic characteristics of reiterated NPs. Children as young as 2 could perceive that certain positions were more appropriate for focusing on an NP. Although all the children introduced more NPs as grammatical subjects, this increased with age. Younger children tended to reiterate the NPs as a subject as well, however, it became diverse when they got older.

Peterson and Dodsworth (1991) conducted a longitudinal research on how young children specified the NPs in their narratives about experience, to assess the NP coherence achieved by children and cohesive links they employed from the age of 2. These cohesive links are; reference, i.e. pronominal, demonstrative and comparative reference; nominal, verbal, clausal ellipses; substitution, conjunction and lexical ties. They first analysed the reference system by looking into how the referents were introduced into the narratives. Afterwards, the errors children made were classified to see when children failed to use the cohesive links to tie the utterances together. Their results indicated that children regardless of the age and Mean Length of Utterance (MLU) could introduce new referents appropriately only 20 % of the time. The referents were ambiguous most of the time. There was a developmental difference in terms of the cohesive links

children used. Comparative reference, nominal ellipsis and substitution were used before the age of 3. Children at the age of 3 were able to use the other cohesive links such as lexical ties, pronominal and demonstrative reference, verbal and causal ellipsis and conjunctions. Among these, lexical cohesion was the most frequently used. Conjunctions were also common and did not increase with age. However, their narratives were still marked by unidentifiable pronouns and insertion of ambiguous elements to the listener.

Hickmann (1980) (1982) analysed how children and adults used referring expressions to create referents when narrating short filmstrips in situations and texts they were told before where they had to rely on linguistic means to establish and maintain presuppositions in discourse. Different referring expressions which were used to first mention referents in discourse, namely referent-introducing devices were examined in terms of their effectiveness in establishing presuppositions of existence and specificity for the subsequent uses of the coreferential full NPs.

4, 7 and 10-year-old subjects were asked to narrate six films for an interlocutor who had not seen them. Each film consisted of short interactions between characters. The dialogue of these two characters began with deictic 1st and 2nd person pronouns (the participants), then they talked about two referents (the non participants).

The referring expressions when first mentioning referents in discourse were grouped into *'appropriate '* and

'inappropriate ' forms. The appropriateness of the first mentions of the referents in discourse varied as a function of whether the speaker could assume that the hearer minimally shared background presuppositions about the existence and specificity of referents. For instance, when the referents were visually available to both the hearer and the speaker in non-linguistic contexts, a presupposing form such as a pronominal could be an appropriate means of mentioning the referents for the first time. Therefore, whether the extralinguistic context was shared between the speaker and the hearer affected the coding of the referring expressions as appropriate and inappropriate. They were considered appropriate when they constituted unambiguous, conventionally appropriate means of establishing the definiteness and specifity of referents when introducing them in discourse.

The appropriate forms were;

- indefinite article (a dog)

- indefinite existential clause (There was a dog)

- indefinite topic clause (This story was about a dog)

- demonstratives (this donkey)

- appropriate possessive construction (a dog ... he saw his friend)

- definite NP+sufficient description (the candy bar he was going to give to the frog).

Inappropriate forms presupposed in various degrees the definiteness and the specifity of referents, even though

elicited through picture prompts. The main concern was on the linguistic expressions in which referents are introduced and how children and adults set up the anaphoric relations while maintaining the reference to these characters.

She found that children tended to introduce the new referents by means of a full NP more with the increasing age. When the pronominals were used for the first mention, they were used deictically since the referents were present in extra-linguistic context. Older children introduced the secondary referents in utterance initial position which was claimed to be reserved for thematic subject. The 6-year-old group, which was the middle group in this study, was concerned with their use of referring expressions and overall narrative organization. They did not use thematic subject strategy, a strategy which is characterized as reserving the initial slot of the utterance for the most prominent referent, in other words, the protagonist of the story. Therefore, she claimed that this was the result of children's growing understanding of the different functions of anaphoric pronouns at both a local level and as mechanisms for establishing the thematic subject at the level of overall discourse organization. But, there was this factor that children were not interested in finding a thematic subject when there were a variety of subjects who were all active. Thus, they focused on the activities of the participants in general (p. 119). She also added that there were some factors other than the linguistic competence of children which affected their choice of linguistic expressions for the referents. These were the

study design factors such as the length and complexity of the story; the number of the major referents; animacy or inanimacy of the referents i.e., the referent being a human being or a dog or a teddy bear and the roles of the participants. For instance, children tended to introduce non-human animate referents using definite articles more often than the human characters (p. 123).

McGann and Schwartz (1988) also studied the way children between the ages of 3;6 and 10;3 maintained and switched the reference to the characters on picture-book narratives specially designed for the purpose of this study. They were specially interested in the effect of certain factors such as degree of agency, frequency of appearance and the place where the character appeared on children's preference of pronominal and nominal forms. These three factors were considered as the salient features to reflect the main character of the story. They hypothesized that children would prefer pronominals over nominal forms in order to switch the reference to the main character since the main character is given and pronominals function to recapitulate the given information in discourse. Their results showed that frequent appearance of a referent pronominal forms were used to switch the reference to the first and frequently appearing referent by older children. The youngest group used the highest percentage of pronominal forms regardless of the referent. Therefore, the two notions of main character which are the frequency of appearance and the first introductions affected the older children's use of linguistic choice in order to switch

reference. The performance of the youngest children might be the result of their inability to use pronominal forms distinctively in discourse.

Bamberg (1986) (1987) studied how German-speaking children between the ages of 3;6 and 10;1 and adults established, maintained and switched the reference in picture-book narratives. In terms of introducing the referents into their narratives, adults used indefinite NPs 50% of the time and definite NPs in the other 50% of their introductory references. 75% of the children of all age groups used definite NPs to introduce the referents. 16% of the children used pronominal forms and 9% of them used indefinite NPs. Developmental difference was observed in terms of the use of indefinite NPs for the first mention of the referents since no children at early ages used this form. Indefinite forms emerged, although infrequent, at older ages. This difference between the adults and children was observed when reference maintaining and reference switching was concerned. Adults used pronominal forms to maintain the reference regardless of which character was mentioned. However, children's use of these devices changed not only according to their age but according to the character they referred to as well. The child's preference of pronominal forms over nominal forms was affected by the pragmatic purposes. Anaphoric third person pronoun was preferred to "*carry the plot forward or to advance through the narrative task* " (p. 96). That is why pronominal forms were used as both reference maintaining and switching devices most commonly at earlier ages, around the age of

3;6-4, dominantly at 5-6 years of age and rather less at the age 9-10. The adults' way of maintaining the reference by use of pronominal forms and switching it by means of nominal forms was not represented in the youngest group, started in the middle age group and became dominant in the narratives of 9-10- year-olds. Unlike adults, children also discriminated the nature of the referents whether animate or human on employing these strategies. If the referent was dog as it happened in this picture story, they reserved the thematic progression for the human referent such as boy in this study and clarified the difference linguistically.

Karmiloff-Smith (1980) (1981) studied the psychological processes underlying pronominalization to investigate why subjects pronominalize sometimes and not other with 350 English and French children between 4 and 9 years.

Four picture books with different sets of pictures were used. Each set had different characteristics in order to measure whether the presentations of the referents govern of children. Different sets were consist of:

> a) one central character, a momentary introduction of another character and subsequent return to the initial;
>
> b) three characters initially, then one is involved alone in an event, then another becomes central throughout;
>
> c) two characters from the start and remaining together in almost all events;

d) a series of pictures bound together as a book, but with no obvious link between them at all.

(1980: 239).

Pronominalization and zero anaphora were expected to occur in the stories (a) and (c) where there were more than one character, one of each was central and the other was introduced at a certain point and non-pronominalization was hypothesized for the stories (b) and (d) where there were two characters from the start and remaining together in almost all events.

The experiment showed that the child's use and non-use of pronouns were a function of the macro-thematic structure he/she had created. The child was monitoring the use of pronouns not at the sentential level but at the macrothematic level. A referent was introduced with an existential expression or with a definite referring expression if the referent was already shared knowledge with the hearer. If there was a protagonist involved in the sequence of events, the child created a 'thematic subject', then preempted initial utterance slots for reference to the thematic subject and pronominalized it.

Karmiloff-Smith (1985) defined different levels in the acquisition process in terms of pronominalization. Level 1 was characterized by use of deictic pronouns. Children around the age of 4 and 5 used pronouns deictically to refer to the extra-linguistic context but not anaphorically to maintain reference to some entity previously mentioned.

Level 2 started around the age of 6 and 7. At that age, pronominalization was strictly related to the central character. Children started to use a simple discourse strategy by reserving the initial slot of each utterance for reference to the central character, in other words, the thematic subject where the story had a clear central character. At this level, the only pronouns that were used are those for the thematic subject, the other referents were referred to by definite nominal forms. Pronominalization and non-pronominalization was governed by the existence or not of a thematic subject (1980: 247). Therefore, Level 2 was considered as the first developmental phase in the acquisition of pronominal anaphora and was characterized by the thematic subject strategy.

Level 3 started around the age 8 and 9. Children at these ages became more flexible with the use of pronouns. Thematic subject still occupied the initial slot and was referred by a pronoun but the child could use the referents other than the central referent in utterance-initial position but marked the discourse status by use of definite NPs and still reserved the pronouns for the thematic subject.

Clibbens (1986) studied anaphoric devices in children's narratives as well. He pointed out that children mention both central characters and the secondary characters in utterance initial position and used reduced forms of reference to all referents without making a distinction between the thematic subject and the other. Although the 5-year-old group treated the central character differently from the other characters, there was no use of

thematic subject strategy. A developmental difference has also been encountered in the use of full NPs and pronominal forms both for introducing and maintaining reference in discourse. 5-year-old children used reduced forms, as Clibbens termed, to reintroduce the central character when there was more than one referent in the narrative. 7-year-old children relied less on the notion of thematic subject than younger children. His results revealed that the substantial development takes place between the ages of 5 and 7.

Similar to the acquisition of story structure, children go through several stages in their narrative development. The ability to transfer the linguistic knowledge in narratives is a gradual development.

2.3.2.2   Studies on Development of Narratives of Turkish-Speaking Children

The development of narrative skills in Turkish is quite a recent issue and is a very little studied area so far. Slobin and Aksu-Koç investigated temporality in narratives as a part of a cross-sectional study while Verhoeven studied an aspect of cohesion in narratives of Turkish-speaking children. .

Slobin (1988) studied clause chaining in narratives of Turkish children of ages 3, 5 and 9 and of adults. The narratives were elicited from a picture book (Frog, where are you? Mayer, 1969) which was considered as rich in causal and temporal sequences. The focus was on the

acquisition of four most frequent gerundive suffixes in Turkish which are;

- -ip   (X-ip and then Y)

    Ev   -e   gid -ip   uyu -yacag -im.

    house DAT go GER   sleep FUT   1SG

    ((I) will go home and then sleep.)

- -ince   (when/as soon as X,Y)

    Ev   -e   gid -ince uyu -yacag -im.

    house DAT go   GER sleep FUT   1SG

    (When/As soon as (I) go home, (I) will sleep.)

- -erken   (while X-ing,Y)

    Yemek yer -ken müzik dinle -yeceg -im.

    meal eat GER music listen FUT   1SG

    ((I) will listen to the music while (I) am eating a meal.)

- -erek   (in, by Xing, Y) [1]

    Müzik dinle -yerek yemek yi -yeceg -im.

    music listen GER   meal eat FUT   1SG

    ((I) will eat a meal listening to the music.)

Three of these four gerunds, namely '*-ip* ', '*-ince* ', '*-erken*' emerged as early as age 3, and showed a developmental progress with age; however, '*-erek'* started appearing at 9

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[1] English equivalents of these gerunds above are given exactly the same way as in the article by Slobin, 1986: 28.

due to the conceptual complexity of this particle. *'-ince '* and *'-erken '* have no extra requirements on the form and content of the main clause in terms of tense, aspect or modality. Therefore, children as young as 2 could use these in their spontaneous speech. When discourse is concerned, these two gerunds also define local or temporally adjacent relations between two actions (p. 33). On the other hand, *'-ip '* appeared mostly at age 5. Up to this age, children were able to connect the clauses successively in a rather temporal juxtaposition but at the age of 5, they started to organize their utterances in narrative units considering the discourse requirements. *'-erek '* emerged quite late in narratives because it functions as more than a temporal subordinator and links phases of an event into larger narrative unit.

Aksu-Koç (1988a) pursued the role of simultaneity aspect of reference in creating cohesion in narratives of Turkish-speaking children at the ages of 3, 5 and 9 and of adults. She defines simultaneity as *"a relation that is explicitly expressed in utterances organized around the nondeictic axis of temporal reference or complex discourse "* (p. 55). Simultaneity is expressed by connective and adverbial conjunctions such as *'de '* (also,too); connectives like *'ama, fakat '* (but); adverbial conjunctions such as *'o zaman '* (then, at that time), *'bu sirada/o sirada '* (meanwhile), *'öte yandan '* (on the other hand). *'öbür tarafta '* (on the other side); gerunds *'-ip ', '-ince ', '-erken ', '-erek '* (when/ while/ on)' adverbial clauses *'V+dikte, V+digi zaman '* (when) and

finally complement clauses like '*V+dik/V+me* ' as nominals (pp. 62-73).

A picture-book story was used to collect the data. Children were supposed to look at the pictures and produce the story which is given in the pictures verbally. 3-year-olds described each picture independently rather than telling a story. Their narratives were organized according to the spatial arrangement of the events in the pictures. Simultaneity was implied by combining two adjacent clauses. At the age of 5, children started narrating the events in the pictures in a form of a narrative in a more organized way. The first uses of gerunds and adverbial clauses to mark simultaneity explicitly appeared at this age. Narratives of 9-year-olds were organized temporally and displayed the relation simultaneity between two different sequentially organized events. Adult narratives reflected the elaborated use of devices to express simultaneity in their narratives. Thus, with the increasing age and increasing ability to construct narratives facilitated discourse cohesion. Children's narratives became temporally more coherent towards the age of 9. Yet, there was still a long way to reach adult level of competence.

Verhoeven (1988) conducted a comparative study on how Turkish-speaking children at the ages of 5 and 7 introduced referents, maintained and shifted reference in picture-book narration. The study compared the linguistic development of monolingual Turkish children with that of bilingual Turkish children in the Netherlands. He also aimed to define to what extent the linguistic environment in the

Netherlands would affect the narrative development. In the story, there were three animal referents, alternatively involved in the story. The number of references made to these three protagonists increased with age. But, older children managed to mention the referents they introduced more than younger ones. Monolingual 5-year-olds introduced the referents by means of demonstratives in most of the cases. Null subject was the most common expression to maintain reference 50% of the time. The other times, a pronominal form was used. There were also few cases where a referent was maintained by means of a full NP. The excess cases of deictic pronouns showed that children at this age did not form their narratives by considering the discourse features and they relied on extralinguistic context. The 7-year-old monolingual children used full NPs to introduce or reintroduce a referent. For reference maintaining, null subject was used except for the cases in which a new referent is established after being introduced. These children were more concerned about the listener's needs and constructed their narratives accordingly.

Bilingual children who were tested at the age of 7 and 8 were the same with monolingual children in terms of the number of references. But the linguistic devices they used corresponded to responses of the 5-year-old monolinguals. Full NPs were fewer than the deictic forms to introduce the referents into the story. When a referent was reintroduced, it was done by means of either a deictic pronoun or null subject. Null subject was the most common way of

maintaining reference along with some deictic pronouns. Therefore, restricted input in Turkish prevented these bilingual children to develop the discourse organization in their native language.

These studies have attracted the attention and interest to children's discourse in a language which is considered to be acquired relatively early and almost error-free (Aksu-Koç and Slobin, 1985). This present study is aimed to gain more insights into the development of narrative skills in Turkish which is still an unexplored area compared to English.

2.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main aim of this study is to study coherence in narratives of Turkish-speaking children. The review of studies on different measures adopted to study coherence in children's narratives have provided us with the indication that Noun Phrase Coherence (henceforth NP coherence) is essential in producing a coherent narrative since narratives centrally involve referents and it is important for the narrator to repeat NPs to signal who he/she is talking about. The characters that are involved in different action should be reiterated through the narrative. The reiterated referents serve as linguistic ties between the utterances within the framework of the story and forms a connection between the previous and the forthcoming parts of the text. Therefore, this NP coherence is achieved when the NPs, in

other words referents, are introduced unambiguously and reiterated through the story again unambiguously to tie the parts of the story together. The importance of NP coherence has motivated a general research question as follows:

> 1) Are Turkish-speaking children between the ages of 3 and 7 able to organize their narratives around a number of referents? Can they reiterate the referents they have already introduced to the narrative in order to tie the narrative together?

Bennett-Kastor (1983) has also pointed out that the number of clauses which intervene between the two mentions of the same referent indicates how dense the story is; meaning that if the same referent is repeated several clauses after the first mention, the child is more capable of carrying one referent across larger stretches of discourse which also increases the domain of a particular referent. Fox (1983) has referred to this issue as 'the persistence of the referent'. The length of the discourse between two mentions of the same referents shows that how long the referent in question remains as an argument of the discourse. These two arguments have led to the formulation of the following research question:

2) At what distance in a narrative can these children reiterate the same referent after this particular referent is introduced earlier in the discourse?

The review of the existing literature has also indicated that there are some other issues involved in order to be able to introduce and reiterate the noun phrases. One of the main issues is the linguistic expressions which are used to introduce the referents into their stories. These linguistic expressions are important because they reveal the discourse awareness of the speaker in terms of taking the listener's point of view in organizing the narrative. If an NP is introduced by means of a linguistic form which is insufficient to create an unambiguous reference, it will not help the listener to identify the referent and moreover, it will not be sufficient to reiterate these referents further. These issues form these research questions:

3) Can young children establish the specificity of referents when they introduce them in discourse? Do they create a presupposition about the existence and specifity of a particular referent by using appropriate indefinite forms for the first mentions and maintain these referents with appropriate linguistic forms which pertain to the listener's needs? How do

they switch the reference from one referent to the other?

4) The referents can be reiterated either by full noun phrases or by pronominal forms including ellipted (null) arguments. What are the lexical realizations of the introduced and reiterated referents? Do they use only full NPs or pronominalize the referents throughout their narratives? At what circumstances does a child use overt pronominal subjects and null subjects for the referents in discourse?

Studies in different languages suggest that there are universal trends in developing a coherent narrative (cited in Wigglesworth, 1990: 110). However, languages differ in not only syntactic and morphological aspects but in the way they allow pronominalization of the NPs and even the organization of discourse. Considering that there is limited data in Turkish to our best knowledge, it is worth studying these issues in Turkish which is a language with a different morphological system than in English and comparing the result with English on which a lot of information is available. The following research question will seek an answer to this issue.

5) What governs pronominalization
in children's discourse?

Another important aspect which may have an effect on the
choice of these linguistic expressions was emphasized in
McGann and Schwartz (1988). Each referent does not have
the same weight in a story. Some characters may be
involved in every one context while some only appear in
certain contexts and disappear. So, different characteristics
of different referents should be taken into consideration as a
variable in the analysis. Therefore, the next question is:

6) Do the characteristics of different
referents such as being a major
character or a secondary character in a
story affect the issues which are being
questioned in the questions formulated
above?

Since the study is mainly concerned with the
development of discourse skills, the primary focus is on the
developmental differences in regard with these issues.
Thus;

7) Are there any age differences in the
production of coherent narratives in
which reiteration of the referents occur
by means of appropriate linguistic
forms?

When we look at the adults' narrative ability in comparative studies, we find that the discourse displays a coherent and sequential organization compared to children's. This always leads to the same question. Does the child's way of doing a particular task resemble the adult way of doing this task? How and when do children develop the same thinking as adults? That is why, in this study, the question is asked as well.

8) Do children at 7 reach the linguistic maturity of the adults in terms of discourse organization skills?

Apart from developmental differences between children at different ages, a difference between the sexes at the same age may be encountered. Bates (1966) has reported that after the age of 5, there was a difference between the narratives of boys and girls in terms of length. Girls have longer narratives than boys do at that age. Peterson and McCabe (1983) have also pointed out that boys and girls differed in terms of productivity meaning that girls produced more narratives in number which are also longer than boys' narratives. On the other hand, MacCoby and Jacklin (1964) have stated that sex differences are not very common between the ages of 3 and 11, but if there is any, girls show more developed linguistic ability than boys do. Since the subjects in this study fall within this age range,

we also would like to investigate this point in child development and ask the following question:

9) Are there any sex differences within each age group?

The existing methodology draws attention to the question of designing the research methodology which would be available within the circumstances of the present research. In a situation where a child is asked to narrate a story by looking at a picture-book where the NPs are available both to the speaker and the hearer in the extra-linguistic context, the linguistic expressions are bound to be affected and are selected according to the circumstances; therefore, such a situation may not be a decisive factor on the child's performance. Another way of collecting the data for such studies is to ask the child either to retell a story he/she has heard before or to tell a story of a past event. Such a situation may be sufficient to answer certain linguistic questions but in a cross-sectional study where older age groups and adults are tested as well as younger children, this may not be again enough to pinpoint the developmental differences since the situation is less controlled. To overcome such factors, we believe that a different environment should be created where the referents are not known to the hearer and the narrator knows the fact that his/her listener does not share the same background information with him/her. For this reason, we would like to note that such a situation was created for the

purpose of the study which will be explained in detail in Chapter 4.

To investigate these questions, a cross-sectional study was designed. In this cross-sectional study, different children at the ages of 3, 5 and 7 and adults were observed and the results of each child were noted and analysed in order to establish the performance of each group.

The narratives recorded for the purpose of this study were analysed in terms of identifiable linguistic items so that they may be used for quantitative analysis. These linguistic items were measured in order to demonstrate the structures which enable the construction of a coherent narrative by Turkish adult; and to characterize the development of these components in child language to construct a coherent narrative by Turkish-speaking children. This developmental analysis is also expected to show what children have acquired so far and what has to be acquired to reach adult-level coherence.

CHAPTER THREE

COHESIVE DEVICES IN TURKISH
NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Coherence in discourse is established by using linguistic means appropriately. These linguistic means may change with different languages depending on syntactic and morphological differences in these languages. Since we are dealing with Turkish in this study, we attempt, in this chapter, to explain how the continuity of linguistic expressions is maintained in this particular language and how cohesion then consequently coherence is achieved in Turkish.

Turkish is basically an SOV language. However, the word order is maximally flexible, and interacts with discourse factors. Since grammatical relations are signalled morphologically, the word order of a simple clause can be arranged in six different ways for pragmatic purposes, as in (1)-(6):

(1) *Çocuk kedi -yi koval -ıyor.*
     child cat ACC chase PROG3SG
     (The child is chasing the cat.)

(2) *Kedi -yi çocuk koval -ıyor.*
     cat ACC child chase PROG3SG
     (The child is chasing the cat.)

(3) *Çocuk koval -ıyor   kedi -yi.*
     child chase PROG3SG cat ACC
     (The child is chasing the cat.)

(4)   *Kedi -yi koval -ıyor   çocuk.*

cat   ACC chase PROG3SG child

(The child is chasing the cat.)

(5)   *Koval -ıyor   kedi -yi çocuk.*

chases PROG3SG cat   ACC child

(The child is chasing the cat.)

(6)   *Koval -ıyor   çocuk   kedi -yi.*

chase PROG3SG child   cat   ACC

(The child is chasing the cat.)

Aside from pragmatic reasons, discourse function also influences word order. Discourse notions 'topic', 'comment' and 'focus' are closely related to word order. The topic/comment distinction is reflected through word order in which topic precedes comments. Meanwhile, the element which is specifically emphasized within the comment has the focus. This also is reflected by manipulating word order in which the element before the verb has always the focus (Erkü, 1984). In the following examples, *'araba'* (car) is the topic and the rest of the sentence is the comment.

(7)   *Dün   araba çocuğ -a okul -un ön -ü -nde*

yesterday car   child   DAT school GEN front POSS LOC

çarp   -tı.

hit   PAST 3SG

(Yesterday, the car hit the child in front of the school.)

In (7), the emphasized element within the comment is the adverbial *'okulun önünde '* (in front of the school) because it is the element which is placed just before the verb.

8) *Dün   okul -un ön -ü -nde araba   çocuğ -a*

yesterday school GEN front POSS LOC car   child DAT

çarp -tı.

hit   PAST 3 SG

(Yesterday, the car hit the child in front of the school.)

In (8), the focus is on *'çocuga '* (to the boy) which is the patient of the sentence.

(9) *Araba çocuğ -a okul -un ön -ü -nde dün*

car   child   DAT school GEN front POSS LOC yesterday

çarp   -tı.

hit   PAST 3 SG

(The car hit the child in front of the school yesterday.)

In (9) the time is focused; time adverbial *'dün'* (yesterday) is placed before the verb.

Durmuşoğlu (1986: 193-194) established different ways of achieving cohesion as a result of the interlinguistic and intralinguistic analysis of parallel texts in English and in Turkish. These linguistic cues which a speaker achieves cohesion through are;

- indefinite and definite uses of nouns;

- anaphoric reference;

- continuity of tenses;

- deixis;

- parallelism;

- reiteration of lexicon or syntactic patterns;

- use of pro-forms;

- paraphrasing;

- ellipses;

- conjunction.

Within the scope of this study, our main focus is on two of these criteria which are;

1) the use of indefinite full NP for introduction and a definite full NP to attribute definiteness to the mentions. (10) (11)

(10) *Bir   ev -e   gir -di   -m.*

one   house DAT enter PAST 1SG

Ev   -de   kimse   yok   -tu.

house LOC   nobody nonexist PAST

((I) entered a house. There was nobody in the house.)

(11) *Kitap   -lar   var -dı.*

book PLU   exist PAST

Kitap   -lar -ı   oku -yan   yok   -tu.

book PLU ACC read PART nonexist   PAST3SG

(There were books. There was noone to read the books.)

2) Anaphoric reference to coreference previously introduced referents by referring to the same entity by using different surface markers such as explicit pronouns or null subject. (12) (13)

(12) *Bir   arkadaş   -ın   uğra   -dı.*

a/one friend   POSS2SG   call in PAST3SG

Ø bu   paket -i   bırak   -tı.

this packet ACC leave PAST3SG

(A friend of you called in. (She/he) left this packet.)

(13) *Bir   arkadaş   -ın   uğra   -dı.*

a/one friend POSS2SG   call in PAST3SG

O   bu   paket -i   bırak -tı.

he/ she this   packet ACC leave PAST3SG

(A friend of you called in. She/he left this packet.)

Thus, we will try to explain the discourse functions of noun phrases and anaphoric expressions in detail both in subject and object positions.

3.1 DEFINITENESS AND REFERENTIALITY OF NOUN PHRASES

Turkish grammar treats NPs almost in a similar manner with English. It distinguishes three uses of nouns.

1) generic

> *Çocuk   -lar   güzel   -dir.*
> child   PLU   beautiful   be
> (Children   are   beautiful.)

Full NPs which are used in generic contexts like in (1) do not refer to any specific class or member of the class.

2) definite

> *Çocuk   gel   -di.*
> child   come   PAST 3SG
> ((The)   child came.)

If the referent that the speaker has in mind is identifiable to the hearer, the definite form as in (2) is used.   -

3) indefinite

> *Bir   çocuk   gel   -di.*
> one   child   come   PAST 3SG
> (A child came.)

But, if the referent is not known to the hearer and the speaker mentions this particular referent for the first time in order to refer to it later, an indefinite NP is used as in example (3).

In addition to these three uses, Dede (1986) mentioned a fourth category which is a non-definite full NP. In this category, the speaker has a particular referent which is identifiable in his/her mind and is not interested in the identifiability of the entity involved by the hearer. His/her main concern is to convey the class membership of the referent and he/she does not wish to refer to this particular referent later in the discourse.

(12) *Dün   oğlu -m -a gömlek   al   -dı -m.*
     yesterday son POSS DAT shirt   buy PAST 1SG
     ((I) bought (a) shirt for (my) son yesterday.)

Apart from the indefiniteness and definiteness, referentiality of NPs, which is a semantic property of an NP, is important in discourse. When the speaker has a certain referent in mind and uses an NP to relate to an entity which exists either in the consciousness of the hearer or not, this NP is referential, meaning that, the entity which is referred to by this NP exist in the linguistic context and further comments will be given related to this entity. *"Referentiality versus nonreferentiality primarily concerns the relation between the NP and the existence of the referent within the relevant universe of discourse "* (Dede,

1986: 149). Referentiality and nonreferentiality is not overtly marked, but it can be defined by means of discourse strategies one of which is modality. Use of modals in some cases assign nonreferential status to the NPs.

(13) *Bir öğrenci böyle söyle -me -meli*

     a   student   so   say   NEG   must

     (A student should not say so.)

                       (Dede, 1986: 154)

Although the subject NP *'öğrenci '* (student) is in an indefinite form because of the indefinite article *'bir '* (a), it does not refer to any particular individual whom the speaker has in mind. On the contrary, the speaker here refers to a student unknown to both parties but a representative of its class. The general sense of the modal verb assigns this nonreferential status to the subject NP. If the same sentence were in a nonmodal context, then the subject NP would be referential.

(14) *Bir öğrenci böyle söyle -di.*

     a   student   so   say   PAST 3SG

     (A student said so.)

                   (Ibid)

The subject NP *'bir öğrenci '* (a student), then, is indefinite and this indefiniteness is attributed by the nonmodal verb *'söyledi '* (one said) since this verb in past tense refers to a

particular incident in which this particular person performed the action.

Dede (1986: 149) established six statuses of subject and object full NPs in Turkish verbal sentences. These are;

a) definite referential

b) definite nonreferential

c) indefinite referential

d) indefinite nonreferential

e) nondefinite referential

f) nondefinite nonreferential

The singular indefinite article is *'bir '* (one/a) which corresponds to English indefinite article 'a' when the referent is either the subject or the object of the sentence.

(15) *Bir çocuk kapı -yı aç -tı.*
one child   door ACC open PAST 3 SG
(A child opened the door.)

Doğumgün -üm -de ban -a bir kazak al -mış.
birthday 1POSS DAT I   DAT one jumper buy PAST 3 SG
((He/ she) bought a jumper for me on my birthday.)

Indefiniteness of plural NPs are shown with various indefinite articles. These are;

1. bazı   (some)

> *Bazı kişi -ler ev -e gir -iyor -du.*
>
> some person PLU house DAT enter PROG PAST
>
> (Some people were going into the house.)

2. başka   (other, else)

> *Baska çocuk -lar da var -dı or -da.*
>
> other child PLU too exist PAST there LOC
>
> (There were other children there, as well.)

3. bir sürü, çok   (a lot of)

> *Bir sürü ögrenci gel -di bugün.*
>
> a lot of student come PAST today
>
> (A lot of students came (here) today.)

> *Çok kitap al -mış.*
>
> a lot of book buy PAST 3 SG
>
> ((He/ she bought a lot of books.)

4. çoğu   (most of)

> *Çoğu insan bu -nun anlam -ı -nı bil -me -z.*
>
> most person this GEN meaning POSS ACC know NEG 1 SG
>
> (Most people do not know what this means.)

But, there is no definite article in Turkish with singular NPs. The status of definite is not overtly marked in subject position except for the full NPs in genitive case.

(16) *Otobüs çoktan   git -mis -ti.*

      bus   already go PAST PAST3SG

      (The bus has already gone.)

As seen in (16), the subject NP 'otobüs' (bus) is in the nominative case. In Turkish, the nominative case is not overtly marked although the NP here is definite.

The genitive case marker on the subject NP marks the definiteness of the NP unless it is marked by any other case marker, i.e., accusative, dative, locative or ablative.

(17) *Ögrenci -nin   kitab -i   bul -un -mus.*

      student GEN   book POSS find PASS PAST

      (The student's book has been found.)

However, the indefinite article *'bir '* (a/one) still marks indefiniteness if it precedes even a genitive NP.

(18) *Bir ögrenci -nin   kitab -i bul -un -mus.*

      one student GEN   book POSS find PASS PAST

      (A student's book has been found.)

Certain discourse strategies such as word order, the use of deictic terms and the case system are considered

among the determiners of definiteness and indefiniteness or non-definiteness of referents.

Deictic markers such as *'şu '* (this), *'bu '* (that) define definiteness of the subject NPs.

(19) *Şu öğrenci sen -i bekl -iyor.*
     that student you ACC wait PROG3SG
     (That student is waiting for you.)

The primary marker of definiteness of NPs in object position is case markers. The definite NPs in object positions are marked with accusative or dative case endings.

(20) *Çocuğ -u gör -dü -m.*
     child ACC see PAST 1SG
     ((I) saw the child.)

(21) *Çocuğ -a ver -di -m.*
     child DAT give PAST 1SG
     ((I) gave the child (it).)

There are also exceptional cases in which an accusative ending does not always specify a definite object NP. The status of the subject NP and the tense of the sentence functions as a decisive factor as to whether the object NP with an accusative ending is definite or non-definite.

(22) *Yemeğ -i ben pişir -ir -im.*

     meal   ACC   I   cook AOR   1SG

     (I cook meal(s).)

(23) *Yemeğ -i ben pişir -di -m.*

     meal   ACC I   cook PAST 1SG

     (I cooked the meal.)

In (22) the object NP '*yemegi* ' (the meal) is not definite in spite of the existence of the accusative marker '*-i*'', it does not refer to any specific kind or amount of meal but it is generic and it refers to the meals that are cooked in general. This generic status of the object NP is assigned by the generic verb '*pişiririm* ' (cook-AOR-1SG) which is in simple present tense. However, in (23) the use of past tense affects the meaning of the object NP and assigns definiteness to it.

Apart from the morphological and deictic markers, word order, where discourse function we have already established, can be effective on definiteness or non-definiteness of that subject NPs.

(24) *Çocuk yer -de yat -ıyor -du.*

     child   ground LOC   lie PROG PAST 3SG

     (The child was lying on the ground.)

(25) *Yer   -de çocuk yat -ıyor -du.*

ground LOC child lie PROG PAST

(The child was lying on the ground.)

(Tura, 1973 as quoted in Dede, 1986:

152.)

(24) and (25) have the same full NP *'çocuk '* (child) in the same form, in a word in nominative and definite form but with a different word order. In (24), the subject NP is in sentence initial position with no stress on it; it does not have any markers showing indefiniteness. Therefore, it is definite and conveys given information without a stress on it. But in (25), the same subject NP *'çocuk '* (child) positioned before the verb without a stress on it will be assigned a non-definite interpretation on one hand because this NP does not refer to a specific individual that the speaker intends to refer to afterwards but simply to an incident of a child lying on the floor. On the other hand, if stress is put on this NP, it will have a definite status in contrast to another person so it has the focus (Dede, 1986).

Meanwhile, we have pointed out the effect of stress accompanied by other strategies on determining definiteness and nondefiniteness in some situations.   In some cases, the NPs function as attributives if there is a neutral stress on them,   then the NP in question is nondefinite and nonreferential.

(26) A: *Bu ses ne? Ne ol -uyor?*

this sound what what happen PROG3SG

B: *Saat   çal   -ıyor.*

   clock   strike PROG3SG

(What is this sound? What is happening?

The clock is striking.)

On the other hand,   the stress on the verb gives the NP a definite reading and also defines that it is referential.

(27) A: *Bu ses ne? Ne   ol   -uyor?*

    this   sound what what happen PROG3SG

B: *Saat çal -ıyor. Demek ki bozuk   değil -miş.*

   clock strike PROG3SG then   out of order not PAST3SG

(What is this sound? What is happening?

The clock is striking. Then, (it is) not out of order.)

(Dede, 1986:   154)

The definiteness to plural NPs in subject position can be attributed by means of the following adjectives.

1.   diğer, öbür (else,   other)   have specific reference because they are used to refer to other elements of a defined /known set of objects.

Öbür çocuk -lar hazır.

other child   PLU   ready

(The other children are ready)

2. bütün (all, whole)

Bütün konuşmacı -lar yer -ler -i -ni al -dı -lar.

all   speaker   PLU seat PLUPOSS ACCtake PAST PLU

(All the speakers took (have taken) their seats.)

3.2 ANAPHORIC REFERENCE IN TURKISH

After introducing the referents into discourse, the continuity is provided by coreference to these previously mentioned referents. The antecedent of these references may be in the same utterance or in the immediate context and mentioned previously. These anaphoric expressions may show differences from one language to another as well as similarities.

Turkish is a pro-drop language marking subject in the verb by means of a personal suffix. Therefore, it employs both explicit pronominal subjects and null subjects to coreference the referents.

(28)   *Dün   Ali'nin yaş gün -ü -   ydü.*

     yesterday   GEN birthday POSS3SG PAST COPULA

     Ø büyük bir parti ver -di.

       big   one parti give   PAST3SG

     (It was Ali's birthday yesterday. (He) gave a big party.)

(29) *Dün   arkadaş -ı -m   gel -di.*

yesterday friend POSS 1SG   come PAST 3SG

O   getir -miş -ti   bu   -nlar -ı.

he/she bring PAST PAST3SG this   PLU ACC

(My friend called in yesterday. He/she brought these.)

In simple sentences which state a fact use of either an overt pronominal subject or a null subject does not affect the *"truth value of the sentences "* (Enç, 1986: 195).

(30) *Ben çarşı   -ya   gid -iyor -um.*

I   downtown DAT   go   PROG 1SG

(I am going downtown.)

(31) *Ø çarşı   -ya gid -iyor -um.*

downtown DAT go PROG 1SG

((I am) going downtown.)

(Enç, 1986: 196)

Although the existence of the overt pronominal subject does not seem to affect the truth value of the utterances, it does not mean that the subject pronoun is semantically redundant and that null subjects and pronouns could be interchangeably used.   The pronominal subject in   (30) is not redundant, on the contrary, serves for discourse purposes.

The choice of overt pronominal subjects or null subject is certainly determined by discourse factors.   If the subject should be emphasized or just contradicts the previous

subject then an overt pronominal subject becomes obligatory.

> (32) *Yemeğ -i o pişir -me -di, ben pişir -di -m.*
>
> meal ACC he/she cook NEG PAST I cook PAST 1SG
>
> (He/ she did not cook the meal, I cooked (it).)

The overt pronominal subject *'ben '* (I) in the second part of the utterance in (32) has a contrastive stress to the subject of the first part *'o '* (he/she). The 1st person personal morpheme *'-m '* at the end of the verb would not give this contrast if there were not this overt pronominal subject as in (33).

> (33) *Yemeğ -i o pişir -me -di, Ø pişir -di -m.*
>
> meal ACC he/ she cook NEG PAST cook PAST 1SG
>
> (He/ she did not cook the meal, (I) cooked (it).)

Another context that requires use of overt pronominal subjects is the context where an utterance does not exhibit a contrast to the doer of the action but to the assertion in the previous utterance by giving a counter example (Enç, 1986).

> (34) A: *Bu hava -da kimse top oyna -ma -z.*
>
> This weather LOC nobody ball play NEG 3SG
>
> B: *Ben oynar -ım.*
>
> I play ACR

(Nobody plays football in this weather.

I play.)

<div style="text-align: center">(Enç, 1986: 205)</div>

Then again, an overt pronominal subject is obligatory if the subject is to be emphasized.

(35) A:*Bütün ev -i bir gün -de boya -ya -ma -m.*

whole house ACCone dayLOC paint ABL NEG 1SG

B:*Ben san -a yardım eder -im.*

I you ACC help ACR

((I) can not paint the whole house in one day.

I help you.)

<div style="text-align: center">(Ibid)</div>

During discourse in either monologue form such as a narrative or a dialogue between two or more people, a certain topic is introduced first and after this topic becomes specific to the hearers, the following utterances comment on that particular topic. If the speaker wants to change the topic, she/he uses certain linguistic expressions that make this clear to the other participants. One way of signalling the topic change is using an overt pronominal ˜subject in Turkish.

(36) *Bugün arkadaş -lar -la sinema -ya git -ti -k.*

today friend PLU with cinema DAT go PAST 1PL

Ben o film -i gör -müş -tü -m · daha önce.

I that film ACC see PAST PAST 1SG before

((We) went to the cinema with friends today. I have seen that film before.)

Overt pronominal subjects and null subjects function in different ways in utterances.   Overt pronominal subjects contribute to the meaning of the utterances as compared to null subjects by conveying a contrast of the referents in question and change of topic.

We have discussed two ways of establishing continuity in terms of referents in discourse so far.   The data has been analysed in accordance with these discourse requirements in Turkish.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

This chapter contains the detailed presentation of the design of the study. The information about the subjects involved in the study, general procedures which were pursued before data collection, the procedure of data collection, linguistic units of analysis and the quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis are presented.

4.1 SUBJECTS

The study was designed as a cross-sectional study as it investigates a particular aspect of narrative development at a single point of time focusing on a number of subjects. Therefore, the subjects chosen for the purpose of this study were sixty monolingual Turkish-speaking children whose ages range between 3;4 and 7;4 and twenty adults. These children were divided into three groups according to their ages. The youngest group consisted of children between 3;0 to 3;11 with the mean age 3;4. Children between the ages of 5;0 to 5;11 formed the middle group. The mean age of this group was 5;4. The third group of subjects were the children between 7;0 to 7;11 with the mean age 7;4. Adults who were tested as the control group were university graduate parents. Each group consisted of twenty subjects with equal numbers of boys and girls. The children subjects in this study were grouped with respect to age rather than to their *Mean Length of Utterances* (MLU) which is often used rather than age

in child language studies on English as a grouping measure. MLU refers to the mean number of productive morphemes per utterance. It is a measure of linguistic development. When MLU was applied to the acquisition of Turkish data (*Berkeley Cross-Linguistic Acquisition Project*)[2] , it was found to be a good index for the early phases of acquisition up to 2;6-3;0 years of age. However, it was also reported that it loses its significance as a measure of development at around 3 years when MLU value reaches around 4 and 5, because of the agglutinating nature of Turkish. Up to age 3;0, Turkish children acquire the noun and the verb inflections where there is almost one-to-one correspondence between every unit of form and every unit of meaning. Therefore, increased linguistic complexity is reflected in the increased number of morphemes. On the other hand, after the age of 3;0, the children begin to acquire structures such as subordination, nominalization and relativization where increased syntactic complexity is not reflected in increased number of morphemes, so MLU seems to lose its value as a measure of linguistic development (Aksu-Koç, 1988b: 65-66).

In this study, the youngest group of children were 3-year-olds, and consequently there was no need to group the subjects according to their MLU values.

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[2] The Berkeley Cross-Linguistic Acquisition Project is a comparative and collaborative study investigating language development in a variety of areas in 2;0-4;8 year-olds acquiring a range of languages other than English and including Turkish (see Slobin 1985).

The subjects were chosen from middle class and upper-middle class families with more· or less similar socio-economic backgrounds and with university-graduate parents. The children at the ages of 3 and 5 were nursery-school children while 7-year-old children were at school and had already learned to read and write at the time of data collection.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

4.2.1 General Procedure

The data collected for this study contain the narratives told by Turkish-speaking children and adults. For this purpose, a video-film without speech was used to elicit the narrative data to be examined. To elicit a language sample by means of a video film has some advantages to picture-book narration, or just asking the subjects to tell a story. When a subject is merely asked to tell their own story, it is not possible to control semantic variables in particular since it would -not be easy to limit the choice of the subjects. Our aim was to measure especially the linguistic development across the age groups; thus, it was important to standardise the content so that we could define the developmental difference across age groups on the basis of consistent and controlled input. Picture-book narration, however,

as seen on reviewing the related literature in Chapter 2, led to some inevitable use of certain structures such as deictic pronouns which could affect the results of the study, concentrating as it does on NPs. The second crucial point was to choose a silent film. If the film had language, the eventline would be imposed via the words not via the actions. The third factor which had an important role in our film choice was whether the film would serve for the purpose of our study in terms of the referents. The intention was to describe the discourse skills of children in terms of the narration of the referents and linguistic means they employ for the referents in their narratives. The referents in this film were to be continuous and had to appear and disappear at certain times in order to encourage the use of different linguistic forms.

This was a silent film about a little boy living alone with his mother and father in a nice house in a forest. It was Christmas time and naturally there was a Christmas tree in the house. Because of the season, it was snowing. Therefore, the boy made a snowman who magically became alive at midnight and flew him to the North Pole where he met Father Christmas and was given a present by Father Christmas. This film was specifically chosen since the events were presented in a chronological order. Furthermore, different characteristics, such as being a protagonist or a secondary character, of the referents who are involved in the events would help to elicit answers for some of

research questions (Chapter 2;   section 2.4).   Although
some   concepts such as Father Christmas and Christmas
tree do not belong to the indigenous culture of Turkish
children who are the subject in this study,   as a result of
the cultural influence from Western countries,   we have
Father Christmas and Christmas trees for the New Year.
Especially,   since the data collection period coincided
with New Year time,   there were Christmas trees around
and Father Christmases were giving away presents.
Therefore,   it is believed that the existence of   these
concepts which could be expected to be culturally alien
to Turkish children did not cause any confusion.   Apart
from that,   as a result of another severe winter,   it was
snowing at the time of data collection and almost all the
children included in the study experienced building a
snowman.   So,   visually presented events could easily be
processed and be verbalized by them.   The summary of
the story presented in the film is given below:[3]

> One morning,   a boy wakes up and sees
> that it has snowed.   He gets ever so excited and
> dresses himself up quickly and rushes out to
> play with snow.   After a while,   he gets tired
> and   makes   a large snowman.   In the evening,
> his   mom   calls him inside.   After eating his
> dinner,   he is sent upstairs to sleep.   He cannot
> sleep   since he is too excited about the

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[3] This summary was made by an adult native speaker of Turkish who
is a linguist as well;   and translated into English.

snowman. When he goes down to the front door, he sees that the snowman waved, raised his hat and walked towards the door. He takes the snowman's hand and invites him indoors. They play together in the house and frighten the cat. When they are looking out of the window, they see a motorbike in the garden and decide to play with it. Afterwards, the snowman holds his hand, begins to run across the garden first and then to fly with the boy. They land when they come to the North Pole. There, they meet a lot of snowmen and snowwomen who are having a big party. Father Christmas was there, too. They have a jolly good time eating, playing and dancing. Father Christmas takes the boy to his house, shows him his Reindeers and gives the boy a little present.

Now, it is time to go back home. So the snowman flies the boy back home. The boy goes to bed.

In the morning, he wakes up with great excitement and rushes down the stairs to find his mother and father having breakfast. He does not join them and runs to the window to see the snowman. It has disappeared. And the sun was shining brightly. He rushes into the garden and finds the hat and the scarf of the snowman. He feels very bad. He takes a blue

snowman. When he goes down to the front door, he sees that the snowman waved, raised his hat and walked towards the door. He takes the snowman's hand and invites him indoors. They play together in the house and frighten the cat. When they are looking out of the window, they see a motorbike in the garden and decide to play with it. Afterwards, the snowman holds his hand, begins to run across the garden first and then to fly with the boy. They land on when they come to the North Pole. There, they meet a lot of snowmen and snowwomen who are having a big party. Father Christmas was there, too. They have jolly good time eating, playing and dancing. Father Christmas takes the boy to his house, shows him his Rein deers and gives the boy a little present.

Now, it is time to go back home. So the snowman flies the boy back home. The boy goes to bed.

In the morning, he wakes up with great excitement and rushes down the stairs to find his mother and father having breakfast. He does not join them and runs to the window to see the snowman. It has disappeared. And the sun was shining brightly. He rushes into the garden and finds the hat and the scarf of the snowman. He feels very bad. He takes a blue

scarf with snowman patterns out of his pocket and kneels down near the melting snowman.

4.2.2   Data Collection

Before the actual procedure of data collection, the children who were chosen for the study were seen several times. The nursery children who formed the 3-year and 5-year age groups were visited in the nursery. The 7-year-old group were visited at their homes since they were primary school students and such a school visit was not possible for administrative reasons. The purpose of these visits was for the experimenter to get to know the children and of course, for the children to get familiar with the experimenter. Children, especially young children, are shy with strangers and may be difficult to work with. In these visits, the experimenter joined the children while they were playing with their friends in groups. Playing or being together at play hours was enough for subjects who were not shy and found it easy to communicate. The experimenter also encouraged the children to talk about the events, ` about themselves and their past experiences to overcome their shyness and reluctance.

The experimental procedure took place in nurseries with the nursery children in a quiet room, where only the child and the experimenter were present during the showing of the film. It was thought that in the home

environment, several things such as an unexpected visitor or a ringing telephone are likely to happen, and might distract the child's attention. Besides, Maratsos (1976) observed that children were more attentive in the familiar setting than at home, in his study. However, with 7-year-olds, the only possibility was to carry on the experiment in their homes. In this situation, we tried to avoid the things that might distract the child's attention especially the presence of other children at home, as much as possible.

The experimenter and the experiment were introduced to the children differently according to their ages. To the 3-year-olds it was casually mentioned that this lady who had been playing and talking with them for some time had brought a video-film in. The teacher in the nursery asked one of the children if he/she would like to see the film. After the child had agreed, the teacher, the experimenter and the subject went into the video-room alone. After everything was set, the teacher had incidentally to leave the room just before the film started as if something came up, as previously arranged. Meanwhile, the experimenter and the subject watched the film together. The experimenter had to be there to make sure that children watched the whole film and to attract their attention to the film with general remarks such as *"look, it is interesting/funny/amusing or nice"* meaning something in the film if they, especially young ones, lost interest to the film. The teacher came in just a minute after the film finished and felt sorry because she

missed the film and asked the child to tell her the story as part of the scenario which had been prepared beforehand to make the task as natural as possible. Since it was noticed in the pilot study that many children did not want to talk in the presence of the experimenter, the experimenter left the room as if she finished her task. Then, the teacher asked the child to narrate the film and did not give any prompts other than *"What happened next?"* or *"What happened then?"* to encourage the child to go on as the story developed. In the meantime, the story was audio-recorded in the room.

A different scenario was prepared to persuade 5-year-old children to narrate what they had just seen in a natural way. The nursery teacher told one child at a time that a lady meaning the experimenter had brought a video-film in. She would like him/her to watch the film, tell her the story and if the child liked the film, it would be shown to other children as well. Then, the child watched the film again with the experimenter in a separate room, afterwards, he/she told the teacher the story and it was recorded during narration.

During the pilot study with 7-year-olds, it was noticed that these children would like to know the logic and the reality behind the action. So, when they were told that the experimenter was preparing an assignment on some children's films, they were ready and proud to help. The procedure with this group was conducted at home where only the child, the mother and the

realize since the tape-recorder was kept in the briefcase. They certainly were told about this after the data collection.

4.3   LINGUISTIC   UNITS OF ANALYSIS

The most important thing for analysing protocols of spontaneous speech involves dividing the original text into units.   Although we are dealing with the overall coherence, we are focusing on instances of NPs in the units of a text which consists of the utterances in a narrative.   This overall coherence is maintained by connecting smaller units into a large whole.   It is this connection which facilitates the text as a coherent whole.   Therefore,   the analysis is done on the basis of these units.   The analysis in this   study is   based on syntactic units.   The texts are divided into clausal units based   on   Hunt's   (1970)   T-unit   criteria.   In   order   to distinguish   between   an   utterance   and   a   sentence   and   to control for the coordination of sentences,   Hunt suggests the T-unit 'minimal terminable unit' (1970).   A T-unit is defined as   a   unit   consisting   of   a   main   clause   and   a   subordinate clause/clauses   or   non-clausal   structure   attached   to   this main clause or embedded within it.   Hunt (1970:   4) states *"cutting   a   passage   into   T-units   will   be   cutting   it   into   the shortest   units   which   are   grammatically   allowable   to punctuate   as   sentences.   In   this   sense,   the   T-unit   is   minimal and   terminable."* Although Hunt suggested T-units originally for written   language   samples,   they   were   used   analysing   spoken

data widely with some modification to serve the purpose of the study (Fletcher and Garman, 1988; Lennon, 1987).

Table 4.1 lists Turkish structures which, using the criteria, are counted as T-units.

Structures listed in Table 4.1 are further explained and exemplified with utterances from the data to clarify the arrangement of the single and complex clauses below in examples (1)-(18).

(1a) an intransitive clause consisting of a subject NP and a verb.

Kardan adam   canlan   -ıyor/

snowman   become alive PROG 3 SG

(the snowman is becoming alive)

(1b) a transitive clause consisting of a subject NP, a verb and a direct or an indirect object or both.

anne -si son an   - da bere -si -ni

mum POSS last moment LOC   hat GEN ACC

tak -ıyor   baş -ı   na/

put PROG 3 SG   head GEN DAT   -

((His) mum put his hat on his head at the last moment)

Table 4.1   List of structures which are counted as one T-unit

Simple Structures
a clause consisting of a subject NP and a verb
a clause consisting of a subject NP, a verb, and an object/ objects
a clause consisting of a subject pronoun and a verb
a clause consisting of a subject pronoun, a verb and an object/objects
a clause consisting of a null subject and a verb
a clause consisting of a null subject, a verb and an object/ objects

Complex structures
clauses conjoined with '-*ki* ' (that)
clauses consisting of a main clause and a subordinate clause which is introduced by gerundive suffixes '-*ip* ', '-*erek* ', '-*iken* ', '-*ince* '
clauses consisting of a main clause and a subordinate clause which is followed by '*diye* '
clauses conjoined with '*de* '
relative clauses
verb complementations*
clauses conjoined with '*ve* ' (and), '*ama, fakat* ' (but); '*sonra* ' (then) in instances where they share the same subject
a simple clause+an NP expansion
a clause consisting of a repetition of the same verb
clauses chained together through non-finite verbs
a clause intervening in another clause
a clause consisting of idiomatic use of verbs

* In verb complementations, the entire utterance is counted as a single T-unit even if it consists of several clauses; since the structure of Turkish only allows the reported utterances to intervene between the subject and the verb of the main clause.

(2a) an intransitive clause consisting of a pronoun and a verb.

o   yürü -yor/

he   walk   PROG3SG

(he is walking)

(2b) a transitive clause with a pronoun, a verb and an object/objects.

o   çocuğ -a güzel bir atkı hediye ed -iyor/

he   boy   DAT nice   one   scarf   give PROG3SG

(he gave a child a nice scarf as a present)

(3a) an intransitive clause consisting of a null subject and a verb.

ev   - e   gel   -iyor/

house   DAT   come PROG3SG

((he) is coming home)

(3b) a transitive clause consisting of a null subject, a verb and an object/objects.

yine   cam   -dan kardan adam -a bak -ıyor/

again window ABL snowman   DAT look PROG3SG

((he) looks at the snowman through the window again)

(4) Clauses expressing consequences which are introduced by '-*ki* ' (that) is used to introduce complements for '*öyle/o kadar* ' (so/such). Clauses which are introduced by '*ki* ' express consequences; and therefore act as a subordinate clause. In such cases, clauses which are introduced by '*ki* ' are taken as one T-unit with the following clause.

bu   kardan adam -ı   o kadar çok   sev   -iyor

this   snowman   ACC   that   much   love   PROG3SG

ki   bir türlü   içeri   gir   -mek

PART   by no means inside   enter   INF

iste -mi -yor/

want NEG PROG3SG

((He) loves this snowman so much that he doesn't want to go inside.)

(5) Complex sentences in which the subordinate clauses are introduced by one of the following suffixes '-*ip* ', '-*erek* ', '-*iken* ', '-*ince*' are treated as single T-units.

hemen   üst -ü   -nü değiştir -ip   -

at once   top   POSS   ACC   change   GER

aşağı   -ya   in   -iyor/

downstairs DAT   go down   PROG3SG

((He) got changed at once and went downstairs)

sonra kardan adam -la çocuk tekrar uç -arak

then   snowman   with boy   again   fly   GER

ev   -e   gel   -iyor   -lar/

house   DAT   come PROG   3 PLU

(then, the snowman and the boy came home flying)

baba -sı -nın yan -ın -dan geç -ti

dad   GEN   GEN   side   POSS ABL pass PAST 3 SG

merdiven   -ler den   in   -erken/

stair   PLU   ABL   go down   GER

((he) passed by his father when he was going downstairs)

"miyav" diye bağır -ınca kardan adam da çok

miaou   as   cry   GER   snowman   too very

kork   -tu/

get frightened   PAST 3 SG

(when (the cat) cried 'miaou' the snowman got frightened, too.)

(6) Clauses with *'diye '* (saying) literally or figuratively indirect quotations and they either refer to unspoken thoughts indicating the reason or express purpose for which the subject takes some action. Therefore, clauses which are followed by the particle 'diye' are considered as the part of the preceding T-unit (Underhill, 1976: 433; Lewis, 1967: 175).

merak ed -iyor -lar ne var or -da diye/

wonder PROG 3PLU what exist there LOC saying

((They) wondered what was there)

anne -si baba -sı o -nun arka -sı-ndan

mum POSS dad POSS he GEN back POSS ABL

şaşkın şaşkın bak -ıyor -lar nere- ye

surprised look PROG 3PLU where DAT

gid -iyor ki bu çocuk böyle diye/

go PROG 3SG PART this boy like this saying

((His) mum and dad are looking surprised behind his

back wondering where this boy is going.)

(7) If any clause is followed by *'- de '* (also) which functions as an intensifier to emphasize the action, this clause becomes the subordinate clause of the following clause. Thus, these two form one T-unit.

o kadar çok sevin -miş -ti ki

that much very be happy PAST PAST 3SG PART

şapka -sı baş -ı -ndan düş -tü de

hat POSS 3SG head POSS 3SG ABL fall PAST 3SG also

o -nu bile farket -me -di/

it ACC even realize NEG PAST 3SG

((He) was so happy that he didn't even realize that his hat

fell off his head.)

(8)   Relative clauses form a single T-unit.

Akşam   yat   -an   çocuk   sabah   uyan   -ıyor/
night go to bed PRESPART boy morning wake up PROG 3 SG
(The boy who went to bed at night wakes up in the morning.)

(9)   In verb complementations,   the *'demiş/diyor'* (he said)   part is taken as a main clause and direct quotation as a subordinate clause,   therefore these two form one T-unit.

o sırada   "hişt, nere   -ye   gid   -iyor   -sun?
at that time   hoi   where   DAT go   PROG 2 SG
Çorap   -lar   -ı   -nı   giy   -me   -di   -n,
sock PLU POSS 3 SG   ACC wear NEG PAST 2 SG
hadi bakayım, çorap   -lar   -ı   -nı   giy"   de   -miş/
come on   sock PLU POSS ACC wear say PAST 3 SG
(At that time, (she) said "*hoi, where are you going? You haven't put your socks on yet, come on, put your socks on".*)

(10)   A co-ordinate clause conjoined with *'ve '* (and) is one T-unit when there is a cohesive link from one clause to another,   in other words,   when these two clauses share the same subject.

o   atkı -yı   ceb   -i -nden çıkar   -mış

that scarf ACC pocket POSS ABL take out PAST 3SG

ve   öylece   dur -muş/

and   like that   stand PAST 3SG

((He) took that scarf out of his pocket and stood there like

that.)

However,   if two clauses without any cohesive link are

conjoined with 've ' (and) the clauses are separated through

the conjunction and form two T-units.

ondan sonra tekrar   yatak   -tan   kalk -ıp

then   again   bed   ABL   get up GER

aşağı   -ya   in   -iyor   ve /

downstairs DAT   go downstairs PROG 3SG   and

o sırada   çok   ilginç   bir şey   ol   -uyor/

at that time very interesting something happen PROG 3SG

(Then, (he) got up again and went downstairs and/ at

that time, something very interesting happens.)

(11) Clauses which are linked by conjunction 'sonra '

(then) to indicate successive events of the same topic and

'ama/fakat ' (but) to express the contradicting events which

are related to one topic are treated as single T-units.

örtü -yü aç -maya çalış -mış ama bir türlü

cover ACC open INF try PAST 3SG but by no means

aç -a -ma -mış/

open ABIL NEG PAST 3SG

((He) tried to take the cover out but (he) couldn't take (it)

out)

O da bir tane yuvarlak yap -ıyor sonra

he PART one round make PROG 3SG then

kardanadam -ı -nı yap -ıyor/

snowman GEN POSS make PROG 3SG

(He makes something round then (he) makes his

snowman.)

However, if these conjunctions link two unrelated
successive or contradicting events, these are separated
into two T-units and the conjunction is included in the
second unit.

Hemen çorap -lar -ı -nı giy -miş çocuk/

at once sock PLU POSS ACC wear PAST 3SG boy

(The boy put his socks on at once.)

sonra kapı -dan dışarı çık -tığında

then door ABL outside go out GER

bir de bak -mış ki her yer bütün

ADVBL look PAST 3SG PART everywhere all

kar -la kaplan -mış/

snow with cover PAST 3SG

(Then (he) saw that everywhere was covered with snow when (he) went out.)

Önce kardan adam -ı ev -e   davet ed -iyor/

first snowman   ACChouse DAT invite   PROG3SG

ama   ev   sıcak/

but   house   hot

((The boy) first invites the snowman into the house/
but (it is) hot in the house.)

(12) In Turkish, the indefinite article *'bir '* (one, a) is also used adverbially to mean *'once ''only '* and to express suddenness of an action preceding the verb. Clauses in which the verb is preceded by *'bir '* -and mostly followed by *'-ki '* - are considered as the part of the following clause since they never occur themselves. These clauses are taken as the subordinate clause of the following clause and counted as one T-unit.

Dışarı - ya bir   bak -ıyor   ki

outside DAT ADVBL look PROG3SGPART

ne   gör -sü -n?/

what   see   2SG

((He) looks outside and what he sees?)

Kartopu -nu bir fırlat -tı kartopu

snowball ACCADVBL throw PAST3SGsnowball

ev -ler -i -nin cam -ı -na gel -di/

house PLU POSS GEN window POSS DAT come PAST3SG

((He) threw the snowball and (it) hit the window of their

house.)

(13) NP expansions without verbs are taken as part of the preceding unit .

Gid -ip bak -iyor -lar, bir motosiklet/

go GER look PROG 3PLU one motorbike

((They) go and look (at it), a motorbike.)

(14) In Turkish, a verb may be repeated to indicate the duration of the activity. They may be either finite or non-finite. Therefore, such repetitions which denote the duration of a particular activity, even though they are finite verbs, are considered as one clause and taken as one T-unit.

Yürü -dü -ler, yürü -dü -ler, yürü -dü -ler/

walk PAST 3PLU walk PAST3PLU walk PAST 3PLU

((They) walked, walked and walked.)

(15) As was mentioned before, the subject can be given in the form of full NP, or of pronoun or of a suffix which is attached to the end of the verb which we refer as null subject. The personal suffix at the end of the verb

denotes the subject is 1st person, 2nd person or 3rd person or singular or plural. With plural subjects, there is no need for subject-verb agreement unless the subject is null.

Onlar   gid -iyor/

they   go   PROG3SG

(They are going.)

But if the subject is null, the misinterpretation arises.

Gid -iyor.

go   PROG3SG

((He/ she/ it) is going.)

The subject will be taken as singular in such a situation.   On the other hand,   if a series of actions are performed,   the first verbs of the series may be used in singular form,   but the last one denotes that the subject is plural.   In this study,   for the purpose of analysis,   such structures should be considered as single T-unit since the former verbs would mislead about the subject.

Or -da işte yi -yor, iç -iyor, eğlen -iyor -lar

there LOC   eat PROG3SG drink PROG3SG enjoy PROG 3PLU

diğer kardan adam   -lar -la/

other snowman   PLU   with

((They) ate, drank and enjoyed themselves with the

other snowmen there.)

dönük   -tü/

facePAST3SG

(The snowman turned towards the house/ (his) back was facing the house.)

(18) In addition to the syntactic characteristics of Turkish which have been discussed so far, there is another important issue to be considered effective on dividing the texts into linguistic units. This issue is the idiomatic uses of certain verbs such as *'kosmak, ziplamak·'* (hop, skip and jump), *'gitmek almak '* (fetch), *'almak getirmek '* (fetch), *'tutmak yapmak '* (do something unexpectedly to cause surprise or shock), *'açmak bakmak '*, (open and look), *'dansetmek eglenmek '* (dance and enjoy oneself), *'erimek gitmek '* (melt and gone) and so on. These verbs appear together both in written and spoken language as the verbs 'go and get' in English. They may be used either in finite or non-finite forms as doublets due to the extreme flexibility of the language. In this particular data, they mostly occur in finite forms and it is not possible to include these verbs in different units. So, the following idiomatic constructions form one T-unit each.

Koş -uyor, zıplı   -yor ve kocaman bir kardan adam
run PROg3SGhop PROG3SGand   big   one   snowman
yap   -ıyor/
make   PROG3SG

((He) runs and hops around and makes a big snowman.)

Ondan sonra gid -iyor,   bir   sandalye

then   go PROG3SG one   chair

ve   kürek   al   -iyor/

and   shovel take PROG3SG

((He) then goes and takes a shovel and a chair.)

Sonra   o -nu   al -iyor,   kardan adam -ı,

then   he ACC take PROG3SG snowman   ACC

ev   -i -ne   getir -iyor/

housePOSS DAT bring PROG3SG

(Then (he) takes him, the snowman, (and) brings (him)

home.)

ora -ya   koş   -uyor,   bura -ya koş   -uyor/

there DAT   run PROG3SG here DAT run PROG3SG

((he) runs here, runs there)

ondan sonra kardan adam   tut -uyor,   başl   -iyor

then   snowman   hold PROG3SG start PROG3SG

gene   uç   -maya/

again   fly   INF

(Then, the snowman starts flying again.)

Kapı -yı   aç -iyor,   bak -iyor/

door ACC open PROG3SG look PROG3SG

((He) opens the door and looks.)

Danset -ti -ler, eğlen -di -ler/

dance   PAST 3PLU enjoy PAST 3PLU

((They) danced and enjoyed (themselves).)

Bir meyva al -mış,   getir -mış/

one fruit   take PAST3SG bring PAST3SG

((He) fetched a fruit.)

Kardan adam eri -mış,   git -mış/

snowman   melt PAST3SG go   PAST3SG

(The snowman is melted and gone.)

4.4. ANALYTICAL PROCEDURES

The data was transcribed orthographically and divided into the linguistic units of analysis which are described in detail in 4.3. The focus was on the nominative NPs which were in subject positions. The speaker usually introduces a topic and then mentions it often throughout the discourse. This referent becomes the leading subject of the discourse. If there are some other referents as well, these referents are also mentioned for some time either individually or in relation to the major referent or referents. The speaker tends to mention the more prominent entity in his discourse more often than the other entities. S/he will tend to associate a ' *discourse prominent entity* ' with a morphological form that signals his focus of interest. The

most crucially involved participant is coded as the grammatical subject of the majority of clauses (Givon, 1983). Zubin (1979) puts forward this idea stating that " *the more frequently an entity is mentioned in discourse, the more frequently it will appear in the nominative case as opposed to an oblique case. In contrast, the frequency of mention in an oblique case should be independent of discourse* " (p. 483). Bennett-Kastor's (1983) results supported this view in the acquisition of English. However, there is no evidence in Turkish-speaking child language data supporting this view.

The data was analysed in terms of both qualitative and quantitative analysis. Qualitative analysis was used in order to describe how children organized their narratives. Quantitative analysis was necessary to establish that the patterns found in the qualitative analysis are statistically significant between the age groups.

Our first aim was to investigate whether Turkish-speaking children could reiterate the referents they introduced into their narratives in order to tie the narrative together. For this purpose, we counted each subsequent mention of each referent in subject position after the introduction of this referent to see whether this particular referent had continuously been mentioned or just dropped after the introduction. These subsequent mentions did not need to be in the form of a full NP. This focused referent may have been referred to by a

variety of different linguistic expressions; they might be an overt pronominal subject or null subject which is allowed and serve for discursive purposes in Turkish. There were six referents in the film used for data collection. Two of these six referents were grouped as major referents and the remaining four are as minor referents according to their functions in discourse. The criteria for the specification of major and minor referents are given in detail in Chapter 5. Therefore, the number of mentions of major referents and of minor referents were calculated for each child separately. Afterwards, the group scores for each group were calculated.

The next step was to investigate at what text distance children could reiterate the same referent after this particular referent is introduced to determine whether children could hold a referent given for a long time. To analyse this, we counted the number of clauses that intervened between the first mention and the second mention of the same referent as full NP. The analysis included only the first and the second mentions since we tried to avoid other factors involved such as the length of the texts and the number of mentions. Younger children had shorter texts than their peers and consequently they mentioned the same referent fewer times than the older ones did. The reason for counting the second mentions in full NPs was to avoid ambiguity due to the nature of Turkish. Turkish has no gender and no animacy/inanimacy marker. The same third person

pronoun or personal morpheme have no specific marker for the gender of any kind. This may have caused ambiguity when the reference was switched from one referent to another since either the overt pronominal subject or person morpheme on the verb is the same. That is why we preferred to use full NPs to be able to avoid any ambiguity that may have affected the results.

At this point, we wanted to know how children specify the referents in discourse. We first analysed whether appropriate linguistic means were used to introduce a new referent to rely on in the following utterances by means of definite forms or pronominals. Next, we focused on the linguistic expressions which were used to maintain reference to the introduced referents. Considering that there were six different referents in our story, our final point was to analyse how reference was switched from one referent to another in the course of the narratives. The main issue behind this was to see whether children at these ages could take the hearer's point of view into consideration in narrating the events. To explore these, the referents in the story when they were first introduced, maintained and switched were grouped according to their appropriateness or inappropriateness. These appropriate and inappropriate forms were formed taking Hickmann's categories (1980) (1982) as a basis but further elaborated as appropriate to Turkish structure and the referents in the film which was used (cf. Chapter 3 and Chapter 6).

The following step was to analyze the lexical realizations of these referents. Pronominal forms were expected to be used as well as the full NPs for these referents on different mentions. The lexical realization of each introduced referent was specified in the data of each child. Secondly, this was carried on with each reiterated referent to see the lexical realization of the referents became diverse. Then the group totals were computed separately for the introduced and reiterated referents.

As the introduced referents could be reiterated in the form of a pronominal, the next step was to examine when children tend to pronominalize the referents. The introduced and reiterated referents in linguistic units were analysed to see whether children are capable of establishing anaphoric relationships in discourse and how pronominalization is determined by the child. This analysis was conducted qualitatively by making a profile of each mention of a particular referent to see the patterns of pronominalization. This profile was repeated for each referent and the similarities and differences in pronominalization strategies between different referents were accounted. Once again, the results were evaluated by considering the characteristics of the referents such as being a major or a minor referent. Each group was compared with one another to reveal any developmental differences occurring between these ages.

As this study is designed as a cross-sectional study, it also aimed to reveal the developmental differences

between different ages as well as attempting to find out when children develop the same thinking as adults, in other words, when they reach the linguistic maturity of adults. To decide whether there was a significant developmental difference between the age groups and the adults, a one-way ANOVA was applied in terms of the number of the referents and the number of the mentions (Chapter 5). For the computation of the developmental differences in appropriate and inappropriate referring expressions (Chapter 6) and whether the lexical realizations of the referents change with increasing age (Chapter 7), a chi-square contingency table with raw scores of each group was performed.

Another task was to address the question of sex differences within each age group at every stage of analysis. For this purpose, the subjects were further divided into groups according to their sex. Independent samples t-test was applied to the scores to reveal any sex differences within each age group.

As a further step, analysis of variance of responses on age was performed for all steps to find the trend of the development when there was a significant development between the groups as the result of chi-square and ANOVA tests.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION 1:
REITERATION OF REFERENTS

This study is firstly motivated by the question of whether Turkish-speaking children are able to organize their narratives around a number of referents. Therefore, in this chapter, we first attempt to explore Research Question 1, which asks "*Are Turkish-speaking children between the ages of 3 and 7 able to organize their narratives around a number of referents? Can they reiterate the referents they have already introduced to the narrative in order to tie the narrative together?*". Secondly, Research Question 2, which asks "*At what distance in a narrative can these children reiterate the same referent after this particular referent is introduced earlier in the discourse?*" is delienated. To address these issues empirically, we have developed different analysis measures (Chapter 4, section 4.4) which will be reviewed in each section.

Narratives are not formed by bringing a number of unrelated utterances together. On the contrary, they are centred around people who engage in different events and actions and who also are related to one another. In other words, referents are inevitable components of narratives. One of the several requirements of constructing a coherent narrative is to maintain the introduction and the regular reiteration of the referents into the story. If a narrative has referents, then it is expected that these referents are repeatedly mentioned throughout the narrative. The elements of the narratives focus on them; they, therefore, become the topics of the texts which range over the clauses of the text. In discourse, elements are focused through

thematization. The referent is thematized which means that this particular referent is developed as the control subject of the discourse (Perfetti and Goldman, 1974). In the meantime, the other referents remain in the background. The utterances are organized around this thematized referent and constitute a coherent whole text; that is, the referent/referents of a piece of discourse are developed in order to tie the previous parts of the text to the successive parts. Therefore, in order to construct a coherent narrative, introduction of the referents is not enough itself. Apart from the introduction, subsequent mentions, in other words, reiteration of these introduced referents is one of the mechanisms to provide continuity in the text (Bennett-Kastor, 1983; Peterson and Dodsworth, 1991). When the narrator fails in providing this continuity of the referents, the text becomes an incoherent combination of utterances which sound unrelated to each other. Then, the issue we are concerned with within the frame of this chapter is whether children can reiterate the referents they already introduce to the narratives in order to tie the narratives together.

There may be a different number of referents involved in a particular story. Yet, not all of them have the same weight and importance throughout the story. The storyline tends to be about mainly one or two of these referents which are called protagonists, main characters or prominent characters (McGann and Schwartz, 1988;

Morrow, 1983). This notion of main character has been defined in different ways by different researchers.

Sanford (1985) described this notion in terms of agency, the stage at which the referent appears and whether it is named or not if necessary. According to Sanford's criteria, a referent which is more agentive than the others and which appears in the initial stage of the story and which gets a name if the referents are named is the main character of the story. Bamberg (1987) approached this notion in terms of animacy stating that the referent which is higher in animacy is the main character in a narrative. For instance, in the story he used in his 1986 study "Frog, where are you?", a boy was considered to have higher animacy than a dog. Prince (1982) and Anderson, Farrod and Sanford (1983) focused on the frequency of appearance of a referent. If a referent, they pointed out, appears in more than one scene and setting and if this referent is also referred to more than the other referents in the story, then it is the main character of that story. McGann and Schwartz (1988) established three criteria for the main character which are agency, first appearance and frequency of appearance. According to their criteria, the referent which is the agent of the actions, which is introduced at the very beginning of the story, which appears more than the others is the main character of the story.

In the light of these definitions, we would like to consider those characters:

-who are introduced in the initial stages of the story;

-who appear from these initial stages to the very end of the story;

-who are involved in most of the scenes with the other referents;

-whose actions form the plot of the story

as **major referents**. Other referents which appear at a certain stage of the story line and disappear after some time whether seen again or not, or the ones who are introduced after the story line is well developed and act in accordance with the major referents are named as **minor referents**.

According to these criteria we have identified, the boy and the snowman are characterized as **major referents** in our story because firstly, their actions form the plot of the story, therefore they have the primary function in the story as well as appearing with the other referents; secondly, they occur in almost all of the settings of the film from the beginning until the end; and finally, they are introduced in the initial stage of the narrative. On the other hand, the other referents, namely the boy's mother and father, Father Christmas, and the other snowmen they meet at the North Pole, are characterized as **minor referents** as they are introduced later in the story line in relation to the major referents and occur in fewer scenes of the film. Table 5.1 shows the chronological appearance of the major and minor referents in the story.

Both the qualitative and the quantitative analysis is performed considering these characteristics of referents to

address the research question asking whether the characteristics of different referents such as being a major referent or a secondary character affect the narrator's way of dealing with the referents.

Before presenting the detailed analysis of the results, we have a general outlook into the narratives. In order to have a general idea about the children's productions, we begin with evaluating the length of narratives produced by children which would help to assist further specific analysis of the data.

Table 5.1 The chronology of the major and minor referents as they appear in the film.

REFERENTS	
MAJOR	**MINOR**
1)boy	
	2)father
3)boy	
	4)mother
5)boy	
	6)father
7)boy	
	8)mother
9)boy	
c 10)boy	
h 11)snowman	
r	14)mother
o 15)boy	
n	16)mother
o	17)father
l 18)boy	
o	19)mother
g 20)boy	
y	21)mother
22)boy	
23)snowman	
24)boy and snowman	
	25)other snowmen
27)boy and snowman	
	28)Father Christmas
29)boy	
	30)other snowmen
	31)Father Christmas
	32)other snowmen
33)boy and snowman	34)other snowmen
	35)Father Christmas
36)boy	
	37)Father Christmas
38)boy	
39)snowman	
40)boy	
41)snowman	
42)boy	
	43)mother and father
44)boy	

* This presentation of chronology of referents is based on the video version of the story and the referents are presented according the sequence they take over the actions in the storyline.

5.1 LENGTH OF NARRATIVES

The length of the narratives was assessed by dividing the texts into minimal terminable units (T-units) that the Turkish language allows (cf. 4.3).

The narratives of the youngest group, which is the 3-year-old group with the mean age of 3;4, show a great variety in length. These children are able to produce a certain length of narratives which vary from 6-clause narratives to 30-clause narratives. But the majority produced narratives with a reasonable length centred around 15 clauses. The mean length of text for this group is 14 clauses.

An increase in terms of the number of clauses is observed with increasing age. Narratives of the 5-year-old group are mostly around 15-20 clauses but there were some up to 40 clauses in length. The mean length increased to 22 clauses at this age.

The effect of age in the length of narratives become obvious in the 7-year-old group. Children in this group produce narratives twice the length of the younger groups. The mean length of text in this group is 45 clauses. The adult group which is also the control group in the study produce narratives with mean length of 93 clauses.

Table 5.1.1 Mean length of texts of age groups

Age	3-yr-old	5-yr-old	7-yr-old	Adult
Total	272	444	894	1854
Mean	13.6	22	45	93
Difference in means	8.6		22.5	48

When a one-way ANOVA is applied with respect to age, a significant difference across the age groups is revealed (F=87.59; df=3; p<.0001).

Figure 5.1.1 Mean length of texts

Taking a closer look into the developmental trend between the age groups, we see that the differences between respective ages are all highly significant. The least difference is observed between 3 and 5-year-old groups (t=7.77; df=3; p≤.0001). The difference in group means is

8.6. Although some linguistic development takes place until the age of 5, the developmental procedure seems to accelerate between the ages of 5 and 7 with a difference between the group means of 22.5 (t=11.51; df=3; p≤.0001). The narratives become much longer in terms of the average and maximum number of clauses after the age of 5 than they do between the ages of 3 and 5. This development continues after the age of 7. The difference between mean length of the texts of 7-year-olds and adults, which is 48 clauses, shows that the substantial development takes place after the age of 7 and that there still is a great difference between them and the adults (t=12.91; df=3; p≤.0001). Being able to weave the narratives around the referents by holding these referents long enough is directly related to increasing age and acquiring this competence requires later ages. It is because children start producing more elaborated and informed narratives after the age of 5. They become more capable of maintaining a particular referent for longer time than younger children.

5.2 NUMBER OF REFERENTS

The number of referents introduced into the story is in direct relation to the linguistic and the cognitive development of children by increasing age. In order to address the issue of how children organize their stories around the referents involved in the events, we also

delineate the number of referents in their narratives by counting the number of referents in each child's story individually and then by calculating the group means for each age group. Therefore, we now look at the ability of children to include all referents involved in events of a narrative, since this also may help us to decide whether children achieve coherence by employing referents in their narratives. As we showed the same film to all groups of subjects, the number of the referents that could become the topic of the storyline continuously and from time to time has been controlled.

Children starting from the age of 3 are able to organize their stories around a number of referents. We had six actively involved referents in our story. 3-year-olds include three of these referents on average. This number shows a gradual change with the increasing age. The average number of referents in the 5-year-old group is 4. While 7-year-olds managed to mention five referents on average, adults involve all six of the referents into their narratives.

Table 5.2.1 Mean number of referents introduced

Age	3-yr-old	5-yr-old	7-yr-old	Adult
Total	72	87	97	117
Mean	3.6	4.3	4.9	5.9
Difference in means	0.7	0.6		1

A significant developmental difference is observed at .0001 level (F=17.63; df=3; p≤.0001).

Figure 5.2.1 Mean number of referents introduced

The group means, this time, show that the least development takes place between the ages of 5 and 7 compared with the other groups. The difference between the group means of the ages of 3 and 5 is higher than between 5-year-olds and 7-year-olds, meaning that, as far as the number of referents they talk are concerned, the development is more rapid between the ages of 3 and 5 (t=6.30; df=3; p≤.0001). Although children's ability increases with increasing age, the difference in group means between the 7-year-old group and adults signals that the highest development takes place after the age of 7. The difference is highly significant between the ages of 3 and 5; also between 5 and 7 and between 7-year-olds and adults (t=6.16; df=3; p≤.0001 and t=6.85; df=3; p≤.0001).

The number of referents increases with increasing age since the more referents introduced to the story, the more complex the story becomes and the more the cognitive burden is to the narrator in order to form a coherent narrative (Bennett-Kastor, 1983). The narrator has to keep track of each referent that has been introduced and has to establish the relations of these referents to each other since stories are not about randomly selected referents. Finally these referents should be further reiterated by means of appropriate linguistic expression. That is, the child has to take care of the listeners' needs cognitively by taking his/her point of view and linguistically by employing the appropriate linguistic expression for appropriate situation. These requirements are only met by linguistic and cognitive growth by age.

5.2.1 Number of Major Referents

The previous analysis has shown that children at different ages introduce different number of referents into their narratives and this number increases with age. Having established the different characteristics of the referents, we now question how these characteristics have an effect on the performances of different age groups and perform the analysis on major referents, namely the boy and the snowman, and on minor referents, who are the boy's mother and father, Father Christmas and other snowmen

they meet at the North Pole, to see whether a narrator has a different attitude towards the characteristics of a referent being a major or minor referent.

Table 5.2.2 Number of major referents introduced by age groups

Age	3-yr-old	5-yr-old	7-yr-old	Adult
Total	40	40	40	40
Mean	2	2	2	2

As Table 5.2.2 shows, there is no difference across the groups in terms of the number of the major referents introduced to the story. All the children even the youngest group introduce both of the major referents into their narratives.
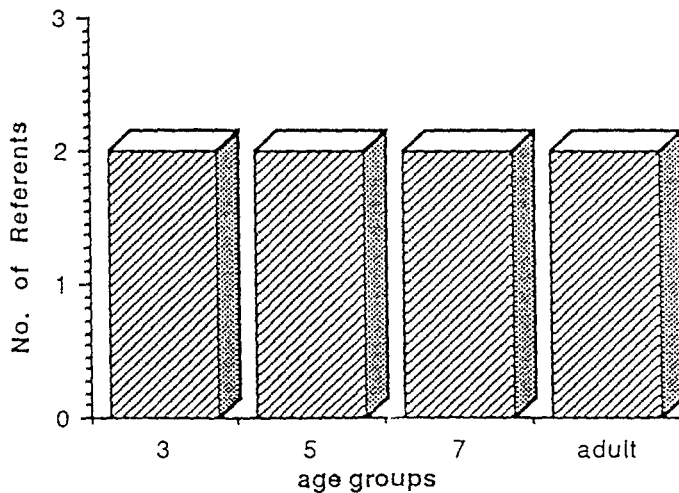
Figure 5.2.3 Mean number of major referents introduced by age groups

5.2.2 Number of Minor Referents

However, as seen in Table 5.2.3, introduction of minor referents into the story presents a different picture than the introduction of the major referents. Two out of 20 3-year-olds do not include the minor referents in their narratives at all. While 7 of them introduce only one of the minor referents, the other 7 introduce two of them into their narratives. Another 2 manage to introduce three referents while only 1 child introduces four of the minor referents. The total number of introductions of minor referents is 33 with the mean number of 1.7 for this group. In the 5-year-old group, three out of 20 introduce only one; six of them two, seven of them 3 and three of them introduce all four of the minor referents while one of the children do not introduce any minor referents at all. The total number is 48 and the mean is 2.4. With 7-year-olds the numbers increase. Firstly, all the children have minor referents in their texts and half of the group introduce all four of them; so the total number of this group is 62 with mean number of 3.1. In the adult group, eighteen adults out of 20 introduce four, one adult two and another one introduces three referents. The total number is 77 and the mean number is 3.9 for this group.

5.3 REITERATION OF REFERENTS

We next analyse our findings to determine whether the children in our study produce coherent narratives providing the continuity of the referents. Since the same film was shown to all groups of subjects, the number of the referents that are involved in the actions throughout the storyline either continuously or from time to time has been controlled. Once again, we analyse major and minor referents separately. To measure the reiteration of the referents quantitatively, we count the number of mentions of each referent for each child and each group and then calculate the group totals by adding up each child's score in each group and the group means by dividing the total value by the number of children of each group.

5.3.1 Reiteration of Major Referents

When we consider the major referents -the boy and the snowman- all the children in all age groups can reiterate these referents throughout their narratives. The table below shows the total number of mentions of major referents and group means as well as differences between the group means for major referents.

Table 5.3.1 Reiteration of major referents

Age	3-yr-old	5-yr-old	7-yr-old	Adult
Total	118	135	196	387
Mean	5.9	6.7	9.8	19.3
Difference in Means	0.8	3.1	9.5	

Although all the subjects including the 3-year-olds can reiterate the major referents a number of times, the number of mentions shows a significant developmental difference across the age groups due to the increasing length of the stories with increasing age. Number of the mentions of the referents and the length of the texts are associated with each other. The more they mention the referents they introduced, the longer their stories become. Since older groups have longer texts, the space that these referents control in the text is greater than those which are mentioned in younger children's texts ($F=40.24$; $df=3$; $p \leq .0001$).
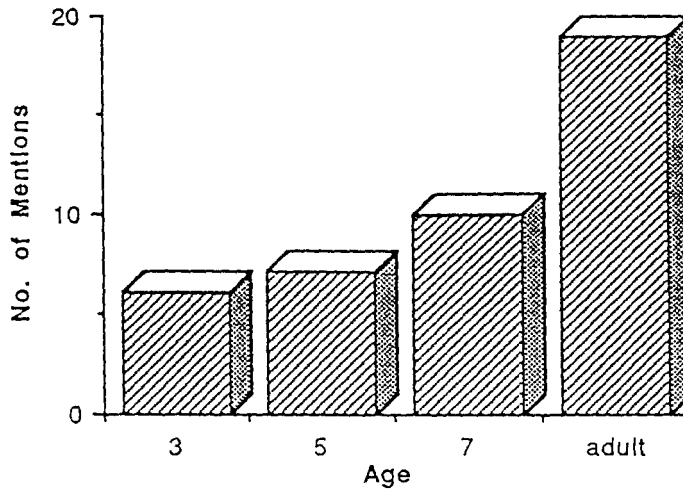
Figure 5.3.1 Mean number of mentions of major referents

The analysis of the developmental trend across the groups shows that the difference between each age group is highly significant. Increasing difference in the group means between the age groups signifies a gradual development. The difference between the group means of the ages of 3 and 5 is 0.8 (t=3.91; df=3; p≤.0001). The difference between the group means of 5 and 7, which is 3.1, shows that development accelerates after 5 (t=5.61; df=3; p≤.0001). The most substantial development, however, takes place after the age of 7 which is signified by the large difference in group means of 7-year-olds and adults, which is 9.5 (t=4.19; df=3; p≤.0001).

As seen above, children at all ages can reiterate the major referents after their introduction into the story more than once. But can they reiterate the minor referents through the text in the same way with major referents?

The number of the subjects who introduce and maintain minor referents is relatively small in comparison with the number who introduce and maintain the major referents.

5.3.2 Reiteration of Minor Referents

When it comes to minor referents, the boy's mother and father, Father Christmas and other snowmen, we basically adopt the same measure with major referents. The number of mentions for each referent is counted and then the score for each referent is added up to form the total score for each child. Finally, the group totals and the group means are calculated. But, the data display that reiteration of minor referents is different than that of major referents. Although all the major referents are reiterated several times by even the youngest age group, this tendency changes with the minor referents. Especially younger children introduce these minor referents and then never reiterate them. In some instances, these referents are reiterated only once after the introduction and are never mentioned again although they appear again in the eventline. The analysis, accordingly, is presented at three levels:

- minor referents mentioned once;
- minor referents reiterated once;
- minor referents reiterated more than once;

by comparing the percentages of the raw scores between the age groups.

Eighteen of the 3-year-old children introduce these minor characters and then drop them and never mention them again. The total number of minor referents introduced into the stories by these children is 33 with the mean number of 1.7. 91% of these referents are mentioned only once . Only 9% of those introduced NPs are reiterated. The 5-year-old children altogether make 48 minor referents introductions (2.4 on average) and drop 81% of those after the introduction. The other 13% is reiterated only once and the other 6% is reiterated more than once. The 7-year-olds introduce 62 minor referents altogether. The group mean is 3.1. Among those introduced ones, 50% are mentioned only once; 27% are reiterated more than once. Finally, adults introduce in total 77 minor referents of which 29% is reiterated only once and of which 52% is reiterated more than once after the introduction. Therefore, the number of the minor referents which are introduced and dropped after the first mention decreases with the increasing age whereas of those subsequently mentioned increases with the increasing age.

Table 5.3.2 Evaluation of minor referent across age groups

Age	Number of referents		
	total	mean	diff.in means
3-year	33	1.7	
			0.7
5-year	48	2.4	
			0.7
7-year	62	3.1	
			0.8
Adult	77	3.9	

	Number of referents mentioned once			
	total	mean	%	diff. in means
3-year	30	1.5	91	
				0.4
5-year	39	1.9	81	
				-0.4
7-year	30	1.5	50	
				-0.7
Adult	15	0.8	19	

	Number of referents reiterated once			
	total	mean	%	diff. in means
3-year	3	0.1	9	
				0.2
5-year	6	0.3	13	
				0.5
7-year	16	0.8	27	
				0.3
Adult	22	1.1	29	

	Number of referentsreiterated more<once			
	total	mean	%	diff. in means
3-year	-	-	-	
				0.1
5-year	3	0.1	6	
				0.6
7-year	14	0.7	23	
				1.3
Adult	40	2	52	

As far as the referents that are mentioned only once are concerned, the difference is significant at .001 level (F=5.92; df=3; p≤.001).
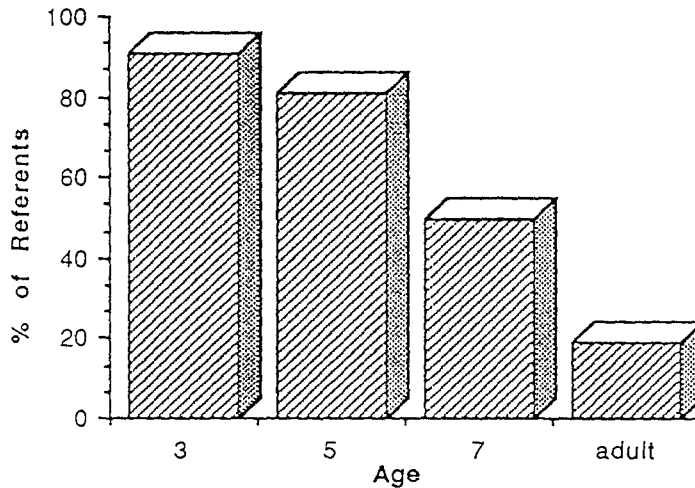
Figure 5.3.2 Percentage of minor referents mentioned once by age groups

The ratio of the referents that are mentioned once decreases with the increasing age. The difference between 3 and 5-year-old groups is not significant (t=-0.42; df=3; p≤.675). No development takes place until the age of 5. Children at those ages tend to drop these referents after the introduction. The development starts after the age of 5 at which the children become more conscious about reiterating the referents and weaving their stories around the referents they introduce. The difference between 5 and 7-year-old groups is significant at .005 level (t=-2.95; df=3; p≤.005).

In spite of the considerable progress up to this age, there still is a difference between them and the adults which is greater that the difference between the other groups (t=-3.81; df= 3; p≤.0001).

When we focus on the referents that are reiterated at least once, a highly significant difference is observed across the groups (F=10.10; df=3; p≤.0001). But this time developmental change occurs in relation to the increasing age.
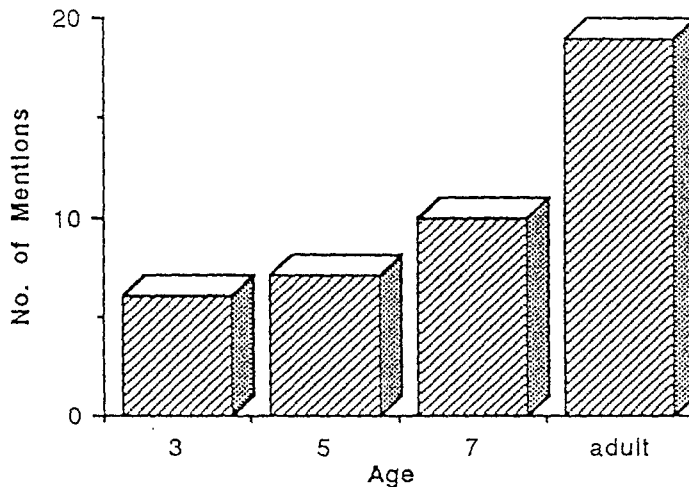
Figure 5.3.4 Percentage of minor referents ⁻reiterated once by age groups

Though the children do not progress much by the age of 5, there still is a significant difference between age 3 and age 5 (t=4.07; df=3; p≤.0001).As it is the same with the other issues, the development is greater after age 5 by age 7

(t=5.53; df=3; p≤.0001). After age 7, the children still have to acquire this aspect of discourse requirement to reach the adult level (t=4.29; df= 3; p≤.0001) but most of the development takes place between 5 and 7.

When it comes to the reiteration of the minor referents more than once, we once again see the effect of age difference. There is a significant developmental difference across the age groups (F=41=69; df=3; p≤.0001).
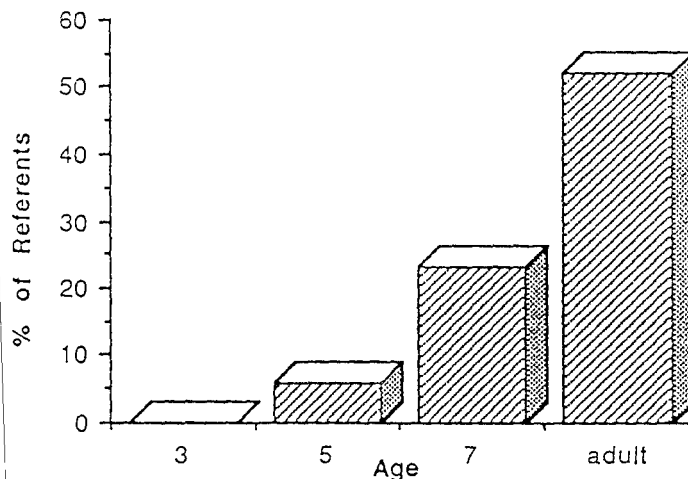
Figure 5.3.5 Percentage of minor referents repeated more than once

The youngest group can manage to reiterate a very small number of the minor referents once but none of them can do that more than once. Since 5-year-old children are able to repeat these to a small extent, the difference is still significant although small between 3 and 5 (t=4.91; df= 3; p≤.0001). The difference becomes greater after 5 by the age of 7. Children become much more competent in building

their narratives around the referents (t=8.50; df=3; p≤.0001). Nevertheless, they do not yet reach the adult level of competence. The difference between the adult group and the 7-year-olds is the greatest of them all (t=9.37; df= 3; p≤.0001).

We have examined how children employ noun phrases to make their stories coherent. Then, we look at what text distance in a narrative these children can reiterate the same referent after this particular referent is introduced in the discourse to be able to address a particular research question related to how long children can hold a given referent.

5.4 INTERVENING CLAUSES BETWEEN THE MENTIONS OF THE REFERENTS

This section seeks an answer to Research Question 2 which is *"At what text distance in a narrative can children reiterate the same referent after this particular referent is introduced earlier in the discourse?"*. The analysis is conducted separately with respect to major and minor referents again to point out any effects of such characteristics of the referents. For quantitative analysis, the number of clauses that intervene between the first mention and second mention of the same referent as full NP are counted. The same measure is applied for both major and minor referents. Intervening clauses between major

referents are analysed in section 5.4.1 while the analysis related to the intervening clauses between minor referents is given in section 5.4.2.

5.4.1 Intervening Clauses Between Major Referents

Young children at 3 and 5 years of age tend to reiterate the major referents after fewer clauses than older children and adults. Children at this age reiterate a major referent on average 9 clauses further after the introduction. 5-year-old children show a slight difference to the youngest group and the mean number of intervening clauses between the introduction and the subsequent mention of the same referent is 13.   7-year-olds and adults can reiterate the same referents across greater distances in the text.   7-year-olds reiterate a major referent after 27 clauses on average while this number is 30 for adults.

Table 5.4.1   Mean number of intervening clauses between two mentions of major referents

Age	3-yr-old	5-yr-old	7-yr-old	Adult
Mean	9	13	27	30
Differences in Means	4	14	3	

There is a significant developmental difference across the age groups (F=15.27; df=3; p≤.0001).
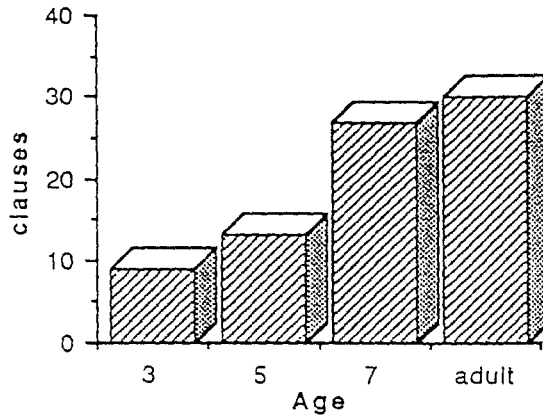
Figure 5.4.1 Mean number of intervening clauses between two mentions of major referents

The difference between all age groups is significant at .0001 level. The mean number of 27 clauses shows that NPs control larger spaces in 7-year-old children's narratives which also shows that children progress more after the age of 5. The difference in group means between the 5 and 7-year-old groups, which is 14, is bigger than the difference between any other groups (t=6.38; df=3; p≤.0001). That certainly does not mean that, at the age of 7, they reach the adult level of competence, which shows an average of 30 clauses between the mentions, when this particular issue is concerned. There is still a significant difference between 3 and 5 and 7-year-olds and adults (t=4.41; df=3; p≤.0001 and t=4.47; df=3; p≤.0001 respectively). But most of the linguistic development takes place between the ages of 5 and 7. With our statistical analysis, we can say that

children do not develop after 7 as much as they do between 5 and 7.

5.4.2   Intervening Clauses Between Minor Referents

However, the same children do not show the same performance with the minor referents. As we have seen with the other issues, they have difficulty in maintaining the minor referents. Although 18 of the twenty children introduce some of the minor referents into their narratives, only 3 of them manage to remention the same referents in the very next clause once. So, the mean number is zero which means that these referents do not control any space in the narratives of children at this age. Ten out of 20 5-year-old children have the subsequent mentions of the minor referents only in the next clause, therefore, the mean number is 1. The 7-year-old group is, on the other hand, capable of reiterating these referents across greater distances in the text as they do with the major referents. Though the mean number of intervening clauses is 10 which is less than the mean number of major referents. Adults have 39 intervening clauses between the two mentions on average which is much higher than the oldest children group.

Table 5.4.2   *Mean number of intervening clauses between two*
               mentions of minor referents

Age	3-yr-old	5-yr-old	7-yr-old	Adult
Mean	0	1	10	39
Difference in Means		1	9	29

The difference is significant at .0001 level (F=42.80;   df=3;
p≤.0001).

Figure 5.4.2 Mean number of intervening clauses
between two mentions of minor referents

When we observe the trend of the development,   we
again   see that the difference between 5 and 7-year-old
groups is greater than the difference between 3 and 5-year-
olds (t=3.32;   df=3;   p≤.0001 and t=5.60;   df=3;   p≤.0001
respectively).   The difference in group means between the 3
and 5-year-old groups is 1 while it is 9 between 5 and 7-

year-olds.   The highest difference in means is between the
7-year-old group and the adults,   which is 29,   revealing
that,   in terms of the intervening clauses 7-year-olds has
more to develop in order to reach the adult level in
developing their   narratives around the minor   referents
(t=7.13; df= 3; p≤.0001).

5.5 SUMMARY

The quantitative analysis of the data has shown that
there is a highly significant developmental difference not
only in the length of the narratives produced by children at
the ages of 3,   5 and 7 but in organizing the utterances
around various referents in compared with the narratives
by the adults.   Children as young as 3 can introduce a
number of referents into their stories and reiterate them in
the successive clauses of the story.   Yet,   this capability of
young children is limited to major referents. When the
minor referents come to the focus, these children cannot
provide the continuity.   But,   this ability increases with the
increasing age and the older the children are,   the more
competent they become with both the major and the minor
referents.

Apart from the reiteration of the referents,   the
number of the clauses intervening between the introduction
and the subsequent mention show changes in accordance
with the increasing age.   The domain of a particular referent

within the discourse increases as the children get older, and each referent controls a larger stretch of discourse. Consequently, more clauses become thematically centred on referents.

CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION 2:
CREATING, MAINTAINING AND
SWITCHING REFERENTS

In this chapter, we are going to pursue Research Question 3 which is *"Can young children establish the specificity of referents when they introduce them in discourse? Do they create a presupposition about the existence and specificity of a particular referent by using appropriate indefinite forms for the first mentions and maintain these referents with appropriate linguistic forms which pertain to the listener's needs? How do they switch the reference from one referent to the other?"*. Reiteration of the introduced referents throughout the text is one way of providing the continuity in the text. Apart from reiterating the referents, the linguistic ways in which these particular referents are first introduced and subsequently mentioned have an important role in the unity of the text. We frequently talk about more than one referent who engages in different actions in narrating an event; so, we switch from one referent to another in the course of the narrative. Therefore, not only reiterating the referents but creating, maintaining and switching these referents appropriately contributes to the coherence of a narrative.

In spoken discourse, a speaker decides what the hearer already knows and what s/he does not know. Keeping this in mind, the speaker has to use appropriate syntactic forms to make clear that this particular referent is just being created and is new to the hearer; or it has already been introduced and is just being repeated. Thus, the speaker is expected to use an appropriate linguistic

expression which is frequently an indefinite form of an NP to create a new referent that the hearer does not know about to refer to this referent using definite forms in the subsequent mentions.   (1)

(1)   Yesterday I saw a girl get bitten by a dog.

I tried to catch the dog, but it ran away.

(cited in Brown and Yule, 1983: 170)

In the first utterance,   the speaker assumes that the hearer does not know about the referents he is talking and these referents are not specific to the hearer;   that is   why he uses the indefinite forms of the NPs 'a girl'   and 'a dog' to create the referents which he can refer to in the following utterance.   In the second utterance,   the speaker then uses definite forms to maintain the referents he has already established for the speaker.   This time the speaker has a particular referent in mind and also expects the listener to share the same particular referent.

When there is more than one referent involved in the events,   the speaker needs to switch from one referent to the other where necessary.   The referents are switched either by use of definite full NPs or anaphoric devices such as overt pronominal subjects or null subject.   Once more, the speaker should keep in mind whether the hearer shares the same information with him and whether he can bring the intended referent into the hearer's consciousness.

he/she needs to open a file for this referent for further use. All this information can be given to the hearer with appropriate linguistic expressions which are indefinite mentions of the referent. Thus, the referents which are introduced in the form of indefinite NPs or indefinite existential clauses are coded as appropriate. Since the referents are continuous in our story, the hearer, therefore, should be given the message that not only these referents are new but they are referential as well meaning that they will be referred to later in the discourse. The appropriate linguistic forms are;

- indefinite NP

- indefinite existential clause

which are illustrated in (2) and (3).

(2)   indefinite NP

   Bir   çocuk sabah   uyan -ıyor.
   a/one boy   morning wake PROG 3SG
   (A boy wakes up in the morning.)

   Kardan   adam   yap -ıyor   bir tane.[4]
   snowman   make PROG3SG   one
   ((He) builds a snowman)

   Bir sürü   kardan adam gör   -dü   -ler.
   a lot of   snowman   see   PAST   3PL

---

[4] Because of the flexible word order of Turkish, the indefinite marker *'bir tane '* (a/one) comes after the verb instead of preceding the NP *'kardan adam '* (snowman); however, it still defines the noun and gives indefineteness.

((They) saw a lot of snowmen)

(3)   indefinite existential clause

Bir tane   çocuk   var   -dı.

one   boy   exist   PAST3SG

(There was a boy)

Bir sürü   kardan adam var   -dı   orda.

a lot of   snowman   exist   PAST3SG   there

(There were a lot of snowmen there)

On the other hand, when these referents are introduced either in definite forms presupposing that these referents are known to the hearer; or in non-definite forms stating that the speaker mentions the referent but has no intention of establishing this particular referent to be referred to later, they are coded as inappropriate. The inappropriate forms are; (4)(5)

- definite NP

- non-definite NP

- pronominal subjects .

(4)   definite NP

Çocuk   küçü   -cük   -tü /

child   small   PART   PAST 3SG

(The boy was very little).

Kalk -tı   sonra kardan adam -ı yap -tı /

get up PAST3SG then   snowman   ACCmake PAST3SG

((He) got up, then (he) made the snowman.)

(5)   non-definite NPs

Kardan   adam   yap   -tı   çocuk/

snowman   make   PAST 3SG   child

(The boy made   (a) snowman.)

Apart from the definite and non-definite uses of NPs, there are some instances, although few, where children use null subjects for the first mentions. This usage is also coded as inappropriate. (6)

(6)   pronominal subject

Ø Kardan   adam yap   -tı/

snowman   make PAST 3SG

((He) made a snowman.)

There are some instances in which definite linguistic expressions are perfectly acceptable and appropriate in accordance with the discourse rules. That is why definite expressions such as definite full NPs and definite existential clauses are grouped as appropriate when they are used to introduce a referent in relation to another referent which has been mentioned previously in the discourse such as *'the boy's father and mother '* and *'the snowman's friends '*.

These forms are also appropriate in introducing Father Christmas since he is a universal character which is specific and unique to every hearer with the help of world knowledge.

(7) *Noel baba' yı   gör -dü   -ler/*
FatherXmasACC see   PAST 3PL
((They) saw   Father Christmas)

Anne -si "çorap -lar -ı -nı   giy " di- yor/
motherPOSS sock PLU POSS ACC wear say PROG 3SG
(His mother says "Put on your socks".)

Kardan adam -ın   arkadaş -lar -ı -nı
snowman   GEN   friend   PLU POSS ACC
gör   -dü -ler /
see   PAST 3PL
((They) saw the snowman's friends.)

Çocuğ   -un baba -sı   da   var -dı/
boy   GEN father POSS too exist PAST 3SG)
(There was this boy's father, too.)

Orada Noel baba   da   var -dı/
there FatherXmas too exist PAST 3SG
(There was Father Christmas there, too.)

Kardan adam-ın arkadaş-lar-ı   var -dı/
snowman   GEN friends PLU POSS exist PAST 3SG
(There were snowman's friends)

Table 6.1.1 *Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referent creating expressions of all age groups.*

Age	Appropriate	Inappropriate
3-year	44% (N=23)	56% (N=40)
5-year	55% (N=47)	45% (N=39)
7-year	76% (N=77)	24% (N=24)
Adult	92% (N=108)	8% (N=10)

We start first with the responses of our youngest group, the 3-year-old group. The total number of the introduced referents is 71 and 44% of this total consists of the appropriate referring expressions and the remaining 56% consists of the inappropriate forms.

The appropriate forms of this group are;

- indefinite existential clause

- definite NP

- definite existential clause.

(8)   indefinite existential clause

Bir sürü   kardan adam   var -dı/   (3;3)

a lot of   snowman   exist PAST 3SG

(There were a lot of snowmen)

Bir   çocuk   var   -mış/   ⁻ (3;3)

a/one   boy   exist   PAST 3SG

(There was a boy)

Bir tane   kardan adam var   -mış/   (3;3)

one   snowman   exist PAST 3SG

(There was a snowman)

According to our criteria,   the definite NPs and definite
existential clauses when they are employed to introduce the
boy's parents,   and Father Christmas are coded appropriate
as well.   Therefore,   in addition to the indefinite uses,   the
following   are among the appropriate forms:

(9)   definite NP

Noel Baba   çık   -mış   orta   -ya/ (3;9)

FatherXmas exist   PAST3SG middle DAT

(Father Christmas appeared there)

Çocuğ -un baba -sı   da   var   -dı/ (3;3)

boy   GEN father POSS too   exist PAST 3SG

(There was this boy's father)

Noel Baba   da   var -dı/   (3;11)

FatherXmas too exist PAST 3SG

(There was Father Christmas,   too)

74% of the appropriate expressions are formed
of definite expressions;   only 26% of them are in the
indefinite form.   These 3-year-old children use indefinite
expressions only to introduce the plural referents - namely
the other snowmen -(10);   only two children out of 20 can

use indefinite existential clause to introduce the boy and the snowman which are the major referents in the story. (11)

(10) *Orada çok   kardan adam   var -dı/*   (3;3)
there a lot of snowman   exist PAST 3SG
(There were a lot of snowmen there)

Orada   kardan adam -lar var   -dı/   (3;3)
there   snowman   PLU exist PAST 3SG
(There were snowmen there)

Bir   sürü   kardan adam   var   -dı/   (3;8)
a lot of   snowman   exist PAST 3SG
(There were a lot of snowmen)

(11) *Bir tane kardan adam   var   -dı/*   (3;3)
one   snowman   exist PAST 3SG
(There was a snowman)

Bir   çocuk   var   -mış/   (3;3)
a/one boy   exist   PAST 3SG
(There was a boy.)

The definite or non-definite expressions and null subjects which are used to introduce the boy and the snowman are the inappropriate forms that this group have.

(12) definite full NP

Çocuk   koy -du   şapka   -yı/   (3;4)

boy   put PAST3SG   hat   ACC

((The) child put the hat.)

Çocuk   -la   kardan adam   örtü   -nün (3:9)

boy   with   snowman   cover GEN

alt   -ı   -nda   motor   bul   -du   -lar   büyük/

underPOSSLOCbike   find   PAST   3PL   big

(The boy and the snowman found a big

motorbike under the cover.)

(13) non-definite full NP

Kardan   adam   yap   -tı   çocuk / (3;3)

snowman   make   PAST3SG   boy

((The) boy built snowman)

(14) definite existential clause

Çocuk   var   -dı/   (3;4)

boy   exist   PAST 3SG

(There was the boy)

Kardan adam   var   -dı /   (3;8)

snowman   exist   PAST 3SG

(There was the snowman)

(15) null subject

Ø Kardan adam   yap   -tı/   (3;11)

    snowman   make PAST 3SG

((He) built (the) snowman).

68% of the inappropriate forms are definite full NPs. Non-definite full NPs form 30% of the inappropriate expressions. Only 2% of the referents are introduced by null subject which is completely unacceptable in the first mentions of the referents in discourse.

Table 6.1.2   Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referring expressions of the 3-year-old children.

Appropriate Total N=31 (44%)		Inappropriate Total N=40 (56%)	
definite forms	74%(N=23)	definite full NP	68%(N=27)
indefinite forms	26%(N=8)	non-definite NP	30%(N=12)
		null subject	2%(N=1)

The ratio of the appropriate referring expressions is relatively higher in the 5-year-old group than it is in the 3-year-old group. The total number of the introduced referents is 86 of which 47% is coded as appropriate and 45% is inappropriate. The appropriate groups are;

- indefinite existential clause

- indefinite NP

- definite NP

These appropriate categories are exemplified below (16) (17) (18).

(16) indefinite existential clause

Bir   çocuk   var   -dı/   (5;5)

a/one   boy   exist PAST 3SG

(There was a boy.)

Orada bir sürü kardan adam -lar var -dı/ (5;3)

there a lot of   snowman   PLU exist PAST 3SG

(There were a lot of snowmen there.)

(17) indefinite NP

Bir sürü   kardan adam   gör -dü   -ler/ (5;4)

a lot of   snowman   see   PAST 3PL

((They) saw a lot of snowmen).

Sonra   bir   kardan adam   yap   -tı/ (5;0)

then   a/one   snowman   make PAST 3SG

(Then, (he)   built a snowman)

Bir tane kardanadam   yap   -ıyor (5;7)

one   snowman   make PROG3SG

bir tane çocuk/

a/one   boy

(A boy builts a snowman.)

(18) definite expressions which are employed for the introduction of Father Christmas,   the boy's parents and the other snowman they meet at the North Pole.

Noel Baba'   *-yi*   *gör*   *-dü*   *-ler/* (5;4)

FatherXmas ACC   see   PAST   3PL

((They) saw Father Christmas.)

Anne   *-si*   *yatır*   *-dı*   *o* *-nu/* (5;3)

mother POSS   put into bed PAST3SGhe ACC

(His mum put him into bed.)

Bütün arkadaş   *-lar -ı -nı gör -dü -ler/* (5;5)

all   friends   PLU POSSACC see   PAST   3PL

((They) saw   all (of the snowman's) friends.)

The majority of the appropriate forms is in definite form in this group as well (68%:Total N=32). Like the 3-year-old group, children at 5 still use the indefinite forms - indefinite NPs and indefinite existential clauses- for plural referents. The total number of indefinite expressions is 15 and 60% of them is for the plural ones while 40% is for the boy and the snowman.

45% of the first mentioning expressions are coded inappropriate. They are the referents introduced with;

- definite NPs

- definite existential clauses

- pronominal subjects.

(19) definite forms

Çocuk dışarı   *çık*   *-tı/*   (5;7)

boy   outside   go   PAST 3SG

Table 6.1.3   Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate
referring expressions of the 5-year-old children

Appropriate Total N=47 (55		Inappropriate Total N=39 (45%)	
definite forms	68%(N=32)	definite full NP	59%(N=23)
indefinite forms	32%(N=15)	non-definite NP	39%(N=15)
		null subject	2%(N=1)

7-year-old children become more competent in using appropriate forms in first mentioning referents in discourse. The total number of the introduced referents is 101 of which 77% is appropriate as first mentioning referring expressions.   The appropriate forms are;

- indefinite NP

- indefinite existential clause

- definite NP.

(21)   indefinite NP

Kardan adam   yap -ıyor   bir tane /   (7;3)

snowman   make PROG3SG   a/one

((He) builts a snowman.)

Bir tane çocuk bir kardan adam yap -ıyor/ (7;11)

a/one   boy   a/one snowman make PROG3SG

(A boy builds a snowman.)

(22)   indefinite existential clause

Bir tane çocuk   var -dı/   (7;7)

one   boy   exist PAST 3SG

(There was a boy.)

Bir sürü kardan adam var   -dı/   (7;7)

a lot of   snowman   exist PAST 3SG

(There were a lot of snowmen.)

(23) definite forms for the boy's mother,   Father Christmas,   other snowmen

Anne   -si   kız   -ıyor/   (7;5)

mother POSS get angry PROG 3SG

((His) mother gets angry.)

Onlar -ın ara - sı   -nda   da Noel Baba (7;11)

they GEN among POSS LOC too   FatherXmas

var -dı/

exist PAST3SG

(There was Father Christmas among them.)

Kardan adam -ın arkadaş -lar -ı (7;11)

snowman   GEN friend   PLU POSS

var -dı/

exist PAST3SG

((There were) the snowman's friends.

At this age,   the ratio of the indefinite forms,   which is 38%,   becomes higher compared with the younger groups. In addition to this,   the 7-year-old group is more competent

in using indefinite referring expressions for the singular referents, which are the boy and the snowman, than the plural referent, other snowmen. The total number of the indefinite expressions is 30 and 67% is for the singular referents.

The definite expressions which are used for first mentions except for mother and father and Father Christmas and other snowmen if introduced in relation to the snowman, are coded as inappropriate. Therefore, inappropriate referring expressions are;

- definite NP

- non-definite NP.

These expressions form 24% of the total referring expressions. Most of the inappropriate expressions are the definite NPs with accusative case markers which are employed to introduce the snowman (24) or definite full NPs to introduce the boy (25).

(24) *Sonra büyük bir kar yap -ıp, kardan adam -ı* (7;5)

   then big a snow make GER snowman ACC

   meydana getir -iyor/

   bring in   PROG 3SG

   (Then, (he) makes a big piece of snow and builts the snowman.)

   Kardan adam   -ı   yap -tı/   (7;7)

   snowman   ACC make PAST 3SG

   ((He) built the snowman.)

(25) *Çocuk   uyan -dı/*   (7;4)

boy   wake PAST 3SG

((The) boy woke up.)

Table 6.1.4   Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate
referring expressions of the 7-year-old group

Appropriate Total N=77 (76%)		Inappropriate Total N=24 (24%)	
definite forms	61%(N=47)	definite full NP	63%(N=15)
indefinite forms	38%(N=30)	non-definite NP	37%(N=9)

The adult group introduced a total of 118 referents of which 92% are coded with appropriate referring expressions and of which 8% with inappropriate expressions. The appropriate forms are;

- indefinite existential clause

- indefinite NP

- definite NP.

(26) indefinite existential clause

Bir çocuk var/

one boy   exist

(There is a boy.)

Bir bak -ıyor - lar ki bir dolu kardan adam var/

ADVBLlookPROG3PLPART a lot of   snowman   exist

((They) see that there are a lot of snowmen.)

(27) indefinite NP

Kocaman bir tane kardan adam   yap -ıyor/

huge   a/one   snowman   make PROG 3SG

((He) builts a huge snowman.)

(28) definite expressions

Kardan adam -ın bir sürü arkadaş -ı   var,

snowman   GEN a lot of   friend POSS exist

hepsi kardanadam /

all   snowmen

(There are a lot of friends of the snowman,   all

(are) snowmen.)

The adult group has the highest score of them all in
terms of both the number of indefinite expressions totally
and the number of indefinite expressions for singular
referents.   45% of the appropriate expressions are in
indefinite forms.   67% of these indefinite forms are for
singular referents.

Half of the inappropriate referring expressions include
the use of definite NPs for first mentioning expressions.

(29) *Bütün kardan adam-lar hep ora -ya gel -miş/*

all   snowman   PLUall thereDAT come PAST3SG

(All the snowmen came there.)

Adults still use some non-definite expressions, although fewer than the other groups, for the first mentions of the referents.

(30) *Kardan adam*   *yap*   *-ti/*

     snowman   make   PAST3SG

     ((He) made (a) snowman.)

Table 6.1.5 Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referring expressions of adults

Appropriate Total N=118 (92%)		Inappropriate Total N=10 (8%)	
definite forms	55%(N=59)	definite full NP	50%(N=5)
indefinite forms	45%(N=50)	non-definite NP	50%(N=5)

6.1.1 Developmental Differences in Creating Referents

The forms of appropriate and inappropriate expressions change with increasing age as well. The first change appears with the use of indefinite forms for singular referents such as boy and the snowman. Only 19% of the indefinite appropriate expressions are used to introduce the singular referents in the 3-year-old group. This ratio increases with age which is 40% at 5 and 67% for the 7-year-old group. This is the outcome of growing linguistic ability. Younger children are not quite able to use the singular indefinite marker *'bir '*(a/one). The appropriate forms fall

into two main categories which are indefinite full NPs and indefinite existential clauses. Again, younger children show different tendencies to employ different linguistic expressions to introduce the referents. 3-year-old children prefer to use only the indefinite existential clause for their indefinite expressions which is indeed quite rare. 5-year-olds employ indefinite full NPs to a certain extent but indefinite existential clauses are mostly preferred. 7-year-olds have equal number of indefinite existential clauses and indefinite full NPs. Indefinite existential clauses are more frequently used than indefinite full NPs until the age of 7; it becomes equal at age 7. Meanwhile, adults display quite a different picture in terms of these two forms than children do. They employ more indefinite full NPs than indefinite existential clauses. Therefore, younger children's preference of indefinite existential clause over indefinite full NPs may not be the result of the adult input they normally get. This matter might need a further investigation which we could not include in this research.

Occasionally, younger children start their narratives introducing the referents as null subjects. This disappears with the increasing age. Besides the null subjects, the inappropriate forms fall into two distinct categories, definite and non-definite forms. Children at all age groups use definite forms more than non-definite forms while adults have the equal number of definite and non-definite expressions. We could say, then, that children are mostly aware that the referents they are talking about are

referential but they cannot use the appropriate linguistic form to express it. Unfortunately, we are unable to come up with any plausible reason why adults have definite forms 50% of the time and non-definites for the other 50% since both of the definite and non-definite forms are used to introduce the same referent, the snowman.

Table 6.1.6   Detailed account of appropriate and inappropriate referring expressions of age groups.

	Age	3-year	5-year	7-year	adult
Appropriate	Total N	44	55	76	92
	definite NP(%)	74	68	61	55
	indefinite NP(%)	26	32	38	45
Inappropriate	Total N	56	45	24	8
	definite NP(%)	68	59	63	50
	nondefinite NP	30	39	37	50
	null subject	2	2	-	-

The overall picture of the results shows that the number of appropriate referring expressions increase while the number of inappropriate referring expressions decrease with increasing age. Appropriate selection of referring expressions is not independent of group membership (x^2=60.96; df= 3; p≤ .0001).
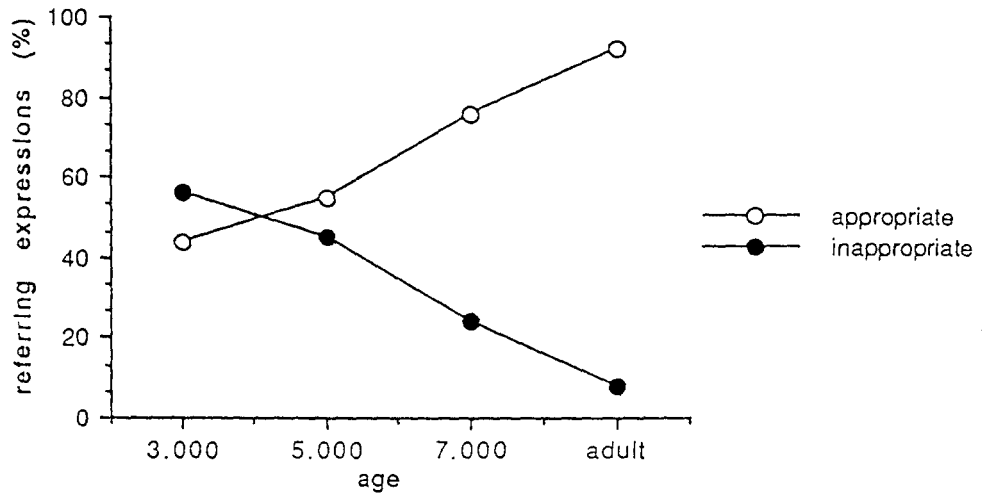
Figure 6.1.1 Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referring expressions according to the age groups.

In terms of both appropriate and inappropriate referring expressions, the difference between 3 and 5 is highly significant (t=6.10; df=3; p≤.0001 and t=-4.01; df=3; p≤.0001 respectively) and so is between 5 and 7-year-olds (t=8.28; df=3; p≤.0001 and t=-6.95; df=3; p≤.0001) and 7-year-olds and adults (t=7.28; df=3; p≤.0001 and t=-6.56; df=3; p≤.0001). On the other hand, the difference in group means gives a closer account in which we see that the substantial development takes place after the age of 5 (Table 6.1.1).

6.1.2 *Discussion*

Both the qualitative and the quantitative analysis has shown that at the age of 3 and 5 children are not able to create a referent with appropriate indefinite referring expressions as 7-year-olds and adults do. Brown (1973) states that English-speaking children acquire the nominative function of the indefinite article by the age of 3 and 4. But, when they need to use articles to refer, their responses are initially definite and the use of definite articles for referring is acquired late. Emslie and Stevenson (1981) claim that this late emergence of indefinite expressions in English is cognitive not linguistic. Children should take the hearer's point of view first and evaluate what the hearer already knows and what he needs to know so that they can use the appropriate indefinite forms. They, however, fail to take the hearer's point of view and therefore, presuppose that what is known to them is also known to the hearer. Consequently, the referring expressions become definite. Bresson et al (cited in Hickmann, 1982) also found that 4 and 5-year-old French-speaking children can use indefinite expressions in naming situations but they tend to use definite determiners in referring to a particular referent. Warden (1976) suggested that indefinite forms which are used for the first mentioning referents within linguistic context may appear at 9 years of age in English. In Hickmann's study (1980) English-speaking children start creating referents at the age of 7 in order to refer to them

later but this ability is only fully acquired by the age of 10 in situations where deixis is not possible.

In our study, the use of appropriate indefinite referring expressions in Turkish starts emerging at the age of 3 and shows a developmental increase with increasing age. Based on our data, it is not possible to say that young children are egocentric and they cannot take the listener's point of view. If they were, they would not be able to use indefinite referring expressions for plural referents. The fact that they do suggests that the reason is not cognitive but linguistic. Although we do not have any information when Turkish children start using indefinite markers in naming situations, we can say that they start using them in referential situations as early as 3. So, we would like to conclude that Turkish children realize the semantic distinction between the indefinite and definite uses of the referent creating devices but they do not have the linguistic maturity to express the referential function of singular indefinite expression *'bir '* (a/one).

6.2 MAINTAINING REFERENTS

Once the referent is created in discourse, it is then maintained by means of linguistic expressions since the same referent is involved in different events in the same discourse. In this section, we aim to answer the question of whether children are able to maintain the reference to the

created referents with appropriate linguistic forms which pertain to the listeners' needs. We would like to see first the linguistic forms that Turkish-speaking children and adults use to maintain the referents, then whether they use these linguistic expressions appropriately.

Table 6.2.1 Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referent maintaining expressions of all groups.

Age	3-year	5-year	7-year	adult
Appropriate	98%(N=50)98%	(N=54)100%	(N=72)100%	(N=113)
Inappropriate	2%(N=1)2%	(N=1)	-	-
Total	N=51	N=55	N=72	N=113

The 3-year-old children maintain the referents appropriately by means of three linguistic devices which are;

- definite NP

- null subject

- overt pronominal subject.

(28) definite NP

Çocuk   var   -dı   (3;3)

boy   exist PAST3SG

Kardan adam   yap   -ti   çocuk/

snowman   make PAST3SG   boy

(There was a boy/ The boy made (a) snowman.)

Kardan adam - la çocuk var -diı (3;7)

snowman   with boy exist PAST3SG

O çocuk kardan adam yap -ıyor -du /

that boy snowman make PROG PAST3SG

(There were the boy and the snowman/That boy

was building (a) snowman.)

(29) null subject

Kardan adam yap -tı çocuk/   (3;11)

snowman   make PAST boy

Ø Çok güzel   ol -du.

very beautiful be   PAST3SG

(The boy built (a) snowman/(It) was beautiful)

(30) overt pronominal subject

Çok   kardan adam var -dı/ (3;11)

a lot of   snowman   exist PAST

Onlar dansed -iyor -du/

they dance PROG PAST

(There were a lot of snowmen. They were

dancing.)

98% of the referents are maintained appropriately whereas 2% is with an inappropriate form. Definite existential clause is coded as inappropriate after the reference to that particular referent is created.

(31) *Noel Baba'nın*   *ora -ya*   *uç -tu -lar* /(3;7)

FatherXmas   there DAT fly PAST 3PL

Noel Baba   *var -dı* /

FatherXmas   exist PAST

((They) flew where Father Christmas was/There was Father Christmas.)

The most common way of maintaining referents is by using the null subject form which is a characteristic of pro-drop languages like Turkish (cf. Chapter 3). 50% of the referents are maintained with null subject. Definite NPs are used 44% of the time. Use of pronouns is only 6%.

Table 6.2.2 Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referent maintaining expressions of the 3-year-old group.

Appropriate Total N=50 (98%)		Inappropriate Total N=1 (2%)	
definite NP	50%(N=25)	definite exist clause	100%(N=1)
null subject	44%(N=22)		
overt pronominal	6%(N=3)		

The total number of the maintained referents is 54 for the 5-year-old group. 98% of the responses fall in one of the appropriate categories while 2% is given with inappropriate forms. The appropriate forms are;

- definite NP
- null subject
- overt pronominal subject.

(32)   definite NP

Kardan adam yap   -mış -tı/   (5;5)

snowman   make   PAST PAST3SG

Kardan adam da gerçek ol -du /

snowman   too real   be PAST

((The boy)   built (a) snowman/The snowman

became real)

(33)   null subject

Orada bir sürü arkadaş -lar -ı var -dı (5;7)

there a lot of   friend   PLU POSS exist PAST

kardan adam -ın/

snowman   GEN

Ø Dizil   -miş -ler   -di/

line up PAST PLU PAST3SG

(There were a lot of friends of the

snowman/(They) lined up.)

(34)   overt pronominal subject

Çocuk yatağ -ı -nda uyur -ken   (5;5)

boy   bed POSS LOC sleep while

kar yağ   -ıyor   -du /

snow snow PROG PAST3SG

O   da uyan -dı /

he   wake PAST3SG

(While (the) boy was sleeping in his bed,   it was

snowing/(He) woke up.)

As with the 3-year-old group, the inappropriate form which the 5-year-old children use is the definite existential clause after the first mention of the referent. The proportion of the appropriate linguistic expressions is slightly different than those of 3-year-olds. In this group, the most common expression is definite NP which is 56%. Null subject is 39% and the pronouns form the 5% of the expressions.

Table 6.2.3 Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referent maintaining expressions of the 5-year-old group

Appropriate Total N=54 (98%)		Inappropriate Total N=1 (2%)	
definite NP	56%(N=30)	definite exist.clause	100%(N=1)
null subject	39%(N=21)		
overt pronominal	5%(N=3)		

7-year-old children maintain their referents in their narratives 100% appropriate. They maintain reference to the referents in their narratives by means of;

- definite NPs

- null subjects

- overt pronominal subjects

like younger groups but they use definite NPs more than null subjects and overt pronominal subjects. 58% of the referents are maintained by means of definite NPs, 39% of them by null subject form and the remaining 3% is by pronouns.

(35) definite NP

Or - da   Noel Baba   da var/   (7;5)

there LOC   FatherXmas too exist

Noel Baba   onlar -ı   ev   -i -ne götür -üyor /

FatherXmas they ACChouse POSS DAT take PROG

(There was Father Christmas, too. Father
Christmas takes them to his house.)

(36) *Bir   çocuk uyu -yor   -du/*   (7;7)

one boy sleep PROG PAST

Ø Sabah   uyan   -dı /

morning   wake up PAST3SG

(A boy was sleeping/ (He) woke up in the
morning.)

(37) overt pronominal subject

Bir   adam   var -dı /   (7;3)

one man   exist PAST

O   Noel Baba ' ydı/

it/he   FatherXmas PAST

(There was a man/It was father Christmas)

Table 6.2.4 Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate maintaining expressions of the 7-year-old group

Appropriate	(Total N=72 (100%)
definite NP	58% (N=42)
null subject	39% (N=28)
overt pronominal	3% (N=2)

Adults maintain all the referents which they introduce into their narratives with appropriate linguistic forms. The percentage of appropriate forms is 100. They use more variety of forms than the 3, 5 and 7-year-old children. The appropriate forms they use are;

- definite NP

- null subject

- indefinite NP.

(38) definite NP

Bir de bak -mış çocuk bir sürü kardan adam/

once look PAST boy   a lot of   snowman

Onlar -ı gör -en kardan adam -lar iki -ye

they ACC see PART snowman   PLU two DAT

ayril -mış -lar/

divide PAST PLU

(Once the boy looked there, (there were) a lot of snowmen/ When the snowmen saw them, (they) divided into two.)

Bir çocuk var -mış/

one boy   exist PAST

Bu çocuk anne -si- yle baba -sı -yla yaş -ıyor/

this boy mother POSS with father POSS with live PROG3SG

(There was a boy/This boy lives with his mother
and father.)

(39) null subject

Bir çocuk var -mış/

one boy   exist PAST

Ø Bir gün sabah   yatak -tan kalk -mış/

one day morning   bed ABL get up PAST3SG

(There was a boy/(He) got up one morning.)

(40) indefinite NP

Ondan sonra bir tane kardan adam yap -maya

then   a/ one   snowman   make INF

karar ver -miş/

decide PAST3SG

Çok şahane bir kardan adam ol -muş /

very wonderful one snowman be PAST

(And then, (he) decided to built a snowman/It
was a very beautiful snowman.)

Indefinite examples as in (40) are coded as
appropriate because the adjective phrase *'şahane bir kardan
adam '* (a wonderful snowman) has a generic meaning to
represent something like a *"specific representative of the*

certain species snowman " (Csato, 1988:132). This expression is specific and unique since the speaker already has a specific referent in mind and the listener has a specific and unique referent in his background knowledge. With the adjective *'şahane* ' (wonderful/superb), the speaker adds a new quality to a specific referent which has already been established.

Adults use more definite NPs for their referents for the subsequent mentions. On the contrary, they use less null subject forms (22%) than the younger children do. Overt pronominals are used in small proportions like it is in the other age groups; 4% and 2% respectively. In addition to these forms, adults use this specific form of indefinite NP as well.

Table 6.2.5 Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referent maintaining expressions of the adult group.

Appropriate (Total N=113 (100%)	
definite NP	75% (N=84)
null subject	22% (N=25)
overt pronominal	2% (N=3)
indefinite NP	1% (N=2)

Age does not play any role in terms of maintaining referents in general. Starting from the youngest group, 3-year-old group, all the subjects maintain the referents by means of appropriate linguistic expressions and there is no

developmental difference across the age groups ($x^2 = 3.52$; df=3; p≤.50).
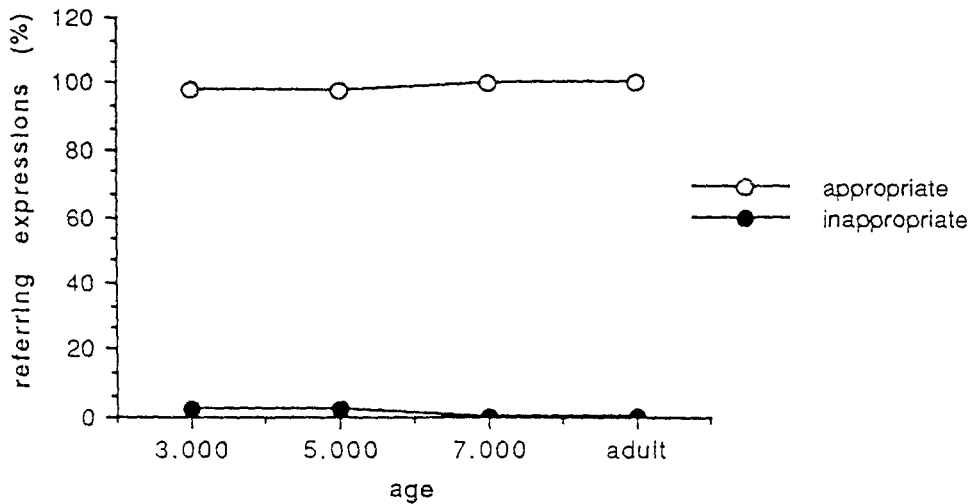
Figure 6.2.1 Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referring expressions of all age groups.

6.2.1 Referring Expressions in Maintaining Referents

When we look into the types of referring expressions employed by different groups to maintain the referents, we now see there are differences between the groups. All the subjects at different ages mainly make use of all of the possible types of expressions but the ratio of these expressions shows differences in different groups.

Table 6.2.6   Breakdown of referent maintaining expressions in all age groups .

	Age	3-year	5-year	7-year	adult
	Total N	50	54	72	113
	definite NP(%)	44	56	58	75
Appropriate	null subject(%)	50	39	39	22
	overt pronom.(%)	6	5	3	2
	indefinite NP(%)	-	-	-	1
	Total N	1	1	-	-
Inappropriate	Def. Exist.Cl.(%)	100	100		

In addition, the frequency of different appropriate forms shows differences between the age groups.

Table 6.2.7   Distribution of definite full NPs,   null subject forms and overt pronominal subjects across the age groups . (%)

Age	Definite full NP	Null Subject	Overt Pronominal
3-year	44	50	6
5-year	56	39	5
7-year	58	39	3
adult	75	22	2

In general, the preference of full NPs over pronominals shows changes with the increasing age. Full NPs are employed more by older groups while the situation is reversed in terms of pronominals. Younger groups use

more pronominals than the older groups. The difference is statistically significant as well (x^2=13.242; df=3; p≤.001). The most common form of pronominals is null subjects.

3-year-old group mainly used null subjects more than any other group. The percentage of null subjects decreases with increasing age. This may be related to the differences between the length of the narratives of age groups as well as the number of the referents introduced. The narratives of the children in this group are relatively short and the referents are reiterated in a very short text distance, in other words, they maintain the referents only for shorter times and do not feel the need of bringing the same referent into the hearer's consciousness by means of a full NP as often as it is necessary with longer texts. As mentioned before, the number of the referents are fewer in younger children's narratives in comparison with the older groups' and adults' narratives. When there are more referents, it becomes difficult to keep the track of the referents using null subject. It is even more difficult in Turkish since there is no gender distinction of pronouns.

While the percentage of null subjects decreases, the definite NPs naturally increase with the increasing age. 5 and 7-year-old groups use definite NPs almost - two times more than the null subjects. This ratio reaches to 75% with the adults. Overt pronouns are not widely used in general but even though, the ratio is small in comparison with the null subjects and definite NPs, they still decrease with the increasing age. There is an overall development difference

at .001 level (x^2=14.209; df=3; p≤.001). In addition to these three types of expressions, the adult group has another type of expression which is an indefinite full NP.
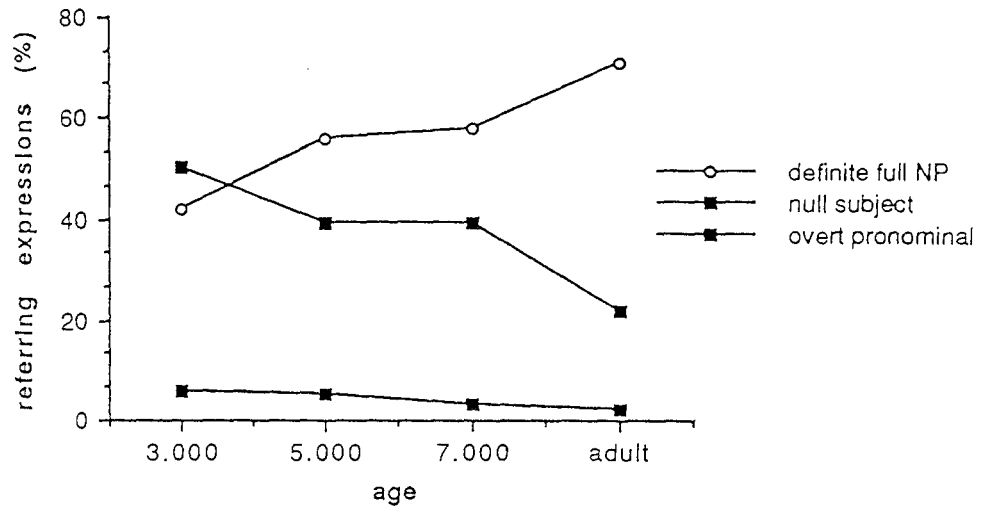
Figure 6.2.2 Distribution of different linguistic expressions for maintaining referents of all groups.

6.3 SWITCHING REFERENTS

In this section, we aim to seek the answer to another research question which is related to how children linguistically inform the listener that they are changing the reference to a different referent. Therefore, we analyse the linguistic forms which the subjects employ when they switch the reference from a particular referent to the other in their narratives. The analysis focuses on the use of nominal forms such as definite full NPs and the pronominal

forms, which are further classified as overt pronominal subjects and null subject forms. These pronominal forms fall into two groups as appropriate and inappropriate. This grouping is based on native speaker informants' judgements. A number of native speakers who had not seen the film before were asked to read the text and then they were asked who the pronominal form in a particular utterance refers to. When the referent was clear to the listener, it was coded as appropriate; on the other hand, when the listener attributed the pronominal form to a referent other than the speaker intended to, it was coded as inappropriate.

Table 6.3.1 Distribution of the appropriate and inappropriate referent switching expressions of all groups.

Age	3-year	5-year	7-year	Adult
Appropriate	87%(N=64)	87%(N=116)	93%(N=156)	97%(N=425)
Difference in Means	-0.1		2	13.2
Inappropriate	13%(N=8)	13%(N=18)	7%(N=11)	3%(N=11)
Difference in Means	0.1		-0.09	-0.45

The 3-year-old children switch referents by means of both definite full NPs and pronominal forms in their narratives. 65% of the referents are switched by means of definite full NPs and the remaining 35% is by means of pronominal forms. 94% of the pronominal forms are expressed by null subject forms and the other 6% is by overt pronominal subjects. 68% of these pronominal forms are appropriately used; that means, children at the age of 3

switch 68% of the referents clearly and explicitly by using pronominal forms.   (41) (42)

(41) *Ev   -e   gel -dik -ten   sonra* (3;4)

house DAT come PART   after

çocuk   uyu   -du/

boy   sleep PAST

Kardan   adam   bahçe -de   dur   -du/

snowman   garden LOC   stay PAST

Ø Sabah   uyan -di /

morning   wake   PAST3SG

(After they came back home,   the boy went to

sleep/   The snowman   stayed in the garden/

(The boy)   woke up.)

In (41) the referent is switched from the snowman to t h e boy by means of null subject (Ø) form;   but it is quite clear with the event line that it is the boy who woke up because of the previous utterance '... *çocuk   uyudu* ' (the boy slept) .

(42) *Çocuk   kardan   adam   yap   -mış   -tı /* (3:3)

boy   snowman   make PAST PAST

... Ø sonra da kafa -sı -nı   yap   -mış/

then   head POSS ACC make PAST 3SG

Sonra ikisi de   uç -mus /

then two both fly   PAST

(The boy built (a) snowman/ Then,   (he) made

(the snowman's) head/then,   the two both flew.)

In (42) again the referent is switched from the boy to 'the snowman and the boy' and since full NPs are used in the previous utterances the pronoun *'ikisi '* (the two) is quite explicit and understandable.

On the other hand, the other 32% are misleading; therefore, they are coded as inappropriate. (43) (44)

In (43) the first utterance of the narrative starts with a null subject. Since 'the boy' is not introduced with a definite full NP in utterance 1, and then the reference is switched into 'the snowman' in utterance 2, the overt pronominal subject *'o '* (he/she/it) in 3. utterance does not stand for the boy and it seems that the child is still talking about the snowman in this utterance 3.

(43) 1.*Ø Kardan adam   yap   -tı/*   (3:11)

snowman   make PAST3SG

2Kardan adam   yer -i -nde dur -uyor -du/

snowman   place POSS LOC stay PROG PAST

3.Yat   -tı   o /

go to bed PAST   he/she/it

((He) made (a) snowman/The snowman was staying in his place/He went to bed.)

Similarly, in (44);

(44) 1.*Kardan adam yürü -dü/* (3;3)

snowman walk PAST

2.*Çocuk da yürü -dü /*

boy too walk PAST

3.*Ø Uç -tu git -ti /*

fly PAST3SG go PAST 3SG

(The snowman walked/The boy walked, too/

(He) flew and was gone.)

utterance 3 is about the snowman and the referent is switched from the boy to the snowman by means of null subject; however, the listener does not share the same background with the speaker and null subject does not bring the referent snowman into the listener's consciousness since this null subject is interpreted as referring to the boy which is switched into by a full NP in utterance 2. Then, the use of null subject is coded as inappropriate in (44).

Table 6.3.2 Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referent switching expressions of the 3-year-old group.

Appropriate Total N=64 (89%)		Inappropriate Total N=8 (11%)	
definite full NP	73%(N=47)	null subject	88%(N=7)
overt pronominal	2%(N=1)	overt pronominal	12%(N=1)
null subject	25%(N=16)		

5-year-old children use more nominal and less pronominal forms than 3-year-old groups (78% and 22% respectively). 87% of the responses are appropriate while

13% are coded as inappropriate. Definite full NPs form the 90% of the appropriate group. 40% of the pronominal expressions are appropriately used (45) (46) but the other 60% are inappropriate when switching the referents (47).

(45) *Sonra anne -si o -nu ev -e çağır -dı/ (5;7)*

then mother POSShe ACC house DAT call PAST

Ø Ev - e gir -di/

house DAT go inside PAST3SG

(Then, his mum told him to go inside/ (he) went in.)

(46) *Ø Çık -tığı zaman kardan adam* (5;11)

go out PART time snowman

eri -miş ol -uyor/

melt PAST be PROG

Ø Üzül -üyor/

be sad PROG 3SG

(When (he) goes out, the snowman has melted/(he) felt very sad.)

In (45) the objective overt pronominal ' *onu* ' (him) enables us to understand that the referent is switched to the boy in the next utterance. In (46) the background knowledge of the listener helps him to understand that it is the boy who feels sad when the snowman has melted. That is why, in these two examples, null subject is appropriate in switching referents.

However, in (47);

(47) *ØKardan adam -ın arkadaş -lar -ı -na* (5;8)

snowman GEN friend PLU POSS DAT

rastl -ıyor -lar/

meet PROG 3PL

2.*Ø Ora -da bak -ıyor -lar/*

there DAT look PROG 3PL

3.*Ø Açıl -ıyor -lar /*

give way PROG 3PL

((They-snowman and theboy-) meet the snowman's friends/(they-the other snowmen) look and give way (to them).)

in the second and the third utterances the subject is indeed the other snowmen, but since the previous utterance is in the pronominal form with null subject and there is not any clue in the immediate preceding clauses that the reference is switched to other snowmen in utterance 2, then it becomes impossible to understand that the reference is switched from snowman and the boy to the other snowmen in the third utterance.

Although null subjects are used inappropriately in some instances, all of the overt pronominals, when they are used to switch the referents, they are used appropriately as explained below with example (48).

(48) *Dışar -ı   çık   -tı   çocuk/*   (5;0)

out   ACC go out PAST boy

...

Ø Sonra bir kardan adam yap   -tı/

then   one snowman   make PAST 3SG

...

Ø Havuç koy   -du   Ø burn -u   -na/

carrot put PAST3SG   nose POSS DAT

Sonra   o   canlan   -dı/

then   he/she/it   become alive PAST 3SG

Çocuk   da   sevin   -dı/

boy   PART   become happy PAST 3SG

(The boy went outside/...Then,   (he) made a
snowman/...(he) put a carrot on (the snowman's)
nose/Then,   he (the snowman) became alive/the
boy became happy.)

Although the overt pronominal *'o '* (he/she/it) seems vague
about whether it refers to the snowman or to the boy,   the
verb *'canlandı '* (became alive) helps the hearer
understand that it refers to the snowman linking this verb
to the fact that the boy made a snowman in one of the
previous utterances. Moreover,   definite full NP *'çocuk '*
(the boy) in the immediately following utterance also
reinforces this assumption and makes the hearer interpret
this overt pronominal appropriately.

Table 6.3.3   Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referent switching   expressions of the 5-year-old group.

Appropriate Total N=116 (87%)		Inappropriate Total N=18 (13%)	
definite full NP	90%(N=104)	null subject	100%(N=18)
overt pronominal	3%(N=4)		
null subject	7%(N=8)		

7-year-old children switch referents by means of definite full NPs 66% of the time and by means of pronominal subjects 33% of the time. The fact that 83% of these pronominal forms are appropriately used proves that children start handling pronominal forms appropriately as they get older. That also shows that children can handle discourse using their syntactic knowledge as well as pragmatic knowledge such as taking the listener's point of view and assessing the contextual clues available to the listener and finally combining these types of knowledge in discourse. The percentage of null subjects that are employed appropriately is 32%. Overt pronominal subjects are not widely used as null subjects as it happened with the younger groups. 82% of all the null subjects are used appropriately which is higher than the younger groups as well.

Null subjects are considered as inappropriate when there is not any syntactic or contextual clue that the reference is switched from one referent to the other.   (49)

(49) 1.*Çocuk ... uyu -yor   sonra   kalk -ıyor/*   (73)

    child   sleep PROG then   get up PROG

    ...

2. ... *Ø sonra   kardan adam -ı -na   bir daha*

    then   snowman   POSS DAT one more

bak -ıyor/

look PROG3SG

3.*Ø Ozaman arka -sı -nı dön -üp   şapka -sı -nı*

    then   back POSS ACCturn PART hat POSS ACC

4.*çıkar   -ıyor   o   -na/*

    take off PROG3SG   he   DAT

Ø Sonra   Ø   ev -e   çağır -ıyor/

    then   snowman house DAT   call   PROG3SG

(The boy ... is sleeping then (he) gets up/.../...
then (he) looks at (his) snowman once again/
then (he-the snowman) turns (his) towards the
boy and takes (his-the snowman's) hat towards
him/ then (he-the boy) invites (the snowman)
into the house.)

After mentioning the boy with null subject in utterance 2,
the reference is switched to the snowman without any
notification by means of null subject in the 3. utterance,
then switched to the boy again in the following utterance
(4) in which the direct object ' *kardan adamı* ' (the
snowman) informs that the subject is the boy. Indeed, the
last utterance (4) about the boy linked with ' *sonra* ' (then)
gives the impression that it is the boy who does the action

in the third utterance. Therefore, the use of null subject to switch the reference from the boy to the snowman in the third utterance is appropriate.

Table 6.3.4 Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referent switching expressions of the 7-year-old group.

Appropriate Total N=156 (93%)		Inappropriate Total N=11 (7%)	
definite full NP	66%(N=103)	null subject	100%(N=11)
overt pronominal	2%(N=3)		
null subject	32%(N=50)		

As it is in the examples from narratives of children, null subject forms are considered as inappropriate when such expressions cause confusion about who the referent is when there are not sufficient contextual clues as in (50).

(50) ...

1.*Bir   de   Noel   Baba   var   -mış/*

one too Father Xmas exist PAST 3SG

...

2. Ø *"Hadi   dansedeli -m " de   -miş/*

come on   let us dance1SG say   PAST

3 *Kardan   adam -lar başla -mış -lar çal -maya/*

snowman   PLU start PAST PLU play INF

...

4. Ø *"artık git -me zaman -ı gel -di "*

      now   go INF   time POSS come PAST3S

de -miş/

say PAST3SG

(There was Father Christmas, too/.../(he) said "Let's dance"/The (other) snowmen started playing (the music)/.../(he-the snowman) said "It is time to go".)

After mentioning **Father Christmas** and other snowmen in the 2. and the 3. utterances, the reference is switched to the snowman by means of null subject in the 4. utterance. On hearing these utterances, we first look for any contextual clue which could help to interpret who 3rd person singular in the last utterance refers to. The only possible referent which can be referred with 3rd person singular expression is **Father Christmas** since it is mentioned in the immediate context and decide that it is Father Christmas who utters this utterance. In fact, it is the snowman who says " *artık gitme zamanı geldi* " (it is time to go now); nevertheless, it cannot be clearly stated by means of the null subject that the referent is switched to the snowman here in the 4. utterance.

Table 6.3.5 Distribution of appropriate and inappropriate referent switching expressions of the adult group.

Appropriate Total N=425 (97%)		Inappropriate Total N=11 (3%)	
definite full NP	77%(N=95)	null subject	100%(N=11)
overt pronominal	1%(N=3)		
null subject	22%(N=95)		

The ratio of appropriate versus inappropriate forms show significant developmental difference between the groups. The appropriate forms increase while the inappropriate forms are decreasing with increasing age after the age of 5 (x^2=30.032; p≤.0001). Nevertheless, there is no consistency between the nominal forms and pronominal forms between the groups.
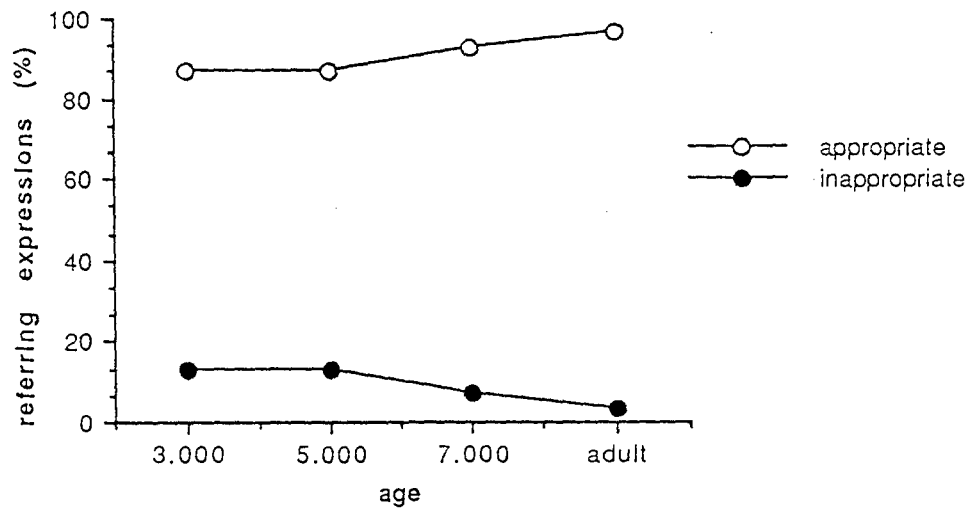
Figure 6.3.1 Appropriate and inappropriate referent switching expressions of all groups.

Children at all age groups and adults employ a number of linguistic expressions which are definite full NP, overt

pronominal and null subject forms to switch the referents in discourse.   Children as well as adults use definite full NPs predominantly in order to switch the referents in their narratives.   Null subjects are preferred to overt pronominal subjects most of the time;   although they may be inappropriate to switch the reference from one referent to the other.   Overt pronominal subjects are the least preferred linguistic expressions regardless of   age.   Only 3-year-old group use overt pronominal subject inappropriately to switch the referents.

Table 6.3.6   Breakdown of appropriate and inappropriate referent switching expressions in all groups .

	Age	3-year	5-year	7-year	adult
Appropriate	Total N	89	87	93	97
	definite NP(%)	73	90	66	77
	null subject (%)	25	7	32	22
	overt prono.(%)	2	3	21	
Inappropriate	Total N	11	12	7	3
	null subject(%)	88	100	100	100
	overt prono.(%)	12	-	-	-

Nevertheless,   there is a general consistency but the results for appropriate null subjects appear to require further interpretation.   Age difference does not affect the number of times a certain linguistic expression is employed.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION 3: THE PRONOMINALIZATION OF REFERENTS

The role of noun phrases in constructing a coherent narrative has been discussed in Chapter 5 and 6. The referents are introduced into the narratives with appropriate linguistic means. However, as it happens, we do not use always full noun phrases for the referents. They can be reiterated by means of either full NPs or of pronominal forms. Another requirement of a coherent narrative is the use of pronominals appropriately .

In this chapter, we first attempt to address Research Question 4 which asks *"What are the lexical realizations of the introduced and reiterated referents? Do children use only full NPs or pronominalize the referents throughout their narratives? At what circumstances does a child use overt pronominal subjects and null subjects for the referents in discourse?".* Secondly, the pronominal forms are studied in a detailed way to seek an answer to Research Question 5 asking *"What governs pronominalization in Turkish-speaking children's discourse?"*

The lexical realization of the referents is meant to inform the hearer about the certain specifications of the particular referents. Givon (1983) states the speaker establishes the continuity of the participants through lexical realizations meaning that chosen forms code whether this referent has just been introduced or is being maintained or codes a switch from a particular referent to another one. According to this, the continuous participants are realized in form of a pronominal while the discontinuous topics are brought into the consciousness of the hearer by means of noun phrases. On studying spoken English, Givon (1983)

reported that there is a correlation between the degree of the continuity and the lexical realizations. The most continuous referents are marked with pronouns and the discontinued entities, which are mentioned previously in discourse, are marked by NPs. Bamberg (1987) found out, on studying noun-pronoun alternation in narratives of German-speaking children and adults, adults code the continuous referents by pronominal forms, in other words, referents are maintained through pronominals while nominal forms are employed to mark the switch of the reference. In his study, children's way of handling lexical realizations was governed by the age factor and the referents they referred to. Yule (1981) approaches this notion in terms of *'new '* or *'given '* information in discourse which needs to be well-established through lexical forms. Different realizations should be used by the speaker to differentiate the new referents from the given ones. Nominal and pronominal forms code this distinction between the new and given information. On the other hand, in languages where null subject is allowed as anaphoric representation, anaphoric null subject marks the continuous referents. Overt pronominals and noun phrases occur when the speaker marks a contrast between the · referents (Flashner, 1987).

Schelletter (1990) studied pronoun types and uses of normal and language impaired English-speaking children to see how normal children provide pronominal reference in conversational contexts and whether there are any differences between normal and the language impaired

children. She reported that there were no developmental differences in terms of pronoun frequency between normal children. The similarity between normal and the language impaired children's use of pronouns showed that language impaired children are aware of discourse requirements as well as normal children. On the other hand, there was a difference with respect to topic maintenance. Normal children pronominalize the referents for subsequent mentions while language impaired children were using pronouns not more than once meaning that they mainly maintain topic by means of structural NPs unlike normal children.

This chapter has been designed in order to address the issues which were raised in research questions which are stated at the beginning of this chapter. First, the lexical realizations of the introduced and reiterated referents are studied in section 7.1. In this section, the analysis is focused on full NPs and pronominals in general without making any further distinctions between overt pronominal subjects and null subjects. Secondly, since different characteristics of different referents such as being a major or a minor referent have shown an effect on some of issues discussed in Chapter 5 and 6, the analysis is conducted by taking this variable into consideration (section 7.2).

In Turkish, if a pronominal form is used for the subject of the sentence, it may either be marked with a personal suffix added to the end of the verb which is considered as null subject or may be an overt pronominal subject since Turkish employs both overt pronominal and Ø

representations as anaphoric expressions to convey a coreferential relationship with an NP. Therefore, the pronominal forms are analysed further to see which form is used to code the reference to a particular referent (section 7.3). Finally, the strategies the children employ for the pronominalization of the referents are studied in detail (section 7.4).

7.1 THE LEXICAL REALIZATIONS OF THE INTRODUCED AND REITERATED REFERENTS

The lexical realizations of the referents are delienated in terms of first, second and the third mentions of the referents within each age group and then the comparison of each mention across the age groups is made to reveal any developmental differences in this respect.

Beginning with the youngest group in this study, we see that 3-year-old children use full NPs 99% of the time on introducing a new referent into the discourse. Only one subject uses a pronominal to introduce one of the referents. Once they establish the referent, they prefer referring to the referents with pronominals, either with overt pronominal or null subject, more frequently. 38% (N=19) of the second mentions are with full NPs whereas 62% (N=31) are with pronominals. This preference of full NPs decreases down to 21% (N=8) for the third mentions of the referents while the use of pronominals increases up to 79% (N=31). (Table 7.1.1)

Table 7.1.1   Distribution of full NPs and pronominals of the 3-year-old group

	Full NP	Pronominals	Total
1st mentions	99% (N=71)	1% (N=1)	100%(N=72)
2nd mentions	38% (N=19)	62% (N=31)	100%(N=50)
3rd mentions	21% (N=8)	79% (N=31)	100%(N=39)

As Table 7.1.1 shows the change in employing full NPs for the subsequent mentions.   After the introduction with a full NP, pronominal subjects are used for the second and third mentions excessively.   This change in preference of pronominals to full NPs for the following mentions statistically shows a highly significant difference (x^2= 80.705; df=2; p$\le$.0001).
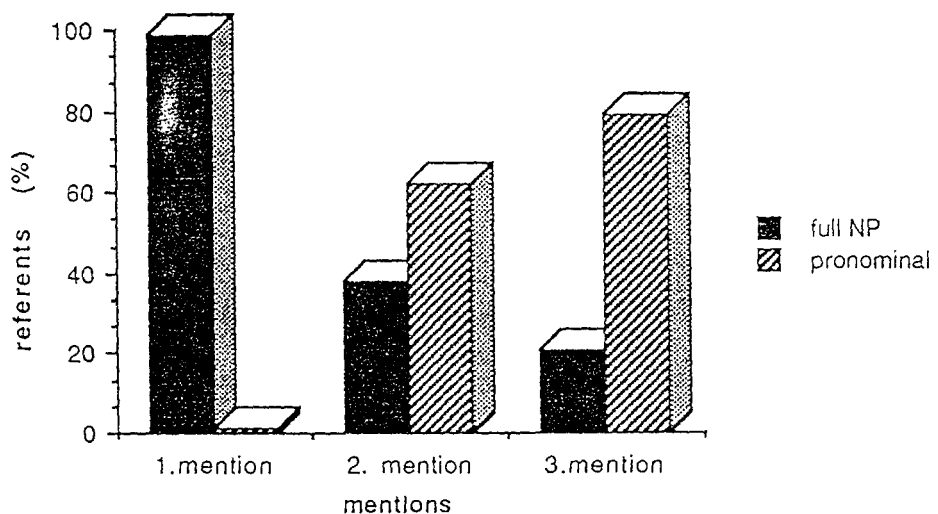
Figure 7.1.1 Distribution of full NPs and pronominals of the 3-year-old group

All of the first mentions of 5-year-old group are in the forms of full NPs (100 % N=85). Although pronominalization starts with the second mentions to a certain extent, the proportion of the full NPs is more than the proportion of pronominals, unlike the 3-year-old group. This group employs full NPs (57% N=31) more than the pronominals (43% N=23). The extensive use of pronominals starts with the third mentions: full NPs are used 32% of the time (N=14) while pronominals are used 68% of the time (N=30).

Table 7.1.2   Distribution of full NPs and pronominals of the 5-year-old group

	Full NP	Pronominals	Total
1st mentions	100% (N=85)	-	100% (N=85)
2nd mentions	57% (N=31)	43% (N=23)	100% (N=54)
3rd mentions	32% (N=14)	68% (N=30)	100% (N=44)

The number of full NPs decreases with the subsequent mentions while the use of pronominal increases. The difference between the use of full NPs and pronominals across different mentions is statistically significant as well (x^2= 72.427; df=2; p≤.0001).
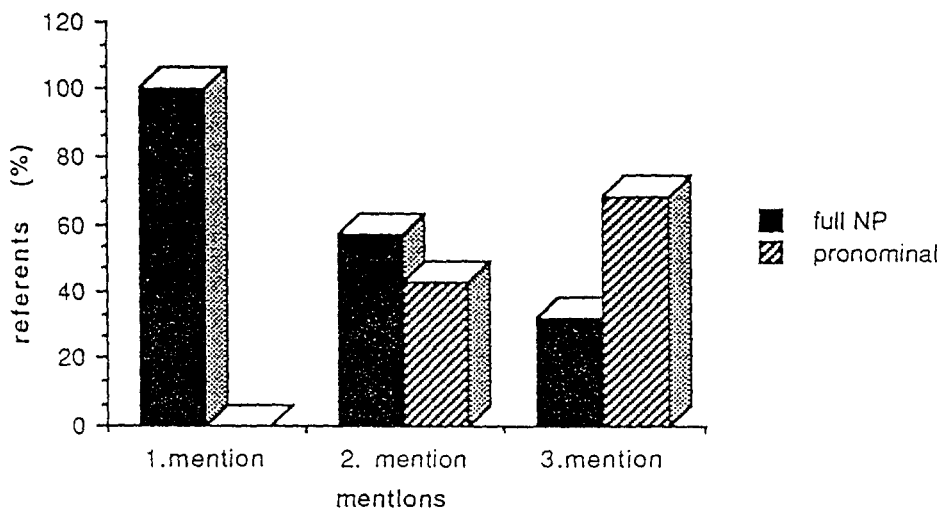
*Figure 7.1.2 Distribution of full NPs and pronominals
of the 5-year-old group*

The results of the 7-year-old group shows the same tendency as the 5-year-old group. Children at this age also introduce the referents with full NPs into their narratives (100% N=101). They still employ more full NPs than the pronominals in the second mentions of the referents (56% N=46 and 43% N=35 respectively). With the third mentions of these referents, the use of full NPs become less frequent (40% N=24) while the use of pronominals become more frequent (60% N=36).

Table 7.1.3   Distribution of full NPs and pronominals of the 7-year -
old group

	Full NP	Pronominals	Totals
1st mention	100%(N=101)	-	100%(N=101)
2nd mention	56%(N=44)	44%(N=35)	100%(N=79)
3rd mention	40%(N=24)	60%(N=36)	100%(N=60)

The decrease of full NPs and the increase of pronominal subjects across different mentions shows a highly significant statistical difference (x^2=77.297; df=2; p≤.0001).
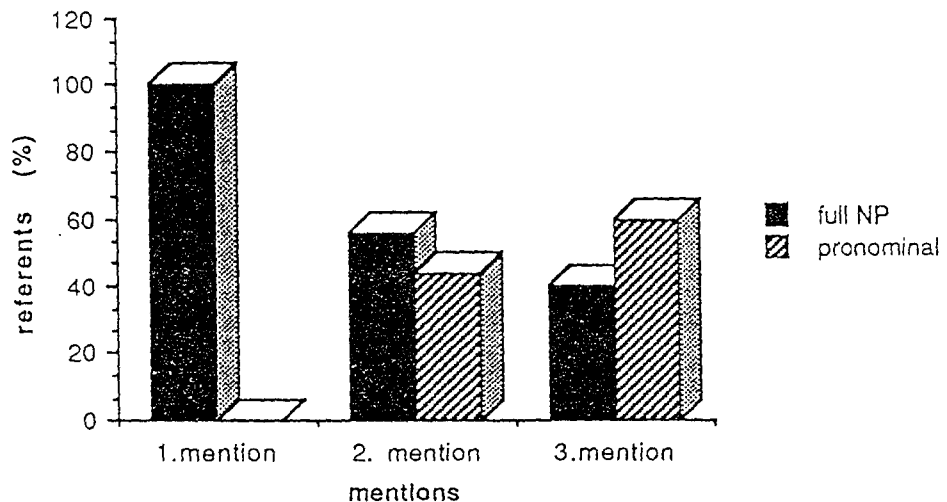
Figure 7.1.3 Distribution of full NPs and pronominals of the 7-year-old   group

The lexical realizations of the first and the second mentions of referents in adult group is no different than the 5 and 7-year-old groups.

Table 7.1.4 Distribution of full NPs and pronominals of adults

	Full NP	Pronominals	Totals
1st mention	100%(N=117)	-	100%(N=117)
2nd mention	75%(N=75)	25%(N=26)	100%(N=104)
3rd mention	60%(N=55)	40%(N=36)	100%(N=91)

All the referents are introduced as full NPs, and full NPs for second mentions is higher than the other groups. 75% of the second mentions are in full NP forms and 25% of them are reiterated as pronominals. However, the preference for full NPs to pronominals draws a different picture for the third mentions in adult group. Adults still use full NPs for the third mentions more than half of the time (60% N=55). Pronominal use is still much less than the full NPs; also slightly more than the second mentions (40% N=36). Yet, the difference between the NPs and pronominals is still significant (x^2=52.963; df=2; p≤.0001).
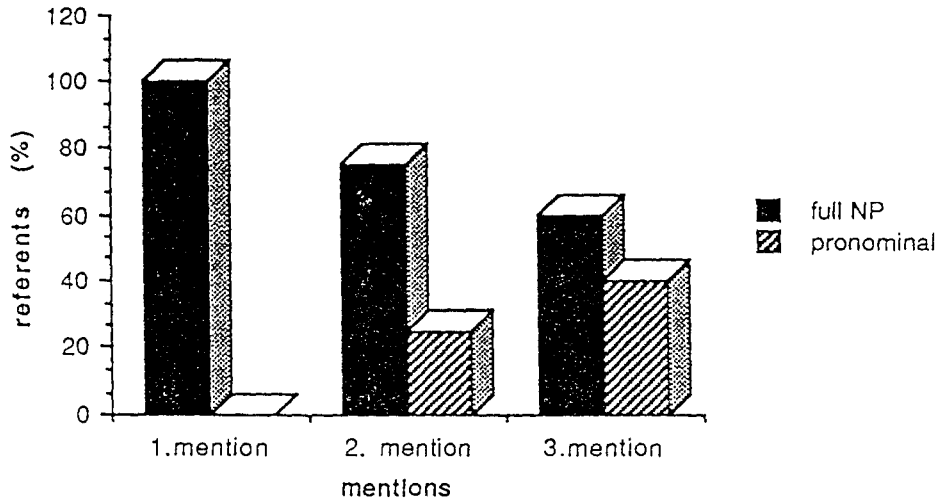
*Figure 7.1.4 Distribution of full NPs and pronominals
        of adults*

These figures have already shown that children at different age groups have different tendencies for different mentions of the referents in terms of choices for lexical realizations after these referents are introduced into the text.   At this point,   as the focus is on the lexical realizations of the referents,   the issue of appropriateness which has already been discussed in Chapter 6 is not taken into consideration. The use of full NPs and pronominals show significant differences across the mentions within each age group.   Therefore,   the next step will be the analysis of the results across the age groups since the main concern is on the developmental differences.

On comparing the lexical realizations of different mentions across the age groups, we see that all the subjects except for one 3-year-old child introduce new referents with full NPs into the discourse.   In terms of first mentions,

there is no developmental difference between the age groups. This shows that starting from the age 3, children are aware of what is required in introducing a referent into discourse and use full NPs for this purpose.

Table 7.1.5. Distribution of the first mentions of the referents across the age groups

Age	Full NP	Pronominal	Total
3-year	99% (N=71)	1% (N=1)	100%(N=72)
5-year	100% (N=85)	-	100%(N=85)
7-year	100% (N=101)	-	100%(N=101)
Adult	100% (N=117)	-	100% (N=117)

Developmental differences begin to appear with the second mentions of the referents. The older they get, the more full NPs they use for these mentions.

*Table 7.1.6   Distribution of the second mentions of the referents
across the age groups*

Age	Full NP		
	%	N	diff. in means
3-year	38	19	
			0.4
5-year	57	31	
			0.7
7-year	56	44	
			1.6
Adult	75	78	
Age	Pronominal		
	%	N	diff. in means
3-year	62	31	
			-0.2
5-year	43	23	
			0.5
7-year	44	35	
			-0.3
Adult	25	26	

3-year-old children use pronominals 62% of the time while full NPs form 38% of the second mentions. The higher percentage of pronominal use at this age is due firstly to the number of referents they introduce into their narratives. They form their stories around only two of the major characters which are the boy and the snowman. So,   they

mostly introduce one of the referents then maintain this referent for a while using a pronominal form, mostly a null subject, and then introduce the next referent and maintain it by pronominals as well.

(1) *Çocuk   var   -dı/*   (3;9)
    child   exist PAST 3SG

    Ø Sonra   kardan adam   yap   -tı/
    then   snowman   make PAST 3SG

    ...

    Ø Atkı -yı da al   -ıp boyn -u -na sar -dı/
    scarf ACC too take PART neck POSS DAT put PAST3SG

    Sonra kardan adam   yürü -meye başla -dı/
    then snowman   walk   INF start PAST3SG

    Ø Birdenbire canlan   -maya başla -dı/
    suddenly   become alive INF   start PAST3SG

    ...

    (There was the boy/Then,   (he) made a snowman/...(he) took the scarf and put it around (the snowman's) neck/Then,   the snowman started walking/(he) suddenly start becoming alive.)

Another reason is that they introduce these two major referents together as in (2):

(2) *Kardan adam yap -tı çocuk/* (3;5)

snowman make PAST boy

Ø Yukar -dan uç -tu -lar/

up ABL fly PAST 3PLU

Ø Noel Baba' nın ora -ya git -ti -ler/

FatherXmas GEN there DAT go PAST 3PLU

(The boy made a snowman/(They) flew/(They)

landed/(They) went to Father Christmas's place.)

and they focus on what these two have done together so they do not need to use full NPs since the referents are not switched from one referent to the other. The length of the texts is also a factor. The mean length of text of this group is 14 clauses; therefore, their texts are never long enough to require the use of full NPs to help the hearer to recover this particular referent, in other words, to bring the referent in question into the hearer's consciousness again so that she/he can keep the track of the referents.

This preference for pronominals over full NPs changes with the increasing age. The percentage of pronominals are 43% and 44% for the 5 and 7-year old children respectively. As the increasing ages, the developmental differences between the age groups increase as well. The difference between the 3 and 5-year-olds is less than the difference between the 5 and 7-year-olds (t=5.49; df=3; p≤.0001 and t=7.75; df;3; p≤.0001).

The higher percentage of full NPs for the second mentions (57% for 5-year-olds and 56% for 7-year-olds) in these two age groups is the result of a number of reasons.

First of all, the style of introducing a new referent into discourse is different than the youngest group. Some of the referents, although few, are introduced through presentative constructions such as with existential clauses; then the children may use a full NP to elaborate the same referent in the subsequent mention (Flashner, 1987).

(3)   *Çocuk   var   -dı/*   (5;3)
      boy   exist PAST
      Bu   çocuk   dışar   -ı   çık   -tı/
      this   boy   out   ACC   go out   PAST3SG
      (There was a boy/This boy went outside)

(4)   *Bir tane   çocuk   var/*   (7;10)
      one/a   boy   exist
      Kış   gel   -miş/
      winter   come   PAST
      Çocuk   da   kardan   adam   yap   -mış/
      boy   PART   snowman   make   PAST
      (There is a boy/It is winter/The boy made a snowman.)

In addition to this, some referents, especially the snowman and the minor referents such as Father Christmas and the boy's parents are first introduced in object position. Afterwards, when these referents take over the action, they are reiterated as the agent in the form of a full NP.

(5)   ...

Dışar   -da   kardan adam   yap   -tı/ (5;7)

out   LOC   snowman   make PAST3SG

...

Sonra   kardan adam   canlan   -dı/

then   snowman   become alive PAST

((He) made a snowman outside/Then,   the

snowman became alive.)

(6)   ...

Ora -da Noel   Baba'yı   gör -dü -ler/ (75)

there LOC Father Xmas   ACC see PAST 3PLU

...

Sonra Noel Baba o -nu al -ıp

then FatherXmas   he ACC takePART

bir   yer -e götür-dü/

one   place DAT take   PAST3SG

((They) saw Father Christmas there/Then,

Father Christmas took   him   somewhere.)

Secondly,   the children's ability to involve more referents
into the discourse has an obvious effect on the preference
for full NPs over pronominals.   Switching from one referent
to another appropriately,   which means with full NPs,
requires more use of full noun phrases than of pronominals.

Adults have the highest percentage of full NPs which
is 75% and the developmental difference between the adults
and the children,   namely 7-year-olds,   is the highest of
them all (t=8.64;   df=3;   p≤.0001)   and the lowest rate of

pronominal forms of all groups which is 25%. In other words, adults mostly prefer full NPs for the reiteration of the referents a second time. This is because adult narratives meet all the requirements of a coherent discourse in regard to the introduction of the referents. Adults introduce new referents with appropriate indefinite expressions and want to establish the referent further. That may be why the second mentions are full NPs.

> (7   *Bir   tane   çocuk   var   -mış/*
>
>   one   boy   exist   PAST
>
>   *Çocuk   bir   sabah   uyan   -dığ   -ında*
>
>   boy   one morning wake PART   when
>
>   *bak   -m ış   dışarı   -ya/*
>
>   look PAST outside DAT
>
>   (There was a boy/The boy looked outside when he woke up one   morning.)

Pronominal forms are preferred for the second mentions of those referents which can be introduced by definite expressions appropriately (Chapter 6). After these referents, namely Father Christmas and the boy's parents, are introduced by full NPs, pronominals are used for the second mentions.

> (7)   *Bir   bak   -m ış   çocuk   Noel   Baba   dur   -uyor/*
>
>   PART look   PAST   boy   Father Xmas stand PROG 3SG
>
>   *Ø O   -na   'hoş geldin'   de   -mis/*
>
>   he   DAT   welcome   say   PAST 3SG

(Then the child saw that Father Christmas was there/(Father Christmas) said to him "Welcome".)

Adults also include all the referents in their texts and are able to reiterate these referents more than twice; so, they switch from one referent to another using full NPs more than the children do.

Another point in adult narratives which is worth mentioning , is that adults not only narrate the actions of the characters but they make additional remarks on the setting or the environment as well unlike child subjects. After these remarks, when they return to the referents and the action, they always use full NPs even if there are not any other intervening participants. (9)

(9) *Noel Baba bir tane kapı -yı aç -mış/*
FatherXmas one door ACC open PAST
Noel Baba'nin geyik -ler -i or-da -ymış/
Father Xmas deer PLU ACC there LOC PAST
Bir tane de kızak var -mış or -da/
one too sledge exist PAST there LOC/
Kızağ -ın iç -i -nde çocuk -lar için
sledge GEN in POSS LOC child PLU for
bir sürü hediye var -mış/
lots of gift exist PAST
Noel Baba git -miş or -dan bu çocuğ -un
Father Xmas go PAST there ABL this boy GEN
paket -i -ni al -mış/
packet POSS ACC take PAST 3SG

(Father Christmas opened a door/ The deers of Father Christmas were there/There was a sledge there, too/There were lots of gifts for children in the sledge.)

Different age groups organize their narratives around the same referents in a different way expressing these referents with different lexical realizations which consequently leads to an increase in full NPs and a decrease in pronominals with age. There certainly is a significant difference across the age groups with respect to the rate of pronominals and full NPs ($x^2=20.582$; df=3; $p\leq.001$).
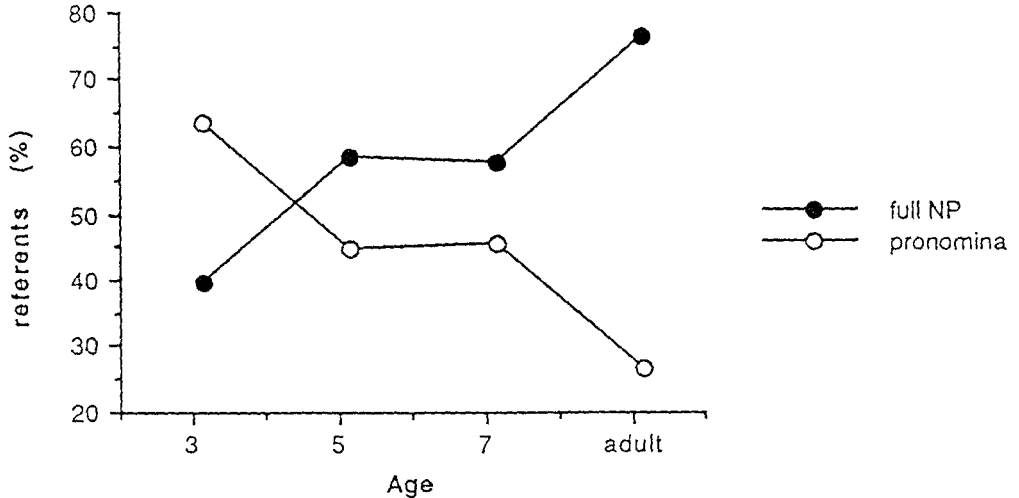
Figure 7.1.5 Distribution of the second mentions of the referents across the age groups

In terms of the third mentions of the referents, the way the children employ the full NPs versus pronominals does not change by the age of 7. However, there is a

substantial difference, which is also statistically significant, between the children and the adult group (x^2=20.582; df=3; p≤.001).

Table 7.1.7. Distribution of the third mentions of the referents across the age groups

Age	Full NP		
	%	N	diff. in means
3-year	21	8	
			0.2
5-year	32	14	
			0.5
7-year	40	24	
			1.6
Adult	60	55	
Age	Pronominal		
	%	N	diff. in means
3-year	79	31	
			0
5-year	68	30	
			0.2
7-year	60	36	
			0
Adult	40	36	

In 3, 5 and 7-year old children's narratives, pronominals are preferred more than full NPs after the second mentions.

3-year-old children tend to pronominalize 79% of the time. This figure goes down to 68% with the 5-year-old children and to 60% with the 7-year-old group. The ratio of nominals, although less than pronominals, increases gradually from 3-year-olds to 7-year-olds while the number of pronominal forms are decreasing with age. There is a gradual increasing development between the ages of 3 and 5 and 5 to 7 (t=4.28; df=3; p≤.0001 and t=6.30; df=3; p≤.0001 respectively) in terms of nominal forms. Whatever the actual figure is, the general tendency among children from 3 to 7 -year-old is to pronominalize the referents more after the second mentions. This is because they already establish the referent by means of various full NPs and then start maintaining this referent by means of pronominals.
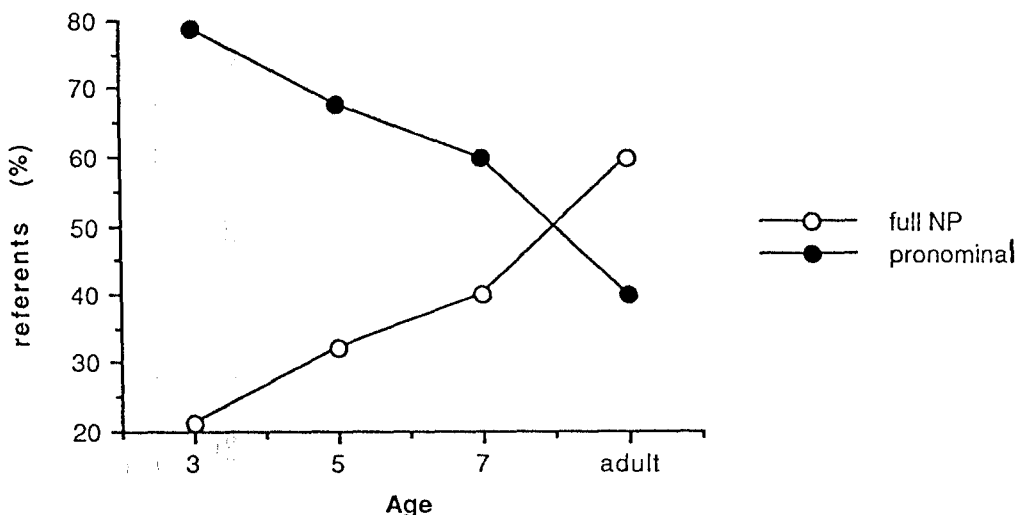
Figure 7.1.6 Distribution of the third mentions of the referents across the age groups

On the other hand, adults have a different tendency than children. This group still employ more full NPs (60%) than pronominals (40%) for the third mentions of the referents unlike children. Once again, the substantial development takes place between the 7-year-old group and the adults (t=7.73; df=3; p≤.0001).

When we look into why adults draw a different picture once again in terms of the third mentions , we see that some adults maintain the referents using full NPs continously in a way to emphasize that this referent has the focus at that moment and then pronominalize the referent as in example (10).

(10) ...

> *Kardan adam -a bak -mış/*
> snowman DAT look PAST 3SG
> *Birden kardan adam canlan -mış/*
> suddenly snowman become alive PAST
> *Saat tam 12' yi vur -duğu zaman*
> clock exactly ACC strike PART when
> *Kardan adam canlan -ıver -mış/*
> snowman become alive PART PAST
> *Kardan adam o -nu selamla -mış/*
> snowman he ACC greet PAST
> ((The boy) looked at the snowman/The snowman suddenly became alive/When the clock struck midnight, the snowman became alive all of a sudden/The snowman greeted him.)

The referents is switched from the boy to the snowman and a full NP is continously used in the following utterances afterwards.

Moreover, after being maintained by pronominals for some time, the same referent is mentioned as a full NP just before it is switched to another referent for the purpose of bringing the previously mentioned referent into the hearer's consciousness. (11)

(11) ...

Çünkü   kardan   adam   -ı   dışar   -da   -ymış/
because   snowman POSS   out   LOC   PAST3SG

Ø   O   -nu   özl   -üyor   -muş/
boy he   ACC   miss   PROG   PAST

Sonra   Ø   uyu   -muş/
then   boy   sleep   PAST

...

Saat   tam   12'yi   vur   -ur   -ken
clock   exactly   ACCstrike ACRIST while

bizim   çocuk   dış   kapı   -yı   aç   -mış/
our   boy   out   door   ACC   open   PAST

(... Because (his) snowman was outside/(The boy) was missing him/Then, (he) slept/.../when the clock struck midnight, our boy opened the front door.)

Another strategy which is quite common to adults is to mention a particular referent with a full NP while maintaining this referent by pronominals for some time and then to continue to maintain the same referent by means of pronominals. This is because adults take the hearer's needs into consideration and want the hearer to be aware of what referent he/she is talking about at that moment.

(12) ...

Üzül	*-müş*	*küçük*	*çocuk*	*da/*
feel sad	PAST	small	boy	PART

Ø	*iyi*	*-ce*	*sıkıl*	*-mış/*
boy	good	ADVBL	get bored	PAST

Ø	*Bir*	*kardan*	*adam*	*yap*	*-mış/*
boy	a/one	snowman		make	PAST

Çocuk	*kardan*	*adam*	*yap*	*-mış/*
boy	snowman		make	PAST

...

(The little boy felt sad/(He) got bored/(He) made a snowman/The boy made a snowman.)

7.1.1 Summary

The analysis of lexical realizations of different mentions of the referents displays differences within each age group and across the age groups. The first mentions are all full NPs in all age groups which shows that all the referents are introduced into the narratives by means of full

NPs. In terms of second mentions, 3-year-olds use more pronominals than any other age group. The older groups still use more full NPs for the second time they mention a referent. There still is a difference which gradually takes place in the other groups in terms of full NPs. The biggest difference is between the 7-year-old group and the adults. But, in case of pronominals the developmental pace is not so consistent as full NPs. This picture changes with the third mentions of the referents. There is a contrast between children and adults in that respect. All age groups start using more pronominals than full NPs when they further maintain the referents. However, adults still use more full NPs than pronominals. The developmental difference gradually increases with use of full NPs and the biggest difference occurs after the age of 7. Likewise, the use of pronominals shows a linear decrease between the age groups.

7.2   DISTRIBUTION OF LEXICAL REALIZATIONS IN TERMS OF MAJOR AND MINOR REFERENTS

The pronominalization of the referents has been considered from a general perspective without taking the different characteristics of the referents into consideration so far. The referents are classified as **major referents** and **minor referents** in this study. Major referents are those who are introduced initially and continue until the very end involving in most of the scenes and mainly their actions form the story. There are, on the other hand, some other referents who appear at a certain stage of the story line. These referents whether introduced at an early stage or after the story-line is well-developed are considered as minor referents. Therefore, *the boy* and *the snowman* are the major characters whereas *the boy's parents*, *Father Christmas* and *the other snowmen they meet at the North Pole* are minor referents. Now, whether different functions of the referents have an effect on pronominalization will be studied.

3-year-old children introduce the minor referents into their stories as full NPs (100%) like they do with the major referents (98%). In fact, one child uses a pronominal form, which is a null subject, to introduce one of the major characters -the boy- but none uses any pronominal form with the minor characters. The tendency of pronominalizing the second mentions continues with the minor referents as well. Yet, the percentage of pronominal forms in minor referents (80%) is higher than of pronominals in major

referents (58%) but there is not any significant difference. The same tendency continues with the third mentions. In terms of major referents, more referents are referred to by pronominal forms (79%). We previously have established that children at 3 do not take the minor referents further in their texts as they do with the major referents. In fact, there is only one minor referent reiterated the third time in this data. Since this single referent is reiterated in a pronominal form, we reach a conclusion saying that all the third mentions of the minor referents are in form of pronominals (100% N=1) unlike the major referents.

Table 7.2.1   Distribution of the full NPs and pronominal forms among major and minor   referents of the 3-year-old group

	Major Referents		Minor Referents	
	Full NP	Pronominal	Full NP	Pronominal
1st mention	98%(N=39)	2%(N=1)	100%(N=32)	-
2nd mention	43%(N=17)	58%(N=23)	20%(N=2)	80%(N=8)
3rd mention	21%(N=8)	79%(N=30)	-	100%(N=8)

Yet again, a chi-square test does not reveal any significant difference between the two types of referents $(x^2=0.625;$ $p\leq.99)$. There is a significant difference overall between the mentions of both types of referents $(x^2=102.282;$ $df=3;$ $p\leq.0001)$. The percentage of full NPs decreases against the increasing percentage of pronominal forms.
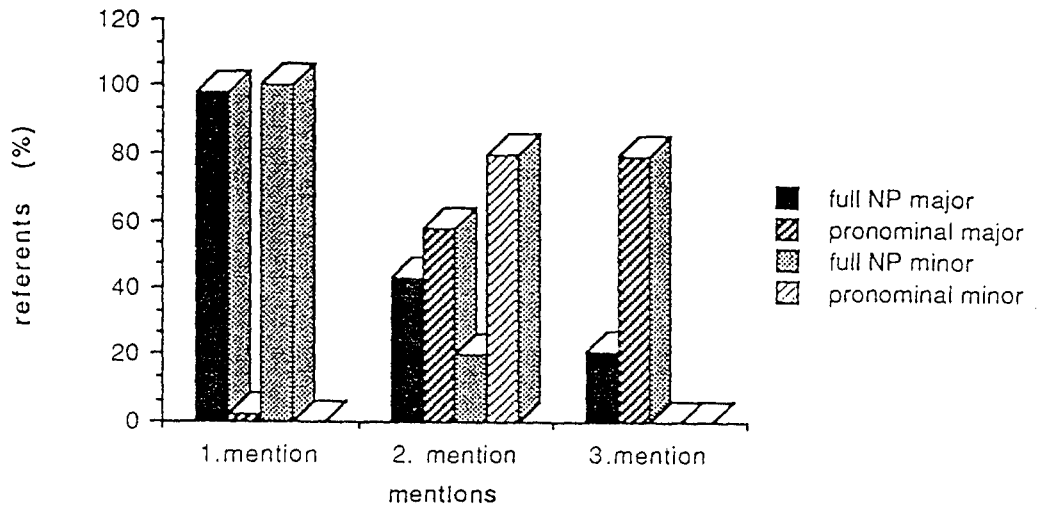
Figure 7.2.1 Distribution of full NPs and pronominal forms among major and minor referents of the 3-year-old group.

5-year-olds treat the two types of referents exactly the same. After introducing them with full NPs, they use more full NPs and less pronominal forms for the second mentions and more pronominal forms but less full NPs for the third mentions of major referents. Full NPs are not employed for the third mentions of the minor referents at all. But again, only 4 of the 45 introduced minor referents are reiterated for the third time

Table 7.2.2   Distribution of full NPs and pronominals forms among major and minor referents of the   5-year-old group

	Major Referents		Minor Referents	
	Full NP	Pronominal	FullNP	Pronominal
1st mention	100%(N=40)	-	100%(N=45)	-
2nd mention	55%(N=22)	45%(N=18)	54%(N=9)	56%(N=5)
3rd mention	35%(N=14)	65%(N=14)	-	100%(N=4)
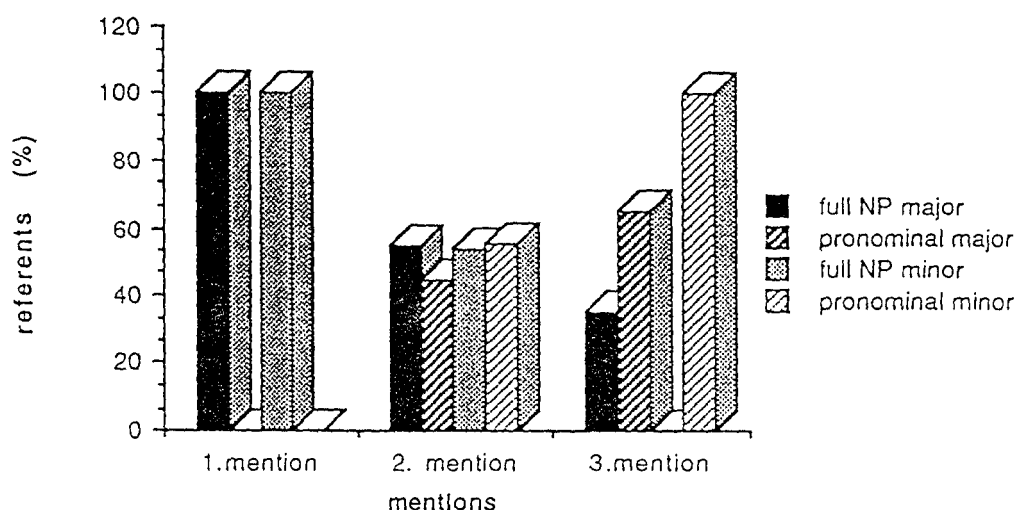
Figure 7.2.2 Distribution of full NPs and pronominal forms among major and minor referents for the 5-year-old group

7-year-old children use full NPs when they mention both major and minor referents for the first time. A discrepancy between major and minor referents is observed with the second and third mentions. When the children maintain the major referents, they tend to pronominalize the major referents more (57%). This tendency gets higher with the third mentions (76%). On the other hand, they use more full NPs and less pronominal forms on maintaining the minor referents; 69% of the second mentions of minor referents are realized as full NPs while pronominals form only 31% of the mentions. The same trend continues with the third mentions in spite of the slight decrease in the percentages (61% and 39% respectively) (x^2=81.165; df=6; p≤.0001).

Table 7.2.3 *Distribution of full NPs and pronominal forms among major and minor referents of the 7-year-old group*

	Major Referents		Minor Referents	
	Full NP	Pronominal	Full NP	Pronominal
1st mention	100%(N=40)	-	100%(N=61)	-
2nd mention	43%(N=17)	57%(N=23)	69%(N=27)	31%(N=12)
3rd mention	24%(N=9)	76%(N=28)	61%(N=14)	39%(N=9)

The preference for full NPs to pronominal forms gets higher and becomes statistically significant with the subsequent mentions of the minor referents (x^2=25.629; df=2; p≤.001).
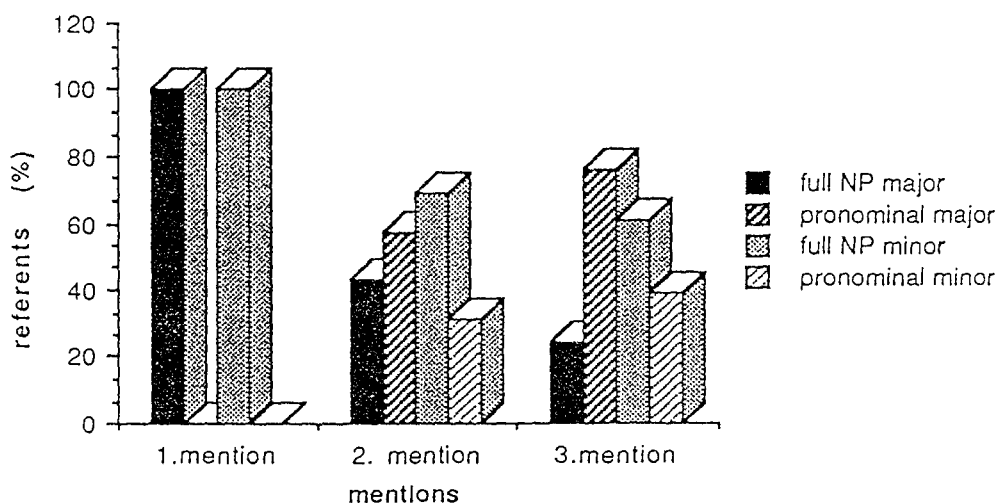
Figure 7.2.3 *Distribution of full NPs and pronominal forms among major and minor referents of the 7-year-old group*

Adult data reveals the same tendency between major referents and minor referents. They employ more full NPs than pronominal forms for the subsequent mentions

regardless of the type of referents. In spite of this preference of full NPs over pronominals, a decrease in the ratio of NPs and an increase in the ratio of pronominals is observed both in major and minor referents. The differences between full NPs and pronominals are statistically significant at .001 level ($x^2 = 22.440$; df=2; $p \leq .001$ and $x^2 = 29.391$; df=2; $p \leq .001$ respectively).

Table 7.2.4 *Distribution of full NPs and pronominal forms among major and minor referents of adults*

	Major Referents		Minor Referents	
	Full NP	Pronominal	Full NP	Pronominal
1st mention	100%(N=40)	-	100%(N=77)	-
2nd mention	70%(N=28)	30%(N=12)	78%(N=50)	22%(N=14)
3rd mention	55%(N=22)	45%(N=18)	65%(N=33)	35%(N=18)
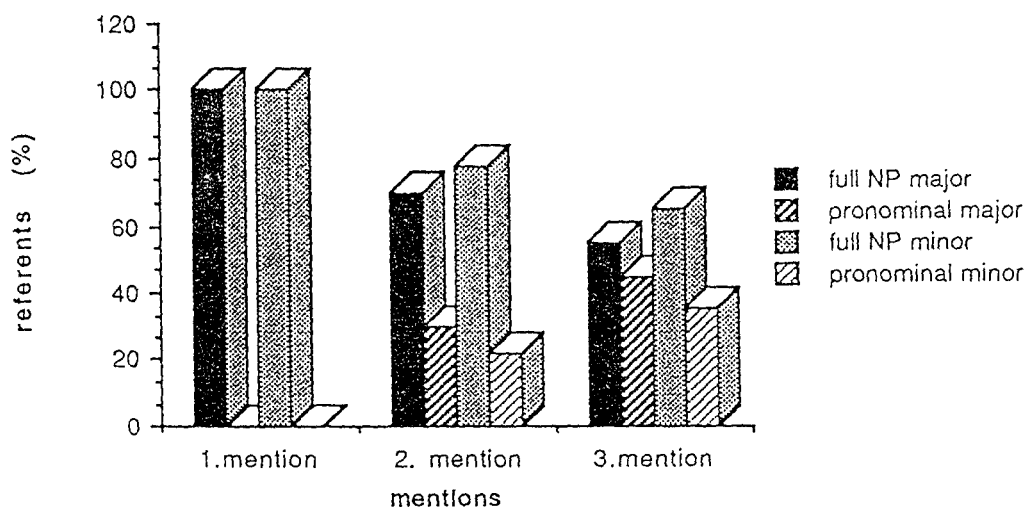
Figure 7.2.4 *Distribution of full NPs and pronominal forms among major and minor referents of adults*

The type of referents do not play an important role on the lexical realizations of the referents. The tendency for choosing full NPs or pronominal forms does not generally change with the nature of the referents. 3 and 5-year-old children's and adult data have not revealed any changes. Younger children in the 3 and 5-year-old groups reiterate the minor referents right after the introduction (11); if they do, they drop them and never mention these referents again (12).

(11) 1. *Çocuk   var   -dı/*   (3;4)
            child   exist PAST 3SG

      ...

      2. *Ø Kardan adam -a   git   -ti/*
            snowman   DAT   go   PAST 3SG

      3. *Ev   -de anne -si   baba -sı var -dı/*
            house LOC mother POSS father POSS exist PAST3SG

      4. *Kardan   adam   canlan   -dı/*
            snowman   become alive PAST3SG

      5. *Ø Yürü   -dü/*
            walk PAST3SG

      ...

      6. *Øi Uç   -tu   -lar/*
                 fly   PAST 3PLU

      7. *Uç -tuk -lar -ı yer de çok kardan adam*
            fly PART PLU ACC place LOC many snowman
         var -dı/
            exist PAST3SG

8. $\emptyset_i$ *Geri gel -di -ler ev -e/*

    back come PAST PLU house DAT

(There was (a) child/...(He) went to the
snowman/There were (his) mother and father at
home/The snowman became alive/(He)
walked/...(The snowman and the boy)
flew/There were a lot of snowmen where (they)
flew/(The boy and the snowman) came back
home.)

In example (11), a 3-year-old child starts his narrative
mentioning the boy (utterance 1) and continues with what
the boy does (utterance 2). Then, in the third utterance, he
mentions the boy's parents for the first time as full NPs and
never reiterates them. Afterwards, the reference is
switched to the snowman in utterance 4. He talks about
what the snowman does both by himself and with the boy
(utterance 5 and 6). At this point, in utterance (7), other
snowmen are mentioned and the reference is again switched
to the boy and the snowman in utterance 8 by means of a
pronominal. Since the minor referents which are the boy's
parents and other snowmen in this particular example are
mentioned only once, and dropped afterwards since they
are not reiterated further, there is no opportunity to use
full NPs for the subsequent mentions.

(12) *Noel Baba var -dı/* (3;7)

    FatherXmas exist PAST 3SG

Ø O   -na   hediye   ver   -di/

he   DAT   present   give   PAST 3SG

Sonra   *kardan*   adam   ora   -da   kal   -dı/

then   snowman   there   LOC   stay   PAST3SG

...

(There was Father Christmas/(He) gave him (the
boy) a present/ The snowman, then, stayed
there.)

Father Christmas is introduced and maintained only once
right after the introduction by means of null subject which
is perfectly appropriate for a subsequent mention but this
referent is dropped at this point and the story continues
with *the snowman*. That is why they use more pronominal
forms than full NPs for the subsequent mentions. Only 7-
year-old subjects handle the pronominalization of the major
and minor referents in a different way. On comparing their
data to adult data this may well be the result of not
maintaining the minor referents continuously most of the
time. What is meant here is that they introduce a minor
referent and then switch to another referent mostly to a
major referent, and after a while, switch to this particular
referent and do not further maintain this referent again.
(13)

(13) *anne*   -*si*   *çorap*   -*lar* -*ın*   *yok*

mom   POSS   sock   PLU POSS nonexist

diye   *göster*   -*iyor*/

PART   show   PROG

sonra o ordan gid -ip çorap -lar -ı -nı
then he there go PART sock PLU POSS ACC

giy -iyor/
wear PROG

...

anne -si baş -ı -na şapka-sı -nı tak -ıyor/ (75)
mom POSS head POSS DAT hat POSS ACC wear PROG

çocuk koşar -ken şapka -sı düşü -yor/
boy run while hat POSS fall PROG

...

anne -si kız -ıyor o -na/
mom POSS be angry PROG he DAT

(His mother pointed out that he did not have his socks on/then he went and put the his socks on/his mother put his hat on his head/his hat fell down while he was running/...his mother became angry at him.)

Major referents, on the contrary, are reiterated and then the reference is maintained that particular referent in sequence of utterances forming an information block about the same referent; and hence, pronominals are preferred to be appropriate for the subsequent mentions within each sequence until the reference is switched again to another referent.

(14) *Bir tane çocuk var -dı/*
one child exist PAST3SG

Ø *Uyu* *-yor* *-du/*

   sleep PROG PAST3SG

Ø *Uyan* *-dı/*

   wake up PAST3SG

Ø *Dışar* *-ı* *çık* *-tı/*

   outside ACC go out PAST3SG

Ø *Kar* *-dan* *bir tane* *top yap* *-tı/*

   snow ABL one ball make PAST3SG

(There was a boy/(He) was sleeping/(He) woke up/(He) went out/(He) made ball out of snow.)

After comparing the lexical realizations of the major and minor referents within the groups, we now compare these issues across the groups to see whether there are any developmental differences.

Like the overall analysis of the first mentions, there are no age differences between the first mentions of major and minor referents. The referents are introduced as full NPs at all age groups. (Table 7.2.5)

Table 7.2.5 Distribution of the first mentions in terms of major and minor referents across the age groups

	Major Referents		Minor Referents	
Age	Full NP	Pronominal	Full NP	Pronominal
3-year	98%(N=39)	2%(N=1)	100%(N=32)	-
5-year	100%(N=40)	-	100%(N=45)	-
7-year	100%(N=40)	-	100%(N=61)	-
Adult	100%(N=40)	-	100%(N=77)	-

The second mentions, however, demonstrate age differences. Pronominalization of major and minor referents shows different developmental trends. 3-year and 7-year-old children use more pronominal forms (58% and 57% respectively) while 5-year-old children and adults use more full NPs (55% and 70% respectively) for the second mentions of the major referents. There is a significant developmental difference at the level of .001 (x^2=8.22; df=3; p≤.001). There is not any significant difference between 3 and 5 and 5 and 7. Then, the development starts and shows significance (t=3.11; df=3; p≤.003).

In terms of minor referents, the general tendency is to use more full NPs than pronominal forms after introducing the referents except for the 3-year-old group. The youngest group chooses pronominal forms 80% and full NPs 20% of the time. The statistical analysis reveals a developmental difference at 0.001 level (x^2=13.930; df=3; p≤.001). In terms of the developmental pace, the difference between each age group is significant when the full NPs are concerned. The substantial development takes place between the ages of 5 and 7 (t=8.22; df=3; p≤.0001). And the difference between 7-year-olds and adults is higher than the difference between 3 and 5 year olds (t=7.46; df=3; p≤.0001 and t=5.80; df=3; p≤.0001).

Table 7.2.6 Distribution of the second mentions in terms of major and minor referents across the age groups

Major Referents			
Age	Full NP		
	%	N	diff. in means
3-year	43	17	
			0.2
5-year	55	22	
			0.2
7-year	43	17	
			0.4
Adult	70	28	
Age	Pronominal		
	%	N	diff. in means
3-year	58	23	
			-0.3
5-year	45	18	
			0.2
7-year	57	23	
			-0.4
Adult	30	12	
Minor Referents			
Age	Full NP		
	%	N	diff. in means
3-year	20	2	
			0.3
5-year	64	9	
			0.9
7-year	69	27	
			0.9
Adult	78	50	
Age	Pronominal		
	%	N	diff. in means
3-year	80	8	
			-0.06
5-year	36	5	
			0.1
7-year	31	12	
			0.2
Adult	22	14	

There is a significant developmental difference when the lexical realizations of the second mentions of the major and minor referents are compared across the age groups (x^2= 48.510; df=3; p≤.0001).

3 and 5-year-old children show the same tendency in pronominalization of both major and the minor referents when they further reiterate the referents. Yet, only one of minor referents is reiterated a third time and as a pronominal form by a 3-year child. 7-year-old children handle the referents in a different way according to the nature of the referents. They prefer to pronominalize the major referents whereas they prefer to refer to the minor referents with full NPs most of the time. Adults' way of pronominalization does not change according to the nature of the referent. For both type of referents, adults use more full NPs than pronominal forms for the third mentions. The distribution among full NPs and pronominals of major and minor referents yields a significant developmental difference across the age groups (x^2=12.225; df=3; p≤.001 and x^2=7.937; df=3; p≤.001 respectively). The difference across the age groups is also significant in regard to the both types of referents (x^2=63.286; df=9; p≤.0001). The statistically significant development starts after the age of 7 in regard to the full NP of major referents. The difference between the 7-year-old group and adults is highly significant (t=3.79; df=3; p≤.0001).

When it comes to the minor referents, the highest difference takes place between age 7 and adult group (t=8.34; df=3; p≤.0001). Before the age of 7, there is a

gradual development between the ages 3 and 5 (t=3,98; df=3; p≤.0001) and 5 and 7 (t=6.97; df=3; p≤.0001). In terms of pronouns of minor referents, there is not any statistically significant development between the ages of 3 and 5 (t=2.44; df=3; p≤.017). The developmental difference starts after the age of 5. The difference between the ages of 5 and 7 (t=3.38; df=3; p≤.001) and increase after the age of 7 (t=3.90; df=3; p≤.0001).

Table 7.2.7 Distribution of the third mentions in terms of major and minor referents across the age groups

Major Referents			
Age	Full NP		
	%	N	diff. in means
3-year	21	8	
			0.2
5-year	35	14	
			-0.3
7-year	24	9	
			0.6
Adult	55	22	
Age	Pronominal		
	%	N	diff. in means
3-year	79	30	
			-0.2
5-year	65	26	
			0.1
7-year	76	28	
			-2.3
Adult	45	13	

Table 7.2.7 Distribution of the third mentions in terms of major and minor referents across the age groups

Minor Referents			
Age	Full NP		
	%	N	diff. in means
3-year	-	-	-
5-year	-	-	0.4
7-year	6 1	1 4	1.2
Adult	6 5	3 3	
Age	Pronominal		
	%	N	diff. in means
3-year	100	1	0.1
5-year	100	4	0.2
7-year	39	9	0.4
Adult	35	18	

The detailed analysis has shown that children and adults have different strategies in handling pronominalization in general in discourse.

7.3 OVERT PRONOMINAL SUBJECTS VS. NULL SUBJECTS

We next look at the pronominalization from a different angle. Pronominal forms are employed to a certain extent for different mentions of the referents by the children at different ages and adults. But do they use both pronominal subjects or null subjects as it is allowed in Turkish? At what instances do they employ an overt pronominal subject or a null subject?

All the subjects regardless of age use null subjects 96% of the time on average when they pronominalize.

Table 7.3.1 Distribution of null subject and overt pronominal subjects across the age groups

Age	Null Subject	Pronominal Subject
3-year	95% (N=60)	5% (N=3)
5-year	94% (N=50)	6% (N=3)
7-year	96% (N=68)	4% (N=3)
Adult	98% (N=60)	2% (N=2)
Mean Percentage	96%	4%

It will be obvious from this table that examples of overt pronominal subjects are rare. Some examples from each age group follow, with interpretations that, because of the small number, can only be tentative.

The 3-year-old group uses overt pronominal subjects mainly in two different contexts. The first context is to switch the reference from one major referent -*the snowman* - to another one -*the boy* -.

(15) ...

   Sonra   kardan adam   "hoşçakal" de   -di/ (3;4)

   then   snowman   good-bye say PAST

   O   da   "hoşçakal" de   -di/

   he too   good-bye say PAST

   (Then,   the snowman said "good-bye"/he (the

   boy), too, said "good-bye".)

In the second context, the function is to maintain a referent but an overt pronominal subject functions in a way to emphasize the referent which is being maintained.

(16) *Kardan adam -la çocuk orman -a git -ti/* (3;11)

   snowman   with boy   forest DAT go PAST3SG

   Çok   kardan   adam   var -dı/

   a lot of   snowman   exist PAST

   Onlar   dansed -yor   -du/

   they   dance   PROG   PAST

   (The snowman and the boy went to the

   forest/There were a lot of snowmen/They were

   dancing.)

In a sense, the child tries to emphasize that the action belongs to only other snowmen, that the snowman and the boy are not involved in this action.

     5-year-old children also use overt pronominal subjects in the same contexts when they switch the reference from one major referent to another referent (17) and to maintain

only one of the major referents -*the boy* - (18). They also use them in order to switch to 'snowman and the boy' when they narrate the actions that the snowman and the boy involve together. (15)(16)

(17) *Sonra bir   kardan adam   yap   -tı/*   (5;0)

then one   snowman   make PAST3SG

Kömür   koy   -du/

coal   put   PAST3SG

...

Sonra   o   canlan   -dı/

then   he   become alive   PAST3SG

(Then,   (the boy) made   a   snowman/(He)   put (some) coal (on the snowman's eyes/...Then, he (the snowman) became alive.)

(18) *Çocuk   kalk   -tı/*   (5;3)

boy   get up   PAST3SG

Ø Bir   sey   gör   -dü/

one thing   see   PAST3SG

Sonra o gid   -ip   kardan adam   yap   -tı/

then   he   go   PART   snowman   make PAST

(The boy   got up/(He) saw   something/...Then he went and   made an snowman.)

Like the other two younger groups, 7-year-old children employ overt pronominal subjects both on maintaining and switching the major referents.

(19) *Sonra bir yer -e gel -iyor -lar/*

then one place DAT come PROG 3PLU

Başka kardan adam -lar da var or -da/

other snowman PLU too exist there DAT

Onlar çekil -iyor -lar/

they step aside PROG 3PLU

(Then, (the boy and the snowman) came to a place/There are some other snowmen, too/They stepped aside.)

Again, the overt pronominal is to emphasize that this referent strictly belongs to the referent just switched.

(20) *Bir tane çocuk bir kardan adam yap -ıyor/* (79)

one boy one snowman make PROG

Hep kardan adam -a bak -ıyor/

all snowman DAT look PROG

Sonra o ışık saçma -ya başla -dı/

then he light give away PART start PAST

(A boy makes a snowman/(He) looks at the snowman all the time/Then, he (the snowman) starts giving away light.)

Adults use pronominal subjects to maintain the referents both major and minor. They mainly use overt pronominal subjects in order to maintain a referent (21) or to switch from minor referent to the major referents either to the boy or to the boy and the snowman together. (22)

(21) *Or -da bir de Noel Baba var/*

there DAT one too Father Xmas exist

O çocuğ -a güzel bir atkı hediye ed -iyor

he boy DAT nice one scarf give PROG3SG

(There was this Father Christmas there, too/ He

gave the boy a nice scarf as a present.)

(22) *Sonra baba -sı "hadi, yat -ma vakti" de -di/*

then father POSS comeon sleep INF time say PAST3SG

O da hemen oda -sı -na çık -tı/

he too at once room POSS DAT go up PAST3SG

(Then, (his) father said (to him) *"it is time to go*

to bed "/He (the boy) went to (his) room at

once.)
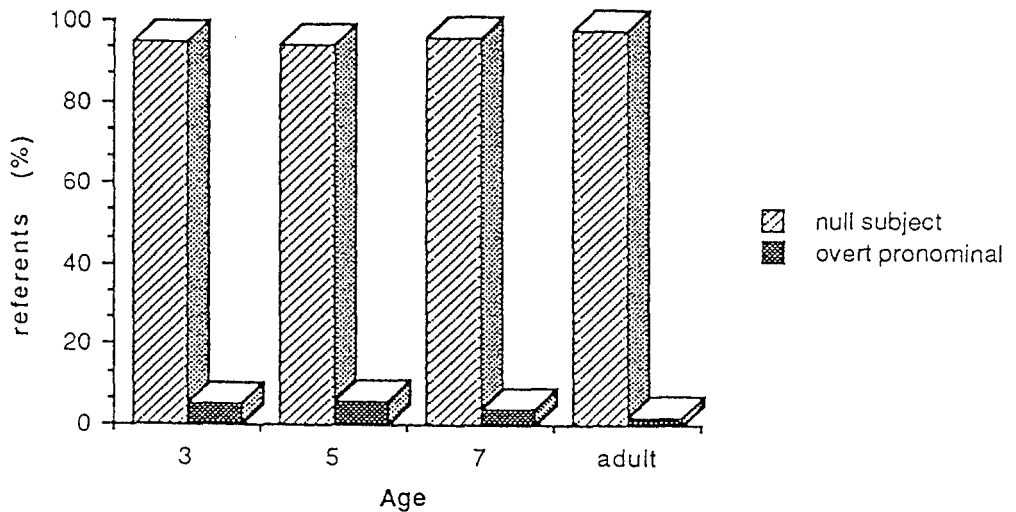
Figure 7.3.1 Distribution of null subjects and overt pronominal subjects across the age groups

The rate of preferring null subject to overt pronominal subjects does not show any significant change across the age groups. The situations that children and adults use pronominal subjects remain more or less the same as well.

7.4 STRATEGIES FOR ANAPHORIC DEVICES

This section is concerned with how children employ the anaphoric devices in their narratives. It has been pointed out that children apply different strategies to employ pronominals in their narratives compared with the studies which have been done in other languages. One of these theories is marked as 'thematic subject strategy' (Karmiloff-Smith, 1980, 1981, 1985) in which narrators save the pronominal use for the main referent of the story. This main referent is characterized as thematic subject (Ibid). According to this theory, the child chooses a thematic subject which is the main character in the story and afterwards this referent is referred by pronominals continuously. Therefore, this referent is lexically realized as a pronominal whether the function is maintaining or switching reference. Meanwhile, the referents other than this thematic subject are introduced and switched to by means of nominals but maintained by means of pronominals.

On the other hand, Hinds (1977, 1979) considers pronominalization as a semantic process in which 'semantically prominent' information is marked by nominal

forms while continous information is marked by pronominal forms, which is considered as less prominent forms. Therefore, nominal expressions are preferred over pronominal expression to mark paragraph boundaries. Then, in relation to our story, we interpret this theory as speakers maintain their referents throughout the story by means of pronominals. When they first introduce their referents into the story or switch the reference from one referent to another, they use a nominal form to mark the importance of the shift in topic. But, on the other hand, when this recently introduced or switched referent is maintained, a pronominal form is used. So, each referent is mentioned in forms of paragraphs starting with a nominal and continuing with a pronominal regardless of that referent being a protagonist or a secondary character. This strategy is termed as 'paragraph boundary strategy'. We have analysed our data taking these two strategies into consideration. The analysis will be performed in terms of major referents and minor referents separately.

When we begin with our 3-year-old group, we see some individual differences among the subjects of this age group. Two out of 20 subjects do not use any sort of pronominal forms at all for any of the referents. These two subjects use full NPs throughout their narratives for introducing, maintaining and switching the referents.

(1)   *Kardan adam yap   -tı   çocuk/*   (3;3)
       snowman   make PAST boy

Çocuğ   -un   baba -sı   var -dı/

boy   GEN father POSS exist PAST3SG

...

Kardan   adam   da   git   -ti/

snowman   too go   PAST 3SG

...

Sonra eri · -mis   kardan   adam/

then   melt PAST   snowman

Çocuk da çok üzül -dü/

boy   too very sad   PAST3SG

(The boy made a snowman/There was the boy's father/...The snowman went/Then, the snowman melted/The boy was very sad.)

Children at this age treat the major referents, the boy and the snowman, in a different way. Three subjects consider the boy as the thematic subject of the narrative and always pronominalize this referent after the first introduction.

(2)   *Kar -lar yağ -dı/*   (3;7)

       snow PLU   snow PAST3SG

       Kardan   adam$_i$ yap -ti   çocuk$_j$ /

       snowman   make PAST   boy

      Ø$_i$ Sonra   uç   -tu/

             then   fly   PAST3SG

      ...

      Noel   Baba   var -dı/

      FatherXmas   exist PAST 3SG

Ø_{ij} Git -tik -ler -i   yer -de   müzik

go PART PLU ACCplace LOC music

çal -   dı -lar

play PAST 3PLU

sonra Ø_{ij} ev -ler -i -ne   dön -dü -ler/

then   house PLU ACC DAT return PAST 3PLU

Ø_j Uyu   -du/

    sleep PAST3SG

Ø_j Kalk   -tı/

get up PAST3SG

...

Eri -miş -ti   kardan   adam/

melt PAST PAST   snowman

Ø_j Sonra   üzül   -dü/

    then   become sad   PAST3SG

(It snowed/The boy made (a) snowman/Then,
(the snowman) flew/...There was this Father
Christmas/ After (the boy and the snowman)
had played music at the place (they) went,
(they) came back/The snowman had
melted/(The boy felt sad.)

Seven of the 3-year-olds introduce the referent as a full NP,
then use pronominal forms   until a new referent is
introduced again as a full NP. When the boy comes to the
focus again,   the referent is switched by a full NP and
pronominalized afterwards.

(4) *Çocuk   var   -dı/*   (3;3)
     boy   exist PAST3SG

     Ø Kardan adam   yap   -tı/
        snowman   make PAST3SG

     ...

     Sonra   çocuk   uyu   -du/
     then   boy   sleep PAST3SG

     Ø Uyan   -dı/
        wake up PAST3SG

     Ama   kardan   adam   eri   -miş   -ti/
     but   snowman   melt PAST   PAST

     Çocuk hediye -si -ni   kardan adam -a ver -di/
     boy   present POSS ACC snowman   DAT give PAST

     (There   was   the   boy/(He)   made   a
     snowman/.../Then,   the   boy   slept/(He)   woke
     up/But   the   snowman   melted/The   boy   gave   the
     snowman   his   present.)

Six of the 3-year-old children employ both of these
strategies with the same referent.   When they first
introduce the boy,   they treat it as a thematic subject and
reserve the pronominal forms for the boy.   After a while,
when more referents are introduced,   they switch to the boy
with a full NP and pronominalize it while maintaining the
referent until the referent is switched to another one with a
full NP.

(5) *Ø Kardan adam   yap   -tı/*   (3;11)
        snowman   make PAST3SG

Kardan adam yer -i -nde dur -uyor -duı

snowman   place ACC LOC stay PROG PAST3SG

Yat   -tı   oı

go to bed PAST   he (the boy)

Ø *Kalk   -tıı*

   get up PAST3SG

Kardan   adam   canlan   -dıı

snowman   become alive PAST3SG

Ø *Yürü -meye   basla   -dıı*

   walk   INF   start   PAST3SG

...

Ø *Aç   -tı /*

open PAST3SG

  ...

Noel   Baba   var -dıı

FatherXmas   exist PAST3SG

Noel Baba' -nın   ev -i -ne gir -di çocukı

FatherXmas   GEN house POSS DAT enter PAST boy

...

((He) made (a) snowman/ The snowman was standing at his place/ ((The boy) went to bed/(He) got up/ The snowman became alive/ (He) started walking/.../(He) opened/.../There was Father Christmas/The boy went into Father Christmas's house.)

Two of the children in this group do not use pronouns for the boy because they switch the reference to the boy, talk about him in one utterance, then shift the referent again. They never maintain the boy subsequently as one information block.

(6) *Çocuk kardan adam yap -tı/*

boy snowman make PAST3SG

Kardan adam$_i$ yürü -dü/

snowman walk PAST3SG

...

Çocuk da yürü -dü/

boy too walk PAST3SG

Ø$_i$ Uç -tu/

fly PAST3SG

...

Oyna -dı çocuk/

play PAST boy

Kardan adam$_i$ sıcak -da kal -dı/

snowman hot DAT stay PAST3SG

Ø$_i$ Eri -di/

melt PAST3SG

(The boy built (a) snowman/The snowman walked/.../The boy also walked/(The snowman) went flying/.../The boy danced/The snowman stayed in the hot/(He) melted.)

Children in this group take the snowman into consideration in a different way than the boy. Although the snowman is

considered as a major referent appearing quite early in the eventline and participating in almost all the scenes throughout the story, none of the 3-year-old children considers the snowman as the thematic subject. They all mention the referent with a full NP either on introducing or switching to it and pronominalize the subsequent mentions until switching to another referent. Therefore, they mark paragraph boundaries by introducing or switching to the snowman by means of full NPs and using anaphoric devices for subsequent mentions until they switch to another referent.

(7) *Kardan adam yap -tı çocuk/*   (3;11)
    snowman   make PAST boy

    Ø *Çok güzel ol -du/*
      very beautiful   become   PAST3SG

    ...

    Ø *Sonra uç -tu/*
      then   fly PAST3SG

    Kardan adam -la çocuk orman -a git -ti/
    snowman   with boy   forest DAT go PAST

    (The boy made (a) snowman/(It) was very beautiful/.../Then, (he) flew/The boy and the snowman went to the forest.)

It is difficult to draw any conclusion as far as the minor referents are concerned. Children at this age, as we have already emphasized, normally drop them after the introduction. If they reiterate these minor referents, which

is rather rare, they mention the referent as a full NP initially and then pronominalize until another referent comes to the scene.

(8) ...

Çok kardan adam var -dı/ (3;11)
a lot of snowman exist PAST

Onlar dansed -iyor -du/
then dance PROG PAST

Sonra çocuk yat -mış -tı/
then boy go to bed PAST PAST

(.../There were a lot of snowman/They were dancing/Then, the boy went to bed.)

In the 5-year-old group, seven out of 20 children treat the boy as the thematic subject and always use pronominal forms for maintaining and switching to this referent throughout the text. The other seven children introduce the boy as a full NP and then maintain the referent by pronominals by the time another referent comes into the scene. Six of the children treat the boy in relation to the other referents. They introduce the boy as a full NP and pronominalize it thereafter. When they switch to boy from a minor referent, they still pronominalize the boy treating this referent as the thematic subject.

(9) *Çocuk_i yat -ıyor -du/* (5;3)
boy sleep PROG PAST

...

Ø*ᵢ Giyin -dı/*

    get dressed PAST3SG

...

Oᵢ gid -ip kardan adam yap -tı/

he go PART snowman   make PAST3SG

Anne -si yatır -dı o -nu/

mother POSS tuck in PAST he ACC

Ø*i Yat -a -ma -dı/*

    sleep ABL NEG PAST3SG

(The boy was in bed/.../(He) got dressed/.../He made (a) snowman/His mum tucked him in bed.)

On the other hand, when they switched from the other major character, the snowman, a full NP is used and the referent is pronominalized afterwards.

(10) ...

    Ø*ᵢ Kalk -tı/*

      get up PAST3SG

    Sonra kardan adam eri -miş -ti/

    then   snowman   melt PAST PAST

    Çocukᵢ da çok üzül -müş -tü/

    boy   PART very become sad PAST PAST

    (He) could not stay in bed/.../(He) got up/Then, the snowman melted/The boy was very sad.)

When they talk about the snowman, only one child treats the snowman as the thematic subject and pronominalizes it throughout the text after introducing as a

full NP. Ten subjects use pronominals anaphorically for maintaining the referent. Meanwhile, seven of them do not pronominalize the referent at all. This is because they mention the snowman only once as a full NP and switch to another referent. When they reiterate the snowman again, they use a full NP and never maintain it.

5-year-old children have the same tendency as the 3-year-olds in terms of the minor referents. Minor referents are not reiterated very often and when they are, they are pronominalized within the paragraph boundary strategy by switching to these referents by means of a full NP and then maintaining them by pronominal forms.

7-year-old children's data does not show much difference than the 3-and 5-year-olds. Six children treat the boy as the thematic subject and pronominalize the agent all the time both on maintaining and switching the referent. Seven subjects treat all the characters equally and pronominalize major referents in terms of paragraphs switching from one reference to another by means of full NPs. Seven of the subjects regard pronominalization of the boy in relation to the other referents. They treat this referent as the central character by the time the snowman appears. By then, the boy is always referred by a pronominal even when it is switched from the other referent. Once the snowman is introduced, they adopt a different way of pronominalization. When the boy is switched from the snowman, the other major character, a full NP is used. But when it is switched from a minor

referent, the boy is still treated as the thematic subject and switched to by means of a pronominal form.

(11)   *Bir   çocuk$_i$ var -dı/*   (7;10)

one   boy   exist PAST3SG

Ø$_i$ Sabah   uyan   -dı/

    morning   wake up   PAST3SG

...

Ø$_i$ Hemen gid -ip bir kardan adam yap -tı/

at once go PART one snowman   make PAST3SG

..anne -si öğlen yemeğ -i -ne çağır -dı/

mother POSS lunch   POSS DAT call PAST

..Ø$_i$ hep   pencere -den dısarı bak -ıyor -du/

always window ABL   out   look PROG PAST3SG

baba -sı yat -ma saat i -nin gel -diği -ni

father POSS sleep INF time POSS GEN come PART ACC

işaret et -ti/

point out PAST3SG

Ø$_i$ Gid -ip pijama -lar -i -ni giy   -di/

go PART pyjama   PLU POSS ACC put on PAST3SG

...

Kardan adam bir şey -e çok üzül -müş -tü/

snowman one thing DAT very becomesad PAST PAST

...

Çocuk git -ti   el   -i   -nden tut -tu/

boy   go PAST hand POSS ABL hold PAST

...

Kardan *adam* *yer* *-i* *-nde* *dur* *-du/*

snowman   place POSS LOC stay PAST

Çocuk *git* *-ti* *kapı* *-da* *dur* *-du/*

boy   go   PAST door LOC stop PAST

(There was a boy/(He) woke up in the morning/.../(He) made a snowman/...(his) mum called him inside for lunch/...(he) kept looking out of the window/In the evening, (he) still was looking out of the window/(His) father pointed (him) out that it was bedtime/(The boy) put his pyjamas on/.../The snowman was upset about something/...The boy went (near him) and held (his) hand/.../The snowman stood at (his) place/The boy went and stopped at the door.)

A number of children, although few, tend to treat the snowman as a thematic subject after the initial introduction in this group. Until the snowman appears, the boy is considered as the thematic subject, but once the snowman starts being involved in the events, it was treated as the thematic subject even though the boy is still there. They emphasize that another important and continuous referent takes over the role of the thematic subject for that period and organize their discourse according to this change.

(12) *Çocuk$_i$* *uyan* *-ıyor/*   (7;5)

boy   wake up PROG

...

Anne -si "çorap -lar -ı -nı giy" di -yor/
motherPOSS socks PLU POSS ACCwear say PROG

...

Øᵢ Sonra kardan adam -ı -naj bir daha bak -ıyor/
  then   snowman POSS DAT one time look PROG3SG

Øⱼ Ozaman arka -sı -nı dön -üp şapka -sı -nı
  then   back POSS ACCturn PART hat POSS ACC

çıkar   -ıyor o -na/
take off PROG he DAT

...

Kardan adam -a "bin" di -yor çocuk/
snowman   DAT   mount say PROG boy

Øⱼ Bin   -ıyor/
   mount PROG3SG

...

(The boy wakes up/.../(His) mother said "Put your socks on"/(He) puts (his) socks on/.../Then, (he) looks at (his) snowman one more time/(The snowman) then turns behind and greets him by taking (his) hat off/The boy told the snowman "Mount (on the bike)/(The snowman) mounts (on the bike).)

Since the narratives of 7-year-old group become more sophisticated and longer, and children at this age are able to talk more about the minor referents, there is a clear picture of the pronominalization of the minor referents. They mainly treat the minor referents as paragraph units; that is, the referent is introduced by a full NP and then

pronominalized until a new referent is introduced. When they need to return to the same referent after a while, this referent is switched by a full NP again and then reiterated by pronominal forms afterwards.

(13) ...

Anne   -si   o -na   söyle -di/   (7;5)
mother POSS he DAT say   PAST

Ø Giy   -dir   -di/
   wear   PAST3SG

...

Sonra Noel Baba o -nu   al -ıp   bir
then   FatherXmas he ACC take PARTone

yer -e   götür -dü/
place DAT take PAST

ØOra -da kızağ   -ı   -nı, geyik -ler -i   -ni
there LOC sledge POSS ACC deer   PLU POSS ACC

göster -di/
show PAST

Ø O   -na   hediye ver   -di/
   he   DAT   present give PAST3SG

((His)   mum   told   him/(She)   dressed
(him)/.../Then,   Father   Christmas took   him
somewhere/(He) showed (the boy)   (his) deers
and   sledge/(Father   Christmas) gave   him   a
present.)

Adults do not follow a single strategy for anaphoric devices, either. Seven of the adults treat the boy as the thematic subject and use pronominals both for switching and maintaining while 6 of them prefer full NPs for switching to the referent and pronominals for maintaining the same referent. The remaining seven adults consider the functions of the other referents in the story. They again treat the boy as the thematic subject by mentioning it by means of pronominals until the snowman is introduced into the narrative. Afterwards, the reference to the boy is switched by means of full NPs and maintained by pronominals. None of the adults treat the snowman as a thematic subject. The snowman is always mentioned in the form of paragraphs; in other words, is switched to and from another referent by full NPs and is maintained by pronominals.

Like the 7-year-olds, all the adults introduce the minor referents in forms of full NPs and then maintain by means of pronouns mentioning one referent in the form of a paragraph.

Looking at the analyses of each group, it would be appropriate to say that there are several factors affecting pronominalization of the referents. One factor which has an obvious influence on the choice of linguistic expressions is the type of referent. Major and minor referents are treated differently and the property of being a major or a minor referent has an influence on the choice of pronominal and nominal forms. Major referents, in some instances, are assigned the thematic subject status and are pronominalized accordingly. This strategy is characterized by a predominant

use of pronominals both for reference maintaining and switching. But, in our data, although the thematic subject strategy is used to a certain extent and increases over time, pronominal forms, either a null subject or an overt pronominal subject, are employed for other referents as well, e.g. minor referents. Yet, a different sort of strategy is employed in which full NPs are used to mark the reference shift to a particular referent while this referent is maintained by pronominals.

In addition to the type of the referent, the relation of the referents to each other and stages they first appear has an effect which makes the narrator handle the pronominalization of these referents in a different way. The major referents, the boy who appears at the very beginning of the story and is involved in every scene until the very end; and the snowman, who appears after a while and participates in every action afterwards, are treated in a different way at all ages. All of the 3 and 5-year-old children and adults and most of the 7-year-olds deal with the snowman differently than the boy. While they treat the boy as the thematic subject since he appears in all the scenes, these subjects organize their discourse to emphasize which referents become prominent in the story line. The reference is switched to the snowman and the minor referents by a full NP to attract the listener's attention to them and then they are referred to by pronominal subjects implying that the same referent is still in focus. A full NP is used when the focus changes to another referent, thus serving to *"demarcate the 'peaks' of particular discourse*

segments " as Hinds states (quoted in Bamberg, 1986: 232-233). The last factor which has a considerable effect on pronominalization is age. The difference in handling pronominalization in relation to the other referents in a piece of discourse starts after the age of 5. Until the age of 5, children consider the referents individually and adjust their preference for linguistic expressions accordingly. On the other hand, 7-year-old children and adults start adopting the strategies in relation to the other referents in the discourse.

There are no clear-cut phases in the development of the strategies for anaphoric devices. Apart from the few 3-year-olds who do not employ pronominal forms in their narratives at all, children starting from the age of 3 are able to use pronouns anaphorically in the discourse. In this respect the findings in this study contrast with Karmiloff-Smith's results (1980, 1981). She concluded that children around the ages of 4 and 5 use pronouns only in order to refer to the entities in extralinguistic context accompanied by paralinguistic gestures such as pointing to them but not to maintain a referent mentioned earlier on. They formulate the referents independent of each other and deal with them on a sentential level. For these reasons, younger children's pronouns are deictic rather than being anaphoric. Children become aware of organizing their discourse in a more global way. As a result of this, the pronominal anaphora starts to be acquired around the age of 6. The first developmental phase is marked by the use of pronouns for only the thematic subject. Children pick a thematic subject and all

the pronouns in utterance-initial positions are reserved for this central referent of the narrative and the other referents are referred to by definite nominal forms. However, Turkish-speaking children use pronominal anaphora for the other referents as well as the thematic subject in their narratives. As a matter of fact, the number of the subjects who choose a thematic subject and refer to this referent pronominally whether they maintain or switch the reference increases after the age of 3. 15% of the 3-year-old children see the boy as the thematic subject while this percentage increases to 33% in the older groups. As Bamberg (1986: 252-253) puts forward, those *"who adhere to the thematic subject strategy "* focus on a single referent which becomes the center of the events and reserve the pronominal forms for this referent. They organize their discourse in such a way that different linguistic markers such as full NPs are used to switch the reference to other referents from the thematic subject.

Therefore, Turkish-speaking children use anaphoric devices appropriately as early as age 3. They are also able to employ the anaphoric strategies according to the requirements of the listener. This ability indeed becomes more sophisticated with the linguistic growth.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

Having presented the results of both the quantitative and qualitative analyses, the aim of this chapter is to summarize the results with reference to the research questions set out in Chapter 2 and to relate these findings to our overall aim in this study which is to examine the role of noun phrases in achieving coherence in narratives of Turkish-speaking children.

Before summarizing the descriptive and statistical results, we would like to report the findings from a rather general outlook into children's narratives. The narratives were firstly evaluated in terms of text length and the number of the referents that were introduced into the narratives to have a preliminary idea about their narratives.

8.1 OVERVIEW; TEXT LENGTH AND NUMBER OF REFERENTS

The narratives of the 3-year-old group, the youngest group in this study, showed more individual differences in number of clauses than the narratives in any other group. The number of clauses varies from six clauses to 30 clauses. The number of clauses did not show much variation in the narratives of 7-year-old group and adults. On average, children in the 3-year-old group were able to produce 14-clause narratives. The length of the narratives increased with increasing age. As regards group means, the mean length of text increased to 22 clauses in the 5-year-old group. The mean number of clauses in the 7-year-old group was 45. The adult group produced 93-clause

narratives on average. The increasing mean number of texts showed that the length of narratives was directly related to the increasing age, although the pace of development showed changes between the groups. Statistical analysis of the difference between the group means showed a significant development after the age of 3, which accelerated after 5, followed by a similar substantial development after the age of 7.

The number of the referents involved in the actions the story was controlled, allowing us to investigate whether all these six referents were included in the narratives. However, the number of the referents included in the narratives showed differences according to increasing age. Younger children, 3 and 5-year-olds, mentioned an average of three or four of these referents. In fact, these were usually limited to the characters who appear from the initial stages to the very end of the story and whose actions form the plot of the story. We named those referents as *major referents*. On the other hand, other referents who appear at a certain stage acting in accordance with the major referents -named *minor referents* - were occasionally introduced by children at these ages. This ability to take every referent involved into account developed in many of the 7-year-olds and virtually all adults introduced all the referents into their narratives. The differences between the groups were all significant.

8.2 SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

Having established the developmental differences in terms of text length and the number of referents introduced into the texts, we now focus on presenting the findings on the issues through which we will be able to pinpoint how Turkish children achieve coherence in their narratives by employing noun phrases. It will be recalled that noun phrases were counted as having three exponents - *full NP, pronoun* and *null (understood) argument.*

Our first research question was:

Are Turkish-speaking children between the ages of 3 and 7 able to organize their narratives around a number of referents by reiterating the referents they have already introduced to the narrative in order to tie the narrative together?

The results showed that all children in every age group were able to reiterate at least some referents several times. There still was a significant developmental difference across the age groups. This difference is considered to .be related to the result of the increasing length of the stories by age. The longer the stories, the more the referents were reiterated. In the 3 and 5-year-old groups, there was virtually no reiteration of minor referents. The general tendency in the 3 and 5-year-old groups when they

introduce a minor referent was to introduce a minor referent and drop it and never mention it again.

The percentage of the referents that are mentioned only once decreased with increasing age. Adults have very few referents that were only introduced into the narrative and then dropped afterwards. Developmental differences were found with the referents reiterated once only. Just 9% of these introduced referents were reiterated only once by 3-year-olds and 13% by 5-year-olds. Although there was a significant difference between these two younger groups, development actually accelerated after the age of 5.

No 3-year-old child reiterated a minor referent more than once. 5-year-old children managed to reiterate 6% of the introduced referents more than once. The percentage of the referents reiterated more than once gradually increases and this increase becomes greater after the age of 7.

Secondly, we asked when the children reiterate the referents in discourse:

At what text distance in a narrative can these children reiterate the same referent after this particular referent is introduced earlier in discourse?

The text distance over which the referents introduced are reiterated showed changes in accordance with age. The characters of the referents (major or minor) also affected the results. Younger children at 3 and 5-years of age reiterated the major referents after fewer clauses than older

children and adults. Referents controlled a larger stretch of discourse in the narratives of 7-year-olds and adults. The difference across the age groups was highly significant. We have already mentioned that children at 3 and 5 managed to reiterate a very small number of minor referents subsequent to the introduction. But these further mentions do not hold much space in the narratives since they are reiterated only in the very next clause. The 7-year-old group and the adult group were capable of reiterating minor referents across greater distances as well as major referents. This was not surprising since 7-year-olds and adults had longer texts than the 3 and 5-year-olds did. The analysis revealed that the domain of a particular referent whether major or minor within the discourse increased as the children got older.

Although the subsequent reiteration of the introduced referents is important, the way these referents are introduced and maintained and switched from one referent to another is essential to provide coherence by means of NPs. Therefore, we asked the following questions:

Can young children establish the specificity of referents when they introduce them in discourse? Do they create a presupposition about the existence and specificity of a particular referent by using appropriate indefinite forms for the first mentions an maintain these referents with appropriate linguistic forms which pertain to the listener's

needs?   How do they switch the reference from
one referent to the other?

To answer these questions,   we classified the referring
expressions as *appropriate* and *inappropriate.* A
referent is to be introduced in indefinite form in order to be
categorized   as *appropriate* since the form of a referent
will inform the hearer that this particular referent is a new
one and a new file for this referent should be opened.   On
the other hand,   definite expressions and nondefinite
expressions which are considered as nonreferential,   were
grouped as *inappropriate* referring   expressions for the
first mentions.   The responses were analysed according to
these criteria.   The ratio of the *appropriate*   forms
increased with the increasing age.

In   qualitative   terms,   3-year-old   children's
appropriate forms consisted mostly of definite forms.   The
ratio of the indefinite appropriate forms was lowest in terms
of singular referents.   Children at this age were able,
however,   to refer to plural referents through indefinite
expressions showing a linguistic rather than cognitive factor
at work in their choice of the indefinite form.   If the
children were cognitively unable to take the hearer's point
of view to introduce the referents in indefinite forms,   they
would not be able to use indefinite forms for the plural
referents.   That is why we claim that Turkish children's use
of definite referring expressions is not cognitive in the sense
of perspective-taking,   but linguistic contrary to the claims
in the studies on English and French-speaking children to

the effect that the use of definite referring expressions (Brown, 1973; Emslie and Stevenson, 1981; Bresson et al. (cited in Hickmann, 1982) Warden, 1976 and Hickmann, 1980, 1982).

In terms of maintaining the referents with an appropriate exponent, there was no developmental difference between the age groups. Younger groups, 3 and 5-year-olds used the referent maintaining expressions appropriately 98% of the time while this ratio was 100% in the 7-year-old group and adults. The referents are maintained by means of definite full NPs, null subject and overt pronominal subjects in each age group. Although there was no developmental difference in terms of appropriate and inappropriate referring expressions, the types of reference- maintaining expressions showed differences across the age groups. The ratio of definite full NPs increased by age while the ratio of null subjects and overt pronominal subjects decreased.

We also analysed the appropriateness and inappropriateness of the referent-switching expressions. Three types of linguistic expressions were used by all age groups to switch the referents: definite full NPs, null subjects and overt pronominal subjects. Appropriateness was rated by means of native speaker judgements. Switch-reference was already expressed in the 3-year-old group on 90% of the occasions, and at age 7, inappropriate instances became very rare. However, since the type of linguistic expressions which were employed to signal a reference-switch did not show any consistency across the age groups,

we are unable to present a developmental picture in that aspect nor a plausible explanation of the situation.

The previous analysis fed into another issue which we asked in the following research question:

The referents can be reiterated either by full noun phrases or by pronominal forms. What are the lexical realizations of the introduced and reiterated referents? Do they use only full NPs or pronominalize the referents throughout their narratives? Under what circumstances does a child use overt pronominal subjects and null subjects for the referents in discourse?

The analysis of lexical realizations of different mentions revealed differences within each age group; and consequently, developmental differences across the age groups due to several reasons.

The referents are introduced by means of full NPs in all age groups. The differences in the preference of full NPs over pronominal forms or vice versa started with the second mentions. 3-year-olds continued their stories employing more pronominals either in the form of a null subject or of an overt pronominal subject. After this age, more full NPs and fewer pronominals were assigned for the second mentions. Therefore, the use of full NPs increased by age while the percentage of pronominals decreased. The fact that 3-year-old children used more pronominals than full NPs may depend on two reasons: firstly, the length of texts

and secondly the number of referents. Since children at this age mainly introduced two major characters -the boy and the snowman-, they organized the events around these referents. That is why once the referents were introduced, they were maintained by means of pronominals. Full NPs were used only for the purpose of switching the reference from one referent to another. Besides, the texts at this age were relatively shorter than the narratives of any other group. Therefore, the stretch of narrative each referent controlled was not long enough to require full NPs.

In terms of third mentions, the change in lexical realization started after the age of 7. Children at the ages of 3, 5 and 7 used more pronominals than full NPs. Yet, adults still have more full NPs than pronominals for the third mentions as well. The reason for that, as drawn from the data, was that adults use full NPs while maintaining a referent in order both to emphasize the referent in question and also to bring this into the listener's consciousness.

When the lexical realization of the referents was considered in terms of major and minor referents, we saw that the type of the referents did not have an effect on the lexical realization of the referents except the 7-year-old group. The same strategy was applied for the realization of the major and minor referents in the 3 and 5-year-old groups and adults. But, 7-year-olds had more pronominals for the second and third mentions of major referents while more NPs were employed for the minor referents.

As a further step, we looked into pronominalization, in terms of overt pronominal subject and null subjects. Null subjects were highly common with children at all ages, and adults as well. Overt pronominal subjects were relatively rare. There were no significant differences in terms of overt pronominals across the age groups. The instances when overt pronominal subjects were used can be outlined in two tentative contexts:

1) when reference was switched from one referent to another;

2) when the referents were maintained.

These two main contexts showed slight differences in each age group. 3-year-old children used overt pronominal subjects on switching the reference from one major referent to another one; and also in maintaining the referents. 5-year-olds used overt pronominal subjects to switch to the boy and the snowman whenever these two referents were involved in the action together and considered as a single referent. This group employed overt pronouns only in maintaining one major referent -the boy. Likewise, 7-year-old children used overt pronominals in rare occasions to maintain and switch the major referents. The only difference in the adult group was that adults employed overt pronominal subjects in order to switch from a minor referent or when the boy and the snowman were acting together as well as maintaining the major and the minor referents.

Since the referents were realized by means of pronominal forms as well as full NPs, we next asked:

What governs children's pronominalization in children's discourse?

The analysis of pronominalization was based on two claims:

-"*thematic subject strategy* " in which pronominal use is saved only for the main character in the story (Karmiloff-Smith, 1980, 1981, 1985).

-"*paragraph boundary strategy* " in which information about one referent marks a paragraph. Nominal forms mark the paragraph boundaries; in other words, the reference is switched by means of full NPs to signal a topic change and is maintained through pronominals (Hinds, 1977, 1979).

As a result of this analysis, we saw that it was not possible to derive a single strategy and that the pronominalization of the referents in our data was governed by three factors:

1) type of referents;

2) stage of introduction;

3) age.

The effect of type of the referents was seen on applying different strategies to pronominalize the major and minor referents. Major referents, on the one hand, were considered as thematic subjects and are pronominalized throughout the narrative in some cases. On the other hand, minor referents were pronominalized in terms of paragraphs. The reference is switched to the referent by means of a full NP and then pronominalized afterwards until a new referent came to the scene.

Secondly, the point at which these major referents were introduced governed pronominalization as well. According to the chronology of the story, first the boy and after a while the snowman appears. Therefore, in some data, until the point the snowman was introduced, the boy was considered as the thematic subject and pronominalized through until the snowman was introduced.

Thirdly, the age factor had an effect on the strategies that governed pronominalization. The difference in terms of pronominalization started after the age of 5. Until that age, in some of the narratives, no pronominalization occurred at all. Every and each referent was mentioned by a full NP. In other cases, children's pronominalization of major referents was governed both by the thematic subject strategy and each referent was treated as forming a paragraph of information as well. After that age, 7-year-olds and adults considered all the referents in relation to each other and arranged their pronominal forms accordingly. They mostly used thematic subject strategy for the major referents until more referents appeared. Minor referents were definitely pronominalized as marking paragraph boundaries.

Although we tried to sum up the pronominalization strategies we gathered in our data, there was not any clear-cut phases in the development of these aforementioned strategies. But, the conclusion we reached from this analysis was that children as young as 3 were able to use pronouns anaphorically in this discourse. We are not in a position to compare the languages i.e., English and French with Turkish because the methodology adopted in our study

referent was continuous. When another referent came into the scene, the reference was switched to that referent by a full NP again to mark the boundary of that paragraph of information.

In every step of analysis, we focused on the developmental differences across the age group to see whether development of discourse skills was associated with age or not. That is why we asked the following question:

Are there any age differences in the production of coherent narratives in which reiteration of the referents occur by means of appropriate linguistic forms?

As the results of the quantitative analysis we have seen highly significant developmental differences across the age groups except for the difference between appropriate and inappropriate linguistic forms in maintaining referents. For the time being, we only compare the 3, 5 and 7-year-old groups. Children showed a gradual development starting from the age of 3. Children as young as 3 were able to produce reasonably long narratives at that age. The length of the narratives became longer with age. The awareness of discourse also started at this age. They were able to involve a number of participants into their narratives. But this ability was limited to major referents in younger groups. With the increasing age, the number of the referents children involved in their stories also increased meaning that each referent was reiterated several times and held a

larger stretch of discourse. Another area which showed considerable differences across the age groups was the appropriate linguistic expressions to introduce the referents. Older children used referent-creating expressions more appropriately than younger children. In addition to the appropriate and inappropriate forms, the types of linguistic expressions changed with the increasing age. Referent-maintaining devices were independent of age. All children were able to maintain the referents by means of appropriate linguistic expressions most of the time. When the reference was switched to other referents, although younger children were relatively successful in employing appropriate linguistic forms, there was a significant developmental difference among the age groups.

Pronominalization of the referents were treated differently by different age groups as well. The strategies and reasons that governed pronominalization of the referents showed differences in each age group as explained in detail beforehand. However, there was no difference in terms of null subjects and overt pronominal expressions. Null subjects were preferred more than the overt pronominal subjects at each age.

In terms of the trend of the development between the age groups, our statistical analysis revealed that there was a gradual development between 3 and 5 and 5 and 7-year-olds. The substantial development, though, took place after the age of 5 as a result of the growing linguistic and cognitive ability after this age. This linguistic and cognitive growth may be an outcome of the fact that children at 7 had

already started school. However, we do not have any substantial evidence to confirm this assumption.

If the development occurred gradually from the age of 3 to 7, then, there were two further research questions relating the development and sex:

Do children at 7 reach the linguistic maturity of the adult in terms of discourse organization skills?

Although children at 7 were more competent than younger children in terms of discourse skills, the development was not complete at the age of 7. In other words, children have not developed the adult way of producing coherent narratives at 7. There still have some development to take place.

Finally, we were concerned with the difference between the sexes at the same age. We asked the following question:

Are there any sex differences within each age group?

depending on the existing literature which showed girls were more productive in narratives than the boys at the same age (Bates, 1966; Peterson and McCabe, 1983). For this reason, we had expected to find some differences especially in terms of text lengths. However, we could not

find any statistically significant differences between the narratives of boys and girls in any aspect.

8.3 CONCLUSION

The analysis which has been motivated by various research questions has led us to form an idea about how Turkish-speaking children achieved coherence in their narratives by employing noun phrases. However, we are not in a position to say that all children in our study achieved coherence by using NPs in narratives starting from the age of 3 to 7 or not. As it happens in developmental studies, it is not possible to say that there is a clear-cut answer. Instead, we can say that young pre-school children are aware of the necessity of organizing narratives by means of reiterating references to major characters. At the earlier ages studied, they did not simply introduce the major referents (those who are involved in all the events) they always reiterate them at least once, thus giving NP coherence to their narratives. The growing number of reiterations increases the density of the narratives in the sense that each major referent is reiterated several times. First, reiteration becomes more frequent, then the addition of more referents may further increase density if they are subsequently reiterated.

Children are also aware of the discourse requirements to fulfill this necessity linguistically. At first, children around 3 do not possess all the linguistic means to achieve NP coherence. This is particularly noticeable with singular

indefinite expressions. Singular indefinite article *'bir '* is rarely used at the ages of 3 and 5 in a context in which a new referent is introduced. This rare use of indefinite article at that age shows that children at these ages start to acquire the indefinite/definite NP contrast, however, this issue is not fully mastered. It is not until age 7 that the subjects studied here correctly introduce characters with the appropriate singular indefinite article.

There is also evidence of linguistic means of making anaphoric reference. Even in the 3-year-old group, first mentions are virtually never pronominal (overt or null subject), whereas second mentions are very often pronominal. It must be stressed again that anaphoric reference is being used here to obtain coherence and cannot be treated deictically.

The present study examined how Turkish-speaking children employed noun phrases to achieve coherence in their narratives. The results were evaluated to reveal developmental differences across the age groups as well as to diagnose if, when and how children reached adult level of competence in this particular issue. Therefore, the thesis has contributed to the development of discourse in Turkish in which more research is required. The findings have shown that within the scope of this study, children need to master the use of pronouns (overt or null), definiteness and indefiniteness of the nouns as well as the situations where to use pronominals and definite and indefinite nouns rather than to acquire the cliché expressions in story telling; i.e., *once upon a time* to start the narrative or *they lived happily*

ever after to signal the end of the story. Hence, the conclusion that was drawn from this study is children have to acquire the linguistic issues to be able to meet the discourse requirements.

It has also contributed to the area at methodological level. Use of a silent video film to motivate children to produce a narrative offered a clearer picture of how children handle certain linguistic phenomenon such as referent-creating devices and anaphoric reference to the referents when they are aware of the situation which is not clear to their listeners.

8.3 FURTHER SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Although certain issues have been cleared, there are some more issues that have arisen and need further investigation.

Firstly, we believe that further study of the acquisition of definite and indefinite linguistic expressions would be illuminating in the sense that such knowledge about when children start using indefinite nouns and at what situations they are able to use them would contribute to the results we have got from this study. Acquisition of indefineteness and definiteness passes several stages. Firstly, the nominative use of the indefinite full NPs are mastered by children. That is, the use of the indefinite NPs takes place in naming situations where semantic complexity

is not involved. However, referential use of indefinite and definite full NPs requires cognitive ability as well as linguistic competence. In this study, although we found some evidence of referential use of indefinite full NPs at early ages, we do not have any information about when the nominative use of indefiniteness is mastered and when the referential usage exactly starts and is completed. In addition to the developmental pace, we would like to know to what extent singular and plural referents have an effect on the indefinite use of full NPs as discussed in this study. Therefore, experimental data similar to Maratsos (1974) (1976), in which referential aspects of definiteness and indefinitess as well as the nominative aspect of indefiniteness are studied, would be helpful here to reveal these issues.

Secondly, we only included the referents in subject positions after the first introduction and interpreted the results accordingly. The results were analysed in a rather restricted framework in terms of lexical realization of the referents. Du Bois (1987) reports that

"the discourse activity of introducing new referents, especially new human protagonists, appears to be specialized and marked activity which monopolizes a speaker's verbalization capacities, to the extent that it can preclude certain other discourse production activites" (p.833).

The lexical realization of the referents are determined by the information flow meaning that new information is represented by a full NP. Besides, he pointed out that new referents are mostly introduced in subject position in

intransitive clauses and then this introduction is followed by a transitive narration. Therefore, the use of full NPs versus pronominal or null arguments in narratives is regulated not only by topic but by the type of the main verb in the sentence. If the verb of the sentence is transitive, the subject is less likely to be a full NP but more likely a pronominal; if it is an intransitive verb, the subject of the verb is commonly a full NP. Preliminary findings in Ingham and Özcan (1993) showed that in Turkish children's and adults' narratives; subjects of transitive clauses are more often realized as pronominals and rarely as full NPs in accord with Du Bois (1987). This situation presents a question for further research which is whether Turkish children's narratives show the same tendency when both the subject and object NPs are analysed in terms of transitive and intransitive clauses as well as taking topicalization into consideration.

Finally, we presume that Noun Phrase Coherence applies to other forms of discourse not just to narratives. If so, then NP coherence can be applied to Turkish children's conversations in order to compare whether the dissimilarities between conversational and narrative settings would make a difference in achieving NP coherence. Do young Turkish children maintain referents in linguistically similar ways? Does 'scaffolding' by the interlocutor contribute to the coherence of conversational discourse as displayed by characteristics of the child's turns? This way the present findings may turn out to be applicable to a more general study of Turkish children's developing awareness of the interplay between contextual factors and linguistic form.

APPENDIX

SAMPLES FROM THE DATA

SAMPLES FROM THE DATA

This section consists of a sample narrative text from each age group to exemplify the data which were used for the purpose of this study.

Text 1   3;5

Bir tane kardan adam   var   -dı/

 one/a   snowman   exist PAST3SG

(There was a snowman.)

Çocuk   var   -dı/

boy   exist PAST3SG

(There was (the) boy.)

Ondan sonra çocuk kardan adam yap   -tı/

then   boy   snowman   make PAST3SG

(Then,   the boy made (a) snowman.)

Uç   -tu   -lar/

fly PAST 3PLU

((They) flew.)

Kardan adam   -la   danset -ti   -ler/

snowman   with   dance   PAST 3PLU

((They) danced with the snowman.)

Ondan sonra Noel Baba   çocuğ   -a   hediye   getir   -di/

then   FatherXmas boy   DAT present bring PAST3SG

(Then Father Christmas brought a present for the boy.)

Ondan sonra dön   -dü   -ler/

then   return PAST   3PLU

(Then,   (they) returned (home).)

Sonra, kardan adam -la   ev   -i -ne gel -di -ler/

then   snowman   with house POSS DAT come PAST 3PLU

(Then,   (the boy) came to (his) house with the snowman.)

Sonra çocuk   uyu   -du/

Then   boy   sleep   PAST3SG

(Then,   the boy slept.)

Uyan   -dı/

wake up PAST3SG

((He) woke up.)

Ama kardan adam eri   -miş   -ti/

but   snowman   melt PAST   PAST3SG

(But,   the snowman melted.)

Çocuk hediye -si   -ni kardan adam -a ver -di/

boy   present POSS ACC snowman   DAT give PAST3SG

(The boy gave (his own) present to the snowman.)

Text 2   **5 ; 4**

Çocuk   var   -dı/

boy   exist PAST3SG

(There was (a) boy.)

Çocuk   dışar -ı   çık -tı/

boy   out ACC go out PAST3SG

(The boy went outside.)

Kardan adam yap -mak   iste -di/

snowman   make INF   want PAST3SG

((He) wanted to make a snowman.)

Yap -tı/

make PAST3SG

((He) made (the snowman).)

Sonra kardan adam -la çocuk gez -meye basla -dı -lar/

then snowman with boy wander INF start PAST 3PLU

(Then, snowman and the boy started wandering around.)

Sonra uç -tu -lar/

then fly PAST 3PLU

(Then, (they) flew.)

Ev -ler -i -ne gel -di -ler/

house PLU POSS DAT come PAST PLU

((They) came back (their) home.)

Akşam ol -du/

night become PAST3SG

(The night fell.)

Uyu -du -lar/

sleep PAST 3PLU

((They) slept.)

Ondan sonra yat -tı çocuk/

then go to bed PAST3SG boy

(Then, the boy went to bed.)

Sabah ol -du/

morning become PAST3SG

(It was morning.)

Kalk -tı/

get up PAST3SG

((He) got up.)

Çocuk çık -tı dışar -ı/

boy go out PAST3SG out ACC

(The boy went outside.)

Kardan adam eri -miş -ti/

snowman melt PAST PAST3SG

(The snowman melted.)

Üzül   -dü   çocuk/

be sad   PAST3SG   boy

(The boy was sad.)

Atkı   -sı   -yla   dua et   -meye   başla   -dı/

scarf   POSS   with   pray   PART   start   PAST3SG

((He) started praying with (his) scarf (in his hands.)

Text 3   7;3

Çocuk   uyan -ıyor   sonra   kıyafet -ler -ı -nı   giy -iyor/

boy   wake up PROG then   dress   PLU POSS ACC   wear PROG3SG

(The boy wakes up then (he) gets dressed.)

Merdiven -ler -den   aşağı -ya   in   -iyor/

stair   PLU   ABL   down DAT   go down   PROG3SG

((He) goes downstairs.)

Baba   -sı   -nı   gör   -üyor/

father POSS   ACC   see   PROG3SG

((He) sees (his) father.)

Baba   -sı   -yla   çarp   -ış   -ıyor   -lar/

father POSS   with collide RECP PROG   3PLU

((He) ran into (his) father.)

Sonra anne   -si -nin   yan -ı -na   gid -iyor/

then   mother   POSS GEN   side POSS DAT go   PROG3SG

((He) goes to (his) mum.)

Anne   -si   çorap -lar -ın   yok diye

 mother POSS sock   PLU   POSS2SG nonexistent PART

göster   -iyor/

point out PROG3SG

((His) mother pointed out that he has not put (his) socks on.)

Sonra o   or -dan gid -ip çorap -lar -ı -nı giy -iyor/

then he there ABL go   GER sock PLUPOSS ACCwear PROG3SG

(Then, he goes and put (his) socks on.)

Kapı -yı   aç -ıyor/

door ACC open PROG3SG

((He) opens the door.)

Anne -sı   baş -ı -na şapka -sı -nı tak -ıyor/

motherPOSS   head POSS DAT hat POSS ACCput on PROG3SG

((His) mother puts (his) hat on (his) head.)

Çocuk koşar -ken şapka -sı   düs -üyor/

boy   run   while hat POSS   fall PROG3SG

((His) hat falls (on the ground) while the boy is running.)

Sonra ağac -ın   dal -ı   var/

then   tree GEN   branch POSS3SG exist

(Then, there is the branch of this tree.)

Dal   -ı -nı tut -uyor sonra or -dan bir

branch POSS ACC hold PROG3SG then there ABL one

kartop -u   yap -ıyor/

snowball ACC make PROG3SG

((He) holds the branch of (the tree) then (he) makes a snowball.)

Atı   -yor/

throw PROG3SG

((He) throws (the snowball.)

Anne   -si   kız -ıyor   o -na/

mother POSS3SG get angry PROG3SG he DAT

((His)   mother is angry with him.)

O da bir tane yuvarlak yap -ıyor   sonra

he too   a/one   round   make PROG3SG then

Kardan adam   -i   -nı   yap -ıyor/

snowman   POSS ACC   make PROG3SG

Kardanadam -ı -na atkı   -sı -nı şapka -sı   -ni

snowman   POSS DAT scarf POSS ACC   hat   POSS   ACC

giydir   -iyor/

dress PROG3SG

((He) puts (the snowman's) scarf and hat on (the snowman).)

Sonra o kardanadam -ı yap -tığı gece uyu -ya -mı -yor

then   that snowman ACC make ADVBL nights sleep ABIL NEG PROG3SG

o -na bak   -a -yım   derken sonra sessiz -ce

he DAT look ABIL 1SG   while   then   quiet PART

kapı -yı aç -ıp kardanadam -ı   -nı gör   -meye

door ACC open GER snowman   POSS ACC see   INF

gid   -iyor/

go PROG3SG

(Then,   (he)   cannot sleep on the night (he) made the
snowman since (he) keeps looking at him then (he) goes to
see (his) snowman opening the door quietly.)

Kardanadam -ın üst -ü -ne   bir parlama   ol -uyor/

snowman GEN on POSS DAT one brightness be PROG3SG

(A bright light reflects on the snowman.)

Sonra   kardan adam   canlan   -ıyor/

then   snowman   become alive PROG3SG

(Then,   the snowman becomes alive.)

Elele   tut -uş -yor   -lar/

hand in hand   hold RECIP PROG 3PLU

((They) hold   hands.)

Çocuk   ev   -i   -ni   göster -iyor/

boy   house POSS   ACC   show   PROG3SG

(The boy showed (the snowman) (the boy's) house.)

Salon   -a   gid -iyor   -lar/

lounge DAT   go   PROG   PLU

((They) went into the lounge.)

Kardanadam koltuğ -a   otur -up kedi -yi   sev   -iyor/

snowman   chair   DAT sit   GER cat ACC stroke PROG3SG

(The snowman sits on the chair and strokes the cat.)

Kedi   o -nu gör -ünce   kork   -uyor/

cat   he   ACC see   GER   be scared PROG3SG

(The cat is scared when (it) sees him.)

Kaç   -ıyor kedi/

run away PROG   cat

(The cat runs away.)

Sonra birden   çocuk   kardan adam -a   oda   -sı -nı

then suddenly   boy   snowman   DAT room   POSS ACC

göster   -iyor/

show   PROG3SG

(Then,   suddenly the boy shows the snowman   (his) room.)

Cam   -dan   bak -ıyor -lar/

window ABL   look PROG   3PLU

((They) look out of the window.)

Siyah bir şey   var   or -da/

black   one thing   exist there LOC

(There was something black there.)

Üst -ü   -ne örtü   ört -ül   -müş/

on   POSS DAT cover   cover PASS PAST3SG

  ((It) was covered.)

Ondan sonra   aşağı -ya   in   -iyor -lar/

    then   downstairs DAT go down PROG   3PLU

(Then, (they) went downstairs.)

Çocuk aç -maya çalış -ıyor ama aç -a -mı -yor/

boy open INF try PROG but open ABIL NEG PROG3SG

(The boy tries to open (it) but (he) cannot open (it.)

Kardan adam -dan yardım ıstı -yor/

snowman ABL help want PROG3SG

((He) asks the snowman for help.)

Kardan adam çek -iyor/

snowman pull PROG3SG

(The snowman pull (the cover off.)

Bir motosiklet çık -ıyor/

one motorbike appear PROG3SG

(There appears a motorbike.)

Sonra motosiklet -e bin -iyor -lar/

then motorbike DAT get on PROG 3PLU

(Then, (they) ride the motorbike.)

Böyle orman -a gid -iyor -lar/

like this forest DAT go PROG 3PLU

((They) went to the forest.)

Tavşan -lar tilki -ler gör -üyor -lar/

rabbit PLU fox PLU see PROG 3PLU

((They) see rabbits and foxes (in the forest.)

Küçük bir yer -e gel -iyor -lar/

small one place DAT come PROG 3PLU

((They) come to a small place.)

İçer -i gir -iyor -lar/

inside ACC enter PROG 3PLU

((They) go inside.)

Kardan adam bir   yer -e   yat -ıyor sonra kalk -ıyor/

snowman   one place DAT lay PROG then   get up PROG3SG

(The snowman lies somewhere then   (he) gets up.)

Şapka -sı   -nı   al -ıp   yürü -meye   başlı   -yor/

hat   POSS ACC take GER   walk   INF   start PROG3SG

((He) takes (his) hat and starts walking.)

Çocuk da o -nun peş -i -nden   gid   -iyor/

boy   too he GEN   POSS ABL   go   PROG3SG

(The boy follows him, too.)

Elele   tut -uş -uyor   -lar/

hand in hand   hold   RECIP PROG   3PLU

((They) hold   hands.)

Koş -uyor -lar,   koş -uyor -lar ve uç -uyor -lar/

run PROG 3PLU run PROG 3PLU and fly PROG 3PLU

((They) run and run and fly (off).)

Okyanus -un   üzerin -den   geç -iyor   -lar/

ocean   GEN   over   ABL   pass PROG   3PLU

((They) fly over the ocean.)

Bir balina onlar -ı   takip ed -iyor/

one whale   they ACC   follow PROG3SG

(A whale follows them.)

Su   fışkırt -ıyor/

water   splash   PROG3SG

((It) splashes water (on them.)

Sonra ağaç -lık -lı bir yer -e   gel -iyor -lar/

Then tree NOUN ADJ one place DAT come PROG   3PLU

(Then, (they) come to a place where there are lot of trees.)

Or   -dan yürü -yor -lar/

there   ABL   walk   PROG 3PLU

((They) walk there.)

Or -da kardan adam -ın aynı -sın -dan bir sürü

there LOC snowman GEN same POSS ABL a lot of

kardan adam var/

snowman exist

(There were a lot of snowmen like the snowman.)

O kardan adam -lar -la oyna -yıp dansed -iyor/

that snowman PLU with dance GER dance PROG3SG

((He) dances with those snowmen.)

Or -da Noel Baba da var/

there LOC Father Xmas too exist

(There is this Father Christmas, too.)

Noel Baba onlar -ı ev -i -ne getir -iyor/

FatherXmas they ACC house POSS DAT bring PROG3SG

(Father Christmas brings them to (his) house.)

Or -da iki tane geyik var/

there LOC two deer exist

(There are two deers there.)

Geyiğ -in bir -i çocuğ -un yanağ -ı -nı yalı -yor/

deer GEN one POSS boy GEN cheek POSS ACClick PROG3SG

(One of deers licks the child's cheek.)

Sonra Noel Baba çocuğ -ā hediye ver -di/

then FatherXmas boy DAT present give PAST3SG

(Then, Father Christmas gave the boy a present.)

Çocuk aç -tı o -nu/

boy open PAST it ACC

(The boy opened it.)

İç -i -nden atkı çık -tı/

inside POSS ABL scarf come out PAST3SG

(There was a scarf in the packet.)

Bağla   -dı   boyn -u   -naI

tie   PAST3SG neck POSS DAT

((He) wrapped (it) around (his) neck.)

Sonra   uç   -arak   geri   dön   -dü -lerI

then   fly   GER   back   return PAST 3PLU

(Then, (they) flew back   (home.)

Ev   -e   gel   -iyor   -larI

house   DAT come PROG   3PLU

((They) come back home.)

Kardan adam   in   -iyorI

snowman   land   PROG3SG

(The snowman lands on the ground.)

Sarıl   -ıyor   -larI

cuddle   PROG 3PLU

((They)   hug.)

Kardan adam arka   -sı -nı dön   -üyorI

snowman   back POSS ACC turn PROG3SG

(The snowman turned (his) back.)

Öyle   -ce   dur -uyorI

like that ADVBL   stop PROG3SG

((He) stands there like that.)

Çocuk   yatağ -ı -na   gir -iyor ve   uyu -yorI

boy   bed   POSS DAT enter PROG and   sleep PROG3SG

(The boy goes to bed and sleeps.)

Sonraki   sabah   kalk -tığında   hemen dışar -ı   çık -ıyorI

  next   morning get up ADVBL   at once out ACC goout PROG3SG

(When (the boy) gets up the next morning, (he) goes out at once.)

Kardan adam eri -mis/

snowman melt PAST3SG

(The snowman has melted.)

Çok üzül -üyor/

very be sad PROG3SG

((He) feels very sad.)

Noel Baba -'nin ver -diği atkı -yı kardan adam -ın

Father Xmas POSS give PART scarf ACC snowman GEN

üst -ü -ne bırak -ıyor/

on POSS DAT leave PROG3SG

((He) leaves the scarf which Father Christmas gave him on the snowman.)

Text 4 Adult

Küçük bir çocuk var -mış/

small a/one boy exist PAST3SG

(There was a small boy.)

Uyu -yor -muş/

sleep PROG PAST3SG

((He) was sleeping.

Sabahleyin birdenbire göz -ler -i -ni aç -ınca

in the morning suddenly eye PLU POSS ACC open when

cam -dan dışar -ı bak -ıyor/

window ABL out ACC look PROG3SG

(In the morning, when (he) opened (his) eyes, (he) looked out of the window.)

Bir de ne gör -üyor ki kar yağ -ıyor/

PART what see PROG PART snow snow PROG3SG

(What (he) sees was that it was snowing.)

Hemen üst -ü -nü değiştir -iyor/

at once top POSS ACC change PROG3SG

((He) gets changed immediately.)

Doğru aşağı -ya in -iyor/

directly downstairs DAT go down PROG3SG

((He) goes downstairs.)

Mutfağ -a koş -arak gir -iyor/

kitchen DAT run GER enter PROG3SG

((He) enters the kitchen running.)

Çorap -lar -i -nı al -ıyor/

sock PLU POSS ACC take PROG3SG

((He) takes (his) socks.)

Çorap -lar -ı -nı giy -dikten sonra hemen

sock PLU POSS ACC wear ADVBL after immediately

çizme -ler -i -ni giy -iyor/

boots PLU POSS ACC wear PROG3SG

(After (he) puts (his) socks on, (he) wears (his) boots.)

Dışar -ı çık -arken anne -si baş -ı -na bir

outside ACC go while mom POSS head POSS DAT a/one

şapka giydir -iyor üşü -me -sin kulak -lar -ı diye/

hat put on PROG3SG getcold NEG PART ear PLU POSS PART

((While (he) is going out, (his) mother puts a hat on (his)

head so that (his) ears will not be cold.)

Sonra çık -ıyor/

Then go out PROG3SG

(Then, (he) goes out.)

Kar o kadar çok yağ -mış kı her yer bembeyaz

snow that/ so much snow PAST PART every where very white

kar   ol   -muş/

snow be PAST3SG

(It snowed so much that everywhere was covered with snow.)

Yür -ürken   yür -ürken   çocuğ -un   ayak -lar -ı -nın

walk while   walk   while   boy GEN foot PLU POSS GEN

iz -ler   -i   çık   -ıyor/

mark PLU POSS leave PROG3SG

(While (he) is walking, (his) feet leave footprints (on the snow).)

Ondan sonra   bir   kartopu yap -ıyor   böyle/

then   a/one snowball make PROG3SG like this

(Then, (he) makes a snowball.)

Kartopu -nu   al -ıp   böyle   at   -ıyor/

snowball ACC throw GER like this   throw PROG3SG

((He) throws the snowball.)

Ev -in   cam -ı   -na   gel -iyor/

house GEN window POSS DAT come PROG3SG

((It) hits the window of the house.)

Anne -si   cam -dan   bak   -ıyor/

mom POSS window ABL look PROG3SG

((His) mother looks out of the window.)

Hemen   kaç -ıyor   or   -dan/

at once escape PROG   there ABL

((He) escapes from there immediately.)

Ondan sonra küçük kartopu -nu yer -de yuvarla -ya

then   small snowball ACC ground LOC roll   INF

yuvarla -ya yuvarla -ya   kocaman bir   kartopu

roll   INF   roll   INF huge   a/one   snowball

yap   -ıyor/

make   PROG3SG

(Then,   (he) makes a huge snowball by rolling a small

snowball on the ground.)

Daha sonra gid -iyor,   bir   sandalye ve bir   kürek   al -ıyor/

then   go PROG3SG a/ one   chair   and   a/ one shovel take PROG3SG

(Then,   (he) goes and gets a chair and a shovel.)

Daha   da   büyüg   -ü   -nü   yap   -ıyor/

more PART big   POSS   ACC   make PROG3SG

((He) makes (a) bigger (one-snowball.)

Kocaman   bir   gövde   -si   ol   -uyor/

huge   a/one   body   POSS   be   PROG3SG

((It) has a huge body.)

Ondan sonra   küçük   bir   yuvarlak   baş   yap   -ıyor/

then   small a/one round   head make PROG3SG

(Then,   (he) makes a small round head.)

O   -nu   da   sandalye   -nin üst   -ü   -ne   çık   -ıp

it ACC too   chair   GEN   top   POSS DAT climb GER

baş   -ı   -na   koy   -uyor/

head POSS DAT   put   PROG3SG

((He) puts it on (its) head climbing on the chair.)

Gid   -iyor   mutfak   -tan   bir   meyva

go   PROG3SG kitchen   ABL   a/one fruit

al   -ıyor   anne   -si   -nden/

take PROG3SG mom POSS   ABL

((He)   goes to the kitchen and gets a fruit from (his) mother.)

Gid   -iyor   küçük küçük   düğme   kadar   kömür   -ler

go   PROG3SG small small   button   as   coal   PLU

al   -ıyor/

take PROG3SG

((He) goes and gets (pieces of) coal   as small as a button.)

Göz   -ler   -i   -ni, düğme   -ler   -i   -ni yap   -ıyor/

eye PLU POSS   ACC button PLU POSS ACC   make PROG3SG

((He) makes   (its)   eyes and buttons.)

El   -i   -yle   de   şöyle   ağz   -ı   -nı   çiz   -iyor/

hand POSS   with PART like that mouth POSS   ACC draw PROG3SG

((He) draws (its) mouth   with (his) hand.)

Kardan adam   -ın   burn   -u   ağz   -ı   göz   -ü

snowman   GEN   nose   POSS mouth POSS eye   POSS

her   yer   -i   tamamla   -n   -ıyor/

every place POSS complete PASS   PROG3SG

(The snowman's nose, mouth, eye   and every bit is completed.)

Gıd -iyor ev   -den   bir   atkı   bir   şapka al -ıyor/

go PROG3SG house ABL a/ one scarf a/ one   hat   take PROG3SG

((He)   goes and gets a scarf and a hat from the house.)

Şapka   -yı   baş   -ı   -na   atkı   -yı   da   boyn -u   -na

hat   ACC head POSS DAT scarf   ACC   PART neck POSS DAT

dol   -uyor   ve kardan adam   -ı   bitir   -iyor/

put   PROG3SG and snowman   ACC   finish   PROG3SG

((He) put the hat on (his) head and the scarf round (his)

neck and (he) finishes off (making) the snowman.)

Ondan sonra   akşam   ol   -uyor/

then   night   become PROG3SG

(Then,   the night   falls.)

Ev   -e   gir   -iyor/

house DAT enter PROG3SG

((He) goes into the house.)

Diş -ler -i -ni fırçal -ıyor/

tooth PLU POSS ACC brush PROG3SG

((He) brushes (his) teeth.)

Anne -si o -na pijama -lar -ı -nı giydir -iyor/

mom POSS he DAT pyjama PLU POSS ACC dress PROG3SG

((His) mother dresses him.)

Yatağ -ı -na yatır -ıyor/

bed POSS DAT tuck into PROG3SG

((His mother) tucks (him) into (his) bed.)

Ama heyecan -dan çocuk bir türlü uyu -ya -mı -yor

but excitement ABL boy at all sleep ABIL NEG PROG3SG

hep akl -ı yap -tığı kardan adam -da/

all mind POSS make GER snowman LOC

(But, (he) cannot sleep because of excitement, (his) mind is

on the snowman (he) made.)

Cam -dan bak -ıyor kardan adam or -da

window ABL look PROG3SG snowman there LOC

dur -uyor mu diye/

stay PROG QUES PART

((He) looks out of the window wondering that whether (his)

snowman is out there.)

Sonra kendisi üşü -yor/

then himself feel cold PROG3SG

(Then, (he) himself feels cold.)

Acaba kardan adam -ım da üşü -r mü diye

whether snowman 1SGPOSS too be cold AOR QUES PART

düşün -üyor/

think PROG3SG

((He) wonders whether (his) snowman feels cold.)

Aşaği   in   -iyor/

downstairs   go downPROG3SG

((He) goes downstairs.)

Anne   -si   baba   -sı   uyu   -yor/

mom POSS   dad POSS sleep PROG3SG

((His) mother and father are asleep.)

Kapı   -yı   aç   -ıp   gid -iyor   kardan adam   -ın

door   ACC open GER go PROG3SG snowman   GEN

yan   -ı   -na/

near POSS DAT

((He) opens the door and goes to the snowman.)

O   sırada kardan adam   birden   canlan -ıver   -ıyor/

that moment snowman   suddenly become alive   PROG3SG

(At that moment,   the snowman suddenly became alive.)

Kendisi gibi   hareket et -meye başl -ıyor kardan adam/

himself like   move   INF   start PROG3SG snowman

(The snowman start moving like himself (the boy).)

Sonra o -nu al -ıyor,   kardan adam -ı,   ev -i -ne

then   he ACC take PROG3SG snowman   ACC house POSS DAT

getir   -iyor/

bring PROG3SG

(Then,   (the boy) takes   him,   the snowman,   (his) house.)

Oturma odası   -na   getir   -iyor/

living room   DAT   bring PROG3SG

((He) brings (him) into the living room.)

Oda   -da   bir tane   şömine   var/

room LOC   a/one   fireplace   exist

(There is a fireplace in the room.)

Getir -iyor   kardan adam -ı o -nun yan -ı -na/

bring PROG3SG snowman ACC it   GEN near POSS DAT

((He) brings the snowman near it.)

Or -da   kedi   var   bir tane/

there LOC cat exist a/one

(There is a cat there.)

Ocağ   -ın   yan -ı -na yat -mış ısın -ıyor/

fireplace GEN near POSS DAT lie PAST warmup PROG3SG

((The cat) warms (himself) up lying near the fireplace.)

Kedi kardan adam -ı gör -ünce çok kork -uyor/

cat snowman ACC see when very frightened PROG3SG

(The cat is so frightened when (it) sees the snowman.)

Or -dan   kaç -ıyor/

there ABL escape PROG3SG

((It) escapes.)

Sonra kardan adam ile çocuk dışarı çık -ıyor/

then snowman with boy out go out PROG3SG

(Then, the snowman and the boy go outside.)

Bahçe -de motor -a benzeyen örtülü bir şey gör -üyor/

garden LOC motorbike DAT similar covered one thing see PROG3SG

Dışarı çık -ıp örtü -yü kaldır -ınca motor çık -ıyor/

out go out GER cover ACC remove when motorbike appear PROG3SG

((A) motorbike appeared when (they) removed the cover.)

Sonra kardan adam   motor -a bin -iyor/

then snowman   motorbike DAT get on PROG3SG

(Then, the snowman gets on the bike.)

Çocuğ -u da arka -sı -na al -ıyor/

boy   ACC PART back POSS DAT take PROG3SG

((He) sits the boy on the back of the bike.)

Orman   -lar   -in   içersin   -den   geç   -iyor   -lar,

forest   PLU   GEN   through   ABL   pass   PROG   3PLU

geç   -iyor   -lar,   geç   -iyor   -lar/

pass   PROG   3PLU   pass   PROG   3PLU

(They) ride through the forest.)

Ondan sonra   geri gel   -iyor   -lar   sonra koş   -maya

then   back come PROG 3PLU   then   run   INF

başl   -ıyor   -lar/

start   PROG   3PLU

(Then,   (they) come back and then (they) start running.)

Koş   -uyor   -lar,   koş   -uyor   -lar/

run   PROG   3PLU   run   PROG   3PLU

((They) run,   run.)

Koş   -arken   birdenbire   uç   -maya   başl   -ıyor   -lar/

run   while   suddenly   fly   INF   start   PROG 3PLU

(While (they are) running,   (they) suddenly start flying.)

Kardan adam   -la   çocuk uç   -maya   başl   -ıyor   -lar/

snowman   with   child fly   INF   start PROG   3PLU

(The snowman and the boy start flying.)

Uç   -uyor   -lar, uç   -uyor   -lar, uç   -uyor   -lar   aynı

fly   PROG   3PLU fly   PROG   3PLU fly   PROG   3PLUsimilar

kar tane   -ler   -i   gibi/

snowflake PLU   POSS   like

((They) fly,   fly,   fly   like   snow flakes.)

Sonra öbür kardan adam   -lar   da   katıl   -ıyor   -lar onlar -a/

then   other snowman   PLU ·too   join   PROG   3PLU they DAT

Orman   -lar -ın   üst   -ü   -nden   uç   -uyor   -lar sonra

forest   PLU   GEN on   POSS ABL   fly PROG   3PLU   then

bütün   kardan adam   -lar   -in   ol   -duğu   yer   -e

all   snowman   PLU   GEN be   PART place DAT

gel   -iyor   -larl

come PROG   3PLU

((They) fly over the forests then   they come where all the

snowmen.)

Kardan adam lar -in   iç -i -nden geçe geçe sonra ortada

snowman   GEN among POSS DAT past past   then   in the middle

Noel Baba'   -yı   gör   -üyor   -larl

Father Christmas ACC   see   PROG   3PLU

((They) pass the snowmen and see Father Christmas.)

Çocuk   -la   Noel Baba   sarıl   -ıyor   -larl

boy   with FatherXmas hug   PROG   3PLU

(The boy and Father Christmas hugged each other.)

Ondan sonra Noel Baba   o -na, çocuğ -a,   bir hediye

then   FatherXmas he DAT   boy   DAT a/ one present

ver   -iyorl

give   PROG3SG

(Then,   Father Christmas   gives him -the boy- a present.)

Atkı   ver   -iyorl

scarf   give PROG3SG

((He) gives (him) a scarf.)

Atkı   -yı   boyn   -u   -na   dolu   -yorl

scarf ACC neck POSS DAT   put on PROG3SG

((The boy) puts the scarf round (his) neck.)

Ondan sonra kardan adam   -la çocuk sonra tekrar uç -arak

then   snowman   with boy   then   again fly

uça   uça   uça ev   -leri -ne gel -iyor -larl

flying flying flying house POSS3PLU DAT come PROG 3PLU

(Then, the snowman and the boy come to (their) house flying again.)

Ama   önce   dansed   -iyor   -lar/

but   first   dance   PROG   3PLU

(But, (they) first   dance.)

Yılbası   -nı   kutlu   -yor   -lar/

new year   ACC   celebrate   PROG   3PLU

((They) celebrate the New Year.)

Pasta   -lar   yi   -yor   -lar/

cake   PLU   eat   PROG   3PLU

((They) eat cakes.)

Gazoz   -lar   iç   -iyor   -lar/

drink   PLU   drink   PROG   3PLU

((They) drink   soft drinks.)

Kardan adam   çocuğ   -u   ev   -i   -ne   getir   -iyor/

snowman   boy   ACC   house   POSS   DAT   bring   PROG3SG

(The snowman brings the boy back to (his) house.)

Çocuk   ev   -e   gir   -iyor/

boy   house   DAT   enter   PROG3SG

(The boy goes into the house.)

Kardan adam   bahçe   -de   kal   -ıyor/

snowman   garden   LOC   stay   PROG3SG

(The snowman stays in the garden.)

Yat   -ıp   uyu   -yor/

lie   GER   sleep   PROG3SG

((The boy) sleeps.)

Sabah   ol   -unca   uyan   -ıyor/

morning   be   when   wake up   PROG3SG

((He) wakes up in the morning.)

Anne   -si   -ni   baba   -sı   -nı   gör   -üyor/

mom POSS ACC dad POSS ACC see PROG3SG

((He) sees (his) mother and father.)

Hiç   kahvaltı filan   et   -me   -den   koşa   koşa

at all breakfast   have NEG ABL   running

bahçe   -ye   gid   -iyor/

garden DAT   go PROG3SG

((He) goes out to the garden without having breakfast.)

Bir de   bak -ıyor   ki   kardan adam   eri   -miş/

PART   look PROG PART snowman   melt PAST3SG

((He) sees that the snowman melted.)

Kocaman kardan adam eri -miş ve çok az   kal -mış/

huge   snowman   melt PAST and very little remain PAST3SG

(That huge snowman melted and a little (snow) remained.)

Çok   üzül   -üyor   çocuk/

very feel sad PROG3SG boy

(The boy feels very sad.)

Sonra   ceb   -i   -ne   bir   bak   -ıyor   kı   atkı   çık   -ıyor/

then pocket   POSS DAT PART look PROG PART   scarf appear

PROG3SG

(Then, (he) looks into (his) pocket and sees the scarf.)

Merak ed -iyor acaba ben   -im   yaşa -dık -lar -ım

wonder   PROG whether I   POSS1SG live PART PLU POSS1SG

gerçek mi rüya   mı diye ama çok üzül -üyor/

real   QUES dream QUES PART but very feel sad PROG3SG

((He) wonders whether what (he) lived was real or a dream

but (he) feels very sad.)

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