

**THE EMERGENCE OF TEMPORAL ELEMENTS IN NARRATIVE UNITS
PRODUCED BY CHILDREN FROM 3 TO 9 PLUS 13**

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MEHMET ÖZCAN

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Wolf König
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quantity, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şükriye Ruhi
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şükriye RUHİ (METU, FLE) _____

Prof. Dr. Deniz ZEYREK (METU, FLE) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nalan BÜYÜKKANTARCIOĞLU (HU,ELD) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Joshua BEAR (METU, FLE) _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Gölge SEFEROĞLU (METU, FLE) _____

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Name, Last name: Mehmet Özcan

Signature:

ABSTRACT

THE EMERGENCE OF TEMPORAL ELEMENTS IN NARRATIVE UNITS PRODUCED BY CHILDREN FROM 3 TO 9 PLUS 13

Özcan, Mehmet

Ph.D., Department of Foreign Language Education

Supervisor : Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şükriye Ruhi

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The general aim of this descriptive study is to investigate how children from 3 to 9 plus 13-year-olds and adults use temporal elements to organize the macro temporal structure of narratives. In order to achieve this general aim, it specifically delineates how the emergence of story units differ relative to age; how the emergence of temporal elements differ relative to age and story units; and how the function of each temporal element differs relative to age and story unit in the narratives elicited from children from 3 to 9 plus 13-year-olds and adults, using Mercer Mayer's (1966) wordless, picture-book *Frog, where are you?* as stimulus.

Participants are 98 children from 3 to 9-year-olds, as 14 informants in each age group; fourteen 13-year-olds and 14 adults.

The orally collected data were transcribed and episode boundaries were coded according to Labov's (1972) story grammar. The occurrence of each temporal element within the coded episodes was counted. Frequency of each temporal element relative to age and story unit was identified. Functions of each temporal element relative to age and story units were analyzed.

A great majority of the 3- and 4-year-olds produce narratives that do not count a story. 5-year-olds produce narratives that can be considered a story, however they fail to produce internal components of episodes. 7-year-olds are observed to produce episodes that contain necessary internal components.

The emergence and function of temporal elements show differences relative to age and story unit.

Keywords: Language development, Narrative development, Turkish, temporal elements, story organization, temporal development

ÖZ

ZAMAN BELİRTEN YAPILARIN 3-9 YAŞ ARASI ÇOCUKLAR VE 13 YAŞ GRUBUNUN ÜRETTİĞİ ÖYKÜ BİRİMLERİNDE ORTAYA ÇIKIŞI

Özcan, Mehmet

Doktora, Yabancı Diller Eğitimi Bölümü

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Bu betimsel çalışmanın genel amacı 3-9 yaş arası çocuklar, 13 yaş grubu ve yetişkinlerin zaman belirten yapıları öykü büyük ölçeğini oluşturmak için nasıl kullandıklarını araştırmaktır. Bu genel amacı gerçekleştirebilmek için, deneklerden Mercer Mayer'in *Frog, where are you?* başlıklı, sözsüz, resimli kitabı kullanılarak elde edilen anlatılarda, yaşa bağlı olarak öykü birimlerinin nasıl farklılıklar gösterdiği ve zaman belirten yapıların yaşa ve öykü birimine bağlı olarak sıklık ve işlev bakımından nasıl farklılıklar gösterdiği ayrıntılı olarak incelenmiştir.

Denek evreni, 98'i 3-9 yaş arası çocuklar, 14'ü 13 yaş grubu ve 14'ü yetişkinlerden olmak üzere 126 denekten oluşur.

Sözlü olarak elde edilen veriler yazıya dökülüp, Labov'un öykü yapısı tanımlamasına göre, öykü birimleri işaretlenmiştir. Her bir öykü birimi içerisinde ortaya çıkan zaman belirten yapılar sayılarak, yaşa ve öykü birimine göre sıklıkları hesaplanmıştır. Ayrıca, zaman belirten yapıların her birinin işlevi yaşa ve öykü birimine göre incelenmiştir. 3 ve 4 yaş gruplarının büyük çoğunluğu, öykü özellikleri taşımayan anlatılar üretmişlerdir. 5 yaş grubu öykü özelliği taşıyan anlatılar üretmekle beraber, öykü birimlerinin iç yapılarını oluşturan öğeleri üretememişlerdir. 7 yaş grubu ise hem öykü birimlerini hem öykü birimlerini oluşturan öğeleri üretebilmişlerdir.

Zaman belirten yapıların sıklığı ve işlevi yaşa ve öykü birimlerine göre farklılıklar göstermiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dil Gelişimi, Anlatı gelişimi, Türkçe, Zaman belirten yapılar, Öykü düzenlemesi, Zaman kavramı gelişimi

To my beloved family

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The narrative genre, per se, is one of the most productive, and thus one of the most scrutinized areas to investigate and it is an effective tool to conduct investigations in the field of child's linguistic and cognitive development. This study makes use of narrative as a tool to have an insight into how children make use of temporal elements to construct well-formed narratives rather than analyzing the narrative genre itself.

As for the motivation for this study, a survey of the literature on the acquisition of Turkish as a mother tongue and on the narrative development in children reveals that there have been a number of studies that investigate temporality in narratives. Aksu-Koç (1988a) studied the means and ways by which children indicate simultaneity in their narratives; Aksu-Koç (1988b) investigated how children acquire tense, aspect and modality along with the cognitive pacesetting for linguistic development; Aksu-Koç & Slobin (1985) studied the acquisition of Turkish by monolingual Turkish children from 3 to 9; Verhoeven (1991) studied acquisition of Turkish by Turkish children; Özcan (1993) investigated the acquisition and use of cohesive devices by Turkish speaking children in narratives; Akıncı (1999) probed the narrative development in Turkish-French bilingual children. The studies that are closest in scope to that of the present study, Aksu-Koç (1988a), Aarssen (1996) and Berman & Slobin (1994), were conducted to explain the emergence of narrative skills within an age range in either bilingual or monolingual or in both settings. However, there is little research which focuses on the emergence of temporal elements relative to the narrative components in children's stories and children's making use of temporal elements in the macro-organization of story grammar in first language acquisition. This study is intended to fill the mentioned gap in the field of narrative development.

The aim of this study is to investigate how the emergence of story units differ relative to age; how the emergence of temporal elements differ relative to age and story units; and how the function of each temporal element differs relative to age and story unit in the narratives

elicited using Mercer Mayer's (1969) wordless, picture-book *Frog, where are you?* as a stimulus.

1.1. Research Questions

The present study seeks to answer three main questions:

Research Question 1:

What story components emerge in the narratives produced by children from 3 to 9 plus 13-year olds and adults?

Research Question 2:

In which units of a story do temporal verb markers, temporal adverbials and adverbs, temporal connectives, gerunds and conjoining clauses emerge in children's narratives?

Research Question 3:

What are the functions of the temporal elements in the macro-temporal organization of narratives produced by children from 3 to 9 plus 13-year-olds and adults?

1.2. Limitations

As the research questions imply, the scope of the present study is limited to the analysis of the emergence and function of temporal elements such as temporal verb markers, temporal adverbials and adverbs, temporal connectives, gerunds and conjoining clauses, in children from 3 to 9 plus 13-year-olds and adults, and how these temporal elements are distributed in narratives relative to story units that are defined by Labov and Waletzky (1967).

This study is *descriptive* in nature. It is designed to *describe* the use of temporal elements by monolingual Turkish-speaking children in the macro-temporal organization of narratives rather than to delineate the underlying psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic and cognitive reasons for their usages. Therefore, the answers to "whys" for the phenomena of the use of temporal elements in narratives elicited from the informants will be limited to the discourse

functions of those elements and “whys” related to psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic and cognitive domains will not be investigated.

Variables such as the social, economical and cultural variables of the participants will be disregarded. Thus, the effects of schooling and literacy on narrative development will not be investigated.

1.3 Plan of the study

Chapter II reviews the literature, dividing it into three sections. Section 1 reviews philosophical and psycholinguistic approaches that attempt to define what narrative is. In the second section, along with Thorndike’s mental schema of narrative and Beaugrande’s story telling strategies, the story grammars proposed by Labov, Rumelhart and Mandler are reviewed. Section 3 reviews literature that deals with the external and internal factors that affect the narrative development in children; and previous research conducted to investigate narrative development along with temporal development in Turkish monolingual children.

Chapter III is devoted to describing the methodology. In Chapter III, how this study is designed; who the participants are; what the data collection techniques and materials are; and what procedures are followed for transcription, coding, scoring, and analysis are defined and described in detail. Along with narrative elements that are defined by Labov, the temporal elements in Turkish, and the function of each temporal element at the sentential level are also defined in Chapter III.

Chapter IV presents findings related to the emergence of story units relative to age of the narrators. It studies the relationship between the age of the narrators and the quality of the narratives they produce on the basis of Labov’s (1972) understanding of a well-formed story. In Chapter IV, the statistical and qualitative differences in the emergence of *Orientation*, *Complicating Action*, *Resolution*, and *Coda* relative to age are documented and the reasons why *Abstract* and *Evaluation* sections do not emerge in the narratives elicited by using the picture-book *Frog, where are you?* are explained.

Chapter V, along with providing statistics related to the emergence of conjoining clauses relative to age and story units, investigates how conjunctions *ve* and *dE* function in each story unit when they are used by informants at different ages.

Chapter VI analyzes the frequency and the function of adverbial conjunctions *o zaman* ‘then, at that time’; *bu/o sırada* ‘meanwhile’; *öbür taraftan* ‘on the other hand’; *sonra* ‘then, after’; *sonradan* ‘later’; *önce* ‘before’; *önceden* ‘beforehand’ and *-dEn önce* ‘before x’, relative to age and story units.

herexx

Chapter VII analyzes gerunds or converbs *-(y)IncE*, *-Erken*, *-Ip* and *-ErEk* to answer questions such as how often narrators at different ages use gerundive suffixes as temporal elements; how they distribute the gerundive suffixes relative to story units; and how gerundive suffixes function when they are used by a particular age group in a particular story unit.

Chapter VIII investigates how and how often adverbial clauses *-DIktAn sonra*, *DIĞİnda/DIĞI zaman*, *V-Er V-mEz*, and *DIĞI gibi* are used to construct the temporal structure of a story, and how they are distributed relative to story units by different age groups.

Chapter IX, along with describing the distributional frequencies of Tense Aspect Modality (henceforth TAM) markers relative to age and story units, answers questions such as, what the frequencies of the use of each TAM markers relative to age are; what the proportion of the informants in an age group who anchor to a certain TAM marker is; how strong the informants anchor to a single TAM marker; from which TAM marker(s) to which one(s) the informants usually shift; whether there are certain story units in/between the TAM shifts accumulate; and what the function of shift in TAM markers is.

Chapter X presents a summary of findings and conclusions obtained from the analysis of the data.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Theoretical background

Since human beings are born in “narrative”, from points of view of both phylogeny and ontogeny, it is a topic, which is probed by many divergent disciplines such as anthropology, literature, history, medicine (Shapiro & Ross 2002), linguistics, psychology, cognitive science, education, philosophy, sociology, law, etc. Especially after the settlement of Saussure’s “scientific” approach to language and theoretical studies developed by scholars such as Todorov, Barthes, Genette, Greimas and Derrida on Saussure’s heritage, narrative genre has been scrutinized to explain the nature of textuality, inter-textuality, semiotics and authorship.

2.1.1 Approaches to narrative development

Those who have been studying child development do not keep away from this interesting field and develop theories about how narrative develops in children and how children make use of their narrative skills to attend to the information embedded in narratives and to have others attend to him by embedding strategies in narratives. As to narrative development, theoretical studies can be divided into five main categories. These categories are *cognitive and developmental approaches*, which approach narrative from both narrative cognizance in general and how this cognizance changes in relation with age; *constructivist approaches*, which are concerned with the contribution of narrative to the construction of a person into a unique self and a social being; *sociocultural approaches*, which are concerned with cultural and cross-cultural factors that have an impact on narrative development in children; *linguistic approaches* which analyze narrative as an entity outside the narrator and the audience; and *philosophical approaches*, which are concerned with the analysis of self and voice through self-narratives.

One can easily discern that there are not thick lines that separate one approach from all others. Furthermore, if we are to draw borders for each theory, obviously, there are many

overlapping areas among them. What differentiates one approach from others is, then, the inclusion of different perspectives to the relation between basic human traits, such as linguistic or cognitive abilities, and the way human beings make use of those traits to develop themselves in various ways.

Stein and Albro (1997) approach narrative as part of a larger cognitive domain. Methodologically, their approach operates within the well-established cognitivist paradigm (Bamberg 1997:1). Stein & Albro (1997) argue that narrative production and comprehension require some degree of cognitive development. Processing and constructing narratives contribute to cognitive development while cognitive development contributes to a better processing and constructing of well-formed stories. Since all well-formed stories include characters who attempt to achieve their goals, narrative activities contribute to children's understanding of goal-directedness and human intentionality, which can be said to be the fuel of the progress of a story.

Within the constructivist paradigm, Bamberg (1997b) hypothesizes that narrative activities – especially productive ones- contribute to person's self construction in their social environment. He maintains that people, who experience some events, need to share their experiences with other members of the society for some specific purposes. En route to perform the act of narrating, they develop certain viewpoints to achieve their specific purposes. There are intricate relations in a narrative discourse that situate the narrator on a ground where the narrator must obtain the permission from the audience to tell the story; be able to maintain the progress of the story to convince the audience that he really deserves the floor; satisfy the audience that the story is worth listening. Bamberg (ibid) hypothesizes that in order to achieve his goal by means of narrative, a child has to learn to organize the internal structures of events and the relation of those events with other events, states and characters in the narrative discourse from the perspectives of the narrating self, a concrete other person and a generalized other. The perspective taken has a strong impact on the construction of "who does what to whom". The construction of narratives as such is the building blocks of the construction of the persona of the child which whispers to him who he is within himself and within the society which accommodates him.

McCabe (1997:137-174) develops an approach to narrative which is based on socio-and-crosscultural constructivism, which refer, in her approach, a) to the individual's building a self through narratives within his/her parental discourse in each culture; and b) to the cross-

cultural differences of those parental discourses (cf. Minami 2002; Brockmeier 2001). In her study McCabe documents the differences between Eastern (Japanese) and Western (European and North American) ways of talking to children about past experiences and the impact of individual parental discourse in each culture. Her approach involves many features of cognitivist, interactionist and constructionist approaches. Thus, Bamberg (1997) calls it an all-encompassing approach.

Quasthoff (1997) takes an interactionist perspective towards narrative development and focuses on the activity of narrating. It can be said that her approach occupies more territory in discourse analysis than in cognition. To narrow down its scope within discourse analytic framework, it takes a closer position to conversational analysis than all other areas in the field. According to her approach, the activity of narrating is achieved discursively as an interactive process, within which the narrator has been granted the floor to narrate, and the comments and interjections of the listener are in the service of the constitution of the narrative product (Bamberg 1997: 45).

Nicolopoulou (1997a:158-159) attributes narrative a sociocultural role and argues that children construct their identities, along with their cognitive abilities, through narratives, they either tell or enact in their pretend and reality games. (see also Kempe and Brooks 2001; Kempe, Brooks and Pirott 2001; Küntay & Slobin 1994; Meadows 1986:125; Nicolopoulou 1997b: 178-179; Nicolopoulou 2002: 117-119; Richner & Nicolopoulou 2001; Parke 2001; Gare 2002). Toolan 2001 approaches narrative from linguistic or structural point of view and argues that narrative should be detached from both narrator who directs and orchestrates the whole course of narration and from the audience who contribute to this action by their reflections of feedback through their interjections, mimicry and silence. Hermans 1997 approaches narrative development in children from a philosophical point of view. His primary concern in analyzing narratives is to find out the facts about the development of self, which is the center of human existence.

2.1.2 Narrative as a discourse type

Language is hierarchical in the sense that smaller linguistic units combine to make larger units. Morphemes combine to make words, words combine to make phrases, phrases to make sentences and so on. Narrative is defined as a form of extended discourse (Minami 2002: 13) Schifffrin (1994:23) viewed discourse from two different perspectives: the structural and the functional view points. Discourse from the structural point of view is, briefly, “language

above sentence” and from the latter point of view, it is “a system (a socially and culturally organized way of speaking) through which particular functions are realized”.

However, the fact that a text is at discourse level structurally or functionally does not grant it the characteristics of narrativeness. There are specific characteristics that differentiate narrative from other discourse level linguistic units which are not, by nature, narrative. Although definitions differ in detail, all agree on central properties: a narrative must include a recounting of events that follow each other in time (Labov 1972; Labov & Waletzky 1967; Mandler 1984; Peterson & McCabe 1991) For instance, when Aristotle discussed “the arrangement of incidents” in *Poetics*, he foregrounded the idea of “wholeness”. He asserted that to be a whole, is to have a beginning, a middle and an end (Richter 1989:47). He explained the three key words as follows,

By a ‘beginning, I mean that which is itself not, by necessity, after anything else but after which something naturally is or develops. By an ‘end’, I mean exactly the opposite and by a ‘middle’ I mean that which is itself after something else and which has something else after it (p47).

To differentiate the discourse of each genre, Aristotle distinguished the narrative produced by a poet from that of a historian. He said that it is not the function of the poet to narrate events that have actually happened, but rather, events such as might occur and have the capability of occurring in accordance with the laws of probability or necessity. Though he did not provide an explicit definition of narrative, we may infer from his writings that narrative according to Aristotle is the recounts of events, which have a beginning, a middle and an end, that actually occurred, might occur or have the capability of occurrence according to the laws of probability or necessity. Aristotle’s approach to narrative was text-oriented.

In some cases, there might be an underlying assumption that narrative is constructed in the mind of a narrator alone and told to the audience, whose only role is to listen to the story teller. However, the realization of narrative cannot be isolated from the audience and thus, a person does not tell a story without a perceivable necessity and anticipation. Bakhtin’s (1981) assertion that “every word is directed toward an answer and it cannot escape from the profound influence of the anticipated answer” can be adapted to the dialogic nature of narrative discourse. Then, what the narrator does is to respond to a past action or situation (the necessity of narrating that emerged in a certain context), and to direct the “narratable” events to an assumed or real audience’s response. By assumed audience we mean the audience who virtually resides in the mind of the narrator who generates responses, for or

against, to the utterances of the narrator and, by real audience, the audience who is physically present in the spatio-temporal location of the act of narration. The relationship between the narrator and the audience shows that narration is not a unidirectional transmission of past experiences, but rather a dialogic, interactive process, in which the narrator applies various strategies to create the top most influence on the audience, and the audience reinforce or discourage the narrator by their appropriate responses.

Structural definitions provided for narrative differ from those which approach narrative as a discourse level linguistic unit. While narrative is defined as “temporally sequenced clauses” by structuralists, narrative-as-a-discourse approach does not find the temporal sequentiality a sufficient characteristic for a satisfactory definition of narrative. In order to be called narrative, a text should have the quality of “narratability”, that is, it should be “sufficiently unusual and exciting” (Quasthoff 1997:68). For instance, “I got up and had my breakfast.” is a narrative according to structural point of view because of the existence of the temporal juncture “and” between the two events. However, it is not a narrative, according to narrative-as-a-discourse approach, unless it is embedded in a larger context and has a function in the development of the discourse of the context in which the language occurs.

With the two definitions provided above in mind, the present study will follow the definition which approaches narrative as a discourse level linguistic unit because it does not exclude the criterion of temporal sequentiality of clauses in Labov’s definition, and it allows us, at the same time, to ignore the conjoined clauses that are likely to occur in the elicited data in isolation without any relation with actual narrative discourse.

2.2 Story grammars

2.2.1 Labov’s story grammar

Labov & Waletzky (1967) studied the ‘danger of death stories’ for sociolinguistic purposes. They present an analytical framework for the analysis of oral versions of personal experience in English. Their focus is on the structure of narrative itself rather than its development in children. Their analysis of the stories that were elicited from 600 adult narrators yield results which make up a touchstone for the ‘well-formedness’ of a story which is used as a norm to evaluate the stories of children.

Labov & Waletzky (1967:25;28), who take a structural point of view, place the “temporal juncture” in the center of their definition of narrative. They define it as “any sequence of clauses which contains at least one temporal juncture”. Thus,

- (a) I know a boy name[d] Harry.
- (b) Another boy threw a bottle at him right in the head,
- (c) and he had to get seven stitches.

is a narrative since a temporal juncture is found between (b) and (c). However Labov & Waletzky do not speculate about the relation of (a) to the whole text, though ‘him’ in (b) refers, as a device of coherence, to ‘Harry’ in (a). This is because ‘him’ in (b) has nothing to do with the temporal sequentiality of events. They carry their explanation further by asserting that,

- (d) “I shot and killed him”

is a narrative since it contains a temporal juncture, but not

- (e) “I laughed and laughed at him”

since “and” in (e) is not a temporal juncture (ibid, p28).

Labov adopts Aristotle’s criteria of narrativeness, which has been explained in Chapter 2.1.3, as the basic structure of narrative but asserts that along with having a beginning, a middle and an end, there are other elements of narrative structure found in more fully developed types (Labov 1972:362). According to Labov, a fully-formed narrative may show the following elements.

1. Abstract
2. *Orientation*
3. Complicating action
4. Evaluation
5. Result of resolution
6. Coda

Although Labov does not explain what an *episode* is, his understanding of an episode can be inferred, to some extent, from the way he analyzes the structure of a story in Labov and Waletzky (1967).

...
———
n scoutmaster was up there
o he was watching me
p but he didn't pay me no attention either
———
q and for no reason at all there was another guy
r who had just walked up that minute
s and grabbed me (Ibid: 24)

One can infer from the extract above that an *episode*, according to Labov's analysis of a story, is an event that has a beginning, a covert or overt complicating action, and an end within a larger narrative (cf. Ruhi 1991:48). In the extract above the clauses *n-p* constitute an episode. Although it seems to be an episode of three clauses, it raises a question such as "What would have happened if the scoutmaster paid attention to him?" and thus, covertly, activates larger event schemata which include many possible answers to that question in the mind of the hearer. One of the characteristics of an episode is that, if it is to be moved to a different temporal location in a narrative, all the narrative clauses that constitute the episode must be moved together, analogous to the movement of a phrase in a sentence.

2.2.2 Rumelhart's story grammar model

Among the scholars who attempt to conduct studies in narrative genre, Rumelhart (1975) is one of the most distinct figures because his study is one of the first attempts to predict the regularities in story processing. He used the basic premises of transformational grammar to formulate a story grammar that would explain the syntactic and semantic structure of stories (Zeyrek, 1995).

Rumelhart, though he is concerned rather with how narrative is represented and processed in human mind than what it is, conceives narrative as a “connected discourse” as opposed to “unrelated string of sentences”. It is the discourse that makes a string of sentences a story, whose well-formedness can be tested in the same way as the grammaticality of a sentence can be determined by the speakers of the language (Rumelhart, 1975:226). He constructs his story grammar which can be applied to a wide range of simple stories. The grammar rules of a simple story are as follows:

- 1- Story → Setting + Episode
- 2- Setting → (States)
- 3- Episode → Event + Reaction
- 4- Event → {Episode I Change-of-state I Action I Event + Event}
- 5- Reaction → Internal Response + Overt Response
- 6- Internal Response → {Emotion I Desire}
- 7- Overt Response → {Action I (Attempts)}
- 8- Attempt → Plan + Application
- 9- Application → (Preactions) + Action + Consequence
- 10- Preaction → Subgoal + (Attempts)
- 11- Consequence → {Reaction I Event}

2.2.3 Mandler’s story grammar

Mandler (1984), like Rumelhart, attempted to answer the question that asks how stories are represented and processed in human mind. The assumption underlying his study is that people’s knowledge is organized and coheres in a specifiable way rather than lists of unrelated objects. He differentiates story structure from story schema. According to Mandler, a story grammar is a rule system devised for the purpose of describing the regularities found in one kind of text. A story schema, on the other hand, is a mental structure consisting of sets of expectations about the way in which stories are processed.

Basically, the story grammar proposed by Mandler (1984:25) is not very much different from the one Rumelhart (1975) had proposed. Mandler used almost the same connectives which refer to sequentiality and causality. Just as the rule 1 of Rumelhart says that Story is composed of a setting and episode(s) so does the first element of figure drawn by Mandler to explain story structure.

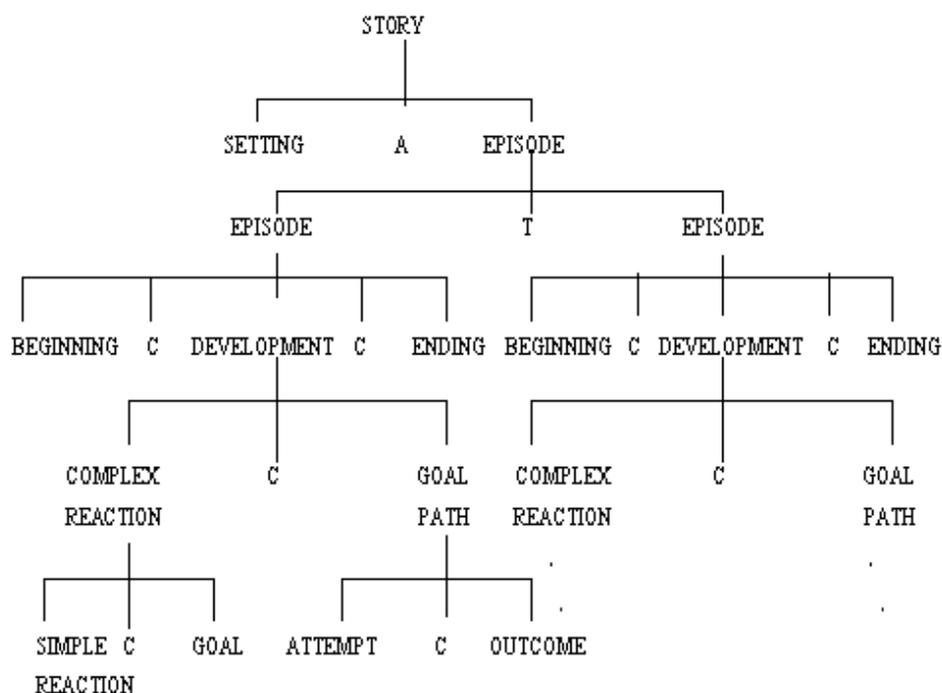


Fig. 2.2.3.1 Mandler's representation of the underlying structure of a simple two-episode story. A stands for *and*, T, for *then* and C for *cause* (Mandler 1984, 25).

2.2.4 Thorndyke's narrative schema and Beaugrande's story telling strategies

Thorndyke does not propose a story model. His main concern is how stories are represented in the mind, how they are encoded by the narrator, and how they are decoded by the audience. Yekovich & Thorndyke (1981) maintain that all models positing memory schemata for stories assume that such schemata permit expectation-driven comprehension and guide encoding according to the prescribed structural constraints. In other words, there are schemata, defined as socio-culturally determined knowledge containing a fixed set of elements, which influence the narrator in encoding stories and the audience in decoding them Zeyrek (1995). Thorndyke is concerned with four questions related to the encoding, representation and retrieval of the narratives. First, whether or not propositions are encoded with differential probability as a function of their importance in a narrative structure; second, whether the representation of the text in memory is hierarchical or heterarchical; third, whether memory retrieval depends primarily on direct access or on a top-down search process; and, fourth, whether or not lexical information is retained in memory.

Another scholar who studied narratives is Beaugrande. He is distinguished from other researchers mentioned above in this section since he converts those static analyses into

procedural rules (strategies) (cf. Ruhi 1991:48). He formulates the strategies of telling a story rather than revealing the underlying global structure of stories.

The following table, adopted from Ruhi (1991), shows the strategies of story telling proposed by Beaugrande (Beaugrande 1980a in Ruhi 1991:48).

Table 2.2.4.1 The strategies of story telling proposed by Beaugrande.

1-	Create a story-world with at least one character.
2-	Identify an initial state, a problem and a goal state for the character.
3-	Initiate a pathway that attempts to resolve the problem and attain the goal state.
4-	Block or postpone the attainment of the goal state.
5-	Mark one event/action as a Turning Point.
6-	Create a final state identified as matching or not matching the goal state.

2.3 Factors affecting narrative development in children

Language development in children has been studied scrutinizingly by scholars from very divergent disciplines. These studies have revealed that developmental phase is a factor in narrative development in children (Aksu-Koç 1988a; Aksu-Koç 1988b; Berman and Slobin 1994; Verhoeven 1991; Hoff-Ginsberg 1997; Ovens 1996; Aarssen 1996; MacWhinney 1999). Along with developmental studies, there are studies (Sperry and Sperry 1996; Haden, Haine and Fivush (1997; Zevenbergen, Whitehurst and Zevenbergen 2003) which argue that the general linguistic development and narrative development in children are shaped by external factors as well.

2.3.1 External factors

The factors that are imposed by the environment in which the child is reared, as opposed to brain internal factors, may be called external factors. The environments, which generate those factors may be analyzed in four different categories such as the narrow environment in which the child is given care, which is often a family setting; the play-settings where most of the peer interaction takes place; the institutionalized settings such as kindergartens, pre-schools and schools; and, finally, the cultural environment which shapes and is shaped by all previously mentioned ones.

Although its impact on the development of first language acquisition is an ongoing debate, studies documented that child directed speech has an impact on early narrative development in children. Sperry and Sperry (1996) assert that the origins of narrative occur as mother-child co-constructions in the course of everyday conversation and the pace of narrative development is set during those co-constructions. They also argued that narrative development may vary from culture to culture. For instance, fictional talk is highly valued by African American caregivers and is directly elicited and supported when it occurs in the conversations of young children. Sperry and Sperry (ibid.) found out that children reared by African American caregivers are more likely to produce fictional narratives than the narration of their true life experiences, which implies that the quality of narrative development is determined by cultural practices to some extent.

Zevenbergen, Whitehurst and Zevenbergen (2003) argue that narrative skills can be developed and fine-tuned through educational programs. They examined the effects of a shared-reading intervention on Head Start¹ children's narrative skills. The specific facet of narrative skill examined was children's inclusion of evaluative information in their narratives. The results show that 5-year-olds increase the number of evaluative devices in their own narratives after they heard the narrative twice from their mothers. The same research reports that when mothers narrate two similar picture books, their 5-year-olds generalize their increased use of evaluative devices in their narratives to an unfamiliar picture book.

The contribution of caregivers to the narrative development in children is confirmed by Haden, Haine and Fivush (1997). They approach the phenomenon from the perspective of Vygotsky's zone of proximal development and they assert that as children begin to participate in social activities that are slightly beyond their competencies, adults scaffold children's performance by providing the necessary structure for accomplishing the task. In their study, they traced the changes in the degree of parental scaffolding in conversations about the past with children across the pre-school years, together with changes in children's developing abilities to provide more organized and coherent personal narratives over time. They found that there are correlations between the parental scaffolding and children's providing more evaluative devices in their stories.

¹ Head Start and Early Head Start are comprehensive child development programs that serve children from birth to age 5, pregnant women, and their families. They are child-focused programs and have the overall goal of increasing the school readiness of young children in low-income families.

Crain-Thoreson and Dale (1992) found that there is a three directional relationship among being exposed to story reading, the development of literacy and general linguistic skills such as vocabulary, syntax, phonological awareness etc. Narrative development contributes to the development of literacy and other linguistic skills and finally the development of literacy and other linguistic skills contribute to the development of narrative skills.

On the linguistic pacesetting of cognitive development, which can be considered an interaction between external and internal factors, Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1985) assert that the overt expression of and insistence on the use of some polite forms (e.g. *sen-siz* in Turkish ‘*tu-vous*’ in French) may help children acquire the notion of social status earlier than its normal course. Similarly, Herman and Childs (2003) argue that reinforced narrative development might have a positive impact on the development of problem solving skills and chunking information into manageable parts.

Schooling is a new start for children. Barton (1994) considers schools to be “powerful definition-generating institutions”. This is true because formal definition of the nature of things gets more intense with schooling. Such formal definitions, which entail some degree of abstraction and spatio-temporal dislocation of both objects and events, contribute to the development of relative linguistic styles and structures. The language used in classes fine-tunes the analytic perspective of children which they have acquired until that time.

Fang (2001) investigated young children’s communicative competence in schooled narrative¹ and the nature of its development. Fang asserts that narrative skills are closely related to children’s literacy development and school achievement.

2.3.2 Internal factors

In the larger scope, the relationship between language and cognition is discussed in two extreme poles: Vygotsky (1962) occupies one pole claiming that cognitive development requires language development and Piaget occupies the other pole arguing that language emerges after the completion of sensorimotor development in children (Piaget 1959; Piaget 1980). There is a correlational view which states that language and cognition derive from a common, deeper underlying system of cognitive operations and structures. The idea which is

¹ Fang refers to narrative that is shaped in classroom context and which itself shapes the classroom context as “schooled narrative”.

constructed on the account that certain cognitive structures and linguistic knowledge appear at the same time (Kamhi and Lee 1988:152).

As for the narrative development, the question whether narrative skills (both on the plane of comprehension and production) have anything to do with brain internal potentials would get a positive answer since, although narrative development begins as early as two or three years of age, being able to tailor a narrative according to a particular audience in a particular context to achieve a particular goal requires some degree of cognitive maturity (Menig-Peterson and McCabe 1978; Geist and Aldridge 2002).

Ackerman, Spiker and Glickman (1990) investigated the children's sensitivity to topical discontinuity in judging story adequacy. In order for children to be able to judge the qualities of a story they must have been decorated with necessary cognitive tools which would help the child to establish a coherent representation of story information. Establishing a coherent representation often requires a monitoring process to detect problems involving characters and events that seem inconsistent or unrelated. Ackerman and his colleagues found that young children were usually insensitive to inconsistencies in judging story adequacy. Children's being insensitive to topic discontinuity does not stem only from the lack of a well-formed story schemata in their minds but probably because they lack necessary cognitive strategies to use the existing schemata. Geist and Aldridge (2002) designed a workshop to instruct children at different ages about the internal structures of narrative and organization of those structures. They told a number of stories to children and then they asked children to recount some of the stories they had told. Although some advantages of instruction were reflected in the content of the stories, the results have shown that instruction did not work with young children's organizational skills which require relative degree of cognitive development (e.g the ability of serialization of events in the order they happened (see Ruhi 1982)).

Along with these studies on bi-directional relationship between cognition and language there is a growing literature of studies on the neurological bases of narrative processing which might shed light on the relation between language and cognition. What primarily concerned such studies is to find an answer to the question whether human beings have a "narrative mind" which is located at some certain areas of the brain or not.

Phrenologist Franz Joseph Gall hypothesized that those who have protruded eyes were better in tasks that require verbal intelligence (Fromkin & Rodman 1998: 36) when he had noticed that almost all of the students who were good at topics related to language had such protruded eyes and he went further in his assumption by claiming that the part of the brain which deals with language skills is located right behind the eyes. Although Gall's assumption that language is located right behind the eyes in the brain has been disproved, both neurolinguistic and linguistic studies (Fromkin 1997; Müller 1997; Gleason & Ratner 1998; Obler & Gjerlow 1999; Glezerman 1999; Stamenov & Gallese 2002; Sirigu et al 1998; Schiffler 2001) have proven that brain is localized in the sense that different tasks which require different skills are performed in different areas of the brain.

To sum up, both linguistic and neurolinguistic studies show that brain internal features that are common to an age group are influential on narrative production and comprehension in children.

2.3.3 Previous study on narrative development in Turkish monolingual children

In this subsection, studies that are closest in scope to the present study are reviewed in order to reveal the diverging points of the present study from the previous ones. Actually, there are three major studies whose foci are relevant to the present study, which studies the temporal development in children from the ages 3 through 9 plus 13. These are Berman and Slobin's (1994) cross-linguistic study which was conducted with English, German, Hebrew, Turkish and Spanish children; Aarssen's (1996) study which was carried out with Dutch and Turkish bilinguals in a bilingual setting; and Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim (1994) and Aksu-Koç's (1988a) studies which were conducted with Turkish children in a monolingual setting. The fact that the idea that motivated Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim's (1994) study is a crosslinguistic one does not prevent us from referring to their findings because the subjects who participated to their study were all Turkish- monolinguals and the data were first analyzed and interpreted as if it were an individual study.

The present study diverges from the first two of them in two aspects and from the third one in one aspect. First, I will present the research questions that guided each of the mentioned studies and their general results individually. Then, I will compare their research questions with research questions that guide the present study to clarify the diverging points.

The focus of the study by Berman and Slobin (1994:17) is, as the authors state, the development of linguistic forms in children.

They have carried out their study with children who were at the age of 3, 4, 5, 9 and adults, in five different languages (English, German, Spanish, Hebrew and Turkish) in order to provide typological contrasts with regard to the particular manifestations of these formal categories. They are interested in the relations between form and function, within a typological, crosslinguistic framework.

The research question in Berman and Slobin's study, which was conducted with children at the ages of 3, 5 and 9, is how the capacity to describe situations develops in children and how individual events are related to each other. That is, they studied the development of linguistic means to connect events and to syntactically "package" them into coherent structure -at the level of scene, episode, and overall plot.

Berman & Slobin elicited data by providing visual stimulus with the subjects; they used Mercer's (1969) wordless picture book '*Frog, where are you?*'

They found that children, aged late-3 to 4 years old, prove able to produce pieces of discourse which are both intelligible and relevant to the task administered to them. Contrary to younger children, they typically produce narratives that are based on the chain of events rather than to the individual picture descriptions and thus they were observed to present minimal narrative clauses defined by Labov (1972). Although 3-year-olds have considerable command of the lexico-syntax of their native tongue, they fail to demonstrate knowledge of narrative structure. Berman and Slobin reported that 3-year-olds are not able to maintain the attention and interest till the end of the task of telling.

Children at the age of three, usually tend to personalize their accounts, as in exhortation to *look* and *see* and they, across languages, then tend to describe picture frames individually rather than organizing them on a plot line. Another characteristic of their narratives is that they are not anchored to a particular tense but that they shift between tenses.

With 5-year-olds, Berman and Slobin (1994) present data showing that this group of narrators does not constitute a homogenous group since some of them construct narratives that are similar to those of 3-year-olds and narratives with a discernable plotline and some other story

elements. Unlike 3-year-olds, they produce narratives that show clear signs of a temporal organization, interclausal connectivity and organization of narrative segments.

The data presented by Berman & Slobin reveal that the 9-year-old children anchor to a certain tense in narrative production. One of the most salient differences in their narratives is that they organize story elements around a unified action structure. Temporal elements and causal relations play an important role in the global organization of their narratives.

Another characteristic which differentiates 9-year-olds' narratives from those of younger children is that 9-year-olds present evaluative references to states of mind of the characters in the narratives. The narratives produced by 9-year-olds, across ages and languages show great similarities. Berman & Slobin (1994) maintain that 9-year-olds are a bridge, regarding the quality of the narratives they produce, between adults and 5-year-olds.

The second study which can be considered to be similar in scope to the present one was conducted by Aarssen (1996). He collected data by eliciting stories from bilingual Turkish children, in Nederland, at the age range of 4 and 10. The data were collected longitudinally in two cohorts, one from age 4 to 7, and another from age 8 to age 10. In data collection, Aarssen used Mayer's (1969) wordless picture book '*Frog, where are you?*'

The research questions that guided his study were as follows:

- 1- How do bilingual children temporally organize their narratives in both languages? Which tense is used to "anchor" their narratives in Turkish and which in Dutch? Are tense shifts motivated or erratic?
- 2- How do children express the temporal relation of simultaneity at different ages, in both Turkish and Dutch? What are the functions of the expression of simultaneity? How does the ability develop to conceptualize and express different types of simultaneity relations?

As an answer to the first research question, Aarssen's findings show that the majority of the 4-year-old informants make use of mixed (present and past) tense in their Turkish narratives.

At age 5, the informants mainly choose the present as the anchoring tense¹ in their narratives, but still a large number of mixed tense narratives are found. From 6 onwards, children gradually begin to use past tense (-dI, -IdI and -mIş) as the dominant tense. 7-year-olds tend to use the past tense more often than the present tense as anchoring tense marker. The Turkish narratives of the 8-year-olds show less examples of erratic tense shifts, and more present-only texts. Half of the 9-year-olds use present tense as the anchoring tense in their Turkish narratives. However none of the 10-year-olds use the present as the anchoring tense.

Aksu-Koç (1988a) and Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim (1994) studied the development of temporal elements that express simultaneity in 3, 5, 9 –year-old children and adults’ narratives with particular attention to the properties of the temporal elements that are mentioned below, to discourse cohesion.

Just as Berman and Slobin (1994) and Aarssen (1996) did, Aksu-Koç (1988a) and Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim (1994) used Mayer’s (1969) wordless picture book ‘*Frog, where are you?*’ as a visual stimulus to elicit oral narratives from children.

The temporal elements Aksu-Koç (1985a) investigated are connective conjunctions, -dE ‘and’ and *ama/fakat*² ‘but’; adverbial conjunctions *bu / o sırada* ‘meanwhile’, *o zaman* ‘then’, *öte yandan / öbür tarafta* ‘on the other hand’; gerunds or converbs³ “V+IncE ‘when, as soon as’ (Underhill 2001:381), V+Erken ‘while doing’, V+Ip and V+ErEk”; adverbial clauses “V+dIktE and V+dIğI zaman”; complement clauses “V+dık V and V + mE V” in children relative to their age, and the frequency of occurrence of each element within an age group and across age groups. The quantitative data she presented show that the use of multifunctional particle -dE, gerunds V+IncE and V+Erken –the elements which occurred in all ages included in the study- show a regular increase with increasing age –least in 3-year-olds and most in adults. It also demonstrates that the 3-year-olds did not produce “ama/fakat, bu/o sırada, öte yandan, V+Ip, V+ErEk, V+dIktE, V+dIğI zaman, V+dık V, and V + mE V” at all. Interestingly, “o zaman and V+dIğI zaman” did not occur in adult narratives whereas “o zaman” occurred in 3 and 9-year-olds’ narratives and “V+dIğI zaman” occurred in the narratives produced by 5 and 9-year-olds’ narratives.

¹ The anchorage to aorist occurs only once in a narrative by adults. The reason why most of the 5-year-olds anchor to aorist at the age of 5 may be because the informants participated in Aarssen’s study are Dutch-Turkish bilinguals.

² *ama/fakat* ‘but’, is considered to be an adversative conjunction in the literature.

³ Kornfilt (1997:103); Bisang (1998:200-201); Slobin (1988:27).

As qualitative data, Aksu-Koç (1988a) and Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim (1994) argued that none of the 3-year-olds produced a ‘story’ since they did not follow the plotline but described each picture frame independently. These two studies reveal that the 3-year-olds’ narratives are organized not in terms of the temporal arrangement of events in a story, but by the spatial arrangement of entities and events in the pictures. They encoded simultaneity either by two adjacent clauses that are connected by a conjunction (e.g. *da* ‘and/also’) or by the use of an explicit marker or adverbial form (e.g. *-IncE* and *o zaman* ‘then/at that time’, respectively). The use of explicit forms by this age group is rather rare compared to the use clauses that are sequenced without a conjunction between them. Aksu-Koç (1988a) reports that the construction of the deictic temporal axis organized around speech time as reference time, occurs about the age of 3. Around the age of 4, this is followed by the construction of the nondeictic system of temporal reference which involves relations of anteriority, posteriority or simultaneity.

A majority of the 5-year-olds told a story with a plotline, though they showed transitional characteristics between 3-year-olds and their own age. Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim (1994:424) argued that 5-year-olds use all the forms found in 3-year-old texts but these forms appear to have a new discourse function (e.g. *-IncE*, to introduce new information and so relate two foreground events and *-ken* to present a background event.)

(P-2.3.3.1)

sonra cam kırılınca

‘then when the glass breaks’ [V+IncE]

köpek de içinden çıkıyor

‘the dog comes out of it’

and

(P-2.3.3.2)

sonra camdan bakarken

‘then while looking out the window’ [=boy or dog] [V+ken]

bir kavanozu alıp da

‘and taking a jar’ [V+Ip]

köpek başına geçirmiş

‘the dog put (it) on his head’ (p. 424)

Aksu-Koç (1988) and Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim (1994) data show that the gerund *-İp*, which is not available in the data from 3-year-olds, emerge in 5-year-olds and is used as a connective which presents two events by the same protagonist as closely related either in immediate succession or simultaneity. Other forms, they report, which occur for the first time in 5-year-old sample are subordinating constructions *V+DIğİndE* ‘at doing’ and *V+DIğİ zaman* ‘at time of doing’ which set reference time. At this age these constructions typically serve to stativize an event and introduce it as a background only at the local level. The authors reported that a more significant change, observed in 5-year-old texts (and hinted in a few by age 3), is marking of progressive aspect in past tense, contrasting it either with the past of direct experience (*-dİ* versus *-(İ)yor+(İ)dİ*) or with the narrative past (*-mİş* versus *-(İ)yor+(İ)mİş*). At this age tense switches are motivated by factors internal to discourse rather than by event properties depicted in pictures. A shift from past to past progressive may serve to present background information through a retrospective switch or through establishing a new spatio-temporal framework for subsequent events. The use of temporal deictic expressions by 5-year-olds decreases compared to 3-year-olds. This implies that 5-year-olds anchor to discourse tense rather than to the temporal axis they perceive at the moment of speech.

All of the 9-year-olds produced stories constituted of temporally organized episodes that form a coherent whole in terms of plotline and they tended to present emotional evaluation related to the characters. Compared to 5-year-olds, few devices have been added to the repertoire of 9-year-olds. They are *bu/o sırada*, and *bu/o arada*, ‘meanwhile, in the meantime’ and the converb *-ErEk* ‘by doing’. These two adverbials, which indicate simultaneity between chunks of events in the adult text, are used for interweaving individual parallel activities of two protagonists within a sequence of plot advancing events. *Bu arada* is used to foreground events when it is used clause initially. Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim (1994) state that *bu arada* may serve a more global function of signaling a topic shift when combined with other devices. The other new form which appears in 9-year-olds is the converb *-ErEk*. This structure implies simultaneity by virtue of presenting two situations involving a single actor. The authors assume that with the entry of *-ErEk*, a corresponding change in the semantic function of *-İp* ‘and/then’: it becomes restricted to indicating sequence, while *-ErEk* takes over the function of implying simultaneity. The fine tuning of the discursive function of the temporal elements continue with 9-year-olds. The subordinating constructions *-DIğİndE* and *-DIğİ zaman*, which emerge for the first time in 5-year-olds and are used by this age group to set the reference time, are used by 9-year-olds to present a situation as a background for a

subsequent pair of sequential or simultaneous events marked with converbs or with a conjunction *ve* 'and'. The number of the use of *de* 'also' to encode simultaneity increases with increasing age (Aksu-Koç 1988:63). Similarly, there is a decrease in tense – aspect shift with the increasing age.

Finally, in adults the mode of narration is elaborated by using different devices to establish a higher degree of cohesion. Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim (1994) state that all of the adults make use of various explicit markers of simultaneity. Adults use locative phrases for tight packaging of simultaneous events or states.

(P-2.3.3.3)

çocuk geyiğin kafasında, köpek de onların yanı koşmaya başlamışlar
'the boy on the deer's head and the dog by their side, they started running' (p. 440)

The present study diverges from the three studies mentioned above in the following ways:

- 1- The first two studies, that is, those of Berman & Slobin (1994) and Aarssen (1996), are cross-linguistic in nature. They analyzed the development of linguistic forms in children from different languages and their focus is the emergence of linguistic forms which express temporality relative to the age of the children.
- 2- The study conducted by Aksu-Koç (1988a) focused on the expression of simultaneity by 3, 5, 9-year-old children and adults. She did not analyze the emergence of temporal elements other than those that express simultaneity. For instance, Aksu-Koç (1985a) did not study the development of tense aspect modality markers *-dI*, *-mIş*, *-(I)yor*, *(A)r*; time adverbials such as *önce*, *sonra*, *önceden*, *ondan sonra*, though these temporal elements are not untouched topics since they were studied individually in various studies in linguistics and language acquisition studies (cf. Aksu-Koç 1988b; Ruhi 1982; Subaşı-Uzun and Emeksiz (in print)).
- 3- All of the three studies were designed to investigate the emergence of temporal elements in children but they are not concerned with the distribution and function of

each temporal element relative to story units and how temporal elements are used to organize the macro-temporal organization of stories.

Berman & Slobin (1994) and Aarssen's (1996) studies are more peripheral to the present research than Aksu-Koç (1998a) and Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim's (1994) studies because of the variables of crosslinguistic conclusions of the former study and the bilingual setting of the latter one. Although Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim's (1994) study investigates crosslinguistic features of narrative development, their procedures of data analysis show that, first, they analyzed each language individually and then they compared the two languages. The findings from the individual analysis of Turkish data can be compared with the findings we obtained from our data. Unlike others, Aksu-Koç (1988a) conducted her study in a Turkish-monolingual setting.

2.3.4 Linguistic expression of time by children

Among other cognitive skills, development of a notion of time relative to other certain time points on the temporal axis and its linguistic formulation cover a long period in the whole period of child development (Piaget 1969:257). The first definite examples which show that children reconstruct past events that they have experienced emerge around the age of 20 months (Piaget 1954:346). Following this period of cognitive development of time, the encoding of temporality explicitly through linguistic means for practical purposes, that is, encoding of pastness, progressiveness and futurity of an event develops around the age of 2 (Aksu-Koç 1988a; Akıncı & Kern 1999).

Ruhi (1982) investigated how children at the age of 2:2, 3:2 and 4:0 develop a concept of time and how they mark verbs with tense markers. She concluded that the past tense marker –*DI* is present in the language of all the children she observed; the progressive marker –(*I*)*yor* emerges at the age of 2:3 to encode an intention in the immediate future (see also Aksu-Koç 1988b:85); the future tense marker –*EcEk* emerges at the age group 2 to encode intentionality rather than to futurity but the morpheme is used to mark futurity by 3 and 4-year-olds; narrative past marker –*mIş* is first observed in spontaneous speech and narratives of 3-year-olds but is firmly established in 4-year olds' narratives¹; the aorist marker –(*A*)*r* first emerges in 2-year-olds' imitative utterances but used in a greater variety of situations in the speech of

¹ The cliticised form of –*imiş* is observed in Verhoeven's (1991:116) study at the age of 2:0: '*Oradan avcı geçiyormuş*' (geçiyor + imiş)

4-year-olds; the past progressive marker, *-(I)yordu* is first observed in the egocentric speech of a 2:5-year-old child and its use is most frequent in the 4-year-olds' narratives.

Ruhi (1982) investigated lexical time markers and time connectors *şimdi* 'now', *sonra/bundan sonra* 'then/after that', *bu sırada* 'at the moment', *bu gün* 'today', *bu sabah*, *bu akşam* 'today, this morning, this evening', *dün*, *yarın* 'yesterday, tomorrow' in the same study, too. She found that *şimdi* is observed at all ages; *sonra/bundan sonra* emerges at the age of 3:4 with prompt and at 3:5 without prompt to encode the posteriority of an event; *bu sırada* is observed in 3:5-year-olds; 2-year-olds use *bu gün*, *bu sabah* and *bu akşam*; and *dün* and *yarın* are used by 3-year-olds for the first time. Ruhi's (1982) study shows that 2-year-olds' spontaneous speech lack the converb *-IncE*. It exists in 3-year-olds' narratives to encode simultaneity and sequentiality (Aksu-Koç 1988a). Slobin (1988:29-30) states that the converbs *-IncE*, *-Ip*, and *-Erken* 'while doing' appear in the narratives of 3-year-olds and increase by age 5, while *-ErEk* is not used by a single narrator younger than 9 to link clauses but used once by a 3-year-old to encode the manner of the action.

Aksu-Koç (1988a) obtained results showing that the conjunction *dE* 'too' emerges at the age of 3 to denote simultaneity and decreases with increasing age; *bu/o sırada* 'at that moment' emerges in 5-year-olds' narratives very rarely; *o zaman* 'then' is first observed in 3-year-olds; *öte yandan* 'on the other hand' lacks in child language. It emerges only in adult narratives to encode either simultaneity or a focus shift. Except *-ErEk*, all previously mentioned converbs are available in the narratives of 3-year-olds. *-ErEk* appears in 5-year-olds once and increases with age. Adverbials, *V+dIktE* and *V+dIĞI zaman* and the juxtaposed clauses *V+dIk*, *V* are lacking in the narratives of 3-year-olds and they first appear at the age of 5, though the frequency is rather low.

Aksu-Koç (1988a) and Slobin (1988) presented data showing that children as young as 3 years old are able to encode simultaneity and sequentiality through converbs, conjunctions, adverbial clauses and complement clauses.

As for the encoding of priority and posteriority of events, Ruhi (1982) investigated the comprehension of the terms *önce* 'before' and *sonra* 'after' by children at the ages 2:2, 2:5, 3:2 and 3:5 and 4.0. Her investigation yielded results showing that the comprehension of *sonra*, which encodes posteriority, is earlier than that of *önce*, which encodes priority. While *sonra* is comprehended by 2:5-year-olds, the comprehension of *önce* is not before the age of 4 (cf. Gleason and Ratner 1998:383-384)

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter informs the reader about two things:

First, it provides information related to how this study is designed; who the participants are, how the data are collected; how the collected data are transcribed and coded; how the scoring is carried out; and finally, how the data is analyzed.

Second, the present chapter reviews functional and structural definition(s) of the temporal elements in Turkish. This revision is intended to enable the reader to compare the functions of the temporal elements that emerge in the narratives elicited from the subjects participated in this study with the ones that have already been provided in previous literature.

3.1 Research design

This research is descriptive in nature in the sense that it limits its scope to the description of age-specific functions of temporal elements in Turkish in the macro-organization of narratives. In order to achieve this task of description, the study makes use of both quantitative and qualitative techniques in data analysis; both the frequency and function of each temporal element are examined relative to both age of the narrator and the internal structure of narrative as defined by Labov (1972).

While analyzing the emergence and function of temporal elements, this study takes both a developmental and a discourse analytic perspective. It is developmental in the sense that it investigates how the function of temporal elements differ when used by narrators at different ages, and discourse analytic in the sense that it is concerned with the function of those temporal elements, subject to our analysis, specifically in narrative discourse.

3.2 Participants

The subject group consists of normal, randomly chosen Turkish monolingual children, from 3 to 9 plus 13-year-olds and adults; including adults, there are 9 age groups. Each age group

is made up of 14 subjects. The total number of the participants is 126. The subject group at the age of 3, 4 and 5 are from a kindergarten and the subjects at the age of 6, 7, 8, 9 and 13 are students in a state elementary and secondary school. Six of the adults graduated from a university, three of them from a high school and six of them from a primary school. The mean ages for the age groups participated in the study are as follows: 3:8, 4:5, 5:6, 6:5, 7:3, 8:4, 9:5 and 13:9. The mean age for adults is 27.

3.3 Data collection and data collection procedures

3.3.1 Obtaining official permission

Before beginning to work with the children, official permission was obtained, from Doğuş Kindergarten, for which Çankaya Municipality is responsible, and from Ahmet Barındırır Elementary & Secondary School (Ankara), which is under the responsibility of The Ministry of National Education of Turkish Republic.

3.3.2 Obtaining parents' consent

After obtaining necessary permissions from the institutes, forms that contain The Parent Consent from parents of the children who were to participate in this study were obtained. In collaboration with the teachers in the identified kindergarten and the school, the Parent Consent Forms (Appendix A), were delivered to 30 students from each age group. The forms that returned with disapproval were removed from the log. The approved ones were sorted according to the age of the children.

3.3.3 Orientation

Before starting to collect the data, we spent half a day with the children in the kindergarten in order to orient the children to the task of telling stories and to develop some kind of relationship with them which would make them feel comfortable during the elicitation phase.

The same orientation procedures were performed for preschoolers and first graders in Ahmet Barındırır Elementary School. Shorter and more formal orientation sessions were held with elder children in this school and with adults.

3.3.4 Data collection context

In the kindergarten, the data were collected individually from each child in a separate room; a room where they usually spent some time playing computer games. The reason why we collected data in a reserved room was to avoid possible interference among the narrators.

During story elicitation, a teacher or student-teacher whom the children knew well attended us in order to decrease possible stress in the child. Before we began to elicit data, the teachers had been informed about the elicitation procedures. Thus, they were careful about not interfering with children's story production.

In the elementary & secondary school, data were collected in the library of the school. The data were elicited during the class hours. Thus, the library was quiet enough to elicit data. During the elicitation of stories from preschoolers and first graders, teachers attended in order to make the children feel comfortable. Teachers did not attend during the story elicitation with elder children. There were no other students in the library during data elicitation.

3.3.5 Data collection and sampling techniques

The data collected for this study are oral narratives that are elicited from subjects cross-sectionally using Mercer Mayer's (1969) wordless book *Frog where are you?* as a stimulus.

Each participant had a chance to go through the whole book "Frog Where are you?" before he/she began to narrate the story events and then he/she was asked to produce a narrative by looking at the book while I, the researcher, was also looking at it. This joint attention on the pictures from which the story was to be created was of great importance because the way children created the setting part of the stories was deeply influenced by that joint attention. We tried hard to decrease the effect of joint attention in story production by children but, unfortunately, it was difficult because children were in a way, aware that we already knew the story. Even when we sat right opposite the child to give an impression that we were not able to see the pictures in the book, they began to tell the story in such a way which indicated that they thought we already knew it.

The following instruction was given to each kindergartner and preschooler before s/he began to narrate.

Şimdi burda, amcanın bir tanesi bir kitap çizmiş. Yani resimlerle bir masal/öykü anlatmış. Abla karşımıza otursun, sen bu masalı/öyküyü o ablaya anlat, ben de sesini bu kasete kaydedeyim, sonra birlikte dinleyelim. Tamam mı?

Somebody has drawn a picture book. He told a story through pictures in this book. Let this elder sister (student teacher) sit

opposite you and tell her the story. I will record your story on this tape and we will listen to it together afterwards. Okay?

Since some of the 6-year-olds and all of the 7-year-olds were literate and performed some activities similar to the task in our study, it was easier to work with them. The instruction given to younger children was modified to make it fit to elder ones.

Senin şimdiye kadar okuduğun masal veya öykü kitapları, öyküyü yazı ile anlatıyordu değil mi? Bu kitapta ise öykü yazı ile değil de resimler ile anlatılmış. Şimdi sen onu bize anlatır mısın?

The books you have read so far told stories in words. Unlikely, this book tells a story through pictures. Now, would you please tell it us?

Some of the 3 and 4-year-olds started to produce a narrative but they stopped narration in the midway before completing it. These informants halted the production of narrative not because they were unable to produce a narrative but because of external interferences such as hearing the break-bell ring etc. These data were eliminated from the data log. From among 20 narratives produced by each age group, 14 of them were chosen randomly without any pre-analysis of their convenience.

3.3.6 Categorization and organization of the data on a PC

The tape-recorded data were transformed to .wav files on a PC and they were grouped in different folders regarding to the age of the narrator. All of the data were transferred to CD-ROMs so that we can work with them on any computer anywhere.

3.4 Transcription

Since our analysis of narrative grammar is based on Labov's (1972) description of a story, we followed the transcription techniques he used. Labov separated linguistic units at clause level. e.g. The sentence "When the boy woke up he could not see the frog in the jar" is separated as:

(P-3.4.1)

CHI: when the boy woke up

CHI: he could not see the frog in the jar

Turkish characters are used in transcriptions because, when transcribed in English characters only, some problems arise in scoring phase. When we were scoring pilot samples, we noticed that it was a great difficulty for us to process some of the 'i' letters as Turkish 'ı'; 'ç'

letters as Turkish ‘ç’; ‘g’ letter as Turkish ‘ğ’ etc. When transcribed without using Turkish characters, the word “çığlık” (scream) turns out to be “ciglik” which can be associated phonologically with the word ‘çiğlik’ (rawness) rather than ‘çığlık’ (scream).

3.4.1 Inter-transcriber reliability

I have transcribed all of the 126 stories. Along with my transcriptions, two more transcribers, who were trained and who worked on the spoken data independently of each other, transcribed 20% of the data once more.

The inter-transcriber reliability was calculated manually by following the following procedures:

- First, the disagreements were identified in the transcription: One of the transcribers read what he has transcribed and while reading the text, the other transcriber and I, as the researcher, followed the reading from our own sheets of transcriptions. We did not interrupt the reader till the end of reading but marked disagreements on our own sheets. After the completion of the reading, we discussed the disagreements while we were re-listening the records on the computer.

In order to calculate the proportional value of disagreement, the following procedures are followed:

- Words that were not a part of narratives (e.g. information about the record) were removed from the transcription log (The 20% of the narratives which are also transcribed by two transcribers) .
- All of the words were counted with “word count” tool of Microsoft Word Document, to find out the *Total Number of Words* (TNW),
- The *Number of Disagreements* (ND) were counted.
- The following formula was used to calculate the proportion of agreements.

$$\text{Proportion of disagreements} = 100 \times \text{ND} / \text{TNW}$$

The agreement level among the transcribers was 97%. The disagreement of 3% was, to a great extent, due to incomprehensible words and nonlinguistic sounds that were produced

mostly by 3, 4 and 5-year-olds. Even after coming together to resolve the disagreement, there were some “word like” sounds which we could not make out what the word was. Those incomprehensible parts were eliminated.

3.5 Coding

Coding refers, in this study, to the marking of episode boundaries in each story. Coding was a phase which we had to work out scrutinizingly. The reason for this was the fact that the validity of the results to be obtained from the analysis of the data depends very strongly on the identification of the boundaries of episodes properly. It was this phase of the study according to which we would have insight about children’s use of temporal elements to organize the macro structure of the narrative. If coded inappropriately, the emergence of temporal elements would be scored inappropriately as well, which means that findings would also be, accordingly, misleading.

One of the most formidable problems faced during the coding phase was whether stories were to be coded descriptively or prescriptively. The prescriptive approach would be based on the possible number of the episodes of complicating action in the story book, which had already been prescribed by the artist who created the picture book (Wigglesworth 1997). What was worse that, since some pictures seemed to be the extensions of a previous picture, there was not full agreement among the coders whether those adjacent pictures should be counted as a single episode or whether each of the pictures should be counted as a separate episode. For instance the scene in which the child is shouting towards the forest and the dog is looking at the bees; and the scene where the child is looking into the burrow of the gopher and the dog is barking at the beehive seem to be merged to make an episode. However, what prevents us from claiming that each picture should be treated as a single episode since the protagonists’ moving towards the forest can be counted as the beginning of the episode and the shouting and looking around for a while as the complicating action and their failure to get any response from the frog as the resolution? On the other hand, again, what prevents us from claiming that the actual resolution of this episode is the gopher’s coming out of its burrow and child’s understanding that the frog was not there?

Taking a descriptive approach, that is, coding the narratives according to the narrator’s dividing the episodes with linguistic tools such as the use of some adverbials, though it does not bring an absolute solution, serves our purpose better because the descriptive approach is narrator based. The following two samples prove that coding episodes descriptively, that is,

according to narrator’s encoding a new attempt to resolve the complicating action through overt linguistic tools and stating the outcome of that particular attempt, is more appropriate than coding them according to the picture boundaries in the picture book. The reason why we rely on the narrators’ division of the story units in coding is that they often signal the episode boundaries with discourse markers such as ‘*then*’, ‘*and*’, ‘*but*’ etc, by using them with words that refer to the completion or the initiation of a goal.

The protocols 3.5.1 and 3.5.2 depict the same two successive pages in the picture book *Frog, where are you?*

(P-3.5.1)	
<p><i>a</i> sonra ağabeey anneeee diye gel buraya diye çağırmiş köpekle ikisi then, both dog and the boy called to as “mummy, brother, come here”</p> <p><i>b</i> sonra bir bakmış then, suddenly, they looked</p> <p><i>c</i> deliğin içinden sincap çıkmış a squirrel came out of the burrow</p> <p><i>d</i> şaşırmiş çocuk the child got astonished</p>	An episode

(P-3.5.2)	
<p><i>a</i> ondan sonra bağırmişlar then they have shouted</p> <p><i>b</i> nerdesin kurbağam diye as “my frog, where are you”</p> <p><i>c</i> ondan sonra bir yerde bulamamışlar after that, they couldn’t find the frog anywhere</p>	An Episode

<p><i>d</i> ondan sonra bir ko.. şeyin içine baktılar after that they looked into a ... looked into the thing</p> <p><i>e</i> ondan sonra içinden de çıkmadı then it did not come out of that thing</p> <p><i>f</i> bu ne? What is this?</p> <p><i>g</i> köstebek mole</p> <p><i>h</i> köstebek çıkmış the mole came out</p> <p><i>i</i> ondan sonra kızmış after that the boy got angry</p>	An episode
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While the narrator who produces P-3.5.1 narrates the events in two successive pages in a single episode, the narrator who produces P-3.5.2 narrates those two pages in two episodes.

Finally, we coded story units according to how narrators segment them.

3.5.1 Intercoder reliability

Two coders were given a 2-hour training session about coding. One of the coders was a fourth grade student and the other one was a third grade student in the Department of Foreign Language Education in Education Faculty of METU. Both of the coders stated that they had already been informed about story structure when they were taking the course “Short Story”. Once more, we went over the story structure defined by Labov. We worked on a sample story. I assigned them to code a story and asked them not to work together because they were going to code the same story. I myself coded the same story. Then we came together to compare the coding of the story by each coder. There were some disagreements in coding. We discussed the reasons and solved the problems that caused disagreements. Then the two coders coded 20% of the data. I coded all of the stories.

After completion of the coding, three logs of coded stories were compared. The process of comparison was as follows:

- One of the coders mentioned the beginning and end of each episode and the other two followed from their own sheets.
- Disagreements were marked.
- After the completion of the check, we discussed the disagreements and corrected them.

To calculate the level of disagreement:

- We counted all of the coded parts,
- We counted the disagreements
- Then we calculated the proportion of the disagreements to the agreements with the following formula:

$$\text{Proportion of disagreements} = 100 \times \frac{\text{Number of Disagreements}}{\text{Number of coded parts}}$$

The value of the level of agreement was not as high as that of transcription. It was 83%. We decided this value to be acceptable since we could not find studies conducted on or mentioned to the normative levels of inter-coder reliability in narrative studies.

3.6 Scoring

After the completion of the scrutinizing work of coding, scoring was not so difficult. We created detailed forms which helped us to mark the place of occurrence of the temporal elements within each episode or part of the main story elements. We looked at the occurrence of temporal elements within internal episodes/parts of each story element.

Since the number of the occurrence of a certain temporal element within the whole text would not help us much, we searched each occurrence of an element in its exact place and scored accordingly. Searching each occurrence of a temporal element in its place is of great significance for two reasons. First, as it has been mentioned above, we have to see the context of occurrence of a temporal element within each episode of the main story elements which help us evaluate its contribution to the organization of macro-structure of the story. Second, we have to see whether the occurrence of the linguistic element has a temporal organizational function in the text or not (e.g. the occurrences of *ve* that function as additive between noun clauses were eliminated). Such kind of scoring and analysis constitutes the discourse analytic side of the study.

3.6.1 Interscorer reliability

As it had been done with other reliability tests, we trained two scorers on coded sample texts. The scorers were given the forms and they scored the occurrences of each temporal element and then counted them.

The method of the calculation of the agreement level was the same as that of the transcriptions. The number of the disagreements was multiplied by 100 and then divided by the total temporal occurrences. The obtained value of disagreements (3%) was subtracted from 100. The level of agreement was 97%, just because one of the scorers counted sum of the occurrences of *ve* as having temporal function though they were additives.

3.6.2 Elimination of some occurrences of temporal elements

Some of the occurrences of the elements we were concerned as “temporal elements” were eliminated from the data since they did not function as temporal elements that are used to

organize the macro-structure of a story. The elements that were eliminated are the repetitions of a temporal element within the same clause (see P-3.6.2.1) or the occurrences of *ve* that relate noun clauses (see P-3.6.2.2).

(P-3.6.2.1)

- a ondan sonra da çocuk kaplumbağayı gitmiş görmüş
 - b sonra arka sonra hmm sonra da köpek kavanozun yani kavanoz
 - c sonra köpek kavanozun kafasını içine girdirmiş
- (Age 3:11)

None of the occurrences of “sonra” in clause b in P-3.6.2.1 is counted as a temporal element, whereas *sonra* in clause c was counted.

(P-3.6.2.2)

- a bu arada bir kovan ve arılar görünüyor
 - b sonra çocuk yerdeki bir delikte kurbağayı ararken
 - c köpek de ağacın dalında asılı arı kovaniyle ilgileniyor
 - d bu arada yerden bir fare çıkıyor
 - e ve çocuğun sanırım burnunu ısıyor
- (Adult)

While *ve* in clause a in P-3.6.2.2, which functions as an additive, was not counted as a temporal element, *ve* in clause e, which sequences two events on the time axis, was counted as a temporal element.

3.7 Data analysis

Following different procedures, one can obtain different but consistent and replicable results from a single data corpus. Thus, to be able to govern the research in the direction we desire, the procedures to be followed should be tested by the following three major questions which are “what”, “why” and “how”, though the question *why* will mainly be answered within the domain of discourse analysis rather than within the domain of psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics and cognition.

3.7.1 The distribution of temporal elements relative to the age of the narrator and the story unit

A statistical analysis is necessary because one of our aims in designing this study is to investigate the frequency of the occurrence of temporal elements in some certain story elements relative to the age of the narrator. If we are to find out whether there are constraints

inherent to the structure of each element of the story that force narrators to use certain temporal elements in certain parts of the story or whether certain temporal elements gather in certain parts of a story element for developmental reasons, we certainly need to consult their numerical characteristics. With this aim in mind we;

- counted the number of the clauses in stories by each age group.
- counted the number of the occurrence of a temporal element in each age group relative to story element,
- calculated group-internal statistics of that temporal element (For instance the occurrence of a temporal element in the narratives by a single age group) to compare the proportions of the occurrence of a temporal element across ages relative to story elements,

The values of the occurrence of an element are given in proportional values and the interpretations about the frequency and the distribution of a temporal element are based on the proportional values because a comparison of the raw number of the occurrence of an element in a certain story unit is misleading since some of the story units are much longer than others. For instance, a pilot analysis of 14 stories from 5-year-olds showed that all of the *Orientation* sections contain **106** clauses, all of the *Resolution* sections contain **181** clauses and all of the *Complicating Action* sections contain **632** clauses. The number of the occurrence of the temporal element *ve* is **1** in *Orientation*, **13** in *Complicating Action* and **3** in *Resolution*. The analysis of raw numbers would be interpreted as ‘the frequency of the occurrence of *ve* in *Complicating Action* is more than **4** times higher than the sum of its occurrence in other two story units’, which is misleading for the reason that is explained above. Proportional values of the occurrence of *ve* relative to story units, on the other hand, would result as follows:

Orientation: $1 \times 100 : 106 = 0.94\%$,

Complicating Action: $13 \times 100 : 632 = 2.05\%$,

Resolution: $3 \times 100 : 181 = 1.65\%$

Although the occurrence of *ve* is higher in *Complicating Action* than in other sections, it is no more higher than the some of the frequency of *ve* in other two story units. Thus, the proportional values reflect the actual situation more reliably than the raw numbers of the occurrence of the temporal elements in story units.

3.7.2 The functions of temporal elements in the macro-temporal organization of narratives relative to age

The frequency of the occurrence of a temporal element does not explain everything about how narrators at a certain age use a particular temporal element to organize their narrative text. In order to have an insight into how a temporal element functions in a particular narrative unit when used by a certain age group, the temporal element has to be analyzed in the very context it occurs. Thus, while this study investigates the numerical features of the occurrence of temporal elements on the one hand, it investigates how temporal elements interact with each other and with the text itself when used by informants at a certain age. This facet of the study constitutes the discourse analytic side of the study with a developmental perspective.

3.8 Temporal elements in Turkish

This section constitutes a framework for the forms and functions of temporal elements in Turkish and it aims to ease and validate the interpretation of the data obtained from the subjects with this framework.

Erguvanlı-Taylan (1988) states that temporal reference in human languages is expressed by the use of adverbials and tense. We believe that “connectives” and “clause sequences” have to be inserted into Erguvanlı-Taylan’s proposition since they are included neither by adverbials nor by tense. These means of temporal reference, then, can be analyzed in five general categories (Kornfilt 1997). They are *conjunctions*, *gerunds(converbs)*, *adverbial clauses*, *complement clauses*, *tense markers* and *juxtaposed clauses*. All of these categories semantically, function to indicate temporality, in Turkish, in two ways.

The first one of them is *simultaneity*, which refers to a) two events overlapping exactly at the same values on the time line, b) one event included at some value in the duration of another process or state, c) one event overlapping at some value with an extending state, d) two states partially overlapping in time, and f) two events/processes, partially overlapping in time (Aksu-Koç 1988a).

The second option to indicate temporality in narrative discourse, opposed to simultaneity, is *sequentiality* which refers to the process of connecting at least two clauses by means of connectives, adverbs and adverbial clauses. Juxtaposing clauses can be included in the

option of sequentiality since in juxtaposition, though without using any overt linguistic device, two clauses are connected to each other by just sequencing them one after the other.

(P-3.8.1)
Mehmet gel -di, git -ti.
Mehmet come-PAST go-PAST.
'Mehmet came and went.'(Underhill 2001:83)

The power of indicating sequentiality of the juxtaposed clauses is increased by a comma in written form and by a pause in spoken form of language (Underhill 200: 83).

3.8.1 Conjoining clauses

Conjoined clauses are those that are coordinated by a conjunction such as *and*, *but* etc. They are conjoined in three ways. First, clauses are connected by using the unbound conjunction marker *ve* 'and'; second, by using the coordination particle *-dE* 'also, too', and third, by simply stringing two clauses one after another. The conjunctions that function as a temporal element are the concern of this study. Thus the conjunction *ama/fakat* 'but', which do not function as a temporal text organizer, will be out of our focus.

3.8.1.1 *ve*

Though it has other functions as a connective, when used as a temporal element, the unbound conjunction marker *ve* expresses the sequentiality of two coordinated clauses or sentences. Noun phrases with the same grammatical function (e.g. subjects, objects) are preferably omitted in the second conjunct (Kornfilt 1997:120; Underhill 2001:83).

(P-3.8.1.1.1)
Hasan araba -y1 yıka -dı **ve** ev -i süpür -dü.
Hasan car-ACC wash-PAST **and** house-ACC sweep-PAST.
'Hasan washed the car and swept the house.'
(Kornfilt 1997:120)

Another function of *ve* is to mark the endpoint of a series of actions or an expected outcome.

(P-3.8.1.1.2)
Ve şampiyon belli oldu. İsveç'in çeşitli kentlerinde, dört grupta toplam 16 takımın katılımıyla düzenlenen ve 10 gün süren 33. Avrupa Basketbol Şampiyonası'nı Litvanya kazandı.
(Radikal online, 2003)

And the champion is determined. Lithuania won the 33rd Europe Basketball Championship, which lasted 10 days and which is organized in various cities in Switzerland with the participation of 16 teams in 4 categories.

Ve, which occurs at the beginning of the sentence in P-3.8.1.1.2, functions to express that the determination of the champion has been an expected outcome and the championship is determined at the end of a series of actions/events (tournament).

3.8.1.2 *dE*

The particle *dE*, which is defined as a multifunctional particle fulfilling the roles of focalizer, topicalizer additive and intensifier (Göksel and Özsoy 2003), is used as a temporal element to indicate the priority or posteriority of one of the two events over the other on the time axis as sample (P-3.8.1.2.1) from Kornfilt (1997) demonstrates, and it indicates simultaneity of two events contextually (3.8.1.2.2) (Aksu-Koç 1988a). It can be translated into English as *after*, *and*, *also* or *then* (Levis 1967; Nemeth 1962:94) when used as a temporal element.

(P-3.8.1.2.1)

İş -im -i bitir eyim **de** tiyatro
Work 1.Sg. -ACC finish 1.Sg.OPT -dA theatre
-ya gid -elim.
- DAT go 1pl. OPT
Let us go to the theatre *after* I finish my work./ Let me finish my
work *then* go to the theatre.

(Kornfilt 1997:110)

(P-3.8.1.2.2)

Çocuk uyu -yor, hav hav **da** uyu -yor.
boy sleep-PROG bow wow PARTsleep-PROG.
'The boy is sleeping, the dog is sleeping too.

(Aksu-Koç 1988a)

As the example above illustrates, majority of clauses paired with *-dE* have exactly the same construction: either the same verb and the same tense, or two stative or two dynamic verbs paired again with the same tense (Ibid).

3.8.2 Adverbial conjunctions

Tense is a rather crude indicator of temporal location in that it can be used only to indicate whether an event occurred before, after, or simultaneous with the time of speaking. More temporal specificity can be achieved by lexical information, such as time adverbs and adverbials, which can be used to specify the chronological distance between events (Zwaan

1996). Adverbial conjunctions function to either place two events in the same temporal location or sequence two events.

3.8.2.1 o zaman

O zaman ‘then, at that time,’ is formed by the distal demonstrative pronoun *o* and the noun *zaman* sets the first event as a background for the second (Aksu-Koç 1998a) or implies that the cause of the second event in a sequence of events is the first one. In some cases, whether *o zaman* functions as a temporal element that encodes simultaneity or as a connective which indicates causality depends entirely on the perspective the audience would take according to co-text and context.

(P-3.8.2.1.1)

Arı kovan -ı ara -mış (köpek), **o zaman** düş -müş

Bee hive ACC search EV PAST (dog), o zaman fall EV PAST

(çocuk).

(boy)

(Aksu-Koç 1988a)

3.8.2.2 bu/o sırada

Bu/o sırada, ‘in the meanwhile, meanwhile’ are formed either by proximal demonstrative *bu* and the locative term *sırada* or the distal demonstrative *o* to, function to mark the simultaneity of two events (Aksu-Koç 1988a). It also functions to shift the attention of the audience from what has mentioned to what is to be mentioned, not always but usually, when the subject of the second clause or sentence is followed with the particle –dE (P-3.8.2.2.1).

(P-3.8.2.2.1)

Çocuğ -u yer -e at -ıyor, köpek de

Boy -ACC ground -DAT throw PROG dog PART.

bu sırada kaç -ıyor.

meanwhile escape PROG.

(It) throws the boy to the ground, and meanwhile the dog runs away (Ibid).

3.8.2.3 Sonra

The only postpositions that can occur without arguments appear to be the time adverbials *önce* ‘before’ and *sonra* ‘after/then’. In their use as adverbs, they mean ‘first’ and ‘later’ (Kornfilt 1997:100). *Sonra*, as a connective, functions to connect two finite clauses. In this form it always occurs in clause initial position (P- 3.8.2.3.1).

(P- 3.8.2.3.1)

Dün önce iş -e git -tim, **sonra** sinema -ya.

Yesterday first work-DAT go-PAST 1sg. later[then] cinema-DAT.

Yesterday, I first went to work and afterwards to the movies. (Ibid)

The temporal adverbial and postposition ‘*sonra*’ is used to sequence two succeeding sentences temporally. When it is used in between clauses, it always follows the ablative form of the noun or verb (Nemeth (1962; 61) (P-3.8.2.3.2).

(P-3.8.2.3.2)

Ateş -i yak -tık -**tan sonra** üst -ü -ne et -i koy -du.
Fire-ACC light-NOM -ABL after on-DAT meat-ACC put-PAST.
‘After lighting the fire, he put the meat on it.’
(Underhill 2001:389)

3.8.2.4 Sonradan

The adverbial temporal element *sonradan* is constructed by adding ablative suffix -dEn to adverbial conjunction *sonra*. It functions quite differently from both *sonra* and *-diKtAn sonra* and it can be translated into English as “later” or “subsequently”. It indicates the connection between two events whose locations on the time axis are not as close as the locations of the events that can be connected by *sonra* or *-diKtAn sonra* (P- 3.8.2.4.1).

(P- 3.8.2.4.1)

Kadın pazar -da bir adam gör -dü. **Sonradan** bu adam -ın
Woman market-LOC a man see-PAST Later, this man-GEN.
kendi amca -sı ol -duğ -un -u anla -dı
his own uncle-3sg. be-NOM 3.sg.- ACC understand-PAST.
‘The woman saw a man in the market. Later she understood that he was not her uncle.’

3.8.2.5 önce

The postposition *önce*, ‘before’, is used for the same functional purpose as *sonra* ‘after’ is used; however it refers to the action that precedes an action which is later than the one that *önce* refers to on the time axis. When *önce* is used before a sentence, it usually co-occurs with *sonra* or *ondan sonra*, though not obligatorily, at the beginning of the following clause (P-3.8.2.5.1).

(P-3.8.2.5.1)

Dün **önce** iş -e git -ti -m, **sonra** sinema -ya.
Yesterday **before** work-DAT go-PAST-1.sg. **then** cinema-DAT.
‘Yesterday, I first went to work and afterwards to the movies’
(Kornfilt 1997:100)

3.8.2.6 önceden

The temporal adverb *önceden*, ‘beforehand, earlier’, is constructed by the postposition *önce* that is modified by the ablative suffix -dEn. It is used to refer to an earlier action that is temporally remote to an event which is located on the time axis by the main verb of the

second clause relative to the speech time. It can occur either sentence initially (P-3.8.2.6.1) or sentence internally (P-3.8.2.6.2).

Sentence initial:

(P-3.8.2.6.1)

Önceden gör -düğ -ü adam -ı
Beforehand/earlier see -NOM -3.SG man -ACC
hemen tanı -dı
immediately recognize -Past.
'He recognized the man (whom) he had seen before immediately.'

Sentence internal:

(P-3.8.2.6.2)

Adam bardağ -ı **önceden** kır -mış.
Man glass-ACC beforehand break-NARR PAST
'The man broke the glass beforehand.'

3.8.3 Gerunds (converbs)

The gerund forms of the verbs or converbs (Kornfilt 1997:103; Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim 1994:404) in Turkish, which have temporal quality, are formed with a number of gerund suffixes attached to the verb (Özsoy 1999:232) and serve some sort of linking or conjoining function (Slobin 1988:27). These suffixes are defined and exemplified below.

3.8.3.1 V+ (y)InCE

The gerund *V+InCE* connects two consecutive sentences and their causal relation. It sets the point of overlap or the realization of the first event as reference time for the second event expressed in the main clause (Aksu-Koç 1988a). Slobin (1988:31) explains the temporal relation between two clauses linked by this structure as “the onset of the second event overlaps with or coincides with the end of the first event”.

(P-3.8.3.1.1)

Köpek düşü**nce** başındaki şişe kırılıyor.
Dog fall-INCE head-POSS-LOC-REL jar break-PASS-PRES
'When the dog fell the jar on his head breaks'

(Slobin 1988:31)

3.8.3.2 –Erken ‘while’

The gerundive postclitic *-Erken* or *iken*, ‘be, while doing/being’, functions as a temporal element when it connects two events on the time axis. The suffix is usually attached to the verb that is marked by aorist morpheme *-Er*, however it is possible to encounter the forms that are attached to other tense marked verbs (e.g. düş -ecek –ken: fall-FUT.-ken ‘when he was about to fall’ (Banguoğlu (1995:431: Underhill 2001: 399-401).

This postclitic, whose English counterpart is ‘while doing/while being’, indicates the simultaneity between the main clause and subordinate clause, which constitutes a temporal background for the main clause. As opposed to ‘perfective’ aspect marked by *-IncE*, it indicates ‘durative/progressive’ aspect of the action.

(P-3.8.3.2.1)
 Çocuk uyu-r-**ken** kurbağa kaçmış.
 boy sleep- 3.sg.-ERKEN frog escape –NARR PAST
 ‘While the boy was sleeping, the frog escaped.’
 (Slobin 1988:33)

3.8.3.3 V+Ip

The suffix *-Ip* functions in Turkish to subordinate one clause to another (Underhill 2001:378-379). It is the suffix by which the sequentiality between two actions of an agent is achieved (P-3.8.3.3.1). When such two events are coordinated by *-Ip*, the doer of both actions has to be the same subject (P-3.8.3.3.2). Instead of using two verb stems, with identical suffixes side by side, or joined by *and*, such as *kalktık (ve) gittik* (we stood and took leave), *-Ip* may be added to the first verb stem; that is the tense and person suffixes of the main verb, whatever they are, apply also to the subordinated verb (Ibid) . e.g. *kalkıp gittik* ‘We stood and took leave’

(P-3.8.3.3.1)
 Deniz -e atla -(y)**ıp**, yüz -eceğ -im.
 Sea -DAT jump- Ip swim - FUT 1SG.
 ‘I’ll jump into the sea and swim.’
 (Aksu-Koç and Slobin 1985:843)

The suffix *-Ip* encodes simultaneity if the verbs of both clauses are durative, like the ones in the example above, and it encodes sequentiality when the verb of the second clause is non-durative as it is exemplified below.

(P-3.8.3.3.2)
 Hasan iş -ten dön -**üp** para -sı -nı karı -sın -a ver -di.
 Hasan work-ABL return-**and** money-3.sg.-ACC give-PAST
 ‘Hasan returned from work and gave his money to his wife’
 (Kornfilt 1997:116)

3.8.3.4 -ErEk

-ErEk, when used as a temporal element, functions to indicate simultaneity (Banguoğlu 1979: 133; Kononov 1956 reported in Slobin 1988) or sequentiality. From a temporal perspective, when the verb to which *-ErEk* is appended and the verb of the main clause are

durative, the suffix encodes simultaneity (P-3.8.3.4.1); when the verb to which *-ErEk* is attached is non-durative, it encodes sequentiality (P-3.8.3.4.2). The unmarked function of this form is to indicate simultaneity (Aksu-Koç 1988a)

Simultaneity:

(P-3.8.3.4.1)
Ve el salla-(y)**arak** gid -iyor.
and hand wave-EREK go-PROG.
'And he goes waving his hand.'
(Aksu-Koç 1988a)

Sequentiality:

(P-3.8.3.4.2)
Geyiğ -i çağır -**arak** on -dan yardım iste -di.
boy deer ACC call-EREK he-ABL help want-PAST.
The boy called the deer and asked for help. (Aksu-Koç 1988a)

3.8.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses that function in the same way as an adverb or adverbial phrase does in a simple sentence (Kornfilt 1997:66). Adverbial clauses that explicitly express simultaneity are formed by nominalizing the verb with *-dIk*, either case marked with the locative *-dE* or followed by *zaman* (Aksu-Koç 1988a).

3.8.4.1 -dEn önce

When the discourse function of this temporal element is concerned, ablative + postposition, *-dEn önce*, is used to sequence two actions one of which is prior to the other on the time axis. The form *-dEn önce* is used to emphasize a non-simultaneous relationship between the two linked clauses (see Kornfilt 1997:68;102).

(P-3.8.4.1.1)
Müdür tatil -e çık -ma -**dan önce** evin -i
Director vacation-DAT go-NEG -ABL. before home-ACC
ara -dı -m.
seek-PAST-1.s.g.
'Before the director went on vacation I called his home.'
(Kornfilt 1997:68)

3.8.4.2 -dIktAn sonra

This adverbial clause is used to specify the posteriority of an event on the time axis over another event or a state which is either the requirement stemmed from the first event or the result of it (P-3.8.4.2.1). The function of the temporal element is similar to that of the past perfect tense in English. This temporal element is used alternately with *-mEdEn önce* in the

sense that the same sentence can be constructed either with *-dİktAn sonra* or *-mEdEn önce* (Kornfilt 1997; 69).

(P- 3.8.4.3.1)

Müdür tatil -e çık **-tık -tan sonra** ofis yan -dı.
Director vacation-DAT go-NOM –ABL after office burn-PAST.
'After the director went on vacation the office burned down'

(Kornfilt 1997:69)

3.8.4.3 V+dİktE /V+ dİğİ zaman

Adverbial clauses that explicitly express simultaneity are formed by nominalizing the verb with *-dİk*, either case marked with the locative *-dE* or followed by *zaman* (Kornfilt 1997:69) and they mean respectively, 'at the time of his V+ing' and 'at his doing'. The event mentioned in the subordinate clause introduces a reference time for the event referred to in the main clause through a relation of simultaneity (P-3.8.4.3.1) [or sequentiality (P-3.8.4.3.2)] (Aksu-Koç 1988a). The protocol 3.8.4.3.2 exemplifies sequentiality since the subordinate clause is –embedded.

(P-3.8.4.3.1)

Radyo -yu aç **-tığ -ım zaman /tığ-ım-da** başbakan konuş -uyor -du.
Radio-ACC turn on-NOM-1sg. time prime minister talk-PROG-PAST.
When I turned on the radio, the prime minister was speaking.

(Underhill 2001:291)

(P-3.8.4.3.2)

Çocuk kalk **-tığ -ım -da** kurbağa -yı
Child get up -NOM –POSS -LOC frog -ACC
bul -a -ma -mış.
find -ABILITY –NEG EV.PAST.

When the boy got up, he could not find the frog.

(Underhill 2001:291)

3.8.4.4 V+Er V+ mEz

The non-finite clause *V+Er V+ mEz*, which means 'as soon as', is used to emphasize that there is no time interval between the end of the action of the subordinate clause and that of the main clause (P-3.8.4.4.1). When two events are connected with the clause *V+Er V+ mEz*, the verb of the subordinate clause is reduplicated. The first verb is marked with the aorist suffix *-Ir*, the second verb with the negative aorist *-mA-z* (Özsoy 1999: 239).

(P-3.8.4.4.1)

Ben oda -ya **girer girmez** telefon çal -dı.
I room-DAT enter-Er enter-mEz telephone ring-PAST.
As soon as I entered the room, the telephone rang.

(Lewis 1991:67)

3.8.4.5 -DIđI gibi

The clause *-DIđI gibi*, whose meaning and function are almost identical with that of *V+Er*, *V+ mEz* when used as a connective, is constructed with the nominalizer *-DIk* attached to a verb and the particle *gibi*, ‘as, like’ (P-3.8.4.5.1).

(P-3.8.4.5.1)

Ev -e gel -**diđ -i gibi** yat -tı.
Home -DAT come -DIK-3.sg. PARTICLE:like go to bed-Past
‘S/he went to bed as soon as s/he came home’

3.8.5 Tense and aspect markers

The location of an event or state on the time axis with respect to the speech time is encoded in the verb of the clause by verb markers. However, the function of those markers is not limited to locating their referents on the time axis; they enable the audience to make inferences about the internal features of the events or states. These two different, but, in most cases, co-occurring functions are the indication of *tense* and *aspect*.

In traditional grammar, *tense*, which is a deictic category, refers to the relating of the time of the referent situation to either the time of utterance or to the time of some other situation (Aksu-Koç 1988: 11; Wagner 2001; Erguvanlı-Taylan 1992) and it is used in such a way that it includes both tense and aspect (Comrie 1985: 6). Tense is explained by Reichenbach (1966: 289-291) as the event/state time that is anterior to the speech time, namely The Past Tense; the event/state time that is simultaneous to the speech time, which is The Present Progressive Tense; and the time which is posterior to the speech time, which is The Future Tense.

Aspect, on the other hand, gives information about the internal structure of events in terms of temporal characteristics such as duration, punctuality, completion iteration, inception and the like (Aksu-Koç 1988: 12; Richards, Plat and Plat 1992; Schaaik 2001: 64-67; Erguvanlı-Taylan, E. 2001: 98-99; Comrie 1976:3).

3.8.5.1 -DI

The inflection *-DI* indicates pastness of direct experience. It is used in statements expressing an event or situation that has been consciously experienced by the speaker (P-3.8.5.1.1). Whether *-DI* indicates aspect or tense greatly depends on the immediate context of the speech since there are no structural units in Turkish that mark aspect or tense to differentiate one from the other. In sample (P-3.8.5.1.1) the speaker might focus on the sequence of a

series of action such as putting the tings in the box, closing it and placing the box to its regular place. In this case the suffix *-DI* marks tense. When the focus of the speaker is on the completion of the act of putting the thing in the box but not on the relative priority or posteriority of the action, it marks aspect. Thus the context in which the suffix *-DI* is used is a strong determiner about its *tenseness* or *aspectness*.

(P-3.8.5.1.1)

Bu -nu kutu -ya koy **-du** -m.

This-ACC. box-DAT. put-PAST-1sg.

'I put this in the box. (Aksu-Koç 1988b: 80)'

3.8.5.2 *-mİş*

Usually, *-mİş* is used for description of a stative condition (P-3.8.5.2.1), whereas *-DI* is used for reference to a dynamic state (P-3.8.5.2.2) (Verhoeven 1991 ;126.)

(P-3.8.5.2.1)

Her taraf pis ol-**muş**.

every side dirty become-REP:PAST

'Everywhere got dirty.' (Verhoeven 1991)

(P-3.8.5.2.2)

Bak uçağa bin-**di**.

look-IMP plane-DAT board-PAST

'Look it got into the plane' (Verhoeven 1991)

-mİş is used to indicate the temporality of an event which took place in past with reference to the speech time and which is reported to the narrator by a third party (Underhill 2001:168); or an event which is realized by the narrator at a later time with reference to its occurrence time; a process no phase of which has been available to the speaker's consciousness (Aksu-Koç 1988b: 23; Mörer 1975:124). In general terms, *-mİş* indicates the speaker's remoteness to the event/state both on the time line Reichenbach (1946: 291), and in mental and psychological mood (Zeyrek 1994).

As for the discourse function of the suffix, which concerns us most in this study, Aksu-Koç (1988b:25) maintains that *-mİş* provides a narrative frame for very special kind of events which belong to the domain of non-actual and for which one is always in an unprepared state of mind. Zeyrek (1991) argues that the frequency of *-mİş* in narratives has to do with its "dubitative" and/or "evidential/inferential" use in the language.

The following examples illustrate different usages of *-miş*. It should be noted that the prominent function of *-miş* is difficult to identify in isolation and it largely depends on the co-text / context.

Quotative, evidential, dubitative or hearsay:

(P-3.8.5.2.3)
Halil biz -i saat altı -ya kadar bekle **-miş**.
Halil we-ACC o'clock six-DAT until wait-NARR.PAST.
'Halil waited for us until six o'clock.'

Evidential or late realization

(P-3.8.5.2.4)
Vapur gel **-miş**.
Ferry come-NARR.-PAST
'The ferry came'
(Mörner 1975)

3.8.5.3 **-(I)yor**

The suffix *-(I)yor*, when attached to nonstative (dynamic) verbs, such as 'walk', is used when describing an ongoing action in interpersonal language, an action which will take place soon (Ruhi 1982:116) or an action which is performed regularly (Underhill 2001: 111). Bonomi (1997) studied how progressive marker encodes the truth value of an event in different contexts and argued that progressive marker's encoding the truth value is not absolute but relative to the context in which it occurs. The verb marker *-(I)yor* is said to have more aspectual interpretation than the interpretation of tense (Aksu-Koç 1988b:70; Kornfilt 1997:365).

Since encoding progressive characteristics of an action is its distinctive feature, this suffix is generally referred to as progressive marker. When it is appended to a stative verb, such as 'know', it indicates the state of the subject of the verb (P-3.8.5.3.1 and P-3.8.5.3.2).

(P-3.8.5.3.1)
Hasan çay -ın -i iç **-iyor**.
Hasan tea-3.sg.-ACC drink- PR PROG.
'Hasan is drinking tea.'
(Kornfilt 1997:357)

(P-3.8.5.3.2)
Hasan sorun -u anlı **-yor**.
Hasan problem-ACC understand PR PROG.
Hasan understands the problem.
(Kornfilt 1997:357)

Kornfilt (1997:358) states that another way of expressing the progressive aspect is by using a copular construction that takes as complement of the copula the infinitive of the main verb in the locative case:

(P-3.8.5.3.3)
(ben) çay –ım -ı iç –mek –te -yim.
I tea 1.sg-ACC drink-INF -LOC –1sg.
I am drinking my tea.
(Kornfilt 1997:358)

3.8.5.4 -(A)r

The suffix *-(A)r* functions as a marker of aorist (Lewis 1991:64) when attached to verbs and expresses habitual actions and statements that are considered to be always true (Kornfilt 1997:336; Underhill 2001:147; Mörer 1975: 119, modality, aspect (Subaşı-Uzun & Emeksiz, in print), future and narrative past according to the context in which it occurs and the perspective the hearer/reader takes to interpret the suffix in that context. Since our interest on the suffix in this study is limited to its temporal organizational function in narratives, we will only mention its usage as a temporal marker.

Different usages of the suffix are as follows:

Habitual aspect:

(P-3.8.5.4.1)
Hasan her sabah kahvaltı ed -er.
Hasan every morning breakfast do-AOR.
'Hasan has breakfast every morning.
(Kornfilt 1997:336)

Narrative:

(P-3.8.5.4.2)
Vakit gece -nin yarı -sı. Kurt gel -ir
Time night -POSS mid -GEN Wolf come -AOR
ve kapı -yı çal -ar.
and door -ACC knock -AOR.
It is midnight. The wolf comes and knocks at he the door.
(Kornfilt 1997:336)

Modality:

(P-3.8.5.4.3)
Hava yağ -ma -ya başla -dı. Tarla -ya
Weather rain -NOM -DAT start -PAST field -DAT
gid -en -ler bir -az sonra gel -ir.
go -NOM-PL.one little later come -AOR.
It started to rain. Those who went to the fields come sometime later.
(Kornfilt 1997:336)

The *-Ar* suffix in (P-3.8.5.4.3) encodes modality and indicates that the workers who went to the fields “will” come.

3.8.5.5 *-(y)AcAk*

Along with its epistemologic and deontic modality function (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1988: 342; Verhoeven 1991:12; Aksu-Koç 1988b:199), the suffix *-(y)AcAk* expresses an action that will occur in the future with respect to the moment of utterance and/or to the time of the action indicated by the main verb (Özsoy 1999).

(P-3.8.5.5.1)

Yarın san -a uğra *-yacağ* -ım.
tomorrow you-DAT drop by -FUT 1sg.
'Tomorrow I will drop by at your place.'
(Kornfilt 1997:341)

3.8.6 Complex verb markers

Complex verb markers are those which are constructed by the combination of two different verb markers. The composite markers analyzed below do not function in the same way as any of the composing elements would do individually. Kornfilt (1997) names them as “Relative tenses” as follows:

There are relative tenses, which are relative to a point in the past. These are morphologically complex tenses, constructed by stringing suffixes to one another. (p.339)

3.8.6.1 *-mİştİ*

Structurally, *-mİştİ* is constructed by the combination of the suffix *-mİş* and the clitic *İdİ*, however it functions differently from both *-mİş* and *İdİ*. Functionally, the combined suffix *-mİştİ* is used to mark the priority of one event over the other or the simultaneity of the two events on the time axis; the suffix *-mİş* has nothing of the inferential quality of *-mİş* (Lewis 1991:92). Its function is similar to that of the Past Perfect Tense in English.

(P-3.8.6.1.1)

Ev -i yirmi yıl önce al *-mİş* -lar *-dİ*,
House-ACC twenty year before buy- *mİş*-PLUR-PAST)
dün sat -tı -lar.
yesterday sell-PAST-PLUR.
They bought the house twenty years ago, they sold it yesterday.
(Lewis 1991:92)

3.8.6.2 –(I)yordu

The suffix *–(I)yordu*, which is constructed by the combination of the progressive inflection *–(I)yor* and the clitic *idi*, refers to a past progressive action which is in progress relative to another temporal point in the past which may either be progressive or non-progressive.

From the point of view of perspective taking, the complex marker *–(I)yordu* proximates the speaker to the event/state s/he talks about as opposed to the distancing function of *–mİştİ*.

In narrative discourse, past progressive marker is used, globally, to create the background of a narrative text against which the temporal events of the narrative are foregrounded (Ehrlich 1987).

(P-3.8.6.2.1)

Dün saat beş -te Hasan kahve iç **–iyor -du**.

Yesterday o'clock five-ABL [LOC] Hasan coffee drink-PROG.-PAST.

'Yesterday at five o'clock, Hasan was drinking coffee.'

(Kornfilt 1997:340)

3.9 Narrative elements

Since our major aim in this study is to analyze how children use temporal elements in the macro-organization of a narrative, it is essential, first of all, to define the story elements which constitute the macro structure of a narrative.

The definitions provided here are intended to provide the reader with a framework of a well-formed narrative, which was defined by Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972).

3.9.1 Abstract

Labov (1972:363) defined *abstract* as one or two clauses which summarize the whole story and encapsulate the point of the story. In essence, it briefly informs the listener of what is to come (Peterson and McCabe 1991:41). The occurrence of an abstract with an ongoing dialogue can also function as a speech act seeking permission to narrate (Romaine 1985).

Example:

(P-3.9.1.1)

(As an answer to the question of the researcher)

a Well, one was with a girl. (To mean "Once I had a fight with a girl)

(Romaine 1985)

3.9.2 Orientation

Orientation is a part of a narrative that functions to orient the audience in respect to person, place, time and behavioral situation (Labov and Waletzky 1967). It is the opening of a story

which typically relates to the state of affairs prior to the onset of the plot (Berman 2001:1). In the orientation part, the narrator constructs the *setting* in which characters and some initial events that take place before the acts begin are introduced. Menig-Peterson and McCabe (1978) have asserted that to fully orient a listener, a narrative must answer the questions of who the participants are, where the events occur, what props are involved, when the events take place, how- that is, the sequence of the actions that constituted the events- and why the events occur.

Example:

- (P-3.9.2.1)
- b Like I was a kid you know
 - c and she was the baddest girl , the baddest girl in the neighborhood.
 - d If you didn't bring her candy to school, she would punch you in the mouth;
 - e and you had to kiss her when she'd tell you.
 - f the girl was only about 12 years old, man,
 - g but she was a killer.
 - h she didn't take no junk;
 - i she whupped all her brothers.
- (Labov 1972:364)

In this extract, clause (b) sets the time and person (I was a kid); clause (c) the rival (she); (c) and (d) the place (school environment) (d) and (e) the problem (if you didn't bring her candy; you had to kiss her when she'd tell you). The clauses (f), (g), (h) and (i) set further details about the rival.

In this study *Orientation* refers to two different parts of story. First it refers to the *Orientation* section of the story in its macro-structure; and second, to the orientative part of each attempt to resolve the Complicating Action section of story.

3.9.3 Complicating action

The main body of narrative clauses usually comprises a series of events (cf. P-3.9.3.1). Labov (1972) calls these series of events complicating action, which we call 'Global Complicating Action' in this study to differentiate it from the complicating action of each episode, which we call local complicating action, that it contains. In other words, the complicating action is composed of many episodes each of which contributes to the development or the resolution of the main problem which the protagonist attempts to resolve. Thus, each of these episodes is autonomous within themselves but are dependant on the main problem which the protagonist attempts to resolve within the whole of the

narrative text. Each of these episodes has its own complicating action and resolution parts. The complicating action of each episode is called *local complicating action* as opposed to the main problem to be solved, which is called *global complicating action*. In this section of the story, the events that cause the problem to be solved, the preparatory conditions which cause the involvement of the protagonist in the events start; the problem is introduced; the series of acts to resolve the complicating action take place; obstacles are met and overcome; and signs which imply that the protagonist and her/his/its supporters are getting closer and closer to the resolution are revealed. The order of these section internal elements may not always occur in the same order in all well formed complicating action sections.

(P-3.9.3.1)

j and I came to school one day
k and I didn't have no money
l my ma wouldn't give me no money
m and I played hookies one day
n (she) put something on me
o I played hookies, man
p so I said, you know, I'm not gonna play hookies no more 'cause I
don't wanna get a whupping.
q so I go to school
r and this girl says, "Where's the candy?"
s I said, you know, I don't have it."
t she says, powww!
u so I says to myself, "There's gonna be times my mother won't give
me money because (we're) a poor family
v and I can't take this all, you know, every time she don't give me
any money."
w So I say, "Well, I just gotta fight this girl.
x she gonna hafta whup me.
y I hope she don't whup me"
z and I hit the girl:powwww!
aa and I put something on it.

(Labov 1972)

The complicating action in P-3.9.3.1 begins with the clause (j) and a state (clause (k)) develops it. A complicating action may contain many episodes, which we will call 'Episodic Complicating Action' in this study, each of which introduces either a new event/state or a more developed part of previously introduced events/states and some of these episodes may be attempts to resolve the complicating action. In P-3.9.3.1, clauses from (m) to (q) make up a separate episode that has been inserted in the plotline for pragmatic and discourse purposes. The episode starts with the clause *j* actually, continues with the clause *r*.

Complicating Action (henceforth *CA*) refers to two different parts of story in this study. First, it refers to the Complicating Action section of the story in its macro-structure; and the complicating action part of each attempt to resolve the global Complicating Action

3.9.4 Evaluation

Evaluation is defined, by Labov & Waletzky (1967), as that part of the narrative which reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others.

Labov (1972) emphasizes the importance of *evaluation* because he considers it to be the reason why the narrated text exists. Any talented narrator sustains the evaluative mood throughout the narrative lest the audience should ask the question “So what?” at the end of the act of narration. Whether the narrator achieves his/her goal by narrating depends largely on the management of the evaluative devices. Labov explains *Evaluation* as follows:

‘the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its *raison d’être*: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at. There are many ways to tell the same story, to make very different points, or to make no point at all.
(Labov 1972:366)

It should be noted that *evaluation* does not always occur as a unit of clauses at a certain part of a story. It may be absorbed in the form of merged clauses by all other parts of a narrative. Thus any clause, at any part of a narrative, which signals tacit explanations to audience why the narrator is narrating that particular event is counted to be evaluation. Labov (*ibid*) defined four kinds of evaluation, which are, *external evaluation*, *embedded evaluation*, *evaluative action*, and *evaluation by suspension of the action*.

External evaluation: The narrator can stop the narrative, turn to the listener, tell him what the point is.

Embedded evaluation: There are different options to embed the evaluation into the text. From structural point of view, embedded evaluations rely upon derivations from the simple syntactic structure typical of a narrative clause (Schiffrin 1994:11).

One way of embedding the evaluation is the narrator’s quoting her/his sentiments rather than addressing them to the audience. Labov’s example for this type of evaluation is as follows:

(P-3.9.4.1)

- a so I says to myself, “There’s gonna be times my mother won’t give me money because (we’re) a poor family
- b and I can’t take this all, you know, every time she don’t give me any money.”

Another way of providing embedded evaluation is the narrator’s quoting himself as addressing someone else.

A third way of embedding evaluation is to introduce a third person who evaluates the antagonist’s actions for the narrator. Labov (1972) stated that this strategy of embedding evaluation is usually used by older and quite skillful narrators.

Evaluative action: Dramatizing what people did rather than what they said is another way of providing evaluation and this way is called evaluative action (Labov 1972).

Evaluating by suspension of the action: While narrating an emotive event or state, the narrator stops at one point and calls attention of the audience to that part. Such a break in the flow of the narration creates evaluative effect. This way of providing evaluation requires discourse and narrative skills at high degrees thus it emerges rarely in young children’s stories.

Bamberg (1997b: 92) documented that, structurally, evaluative parts of narratives often consist of stative predicates, often referring to thoughts or feelings, and sometimes at a more fine-grained level of analysis, a tense switch from the simple past to the progressive or to a simple present tense.

3.9.5 Resolution

The resolution of a narrative is that portion of the narrative sequence which signals to the audience that the complicating action has been resolved.

(P-3.9.5.1)

- a and I hit the girl: powwww!
- b and I put something on it.

Resolution refers to two different parts of story in this study. First, it refers to the section where the global *CA* is resolved within the macro-structure of the story, as it is defined

above; and second it refers to the resolution of the complicating action of each attempt to resolve the global *CA*.

3.9.6 Coda

Coda is a linguistic utterance that declares the end of the narrative which is, at the same time, a functional device for getting out of the narrative discourse and joining the discourse of present time.

(P-3.9.6.1)
I win the fight.

Coda usually emerges in three different forms: *Overt Coda*, which states explicitly that the story is over, such as ‘That’s all; Finished; It’s over; This is the end of the story’ etc.; *Coda implied through gestures*, which refers to the narrator’s use of gestures such as stopping the narration and looking at the face of the audience or using hands along with facial expressions to imply that the story is over; and *Coda implied through linguistic means*, such as stating that the protagonist and her/his supporters leave the location where the *CA* is resolved (usually starting with ‘then’, ‘and’, ‘after that’ or ‘and then’: e.g And the boy and the dog went back home with their frog.), or summarizing the whole life of the protagonist and her/his supporters after the resolution, such as ‘They lived happily ever after’ or ‘He killed all the villains’ which sometimes turns out to be a moral, such as ‘She never spoke to a stranger any more’.

If the narrator stops at such a point as in the example P-3.9.6.1, the last clause the narrator utters is considered as a linguistically implied ‘coda’.

3.10 Components of story units

The next chapter (Chapter IV) analyzes data in order to identify the emergence of story units relative to age. Before the analysis of the emergence of each story unit relative to age, providing a framework for the internal structures, that is, the components that make up a story unit is useful so that the reader can have a criterion to compare the storyness of the narrative samples that are elicited from informants and so that they can have a detailed picture of what a story is in Labovian terms.

Since the function of each story unit within the macrostructure of a story has already been reviewed in Section 3.9, their function is not discussed again. Instead, their internal components are listed.

Components of:

Abstract

- One or two-sentence-long summary of the story to be told.

Orientation

- The **time** which constitutes a background to story characters and their initial state,
- The **location** which accommodates the story characters in the mentioned time,
- The **story characters** introduced with an overt or covert indefinite article,
- Introduction of the **attributes** of the character(s),
- The **web of relationships** between the story characters,
- The introduction of the **problem**,

Global Complicating Action (CA)

- Activation of the problem mentioned in the *Orientation* or emergence of a new problem,
- **Protagonist's awareness** of the problem
- Protagonist's **internal reaction** towards the problematic change which motivates her/him to take action to resolve the problem,
- Protagonist's declaration that s/he will take action to resolve the problem,
- Protagonist's taking action to resolve the CA.
 - o **Attempts to resolve the CA (ARCA) (Components of an average ARCA)**
 - *Orientation* of the first ARCA
 - Plan to start the ARCA
 - Protagonist's encounter with the problem
 - CA of the first ARCA
 - A series of events which protagonist takes or undergoes to resolve the CA of the ARCA.
 - Obstacles, which prevent the protagonist from achieving his goal.
 - Resolution of ARCA
 - Success of the first ARCA: If the first ARCA is successful the Resolution part of the first ARCA turns out to be the Resolution of the global CA, which leads the emergence of *Coda*.
 - Failure of the first ARCA: If the first ARCA is unsuccessful, the protagonist takes a series of attempts until a resolution is obtained and the resolution of the last attempt turns out to be the *Resolution* of the global CA.

Global Resolution

- The declaration of the resolution of the problem,
- **Reaction** of the protagonist towards her/his own victory,
- Celebrations

Evaluation

- Explanation for the existence of the story or a part of the story.

Coda

- Declaration of the end of the story either explicitly or implicitly through either linguistic or gestural means.

It should be noted that even stories obtained from adults might not contain all of the components we have listed above. A component that is present in a narrator's story may not be present in another narrator's story within the same age group. Some of the components in this list are those that might possibly emerge in adult stories, which are considered to be a touchstone to measure the storyness of the narratives produced by children and 13-year-olds.

CHAPTER IV

AGE AND THE EMERGENCE OF STORY UNITS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter studies the relationship between the age of the narrators and the quality of the narratives they produce on the basis of Labov's (1972) understanding of a well-formed story.

In this chapter, the statistical and qualitative differences in the emergence of *Orientation* relative to age will be documented. How younger children and older ones differ in the perspective taking for the frog's getting out of the jar and the consequences of this perspective taking both in the maintenance and resolution of *Complicating Action* and how children and adults differ in creating a *Resolution* will be analyzed. Types and the frequency of *Coda* produced by different age groups will be discussed and tabulated.

The numerical values of the emergence of each story unit relative to age are provided with tables and charts at the beginning of each section. The following table, which includes the frequencies of the emergence of all of the story units relative to age groups, is given so that the reader can have an overview of the values. The values presented in Table 4.0.1 are the percentile forms of the actual occurrences of the story units relative to age.

Table 4.0.1 The emergence of story units relative to age.

Age	Abstract	<i>Orientation</i>	CA	Resolution	Reaction	Evaluation	Coda
3	0	21,4	28,5	28,5	7,14	0	71,4
4	0	14,3	14	28,5	0	0	85,7
5	0	57,1	100	100	0	0	92,8
6	0	50,0	100	100	14,2	0	100
7	0	64,3	100	92,8	28,5	0	85,7
8	0	64,3	100	100	57,1	0	92,8
9	0	78,6	100	100	42,8	0	100
13	0	85,7	100	100	42,8	0	100
Adult	0	92,9	100	100	78,5	0	88,8
Mean	0,00	58,73	82,54	83,33	30,16	0,00	90,83
SD	0,00	26,91	34,83	31,13	27,38	0,00	9,31

While the qualitative analyses are given under each section that refers to the emergence of each story unit within this chapter, a general picture of the quantitative change in the emergence of story units and the components that make up each story unit relative to age is presented in Table 4.0.2.

Table 4.0.2 The emergence of story units and the components that make up each story unit relative to age.

	NONE OF THE INFORMANTS PRODUCED AN <u>ABSTRACT</u>
Age	ORIENTATION
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Only 21,4% of them produce an <i>Orientation</i>. - Although most of the 3-year-olds provide orientative information about the characters, who are available to their perception at the time of narration, only one of them (7.1%) provides information about the time of the story. None of them create a spatial background for the events/states and the characters. - Story sections are difficult to discern. - The boy , the dog and the frog are presented as individual entities without having any relation.
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 14,3% of them produce an <i>Orientation</i>. - While all of the 4-year-olds mention the characters in the <i>Orientation</i>, only four of them (28.5%) inform about time of the story, by mentioning that it is night. Two of the 4-year-olds (14.2%) produce information about the place of the story. - Story sections are more discernable compared to those of 3-year-olds. - None of the 4-year-olds produced a web of relations between the characters explicitly. Only one of the 4-year-olds (7.1%) implied that the boy, the dog and the frog make up a group.

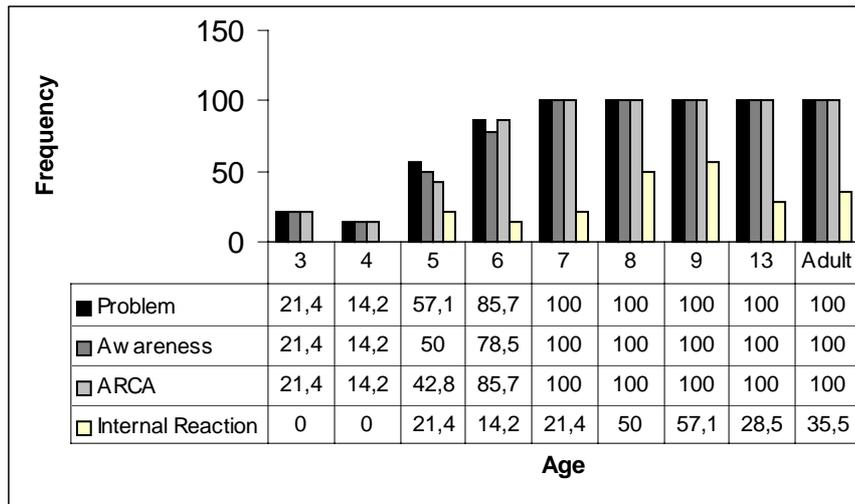
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 57.1% of the 5-year-olds produce an orientation. - All of them mention the characters. While four of them (28.5%) inform about the time of the story, three of them (21.4%) provide information about the place, which accommodates the story characters and story events. - Only one of the 5-year-olds (7.1%) sets an explicit web of relations between the story characters in the orientation section.
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 50% of the 6-year-olds produce an orientation. - All of the 6-year-olds inform the audience about the characters. While three of them (21.4%) create a temporal background for the characters and story events, three of them (21.4%) provide spatial information with the audience. - Four of the 6-year-olds (28.5%) mention the relationship between the characters.
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 64.3% of the 7-year-olds produce an orientation. - All of the participants inform the audience about the story characters. While seven of the 14 informants (50%) mention time, six of them (42.8%) provide spatial information with the audience in the <i>Orientation</i> section. - Nine of the 7-year-olds (64.2%) set relationships between the characters.
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 64.3% of the 8-year-old produce an <i>Orientation</i>; a value that is equal to that of 7-year-olds. - All of the 8-year-olds produce information related to the story characters. While 11 of the 8-year-olds (78.5%) produce information related to time, 7 of them (50%) mention the place that constitutes a

	<p>background for the characters and story events.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 13 children (92.8%) set relations between the story characters. 																																								
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 78.6% of the 9-year-olds produce an orientation. - All of them produce information related to story characters. 6 of the 9-year-olds (42.8%) produce information related to time while 5 of them (35.7%) mention the place in which the story characters are situated. - 10 of them (71.4%) set relations between the story characters. 																																								
13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 85.7% of the 13-year-olds produce an <i>Orientation</i>. - All of them mention the characters in the story. 8 of them (57.1%) inform the audience about the time of the story while 10 informants (71.4%) provide spatial information. - 11 of the informants (78.5%) set a web of relations among the story characters. 																																								
Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 92.9% of the adults produce an orientation. - While 8 of the adults (57.1%) produce information about the time of the story, only 4 of them (28.5%) inform the audience about the place where the characters are situated and events take place. - 11 of them (78.5%) set a relationship between the story characters. 																																								
	<p>Chart 4.0.2:a The emergence of the components of <i>Orientation</i> section relative to age.</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>3</th> <th>4</th> <th>5</th> <th>6</th> <th>7</th> <th>8</th> <th>9</th> <th>13</th> <th>Adult</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>■ Time</td> <td>21,4</td> <td>28,5</td> <td>28,5</td> <td>21,4</td> <td>50</td> <td>78,5</td> <td>42,8</td> <td>57,1</td> <td>57,1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>□ Location</td> <td>0</td> <td>14,2</td> <td>21,4</td> <td>21,4</td> <td>42,8</td> <td>50</td> <td>35,7</td> <td>71,4</td> <td>28,5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>▒ Relation betw. Characters</td> <td>0</td> <td>7,1</td> <td>7,1</td> <td>28,5</td> <td>64,2</td> <td>92,8</td> <td>71,4</td> <td>78,5</td> <td>78,5</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	13	Adult	■ Time	21,4	28,5	28,5	21,4	50	78,5	42,8	57,1	57,1	□ Location	0	14,2	21,4	21,4	42,8	50	35,7	71,4	28,5	▒ Relation betw. Characters	0	7,1	7,1	28,5	64,2	92,8	71,4	78,5	78,5
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	13	Adult																																
■ Time	21,4	28,5	28,5	21,4	50	78,5	42,8	57,1	57,1																																
□ Location	0	14,2	21,4	21,4	42,8	50	35,7	71,4	28,5																																
▒ Relation betw. Characters	0	7,1	7,1	28,5	64,2	92,8	71,4	78,5	78,5																																

Age	COMPLICATING ACTION
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 21.4% of the 3-year-olds produce a CA and these informants integrate CA with the first ARCA. - All of the 3-year-olds who produce a CA state the awareness of the protagonists about the loss of the frog, which constitutes the problem on which the CA is developed. - None of the 3-year-olds state the internal reaction of the protagonist to the problem.
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 14.2% of the 4-year-olds produce a CA and an attempt to resolve the CA. - All of the 4-year-olds who produce a CA mention the awareness of the protagonists about the problem, which is the loss of the frog in the frog story. - None of the 4-year-olds inform the reader about the internal reaction of the protagonists to the problem.
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - While 57.1% of the 5-year-olds produce a CA, and thus the problem, 50% of them mention the awareness of the protagonists about the problem explicitly. 42.8% of 5-year-olds produce an attempt to resolve the CA. - 21.4% of 5-year-olds state the internal reaction of the protagonists explicitly. - One of the 5-year-olds mentions the declaration of the protagonist that he will take action to resolve the problem, and this informant is the only one within all of the age groups who mentions the declaration.
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 85.7% of the 6-year-olds produce a CA. The proportion of 6-year-olds who explicitly state the awareness of the protagonists about the problem is 78.5%. - All of the 6-year-olds who are aware of the problem produce an attempt to resolve the CA.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 14.2% of the 6-year-olds mention the internal reaction of the protagonist to the problem.
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All of the 7-year-olds produce a CA and attempts to resolve the CA. All of them state explicitly that the protagonists are aware of the problem. - All of the 7-year-olds produce attempts to resolve the CA. - 21.4% of the 7-year-olds mention the internal reaction of the protagonists.
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All of the 8-year-olds produce a CA. They all mention the awareness of the protagonists about the problem and they produce attempts to resolve the CA. - 50% of them mention the internal reaction of the protagonists to the problem.
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All of the 9-year-olds produce a CA. They all mention the awareness of the protagonists about the problem and they all produce attempts to resolve the CA. - 57.1% of them state the internal reaction of the protagonists to the problem.
13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All of the 13-year-olds produce a CA. They all mention the awareness of the protagonists about the problem and they all produce attempts to resolve the CA. - 28.5% of the 13-year-olds mention the internal reaction of the protagonists to the problem.
Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All of the adults produce a CA. All of them state the awareness of the protagonists about the problem and produce attempts to resolve the CA. - 35.5% of them mention the internal reaction of the protagonists to the problem.

Chart 4.0.2b: The emergence of the components of CA relative to age.



RESOLUTION

- 28.6% of 3-and 4-year-olds produce a Resolution. All of these informants mention explicitly that the lost frog is found by the dog and the boy in the resolution section. While the proportion of the production of a Resolution is 50% at the age of 5, all of the older ages, including adults, produce a Resolution section.

All age groups

- While one of the 3-year-olds narrate the reaction of the protagonists upon the resolution, none of the 4- and 5-year-olds produce any clauses that refer to the reaction of the protagonists. The frequency of the emergence of reaction shows a developmental increase. While 6-year-olds produce 14.2% clauses that refer to the reaction of the protagonists, the frequency reaches to 78.5% in adults, though the increase in the emergence of reaction is rather fluctuating; it is incremental in 7- and 8-year-olds, 28.5% and 57.1% respectively, but it decreases to 42.8% in both 8-and 9-year-olds.

3.3 Age and the production of the story unit *abstract*

It has been observed that none of the informants, including adults, start the story based on the picture book *Frog, where are you?* with an abstract. The reason for this is, greatly, the context in which the story is narrated and the reason why the story is told. First of all, the *raison d'être* for abstract is to provide the audience with a very brief summary of the story in order to obtain the confirmation from the audience that the story is worth telling and it is not the one which the audience already knows as well as to declare that the ground is the narrator's until s/he signals that the story is over. In the case of our data collection, the narrators did not need to obtain such a permission to hold the ground and to have the audience confirm the narratability of the story since it is the audience (the researcher) who, beforehand, granted the necessary permission and the ground to the narrator to tell the story. Furthermore, narrators were 'requested' to tell a particular story in a particular context chosen by the researcher. In Labov's case, the informants had their free-will about which story they choose to tell because they were given the instruction, which is used as a stimulus to produce a narrative, "Were you ever in a situation where you were in serious danger of being killed?" (Labov 1972:363). Rather than 'allowing', such an instruction 'necessitates' the production of an *abstract* because the narrator has to choose a story which must be the most narratable from the point of view of the audience. The narrator wants to know whether the one s/he chooses to tell would really be of use to the researcher, who occupies the place of audience in that context.

When similar instructions to those of Labov are given even to young children, they attempt to produce an *Abstract*. Some of the 4-year-olds who were given the instruction "Could you tell us one more story?" after they had finished telling the frog story, started the story with an *Abstract*.

- (P-4.1.1)
- a (Res)* bize bir tane daha öykü anlatabilir misin?
(Could you tell us one more story?)
- b (CHILD)* anne bir gezmeye gitmişti
'The mother had gone for a walk'
- c* çocukları bir tane vahşi şey vardı
the children ... there was a wild thing
- d* hayvan
animal
- e* onları yemişti
(It) had eaten them
- f* şeyleri ... şeyleri .. çocukları (4:02)
Um ... um ... the children

Though the 4-year-old informant above does not provide an abstract in his frog story, he *does* produce one when the instruction and some other features of the context in which the narrative is produced change. First of all, the child is given the chance to choose one of the stories he knows; then, unlike the context of the narration of the frog story, the new story is no more to be told in a joint attention context. Thus, the child feels that he has to test whether the story he chooses to tell is already known by the hearer; or whether it is worth telling from the point of view of the audience; or whether the audience give him the ground to tell that particular story.

It can be concluded that the lack of the story unit *abstract* in the frog stories elicited from the participants of the present study does not necessarily mean that these participants are incompetent to produce stories which include all of the story elements that are defined by Labov (1972). The context in which the story is told and the reason why the narrator tells a story, along with other occasional reasons, seem to be strong determinants in the emergence or ignorance of the story unit *abstract*.

4.2 The emergence and quality of *orientation*

Orientative information produced by the narrator has a great influence on the quality of *CA* and thus on the whole of the story since the audience need orientative information to construct a network of relations between/among the characters in a defined spatio-temporal location to construct and maintain a coherent plot throughout the act of story telling. The provision of orientative information shows significant variance relative to the age of the narrator. At the outset of this section we provide general information about the characteristics of different age groups in the production of orientative information so that the reader should keep these age related characteristics in mind while they read the detailed analyses provided throughout the section. No samples are provided while mentioning the quantitative and qualitative values in this introductory part of the section since necessary samples are provided while we present detailed analyses of the emergence of orientative information relative to age.

While a great majority of 3- and 4-year-olds produce narratives which reflect that children at these ages possess the notion of “telling a story”, they cannot realize this notion in the sense that they do not produce stories that are constructed along a coherent plotline and whose units are discernable. Thus, it is impossible, within the limits and scope of this dissertation, to make generalizations about the development of the production of orientative information

in narratives by 3- and 4-year-olds, though, compared to 3-year-olds, 4-year-olds tend to construct more discernable episodes which cannot be considered as story units.

More than half of 5-year-olds and half of 6-year-olds produce *Orientation* sections. However their *Orientation* sections are not mature enough to include the components of an *Orientation* section such as time, location and a network of relationships between/among the story characters. They do not show a general tendency in foregrounding the boy or the dog as the protagonist of the story and their *Orientation* sections are not enclosed by a framework to constitute a background against which *CA* can be foregrounded.

The majority of the 7-year-olds produce the components that make up an *Orientation* section and the provision of these components increase in frequency without changing in nature. This shows that the age of 7, which is defined as the age of 'connections' by Piaget (in Kessen 1983), is a turning point in narrative development since the components that are in the form of *notion* in 5- and 6-year-olds are *realized* in 7-year-olds.

The age of 8 is different in the frequency of the production of *Orientation* and the components of the *Orientation* section from both younger and older ages. The quality of the *Orientation* section produced by 8-year-olds is similar to that of adults with respect to distancing the story time from the time of the narration. However the *Orientation* sections they produce do not constitute a background for the *CA* as it does in those of adults.

9-year-olds produce similar frequency values to those of 6- and 7-year-olds in the production of orientative information. Interestingly, they fall behind 6-, 7- and 8-year-olds in distancing the story time from the time of the narration. Their *Orientation* sections do not constitute a background for the *CA*. Unlike 7- and 8-year-olds, 9-year-olds are consistent in foregrounding the boy, with a frequency of 71.1%, as the protagonist of the story.

Within all age groups that are included in this study, 13-year-olds are the least homogeneous group in the sense that while they show the characteristics of younger ages in one aspect of narrative development, they may show the characteristics of adults in other one. 13-year-olds are like adults regarding the production of an *Orientation* section, the production of orientative components such as time, location and a network of relationship between/among the characters, and the consistency in foregrounding one of the characters as the protagonist of the story. However, they resemble children regarding to the organization of the orientative

information since they do not organize their *Orientation* sections in such a way as to create a background for the *CA*.

Along with providing answers to the basic questions that an orientation section should answer, adults construct orientation sections as a whole with its tense anchorage, cohesive devices, and all clues which announce the weight of each character in the progression of the *CA*. While 5- 6- 7- and 8-year-olds shift in foregrounding either the frog or the child in the orientative section, adults foreground the boy at the very outset to inform the audience that this boy is the one who will be the protagonist throughout the story. The most striking difference between adults and all other age groups regarding to the production of orientative information is that adults present orientative information in a framework which constitutes a background for the *CA* and the rest of the story.

A detailed analysis of what we summarized above is presented in the rest of this section.

As the Table 4.2.1 and Chart 4.2.1 show, informants from all ages produce *orientation*, though the frequency varies across ages. The proportion of the emergence of *Orientation* shows a gradual increase with increasing age. While 21.4% of the 3-year-olds produce orientation in their stories, the value of the proportion rises to 92.9 % in adults.

Although statistical values show that 4-year-olds produce fewer *Orientation* sections than 3-year-olds, (Table 4.2.1 and Chart 4.2.1), 4-year-olds' *Orientation* sections contain more components that an *Orientation* section is expected to have compared to those of 3-year-olds.

As the Table 4.0.2.a within the Table 4.0 shows, while none of the 3-year-olds produce clauses that refer to the location where the story events take place and to the relationship between/among story characters, 14.2% of the 4-year-olds refers to the location and 7.1% of them mention the relationship between the story characters.

The mention of the relationship between the characters in the *Orientation* section is significant from two perspectives: First, such kind of information helps the audience construct a mental scheme of the particular story that is to be told and this scheme helps them process the organization of the events relative to the characters in a more efficient way.

Table 4.2.1 The frequency of the emergence of *orientation* across ages.

The Emergence of Orientation	
Age	Orientation %
3	21,4
4	14,3
5	57,1
6	50,0
7	64,3
8	64,3
9	78,6
13	85,7
Adult	92,9

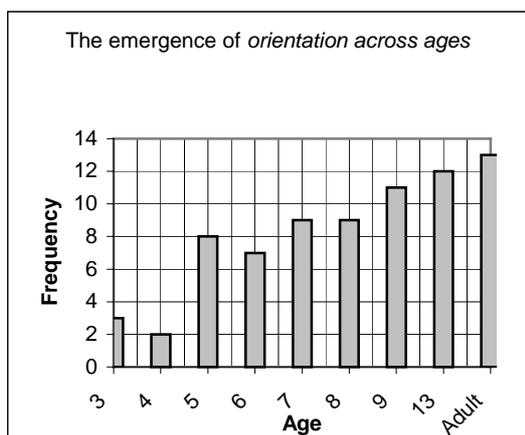


Chart 4.2.1: The frequency of the emergence of *orientation* across ages.

Second, a narrator's mentioning the relationship between the characters implies that the narrator is cognitively developed enough to detail the orientative information, which itself is the implication of the ability of a narrator's taking the audience's perspective into consideration. The production of the information related to the location of the story events (14.2%) supports our assumption that 4-year-olds seem to be more developed in the production of *Orientation* sections than 3-year-olds.

Our findings related to the emergence of the components of *Orientation* section may render some implications that the age of 4 might be the beginning of the production of narrative texts that are directed to the external world in the sense that, unlike younger ages, 4-year-olds might be using narrative genre for communicative purposes.

The sharpest increase in the emergence of orientative information, within all age groups, occurs in 5-year-olds. While 21.4% of the 3-year-olds and 14.3% of the 4-year-olds produce orientation, the proportion of the 5-year-olds who produce orientation is 57.1%, where the mean for all age groups is 58.7% and Std. deviation is 26.9. The identification of this increase may be considered as a supporting finding for those of previous studies (Labov and

Waletzky 1967; Menig-Peterson and McCabe 1978; Aksu-Koç 1988a; Peterson and McCabe 1994; Geist and Aldridge 2002), which state that the age of 5 is a turning point in narrative development in children because children, by getting rid of their egocentric way of perception and thinking with increasing age, begin to take the *other* into consideration and tailor their narratives according to the needs of the audience (cf. Menig-Peterson and McCabe 1978). The point that the age of 5 is a turning point in narrative development in children is shown statistically in Table 4.2.1. The difference between 3-year-olds and 5-year-olds (35.7) is bigger than the difference between 5-year-olds and adults (28.6).

Although the frequency of the *Orientation* that 5-year-olds produce is twice as high as those of younger ages, 5-year-olds still look like 3- and 4-year-olds with respect to the production of the components that make up an *Orientation* section. As Table 4.0.2.a shows, 28.5% of 5-year-olds mention time, 21.4% of them mention the location and 7.1% of them produce clauses that refer to the relationship between the characters of the story. These values are not so different from those of 4-year-olds.

As the Table 4.2.1 shows, 6-year-olds (50%) are not much different from 5-year-olds (57.1%) in the production of an *Orientation* section. The similarity is preserved in the production of the components that make up *Orientation* section as well. An observable difference between 5- and 6-year-olds with respect to the production of the components of *Orientation* is that 6-year-olds mention the relationship between the characters; a feature which implies that 6-year-olds' stories are more directed to the audience rather than being egocentric.

No quantitative increase is observed in the production of *orientation* between the ages of 7 and 8. While organizational skills in narrative production show a dramatic change at the age of 5 compared to younger ages, it seems that children experience a horizontal movement with respect to the production of *orientative information* during the ages of 7 (64.3%) and 8 (64.3%). This finding may render some clues about why scholars who study narrative development do not elaborate the ages of 7 and 8, and skip directly to the age of 9 (cf. Aksu-Koç 1988a).

The ages of 7 and 8 might be the period of transition from one developmental stage to the other, and thus may represent neither the stage the child is leaving behind nor the forthcoming one as far as the statistical values of the emergence of the *Orientation* is

concerned. Regarding to the production of an *Orientation*, the difference between 5-, 6-, 7- and 8-year-olds is not high although the values show an increase (from 57.1% to 64.3%) in 7- and 8-year-olds (see Table 4.2.1). However, the analysis of the internal structure of the *Orientation* section produced by these ages shows that there is a dramatic increase, which starts at the age of 7 and continues to increase at the age of 8 (see Chart 4.0.2a in Table 4.0.2). While the highest value related to the mention of time, location and the relation between the story characters is 28% in 5- and 6-year-olds, 50% of the 7-year-olds mention time; 42% of them mention location, where $M=31,7$ and $SD=21,2$; and 64.2% of them construct clauses that refer to the relationship between/among the story characters. These values increase in 8-year-olds to 78.5% in reference to time, 50% to location and 92.8% to the relationship between the story characters. As the chart 4.0.2.a in the Table 4.0.2 shows, 8-year-olds produce the highest values in the production of the components that make up an *Orientation*.

The frequency of the emergence of *Orientation* shows a very regular increase with increasing age and it emerges in 9- and 13-year-olds without showing a fluctuating value (78.6% and 85,7 respectively); that is the SD is low.

Unlike the increase in the production of *Orientation* with increasing age in 7- and 8-year-olds, the production of the components of *Orientation* section shows a relative decrease in 9-year-olds and tends to increase in 13-year-olds again. While 42,8% of the 9-year-olds refer to time of the story, 35.7% of them refer to location and 71.4% of them to the relationship between story characters.

Regarding their statistical values, 13-year-olds look more like adults than children in the production of the components of *Orientation*. 57.1% of the 13-year-olds refer to the time in which the story events and characters take place; 71.4% of them refer to location; and 78.5% of them refer to the relationship between/among the story characters.

Not surprisingly, adults yield the highest frequency in the emergence of *Orientation*, with a value of 92.9%. Since providing orientative information with the audience requires both cognitive (e.g. taking a perspective from point of view of the audience.) and discourse capacity (e.g. Creating a background against which all or parts of the events that direct the course of the act of narration are to be placed.), adults, who possess the mature form of those capacities, produce the highest value in the emergence of *Orientation* and thus they

constitute the normative group with respect to the emergence of *Orientation*, which is said to be one of the three fundamental sections of a story.

While adults render the highest frequency in the production of *Orientation* section as a whole unit (92.9%), the frequency values related to the production of the components of *Orientation* decreases. The proportion of the adults who mention the time in which the story events and characters take place is 57.1%; those who mention the location constitute 28.5%; and the proportion of those who construct clauses that refer to the relationship between/among the story characters is 78.5%.

When the related scenes in the picture book *Frog, where are you?* are concerned, one of the reasons why adults produce less information about the location of the characters and story events in the *Orientation* section may be the use of the gerundive suffix *-Erken* ‘while’ in *Orientation* by adults. It has been observed that adults use this suffix more frequently in *Orientation* section, with a relatively high frequency, (13.5%; M= 3.3 and SD= 4.3) than in *CA* (0.6%; M=1.4 and SD=1.2) and in *Resolution* (0.4%; M=0.4 and SD=0.6) while the distributional differences in the use of the suffix by other age groups are not so high (the second highest is 6.3% in 8-year-olds). Unlike younger ages, a great majority of adults embed the location into the verb *uyumak* ‘to sleep’, which is marked by the suffix *-Erken*, which encodes the simultaneity of two events (the sleeping of the boy and frog’s getting out of the jar’ in the picture book. That is, in that particular picture, children and 13-year-olds usually mention the location through finite clauses such as ‘çocuk ve köpek yataktalar (the boy and the dog are in the bed)’ or ‘çocuk yatakta köpek de onun üstünde (the boy is in the bed and the dog is on him)’ and they usually construct the first clause of *CA* as a full simple sentence such as ‘kurbağa da kavanozdan çıkmış ‘the frog got out of the jar’ etc. (see P-4.2.1 as a representative sample).

(P- 4.2.1)

- a* ama akşam
‘but it is evening’
- b* ay dede çıkmış
‘The moon came out’
- c* sonra çocuk yatağına girmiş
‘The child went into his bed’
- d* uyuyor
‘(He) is sleeping’
- e* köpeği de yatmış
‘And his dog went to bed, too.’
- f* üstünde uyuyor
‘(It) is sleeping on (him)’

- g* kurbağa bulunduğu kaptan çıkıyor
'The frog is getting out of the jar in which it was'
(Age 7:05)

The clause *c* that informs about the location, though it is too local to background the characters and events, should be placed in the global *Orientation* section because it is not conjoined with any device to the clause *g*, which constitutes the beginning of the global *CA*. However, 50% of adults combine the state of being in bed with the frog's getting out of the jar by constructing a nonfinite clause which includes the gerundive suffix *-Erken* and a finite clause which states the frog's getting out of the jar (see P-4.2.2 as a representative sample from adults).

(P-4.2.2)

- a* bir zamanlar ahmet adında bir çocuk varmış
'Once upon a time there was a child called ahmet'
b bu ahmetin kavanozunda bir kurbağası ve bir köpeği varmış
'This ahmet had a frog in his jar and a dog'
c köpeği kurbağasını kıskanmış sanki
'It seemed his dog was jealous of his frog'
d çünkü ahmet kurbağasını köpeğinden daha çok severmiş
'because ahmet loved his frog more than his dog'
e bir gün ahmet ve köpek yatakta uyurlarken
'One day, while the dog and Ahmet were sleeping in bed'
f kurbağa kavanozdan çıkıp kaçmış
'the frog ran away from the jar'

(Adult)

In the P-4.2.2, the clauses *a-d* constitute the global *Orientation*. The clause *e* cannot be included in the global *Orientation* because it is the orientation part of the global *CA* for two reasons: First, it starts with *bir gün*¹ 'one day' within the global time of the story *bir zamanlar* 'once upon a time', which is a strong clue about the transition from one story section to another, whose function is discussed in Chapter 6. Second, the clause *e* is a subordinate clause whose main clause (*f*) is the one which states the problem that constitutes the global *CA*. Thus the clause *e*, which accommodates the information related to the location of the characters, must be included in global *CA* rather than in global *Orientation*. The reason why *kavanoz* 'the jar' in clause *b* is not taken as the location is that its function to be the location of the events is cancelled with the introduction of *yatak* 'the bed' which connotes a *bed room* which has the potential to contain both the mentioned bed and the jar.

¹ Although the use of the transitional marker 'bir + a period of time', such as *bir gün/akşam* etc., is not present in all of the narratives of the adults who delay the mentioning of the location to the *CA*, it is observed in the narratives of 5 informants out of 7, which is quite a high frequency (71.4%) to make generalizations.

To conclude, since adults delay the mentioning of the location of the characters and story events. (Albeit implicitly as embedded in the verb *uyumak* ‘sleep’ marked with gerundive suffix *-Erken*) until the first clause of the orientation section of the global *CA*, which is subordinate to the clause which states the problem of the global *CA*, they misleadingly seem that they produce less orientative information related to the location of the story characters and story events. The analysis provided above shows that adults provide more orientative information related to location than younger ages.

The orientation part of a story must answer such basic questions as ‘where’, ‘when’ and ‘who’ in the mind of the audience, and there must be a relational organization among the *time*, *place* and the *characters*. Another function of the *Orientation* section is to establish the spatio-temporal location of the characters and events/states which those characters experience relative to the time of the narration and the audience who are present at the time and place of the narration.

The quantitative analysis of the data yielded results that demonstrate whether certain story units emerge with different frequencies relative to age. As for the quality of the *orientative information* children provide, a close analysis shows that the quantitative increase in the emergence of the components that make up a story unit with increasing age is consistent with the increase in quality. That is, it is observed that the texts informants produce gain more characteristics which determine the quality of a story as the age of the narrator increases. It should be noted that the quantitative analysis related to the production of orientative information by different ages constitutes a part of the qualitative analysis since the emergence or lack of any component that makes up the story unit contributes to the quality of the unit.

The qualitative analysis of the narratives from 3-year-olds show that a great majority of the informants at this age (78.6%) produce narrative clauses that are not coherent to make an *Orientation* section since these clauses seem to be just a depiction of the scenes and the entities in those scenes in the picture book *Frog, where are you?* in here and now context. Although almost all of them mention the existence of the boy, dog and the frog, they do not assign them roles as story characters and they do not mention the relationship between the characters and inanimate entities that surround those characters (see P-4.2.3 and Appendix 1). They do not provide information related to time and the location of the characters and the

events: only one of the 3-year-olds produce spatial and temporal information, however it is too local to be a background for the characters and the story events (P-4.2.4). One general feature most of the 3-year-olds possess is that they are not skilful in producing orientative information that is directed to their audience.

(P- 4.2.3)

- a* çocuk varmış
'there was (a) child'
 - b* kapatıyorlarmış
'(they) were closing'
 - c* köpek de bakmış
'the dog looked, too'
 - d* kurbağa # etmemiş
'the frog did (like this)'
 - e* önce ayağım demiş
'it said "my foot first"'
 - f* düzeltmiş
'(it) adjusted'
 - g* #nin yakınında çocuk varmış
'there was a child near the ...'
 - h* bir de kuş # kazak bi de küçük merdiven
'and a bird, sweater, and a little ladder'
- (Age 3:05)

(P-4.2.4)

- a* köpek ve kurbağa ... köpek ve kurbağanın kavanoza girmeye çalışıyor
'the dog and the frog ... the dog is trying to go into the frog's jar.'
 - b* çocuğun yatağında akşam olmuş
'It is evening in the child's bed'
 - c* farketmemişler
'They did not notice'
 - d* çocuk uyumuş
'The child slept'
- (Age 3:10)

A 3-year-old mentions the existence of the boy in clause *a* in P-4.2.3, however the relationship between the boy and other characters, along with other entities that surround the character (e.g. the ladder in the clause *h* in P- 4.2.3), is still unclear. The child's lack of ability to organize them in a systematic web of relations gets more prominent when the contribution of the clauses *b* and *c* to the development of the discourse is considered. Each of these clauses presents 'new information' without relating it to any previously uttered clauses. Thus none of the three utterances turn out to be 'given' because of the lack of any cohesive device that would stick them together, whereas the construction of orientative information develops with the introduction of the 'new information', usually with nouns modified with

an indefinite article, and then the transformation of this ‘new information’ into the ‘given’ by modifying it with a definite article and finally attaching a ‘new piece of information’ to it. Furthermore, the clause *b* in P-4.2.3 which mentions those “who shut something” is totally uninterpretable since it is not clear whether it is the child who is shut in a closed place because of the plurality of the doer of the act of “shut” or whether it is the child and the dog, together, who shut the frog somewhere. The questions related to spatial and temporal location of the characters are left unanswered in the orientation of the 3-year-old child in P-4.2.3. Such incoherent and uninterpretable structures constitute one of the general characteristics of the narratives of 3-year-olds.

Despite their lack of ability to develop a coherent *Orientation*, it still can be argued that the clause *a* in the protocol 4.2.3 has an orientative function from the egocentric perspective of 3-year-olds. The existence of the child in clause *a* is modified with *-mİş*, whose function is to encode both a ‘hearsay’ and ‘distancing’ (both spatially and temporally) in that context. By the term ‘distancing’, we do not mean the psychological distancing (cf. Zeyrek 1994) but we mean that the use of *-mİş* in the clause ‘çocuk varmı**ş**’ has a reading such as “the *çocuk* is not in the spatial location where the narration is taking place at that moment” and “s/he is not in the same temporal location with the narrator at the time of narration”. Thus, the first clause of the protocol 4.2.3 from a 3-year-old may be considered as a primitive form of an attempt to produce *Orientation*. On the other hand, one may argue that the protocol 4.2.3 is merely listing of the entities in the picture book without relating them to one another. Such an argument cannot be disproved. This idea gets stronger when clause *h* is considered. Our argument that the first clause (*a*) of the protocol 4.2.3 bears orientative notions is based on the interpretation of that clause at discourse level within the narrative genre and the particular function of the suffix *-mİş* within that discourse. What such a protocol, which is observed in most of the 3-year-olds, implies is that 3-year-olds are not yet skilled to tailor their Orientative information according to their audience but they produce it from an egocentric perspective.

The general picture of 4-year-olds in the production of *Orientation* section is not very different from 3-year-olds. The only difference may be that 4-year-olds produce more prominent boundaries between the episodes, only few of which bear the components that make up a story unit in our data. Since this quality applies to the whole of the story rather than any particular story unit, how 4-year-olds produce discernable story units will not be discussed in this section (See Appendix 4).

As for the qualitative characteristics 5-year-olds show in the production of *Orientation*, though it is observed that half of the 5-year-olds are concerned about providing information to the audience about time, place and the relationship between the story characters, they still fail to organize the components of *Orientation* in such a way that the time and location are integrated to constitute a global background for the story characters and events/states, (P-4.2.5).

- (P- 4.2.5)
- a* bir gün ağaçlarda birden bir çocuk varmış
'One day in the wood suddenly a child'
- b* annesine sesleniyormuş ağaçlarda
'was calling out her mother in the wood'
- c* sonra evde köpek kurbağaya bakıyormuş
'Then the dog was looking at /taking care of the frog at home'
- d* ay dede çıkmış gecede dışarda
'The Moon came out at night outside'
- e* sonra köpek de vardı
'Then, there was a dog, too.'
- f* o da kumda oturuyorlardı
'It was, too, (they) were sitting on the sand'
- g* bir de bebeği vardı annesinin
'And his mother had a baby.'
- (Age 5:03)

The *bir gün* 'one day' (*a* in P-4.2.5) is an unknown day, which constitutes the temporal background for the story characters and events/states. Similarly, 5-year-olds provide spatial information by mentioning a place (*ağaçlarda* 'among the trees / in the wood' in the clause *a* in P- 4.2.5), however the location 5-year-olds mention does not usually background the whole setting (e.g. *kavanoz* 'the jar' in the clause *a* of P-4.2.6).

- (P-4.2.6)
- a* bir gün bir kurbağa bir kavanozdaymış
'one day a frog was in a jar'
- b* köpek kurbağaya bakıyor
'the dog was looking at the frog'
- c* çocuk böyle kurbağaya doğru bakıyormuş
'the child was looking at the frog like this'
- d* geceymiş
'it was night'
- (Age 5:10)

Although the qualitative analysis of the narratives from 5-year-olds shows that they pack the orientative information in a format that is closer to those of 9-year-olds than to those of 3- and 4-year-olds, 5-year-olds' *Orientations* still bear some qualities that are observed in those

of younger ages. Though 40% of them start the construction of story with an orientative notion, which is distanced from the spatio-temporal location of the act of narration through linguistic devices (e.g. the use of unknown time, *bir gün* ‘one day’ and the use of the suffix –*mış* in clause *a* in P- 4.2.6), they often lose that notion of distancing in the course of the narration and begin to depict the pictures in here and now context (e.g. clause *b* in P-4.2.6). This is a general characteristic which is observed in 3-year-olds. 60% of adults who produce orientative information start their *Orientation* with clauses that state the activities of the dog, boy and the frog or the existence of these characters individually with reference to the time of narration (see P-4.2.7 and P- 4.2.8).

(P- 4.2.7)

- a* bir tane köpek var
‘There is a dog’
- b* ondan sonra yemek yiyor
‘Then it is having lunch/dinner’
- c* çocuk da ona bakıyor
‘And the child is looking at it’
- d* ondan sonra ışık da yanıyor
‘And then the light is on’
- e* çocuğun bu da giysileri
‘And these are the child’s clothes’
- f* burda da kızın eşyaları var
‘There are the girl’s things here’
- g* uyuyor
(She) is sleeping.’
- h* yatakta bişey ışık yanıyor
‘There is a light on over the bed’

(Age 5:09)

(P- 4.2.8)

- a* köpek ve çocuk kurbağa varmış
‘there were /was (the/a) dog, boy and frog.’
- b* köpek ve insan kurbağaya bakıyorlarmış
‘The dog and the human were looking at the frog.’

(Age 5:07)

As is the case in the quantitative values, 6-year-olds are not very much different from 5-year-olds with respect to the quality of their *Orientation* sections, though the emergence of the components of *Orientation* by 6-year-olds shows a slight increase. They mention time and location with similar frequencies as 5-year-olds do. However, while 4 of the 5-year-olds out of 14 start their *Orientation* with the unknown time expression *bir gün* ‘one day’, which is a means of distancing the story events and the characters from the time of narration and setting the global temporal background for the characters and story events, none of the 6-year-olds

start their *Orientations* with such an expression. Like 5-year-olds, most of the 6-year-olds begin their stories by mentioning either the existence of the dog, boy and the frog or their activities with reference to the narration time (see P- 4.2.9 and 4.2.10). There is only one point by which 6-year-olds seem to differ from 5-year-olds. As the Chart 4.0.2 in the Table 4.02 shows, 6-year-olds differ from 5-year-olds with respect to the frequency of mentioning the relationship between the story characters quantitatively. This quantitative increase itself may be considered as an increase in the quality of the *Orientation* since such kind of information helps the audience create a scheme about the question ‘Who does what to whom?’, which is one of the most important drives for the maintenance of a story from the audience’s perspective.

- (P- 4.2.9)
- a* burda bir köpek var
‘there is a dog here’
 - b* kurbağaya bakıyor
‘(he is) looking at the frog’
 - c* yanında da abi var
‘there is the elder brother near it’
 - d* burda yatak var
‘there is (a) bed here’
 - e* burda da giysiler var
‘there are clothes here’
 - f* sonra abi uyumuş
‘then the elder brother fell asleep’
- (Age 6:00)

As illustrated in P- 4.2.9, 40% the 6-year-olds who produce an orientation construct the orientative information with clauses that state the existence of the characters or objects that surround the characters while 40% of them mention the activities which the characters perform either with reference to the time of narration (P- 4.2.10) or by distancing them by means of linguistic devices (P- 4.2.11).

- (P- 4.2.10)
- a* çocuk kurbağaya bakıyor
‘The child is looking at the frog’
 - b* köpek de içine girer gibi bakıyor
‘And the dog is looking as if it enters into (the jar)’
- (Age 6:10)

Protocol 4.2.10, which is produced to orient the audience to the forthcoming parts of the story, that is, the global CA and a series of attempts to resolve the CA, does not contain information about time, location and the relationship between the characters. In this and such

Orientations, all of the characters are introduced as individual entities as having no relation to each other. It can be argued that the audience may create a network of relations in their minds since if a group of entities are mentioned in the same environment in a narrative text, one can assume that they are either already related or they will have relations in the course of the development of the narrative. A descriptive approach to narrative production urges us to assume that the orientative function of this and such *Orientations* is low and they decrease the quality of a narrative at macro level. P-4.2.11 constitutes a third type of *Orientation* which 6-year-olds produce.

- (P- 4.2.11)
- a çocuk [Ø=çocuğ-un] köpeğ-in-e bak-ıyor-muş
 boy/child [the child-GEN] dog-3sg-ACC look-PRES PROG- mış
 ‘The boy was looking at his frog’
- b [Ø=çocuğ-un] yatağ-in-dan çık-ıp
 [Ø= boy-GEN] bed-3.sg-ABL get out- Ip
 ‘by getting out of his bed’
- c [Ø=çocuğ-un] köpeğ-i de kurbağaya böyle kafasını sokup
 [Ø=boy-GEN] dog-3.sg dE ...
 ‘His dog put its head (into the jar) and
- d bakıyormuş
 ‘(it) was looking at (the frog)
- e sonra çocuk uyumuş
 ‘then the child was asleep’

(Age 6:00)

Although they do not mention time and location, they set the relationships between/among the characters by means of genitive marker. In this case, the narrator sets relationship by mentioning the belongingness of the objects to one or more characters/objects. In this representative protocol, the 6-year-old sets the relationship between the characters and objects that surround the characters by informing the audience that the dog and the bed, and thus implicitly the room in which the bed is, all belong to the boy. By the presentation of such information, the narrator enables the audience to infer that the boy will be the most prominent character in the resolution of the problem.

It has been observed that the age of 5 is an age at which most facets of narrative development show dramatic changes compared to the narrative skills observed in younger children. For instance, while the frequency of the emergence of *Orientation* is 21.4% in 3-year-olds and 14.3% in 4-year-olds, it increases to 57.1% in 5-year-olds. However, the dramatic increase in the emergence of the components that constitute an *Orientation*, namely, an explicit articulation of time, location and a network of relations between the characters, occurs at the age of 7 although the difference in the emergence of the *Orientation*

section between 5- and 7-year-olds is not so high (57.1% and 64.3% respectively). This might imply that, although more than half of 5-year-olds possess the notion of providing orientative information with the audience, the realization of this notion as a functional device in narrative production occurs at the age of 7.

A great majority of 7-year-olds are successful in distancing the story time, characters and the location from the time and location of the narration by either marking the verb with the suffix *-mİş* (P-4.2.12) or by modifying the characters with the indefinite article *bir* ‘a/an’ (P-4.2.13), or by using both in the same clause (P-4.2.14). While the proportion of 5-and 6-year-olds who achieve distancing is 42.8% and 50% respectively, the proportion of the 7-year-olds is 78.5%.

P-4.2.12 illustrates how 7-year-olds use the grammatical suffix *-mİş* to distance the time of the story events from the time of narration by making use of this suffix’s distal function (see Zeyrek 1994).

(P-4.2.12)

- a* akşam ol-mü
evening be- mİş:INFER ASP
‘It is evening’
- b* çocuğun bir kurbağası varmü
‘The child had a frog’
- c* köpek bakıyormü içerden kurbağaya
‘the dog was looking at the frog from inside’
- d* merak etmü
‘(The dog) wandered’
- e* çocuk da köpeğiyle bakıyormü
‘And the child was looking with his frog’
- f* sonra da annesi yatağına götürmü çocuğu
‘Then his mother took the boy to his bed’
- g* çocuk uyumü
‘the boy was sleeping’

(Age 7:5)

(P-4.2.13)

- a* bir çocukla köpek kurbağaya bakıyorlar
‘A boy and a dog are looking at a frog’
- b* odasında çocuk
‘The child is in his room’
- c* gece
‘it is night’

(Age 7:03)

P-4.2.14 represents the general picture of the usage of the indefinite article *bir* and the suffix *-mİş* for the purpose of distancing.

(P-4.2.14)

- a bir köpek varmış
'There was a dog'
- b sonra bir de çocuk kurbağa yakalamış
'And then, the boy caught a frog'
- c fazla yatmışlar
'They overslept'
- d sonra da onu bu şeye atmışlar
'then they put it in this thing'

(Age 7:01)

More than half of the 7-year-olds (57.1%) who distance the story time and location from the time of narration and location construct their *Orientation* in the format and content of the protocol 4.2.14, though it should be noted that no two *Orientations* they produce are identical.

The informant who produced P-4.2.15, which is an exception in 7-year-olds, is the first and only one who constructs *Orientation* in a format that is similar to those usually observed in the orientation sections of folktales.

(P-4.2.15)

- a bir zaman-lar bir çocuk ile köpeğ-i mutlu bir hayat sür-üyor-muş
One time-PLUR a child with dog-3.sg. happy a life live-PROG-
mİş.
'Once upon a time, a child and his dog were living a happy life'
- b yanlarında küçük bir kurbağaları da varmış
'And they had their little frog with them'

(Age 7:07)

Although this protocol does not reflect general characteristics of 7-year-olds it is still worth mentioning to illustrate how further a 7-year-old can go in producing a well-formed *Orientation*. As the protocol 4.2.15 shows, the scope of time, *bir zamanlar* 'once upon a time', mentioned in clause *a* is wide enough to background the story characters and the story events temporally. The characters who are introduced for the first time are modified with the indefinite article *bir* 'a/an'. The hierarchical relationship between the characters (*çocuk ile köpeği* 'the boy and his dog' in clause *a* and *kurbağaları* 'their frog' in clause *b*) and the initial emotional state of the characters (*mutlu bir hayat sürüyorlarmış* 'they were living a happy life') is introduced in clause *a*. Furthermore both the dynamic verb *sürüyorlar* in clause *a* and static verb *var* in clause *b* are marked by distal verb marker *-mİş* and postclitic *-Imİş* respectively. The fact that the location is not mentioned does not decrease the quality

of this *Orientation* because it is not unusual to construct *Orientation* sections without spatial information in literature. This assumption is supported by the frequency values of the emergence of spatial information in all age groups in Table 4.2.2, below, as well. While the emergence of the inclusion of time and the relation between the characters show an increase with increasing age, the values related to the emergence of location shows irregular increases and decreases regardless of age. This irregularity may be because of the idiosyncratic concern of the narrator about the location where the story characters are situated and the story events take place.

It is observed that 8-year-olds produce all components of an *Orientation* section that 7-year-olds do. For instance, Table 4.2.1 shows that both 7- and 8-year-olds produce *Orientation* sections in the same frequency (64.3%). Along with similarities at the level of 7-year-olds, there are some extra quantitative qualities, which 8-year-olds possess. Although the frequency of the production of *Orientation* in both ages is the same and the variety of the components with which they decorate their *Orientation* sections do not show notable differences, it is observed that the number of the 8-year-olds who produce *Orientation* sections that contain orientative components is higher than that of 7-year-olds. This implies that the qualities that are observed in 7-year-olds mature at the age of 8.

One point that should be brought into the consciousness of the reader is that the frequency values observed in 8-year-olds are higher than both those observed in younger ages and those observed in older ones (see Chart 4.2.2). Thus, it seems that the irregular increase in the emergence of the components in *Orientation* sections by 8-year-olds cannot be explained merely with increasing age, though the increasing age may be one of the factors.

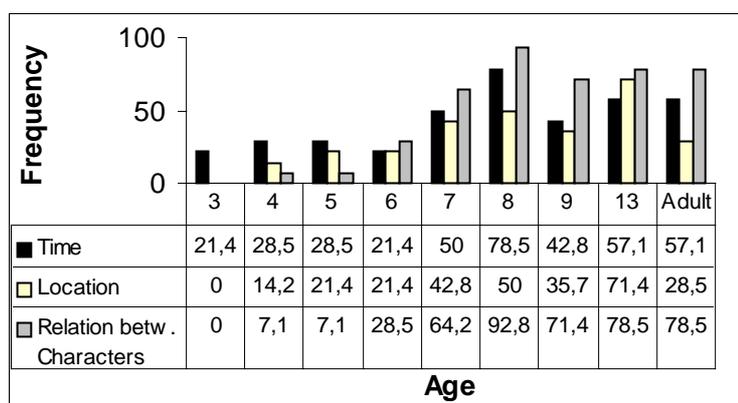


Chart 4.2.2. The frequency of the emergence of the components of an *Orientation* section relative to age.

Another difference between 8-year-olds and younger ages is the way they distance the story time from the time of the narration. While more than half of the 7-year-olds (57.1%) who produce an orientation encode distancing by modifying the time or character with the indefinite article *bir* and by marking the verb with *-mİş* or *imiş* in the same clause, a great majority of the 8-year-olds (85.7%) encode distancing by modifying the time or the characters with the indefinite article *bir* and by marking the verb with *-mİş* or *imiş* within the same clause (see P-4.2.16). This is qualitatively significant since the use of the indefinite article *bir* and the distal suffix *-mİş* or *imiş* within the same orientative clause is the strongest version of distancing the story time or characters from the time of the narration.

(P- 4.2.16)

- a* bir çocuk var-mış
a/an boy exist-mİş
'there was a boy'
- b* bu çocuđ-un bir kurbađası
this boy-GEN a frog-3.sg
'this boy had a frog '
- c* ve bir köpeđ-i var-mış
and a dog-3.sg exist-mİş
'and a dog'
- d* bir süre sonra uykusu gel-miş
some time later sleep-3.sg come- mİş
'Sometime later, he felt himself sleepy'
- e* ve uyumuş
and sleep-mİş
'(he) slept'

(Age 8:01)

(P-4.2.17)

- a* bir çocuđ-un köpeđ-i var-mış
a child-GEN dog-3.sg exisit-mİş
'A boy had a dog'
- b* bir çocuk bir gün
a boy/child one day
'A boy one day'
- c* bir kavano kurbađa bul-muş
a jar.. frog find-mİş
'A jar.. (he) found a frog'

(Age 8:9)

Despite their structural and organizational differences most of the Orientative sections produced by 8-year-olds are similar to the protocols 4.2.16 and 4.2.17 with respect to the way they distance the story time from the time of the narration and the story characters from himself/herself as the narrator.

The qualitative analysis of the *Orientation* sections produced by 9-year-olds renders two different kinds of results. First they are observed, quantitatively, to be within the developmental trend starting from 7-year-olds and ending with adults with respect to the production of the components of *Orientation*. The realization of the components of *Orientation* and the organization of those components by 9-year-olds do not show a quantitative difference which would reflect the entrance of a new form of cognizance in the developmental domain. As Chart 4.2.2 shows, the frequency of the production of the information about the relationship between the story characters by 9-year-olds is between the frequency values produced by 7- and 13-year-olds. This finding is consistent with the categorization of 9-year-olds in the developmental stages identified by Piaget. In his categorization, 9-year-olds are in the stage of concrete operations, which starts at the age of 7 and continues till the age of 11.

The second type of results shows that although *Orientation* sections produced by 9-year-olds contain information about time, location and the relationship between the characters, it is observed that 9-year-olds fall behind 7- and 8-year-olds in distancing the story time from the time of the narration. To pronounce it in terms of quantitative values, which are directly related with the quality, while 28.5% of the 7-and 8-year-olds use proximal expressions in their *Orientations*, as Table 4.2.2 shows, 71.4% of 9-year-olds include such expressions which decrease the distancing quality of the orientative information. Such features are illustrated in the protocols below.

Table 4.2.2 The structures that decrease the quality of the *Orientation* by 9-year-olds.

<p>A a <u>her halde</u> bir çocuk bir kurbağa yakalamış b ona bakıyor c inceliyor d köpeği yakalamış <u>herhalde</u> (Age 9:04)</p>	<p>B a bir çocuk var b köpeğiyle kurbağ ...bir kurbağayı yakalamış c ve bir kavanozun içine koymuş (Age 9:04)</p>
<p>C a <u>şimdi burda</u> murat bir kurbağa bulmuş b ondan sonra köpeği ...kurbağayı içine koymuş c köpeğiyle beraber bakıyorlar d ondan sonra kurbağa da bunun .. bunun ... bu bakımdan dolayı ıslanmış <u>herhalde</u> e <u>burda murat uyuyor</u> (Age 9:02)</p>	<p>D a <u>şimdi</u> yatak odasında bir çocuk oturuyor b bir kavanozun içinde de kurbağa <u>var</u> c bir de orda köpek <u>var</u> d köpek de kavanozun içindeki kurbağaya bakıyor e dışarıda ay <u>var</u> f yerde üstü <u>var</u> g lambalar <u>var</u> h <u>ikinci sayfada</u> çocuk uyuyo (Age 9:10)</p>

In protocol A for instance, the utterance of the word *herhalde* ‘in any case/ I think’ in clause *a* and *d* decreases the credibility of the orientative information since the audience expects the narrator to have full command of events to be narrated when s/he is granted the ground to tell. Although *şimdi* ‘now’ that is used as the first utterance of the *Orientation* section functions as a discourse marker in protocols D rather than referring to the present time, it gains some degree of present time reference when it is followed by the proximal deictic term *burada* ‘here’ in clause *a* in protocol C. *Var* ‘there is /are’ in protocol D also directs the attention of the audience to the time of the narration. Direct reference to *ikinci sayfa* ‘second page’ in protocol D is also a conspicuous example that illustrates how 9-year-olds fail to distance the story time from the time of the narration.

Regarding the proportion of the emergence of *Orientation* sections and the components that make up these sections relative to age, 13-year-olds behave like adults and produce frequency values which are similar to those of adults. However, regarding to the function of the *Orientation* section within the organization of the macrostructure of a story, they seem to be on a par with children rather than with adults (compare P-4.2.18 and P-4.2.19). Of the fourteen 13-year-olds, only two informants constructed *Orientation* sections that constitute a background for the CA and rest of the story (P- 4.2.19).

- (P- 4.2.18)
- a* bir tane çocuk var
‘There is a child’
 - b* bir tane köpek var
‘there is a dog’
 - c* bir tane de kurbağa var
‘and there is a frog’
 - d* kurbağa bir kavanozun içinde
‘the dog is in a jar’
 - e* köpek buna ağzını sokmuş
‘the dog inserted its mouth into this’
 - f* ve bakıyor
‘And looking ‘
 - g* odasında çocuk
‘The child is in his room’
 - h* ve akşam
‘And it is evening’
 - i* çocuk yatağına yatıyor
‘The child is going to his bed’
 - j* köpek de onun üstüne yatıyor
‘And the dog is lying down on him’
 - k* yorganı kapattı
‘(he) covered himself with the comforter’

<i>l</i>	ve kurbağa oradan kaçıyor 'And the frog is running away'	CA
<i>m</i>	uyaniyor çocuklar 'The children wake up'	
<i>n</i>	köpek bakıyor 'The dog is looking'	
<i>o</i>	çocuk da bakıyor 'The child is looking, too'	
<i>p</i>	kurbağa yok 'The frog is missing'	
	(Age 13:08)	

The 13-year-old who produces P-4.2.18 meets the basic criteria in the production of an *Orientation* since he informs the audience about time in clause *h* and location in clause *g*, though he fails to establish a hierarchical network of relationship between the characters. He introduces the characters by modifying them with the indefinite article *bir*, which is a positive attribute for the production of orientative information, although the use of *var* 'there is/ are' decreases the quality of distancing. Despite the presence of these features, this 13-year-old is not so successful in dissociating the *Orientation* from the *CA* in such a way that the *Orientation* section constitutes a background for the *CA*. Clauses from *i* to *o* seem to refer to adjacent events that happen one after the other. The *ve* 'and' in clause *l* announces that the frog's getting out of the jar is an expected or a natural end in the course of the previous events.

The protocol we analyzed above is not an exception. Almost 85% of the 13-year-olds produce *Orientations* either in a format similar to P-4.2.18 (see P-4.2.19 and 4.2.20) or *Orientations* which hardly contain explicit orientative information.

(P-4.2.19)		
<i>a</i>	işte burda bir akşam	
<i>b</i>	çocukla köpeği kavanozun içindeki kurbağaya bakıyorlar	
<i>c</i>	sonra çocukla köpek ... çocuk yatağında uyuyor	
<i>d</i>	köpek de onun yanında uyuyor	
<i>e</i>	sonra bu arada kurbağa kavanozun içinden çıkıp	CA
<i>f</i>	gidiyor	
	(Age 13:9)	

(P-4.2.20)	
<i>a</i>	burada bir çocuk var
<i>b</i>	bu çocuk yani akşamdan uyumamış

- c* köpeğiyle birlikte kavanozun içindeki kurbağaya *d*
bakıyorlar
e çocuk sonra uyuyor
f ve köpeği de onun yatağının üzerine çıkmış
g birlikte uyuyorlar
- h* sonra kurbağa kavanozdan çıkıyor dışarı

	CA
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(Age 13:10)

The informants who produce the protocols 4.2.18, 4.2.19 and 4.2.20 use discourse markers which function to dissect story units from one another. The use of these markers implies that the informants who produce these protocols possess the notion of separating story units from one another. However, the *Orientation* and CA sections are so integrated by means of the sequential order and causal relation¹ of the verbs that the clause that declares the problem that initiates the CA seems to be the continuation of the *Orientation* rather than initiating a new section which is built as a foreground against the orientative information.

Protocol 4.2.21, which is produced by a 13-year-old, is an example to show how *Orientation* section can constitute a background for the CA.

- (P-4.2.21)
- a* köpeğimi yeni bulmuştum
'I had found my dog recently'
b çok mutlu hissediyordum kendimi
'I felt myself so happy'
c bir kurbağam vardı
'I had a frog'
d ve onunla çok iyi arkadaşlık kuracaklarını inandığım için
'And because I thought that they would make good friends'
e ikisini bir araya getirmiştım
'I had put them together'
f ve onlar da çok mutlu olmuşlardı
'And they really were very happy'
g birbirlerine çok alışmışlardı
'They were accustomed to each other'
h gecenin karanlığında birlikte oyunlar oynayarak
'By playing games in the darkness of the night'
i birbirimize şakalar yapıyorduk
'We were all joking around'
j gece olmuştu
'the night had fallen'
k hepimiz uyuyakalmıştık
'We all had fallen asleep'
l çok mutlu hissediyordum kendimi

¹ For instance, the boy and the dog's going to bed is a stage before they fall asleep and their falling asleep is the end of the surveillance over the frog which enables the frog to escape from the jar. *Ve* 'and' in clause *l* in P-4.2.18 encodes the final situation which is the 'expected result of the series of actions' the boy and the dog perform.

'I was feeling myself very happy'

<i>m</i>	sabah kalktığımda kurbağam yoktu 'The frog was missing when I got up in the morning'	CA
<i>n</i>	çok üzülmüştüm 'I was very sad'	
<i>o</i>	çok telaşlıydım 'I was very flurried'	
<i>p</i>	ne yapacağımı bilemiyordum 'I didn't know what to do'	
<i>q</i>	bunu gören köpeğim de buna çok üzülmüştü 'My dog, which saw this, was also so sad'	
<i>r</i>	çünkü onunla çok iyi arkadaşlık kurmuştu 'Because it had made a good friendship with it'	

(Age13:08)

In the construction of such a background-foreground relationship, the elaborate description of the initial state and the change in this initial state with the emergence of the problem that initiates the CA plays the key role. As it is demonstrated by the 13-year-old who produce P-4.2.21, the *Orientation* section informs the audience about the initial state of the characters; they are all happy because they are together. In order for a CA can be created, the initial state described in the *Orientation* section should be destroyed by newly emerging opposite states or conditions to those that are described in the initial state. The clause *m* in P-4.2.21 announces such a change of state, both in the physical state where the characters exist (the state of the frog's missing) and, in the following clauses, in the state of mind of the characters (from the state of happiness to the state of unhappiness).

As for the emergence of the orientative components in the *Orientation* section, adults are not very much different from 13-year-olds and children, who produce *Orientation* sections that contain orientative components such as time, location and a network of relationship among/between the characters. However, it is observed that they differ from both 13-year-olds (the 13-year-old who produce P-4.2.21 is the only one who produces a well-organized orientation) and children with respect to the organization of those components in such a way that the *Orientation* sections create a background for the CA and the rest of the story.

(P-4.2.22)

- a* ahmet o gün çok yorulmuştu
'Ahmet got tired very much that day'
- b* ama yorulduğuna da değmişti
'But it was worth getting tired'
- c* bir kurbağa yakalamıştı
'He had caught a frog'
- d* köpeği benekliyle birlikte bu sevinci yaşıyordu

- ‘He was celebrating this happiness with his dog benekli’
e akşam olmasına rağmen hala yorgunluk gözünde yoktu
‘Though it was already evening, he did not seem to be tired’
f gece ilerleyince
‘when the night advanced’
g ahmet yatağına yattı
‘Ahmet went to his bed’
h benekli ise yanına gelmişti
‘And benekli had come near him’
- i* yaramaz kurbağa ise kavanozundan çıkıp
‘and the naughty frog getting out of the jar,’
j yavaş yavaş tüyme hazırlıklarına giriyordu
‘was planning to escape’
k ahmet sabah olduğunda
‘when it was morning’
l uyandı
‘ahmet woke up’
m benekliyle birlikte kavanozun boş olduğunu gördü
‘benekli and ahmet saw that the jar was empty’
(Adult)

As is the case in only one 13-year-old who produce P-4.2.21, the adult who produces P-4.2.22 provides an elaborate description of the initial state in the *Orientation* section (clauses *a-h*). The prominent state in this *Orientation* is the frog’s entrance into the boy and the dog’s lives and the happy atmosphere created by the existence of the frog (clause *d*). The clauses *k-m*, which are in the *CA* section of the same protocol announce the distortion of the happy atmosphere which is depicted in the *Orientation* section. The *CA* is initiated and developed upon this change of state in both physical and psychological planes.

Although only one of the 13-year-olds produce such an *Orientation* which constitutes a background for the *CA*, 50% of the adults are observed to construct *Orientation* sections that background the *CA* (see P-4.2.22 and 4.2.23). What is common to all of these *Orientation* sections is that all of the informants who produce these *Orientations* name the characters. It is observed that adults who name the characters in the picture book construct their *Orientation* sections in a closed framework in the sense that they describe the initial state of the characters and of the spatio-temporal environment in which the characters are situated as a whole unit which is separated from the succeeding units by means of linguistic devices such as discourse or verb markers.

(P-4.2.23)

- a* alinin bir köpeği bir de kurbağası vardı
‘ali had a dog and a frog’
b ikisini de çok seviyordu
‘he loved both of them’

<i>c</i>	her gece onlarla konuşup 'he would talk to them'	
<i>d</i>	öyle yatıyordu 'and then (he would) go to bed'	
<i>e</i>	sonra bir gün ali uyurken 'One day while ali was sleeping'	CA
<i>f</i>	kurbağa kavanozundan çıkıp 'the frog got out of the bed'	
<i>g</i>	kayboldu 'and disappeared' (Adult)	

In P-4.2.23, the informant describes what Ali regularly would do before the sudden change that distorts the initial state of the characters. The temporal markers *sonra* 'then/later' and *bir gün* 'one day' in clause *e* informs the audience that the regularity described in *Orientation* is about to be destroyed. Since the gerundive suffix *-Ip* in *çıkıp* 'get out-*Ip*' in clause *f* is assimilated by the verb marker *-DI* attached to the verb *kaybol* 'disappear' in clause *g*, *çıkıp* should be conceived as *çıkıttı*. Together with the temporal markers *sonra* and *bir gün* in clause *e*, this shift in tense is used as a linguistic tool in foregrounding *CA* against *Orientation* as a background.

Most of the children construct their *Orientation* on and around the perceptible stimuli in the picture book, whereas adults organize the orientative information in a larger web of relationships among the characters and inform about the reasons for the emergence of the problem, which is a prerequisite for the *action* the protagonist is expected to take (see clauses *c-d* in P- 4.2.24).

(P- 4.2.24)

<i>a</i>	bir zamanlar ahmet adında bir çocuk varmış 'once upon a time there was a child called ahmet'
<i>b</i>	bu ahmetin kavanozunda bir kurbağası ve bir köpeği varmış 'this ahmet had a frog in his jar and a dog'
<i>c</i>	köpeği kurbağasını kıskanmış sanki 'it seemed his dog was jealous of his frog'
<i>d</i>	çünkü ahmet kurbağasını köpeğinden daha çok severmiş 'because ahmet loved his frog more than his dog'

(Adult)

The fact that the ability to provide orientative information with the audience and the textual quality of the produced orientation improves with increasing age implies that the production of the orientative information has to do with cognitive¹ and social¹ development of the child

¹ e.g. organizational skills

along with his linguistic development². Thus it can be argued that the qualitative difference between the *Orientation* sections of children and adults may be the reflection of the differences in their organizational and cognitive capacities. This qualitative difference in the *Orientation* is significant with respect to narrative production because the continuation of the creditability of the narrative largely depends on the quality of the *Orientation*. Each utterance that adds another entity or event/state to an unconnected list in the spatio-temporal location of the context of narration without distancing the characters, time, and place from the context of narration decreases the creditability of the narrative because none of the clauses turn out to be *given* on which *new information* can be built unless they are, covertly or overtly, connected to one another.

4.3 The emergence of *Complicating Action* and *Resolution*

While analyzing the *Complicating Action* section, we will have three criteria in our mind: First, *CA* should introduce the problem to be solved. The problem to be solved in the picture book we use as a stimulus is the frog's disappearance, which starts with the frog's getting out of the jar (see clauses *b-c* in P-4.3.1). Second, in order for the frog's getting out of the jar to be considered the initiation of *CA*, it has to be integrated with the involvement of the protagonists with the problem, which is usually encoded by expressing a state of emotional change, which is called *internal reaction* (see clauses *e-f* in P-4.3.1). Third, the narrator should state explicitly that the protagonist takes the first attempt to resolve the complicating action (clause *g* in P-4.3.1).

- (P- 4.3.1)
- a* sonra bir gün ali uyurken
'Then one day, while ali was sleeping'
- b* kurbağa kavanozundan çıkıp
'the frog got out of the jar'
- c* kayboldu
'and disappeared'
- d* ali uyandığında
'When ali woke up'
- e* göremez kurbağayı şişesinde
'he can't see his frog in its bottle'
- f* ve çok üzülür
'he gets very sad'
- g* onu aramaya başlar
'they begin to search it'
- h* her yere bakar (Adult)

¹ e.g. getting rid of the egocentric conceptualization of the external world and taking others into consideration.

² e.g. gaining the ability of using linguistic devices and grammatical structures.

As for the analysis of *Resolution* section, we have looked at three features in a *Resolution* section. First, the *Resolution* sections are analyzed to see whether the problem that is encoded in *CA* is announced to be resolved, which is the core element of any resolution section and, second how this problem resolved. The second criterion has two components: the first one, in the case of the narration of the frog stories, is whether a narrator states that the protagonists “find” the frog as a result of a goal oriented action, that is an active and conscious search for the frog or whether he/she narrates the series of events /states in the picture book as an immediate depiction of that scene without focusing on the goal of the protagonists at all; the second component of how the problem is resolved is whether the narrator states that the protagonists are satisfied with the ‘finding’. That is, in some protocols the narrators mention that the boy and the dog ‘find’ or ‘see’ the frog and then state their departure without mentioning that the boy got the frog in his hand (to take it back home).

The reason why we analyze the story units *CA* and *Resolution* together within the same section is that there is a strong relationship between the emergence of *CA* and *Resolution*. The data show that all of the informants, except one of the 5-year-olds, who produce a *CA* also produce a *Resolution*. As is the case with other story units, the emergence of *CA* and *Resolution* renders implications related to narrative development, which may further imply cognitive and linguistic development in children.

Table 4.3.1 The emergence of *CA* and *Resolution* relative to age.

Age	CA		Resolution	
	Number (out of 14)	Proportion	Number (out of 14)	Proportion
3	3	21,4	4	28,6
4	2	14,3	4	28,6
5	8	57,1	8	57,1
6	12	85,7	14	100,0
7	14	100,0	14	100,0
8	14	100,0	14	100,0
9	14	100,0	14	100,0
13	14	100,0	14	100,0
Adult	14	100,0	14	100,0
Mean	10,6	75,4	11,1	79,4
SD	5,0	35,6	4,5	32,0

As the Table 4.3.1 and Chart 4.3.1 show, 21,4% of the 3-year-olds produce *CA* and *Resolution*.

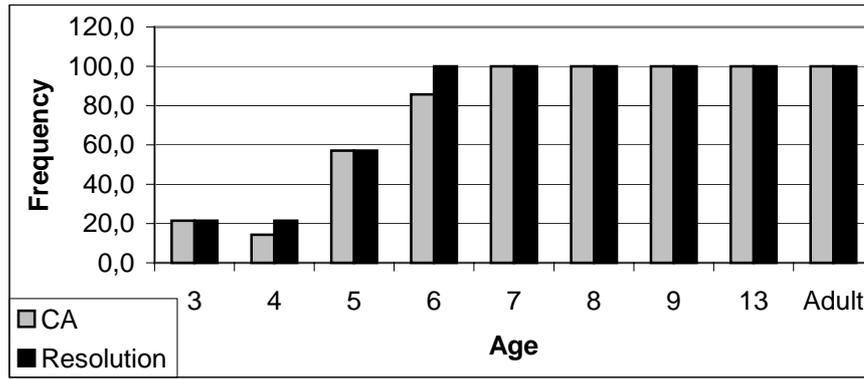


Chart 4.3.1. The emergence of *Complicating Action* and *Resolution*.

While only 14,3% of the 4-year-olds produce *CA*, 21,4% of them produce *Resolution*. One of the 4-year-olds produced a *Resolution* although he did not produce *CA* and any attempt to resolve the *CA*. Whether this section can be considered as *Resolution* is open to discussion because the child produces no *CA* to be *resolved*. However, we consider it as a *Resolution* because the narrator states that the frog which the boy and the dog find belongs to the boy.

(P- 4.3.2)
 kurbağa-sı- nı bulmuşlar
 frog-3.sg AGR-ACC found
 ‘They found his frog’
 (Age 4:9)

The use of 3.sg agreement marker in P- 4.3.2, which encodes definiteness, reflects narrator’s mental registration that the boy and the dog have been in search of this frog which disappears at the beginning of the story.

The proportion of the production of *CA* and *Resolution* shows a sharp increase at the age of 5. While 21,4% of 3-year-olds and 14,3% of 4-year-olds produce a *CA* the proportion of the 5-year-olds who produce a *CA* increases to 57,1%. The same increase is observed in the production of *Resolution* as well. One of the 5-year-olds produced a *Resolution* although she did not produce a *CA* and series of attempts to resolve the *CA*, and another 5-year-old produced a *CA* but did not produce a series of attempts to resolve the *CA*. This informant did not produce a *Resolution*, either.

The sharp increase observed at the age of 5 after the ages of 3 and 4 is also observed between 5- and 6-year-olds. While the proportion of the 5-year-olds who produce a *CA* is 57,1%, it reaches to 85,7% at the age of 6. Two of the 6-year-olds who fail to express the frog’s

getting out of the jar as a problem to be solved, and thus, who are not counted in those who produce a *CA*, (P- 4.3.3), either explicitly state in the first attempt that the boy and the dog in the picture book are in search of the lost frog, or they imply that the protagonists find a *particular frog* as opposed to *any frog* by means of definite article (P- 4.3.3) or the agreement marker of the possessive form of (covert or overt) noun or pronoun (e.g. kurbağası-nı ‘frog-3.sg AGR- ACC’) in the *Resolution* section. Such a *Resolution* section, which is not the outcome of an explicitly mentioned problem, may be the resolution of the unstated *CA* that emerge in the mind of the narrator at the outset when the narrator perceives the visual stimulus, which is encoded as the *problem* by the narrators who produce a well formed story. Thus, because it comes into existence linguistically at the end, and carries the features of a *Resolution* section, we consider it as a *Resolution* section.

(P- 4.3.3)

- a* köpek orda kurbağayı görmüş
- b* burda kurbağa çıkıyor
- c* çocuk da uyuyor köpeklerle birlikte
- d* kurbağa burdan gitmiş
- e* çocukla köpek bakıyor
- f* aynı şeyin içine bakıyor
- g* köpek de oraya bakıyo
- h* köpeğinin başında kalmış o
- i* o da bağıyor
- j* köpek de ordan atlıyor
- k* çocuk da bakıyor
- l* o da tutuyor
- m* sinirli bakıyor

(Age 6)

(P- 4.3.4)

- a* orda da kurbağayı buluyorlar
‘And they find the frog there’
(The same child who produced P- 4.3.3)

As P- 4.3.3 shows, the frog’s getting out of the jar in clause *b* is not conceived as a problem by the narrator since he does not express any internal reaction shown by the protagonists upon the disappearance of the frog. The narrator’s statements that the child and the dog are looking into the same thing in clauses *e* and *f* do not render any reading of ‘search’ when they are analyzed within the light of the whole of the protocol.

Despite the lack of an awareness about the *problem* in the *CA* section, it is observed that this 6-year-old mentions that the boy and the dog find *the* frog, but not *a* frog in P-4.3.4, which implies that he has been aware of the problem though he does not state it explicitly.

From a quantitative point of view, there are no differences in the production of a *CA* and a *Resolution* between/among 7-, 8-, 9- and 13-year-olds and adults; all of them produce both a *CA* and a *Resolution* (Table 4.3.1 and Chart 4.3.1). Thus, we do not conduct a quantitative analysis of the emergence of these two sections relative to age groups after the age of 6. The constant similarity in the *CA* and *Resolution* sections by 7-year-olds and older informants is observed not only in the emergence of these story units as a whole but in the emergence of the components that make up a *CA*, namely, the explicit statement of the problem, the expression of the protagonists' awareness of the problem, and the statement of the first attempt to resolve the *CA*; and that make up a *Resolution*, namely, the clause which declares that the problem is resolved (see Chart 4.3.2) . The same chart shows that the narrators' expression of the internal reaction of the protagonists shows differences relative to age. Nevertheless, the difference does not show a systematic increase with increasing age (see values of Internal Reaction in Chart 4.3.2). Thus, it can be interpreted that the narrators' expression of the internal reaction of the protagonists upon the awareness of the problem renders results that seem to be stylistically idiosyncratic rather than developmentally systematic.

Since the frequency of the emergence of *CA* and its components do not render clues about the qualitative differences relative to age, we will analyze the protocols to have an insight into how the components of a *CA* section are organized relative to age and how these *CA* sections are integrated into the macro-structure of story.

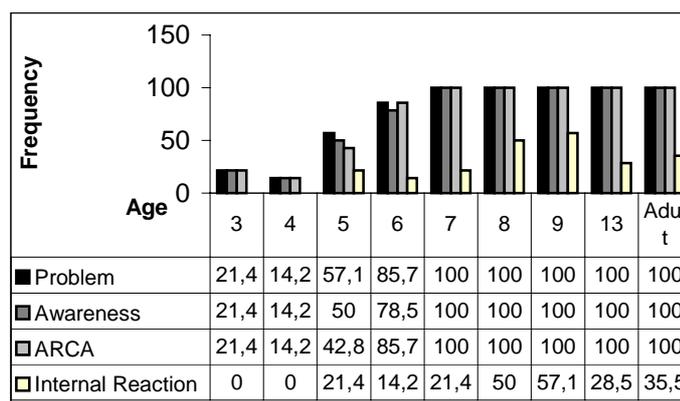


Chart 4.3.2. The emergence of the components of a *CA* relative to age.

As the previous literature shows (Aksu-Koç 1988a and Berman and Slobin 1994: 58-59), except very few of them, 3-year-olds produce narratives which do not meet the criteria of being a story (see Appendix 1, which reflects the general picture of the narratives by 3-year-

olds). Their narratives seem to be mere depictions of individual pictures without creating a coherent whole alongside a plotline and they do not contain discrete story units. Hence, we will analyze only one of the 3-year-olds' narrative which can be considered a story, though it contains many non-narrative clauses. Our aim in analyzing this particular protocol is not to present qualitative results that can be generalized to the age of 3 but to exemplify how further a 3-year-old can go in the construction of a well formed *CA* and a *Resolution*.

This 3-year-old produces a *CA* section, which reveals strong clues about the emergence of a problem to be solved (P-4.3.5).

- (P- 4.3.5)
- a bir çocuk uyuyorken
'while a child was sleeping'
 - b bir bakmış ki
'He saw that'
 - c kurbağa kaçmış
'The frog escaped'
 - d bakmış kavanoza
'He looked at the jar'
 - e kaçmış
'(The frog) escaped'
- (Age 3:11)

The P- 4.3.4 shows that the *CA*, produced by a 3-year-old, demonstrates the transition from the initial state, which is informed in clause *a*, to the emergence of the problem to be solved. The clause *b* intensifies the tension during this transition, which increases the impact of the frog's escape. After the statement of the *CA*, the narrator states that the boy is looking for the frog (P- 4.3.6); the statement which shows that the narrator is well aware of the problem to be resolved.

- (P- 4.3.6)
- a köpek ay çocuk da pencereyi açmış
'And the dog, sorry, the boy opened the window'
 - b kurbağaya bağırmış olabilir
'He might have called out the frog'
- (Age 3:11: the same informant who produces P-4.3.5)

The clause *a* and *b* in P-4.3.6 reveals that the action that is taken by the boy and the dog is goal orientated. That is, they open the window in order to see whether the frog is outside the house.

The problem stated in *CA* and intensified during the series of attempts to resolve it ignites the emergence of a *Resolution* even in 3- and 4-year-olds who are considered to produce a story (P-4.3.7).

- (P- 4.3.7)
- a* bir kurbağa görmüşler
'They saw a frog'
- b* sevinmişler
'They were happy'
- c* kurbağa nerdeymiş biliyor musun?
'Do you know where frog was?'
- d* bunun arkasında
'Behind this'
- e* bu da bir arı yuvası
'And this is a bee nest'
- f* bu da arı yuvası
'This is also a bee nest'
- g* sonra bir bakmışlar
'Then they had a glance'
- h* köpek sevinmiş
'The dog was happy'
- i* çocuk sevinmiş
'The boy was happy'
- j* o zaman güvenmiş ona böyle
'Then it (the frog) trusted it (the other frog) like this'
- k* sevmiş
'(It) loved (it)'
- l* çünkü bulmuşlar ya
'Because they found them'
- m* kaybolmuş bunlar
'They got lost'
- n* bulmuş bunlar
'These found (them)'
- o* bu kurbağalar
'These frogs'
- (Age 3:11 the same 3-year-old who produced the P- 4.3.1)

P-4.3.7 above is from a 3-year-old. It reflects the general characteristics of the stories produced by 3-year-olds, although the frequency of those who produce such stories is rather low. The Resolution section this informant produces contains many non-narrative clauses inserted in between narrative clauses (e.g. the clauses e-f, which state the existence of a bee nest, does not contribute to the construction of the *Resolution* in this protocol; and the clauses l-o, which are explanatory in purpose and dialogic in structure). Despite the existence of such non-narrative clauses, the narrative clauses that are uttered to declare the resolution of the problem and to elaborate it determine the nature of the whole protocol, and thus, when approached as a whole, the protocol can be considered a *Resolution* section according to the criteria we have mentioned at the beginning of this section.

Considering the numerical and qualitative data, 4-year-olds' constructing *CA* and *Resolution* look more like those of 3-year-olds than those of 5-year-olds (P- 4.3.8)

- (P- 4.3.8)
- a* burda da kurbağa çıkıyor
'And here the frog is getting out'
 - b* çocuk uyuyor
'The child is sleeping'
 - c* burda da kalkmış
'And here, (he) got up'
 - d* kurbağa çıkmış
'The frog got out'
 - e* sonra köpek ... köpek... şeyin içine girmiş..kovanın
'Then the dog ... the dog went into um in the bucket'
 - f* ... yapmış çocuk ayakkabıya
'The child did the shoe (like this)'
 - g* sonra kimse yok ayakkabının içinde
'Then there is nobody in the shoe'
- (Age 4:04)

P-4.3.8, which is from a 4-year-old, seems to be a depiction of a picture in here and now context, which is very common in 3-year-olds. The clauses *a-d*, uttered one after the other, contain no linguistic devices to cohere them. Thus, it is not clear whether the informant narrates the events in the same order they occur (in the picture book), which is a criterion for 'narrativeness' according to Labov (1972), and creates coherence between the clauses by sequencing them purposefully (cf. the first three clauses in P-4.2.21), or whether he depicts each scene individually just because of the instant availability of that scene, and the events within the scene to his visual perception at the time of narration. The assumption that 4-year-olds usually depict the scenes in the picture book seems to be stronger because the informant narrates the frog's getting out of the jar first, clause *a*, and the child's falling asleep later, clause *b*. This way of sequencing might create such a notion that the state of the boy and the dog's 'being asleep' is embedded in the frog's 'getting out', which is practically not logical since if the process of the frog's getting out of the jar started prior to the protagonists' falling asleep, they would probably prevent the frog from escaping.

The way the narrator encodes the initial attempt to resolve the *CA* is so indirect in P- 4.3.8 (clauses *f* and *g*) that the audience has to consult his logic to understand that the protagonists are looking for the lost frog. The narrator uses paralinguistic features as a complementary support to what he says, and states that there is nobody in the shoe (*g*) -the only clue that implies that the boy and the dog are in search of the lost frog.

The quantitative difference between the *CA* sections produced by 5-year-olds and those produced by 3-and 4-year-olds is also observed in the quality their *CA* (see P-4.3.9).

- (P- 4.3.9)
- a* ondan sonra pencereyi açıp
'After that, (they) opened the window and'
- b* uyumaya gitmişler
'They went to bed'
- c* ondan sonra uyumuşlar
'After that they slept'
- d* uyumuşlar ondan sonra
'They slept after that'
- e* ondan sonra uyumuşlar
'After that they slept'
- f* ondan sonra kurbağa kaçmış
'After that the frog ran away'
- g* ondan sonra da onlar korkmuş
'After that, they are afraid'
- h* aramaya gitmişler
'(They) went to search'
- i* ondan sonra ...
'After that...'
- j* ondan sonra dışarı ... balkonu açıp
'After that, out... opened the door'
- k* nerdesin kurbağam diye bağırmışlar
'(They) screamed as where are you my froggie'
(Age 5:06)

P-4.3.9, which is produced by a 5-year-old, shows that, although the *CA* and the first attempt to resolve the *CA* are full of repetitions which distort the flow of the narrative, the quality of the *CA* is still preserved because the informant explicitly states that the frog runs away (clause *f*). An internal reaction develops in the mind of the protagonist (clause *g*), and the protagonists take the necessary actions to resolve the *CA* (clause *h*). It is a fact that there are 5-year-olds who produce *CAs* similar to those of 4- and 3-year-olds, however none of the 3- and 4-year-olds produce a *CA* on a par with P-4.3.9. Protocol 4.3.10 below, also, shows how 5-year-olds emphasize the awareness of the protagonists and thus differ from 3- and 4-year-olds, clauses *c-e*, about the problem and how this awareness stimulates them to take action to resolve this problem.

- (P-4.3.10)
- a* ondan sonra uyumuşlar
'After that they slept'
- b* kurbağa kavanozundan çıkmış
'The frog got out of the jar'
- c* uyanmışlar
'(They) woke up'
- d* bakmışlar ki kavanozda kurbağa yokmuş
'They saw that there is no frog in the jar'
- e* aramaya çıkmışlar

- ‘They began to search’
f önce # içeriye bakmışlar
‘They searched inside (the house) first’
g yokmuş
‘(It) was not there’
h her yeri aramışlar
‘They searched everywhere’
(Age 5:07)

Compared to younger ages, as the two protocols above show, 5-year-olds organize their *CA* as integrated with the first attempt to resolve the complicating action and this integration increases both the coherence in the macrostructure of the narrative and the maintenance of the creditability of the narrator, which they obtain from the audience by the *Abstract* and the *Orientation* section, to continue to tell the story.

The analysis of the *Resolution* sections from 5-year-olds does not yield results showing that there are characteristics specific to this age group only. As is the case in numerical values, the quality of the *Resolution* sections of 5-year-olds are more like those of 3- and 4- year-olds rather than those of older ages. The developmental differences are observed as follows: 3-year-olds produce narratives which do not contain discernable episodes; 4-year-olds produce *episodes*, but these episodes are not developed enough to be considered as story units; 5-year-olds produce episodes that turn out to be story units, however they do not contain all of the components that make up a story unit. The *Resolution* sections, like other story units, reflect the general characteristics of the stories produced by 5-year-olds: Although 5-year-olds produce discernable *Resolution* sections, they do not always resolve the problem explicitly in relation with the problem they conceptualize in *CA*.

For example, it is observed in P- 4.3.11 that, although the informant mentions the reunion of the protagonists and the frog(s), the child does not produce a *Resolution* section, which clearly shows that this reunion is the *Resolution* of the *CA*.

- (P- 4.3.11)
- a* burda da bu şşşt bir şey var diyor
‘And here, this says: “Hash, there is something’
b ondan sonra inceliyorlar
‘Then they examine’
c nedenini bulamıyorlar
‘They can’t find the reason’
d burda da köpeklen #ye başlamışlar
‘And here they began to # with the dog’
e ondan sonra kurbağalar gel-miş
‘Then the frogs have come’

- f* kurbağaların yuvasıymış orası
‘That place was the frogs’ home’
g burda da yavruları varmış
‘And here, there are the frogs’ babies’
h bizim yuvamız orası demişler
‘They said: “That is our home’
(Age 5:09)

In the clause *e* the informant states that ‘The frogs have *come*’ although it is obvious in the picture book that it is the protagonists who go to the place where the frogs are found. Such an encoding of the *Resolution* is observed in 3- and 4-year-olds and it reveals the informant’s lack of awareness that the boy and the dog in the picture book are in search of the lost frog (see similar finding in Joseph and Tager-Flusberg 1999).

There is a very close relationship between the quality of the resolution section and the narrator’s conceptualization of the frog’s getting out of the jar in *CA*. 5-year-olds who do not conceive the frogs’ getting out of the jar as a problem to be resolved do not produce Resolution sections in such a way as to satisfy the expectation of the audience about the resolution of the problem.

- (P-4.3.12)
- a* oyuncuğundan kurbağa çıkıyor
‘The frog is getting out of his toy’
b burda da çocuğun giysileri var
‘and here are the boy’s clothes’
c uyanmış
‘(he) woke up’
d köpeği de üstünde uyuyor
‘and his dog is sleeping on (him)’
e ondan sonra bu da onun kabı
‘and this is its/his pot’
(Age 5:09: The same child who produces P-4.3.11)

The 5-year-old, who produces P-4.3.11 as the Resolution section, produces P- 4.3.12 as the *CA* of his story. In this protocol, produced as a “*CA*”, the informant does not conceptualize, and thus he does not encode, the frog’s getting out of the jar as a problem. The proportion of the 5-year-olds who is not aware of the problem and thus who do not produce a *Resolution* at all is 42.8%. Only 21.4% of the 5-year-olds produce a well formed *CA* and a well formed *Resolution* in the same narrative. 35.7% of informants who produce *CA* sections which can be called “poor” in the sense that some of the qualitative features are missing, also produce *Resolution* sections where the informants are not explicit and clear about the expression of

the resolution of the problem. Only 7.1% of this age group produce narratives which contains a *CA* but does not contain a *Resolution*.

Although the frequency is low, 5-year-olds who produce a well formed resolution state explicitly that the problem is resolved and elaborate the celebrations after the declaration of ceremony of the departure (e.g. P- 4.3.13).

- (P- 4.3.13)
- a kurbayı bulmuşlar
'They found the frog'
 - b kurbağa ile arkadaş olmak istemişler
'They wanted to make friends with the frog'
 - c sonra ayağıyla bir bakmış
'Then, (he) felt with his foot'
 - d kurbağayla arkadaş olmuşlar
'They made friends'
 - e sonra kurbağaya ... iki kurbağaya "Allah'a ısmarladık" demişler
'Then they said, "Good bye to the two frogs"'
 - f demiş çocuk
'Said the child'
 - g sonra bir kurbağayla evine gitmiş
'Then, he went to his home with a frog'
- (Age 5:03)

In P- 4.3.13, the 5-year-old elaborates how the remaining frogs and the protagonists part. While 5-year-olds who do not produce a *Resolution* section mention that the 'frog is in the boy's hand' (which actually does not give any clue about the goal of the protagonist), those who produce a *Resolution* that is based on the problem they conceptualize in *CA* mention that the boy and the dog are going back home or they are happy because they got the frog again. Though producing such kind of clauses that express the celebrations after the resolution is not essential in order for an episode to be considered a *Resolution*. Such kind of "extra" features contribute to the strength of the idea that the problem is resolved in the mind of the narrator.

It is observed that, there are mainly two kinds of differences in the quality of the *CA* sections produced by 5- and 6-year-olds. The first one is the emergence of the components of *CA* in each narrator's *CA* section. While the proportion of 5-year-olds whose *CA* sections contain all of the three components of *CA*, the proportion of 6-year-olds whose *CA* sections contain those components at the same time increases to 71.4% (see the explicit statement of the problem and the awareness of the protagonists of this problem in Table 4.3.2 below). The second difference is the use of foregrounding and backgrounding strategy in the presentation

of some states or events against others in *CA*. While half of 6-year-olds produce a temporal background for the frog's disappearance, this strategy is not observed in the *CA* produced by 5-year-olds so often.

Table 4.3.2. Sample protocols that show the difference between the *CA* sections produced by 5- and 6-year-olds.

AGE 5	AGE 6
A a sonra kurbağa birden çıkmış b sonra da çıkmış c sonra sadece yere yatmış d sonra da köpek üstüne yat ... üstünde (Age 5:3)	B a kurbağa da o sırada kavanozundan çıkmış b çocuk uyanıp c kurbağaya bir bakmış d kavanozunda yok e böyle köpeği de üstüne çıkmış f oda bakmış (Age 6:00)
C a kurbağa kaçıyor b kurbağa kaçıyor c kalktıklarında d kurbağa yok (Age 5:10)	D a ondan sonra kurbağa çıkmaya başlıyor b ondan sonra sabah olunca c çocuk bakıyor d bulamıyor kurbağayı e köpek de bakıyor (Age 6:01)
E a kurbağa kaçmış b ondan sonra köpek ve çocuk uyuyormuş c ondan sonra çocuk bakmış d kurbağa yok e köpek de bakmış (Age 5:10)	F a çocuk uyurken b kurbağa kaçıyor c çocuk kurbağayı göremeyince d şaşıyor e köpek de şaşıyor (Age 6:10)
G a ondan sonra uyumuşlar b ondan sonra kurbağa kaçmış (Age 5:09)	

P-A, which is from a 5-year-old, in Table 4.3.2 contains the explicit statement of the problem in the clause *a*, but it does not contain other components of a *CA*. Thus, whether this protocol can be considered a *CA* is open to discussion. P-C involves both the explicit statement of the problem (clause *a*) and a clause that contains the statement of 'awareness' of somebody of the frog's missing. However whether this awareness is that of the protagonists or of the narrator himself is not obvious. P-E contains both the problem and the protagonists' awareness of the problem that are stated explicitly.

Protocols B, D and F in Table 4.3.2 are from 6-year-olds. As it is illustrated by these protocols, 6-year-olds express the problem and the awareness of the protagonists of the problem explicitly (see clauses *a* in B, *a* in D and *b* in F for the expression of the problem;

clauses *c-d* in B, *c-d* in D and *c* in F for the expression of the awareness of the protagonists of the problem).

The clause *a* in P-B contains the temporal element *o sırada* ‘at that time’. Along with encoding simultaneity, this temporal element creates a background for the frog’s escape from the jar. Similarly, the clause *çocuk uyurken* ‘while the boy is sleeping’ in P-F creates an obvious background for the frog’s getting out of the jar. P-E from a 5-year-old, bears the notions of backgrounding for the informant mentions the frog’s getting out of the jar in relation with the boy’s state of sleep, however this notion is not realized in the same way as it is done by 6-year-olds. It can be generalized that while 5-year-olds (only 21.4% in this study) *attempt* to foreground one event/state against another simply by sequencing the clauses (see P-G) 6-year-olds (35.7% in this study) use explicit temporal elements to achieve this phenomenon. From a developmental perspective, since each developmental stage is a prerequisite for the emergence of its successor (Kessen 1983: 110), backgrounding and foregrounding phenomenon that exists as a notion in 5-year-olds appears to exist as a linguistic realization in 6-year-olds and older informants.

Along with differences in the production of *CA*, it is observed that 6-year-olds produce *Resolution* sections that are more coherent and informative about the resolution of the problem (e.g. P-4.3.14) compared to those of 5-year-olds. The proportion of the 6-year-olds who produce a well formed *CA* and a well formed *Resolution* is 71.4%.

Table 4.3.3. A protocol which represents well formed *CA* and *Resolution* sections produced by 6-year-olds.

CA	RESOLUTION
a çocuk uyurken	a çocuk köpeğe sessiz ol diyor
b kurbağa kaçıyor	b ağacın arka tarafında (Ø=çocuğ-un) kurbağa-sı-nı görüyor
c çocuk kurbağayı göremeyince	(Ø=boy-GEN) frog-3.sg.-ACC
d şaşırıyor	‘(The boy) sees his frog behind the tree’
e köpek de şaşırıyor	c aşağıya inip
(Age 6:10)	d kurbağayı almaya çalışıyor
	e köpek de çocuğa bakıyor
	f çocuk kurbağayı... kurbağasını almaya çalışıyor
	g kurbağayı eline alıyor

In Table 4.3.3, the informant mentions the problem, the protagonists awareness of this problem and the internal reaction that is arisen in the protagonists mind by the awareness of the problem. That is, the *CA* section contains the features that would make it a well formed

one. Similar qualitative features are observed in the Resolution in the same table. The 6-year-old informant encodes, by means of the genitive, marker both in clause *b* and *f* that the frog the boy sees is not an ordinary one but the boy's own frog. Furthermore, the informant assures in clause *g* that the boy gets his frog in his hand to take it back home, which clearly declares the resolution of the problem.

While 7.1% of this age group produce *CA* sections that contain few components and *Resolution* sections that do not really resolve the problem, 14.2% of them produce a well formed *CA* but poor *Resolution* sections, which are open to discussion about whether they really resolve the problem or not because the narrators are rather indirect in the expression of the resolution (P- 4.3.14).

Unlike the informant who produces *Resolution* in Table 4.3.3, the 6-year-old who produces P-4.3.14 is not so clear about whether the frog the boy sees is the one which is missing or whether the boy is able to get it in his hand to take it back home.

- (P- 4.3.14)
- a* burda bakmışlar
'here, they saw (that)'
 - b* kurbağalar orda
'the frogs are there'
 - c* ondan sonra çocuk iniyor
'then the boy is getting down'
 - d* köpek orda oturuyor
'the dog is sitting there'
 - e* burda çocuklar gidiyor
'here the children are leaving'
- (Age 6:11)

It is observed that 14.2% of 6-year-olds do not produce a *CA* at all but they produce a *Resolution*. Another group of 14.2% of them produce neither a *CA* nor a *Resolution* in their narratives although they produce episodes that are more discernable than those of 4-year-olds but similar to those of 5-year-olds.

The reunion of the frog and the protagonists is expressed by 21.4% of 6-year-olds through the words that bear emotional connotations rather than through emotionally unbiased words 'find' or "see" (P- 4.3.13), which is the case in 5-year-olds.

- (P- 4.3.13)
- a* kurbağasını ve annesine kavuşmuş (regain-mİş)

‘(The boy) regained his frog and its mother’
b ondan sonra gitmişler
‘Then they were gone’

(Age 6:03)

The components that determine the quality of a *CA* were defined at the beginning of this section. They are, the explicit statement of the problem, the statement of the awareness of the protagonists of the problem, the statement of the internal reaction of the protagonists and the statement of the first attempt to resolve the problem, which is not inside the global *CA* but closely related to it. With respect to the emergence of these criterial components, 7-year-olds produce fully mature *CA* sections since all of those components, except the statement of *internal reaction*¹, exist in all of the *CA* sections produced by this age group (see Chart 4.3.2). The frequency of the emergence of these components does not decrease in any of the older age groups, including adults. With these objective criteria in mind, it can be argued that there are no qualitative differences between the *CA* sections produced by 7-year-olds and those produced by older age groups. One can argue, by looking at the sample protocols provided in Table 4.3.4, below, that the *CA* sections produced by adults (Ps- M, N and O) seem to be more coherent and elaborate (e.g. clause *e* in P-O); and, we admit, as it is observed in those protocols, that they are. However, the differences that are observed in the overall structure of the stories by each age group should not be conceived as the differences in each section of the story. That is, the coherence and elaboration observed in adult’s *CA* sections are observed in all other story sections produced by adults. Thus, the coherence observed in *CA* is not a feature that increases the quality of the *CA* only, for it is a feature that is related with story itself as a whole. For instance, the use *ve* ‘and’ at the beginning of clauses is observed in the protocols by 13-year-olds and adults more often than in those produced by younger ages. Our analysis to see whether this usage is particular to *CA* sections or not yielded results, which are discussed in details in the analysis of the emergence of *ve* in Chapter V, showing that these age groups use it similarly in all other story sections.

The following table demonstrates the emergence of the components of *CA* relative to age of the narrator.

¹ The statement of *internal reaction* shows an idiosyncratic distribution (see Chart 4.3.2). Thus, this component should not be a considered one of the basic criterial components that determine the quality of a *CA* section.

Table 4.3.4 The emergence of the components of *CA* relative to age starting from 7-year-olds.

<p>A a çocuk uyumuş b kurbağası kavanozundan çıkmış c köpeği de uyandırmış çocuğu d haber vermiş kurbağa kaçtı diye e ondan sonra çocuk da kavanoza bakıyormuş f ondan sonra hemen üstünü değiştirmiş g köpek de kafasını kavanoza sokmuş h kurbağayı aramaya çıkmışlar (Age 7:07)</p>	<p>B a daha sonra da köpeğiyle çocuk uyuyor b kurbağa da çok sessiz kaçıyor c ondan sonra da çok sessiz sessiz kaçıyor kaptan bu kadar d sonra köpeklerle çocuk kalkmış ki e kurbağa yok f çok üzölmüşler g şimdi hemen giysilerini giyiyor h köpek de kavanozun içine giriyor i ondan sonra da camı açıyor j bağırıyor (Age 7:02)</p>	<p>C a kurbağa kaçıyor birden b onlar uyurken c çocuk sabah uyanınca d köpeğiyle beraber kavanozun içine bakıyor e kavanozda kurbağa yok f hemen üstünü giyiyor g köpek de kurbağayı kavanozun içinde arıyor h ama köpek ve çocuk kurbağayı bulamıyorlar (Age 7:03)</p>
<p>D a kurbağa dışarıya çıkararak b gezmek istemiş c sonra bu çocuğun köpeği sırtına çıkmış uyurken d bir bakmışlar kurbağa yok olmuş e sonra çocuk üstünü giyinmiş f köpeği kavanozun .. köpeğin kafası kavanozun içine girmiş g sandalyeler dağılmış h köpek ve çocuk kurbağayı arıyorlarmış (Age 8:09)</p>	<p>E a ali akşam uyurken b kurbağa kavanozundan çıkmış c ali sabah uyandığında d kurbağayı kavanozunda görmeyince e çok üzölmüş f her tarafa bakmış g ama bulamamış (Age 8:02)</p>	<p>F a kurbağa yuvasından kaçmış b köpek de o sırada uyumuş d köpek birden çocuğu uyandırmış e çocuk hayretler içerisinde şişeye bakmış f kurbağası kaçmış g çocukla köpek her tarafa bakmışlar (Age 8:00)</p>
<p>G a sonra çocuk uyurken b kurbağa kaçıyor c saklandığı yerden kaçıyor d çocuk uyandığında e kurbağanın kaçtığını görüyor f her yeri araştırıyor g bakıyor h bulamıyor (Age 9:04)</p>	<p>H a uyumuş çocuk b kurbağa bu arada kaçmış kavanozun içinden c sonradan çocuk uyandığında d kavanozda olmadığını görmüş e ve çok üzölmüş f her yere bakmış g pencereden bağırılmış (9:04)</p>	<p>I a kurbağa da şişeden çıkıyor b murat burda çizmelerini çıkarmış c uyuyor d kurbağa da kaçmaya çalışıyor e murat uyandığında f şişeye bakmış g bakmış kurbağa yok h köpeğiyle birlikte çok şaşırmışlar i murat üstünü acele acele giyinip j çizmelerin içine bakmış k burada da köpeğini şişeden ... köpeğin kafasının şişeye sıkıştığını unutmuş l kurbağayı arıyormuş (Age 9:02)</p>
<p>J a ve kurbağa oradan kaçıyor b uyanıyor çocuklar c köpek bakıyor d çocuk da bakıyor</p>	<p>K a yatıyorlar b ve kurbağa camdan çıkıyor c sabah olduğunda işte</p>	<p>L a köpek ve çocuk uykuya daldı b kurbağa da bu fırsattan istifade c kavanozdan atladığı gibi kaçtı d sabah olunca çocuk kavanozu boş</p>

<p>e kurbağa yok</p> <p>f sonra çocuk hemen aceleyle üstünü giyiyor</p> <p>g köpek de kavanoza kafasını sokarak</p> <p>h daha dikkatli şekilde bakıyor</p> <p>i kurbağayı bulamıyorlar (Age 13)</p>	<p>d köpekle sahibi bakıyor</p> <p>e kurbağa yok</p> <p>f kaçmış</p> <p>g ondan sonra arıyorlar köpekle sahibi</p> <p>h ayakkabıların içine filan bakıyorlar (Age 13)</p>	<p>gördü</p> <p>e ve oda şaşırıldı</p> <p>f hemen üstünü giyiniş</p> <p>g kurbağasını aramaya çıktı (Age 13)</p>
<p>M</p> <p>a sonra köpekle çocuk uyuyor</p> <p>b bu arada kurbağa kavanozdan kaçıyor</p> <p>c sabah çocukla köpek uyandıklarında</p> <p>d kurbağanın kavanozda olmadığını görüyorlar</p> <p>e sonra kavanozun içinde</p> <p>f botların içinde</p> <p>g köpek ve çocuk her tarafı arıyorlar kurbağayı bulmak için (Adult)</p>	<p>N</p> <p>a sonra bir gün ali uyurken</p> <p>b kurbağa kavanozundan çıkıp kayboldu</p> <p>c ali uyandıığında</p> <p>d göremez kurbağayı şişesinde</p> <p>e ve çok üzülür</p> <p>f onu aramaya başlar (Adult)</p>	<p>O</p> <p>a ama bir gün can yatağında uyurken</p> <p>b kurbağası vırak kavanozundan çıkmayı başardı</p> <p>c ve kaçtı evden</p> <p>d can uyandıığında</p> <p>e <u>kurbağasına baktı günaydın demek için</u></p> <p>f ama yoktu kurbağası kavanozun içinde</p> <p>g şaşırıldı ve çok üzüldü can</p> <p>h her yeri aradı (Adult)</p>

Despite the similarities in the emergence of the criterial components in the *CA* sections produced by 7-, 8-, 9-, 13-year-olds and adults, some stylistic differences in the construction of the *CA* sections are observed. 35.7% of adults are observed to inform the audience that the initial state described in the *Orientation* section ends, and a new state is started by the frog's getting out of the jar by means of the use of *bir gün/akşam/gece* 'one day/evening/night' at the beginning of the clause in which they declare the missing of the frog (see clause 'a's in Ps-N and O). Such a usage creates a strong foregrounding against the background created by *Orientation* section.

As is the case with the quality of the *CA*, the quality of the *Resolution* section produced by 7-year-olds differ from those of younger ages. The *Resolution* sections produced by 5- and 6-year-olds meet the basic criteria, such as informing the audience that the problem that causes the protagonists to take action is resolved. What differs in 7-year-olds is that they develop story-telling techniques that increase the creditability of the narrator, hence, the patience of the audience to listen to the story. The analysis of P-4.3.14 reveals that each of the lines, starting from the line *a*, contributes to the increase of tension just before the utterance of the clause which declares the resolution of the problem. Although sequencing clauses without overt cohesive devices is a characteristic that decreases the coherence of the story unit, it turns out to be an effective strategy in 7-year-olds to strengthen the coherence of the story

unit because 7-year-olds may narrate the events/states from a subjective perspective rather than merely depicting what is available in the picture book before them. While most of the younger ages depict the scene where the boy signals to the dog that it should be quiet as *çocuk sus işareti yaptı/mış/yor* ‘the boy made a signal of silence’ by referring to the sign itself, the 7-year-old informant above implies the ‘aim’ of the child by that signal instead of depicting the signal itself. This may imply that the construction of narrative gets more *goal oriented* as the age of the narrator increases.

- (P-4.3.14)
- a* o sırada ses çıkarmamaya çalışmışlar
‘At that time they tried not to make noise’
- b* kurbağa buralarda bir yerlerde olabilir diye düşünmüşler
‘“The frog may be somewhere here” they thought’
- c* odunun üstünden gitmişler
‘They went over the wood’
- d* arkalarına bakmışlar
‘They looked back’
- e* sonra da odunun arkasındaymış
‘And then it was behind the log’
- f* kurbağa arkadaş bulmuş bir tane kendine
‘The frog found a friend for himself’
- g* ondan sonra çocuk kurbağasını eline almış
‘After that the boy took his frog in his hand’
- h* götürüyormuş
‘He was taking it (somewhere)
- (Age 7:07)

As the clauses *a – b* in protocol 4.3.14. exemplify, 7-year-olds focus on why the protagonists want to be quiet and why they climb upon the log near the pond. By mentioning that the frog is the one that belongs to the child but not an ordinary one in clause *g*, the narrator announces that the protagonist achieves his goal.

The fact that all of the 7-year-olds, compared to 5-and 6-year-olds, produce a *CA* and a *Resolution*, which meet the basic criteria mentioned at the beginning of this section, implies that the age of 7 is a turning point in the development of the perception of the problem that stimulates the protagonists to take action; in encoding of this problem through linguistic and discursive means; and in the development of a conception that the problem which is perceived after the *Orientation* is to be resolved in the end. As the Theory of Developmental Stages, proposed by Piaget, the age of 7 is the age when *pre-operational stage* ends and *concrete operational stage begins*. At this stage of development, it is argued that the organizational skills of children are at an increase. Since the construction of a story requires a great deal organizational skills, from Piagetian perspective of development, it may be

argued that the production of goal oriented stories that are organized around a plotline starts at the age of 7 and develops during the stage of concrete operations, which covers the ages from 7 to 11 (Kessen 1983).

Despite a mild increase from the age of 7 (42.8%) to the age of 13 (50%), *Resolution* sections produced by 7-, 8-, 9- and 13-year-olds show common characteristics with respect to the emergence of the resolving event/state as a result of a goal oriented action (the utterances which show that the boy and the dog's *seeing* or *finding* the frogs is not a coincidental meeting, but a result of an active and conscious search). (see Table 4.3.5 and Chart 4.3.3).

Table 4.3.5. The emergence of the components of a Resolution section relative to age.

AGE	Mention of the goal oriented resolution	Explicit declaration of the resolving event/state	The utterance which states that the protagonists get the frog back
5	0	57.1	50
6	14.2	100	78.5
7	42.8	100	100
8	42,8	100	100
9	50	100	78,5
13	50	100	100
Adults	92,8	100	85,7
M	41,8	85,7	84,7
SD	29,6	16.2	18,2

It is observed that the emergence of the resolving event/state as a result of a goal oriented action, which is a qualitative feature of *Resolution* section, is closely related with the age of the narrator. As the Table 4.3.5 shows, there are three stages of development for the conceptualization of the 'goal orientedness' of the resolution.

In the first stage, children produce *Resolution* sections that seem to emerge as a result of merely coincidental encounter of the protagonists and the frogs with each other, which covers all of 5-year-olds who produce a Resolution, and a great majority of 6-year-olds (85.8%) (see sample Ps- A, B, C and D in Table 4.3.6).

The second developmental stage is the one in which the mention of the goal-oriented resolution is realized by a considerable proportion of narrators (from 42.8% to 50%), which covers 7-, 8-,9- and 13-year-olds (see sample Ps- E, F, G, H, I, J, K, and L). In the third

stage, which covers adults, almost all of the narrators (92.8%) produce *Resolution* sections that are the result of a goal-oriented action, (see sample M and N).

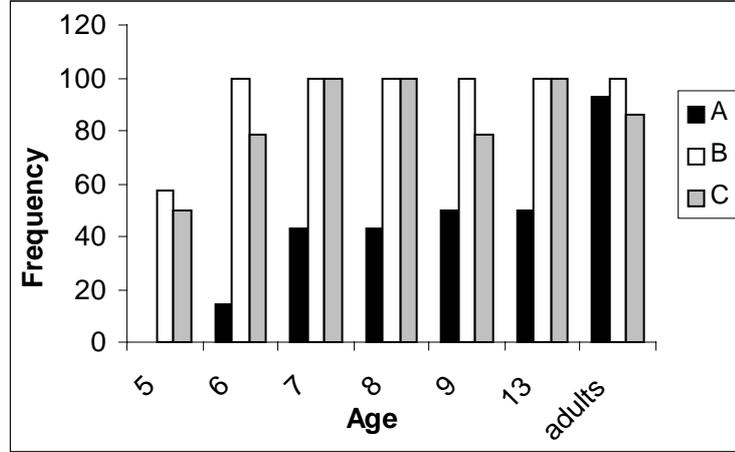


Chart 4.3.3 The emergence of the components of Resolution relative to age.

Legend: **A:** Mention of the goal oriented search of the protagonists just before they meet the frogs.
B: Explicit declaration of the resolving event/state
C: The utterance which states that the protagonists get the frog back.

The following table exemplifies how informants at different ages encode goal orientedness in their stories.

Table 4.3.6. The sample protocols that show the production of the components of Resolution section produced by informants at different ages.

<p>A a çocuk da sus diyor b sonra ağacın arkasına bakıyorlar köpekler ikisi c <u>sonra kurbağayla ... iki kurbağa görmüşler</u> d sonra onların <u>küçüklerini bulmuşlar</u> e sonra <u>kurbağasını almış</u> gidiyor f sonra onlarda bakıyor (Age 5:08)</p>	<p>B a burda da oğlan şşşt diyor b burda da ağacın üstüne çıkıyorlar c burda da ağaçtan <u>kurbağaları seyreliyorlar</u> d burda da # kurbağayı seyreliyorlar e burda da oğlan kurbağayı <u>eline almış</u> f yavru kurbağalar anne kurbağa ile baba kurbağa var Age (5:05)</p>
<p>C a sonra da şunların üstüne düşmüş b ondan sonra köpek de ... köpek balığı... geyik ay. c <u>sonra köpeğiyle dışarıya çıkmışlar</u> d abi çıkmış e <u>aramaya devam etmişler</u> f ondan sonra <u>sincapları bulmuşlar</u> g abi o sincabı. ... yavruları da varmış h almış i eve götürmüş j köpek de gidiyormuş (Age 6:00)</p>	<p>D a bu şşt demiş köpeğine çocuk b ve <u>birlikte atlamışlar</u> c <u>ordun arkasına</u> d ve sonra <u>kurbağayı bulmuşlar</u> e ama tabi ki karısı da ... f çocuklarını bulmuşlar bir de g ve sonra <u>birlikte bir tane kurbağa yavrusunu alıp</u> h eve dönmüş çocuk (Age 6:00)</p>
E	F

<p>a o sırada ses çıkarmamaya çalışmışlar b <u>kurbağa buralarda bir yerlerde olabilir diye düşünmüşler</u> c odunun üstünden gitmişler d arkalarına bakmışlar e sonra da <u>odunun arkasındaymış</u> f kurbağa arkadaş bulmuş bir tane kendine g ondan sonra çocuk <u>kurbağasını eline almış</u> h götürüyormuş (Age 7: 07)</p>	<p>a çocuk şşş demiş b <u>en sonunda</u> kütüğün arkasına bakmışlar c orda <u>iki tane kurbağa görmüşler</u> d <u>bunlardan biri de kurbağalarıymış</u> e kurbağaları ... kurbağaları da varmış f en sonunda çocuk <u>kurbağalarını alıp</u> g evlerine dönmeye karar vermiş h kurbağalar da onları çok özlemiş (Age 7: 07)</p>
<p>G a ve köpeğine sus diye işaret vermiş b <u>her tarafını aramışlar</u> c <u>her tarafı aramışlar</u> d bulamamışlar e köpeğiyle en sonunda bir ... mmm ... bir...aklıma gelmedi f ağacın şeyleri vardı ya o aklıma gelmedi g evet o aklıma gelmedi h kütük diyelim mi? i kütük de olabilir de... j kütüğün arkasında köpeğiyle birlikte köpeğin arkasına gelmiş k <u>kurbağa ordaymış</u> l bir sürü çocukları olmuş kurbağanın m ve sevinçli sevinçli kurbağalar da ... kurbağalardan yavrusunu almış n <u>kurbağadan bir tane yavrusunu almış</u> o ve ordan uzaklaşmış p yani evine gitmiş (Age 8:00)</p>	<p>H a şşt diyor köpeğine b köpeği de sesini çıkartmıyor c yürüyor d sonra ağaçların arkasına bakıyorlar köpeğiyle çocuk e baktıktan <u>sonra iki kurbağa görüyorlar</u> f ikisi çok şaşırıyor g şaşırıyor h ve alıyorlar i <u>alıyor bir tanesini</u> j ve yollarını devam ediyorlar (Age 8: 08)</p>
<p>I a burda köpeğe sessiz ol diyor b <u>kurbağayı ... kurbağayı aramak için ordan bakıyorlar</u> c sonra <u>kurbağayı görüyorlar</u> d burda böyle eşi çocuğuyla oturmuş e eşi ve çocuklarıyla görüyorlar f sonra kurbağaya hoşçakal diyor g kurbağalar da onlara vırak vırak diyorlar (Age 9: 04)</p>	<p>J a konuşmamasını söylüyor köpeğe b sonra çıkıyorlar c <u>kurbağayı buluyor</u> d onda çocukları olduğunu görüyor e ve ona <u>kurbağayı alıp</u> f dönüyorlar eve g sonra da kurbağalar onları izliyor h şey eee çocuk da onlara el sallıyor (Age 9: 10)</p>
<p>K a sonra çocuk köpeğine sessiz ol diyor b <u>sonra ağacın altında bir kurbağasının olduğunu zannediyor</u> c sonra çocuk <u>kurbağaları buluyor</u> d ve kurbağası yavrulamış e onun için kaçmış f sonra seviniyor çocuğu g sonra çocuk <u>bir tane yavru kurbağa alıyor</u> h ve diğerlerine güle güle diyor (Age 13)</p>	<p>L a çocuk köpeğine sessiz ol diyor b sonra ağacın arkasına bakıyorlar c <u>kurbağası orda</u> d ve kurbağanın yavruları ve kendisi oda duruyor e daha sonra <u>çocuk kurbağayı alarak</u> f o ... kurbağayı alarak o... gölden yüzerek çıkıyor (Age 13)</p>
<p>M a sonra ikisi de ... sığ bir su burası b <u>tekrar kurbağayı aramaya başlıyorlar</u> c burada büyük bir ağaç ... ağaç var ... d ağaç kütüğü var e <u>kurbağayı ararken</u> f köpekle çocuk bir <u>kurbağa ailesiyle karşılaşıyorlar</u> g kurbağa ailesinin çocukları var h bu çocukların arasında da i küçük kurbağaların arasında da <u>kendi kurbağasını görüyor</u> j çocuk çok sevinçli k <u>kurbağasını almış</u> bir şekilde k kurbağa ailesini selamlıyor l köpek de yanında</p>	<p>N a şimdi ali kurbağacık kurbağacık diye yine b gölde mmm.. c <u>kurbağasını aramaya koyulur</u> d <u>sonra kurbağayı bulurlar</u> e bakmışlardır ki kurbağa ailesinin yanına gelmiştir f annesiyle babasını bulmuştur g onlar da çok sevinirler kurbağayı bulduklarına h <u>kurbağacıklarını alır</u> i evlerine geri giderler</p>

m sevinçli bir şekilde n gidiyor (Adult)	(Adult)
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The clause *b* in P-A and clause *b* in P-B, by 5-year-olds, in Table 4.3.6 refer to the last action that is taken by the protagonists before they ‘see’ or ‘watch’ the frogs. Even if these clauses can be interpreted as a ‘search’ within the context that is created by overall structure of the story, it is obvious that 5-year-olds do not verbalize this search whereas it is done so by few of the 6-year-olds (14.2%). Whether the P-B by a 5-year-old can be considered a *Resolution* section is open to discussion since there is no evidence which shows that the boy and the dog are in search of the missing frog and the narrator is not clear about whether the boy and the dog ‘find’ the missing frog or whether they are watching (clause *b* and *c*) some ordinary frogs.

The two protocols, C and D, produced by 6-year-olds show that this age group constitutes a transitional group in the sense that, although the frequency is relatively low (14.2%), an attempt to produce *Resolution* sections that are the result of a goal oriented action (to find the frog in the case of frog stories) emerges for the first time at the age of 6, though the way it is realized differs from the way it is realized by 7-year-olds.

Realization of the notion of the production of a goal oriented *Resolution* occurs at the age of 7 and continues throughout the ages of 8, 9 and 13 in our data set without a notable increase. The informants (42.8%) at this age express explicitly that the protagonists have been in search of the missing frog and they do not include any clauses that would hint that the protagonists and the frog meet accidentally. Instead, unlike those of 5-year-olds, their *Resolution* sections contain some clues which imply that the protagonists have been in search of the frog even if this search is not verbalized. *En sonunda* ‘finally’ in clause *b* in P-F hints that the end state, which is the reappearance of the frog, is the expected product of a process rather than being an unexpectedly emerging state.

It is observed that, as the sample Protocols E-L show, there are not notable differences between the *Resolution* sections produced by 7-year-olds and those of 8-, 9- and 13-year-olds. The fact that the *Resolution* sections produced by older informants may seem to be more elaborate should not be conceived as a difference that applies to the quality of the *Resolution* section only, since this elaboration applies to the whole of the narratives

produced by older informants. As it has been previously stated, this is also the case with the quality of *CA* sections.

Adults constitute the normative group with respect to the production of mature *Resolution* sections. Although their *Resolution* sections do not contain features that do not exist in the *Resolution* sections produced by children from 7 to 9 and by 13-year-olds, almost all of the adults (92.8%) produce *Resolution* sections that are the result of an active and conscious search that starts upon the awareness of the problem in *CA* section. As the sample Protocols M and N shows, adults state explicitly that the protagonists are in search of the missing frog before they declare that the frog reappears.

Another difference between adults and all other age groups is that the proportion of adults who analyze each action into smaller processes and insert clauses that explain events/states in more details to create a background for foreground events and states.

As it is illustrated in clause *a* of P-4.3.15, the adult informant modifies the way the boy asks the dog to be quiet.

- (P-4.3.15)
- a* sessizce benekliye sessiz olmasını söyledi
'(He) asked benekli silently to be quiet'
- b* ve daha sonra ağaç kovuğunun arkasına doğru eğildiler
'Then they bent over behind the tree hole (log)'
- c* ve orda iki tane kurbağanın olduğunu gördü
'And (he) saw that there were two frogs there'
- d* bu kurbağalardan bir tanesi
'One of these frogs'
- e* daha önce kendilerinin yakalamış olduğu
'which they themselves caught before'
- f* sevimli kurbağaydı
'was the lovely frog'
- ...
- g* onunla oynamaya başladılar
'They started to play with it'
- h* daha önce yakaladıkları sevimli kurbağa ve ailesi ise
'The lovely frog they had caught before and its family'
(Adult)

The proportion of the adults who use such modifications is relatively high while younger ages usually report this event by means of such clauses as *çocuk köpeğine sessiz ol diyor* 'the boy asks the dog to be quiet'; the style which bears more features of mere depiction. It is observed that most of 3- and 4-year-olds verbalize this event as *çocuk sus işareti yapıyor* 'the

boy gives a “be silent” signal to the dog’ or *böyle yapıyor* ‘the boy does like this’ depicting the event through paralinguistic means.

The clause *b* analyzes the processes that explain how the boy and the dog see the frogs while clauses *d-f* and *h* remind the audience again and again that the problem has been resolved in the way the protagonists desire it to be.

To conclude this section, it is observed that the emergence of the *CA* and *Resolution* sections shows both quantitative and qualitative differences relative to the age of the narrator. The main developmental difference in the emergence of these two story sections is observed between the ages of 7 and younger children and between children and adults, which will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion part of this chapter.

4.4 The emergence of *Attempts to Resolve the CA*

Attempts to Resolve the Complicating Action (henceforth ARCA) are not considered to be a separate story unit in Labov’s (1972) analysis of the story structure. Instead, it is analyzed within the *CA* section since each attempt is a mini-story with its orientative beginning, complicating action and resolution. The reason why we analyze this part of the global *CA* separately is to see whether the age of the informants is a factor in the production of ARCA.

Table 4.4.1: The emergence of the Attempts to Resolve the CA across ages (Numbers out of 14).

Age	Initiated and resolved successfully	%	Initiated but not resolved	%	Not produced at all	%
3	3	21,4	2	14,3	9	64,3
4	4	28,6	4	28,6	6	42,9
5	9	64,3	5	35,7	0	0,0
6	14	100,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
7	14	100,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
8	14	100,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
9	14	100,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
13	14	100,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Adult	14	100,0	0	0,0	0	0,0

In order to have an insight into what constitutes the *quality* of an attempt to resolve the *CA*, we have first analyzed stories produced by adults assuming that their ARCA contain the components that determine the quality of an ARCA. Our analysis yielded results showing

that there are three criterial components of any ARCA. An orientative clause which presents information about the new attempt and which usually starts with a discourse marker that is used to associate or dissociate, or in some cases both to associate and dissociate at the same time, the present attempt to/from the previous one; a local complicating action and a resolution. When an attempt is successful in resolving the problem conceived in the global CA, the resolution of this attempt turns out to be the *Resolution* section of the story.

According to the criteria mentioned above, as the table 4.4.1 shows, only 3 out of 14 of the 3-year-olds produce narratives that can be considered a *story*. Although some of the 3-year-olds construct clauses that initiate an attempt (clauses *a* and *b* in P-4.4.1), or they imply here and there in the text that the boy and the dog are in search of the lost frog (clauses *d*, *l*, and *bb* in the P- 4.4.1 and clauses *d* and *l*, in P- 4.4.2), they fail to construct episodes that have a local complicating action and a resolution. Furthermore, they even fail to construct episodes that are framed with an orientative clause at the beginning and a local resolution in the end as it is illustrated in P-4.4.1 and P-4.4.2.

- (P- 4.4.1)
- a* çocuk da ayakkabının altına bakmış
‘And the child searched under the shoe’
- b* ama yokmuş
‘But (it) wasn’t there’
- c* sonra pencereden bakmış
‘Then (he) looked out of the window’
- d* huuu demiş
‘(He) yelled “huuu”
- e* ondan sonra da onu sonra da köpek kavanozu kafasının içini ...
içine girdirmiş
‘And then that one, and then the dog inserted the jar into its head’
- f* sonra ağaç... ağaç orda mış duruyomuş
‘And the tree was there’
- ...
- k* orda ağaçlar varmış
‘There were trees there’
- l* çocuk da huu demiş yine
‘And the child said huu’
- ...
- aa* sonra çocuk da orda hemen ağaç ağacına bakmamış
‘Then the child looked at/searched his tree there’
- bb* ama yokmuş
‘But it was not there’
- cc* sonra kuş gelmiş
‘Then the bird has come’

(Age 3:11)

- (P-4.4.2)
- a* sonra kuş gelecekmiş burdan
'Then the bird would come from here'
- b* sonra çiçeğin üstüne çıkmış
- c* 'Then (he) climbed up the flower'
- d* bişey bulcakmış #
'(he) would find something'
- e* sonra inmemiş
'Then he did not climbed down'
- f* ayaklarını koymuş
'(He) put his feet'
- (Age 3:05)

The children who do not produce attempts usually construct clauses that state the existence of the entities and happenings individually rather than the series of events that are performed by or happen to the characters in the picture book (P-4.4.3). It is observed that these children do not conceive the frog's getting out of the jar as a problem to be solved, which is a prerequisite for the production of ARCA. All of the 5-year-olds who do not produce ARCA are observed not to construct a concept of problem to be solved in global *CA*.

- (P- 4.4.3)
- a* bunlar at bunlar ##
'These are horses these #'
- b* bu da kız
'And this is a /the girl'
- c* açıyoda bunu ##
'Opening this'+
-
- d* örümcek de gözlerini açmış
'And the spider opened its eyes'
- e* örümcek çıkmış.
'The spider got out (of the jar)'
- f* kız kalkmış
'The girl got up'
- g* inmiş aşağıya
'(he) got down'
- h* bu da buda pantolonu
'And these are (his/her) pants'
- i* bu da ayakkabısı
'And this is her/his shoe'
- j* mmmkız da onu açmış
'Um the girl opened that'
- k* bakmış
'(S/he) looked'
- (Age 3:05)

The 3-year-old who produce the protocol above merely list the items or actions that are available to her vision at the time of narration in the picture book. Her first clause (clause *a*) does not bear orientative features, and neither does it inform any complicating situation.

Although naming the frog and other entities as some other things not observed very often, other protocols that are produced by 3-year-olds are not very much different from the protocol 4.4.3 with respect to the construction of a *CA* which governs the emergence of both ARCA and a *Resolution*. The numerical values are presented in Chart 4.1.1 below.

The proportion of the 3-year-olds who produce a global and/or episodic *CA* and resolve it successfully, which is (21.4%), is rather low compared to those of who fail to produce those story units (78.6%). However, even this low proportion is significant since previous literature (Aksu-Koç 1988a) yielded results showing that none of the 3-year-olds produce narratives that can be considered a story in Labov's understanding.

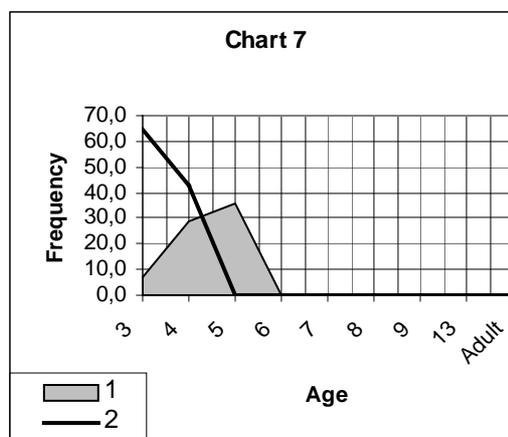
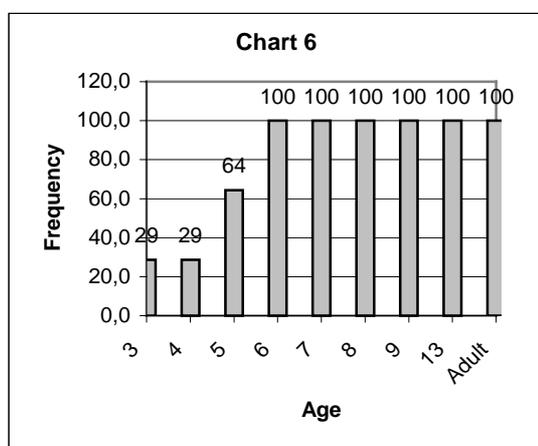


Chart 4.4.1: Attempts initiated successfully

Chart 4.4.2: 1- Attempts initiated but not resolved
2- Informants who did not produce any attempts at all.

Although these 3-year-olds insert many non-narrative components (real time dialogues, questions) in the main line of the plot and they often shift between the time of the narrative and the narration (see appendix 2), the texts they produce provide more than basic story units, which are *CA* and *Resolution*¹.

¹ It is observed that, with regard to macro-structure of a story, 3-year-olds are more successful in producing narratives, which contain an *Orientation*, a *CA*, which is integrated with the first attempt, a *Resolution* and an overt *Coda* when they are asked to recount a cartoon they have watched or a story they have heard before (see appendix 20). The *Orientation* they produce when they recount a previously heard story or a cartoon which they watch before usually starts with *Bir varmış, bir yokmuş* 'Once upon a time'. It is questionable whether this orientation is really a product of the child's cognizance that he

As the Table 4.4.1 reveals, the proportion of the 4-year-olds who construct episodes that can be considered ‘attempts to resolve the CA’ is higher than that of the 3-year-olds. However it cannot be argued that 4-year-olds are better in producing attempts because they cannot sustain the problem and they fail to resolve it successfully (cf. Chart 4.4.2:1), which is the case in 3-year-olds, too. As has been stated before for the production of other story units, 4-year-olds are more like 3-year-olds than 5-year-olds in the ability of the production of attempts to resolve the episodic *CA* (see Chart 4.4.1 and P-4.4.4)

- (P-4.4.4)
- a* bir tane çocuk görüyorum
‘I see a child’
 - b* uyuyor
‘(He) is sleeping’
 - c* kurbağa çıkıyor
‘The frog is getting out’
 - d* terlik var
‘There is a slipper’
 - e* sonra bir pantolon var
‘Then there are trousers’
 - f* sonra bir giysi var
‘Then, there is a cloth’
 - g* bir de şu # çocuk köpeğini ..köpek çocuğun şurasını olmuş
‘And this, the child his dog... the dog happened this part of the child’
 - h* terlik var
‘There is a/the slipper’
 - i* kavanozda kurbağa vardı
‘There was a/the frog in the jar’
 - j* gitmiş
‘(It) was gone’
 - k* çocuk bir pantolonu var
‘The child has trousers’
 - l* giysisi var
‘There are his clothes’
- (Age 4:06)

The dramatic change in the production of attempts to resolve the CA occurs in 5-year-olds. While only 21.4% of the 3-year-olds and 28.6% of the 4-year-olds produce episodes that can be discerned, all of the 5-year-olds do produce episodes that are initiated, developed and resolved, although all of these episodes were not ‘attempts to resolve the global CA’ in the sense that some of them were just descriptions of events in isolation (cf. P- 4.4.5)

(P- 4.4.5)

should orient his audience to the setting or whether it is the activation of the *cliché*, ‘once upon a time’ whenever the act of narration is in question. This question arises because although adults do not start recounting a movie with the cliché ‘once upon a time’ the 3-year-old who recount a cartoon orients the audience with this cliché (see appendix 20).

- a sonra ikisi anne diye çağırmiş
'then, they both yelled saying "mom"'
- b sonra tavşan görmüş
'then they saw a rabbit'
- c bir bakmış
'he looked suddenly'
- d içinde tavşan varmış
'there was a rabbit inside'
- e sonra ay sincap varmış
'then, sorry, there was a squirrel'
- f sonra da böyle yapmış
'then he did like this'
- g şaşırmiş
'(he) was surprised'

(Age 5:03)

Protocol 4.4.5, by a 5-year-old, can be considered an episode since it includes an initiation (*a*), a development (*b-f*) and a resolution (*g*). However the initiating clause (*a*) is not coherent with the global CA of this particular story. That is, the informant is not aware that the boy in the picture is calling out the lost frog but not the mother. Thus, this part of the story can be considered an episode but not an 'attempt to resolve the global CA'. This is the point where 5- and 6-year-olds differ. While 35.7% of the 5-year-olds fail to integrate their episodes with the global CA, all of the 6-year-olds are successful in producing real 'attempts' by either stating explicitly that the boy and the dog are in search of the lost frog at the beginning of each episode or by implying that they fail to find the frog at the end of the episode (cf. P-4.4.6) (see Aksu-Koç 1993 for similar findings)

(P- 4.4.6)

- a sonra köpek de kafasına bir kavanoz geçirmiş
- b çocuk da o sırada giyiniyormuş
- c giyindikten sonra birlikte çıkmışlar dışarı
- d kurbağam kurbağam nerdesin diye bağıryormuş çocuk penceresinde
- e sonra pencereden çıkmışlar
- f ama önce köpek düşmüş kavanozuyla birlikte
- g sonra o da inmiş
- h gitmişler aramaya ormana
- i ama sonra bir sürü kuş gelmiş
- j o ormana doğru yol alıyorlarmış kuşlarla birlikte
- k kuşları izliyorlarmış
- l ve sonra çocuk da kurbağam burdamışın diye bağıryormuş
- m köpek de o sırada hav hav diyormuş
- n sonra birisi sokmuş
- o arıların evi de düşüp
- p bütün arılar köpeğin üstüne ya ... gelmiş
- q ve çocuk da bütün yerleri aramaya gitmiş o sırada
- r bu sefer de çocuk ağaçtan düşmüş
- s orası bir baykuşun eviymiş
- t köpek de arıları ko..
- u arılar köpeği kovalarken

- v köpek de kaçıyormuş
w ve baykuş da onu.. çocuğa bakmış
x ve ona doğru ... uzaklaşmış ondan
y sonra çocuk hala aramaya ... kurbağasını ve köpeğini aramaya çalışıyormuş
z ve bir tane geyik gelmiş
aa onu sırtına almış
bb kafasına almış
cc köpeği de tek başına ... sırtına binmeden gidiyormuş
dd ve yolun sonuna gelmek üzereymiş
ee ve sonra düşüyorlar böyle
ff sonra da # görünüyor
gg ve suya düşüyorlar

(Age 6:00)

Concerning the emergence of basic story units *CA* and *Resolution*, our data yielded results showing that there are not significant structural differences between the narratives of 7-, 8-, 9-, 13-year-olds and those of adults in the sense that all of the 7-year-olds and older informants, including adults, produce a *CA*, a *Resolution* and attempts to resolve the *CA* (see appendices 9-18).

Though some of the informants are notably idiosyncratic in the division of episodes, most of the 7-year-olds and older informants draw the borderline of the episodes according to certain events/states, a topic which will be discussed in details in Chapter VI while analyzing the function of temporal elements. For instance, most of the informants who produce attempts to resolve the *CA* start the first attempt with the boy and the dog's search for the frog in the room; the second with the boy and the dog's shouting out of the window for the frog; the third with the boy and the dog's search for the frog outside the house; the fourth with the boy's climbing up the tree to look in the hollow of the tree trunk; and the fifth the boy's climbing up the rock to call out the frog (see Appendices 9-18).

Despite similarities in the structure of the *CA* and *Resolution*, it is observed that 13-year-olds and adults differ from younger ages with respect to their elaboration of the states and events within those attempts. Although 9-year-olds use modifiers, which can be said to contribute to the "storyness" of the text, before nouns and verbs, the proportion of the use of these words by 13-year-olds is higher compared to those of 9-year-olds. 13-year-olds look more like adults in that they construct more complex sentences and usually include the statements related to the internal state of the mind of the protagonists and the cause – effect relationship. On the other hand, adults mention not only what is readily available in the pictures but also *what there is in the mind* of the characters in the picture book (cf. P-4.4.7)

(P-4.4.7)

- a o sırada yerde bir delik buldular
'at that time they found a burrow on the ground'
- b ahmet iyi biliyordu ki
'ahmet knew well that'
- c burada bir canlı yaşıyordu
'a creature has been living here'

(Adult)

The adult narrator speaks in an omnipotent tone of voice stating Ahmet's (The name given to the boy) knowledge about the things in the burrows on the ground, which is not explicitly available in the pictures.

4.5 The emergence of *Evaluation*

The reasons why the *Abstract* (4.1) section does not exist in the stories of the informants who participated in this study play a role in the lack of *Evaluation*, too. None of the participants produced clauses that reflect the attitude of the narrator to the whole or any part of their narrative simply because the narrators did not need to develop strategies to convince the audience for anything or to increase the pleasure the audience would expect from the story. The reason why Labov's informants produced evaluative clauses may be because they were asked to narrate *fight* or *being in danger of death* stories. In those stories, probably they had to convince the audience (the researcher in that case) that the situation they were in was really dangerous or the reason why they fought was a reasonable one for having a fight (cf. Labov 1972: 367).

4.6 The emergence of *Coda*

Coda, which functions to inform the audience that the story is over, that the ground is no more the narrator's, and that the narrator returns to the present time from the time of the story which has just been told, emerges in three forms in the narratives analyzed in this study. They are: *Overt Coda*, where the narrator declares that the story is over through linguistic means, such as *bitti* 'its over' (P-4.6.1 and P-4.6.4); *Coda implied through gestures*, where the narrator makes use of gestures, such as stopping the narration and looking into the eyes of the audience in a certain manner, instead of using linguistic means, to signal the audience that the story is over (P-4.6.2); and *Coda implied through linguistic means*, such as *ve mutlu bir hayat sürdüler* 'they lived happily ever after' (P-4.6.3).

(P-4.6.1)

- a kaplumbağayı almışlar

- ‘They got the frog’
b gitmiş
‘(he) is gone’
c burda da masal bitmiş
‘And here, the story is over’
(Age 3:11)

- (P- 4.6.2)
a bay bay yapmış
‘he is waving’
b sonra köpek de yüzerek gidiyorlarmış
‘Then the dog is leaving by swimming’
c bu da bi tane yavru bulmuş
‘And this found a baby’
(The child looks in the eyes of the narrator while he signals with his hands to mean ‘That’s all’)
(Age 3:10)

- (P- 4.6.3)
a kurbağa almış bir tane
‘(He) took a frog’
b köpek de mutluymuş
‘And the dog was happy’
c çocuk da mutluymuş
‘And the child was happy’
d mutlu mutlu gidiyorlarmış
‘They were going happily’
(Age 5:10)

- (P-4.6.4)
a kurbağalara veda etmişler
‘They said “Good bye” to the frogs’
a ve burda bitmiş
‘And, it’s over here’
(Age 9:09)

While 64.3% of the 3-year-olds and 57.1% of 4-year-olds fail to produce a coda, all of the 5-year-olds and older informants, including adults, produce a *Coda* (Chart 4.6.1). However, the proportion of the emergence of *Coda* that terminates the story should be on a par with the frequency of the emergence of CA and Resolution produced by each age since, although all of 5-year-olds produce a *Coda*, some of them terminate the act of narration rather than the story itself and it is not possible to decide which one terminates which regarding the manner they utter the *Coda*.

The informants participated in this study produce three different forms of coda (see Section 3.9.6 for definition). Although the Overt Coda produced by children, including 13-year-olds

does not show a regular increase with increasing age, Table 4.6.1 and Chart 4.6.2 show that adults slightly overweigh all other ages in the production of Overt Coda.

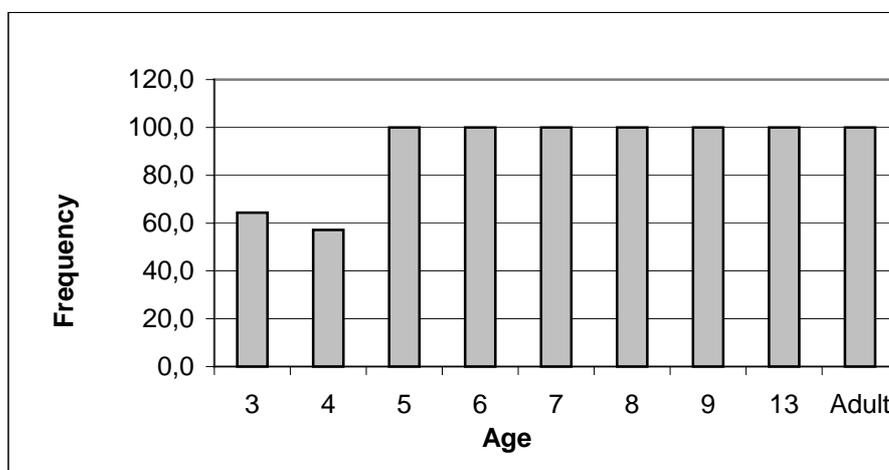


Chart 4.6.1: The total distribution of the frequency of Coda relative to age.

The qualitative analysis of the production of *Overt Coda* in this study reveals that a great majority of the adults use it to inform the audience that the story is over and the ground is no more the narrator's while the function of any type of Coda in the narratives produced by young children who do not produce a *CA* and a *Resolution* is not so clear to interpret. Although only 28.6% of 3- and 4-year-olds produce a *CA* and *Resolution* (Table 4.4.1), which are two *sine-qua-non* of any story (cf. Ruhi 1991:49), the Table 4.6.1 and Chart 4.6.1 show that 64.3% of them produce a 'Coda', the functions of which are stated at the beginning of this section. There may be two reasons for the discrepancy between the frequency of the emergence of *CA-Resolution* and *Coda*. First, 3- and 4-year-olds' narratives which do not seem to be a *story* compared to Labov's identification of the structural units of a story may be conceived as an adequate story by 3- and 4-year-olds and thus they may produce a *Coda*, which is not as complex, in nature and structure, as *CA*, *Attempts to Resolve the CA* and *Resolution*. Second, the so-called *Coda*, which is produced by children who do not produce a *CA* and *Resolution*, may simply function to terminate the *task* of narration, which is assigned by the researcher, rather than to terminate the story per se.

There is a significant quantitative and qualitative difference between 5-year-olds and younger ages in the production of the *Coda* implied through linguistic means, as is the case in the emergence of other story units (Table 4.6.1 and Chart 4.6.2).

Table 4.6.1 The emergence of *Coda* across ages.

Age	Overt Coda (%)	Coda implied through gestures (%)	Coda implied through linguistic means (%)	Total %
3	42,9	14,3	7,1	64,3
4	50,0	7,1	0,0	57,1
5	42,9	0,0	57,1	100,0
6	50,0	7,1	42,9	100,0
7	50,0	0,0	50,0	100,0
8	35,7	0,0	64,3	100,0
9	42,9	0,0	57,1	100,0
13	50,0	0,0	50,0	100,0
Adult	64,3	0,0	35,7	100,0
Mean	47,6	3,2	40,5	91,3

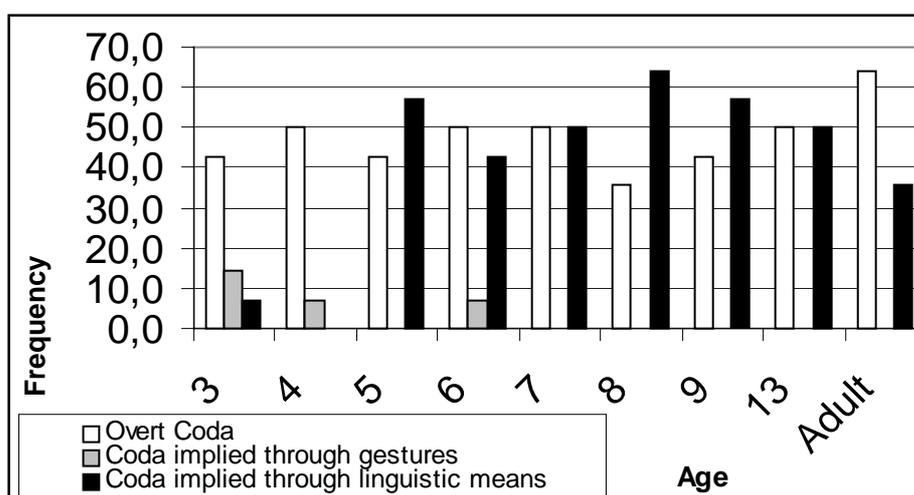


Chart 4.6.2: The distribution of coda types relative to age.

This may be interpreted that the age of 5 is a turning point in children's narrative production and discourse organization in the sense that while a great majority of 3-and 4-year-olds produce narratives that do not have discernable story units, 5-year-olds produce story units whose boundaries made perceivable by means of various discourse markers and these stories are terminated with a linguistic Coda in the end to close the discourse that has been created. The analysis of the Table 4 may raise a question that asks why the ability of producing Coda implied through linguistic means does not increase with increasing age if it is based on developmental factors. Actually, it increases to 100% at the age of six and continues to occur as such in adults, too, but it is reflected as if it decreases in the table because when an informant produces an Overt Coda after the production of the Coda implied

through linguistic means, we count the Overt Coda and ignore the other. All of the participants from 6-year-olds on produce clauses which we call ‘Coda implied through linguistic means’. Beside these clauses, they also add a clause which functions as an Overt Coda, which we count as “Coda” in general terms. The following examples clarify the so-called conflict:

(P-4.6.5)
a daha önce yakaladıkları sevimli kurbağa ve ailesi ise
b onlara güle güle diyorlardı (Adult)

Although P-4.6.5 is the “Happy end” part of the Resolution section, when the narrator stops at this point, *b* is considered to be a Coda implied through linguistic means because these two clause function to inform the audience that the story is over along with informing them the way the boy and the dog depart from the frogs. However when the narrator adds another clause such as *c* in the P-4.6.6, the clause *c* is considered to be the Coda, which announces the end of the story overtly, and the clauses *a* and *b* are evaluated as *preparatory* clauses just before the Coda, in the sense that they prepare the audience mentally that the story is about to come to an end, which is the cause for the so-called decrease in the frequency of the “Coda implied through linguistic means” with increasing age.

(P-4.6.6)
a daha önce yakaladıkları sevimli kurbağa ve ailesi ise
b onlara güle güle diyorlardı
c masalımız da burada bitti
 (Adult)

Table 4.6.1 shows once again that 4-year-olds are not in the *middle* of 3-year-olds and 5-year-olds with respect to the course of narrative development. They are closer to 3-year-olds than to 5-year-olds in the production of the Coda implied through linguistic means (Chart 4.6.2) and in the production of Coda in general (Chart 4.6.1).

4.7 The emergence of *Reaction* relative to age

Reaction can be defined as the enunciation of emotions by means of a particular bodily manner or in words, right after the resolution of the *Complicating Action*, to declare the achievement or failure of the goal. *Reaction* is not considered, and thus not defined, as a story unit in Labov (1972), however we included it to see whether the production of *Reaction* renders information related to developmental changes in children in narrative production.

Interestingly, one of the 3-year-olds produced clauses that refer to the *Reaction* of the protagonist after he finds the frogs (P-4.7.1). Baumgartner, Devescovi and Biagini (1996) state that the acquisition of metacognitive theory of mind which enables children to anticipate the behaviors of others on the basis of their intentions or belief develops between 4;0 and 5;0 years of age.

(P-4.7.1)

- a sonra çocuk bağırmış
'then the child yelled'
 - b hey hey kurbağı buldum
'hey hey, I found the frog'
 - c kurbağı buldum
'I found the frog'
- (Age 3:11)

Protocol 4.7.1 cannot be considered a part of the Resolution section since the informant already announces explicitly in previous clauses (P-4.7.2) that the problem has been resolved.

(P-4.7.2)

- a sevinmişler
- b kurbağı nerdeymiş biliyor musun?
- c bunun arkasında

...

- d köpek sevinmiş
 - e çocuk sevinmiş
 - f o zaman güvenmiş ona böyle
 - g sevmiş
 - h çünkü bulmuşlar ya
- (Age: 3:11:the same informant who produced P-4.7.1)

Although children older than 6 and adults produce *Reaction* in their narratives with an increasing frequency with increasing age, none of the *Reactions* they produce constitute a separate section whereas that of the 3-year-old mentioned above does. As protocol (4.7.1) shows, this 3-year-old quotes what the protagonist exactly did and said.

Table 4.7.1. The emergence of *Reaction* relative to the age of the narrator.

Age	Reaction	
	Number	Proportion
3	1	7,14
4	0	0,00
5	0	0,00
6	2	14,29
7	4	28,57
8	8	57,14
9	6	42,86
13	6	42,86
Adult	11	78,57
Mean	4,22	30,16
SD	3,83	27,38

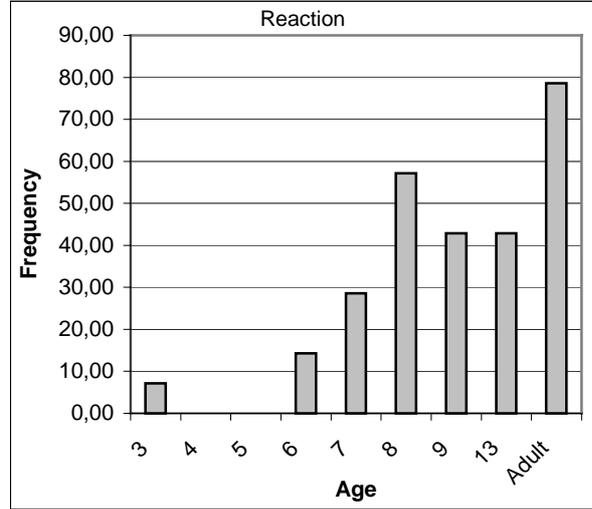


Chart 4.7.1. The emergence of *Reaction* relative to the age of the narrator.

Almost all of the other informants, including adults, mention that the boy (and the dog) is/are happy and a few of them state that the boy smiles because he is able to find his frog.

(P-4.7.2)

- a kurbağayı ararken
‘while (the child is) looking for the frog’
- b köpekle çocuk bir kurbağa ailesiyle karşılaşıyorlar
‘the dog and the boy meet a frog family’
- c kurbağa ailesinin çocukları var
‘the frog family has children’
- d bu çocukların arasında da
‘among these children’
- e küçük kurbağaların arasında da kendi kurbağasını görüyor
‘he sees his own frog among the little frogs’
- f çocuk çok sevinçli
‘the child is very happy’

(Adult)

The informant narrates the picture 23 in the picture book, where the child and the dog see a frog family right after they climb on a log. Their facial image in this picture (Picture 4.7.1) can either be interpreted as ‘happy’ or ‘surprised’, but the latter seems to be stronger especially because of the position of the eyeballs and the eyebrows of the boy and the dog.



Picture 4.7.1: Taken from Mayer 1969, with written permission of Penguin Books.

However, almost all of the informants who produce a *Reaction* mention the facial expression of the boy and the dog in 4.7.1 as ‘happy’ because informants conceive of this scene as the achievement of the goal of the protagonist(s) rather than a mere encounter with an ordinary frog family. As it is seen in protocol 4.7.2, the resolution is not declared after their meeting with a frog family but after they see their own frog. Thus, it can be said that informants’ depiction of the boy and the dog’s facial image as ‘happy’ is not a neutral description of the scene but a biased conceptualization of the ‘possible reaction’ which is imposed by the suspension created by CA and the removal of this suspension by the emergence of *Resolution*. That is, the narrator declares the achievement of the protagonist by narrating his emotional state after the resolution. Nevertheless, such kind of declaration of the *Reaction* is so much merged with the main body of the text that (e.g. protocol 4.7.3), in most cases, it is difficult to consider it as a separate section. Although the *Reaction* produced by a 3-year-old in the protocol 4.7.1 stands as a separate section, the child’s production seems to be too exceptional to be generalized to young children.

(P- 4.7.3)

- a sonra o kütüğün üstüne tırmanmışlar
‘then they climbed upon that log’
- b kurbağayı bulmuşlar
‘they found the frog’
- c çok sevinmiş çocuk
‘the boy got very happy’
- d sonra köpeğiyle .. kurbağası ile evlerine dönmüşler
‘then they went back to their home with his dog and frog’
(Age 8:02)

As for the frequency of the emergence of *Reaction* relative to age, it is seen in Table 4.7.1 and Chart 4.7.1 that the value increases with increasing age. As it is seen, adults differ from all other age groups who participated in this study with the highest value in the emergence of reaction.

None of the 4- and 5-year-olds produce a *Reaction* while only one of the 3-year-olds produce it, which is exceptionally well-formed. The data show that the emergence of *Reaction* begins

at the age of 6 with a value of 14:29 and it increases to 28,57% at the age of 7. The increase continues with the age of 8 (57,14%) but it decreases with the ages of 9 (42,86%) and 13 (42,86%), though much higher than those of 6-year-olds. The table 4.7.1 and Chart 4.7.1 show that adults are different from all other age groups in the statistical values of the emergence of reaction (78,57, where $M=30,16$; $SD=27,38$) for all age groups.

Although there is an increase in the production of *Reaction* with increasing age, it can be argued that the production of *Reaction* depends to a great extent on the idiosyncratic stylistic characteristics of informants rather than an imposition of the factors in narrative development in children since the increase is not gradual.

As a concluding remark to this chapter, the analysis of our data has shown that the development of story telling skills in children from 3 to 9 occurs in three phases: First phase is the development of a 'notion of a story' and this phase covers the ages 3 and 4. A great majority of the 3- and 4-year-old children attempt to construct a story, however, when their narrative production is compared with adult narratives, their texts do not count a story since these texts possess neither structural components at macro level nor the organization of the narrative clauses at micro level on the temporal plane to make a hierarchical plotline. That is, although most of the 3- and 4-year-olds seem to produce a story (e.g. they make use of the linguistic means of distancing, such as using the suffix *-mİş* or the indefinite article *bir*) they do not produce story units such as *Orientation*, *CA* and *Resolution* at macro level and they do not organize narrative clauses in such a coherent way at micro level so that the sequence of these narrative clauses can constitute a hierarchical plotline on the temporal plane. Thus narrative development remains at the level of 'notion of story telling' in 3- and 4-year-olds rather than reaching to the realization of this notion through linguistic means.

The second phase is the one which 5-year-olds experience. Children at this phase are developed enough to realize the notion of story telling in linguistic forms. It is observed that more than half of the 5-year-olds produce narratives that possess discernable units such as *Orientation*, *CA* and *Resolution*, which are sine-qua-nons of any story, and they integrate narrative clauses to make larger coherent units. Although 5-year-olds produce discernable story units, these units are still at the level of the 'notion of the production of story units at macro level' in the sense that though these units exist in more than half of the 5-year-olds' stories, almost 75% of them do not possess the components that make up each story unit. That is, although more than half of the 5-year-olds produce *Orientation* sections for instance,

a great majority of their *Orientation* sections do not contain orientative information about time, location and a network of relationship between/among the story characters, which constitute the core of an *Orientation* section.

The third developmental phase of constructing a story begins at the age of 7. More than half of 7-year-olds produce story units that possess components that make up a story unit. That is, 7-year-olds realize what exists as a notion in 5-year-olds. It seems that the components that emerge at the age of 7 increase in both quantity and quality with increasing age rather than transforming into a new phase. That is, while the number of the informants whose story units contain components that make up each story unit shows a slight increase with increasing age after the age of 7, new criterial components are not added to the story units produced by older age groups.

Although the most frequently and scrutinizingly studied ages are 3, 5, and 9 in literature on narrative development in children (Aksu-Koç 1988a; Berman and Slobin 1994), the present study reveals that the age of 7 seems to be the age at which the production of mature narratives begin; our claim that the age of 7 is the beginning of the maturation of narrative production is supported by Piaget's Theory of the stages of development. Piaget (in Kessen 1983) theorizes that the operational stage, especially concrete operations, starts at the age of 7 and is complete at the age of 11. Thus the age of 9, the age which is presented in literature as a transitional turning point from childhood to adulthood with respect to the production of narratives and other linguistic tasks, seems to be just slightly more developed period of a stage, which begins at the age of 7, rather than being an age at which a new stage, which is a prerequisite for a successive one, starts in narrative production.

CHAPTER V

THE EMERGENCE AND FUNCTION OF CONJOINING CLAUSES

5.0 Introduction

Chapters V-IX analyze the emergence of temporal elements relative to age in narratives and how frequently those temporal elements are used relative to story units by each age group.

Narratives move forward on the time line. While moving, audiences face new characters, new time periods, new locations and new events/states that emerge as a result of the interplay between characters, time and locations. Consciously or not, narrators pack each newly emerging event/state into a story unit and/or smaller episodes within those units to present what they are producing in an organized, and thus, a comprehensible form. To do this they make use of temporal elements that are available to their linguistic and cognitive potentials. The chapters from V to IX describe how temporal elements are used in narratives by children from 3 to 9 plus 13-year-olds and adults to organize the incremental macro-temporal structure of their narratives. The main questions addressed are (1) how frequently each temporal element is used by each age group; (2) how each temporal element is distributed by each age group relative to story units and how each temporal element functions to contribute to macro-temporal organization of a narrative text when it is used by a particular age group in a particular story unit. By the term “macro-temporal organization”, we refer to the process of the construction of each story unit with its internal components and the process of the organization of the story units, as they are defined and ordered by Labov (1972), to make up the whole story. That is, chapters V - IX describe how the temporal elements in question function to initiate a new episode or story unit; to set apart one episode from the preceding and the succeeding ones; to create background and/or foreground events/states; to integrate one episode/story unit with a preceding or succeeding episode/story unit; to encode the turning point of an episode or the whole story; and to encode the final state of a series of actions in an episode/story unit or the global *CA* of the story itself.

In these four chapters the temporal elements whose functions are described in Chapter III are investigated in narrative texts regarding their statistical and functional use by different age groups relative to story units. Before moving on to the analysis of the temporal elements, a few points that apply to chapters from Chapter V to Chapter IX need to be made clear.

At the outset, three points need explanation:

First, it should be noted that no *Abstract* and *Evaluation* sections emerge in the frog stories obtained from the informants who participated in this study, thus, no analyses related to the emergence of temporal elements in these two story units will be presented.

Second, the emergence of some temporal elements in *Coda* is rather low in number, though they have functional significance. Thus we will analyze and discuss their function rather than discussing their numerical values. We will only present the statistical distribution of temporal elements relative to age and story unit in *Coda*.

Third, only few of the 3- and 4-year-olds produce stories whose units can be discerned and even the informants who produce discernable story units insert many non-narrative clauses or clauses that are in narrative format but are repetitions of previously uttered clauses that do not contribute to the development of the *CA* in the plotline (see Appendices 1, 2, 3 and 21). Thus, the interpretation of the numerical values of the emergence of temporal elements within the total number of the clauses they produce is unreliable. So, though we will provide the number of the occurrence of temporal elements and the total number of the clauses 3- and 4-year-olds produce, we will not interpret those occurrences statistically. Instead, the temporal elements that are produced by 3- and 4-year-olds will be described functionally.

The proportional values of temporal elements relative to story units by 5-year-olds and older ones, including adults, are calculated by using the following equation:

The number of the temporal element in a section $\times 100 /$ The number of the clauses in that section

The number of the clauses in each story unit relative to age and the total number of the clauses by each age group are presented in Chart 5.1 and Chart 5.2.

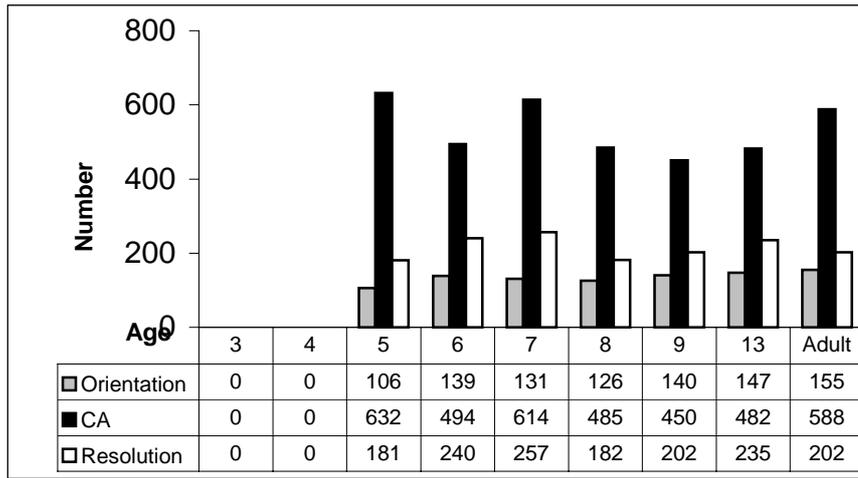


Chart 5.1: The number of the clauses in each story unit by each age group.

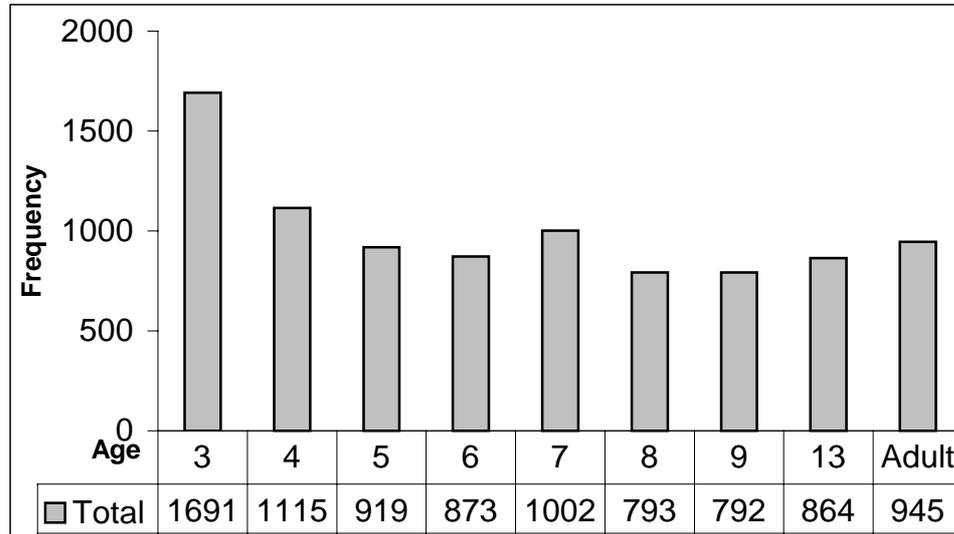


Chart 5.2: The total number of the clauses produced by each age group.

The reason why 3-and 4-year-olds produce more clauses compared to other age groups is that they insert many non-narrative clauses, such as dialogues and questions, along with inserting their personal experiences in narrative format into the narrative which is based on the picture book *Frog, where are you?* (see P-5.1); and they often mention the existence of every item they see in the picture in a separate clause, sometimes recurrently, which makes a long list of simple clauses (see P-5.2 and appendix 21).

(P- 5.1)

a köpek de vınnn vınnn diye kaçıyordu

b arılar onu
c bu iğne
d iğneleri batırmak üzüre
e bak bu baba iğ.. bu baba arı
f bu anne arı
g bu oğul arı
h bu arkadaşları
i bunlar hep iyi arkadaşlar
j peki ama sen herkülün de ne olacak
k biliyor tanıyor musun?
l sen herkülü tanıyor musun?
m hani benim amcam vardı ya
n hani köpek geçiyor ya
o bir de canlı
p hav hav diyor bize
q tanıyor musun onu
r biz oraya birazdan sizi götüreyim
s özkan amcam o
t bir de onun orda canlı köpek var
u seni ısırabilir

(Age 3:11)

(P-5.2)

a şurda köpek var
b kurbağaya bakıyor
c burda ikisi de kurbağaya bakıyor kafesteki
d elbise var
e yatağın önünde kuş gibi bir şey var
f bir de # var
g ev var
h yatak var
i terlik var
j kurbağa çıkmış
k şu da sandalye
l bu elbise
m bu da yatak
n bu ev
o bu cam
p burda çocuk var
q yatak örtü
r # var
s ev ışık
t çocuk köpek kavanoz
u kurbağadan da kavanoz çıkmış
v birde terlik var
w terlik var
x ev bu kavanoz
y ışık yatak köpek
z burda da şey atıyor
aa # atıyor
bb bu yatak ev
cc evin içinde atıyor
dd sandalye ve terlik

(Age 4:06)

As for Chapter V, along with providing information about the statistics related to the emergence of conjoining clauses relative to age and story units, this chapter investigates how conjoining clauses *ve* and *dE* function in each story unit when they are used by informants at different ages.

5.1 *ve* ‘and’

Ve emerges at the age of 3 and it is observed that children at this age are competent in using this temporal conjunction functionally. The frequency of the emergence of *ve* and its function show differences when used by children at different ages. The major difference in the function of *ve* occurs relative to the story unit in which it is used rather than to the age of the narrator.

5.1.1 Emergence and distribution of *ve*

It is observed that the general tendency of the use of *ve* is incremental relative to age. While the frequency of the use of *ve* by 3-year-olds is 1,4% (M=15.6), it reaches to 15.4% in 9-year-olds and, though there are slight increases and decreases at some ages, such as the ages of 8, 9 and 13, the value of the emergence of *ve* is 36.5% in adults (Chart 5.1.1.1).

Chart 5.1.1.2 reveals that 5- and 9-year-olds and adults use *ve* with the highest value in *CA*, then in *Resolution* and with the lowest value in *Orientation*.

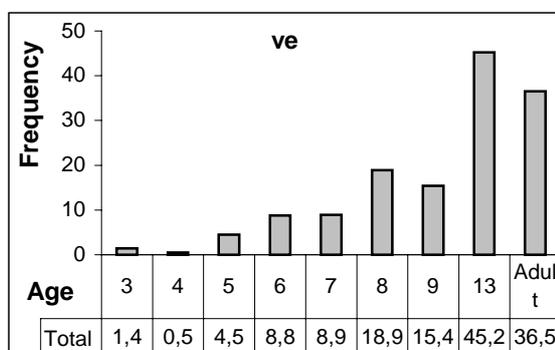


Chart 5.1.1.1 The total emergence of *ve*.

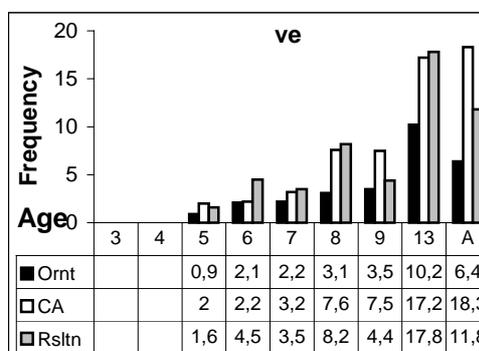


Chart 5.1.1.2 Distribution of *ve*.

The order of the use of *ve* by 6-, 7-, 8- and 13-year-olds from highest to lowest is *Resolution*, *CA* and *Orientation*. Although it is difficult to interpret such a grouping, what is interesting in this grouping is that the first group consists of 5- and 9-year-olds, the ages that are considered to be two turning points, along with the age of 3, in child language development, and adults,

who constitute the normative group in this study. What is common to all age groups is that the emergence of *ve* in *Orientation* shows the lowest value.

The emergence of *ve* in *Coda* shows a fluctuating distribution relative to age of the informants (SD=14.5, whereas it is 3.2 in *Orientation*, 6.9 in *CA*, and 5.7 in *Resolution*). While 14.2% of the 3- and 4-year-olds use *ve* in *Coda* section of their narratives, none of 5-, 6- and 7-year-olds uses it in *Coda* at all. Each group of 8-, 9- and 13-year-olds and adults produce *ve* in *Coda* with similar values to the ones they produce *ve* in *Orientation*, *CA*, and *Resolution* sections (compare the values produced by these age groups in charts 5.1.1.1 and 5.1.1.2). The use of *ve* increases to 42.8% in 13-year-olds and it decreases to 28.5% in adults, where M=15 and SD=14.5. These numerical values show that the use of *ve* in *Coda* does not show a systematic developmental pattern.

5.1.2 Function of *ve* relative to story units and age of the narrator

The analysis of the narratives produced by children from 3 to 9, 13-year-olds and adults shows that, concerning its temporal function, *ve* is used to express (a) simultaneity and sequentiality; (b) to point to the final state of a series of actions or an expected outcome; (c) to mark the importance of an event/action for the unfolding of the plot; and (d) to initiate a new episode.

The relationship between the function of *ve* and the story unit in which it occurs is rather strong. When *ve* is used to express simultaneity or sequentiality, or to point to a turning point, it is mostly used in *CA* and when used as such, it contributes to the unfolding of the plot at micro organizational level rather than segmenting episodes. When it is used to point to the final state of a series of actions or an outcome, it is used in *Resolution*, mostly to wrap up an episode; when *ve* is used to initiate a new episode, it is used in orientation part of an episode to conjoin the new episode with the previous one. Whenever it is used in *Coda*, it is, naturally, used to mark the termination of the story.

A few differences are observed in the functional use of *ve* relative to age of the narrators:

The use of *ve* to initiate a new episode is first observed at the age of 9, albeit it occurs only once. The use of *ve* for this purpose is observed to increase in 13-year-olds and adults.

While all other age groups use *ve* to point to the final state of a series of actions or an outcome with the highest frequency values, 13-year-olds use it to express sequentiality with the highest frequency among other functions.

The statistical analysis of the use of *ve* by 7-year-olds, documented in Chart 5.1.2.1 shows that the emergence of this temporal element in 7-year-olds is not very much different from its emergence in 6-year-olds.

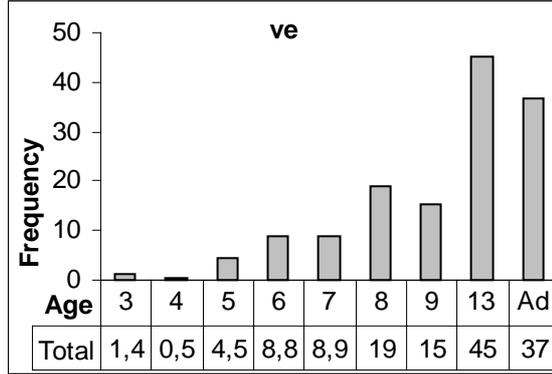


Chart 5.1.2.1 The total frequency of the emergence *ve* relative to age groups.

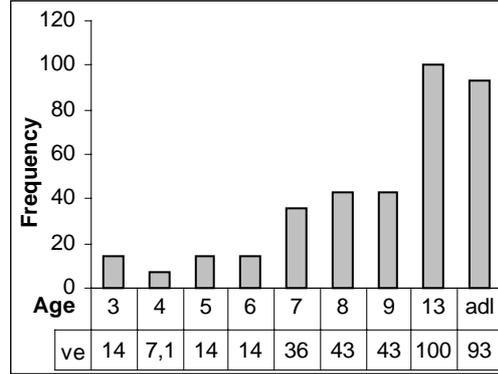


Chart 5.1.2.2 The proportional number of the informants who use *ve* to express the final state of a series of actions or an expected outcome.

However, as Chart 5.1.2.2 shows, the use of *ve* for a specific purpose is higher in 7-year-olds. The number of the informants who use *ve* sentence initially to point to a final state increases from 14% to 36% at the age of 7, the age which is the beginning of the concrete operations. It continues to occur almost constantly until the age of 13 and the second dramatic increase in the number of the informants who use *ve* to point to a final state occurs at the age of 13, the age which is the beginning of formal operations. Adults resemble 13-year-olds with respect to the use of *ve* for the same purpose.

5.1.2.1 Function of *ve* to express sequentiality and simultaneity

It should be pointed out at the beginning that *ve* is multifunctional in the sense that it may have several readings in a single linguistic and discourse environment (see Segal et al 1991).

- (P-5.1.2.1.1)
- a sinekler kurbağaları arıyor
'the flies are in search of the frogs'
 - b sinekler onu yakalıyor

- ‘the flies are catching it (the dog)
c **ve** çocuk da onları yakalıyor
‘**and** the boy is catching them (the flies)
(Age 3:10)

The readings that *ve* in protocol 5.1.2.1.1 acquires/produces might be as follows: the flies are catching the dog **and then** the boy is catching the flies (sequentiality); the boy is catching the flies **while** the flies are catching the dog (simultaneity); and the flies are catching the dog, **and finally** the boy is catching the flies (the expression of a final state).

When *ve* is used to express sequentiality by excluding some other functions, it is not because of the genuine function of this temporal element on its own but because of the nature of the verbs of the clauses that are joined by this conjunction.

- (P-5.1.2.1.2)
- a ben çiçeklerden koparmam demiş
‘I don’t break flowers off’
b sonra ağacın üstüne çıkmış
‘Then (he)climbed up the tree’
c **ve** düşmeye başlamış
‘**and** (he) started to fall off’
d ayol demiş
‘(he) said hey you’
e ben düşünüyorum
‘I am falling’
f beni kurtarın demiş
(he) said save me’
g sonra hemen kendisi kurtarmış kendisini
‘then, soon, he rescued himself’
(Age 3:10)

The function of *ve* in clause c in P-5.1.2.1.2 to express sequentiality predominates all other potential functions because the actions *climbing up* and *falling off* cannot be simultaneous when they are performed or undergone by the same agent. It does not point to the final state of a series of actions or an expected outcome since clause *a* does not state a phase of the series of events that finally cause the boy to fall, and it does not point to a final state because clauses *d*, *e*, *f* and *g* show that the act of falling mentioned in clause c is not the final part of the action.

The function of *ve* to express sequentiality because of the nature of the verbs in the clauses it joins is observed in the stories of all age groups.

(P-5.1.2.1.3)

- a ahmet ise ağaç kovuğunda bir delik bulmuş
'as for ahmet, he found a hole in the tree cavity [trunk]
- b **ve** onu incelemeye koyulmuştu
'and he set about examining it'
(Adult)

The verb *find* is an accomplishment verb that cannot constitute a temporal background for another verb, unless it turns out to be an activity verb such as the one in the sentence “He is *finding* a solution to the problem”. Thus the relationship between the act of *find* in clause *a* and the activity to *set about to examine* is sequential but not simultaneous.

The function of *ve* to express simultaneity also emerges at the age of 3 and observed in the narratives of older informants.

(P-5.1.2.1.4)

- a çocuk düşüyor
'the boy is falling'
- b **ve** at da ona bakıyor
'and the horse is looking at him'
(Age 3:11)

(P-5.1.2.1.5)

- a onda sonra onlara bakıyorlar
'after that, they are looking at them'
- b **ve** gülüyorlar
'and laughing'
(Age 6:10)

With a text based approach, the reading that *ve* acquires in both P-5.1.2.1.4 and P-5.1.2.1.5 may said to be sequential, however, an analysis that takes the context of narration and the pictures, on which the protocols are based, into consideration renders results that suggest the simultaneity of the actions mentioned in each protocol.

As it is demonstrated in protocols 5.1.2.1.2, 5.1.2.1.3, and 5.1.2.1.4, the function of *ve* to express sequentiality and simultaneity does not show differences relative to the age of the narrator.

5.1.2.2 Function of *ve* to point to a final state of a series of actions or an expected outcome

The function of *ve* to point to a final state emerges at the age of 3 and is observed in the narratives of all age groups participated in our study. What differs relative to age when it is used to point to an end state is the frequency of *ve* that functions to mark an end state (Chart

5.1.2.2.1) but not the nature of the function itself (compare the functions of *ve* in protocols in Table 5.1.2.2.1).

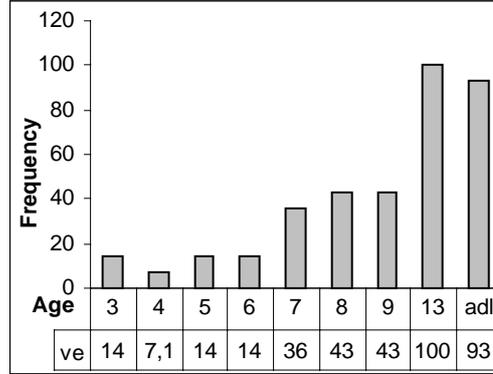


Chart 5.1.2.2.1 The proportion of the informants who use *ve* to express the final state of a series of actions or an outcome.

Table 5.1.2.2.1 The use of *ve* to mark an end state by different age groups.

<p>A</p> <p>a köpek yardım etmiş 'the dog helped (him)'</p> <p>b çocuk yardım etmiş ona 'the boy helped it'</p> <p>c ve bütün kurbağa ...ve bütün kurbağaların arasında kurbağayı da bulmuşlar 'and all the frog .. they found the frog among all of the frogs' (Age 3:10)</p>	<p>B</p> <p>kurbağaların yanına yaklaştı ve kendi kurbağasını tanıyarak onu eline aldı (Adult)</p>
<p>C</p> <p>a çok küçük kurbağalar gelmişti 'very little frogs had come'</p> <p>b çocuk suyun içinde 'the boy is in water'</p> <p>c ve kurbağayı eline almıştı 'and (he) had taken the frog in (his) hand' (Age 4:06)</p>	<p>D</p> <p>a köpek de arkasına bakıp b bakıyor c en sonra geliyor d ağzı açık e ve kurbağayı almışlar (Age 7:01)</p>

A comparative analysis of the occurrences of *ve* in Table 5.1.2.2.1 shows that the discourse level function of *ve* to mark an end state does not show differences relative to age. Even 3-year-olds use this temporal conjunction for the same purpose as older informants use it. If *ve* in protocol A were to be removed, the strength of the clause to point to a final state or outcome of a series of actions (the dog and boy's helping one another in clauses *a* and *b*) would decrease (see Ruhi 1992a and Ruhi 1992b).

When used as such, *ve* is used in the resolution part of episodes or in the final part of the global *Resolution* sections of stories.

5.1.2.3 Function of *ve* to point to a turning point

While no differences relative to age are observed in the function of *ve* to express sequentiality and simultaneity and to mark an end state, a developmental difference is observed in the function of *ve* to mark a turning point. The function of *ve* to mark a local or global turning point is not observed until the age of 6. It is observed that, starting at the age of 6 and increasing with increasing age, informants use *ve* to mark the scene where the boy hears a sound and signals the dog to be quiet and where they climb on the log right before they find the frog as the global turning point (Table 5.1.2.3.1).

Table 5.1.2.3.1 The use of *ve* to mark a turning point by informants at different ages

<p>A</p> <p>a bu şşşt demiş köpeğine çocuk b ve birlikte atlamışlar ordan arkasına d ve sonra kurbağayı bulmuşlar (Age 6:00)</p>	<p>B</p> <p>a köpek de yerleri koklaya koklaya b kurbağanın kokusunu arıyor c sonra o ağaçlıktan gergedan ... geyik... gergedan çıkıyor d ve çocuk onun üstünden atlıyor e gergedan koşuyor f yanındaki köpek de onu kurtarmaya çalışıyor (Age 7:05)</p>
<p>C</p> <p>a sudan çıkmış b ve başka bir yere gitmiş c ve köpeğine sus diye işaret vermiş (Age 8:00)</p>	<p>D</p> <p>a çocuk da kurbağasının burda olduğunu düşünüyor b sessiz işaretini veriyor köpeğine c ve ağaç gövdesinin altına bakıyor d iki tane kurbağa görüyor (Age 9:06)</p>
<p>E</p> <p>a ve yerde bir ağaç gördükleri zaman b bir ağaç parçası c bunun üstüne çıkıyorlar d ve yerde iki tane kurbağa görüyorlar (Age 13:08)</p>	<p>F</p> <p>a sessizce benekliye sessiz olmasını söyledi b ve daha sonra ağaç kovuğunun arkasına doğru eğildiler (Adult)</p>

With respect to the use of *ve* to mark a turning point, no significant functional differences are observed between 6 year-olds and older informants as Table 5.1.2.3.1 shows.

When *ve* is used to mark a turning point, it is mostly used in *CA*, at a close place to the resolution. When used to function to mark a turning point *ve* functions at macro level temporal organization of the story rather than joining episode internal components at micro level (see protocols in Table 5.1.2.3.1).

5.1.2.4 Function of *ve* to initiate a new episode

Until the age of 9, *ve* is not used to initiate a new episode. It is observed that one of the 9-year-olds uses *ve* to initiate a new episode, naturally, in orientation (P.5.1.2.4.1).

(P-5.1.2.4.1)

- a sonra çocuk her yeri arıyor
'then the boy is searching everywhere'
- b köpeği de arıyor
'his dog is searching, too'
- c ama hiç bir şey bulamıyorlar
'but they can't find'

- d **ve** çocuk köpeği de ... kurbağası na bakıyor
'**and** the boy ... dog um ... is looking at/for his frog'
- e bağıyor
'shouting'
- f sonra çocuğun köpeği pencereden düşüyor
'then the boy's dog is falling down through the window'
- g **ve** çocuk da üzerine geliyor
'**and** the boy is coming upon/over it'
(age 9:06)

Clauses *a-c* in P.5.1.2.4.1 constitute a whole episode since the protagonist's attempt to resolve the problem (restoring the lost frog) is mentioned in clause *a* and the failure of the attempt is announced in clause *c*. After such a closure, the initiation of a new attempt is expected since a narrative moves along the actions that are taken to resolve the global problem. Although it might seem that there is a sequential relationship between the clauses *c* and *d* and thus, *ve* in clause *d* acquires a reading of sequentiality at micro-level temporal organization, a perspective which looks at the excerpt at macro level shows that each clause belongs to different discourse units. Clause *c* is the (unachieved) resolution of an episode and clause *d* is the statement of a new attempt that emerges upon the failure of the previous attempt. For this reason, *ve* in clause *d* is used to mark the initiation of the action that is stated in clause *d*. It may be argued that, rather than joining the two clauses, *ve* in clause *d* joins the two episodes. And thus, while *ve* used episode finally functions to wrap up an episode, *ve* used episode initially conjoins two episodes.

Episode initial use of *ve* is observed in 13-year-olds and adults' stories with increasing frequency (4 occurrences in both ages).

Some of the 13-year-olds and adults use *ve* so often that it is difficult to judge which occurrence of *ve* is used for a specific purpose and which one is used as a discourse filler.

(P- 5.1.2.4.2)

ve fırlattığı yerin aşağısında bir göl olduğu için
ahmet gölün içine düşmüş köpeğiyle birlikte
ve gölün içinde de aramaya devam etmişler
ve en sonunda kurbağasını başka bir kurbağanın yanında bulmuş
ve görmüş ki orda kurbağasının bir ailesi var
ve yavruları var
ve kurbağasını alıp
oradan ayrılmış ahmet
(Adult)

The function of *ve* in P-5.1.2.4.2, which is produced by an adult, is similar to that of *sonra* ‘then’ when *sonra* is overused by younger informants (see Table 6.4.2.1.1 in Chapter VI)

If the function of *ve* in the organization of story structure is to be stated in a general statement, it is observed that when *ve* is used to express sequentiality and simultaneity, it relates two episode internal components and, thus, functions at micro level temporal organization. When it is used to mark an end state, to initiate a new episode or to mark a turning point, it is used to set relations across episodes and, thus, functions at macro level temporal organization of stories.

5.2 *dE*

The results related to the emergence of *ve* and *dE* relative to story units show that these two conjunctions are used alternately with one another in narratives in the sense that when the frequency of one of these two temporal elements is high in the narratives of a certain age group, the frequency of the other temporal element is low in the narratives of the same age group. It is observed that while younger ages use *dE* more than *ve*, older informants use *ve* more than *dE* in their narratives (Charts 5.2.1 and 5.2.2).

Though the raw number of the occurrence of *dE* is higher in 3-year-olds (535) than in 4- (495) and 5-year-olds (335), when the proportion of its occurrence relative to the number of the clauses each age group produces (see Table 5.1 and Chart 5.2) is considered, the value of the use of *dE* is lower in 3-year-olds than both in 4- and 5-year-olds (Chart 5.2.2). The total values of the emergence of *dE* in these three age groups are prominently high compared to those of older informants.

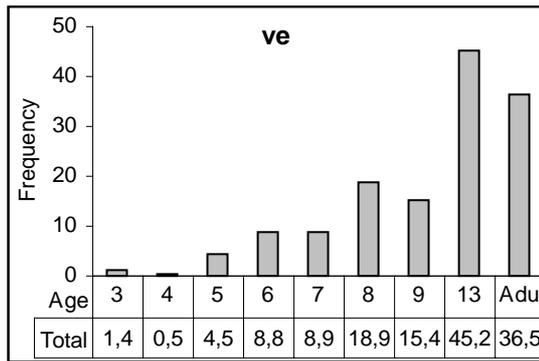


Chart 5.2.1 The total frequency of the use of *ve* relative to age.

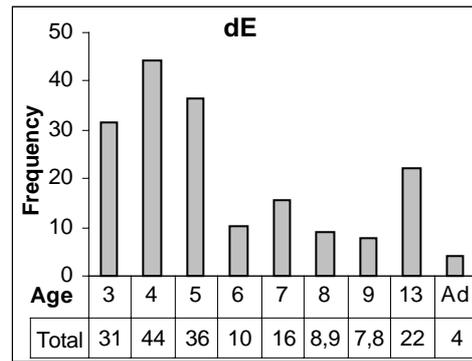


Chart 5.2.2 The total frequency of the use of *dE* relative to age.

The analysis of Chart 5.2.3 shows that, along with features that can be generalized to all age groups such as a decrease in the use of *dE* with increasing age and accumulation of *dE* in *CA* section, the frequency values in the distribution of *dE* relative to story units by different age groups show a great variety.

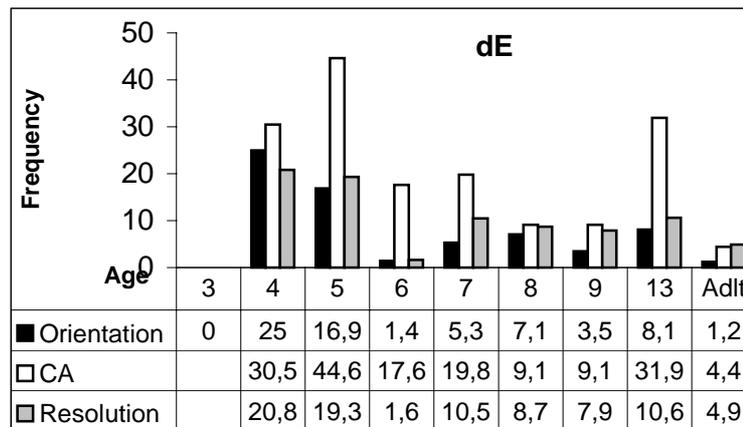


Chart 5.2.3 The distribution of *dE* relative to age and story units.

The distribution of *dE* relative to story units by 3- and 4-year-olds is not analyzed because most of the 3- and 4-year-olds (78.5% of them) fail to produce discernable story units. However, the distributional values obtained from two of the 4-year-olds, who are successful in producing story units, are analyzed so that we can have an insight into the nature of the use of *dE* by this age group, though the data set is too small to generalize the results to all of 4-year-olds. Thus, the distributional values presented in 4-year-olds' column in Chart 5.2.3 should be approached cautiously.

5-year-olds are observed to use *dE* in similar total frequency as 3-and 4-year-olds use it. However, it is observed that 5-year-olds differ from 4-year-olds with respect to the distribution of *dE* relative to story units. While 4-year-olds use *dE* in similar frequencies in all three story units, the frequency of *dE* in *CA* (44.6%) produced by 5-year-olds is much higher than its frequency in *Orientation* (16.1%) and *Resolution* (19.3%).

6-year-olds use *dE* with a very low frequency in *Orientation* (1.4%; M=7.6) and in *Resolution* (1.6%; M=9.3) while they use it with a frequency of 17.6% (M=18.5) in *CA*. After the sharp decrease at the age of 6, the distributional values increase to 5.3% in *Orientation*, 19.8% in *CA*, and 10.5% in *Resolution* at the age of 7. While 8-year-olds are selective about the use of *ve* (SD is 2.8 where the Mean for SD is 2.5) it is observed that they are not so selective in the use of *dE* in the sense that they use it in very close frequencies in all of the three story units; 7.1% in *Orientation*, 9.1% in *CA* and 8.7% in *Resolution* (SD is 1.1, where the Mean for SD is 8.1). 9-year-olds use *dE* in *CA* in the same frequency as 8-year-olds use this temporal element. The frequencies decrease to 3.5% in *Orientation* and to 7.9% in *Resolution* compared to those of 8-year-olds. Although 13-year-olds behave developmentally unpredictable with respect to the total frequency of the use of *dE*, they remain in the general tendency of the distribution of the temporal element relative to story units. They produce it in the highest frequency in *CA* (31.9%), then in *Resolution* (10.6%) and then in *Orientation* (8.1%). Interestingly, the only age group who produce *dE* in the highest frequency in *Resolution* (4.9%) compared to the frequency values in *Orientation* (1.2%) and in *Resolution* (4.4%) are adults. However, the fact that adults use *dE* in the lowest frequency among all age groups decreases the statistical significance of this distribution.

5.2.1 Functions of *dE*

dE is used in narratives mostly to express simultaneity and sequentiality, and to mark an episode boundary. When it marks an episode boundary it is used either episode finally or episode initially. *dE* is used to point to an end state when it is used episode finally and when used as such, its function to point to an end state predominates its other functions. When *dE* occurs episode initially, it functions as a cohesive device across episodes rather than across clauses.

Adults show a certain preference between *ve* and *dE* in the expression of sequentiality and simultaneity. When they express sequentiality they use *ve*. None of the adults is observed to

use *dE* to express sequentiality although they use *ve* to express simultaneity, albeit with a relatively low frequency.

Episode initial use of *dE*, which functions to relate two episodes, emerges at the age of 8 and is observed in the stories of 9- and 13-year-olds and in those of adults.

5.2.1.1 Simultaneity

It is observed in our data set that the function of *dE* to express simultaneity in narratives emerges at the age of 3 (e.g. P-5.2.1.1.1) and it is observed in all of the older informants' stories without any significant functional difference.

Simultaneity is expressed by means of *dE* in two different forms and its function differs in each form.

First, when *dE* is used to join two clauses that contain different agents who perform different actions, the function of *dE* seems to mark a focus shift rather than expressing simultaneity (P-A in Table 5.2.1.1.1). In such cases, *dE* acquires some degree of simultaneity encoded by other features (e.g. by the progressive marker attached to the verbs in both clauses and by means of the adjacency of the clauses in a narrative text) rather than encoding simultaneity. That is, *dE* in clause *b* in P-A renders a reading as “As for the dog, ...” rather than “the dog is also ...”. The same form of the use of *dE* is observed in adults' narratives as well (P-C).

Table 5.2.1.1.1 The function of *dE* to express simultaneity.

<p>A</p> <p>a çocuk kurbağayı arıyor</p> <p>b köpek de kavanozun içine girmeye çalışıyor</p> <p>c # çıkamamış</p> <p>(Age 3:10;Name:O)</p>	<p>B</p> <p>a çocuk camı kapatıyor</p> <p>b yağmur yağmasın diye</p> <p>c köpek de bakıyor o tarafa</p> <p>d ne varmış diye bakıyor</p> <p>e uzak şeyin içine sinmiş mi</p> <p>f içine bakıyor</p> <p>g çocuk da bakıyor</p> <p>(Age 3:10;Name:S)</p>
<p>C</p> <p>a deliğin içinden fare çıkıyor</p> <p>b çocuk da şaşırmış gibi elini suratına tutuyor</p> <p>c köpek de hala arı kovanıyla oynuyor</p> <p>d sonra köpek arı kovanını düşürüyor</p> <p>(Age 13:09)</p>	<p>D</p> <p>a bir ağacın koyuğundan öbür tarafına bakıyorlar</p> <p>b köpek de bakıyor onunla birlikte</p> <p>(Adult)</p>

Second, *dE* is used to join two clauses that contain two different agents who perform the same action (clause *g* in P- B and clause *b* P-D). *dE* in clause *c* in P-B functions to mark a

focus along with acquiring simultaneity. Although it is not mentioned explicitly, it is understood that the doer of the action *bak* ‘look’, which is marked with progressive marker, in clause *f* is the dog mentioned above. The *çocuk* ‘boy’ in clause *g* and the dog in clause *f* perform the same action (*look*) and *dE* in clause *g* produces such a reading as “the boy is also doing what the dog is doing and at the same time the dog is doing it” If *dE* in clause *g* were to be removed, *çocuk* in this clause would be conceived as the subject of clause *d*, whose mention is delayed, and, because of thematic continuity, as that of clause *f* as well. An analysis of *dE* in P-D, which is produced by an adult, shows that it functions in the same way as *dE* in clause *g* in P-B does.

As the analyses of protocols in Table 5.2.1.1.1, show, *dE* is observed to express simultaneity in two different forms in our data set. Both forms emerge in the narratives of 3-year-olds and are observed in the narratives of older informants. As is the case in most of temporal elements, the difference between younger and older informants is the increasing frequency, in terms of the expression of temporality by means of *dE*, with increasing age.

When used to express simultaneity *dE* is used in global *CA* or complicating parts of other units to relate two episode internal components at micro temporal organization of a story (see protocols in Table 5.2.1.1.1).

5.2.1.2 Sequentiality

The function of *dE* to express sequentiality is observed in the narratives of 3-year-olds.

- (P-5.2.1.2.1)
- a çocuğun yatağında akşam olmuş
‘the night fell on the boy’s bed’
 - b farketmemişler
‘(they) didn’t notice’
 - c çocuk uyumuş
‘the boy slept’
 - d kurbağa **da** çıkmış
‘and the frog got out’
- (3:10)

When the verbal aspect in clause *c* is taken into consideration (as the starting point of the state of being asleep as opposed to the being asleep itself), the relationship between the act of boy’s falling asleep and the frog’s getting out is sequential. Thus, *dE* in clause *d* acquires

sequentiality encoded partly by the adjacency of the two clauses in a narrative text and partly by the nature of the verbs in both clauses.

The function of *dE* to express sequentiality does not show differences relative to age. What differs is the frequency. Although the frequency is relatively low compared to those of younger ages, 9- (three times) and 13-year-olds (only once) use *dE* to express sequentiality (Table 5.2.1.2.1) Adults are certain in their preference between *ve* (along with –Ip) and *dE* to express sequentiality. While the default function of *ve*, in adults, is to express sequentiality they do not use *dE* to express sequentiality in narratives.

Table 5.2.1.2.1 The function of *dE* to express sequentiality

A	B
a sonra köpek düşmüş	a köpek ve çocuk uykuya daldı
b başındaki kavanoz kırılmış	b kurbağa da bu fırsattan istifade
c çocuk da atlamış aşağıya	c kavanozdan atladığı gibi kaçtı
d ya .. aşağıya inmiş Age 9:09)	(Age 13:10)

As is the case in the use of simultaneity, when used to express sequentiality *dE* is used in global CA or complicating parts of other story units.

5.2.1.3 Function of *dE* to terminate an episode

When *dE* is used episode finally it acquires a reading that informs the audience about the termination of an episode and thus it marks a episode boundary. When used as such other functions of *dE* are overshadowed by its function to terminate an episode.

It should be noted at the outset of this subsection that 3-year-olds do not produce discernable story units. Furthermore, they use *dE* so often that it is not possible to determine which one of the occurrences functions to express temporality and which one is used as a listing device or a discourse filler.

Although 4-year-olds produce more discernable episodes, like 3-year-olds, they use *dE* so often that it is difficult which one of them is used to express temporality.

Table 5.2.1.3.1 The use of *dE* by 3- and 4-year-olds.

<p>A a köpek kurbağanın içine bakıyor. b çocuk da oturuyor c kurbağa da kavanozun içinde d burda kurbağa çıkıyor e köpekle çocuk uyuyor f burda da kavanozun içine bakıyor g burda da bunu kaldırıyor h bu da kavanozun içerisine kafasını girdirmiş i çocuk da dışardan bakmış j köpek de aşıya atlamış k burda da aşıya inmişler l burada da köpek yukarı bakıyor. m bu da gözlerini kapatmış. n bu anda köpek bal yemeye çalışıyor. o bu da deliğe delikten içeri bakıyor p #da arılar çıkıyor q o sallanıyor r burdan da bu çıkıyor s burda da yuva düşmüş (3:10)</p> <p>B a bir kavanoz varmış b bu da bir neymiş? c bu da bir çizmeymiş d bu da bir tabureymiş e bu da bir yatakmış f bu da bir lambamış (3:11)</p>	<p>D *burda da hala da onla oturuyomuş (3:03)</p> <p>E *sonra bütün de hikayeyle bozmuş (3:10)</p> <p>F ?başka da burda kuş varmış (3:05)</p> <p>G a sonra binerken çekmişler b sonra da koşturmaya başlamışlar c sonra da düşürmüş d köpeğiyle birlikte çocuğu e sonra da burda ağ görmüşler f örümcek ağsı gibi g sonra da oraya gitmişler h sonra da düşmüşler denize i sonra da eğlenceliymiş j sonra da çıkıyormuşlar (Age 4:09)</p>
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During such an iterative use of *dE*, 3-year-olds sometimes use it ungrammatically (P-D and P-E) or implausibly (P-F) in the sense that its grammaticality is open to discussion.

For these reasons, while their use of *dE* inter-clausally is analyzed in previous sections, episode final and episode initial use of *dE* are not analyzed in 3- and 4-year-olds.

5-year-olds are observed to use *dE* to mark an end state (cf. P-5.2.1.3.1).

(P-5.2.1.3.1)

- a sonra suyun üstüne düşmüştü
‘then he had fallen over water’
- b köpek **de** onun üstüne düşmüştü
‘and the dog had fallen over him’
‘as for the dog, it had fallen over him’
(5:07)

Because of the adjacency of the clauses *a* and *b* in P-5.1.2.8 in a narrative text, the fall of the boy and that of dog may be conceived of as sequential. However, the fall of the dog *over the boy* predominates, in importance, the fall of the dog *after the boy*. That is, the function of *dE*

to mark an end state, which marks a episode boundary, predominates its function to express sequentiality. After 5-year-olds, the use of *dE* to mark the end of an episode is observed in the stories of 6-year-olds and older informants. (see Table 5.2.1.3.2).

Table 5.2.1.3.2 The function of *dE* to mark an end state

<p>A</p> <p>a ondan sonra sabah olunca b çocuk bakıyor c bulamıyor kurbağayı d köpek de bakıyor</p> <p>e ondan sonra her yeri arıyorlar f köpek kavanozun içine kafası giriyor (Age 6:01)</p>	<p>B</p> <p>a çocuk bi ağacın ağaca tırmanmış. b ondan sonra ağaçta da baykuş varmış. c arılar köpeği kovalıyormuş. d baykuş onu korkutunca e çocuk da yere düşmüş. (Age 7:04)</p>
<p>C</p> <p>a bunun üzerine çocuk da aşağıya iniyor b ve sinirlenmiş gibi köpeğine bakıyor c köpek de çocuğu yalıyor ... yüzünü</p> <p>d sonra kurbağayı aramak için yola çıkıyorlar e sesleniyor çocukla köpek (Age 13:09)</p>	<p>D</p> <p>a kendi evlerine geri dönüyorlar b bu arada kurbağa ailesi de onları uğurluyor (Adult)</p>

When used to mark an end state *dE* is used in the resolution part of episodes or in the final part of global *Resolution* section (Table 5.2.1.3.2).

5.2.1.4 Function of *dE* to join episodes

While *dE* is used to terminate or wrap up an episode, when it is used episode initially, it expresses either sequentiality or simultaneity of two episodes, each of which narrate the events that are performed or undergone by two different characters.

Episode initial use of *dE* is first observed at the age of 8 (cf. P-5.2.1.4)

(P-5.2.1.4)

- a bir çocuk varmış
b bu çocuğun bir kurbağası ve bir köpeği varmış
c bir süre sonra uykusu gelmiş
d **ve** uyumuş
- e sonra **da** kurbağa kaçmış
f çocuk sabah olunca
g kurbağasını yerinde göremeyince çok üzülmüş
(Age 8:01)

Clauses *a-d* constitute the *Orientation* section of the story. The narrator terminates the *Orientation* section by making use of *ve* at the beginning of the clause *d*. Although clause *e* seems to have a sequential relationship with only clause *d* when approached at sentential level, the use of *dE* creates coherence across the two episodes at macro level. Thus *dE* in clause *e* is used by 8-year-olds, which is not observed in younger ages, to organize the macro-temporal structure of the story rather than to organize episode internal components.

Table 5.2.1.4.1 *dE* used episode initially.

A	B
a köpek arı kovaniyla oynamaya çalışıyor	a arılar çıkıyor
b arı kovani düşüyor	b köpeğe doğru geliyorlar
c bütün sinekler köpeğe geliyorlar	c çocuk da ağaca çıkıp
d köpek de şaşıyor	d ağacın gövdesindeki bir oyuğa sesleniyor
e çocuk da ağaca tırmanıp	e kurbağayı arıyor
f büyük bir deliğine bakıyor	f sonra kurbağanın içinden
g baykuş çıkıyor içinden	g ay ... ağacın ovuğunun içinden baykuş çıkıyor
h çocuğa kızıyor	h çocuk da korkup
i çocuk da düşüyor (Age 9:00)	i yere düşüyor
	j köpek de ... arılar da köpeği kovalıyor
	k köpek kaçıyor
	l sonra çocuk bir kayanın üstüne tırmanıyor (Age 13:07)
	C
	a sonra geyik çocuğu küçük bir gölün içine atıyor uçurumun kenarından
	b köpek de düşüyor bu arada
	c sonra ikisi de ... sığ bir su burası
	d tekrar kurbağayı aramaya başlıyorlar (Adult)

P-A in Table 5.2.1.4.1 exemplifies how 9-year-olds use *dE* to terminate an episode (clause *d*), to initiate a new episode (clause *e*) and again to terminate an episode (clause *i*). *dE* in clause *d* marks an end state which starts with clause *a* and ends with clause *d*. This end state, which is the dog's being surprised, is the result of a series of actions and terminates the episode. Clause *e*, which is marked with *dE*, and which starts a new episode, is not the continuation of the dog's being surprised at micro level but that of the unfolding of the plot at global level. In other words the referent of *dE* in clause *e* is not the dog's being surprised but it is the whole of the preceding episode with its internal components. Thus, the episode initial *dE* in clause *e* is used to unfold the plot at macro level rather than relating two clauses at micro level. Similarly, *dE* in clause *i* functions to determine an episode boundary rather than marking the

sequential relation between the *act of falling off* in clause *i* and the *act of getting angry* in clause *h*.

As the protocols B and C in Table 5.2.1.4.1 show, the function of *dE* does not render differences in 13-year-olds and adults from its function in 8- and 9-year-olds as an inter-episode cohesive device.

5.2.1.5 Conclusion to the function of *dE* relative to age and story units

While the use of *dE* in narratives is higher at younger ages, it is observed that the use of this multifunctional particle to express temporality increases significantly with increasing age (Table 5.2.1.5.1).

Table 5.2.1.5.1 The proportional frequency of the use of *dE* to express temporality.

Age	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	13	Adult
Proportion %	1.2	1.8	12.8	56.1	78.2	90.1	93.5	90.2	94.7

Although the frequency of the emergence of *dE* shows a difference relative to age, all of the informants are observed to use this temporal element mostly to express simultaneity.

When *dE* is used to express simultaneity in *Orientation* and *CA*, regardless of age, it is used to organize the temporal structure of a story at micro level in the sense that it is used to relate adjacent clauses (intra-episode components) rather than marking episode boundaries in a larger text

When *dE*, expressing simultaneity or sequentiality, is used episode finally its function to mark an end state predominates its other functions. Such usage of *dE* marks the termination of an episode rather than organizing episode internal components.

Adults show a certain preference between *ve* and *dE* in the expression of sequentiality and simultaneity. When they express sequentiality they use *ve*. None of the adults is observed to

use *dE* to express sequentiality although they use *ve* to express simultaneity, albeit with a relatively low frequency.

dE is not used to function as a cohesive device across episodes until the age of 8. It is observed that 8-, 9- and 13-year-olds and adults use *dE* episode initially. When used as such, *dE* does not relate the first clause of the episode in which it occurs to the last clause of the preceding episode only, but it sets a temporal relation between the two episodes as a whole.

It appears that the use of *ve* and *dE* episode initially to relate two episodes is a later development. This may be because relating two episodes requires the narrator to plan the succeeding episode while keeping the preceding episode, including its internal structure, in mind, which is out of the cognitive ability of preoperational children.

CHAPTER VI

THE EMERGENCE AND FUNCTION OF ADVERBIAL CONJUNCTIONS

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, adverbial conjunctions *o zaman* ‘then, at that time’; *bu/o sırada* ‘meanwhile’; *öbür taraftan* ‘on the other hand’; *sonra* ‘then, after’; *sonradan* ‘later’; *önce* ‘before’; *önceden* ‘beforehand’ and *-dEn önce* ‘before x’, whose functions are described in Chapter III, are analyzed. In this analysis, the frequency of the emergence of each temporal element relative to age and story unit and the function of each element relative to age and story unit are delineated.

6.1 *o zaman* ‘then’

6.1.1 The emergence of *o zaman*

As Chart 6.1.1.1 shows, the general frequency of *o zaman* is relatively low compared to those of *ve* and *dE*. While only one of the 3-year-olds uses *o zaman* only once, none of the 4-year-olds produces this temporal element in their narratives.

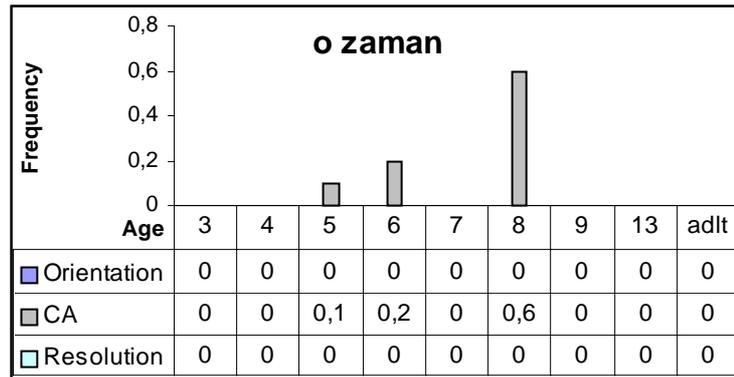


Chart 6.1.1.1 The distribution of *o zaman* ‘then’ relative to story unit.

The interpretation of the frequency of *o zaman* from a developmental perspective is difficult since even older informants are observed not to produce this temporal element. It is observed

in our data that the earliest age at which it emerges is the age of 5, the age which is considered to be a turning point in language development. However, whether 3- and 4-year-olds do not use it for the same reasons that 7-, 9-, 13-year-olds and adults do not use this temporal element or not cannot be answered within the scope of this study. Thus, it is difficult to assume that the emergence of *o zaman* in children's narratives starts at the age of 5.

6.1.2 The function of *o zaman*

As all of the occurrences of *o zaman* in protocols **B**, **C**, **D** and **E** in Table 6.1.2.1 show, it is used to express simultaneity by 5-, 6- and 8-year-olds. When used as such, it is mostly used in *CA* section to relate episode internal components at micro level.

Table 6.1.2.1 The use of *o zaman* by different age groups.

<p>A (P-6.2.1.1) a köpek sevinmiş b çocuk sevinmiş c o zaman güvenmiş ona böyle d sevinmiş e çünkü bulmuşlar ya (Age 3:11)</p>	<p>B a sonra bir gün bu çocuk da çıkmış dağa köpeğiyle b karlar varmış c ordaki arılar ... karda olur mu bu? d arıları seyrediyormuş e burdan da köpeği kendi uçan şeyini almaya çalışıyormuş f o zaman da çocuk boşluk bulmuş bir tane g sonra buraya burdaki .. yine boşluk.. alamamış (Age 5:06)</p>
<p>C a orda da bir baykuş varmış b o birden çıkmış c çocuk düşmüş sonra d köpeği de onlardan kaçıyor o zaman e ondan sonra çocuk ağlamaya başlamış düştü diyey (Age 6:08)</p>	<p>D a baykuş aliyi kovalamaya başlamış b ali kayalığa çıkıp c kurbağasını bağıra bağıra aramaya başlamış d o zaman da bir geyik gelip e aliyi yakalayıp koşmaya başlamış f geyik bir uçuruma geldiğinde g ali düşmüş (Age 8:02)</p>
<p>E a köpek kavanoza başını sokmuş b köpek kavanoza sokarken pencereden düşüyormuş c çocuk o zaman bağırıyormuş d köpek yere düşmüş (Age 8:11)</p>	

The only 3-year-old who produces *o zaman* uses it in *Resolution* section to express an end state. *O zaman* in clause *c* of P-A is used to inform the audience about the emotional state of the protagonist, supporters and those who benefit from the protagonist's achievement in

solving the problem that is announced in *CA* section. It also announces, tacitly, that the story is about to come to an end.

To conclude, *o zaman* is used mostly to express simultaneity in an explicit way in *CA* and to point to an end state in the resolution part of an episode or in global *Resolution* section. As our data show, it is used to organize intra-episode temporal relations at micro level rather than functioning to organize inter-episode temporal relations at macro level.

6.2 *bu sırada* ‘meanwhile’

6.2.1 The emergence of *bu sırada*

As is the case with *o zaman*, the frequency of the emergence of *bu sırada* is rather low. *Bu sırada* ‘meanwhile’, emerges at the age of 9 (0.2%) and its use increases at the age of 13 (0.8%) and in adults (1.1%). While 9- and 13-year-olds use it only in *CA*, adults use it in Orientation (0.6%), *CA* (0.1%) and in Resolution (0.4%) (Chart 6.2.1.1).



Chart 6.2.1.1 The emergence of *bu sırada* in narratives relative to age.

6.2.2 The function of *bu sırada*

The analysis of the use of this temporal element renders results showing that it is used to serve two functions: to express simultaneity at both sentential and discourse level, and to foreground events which the narrator thinks they are overshadowed by the mainline events.

The occurrences of *bu sırada* in protocols B and C in Table 6.2.2.1 express simultaneity, though each occurrence functions at different levels. While *bu sırada* in P-B is used to relate two episode internal components at micro level, *bu sırada* in P-C is used to relate clause *d*

and the result it produces to the whole of the preceding episode; thus, *bu sırada* in clause d in P-C is a discourse organizer at macro level.

Table 6.2.2.1 The use and function of *bu sırada* relative to age story unit.

<p>A a burada da köpeğini şişeden ... köpeğin kafasının şişeye sıkıştığını unutmuş b kurbağayı arıyormuş c köpeği de bu sırada çok acı çekiyormuş d ondan sonra köpeği birden düşünce e onu farketmiş (Age 9:02)</p>	<p>B a ondan sonra üstünü giyiniyor b bu sırada köpeği kavanozun içinden iyice bakıyor c sonra sıkışıyor ## (Age 13:10)</p>
<p>C a ama ilk önce belki evin yakınlarındadır diye kurbağasına seslenmiş b eve dönmesini söylemiş c ama kurbağası dönmemiş d bu sırada kurbağasını ararken köpeğini aşağıya düşürmüş e ve onu da kaybetmek üzere olduğu için çok üzülmüş f sonra köpekle birlikte yine kurbağayı aramaya devam etmişler g ormana ... evin yakınlarındaki ormana giderek h kurbağayı aramışlar (Adult)</p>	

Along with expressing the simultaneity of the two events, *bu sırada* functions to open a gap in the stream of the plot in which the narrator finds a chance to bring the dog's suffering (in P-A) and the boy's dropping the dog down through the window (in P-C) into the consciousness of the audience.

It is observed that 9- and 13-year-olds use it in CA section while adults use it in Orientation, CA, and Resolution (only 1 occurrence of *bu sırada* in each story unit, produced by adults, is observed in our data).

6.3 *o sırada* 'at that time, meanwhile'

6.3.1 The emergence of *o sırada*

The frequency of the use of *o sırada* 'meanwhile' is higher than that of *bu sırada* and like *bu sırada*, it emerges at the age of 5. However, unlike *bu sırada*, *o sırada* is produced by all of the informants but 3- and 4-year-olds (Chart 6.3.1.1).

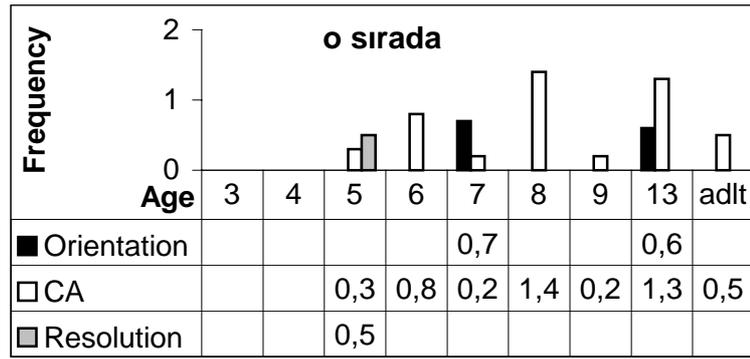


Chart 6.3.1.1 The emergence of *o sırada* in narratives relative to age

5-year-olds produce it with a frequency of 0.3% in CA and 0.5% in Resolution. They do not produce it in Orientation section at all. 6-year-olds use *o sırada* in an identical frequency as that of 5-year-olds but 6-year-olds use all of them in CA section. 7-year-olds differ from younger ages in that they produce it in *Orientation* (0.7%) with a higher frequency than in CA (0.2%). 8-year-olds, who use *o sırada* with the second highest frequency in all age groups, use it in CA (1.4%) only. 9-year-olds (0.2%) and adults (0.5%) use *o sırada* in frequencies lower than the mean frequency (0.7), while 13-year-olds, as they do in the production of story units, produce the highest frequency (Chart 6.3.1).

6.3.2 The function of *o sırada*

O sırada is mostly used to express simultaneity as it is exemplified by its occurrence in all of the protocols in Table 6.3.2.1.

Table 6.3.2.1 The use of *o sırada* relative to age and story unit.

<p>A a sonra köpeği de gelmek istemiş b ama gelememiş c çünkü o sırada uyuyormuş d sonra evden dışarı bakmış (Age 5:06)</p>	<p>B a sonra birdenbire ali ağaca çıkmış b sonra ağaçta kuş bulmuş c hemen yere düşürmüş ağaçtan d köpeği de o sırada kaybolmuş e bir tane büyük bir kar bulmuş f onu iteklemeye çalışmış g ama iteklemeye çalışmış h en sonunda karın üstüne çıkmış (Age 5:06)</p>
<p>C a sonra çocuk uyumuş b kurbağa da o sırada kavanozundan çıkmış c çocuk uyanıp d kurbağaya bir bakmış e kavanozunda yok (Age 6:00)</p>	<p>D a sonra da bağıyorlarmış nerdesin diye b her tarafa bakmışlar c deliklere falan bakıyorlarmış d yılan deliklerine e örümcek deliklerine f o sırada da köpek arılarla oynuyormuş g köstebek deliğinden çocuğa ...bir köstebek çıkmış (Age 7:07)</p>

Along with expressing simultaneity, *o sirada* is used to foreground an event that is foreshadowed by the stream of the plot or an event that is crucial for the unfolding of the plot. The occurrences of *o sirada* in protocols B, C, and D exemplify clearly what we suggest. For instance, the occurrence of *o sirada* in P-C foregrounds frog’s escape because this event constitutes the global problem to be solved throughout the story. When used as such, *o sirada* functions at macro level temporal organization since it unfolds the plot by relating episodes rather than merely relating two episode internal events on the basis of simultaneity. The occurrences of *o sirada* in protocols B and D in Table 6.3.2.1 function to foreground what the dog is doing at the time of the boy’s search, which is the mainstream of the plot, along with expressing the simultaneity of the two events.

As it is shown in the sample protocols in Table 6.3.2.1, *o sirada* is used almost always in *CA* to function both at micro and macro level temporal organization, and, again the same table shows that there are not significant differences in the function of the temporal element relative to the age of the narrator.

6.4 *sonra* ‘then, after’

6.4.1 The emergence of *sonra*

Sonra is one of the most frequently used temporal elements in narratives because of the serial nature of narrative events. Although the use of *sonra* renders a fluctuating curve, as demonstrated in Chart 6.4.1.1, the functional use of this temporal element increases with increasing age gradually in that while younger ages use it repetitively as a sequencing device or, in most occurrences, as a discourse filler, older informants use *sonra* to mark episode boundaries (Chart 6.4.1.2).

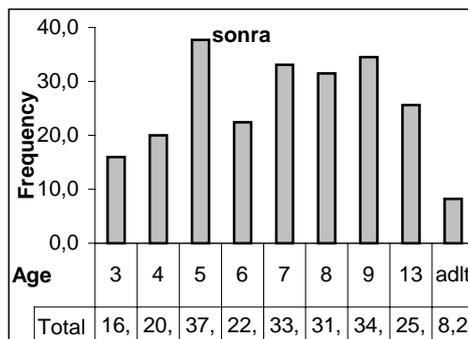


Chart 6.4.1.1 The use of *sonra* relative to age.

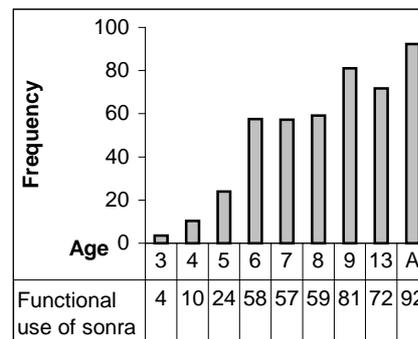


Chart 6.4.1.2 The functional use of *sonra* relative to age.

While 3- and 4-year-olds produce it in frequencies 16% and 20% respectively, 5-year-olds produce this conjunction in the highest frequency (37.7%) within all age groups. Nevertheless, the frequency decreases to 22,4% at the age of 6 and to 8.2% in adults while the frequency values are 33.1% at the age of 7, 31.5% at the age of 8, 34.5% at the age of 9 and 25.6% at the age of 13. Adults differ from all other age groups with respect to the quantitative value of the use of *sonra* (Chart 6.4.1.1).

As for the distribution of *sonra* relative to story units, it is observed that all of the age groups, except for 6-year-olds, distribute it in the same frequency order -highest in Orientation, second highest in *CA* and lowest in *Resolution* (Chart 6.4.1.3).

The statistical figures in Chart 6.4.1.3 imply that, while the total emergence of *sonra* renders developmental differences (Chart 6.4.1.1), the distribution of this temporal element relative to story units does not show significant differences relative to age in that 5-year-olds distribute this temporal element to story units in the same order as 7-, 8-, 9-, and 13-year-olds and adults distribute it (cf. Chart 6.4.1.3)

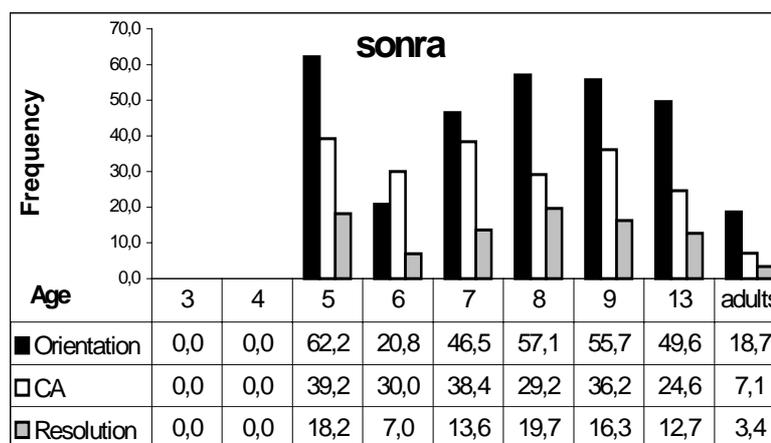


Chart 6.4.1.3 The distribution of *sonra* relative to story units

6.4.2 The function of *sonra*

It is observed that *sonra* is used in narratives to link successive narrative clauses on the time axis at micro level temporal organization, and to mark the segmentation of story units at macro temporal organization. When used to express sequentiality, it occurs at inter-clausal position. When it is used to segment story units, it is either used episode initially or episode finally.

6.4.2.1 The function of *sonra* to express sequentiality

3-, 4- and 5-year-olds use *sonra* so frequently that it is difficult to interpret which occurrence of this temporal element is really used to express temporality and which one of them is used to mark every new action or state, just because, by nature, narrative events unfold one after the other. We call such recurrent use of the temporal element as “overuse” (Gökmen 2004 calls *sonra* used as such ‘transitional device’) (see P-A in Table 6.4.2.1.1). Informants at the ages of 3, 4, and 5 are observed to use *sonra* for the same purpose they use the proximal deictic *burada* (P-B in Table 6.4.2.1.1).

The overuse of *sonra* is observed until the age of 8 (P-C in Table 6.4.2.1.1), though its frequency decreases with increasing age.

Table 6.4.2.1.1 The overuse use of *sonra* and its replacement by *burada*.

A	B
a sonra #ler ona bakmış	a burda da oğlan şşşt diyor
b sonra aykkabısı düşmüş	b burda da ağacın üstüne çıkıyorlar
c sonra bunu yapmış çimen	c burda da ağaçtan kurbağaları seyrediyorlar
d sonra aşağıya düşmüş ayağı	d burda da # kurbağayı seyrediyorlar
e sonra elini koymuş buraya	e burda da oğlan kurbağayı eline almış
f sonra demiş ki #	(Age 5:05)
(Age 3:05)	C
	a sonra arılar gidiyor
	b sonra ordan bir hayvan çıkıyor
	c sonra korkuyor çocuk
	d sonra arılar böyle çıkmış
	(Age 8:06)

The use of *sonra* to express the sequentiality of episode internal components starts at the age of 3 and does not show significant developmental differences (P-A and P-B in Table 6.4.2.1.2).

Table 6.4.2.1.2 The use of *sonra* to express sequentiality.

A	B
a kayanın üstüne çıkıp	a köpek daldaki arı kovanını düşürüyor
b kurbağaya bağırmağa başlamış	b arılar çıkıyor kovandan
c sonra da bir geyik görmüş	c sonra köpeğe saldırıyorlar
d onun üstüne böyle yatmış	d bu arada çocuk da arılardan korktu mu artık...
(Age 3:10)	e yere düşmüş şekilde
	(Adult)

As the protocols A and B in Table 6.4.2.1.2 show, when *sonra* is used to express sequentiality, it functions at micro level temporal organization.

6.4.2.2 The function of *sonra* as a discourse organizer

Sonra functions to mark episode boundaries in a narrative. It is used either episode initially or episode finally. As Chart 6.4.1.3 shows, *sonra* is used in Orientation section with the highest frequency. This implies that *sonra* is mostly used to initiate an episode.

When it is used episode initially, which is relatively higher than its episode final occurrence, *sonra* functions to initiate a new episode and, at the same time, to create coherence across episodes (Protocols A and B in Table 6.4.2.2.1).

Table 6.4.2.2.1 The use of *sonra* as a discourse organizer.

A	B
a dışarıya çıkmış	a aramaya çıkmışlar
b arı kovanından bal almaya çalışmış	b önce # içeriye bakmışlar
köpek	c yokmuş
c ve bulamamış	d her yeri aramışlar
d sonra da karınca avlamış	e sonra köpek pencereden atlamış işte
e o karınca yuvası değilmiş	f o çocuk da atlamış
f sincap yuvasıymış	g sonra bağırılmışlar
(3:10)	h onu bulamamışlar
	(Age 5:07)

The use of *sonra* to initiate a new episode is observed in the narratives of 3-year-olds (P-A in Table 6.4.2.2.1). *Bulamamış* ‘couldn’t find’ in clause *c* in P-A in Table 6.4.2.2.1 declares the failure of the action taken to resolve the global *CA* and *sonra* in clause *d* marks the initiation of a new episode. Along with marking the episode boundary, episode initial occurrence of *sonra* also creates coherence between two episodes.

Although the function of *sonra* to mark the initiation of an episode does not show developmental differences, it is observed that the boundaries of episodes that are marked with *sonra* get more discernable and clearer with increasing age (see P-A and P-B in Table 6.4.2.2.2).

Table 6.4.2.2 Episode initial and episode final use of *sonra*.

A	B
<p>a sonra bu çocuk tekrar kurbağayı arıyor</p> <p>b kurbağayı sesiyle duyurmaya çalışıyor</p> <p>c ama duyuramıyor</p> <p>d köpek de öyle yapıyor</p> <p>e sonra köpek arı kovuğuna ...bir arı kovuğuna bağırıyor</p> <p>f çocuk da yerdeki bir karınca yuvasının içine bağırıyor</p> <p>g karınca yuvasından sincap çıkıyor</p> <p>h köpek de oraya çıktığında</p> <p>i arılar vız vız kova... kalıptan çıkıyor</p> <p>(Age 7:05)</p>	<p>a bir çocuk ve köpeği var</p> <p>b ve kavanozun içinde bir kurbağaları var</p> <p>c vakit gece</p> <p>d ve onlar kurbağayı seyrediyor</p> <p>e sonra köpekle çocuk uyuyor</p> <p>f bu arada kurbağa kavanozdan kaçıyor</p> <p>g sabah çocukla köpek uyandıklarında</p> <p>h kurbağanın kavanozda olmadığını görüyorlar</p> <p>i sonra kavanozun içinde</p> <p>j botların içinde</p> <p>k köpek ve çocuk her tarafı arıyorlar kurbağayı bulmak için</p> <p>(Adult)</p>

Though the frequency is relatively low, *sonra* is used episode finally. However, the sample protocols do not offer enough clues to assume that it functions to terminate an episode. Instead, it seems that it functions to express sequentiality at micro level temporal organization (P-6.4.2.2.1).

(P-6.4.2.2.1)

- a sonra köpekle kurbağa ... şey yapmış ...
 - b köpek kurbağalara bakmış
 - c çocuk da yavrularını görmüş
 - d çocuk eline yavru kurbağayı tutmuş
 - e köpek de yüzü ... yüze.. sevinerek yüzüyor
 - f **sonra** çocukla anne baba kurbağalara ... kurbağasına selam söylüyor
- (Age 7:07)

6.5 *sonradan* 'later'

6.5.1 The emergence of *sonradan*

The total emergence of *sonradan* is rather low compared to the emergence of *sonra*. The temporal element *sonradan* emerges at the age of 4 in our data set. As Chart 6.5.1.1 shows, 5- and 6-year-olds do not produce it.

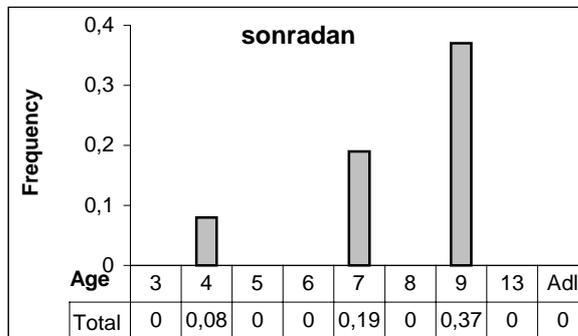


Chart 6.5.1.1 Total emergence of *sonradan*

The frequency of the use of *sonradan* increases with increasing age. While two occurrences are observed at the age of 7, the occurrence of the temporal element increases to 3 at the age of 9. It is observed that 8- and 13-year-olds and adults do not use it in our data set. Thus the only statistical generalization that can be proposed about this temporal element is the fact that its occurrence is low in all age groups. One reason for this low occurrence of *sonradan* in the narratives we elicited may be the nature of the picture book and the nature of the elicitation task we used.

6.5.2 The function of *sonradan*

In general terms, *sonradan* is used to locate an event/state that is distanced in future, either by an already completed process (Extract 1) or passing of a period of time (Extract 2), from another event/state that is located on the time axis with reference to the speech time.

(Extract 1)

DVD lere **Sonradan** Altyazı Ekleme

‘To insert subtitle to DVDs later’

Elinizde bir DVD var ve istediğiniz dil de altyazısı yoksa artık problem değil!

‘You have a DVD and if it does not contain subtitle in the language you desire, that’s no more a problem!’

(Videometre.com)

(Extract 2)

Selim, Fransa dönüşü neden Türkçe konuşmadığını **sonradan** anlattı bize.

Selim told us later why he had not spoken Turkish after his return from France.

Devrim, (2005)

In Extract 1, *sonradan* is used to refer to an event (*altyazı eklemek* ‘inserting subtitle’) that takes place after the completion of the process of the creation of a DVD. *Sonradan* in Extract 2 is used to refer to an event (telling the reason) that takes place after a period of time passes after the event (not speaking Turkish) that is mentioned at the speech time. *Sonradan* distances the act of *telling* from the act of *not speaking* on the time axis.

As Table 6.5.2.1 demonstrates, none of the occurrences of *sonradan* in 4-year-olds’ protocols (Protocols A, B, and C in Table 6.5.2.1) functions as it does in Extracts 1 and 2.

Sonradan that is used by the 4-year-old in P-A is ungrammatical since it is used to refer to the existence of an object in the room just at the speech time which, by nature, does not have a feature of sequentiality.

Table 6.5.2.1 The use of *sonradan* by 4-, 7- and 9-year-olds.

<p>A a onun içinde bir kurbağa var b köpek ona böyle bakıyor gözünden c sonradan bir tane lamba var d yastık var (Age 4:06)</p>	<p>B a korkuyor b aşağıya düşüyor köpeklerle c bakıyor işte eşek d sonradan geyik bakıyor e sonra bir orman var (Age 4:06)</p> <p>C a evet sonra köpek de .. köpek öndeydi b bakıyordu geyiğe c ağzı ... köpeğin ağzı açıldı az bişey d sonradan çocuk hala ters binmişti e koşmaya başladı geyikte (Age 4:06)</p>
<p>D a yine sesleniyor büyük taşın üstüne b sonra da geyik üstüne çıkmış c sonradan köpek de havlıyor d geyik de onu kovalıyor e sonra çocuk düşüyor (Age 7:01)</p>	<p>E a sonra arı kovanını yere düşürüyor köpek b sonra bir çocuk ağacın dalına çıkıyor c ve ağacın dalının içine bakıyor d sonradan bir baykuş geliyor e onu yere düşürüyor f köpek de kaçıyor (Age 9:04)</p>
<p>F a her yere bakmış b pencereden bağırmış c ve şey... köpeği kafasını kavanozun içerisine koymuş d ve düşmüş e sonradan köpeğine kızmış çocuk f sonra aramaya başlamışlar g bir tane şey çukur görmüş (Age 9:04: Not the same informant as the one in P-E)</p>	

A text-based analysis of *sonradan* in protocols B and C might allow a reading that is similar to the function of *sonradan* in Extracts 2, however when the scene in the picture book is taken into consideration, it is obvious that the actions which the informants depict are simultaneous. For this reason, *sonradan* in protocols B and C does not serve the same function as it does in Extract 2.

Interpretation of the occurrences of *sonradan* in 7- and 9-year-olds' stories (Protocols D, E, and F in Table 6.5.2.1) is difficult since they refer to sequential events but they are unclear about whether *sonradan* in Protocols D, E, and F is used to distance events on the time axis or to sequence successive events, for the same purpose as *sonra* is used. The sequential order of the pictures in *Frog, where are you?* imposes that none of the events marked with *sonradan* in Protocols D, E and F shows a remark of being distant from each other.

As for the function of *sonradan* relative to story units, except for the one in clause e in P-F, all of the occurrences of *sonradan* are used to join episode internal components in CA, that is, to organize micro temporal relations. *Sonradan* in clause e in P-F is used in resolution part of the episode to indicate the termination of this episode and thus, to organize the macro-temporal framework of the story.

6.6 *önce* ‘before’

6.6.1 The emergence of *önce*

Previous studies that are designed to investigate the development of the concepts of *before* and *after* in children through sentence comprehension and sentence production tasks (Clark 1971; Beilin 1975) show that *before* ‘*önce*’ is acquired earlier than *after* ‘*sonra*’. However, Ruhi (1982) and Goodz (1982) present contrary findings. Ruhi (1982) obtained results, from a serialization test, which show that children at the age of 2:5 and at the age of 3:5 comprehended *sonra* ‘after’ but failed to comprehend *önce* ‘before’ and she found that 4-year-olds comprehended both *önce* and *sonra* in the same serialization test. Goodz (1982) presents results, which are obtained from sentence production and comprehension tests, showing that the acquisition of *before* is not easier than the acquisition of *after*.

The present study, which investigates the use of these temporal elements in narrative production, shows that both *önce* ‘before’ and *sonra* ‘after/then’, emerge at the age of 3, albeit with great differences in the frequency. While the frequency of the emergence of *sonra* is one of the highest in all temporal elements, as diametrically opposite, the frequency of *önce* in narratives is among those that are the least frequent (Chart 6.6.1.1).

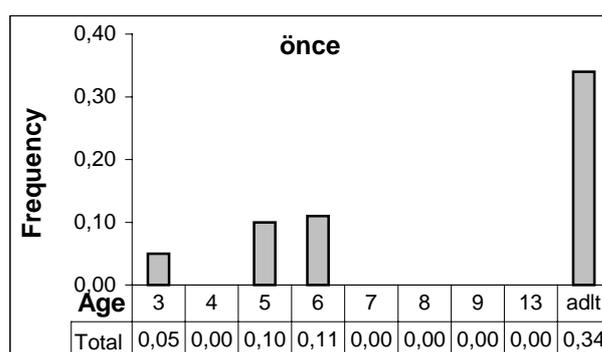


Chart 6.6.1.1 The frequency of the use of *önce* in narratives.

Önce occurs with a frequency of 0.05% in 3-year-olds. None of the 4-, 7-, 8-, 9- and 13-year-olds who participated in this study produce *önce* in their narratives (Chart 6.6.1). It is observed that the use of *önce* is incremental with increasing age. While 3-year-olds produce it

in a frequency of 0.05%, the frequency increases to 0.10% at the age of 5; to 0.11% at the age of 6; and to 0.34% in adults.

6.6.2 The function of *önce*

Adverbial conjunction *önce* is used to locate an event on the time axis prior to another event or other events.

The occurrences of *önce* in P-A and P-B in Table 6.6.2.1 by 3-year-olds are not used to locate narrative events on the time axis with reference to other events, though they are grammatical. Our data show that 3-year-olds do not use *önce* to organize the priority and posteriority of narrative events with reference to one another, whereas 5-year-olds do it successfully in P-C.

The mutual relationship between *önce* in clause *b* and *sonra* in clause *e* in P-C in Table 6.6.2.1 reveals that *önce* is used not only to express the priority of a narrative event over the other but also to create coherence across episodes in narratives by 5-year-olds.

While 6-year-olds are observed to use *önce* to express the priority of one of the two successive events over the other (Clause *c* in P-D), 9-year-olds use it in the same way as 5-year-olds use this temporal element.

Table 6.6.2.1 The use of *önce* in narratives.

<p>A a çocuk varmış b kapatıyorlarmış c köpek de bakmış d kurbağa # etmemiş e önce ayağım demiş f düzeltmiş g #nin yakınında çocuk varmış h bir de kuş # kazak bi de küçük merdiven (Age 3:05)</p> <p>B a hah bu uçurum b uçurumdan daha hızlı giderler c bir de orda deniz varmış d önce uçar hoplarmış e aa düştü mü ki? (3:11)</p>	<p>C a aramaya çıkmışlar b önce # içeriye bakmışlar c yokmuş d her yeri aramışlar</p> <p>e sonra köpek pencereden atlamış işte f o çocuk da atlamış g sonra bağırılmışlar h onu bulamamışlar (Age 5:07)</p>
<p>D a kubağam kurbağam neredesin diye bağırıyormuş çocuk penceresinde b sonra pencereden çıkmışlar c ama önce köpek düşmüş kavanozuyla birlikte d sonra o da inmiş (Age 6:00)</p>	<p>E a çocuk sonra kurbağayı aramaya başlıyor odanın içinde b ilk içinde. ilk önce çizmenin içine bakıyor c çizmenin içinde yok d köpek de o sırada kavanozun içine bakmaya çalışırken kafası köpeğin kavanozun içine giriyor</p> <p>e ondan sonra çocuk pencereyi açıyor (Adult)</p>

It is observed that all of the age groups who produce *önce*, produce it in CA.

To sum up, *önce* is not used by 3-year-olds to express the priority of a narrative event over another on the time axis. 5-year-olds are observed to use *önce* not only to sequence events by expressing priority of one of them over the other, but also to create a coherence across episodes through its interplay with *sonra*. 6-year-olds use *önce* to express sequentiality whereas 9-year-olds use it for the same purposes as 5-year-olds use *önce*.

It should be noted that the findings we present here are obtained from a very low occurrence of *önce* in the stories produced by informants participated in our study. Thus, the assumptions we state about the function of this temporal element should be approached with some degree of caution when generalizations are to be made. On the other hand, the findings we present show that the occurrence of *önce* is relatively low in stories. One reason for this low occurrence of *önce* in stories might be the mental schemata of the movement of the narrative events; narrative events, by default, are incremental in the sense that, while the plot unfolds, a new event is integrated to previous one(s) and such an integration constitutes the drive for the forward movement which fosters the use of *sonra* but inhibits that of *önce*.

6.7 *önceden/daha önce* ‘beforehand’

6.7.1 The emergence of *önceden/daha önce*

Önceden or *daha önce* emerges only twice in our data set. A 9-year-old and an adult use this temporal element. The only 9-year-old uses it in Orientation section and the adult uses it in CA.

6.7.2 The function of *önceden/daha önce*

Önceden or *daha önce* is used to distance an event/state in the past with reference to another event that is located on the time axis with reference to speech time (Protocols 6.7.2.1 and 6.7.2.2).

(P-6.7.2.1)

- a akşamleyin bu çocuğun
‘in the evening, this boy’s ...’
- b pardon **önceden** bu çocuğun bir köpeği varmış
‘pardon, beforehand, this boy had a dog’
- c sonra kurbağa alıyormuş
‘then he bought/was buying a frog’
‘then he took/was taking a frog’
- d akşamleyin ikisine bakıyormuş
‘he was looking at/ taking care of the two’
(Age 9:06)

Önceden in P-6.7.2.1, which is from a 9-year-old, locates three events on the time axis with reference to one another and to the speech time. While the temporal locations of the actions ‘*buying/taking a frog*’ and ‘*looking/taking care of*’ are identified with reference to speech time, *önceden*, in clause *b* locates the state of the existence of the dog at a distance in past with reference to the act of buying/taking a frog. The state of the boy’s having a dog constitutes a background for the act of buying /taking a frog however the background is not created by *önceden* and what *önceden* distances is not the whole of the state of dog’s existence but the initial state of the existence. Such a complexity in the function of *önceden* might explain why younger ages do not produce this temporal element.

(P-6.7.2.2)

- a ve orda iki tane kurbağanın olduğunu gördü
‘and he saw that there were two frogs’
- b bu kurbağalardan bir tanesi
‘one of these frogs’
- c **daha önce** kendilerinin yakalamış olduğu
‘which they themselves caught beforehand’
- d sevimli kurbağaydı
‘was the lovely frog
(Adult)

Daha önce in clause *c* is used to locate *the act of catching* in the distant past with reference to the act of *seeing the two frogs*.

6.8 *-dEn önce* ‘before ...’

As it has been demonstrated, the temporal element *önce* emerges rather in a low frequency. Within this low frequency of its occurrence, none of the informants combines it with the ablative marker *-dEn*. That is *-dEn önce* is not observed in the narratives obtained from the subjects participated in this study.

CHAPTER VII

THE EMERGENCE AND THE FUNCTION OF GERUNDS

Gerunds or converbs that express temporality in Turkish are *-(y)IncE*, *-Erken*, *-Ip* and *-ErEk*.

In this chapter, the questions that ask how often narrators at different ages use gerundive suffixes as temporal elements; how they distribute the gerundive suffixes relative to story units; and how gerundive suffixes function when they are used by a particular age group in a particular story unit are answered.

7.1 *-(y)IncE* ‘when’

In terms of temporality, *-(y)IncE* is used to express sequentiality.

7.1.1 Emergence and distribution of *-(y)IncE* relative to age and story units

The general view of the frequency of *-(y)IncE*, as Chart 7.1.1.1 shows, seems that it is incremental with increasing age until the age of 9 and it decreases to the level of the 3-year-olds in 13-year-olds and adults (Aksu-Koç’s (1988a) findings show that it increases gradually and is highest in adults)¹.

The gerundive marker *-(y)IncE* emerges at early ages in children’s narratives. 3-year-olds produce it with a frequency of 0.11% (M=1.41%). The use of *-(y)IncE* decreases in 4-year-olds (0.08%). When Chart 7.1.1.1 is analyzed, 5-year-olds seem to produce *-(y)IncE* with a much higher frequency compared to those of 3- and 4-year-olds. However, the analysis of the protocols from 5-year-olds showed that 10 of the 11 occurrences of *-(y)IncE* are produced by a single narrator.

Only one of them is produced by a second narrator. Thus, the frequency we present in Chart 7.1.1.1 might not represent the whole group of 5-year-olds and when the use of *-(y)IncE* by other thirteen 5-year-old informants are considered, it can be assumed that 5-year-olds

¹ The contrariness of the findings of Aksu-Koç (1988a) to those of the present study may be because of the difference in the methods of calculation of frequency of this temporal element.

produce *-(y)IncE* with similar frequencies as 3-, 4-, and 6-year-olds produce this gerundive marker.

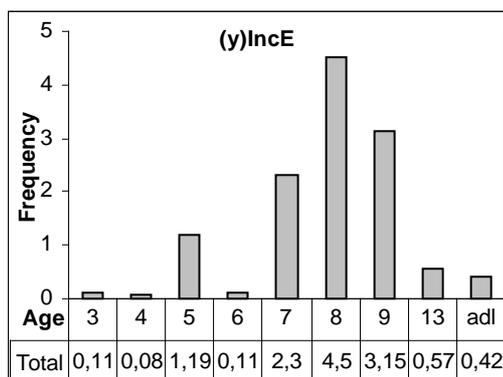


Chart 7.1.1.1 Total emergence of *(y)IncE*

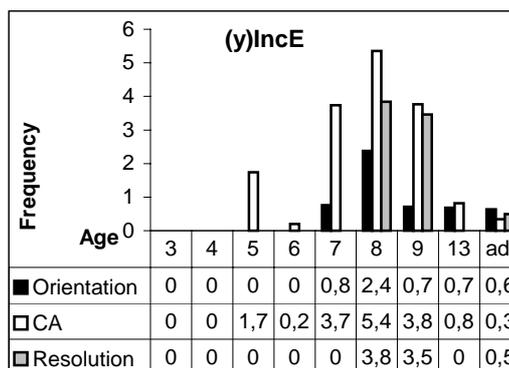


Chart 7.1.1.2 The distribution of *(y)IncE* relative to story units.

Interestingly, *-(y)IncE* is used with the lowest frequency by 6-year-olds (0.11%), albeit it is observed that 6-year-olds usually produce other gerunds (e.g. *-Ip* and *-ErEk*) in slightly lower frequencies than those of 5- and 7-year-olds. Although 7-year-olds do not seem to be developmentally outstanding in the production of the conjunctions such as *ve*, *dE*, *sonra*, *önce* etc., there is a notable increase in their use of *-(y)IncE* (2.3% where M=1.41%). The frequency of the use of this temporal element is higher in both 8- (4.5%) and 9-year-olds (3.1%) compared to the value in 7-year-olds, however, as is the case in the emergence of some story components (e.g. the components of Orientation) and temporal markers (e.g. in the use of *ve* and *o sırada*), it is observed that 9-year-olds produce *-(y)IncE* with a lower frequency than 8-year-olds produce it. 13-year-olds (0.57%) and adults (0.42%) use *-(y)IncE* with relatively lower frequencies than most of the children use this temporal marker.

The distribution of *-(y)IncE* relative to story units creates a pattern which shows that children and 13-year-olds make one group and adults make the other. It is observed that adults use *-(y)IncE* in CA with the lowest frequency while all of the children and 13-year-olds use it in CA with the highest frequencies (Chart 7.1.1.2).

7.1.2 Temporal function of *-(y)IncE*

-(y)IncE is used to express two kinds of temporality: sequentiality and marking a turning point.

7.1.2.1 Sequentiality

Simply because of the nature of the events that are linked by means of *-(y)IncE*, it expresses sequentiality in two forms.

First, a great many of the occurrences of *-(y)IncE* in all age groups are used to relate two sequential events at a time point where the preceding event ends and the succeeding one starts without any temporal distance between them.

- (P-7.1.2.1.1)
- a sonra köpek yere düş*ünce*
'then when the dog falls'
 - b kafasındaki kavanoz kırılıyor
'the jar on its head breaks'
(Adult)

Because of the nature of the actions in clauses *a* and *b* in P-7.1.2.1.1, they can be neither simultaneous nor distanced from one another. They are sequential because the act of *breaking* starts at the very point of time when the act of *falling* is complete in the context in the picture book we used.

Second *-(y)IncE* is used to sequence two events at a temporal point where the end of the preceding event and the beginning of the succeeding one blend to share some temporal location (P-7.1.2.1.2). Such an overlap does not encode simultaneity of the two events as a whole since the bodies of the two events are sequential on the time line and this sequentiality overrides the simultaneity of the overlapping parts (see Aksu-Koç 1988a for contrary findings).

- (P-7.1.2.1.2)
- a ondan sonra sabah ol*unca*
'then when it is morning'
 - b çocuk bakıyor
'the boy is looking'
(Age 6:01)

The sequentiality in the process of shift from night to morning that is denoted by *sabah olunca* in clause *a* and the boy's *looking* (at the frog) in clause *b* in P-7.1.2.1.2 is different from the sequentiality of the actions in P-7.1.2.1.1. The two actions in P-7.1.2.1.2 may overlap partially, however, this partial overlap does not make the two events simultaneous because the bodies of the two events are sequenced on the time axis by means of the marker *-(y)IncE* attached to the verb *ol* 'be'. In fact, the choice of the marker *-(y)IncE* as opposed to

–*Erken*, which is available in 6-year-olds’ linguistic capacity and which can be attached to the verb *ol* in the context where *-(y)IncE* is attached to it, shows that *-(y)IncE* functions to encode sequentiality especially as opposed to simultaneity.

As for the function of *-(y)IncE* relative to age, 3-year-olds use this temporal marker only two times in their narratives. While one of them encodes causality rather than temporality (P-7.1.2.1.3), the other usage of the gerundive marker by a 3-year-old encodes sequentiality (P-7.1.2.1.5).

(P-7.1.2.1.3)

- a çocuk aşağıya düşmüş
 - b köpek de aşağıya düşmüş korkunca
 - c sonra su onlar suya düşmüşler
- (Age 3:11)

When it is attached to verb *korkmak* ‘to be afraid’, *-(y)IncE* is more likely to express causality than to express temporality, though temporality function is not totally overruled. Such an ambiguity seems to stem from the verb to which *-(y)IncE* is attached. Similar ambiguity emerges in the narratives of older informants when *-(y)IncE* is attached to verb *korkmak* (P-7.1.2.1.4).

(P-7.1.2.1.4)

- baykuş onu korkutunca çocuk da yere düşmüş
(Age 7:04)

Since the main clause for subordinate clause *b* in P-7.1.2.1.5 is missing it is not possible to judge whether *-(y)IncE* in this protocol encodes temporality or causality. Yet, because of the verb to which it is attached, *-(y)IncE* in this protocol can certainly express temporality.

(P-7.1.2.1.5)

- a bir daha ordan çıkamamış
‘it/he couldn’t get out/climb from there any more’
 - b sonra da köpek çıkınca da
‘and then, when the dog got out/climbed’
 - c düşmeye ka... tam düşerken
‘to fall ... while it/he was falling’
 - d köpek yardım etmiş
‘the dog helped (him)’
- (Age 3:10)

P-7.1.2.1.5 is significant especially for it shows how 3-year-olds shift between *-(y)IncE* and *Erken* when they intend to express sequentiality and simultaneity. Along with expressing sequentiality, *-(y)Ince* in P-7.1.2.1.5 marks a turning point without overriding its function to encode sequentiality.

Whether *-(y)IncE* expresses temporality or causality in a linguistic or discourse environment depends largely on the semantic relationship between the clause that is subordinated by means of *-(y)IncE* and the main clause of the sentence (see protocols in Table 7.1.2.1.1).

Table 7.1.2.1.1 The use of *-(y)IncE* by different age groups.

<p>A a kurbağayı kavanozunda görmeyince b çok üzülmüş (Age 8:02)</p>	<p>B a sonra baykuş çocuğun peşine takılmış b çocuk da biraz korkmuş tabiki c sonra baykuş gidince d çocuk hala kurbağayı aramaya başlamış (Age 9:10)</p>
<p>C sabah olunca çocuk kavanozu boş gördü (Age 13:10)</p>	<p>D a sonra evden dışarıya çıkınca b kurbağaya seslenmiş (Adult)</p> <p>E a baykuş çıkınca b çocuk düşmüş (Age 5:09)</p>

-(y)IncE in P-A is used to express causality more dominantly because the verb of the main clause *üzülmüş* ‘(he) got sad’ urges the audience to focus on the *reason* for this sadness rather than the *temporal order* of the acts ‘to not to see’ and ‘getting sad’. The fact that the causality function of *-(y)IncE* is dominant in this protocol does not overrule its temporality function totally. The function of *-(y)IncE* in P-B is more difficult to interpret regarding the expression of temporality or causality whereas *-(y)IncE* in protocols C, D and E seem to highlight temporality (sequentiality) with a much darker color than it expresses causality.

Regardless of age and story unit, when it expresses sequentiality, *-(y)IncE* functions to relate two episode internal components, mostly in CA, and thus, functions at micro temporal organizational level rather than functioning to organize macro-temporal structure of a story (see the occurrences of *-(y)IncE* in protocols 7.1.2.1.1-7.1.2.1.5).

7.1.2.2 Function of *-(y)IncE* to mark a turning point

It is observed that *-(y)IncE* is used in some certain scenes more than in others. For instance it is used in the scene where the global problem emerges (the frog’s getting out of the jar) and

the scene where this problem is resolved (the boy and the dog find the frog). This can be interpreted that *-(y)IncE* is used to mark a turning point since these two scenes constitute the two global turning points. When used as such, its function to mark a turning point does not rule out the functions of encoding sequentiality and causality.

- (P-7.1.2.2.1)
- a sonra uyuyorlar köpekle çocuk
'then the dog and the boy are sleeping'
 - b kurbağa da oranın içinden kaçıyor
'and the frog is getting out of that thing'
 - c sonra uyanınca
'then when they wake up'
 - d bir bakıyorlar ki
'they see that'
 - e kurbağa yok #nun içinde
'the frog is not in the umm..'
- (7:01)

Almost all of the occurrences of *-(y)IncE* in the global CA are used to mark verbs that are related to the *awareness of the protagonists* about the disappearance of the frog such as *kurbağanın olmadığını görünce* 'when they saw that the frog is missing' or like the one in clause c in P-7.1.2.2.1. The protagonist's awareness of the problem is a turning point since it is this awareness that motivates the protagonist to take action to resolve the global problem mentioned in clause b.

The use of *-(y)IncE* to mark a turning point shows a difference relative to age and story unit. We included the occurrences that are observed at least twice in an age group with the assumption that a single use in a particular scene by a particular age group may be a factor of chance. While 3- and 5-year-olds do not use *-(y)IncE* to mark a turning point in CA, only one of the 4-year-olds use it for this purpose. Only two 6-year-olds use it in CA to mark a turning point. It is observed that the proportion of the use of *-(y)IncE* to mark a turning point increases to 28.5% (4 informants out of 14) at the age of 7, and to 35.7% at the age of 8. It decreases to 28.5% in 9- and 13-year-olds and, interestingly, to 14.2% in adults (Table 7.1.2.2.1). The reason why the proportion of the use of *-(y)IncE* to mark a turning point in global CA decreases with increasing age may have to do with the use of *-DIğIndA*; The frequency of the use of this temporal marker in the global CA section increases with increasing age and reaches to 100% in adults.

The use of *-(y)IncE* in the scene in which the boy and the dog find the frog (the resolution of the global problem) to mark a turning point renders lower frequencies (Table 7.1.2.2.1).

Table 7.1.2.2.1 The proportional use of *-(y)IncE* to mark a turning point relative to age.

Scene ▼	Age	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	13	A
	Proportion of the occurrence of <i>-(y)IncE</i> %									
When the boy and the dog wake up		0	7.1	0	14.2	28.5	35.7	28.5	28.5	14.2
When the boy and the dog find the frogs		7.1	0	14.2	0	14.2	14.2	7.1	0	7.1

To conclude, regarding temporality, *-(y)IncE* is used to express sequentiality. In some instances, it can be said to acquire a reading of simultaneity because of the existence of other features that express simultaneity in the linguistic environment where *-(y)IncE* is used, though it is not *-(y)IncE* itself that encodes simultaneity. When it is used to express sequentiality, regardless of age, it is used to organize episode internal components, and thus it is used to organize the temporal structure of a story at micro organizational level. Along with expressing sequentiality, *-(y)IncE* is observed to function to mark a turning point in an episode or in the whole story. While its use to express sequentiality does not render functional differences relative to age, the use of *-(y)IncE* to mark a turning point differs when it is used by different age groups. It is observed that, when marking a turning point is concerned, 7-, 8-, 9- and 13-year-olds use *-(y)IncE* in the scene in which the frog disappears more than in other parts of the story. When *-(y)IncE* is used to mark a turning point it functions at macro level of temporal organization.

7.2 *-Erken* ‘while’

7.2.1 Emergence and distribution of *-Erken* relative to age

As Chart 7.2.1.1 shows, the general tendency of the occurrence of *-Erken* is incremental with increasing age (see Aksu-Koç 1988a for similar findings). It is observed that *-Erken* emerges at an early age; it emerges at the age of 3 (0.2% where M=1.5%), though the frequency is relatively low, and increases to 0.4% at the age of 4. The difference between 4- and 5-year-olds is higher than the difference between 3- and 4-year-olds. While the sum of the frequency values from 3- and 4-year olds is 0.6%, 5-year-olds alone produce *-Erken* with a frequency of 0.8%, which is still below the average. 6-year-olds produce *-Erken* with a frequency of 0.8%, a value that is identical to that of 5-year-olds. As is the case in the use of other gerunds, 7-year-olds produce *-Erken* more than twice as much 6-year-olds produce it. The use of this gerundive marker by 8-year-olds, who are at the second year of operational stage, increases to 3.5%, which is the highest score in all age groups. 9-year-olds are observed to use *-Erken* with a frequency of 1.8%, which is lower even than that of 7-year-olds.

13-year-olds use *-Erken* with a similar frequency (1.7%) as 9-year-olds use it. While adults are observed to use *-(y)IncE* with a lower frequency than those of 5-, 7-, 8-, 9- and 13-year-olds, they use *-Erken* with the second highest frequency after 8-year-olds.

As for the distribution of *-Erken* relative to story units, contrary to the emergence of *-(y)IncE*, it emerges with the highest frequency in most of the *Orientation* sections produced by most of the age groups (see Chart 7.2.1.2).

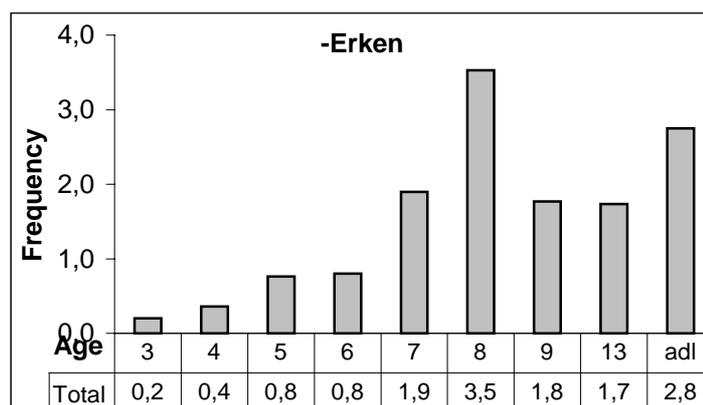


Chart 7.2.1.1 Total emergence of *-Erken*.

Among 14 informants, none of the 5-year-olds produces *-Erken* in *Orientation* section (M=3.3%; SD= 4.3), although it appears in the highest frequency in the stories from most of other age groups. 5-year-olds produce this temporal element with a frequency of 0.9% in *CA* (M=1.4%; SD= 1.2) and with a frequency of 0.5% in *Resolution* (M=0.4%; SD=0.5).

The lowest frequency of the occurrence of *-Erken* is observed in *Resolution* sections. 6-year-olds do not produce it in *Resolution* section.

The frequency of the use of *-Erken* by 6-year-olds is 2.1% in *Orientation* and 0.6% in *CA*. 7-year-olds use *-Erken* with a frequency of 3% in *Orientation* and 2.2% in *CA*. The use of this gerundive suffix in *Resolution* by 7-year-olds is relatively low (0.3%). *-Erken* cumulates in the *Orientation* sections in the stories produced by 8-year-olds.

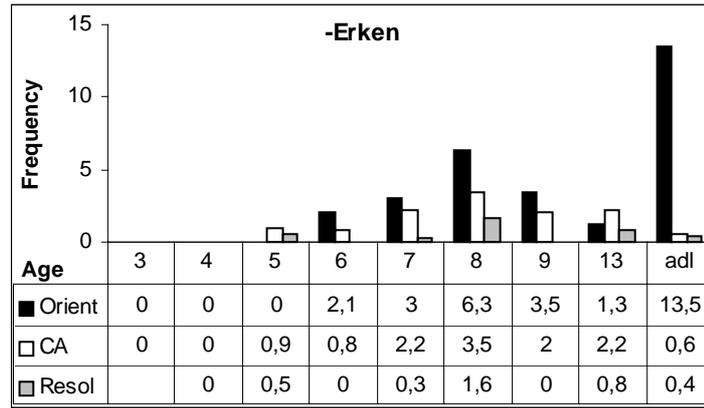


Chart 7.2.1.2 The distribution of *-Erken* relative to story units.

The frequencies of the use of this temporal element in their stories are 6.3% in *Orientation*, 3.5% in *CA*, and 1.6% in *Resolution* section. 9-year-olds who participated in this study do not use *-Erken* in *Resolution* section at all. They distribute *-Erken* relative to story units as, 3.5% in *Orientation* and 2% in *CA*. 13-year-olds differ from all other age groups, except for 5-year-olds, with respect to the order they distribute *-Erken* relative to story units. While it is used in *Orientation* section with the highest frequency by 6-, 7-, 8- 9-year-olds and adults, 13-year-olds use it with the highest frequency in *CA* (2.2%), then in *Orientation* section (1.3%) and, with the lowest frequency, in *Resolution* (0.8%). Adults differ from all other age groups with respect to the accumulation of *-Erken* in a single story unit. While the highest SD for the distributional values of *-Erken* in the stories of other age groups is 2.36 (in 8-year-olds), the SD for the distribution of this temporal unit in adults' stories is 7,5. This means that adults are the most selective group in the use of *-Erken* relative to story units. The frequencies of the use of this temporal element by adults are 13.5% in *Orientation* (M= 3.3), 0.6% in *CA*, and 0.4% in *Resolution* sections.

7.2.2 Functions of *-Erken* to create a background and to express simultaneity

The reason why the two functions, backgrounding and simultaneity, are analyzed under the same subsection is that these functions are present in all of the occurrences of *-Erken* and they are not mutually exclusive functions. When it is used in *Orientation* sections or orientation parts of episodes its function to create a background becomes more prominent but this fact does not rule out its function of expressing simultaneity (P-7.2.2.1 and P- 7.2.2.2).

(P-7.2.2.1)

- a bir çocuk uyuyorken
'while a child was sleeping'
- b bir bakmış ki

- ‘he saw that’
c kurbağa kaçmış
‘the frog escaped’
(Age 3:11)

(P-7.2.2.2)

- a sonra bir gün ali uyurken
‘then, one day, while ali was sleeping’
b kurbağa kavanozundan çıkıp
‘the frog, by getting out of its jar’
c kayboldu
‘disappeared’
(Adult)

The fact that it is mostly used in *Orientation* sections, or orientation part of episodes (Chart 7.2.1.2), which create a background for the rest of the episode or the whole story, might imply that *-Erken* is used to create a background rather than merely expressing simultaneity of the two actions in narratives, especially when it is used in *Orientation* sections or orientation parts of episodes.

Though there are 3-year-olds who produce *-Erken* at adult-level competency (P-7.2.2.1), most of the occurrences of *-Erken* by 3-year-olds are difficult to interpret at both sentential and discourse level (Protocol 7.2.2.3).

(P-7.2.2.3)

- a köpekle yıldızlar koşa koşa # gidermiş
‘the dog and the stars go by running’
b *bak uyurken uyumuşmuş
*‘look, while sleeping, he had slept’
(Age 3:03)

-Erken in P-7.2.2.3 is ungrammatical since the action denoted by *-Erken* and the action in the main clause of the sentence seem to be the same single action and both of the actions performed by the same agent. That is, the 3-year-old informant states the simultaneity of an action to the action itself, which is illogical. Thus, it is difficult to propose that *-Erken* in this protocol functions to express simultaneity or to create a background.

The existence of 3-year-olds who use *-Erken* at adult-level accuracy (P-7.2.2.1) at sentential level, despite the existence of those like the one who produces P-7.2.2.3, implies that the difference between younger and older ages is the one in the frequency of occurrence (see Chart 7.2.1.1) but not in the function (see Table 7.2.2.1).

Table 7.2.2.1 The use of *-Erken* by informants at different ages.

A a sonra o çıkar arken b o da çıkmaya çalışıyor (Age 4:06)	B a köpek ağacı sall arken b arılar da gidiyorlar (Age 5:05)
C a arılar köpeği koval arken b köpek de kaçıyormuş (Age 6:00)	D a kurbağa yerinden kaç arken b ali de uykuya dalmıştır (Age 7:02)
E a ali akşam uyur ken b kurbağa kavanozundan çıkmış (Age 8:02)	F a sonra çocuk uyur ken b kurbağa kaçıyor (Age 9:04)
G a sonra kurbağayı ar arken b köpeği aşağıya düşüyor (Age 13:09)	H a kurbağayı ar arken b köpekle çocuk bir kurbağa ailesiyle karşılaşıyorlar (Adult)

The most significant developmental difference in the use of *-Erken* is at discourse level rather than at inter-clausal level: as Table 7.2.2.2 shows, 6-year-olds and older informants use it more to create a background for the whole episode or the story while younger ages create a background at sentential level by using *-Erken*. Thus 6-year-olds and older informants use *-Erken* to organize macro-structure of a story whereas younger ages use it to relate episode internal components on the basis of grounding and simultaneity.

Table 7.2.2.2 The use of *-Erken* to create a background.

A a köpek de ağacı sallıyor b köpek ağacı sall arken c arılar da gidiyorlar d oğlan da çıkmış ağaca e burda da baykuş uçuyor (5:06)	B a arılar köpeği koval arken b köpek de kaçıyormuş c ve baykuş da onu.. çocuğa bakmış (Age 6:00)
C a bir çocuk varmış b köpeğiyle beraber otur urken c köpeği susamış d kurbağayla beraber arkadaş olmuş e # çocuk da köpeğinin yanına gidip f kurbağasıyla beraber oturmuş g sonra çocuk uyuyakalmış h köpeği de uyumuş (Age 7:03)	D a sonra çocuk yerdeki bir delikte kurbağayı ar arken b köpek de ağacın dalında asılı arı kovaniyle ilgileniyor c bu arada yerden bir fare çıkıyor d ve çocuğun sanırım burnunu ısıtıyor e çocuk korkmuş bir şekilde bakıyor f köpek de ağacın dalında asılı olan arı kovaniyle çok ilgili (Adult)

-Erken in P-A in Table 7.2.2.2 is used to inform that the durative verb *sallamak* ‘to shake’ (in clause b), which is performed by the dog, backgrounds the act *gitmek* ‘to go’ which is performed by the bees. Whether it backgrounds the boy’s act of climbing up the tree in clause

d as well is open to discussion since, as the use of proximal deictic *burda* ‘here’ in clause *e* shows, the 5-year-old seems to depict each scene individually rather than composing an episode. Since *dE* is used in all of the clauses except for the one that contains *-Erken*, we are not sure whether the use of *dE* in clause *d* creates simultaneity between the clauses *c* and *d* or not. Thus, *-Erken* in P-A seems to create a background for the succeeding clause only. *-Erken* in P-B, on the other hand, which is produced by a 6-year-old, seems to create a background for both clause *b* and clause *c* because the narrator creates a hierarchical relationship among the clauses by means of *dE* and *ve*.

-Erken in protocols C, by a 7-year-old, and D, by an adult, creates a background for all of the succeeding clauses in the protocols. Thus, *-Erken* in these protocols is used to organize the macro-temporal structure of the story rather than creating a background only for the clause that follows *-Erken*.

Episode initial use of *-Erken* in Protocols B and D in Table 7.2.2.2 functions to create a coherence across episodes.

As for the function of *-Erken* relative to story units, when it is used episode initially, that is, in orientative part of episodes, its function to create a background is more prominent than its function to express simultaneity, though, as it has been mentioned, simultaneity, by default, is still preserved.

When used in *CA* and *Resolution*, the functions of expressing simultaneity and creating a background compete in most cases. Which function is to be foregrounded depends on the immediate concern of the hearer in the context of narration.

7.3 *-Ip* ‘by doing/happening, after doing/happening’

7.3.1 Emergence and distribution of *-Ip*

As is the case with other gerundive markers, *-Ip* emerges in narratives at the age of 3 and is incremental with increasing age. While 3- and 4-year-olds produce this gerundive marker with a frequency that is below the average (0.18% and 0.81% respectively, where $M=1.92\%$), a dramatic spurt is observed in 5-year-olds (2.07%), which is higher than the frequency produced by 6- and 7-year-olds (1.72% and 1.90% respectively), which is developmentally unpredictable. 8-year-olds produce *-Ip* with the highest frequency in all age groups as they do in the production of *-(y)IncE* and *-Erken*. After a fall at the age of 9, the frequency increases gradually and slightly at the age of 13 and in adults (Chart 7.3.1.1).

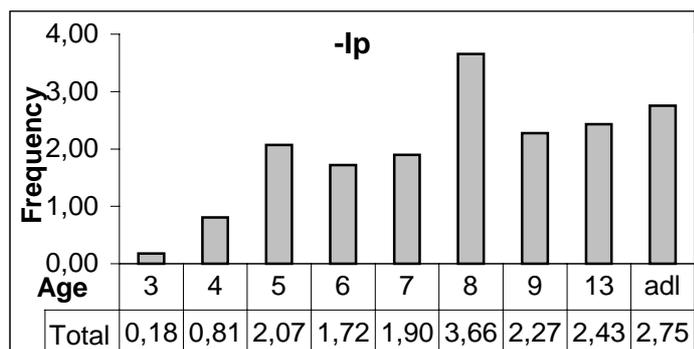


Chart 7.3.1.1 Total emergence of *-Ip* relative to age.

As for the distribution of *-Ip* relative to story units, Chart 7.3.1.2 shows that, the emergence of *-Ip* accumulates mostly in *Orientation* and *Resolution* sections.

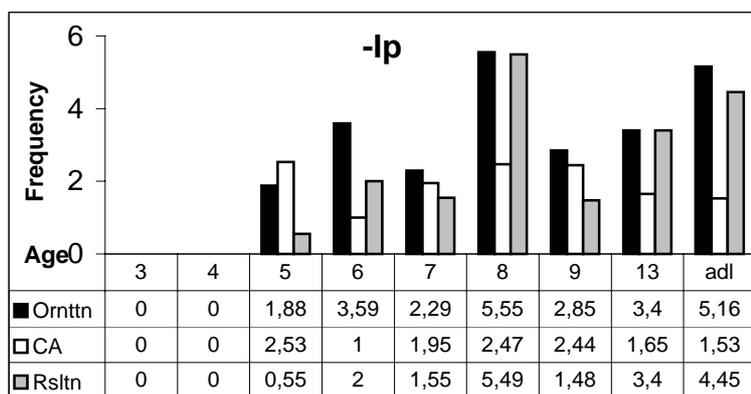


Chart 7.3.1.2 The distribution of *-Ip* relative to story units.

Since the narratives 3-and 4-year-olds produce do not contain discernable units, their narratives are not analyzed for the distribution of *-Ip* relative to story units.

5-year-olds are the only age group who use *-Ip* in CA with the highest frequency, whereas 6-, 8- and 13-year-olds and adults use it in CA with the lowest frequencies. The frequency of the use of *-Ip* by 5-year-olds is 1.88% (M=2.75) in *Orientation*, 2.53% (M=1.51) in *CA*, and 0.55% (M=2.10) in *Resolution*. 6-year-olds use this temporal marker with a frequency of 3.59% in *Orientation*, which is higher than the sum of its frequencies in *CA* (1%) and in *Resolution* (2%). The order of the distribution of *-Ip* relative to story units by 7-year-olds resemble that of 9-year-olds. They use *-Ip* in *Orientation* with the highest frequency (2.29% and 2.85% respectively); then in *CA* (1.95% and 2.44% respectively), and in *Resolution*

(1.55% and 1.48% respectively). 8-year-olds use *-Ip* with similar frequencies in *Orientation* (5.55%) and *Resolution* (5.49%). The frequency of *-Ip* in *CA* in the stories of 8-year-olds is 2.47%. The frequency of the use of this gerundive marker by 13-year-olds is 3.4% in *Orientation*; 1.65% in *CA* and 3.4% in *Resolution*. Adult distribute *-Ip* in a similar pattern as 13-year-olds do. They use it with a frequency of 5.16% in *Orientation*, 1.53% in *CA* and 4.45% in *Resolution*.

7.3.2 Function of *-Ip* relative to age and story unit

The fact that *-Ip* accumulates in *Orientation* and *Resolution*, as it is shown in Chart 7.3.1.2, raises a question as to whether *-Ip* functions to organize the macro temporal structure of a story rather than relating episode internal components at micro level or not. The analysis of our data has shown that *-Ip* is used to terminate an episode, especially, the global *Resolution* section. However, in most cases, *-Ip* is used in clauses that start with other temporal elements such as *sonra* or *ve*. In such clauses, the temporal element that sets relations across episodes is not *-Ip*, but *sonra* or *ve*, which are used effectively in the macro-temporal organization of a story (see protocols in Table 7.3.2.1). For this reason, it seems that *-Ip* is used to relate episode internal components at micro level, on the basis of sequentiality or simultaneity, rather than organizing the macro-temporal structure of a story.

Table 7.3.2.1 The occurrence of *-Ip* with *sonra* and *ve* in the same clause.

<p>IN ORIENTATION A a ondan sonra pencereyi açıp b uyumaya gitmişler (Age 5:09)</p>	<p>IN RESOLUTION B a ve sonra birlikte bir tane kurbağa yavrusunu alıp b eve dönmüş çocuk (Age 6:00)</p>
<p>C a ve daha sonra o irice bir taşın üzerine çıkıp b benekliyi aramaya koyulmuştu (Adult)</p>	<p>D a ve kurbağasını alıp b oradan ayrılmış ahmet (Adult)</p>

3-year-olds use *-Ip* at sentential level grammatically. However, the discourse function of the gerundive marker in the narratives of this age group, in most cases, is not so clear (P-7.3.2.1). There are varying cases that render incoherence in the narratives of 3-year-olds. For instance, in the occurrence of *-Ip* in P-7.3.2.1, it is not obvious whether the agent who performs the action denoted by *-Ip* is *kartal* ‘eagle’ or *kedi* ‘cat’. If the agent is the eagle, then the function of *-Ip* may either be to encode simultaneity because of the progressive nature of the verb *bak* ‘look’ or sequentiality simply to mean “the eagle was looking at it/him after saying

mummy”. If the agent is *kedi* ‘cat’, then the function of *-Ip* is to express sequentiality because both the verb *de* ‘say’ and *bak* ‘look’ are non-durative which do not allow simultaneity in the sample protocol.

(P-7.3.2.1)

- a kartal bak-ıyor-muş ona
eagle look- PROG – mış it/him
‘the eagle was looking at him/it’
- b anne dey^{ip}
‘by saying mummy’
- c kedi de ora-dan bak-mış
cat dE:too/and there-ABL- look -miş
‘the cat looked from there’
(Age 3:05)

7.3.2.1 Function of *-Ip* to express sequentiality

Although the discourse functions of most of the occurrences of *-Ip* are difficult to interpret in 3-year-olds’ narratives (P-7.3.2.1), the function of this temporal element to express sequentiality at adult accuracy is observed to emerge at the age of 3 (P-7.3.2.2).

(P-7.3.2.2)

- a sonra da bir kaya görmüş
- b kayanın üstüne çık^{ip}
- c kurbağaya bağırılmaya başlamış
(Age 3:10)

Like 3-year-olds, two occurrences of *-Ip* out of 9 are observed to have some degree of unintelligibility in 4-year-olds narratives (P-7.3.2.3), though the rest of the occurrences are as accurate as *-Ip* is used in adult narratives (P-7.3.2.4).

(P-7.3.2.3)

- a çocuk birisine seslen^{ip}
‘the boy called out someone and’
- b sonra köpek de kuşlara bakıyor
‘then the dog is looking at the birds’
(Age 4:06)

When a verb is marked with *-Ip* in a subordinate clause, the agent of the verb has to be preserved in the main clause of the sentence. The narrator who produces P-7.3.2.3 introduces a new agent for the verb of the main clause that follows the verb marked with *-Ip* along with inserting *sonra* (clause *b*) between the clauses, which is unacceptable if not totally ungrammatical.

The 4-year-old who produces P-7.3.2.4 uses *-Ip* at adult accuracy.

- (P-7.3.2.4)
- a köpek de şuraya **giri**p
 - b şey yapmış
 - c götürmüş
- (Age 4:03)

The use of *-Ip* to express sequentiality does not show any significant functional differences when used by 5-year-olds and older informants: As is the case in other gerundive markers, the difference is statistical but not functional (Table 7.3.2.2).

Table 7.3.2.2 The use of *-Ip* to express sequentiality by informants at different ages.

A a ondan sonra pencereyi açı p b uyumaya gitmişler (Age 5:09)	B a sonra da pencereyi açı p b bağıyor (Age 7:01)
C a köstebek çıkı p b burnunu ısıyor (Age 9:04)	D a kurbağa kavanozundan çıkı p b kayboldu (Adult)

7.3.3 Function of *-Ip* to express simultaneity and to create a background

The functions of *-Ip* to create a background and to express simultaneity are always co-existent. Thus, these functions are analyzed under the same subsection.

Winkel (under revision) states that sequentiality emerges in children's narratives earlier than simultaneity. Our findings related to the emergence of *-Ip* to express simultaneity and to create a background supports her argument. None of the 3-, 4- and 5-year-olds uses *-Ip* to express simultaneity although they use it to express sequentiality. *-Ip* is observed to serve this function in the stories of 6-year-olds (P-7.3.3.1).

- (P-7.3.3.1)
- a sonra kulağımı ... elleri kulağımı **tutu**p böyle
'then his ear... his hands holding his ear like this'
 - b bakmışlar ki kurbağa orda
'they had a look and the frog is there'
- (Age 6:00)

It should be pointed out that the function of *-Ip* in P-7.3.3.1 does not stem from the genuine feature of this gerundive marker to express simultaneity but this function emerges because of the nature of the action in a particular context in the picture book. In the scene that the informant narrates, the boy's hand is behind his ear in such a way as to imply that the boy is trying to hear a sound better. The picture imposes that this action (holding) is a durative one. Since this durative action constitutes a background for the act of *look*, the use of *-Ip* in P-7.3.3.1 functions to express simultaneity and creates a background, without ruling out the function of expressing manner.

The function of *-Ip* to express simultaneity in the stories of 7-, 8-, 9-, and 13-year-olds and adults does not show significant developmental differences (Table 7.3.3.1).

Table 7.3.3.1 The use of *-Ip* to express simultaneity by informants at different ages.

<p>A a ve yatağın önündeki taburede oturup b herhalde köpeği var bir tane c kavanozun içindeki ... köpeği kavanozun içindeki kurbağaya bakıyor (Age 7:05)</p>	<p>B a köpeğiyle beraber <u>hem</u> kurbağasına bakıp b <u>hem de</u> oyun oynuyordu (Age 8:02)</p>
<p>C a böyle taşa tutunup b kafasını tutuyor (Age 9:05)</p>	<p>D a çocuk kovuğun arkasına saklanıp b köpeğine sus diye işaret veriyor (Age 13:09)</p>
<p>E a sonra..elinde..yavrularından bir tanesini almış galiba kurbağanın b ötekilere el sallıyıp c geliyorlar (Adult)</p>	

The 8-year-old who produced P-B in Table 7.3.3.1 uses *-Ip* with *hem ... hem de* 'both ... and' or 'at the same time' which expresses simultaneity in this context. Since this is the only occurrence within the whole data set, stating general propositions for this usage is unreliable.

The proportion of *-Ip* used to express simultaneity and to create a background is relatively low (Table 7.3.3.2).

Table 7.3.3.2 The number of *-Ip* that expresses simultaneity and the total occurrence of it relative to age.

Age	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	13	A
<i>-Ip</i> expressing simultaneity and creating a background	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	1	1
Total occurrence of <i>-Ip</i>	3	9	19	15	19	29	18	21	26

7.3.4 The function of *-Ip* to express iterative actions

Along with using to express simultaneity and sequentiality in narratives, one of the 4-year-olds uses *-Ip* to express the iterative nature of an action (P-7.3.4.1).

(P-7.3.4.1)

a sonra köpek de kafasını öyle oraya sok^{up} sok^{up} duruyormuş
'then the dog was inserting its head there like that again and again'
(Age 4:06)

Although expressing the iterativeness of an action is a potential function of *-Ip* when it is followed by *dur* (*-Ip dur*-) 'again and again, continuously', it occurred only once in our whole data set.

7.4 *-ErEk* 'while/by doing/ happening'

7.4.1 Emergence and distribution of *-ErEk*

Despite some fluctuations in the emergence of gerundive suffixes in narratives produced by different age groups, the general tendency is incremental. The same tendency is observed in the emergence of *-ErEk* as well (Chart 7.4.1.1).

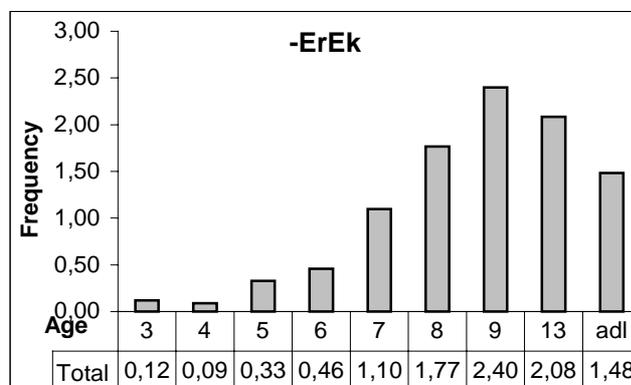


Chart 7.4.1.1 Total emergence of *-ErEk* relative to age.

As is the case in the emergence of other gerundive suffixes, *-ErEk* emerges at the age of 3 in narrative production (see contrary finding in Aksu-Koç 1988a). 3-year-olds use this temporal element with a frequency of 0.12% (M=1.12) and it decreases to 0.09% at the age of 4. 5-year-olds produce *-ErEk* with a frequency of 0.33% (M=1.12). 6-year-olds are observed to use *-ErEk* (0.46%) as higher than 5-year-olds. The first sharp increase in the frequency of the use of *-ErEk* is observed at the age of 7. They use this temporal marker with a frequency of

1.40% (M=1.33). The increase that is observed in the use of other gerundive suffixes at the ages of 8 and 9 is also observed in the use of *-ErEk*. The frequency of the use of this marker is 2.02% in 8-year-olds and 3.03% in 9-year-olds, which constitutes the highest frequency within all age groups. The frequency of *-ErEk* decreases with increasing age after the age of 9. 13-year-olds use it with a frequency of 2.66% while its frequency decreases to 1.27% in adults (see Chart 7.4.1.1).

As for the distribution of *-ErEk* relative to story units, one prominent point is that while adults distribute *-(y)IncE* and *-Ip* differently from the general tendency that is observed in other age groups, the way adults use *-ErEk* is not so different from those of all other ages. It is observed that the use of *-ErEk* in *CA* produces a curve that is very similar to the chart that shows the total frequencies of the temporal element by different age groups (see Charts 7.4.1.1 and 7.4.1.2).

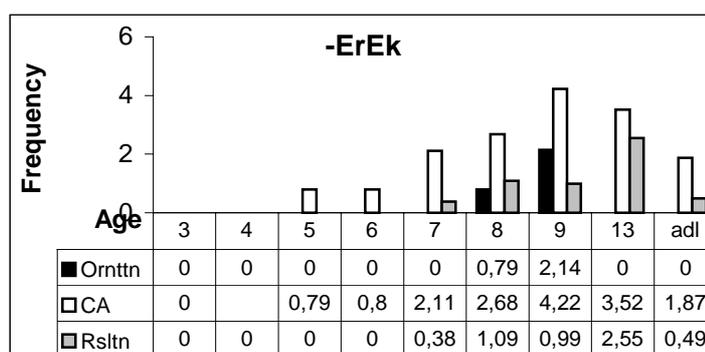


Chart 7.4.1.2 The distribution of *-ErEk* relative to story units.

5- and 6-year-olds are observed to distribute *-ErEk* almost with identical frequencies and in the same way; both 5- and 6-year-olds produce it only in *CA* with frequencies of 0.79% and 0.80%, respectively. 7-year-olds do not produce *-ErEk* in the Orientation section. They produce this temporal element in *CA* (2.1%) and *Resolution* (0.4%). 8-year-olds distribute *-ErEk* to all of the three story units. They use it with frequencies of 0.8% in *Orientation*, 2.7% in *CA*, and 1.1% in *Resolution*. Although Chart 7.4.1.2 shows that *-ErEk* is not used by most of the age groups in Orientation section, 9-year-olds use this temporal marker in *Orientation* (2.14%) with a frequency which is higher than its frequency in *Resolution* (0.99%). 9-year-olds use *-ErEk* in *CA* (4.22%) with the highest frequency relative to story units and across age groups. 13-year-olds and adults do not use *-ErEk* in Orientation section. The frequency of this temporal element is 3.52% in *CA* and 2.55% in *Resolution* sections

produced by 13-year-olds. Adults, as other age groups do, use *-ErEk* with a higher frequency in *CA* (1.87%) than in *Resolution* (0.49%).

7.4.2 Function of *-ErEk* to express temporality

In general terms, *-ErEk* is used to express how an action is realized. In other words its ever-existing function is to encode manner and this function is never ruled out by its other functions. When temporality is concerned, while the default function of *-Ip* is to express sequentiality, the unmarked function of *-ErEk* is to express simultaneity (Aksu-Koç 1988a).

7.4.2.1 Function of *-ErEk* to express simultaneity

3-year-olds use *-ErEk* only twice in their narratives. One of these occurrences expresses simultaneity (P-7.4.2.1.1) while the other one does not render clues about whether it expresses simultaneity or sequentiality since it is appended to the verb *yap* ‘do’ that is modified by the adverb *böyle* ‘like this’ (P-7.4.2.1.2). Although the frequency is rather low, the fact that its function to express simultaneity emerges even in 3-year-olds might prove that its unmarked temporal function is to express simultaneity as opposed to sequentiality (see Aksu-Koç 1988a for similar findings). The subject-verb disagreement that stems from the use of plural marker *-lEr* for the singular subject *köpek* ‘dog’ has nothing to do with the accuracy of the use of *-ErEk* in P-7.4.2.1.1.

(P-7.4.2.1.1)
sonra köpek de yüz-**erek** gid-iyor-lar-mış
then dog dE swim -ErEk go-PROG-PL-mlş
‘then the dog were going by swimming’
(3:10)

(P-7.4.2.1.2)
gözünü böyle yap**arak** oturmuş
‘doing its eye like this, it/he sat.’
(Age 3:11)

The indeterminacy in the function of *-ErEk* in P-7.4.2.1.2 is because the referent that *böyle* points to is not accessible to the reader of the protocol, though it was available visually to the audience in the context of narration. If *böyle* refers to a non-durative action *-ErEk* in this protocol expresses sequentiality, or else it refers to simultaneity along with expressing manner in both cases.

The use of *-ErEk* to express simultaneity at sentential level does not show significant developmental differences (compare the occurrences of *-ErEk* in all of the protocols in Table 7.4.2.1.1).

Table 7.4.2.1.1 The use of *-ErEk* to express simultaneity by different age groups.

<p>A a küçük kurbağayı eline alarak b çocuk da havuzda yüzebilmiş (Age 4:06)</p>	<p>B a burda da ... burda ali de ... şey ali de denizde yüztüyordu b ağaçlara tutunarak (Age 5:06)</p>
<p>C a çocuk kafasını tutarak b bir kayanın üstüne çıkmış (Age 6:10)</p>	<p>D a çocuk taşın üzerinde hala kurbağasını arayarak b bağırıyor (Age 7:05)</p>
<p>E köpek kaçıyor havlayarak (Age 8:08)</p>	<p>F a köpeği ise geyiğe bakararak b muratı kurtarmaya çalışıyormuş (Age 9:02)</p>
<p>G a geyik çocuğu boynuzlarının arasına almış bir şekilde b koşarak gidiyor (Age 13:09)</p>	<p>H köpek kaçarak uzaklaşıyor (Adult)</p>

7.4.2.2 Function of *-ErEk* to express sequentiality

The function of expressing the manner of the action exists in all of the occurrences of *-ErEk* in varying degrees. Thus, its function to express sequentiality coexists with the function to express manner.

The use of *-ErEk* to express sequentiality is not observed until the age of 7. After its emergence at the age of 7, the function of this gerundive marker to express sequentiality does not show developmental differences both at sentential and discourse level (See protocols in Table 7.4.2.2.1).

Table 7.4.2.2.1 The use of *-ErEk* by 7-year-olds and older informants to express sequentiality.

<p>A a baykuş gidince ordan geri çıkmış b çocuk taşın ... kayanın üzerine çıkarak c bağırmaya başlamış (Age 7:07)</p>	<p>B a çocuğun kafası .. baykuş ağacın içinden .. yuvasından çıkarak b ne olup bittiğini bakmaya çalışmış (Age 8:01)</p>
<p>C a sonra çocuk da inerek onunla birlikte b köpeğine kızmış (Age 9:10)</p>	<p>D a çocuk daha sonra bir taşın tepesine çıkarak b kurbağasına bağırıyor (Age 13:10)</p>

E a ormana ... evin yakınlarındaki ormana giderek b kurbağayı aramışlar (Adult)	
--	--

–*ErEk* is used episode initially and episode finally. However, it is difficult to assume that it functions to terminate an episode and set relations across episodes. Instead, as the protocols in Table 7.4.2.2.1 shows, it sets relations between episode internal components.

The episode initial use of –*ErEk* in P-A in Table 7.4.2.2.2 does not establish a link between the episode that ends with clause *e* and the new one that starts with clause *f*, whereas –*Erken* in clause *f* creates coherence between the two episodes.

Table 7.4.2.2.2 Episode initial and episode final use of –*ErEk*.

A a bir akşam çocuk köpek ve kurbağa kavanozun içindeki kurbağa odada oturuyorlar b köpek kavanozun deliğinden kurbağaya bakıyor yukardan c çocuğun odası oldukça dağınık d bir süre sonra çocuk uyuyor e köpeği de yatağın üzerinde uyuyorüzerinde uyuyor f onlar uyurken kurbağa kavanozdan çıkarak kaçmaya çalışıyor g çocuk sabah uyandığı zaman kurbağayı kavanozda görmüyor h ve çok üzülüyor (Adult)	B a sonradan çocuk kendi kurbağasını almış b el sallayarak gitmiş (Age 9:04)
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Similarly, –*ErEk* in P-B in the same table does not render any clues showing that it announces the audience that the story or the episode is at an end.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EMERGENCE AND FUNCTION OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

8.0 Introduction

In general terms, adverbial clauses are used to locate an event/state on the time axis with reference to other events/states. This chapter analyzes how and how often adverbial clauses are used to construct the temporal structure of a story, and how they are distributed relative to story units by children from 3 to 9 plus 13-year-olds and adults. The adverbial clauses that are analyzed in this chapter are *-DIktAn sonra*, *DIĞİnda/DIĞI zaman*, *V-Er V-mEz*, and *DIĞI gibi*.

8.1 *-DIktAn sonra* ‘after doing/happening/noun’

8.1.1 Emergence and distribution of *-DIktAn sonra*

As Chart 8.1.1.1 shows the emergence of *-DIktAn sonra* is relatively low and it is not distributed to all of the story units. It emerges only in the *CA* sections of the stories produced by 5-, 7-, and 8-year-olds.

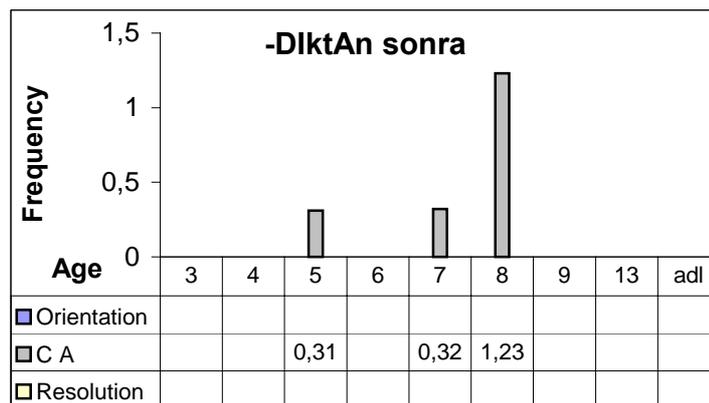


Chart 8.1.1.1 The emergence of *-DIktAn sonra* relative to story unit and age.

It is difficult to develop general propositions on the frequency of *-DIktAn sonra* and its distribution relative to story units by all age groups considering only the results that are

shown in Chart 8.1.1.1 however it is interesting to see that this temporal marker emerges at the ages, which are said to be turning points in narrative development.

8.1.2 Function of *-DIktAn sonra*

When temporality is concerned, *-DIktAn sonra* functions to regulate the priority-posteriority relationship of two events on the time axis. Although the emphasis is on the posterior event/state, which is the main clause, *-DIktAn sonra* tacitly expresses the temporal priority of the event that takes place before the main event/state. The function of *-DIktAn sonra* at inter-clausal position in narratives is not different from its general function (P-8.1.2.1).

(P-8.1.2.1)
uyuduktan sonra kurbağa yuvasından çıkıyor
'after (he) sleeps, the frog is getting out of its nest (jar)'
(8:08)

As the protocol 8.1.2.2 shows, *-DIktAn sonra* functions to mark a turning point at discourse level.

(P-8.1.2.2)
a köpeği de sesini çıkartmıyor
'his dog doesn't make noise'
b yürüyor
'(it/he is) walking'
c sonra ağaçların arkasına bakıyorlar köpeğiyle çocuk
'then the boy and his dog are looking at behind the trees'
d baktıktan sonra iki kurbağa görüyorlar
'after they look, they see two frogs'
e ikisi çok şaşırıyor
'both of them are surprised'
(8:08)

The narrator could have constructed the clause *d* as *iki kurbağa görüyorlar*, 'they see two frogs', because he has already mentioned in clause *c* that the boy and his dog are *looking at behind the trees*. However, this scene is the turning point for the whole story since it declares, in a way, the resolution of the global problem. *-DIktAn sonra*, which is appended to the verb *bak* 'look', which has already been mentioned in the previous clause, marks clause *d* as *important*.

Since *-DIktAn sonra* is produced by only three different age groups (5-, 7- and 8-year-olds) stating general developmental and distributional propositions would be unreliable.

8.2 *-DIğIndA / -DIğI zaman* ‘when, at the time of’

8.2.1 Emergence and distribution of *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman*

As it is shown in Chart 8.2.1.1, the emergence of *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* is incremental, though the total frequency of the occurrence of this temporal element is relatively low.

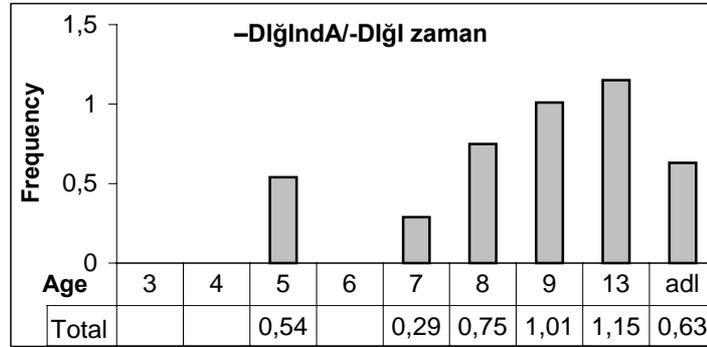


Chart 8.2.1.1 The total emergence of *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* relative to age.

The temporal adverbial marker *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* emerges at the age of 5 with a frequency of 0.54% (see Aksu-Koç 1988a for similar findings). In our informants group, 6-year-olds do not produce this temporal element in narratives. 7-year-olds produce *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman*, with the lowest frequency (0.29%) among all age groups. The second increase in the use of *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman*, after the age of 5, occurs at the age of 8 with a frequency of 0.75%. Unlike the frequency of the emergence of gerundive suffixes, the frequency of the use of *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* continues to increase at the age of 13 (1.15%) after the age of 9 (1.01%). The frequency of the use of this temporal element decreases in adults to 0.63%.

The Chart 8.2.1.2 shows that *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* shows a distributional difference only at the ages of 9, 13 and adults.

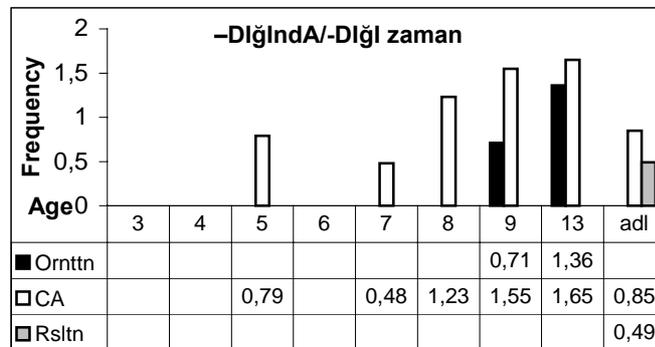


Chart 8.2.1.2 The distribution of *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* relative to age and story unit.

While 9-year-olds (0,71%) and 13-year-olds (1.36%) use it in *Orientation* section along with using in CA (1.55% and 1.65% respectively), adults use *-DIđIndA/-DIđI zaman* in *Resolution* (0.49%) along with using it in CA (0.85%).

It is observed that the use of *-DIđIndA/-DIđI zaman* in CA by all age groups renders frequency curves on a par with the curve that is observed in the total use of this temporal element (compare the Charts 8.2.1.1 and 8.2.1.2).

8.2.2 Function of *-DIđIndA/-DIđI zaman*

At sentential level, *-DIđIndA/-DIđI zaman* functions to locate an event/state on the time axis with reference to another event/state on the basis of sequentiality (P-8.2.2.1 and P-8.2.2.2).

(P-8.2.2.1)

- a can uyandıđında
'when Can woke up'
- b kurbađasına baktı gúnaydın demek için
'he looked at his frog to say good morning'
(Adult)

(P-8.2.2.2)

- a çocuk sabah uyandıđı zaman
'when the boy wakes up in the morning'
- b kurbađayı kavanozda görmüyor
'he doesn't/can't see the frog in the jar'
(Adult)

The function of *-DIđIndA/-DIđI zaman* in these two protocols is very similar to that of *-IncE*. However, while *-IncE* encodes both temporality and causality in the same linguistic and discourse environment, *-DIđIndA/-DIđI zaman* encodes only temporality. Thus, while 5-year-olds do not show a preference between *-IncE* and *-DIđIndA/-DIđI zaman*, 8-year-olds and older informants show a very clear preference between *-IncE* and *-DIđIndA/-DIđI zaman* (P-8.2.2.3 and P-8.2.2.4).

8-year-olds and older informants use *-IncE* before emotion verbs (clause e in P-B) that can be the result of the verb to which *-IncE* is appended while they use *-DIđIndA/-DIđI zaman* when causality is to be eliminated. Thus, it can be assumed that while the function of *-DIđIndA/-DIđI zaman* is not differentiated from that of *-IncE* at the age of 5, 8-year-olds and older informants use them for different purposes as exemplified in Table 8.2.2.1. Since 6-year-olds did not produce any samples and 7-year-olds did not produce relevant samples in our study, we do not present results about their use of these two temporal markers.

Table 8.2.2.1 The preference between *-IncE* and *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman*.

<p>A</p> <p>a kurbağa da çıkıyordu burdan b sonra köpek uyanıp c gördüğünde olmadığını d çocuğu uyandırıp e çocuk da baktığı zaman da f üzülüyordu (Age 5:07)</p>	<p>B</p> <p>a ali akşam uyurken b kurbağa kavanozundan çıkmış c ali sabah uyandığında d kurbağayı kavanozunda görmeyince e çok üzülmüş (Age 8:02)</p>
<p>C</p> <p>a ve kurbağa kavanozun içinden çıkıyor b işte sabah olduğunda c uyandıklarında d çocuk ve köpek kavanozun içinde kurbağanın olmadığını görünce e çok şaşırıyorlar (Age 13:10)</p>	<p>D</p> <p>a çocuk sabah uyandığı zaman kurbağayı b kavanozda görmüyor c ve çok üzülüyor d aynı zamanda da şaşıyor e kurbağanın orda olmadığını görünce (Adult)</p>

As for the distribution of *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* relative to story units, interestingly, there is an incremental use of this temporal element relative to age in the scene where the boy and the dog wake up and notice the disappearance of the frog in the morning (Table 8.2.2.2).

Table 8.2.2.2 The distribution of *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* relative to story units.

Age	5	7	8	9	13	A
(Age groups who do not produce <i>-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman</i> at all are not included)						
The proportion of the use of <i>-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman</i> in the scene where the boy and the dog wake up (%)	50	42.8	66.6	55.5	61.5	100

All of the occurrences of *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* presented in Table 8.2.2.2 are either in the form of *sabah olduğunda/olduğu zaman* ‘when it is morning’ or *kalktığında/kalktıklarında/uyandıklarında/uyandıkları zaman* ‘when they woke/get up’. No accumulation of *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* in any other parts of the stories is observed. Other occurrences are scattered randomly here and there in the narratives. The fact that the occurrence of *-DIğI zaman* also accumulates in the same scene where *-DIğIndA* does implies that the reason for this accumulation is *functional* rather than being *structural*.

8.3 *V-Er V-mEz* ‘as soon as’

The adverbial clause *V-Er V-mEz* is not observed in the frog stories obtained from the informants who participated in this study.

8.4 -*DIđI gibi* ‘as’

The temporal marker *-DIđI gibi* is used only once, in *CA*, by a 13-year-old within the whole data set.

The function of *-DIđI gibi* in clause *e* is to express the quick nature of the action (manner) and sequentiality of the two actions on the time axis (temporality).

(P-8.4.1)

- a köpek de merakla kurbađaya bakıyor
 - b gece oldu
 - c köpek ve çocuk uykuya daldı
 - d kurbađa da bu fırsattan istifade
 - e kavanozdan atladiđı gibi kaçtı
- (13:10)

The occurrence of *-DIđI gibi* in P-8.4.1 does not present clear clues about whether it expresses temporality or manner, however, when temporality is concerned, it expresses sequentiality.

CHAPTER IX

THE EMERGENCE AND FUNCTION OF TENSE ASPECT MODALITY (TAM) MARKERS

9.0 Introduction

Under the title of TAM markers, *-mİş*, *-(İ)yor*, *-DI*, *-(A)r*, *-(y)AcAk*, and the complex markers *-(İ)yordu*, *-(İ)yormuş*, and *-mİştİr* are analyzed. From now on, when the term *TAM marker* is used, it refers both to simple and complex forms.

In this chapter, along with describing the distributional frequencies of TAM markers relative to age and story units, the following questions are addressed: What are the frequencies of the use of each TAM markers relative to age?, What is the proportion of the informants in an age group who anchor to a certain TAM marker?, How strong do the informants anchor to a single TAM marker?, From which TAM marker(s) to which one(s) do the informants usually shift?, Are there certain story units in/between which the TAM shifts accumulate?, and What is the function of shifts in TAM markers?.

9.1 Emergence, distribution and function of TAM markers relative to age and story unit

9.1.1 Total emergence of TAM markers

It is observed that the default TAM markers that are used in narratives by all age groups are *-mİş* (3411 tokens) and *-(İ)yor* (3071 tokens). The frequency of the emergence of other markers is incomparably low relative to those of *-mİş* and *-(İ)yor*. Other TAM markers are produced in the following frequencies: *-DI* (294), *(A)r* (53), *(y)AcAk* (43), *-mİştİ* (126), *-yordu* (144) and *-(İ)yormuş* (328) (see Chart 9.1.1.1).

As for the distribution of the use of these markers by different age groups, while 3-, 5-, 7- and 8-year-olds use *-mİş* with notably higher frequencies than all other TAM markers, 9- and 13-year-olds and adults use *-(İ)yor* with higher frequencies than other TAM markers (see Chart 9.1.1.2).

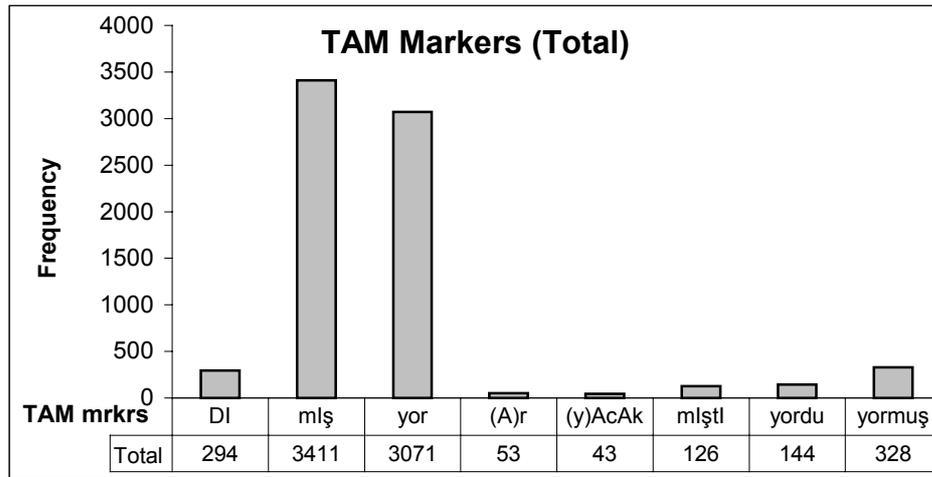


Chart 9.1.1.1 The total emergence of TAM markers in all age groups.

4- and 6-year-olds produce both $-mIş$ and $-(I)yor$ in close frequencies, though the frequency of $-(I)yor$ is slightly higher than that of $-mIş$ in both ages (see Chart 9.1.2). One significant point in the use of TAM markers is that 6-, 7-, and 9-year-olds produce TAM markers other than $-(I)yor$, $-mIş$ and $-(I)yormuş$ in relatively low frequencies while adults and 13-year-olds produce almost all of the TAM markers in their narratives with a considerable frequency. Children differ from 13-year-olds and adults with respect to the use of $-(I)yormuş$. While children use this temporal element as the third highest frequent TAM marker, 13-year-olds and adults use it with relatively low frequencies. Although the frequencies are lower than those of 13-year-olds and adults, 4- and 5-year-olds produce $-DI$, $-mIştI$ and $-(I)yordu$ in their narratives along with $-mIş$ and $-(y)AcAk$. It is observed that $-DI$ is produced with a relatively high frequency by 13-year-olds and adults compared to other age groups. 13-year-olds produce $-DI$ with a higher frequency than $-mIş$.

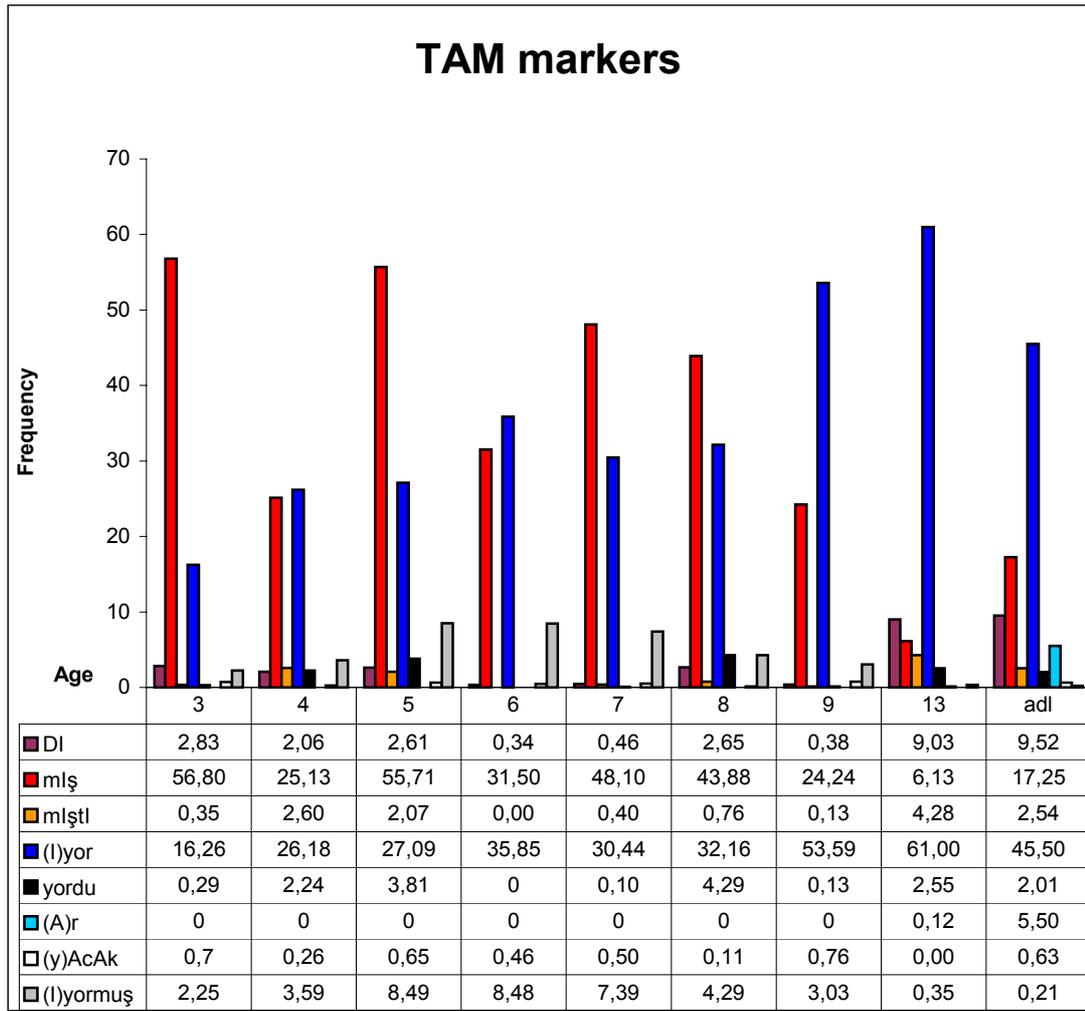


Chart 9.1.1.2 The emergence of tense-aspect markers relative to age of the narrative.

As it is demonstrated in Chart 9.1.1.2, the emergence of *-(I)yor* is incremental with increasing age while the use of *-mIş* shows a decrease with increasing age.

9.2 Distribution and function of TAM markers relative to story units by different age groups

9.2.1 Distribution and function of *-mIş* and *-(I)yor*

The reason why the functions of perfect aspect *-mIş* and progressive aspect *-(I)yor* are analyzed under a single subsection is that, along with functioning individually, in most cases, these two markers gain a function when they are used as opposed to one another in the narratives we elicited.

9.2.1.1 Distribution of *-mlş* relative to age and story unit

Except for 5- and 8-year-olds, all of other age groups use *-mlş* in *CA* with the highest frequency (Chart 9.2.1.1.1).

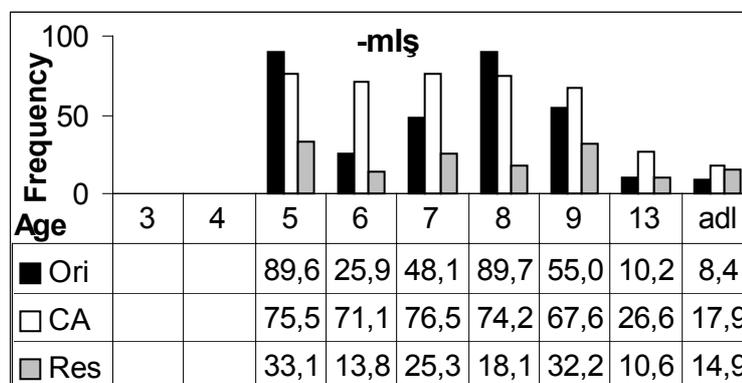


Chart 9.2.1.1.1 The distribution of *-mlş* relative to story units and age.

5- and 8-year-olds distribute *-mlş* to story units with the same order of frequency: the highest in *Orientation*, second highest in *CA* and the lowest in *Resolution*. All of other age groups use it in *CA* with the highest frequency. While 6-, 7-, and 9-year-olds use it with the lowest value in *Resolution*, 13-year-olds and adults differ from all other age groups in that they use *-mlş* with the lowest frequency in *Orientation*.

9.2.1.2 Distribution of *-(I)yor* relative to age and story unit

All of the children and 13-year-olds distribute *-(I)yor* in the same frequency order relative to story units. As Chart 9.2.2.1 shows, they produce it highest in *CA*, then in *Orientation* and, with the lowest frequency, in *Resolution*. The difference between the frequency of *-(I)yor* in *CA* and in other two sections is relatively higher in 6- and 9-year-olds. All of the informants, including adults, use *-(I)yor* with the lowest frequency in *Resolution* section. Adults differ from all other age groups regarding the use of this temporal element in *Orientation* section. While children and 13-year-olds use it in *CA* with the highest value, adults use *-(I)yor* with a higher frequency in *Orientation* (53.5%) than in *CA* (49.3%) and *Resolution* (5.9%).

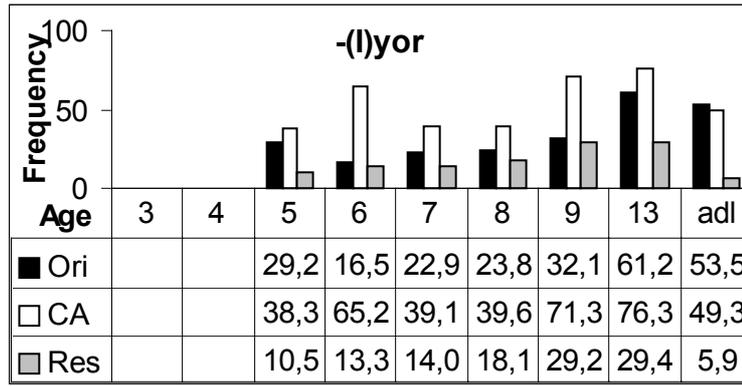


Chart 9.2.1.2.1 The distribution of $-(I)yor$ relative to age and story unit

9.2.1.3 The function of $-mIş$ and $-(I)yor$

9.2.1.3.1 Functions of $-mIş$ and $-(I)yor$ at clausal level

The perfect aspect marker $-mIş$ functions in folktales to indicate hearsay and inference, and it is used as a tool with which the narrator distances the story world from the world of narration both psychologically and spatio-temporally (see Zeyrek 1995 for further information).

It is observed that $-mIş$ mostly functions, at clausal level, to indicate *inference*, and stative and perfective aspect as opposed to observable, dynamic and progressive aspect in the narratives that are elicited by means of the picture-book *Frog, where are you?* (P-9.2.1.3.1.1).

(P-9.2.1.3.1.1)

- a sonra da bir kalkmış
'then (he) suddenly stood up'
- b galiba şeyin sesini duymuş
'I think (he) heard the voice of the thing'
- c kurbağanın sesini duymuş
'(he) heard the voice of the frog'
(Age 7:02)

$-mIş$ in clause *a* in P-9.2.1.3.1.1 marks perfective aspect. The occurrences of $-mIş$ in clauses *b* and *c* indicate inference since, in the picture-book, the protagonist is depicted as holding his hand behind his ear in such a way as to try to hear something better. Because *duymak* 'to hear' is an achievement verb in the context in P-9.2.1.3.1.1, $-mIş$ in these clauses mark perfective aspect as well.

The function of $-mIş$ to distance story world from the world of narration, and thus some degree of hearsay, is observed in some of the older informants' narratives, though distancing is never at a high degree as it is in folktales.

The progressive aspect *-(I)yor* functions, at clausal level, to indicate the progression of ongoing and observable events as opposed to inferred and/or perfective nature of events, which is marked by *-mİş* (P-9.2.1.3.1.2).

(P-9.2.1.3.1.2)

- a köpeği de uyan**mİş**
'his dog woke up, too'
- b kaç**mİş**
'(the frog) escaped'
- c kaç**mİş**
'escaped'
- d giysilerin altına arı**yor**lar
'they are searching beneath the clothes'
- e kurbağanın küpünü arı**yor**lar
'they are searching the jar'
- f her yeri arı**yor**lar
'they are searching everywhere'
- g köpeğin kafasında bir tane küp
'as dog's had is in the jar'
- h ali de camdan bakı**yor**
'and Ali is looking through the window'
- i köpek de çok üzül**mü**ş
'and the dog got very sad'
(Age 7:02)

The occurrences of *-mİş* in clauses *a*, *b*, and *c* in P-9.2.1.3.1.2 indicate perfective aspect and inference. It indicates perfective because the act of escape has been completed (the jar is empty), and they indicate inference because the narrator infers, in that particular scene, from an empty jar that the frog is gone (see Aksu-Koç 1988b:24 for inferential use of *-mİş*). The occurrence of *-mİş* in clause *i* indicates inferential, but not perfective aspect because the narrator infers from the boy and the dog's facial expressions that they are sad because of the frogs disappearance and their sadness is not an end because the frog is still missing. The occurrences of *-(I)yor* in clauses *d*, *e*, *f* and *h*, on the other hand, mark the dynamic, observable and progressive nature of the events.

-mİş and *-(I)yor* are present to serve various functions in the linguistic repertoire of children aging between 21 and 30 months and even at the age of 4, children can tell why they prefer *-mİş* to *-DI* or other markers, which shows that they possess metalinguistic awareness of the functions of these markers (Aksu-Koç 1988b:73 and 148). The same study shows that children at the age of 27 months do not only show preference between durative and non-durative or past or non-past but they also produce *-mİş* to serve the function to indicate inference, hearsay and late realization. The youngest informant who participated in the

present study is 3:03 (39 months) old. Thus, the use of *-miş* and *-(I)yor* does not render developmental differences at clausal level, whereas there may be developmental differences in the use of these markers to organize the macrostructure of a narrative.

9.2.1.3.2 Functions of *-miş* and *-(I)yor* at discourse level

Before the presentation of the findings related to *-miş* and *-(I)yor* that function to create grounding in narratives, the term *grounding* deserves to be defined, since the discourse functions of TAM markers are analyzed regarding how they function to create grounding.

9.2.1.3.2.1 Grounding and narrative move

Grounding, in narrative texts, can be defined in its most general terms as ‘the differentiation of main line events (foreground) from commentary (background) in narrative (Berman and Slobin 1994:6). Main line events are those that contain sequential actions that are taken consciously by the protagonist to resolve the *CA*. These events that occur in the main clauses can be discerned from others by their verb markers since they are marked with a different marker from those that mark background events. Foreground events usually appear as the complicating action, which declares the global problem to be solved by the protagonist, or as the first action that is taken by the protagonist. Narrative advances from the emergence to the solution of the global problem and this advance is not possible without sequential order of the foreground events on the time axis. Background events, on the other hand, are those that provide information about the spatio-temporal location of the foreground events and those that explain how or why events take place along with those that explain the relations between characters and the relations between characters and other entities in the narrative world (see Khalil 2000:50-53 for further information). Protocol 9.2.1.3.2.1.1 illustrates how grounding is created.

(P-9.2.1.3.2.1.1)

- a küçük çocuk köpeğiyle birlikte küçük kurbağasını izliyordu
‘the little boy was watching his frog together with his dog’
- b fakat uykusu geldiği için
‘but because he was sleepy’
- c erken yatmak zorunda kaldı¹
‘he had to go to bed early’
- d fakat kalktığında
‘but when he woke up’
- e **kurbağasının yerinde olmadığını gördü**
‘he saw that his frog was not in its place’

¹ The foreground events are marked with *-DI* in this protocol. Thus, the event that is marked with *-DI* in clause c can also be conceived as a foreground event. However, this event is a background event since the narrator communicates his personal opinion about the process of the frog’s escape.

- f üstünü giyindi**
'he dressed'
- g ve dışarıya baktı**
'and looked at outside'
- h fakat köpeği yaramazlık ediyordu**
'but his dog was being naughty'
- i köpeğiyle birlikte onu aramaya çıktılar**
'they, together with his dog, went to look for it'
(Age 13:10)

Clauses *a-c* in P-9.2.1.3.2.1.1 constitute the orientation section of the story and thus they background the whole of the global *CA*. The non-finite clause *d* informs, or 'comments' in Berman and Slobin's (1994: 6) terms, about the time of the boy's seeing that the frog is missing. Thus the non-finite clause *d* constitutes a background for the finite event *e*. The clause *e* declares the awareness of the protagonist of the global problem (frog's missing). While narrative advances from this initial position (the emergence of the problem) towards a resolution by the sequential order of the clauses *f*, *g*, and *i*, that are taken consciously by the protagonist in order to solve the global problem, the clause *f*, which presents information about what the dog was doing in the meantime, does not make the narrative events move forward on the time axis. It just provides background information (see Smith 2003; and Khalil 2002 for further information about grounding and narrative move).

9.2.1.3.2.2 Functions of *-miş* and *-(I)yor* to create a background and foreground

The analyses of the protocols 9.2.3.1.1 and 9.2.3.1.2 reveal the functions of *-miş* and *-(I)yor* at clausal level. A discourse level analysis shows that these two markers are used for grounding in an episode or in the whole story. While *-miş* is used to create a background, by marking either the stative or the perfective nature of the events, *-(I)yor* is used, at discourse level, to foreground the dynamic events that move narrative forward on the time line. Thus, it seems that one of the major functions of the shift between *-miş* and *-(I)yor* is on the basis of backgrounding and foregrounding.

(P-9.2.1.3.2.2.1)

- a burda köpeğe sessiz ol diyor
- b kurbağayı ... kurbağayı aramak için ordan bakıyorlar
- c sonra kurbağayı görüyorlar
- d burda böyle eşi çocuğuyla oturmuş
- e eşi ve çocuklarıyla görüyorlar
- f sonra kurbağaya hoşçakal diyor
- g kurbağalar da onlara vırak vırak diyorlar
(Age 9:02)

While the verbs that are marked with *-(I)yor* in clauses *a, b, c, e, f* and *g* in P-9.2.1.3.2.2.1 are the verbs that move narrative events forward on the time line, clause *d* whose verb is marked with *-miş* constitutes a background for those dynamic events.

It is observed that the use of *-miş* and *-(I)yor* for the purpose of grounding does not show developmental differences. As it is shown in Table 9.2.1.3.2.2.1, *-miş* and *-(I)yor* in clauses *c* and *d* in P-A, produced by a 3-year-old, serve the same function as those in clauses *d* and *e* in P-F, which is produced by an adult.

Table 9.2.1.3.2.2.1 The shift between *-miş* and *-(I)yor* by different ages.

<p>A a sonra çocuk da bu botun içine bakıyor b kıvrıp # yapmaya çalışıyor c <u>köpek de kovayı indirmiş</u> d <u>içine giriyor</u> e sonra sandalyede orda devrilmiş f orda duruyor (Age 3:05)</p>	<p>B a burda şu köpek su içiyor b burda da kurbağa var c çocuk bakıyor d burda su köpek ...suyu köpek içiyor e burda da çocuk sandalyesini almış f bakıyor g burda da kurbağa çıkıyor h çocuk uyuyor i burda da kalkmış j kurbağa çıkmış (Age 4:08)</p>
<p>C a baykuş çıkmış ordan b çocuk da düşmüş c köpek arılardan kaçıyor d baykuştan çocuk kaçıyor e kurbağa nerdesin diyor (Age 5:10)</p>	<p>D a ay dede çıkmış b sonra çocuk yatağına girmiş c uyuyor d köpeği de yatmış e üstünde uyuyor f kurbağa bulunduğu kaptan çıkıyor g sabah çocuk uyandığında h köpeğiyle birlikte kaba bakıyor i ama kurbağayı göremediği için j üzülüyor (Age 7:05)</p>
<p>E a her halde bir çocuk bir kurbağa yakalamış b ona bakıyor c inceliyor d köpeği yakalamış herhalde (Age 9:04)</p>	<p>F a ağacın öbür tarafına gidiyorlar b orada kurbağalar var c kurbağalar onlara bakıyor d <u>köpek durmuş</u> e <u>kurbağalara bakıyor</u> f çocuk aşağıya iniyor kurbağaların yanına g kurbağalardan bir tanesini almış çocuk eline h suyun öbür tarafına geçiyor (Adult)</p>

Charts 9.2.1.1.1 and 9.2.1.2.1 show the distribution of *-miş* and *-(I)yor* relative to story units. Although there are numerical differences in the distribution of these TAM markers relative to story units, the analysis of *-miş* and *-(I)yor* in each story unit has shown that the

function of *-miş* and *-(I)yor* to realize grounding does not show significant differences relative to story units.

9.2.2. Distribution and function of *-DI*

9.2.2.1 Distribution of *-DI*

-DI is observed to emerge in all of the story units in different frequencies. As Chart 9.2.2.1.1 shows, it is used in *CA* section with the highest frequency by all age groups. The question why it is used in *CA* with the highest frequency cannot be answered fully within the limits of this descriptive study. However, it is observed that when foreground events are marked with *-DI* in an episode, the background events are marked with either nonfinite clauses or finite clauses that constitute the background, which usually occurs in the orientative parts of episodes. Thus, the proportion of *-DI* in *CA*, where mainline events take place, is higher than in *Orientation* and *Resolution* (Table 9.2.2.1.1).

Table 9.2.2.1.1 Sample protocols that illustrate the use of *-DI* to mark mainline events mostly in *CA*.

A	B
a hemen üstünü giyinip	a çocuk da ağacın dalına bakıyordu
b kurbağasını aramaya çıktı	b ağacın dalından baykuş çıktı
c pencereden baktı etrafa	c çocuk da yere düştü
d köpek de şaşkınlıktan ne yapacağını bilemedi	d köpek de kaçtı arıların kovanından
e sonra köpek pencereden aşağıya düştü	e baykuş yakalamaya çalışıyordu
f çocuk da gitti sinirle köpeği aldı	f çocuk da kaçtı
g onun yaptığını sanıyordu bu işi (Age 13:10)	(Age 8:05)

P-9.2.2.1.1 illustrates how *-DI* is used to mark mainline, and thus foreground events while the background events that take place in *Orientation* and *Resolution* are marked with markers other than *-DI*. This explanation should not be conceived that *-DI* is not used at all in orientation and resolution parts of the episodes.

The distribution of *-DI* temporal element does not present a developmentally predictable pattern in children's stories in that its use in each story unit by different age groups does not increase or decrease gradually with increasing age.

While 5-year-olds use it both in *CA* (2.5%) and *Resolution* (0.1%), 6-and 7-year-olds use it only in *CA* (0.3% and 0.5% respectively). 8-year-olds distribute *-DI* to all of the three story

units. They use it with a frequency of 0.5% in *Orientation*, 1.5% in *CA* and 0.6% in *Resolution*.

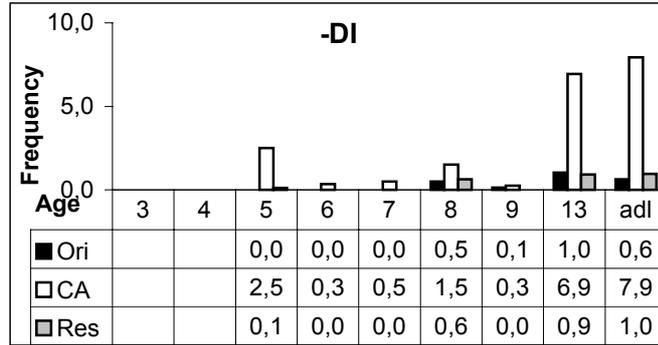


Chart 9.2.2.1.1 The distribution of the use of *-DI* relative to story units and age of the informants.

9-year-olds use this temporal element in *CA* (0.3%) and in *Resolution* (0.1%) with relatively low frequencies. 13-year-olds and adults use *-DI* in all three story units, albeit with much higher frequencies in *CA* (see Chart 9.2.2.1.1).

9.2.2.2 The function of *-DI*

-DI is used to express that the event that is denoted by the verb to which this marker is appended occurs in past, that it is complete, and that it is witnessed by the speaker, or the truth of the event is known publicly.

-DI is used by 13-year-olds and adults in narratives to foreground narrative events (clauses *d*, *g*, and *i* in P-9.2.2.2.1) against the background events that are marked by the post-clitic *-(y)DI* ‘to be: past’ which is preceded either by *-(I)yor* (clauses *b*, *e*, and *f*) or *-mİş* (clause *h*).

(P-9.2.2.2.1)

- a bu sırada ormanda bir arı kovanında arılar çevreyi dolaşarak
‘meanwhile, by wandering around, the bees in a beehive in the forest’
- b bal toplama-ya çalış-ıyor-**du**
honey collect-NOM-DAT try-PROG- TO BE:PAST
‘were trying to collect honey (nectar)’
- c bal peteğine yaklaşan Ahmet ve Benekli
‘Ahmet and Benekli who approached the honey comb’
- d o sıra-da yer-de bir delik bul-**du**-lar
it time-LOC ground-LOC a burrow find-PAST-PLUR
‘at that time they found a burrow in the ground’
- e ahmet iyi biliy**ordu** ki
‘Ahmet knew well that’
- f burada bir canlı yaşıy**ordu**
‘a creature was living there’
- g hemen ordan kimse yok mu ... kimse yok mu diye bağır**dı**
‘then right from there he yelled ‘anybody there ... anybody there’

... (clauses were skipped)

- h bir ağaç kovuğu görmüştü
'he had seen a tree hole'
i sessizce benekliye sessiz olmasını söyledi
'quietly, he told Benekli to be quiet'
(Adult)

As clauses *b*, *e*, *f*, and *g* show, whether *-(y)DI* is to be preceded by *-miş* or *-(I)yor* is determined according to whether the narrator conceives the action as progressive aspect or perfect aspect.

3- and 4-year-olds do not use *-DI* to mark foreground events. Thus, the function of *-DI* in the narratives of these two age groups is at clausal level to encode the viewpoint of the narrator for a particular action rather than being at discourse level to organize the macro temporal structure of an episode or that of the whole story (Protocols A and B in Table 9.2.2.2.1).

Table 9.2.2.1 The use of *-DI* by 3-, 4-, and 5-year olds.

<p>A a onun üstüne binmeye çalışıyor b köpek de oraya tırmanmayı başardı c tırmandı d çocuk oraya tırmanıyor e köpeği tırmanmış (3:05)</p>	<p>B a o arı kovanı arı yuvası b çocuk bir tane deliğe bakıyordu c köpek de arı yuvasın .. ağzını açmış d arı yuvasına gülümsüyordu e bir tane fare çıktı f köpek hala ağaca baktı g arı yuvasına baktı h köpek ağzı da açıktı i çocuk da gözünün kenarlarına elini koymuştu j fare köpeğe bakıyordu k köpek de arı yuvasına bakıyordu (Age 4:06)</p>
<p>C a arılar yuvasına doğru gidiyordu b sonra bir delik bulmuştu c deliğe baktı d köpek de arılar ol.. oll .zıplıyordu e sonra yaban... fare çıkmişti f so da burnunu tutuyordu g köpek de hav hav yapıyordu h sonra düşürdüğü zaman da i kırıldığı zaman da j arılar çıkmaya başladı (Age 5:07)</p>	

The function of *-DI* to foreground narrative events at local level does not render developmental differences in the stories of 5-year-olds and older informants. Thus, it can be argued that the age of 5 is a turning point regarding the use of *-DI* to realize grounding in narratives (P-C in Table 9.2.2.2.1) However, the fact that the use of *-DI* as an anchored TAM marker is observed first at the age of 13 implies that the function of this TAM marker in the organization of the macrostructure of a story shows developmental differences after the age of 5. Although *-mIş* and *-(I)yor* are used as anchored TAM markers by informants from 3 to 9, it is observed that *-DI* is used as an anchored TAM marker by 13-year-olds and adults only. This shows that *-DI* gains a new discourse function around the age of 13. Although it has been stated that *-DI* has a proximal function as opposed to the distancing function of *-mIş*, 13-year-olds and adults use *-DI* to mark the mainline events of a story, the events that are distanced simply because they occur within the “distanced” nature of the genre viz. *story*.

As for the distributional function of *-DI*, a difference is observed in the function of this temporal element relative to story units. When *-DI* is used in Coda sections it functions to announce to the reader that the narrator returns to the spatio-temporal location of the narration from the story world. This function of *-DI* does not show developmental differences since it is mostly used as appended to the verb root *bit* ‘finish’; that is, *bitti* ‘finished’.

9.2.3 Distribution and function of *-(A)r*

9.2.3.1 Distribution of *-(A)r*

None of the children produces *-(A)r* in their frog stories. It occurs in the stories of 13-year-olds only once. One of the adults anchors to *-(A)r* and this adult is the only one who uses this TAM marker. He distributes it relative to story units in the following frequencies: 4.51% in *Orientation*, 5.27% in *CA* and 6.93% in *Resolution*.

9.2.3.2 Function of *-(A)r*

When *-(A)r* is used in narratives, simply because narratives are the recapitulation of *past* events, it gains a reading of pastness. It seems that the use of this TAM marker is the most neutral one among others in that it neither approximates the narrator to the story world, which is done by the use of *-DI*, nor distances him from the story world, which is done by the use of *-mIş*.

-(A)r is used as an anchored TAM marker only by an adult. This protocol contains only one shift between *-(A)r* and *-mİştİr*. While all of the foreground narrative events are marked with *-(A)r* (clauses *a*, *b*, *e*, *f* and *g*), background information is provided by means of the verbs that are marked by the complex marker *-mİştİr*¹ (clauses *c* and *d* in P-9.2.3.2.1).

(P-9.2.3.2.1)

- a kurbağasını aramaya koyulur
'he sets out to search for his frog'
 - b sonra kurbağayı bulurlar
'then they find the frog'
 - c bakmışlardır ki kurbağa ailesinin yanına gelmiştir
'they looked that the frog has come to its family'
 - d annesiyle babasını bulmuştur
'It has found its mother and father'
 - e onlar da çok sevinirler kurbağayı bulduklarına
'they are, too, very happy to find the frog'
 - f kurbağacıklarını alır
'they take their froglet and'
 - g evlerine geri giderler
'go back to their home'
- (Adult)

Since *-(A)r* is used by 13-year-olds only once and is not observed in the stories of younger informants, this study does not present results showing any developmental differences in the use of this TAM marker.

The analysis of the only protocol by adults shows that the function of *-(A)r* does not show any differences relative to story unit.

9.2.4 Distribution and function of *-(y)AcAk*

9.2.4.1 Distribution of *-(y)AcAk*

At the outset, it should be noted that the frequency of the use of *-(y)AcAk* is relatively low compared to the emergence of other TAM markers. None of the age groups uses it even with a frequency value of 1%.

The distribution of this low occurring temporal element does not present a developmentally predictable pattern in that the frequency of its use in each story unit does not show gradual increase or decrease relative to age.

¹ *-Dİr*: In formal, official style, the suffix *-Dİr* is used for definiteness and authority (Kornfilt 1997:376).

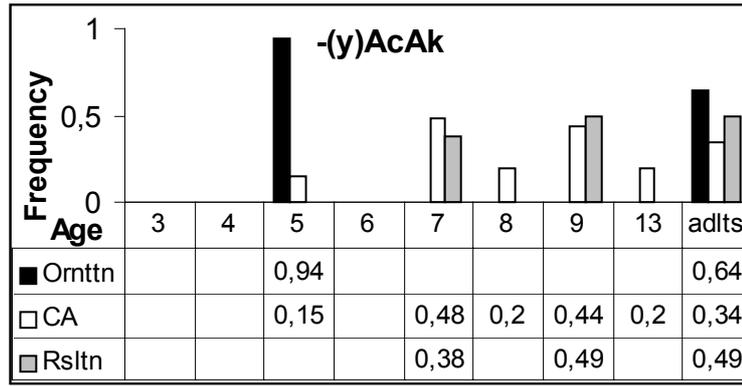


Chart 9.2.4.1.1 The distribution of $-(y)AcAk$ relative to story units and age.

For instance, while it occurs in *Orientation* sections of the stories elicited from 5-year-olds with the highest proportion in Chart 9.2.4.1.1, the *Orientation* sections from older children and 13-year-olds do not contain this temporal element at all. 6-year-olds do not use $-(y)AcAk$ in their stories at all. 7- and 9-year-olds use it in both *CA* and *Resolution*, however, while 7-year-olds use it with a higher value in *CA*, 9-year-olds use it with a higher frequency in *Resolution*. 8- and 13-year-olds use it with relatively low frequencies only in *CA*. Adults differ from all other age groups. They use $-(y)AcAk$ in all of the three story units, however this distribution cannot be interpreted because none of the other informants from other age groups distributes it to all three story units.

9.2.4.2 The function of $-(y)AcAk$

Regardless of age, informants who participated in this study use it to express a future event and no significant developmental differences are observed relative to the age of the narrator (Table 9.2.4.2.1).

Table 9.2.4.2.1 The use of $-(y)AcAk$ to express a future event by informants at different ages.

<p>A</p> <p>a suya düştüler b sonra at da ona bakıyor c sonra da at köpeki yiyecek d sonra da bu üstüne çıktı e sonra da köpek bakıyor (Age 3:11)</p>	<p>B</p> <p>a bir de ordaki şeye bakıyor b arı balına c burdan da kedi çıkmış d birde şeye bakacak e birde ağaca tırmanıyor bu (Age 4:00)</p>
<p>C</p> <p>a sonra sus diyor köpeğe b buraya biniyor c girecek d bakıyorlar kurbağalara (Age 5:10)</p>	<p>D</p> <p>a derenin içinde suyun içine atmış geyik onları b burda da herhalde kurbağayı arayacaklar c ama yine de yok (Adult)</p>

It is observed that the function of $-(y)AcAk$ does not show differences relative to story units.

9.2.5 Complex TAM markers: *-(I)yormuş* and *-(I)yordu*

When the progressive verb marker *-(I)yor* precedes the postclitics *-(y)mİş* or *-(y)DI*, it makes up the complex markers *-(I)yormuş* and *-(I)yordu*.

9.2.5.1 Distribution and function of *-(I)yormuş*

9.2.5.1.1 Distribution of *-(I)yormuş*

The distributional frequencies of *-(I)yormuş* do not render a developmentally interpretable pattern in that, except for 7- and 8-year-olds, each age group distributes it to *Orientation*, *CA* and *Resolution* in different frequency orders (Chart 9.2.5.1.1.1).

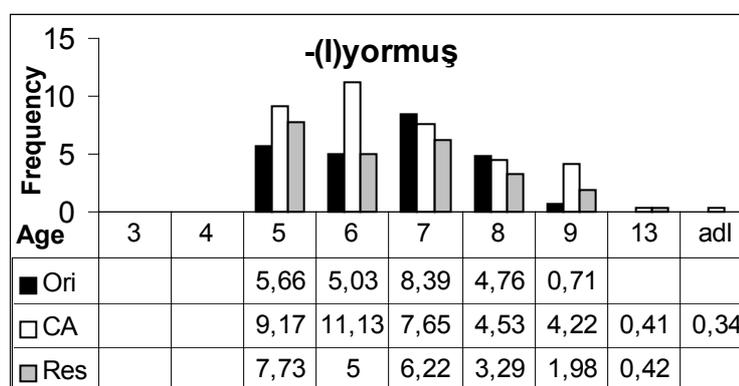


Chart 9.2.5.1.1.1 The distribution of *-(I)yormuş* relative to story units and age.

3- and 4-year-olds use *-(I)yormuş* with the frequencies of 2.2% and 3.6% respectively. Since they do not produce discernable story units, distributional frequencies related to the use of *-(I)yormuş* by these two age groups, relative to story units, are not presented.

As Chart 9.2.5.1.1.1 shows, 5-, 6- and 9-year-olds use *-(I)yormuş* in *CA* with the highest frequency but 5-year-olds use it with lowest frequency in *Orientation*; 6-year-olds use it with almost identical frequency values in *Orientation* and *Resolution*; and 9-year-olds use it with the lowest frequency in *Orientation*. The only consistency is observed in 7- and 8-year-olds; both 7- and 8-year-olds use it with the highest frequency in *Orientation*, with the second highest frequency in *CA* and with the lowest frequency in *Resolution*. The emergence of *-(I)yormuş* in 13-year-olds and adults' narratives is so low that (3 and 2 tokens respectively) it is not possible to talk about the distribution of this temporal element in these two ages.

Chart 9.1.1.2 shows that the total frequency of *-(I)yormuş* is higher in 5-, 6-, and 7-year-olds than both in younger and older age groups. This may have to do with the use of *-mİş* and

–(I)yor. 3- and 4-year olds anchor mostly to –mİş while 9- and 13-year-olds and adults anchor mostly to –(I)yor. The ages of 5, 6, and 7 may be the transitional ages from the anchorage to –mİş to the anchorage to –(I)yor. Since –(I)yormuş ends in –mİş, the TAM marker that is mostly anchored by younger ages, younger ages may conceive –(I)yormuş as closer to –mİş than to –(I)yor and thus, they might use –(I)yormuş with a higher frequency than older informants.

9.2.5.1.2 The function of –(I)yormuş

It is observed that –(I)yormuş is used in narratives to create a background for the foreground events that are marked with –mİş (P-9.2.5.1.2.1).

(P-9.2.5.1.2.1)

- a çocuk onu her tarafta arıyormuş
'the boy was looking for it everywhere'
- b kaplumbağayı her tarafta arıyormuş
'he was looking for the frog everywhere'
- c köpek de kızmış
'the dog got angry'
- d çocuk yere bakmış
'the boy looked at the ground'
- e bir delik görmüş
'he saw a burrow'
- f her tarafa bakmış
'he looked everywhere'
- g yokmuş
'it was not there'
(Age 8:11)

The act of *aramak* 'to search' in clauses *a* and *b* constitutes a background for the specific actions that are marked with –mİş in clauses *d*, *e* and *f*; the actions that are taken to realize this general act of 'search'.

The protocols A - F in Table 9.2.5.1.2.1 exemplify the function of –(I)yormuş in the narratives produced by different age groups.

It is observed that –(I)yormuş is used by 3- and 4-year-olds to create a background for the foreground events that are marked with –mİş. However, as the occurrences of –(I)yormuş in clause *b* in P-A by a 3-year-old and those in clauses *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* in P-C by a 4-year-old show, the function of –(I)yormuş to mark a background event has not been stabilized in 3- and 4-year-olds. While –(I)yormuş in clause *e* in P-A marks a background event, the one in clause *b* seems to mark the durative nature of the act of *bakmak* 'to look' as opposed to perfective nature of the verb *yakalamak* 'to catch' in clause *a* in P-A.

Similarly, it is difficult to argue that the occurrences of *-(I)yormuş* in P-C mark the background events because there is not a TAM marker that is consistently used to mark foreground events; in order an event to be assigned the role of backgrounding, it certainly needs its counterpart, viz. a foreground event. Though the occurrences of *-(I)yormuş* in P-B by a 4-year-old seem to function to mark durative aspect, it can be argued that the events that are marked with *-mİş* in clauses *a*, *c*, *d*, and *g* constitute the main line events while the events that are marked with *-(I)yormuş* in clauses *e*, *f*, and *g* are the ones that are secondary in importance for the movement of the narrative events on the time axis.

Table 9.4.5.1.1 The shift between *-mİş* and *-(I)yormuş* at different age groups.

<p>A a köpek de yakalayamamış balı b ondan bakıyomuş # c burda da çocuk düşmüş d çünkü burdan baykuş çıkmış e burda da arılardan bu kaçıyor f burda çocuk oraya tırmanmaya çalışmış (Age 3:10)</p>	<p>B a sonra da köpek ... sonra da insan ağaca çıkmış b burda birşey varmış c sonra da bu iteklemiş d çocuk da düşmüş e sonra köpek koşuyormuş f arılar yakalıyor g sonra da kafasına birşey gelmiş h onu sevmiyormuş (Age 4:09)</p>
<p>C a sonra onlar pencereden bakıyorlarmış b sonra bu köpek yalanıyormuş c sonra da çocuk sinirleniyormuş d sonra da çocuk bakıyormuş ordan e sonra da köpek düştü f sonra çıkmış pencereden g köpeği kurtarmış h o yalıyor i o da kızıyor (Age 4:09)</p>	<p>D a sonra ağaca çıkmış çocuk b köpek de gidemiyormuş c sonra çocuk yere düşmüş d baykuş bakmış e sonra bir köpek kaçmış f sonra kayaların arkasına saklanmış g baykuş onu yakalamaya çalışıyormuş h ve de düşürmeye çalışıyormuş (Age 5:03)</p>
<p>E a çocuk kurbağasına sesleniyormuş b köpeği ise arılarla oynuyormuş c arıları yakalamaya çalışıyormuş d köpek arıları ... arılarla oynamaya çalışırken e arıların kovanını yere düşürmüş f ama çocuk hala kurbağasını aramaya devam ediyormuş g bir süre sonra yuvalarının yerle olduğunu anlamışlar h ve yuvalarını düşüren köpeği kovalamaya başlamışlar (Age 8:01)</p>	<p>F a sonra ağaçtan baykuş çıkmış b çocuk yere düşmüş c arılar da köpeği kovalıyormuş d sonra çocuk bir tane kayaya yaslanmış e kayanın üstüne çıkmış (Age 9:09)</p>

As the P-D reveals, the function of *-(I)yormuş* to realize grounding becomes clear at the age of 5. Thus, it can be argued that although *-(I)yormuş* is used by 3- and 4-year-olds to mark background events for the foreground events marked with *-mİş*, the consistent use of this

marker to create background starts at the age of 5. The use of this temporal element does not show developmental differences in older informants.

When *-mİş* is used to mark foreground events in a part of or throughout the story, the marker that is used to mark background events is *-(I)yormuş*. This function of *-(I)yormuş* does not show differences relative to story units.

9.2.5.2 Distribution and function of *-(I)yordu*

9.2.5.2.1 Distribution of *-(I)yordu*

Although it is seen that the total emergence of *-(I)yordu* increases with increasing age, the distribution of this temporal marker does not present a developmentally predictable pattern as Chart 9.2.5.2.1.1 demonstrates.

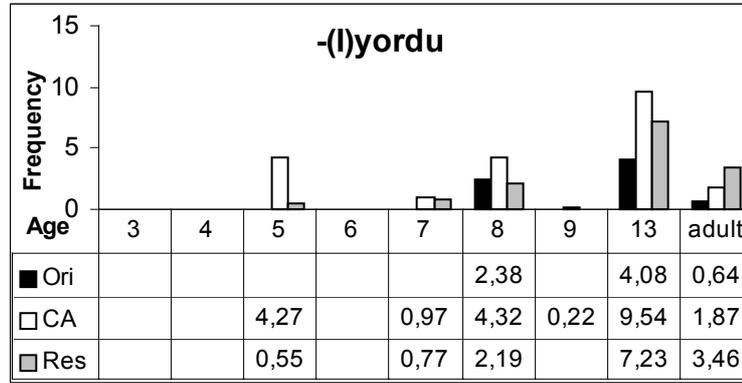


Chart 9.2.5.2.1.1 The distribution of *-(I)yordu* relative to story units and age.

While 5-year-olds use it in *CA* (4.27%) and *Resolution* (0.55%) with significantly different frequencies, 7-year-olds use it in very close frequencies in *CA* (0.97%) and *Resolution* (0.77%). 9-year-olds produce it only in *CA* (0.22%) with a relatively low frequency. While 8-year-olds use it in all three story units, as with the lowest frequency in *Resolution*, 13-year-olds use it in all three story units but as with the lowest frequency in *Orientation*. Adults use *-(I)yordu* in all three story units but, unlike children and 13-year-olds, they use it in *Resolution* with the highest frequency.

9.2.5.2.2 Function of *-(I)yordu*

The complex marker *-(I)yordu* functions in narratives to create a background when past tense marker *-DI* is used to mark foreground events. This function of *-(I)yordu* is first

observed in 3-year-olds (though it occurs only four times) and a difference is not observed relative to age (Protocols A, B, C, and D in Table 9.2.5.2.2.1).

Table 9.2.5.2.2.1 The use of *-(I)yordu*.

<p>A a çocuk da orda deveye tutunmuş b düşüyordu c çok koşuyorlardı d burdan attılar (Age 3:11)</p>	<p>B a arı yuvasına gülümsüyordu b bir tane fare çıktı (Age 4:06)</p>
<p>C a arılar yuvasına doğru gidiyordu b sonra bir delik bulmuştu c deliğe baktı d köpek de arılar ol.. oll .zıplıyordu (Age 5:07)</p>	<p>D a keçi koşuyordu b köpek de kaçıyor c ve sonunda durunca da d çocuk da köpek yere düştü (Age 8:05)</p>

When the verb to which *-(I)yordu* is appended is a non-durative one (clause *b* in P-C) *-mİş* replaces *-(I)yor*. This replacement does not change the function of the complex marker in that it still functions to create a background for the action marked with *-DI*.

The function of *-(I)yordu* to create a background does not show significant differences relative to story unit.

9.3 Anchorage to TAM markers

This subsection analyzes TAM markers to answer the following questions: To which TAM markers do informants anchor relative to age, and to which TAM markers do informants shift relative to age?

TAM marker anchorage refers to the numerical dominance of one of the TAM markers in a single story.

It is observed that older informants tend to anchor to *-(I)yor*¹ while younger children anchor to *-mİş* in higher frequencies (see Chart 9.2.1). While children seem to have a binary choice between *-mİş* or *-(I)yor*, 13-year-olds and adults are observed to have a wider variety of the choice of anchorage from among TAM markers such as *-DI*, *-mİş*, *(I)yor*, *(A)r* and complex

¹ Erguvanlı-Taylan (1987) found that the proportion of the anchorage to *-(I)yor* in adult narratives reaches to 70%.

markers that are composed by attaching the postclitic $-(y)DI$ either to $-mI\mathring{s}$ or $-(I)yor$ (namely $-mI\mathring{s}tI$ and $-(I)yordu$).

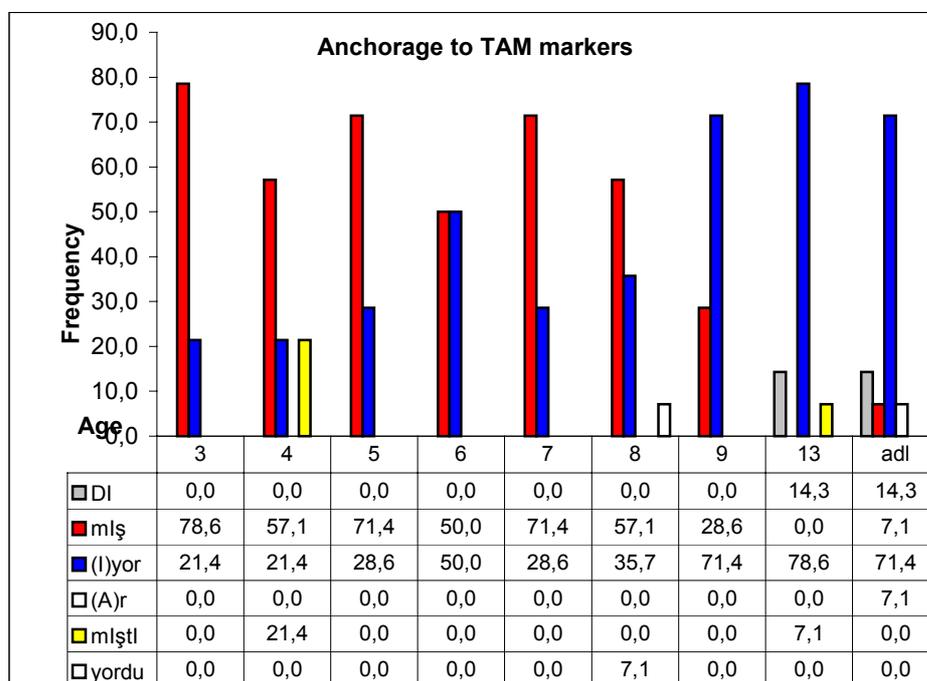


Chart 9.2.1 TAM markers anchorage relative to age.

An analysis relative to each age group shows that 3-year-olds are observed to anchor to $-mI\mathring{s}$ (78,6%) and $-(I)yor$ (21,4%). 4-year-olds anchor to $-mI\mathring{s}$ (57,1%), $-(I)yor$ (21,4%), and $-mI\mathring{s}tI$ (21,4%). 5-year-olds anchor either to $-mI\mathring{s}$ (71,4%) or to $-(I)yor$ (28,6%). 6-year-olds anchor either to $-mI\mathring{s}$ (50%) or $-(I)yor$ (50%). 7-year-olds anchor to $-mI\mathring{s}$ (71,4%) and $-(I)yor$ (28,6%). 8-year-olds anchor to $-mI\mathring{s}$ (57,1%), $-(I)yor$ (35,7%) and $-(I)yordu$ (7,1%). Like 7- and 6-year-olds, 9-year-olds are homogeneous in TAM marker anchorage in the sense that they anchor only to $-mI\mathring{s}$ (28,6%) and $-(I)yor$ (71,4%). 13-year-olds do not anchor to $-mI\mathring{s}$ at all. They anchor to $-DI$ (14,3%), $-(I)yor$ (78,6%) and the complex marker $-mI\mathring{s}tI$ (7,1). Adults show a wider variety of anchorage compared to 13-year-olds. They anchor to $-DI$ (14,3%), $-mI\mathring{s}$ (7,1%), $-(I)yor$ (71,4%) and $-(A)r$ (7,1%), which is not even produced by any of the children.

9.3.1 Shift between TAM markers

As it has been stated, TAM marker anchorage refers to the numerical dominance of one marker over the others within a single story. Shift in TAM markers is defined by Zeyrek

(2003) as “any change in the tense, aspect and/or modality marker of the verbs in adjacent narrative clauses”.

Before presenting the findings related to the shift in TAM markers, a brief explanation about how to interpret tables is necessary. The values in column ‘A’s show the proportion of the informants who anchor to the TAM marker that is mentioned in the first cell of the table. For instance the proportional value related to 3-year-olds in column A in Table 9.3.1.1 can be stated in numbers as follows: eleven 3-year-old informants out of 14 anchor to *-mİş* in narrative production (Proportional value is calculated as: $11 \times 100 / 14 = 78.6$).

The proportional values in column ‘B’s show the proportion of the anchored marker to the total number of the markers in the anchored TAM marker. In other words, the values in column ‘B’s indicate the strength of anchorage to a TAM marker by an age group.

The proportional values in other columns reflect the proportion of each TAM marker to which narrators in an age group shift when they anchor to the marker mentioned in the first cell of the table.

9.3.1.1 Distribution of the shifts when the anchored TAM marker is *-mİş*

The values in column A in Table 9.3.1.1.1 have already been analyzed statistically in subsection 9.3. Column B shows the strength of the anchorage to *-mİş*, while the subsequent columns show shifts from *-mİş* to other markers relative to age.

Table 9.3.1.1.1 Shift from *-mİş* to other TAM markers

Age TAM markers--> ↓ <i>-mİş</i>	<i>-mİş</i> (Anchorage relative to the number of informants)	-Strength of anchorage to <i>-mİş</i>	-(I)yor	-DI	-(Y)/AcAk	-(A)r	-(I)yormuş	-(I)yordu	<i>-mİş</i> tl
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
3 (%)	78.6	82.2	12.5	0	0	0	4	1	0.3
4	57.1	66	20.2	2.3	0.1	0	7.7	2.8	0.7
5	71.4	73.8	11.9	0.8	0.6	0	11	1.1	0.8
6	50.0	83	6.1	0.1	0.7	0	10.2	0	0
7	71.4	74.6	13.7	0.2	0.3	0	11.2	0.1	0.3
8	57.1	83.8	2.8	4.4	0.2	0	5.8	2.8	0.4
9	28.6	77	13	0.2	0.1	0	8.9	0.5	0.2
13	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adult	7.1	89.1	0	0	0	0	10.8	0	0

As column B and Chart 9.3.1.1.1 show, unlike the proportions of the informants who anchor to $-mIş$ (column A), the strength of the anchorage to $-mIş$ relative to age does not render a developmentally interpretable increase or decrease relative to age. Although adults show the strongest anchorage (89.1%) to $-mIş$, the anchorage to this marker by 3-year-olds (82,2) is stronger than the anchorage by 4-, 5-, 7- and 9-year-olds.

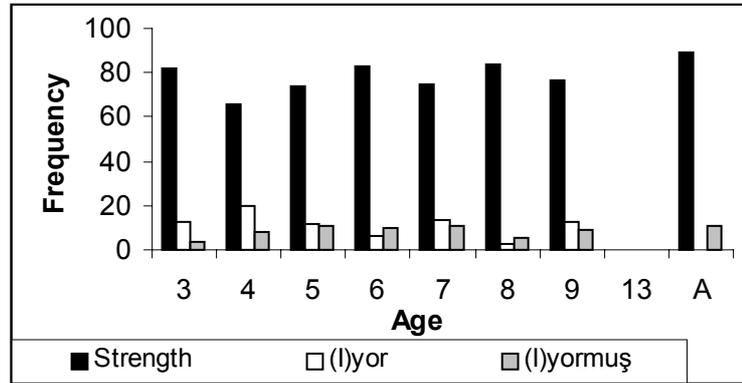


Chart 9.3.1.1.1 The strength of anchorage, shift to $-mIş$ and shift to $-(I)yormuş$

When narrators anchor to $-mIş$, the most frequent shift occurs to $-(I)yor$ and then to $-(I)yormuş$ (Column C and Chart 9.3.1.1.1). However, as columns C - I reveal, it is difficult to argue that there is a correlation between the age of the narrator and the frequency of the shifts from $-mIş$ to any other TAM marker included in Table 9.3.1.1.1. The fact that none of the adults shifts to $-(I)yor$ in column B may be a factor of chance because only one of the adults, out of 14, anchors to $-mIş$ and he shifts only to $-(I)yormuş$ 4 times, which renders a proportional value of 10.8

9.3.1.2 Distribution of the shifts when the anchored TAM marker is $-(I)yor$

The statistical analyses of the strength of anchorage to $-(I)yor$ and distribution of the shifts from $-(I)yor$ to the markers included in columns C - I in Table 9.3.1.2.1 render frequencies that are more interpretable relative to age compared to the frequency values related to the anchorage to $-mIş$ in Table 9.3.1.1.1. Regarding the frequencies by all age groups, anchorage to $-(I)yor$ is stronger (M=79%) than the anchorage to $-mIş$ (M=69%).

As column B in Table 9.3.1.2.1 and Chart 9.3.1.2.1 demonstrate, the strength of anchorage to $-(I)yor$ shows a gradual increase with increasing age until the age of 8 and it shows a slight decrease after this age.

Table 9.3.1.2.1 Shift from *-(I)yor* to other TAM markers.

Age TAM markers--> ↓ -(I)yor	- (I)yor (Anchorage relative to the -Strength of anchorage to -- <i>-mİş</i>	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
3 (%)	21,4	67	20	8,2	0,9	0	3,9	0	0
4	21,4	68	28,9	0	0	0	3	0	0
5	28,6	59,7	32,4	0,3	0	0	7,3	0,2	0
6	50,0	82,6	17,3	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	28,6	90,5	8,9	0	0,1	0	0,3	0	0
8	35,7	92,3	7,2	0	0	0	0,3	0	0
9	71,4	87,4	11,7	0	0,2	0	0,6	0	0
13	78,6	88,9	10,6	0	0	0	0	0,3	0,1
Adult	71,4	75	24,7	0	0,2	0	0	0	0

Although the value of the strength of anchorage by adults is lower than 6-, 7-, 8-, 9- and 13-year-olds it is still higher than those of 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds. 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds make up a group in that their strength of anchorage is lower than that of any older age group.

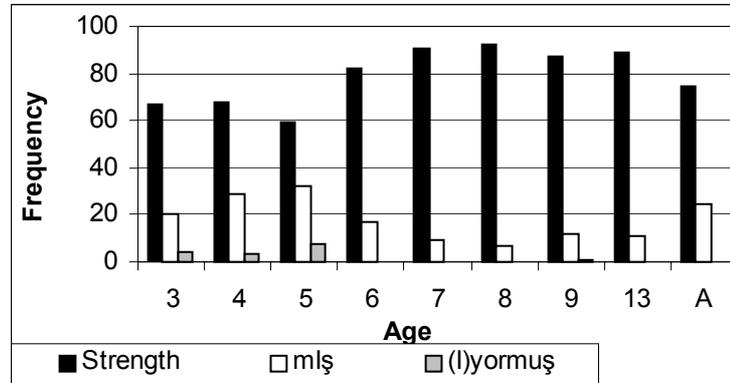


Chart 9.3.1.2.1 Shift from *-(I)yor* to *-mİş* and *-(I)yormuş*

Although it increases in adults, the shift from *-(I)yor* to *-mİş* may said to decrease with increasing age (Chart 9.3.1.2.1). The same chart shows that shift from *-(I)yor* to *-(I)yormuş* shows a dramatic decrease after the age of 5 and no shift is observed in 6- and 13-year-olds and adults.

The frequency of the shifts from *-(I)yor* to *-mIş* is higher than the frequency of the shift from *-mIş* to *-(I)yor*. This may be because *-mIş* is used to mark background events when *-(I)yor* is used to mark foreground events.

It is observed that the general frequency of shift from *-(I)yor* to *-(y)AcAk*, *-(I)yormuş*, *-(I)yordu* and *-mIştI* is lower than the general frequency of shift from *-mIş* to those same TAM markers. Although the frequency of shift from *-(I)yor* to *-DI* is higher than the shift from *-mIş* to *-DI* in our data, it should be noted that 96% of the shifts from *-(I)yor* to *-DI* are observed in a 3-year-olds' narrative and *-DI* in this narrative is not used for macro organization of story but it is used to mark the narrator's immediate perception of the event.

9.3.1.3 Distribution of the shifts when the anchored TAM marker is *-DI*
-DI is not used as an anchored TAM marker until the age of 13. It is anchored by 13-year-olds and adults. The frequency of the anchorage to *-DI* by 13-year-olds is 14.2%. The strength of anchorage to *-DI* by this age group is 68% and shifts from *-DI* are 6.1% to *-mIştI*, 10.7% to *-(I)yordu*, 4.5% to *-(I)yormuş*, 2.7% to *-(I)yor* and 7.9% to *-mIş*.

The frequency of the anchorage to *-DI* by adults is 14.2%. The anchorage to this marker by adults (64%) is weaker than the anchorage by 13-year-olds. When adults anchor to *-DI* the frequencies of the shifts are 16.9% to *-mIştI*, 9.3% to *-(I)yordu*, 3.1% to *-(I)yor* and 5.6% to *-mIş*.

9.3.1.4 Distribution of the shifts when the anchored TAM marker is *-(A)r*

-(A)r is used as an anchored TAM marker only by an adult. The strength of the anchorage to *-(A)r* by this adult is 90.4%. When adults anchor to *-(A)r* they shift with frequencies of 4.7% to *-(I)yordu* and 4.7% to *-mIştIr*.

9.3.1.5 Distribution of the shifts when the anchored TAM marker is *-mIştI*
-mIştI is used as an anchored TAM markers by 4- and 13-year-olds. 4-year-olds anchor to *-mIştI* with a frequency of 21.4% while 13-year-olds anchor it with a frequency of 7.1%.

The strength of the anchorage by 4-year-olds to this TAM marker is 55.1%. When 4-year-olds use *-mIştI* as the anchored TAM marker, they shift with frequency of 21.4% to *-(I)yordu*, 14.9% to *-DI*, 5.6% to *-(I)yor* and 2.8% to *-mIş*.

The anchorage by 13-year-olds to *-mİştİ* (46.3%) is weaker than the anchorage to this marker by 4-year-olds. When 13-year-olds anchor to this marker, they shift with frequencies of 20.2% to *-(I)yordu*, 1.4% to *-(y)AcAk*, 27.5% to *-DI*, 2.8% to *-(I)yor* and 1.4% to *-mİş*.

Protocol 9.3.1.5.1 illustrates how a 13-year old anchors to *-mİştİ*.

(P-9.3.1.5.1)

- a köpeğimi yeni **bulmuştum**
- b çok mutlu hissediyordum kendimi
- c bir kurbağam vardı
- d ve onunla çok iyi arkadaşlık kuracaklarına inandığım için
- e ikisini bir araya getirmiştım
- f ve onlar da çok mutlu olmuşlardı
- g birbirlerine çok alışmışlardı
- h gecenin karanlığında birlikte oyunlar oynayarak
- i birbirimize şakalar yapıyorduk
- j gece olmuştu
- k hepimiz uyuyakalmıştık
- l çok mutlu hissediyordum kendimi
- m sabah kalktığımda kurbağam yoktu
- n çok üzülmiştim
- o çok telaşlıydım
- p ne yapacağımı bilemiyordum
- q bunu gören köpeğim de buna çok üzülmişti
- r çünkü onunla çok iyi arkadaşlık kurmuştu

...

(Age 13:08)

9.3.1.6 Distribution of the shifts when the anchored TAM marker is – *(I)yordu*

-(I)yordu is used as an anchored TAM marker by only 8-year-olds with a frequency of 7.1%.

(P-9.3.1.6.1)

...

- a çocuk her tarafa bakıyordu
- b ama kurbağasını bulamıyordu
- c köpeğiyle beraber dışarda arıyordu
- d köpeği camdan düşüyordu
- e ama kurbağası hiç bir yerde yoktu
- f çocuk köpeğini almış
- g geziyordu
- h çocuk ile köpek kurbağayı arıyorlardı
- i çocuk ... köpek ağaca bakıyordu
- j çocuk bir delik bulmuş
- k onun içinden çıkıyordu
- l köpek ağacı sallıyordu
- m kurbağayı görünce çok şaşırdı
- n çocuk da ağaçta arıyordu
- o çocuk ağaçtan düşmüş

- p köpek kovalı**yormuş** kurbağayı
q çocuk baykuştan korku**yormuş**
r çocuk kuşun ... kuşu fark etmemi**ş**
...
(Age 8:02)

The strength of the anchorage by 8-year-olds to this marker is 41.6%. When 8-year-olds anchor to *-(I)yordu*, they shift with frequencies of 4.1% to *-(I)yormuş*, 4.1% to *-mİştI*, 29.1% to *-DI*, and 20.8% to *-mİş*. P-9.3.1.6.1 shows how an 8-year-old anchors to *-(I)yordu*.

When the shift is between *-mİştI* and *-(I)yordu*, the function of the shift is not to create background or foreground. Narrators are observed to shift between these two TAM markers according to whether the verb to which either of these markers is to be attached is durative or perfective in the context of the use.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

10.1 Summary of findings

This study was designed to investigate how the emergence of story units differs relative to the age of the narrator; how temporal elements are distributed relative to story units by informants at different ages and how the function of temporal elements differ relative to age and story units in narratives. This section of Chapter X summarizes the findings of the study.

It is observed that a great majority of 3- and 4-year-olds produce narratives that cannot be considered a story considering the story grammar defined by Labov (1972). The skeleton of the story grammar defined by Labov (1972) is observed in three narratives, elicited from 3-year-olds and in two narratives, elicited from 4-year-olds although it is difficult to argue that these narratives are well formed in that the narrators often diverge from the plotline and insert many non-narrative components such as dialogues, questions, and their own experiences, which are triggered by an entity in the picture book, into the plotline.

Narratives that contain discernable story units are observed at the age of 5 (cf. Berman and Slobin 1994 for similar findings) and stories at adult level of well-formedness are observed at the age of 7. After the age of 7, the frequency of the well-formed stories produced by each age group increases but significant structural differences are not observed after the age of 7.

None of the informants is observed to produce *Abstract* and *Evaluation* sections because of the elicitation context and techniques used to collect data for this study.

The findings related to each temporal element are presented individually since there are not general propositions that apply to all of the temporal elements when they are used by any age groups in any story units.

It is observed that the general tendency of the use of *ve* is incremental with increasing age. The distribution of *ve* relative to story units renders different patterns relative to age. While 5- and 9-year-olds and adults use it in *CA*, 6-, 7-, and 8-year olds use it with the highest frequency in *Resolution*.

ve is used to express (a) simultaneity and sequentiality; (b) to point to the final state of a series of actions or an expected outcome; (c) to mark the importance of an event/action for the unfolding of the plot; and (d) to initiate a new episode.

While the function of *ve* to express simultaneity and sequentiality emerges at the age of 3, the use of *ve* to initiate a new episode is first observed at the age of 9, albeit it occurs only once. The use of *ve* for this purpose is observed to increase in 13-year-olds and adults.

The relationship between the function of *ve* and the story unit in which it is used is stronger than the relationship between *ve* and the age of the narrator by which it is used.

Charts that show the emergence of *ve* and *dE* seem to be the mirror images of one another in that while the frequency of the use of *ve* increases with increasing age, the frequency of the use of *dE* decreases with increasing age.

As for the distributional frequencies of *dE*, 5-, 6-, 7-, 8-, 9-, and 13-year-olds use it with the highest frequency in *CA*, with the second highest frequency in *Resolution* and with the lowest frequency in *Orientation*. Adults distribute *dE* to story units with the following order, from highest to lowest: *Resolution*, *CA*, and *Orientation*.

dE is used in narratives mostly to express simultaneity and sequentiality, and to mark an episode boundary. When it marks an episode boundary it is used either episode finally or episode initially. *dE* is used to point to an end state when it is used episode finally and when used as such, its function to point to an end state predominates its other functions. When *dE* occurs episode initially, it functions as a cohesive device across episodes rather than across clauses.

Adults show a certain preference between *ve* and *dE* in the expression of sequentiality and simultaneity. When they express sequentiality, they use *ve*. None of the adults is observed to

use *dE* to express sequentiality although they use *ve* to express simultaneity, albeit with a relatively low frequency.

Episode initial use of *dE*, which functions to relate two episodes, emerges at the age of 8 and is observed in the stories of 9- and 13-year-olds and in those of adults.

O zaman, which is observed in the narratives of 3-year-olds, is used mostly to express simultaneity in an explicit way in *CA* and to point to an end state in the resolution part of an episode or in global *Resolution* section. As our data show it is used to organize intra-episode temporal relations at micro level rather than functioning to organize inter-episode temporal relations at the macro level.

The emergence of *bu/o sirada* is incremental with increasing age. The distal deixis *o* is used more frequently than the proximal deixis *bu* to construct the adverbial conjunction. This is because distal deixis *o* serves the function of distancing narrative world from the world of the narration whereas *bu* serves the function of proximation of the two worlds.

The analysis of the use of *bu/o sirada* renders results showing that it is used to serve two functions: to express simultaneity at both sentential and discourse level, and to insert the inferential ideas of the narrator into the stream of the plotline, which usually function to foreground an event/state which the narrator thinks it is overshadowed by the major stream of events.

Sonra is one of the most frequently used temporal elements. Younger ages use *sonra* in their narratives so often that whether this temporal element is functional regarding the expression of temporality or not is open to discussion. The overuse of *sonra* decreases with increasing age. With increasing age, *sonra* is mostly used in the orientation parts of episodes.

Sonra functions to express sequentiality, and, it is used as a discourse organizer. When *sonra* is used between clauses it encodes sequentiality. When it is used episode initially, that is, in orientative parts of episodes, it functions both to initiate a new episode and create coherence across episodes.

Sonra is observed as a discourse organizer in the narratives of 3-year-olds. However, its function as a discourse organizer becomes clearer at the age of 5 in that while 3- and 4-year-

olds use it to sequence clauses or 'pseudo episodes' composed of two or three event sequences, 5-year-olds use it to mark the boundaries of episodes along with using to sequence clauses.

In general terms, *sonradan* is used to locate an event/state that is distanced, in future, either by an already completed process or passing of a period of time, from another event/state that is located on the time axis with reference to the speech time. None of the occurrences of *sonradan* in our data functions to distance events on the time axis. It is used for the same purpose as *sonra* is used to express sequentiality. All of the occurrences of *sonradan* are in CA.

Compared to that of *sonra*, the frequency of *önce* is relatively low simply because the incremental nature of narrative events fosters the emergence of *sonra* whereas it prohibits the occurrence of *önce*.

Önce emerges in the narratives of 3-year-olds, however none of the occurrences of this temporal element is used to express the temporal priority of a narrative event over the other by 3-year-olds. *Önce* is used in non-narrative clauses by this age group. 5-year-olds and older informants use *önce* as a discourse organizer in coordination with *sonra*. They also use it to express sequentiality at micro level temporal organization.

Önceden or *daha önce* emerges only twice in our data set. A 9-year-old and an adult use this temporal element. The only 9-year-old informant uses it in Orientation section and the adult uses it in CA.

Önceden or *daha önce* is used in narratives to distance an event/state in the past with reference to another event that is located on the time axis with reference to speech time.

-dEn önce is not observed in the narratives obtained from the subjects participated in this study.

The gerundive marker *-(y)IncE* emerges at the age of 3 and its use increases with increasing age. Regarding temporality, *-(y)IncE* is mostly used to express sequentiality and to mark a turning point. Although the events that are joined by *-(y)IncE* may partly overlap, *-(y)IncE* does not encode simultaneity since the bodies of partly overlapping events are sequential. It is

observed that narrators make a choice between *-(I)ncE* and *-Erken*. They prefer *-(y)IncE* to encode sequentiality while *-Erken* is preferred to express simultaneity in narratives.

It is observed that *-(y)IncE* is used with a notable frequency to mark the awareness of the protagonist about the emergence of the global problem. While *-(y)IncE* functions at micro level temporal organization when it is used to express sequentiality, it functions at macro level temporal organization when it is used to mark a turning point in an episode or within the whole story. The use of this gerundive marker to mark a turning point shows differences relative to age and story units. Its use to mark a turning point increases at the age of 5 and it is highest at the age of 8. *-(y)Ince* is observed to occur in the *Orientation* sections of the stories more than in other sections.

The gerundive marker *-Erken* emerges at the age of 3 and is incremental with increasing age.

-Erken is used to encode simultaneity and to create a background for the foreground events/states. While the functions of *-Erken* to express simultaneity and to create a background at clausal level do not show developmental differences, it is observed that the function of this gerundive marker to create a background across episodes becomes clear in the narratives produced by 6-year-olds and older informants. This implies that the organization of narratives at macro level has to do with the age of the narrator.

As for the function of *-Erken* relative to story units, when it is used episode initially, that is, in orientative part of episodes, its function to create a background is more prominent than its function to express simultaneity, though the function to express simultaneity, by default, is still preserved.

The gerundive suffix *-Ip* emerges at the age of 3 and is incremental with increasing age. *-Ip* is mostly used in *Orientation* and *Resolution*.

As for the function of *-Ip* regarding temporality, it is used to relate episode internal components at micro level, on the basis of sequentiality or simultaneity, rather than organizing the macro-temporal structure of a story.

The function of *-Ip* in the narratives of 3-and 4-year-olds is not clear as to whether it functions to express temporality or manner at the discourse level although it is used grammatically at sentential level.

The gerundive suffix *-ErEk* emerges in the narratives of 3-year-olds and is incremental with increasing age. *-ErEk* is mostly used in *CA*.

In general terms, *-ErEk* is used to express how an action is realized. In other words its ever-existing function is to encode manner and this function is never ruled out by its other functions. Regarding temporality, *-ErEk* encodes simultaneity and sequentiality. Aksu-Koç (1988a) argues that its default temporal function is to express simultaneity.

One result that is common to the emergence of gerundive suffixes *-(I)ncE*, *-Erken*, *-Ip* and *-ErEk* is that they are used at the ages of 7-, 8-, and 9-year-olds with the highest frequencies probably because of the developmental characteristics of these ages of concrete operations.

The adverbial clause *-DIktAn sonra* emerges in relatively low frequency. It is first observed in the narratives of 5-year-olds. This may be partly because *sonra* is used instead of *-DIktAn sonra* by younger ages and partly because the use of *-DIktAn sonra* requires the narrator to consider both past action and the forthcoming one at the same time, which imposes an extra load to the cognition of the narrator.

Where temporality is concerned, *-DIktAn sonra* functions to regulate the priority-posteriority relationship of two events on the time axis. Although the emphasis is on the posterior event/state, which is the main clause, *-DIktAn sonra* tacitly expresses the temporal priority of the event that takes place before the main event/state.

The adverbial marker *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* emerges at the age of 5 and is incremental with increasing age.

-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman functions to locate an event/state on the time axis with reference to another event/state on the basis of sequentiality. The function of *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* is very similar to that of *-IncE*. However, while *-IncE* encodes both temporality and causality in the same linguistic and discourse environment, *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* encodes only temporality.

The use of *DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* shows functional differences relative to age. 8-year-olds and older informants prefer *-IncE* when the context allows the emergence of both causality and temporality readings but they prefer *DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* when the context allows only the reading of temporality.

Since they are closely related in narrative texts, the results related to the distribution and function of *-mIş* and *-(I)yor* are presented together.

Except for 5- and 8-year-olds, all of other age groups use *-mIş* in *CA* with the highest frequency. 5- and 8-year-olds distribute *-mIş* to story units with the same order of frequency: the highest in *Orientation*, second highest in *CA* and the lowest in *Resolution*.

All of the children and 13-year-olds distribute *-(I)yor* in the same frequency order relative to story units. They produce it with the highest frequency in *CA*, then in *Orientation* and, with the lowest frequency, in *Resolution*. The difference between the frequency of *-(I)yor* in *CA* and in other two sections is relatively higher in 6- and 9-year-olds. All of the informants, including adults, use *-(I)yor* with the lowest frequency in *Resolution* section.

It is observed that *-mIş* mostly functions, at clausal level, to indicate *inference*, and stative and perfective aspect as opposed to observable, dynamic and progressive aspect in the narratives that are elicited by means of the picture-book *Frog, where are you?* The progressive aspect *-(I)yor* functions, at clausal level, to indicate the progression of ongoing and observable events as opposed to inferred and/or perfective nature of events, which is marked by *-mIş*.

At discourse level, *-mIş* is used to mark background events/states for the foreground events that are marked by *-(I)yor*.

-DI is used in *CA* section with the highest frequency by all age groups. The question why it is used in *CA* with the highest frequency cannot be answered fully within the limits of this descriptive study. However, it is observed that the orientative parts of episodes usually contain structures that are either nonfinite clauses or finite clauses that constitute the background for the foreground events that are marked with *-DI*. Thus, *-DI* is used in *CA*, where mainline events take place, more than it occurs in *Orientation* and *Resolution*.

The distribution of this temporal element does not present a developmentally predictable pattern in children's stories in that its use in each story unit by different age groups does not increase or decrease gradually with increasing age.

At clausal level, *-DI* is used to express that the event that is denoted by the verb to which this marker is appended occurs in past, that it is complete, and that it is witnessed by the speaker, or the truth of the event is known publicly.

At discourse level, *-DI* is used by 13-year-olds and adults in narratives to foreground narrative events against the background events that are marked by the post-clitic *-(y)DI* 'to be: past' which is preceded either by *-(l)yor* or *-mİş*.

3- and 4-year-olds do not use *-DI* to mark foreground events. Thus the function of *-DI* in the narratives of these two age groups is at clausal level to encode the viewpoint of the narrator for a particular action rather than being at discourse level to organize the macro temporal structure of an episode or that of the whole story. This may be interpreted that while *-DI* is conceived of as a verbal aspect by 3-, and 4-year-olds, it is conceived as a tense marker by 5-year-olds and older informants.

None of the children and 13-year-olds produces *-(A)r* in their frog stories. One of the adults anchors to *-(A)r* and this adult is the only one who uses this TAM marker. He distributes it relative to story units in the following frequencies: 4.51% in *Orientation*, 5.27% in *CA* and 6.93% in *Resolution*.

When *-(A)r* is used in narratives, simply because narratives are the recapitulation of *past* events, it gains a reading of pastness. It seems that the use of this TAM marker is the most neutral one among others in that it neither approximates the narrator to the story world, which is done by the use of *-DI*, nor distances him from the story world, which is done by the use of *-mİş*.

The frequency of the use of *-(y)AcAk* is relatively low compared to the emergence of other TAM markers. None of the age groups uses it even with a frequency value of 1%.

The distribution of this low occurring temporal element does not present a developmentally predictable pattern in that the frequency its use in each story unit does not show gradual increase or decrease relative to age.

Regardless of age, informants who participated in this study use it to express a future event and no significant developmental differences are observed relative to the age of the narrator. It is also observed that the function of *-(y)AcAk* does not show differences relative to story units.

When progressive verb marker *-(I)yor* precedes the postclitics *-(y)mIş* or *-(y)DI*, it makes up the complex markers *-(I)yormuş* and *-(I)yordu*.

The distributional frequencies of *-(I)yormuş* do not render a developmentally interpretable pattern in that, except for 7- and 8-year-olds, each age group distributes it to *Orientation*, *CA* and *Resolution* in different frequency orders.

It is observed that *-(I)yormuş* is used in narratives to create a background for the foreground events that are marked with *-mIş*. Since *-(I)yormuş* ends in *-mIş*, the TAM marker that is mostly anchored by younger ages, younger ages may conceive *-(I)yormuş* as closer to *-mIş* than to *-(I)yor* and thus, they might use *-(I)yormuş* with a higher frequency than older informants.

The distribution of the complex marker *-(I)yordu* does not present a developmentally predictable pattern. *-(I)yordu* functions in narratives to create a background when past tense marker *-DI* is used to mark foreground events. This function of *-(I)yordu* is first observed in 3-year-olds (though it occurs only four times at this age) and a difference is not observed relative to age.

The analysis of the TAM markers in our data has shown that *-mIş* and *-(I)yor* are the two default TAM markers in narrative production. While younger ages anchor to *-mIş* more than they do to *-(I)yor*, older narrators do vice versa. *-DI* is used as an anchored TAM marker only by 13-year-olds and adults and *-(A)r* is used as an anchored TAM marker by only adults.

The strength of the anchorage to *-mİş* relative to age does not render a developmentally interpretable increase or decrease relative to age. Although adults show the strongest anchorage (89.1%) to *-mİş*, the anchorage to this marker by 3-year-olds (82,2) is stronger than the anchorage by 4-, 5-, 7- and 9-year-olds.

The statistical analyses of the strength of anchorage to *-(I)yor* renders frequencies that are more interpretable relative to age compared to the frequency values related to the anchorage to *-mİş*. Regarding the frequencies by all age groups, anchorage to *-(I)yor* is stronger (M=79%) than the anchorage to *-mİş* (M=69%).

When narrators anchor to *-mİş*, the most frequent shift occurs to *-(I)yor* and then to *-(I)yormuş*. However, it is difficult to argue that there is a correlation between the age of the narrator and the frequency of the shifts from *-mİş* to other TAM markers.

The frequency of the shifts from *-(I)yor* to *-mİş* is higher than the frequency of the shifts from *-mİş* to *-(I)yor*. This may be because *-mİş* is used to mark background events when *-(I)yor* is used to mark foreground events.

It is observed that the general frequency of shift from *-(I)yor* to *-(y)AcAk*, *-(I)yormuş*, *-(I)yordu* and *-mİştİ* is lower than the general frequency of shift from *-mİş* to those same TAM markers. Although the frequency of shift from *-(I)yor* to *-DI* is higher than the shift from *-mİş* to *-DI* in our data, it should be noted that 96% of the shifts from *-(I)yor* to *-DI* are observed in a 3-year-olds' narrative and *-DI* in this narrative is not used for macro organization of story but it is used to mark the narrator's immediate perception of the event.

-DI is not used as an anchored TAM marker until the age of 13. It is anchored by 13-year-olds and adults. The frequency of the anchorage to *-DI* by 13-year-olds is 14.2%. The strength of anchorage to *-DI* by this age group is 68% and shifts from *-DI* are 6.1% to *-mİştİ*, 10.7% to *-(I)yordu*, 4.5% to *-(I)yormuş*, 2.7% to *-(I)yor* and 7.9% to *-mİş*.

The frequency of the anchorage to *-DI* by adults is 14.2%. The anchorage to this marker by adults (64%) is weaker than the anchorage by 13-year-olds. When adults anchor to *-DI* the frequencies of the shifts are 16.9% to *-mİştİ*, 9.3% to *-(I)yordu*, 3.1% to *-(I)yor* and 5.6% to *-mİş*.

-(A)r is used as an anchored TAM marker only by an adult. The strength of the anchorage to *-(A)r* by this adult is 90.4%. When adults anchor to *-(A)r* they shift with frequencies of 4.7% to *-(I)yordu* and 4.7% to *-mİstİr*.

-mİstİ is used as an anchored TAM markers by 4- and 13-year-olds. 4-year-olds anchor to *-mİstİ* with a frequency of 21.4% while 13-year-olds anchor it with a frequency of 7.1%.

The strength of the anchorage by 4-year-olds to this TAM marker is 55.1%. When 4-year-olds use *-mİstİ* as the anchored TAM marker, they shift with frequency of 21.4% to *-(I)yordu*, 14.9% to *-DI*, 5.6% to *-(I)yor* and 2.8% to *-mİş*.

The anchorage by 13-year-olds to *-mİstİ* (46.3%) is weaker than the anchorage to this marker by 4-year-olds. When 13-year-olds anchor to this marker, they shift with frequencies of 20.2% to *-(I)yordu*, 1.4% to *-(y)AcAk*, 27.5% to *-DI*, 2.8% to *-(I)yor* and 1.4% to *-mİş*.

-(I)yordu is used as an anchored TAM marker by only 8-year-olds with a frequency of 7.1%.

The strength of the anchorage by 8-year-olds to this marker is 41.6%. When 8-year-olds anchor to *-(I)yordu*, they shift with frequencies of 4.1% to *-(I)yormuş*, 4.1% to *-mİstİ*, 29.1% to *-DI*, and 20.8% to *-mİş*.

10.2 Discussions and conclusions

The research questions that guided this study are:

- 1- *What story components emerge in the narratives produced by children from 3 to 9 plus 13-year olds and adults?*
- 2- *In which units of a story do temporal verb markers, temporal adverbials and adverbs, temporal connectives, gerunds and conjoining clauses emerge in children's narratives?*
- 3- *What are the functions of the temporal elements in the macro-temporal organization of narratives produced by children from 3 to 9 plus 13-year-olds and adults?*

In this section of Chapter X, the research questions on which the whole study is based, are answered.

Since the present study is designed to describe the nature of the use of temporal elements in the organization of story structure when they are used by informants at different ages, findings in previous chapters are presented without an evaluative perspective. This section of Chapter X approaches the findings with some degree of evaluative perspective and thus reflects the subjective judgments of the researcher that are fed by the descriptive analysis of the data.

10.2.1 Emergence of story units

Data collection techniques and the material used to collect data have an impact on the nature of the data. It is observed that the emergence of story units is closely related to the nature of the task of narration along with the age of the narrator. While informants who produce personal accounts as narrative in Labov's (1972) study produce *Abstract* and *Evaluation* sections in their narratives, simply because of the nature of the material and the technique used to elicit narratives, informants who participated in this study, regardless of their age, do not produce *Abstract* and *Evaluation* sections. Although the previous studies that were conducted to investigate narrative development in children (Aksu-Koç 1998a; Berman and Slobin 1994; and Aksu-Koç and Stutterheim 1994 etc.) also report the lack of the emergence of these two story units in the narratives elicited using Mercer Mayer's (1969) picture book *Frog, where are you?* none of them comes up with a solution about how to motivate informants to produce *Abstract* and *Evaluation* sections without interference with their narrative production.

The findings related to the emergence of story units in the narratives of informants at different ages imply that story production is not, simply, a sequencing of past events one after the other and there is a need to distinguish narrative production from story production with developmental and structural perspectives. While narrative production begins at the ages of 2 and half or 3, it is observed that fully developed stories are not produced until the age of 7, the age that is the beginning of concrete operations, and the age which has been neglected in linguistic studies in favor of age 9.

The analysis of our data has shown that the development of story telling skills in children from 3 to 9 occurs in three phases:

The first phase is the development of a 'notion of a story' and this phase covers the ages 3 and 4. A great majority of the 3- and 4-year-old children attempt to construct a story, however, when their narratives are compared with adult narratives, their texts do not count a story since these texts possess neither structural components at the macro level nor the organization of the narrative clauses at micro level on the temporal plane to make a hierarchical plotline. That is, although most of the 3- and 4-year-olds seem to produce a story (e.g. they make use of the linguistic means of distancing, such as using the suffix –mİş) they do not produce story units such as *Orientation*, *CA* and *Resolution* at macro level and they do not organize narrative clauses in such a coherent way at the micro level so that the sequence of these narrative clauses can constitute a hierarchical plotline on the temporal plane. Thus, narrative development remains at the level of 'notion of story telling' in 3- and 4-year-olds rather than reaching to the realization of this notion through linguistic means.

The second phase is the one which 5-year-olds experience. Children at this phase are developed enough to realize the notion of story telling through linguistic means. It is observed that more than half of the 5-year-olds produce narratives that possess discernable units such as *Orientation*, *CA* and *Resolution*, which are *si ne qua nons* of any story, and they integrate narrative clauses to make larger coherent units. Although 5-year-olds produce discernable story units, these units are still at the level of the 'notion of the production of story units at macro level' in the sense that though these units exist in more than half of the 5-year-olds' stories, almost 75% of them do not possess the components that make up each story unit. That is, although more than half of the 5-year-olds produce *Orientation* sections for instance, a great majority of their *Orientation* sections provide only very few of the orientative components such as time, location, a brief description of the initial situation before the emergence of the problem and a network of relationship between/among the story characters, which constitute the core of an *Orientation* section.

The third developmental phase of constructing a story begins at the age of 7. More than half of 7-year-olds produce story units that possess components that make up a story unit and their stories are more *goal oriented* rather than being mere descriptions of the pictures. That is, 7-year-olds realize what exists as a notion in 5-year-olds. It is observed that the organizational skills of children are at an increase at the age of 7. Since the construction of a story requires a great deal organizational skills, from Piagetian perspective of development, it may be argued that the production of goal oriented stories that are organized around a plotline starts at the

age of 7 and develops during the stage of concrete operations, which covers the ages from 7 to 11 (Kessen 1983). It seems that the components that emerge at the age of 7 increase in both quantity and quality with increasing age until the age of 9 rather than transforming into a new developmental form. While the number of the informants whose story units contain components that make up each story unit shows a slight increase with increasing age after the age of 7, new criterial components are not added to the story units produced by older age groups.

Although the most frequently and scrutinizingly studied ages are 3, 5, and 9 in literature on narrative development in children (Aksu-Koç 1988a; Berman and Slobin 1994), the present study reveals that the age of 7 seems to be the age at which the production of mature narratives begin. Our claim that the age of 7 is the beginning of the maturation of narrative production is supported by Piaget's Theory of the stages of development. Piaget (in Kessen 1983) theorizes that the operational stage, especially concrete operations, starts at the age of 7 and is complete at the age of 11. Thus the age of 9 seems to be just slightly more developed period of a stage, which begins at the age of 7, rather than being an age at which a new stage, which is a prerequisite for a successive one, starts in narrative production.

10.2.2 Emergence of temporal elements in story units

It should be pointed out that it is difficult, because of the multi-functionality of the temporal elements, to propose that one group of temporal elements, for instance *conjoining clauses*, mostly emerge in one certain story unit. Instead, it is observed that the distribution of each temporal element relative to story units shows differences according to the particular function of the temporal element that is assigned by both the age of the narrator and the part of the episode in which the temporal elements occurs. For instance, while the conjunction *ve* mostly emerges in *CA* when it functions to express sequentiality, it emerges episode finally when it marks an end state of a series of actions or an expected outcome. The same temporal element is used to function to mark a turning point in the *CA* at the age of 6. This age-dependent function of *ve* is influential on the place of the occurrence of the temporal element. While *ve* is used anywhere in *CA* when it is used to express sequentiality, it occurs at a place in *CA* that is close to the resolution of the episode when it is used to mark a turning point (see Table 5.1.2.3.1). When *ve* is used to initiate a new episode, it naturally occurs episode initially.

The factors that influence the distribution of adverbial conjunctions and gerunds are not very much different from those that determine the distribution of conjoining clauses. *Sonra* is one

of the most frequently used temporal elements because of the sequential and incremental nature of narratives. When *sonra* is used at inter-clausal position to express sequentiality it occurs mostly in *CA* sections regardless of the age of the narrator. When *sonra* is used to mark episode boundaries, it is mostly used in orientation parts of episodes and this usage increases with increasing age. Similarly, when the gerundive suffix *-Erken* is used to express simultaneity, it occurs at inter-clausal position mostly in *CA*. When *-Erken* is used to create a background for the whole episode, it is mostly used in orientative parts of the episodes and this usage renders the highest distributional frequencies.

Along with the functions of the temporal elements, their relation with the verbs to which they are attached plays an important role in the distribution of some of the temporal elements. The distribution of *-(y)IncE* relative to story units renders evidence that supports this assumption. The default function of the gerundive suffix *-(y)IncE* is to express sequentiality. It also functions to mark a turning point. *-(y)IncE* occurs in *CA* with the highest frequency, then in *Resolution* with the second highest frequency and in *Orientation* with the lowest frequency. It is observed that whether it functions to express sequentiality or to mark a turning point does not determine the occurrence of *-(y)IncE* at some certain locations of episodes. A stronger determinant is observed to be the potential of the verb, to which *-(y)IncE* is appended, to express causality and temporality or only temporality within the context of occurrence. It is observed that, *-(y)IncE* is appended mostly to the verbs that have a contextual potential of expressing both causality and sequentiality (e.g. *baykuş çıkınca korktu; çocuk korkunca yere düştü* or *kurbağaları bulunca sevindi* etc.). When the verb expresses only temporality, usually, the adverbial clause *-DIğında* replaces *-(y)IncE* and this preference shows an increase with increasing age (e.g. *sabah olduğunda kurbağasını göremedi* or *ormanı vardığında kurbağasına bağırdı* etc.)

The distribution of TAM markers is difficult to interpret because a relation between their functions and the story unit in which they occur cannot be identified. For instance, when *-miş* is used to mark background events, it is observed to occur in any story unit and in any part of a story unit. The distribution of *-DI* relative to story units renders some clues that can be of use for the attempt to derive relational conclusions about the distribution of this temporal element. *-DI* is used with the highest frequency in *CA* section. The question why it is used in *CA* with the highest frequency cannot be answered fully within the limits of this descriptive study. However, it is observed that the orientative parts of episodes in which *-DI* occurs usually contain structures that are either nonfinite clauses or finite clauses that constitute the

background for the foreground events that are marked with *-DI*. Thus, it can be assumed that while orientative parts of the episodes contain the temporal elements that create a background, *-DI*, which marks the foreground events, is used in *CA*.

10.2.3 The functions of temporal elements

Regarding the temporal organization of a story, temporal elements function at two levels: *macro level temporal organization*, which refers to the organization of story units to construct a well-formed story according to Labov's story grammar and *micro level temporal organization*, which refers to the organization of clauses to construct a well-formed story unit.

It is observed that most of the temporal elements that are the focus of this study function at both micro and macro level temporal organization of stories. Since mentioning the function of each temporal element in this subsection would be the repetition of the Section 10.1, which presents a summary of findings that includes micro and macro level functions of the temporal elements as well, this subsection discusses the functions of some of the temporal elements that could not be observed directly in the findings.

Most of the interclausal occurrences of *ve* seem to acquire the function of sequentiality and simultaneity when it occurs in a context where sequentiality or simultaneity is expressed by other temporal elements or by the sequential nature of narrative rather than *ve* itself functioning to express sequentiality or simultaneity. This finding supports the *empty view* to the interclausal connectives, which asserts that if the meaning of the surrounding clauses determines the meaning (and function as well) of the connective, there seems to be no role for the connective itself; it adds no extra meaning (see Segal 1991 and Ruhi 1992 for the function of *ve*). This assertion may be true especially for the interclausal occurrence of *ve* in narratives since narrative, by default, is a connected genre. The *empty view* does not apply to the occurrences of *ve* when it is used episode initially and episode finally since it is observed in our data that *ve* functions to create a coherence across episodes when it is used episode initially and to wrap up an episode when it is used episode finally.

dE mostly functions at micro level to express simultaneity and sequentiality. When it is used episode initially, it expresses the simultaneity of two episodes each of which narrate the

events that are performed or undergone by two different characters. As is the case in the function of *ve*, the function of *dE* is mostly determined by the context in which it occurs.

Adverbial conjunctions function at both micro and macro level temporal organization. In the data we elicited, *o zaman* and *sonradan* are not used to organize macro temporal structure of stories, although they, inherently, have the potential of functioning at macro level. *Sonradan* is used for the same purpose as *sonra* is used to function at micro level temporal organization. The reason why *sonradan* is not used to distance an event in future with reference to another event on the time axis may be the structure of events in the picture book in that the serial order of the pictures may not foster the use of this temporal element.

Adverbial conjunction *önceden* is used to present orientative information for the *Orientation* section. Thus it is observed to function at macro level temporal organization in our data.

Other adverbial conjunctions, *bu sırada*, *o sırada*, *sonra* and *önce* are observed to function at both micro and macro level temporal organization. While the default function of *bu/o sırada* is at macro level, *sonra* is mostly used to sequence clauses at micro level. When it is used episode initially, it is used to segment episode boundaries and functions at macro level temporal organizations. While *önce* functions at micro level organization when it is used to relate clauses, when it is used in relation with *sonra*, it functions at macro level temporal organization. When *önce* is used as such, it is usually preceded by *ilk* ‘first’.

As is the case in other temporal elements, while some of the gerundive suffixes function at both micro and macro level, some of them function only at micro level. Gerundive suffixes are always used at inter clausal position since they are used to construct subordinate clauses. *-(y)IncE* mostly functions at micro level to sequence narrative events. When it is used to mark a turning point, along with expressing sequentiality at micro level, it functions at macro level. *-Erken* functions at micro level when it is used to express the simultaneity of two events. It functions at macro level when it is used episode initially to create coherence across episodes. *-Ip* and *-ErEk* are not observed to function at macro level. Although both of these gerundive suffixes occur episode initially and episode finally, it is difficult to argue that they are functional in relating two episodes or in the termination of an episode.

The frequency of adverbial clauses is relatively low in narratives. Adverbial clauses that are observed in our data are *-DIktAn sonra*, *-DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* and *-DIğI gibi*. Although

adverbial clause *DİktAn sonra* has the potential of functioning at macro level, it is observed in our data to function at only micro level temporal organization. *-DİğİndA/-Dİğİ zaman*, which emerges with the highest frequency among adverbial clauses, is observed to function at both micro and macro level temporal organization. When it is used at inter-clausal it functions at micro level and when it is used episode initially it functions to relate two episodes and thus, functions at macro level temporal organization. *-Dİğİ gibi* occurs only once, at interclausal position. Thus, generalizing its function according to this single occurrence is not reliable.

Regarding the temporal organization, TAM markers are observed to function at macro level to realize grounding in narratives. *-mİş* is observed to mark background events when *-(I)yor* is used to mark foreground events. *-mİş* also functions to mark foreground events when *-mİştİ* and *-(I)yordu* are used to mark background events. *-Dİ* is used to mark foreground events when one of *-(y)Dİ*, *-mİştİ* or *-(I)yordu* is used to mark background events.

It is difficult to assume that the organizational function of TAM markers differ relative to story units. However, functional differences are observed relative to age. It is observed that the anchorage to *-(I)yor* increases while anchorage to *-mİş* decreases with increasing age. *-Dİ* is used as an anchored TAM marker by only 13-year-olds and adults. Since Turkish does not have grammatical units to differentiate aspect from tense, and since this study cannot test the conception of the informants about tense and aspect, we are not in a position to assume that the anchorage to one or the other TAM marker is a matter of the conception of tense aspect or modality. This phenomenon can be explained with an *assumption* within the scope of this study. The anchorage to *-mİş* particularly by younger children may have to do with the distancing function of *-mİş*, which is an inherent feature of the marker. Since children acquire this feature of *-mİş* around the age of 25 months, this marker is a ready-to-be-used tool at the age of 3 to distance the story world both spatio-temporally and psychologically. While performing the formidable task of organizing events to construct a well-formed and goal oriented narrative, children might prefer *-mİş* to *-(I)yor* or *-Dİ*, the markers which are acquired almost simultaneously with *-mİş* but the markers which possess proximating function as opposed to the distancing function of *-mİş*. Older informants, on the other hand, have the necessary cognitive skills to furnish their narrative clauses with various markers in such that *-(I)yor* and *-Dİ* can gain the feature of distancing narrative world from the world of narration. Although these two markers do not inherently possess the function of

distancing, they acquire the function of distancing since they occur in the genre of story, which is necessarily distanced from the world of the narration.

It is difficult to argue, at least within the scope of this study, that the choice of *-mİş* as the anchorage TAM marker by younger children is the acquisition order of *-mİş*, *-(I)yor* and *-DI* since both *-DI* and *-(I)yor* are acquired earlier than *-mİş* (Aksu-Koç 1988b:98).

It can be assumed that the choice of *-mİş* as the anchored TAM marker is due to the storytelling practices. However we do not have a statistical database that informs us about the proportion of the exposure of children to each TAM marker in storytelling practices. As Erguvanlı-Taylan (1987) and the present study shows, the anchorage to *-(I)yor* increases with increasing age. This suggests that children must be being exposed to *-(I)yor* as the anchored TAM marker more than *-mİş* since they hear stories from an older narrator. Although we do not deny the possible effects of storytelling practices on children's story production, it seems that storytelling practices are not the most influential factor in the choice of *-mİş* by younger children.

Zeyrek (1994) reports that older informants use *-(I)yor* in folktales to make the audience feel close to the story events and by this way to increase their involvement with the story events. This assertion supports our assumption that the choice of *-mİş* by younger children in narrative production has to do with the cognitive skills of the narrator.

10.3 Implications for further research

It is observed that well-formed story production is observed to emerge at the age of 7, which is the beginning of concrete operations. Informants, who participated in this study start the elementary school and begin to learn how to read and write at the age of 7. We did not investigate the function of schooling in narrative production and thus, we are not sure whether the production of well-formed stories at the age of 7 depends upon merely the development of new cognitive skills at this age or schooling also contributes to the production of well-formed stories. Thus, the function of schooling in narrative production is worth investigating in children from the age of 5, the age before they attend a preschool, to 11, the age when they complete the elementary education during which they have done a lot of reading, including stories, and activities that require organizational skills.

A pilot study has shown that most of 3 and 4-year olds who do not attend to a kindergarten are observed to mention the existence of entities in the picture book rather than constructing clauses that sequence narrative events whereas most of the 3 and 4-year-olds who attend to a kindergarten construct clauses that narrate events, although there are kindergarteners who behave in the same way as non-kindergarteners do in narrative production. Thus an investigation of the influence of kindergarten education on narrative production is of great importance in order to have insights into the roles of cognitive maturity and environmental factors on narrative production comparatively.

Although the present study investigates the emergence of story units relative to age, it does not focus particularly on the relationship between the complexity of the stories and the age of the narrator. Investigation of the differences in both episode internal complexity of the stories and the overall organization of the episodes to construct a coherent story relative to age can fill a gap in the literature of narrative development in children.

Along with using explicit linguistic devices such as conjunctions, gerunds, TAM markers etc, narrators use content as a cohesive device. The use of content as an organizer is worth investigating with a developmental point of view.

Investigation of the development of causality in children's narratives is not within the scope of the present study. The development of causality and goal orientedness in narratives are of significance regarding the narrative organization. Thus, narrative development in children can be studied with a focus on the development of causality and goal orientedness in children.

It is also observed that, while younger ages anchor to $-mI\int$, the anchorage changes to $-(I)yor$ gradually with increasing age. Although we attempt to explain the phenomena, our explanations should not be taken further than mere assumptions within the scope of this descriptive study. Thus, the underlying reasons why younger ages anchor to $-mI\int$ and how anchorage changes from $-mI\int$ to $-(I)yor$ as a process need investigating with the guidance of research questions that invite psycholinguistics and cognition into the investigation.

Our findings show that none of the informants produce *Abstract* and *Evaluation* sections in their narratives. We collected data using a wordless picture book in a joint attention context. We assume that the reason why informants did not produce those two story units is the data

elicitation context and the material we used. It is worth investigating whether the context of joint attention and the material we used to collect data have an impact on the emergence/non-emergence of *Abstract* and *Evaluation* sections in narratives.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

A sample narrative, which does not contain discrete story units, from a 3-year-old (3:10).

@Begin

1. köpek kurbağanın içine bakıyor.
2. çocuk da oturuyor
3. kurbağa da kavanozun içinde
4. burda kurbağa çıkıyor
5. köpekle çocuk uyuyor
6. burda da kavanozun içine bakıyor
7. burda da bunu kaldırıyor
8. bu da kavanozun içerisine kafasını girdirmiş
9. çocuk da dışardan bakmış
10. köpek de aşşa atlamış
11. burda da aşşa inmişler
12. burada da köpek yukarı bakıyor.
13. bu da gözlerini kapatmış.
14. bu anda köpek bal yemeye çalışıyor.
15. bu da deliğe delikten içeri bakıyor
16. #da arılar çıkıyor
17. o sallanıyor

18. burdan da bu çıkıyor
19. burda da yuva düşmüş
20. arılar da içinden çıkmış
21. köpek de yakalayamamış balı
22. ondan bakıyomuş #
23. burda da çocuk düşmüş
24. çünkü burdan baykuş çıkmış
25. burda da arılardan bu kaçıyormuş
26. burda çocuk oraya tırmanmaya çalışmış
27. sonra da tırmanmış
28. # çocuğa o geyik
29. bu da atlıyormuş
30. burası da dağmış
31. çok yüksekmiş
32. burda düşmüş
33. düşüyomuş
34. köpek de düşüyor
35. geyik onları aşağı atmış
36. burda da suya düşmüş
37. burda da #
38. köpek de üstündeymiş
39. burda da oraya çıkıyormuş
40. burda #
41. o anda görmüş çıkabilmişler

42. burda da kurbağalara bakıyorlarmış
 43. burda da yavru kurbağalar
 44. annesiyle baba kurbağa var
 45. köpek de burda durmuş
 46. bay bay yapmış
 47. sonra köpek de yüzerek gidiyorlarmış
 48. bu da bi tane yavru bulmuş
- @ End

Appendix 2

A sample narrative, which provides *orientative information*, a *CA*, *Attempts to Resolve the CA*, a *Resolution*, a *Reaction*, and an explicit linguistic *Coda*, from a 3-year-old (Age 3:11).

1. şimdi nasıl başlayayım buna
2. böyle böyle başlamak istiyorum
3. bir kurbağa var
4. bir de köpek ona bakıyomuş
5. bir de kurbağa varmış
6. kurbağa böyle bakıyormuş
7. bir de köpek varmış
8. bir de çocuk
9. çok giyinmişti
10. kıyafetleri burda vardı
11. burda ip vardı
12. ne olduğunu bilmiyordum da bunun
13. burda bir çocuk çok sevindi
14. yatmış
15. bir de # vardı
16. oturmuş bir yere
17. gözünü böyle yaparak oturmuş
18. böyle oturmuş
19. bir de böyle yapmış
20. öyle yaptığı için çok sevinmiş
21. sevinçliymiş
22. elleri varmış
23. ayakları varmış
24. birde kıyafeti varmış
25. bunu mu anlatacaam
26. bir kurbağa ... ay yanlış başlıyorum
27. bir ku.. bir kız varmış
28. kız ağzını böyle açıp
29. # diye yapmış
30. kurba sessizce gitmeye başlamış
31. burda terlikler varmış
32. burda bir kol... çocuklar burda hmm buna ne diyelim?
33. sandalye diyelim mi?
34. bu da # değil mi?
35. çizme varmış
36. onun da böyle kıyafetleri varmış
37. kurba sessizce çıkmaya çalışırken
38. çocuk ağzını açmış
39. bir kurbağa çıkmış
40. ama bir ayağı sudaymış
41. bir ayağı dışardaymış

Although the child seeks the permission of the audience, this section is not considered an abstract because it is not about the content of the story to be told. This section may be considered an announcement which declares the start of the act of the narration

42. ben başlayayım
43. bir köpek varmış
44. bir çocuk uyuyorken
45. bir bakmış ki
46. kurbağa kaçmış
47. bakmış kavanoza
48. kaçmış
49. çocuka # #
50. bu # değil mi
51. bu da
52. tabure bu da kıyafetleri
53. değil mi
54. *RES: evet
55. burdan başlayayım mı?
56. buraya
57. tamam
58. bir çocuk varmış

59. köpek gitmiş
60. kıyafetini tutmuş
61. ayakları çıplak çıplakmış
62. bunun ... bu bu neydi?
63. çizme
64. bu da bir ...?
65. tabure köpek bi düşmüş
66. ama kavanoz hala kırılmamış
67. çıkırtmaya başlamış
68. hala boynunda
69. çıkırtmaya başlamış
70. hala boynunda
71. #mamış
72. ama kuyruğu da varmış
73. kızın cebine giriyormuş
74. hmm
75. bir kavanoz varmış
76. bu da bir neymiş?
77. buda bir çizmeymiş
78. bu da bir
79. tabureymiş
80. bu da bir yatakmış
81. bu da bir lambamış
82. şimdi bu neden bağıriyor?
83. şimdi başlıyorum
84. bir köpek varmış
85. köpek ay çocuk da pencereyi açmış
86. kurbağaya bağırmış olabilir
87. ##
88. burda köpek varmış
89. bakmış çocuğa
90. bir de kuyruğu varmış
91. pencereden aşağıya eğilmiş
92. bu çocuk da kurbağa # başlamış
93. "kurbağa nerdesin?" diye

94. bir de bir bir şey varmış
95. bu da pencereymiş
96. bu da kolumuş
97. burda bir #varmış
98. bu da ayakları
99. bu da kavanoz
100. bunu bitireyim
101. o zaman buna başlaycam

102. şimdi başlıyorum
103. köpek pencereden bir düşmüş
104. kavanoz da kafasındaymış
105. az kalmış düşmeye
106. kavanoz da kırılmaya az kalmış
107. çocuk da ona bakmış böyle aşağıdan
108. böyle bakmış ki köpek düşüyor
109. bi de kavanoz içinde
110. burda yer varmış
111. ve##
112. yere ama ##
113. bakmış ne olduğunu
114. kestirmeden gitmemiş
115. onun kuyruğu minicikti ama
116. tutamamış
117. kulağı da minicikti
118. ama baktı #
119. böyle girmiş
120. korkmuş ki köpek düşüyor
121. kıracaktı kavanozu
122. böyle böyle tamam mı?
123. az kalmıştı
124. köpek ayakları da böylemiş
125. düşecek durumda
126. ama kıracaktı
127. ama kırmış burda
128. nasıl kırmış biliyormusun?
129. böyle ayaklarına bir bant gelmiş
130. bir ayağına da bant gelmiş
131. kırmış
132. buraya bant gelmiş
133. buraya da bant gelmiş
134. şimdi bu bitti
135. işte bu
136. köpek varmış
137. köpek kavanozu kırmış
138. ama # tak tak gelene kadar
139. köpek bir çıkmış
140. bi çıkmış
141. köpek de kızarmış
142. onu yalamaya başlamış
143. çocuk da çok sinirliymiş

1st A to RCA

144. şimdi bu
145. bir tane köpek varmış
146. ##
147. saldırmaya başlıyor
148. düşmanlara bunlara saldırmaya başlıyor
149. köpek de bakmış
150. arılar arılar bunlara napıyor
151. bu çıkmamış
152. bu yana doğru
153. bütün arı kovanları çıkmış
154. burdan devam ediyor
155. tam buraya #
156. her yerler yer arı arı oldu
157. arılar bize batırır bir de
158. iğneler var onun
159. bir tane köpek varmış
160. köpek arı kovanını yemek yiyecek
161. ama ama yememiş
162. çünkü bunun içinde başka arılar
163. anneye babayla arı var
164. arılar yemek için
165. ama arılar yenmez
166. çünkü onun vücudunda çok pis pis hücreler var arıların
167. bağırması
168. kurbağa nerdesin
169. kurbağa nerdesin
170. ama burda bir sincap varmış
171. bak bu da onun aynısı
172. ama ama o kurbağa arıyor
173. bu kurbağa değil
174. sincap
175. böyle yapmış
176. bu bunu korkutmaya başlamış
177. ağacına çıkacakmış bu kurbağa
178. neydi?
179. hah sincap
180. korkuyormuş o bundan
181. çünkü bu yaramaz bir çocuk ya
182. şöyle yapmaya başlamış
183. # ayy herhalde bu da arı kovanı yiyecek gibi
184. bu içinde de arı var
185. tam iki tane

2nd A to RCA

186. çocuk dala çıkmış
187. bakmış ki
188. kubağa !
189. kurbağalar burda yaşamaz
190. evet
191. kurbağalar nerde yaşar biliyor musun?
192. tam denizde

3rd A to RCA

193. ben denizde bir kurbağa görmüştüm
194. istanbulda
195. istanbulda kocaman bir deniz vardı ki
196. hem de bir de şelale vardı adanada
197. şelale vardı
198. orda da timsahlar yaşar
199. bir de balıklar
200. ben denizde gördüm
201. bir de vak vak vardı
202. bir de kurbağa vardı
203. sonra bağırmış
204. kurbağa diye
205. ama ama burda kurbağa yokmuş
206. ağaçta da ba.. burda ağaçta kim yaşar biliyor musun?
207. kuşlar
208. ağaç ... buraya bi gelmiş kuşlar
209. sonra bir yapraklarını koparmış
210. yuva yapmışlar
211. ağaçlar ... bu ağaçların yapraklarından
212. arı kovanı da yere düşmüş
213. arılar bunlara saldırmaya geliyorlar
214. babalar anneler oğulları
215. herkes gelmeye başlamış
216. oğullarının arkadaşları gelmeye başlamış
217. gelmeye gelmeye
218. onu bütün ##
219. ama bütün burda arkadaş oldular
220. bitti
221. bir köpek vardı
222. bu # dedi köpeğe
223. köpek de vınnn vınnn diye kaçıyordu
224. arılar onu
225. bu iğne
226. iğneleri batırmak üzüre
227. bak bu baba iğ.. bu baba arı
228. bu anne arı
229. bu oğul arı
230. bu arkadaşları
231. bunlar hep iyi arkadaşlar
232. peki ama sen herkülün de ne olacak
233. biliyor tanıyor musun?
234. sen herkülü tanıyor musun?
235. hani benim amcam vardı ya
236. hani köpek geçiyor ya
237. bir de canlı
238. hav hav diyor bize
239. tanıyor musun onu
240. biz oraya birazdan sizi götürüyüm
241. özkan amcam o
242. bir de onun orda canlı köpek var
243. seni ısırabilir
244. ben de köpeklerden çok korkuyorum
245. baykuş bu çocuğu yere düşürmüş

4th A to RCA

246. ama kafa diküstüne
247. ölmeye başlamış
248. çünkü yer sert ya
249. burda ## ölebilir
250. ama baykuş götürmese
251. onunla arkadaş olsa daha iyi olur
252. ben elif ablama vermuyorum hiç

4th A to RCA

253. bir çocuk dağa çıkmış
254. köpek de varmış
255. dağa tırmanmış
256. kubağa kurbağa neredesin
257. bir de yanında baykuş varmış
258. bu da köpek miş
259. aramış
260. bulamamış
261. bu çocuk da kayıyormuş
262. bu kardan
263. çünkü neden biliyor musun?
264. bu çocuk çivili ayakkabı giymiş
265. bu çivili ayakkabı giymemiş
266. bir amca çivili ayakkabı gördüm
1. dağa tırmanabilir
267. ben nasıl dağa tırmanıyorum
268. biliyor musun?
269. ellerimle
270. burası neydi?
271. hah geyik çocuğu almış
272. bu boynuzlar savaşmak için
273. bu da bir çocukmuş
274. çocuğu buraya atacakmış
275. bura neymiş biliyor musun?
276. anneme sorarsam daha iyi olur
277. hah bu uçurum
278. uçurumdan daha hızlı giderler
279. bir de orda deniz varmış
280. önce uçar hoplarmış
281. aa düştü mü ki?
282. aa ama arkadaş olcaktı köpekle geyik
283. çocukla da arkadaş olacak
284. atmasa düzgün davransa
285. daha iyi olur
286. çünkü bunlar # arkadaş oldu

5th A to
RCA

non-narrative

287. çocuğa atmış
288. buraya yokuş da diyebiliriz
289. evet onu uçurumdan aşağıya atmış
290. ama uçurum koskocaman
291. ama küçük de uçurum olur
292. büyük de uçurum olur
293. bi bir düşmüş ya

6th Att.

294. bu suya düşmüş
295. bakmış üzülmüş
296. neden biliyor musun?
297. çünkü suya atmış ya
298. onun için uzulmuş
299. arkadaş olmak isterdim onlarla demiş
300. düşmüşler
301. ama bu deniz çok pis
302. burda ne var biliyor musun?
303. böyle pis pis mikroplar
304. ama lezzetli su içersen
1. pis suyu çıkarır burnumuzdan
305. çocuk da bir gün ayakları dışarda
306. ama çocuk hala ayakkabıları varmış
307. kum ama ama
308. ama bura denizmiş ya
309. bura pis pis ##
310. burda köpek balıklar yüzer
311. evet
312. onlar çıkmıştır
313. bütün mikropları ..
314. çiğ çiğ balık yersek
1. mikroplar bizim vücudumuza gider
315. hasta eder
316. hasta eder de biz öhhö öhhö deriz
317. öhhö öhhö derken
318. bademciklerimiz kocaman kocaman şişer
319. şişer çünkü biz pis suyu içtik ya
320. pis suyu içmezsek
321. böyle mikroplar gelmez
322. ama lezzetli yemek yersek
323. ağır ama çıkabilirler
324. çünkü komandolar ya
325. köpek de komando
326. onlar çıkabilirler
327. devam ederiz
328. ama burayı okumadım
329. bir çocuk varmış
330. bu da geyik mankenimiş
331. ama bu kiminmiş
332. biliyor musun?
333. geyiği korkutmaya çalışmışlar
334. bir bu varmış
335. bakmış ki
336. kafasına çıkmış köpek
337. çünkü o ku...
338. neden çıkmış biliyor musun?
339. çünkü kurulanmak için
340. geyiki de kurulur
341. böyle kurulur geyiki
342. geyiği kurulursa
343. ne olur biliyor musun?
344. geyiğe yem verirsek ama bizi ısırılmaz

6th
Att.

7th A
to RCA

345. ama yem vermezsek
346. ona çirkin dersek
347. pis dersek
348. bize saldırabilir

349. bir köpek varmış
350. köpek ... diyormuş
351. bunun arkasında da bi kurbağa varmış
352. köpek varmış
353. bu da çocuk
354. ters ... canavar şeyi giymiş
355. bak canavar
356. kocaman kocaman ayakları terlikleri
357. kocaman kocaman terlikleri
358. kocaman kocaman ayakları
359. çizmeleri olmazda
360. kocaman kocaman ayakları olur
361. burayı okudum
362. şimdi burayı

363. bir kurbağa görmüşler

Resolution

364. sevinmişler
365. kurbağa nerdeymiş biliyor musun?
366. bunun arkasında
367. bu da bir arı yuvası
368. bu da arı yuvası
369. sonra bir bakmışlar
370. köpek sevinmiş
371. çocuk sevinmiş

1. zaman güvenmiş ona böyle

372. sevmiş
373. çünkü bulmuşlar ya
374. kaybolmuş bunlar
375. bulmuş bunlar
376. bu kurbağalar
377. ama gidiyorlar bunlar
378. # gidiyorlar
379. çocuk ... küçük kurbağalar kalıyor
380. neden gidiyorlar biliyor musun?
381. çünkü karnı açmış
382. bu küçüklerin de karnı açmış
383. buna yazık değil mi?
384. bu bunlarla gelmek istiyormuş
385. pşş pşş mmm (loved the little frogs)
386. gelemezsin sen
387. çünkü canavarlar vardır
388. ama biz canavarlardan korkmayız
389. ##

Happy end

390. ama sizi yiyebilir
391. canavar onu yer ya
392. çiğner çiğner yer
393. ateşte de yakar

394. sonra çocuk bağırmiş
395. hey hey kurbayı bul...
396. kurbağa buldum
397. kurbağa buldum demiş
398. bir tane kurbağa kaybolmuş ya
399. kurbayı bul..
400. kurbağa buldum bir tane

Reaction:

401. bu anneyle baba kalmış
402. bütün çocukları kalmış
403. onlara bay bay demiş bunlar
404. gitmişler
405. çünkü bunlar evini çok özlemiş
406. bu çıkmış ya
407. gitmiş buraya
408. ailesini çok özlemiş
409. ondan sonra köpekle çocuk çok sevinmiş
410. hoşça kal bay bay demiş
411. gitmişler

Lengthened
resolution

412. bitti işte

Coda

413. evet hepsini okudum
@End

Appendix 3

A sample protocol, which does not contain discrete story units, from a 4-year-old (4:06).

1. kurbağa bir tane suyun içinde yaşıyordu
2. köpek de ona bakıyordu
3. çocuk da oturuyordu
4. başka ... çocuk uyuyordu
5. kurbağa da ayağını uzatmıştı
6. tek ayağını
7. çocuk uzanmıştı yatağında
8. köpek de yatağındaydı
9. köpek uyuyordu
10. çocuk da çizmenin i...
11. ayakkabının içine bakıyordu
12. tek ayakkabının
13. sonra da çocuk camdan bakarken
14. köpek de camdan bakıyordu
15. bir tane kavanozu kafasına takmıştı
16. ço ... köpek camdan inmeye başladı duvardan
17. kavanoz da kafasındaydı
18. çocuk köpeği kucağına almıştı
19. köpek de çocuğun yüzünü yalamıştı
20. çocuk esniyordu
21. köpek de kızgın bir şekilde bakıyordu
22. ağaçlar esiyordu
23. bu ne
24. *RES: o arı kovanı arı yuvası
25. çocuk bir tane deliğe bakıyordu
26. köpek de arı yuvasın .. ağzını açmış
27. arı yuvasına gülümsüyordu
28. bir tane fare çıktı
29. köpek hala ağaca baktı
30. arı yuvasına baktı
31. köpek ağzı da açtı
32. çocuk da gözünün kenarlarına elini koymuştu
33. fare köpeğe bakıyordu
34. köpek de arı yuvasına bakıyordu
35. çocuk bir tane ağaçtaki deliğe bakıyordu
36. çocuk düşmüştü
37. bir tane de baykuş çıkmıştı
38. çocuğun baktığı ağacın deliğinden baykuş çıkmıştı
39. köpek de koşuyordu
40. kuş gelmesin diye kafasına .. eline kafasına tutmuştu çocuk
41. köpek de çocuk da bir şeye çıkmıştı
42. köpek uyuyordu
43. çocuk birisini çağırıyordu
44. bu ne peki?
45. *RES: geyik
46. çocuk geyiğin üstündeydi
47. ters binmişti geyiğe
48. evet sonra köpek de .. köpek öndeydi

49. bakıyordu geyiğe
50. ağızı ... köpeğin ağızı açtı az bişey
51. sonradan çocuk hala ters binmişti
52. koşmaya başladı geyikte
53. köpekle çocuk düşmüştü
54. geyik birşeyin üstündeydi
55. ağaç da esiyordu
56. rüzgar vardı
57. çocuk düşmüştü
58. köpek de çocuğun sırtındaydı
59. kuyuya suya düşmüşlerdi
60. ağaç kırılmıştı
61. çocuk ağaçta oturdu
62. yok suda oturdu
63. köpek de suyun içindeydi
64. köpek ağaca çıkmaya çalışıyordu
65. köpek de çıkmıştı
66. çıkmışlardı
67. önlerinde de kurbağa vardı
68. iki tane
69. birisi kafasını koymuştu en büyüğüne
70. köpek de bakıyordu kurbağalara
71. çocuk da uzanmıştı
72. bunlar fare mi?
73. *RES: onlar da kurbağa
74. onlar da mı kurbağa?
75. sonra çocuk oturmuştu
76. köpek de oturmuştu
77. çok küçük kurbağa var
78. bir tane büyük var kardeşi
79. çok küçük kurbağalar gelmişti
80. çocuk suyun içinde
81. ve kurbağayı eline almıştı
82. çok küçüktü ama
83. köpek de arkasına dönmüş
84. gülümsüyordu
85. kurbağalar ağacın üstüne çıktı
86. en küçüğü de ağaçta kaldı
87. büyükler de küçüklerin önüne geçtiler
88. burda da bir şey yok

@End

Appendix 4

A sample protocol, which contains discrete story units, by a 4-year-old (4:09).

No orientation	
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. köpek kurbağaya bakıyor2. insan da kurbağaya bakı3. annesi babası bir yere gitmiş4. onlar da üzülmüş5. sonra akşam olmuş6. dönememişler7. sonra annesi yokmuş8. onlar yalnız başına kalmış	<p style="text-align: center;">Orientative information</p> <p>Though this part of the story does not meet all of the criteria to be an “<i>Orientation</i>”, it still can be considered an orientation because the child is informing the audience about the initial state of the characters. The ‘time’ is mentioned as “an evening when the boy’s parents are away from him”.</p>
<ol style="list-style-type: none">9. kurb.. uyurkene10. kurbağa yerinden çıkmış11. sonra köpekle çocuk kurbağanın kaçtığı görmüşler	
<ol style="list-style-type: none">12. sonra onu aramaya başlamışlar13. bulamamışlar sonra	1st A to RCA
<ol style="list-style-type: none">14. sonra onlar pencereden bakıyorlarmış15. sonra bu köpek yalanıyormuş16. sonra da çocuk sinirleniyormuş17. sonra da çocuk bakıyormuş ordan18. sonra da köpek düştü19. sonra çıkmış pencereden20. köpeği kurtarmış <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. yalıyor2. da kızıyor	2nd A to RCA
<ol style="list-style-type: none">21. ## bunlar bağıryormuş22. sonra da bunlar bağirmaya başlıyor23. sonra da arı kovası görmüşler24. arılar çıkmış içinden25. sonra da onları yemeye başlamışlar26. sonra da köpek çıkmaya başlıyormuş27. sonra çıkamamış28. sonra bu da burnunu kapatmış çocuk29. fare çıkmış	CA
	CA

1. da sevmemiş
30. köpek de şuraya tırmanıyormuş
31. sonra bu düşmüş
32. sonra ağaç ... köpek kaçmaya başlamış
33. arılar yiyecekmiş

34. sonra da köpek ... sonra da insan ağaca çıkmış 35. burda birşey varmış 36. sonra da bu iteklemiş 37. çocuk da düşmüş 38. sonra köpek koşuyormuş 39. arılar yakalıyormuş 40. sonra da kafasına birşey gelmiş 41. onu sevmiyormuş	3rd A to RCA
--	--------------

42. sonra da bu bağıriyormuş kurbağasına 43. sonra bulamamış	4th A to RCA
---	--------------

44. ceylanın üstüne ...köpek aranıyormuş 45. sonra bu ceylanın tepesine binmiş 46. korkmamış 47. sonra binErken çekmişler 48. sonra da koşturmaya başlamışlar 49. sonra da düşürmüş 50. köpeğiyle birlikte çocuğu 51. sonra da burda ağ görmüşler 52. örümcek ağsı gibi 53. sonra da oraya gitmişler 54. sonra da düşmüşler denize 55. sonra da eğlenceliymiş 56. sonra da çıkıyormuşlar	5th A to RCA
--	--------------

57. hşşt demiş 58. sonra da çıkmışlar 59. bakacaklardı 60. kurbağasını bulmuşlar 61. sonra kurbağalar çıkmış 62. burda oynamaya başlamışlar 63. *RES:evet	Resolution
---	------------

64. bitti ya	Coda
--------------	------

Appendix 5

A sample narrative from a 5-year-old, which has episodes which do not constitute a CA and attempts to resolve the CA.

No abstract

65. bir gün anne gel diye seslenmiş
66. sonra yine seslenmiş

Orientative
information

67. sonra köpek kavanozun içine bakmış
68. sonra yanaklarına koymuş elini çocuk
69. sonra kurbağa çıkmış
70. sonra da annesinin bebeği varmış
71. sonra ağabeyinin üstüne köpek çıkmış
72. yatırmış ... yatırp
73. sonra da üstünü giymiş çocuk
74. camdan bir bakmış
75. köpek atlıyor diye
76. sonra bir bakmış
77. köpek atlamış
78. vazoyla
79. sonra köpeğe kızmış
80. mmmmm diye

81. sonra ağabeey anneeee diye gel buraya diye çağırılmış köpekle ikisi
82. sonra bir bakmış
83. deliğin içinden sincap çıkmış
84. şaşırılmış çocuk

85. sonra da ağaca çıkmış sonra köpek de ağaca çıkmaya denemiş
86. sonra da baykuş yere yatmış
87. yere yatmış
88. çocuk yere yatmış
89. baykuş da bakmış ağaçtan
90. sonra baykuş arkasından koşmuş

91. sonra da kayaların üstüne çıkmış çocuk
92. sonra da geyiğin üstüne binmiş
93. koşmuş
94. sonra geyik alıp
95. denize atıyormuş

96. sonra çocuk denizde kendini bulmuş
97. sonra kafasını çıkarmış
98. üstüne köpeği tırmanmış
99. sonra da çıkmaya çalışmış
100. sonra sus demiş köpeğine
101. sonra ağacın yuvarlak kısmından gitmeye çalışmışlar ikisi köpeğiyle

102. sonra geçmeyi başarmışlar

 103. kurbayı bulmuşlar
 104. kurbağa ile arkadaş olmak istemişler
 105. sonra ayağıyla bir bakmış
 106. kurbağayla arkadaş olmuşlar
 107. sonra kurbağaya ... iki kurbağaya Allahısmarladık demişler
 108. demiş çocuk
 109. sonra bir kurbağayla evine gitmiş

 110. **ve** köpeği kurbağalarla dost çıktı ona
- @End

Appendix 6

A sample narrative, which contains discrete and coherent story units, from a 5-year-old (5:09).

No abstract	
	Orientation
1. bir çocuk o bir çocuk ve bir köpek bir kavanozun içine bakıp 2. içinde bir kurbağa varmış	
3. ondan sonra pencereyi açıp 4. uyumaya gitmişler 5. ondan sonra uyumuşlar 6. uyumuşlar ondan sonra 7. ondan sonra uyumuşlar 8. ondan sonra kurbağa kaçmış	Complicating Action
9. ondan sonra da onlar korkmuş 10. aramaya gitmişler 11. ondan sonra ... 12. ondan sonra dışarı ... balkonu açıp 13. neredesin kurbağam diye bağırmışlar 14. ondan sonra ... ondan sonra... ondan sonra köpek düşmüş 15. ondan sonra köpek onu yalamış 16. çocuk da ona kızmış 17. *RES: neden kızmış? 18. çünkü yere düşmüş	1st A to RCA
19. ondan sonra bağırmışlar 20. neredesin kurbağam diye 21. ondan sonra bir yerde bulamamışlar	2nd A to RCA
22. ondan sonra bir ko.. şeyin içine baktılar 23. ondan sonra içinden de çıkmadı 24. bu ne? 25. *RES: köstebek 26. köstebek çıkmış 27. ondan sonra kızmış 28. köpek de arılara bakmak istemiş 29. arılar da onara doğru .. peşinden gitmiş 30. ondan sonra sokmak istemiş	3rd A to RCA
31. ondan sonra diğer ağaca çıkmışlar 32. onun içinde bir şeye bakmak istemişler 33. ondan sonra arı kovanı bir düşürmüş 34. arılar onu kovalamaya başlamış	3rd A to RCA

35. ondan sonra çocuk düşmüş
36. bir papağan bulmuş
37. ondan sonra kalkmış ayağa
38. köpek kaçmış

39. ondan sonra da annesini babasını çağırmış
40. ondan sonra taşa tutmak istemiş
41. ama yeniden düşmüş
42. çıkmış ve bunun üstünden bağırılmış
43. ondan sonra bir geyik varmış
44. geyiğin üstüne çıkmış
45. geyik de onun üstünden koşmuş
46. koşmuş
47. kaçmış
48. ondan sonra atmak istemiş
49. ondan sonra atmış
50. ama yavrusu da düşmüş
51. ondan sonra ... bunun adı ne
52. *RES: ağaç
53. ağaç onu kurtarmış
54. ondan sonra suya düşmüş
55. köpekle birlikte
56. oturmuşlar
57. burda oturmuşlar
58. ondan sonra kalkmışlar
59. gitmişler

1 A to RCA

60. sonra şşş demiş
61. ondan sonra #nın arkasına bakmak isteyince
62. arkasındaki şey neymiş
63. *RES: bilmem bakalım
64. kurbağaymış
65. kurbağaymış
66. ondan sonra onlar gizlice bakmak istemiş
67. ondan sonra anlamışlar
68. kaç sayfa kaldı
69. *RES: işte bu kadar
70. ondan sonra bööyle yapmış
71. ondan sonra gitmişler
72. *RES: başka

5th A to RCA
and resolution

73. bitti
@End

Coda

No evaluation

Appendix 7

A sample narrative from a 6-year-old (6:10), which contains episodes, which do not constitute a CA, Attempts to Resolve the CA, and a Resolution.

No abstract

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. çocuk kurbağaya bakıyor
2. köpek de içine girer gibi bakıyor
3. gece olmuş
4. herkes yatıyor
5. ışık yanıyor | orientative
information |
|---|----------------------------|

- | | |
|--|----|
| 6. çocuk uyurken
7. kurbağa kaçıyor
8. çocuk kurbağayı göremeyince
9. şaşırıyor
10. köpek de şaşırıyor | CA |
|--|----|

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| 11. ayakkabıyı yukarı kaldırıyor çocuk
12. köpek de kavanoz gibi bir şeyin içine giriyor
13. çocuk camdan açmış bağıyor
14. köpek de yukarı bakıyor
15. köpek düşüyor
16. çocuk elini böyle yapmış
17. uyumuş gibi
18. köpeği alıyor
19. köpeğe kızıyor
20. *RES: neden kızıyor
21. düştüğü için
22. çocuk kurbağaya bağıyor
23. köpek de arılara bakıyor
24. çocuk deliğin içine bakıyor
25. köpek arının sapını yakalamaya çalışıyor
26. dışardan bir kirpi çıkıyor
27. çocuğun burnu acıyor
28. köpek ağaca tırmanıyor
29. çocuk bir yerlere gidiyor
30. köpek ... arılar çıkıyor
31. köpek korkuyor | 1st A to RCA |
|---|--------------|

32. çocuk deliğin içine bakıyor
33. içinden bir baykuş çıkıyor
34. çocuk düşüyor

35. köpek koşarak
36. gidiyor
37. baykuş uçuyor

38. çocuk kafasını tutarak
39. bir kayanın üstüne çıkmış
40. çıkıyor
41. bağıyor
42. köpek geliyor
43. çocuğu ararken
44. geliyor
45. bir geyik çocuğu alıyor
46. koşuyor
47. köpeği kovalıyor
48. köpek nerdeyse uçurumdan düşecek
49. çocukla köpek birazcık düşüyor
50. suya düşüyorlar
51. köpek çocuğun kafasının üstüne çıkıyor

52. çocuk köpeğe sessiz ol diyor
53. ağacın arka tarafında kurbağasını görüyor
54. aşağıya inip
55. kurbağayı almaya çalışıyor
56. köpek de çocuğa bakıyor
57. çocuk kurbağayı... kurbağasını almaya çalışıyor
58. kurbağayı eline alıyor
59. sudan çıkıyor
60. diğer yavru kurbağalar ona bakıyor
61. anne ve babası ve yavru kardeşleri ona bakıyor
62. çocuk köpek ve kurbağa sudan çıkıyor
63. bir tane kurbağa suya düşmüş
64. diğer yavru kurbağalardan biri ona bakıyor
65. diğer kurbağalar çocuğa köpeğe ve kurbağaya bakıyor

No evaluation

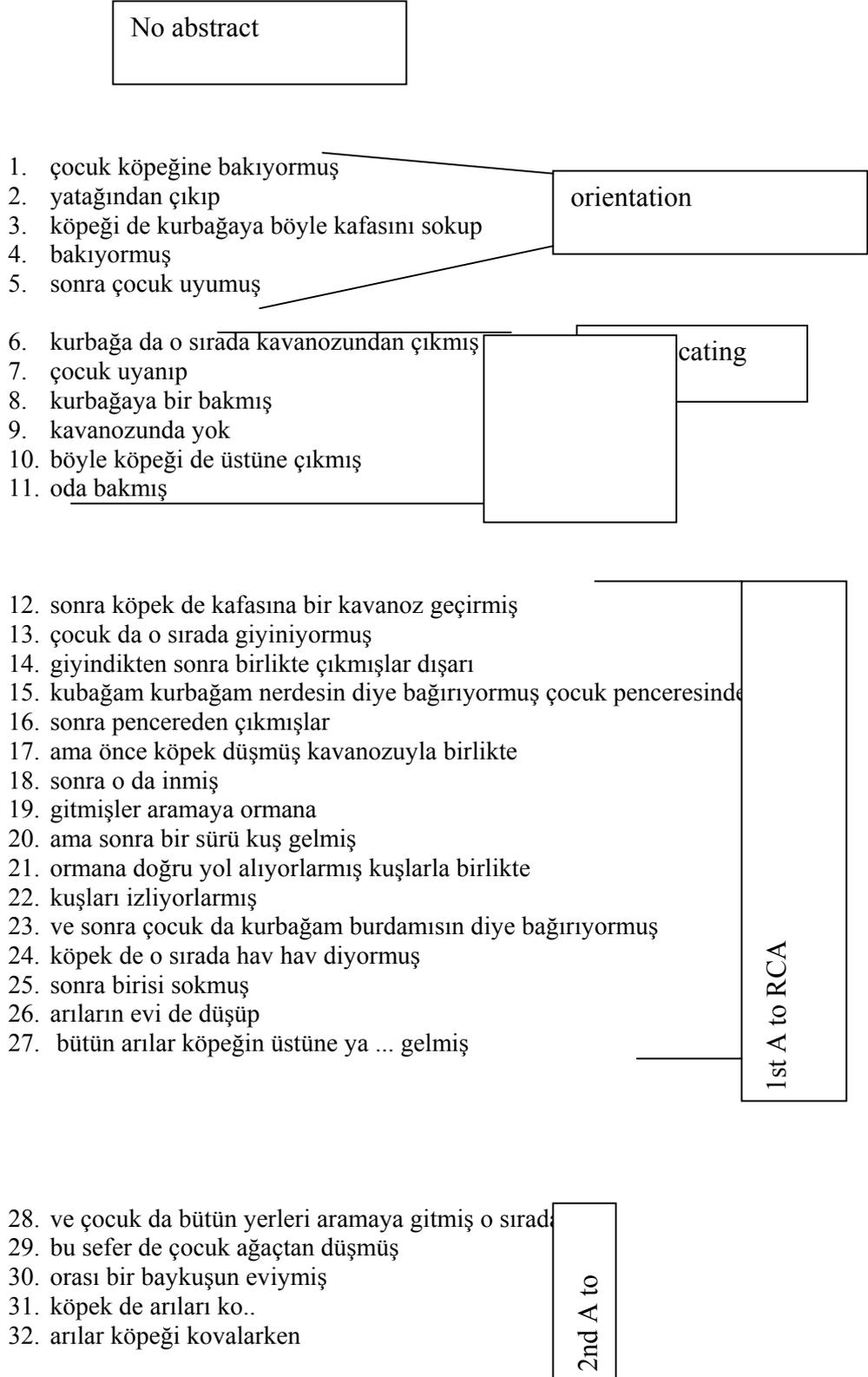
66. ...

Coda: signaled coda

@End

Appendix 8

A sample narrative from a 6-year-old (6:00), which contains discrete and coherent story units.



33. köpek de kaçıyormuş
34. ve baykuş da onu.. çocuğa bakmış
35. ve ona doğru ... uzaklaşmış ondan

36. sonra çocuk hala aramaya ... kurbağasını ve köpeğini aramaya çalışıyormuş
37. ve bir tane geyik gelmiş
38. onu sırtına almış
39. kafasına almış
40. köpeği de tek başına ... sırtına binmeden gidiyormuş
41. ve yolun sonuna gelmek üzereymiş
42. ve sonra düşüyorlar böyle
43. sonra da # görünüyor
44. ve suya düşüyorlar

3rd A to RCA

45. sonra kulağını ... elleri kulağını tutup böyle
46. bakmışlar ki kurbağa orda
47. bu şşşt demiş köpeğine çocuk
48. ve birlikte atlamışlar
49. ordan arkasına
50. ve sonra kurbağayı bulmuşlar
51. ama tabi ki karısını da ...
52. çocuklarını bulmuşlar bir de
53. ve sonra birlikte bir tane kurbağa yavrusunu al
54. eve dönmüş çocuk

Resolution

No evaluation

55. bitti

Coda

56. @End

Appendix 9

A sample narrative from a 7-year-old, which contains episodes that do not constitute attempts to resolve the CA.

No abstract

Orientation

1. bir köpek varmış
2. sonra bir de çocuk kurbağa yakalamış
3. fazla yatmışlar
4. sonra da onu bu şeye atmışlar

Complicating Action

5. onun yanında bekliyorlar
6. köpek içinden bakıyormuş
7. çocuk da oturuyor
8. bakıyor
9. sonra uyuyorlar köpekle çocuk
10. kurbağa da oranın içinden kaçıyor
11. sonra uyanınca
12. bir bakıyorlar ki
13. kurbağa yok #nun içinde

14. sonra hemen çocuk hemen elbisesini giyiyor
15. sonra köpek de başına vazoyu takmış
16. sonra da pencereyi açıp
17. bağıyor
18. köpeğinde başında vazo var
19. sonra köpek düşüyor
20. çocuk da hemen onu alıyor
21. köpek de onu yalıyor
22. sonra vazo parçalanıyor
23. alıyor sonra onu alıyor

1. da ... köpek de onu yalıyor

24. sonra ormana gidiyorlar
25. orda bağıyor çocuk
26. köpek de yukarıya bakıyor
27. sonra arılara bakıyor
28. çocuk bağıyor
29. sonra köpek de arılara havlıyor
30. sonra bir deliğe giriyorlar
31. kokarca deliği #
32. oraya bakıyor
33. sonra sesleniyor
34. çıkıyor... şey çıkıyor

35. sonra da burnunu kapatıyor
36. köpek de ağaca bakakalıyor şeylere ... arılara
37. sonra ağaç ... şey arı kovanını düşürüyor köpek
38. getiriyor
39. kaçıyor
40. ağaca şöyle bakıyor
41. çocuk da ağaca arıyor içinde ... içinde mi diye
42. içine sesleniyor
43. arı ... sonra da şey çıkıyor
44. çocuk ağaçtan düşüyor
45. baykuş ... köpeği de arılar kovalıyor

46. sonra kaçıyor çocuk ağaçların üstüne
47. taşların üstüne basıyor
48. kafasını korumaya çalışıyor
49. sonra da köpek şöyle yapıyor
50. gidiyor
51. baykuş da yukarıda
52. sonra yine çıkıyor
53. yine sesleniyor büyük taşın üstüne
54. sonra da geyik üstüne çıkmış
55. sonradan köpek de havlıyor
56. geyik de onu kovalıyor
57. sonra çocuk düşüyor
58. köpek de düşüyor
59. düşüyorlar ikisi köpekle çocuk
60. sonra suya düşüyorlar
61. sonra da şey oluyor
62. köpek üstüne düşüyor
63. sonra çıkıyor
64. kafasının üstünde köpek duruyor
65. sonra ağacın üstüne çıkıyorlar
66. ağaç kütüğünün
67. sonra ağaç kütüğünün üstüne çıkacaklar
68. köpek de dereceye düşüyor

69. sonra ağaç kütüğünün üstüne çıkıyorlar
70. sonra ağaç kütüğünün üstüne bakıyorlar
71. sonra kurbağayı yakalıyorlar
72. iki tane kurbağa varmış
73. yavruları var
74. sonra da öyle yapıp
75. köpek le bakıyorlar aşağıya
76. sonra da çıkıyorlar
77. aile kurmuşlar kurbağalar birbirleriyle
78. sonra kurbağanın bir tanesini alıyor çocuk
79. götürüyor
80. sonra da onlar da bakıyorlar
81. en küçüğü kütüğün üstüne çıkamamış
82. onlarda derenin üzerinden çıkıyor... gidiyorlar

Resolution

83. sonra el sallıyor çocuk
84. köpek de arkasına bakıp
85. bakıyor
86. en sonra geliyor
87. ağzı açık
88. ve kurbağayı almışlar
89. sonra çocuk da el sallıyor
90. kurbağalar da galiba onların ... kar... kar... bakıyorlar
91. en küçüğü de kütüğün üstüne çıkamadığı için
92. onlara bakıyor

No evaluation

93. başka yok
94. @End

Coda

Appendix 10

A sample narrative from a 7-year-old (7:07), which contains discrete and coherent story units.

No abstract

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. bir zamanlar bir çocuk ile köpeği mutlu bir hayat sürüyormuş
2. yanlarında küçük bir kurbağaları da varmış | <i>Orientation</i> |
| 3. gece uyumuş
4. kurbağacık kavanozdan çok sıkılıp
5. dışarı çıkmış
6. çocukcağız uyanınca
7. köpek de uyanmış
8. ve baktıkları zaman arkadaşları kurbağayı bulamamış | Complicating Action |
| 9. her yeri aramışlar
10. ikisi de bulamamışlar sevimli kurbağalarını
11. pencereye çıkmışlar
12. ikisi de bağırmağa başlamışlar
13. en sonunda çocuğun köpeği aşağıya düşürmüş
14. çocuk da çok merak etmiş
15. en sonunda çocuk da aşağıya inip
16. köpeğini yakalamış
17. ama böyle yaptığı için
18. çok kızmış | 1st A to RCA |
| 19. en sonunda yeniden kurbağalarını aramaya başlamışlar
20. bağırmağa
21. her yeri aramışlar
22. köpeği bile arı kovanını bile aramış
23. diğer çocuk ise deliklere arıyormuş
24. deliğin içinden birden bir köstebek çıkıvermiş
25. çocuğun burnu çok acımış
26. köpek de yanlışlıkla arı kovanını yere düşürmüş
27. ve arılar köpeğe doğru gelmeye başlamış
28. çocuk ise bir ağacın orda bir delik görmüş
29. oraya tırmanıp
30. bakmaya karar vermiş
31. ama ne yazıkki
32. ordan bir baykuş çıkarak
33. çocuğu düşürüvermiş
34. köpek de arılardan kaçuyormuş
35. baykuş gidErken
36. çocuk da hemen bir taş.. kocaman bir kayanın arkasına saklanmış | 2nd A to RCA |

37. baykuş gidince ordan geri çıkmış 38. çocuk taşın ... kayanın üzerine çıkarak 39. bağırmağa başlamış 40. köpeği de arkadan geliyormuş 41. bağırırken 42. yanlışlıkla ordan bir geyik çıkıvermiş 43. geyik üstüne çıkmış 44. geyik hiç durmadan koşuyormuş 45. köpeği de sahibini takip ediyormuş 46. en sonunda geyik birden duruverdiğinde 47. çocuk geyiğin kafasından düşüveriyormuş 48. arkasından köpek de düşüyormuş 49. en sonunda ikisi de suya düşüvermiş 50. suya düştükten sonra 51. çocuğun kafasında köpeği de varmış 52. çocuk şşş demiş	3rd A to RCA
53. en sonunda kütüğün arkasına bakmışlar 54. orda iki tane kurbağa görmüşler 55. bunlardan biri de kurbağalarıymış 56. kurbağaları ... kurbağaları da varmış 57. en sonunda çocuk kurbağalarını alıp 58. evlerine dönmeye karar vermiş 59. kurbağalar da onları çok özlemiş	Resolution

Implied Coda

No evaluation

@End

Appendix 11

A sample narrative from an 8-year-old who does not strengthen the coherence of the episodes, which function as Attempts to Resolve the CA, by stating explicitly that the boy and the dog are in search of the lost frog in each episode.

No abstract	No orientation
1. bir çocuk odasında gelmiş 2. köpeğiyle birlikte kurbağaya bakıyorlar 3. kurbağa onların her halde anladığım kadarıyla 4. sonra ortalığı biraz dağınık 5. bir gün çocuk uyuyor 6. kurbağa kaçıyor 7. çocuk uyandığında 8. köpeğiyle birlikte bakıyor 9. kurbağayı kavanozda göremiyor	Orientative information and Complicating Action
10. her yere arıyorlar odasında	1st A to RCA
11. sonra çocuk köpeğiyle dışardan bağıyor 12. çocuk orda .. pencereden bakarken 13. köpek aşağıya düşüyor 14. çocuk kızarak köpeği alıyor 15. *RES: neden kızıyor 16. tipinden köpeğin tipinden öyle anladım 17. *RES: yok hani neden kızmış çocuk? 18. ha köpek böyle bir sırada düştüğü için 19. tam ararken 20. ona kızmış olabilir	2nd A to RCA
21. sonra birlikte bahçeye çıkıp 22. arıyorlar 23. bağırarak ... bağırmaya başlıyorlar 24. sonra köpek bir arı kovanının şeyini yaparken 25. çocuk da bir .. bu ne ... serçe mi .. serçe diyor 26. bağırıyor 27. serçe çıkınca çocuk hemen burnunu kapatıyor 28. kokusu dağılmasın diye 29. köpek hala arı kovanıyla oynuyor 30. sonra arı kovani düşüyor 31. çocuk ağacın içindeki deliğe bağırıyor 32. bakıyor 33. çocuk düşüyor 34. ve ordan bir baykuş çıkıyor 35. kovandaki bütün arılar köpeği kovalıyor 36. baykuş ordan gidiyor serçe 37. köpek ... çocuk kafasını koruyor 38. ve şeye ... taşa saklanıyor	3rd A to RCA

-
39. çocuk bağıyor hala bir taşın üstüne çıkıp
 40. sonra bir geyiğin üstüne varıyor
 41. geyiğin üstüne çıkıyor
 42. geyik kaçıyor
 43. köpek de durdurmaya çalışıyor
 44. geyik onları aşağıya fırlatıyor
 45. çocuk ve köpek bir göle düşüyor
 46. çocuk ve köpek elinde ... el sallıyor
-
47. çocuk köpeğe eliyle sus sessiz ol diyor
 48. bir ağaç şeyinin ... dalının üstüne çıkıyorlar
 49. orda iki tane kurbağa görüyorlar
 50. herhalde kavanozdaki kurbağa bu
 51. ikisi de bakıyor
 52. sonra köpekle çocuk onlara bakıyor
 53. çocuk kurbağalara hoşçakal diyor
 54. elinde ki kurbağayı alıp
 55. köpeğiyle gidiyor

4th A to RCA 4th

Last Attempt and
Resolution.

No evaluation

56. bu kadar

Coda

@End

Appendix 12

A sample narrative from an 8-year-old whose episode boundaries are discernable and episodes are interrelated.

No abstract

1. bir çocuğun köpeği varmış
2. bir çocuk bir gün
3. bir kavano kurbağa bulmuş

Orientation

4. bu kurbağayı kavanoza koyarak
5. köpeğiyle oynamaya başlamış
6. çocuk uyumuş
7. kurbağa dışarıya çıkarak
8. gezmek istemiş
9. sonra bu çocuğun köpeği sırtına çıkmış uyurken
10. bir bakmışlar kurbağa yok olmuş

Comp. Act

11. sonra çocuk üstünü giyinmiş
12. köpeği kavanozun .. köpeğin kafası kavanozun içine girmiş
13. sandalyeler dağılmış
14. köpek ve çocuk kurbağayı arıyorlarmış
15. köpek pencereden kurbağayı ararken
16. yere düşmüş
17. çocuk onları tutmuş

1st ARCA

18. sonra dağlarda aramışlar kurbağayı
19. bulamamışlar

2nd A to RCA

20. bir gün bir dalda arı kovanı görmüşler
21. köpek ona saldırmaya çalışıyormuş
22. ama saldıramamış
23. çocuk da karınca deliklerinin içine bağıryormuş
24. sonra arılar bu sesi duydukça
25. köpeğe saldırmaya başlamışlar
26. köpek uğraşırken uğraşırken
27. arı kovanı yere düşmüş
28. sonra çocuk bir dala çıkmış
29. kurbağayı yine arıyorlarmış
30. ordan bir tane baykuş çıkmış
31. çocuk yere düşmüş
32. köpeği yine arılar kovalıyormuş

3rd A to RCA

33. sonra bir taş varmış 34. bu taşın üzerine çıkmaya çalışmış baykuştan kurtulmak için 35. sonra bu taşa çıkmış 36. yine kurbağayı aramış 37. ararken dala çıkmış 38. dalda sallanı ... sal ... sal... kızıyormuş	4th A to RCA
---	--------------

39. sonra bir geyiğin üzer... bir geyiğin kafasındaymış
40. bu ağaç geyiğin kafasıymış
41. sonra şu geyik koşuyormuş
42. köpeği de onun yanında koşuyormuş
43. sonra geyik gelmiş
44. bir uçurumdan çocuğa atmış
45. nerdeyse çocuk yere düşmüş
46. sonra geyik olduğu yerde kalmış
47. köpeğiyle çocuk yere düşmüş
48. sudan çıkmaya çalışmışlar

Obstacle

49. sonra köpeğine sus işareti vermiş
50. sonra bir odun varmış
51. bu odunun üzerine çıkmışlar
52. sonra iki tane kurbağa bulmuşlar
53. bu kurbağalardan bir tanesini almışlar
54. kurbağalarını bulmuşlar

Resolution

No evaluation

No coda

@End

Appendix 13

A sample narrative from a 9-year-old (9:04), which is not developed with respect to the construction of the attempts to resolve the CA.

1. bir çocuk var 2. köpeğiyle kurbağ ...bir kurbağayı yakalamış 3. ve bir kavanozun içine koymuş	<i>Orientation</i>
--	--------------------

4. sonra çocuk geliyormuş 5. uyumuş çocuk 6. kurbağa bu arada kaçmış kavanozun içinden 7. sonradan çocuk uyandığında 8. kavanozda olmadığını görmüş 9. ve çok üzülmüş	Complicating Action
--	------------------------

10. her yere bakmış 11. pencereden bağırmış 12. ve şey... köpeği kafasını kavanozun içerisine koymuş 13. ve düşmüş 14. sonradan köpeğine kızmış çocuk	1st A 1
---	---------

15. sonra aramaya başlamışlar 16. bir tane şey çukur görmüş 17. çukura bakmış 18. bir köstebek çıkmış ordan 19. ve burnunu ısırmış 1. arada da köpeği arı k	2nd A to resolve the CA	müş
--	----------------------------	-----

20. sonra yine ormanlık bir yere gitmişler 21. sonra deni ... bir denizin orda ailesini görmüşler 22. köpeğine sus demiş 23. sonradan çocuk kendi kurbağasını almış	Resolution
--	------------

24. el sallayarak gitmiş

IMPLIED CODA

Appendix 14

Sample narrative from a 9-year-old, which is fully developed.

No abstract

1. buradaki çocuk dışarıda oynarken
2. bir kurbağa bulmuş köpeğiyle birlikte
3. anne ve babasından saklıyor
4. geceleri onları oynuyor
5. anlaşıyor

orientation

6. sonra çocuk uyuyor ...köpekle çocuk
7. kurbağa kaçıyor
8. sabah olunca
9. köpekle çocuk uyanınca
10. kurbağanın olmadığını görüyorlar
11. şaşırıyorlar
12. nasıl kaçabilir diye düşünüyorlar

Complicating
Action
CA

13. sonra arıyorlar her yerde
14. ona sesleniyorlar camdan dışarıya bakarak
15. sonra köpek bir şey buluyor
16. camdan atlıyor
17. yere düşüyor
18. kafasındaki cam kırılıyor
19. çocuk da köpeğe kızıyor
20. *RES: neden kızıyor
21. camı kırdığı için

1st A to RCA
1st

22. sonra dışarıya çıkıp
23. ona seslenerek arıyorlar
24. dolaşıyorlar
25. hayvanların yuvalarına bakıyorlar
26. bu hayvan da rahatsız oluyor
27. kızıyor onlara
28. köpek de arı kovanına sesleniyordu
29. arı kovanı ağaçtan düşüp
30. düşmüş
31. arılar içinden çıkmış
32. köpek de korkmuş

2nd A to RCA
2nd

33. sonra o çocuk ağaç kovuklarına sesleniyor kurbağayı aramak için
34. oradan baykuş çıkıyor
35. çocuk ağaçtan düşüyor
36. köpek arılardan kaçıyor

2nd A to
RCA

37. çocuğun peşinden ayrılmıyor baykuş
38. çocuk bir kayanın üstüne çıkarak
39. hala sesleniyor
40. sonra çocuk ağaca takıl...
41. ağaç değil geyiğe tekiliyor
42. geyiğin kafasına
43. geyik koşmaya başlıyor uçuruma doğru
44. çocuk suya düşüyor

45. sonra sudan çıkıyorlar
46. geliyorlar
47. çocuk bir ses duyuyor
48. köpeğe şşşt diyor
49. sesin geldiği yöne doğru bakıyorlar
50. sonra kurbağayı buluyorlar
51. kurbağanın bir karısı var
52. bir de çocukları var
53. kurbağa onun yanına kaçmış
54. sonra çocuk kurbağaları bulduğuna çok seviniyor
55. bir tane kurbağayı onlardan alıyor
56. ödünç alıyor
57. sonra mutlu bir hayat yaşıyorlar

3rd A to RCA
3rd

No evaluation

Implied coda

@End

Appendix 15

A sample narrative from a 13-year-old (13:10) who fails to express the protagonists action in the room as an attempt to resolve the CA.

No abstract

1. küçük çocuk köpeğiyle birlikte küçük kurbağasını izliyordu
2. fakat uykusu geldiği için
3. erken yatmak zorunda kaldı

orientation

4. fakat kalktığıında
5. kurbağasının yerinde olmadığını gördü

Complicating
Action

6. üstünü giyindi
7. ve dışarıya baktı
8. fakat köpeği yaramazlık ediyordu

An episode but not an
attempt to RCA.

9. köpeğiyle birlikte onu aramaya çıktılar
10. her yere bakıyorlardı
11. ama onu bulamıyorlardı

1st A to RCA

12. başlarına gelmeyen iş kalmamıştı
13. küçük köpeği arılar kovalamaya başlamıştı
14. arılar onu bırakmıyor
15. ve sonuna kadar kovalıyordu
16. küçük çocuk ne yapacağını bilmeden
17. ordan oraya koşturuyordu

2nd A to RCA

2ND

18. bir geyiğin sırtına takılıp
19. hızlıca gitmeye başladı
20. fakat geyik onu köpeğiyle birlikte bir göle at
21. neyse ki göl fazla derin değildi
22. ve ordan köpeğiyle birlikte kurtulabildiler

Obstacle

23. sessiz olunması gereken bir yerdeydiler
24. ve sonunda onları bulmuşlardı
25. hatta ailesiyle birlikteydi
26. küçük çocuklarıyla birlikte mutluydular
27. giderken küçük kurbağasını da alıp
28. onlara elveda dedi

Resolution

RES

@End

Implied Coda

No evaluation

Appendix 16

A sample narrative from a 13-year-old which provides discrete and coherent episodes.

No abstract	
1. işte burda bir akşam 2. çocukla köpeği kavanozun içindeki kurbağaya bakıyorlar	Orientation
3. sonra çocukla köpek ... çocuk yatağında uyuyor 4. köpek de onun yanında uyuyor 5. sonra bu arada kurbağa kavanozun içinden çıkıyor 6. gidiyor 7. sonra sabah olunca çocukla köpek uyanıyor 8. kurbağanın olmadığını görüyorlar	Complicating Action
9. ve çocuk ... kurbağayı arıyorlar 10. çocuk botların içine bakıyor 11. köpek kavanozun içine bakıyor 12. sonra kurbağayı ararken 13. köpeği aşağıya düşüyor 14. ve kafasına sıkışmış olan kavanoz da kırılıyor 15. bunun üzerine çocuk da aşağıya iniyor 16. ve sinirlenmiş gibi köpeğine bakıyor 17. köpek de çocuğu yalıyor ... yüzünü	1st 1st A to RCA
18. sonra kurbağayı aramak için yola çıkıyorlar 19. sesleniyor çocukla köpek 20. sesleniyor ağaçların olduğu yere doğru 21. sonra çocuk topraktaki bir deliğe sesleniyor 22. köpek de ağacın üstündeki arı kovanına havlıyor 23. sığıyor ona doğru 24. sonra çocuk yerdeki deliğe seslenirken 25. deliğin içinden fare çıkıyor 26. çocuk da şaşırmış gibi elini suratına tutuyor 27. köpek de hala arı kovanıyla oynuyor 28. sonra köpek arı kovanını düşürüyor 29. arılar çıkıyor 30. köpeğe doğru geliyorlar	2nd A to RCA
31. çocuk da ağaca çıkıp 32. ağacın gövdesindeki bir oyuya sesleniyor 33. kurbağayı arıyor 34. sonra kurbağanın içinden 35. ay ... ağacın ovuğunun içinden baykuş çıkıyor	3rd A to RCA 3rd

Appendix 17

A sample narrative from an adult, which is more like a depiction of the readily available picture rather than a story.

No abstract

1. şimdi burda köpekle çocuk 2. kavanozun içinde kurbağ 3. çocuk seyrediyor 4. onlarla oynuyor 5. evin içindeler 6. yatak odasındalar 7. dışarda gece karanlık 8. hayvanlarla oynuyor	Orientative information
9. bu sayfada çocuk uykuda 10. cam kavanozun içindeki kurbağa çıkmaya çalışıyor 11. terlikleri ayakkabıları aynen geri kalanları devam ediyor 12. sabah uyanıyor 13. bakıyor 14. kurbağa kaçmış 15. köpek üzerinde 16. işte terlik ayakkabısı halen yerde duruyor	Complicating Action
17. burda üstünü giyiyor 18. köpek kavanozla oynuyor 19. sandalyesi yerde 20. üstünü başını giymeye çalışıyor 21. burda birine sesleniyor 22. kurbağayı arıyor herhalde 23. köpek de cam kavanozla oynuyor 24. atlamaya çalışıyor 25. burda köpek cam kavanozla yere atlıyor 26. çocuk şaşkınlıkla bakıyor 27. sonra köpeği kızar şekilde 28. kucağına alıp 29. sevmeye çalışıyor 30. ama kızgın seviyor	1st A to RCA 1ST
31. bu sayfada kurbağayı arıyorlar 32. birilerine sesleniyor 33. köpek ses çıkartarak 34. çocuk bağırarak 35. dere kenarı olsa gerek	2nd A to RCA

36. burda çocuk bir çukur bulmuş
37. çocuk onun içindeki bir şeylerle uğraşiyor
38. köpek de arı kovanıyla uğraşiyor
39. arılarla şey yapıyor
40. bu sayfada çukurdan fare çıkıyor
41. çocuk şaşırıyor
42. kızıyor
43. köpek halen arı kovanıyla uğraşiyor
44. arılar sinirlenmiş vaziyette
45. köpek arı kovanını düşürüyor
46. fare bakıyor
47. sonuç ne olacak diye



48. çocuk dala çıkmış
49. daldaki bir delikten ne çıkar diye bakıyor
50. baykuş çıkıyor
51. çocuk korkuyor
52. yere düşüyor
53. arılar tabi yere düştüğü için
54. köpeği kovalamaya başlıyor
55. köpek can havliyle kaçıyor dereye doğru

3rd to RCA

56. sonra baykuş çocuğu kovalıyor
57. çocuk şaşkın bir vaziyette
58. taşa siper etmiş kendini
59. çocuk taşın üstüne çıkıyor baykuş gittikten sonra
60. bağıyor halen
61. köpeği arıyor
62. köpek de korkmuş bir şekilde
63. taşın dibinde duruyor
64. burda bir geyik var
65. geyiğin buynuzlarının arasına düşüyor çocuk
66. geyik götürüyor
67. köpek de yanında gidiyor
68. çukura geliyorlar
69. ve geyik onu çukurdan aşağıya .. yani yardan aşağıya düşürüyor
70. köpeklerle birlikte aşağıya düşüyorlar
71. dereye doğru yuvarlanıyorlar bu sefer de
72. çocuk suya düşüyor
73. köpek de tabi suya düşüyor

4th to RCA

74. suya oynuyorlar
75. köpeğide başının üstüne alıp
76. gülüşüyorlar
77. köpeğe sus şeklinde ... sanki orda birşey bulmuş gibi ... köpeğe işaret veriyor
78. bir ağacın koyuğundan öbür tarafına bakıyorlar
79. köpek de bakıyor onunla birlikte
80. sonra bakıyorlar ki
81. kurbağa çift etmiş

Resolution

82. yani diřiyi bulmuř
 83. onu heyecanla seyrediyorlar
 84. yavrularına bakıyorlar
 85. kpek de dikkatlice bakıyor
 86. ve suda oynamaya bařlıyorlar
 87. kpek sevinli
 88. ocuk sevinli
 89. kurbaęalar da onları izliyorlar
 90. yavrularıyla birlikte
-

No evaluation

91. bitmiř

Coda

@End

Appendix 18

A sample narrative from an adult which is fully developed in terms of Labov's identification of the story units which comprise a story.

No abstract

1. bir gün can bir kurbağa bulmuş
2. ve kavanozun içine koymuş
3. yanındaki köpeği de onu izlemiş

Orientation

4. gece uyurken
5. canın kurbağası kaçmış
6. sabah uyanınca da
7. kurbağanın kaçtığını fark etmiş

Complicating Action

8. ve onu her yerde aramaya başlamış
9. pencereden dışarıya bakarak onu çağırmış
10. bu sırada köpeği kavanozun içine başını sokmuş
11. ve pencereden aşağıya düşmüş
12. kavanoz da kırılınca
13. çocuk ... can korkmuş
14. ama köpeğine bir şey olmamış

1st A to RCA

15. sonra evden dışarıya çıkınca
16. kurbağaya seslenmiş
17. ama hiç bir cevap alamamış

2nd A to RCA

18. her deliğe bakmış
19. ama her delikten başka hayvanlar çıkıyordu
20. sevdiği kurbağası çıkmıyordu
21. köpeği de kurbağayı ararken
22. arı yuvasına dalmış
23. arı yuvasını aşağıya indirdi
24. ve arıların hepsi onun peşinden uçuşuyorlardı
25. çocuk da kurbağasını aramak için her yere bakıyordu
26. her yere bakıyordu
27. ama hiç kurbağasını bulamıyordu

3rd A to RCA

28. bir ara bir ağacın ... kayanın tepesine çıkıp
29. kurbağasına bakarken
30. ağacın içinden geyik çıktı
31. ve çocuk kendisini geyiğin kafasında buldu
32. ve geyik koşarak
33. bir uçurumun kenarına geldi

Complicating
Action

34. ve çocukla köpeğini uçurumdan aşağıya attı

35. uçurumun aşağısında küçük bir gölet varmış
36. ve çocuk kendi köpeğiyle kendisini gölette buldu
37. ve gölette otururken
38. kurbağa seslerini duyar gibi oldu
39. köpeğinin susmasını istedi
40. ve kurbağasını aramaya devam etti
41. ses onu nereye götürüyorsa oraya gitti

3rd A
to RCA

42. ve baktı ki bir kırılmış ağacın arkasında kurbağa yuvası varmış
43. ve orda bir sürü kurbağalar varmış
44. kurbağaların yanına yaklaştı
45. ve kendi kurbağasını tanıyarak onu eline aldı
46. ve götürdü

No evaluation

Linguistically Implied
Coda

@End

Appendix 19

The recount of a cartoon by a 3-year-old.

No abstract	
1. bir varmış 2. bir yokmuş 3. bi örümcek adam varmış 4. örümcek adamın maviyle beyazı var	Orientation
5. beyazı verince 6. karşısına bir tane kötü adam çıkmış 7. kötü adam ona doğru yaklaşmış 8. # spiderman olduğunu anlamış	CA
9. onu dövmüş	1st A to RCA
10. sonra bir daha yürümüş 11. bu sefer de sefer de hırsızla karşılaşmış	CA
12. elini açmış 13. onu yere sermiş 14. bir tekme atmış örümcek a 1. da	1st A to RCA
15. ölmüş	Resolution
16. biraz daha yürüyünce 17. bu sefer dev adamla karşılaşmış 18. dev adam onu tanıyormuş tabi	CA
19. ona da bi tekme atmış da bulutlara uçmuş 20. başka bir yere gitmiş 21. sonra ordan geri düşmüş	1st A to RCA
22. ölmüş sonra da	Resolution
23. bu sefer top top adamla karşılaş	CA

24. bu dev adamın yardımcısıymış

25. sonra topuna bir tekme atn
26. düşmüş yere

1st A to RCA

27. sonra da bütün şehirle karşılaşmı
28. onla karşılaşmış

CA

29. sonra onu yenmiş
30. örümcek adam olduğunu biliyomuş
31. sonra bir yumruk bir tekme atmış örümcek ada
1. da düşmüş

Resolution

32. sonra da bu sefer
33. bi sakat adamla karşılaş

CA

34. ona bi takmış

1st A to RCA

35. o da yere düşmüş
36. o adam da orda bitmiş

Resolution and coda.

@End

No evaluation

Appendix 20

A sample narrative, from a 4-year-old, which contains details that do not contribute to the development of thte CA and repetitions of previously uttered clauses.

No abstract

No orientation

1. gece
2. ay dede var burda
3. ışık da açık
4. yatak yastık ve şey bu da yatağın sapı
5. bakıyor çocuk onlara
6. sonra çocuk bir yerde oturuyor
7. sonra yatağının yorganı da yere oluyor
8. yere yatıyor
9. sonra pencere de böyle kare
10. evet
11. köpek kurbağanın suyunu içiyor
12. çocuk da onlara bakıyor
13. burda çocuk yatıyor
14. ışık açık duruyor
15. sonra kurbağa çıkıyor yerinden
16. terlikleri de burda
17. bu da çizmesi
18. bu da elbisesi
19. bu da kare
20. burda da köpek çocuğun üstüne çıkmış
21. kurbağa yok
22. çizmesi da yerde
23. masası da yerde
24. terliği de yerde
25. elbisesi de yerde

26. çocuk burda şapkasını tutuyor
27. çizmesini tutuyor
28. burda da terlik var
29. burda şey öbür ayağı ... öbür çizmesi
30. bu da masası devrilmiş
31. ve köpek de bunun içine girmiş
32. burda köpek böyle burdan bakıyor
33. çocuk burdan bakıyor camı tutuyor
34. pencere de ... ben biliyorum
35. üçgen
36. köpek aşağıya uçuyor
37. burdan çocuk da bakıyor
38. çocuk dışarı çıkmış
39. bunu yakalamış

40. ağaç da burda duruyor
41. bunu da biliyorum
42. kare

43. çocuk burda dışarı çıkmış
44. ağaç da onun arkasında
45. köpeği de böyle yukarı bakıyor
46. şey bunlar da ağaçların sopaları
47. çocuk kum kurm... kum açmış
48. burdan bakıyor içerisine
49. köpek de burdan sinekleri yemeye çalışıyor
50. çocuk burda burnu akıyor
51. silmiş eliyle
52. bu da burdan da kurbağası çıkmış
53. köpek de ağaca tırmanıyor
54. bu da burdan kaçıyor sinekler
55. çocuk ... köpek burdan ağaca tırmanırken
56. oraya bakıyor sineklere
57. çocuk da burdan bakıyor bunun içine
58. buraya bakıyor

59. çocuk ağaca çıkmış
60. bu da ağaçların ... ağaç böyle bunlar da
61. ağaçların tüyleri
62. çocuk yere yatmış
63. burdan kuş gelmiş
64. burdan da ağacın sopası
65. bu da şey
66. bu da ağaçların tüyleri
67. burdada köpek koşuyor
68. burdan tüyler uçuşuyor buraya
69. çocuk buraya gelmiş
70. bu da kuş
71. kuş buraya gelmiş
72. bu da ağacın ay..
73. burdan da su akıyor

74. sonra çocuk da buraya çıkmış
75. dalın üstüne
76. bunlar da ağaçların tüyleri
77. çocuk ağacın üstüne tırmanmış
78. şey de çocuk .. çocuk bu ineğin üstüne tırmanmış
79. bunlar da taş
80. bu da onun yavrusu
81. evet
82. bundan çocuk düşmüş yere
83. yavrusu ay ... köpeği de düşmüş yere
84. burda da ağacın sapı
85. burda da ağacın tüyleri
86. çocuk kumun üstüne düşmüş
87. bir şey .. sonra çocuk ayakları havaya kalkmış
88. çocuk çıkmış havuzdan
89. köpek de üstüne tırmanmış

90. ağaç yere düşmüş
91. çocuk çıkmış havuzdan
92. köpeği bağılıyormuş
93. bu da şey çocuk çıkmış ağacın üstüne
94. köpek de bunun aynısını yapmış
95. çocuk köpeği .. köpe ..onun içine bakmışlar
96. suyun içine
97. suyun içinde de taş varmış
98. orda da şeyler bakıyormuş

99. kurbağalar

100. burda da köpek bakıyormuş
101. çocuk saçını değiştirmiş
102. burda da kurbağa da burda bakıyor buralara
103. yani çocuğun ayakkabısına
104. çocuk ..çocuk şey yapıyor
105. burdan bakıyor buralara
106. bu küçük kurbağalara bakıyor
107. burdan da buralara bakıyor
108. küçük ... bu da onun şeyi
109. kocası
110. burda da şey burda ağaç düşmüş buraya
111. burda saç değişmiş
112. burda çocuk el sallıyor

113. burdan da kurbağa elinde

114. köpek de dilini çıkartıyor
115. burda küçük kurbağalar
116. kocası önde
117. karısı arkada
118. bakıyorlar buraya
119. buralara bakıyorlar
120. sonra çocuk onlara da el sallıyor
121. buraya
122. burda da ağaç ... ağacın içi açılmış
123. dağ gibi görünüyor
124. burda bir tane kurbağa havuza düşmüş
125. burdan da ağaçlar .. sopa sopan.. bunlar da ağacın sopaları
126. bu da ağacın tüyleri
127. çocuk da böyle ... çocuk saçını değiştirmiş
128. üstünü de giymiş
129. sonra burda taş var
130. dağ .. bunların taşı
131. bunu taşı
132. evet
133. sonra bu da ağaç
134. arkasında ağaç var
135. çocuk da ormanda
136. burda da şey
137. burda da ağ.. şeyin bunun ... ağacın tüyleri yere düşmüş
138. sonra bu da ağaçların sopaları

139. bu da şey ağacın bembeyaz sopası
140. bu da çocuğun arkasında büsbüyük taş var
141. bu da şey
142. bu da havuz
143. taş ... bir tane taş içinde
144. küçük taş
145. sonra burda da şey var
146. şey burda da ağaçlar var
147. burda da biraz küçük ...biraz limon gibi şeyler var
148. taşlar
149. bi tane... havuzda odun var bir tane
150. burda şey var..
151. burda da şey var
152. ağaçların sopaları var
153. şurda ... burda bulut var
154. yağmur yağıyor
155. çocuk eve dönememiş
156. ama havuzdan bakıyor
157. arkasına bakıyor
158. burdan da ... burdan şeyler var
159. ağaçlar
160. burda da kare şeklinde şey var
161. mmm ... mmm .şeyler mmm ağaç
162. bu ... şurda yağmur yağıyor
163. çocuk eve dönememiş
164. havuzun içindeymiş
165. burda da taşlar varmış
166. el sallıyormuş buraya
167. yani kurbağalara
168. kurbağalara el sallıyor
169. burda kurbağalara el sallıyor
170. şurdan ... şurdan da şey burdan
171. dikdörtgen şeklinde şey var
172. ağacın tüyleri
173. *RES: evet sen bütün şekilleri biliyorsun herhalde
174. evet
175. çünkü kitaptan öğrendim
176. *RES: aferin sana

No coda

@End

Appendix 21

A sample narrative, by a 4-year-old, which contains discernable story units and which has relatively fewer incoherent and recurring clauses compared to a great majority of the narratives by 4-year-olds.

No orientation

1. bunlar kurbağaya bakmaya çalışıyor
2. sonra karanlık olmuş
3. sonra kurbağa hala bakmak istiyorlarmış
4. sonra ... sonra hala bakıyorlarmış
5. ama hiç yatmamışlar
6. ama öbürlerini ben bilmiyorum
7. sonra çocuk uyumuş
8. kurbağa da #den çıkıyormuş sessiz sessiz
9. sonra gece olmaya başlıyormuş yavaş yavaş
10. sonra karanlık geçince
11. uyanmışlar
12. sonra buna bakmışlar
13. kurbağa nerde demişler
14. sonra bağırmışlar

Complicating
Action

15. sonra giyinmiş üstünü
16. çıkmış dışarıya
17. onu bulmaya çalışmışlar

1s

18. sonra kurbağanın şeyi köpeğinin kafasına geç
19. sonra da bu da kurbağa diye bağırmış
20. ben bu kadar biliyorum
21. sonra köpek aşağıya inmiş
22. onu bulmaya çalışmış
23. sonra da bu büyük ayakkabıları giymiş
24. onu almış eline
25. başlamış gitmeye
26. sonra bağırmışlar gene
27. kurbağa neredesin diye
28. sonra burnunu çarpmış
29. çok acıtmış
30. bunun içinde kurbağa varmış
31. kurbağa diye bağırmış
32. kurbağa da uyumuş
33. sonra arı varmış onun içinde de
34. sonra köpek kuyruğunu ##
35. ben bu kadar biliyorum
36. ama benim bisikletime binme

2nd A to RCA

37. yoksa yağsını bitirirsin

38. sonra kuşlar da ağaca konmuş
39. bu da uyumuş
40. kuşlar ciik ciik diye ötmüş
41. sonra köpek de kurbağayı aramaya başlamış
42. kurbağa nerdesin demiş
43. sonra çocuk da kurbağaya başlamış
44. aramaya
45. ama bir türlü gelmemiş
46. uzaklara kaçmış

3rd A to RCA

47. sonra bulutları görmüş
48. bulutlara kurbağa nerde demiş
49. sonra zürafa onu almış
50. annesine götürmüş evine
51. sonra çocuk da aşağıya düşmüş
52. almış
53. sonra o da suya düşmüş
54. boğulmuş çamurlu suda
55. sonra da köpek varmış
56. sonra da köpeğe sus demiş

4th A to RCA

57. bunun içinde kurbağa varmış
58. sonra da bunlar da uyumuş
59. bunun üstüne çıkmışlar sonra
60. sonra oradaki kurbağalara bakmışlar
61. annesi varmış
62. annesini özlemiş
63. oraya gitmiş
64. bir tane kurbağa almak istemişler
65. ama bir türlü alamamışlar
66. bir tane daha küçük kurbağa varmış burada
67. bunların yanına çıkmaktan
68. çok korkuyormuş
69. ama köpek köpek ... çocuk hey diyor
70. anne diyor
71. biz kurbağa aldık diyor

Resolution

No evaluation

72.

Coda: The child signaled through gestures that the story is over.

73. *RES: evet bitti öyle mi?
@End

ÖZET

Bu betimsel çalışmanın genel amacı 3-9 yaş arası çocuklar, 13 yaş grubu ve yetişkinlerin zaman belirten yapıları öykü büyük ölçeğini oluşturmak için nasıl kullandıklarını araştırmaktır. Bu genel amacı gerçekleştirebilmek için, deneklerden Mercer Mayer'in *Frog, where are you?* başlıklı, sözsüz, resimli kitabı kullanılarak elde edilen anlatılarda, yaşa bağlı olarak öykü birimlerinin nasıl farklılıklar gösterdiği ve zaman belirten yapıların yaşa ve öykü birimine bağlı olarak sıklık ve işlev bakımından nasıl farklılıklar gösterdiği ayrıntılı olarak incelenmiştir.

Araştırmaya, 98'i 3-9 yaş arası çocuklar, 14'ü 13 yaş grubu ve 14'ü yetişkinlerden olmak üzere 126 denek katılmıştır..

Sözlü olarak elde edilen veriler yazıya dökülüp, Labov'un öykü yapısı tanımlamasına göre, öykü birimleri işaretlenmiştir. Her bir öykü birimi içerisinde ortaya çıkan zaman belirten yapılar sayılarak, yaşa ve öykü birimine göre sıklıkları hesaplanmıştır. Ayrıca, zaman belirten yapıların her birinin işlevi yaşa ve öykü birimine göre incelenmiştir.

Veri elde etmede kullanılan yöntem öykü birimlerinden *Öz* ve *Değerlendirme* birimlerinin hiç bir yaşta ortaya çıkmasına izin vermemiştir.

Yapılan inceleme, 3-4 yaş gruplarından deneklerin büyük çoğunluğunun, Labov'un öykü yapısı tanımlaması ölçüt alındığında, öykü niteliklerini taşımayan anlatılar ürettikleri görülmüştür. 3 yaş grubundan üç ve 4 yaş grubundan iki denek, öykü ana çizgisinden sapmalar ve anlatı olmayan unsurları anlatı ana çizgisine yerleştirme gibi eksikliklere rağmen, bir bütün olarak bakıldığında, öykü birimlerinin özelliklerini karşılayan metinler üretmişlerdir.

5-yaş grubunun çoğunluğu öykü niteliği taşıyan metinler üreterek, öykü birimlerini dilsel araçlar ile ayırmışlar, ancak öykü birimlerinin öğelerini üretmede başarılı olamamışlardır. 6-yaş grubu öykü üretiminde 5 yaş grubundan önemli farklar göstermemiştir.

7 yaş grubu ise hem öykü birimlerini ayırmış, hem de öykü birimlerinin iç öğelerini üretebilmişlerdir. Bu nedenle, yetişkinler düzeyinde öykü üretimi 7 yaş civarında ortaya çıktığı öne sürülebilir. Bu yaş, Piaget'nin öne sürdüğü gelişimsel aşamalardan "somut işlemler" döneminin başlangıcıdır. Öykü birimlerinin sınırlarının daha belirgin hale gelmesinden başka, 7. yaştan sonra öykü birimlerinin üretiminde önemli farklılıklar gözlenmemiştir. Bu durum, Labov'un tanımlamasına göre öykü üretiminde, gelişimsel bakımdan, üç aşamanın bulunduğu, 3 ve 4 yaş grubu henüz öykü üretme aşamasında olamayan grubu, 5 ve 6 yaş grubunun öykü niteliği taşıyan anlatılar üretmelerine karşın, öykü iç öğelerini üretemeyen grubu, 7 yaş ve sonrası da hem öykü birimlerini hem de öykü birimlerinin iç öğelerini üreten grubu oluşturduğu şeklinde özetlenebilir.

Çalışmanın amaçlarından biri olan, zaman belirten yapıların, hem sıklık hem de öykü büyük ölçeğini oluşturmadaki işlevleri bakımından, öykü birimleri ve yaşa bağlı olarak nasıl farklar gösterdiği sorusunu yanıtlayan genel bir önermeye ulaşılamadığı için, her bir zaman belirtecinin sıklığı ve işlevi ile ilgili sonuçlar ayrı ayrı sunulmuştur. 3 ve 4 yaş grupları, öykü niteliği taşıyan anlatılar üretmedikleri için bu yaşlara ait öykü birimine göre dağılım sıklığı verilmemiş, bu yaş gruplarınca üretilen zaman belirteçlerinin toplamı ve işlevlerine ilişkin sonuçlar verilmiştir. Ayrıca, daha önce belirtilen nedenlerden dolayı, *Öz ve Değerlendirme* birimleri veri tabanımızda ortaya çıkmadığı için, bu birimlere ait sıklık ve işlev sonuçları sunulmamıştır.

Ve ile *dE* bağlaçlarının incelemesi göstermiştir ki, *ve*'nin kullanımı artan yaş ile artış gösterirken, *dE*'nin kullanımı artan yaşla azalma göstermektedir.

Ve, bir metnin eşzamanlılık veya ardışıklık ifade eden bir yerinde kullanıldığında, o ortamın ürettiği işleve göre, ya eşzamanlılık ya da ardışıklık işlevlerini edinir; kendisi eşzamanlılık veya ardışıklık işlevi üretmez. Bu şekilde kullanıldığında, çoğunlukla öykü birimlerinden *Gelişme* bölümünde kullanılır ve bu kullanım yaşa göre önemli farklar göstermez. *Ve* öykülerde tümce başında kullanıldığında ise, bir dizi olayın sonucuna veya beklenen bir sonuca dikkat çekmek için kullanılır. *Ve*'nin bu şekildeki kullanımı öykü birimlerine bağlı olarak sistemli bir dağılım göstermezken, artan yaşa bağlı olarak artış göstermektedir. *Ve* öykü birimi sonunda ve ya öykünün bitişini duyuran tümcede kullanıldığı zaman öykü biriminin bitişini işaretler veya öykünün tamamının bittiğini ifade eder. Bunların yanı sıra *ve* öykünün büyük ölçeği içinde bir dönüm noktasını işaretlemek için kullanılır. *Ve*'nin öykü biriminin bitişini işaretleme, bir dönüm noktasını işaretleme ve öykünün bitişini ifade etme

işlevleri 3 yaş grubu anlatılarında ortaya çıkar ve bu işlevlerinde gelişimsel farklılıklar görülmez; fark, bu işlevlerin artan yaş ile daha sık görülmesidir.

Ve'nin öykü birimini başlatmak için kullanılışı yaşa bağlı olarak farklılık gösterir ve bu işlevi 9 yaşına kadar ortaya çıkmaz. *Ve* öykü biriminin başlangıcını işaretlemek için kullanıldığında, doğal olarak öykünün *Alıştırma* bölümünde kullanılır.

Ve bazı 13 yaş grubu denekler ve yetişkinler tarafından “aşırı kullanım” olarak tanımlanabilecek bir şekilde, ardışık her tümceciğin başında kullanılmıştır. Bu durum *dE*'nin çocuklar tarafından aşırı kullanımına benzer.

dE öykülerde genellikle eşzamanlılığı ve ardışıklığı belirtmek ve öykü birimi sınırlarını işaretlemek için kullanılır. Öykü birimlerini ayırmak için kullanıldığında *dE* öykü biriminin ya *Alıştırma* ya da *Çözüm* bölümlerinde kullanılır. *dE* *Çözüm* bölümünde kullanıldığında, öykü biriminin sonunu işaretleme işlevi öteki olası işlevlerinin önüne geçer.

Artan yaş ile birlikte, eşzamanlılığı ve ardışıklığı ifade etmek için *ve* ile *dE* arasındaki tercihler de kesinlik kazanır. Örneğin yetişkinler eşzamanlılığı ifade etmek için çoğunlukla *dE* kullanırken, ardışıklığı ifade etmek için ise *ve* kullanırlar.

Öykü bölümü başlangıcında kullanılan *dE* iki öykü bölümü arasında bir bağıntı kurmak için kullanılır. *dE*'nin bu kullanımı yaşa bağlı olarak farklılık gösterir ve 8 yaşına kadar ortaya çıkmaz.

O zaman, öykünün *Gelişme* bölümünde kullanıldığında eşzamanlılığı ifade ederken *Çözüm* bölümünde kullanıldığında ise bir son noktayı işaret etmede kullanılır.

Bu/o sırada öykülerde eşzamanlılığı ifade etmenin yanısıra, bazı olayları ön plana çıkarmak için de kullanılır. Ortaya çıkma sıklığı çok düşük olduğu için öykü birimlerine göre dağılımı konusunda sayısal sonuçlar sunamadığımız bu zaman belirtecinin kullanımının artan yaş ile artış gösterdiği gözlenir.

Sonra, öykülerin doğası nedeniyle, öykülerde en sık kullanılan zaman belirteçlerinden biridir. *Sonra* ardışıklığı ifade etmek ya da öykü birimlerinin sınırlarını işaretlemek için kullanılır. Ardışıklığı ifade etmek için kullanıldığında iki tümcecik arası ilişkileri

düzenlemek için, genellikle *Gelişme* bölümlerinde kullanılır. Bu kullanımı yaşa bağlı olarak fark göstermez. Öykü sınırlarını işaretlemek için kullanıldığında ise ya öykü birimi başında ya da öykü birimi sonunda kullanılır. Öykü birimi başında kullanıldığında yeni bir öykü biriminin başladığını ifade etmekle birlikte, iki öykü birimi arasında bağlantı oluşturur. Bu şekilde kullanıldığında yaşa göre farklar gözlenir ve bu işlevi ilk kez 5 yaş grubunun öykülerinde ortaya çıkar. 5. yaştan sonra bu işlevinin doğasında bir fark görülmezken, yaşa bağlı olarak işlevin ortaya çıkış sıklığında artış görülür.

Sonradan, bir olayı, zaman çizgisi üzerindeki başka bir olaydan, geleceğe doğru uzaklaştırmak için kullanılır. Bu çalışmanın veri tabanında ortaya çıkan *sonradan* zaman belirteçlerinin hiç biri bir olayı diğer olaydan geleceğe doğru uzaklaştırmak için kullanılmamıştır. Bu çalışmaya katılan anlatıcıların *sonradan*'ı, *sonra*'nın ardışıklık işlevi için kullandıkları gözlenir.

Önce öykülerde, yine öykünün doğası nedeniyle, çok seyrek olarak ortaya çıkan bir zaman belirteçidir. Bir olayın başka bir olay ya da olaylara göre zaman çizgisi üzerindeki önceliğini vurgulamak için kullanılır.

3 yaş grubunun öykülerinde ortaya çıkmasına rağmen, bu yaş grubunda her hangi iki anlatı olayının birbirlerine olan önceliğini ifade etmek yerine, öykü ile ilgisi olmayan, anlatı-dışı tümceciklerde ortaya çıkar. 5 yaş ve ileri yaş grupları, *önce*'yi *sonra* ile ilişki içerisinde, öykünün büyük ölçeğini düzenlemek için kullanırlar. Kullanım sıklığı çok düşük olduğu için *önce*'nin öykü birimlerine göre dağılım sıklığı irdelenememiştir.

Önceden, öykülerde, bir olayın başka bir olaya göre, geçmişe doğru uzaklaştırılması için kullanılır. Bu zaman belirteci, biri 9 yaş, diğeri yetişkin tarafından olmak üzere, bu çalışmanın veri tabanında sadece iki defa kullanılmıştır.

-dEn önce bu çalışmanın veri tabanını oluşturan öykülerde hiç ortaya çıkmamıştır.

-(y)Ince ilk kez 3 yaş grubunun anlatılarında ortaya çıkar ve bu zaman belirtecinin kullanımı artan yaş ile artış gösterir. *-(y)IncE* öykülerde, genellikle ardışıklığı, bazen de bir dönüm noktasını işaretlemek için kullanılır. Cümlecikler arası ilişkileri düzenlemek için kullanılan

bu zaman belirteci çoğunlukla *Gelişim* bölümünde kullanılmakla birlikte, işlevi kullanıldığı öykü bölümüne bağlı olarak farklılık göstermez.

-*Erken* öykülerde eşzamanlılığı ifade etmek ve ön plan-arka plan düzenlemesi için kullanılır. Eşzamanlılığı ifade etme işlevi 3 yaş grubunu öykülerinde ortaya çıkar ve bu işlevi yaşa bağlı olarak önemli farklılıklar göstermez. -*Erken* ön plan-arka plan düzenlemesi için kullanıldığında yaşa bağlı olarak farklılıklar gözlenir. Bu işlevi ilk kez 6 yaş grubunun öykülerinde ortaya çıkar ve işlevin ortaya çıkış sıklığı artan yaş ile artış gösterir.

-*Erken*'in işlevi öykü birimlerine göre de farklılıklar gösterir. *Aliştirma* bölümlerinde kullanıldığında daha çok ön plan-arka plan düzenlemesi için kullanılırken, *Gelişme* bölümünde kullanıldığında, daha fazla, tümcecikler arasındaki eşzamanlılığı ifade etmek için kullanılır.

-*Ip* ilk kez 3 yaş grubunun öykülerinde ortaya çıkar ve artan yaş ile artış gösterir. Öykü birimlerine göre dağılımı ise, -*Ip* daha fazla *Aliştirma* ve *Çözüm* bölümlerinde kullanılır. -*Ip*, öykülerde, çoğunlukla tümcecikler arasındaki ardışıklık ilişkisini düzenlemek için, bazen de eşzamanlılığı ifade etmek için kullanılır. 3 ve 4 yaş grubunda ortaya çıkan örneklerin zamanı ifade etmek için mi yoksa eylemin oluş biçimini belirtmek için mi kullanıldığı tam olarak açık değildir. 5 yaş grubu ve daha ileriki yaş gruplarının öykülerinde, -*Ip*'in her iki işlevi de öykü birimine ve yaşa bağlı olarak bir farklılık göstermez.

-*ErEk* 3 yaş grubunu öykülerinde ortaya çıkar ve artan yaş ile artış gösterir. Çoğunlukla *Gelişim* bölümünde, tümceler arasındaki eşzamanlılık ve ardışıklık ilişkisini düzenleyen -*ErEk*'in işlevinde öykü birimine ve yaşa bağlı olarak sistematik bir farklılıklar gözlenmez.

-*DiktAn sonra* ilk kez 5 yaş grubunun öykülerinde ortaya çıkar ve ortaya çıkış sıklığı çok düşüktür. Bu zaman belirteci zaman çizgisi üzerinde iki olaydan birinin sonralığını vurgulamakla birlikte, gizlice diğer olayın önceliğini de ifade etmek için kullanılır. Ortaya çıkış sıklığı çok düşük olduğu için öykü birimlerine göre dağılımı irdelenmemiştir. Sadece 5, 7 ve 8 yaş gruplarının öykülerinde ortaya çıkan bu zaman belirteci ile ilgili, yaşa bağlı olarak farklar gözlenmemiştir.

–*DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* ilk defa 5 yaş grubu öykülerinde ortaya çıkar ve artan yaş ile artış gösterir. –*DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* anlatıda bir olayı başka bir olay ile ilişkili olarak zaman çizgisi üzerinde ardışıklık temelinde ilişkilendirmek için kullanılır. Bu zaman belirtcinin işlevi, zaman belirtme işlevi göz önüne alındığında, –(y)*IncE*'nin işlevine yakındır. –(y)*IncE*'nin zaman belirtme işlevinin yanı sıra, nedensellik ilişkisini de belirtmesi nedeniyle, 6 yaş ve ileriki yaş grupları, –*DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* ile –(y)*IncE* arasında, bu ekleri önceleyen fiillere göre, belirgin bir seçim ortaya koyarlar. Eğer yan tümceciğin fiili ile ana tümceciğin fiili arasında, zamansal bir ilişkinin yanı sıra, nedensel bir ilişki de söz konusu ise, (korkmak- düşmek gibi; nedensel: “korktuğu için düştü” veya zamansal: “korktu, sonra düştü”) –(y)*IncE* tercih edilirken, iki fiil arasındaki ilişki yalnızca zamansal ise –*DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* tercih edilir.

–*DIğIndA/-DIğI zaman* en çok *Gelişme* bölümü, sonra *Alıştırma* bölümlerinde ortaya çıkar.

Eylemin zaman, görünüş ve kipliğini (ZGK) belirten yapılar üzerine yapılan inceleme, –*mİş* ve –(I)*yor* eklerinin anlatı türünde en çok kullanılan iki ek olduğunu gösterir. Küçük yaştakiler daha çok –*mİş*'ı anlatı ZGK eki olarak kullanırken, artan yaş ile birlikte tercih –(I)*yor*'a yönelir. –*DI* yalnızca 13 yaş grubu ve yetişkinler tarafından anlatı ZGK eki olarak kullanılırken, –(A)*r* yalnızca yetişkinler tarafından anlatı ZGK eki olarak kullanılır. Bir tek öykü içerisinde, öykü ZGK ekleri arasındaki en büyük geçiş –*mİş* ile –(I)*yor* arasındadır. Bu iki ek arasında geçiş yapıldığında, –*mİş* arka plan oluşturmak, –(I)*yor* ise ön planda devam eden öykü ana olaylarını işaretlemek için kullanılır.

İkinci en sık geçiş –*mİş* eki ile, –(I)*yor* ekinin –(y)*mİş* sonekinin birleşimi olan, –(I)*yormuş* ekleri arasındadır. Bu geçişte –*mİş* öykü ana olaylarını işaretlemek için kullanılırken, bileşik ZGK eki –(I)*yormuş* arka planı oluşturmak için kullanılır.

–*DI* öykü ana olaylarını işaretlemek için kullanıldığında, arka plan oluşturmak için –(I)*yordu*'ya geçiş yapılırken, –(A)*r* öykü ana olaylarını işaretlemek için kullanıldığında, kesinlik ya da otoritenin derecesini belirleyen, –*mİştIr*'a geçiş yapılarak arka plan oluşturulur.

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Özcan, Mehmet
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 2 January 1966 , Sarayköy/Denizli
Marital Status: Married
Phone: +90 210 41 76
Fax: +90 312 210 12 56
e-mail: mehmet@metu.edu.tr

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MA	Selçuk University – Dept. of English Language and Literature	1998
BA	Selçuk University Dept. of English Language and Literature	1992
High School	Denizli Cumhuriyet Lisesi Denizli	1986

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
1999- Present	Faculty of Education at METU	Research Assistant
1996	Faculty of Education at Suleyman Demirel University- Burdur	Research Assistant
1992-September	Bingöl İlköğretim Okulu	English Teacher

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Fluent French

PUBLICATIONS

- Özcan, M. (1998a). Coğrafya ve Edebiyat. *Dönence*,4, 12-18.
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